

Stirring Up a Hornet's Nest:
The Kettle Creek Battlefield Survey



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The LAMAR Institute, Inc.

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Report Number 131**

**Submitted to
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- David Library, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania
- Georgia Archives, Morrow, Georgia
- Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia
- Henry L. Huntington Library, San Marino, California
- Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

- ☑ Live Oak Library, Bull Street Branch, Savannah, Georgia
- ☑ Mary Willis Library, Washington, Georgia
- ☑ Morgan Library, New York
- ☑ National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
- ☑ National Archives and Records Administration, Main Branch, Cartographic Unit, and Southeast Regional Branch, Morrow, Georgia
- ☑ New York Historical Society, New York
- ☑ New York Public Library, New York
- ☑ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- ☑ Perkins Library, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina
- ☑ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina
- ☑ South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina
- ☑ Simon Schwob Library, Columbus State University, Columbus, Georgia
- ☑ University of Georgia Libraries, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, and Science Library, Athens, Georgia
- ☑ Washington Historical Museum, Washington, Georgia
- ☑ William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

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I. Introduction

This report presents the findings of a 2008 historical archeology study of the Kettle Creek battlefield in Wilkes County, Georgia. The project was funded by the Preserve America grant program of the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The City of Washington, Georgia received this grant in the 2007 grant cycle and, after a competitive bidding process, The LAMAR Institute was retained to perform the work. The project began in February, 2008, and was completed in December, 2008.

BATTLE SUMMARY

On the heels of the December 1778 invasion and capture of Savannah by the British, the people living in the upcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia were polarized and stimulated to action. The invading commander, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell sent several commissioned officers to raise an army in the interior. One of these men, Colonel John Boyd, was dispatched to the Carolinas. Boyd quickly raised an army of about 800 men and marched to Georgia. Boyd's militia was composed of Loyalists from North and South Carolina. Their destination was Augusta, Georgia, where they were to join with Campbell's forces. They were pursued by about 350 Patriot militiamen from Georgia and North and South Carolina under command of Colonel Andrew Pickens. Boyd's route from South Carolina to Augusta was less than direct, as he veered north and west of the quickest route in his trajectory. Davis suspects that Boyd may have chosen his route based on several factors, possibly including a desire to avoid any entanglement with the Patriot militia, the greater familiarity of his Wrightsborough guide with this route, and to rendezvous on the route to Wrightsborough with Daniel McGirt and his loyalists before uniting with Campbell's troops (Robert S. Davis, Jr. personal communication, January 5, 2009).

After a hard march and stinging engagements suffered while crossing the Savannah River at Vann's Creek, where he lost more than 100 men, Colonel Boyd's regiment rested at Kettle Creek, largely unaware of Pickens' approach. After learning of the Loyalist's situation, Pickens divided his forces into three prongs and attacked Boyd's men.

The battle of Kettle Creek took place on Sunday morning, February 14, 1779. The battle, which began about 10 A.M., lasted no more than four hours. Colonel Pickens led the central advance, Colonel Dooly attacked on Pickens' right and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke attacked from his left. Although they greatly outnumbered the Patriots, the Loyalists were in a vulnerable position and not fully prepared for an attack. Colonel Boyd defended a hilltop on the north side of Kettle Creek, which provided temporary resistance. One of Joseph Cartwright's soldiers, Joseph Cartwright, later testified that Boyd worked hard to speed his men across Kettle Creek (Davis 1986). Boyd was mortally wounded and his command fell into chaos. The Loyalists were routed from their camp, abandoning most of their baggage and horses as they fled south across the rain-swollen creek. They were soon pursued by Clarke's militia and a second firefight ensued on a ridge on the south side of Kettle Creek. The Loyalists on the south side of Kettle Creek were rallied by Major William Spurgeon; this provided enough time for many of them to escape southward.

By 2 P.M. those Loyalist volunteer militia who were not killed, captured or wounded had fled the battlefield. The Patriots gathered up their wounded, assessed the booty left in haste by the Loyalists, and prepared to continue their march. The Patriots lingered for several hours, at least as long as it took Colonel John Boyd to expire from his wounds, and then they moved out from the scene of the battlefield. The Patriots gathered prisoners and spoils and marched off of the battlefield before dark. General Pickens had left a small detachment to bury the dead, offering a parole in exchange for this service. Several Loyalist prisoners, who were captured by the Patriots in the battle, were the burial crew. In exchange for burying the battlefield dead, these men were to report to Colonel Andrew Pickens, where they were to receive their parole, and then return to their homes in the Carolinas. According to Pickens, these men completed their task and he honored his promise.

Captain Christopher Neally and his company (29 men) of Boyd's regiment were detached from Boyd and not present at the time of the battle. Captain Neally testified in 1786 that he was, "gone to bring up a party of 150 men", when the battle took place" (Fraser 1905:727-728). Consequently, Colonel Boyd's regiment

was short by at least 30 men, in addition to those lost in the previous fighting at the Savannah River, at the time of the battle.

The Loyalists were soundly defeated at Kettle Creek. Less than 100 were killed or wounded, approximately 150 were ultimately captured, and the remaining men fled in various directions. Only about 250 of them would eventually unite with the British Army. Others, who were discouraged by the chain of events, likely returned to their homes in the Carolinas. Patriot losses in the engagement included about 32 killed or wounded. The battle resulted in the dismantling of one Loyalist militia regiment at a time when the British invaders desperately needed their support. The commanding officers, Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and Major General Augustin Prevost, were immediately disappointed and surprised by the lack of dependable Loyalist support in the South. This put a damper on the British expectation of a quick victory in the South. Coincidentally, General Prevost wrote to Sir Henry Clinton from his headquarters at Ebenezer, Georgia on the day of the Kettle Creek battle, in which he affirmed his belief that the chief purpose of the southern expedition was to encourage an uprising among the “back inhabitants” of North and South Carolina (Prevost 1779g: 1-6). A stalemate developed between the British on the west side of the Savannah River and the Patriots on the east side. Some historians consider the Patriot victory at Kettle Creek to be a significant turning point in the British campaign in the South, which led to a prolongation of the American Revolution.

As Robert Scott Davis, Jr. (2003), noted historian of Kettle Creek battle, concluded, the battle at Kettle Creek was not on a grand scale, especially when compared to other epic battles. It was not even a large battle compared to other Revolutionary War engagements. The numbers of killed, wounded, captured and missing were relatively modest. Yet, the Loyalist defeat at Kettle Creek had a resounding muting effect on the Loyalists in the South. It also boosted the morale of the Patriots as it stood as one victory in a sea of defeats. The importance of the battle of Kettle Creek in the American and British mindsets is explored in this document through a combination of archaeological, biographical, historical, and geographical studies.

In February 2008 a team of historical archeologists returned to the Kettle Creek battlefield to conduct a “forensic” investigation, 229 years later. The team gathered historical documents and original testimony about the battle, located battlefield clues including artifacts and various aspects of the battlefield landscape, analyzed various battle scenarios presented by previous sleuths, and prepared this report of summary findings. The battle of Kettle Creek was without a doubt a cold case file. A comprehensive research approach, termed “Battlefield Archeology,” was used to solve this case. This systematic study used the battle evidence to create an improved interpretation of what happened at Kettle Creek. As a result we now have firmly established landmarks associated with the battle and physical evidence of the battle. Together, this battle landscape and the information derived from the tangible remains allows for an improved story of a very important event in Georgia and American history.

PROJECT ENVIRONMENT

The topography of the study area consists of rolling, dissected ridges and limited areas of flat floodplain. The project area is located in southwestern Wilkes County, Georgia in the Kettle Creek watershed (Figure 1). The Philomath 7.5 minute U.S.G.S. quadrangle sheet identifies the series of knolls and ridges, west of the historical monument, as War Hill (U.S.G.S. 1991). The small knoll that contains the monument is referred to here as Monument Hill for discussion purposes.

The geology of the study area consists of highly weathered Piedmont metamorphic and igneous rocks. The red clay soils of the uplands are derived from extensively weathered feldspars. The area is tectonically active and was the epicenter of a minor tremor in 2003 (GoogleEarth.com 2008).

The hydrology of the study area consists of Kettle Creek and its tributary stream and springheads. A small branch, which is located at the northern foot of War Hill, is known locally as Kelly Branch, although that name does not appear on any published maps of the area. Another minor branch is located on the opposite side of Kettle Creek. The confluence of these two branches is located near each other and west of Monument Hill.

II. Research Methods

The Field Director modeled this project after previous research projects at General George Armstrong Custer's Little Big Horn battlefield in South Dakota (Scott and Fox 1987), Robert Hanna's Cowpens battlefield in South Carolina (Babits 1998), and Georgia studies by the author and The LAMAR Institute researchers at New Ebenezer, Savannah, and Sunbury battlefields in coastal Georgia, and the Lovejoy Station battlefield in Lovejoy, Georgia (Elliott 2003, 2005, Elliott and Dean 2007; R. Elliott 2006).

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Many primary documents from the American Revolutionary war period were examined for this study. Original correspondence and military documents, as well as finding aids for the same, were a vital component of the present research project. The bulk of these were unpublished and housed in distant repositories. Some of these records were examined during previous research efforts by The LAMAR Institute, since 2002. These included:

- ❖ Brice (1779)
- ❖ British Headquarter Papers [or Carleton Papers] (1778; Brown 1778a, 1778b)
- ❖ Papers of the Continental Congress (Butler 1978)
- ❖ William L. Clements Library finding aids (Peckham 1978; Mitchell 1978)
- ❖ Sir Henry Clinton Papers (Clinton 1750-1838)
- ❖ Draper Manuscripts (Harper 1983)
- ❖ Duke University, Special Collections (Dunn 2002)
- ❖ Peter Force Papers, Library of Congress (Force various dates, 1848)
- ❖ Horatio Gates Papers (Saltzman 1979)
- ❖ Georgia Archives (1775-1793, 1779-1834)
- ❖ Georgia Historical Society (1991)
- ❖ Great Britain archival materials (Davies 1972-1978; Candler and Knight 1904-1916, 1908, 2001)
- ❖ John Faucheraud Grimke (1911, 1912)
- ❖ Historical Manuscripts Commission (1901-1906)
- ❖ Alexander Innes (1779a-b)
- ❖ Benjamin Lincoln (Hyne 1779-1780)
- ❖ Library of Congress (1975, 2002, 2003; Journals of the Continental Congress 1904-1937, 2002)
- ❖ New York Public Library (Kennedy 1900)
- ❖ Augustin Prevost (Prevost 1778, 1779a-f, 1780; Sir George Prevost Fonds 1776-1857; W.A.J. Prevost 1949)
- ❖ U.S., National Archives and Records Administration (various dates; 1959, 1774-1789)
- ❖ University of Georgia Libraries (Cuyler various dates; Reid various dates; Georgia Legislative Documents various dates)
- ❖ George Washington (1780a-b)
- ❖ Wayne Family Papers (1756-1900)
- ❖ Anthony Wayne (Wayne various dates; 1776-1796; 1779-1796; 1782a-b, 1794; LOC 1782)
- ❖ Wray Papers (1780)
- ❖ Wright (1873)

A wide range of published histories of the American Revolution were reviewed for the present study. These include a small number of late 18th century accounts. Anonymous sources in this category included (*Annual Register* 1779, 1780, 1782, 1783, 1788 [1781]; Anonymous 1780). Others included: Andrews (1787); Sir Henry Clinton (Wilcox 1954), William Moultrie (1802, 1980), Ramsay (1785, 1789, 1809), Stedman (1969 [1794]), and Tarleton (1968 [1787]).

The review of published histories with significant content about the American Revolution in the South included many early to mid 19th century works. Unpublished historical material from the early 19th century included collections of Joseph Vallence Bevan (n.d.).

Published sources included:

- ❖ Allen (1822)
- ❖ Charlton (1809)
- ❖ Dawson (2008 [1858])
- ❖ Drayton (1969 [1821])
- ❖ Foote (1846)
- ❖ Garden (1822)
- ❖ Gibbes (1972 [1857])
- ❖ Johnson (1851 [1816])
- ❖ Landrum (1897)
- ❖ Lee (1812)
- ❖ Logan (1859)
- ❖ Lossing (1851)
- ❖ McCall (1909 [1809, 1811])
- ❖ Moore (1860)
- ❖ Jedidiah Morse (1796, 1798)
- ❖ Morse and Morse (1821)
- ❖ Saffell (1858)
- ❖ Sherwood (1827, 1829, 1860)
- ❖ Simms (1840)
- ❖ Stevens (1847, 1859)
- ❖ White (1849)

The review of published histories also included many late 19th and early 20th century works, including: Carrington (1877), Draper (1881), Jones (2001 [1883]), Ashmore (1907, 1917), Ashmore and Olmstead (1926), Knight (1914, 1970 [1920]), and McCrady (1901).

Newspaper articles from the late 19th and early 20th century were another important secondary source of information about the battle. Although these are secondary sources, some did contain unique and useful historical information not available elsewhere. These included *Atlanta Constitution* (1875; 1886; 1890; 1891; 1892; 1893; 1894; 1910; 1915) and [Athens] *Weekly Banner-Watchman* (1886). Many 18th century newspapers contained relevant information about the Kettle Creek battle. These included:

- ❖ *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal* (1779)
- ❖ *Caledonian Mercury* (1779)
- ❖ *Georgia Gazette* (1763-1776, 1769; Kilborne 1999)
- ❖ *New England Chronicle, The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser* (1779)
- ❖ *The Pennsylvania Gazette* (1779)
- ❖ *Royal Gazette* (1778)
- ❖ *South Carolina Gazette* (1732-1775)
- ❖ *Southern Centinel* (1794:4)
- ❖ *Virginia Gazette* (1779)
- ❖ *Der Wachtliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote* (1779)

The historical researchers examined many published sources that were primarily biographical or genealogical in nature. These sources often provided important details about the participants in the battle. They included biographical studies on:

- ❖ George Barber (Morgan 2008)
- ❖ Thomas Brown (Cashin 1989; Olson 1970)
- ❖ Archibald Campbell (Jones 1887; Numis 1961; Campbell 1981)
- ❖ Samuel Elbert (Jones 1911; Harden 1902; Elbert 1776-1788)
- ❖ Button Gwinnett (Jenkins 1974)
- ❖ Robert Howe (Howe 1776-1778, 1732-1786, 1879 [1782])
- ❖ John Habersham (Jones 1886)
- ❖ Robert Howe (Bennett and Lennon 1991; Naisawald 1951)
- ❖ James Jackson (Carlton 1809; Foster 1947, 1960)
- ❖ Henry Laurens (Hamer et al. 1968)
- ❖ Henry Lee (Lee 1812, 1981; Hartmann 2000)
- ❖ Benjamin Lincoln (Mattern 1995; Lincoln 1733-1810, 1778-1804, 1779-1780, 1779; Allis 1967; Allis and Frederick 1967; Anonymous 1779; Baker 1779; Dooly 1779; Walton 1779; Hyne 1779-1780)
- ❖ James McCall (Murphy and Crawley 2006)
- ❖ Lachlan McIntosh (Hawes 1957, 1968)
- ❖ Francis Marion (Simms 2002)

- ❖ Andrew Pickens (Waring 1962; Pickens 1934; Ferguson 1960)
- ❖ Augustin Prevost (Williams 1773)
- ❖ Thomas Sumter (Gregorie 1931; Cummings 2002; Crawley 2008)
- ❖ Peter Tonym (1778)
- ❖ John Adam Treutlen (1998)
- ❖ George Walton (1779)
- ❖ Anthony Wayne (Rankin 1964; Nelson 1985; Moore 1845).

The historical research included a review of sources about the organization of the Patriot and the British military in the American Revolution. These ranged from specific regional to general information and they included:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ❖ Curtis (1926) | ❖ Loescher (1977) |
| ❖ Cole (1954) | ❖ McCall (2004 [1941]) |
| ❖ Curtis (1926) | ❖ May (1974) |
| ❖ DeSaussure (1886) | ❖ Mills (2008) |
| ❖ Edgar (2001) | ❖ Montross (1967) |
| ❖ Frey (1981) | ❖ Moss (2006) |
| ❖ Groenke (2001) | ❖ Polen (2008) |
| ❖ Hall (2001) | ❖ Rodgers (2002) |
| ❖ Hartgrove (1916) | ❖ Risch (1981) |
| ❖ Hatch (1971) | ❖ Salley (1906, 1977) |
| ❖ Heitman (1967 [1893]) | ❖ Sherman (2003) |
| ❖ Hibbert (1990) | ❖ Von Steuben (1985) |
| ❖ Higgins (1979) | ❖ United States Army (2003) |
| ❖ Hoffman and Albert (1984) | ❖ Wallace (1951) |
| ❖ Jacobsen (2003) | ❖ White (1988) |
| ❖ Johnson (1980, 1992) | ❖ Wright (1983) |
| ❖ Lee (2001) | |

Scholarship pertaining to the American Revolution in the South has improved significantly in the past 50 years. A review of these “modern” studies helped to establish the theoretical approach for the Kettle Creek study. Among these were:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| ❖ Boatner (1968; 1973) | ❖ Lumpkin (1981) |
| ❖ Crow and Tise (1978) | ❖ Morrill (1993) |
| ❖ Daniel (1937) | ❖ Nester (2004) |
| ❖ Dukes (1993) | ❖ Russell (2000) |
| ❖ Calhoon (1973; 1989) | ❖ Searcy (1984, 1985) |
| ❖ Calhoon et al. (1994) | ❖ Smith (2006) |
| ❖ Graves (2002) | ❖ Stember (1974) |
| ❖ Hatch (1969) | ❖ Weller (1960) |
| ❖ Karpalides (1998) | ❖ Wright (1976) |

The research team reviewed specific histories and historical compilations concerning Wilkes County, Georgia and adjacent counties and the battle of Kettle Creek. These included:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| ❖ Baker (1965) | ❖ Davis and Thomas (1975) |
| ❖ Bell (2008) | ❖ Davidson (1933) |
| ❖ Boyd (1980) | ❖ Farmer (1996) |
| ❖ Cashin (2000) | ❖ Foster (1913) |
| ❖ Catching and Torrey (1919) | ❖ Goff (n.d.) |
| ❖ Chappell (1905) | ❖ Gossett and Mitchell (2007) |
| ❖ Crumpton (2002, 2003, 2004) | ❖ Green (1901) |
| ❖ Davis (1978, 1979, 1983, 1986a-b, 2003, 2006a-d) | ❖ Hammett (2002) |
| | ❖ Harris (1896) |

- ❖ Hays (1946, 1950)
- ❖ Hill (1922)
- ❖ Hudson (1988)
- ❖ Hunt (1973)
- ❖ Kurimski (2008)
- ❖ McDaniel (2002a-b)
- ❖ McGinty (2008a-b)
- ❖ Newsome and Newsome (1970)
- ❖ Poss (2003)
- ❖ Rauch (2006a-b)
- ❖ Sheahan (1995)
- ❖ B. Slaton (1996)
- ❖ J. Slaton (1996)
- ❖ Standard (1973)
- ❖ Swager (2008)
- ❖ Warren (1778)
- ❖ Westbrook (2008)
- ❖ Willingham (1969)

Other regional histories and Revolutionary War-related archeological investigations provided additional background for the present study. These included:

- ❖ Cartledge (1988)
- ❖ Coleman (1958)
- ❖ Coulter (1965)
- ❖ Bearss (1974)
- ❖ Bastian (1982)
- ❖ Babits (1998)
- ❖ Binkley and Davis (2002)
- ❖ Caldwell (1952)
- ❖ Calver and Bolton (1950)
- ❖ Clark (1896)
- ❖ Davis (1949)
- ❖ R. Elliott (1988)
- ❖ Foster (1913)
- ❖ Fries (1922-1969)
- ❖ Griffin (1937)
- ❖ Hitz (1954, 1956)
- ❖ Holschlag and Rodeffer (1976, 1977)
- ❖ Ivers (1974)
- ❖ Killion and Waller (1975)
- ❖ Maass (2007)
- ❖ Moore (1997)
- ❖ F.A.P. (1854)
- ❖ Prentice (1996)
- ❖ Rutch and Morrell (1981)
- ❖ Robertson et al. (2002)
- ❖ Saggus (1996)
- ❖ Scruggs (1975)
- ❖ South (1970, 1971, 1974)
- ❖ Stacy (1912)
- ❖ Tompkins (1903)
- ❖ Walker (1986, 1990)

Research on the Loyalists who participated in the American Revolution has lagged behind research on the Patriots. This is understandable, since the Patriots were the victors and their accomplishments laid the foundation for modern American society. Nevertheless, the Loyalists also were Americans, many of whom made significant contributions before and after the war, and their stories deserved to be told. Several Loyalist compilations provided information about participants and potential participants, who were engaged in the action at Kettle Creek. These included works by:

- ❖ Clark (1981)
- ❖ Coldham (1980)
- ❖ Cole and Braisted (2008)
- ❖ Egerton (1971)
- ❖ Fraser (1905)
- ❖ Fryer (1980)
- ❖ Kozy (1983, 1991)
- ❖ Lambert (1987)
- ❖ Logan (2008)
- ❖ Lucas (2007)
- ❖ Ontario Historical Society (1900)
- ❖ Palmer (1984)
- ❖ Pearson (2005)
- ❖ Ranlet (1986, 2000)
- ❖ Raymond (1899)
- ❖ Robertson (1978)
- ❖ Robertson et al. (2008)
- ❖ Ryerson (1880)
- ❖ Sabine (1864)
- ❖ Siebert (1972)
- ❖ Tasker (1900)
- ❖ Troxler (1974, 1976, 1989)
- ❖ Van Tyne (1902)
- ❖ Ward Chipman Papers (1776-1785)
- ❖ United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada (2008).

The LAMAR Institute's project team extensively researched early maps relating to the study area. Several finding aids and studies regarding Revolutionary War maps were consulted, including: Cate (various dates), Carl Vinson Institute of Government (2008), DeVorsey (1971, 1972), Greenwood (1972), Marshall and Peckham (1976), Hulbert (1907), and Harley et al. (1978). Cartographic resources and early aerial photographs included:

- ❖ Cary (1806)
- ❖ Melish (1813)
- ❖ Barnett (1868)
- ❖ Bonner (1843, 1847, 1849, 1856)
- ❖ Callaway (1877)
- ❖ Campbell (1779a, 1779b)
- ❖ DeBrahm (1771)
- ❖ Hinton (1779)
- ❖ Granade (1901)
- ❖ Lloyd (1864)
- ❖ U.S. Bureau of Soils (1915)
- ❖ U.S. Coast Survey (1865)
- ❖ U.S. Department of Agriculture (1938, 1942, 1952)
- ❖ U.S. Geological Survey (1906, 1991)
- ❖ Wilson (1779, 1780; Davis 1985)
- ❖ Yonge (1773)

The strategy employed in this study for finding historical materials relating to the Battle of Kettle Creek, Georgia that occurred on Feb. 14, 1779, was two-fold. Researcher Daniel Elliott gathered miscellaneous related materials such as maps and documents, while Daniel Battle concentrated on identifying particular individuals that were related to the Loyalists who participated in the Kettle Creek battle. Battle's research attention particularly focused on a few Loyalist leaders. A limited amount of information was known about these individuals at the beginning of the research endeavor. Earlier books and research footnotes were inadequate in determining the exact identification of two individuals, a Colonel Boyd and a Major Spurgin. Multiple first names were attributed to them such as Colonel James, Thomas, or John Boyd and John or William Spurgeon. Boyd was a name recognized to be of Scottish descent while Spurgeon was likely of Swiss Huguenot origin. Other historians have suggested that Boyd was of Irish or English descent.

Due to the nature of available 18th century documentation, individuals arriving on the frontier of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, often had their names written, copied, and transcribed incorrectly. These errors were then copied and consistently repeated in historical materials cited thereafter by others. It was often noted that common Scottish surnames, such as Moore (the name of the second in command at Kettle Creek), repeatedly used many of the same first names. It was a common practice to pass on the same first name for consecutive generations. Multiple individuals might be found named John, Jonathan, William or James. Seldom do historic records reflect any middle names or initials that could be helpful to track or identify particular individuals more accurately.

Even unusual and rare names such as Spurgin, as listed on a South Carolina plat in Craven County, still had a degree of uncertainty. Craven County, South Carolina was created in the colonial period and this political district was not used after the American Revolution. Portions of Craven County later were formed Laurens County (F.A.P. 1854:377-428; Motes and Motes 1994).

Historical information lists a William Spurgeon, but could be John William Spurgeon from Anson County, North Carolina. An unspecified Colonel Spurgeon was also mentioned with a young son who was referenced as John. An original South Carolina plat reference of John Spurgin could be considered a more accurate spelling of the name since it is listed as this spelling in a legal document that likely was reviewed by John Spurgin himself. Still this name has been seen in other records as Spurgeon, Spurgain, Spergen, Spergens, and Spurgen. This spelling is likely not the only form. John Spurgin may have been confused historically with William Spurgeon whereas these individuals actually got their records mixed together as one person by historians. A Spurgeon is listed by a newspaper reporter as a casualty in battle in 1779 while a William Spurgeon fled to Canada after the war. Patterns were, therefore, also taken into account such as repetition of names mentioned in a particular geographical area or state and county. Craven County, South Carolina is one location where all the noted individuals, including John Boyd, John Spurgeon and Moore, appear to have been closely associated because of land ownership. South Carolina also lists two of these individuals as outlaws in proclamations put forth by the Patriot governor. Ultimately, we concluded that the Major Spurgin, who rallied the troops at Kettle Creek, was William Albertus Spurgeon, Jr.

At the onset of the research, the research team theorized that Colonel Boyd, and his third in command, Spurgin [Spurgeon], were from the North Carolina backcountry. A particular area of interest was the lower Yadkin River area of Anson County, North Carolina. The very few materials written by historians referenced that a Colonel Thomas Boyd or John or James Boyd was likely from this area. Battle searched

for any materials from North Carolina that could contribute to a clear identification of the Tory leader at Kettle Creek. Colonial and early state records of North Carolina were examined as well as several other minor sources. Although similar names were noted in North Carolina, there was no indication that this was our mysterious person—Colonel Boyd. Spurgin (and its variant spellings) was also sought but no real property information was found. William Spurgeon was mentioned as a government official in the North Carolina Moravian Records. William Spurgeon's property was listed for confiscation by the Patriot government for lending aid to Loyalists in South Carolina. The Boyd name was encountered not only in Anson County but also in several other counties in North Carolina. Records show that some Boyd properties also were in danger of forfeiture due to Loyalist activities throughout the state. No clearer understanding of the North Carolina Spurgeon or Boyd, however, was gained.

Multiple first names were encountered that could have been the Loyalist leader Boyd, and it is very possible that the Boyd names encountered were likely related to him. A persistent search through multiple printed materials concerning Loyalists in North Carolina state and county records, and miscellaneous Revolutionary War books, at the D.A.R. Library in Washington, D.C. did not turn up any additional information distinguishing a Boyd or Spurgeon in military format. Land confiscations made by the Continental Government against Loyalists did not specify detailed records about the individuals even though these records may exist. The Society of the Cincinnati Library, also located in Washington, D.C., was searched for records and manuscripts pertaining to these Loyalists. A reference was found for a manuscript document from Wilkes County in the North Carolina Archives about a James Boyd, possibly transcribing as John, and others who were the likely Loyalist leaders of the Battle of Kettle Creek. This primary source, which was previously transcribed by Davis (William Millen's deposition), was examined at the North Carolina State Archives. This manuscript is a primary source document for Colonel Boyd and the story of the Loyalist recruitment in the backcountry. No additional records were discovered on these Loyalists at these locations in Washington, D.C. A search at the Library of Congress concerning information available from early Wilkes County maps also proved negative.

The David Library at Washington Crossing in Pennsylvania was also searched for resources on the Loyalists. Two published works were *The Roster of Loyalists at Moores Creek* by B.J. Moss and *American Migrations 1765-1799* by Peter Wilson Coldham. These books listed several individual Loyalists that had either taken part in the Battle of Kettle Creek or were suspected to have taken part in the battle. It is from this information that a possible connection was formulated between the individuals involved at Kettle Creek and the individuals involved with conflicts in South and North Carolina prior to 1779. These Loyalists had strong connections with the Scotch settlers in western North Carolina and South Carolina. More research concerning these settlers would have to be undertaken in order to identify details about their connections.

Nothing at this point indicated that our Loyalist leaders were specifically from either North Carolina or South Carolina. Since records poorly documented the boundaries for South Carolina and North Carolina during the Revolutionary War, it created a challenging task to understand which individuals were associated with a specific geographical area when dealing with the western Carolina regions. This fluidity of movement across borders by settlers in the backcountry of the Carolinas may also have resulted in confusion in researching individual military records. Since at least one connection seemed likely to the Scotch Highlanders at the Moore's Creek Battle of 1775 in North Carolina, records of the British Army were researched with an emphasis on the Highlander Regiments.

A large percentage of the settlers in the backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia were of either Scotch or German heritage. Battle believed up to this point in the research that, similar to many other Scotch and Carolina Loyalists, Boyd, Spurgeon, and others may have hid out or were confined to their property. It was also considered that these individuals could be part of the Loyalist contingent who had fled the Carolinas to Florida between 1775 and 1778.

Germans settlers in colonial America, unlike the Scots, were believed to have viewed the American Revolution as unpopular. As a result, many early military recruits consisted of settlers of Scotch descent. And because Scots had a historical tendency for banding according to clan traditions, large groups of Scots were expected to be recruited by the British. The Scots, however, were viewed suspiciously by the British

Government because of the revolt of the Scots in 1745. Supporters of the King, however, were not about to let this manpower source in the backcountry go untapped. During the course of the war, British authorities believed that a large and strategic number of recruits could be brought out of the Carolina and Georgia backcountry. The strength of the Patriot forces in the same area, however, were enough to keep this Loyalist manpower source to a minimum during some of the pivotal periods of the war. Many of these Loyalists, after suffering setbacks and threats of imprisonment early in the Carolina conflicts, volunteered service in some capacity after fleeing to the British Army in either Pennsylvania or Florida. Many of these men would later return to the South with the invading British forces as they focused a new campaign in the Southern Colonies.

Research further indicated that former Loyalists, including the leaders of Kettle Creek, were again called upon to go into the backcountry where they had been active some months earlier. Attempts were made to reorganize old Loyalist groups and individuals believed to be waiting for an opportunity to serve the King. It appeared likely from this point in the research, that official British documentation was issued that would have permitted and aided specific individuals in accomplishing this renewed recruitment in the Carolinas. These commissions may or may not have been given covertly by the British military command. An official British document for one of the Kettle Creek Loyalists was located and copied at the North Carolina Archives.

Similar records were sought that might give an indication of the level of involvement Colonel Boyd and some of the other Loyalists at Kettle Creek had with the British Army during activities just prior to departure from New York in January 1779. Microfilms 171-173 of the Lawrence Collection and Ward Chipman Collection Muster Master from the British Army Loyalist List were also reviewed at the North Carolina Archives. The penmanship of these musters would have taken too long to decipher in order to check for some of the Kettle Creek leaders. Battle considered that Boyd and some of his subordinates may have served in a military capacity in some of the units during 1775-1778. Possible units include the Royal Highland Regiment, the Royal Highland Emigrants, or other Highlander units. It was also very possible that Boyd could have been part of the Loyalist refugees in Florida who visited New York to plan strategy just prior to the British invasion into Georgia in 1778-1779.

Researchers also examined the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and Free Library in Philadelphia. John Boyd and John Speirgen were indicated as Loyalist outlaws in a November 8, 1779 proclamation by the Continental South Carolina Government that was published in the November 19, 1779 issue of the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (cited in McCrady 1901). This may indicate that Major Sperigen/Spurgeon was still in the southern states at this time. Records for the State of Pennsylvania were also researched to check the possibility that Boyd and some of his associates could have joined the British forces concentrated in that state during the early part of the war. British records were not located here, however, that would indicate the service records of Loyalists who may have fled from the Carolinas in 1775-1776. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* as well as emigrant records were also searched with negative results. Some manuscript files were also searched concerning recruitment in the Carolinas and Georgia but only produced historical materials minimally associated with our geographic area of interest.

The electronic index and the card catalog system at the Pennsylvania Historical Society were only marginally effective in locating historical resources. This is due to the slow adaptation and updating of the collection records being converted into a more modern and manageable user-friendly database for researchers. Keywords, for instance, are searchable only in title form and not within the body or subject matter of the historical collections. This is true of many of the major record repositories around the country, including the largest libraries like the Library of Congress and National Archives. Historical resources will likely surface on subject matter even though researchers may have meticulously searched the facilities previously.

The Free Library located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania also had an early American manuscript collection. It was not possible to gauge the degree of importance of the manuscript resources at the Free Library. Additional queries to that institution are needed.

The North Carolina Archives was also researched for materials dealing with Loyalists in the western backcountry. Although many printed and unorganized materials were found dealing with the differing conflicts between the North Carolina citizens during the events of the War for American Independence, no new source materials were located. The records of the Moravians did provide some insight into the profession of a William Spurgeon located in the Anson County region. Battle believed at this time, however, that the Loyalist individuals that we had so diligently searched for in North Carolina records may have been centered within a region designated within South Carolina. At least two proclamations were located that listed very similarly named individuals together as a group and similar individuals were also located on official South Carolina Land Plats. This information seemed to give good indication that these individuals might be centered in the Craven County, South Carolina area. This information also coincides with the same locations documented and traveled by the Loyalist band just prior to the days leading to the events at Kettle Creek.

At the conclusion of the research phase, Battle was convinced that at least some of the Loyalist officers that appeared on the battlefield at Kettle Creek were of North Carolina origin. He also concluded that Colonel Boyd was likely not the only individual that was visiting the Carolina backcountry in order raise or re-establish Loyalist forces prior to the defeat at Kettle Creek. Records were uncovered that suggest that several Loyalist recruiters may have been involved in a concerted effort. Individuals with regional influences in the backcountry areas may have been involved with the intent of creating a unified force to offer service to the British forces located further to the south. The means by which Colonel Boyd ultimately became the main leader of this Loyalist assemblage remains poorly understood. This leadership decision could have been the result of a vote made by the newly assembled militia while en route to the British lines near Savannah, Georgia and just days prior to their ill fated encounter at Kettle Creek.

Federal pension testimony proved to be a very important source of information regarding the battle of Kettle Creek and its players. In his landmark study of the Cowpens, South Carolina, battlefield, Babits (1998) demonstrated the value of using battle-related information from pension records to reconstruct the battlefield. These original records are stored in Record Group 15, Microfilm 804 at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. (NARA 1974). Electronic scanned versions of these documents were studied using Footnote.com (Footnote.com 2008). At the time of the present study, Footnote.com contained 99 percent of the documents in this series, or more than 80,000 files, which include hundreds of thousands of documents. The records at Footnote.com were searched electronically by surname and state. Other text versions of Revolutionary War pension records, which have been transcribed and posted at the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution website, were searched online (Southerncampaign.org 2008). The latter source of pension records is more easily searched by surname and keywords but it includes a smaller sample (n=4,991) of the total document series, being focused on soldiers in the war in the southern states. Copies of additional pension records, which had been previously gathered by Davis and Thomas for their 1975 study of the Kettle Creek battlefield, are stored at the Georgia Archives and these were examined during the present research (Georgia, Secretary of State, Department of Archives and History 1975). Bobby Moss (2006) provided hundreds of abstracts on other U.S. veterans and their pension records, including some who fought at Kettle Creek.

Most of the pension applications of participants or likely participants in the 1779 Kettle Creek battle were submitted in 1832 or two decades thereafter. A few dated back to 1818. Consequently, historical facts became hazy as time progressed. Private John Bird's pension application epitomizes the inherent pitfalls in relying solely on historical records for a reconstruction of the battle of Kettle Creek. Bird, a soldier in the South Carolina militia, may or may not have been in the battle of Kettle Creek. In his statement Bird (aged 79) described the events at Fort McIntosh and along the Georgia-Florida border and remarked, "[T]his place we called Kettle Creek as there was the largest kettle there I ever saw" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Bird S10372]). Perhaps his story of a giant kettle is true, but more likely; Private Bird was confused and provided garbled testimony. John Bird may have passed by the one in Ware County during his participation in the Florida Campaign. John Bird was not a combatant at Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, since he clearly states that he was in South Carolina opposite Briar Creek at the time of that battle (March 3, 1779).

John Bird's humorous remarks the origins of the name Kettle Creek deserve some editorial comments. Davis suspects that the word origin of Kettle is a variant spelling of "Kiddle" or "Kittle", which was a

colloquial term for Native American fish traps, which the Euro-Americans encountered (Robert Scott Davis, Jr. personal communication January 5, 2009). Georgia has two “Kettle Creeks” in Wilkes and Ware counties, respectively and one “Kittles Landing” in Screven County. Florida has one “Kettle Creek” in Lafayette County, (western) Florida (U.S.G.S. 2009). The Kettle Creeks in Wilkes County bore that stream name as early as 1773, as evidenced by the reference to Kettle Creek on land records recorded at Wrightsborough. In their 1804 biography of George Washington, Marshall and Washington described the battle at “Kittle Creek” (Marshall and Washington 1804:24).

Other mistakes in the pension records are less colorful, such as confusing the year in which a battle occurred. That mistake was noted on several pension applications, incorrectly listing the year of the Kettle Creek battle in 1778 and 1780. These minor errors mar otherwise reliable accounts of the battle.

Davis and Thomas (1974:10, 15) pointed out the dangers of relying solely on pension affidavits. In the case of 89 year old Micajah Brooks’ recollections, some key facts about the Kettle Creek battle were wrong. Brooks located the scene of the battle several miles south of its actual location. Brooks may have been describing another military event that took place in 1782 at the confluence of Kettle Creek and the Little River. Despite this error, Brooks’ account still contained some useful information on other aspects of the battle. Like John Bird, Micajah Brooks was elderly at the time of his deposition and his memory of people, places and events had become jumbled. This human frailty is a factor to consider when using these documents to reconstruct a battlefield landscape (Footnote.com 2008, Micajah Brooks pension claim W27694).

Many researchers have lamented the lack of records pertaining to the Georgia and South Carolina militia. The dearth of documentary evidence tempers ones ability to argue a case as to whether or not a particular veteran fought in any particular battle. William A. Bell (1998) discussed these problems at length in his study of his ancestor, Stephen Westbrook. Although Bell demonstrated conclusively that Westbrook was in the area and serving in the Wilkes County militia, he was not able to locate any primary document stating that Westbrook fought at Kettle Creek, nor did he find any documents that suggested Westbrook was not present. Bell resorted to statistical probabilities in forming his argument for his ancestor’s service. In the end, Bell made a convincing argument for Westbrook’s participation in the battle, but some doubt ultimately remained.

One advantage of pension accounts, despite their pitfalls, is that they represent a wide range of perspectives of the battle from officers to enlisted men. While some officers were prone to exaggerate or minimize battlefield statistics, to either promote their accomplishments or detract from their opponents, the enlisted soldier had no such vested interest in altering the facts.

FIELDWORK

Fieldwork for the project began on February 6, 2008. The study includes the area of the historical monument, War Hill, the main ridge system north of the monument, the floodplain and lower ridge slopes south of the monument and Kettle Creek, and portions of a ridge system northeast, east and southeast the monument. Figure 2 shows the approximate boundary of the study area. Figure 3 shows a general photographic view of the project area.

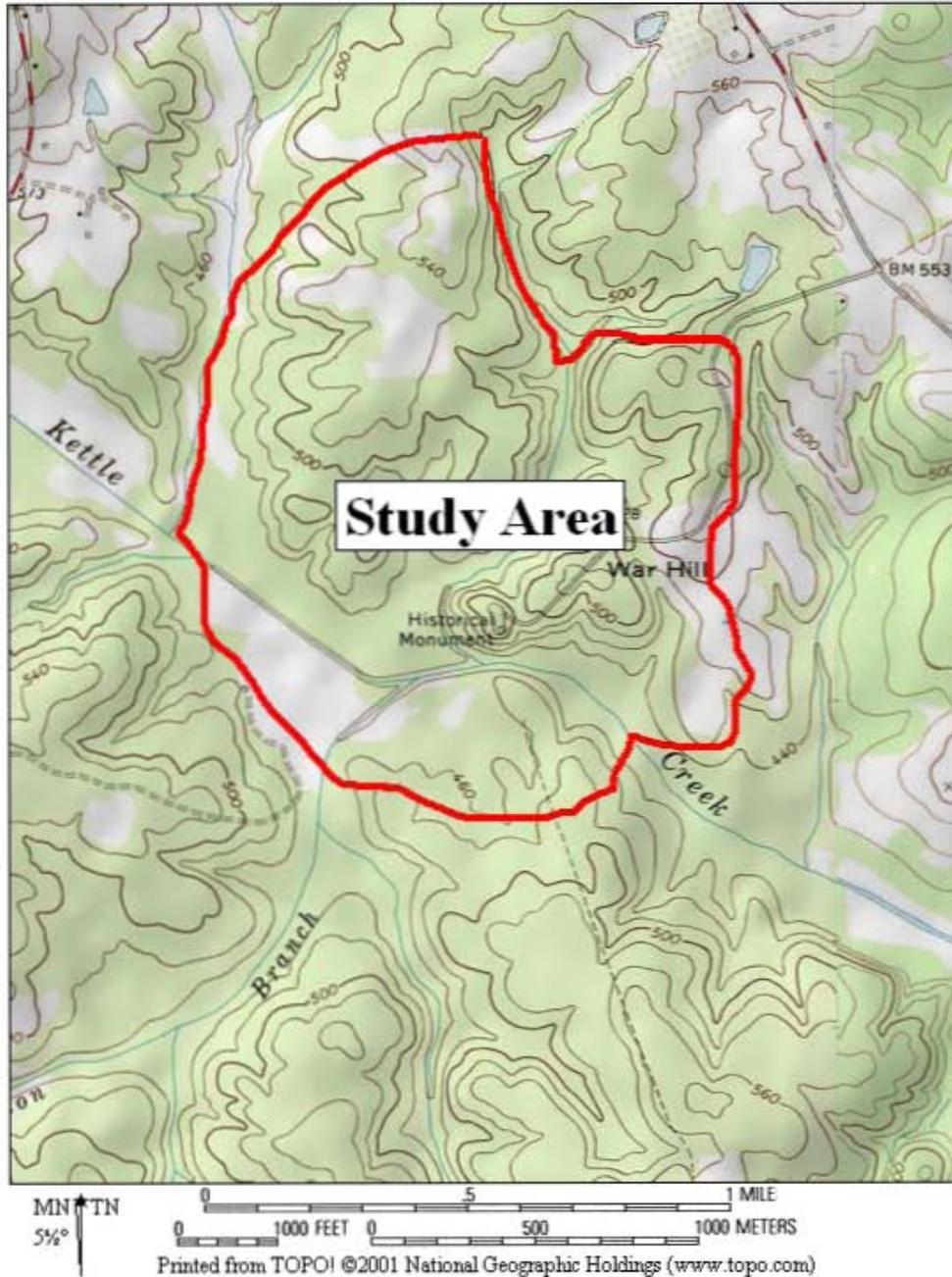


Figure 2. Kettle Creek Battlefield Study Area (U.S.G.S. 1991).

The metal detector survey strategy followed the pioneering work of battlefield archeology in North America at the Little Big Horn by archaeologists Scott and Fox (1987). The metal detector survey was the primary task of fieldwork. The metal detector survey consisted of two levels of effort: preliminary reconnaissance and a more focused (and more systematic) secondary reconnaissance survey.

For the preliminary reconnaissance, teams of two highly skilled metal detector operators were dispatched to target areas of the study. Their task was to locate areas of interest. Since no archeological sites were recorded in the entire study area prior to this work, the reconnaissance was a blend of traditional archeological reconnaissance survey and metal detecting. The team members examined a variety of topographic situations and ridge systems. Areas with visual clues of past historic activity, such as roads, fences, rock piles, distinctive vegetation, or surface artifacts were assessed for their buried metal potential.

The GPS locations of suspected sites were recorded so that they could be revisited during secondary reconnaissance survey.

Several historic farmsteads were located by this method and team members conducted a preliminary search of these sites with the metal detector. The project's time and resources did not allow complete examination of all of these finds. Several of these home sites contain vast amounts of metal, which rendered the metal detector strategy ineffective. These homes are likely of late 19th or early 20th century vintage, since abundant metal debris is typical on these types of sites. What is not known, however, is whether these sites mask an earlier historic occupation or site use.

For the secondary reconnaissance survey, a larger group of metal detector operators were organized and coordinated by the Field Director. Highly skilled operators were interspersed with those with less experience. The operators were assigned transects or sectors of sites or landforms to cover. On homestead sites the sector method was used, whereas transects were used to cover areas of slope where Revolutionary War period metal relics had been previously identified by the preliminary reconnaissance team.

Once a significant metal find was located, its location was recorded, either by the Sokkia total station or with a GPS handheld receiver. UTM locations were recorded for each find using the NAD 27 datum reference. These Northing and Easting metric geographic coordinates were shortened for convenience by dropping the first two digits of the Easting and first three digits of the Northing reading. For example, an object located at UTM, Zone 17, 3729226 Northing, 325270 Easting, was given the grid coordinates: 9226 North, 5270 East. Both sets of coordinates are included in Appendix I. When the mapping process was delayed or backlogged, metal pin flags were used to mark the location of the finds. Each find was assigned a unique "Piece Plot", or PP# numerical designation. These piece plot numbers served to identify each find throughout the field survey and laboratory analysis phase.

A total of 86 artifacts from various survey locations was either not excavated or uncovered and left in place. Those left in place were duly noted in the field inventory with the notation "nc" (no collection) in the artifact inventory in Appendix I. Site loci and artifact locations were recorded using a combination of Garmin GPS handheld devices and a Sokkia Total Station with a TDS Recon data collector.

Figure 3. View of Project Area, Facing North from Monument Hill.



Fifteen activity loci were defined by this survey. Each of these areas was given a letter designation, A through O, which is keyed to report maps and the accompanying artifact inventory (Appendix I). These locations are described in greater detail in the results chapter. These include:

- ❖ A- Monument Hill
- ❖ B-North Slope of Monument Hill
- ❖ C-Possible hospital, ridge north of Monument Hill
- ❖ D-Early house, old road trace
- ❖ E-Farmstead complex
- ❖ F-Ridge South of Kettle Creek
- ❖ G-Old Road Trace
- ❖ H-Possible animal pen, 19th century
- ❖ I-Early house
- ❖ J-Early house
- ❖ K-House, upslope from Locus C
- ❖ L-Early house
- ❖ M-Early house
- ❖ N-Ridge northeast of War Hill
- ❖ O-Prehistoric site, southeast of battlefield

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted on a small portion of the Kettle Creek battlefield in the vicinity of the monument. The GPR field survey methods employed were consistent with those developed by Conyers and Goodman (1997) and previous LAMAR Institute GPR projects (Elliott 2003, 2005, Elliott and Dean 2007). The GPR data was collected in three small, contiguous rectangular grids, which were designated A, B, and C. Block A covered the cemetery/cenotaph enclosure. It measured 6.5 m east-west by 12.75 m north-south. The southwestern corner of GPR Block A was located at grid point 9266.3N, 55190.3E. Data was collected from 44 radargrams in this block using an 800 MHz shielded antenna. Radargrams were collected from west to east on parallel transects spaced at 25 cm intervals. Progress was from south to north. A total of 256.5 m of linear radar data was gathered in Block A. GPR Block B was a resurvey of Block A and it measured 6.5 m east-west by 12 m north-south. The southwest datum for Blocks A and B were the same. Data was collected from 23 radargrams in Block B using a 500 MHz shielded antenna. Radargrams were collected from west to east on parallel transects spaced at 50 cm intervals. Progress was from south to north. A total of 135 m of linear radar data was gathered in Block B. GPR Block C was located immediately north of Block B and it measured 7 m east-west by 17 m north-south. The southwest corner of this block was at Datum 1 (9280N, 5190E). Data was collected from 16 radargrams in this block using a 500 MHz shielded antenna. Radargrams were collected from south to north on parallel transects spaced at 50 cm intervals. Progress was from east to west. A total of 252 m of linear radar data was gathered in Block B.

Archeologists excavated nine shovel tests on two site loci (Loci C and E). These shovel tests measured 50 cm in diameter. Fill from these excavations was screened through ¼ inch hardware cloth and all artifacts from each test were collected. The shovel tests were excavated in a single vertical level, since the organic soils at each location were quite shallow and sterile clay subsoil was quickly encountered. Three shovel tests were placed in Locus E. Shovel Test 1 was located at 9491.9 North, 4772.0 East. Shovel Test 2 was located at 9498.7 North, 4791.4 East. Shovel Test 3 was located at 9496.1 North, 4792.0 East. Six shovel tests were placed in Locus C. Three of these shovel tests yielded early historic ceramics and the other three were sterile. These tentatively established the southern limits of this cultural deposit. The northern limit, however, merged with Locus K. Two test units were excavated by the project team. Archeologists followed State of Georgia and U.S. Secretary of Interior Standards for all excavations. Test Unit 1, measuring 2 m by 2 m, was excavated at Locus D. The grid location of Test Unit 1 at its southeast corner was 9598 North, 4887 East. This test was excavated in one vertical level to a maximum depth of 20 cm below ground. Archeologists excavated Test Unit 2, measuring 1 by 1 m at Locus E. The grid location of Test Unit 1 at its southeast corner was 9501 North, 4757 East. This test was excavated in one vertical level to a maximum depth of 17 cm below ground.

LABORATORY ANALYSIS

Artifacts, field notes and other records were returned to The LAMAR Institute laboratory in Rincon, Georgia at the end of the field project. Artifacts from the project were washed, analyzed and catalogued and prepared for permanent curation. Artifact information was entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, which is included as Appendix I of this report. Selected artifacts were digitally photographed in the laboratory and these are included as Appendix III. Lead balls were weighed to the nearest tenths of grams

and where possible their diameter was measured by caliber (hundredths of an inch). Other traits concerning the lead balls were recorded, including impact evidence and other modifications. Weights and size dimensions were also recorded for many other artifact categories.

References on weapons and arms group artifacts were examined (Bower 2003; Darling 1987; Hamilton 1976; Hamilton and Emery 1988; Kenmotsu 1990; Moore 1967; Muller 1780; Neumann 1967, 1991; Neumann and Kravic 1989; Peterson 1969; Stone 1974; Sivilich 1996). References on military uniforms and clothing were consulted during the laboratory analysis (Barthrop 1982; Katcher 1973, 1981; Lefferts 1926; Ludington 1894; Olsen 1963; Nelson 2008; South 1964; Troiani 2001; Wilkinson-Latham and Wilkinson-Latham 1970; Sons of the Revolution of the State of California 2003). Many references on domestic items and general material culture were consulted in the laboratory analysis (Godden 1996; Greer 1981; Noël Hume 1983; South 1977; Coysh and Henrywood 1982; Jones 1986, 1993; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Ketchum 1975; Kovel and Kovel 1995; McConnell 1988; Sloan 1964; Hanson and Hsu 1975).

REPORTING

The Kettle Creek survey project is fully documented in the present report. The report follows standards for archeological survey reporting established by the U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division. The report style follows the Society for Historical Archaeology guidelines (SHA 2008).

The report is organized into six chapters. Chapter I presents a brief introduction of the project and provides background information concerning the project environment and location. Chapter II details the methods used in this study, including archival, field, laboratory, reporting and curation. Chapter III summarized previous research on the topic of the Kettle Creek battle. Chapter IV contains the historical research results. Chapter V presents the findings of the battlefield survey. Chapter VI is an interpretation and summary of the findings, and contains recommendations for future management of the cultural resources associated with the Battle of Kettle Creek. It is followed by a full bibliography of references cited in the report.

Four appendices contained in digital format are on an accompanying CD disc. It includes: Appendix I--complete artifact inventory in Microsoft Excel format; Appendix II—A roster of participants in the battle in Microsoft Excel format; Appendix III—digital artifact photographs and other selected project images, and Appendix IV—selected GPR digital images, organized in a set of three GPR-Slice animations. Copies of the technical report and appendices were submitted to the project sponsors, City of Washington and Preserve America. Copies are also on file with the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division (Atlanta, Georgia) and the Georgia Archaeological Site File (Athens, Georgia). A modified version of this report will be posted on the LAMAR Institute's internet website for public consumption at <http://lamarinstitute.org/reports/htm>.

CURATION

Artifacts, notes, photographs, and other records from the Kettle Creek survey project were prepared for permanent curation during the final stage of this survey project. These materials are curated by the City of Washington, Georgia. An exhibit, which will highlight the Kettle Creek battle, is in the early stages of development by the City of Washington and the Mary Willis Library.

III. Previous Research

PREVIOUS HISTORICAL RESEARCH

News of the battle at Kettle Creek spread soon after it had ended. A brief newspaper article appeared in the February 25, 1779 issue of the *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, which was a Patriot newspaper published in Charleston, South Carolina (cited in Davis and Thomas 1975:45). It was an extract of a letter, dated Camp near Adam's ferry, Feb. 10th, although the letter was dated February 10, it contains news of events that occurred on February 14. It contained this mention of events,

A strong body of the disaffected have crossed Savannah River above Fort Independence in order to join the enemy; they will be opposed in their crossing Broad River by Col. Pickens, who has with him about 500 brave, resolute fellows, resolved to conquer or die, and we hourly expect to hear that he has given them a drubbing (*South Carolina and American General Gazette*1779).

Versions of that story were picked up by other papers along the eastern seaboard and published shortly thereafter. Kettle Creek was not specifically mentioned in this newspaper account but the battle's location was given as between Phillips' and Carr's Fort. A Boston newspaper published an extract of a February 16, 1779 letter written by General Andrew Williamson from his South Carolina militia camp near Adam's Ferry, South Carolina, opposite from Augusta, Georgia. It contained the following news of the Patriots' movements to locate and diffuse Colonel Boyd:

It is with the utmost pleasure I embrace this opportunity to acquaint you, that the enemy precipitately evacuated Augusta, about one o'clock on Sunday morning, after having destroyed the flats, which they had constructed, in order to cross the river. Colonel Campbell left his wounded, with a polite letter recommending them to my care, a proof that the cause of his retreat was sudden and unexpected. I immediately detached about 300 horsemen to pursue the enemy, and hang upon their skirts and rear. It will give countenance to desertion, and keep the enemy in continual alarm. Colonels McIntosh & Hammond command the detachment. Several are already come in, and from the best information, if the enemy are hard pushed I have reason to believe it will much prevail. This important event has prevented the back country from ruin and devastation, and of course the seat of war will be transferred into the lower part of the country. Large bodies of the disaffected have got together, and above 600 of them have crossed Savannah river, with intention to join the enemy, but they will be opposed by Col. Pickens, who has marched up Broad river with a strong force to intercept them. At any rate I hope to prevent them effecting a junction. Our eyes are now opened and notwithstanding the sanit [sanity?] hitherto shown them, they have at this crisis given convincing proofs, that no faith should or ought to be placed in their most solemn assurances, and severe examples must certainly be made for the benefit of the state, and a terror to others. The enemy have made very free with the property both of those who professed their attachment to their measures, and of others. Numbers of Negroes have gone with them; upwards of 200 of Mr. Galphing's (altho' such an indulgent matter) have followed the example and gone. Col. McMurphey sat out with a party yesterday for Mr. Galphing's place at Old Town, to bring down some Creek Head men to hold a conference in camp, and establish our communication with them. Col. Campbell sent to them, but only one came to him; they absolutely refused to assist in the war. When they are convinced that the British forces cannot support themselves in the country, and carry the account of their retreat into the nation, I hope it will produce favourable effects, and that those who were inclined to go to war may adopt different sentiments. The wagons with the Cherokee goods sat out from White Hall last Saturday escorted by a strong party of the militia, and an officer and thirty men of garrison at Fort Rutledge were to meet and reinforce them at Dewit's Corner. When Col. Hammond returns, he will set out for Seneca; and if I can be spared (having wrote to Gen. Lincoln on the subject) I propose being there soon, to (*The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal* 1779:2).

General Williamson, who was Colonel Andrew Pickens superior officer, was not aware of the outcome of the February 14 battle when he wrote on February 16. What is clear from Williamson's penned thoughts was the significance of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's retreat from Augusta, thwarting any link up between Colonel Boyd's 600 and the British under Campbell. Campbell's exit ensured that the Creek Nation did not rise to Campbell's call for support. His letter reflects Williamson's confidence in Colonel Pickens' ability to intercept and hinder the approaching Loyalists from the Carolinas.

Williamson's letter was published in several northern newspapers and it was even printed in German in the March 24, 1779 edition of the Pennsylvania newspaper, *Der Wachentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote* (1779:2). That unique German language Patriot newspaper was started by Benjamin Franklin and was America's only colonial newspaper in that language.

Within six days of the battle, General Williamson and the other Patriots in the Georgia and Carolina low country had received news of the Patriot victory at Kettle Creek. An extract of "a letter from camp, near Adam's ferry [S.C.], February 20" was published in the *Virginia Gazette*, a Patriot newspaper, on April 21,

1779. This letter was first published in Charleston, South Carolina on February 25th, just 11 days after the battle of Kettle Creek, which makes it one of the earliest written accounts of the Kettle Creek battle:

A party of men under Col Pickens, consisting of about 400, have acquired great reputation and honour, having on the 14th instant defeated in Georgia, between Carr's and Phillip's fort, a large body of the disaffected, from 6 to 800; killed Boyd and Major Moore their leders [sic], above 20 privates, wounded many, took 22 prisoners, and retook 26 of our people, they were carrying along with them. This fortunate event promises to put an end to toryism, and prevent any further internal commotions (*Virginia Gazette* 1779:2).

While this anonymous early account includes the premature report of Major (or Lieutenant Colonel) John Moore's death, it is prophetic in its recognition that this battle was significant for putting, "an end to toryism", although the "internal commotions" would continue in Georgia and the Carolinas for several more years. Moore was quite likely badly injured at Kettle Creek, which may account for the tales of his death, but he rebounded soon afterwards. Davis provided a slightly different version of this February 20th letter, which stated,

The Upper Ninety-Six Regiment, under Col. Pickens, consisting of about 400, have acquired great reputation and honor, having on the 14th inst. [February 14, 1779] defeated in Georgia between Carr's and Philip's Fort, a large body of the disaffected, from 6 to 800; killed Col. Boyd and Major Moore their leaders, above 20 privates, wounded many, taken 22 prisoners, and retaken 26 of our people they were carrying along with them. This fortunate event promises to put an end to toryism, and prevent any further internal commotions (Robert Scott Davis, Jr. personal communication, January 5, 2009).

The April 6, 1779 edition of *The Exeter Journal*, a Connecticut Patriot newspaper, contained "Fresh Intelligence" from Charlestown, South Carolina, dated March 3, which stated,

Col. Campbell's Expedition from Savannah to Augusta, with the Highlanders and Col. Brown's rangers, has proved as unfortunate as Major Gardner's to Port Royal; to escape a BURGOYNAGE he has made a very sudden and precipitate Retreat down the Country; leaving us in possession of all the back Countries of Georgia; and his Friends the Tories, to fall a sacrifice, a whole Regiment whereof, which had with great art and secrecy been three years missing, have already been defeated, and upwards of 150 of them made prisoners" (Genealogybank.com 2008; *The Exeter Journal* 1779:2).

The above reference to the "whole Regiment" refers to Colonel Boyd's loyalist troops. The 150 prisoners from Boyd's regiment were captured at Kettle Creek, or shortly thereafter. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, whose army was in retreat from Augusta by February 14, learned of the battle's outcome within a few days. Campbell made a brief note in his journal before leaving Georgia that Boyd had been killed in the engagement (Campbell 1981). Major General Augustin Prevost downplayed (or failed to mention) the loss at Kettle Creek and its broader implications for a successful Loyalist uprising.

The May 7, 1779 edition of *The Massachusetts Spy* contained a summary of events in Georgia, which was written by an anonymous author from Savannah on February 25. While this article emphasized the British victory at Briar Creek, it alluded to the earlier events at Kettle Creek,

Upon intelligence being received that a body of Loyalists from N. and S. Carolina after fighting three successive actions with the rebles, in their way to join the royal army, were on their way to Odam's ferry, on Briar creek, Col. Campbell moved the advance to favour their safety, and in the course of a few days picked up no less than 300 valuable subjects, whose zeal, spirit, fortitude and loyalty do honour to the age in which they live, and will immortalize their names in the records of fame (*The Massachusetts Spy* 1779; Genealogybank.com 2008).

The Executive Council of Georgia sent a letter on August 18, 1779 to the Governor and Council of South Carolina asking for assistance, in which they pointed out the past services performed by the Georgia militia. They noted that, "among others the Militia under command of Colo. Dooly were very instrumental in defeating a large body of disaffected people from the back parts of your State, commanded by Colo. Boyd, which put a stop, in a great measure; to the enemy receiving the support they expected from thence" (Candler and Knight 1908).

The news in Great Britain in April 1779 trumpeted Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's accomplishments in Georgia while downplaying Boyd's defeat at Kettle Creek. The Scots magazine reported statements from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell that mentioned the Loyalist loss without any specific reference to Colonel Boyd or Kettle Creek. Campbell stated:

That at Augusta and round it, the inhabitants, to the number of 1400 men, submitted, swore allegiance to the King, took the benefit of his Majesty's gracious protection, and were formed into twenty companies, in the style of militia, for the defence of their property against the incursions of the rebels from Carolina: That after his return down the country, intelligence was

received, that a body of the loyalists of North and South Carolina, confiding of about 600 men, after being repulsed by the rebels, were in search of the royal army by the back or upper road; that the advanced part of the army was immediately moved towards them; and that 300 of them joined the King's troops, and are formed under their own leaders with every possible attention and encouragement: and, That since the last action many deserters from the Continental troops in Carolina had come in, and were forming into companies; and that a lieutenant-colonel and thirty men had arrived in one night immediately before his departure (*The Scots Magazine* 1779:191).

The *Annual Register*, a London annual publication that summarized events in the world, contained a discussion of the Loyalists in the North Carolina back country, in their review of events of 1779. Although they make no specific reference to Kettle Creek by its name, the battle there is described:

About 700 of these people [Loyalists from North Carolina] accordingly assembled in arms, in the back part of North Carolina. It does not seem probable that their hopes could have extended to the bringing about of a revolution in that province by any force of their own; and the distance, with other circumstances, afforded no well founded expectation, that they could have received any timely support for its accomplishment. Their alertness and zeal were, however, stimulated into action by the accounts of General Prevost's success. But their usual ill fortune still stuck by them; and before they were able to do any thing of moment, they were attacked and entirely defeated by some of the nearest militia, having lost near half their number in killed, wounded, or taken. About 300 of the remainder, however, found means to make their way good in a body to the back part of Georgia; from whence having proceeded to the nearest British posts, they by degrees joined the royal army. It appears that the loyal party, even in this quarter where it was strongest, (being in a great measure composed of emigrants from North Britain,) was infinitely inferior to the ill-affected; and that without the great and continual assistance of the royal army, the well-affected inhabitants, in no part of America, were in a condition to make head against the rebels (*The Annual Register* 1780:179-180).

One particularly important document contained in the Draper manuscripts is an 1811 letter from Andrew Pickens to Henry Lee, in which Pickens provided information about the battle of Kettle Creek. Lee used this information in preparing his memoirs of the war. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee was not at the battle of Kettle Creek but he was quite familiar with the military action in the Southern states. Henry Lee used Pickens' information in his short discussion of the Kettle Creek battle in his memoirs, which were published in 1812:

Finding this officer [Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton] invulnerable, he [Colonel Pickens] suddenly turned from him to strike the loyalists advancing towards Augusta. He fell in with them at Kettle creek and instantly attacked them. The action was contested with zeal and firmness; when colonel Boyd, the commander of the loyalists, fell; and his death was soon followed by the route of his associates. Nevertheless, three hundred of the body contrived to effect their union with the British army.

This single, though partial check, was the only interruption of the British success from the commencement of the invasion (Lee 1969 [1812]:72).

Lyman Draper collected historical documents related to the American Revolution, which included several items relevant to the Kettle Creek story. Draper's collected manuscripts, which were later microfilmed, remain a major source of primary information about the war. Draper's research culminated in his 1881 publication on the battle of Kings Mountain. Although he makes little discussion of the battle of Kettle Creek in that book, Draper does provide some useful biographical information about Colonel John Moore, who was Colonel Boyd's second in command at Kettle Creek. In his discussion of the British defeat at Ramsour's Mill, Draper (1881:298) noted that Colonel Moore, the Tory commander at the battle was either John or Patrick Moore and he provided this background information on John Moore:

Whether Colonel John or Patrick Moore is the one referred to, is not certain — probably the former, as Colonel Ferguson seemed not to have formed a good opinion of the conduct of Patrick Moore in failing to defend Thicketty Fort the preceding July. Moses Moore, the father of Colonel John Moore, was a native of Carlisle, England, whence he migrated to Virginia in 1745, marrying a Miss Winston, near Jamestown, in that Province and in 1753, settling in what is now Gaston County. North Carolina, eight miles west of Lincolnton. Here John Moore was born; and being a frontier country, when old enough he was sent to Granville County, in that Province, for his education. When the Revolution broke out, he became a zealous Loyalist; and led a party of Tories from Tryon County, in February, 1779 to Georgia, and uniting with Colonel Boyd on the way, they were defeated by Colonel Pickens at Kettle Creek. Boyd was mortally wounded, and Moore escaped to the British army in that quarter; and is said to have participated in the defence of Savannah. In December following, he was in the service near Moseley's Ferry, on the Ogeechee.

He subsequently returned to North Carolina, a Lieutenant-Colonel in Hamilton's corps of Loyalists, and prematurely embodied a Tory force, near Camp Branch, about half a mile west of his father's residence; thence marched about six miles north to Tory Branch, and thence to Ramsour's Mill, on the South Fork, where he was disastrously defeated. June 20th, 1780, escaping with thirty others to Camden. His regiment, the Royal North Carolinians, participated in Gates' defeat, losing three killed and fourteen wounded— among the latter, Colonel Hamilton. It is doubtful if Moore participated in the action, as he was about that time under suspension, threatened with a court martial for disobedience of orders in raising the Loyalists at Ramsour's before the time appointed by Lord Cornwallis; but it was at length deemed impolitic to bring him to trial. Escaping

from King's Mountain, we next find him with Captain Waters, and a body of Tories, defeated by Colonel Washington at Hammond's Store, South Carolina, December 28th, 1780. Though a family tradition coming down from a sister to her grandson, John H. Roberts, of Gaston County, represents that Moore went to Carlisle, England, and was lost track of: yet the better opinion is founded on a statement by a North Carolina Loyalist, published in the *Political Magazine*. London, April, 1783. that he was taken prisoner by Colonel Wade Hampton, near the Wateree and hanged. He left no family (Draper 1881:298).

Historians David Ramsay (1785) and Charles Stedman (1794) both made brief mention of the battle of Kettle Creek in their early histories of the American Revolution. Ramsay who was a Patriot surgeon from South Carolina and among the first to document the history of the American Revolution, presented the story of the Revolution from the Patriot perspective, whereas Stedman's account was from the British viewpoint. These two references indicate that the Battle of Kettle Creek had already earned its place in history within a few brief years after the war ended. Ramsay (1789, Volume 2:113-114) gave this description of the battle of Kettle Creek:

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the King's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds [sic] of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty, than for the honor and interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of these States which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelished the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of loyalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those, who in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the King's friends. They had no sooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering of the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Col. Pickens, with about 300 men of the latter character, immediately pursued and came up with them, near Kettle-creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories were totally routed. About forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader Col. Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action the British were disconcerted. The tories were dispersed. Some ran quite off. Others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South Carolina for offending against an act called the sedition act, which had been passed since the revolution for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders (Ramsay 1789, Volume 2:113-114).

Ramsay later wrote:

This success of the Americans [at Port Royal, South Carolina] checked the British, and for the present prevented their attempting any enterprise against South Carolina; but they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia. Their next object was to strengthen themselves by the addition of the tories. Emissaries were employed to encourage them to a general insurrection. Several hundreds of them accordingly embodied and marched along the western frontiers of the State. Colonel Pickens, with about three hundred men, immediately followed and came up with them near Kettle creek; where an action took place which lasted three quarters of an hour. The tories gave way, and were totally routed. Colonel Pickens had nine men killed, and several wounded. The royalists had about forty killed; in which number was their leader Colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head these insurgents. By this action the British were totally disconcerted. The tories were dispersed all over the country. Some ran to North Carolina, some wandered not knowing whither. Many went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of the new government. Soon after this defeat, the British retreated from Augusta towards Savannah; and for the remainder of that season the whole upper country, of both South Carolina and Georgia, enjoyed domestic security.

The insurgents on this occasion were the subjects of the State of South Carolina, and owed obedience to its laws. They were therefore tried in a regular manner, by a jury, under the direction of the Courts of Justice appointed by the republican government. Seventy of them were condemned to die by the laws of the State, enacted since the abolition of royal government; but the sentence of the court was executed only on five of their principals, and all the rest were pardoned.

This second unsuccessful insurrection damped the spirit of the tories. Their plans were ill laid, and worse executed. They had no men of ability capable of giving union to their force. They were disappointed in their expectations of aid from the royal army, and had the mortification to see a few of their ringleaders executed for treason and rebellion against the State (Ramsay 1809:169-170).

Stedman (1794, Volume 2:107-108), an English historian, gave this early description of events at Kettle Creek, which Robert Scott Davis, Jr. theorizes was written with the aid of information provided by Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton:

During the progress of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, a number of loyalists in the interior parts of North Carolina had embodied themselves under a colonel Boyd, and attempted to force their way into Georgia, and form a junction with the British troops. It was to oppose these, as well as to check colonel Hamilton's progress, that colonel Pickens had assembled

his militia; and finding that he could make no impression upon the latter, he turned his arms against the loyalists, who had by this time forced a passage across the Savannah in the face of a detachment which he had left to oppose them. He came up with them at Kettle Creek, and an engagement ensued, in which the loyalists, after an obstinate resistance, were defeated with the loss of their commander, colonel Boyd, and a considerable number killed and wounded. About three hundred of them, by keeping together, afterwards found means to join the British army. The rest were dispersed, some flying back to North Carolina, and others into South Carolina, where they threw themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen. Of those who fled into South Carolina, seventy were tried and convicted of treason against the new government, but five only were put to death (Stedman 1794, Volume 2:107-108).

Major Hugh McCall, an early Georgia historian and former U.S. Army officer, provided his version of the battle of Kettle Creek in Georgia's first published history. It is repeated below in its entirety. Davis and Thomas (1975) consider McCall's version the most accurate and detailed early account of the battle. Davis theorizes that McCall's information was supplied by Andrew Pickens, among others (Robert S. Davis, Jr. personal communication February 6, 2009). Although McCall himself was too young (12 years old) to have participated in the battle, he probably learned details about it from his father and other soldiers that he later served with in the U.S. Army in Georgia and who were actually at the battle.

The siege [of Carr's Fort] was raised, the wounded carried off, and major Hamilton left in quiet possession of the fort, dismounted and without baggage. Hamilton retreated to Wrightsborough, where he tenanted a small stockade fort for a few days, and thence marched to Augusta, and joined lieutenant-colonel Campbell. In Hamilton's report, he states his loss at nine killed and three wounded; and the American loss at five killed and seven wounded.

The Americans retired from Carr's fort, recrossed Savannah river, near fort Charlotte, and advanced toward Long-Cane settlement, where re-enforcements were expected, and to meet the enemy under the command of colonel Boyd. Captain Robert Anderson, of Pickens' regiment, hearing of the advance of Boyd, through the settlement, directed captains Joseph Pickens, William Baskin, and John Miller, to join him without loss of time with such force as could speedily be collected. Anderson crossed the Savannah with eighty men, intending to annoy Boyd on his passage over the river, where he was joined by a few Georgians under captain James Little. Boyd changed his route and took a direction to the Cherokee ford, in order to avoid Pickens and Dooley. At that ford a block house had been erected on the north-east side, upon a commanding hill, in which there were two swivels mounted, commanded by a lieutenant with eight men. Boyd demanded a passage, which being spiritedly refused, he turned up the river about five miles, passed it with his men and baggage on rafts, and swam his horses. Boyd's troops landed at different places: by the small comparative force under captain Anderson, and the thick canebrakes on the low grounds, he was unable to observe and attack the enemy at the different landings: his attention was arrested by what he conceived to be the main body. As the enemy approached the landing, Anderson commenced his fire and opposed them with great resolution; but finding himself unexpectedly attacked in the rear, he ordered a retreat.

The American loss in this skirmish, was sixteen killed and wounded, and sixteen taken prisoners: among the latter, were captains Baskin and Miller.

Colonel Boyd acknowledged a loss of one hundred in killed, wounded, and missing; many of this number deserted him and returned to their homes.

Captain Anderson secured as many of his wounded as his situation would enable him, retreated and joined Pickens and Dooley in pursuit of the enemy.

On the 12th of February, the Americans passed over Savannah river, into Georgia, at the Cedar shoal, and advanced to Fish dam ford on Broad river. Captain Neal, with a party of observation, was ordered to gain the enemy's rear, and occasionally send a man back with the result of his discoveries, so as to keep the main body well informed of the enemy's movements. To avoid danger, Boyd at first shaped his course to the westward, and on the morning of the 13th, crossed Broad river near the fork, at a place now called Webb's ferry, and thence turned toward Augusta, expecting to form a junction with M'Girth at a place appointed on Little river. The corps of observation, under captain Neal, hung close upon the enemy's rear, and made frequent communications to Pickens and Dooley. The Americans crossed Broad river, and encamped for the night on Clarke's creek, within four miles of the enemy. Early on the morning of the 14th, the Americans resumed their march with a quickened pace, and soon approached the enemy's rear, but with such caution as to remain undiscovered. The line of march was the order of battle, wherever the face of the country admitted of it: colonel Dooley commanded the right wing and lieutenant-colonel Clarke the left, each consisting of one hundred men; and the centre by colonel Pickens, consisting of two hundred, and an advance guard, one hundred and fifty yards in front. Under three leaders, whose courage and military talents had been often tested; this inferior number, of four against seven, looked forward to a victory with great confidence.

Early in the morning, they passed the ground where the enemy encamped the preceding night.

Colonel Boyd was unapprehensive of danger, and halted at a farm on the north side of Kettle creek; his horses were turned out to forage among the reeds in the swamp, and some bullocks were killed, and corn parched to refresh his troops, who had been on short allowance for three days. The encampment was formed on the edge of the farm next to the creek, on an open piece of ground, flanked on two sides by the cane swamp. The second officer in command, was lieutenant-colonel Moore, of North-Carolina, who it is said, possessed neither courage nor military skill: the third in command, major Spurgen, is said to have acted with bravery, and gave some evidence of military talents.

After the Americans had marched three or four miles, the enemy's drums were heard to beat. They halted for a few minutes, and were ordered to examine their guns and prime them afresh. Captain M'Call had been ordered in front to examine the enemy's situation and condition, and to report it; he reported the situation of the encampment, the nature of the adjacent

ground, and that the enemy were, apparently, unsuspecting of danger; having passed the flank within musket shot, and in full view. Satisfied upon these points, the Americans advanced to the attack. As the camp was approached, the enemy's piquets fired and retreated. Boyd ordered the line to be formed in the rear of his camp, and advanced at the head of one hundred men, who were sheltered by a fence and some fallen timber. The American centre filed off a little to the right, to gain the advantage of higher ground. Boyd contended for the fence with bravery, but was overpowered and compelled to order a retreat to the main body. On his retreat he fell under two wounds through the body and one through the thigh, which proved mortal. The other two divisions were embarrassed in passing through the cane, but by this time had reached their points of destination, and the battle became warm, close and general, and some of the enemy who had not formed, fled into the cane and passed over the creek, leaving behind them their horses, baggage, and some of their arms. Colonel Clarke observed a rising ground on the opposite side of the creek, in the rear of the enemy's right, on which he believed they would attempt to form. After a warm contest, which lasted an hour, the enemy retreated through the swamp over the creek. Clarke ordered his division to follow him across the creek, and at the same moment his horse was shot, and fell under him; he was quickly remounted, and fortunately fell into a path which led to a fording place on the creek, and gained the side of the hill. His division had not heard, or had not understood the order, in consequence of which not more than one fourth of it, followed him. While major Spurgen was forming the enemy upon one side of the hill, colonel Clarke attacked him upon the other side; which gave intimation to the remainder of his division, by which he was soon joined. Colonels Pickens and Dooley pressed through the swamp with the main body in pursuit, and when they emerged from the cane, the battle was again renewed with great vigour. For a considerable time the contest was obstinate and bloody, and the issue doubtful. The Americans finally gained the summit of the hill; the enemy began to retreat in some confusion, and fled from the field of battle.

This engagement is said to have lasted one hour and forty-five minutes, and for the last half hour was close and general. Great credit is given to colonel Clarke for his foresight, in speedily occupying the rising ground on the west side of the creek, upon which the victory appears to have been balanced. Considering the equality of the troops in point of military experience and equipment; and that the numbers in the ranks of the enemy were seven to four; the result of this engagement reflects great honor and credit on the American officers and soldiers who were engaged in it, and it was justly considered a brilliant victory.

About seventy of the enemy were killed and died of their wounds, and seventy-five were taken prisoners, including the wounded who could be carried off the ground. The American loss was nine killed, and twenty-three wounded, two mortally. The prisoners that Boyd had taken at the skirmish on Savannah river, were in charge of a guard in advance, which consisted of thirty-three men, including officers, with orders, in case of disaster, to move toward Augusta. When the guard heard the result of the engagement, they voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners to those whom they had in captivity, upon a promise of their influence for pardon and permission to return home. This promise was complied with, upon condition that they would take the oath of allegiance to the American government.

After the action was ended, colonel Pickens went to colonel Boyd and tendered him any services which his present situation would authorize, and observed, that as his wounds appeared to be mortal, he would recommend those preparations which approaching death required: Boyd thanked him for his civilities, and enquired, what had been the result of the battle? Upon being informed that victory was with the Americans; he observed, that it would have been otherwise if he had not fallen. He said, that he had marched from his rendezvous with eight hundred men; one hundred of that number was killed and wounded, or deserted at Savannah river; and that on the morning of the action, he had seven hundred men under his command. He had the promise of colonel Campbell, that M'Girth with five hundred more, should join him on Little river, about six miles from the field of battle, on that evening or the ensuing morning; he concluded by saying, that he had but a few hours to live, and requested that colonel Pickens would leave two men with him to furnish him with water, and bury his body after he died; and that colonel Pickens would write a letter to Mrs. Boyd to inform her of his fate, and therewith send to her a few articles which he had about his person: he expired early in the night, and his requests of colonel Pickens were faithfully complied with.

Dispirited by the loss of their leader, and sore under the lashes of the Americans, the enemy fled from the scene of action; their army exploded, and some of the fragments fled to Florida, some to the Creek nation, some found their way to the Cherokees, some returned to their homes and submitted to the mercy of the American government, and the remnant under the command of colonel Moore, fled to Augusta, where they expected some repose from fatigue and defeat; about two hundred of the insurgents reached Augusta, who had little claim to merit or the respect of the British army, and were neglected and treated accordingly.

The parties of Boyd and M'Girth would have formed a junction in a few hours, if the Americans had not over-hauled the former: hearing of the fate of their friends, M'Girth and his party made a precipitate retreat to Augusta and rejoined the British troops under Campbell.

The insurgents taken at Kettle creek, were conveyed to South-Carolina and tried by laws of the state; found guilty of treason, and sentenced to suffer death: the sentence was executed on five of the most atrocious offenders, and the others were pardoned.

The Americans returned from the field of action, and encamped for the night near the place where the town of Washington now stands, and re-crossed the Savannah river on the 15th, near fort Charlotte.

In the several engagements at Carr's fort and Kettle creek, the Americans took as booty, about six hundred horses and their equipments, with a quantity of arms, accoutrements, and clothing.

Colonel Campbell had secured the submission of the eastern and many of the western inhabitants of Georgia, by the lures of peace and security of persons and property, without being compelled to take up arms: this illusion was but of short duration.

Shortly after the action of Kettle creek, general Andrew Williamson, with a part of the militia of his brigade, and some of the Georgia militia, took a position near Augusta, on the Carolina side of the river... (McCall 1909 [1816]:394-398).

Alexander Garden, a Revolutionary War veteran, provided a discussion of “Boyd’s Defeat at Kettle Creek” (Garden 1822:86-87). Garden wrote:

The successes of the British in Georgia, had great influence in arousing the hostile spirit of the Tories in the upper districts of South-Carolina, which had been smothered, but not extinguished. They had been encouraged to embody themselves, and cross the Savannah River, where they were told, that by uniting themselves to the British Regulars, so great a superiority of force would be obtained, as to render resistance to the Royal Government abortive, and extinguish every symptom of rebellion. A Colonel Boyd, a man of some influence, who had been effectually tampered with, undertook to be their Leader, and actually marched some hundreds of them across the Cherokee Ford, into Georgia. A more motly crew were never collected, being composed chiefly of persons distinguished by their crimes, and infinitely more anxious to plunder, and appropriate whatever of value they could lay their hands on to their own use, than to promote the good of the cause, and the interests of the Monarch, they professed to admire and to serve. Colonel Pickens, always on the alert, collected about three hundred well-affected Militia, and immediately followed in pursuit. They had gained little or no advantage when he overtook them at Kettle Creek, where he attacked them with such impetuosity that after losing forty men, they became panic struck, and fled in every direction, leaving the Whigs in possession of the battle-ground, and all the spoils collected on their march. Had they successfully joined their allies, there is no saying where the mischief would have ended; for, there was an abundance of inflammable material left behind, and the example of Boyd, might speedily have been followed up, on a more extensive scale of revolt, and with more decided effect. The promptitude of Col. Pickens, therefore, in collecting men, and bringing the contest to so successful an issue, does him great honour, and cannot be too highly commended. The prisoners taken were numerous, and seventy of them were condemned to die as traitors, but mercy tempered the exercise of rigid justice, and five only were executed (Garden 1822:86-87).

Historian Paul Allen (1822, Volume II: 228) wrote an early history of the American Revolution in which he gave this battle summary:

A party of them [Tories and loyalists], with Colonel Boyd at their head, having crossed the Savannah, Colonel Pickens, with about 300 militia collected from the district of 96, followed them, and on the 14th had a desperate engagement with them of three quarters of an hour. Having lost their leader, and about 40 killed, they took to flight in every direction; a few of them were enabled to reach the British posts in safety, but the greater part, being citizens of South Carolina, were apprehended and brought to trial for treason, and five of the ringleaders executed.

This check, together with the threatening attitude which General Lincoln had assumed, induced Colonel Campbell to abandon his position at Augusta on the very night of General Ashe’s arrival (Allen 1822, Volume II:228).

Reverend Adiel Sherwood’s (1827, 1829) gazetteer of Georgia provided a brief listing of the battle of Kettle Creek. Sherwood’s information offers little specific details regarding the battlefield landscape. He noted that a, “bloody battle was fought on this creek”, where, “Col. Boyd commanded the British, & Cols. Pickens, Dooly, and Clarke the Americans, and obtained over their enemies a signal victory” (Sherwood 1829:121).

Italian historian Carlo Botta wrote this about the Kettle Creek battle prior to 1820:

In order, therefore, to encourage and support the loyalists, they [the British troops] moved up the Savannah as far as Augusta. As soon as they were in possession of that post, they left no means unattempted that could re-animate their partisans, and excite them to assemble in arms. They sent among them numerous emissaries, who exaggerated to them the might of the royal forces. They assured them that if they would but unite, they would become incomparably superior to their enemies; they were prodigal of promises and presents; they exasperated minds already imbittered by flaming pictures of the cruelties committed by the republicans. Such were the opinions propagated by the British generals among the friends of the king. Their instigations produced the intended effect; the loyalists took arms, and putting themselves under the command of Colonel Boyd, one of their chiefs, they descended along the western frontiers of Carolina, in order to join the royal army. More properly robbers than soldiers, they continually deviated from their route, in order to indulge their passion for pillage. What they could neither consume nor carry off, they consigned to the flames. They had already passed the Savannah, and were near the British posts, when they were encountered by Colonel Pickens, who headed a strong detachment of Carolinians, levied in the district of Ninety-six. Instantly, the action was engaged with all the fury excited by civil rancor, and all the desperation inspired by the fear of those evils which the vanquished would have to suffer at the hands of the victors. The battle lasted for a full hour. At length the loyalists were broken and completely routed.

Boyd remained dead upon the field; all were dispersed; many fell into the power of the republicans. Seventy were condemned to death; only five, however, were executed. This success made a deep impression throughout Georgia, where the disaffected were already on the point of arming against the Congress. The incursions of the loyalists were repressed, and the republicans could proceed with greater security in their preparations for defense against the royal arms. Another consequence of it was, that the English evacuated Augusta, and, retiring lower down, concentrated their force in the environs of Savannah (Botta, translated by Otis 1837, Volume II: 79-80).

James Herring and James Barton Longacre (1836:4) provided an early biography of Andrew Pickens in which they recounted the battle of Kettle Creek. Regarding the battle’s significance, they wrote, “This

success was of far more importance than the numbers engaged would indicate. It broke up the Tories throughout North Carolina, who never afterwards assembled except in small parties, or under the immediate protection of a foreign force.”

William Gillmore Simms briefly discussed the Kettle Creek battle in his 1840 history of South Carolina:

This little success prevented their contemplated invasion of South Carolina for a time, and they confined their operations to the upper country, where their emissaries were active among the Tories. Hundreds of these were now embodied upon the western frontier of the state. Here they were encountered by Colonel Pickens, at the head of three hundred men. After a vigorous contest of nearly an hour, the royalists were defeated with great slaughter, their commander, Colonel Boyd, being among the slain. The prisoners taken, were tried as traitors to South Carolina, of which they were subjects, and to which they owed obedience. A regular jury determined on their offence, and seventy of them were condemned to death— a sentence, however, carried into effect upon five only of the principal leaders. The rest were pardoned.

The failure of this second insurrection of the Tories, and the severity of their punishment, defeated their plans for a time, and deprived them of their vigor. Unsupported by the British, they fled and dispersed themselves over the country, while a few sent in their adhesion to the new government and cast themselves upon its mercy (Simms 1840:149-150).

Historian John L. Blake wrote in 1844:

This repulse [of the British at Port Royal, South Carolina] for a while suspended the enterprise of the British, who took post at Augusta and Ebenezer, situated on the Savannah river, which forms the boundary between Georgia and South Carolina. Here they waited in expectation of being joined by a body of Tories, who had been collected in the upper parts of the latter province.

But these obnoxious allies, giving way to long-smothered resentment, were guilty of such atrocities on their march, that the country rose upon them, and they fell an easy prey to a detachment commanded by Colonel Pickens, sent to intercept them at Kettle Creek. Five of the prisoners taken on this occasion, were tried and executed for bearing arms against the government of the United States. This proceeding led to acts of retaliation on the part of the Tories and the king's troops, which for a long time gave in the southern states additional horror to the miseries of war (Blake 1844:188-189).

Reverend William Bacon Stevens (1847) authored a history of Georgia, which included several paragraphs about the battle of Kettle Creek. Stevens' summary is transcribed below (1847, Volume 2:190-192):

Boyd, with a carelessness evincing great lack of military skill and prudence, had halted, on the morning of the 14th, at a farm near Kettle Creek, in Wilkes County, having no suspicion of the near approach of the Americans, and his army were dispersed in various directions, killing and gathering stock, cooking, and other operations. Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, the Americans, under Pickens, advanced in three divisions: the right under Colonel Dooly, the left under Clarke, the centre led by the commander himself, with orders not to fire a gun until within at least thirty-five paces.

As the centre, led by Pickens, marched to the attack, Boyd met them, at the head of a select party, his line being protected by a fence filled in with fallen timber, which gave him great advantage over troops displaying in his front. Observing this half-formed abatis, Pickens filed off to a rising ground on his right, and thence gaining the flank of Boyd, rushed upon him with great bravery---the enemy fleeing, when they saw their leader shot down before them. Sustained in this charge by Dooly and Clarke, the enemy, after fighting with great bravery, retired across the creek; but were rallied by Major Spurgen, on a hill beyond, where the battle was again renewed with fierceness; but Colonel Clarke, with about fifty Georgians, having discovered a path leading to a ford, pushed through it, though in doing so he encountered a severe fire, and had his horse shot down under him, and, by a circuitous route, rose upon the hill in the rear of Spurgen, when, opening a deadly fire, the enemy, hemmed in on both sides, fled, and were hotly pursued by the victors, until their conquest was complete. For one hour and a half, under great disadvantage, and against a force almost double, had the Americans maintained the unequal contest, and though once or twice it seemed as if they must give way, especially when the Tories had gained the hill, and were re-formed under Spurgen; yet the masterly stroke of Clarke, with his few brave Georgians, turned the scale, and victory, bloody indeed, but complete, was theirs.

Pickens and Dooly lost thirty-two killed and wounded, while Boyd and seventy of his men were killed, and as many more wounded and taken prisoners. Not two hundred and fifty, however, of his party ever reached Augusta---the rest fled in every direction; some cast themselves on the mercy of the Whig government, some were hung as traitors and miscreants, whose barbarities entitled them to the most horrid deaths, and some skulked among the mountain passes of North Carolina. The Tory force was broken, and only in small parties and petty skirmishes, did they again take the field. This victory was one of the most important in Georgia, and secured, for a time, the Whig ascendancy in all that section. A few hours' delay in making this attack might have proved fatal to the Americans, as a party of five hundred men, under McGirth, was even then on its march to join Boyd, at Little River; but, the intelligence of his defeat and death, and the confusion it produced among the loyalists, determined him to return at once to Augusta, lest they also should fall before the victorious Americans.

The success of the Americans at Kettle Creek gave new vigor to their cause, and nerved the arms of the officers and soldiers to deeds of daring and bravery (Stevens 1847, Volume 2:190-192).

Historian Benson Lossing (1850) wrote an impressive two-volume history of the American Revolution. His research for this work included many visits to the battlefields and he prepared illustrations of many of

them. Lossing visited Savannah, Georgia in 1852, where he gathered materials for his book. It is not likely that he visited Kettle Creek and his book contains no images from that battle. Lossing (1850) provided this historical summary of the Kettle Creek battle and the events leading up to it:

For the encouragement and support of the Loyalists in the interior, and to awe the Republicans in that quarter after the fall of Savannah, Colonel Campbell, who commanded at the siege of that city, was ordered by General Prevost to advance with about two thousand regulars and Loyalists [Jan., 1779.], upon Augusta. Already he had sent emissaries among the South Carolina Tories to encourage them to make a general insurrection; and he assured them that, if they would cross the Savannah and join him at Augusta, the Republicans might be easily crushed, and the whole South freed from their pestilential influence. Thus encouraged, about eight hundred Loyalists of North and South Carolina assembled westward of the Broad River, under Colonel Boyd, and marched along the frontier of South Carolina, toward the Savannah. Like a plundering banditti, they appropriated every species of property to their own use, abused the inhabitants, and wantonly butchered several who opposed their rapacious demands.

While these depredators were organizing, and Campbell was proceeding toward Augusta, General Elbert crossed the Savannah, joined Colonels Twiggs and Few, and skirmished with the British van-guard at Brier Creek and other places, to impede their progress. They effected but little, and on the twenty-ninth of January [1779.] Campbell took possession of Augusta, and placed the garrison under Lieutenant-colonel Brown, the Loyalist just mentioned, who, with Lieutenant-colonel M'Girth, had preceded him thither. Campbell then proceeded to establish military posts in other parts of Western Georgia. The Whigs who could leave with their families crossed the Savannah into Carolina. The oath of allegiance was every where administered; the habitations of those who had fled into Carolina were consumed; and Georgia seemed, for the moment, permanently prostrate at the feet of the invaders. The quiet that ensued was only the calm before a gathering storm. Colonel John Dooly collected a body of active militia on the Carolina shore, thirty miles above Augusta, while Colonel M'Girth, with three hundred Loyalists, was watching him on the other side. Dooly crossed over into Georgia, and these partisans had several skirmishes. Finally, Major Hamilton, an active officer under M'Girth, drove Dooly across the Savannah, a short distance below the mouth of Broad River, and encamped at Waters's plantation, about three miles below the present town of Petersburg, in Elbert county. Dooly took post opposite to Hamilton, where he was joined by Colonel Pickens. Their united forces amounted to about three hundred and fifty men.

Colonel Pickens, who was the senior officer, assumed the command of the whole, and with Dooly crossed the river at Cowen's Ferry, to attack Hamilton [Feb. 10, 1779.]. That officer had broken up his encampment and marched to Carr's Fort, not far distant, to examine its condition and administer the oath of allegiance to the surrounding inhabitants. The Americans besieged the fort, and were confident of capturing it, having cut off the supply of water for the garrison, when, at ten o'clock at night, a message came to Colonel Pickens, from his brother, informing him of the march of Boyd and his banditti through the district of Ninety-Six. Unwilling to distress the families who had taken shelter within the fort, Pickens declined a proposition to burn it, and raising the siege, he hastened to confront Boyd, the more important foe. He crossed the Savannah near Fort Charlotte, when Boyd, hearing of his approach, hastened toward the Cherokee Ford. At that ford was a redoubt, garrisoned by eight men, with two swivels. They successfully disputed the passage of Boyd, and he marched five miles up the river, crossed on rafts, and pushed on toward Augusta. He was pursued by a detachment of Americans, under Captain Anderson, who attacked him in a cane-brake. A severe skirmish ensued. Boyd lost one hundred men in killed, wounded, and missing; the Americans lost sixteen killed, and the same number taken prisoners. Boyd hastened forward, and on the morning of the thirteenth [Feb., 1779.] crossed the Broad River, near the fork, in Oglethorpe county, closely pursued by Pickens, with about three hundred militia. The latter marched in battle order. Colonel Dooly commanded the right wing; Lieutenant-colonel Clark the left; and Colonel Pickens the center. Boyd, ignorant of the proximity of his pursuers, halted on the north side of Kettle Creek, turned his horses out to forage upon the reeds of a neighboring swamp, and proceeded to slaughter cattle for his army. In this condition he was attacked [Feb. 14.] by the Americans. The Tory pickets fired, and fled to the camp. The utmost confusion prevailed, and Boyd and his followers began to retreat in great disorder, while skirmishing with the assailants. The contest lasted almost two hours. About seventy of the Tories were killed, and seventy-five were made prisoners. The Americans lost nine killed and twenty-three mortally wounded. Colonel Boyd was severely wounded and expired that night. His whole force was scattered to the winds. The seventy prisoners were taken to South Carolina, tried for high treason, and condemned to death. Five of the most active ones were hanged, the remainder were [was] pardoned. This was one of the severest blows which Toryism in the South had yet received (Lossing 1850).

Another early Georgia historian, Reverend George White, provided in his *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, a brief entry in the "Remarkable Places in Wilkes County": "Kettle creek is famous as the battle ground where Clarke, Doolly [sic] and Pickens, distinguished themselves in the war of the Revolution" (White 1849:610). White (1854:684-685) later provided a more detailed description of the Kettle Creek battle in his *Historical Collections of Georgia*:

Kettle Creek is famous as the battle-ground where Clarke, Dooly, and Pickens, distinguished themselves in the war of the Revolution. When Savannah was taken, Colonel Campbell advanced to Augusta. Colonel Boyd, who had just returned from New York, was to notify the disaffected, and excite the Tories on the western parts of North and South Carolina, and force his way to join Colonel Campbell at Augusta. Colonel Campbell immediately moved up Savannah River, with several hundred mounted men; and after maneuvering in the neighborhood of where Petersburg now stands, and Kerr's Fort, in order to effect a junction with Boyd, he was compelled by the Whigs to return. Colonel Pickens, with only three hundred and twenty men, after driving back Campbell, pursued Boyd, and forced him to cross the river eighteen miles above the junction of Savannah and Broad rivers. He then crossed at their junction, and, and was joined by Dooly and Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke, with about one hundred dragoons. Colonel Dooly, with great patriotism, gave the command of all the forces to him. They pursued Boyd rapidly, who had taken a circuitous route through the Cherokee Nation until they overtook him, in a few days,

on the east bank of Kettle Creek, in Georgia, just as his men had shot down some beeves, and were preparing their breakfast. Colonel Pickens has divided his forces into three divisions, Colonel Dooly commanding the right, and Clarke the left, with directions to flank the enemy, while he commanded the attack from the centre, giving strict orders not to fire until within thirty-five paces of the foe. Colonel Boyd was a brave, active man, but was shot down early in the engagement. After close fighting for half an hour, the Whigs drove the enemy through the cane, and over the creek. They fought with desperation, and left a great many dead and wounded upon the field. They rallied on a rising ground on the west bank, and renewed the fight, the Whigs finding great difficulties in passing through the cane. However, the victory was complete. The Whigs has four hundred and twenty, and the Tories upwards of seven hundred; and out of that number, not more than three hundred ever reached Colonel Campbell, in Augusta. This success was of far more importance than the number engaged would indicate. It broke up the Tories throughout North Carolina, who never afterwards assembled, except in small parties, or under the immediate protection of a foreign force. Although they were dreaded for their desperate and malignant outrages upon the country, yet they acted more for the plunder and murder of individuals than for concerted and manly warfare. This battle of Kettle Creek decided their fate (White 1854:684-685).

White's statement on the battle's significance is taken verbatim from Herring and Longacre's earlier writings (Herring and Longacre 1834:4).

Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr. wrote extensively on the subject of the American Revolution in Georgia. His grandfather, Joseph Jones was killed in the 1779 siege of Savannah. C.C. Jones, a Georgia native, was quite familiar with the Augusta region, as he kept a residence there and served as Augusta's mayor. Jones, Jr. (2001), who was a former Confederate military officer, and accomplished historian, rendered his version of the battle at Kettle Creek. Jones' version is repeated below. Jones' historical research was remarkable for its day and his accounts usually are based on sound historical facts:

Retiring from Carr's Fort the Americans recrossed the Savannah River near Fort Charlotte and advanced toward the Long Cane settlement to meet Colonel Boyd. Hearing of his advance, Captain Robert Anderson, of Colonel Pickens' regiment, summoning to his aid Captains Joseph Pickens, William Baskin, and John Miller, with their companies, crossed the Savannah River with a view to annoying Boyd when he should attempt the passage of that stream. He was subsequently joined by some Georgians under Captain James Little. This accession increased his force so that he had, present for duty, nearly one hundred men. In order to avoid Pickens and Dooly, Colonel Boyd changed his route and approached the river at the Cherokee ford. Here, upon a commanding elevation, was a block house mounting two swivel guns and garrisoned by a lieutenant and eight men. A quiet passage having been demanded and refused. Boyd proceeded up the river about five miles, and there placing his men and baggage on rafts, and swimming his horses, effected a crossing. His instructions to his men were to land at different points on the opposite shore. This circumstance, in connection with the tall canes growing along the river bank, so confused the small force under Captain Anderson that it did not render an opposition as effectual as might have been expected. That the passage of the river was sharply contested, however, will be readily conceded when we remember that the Americans lost sixteen killed and wounded and an equal number of prisoners. Among the latter were Captains Baskin and Mill. Colonel Boyd acknowledged a loss of one hundred killed, wounded, and missing.

Retreating rapidly, Captain Anderson formed a junction with Colonels Pickens and Dooly and united in the pursuit of the enemy. On the 12th of February, passing the Savannah River at the Cedar shoal, the Americans advanced to the Fish Dam ford, on Broad River. The command had now been reinforced by Colonel Clarke and one hundred dragoons. Captain Neal, with a party of observation, was detached to hang upon the enemy's rear, and, by frequent couriers, keep the main body well advised of Boyd's movements.

Shaping his course to the westward, and purposing a junction with McGirth at a point agreed upon on Little River, the enemy on the morning of the 13th crossed Broad River, near the fork, at a place subsequently known as Webb's Ferry. Informed of this movement, the Americans passed over Broad River and encamped for the night on Clarke's Creek, within four miles of the loyalists. Early on the morning of the 14th the Americans advanced rapidly but cautiously. Wherever the surface of the country permitted, their line of march was the order of battle. A strong vanguard moved one hundred and fifty paces in front. The right, and left wings, consisting each of one hundred men, were commanded respectively by Colonels Dooly and Clarke. The centre, numbering two hundred men, was led by Colonel Pickens. Officers and men were eager for the fray and confident of victory. Soon the ground was reached where the enemy had encamped during the preceding night.

Seemingly unconscious of the approach of danger, the loyalist commander had halted at a farm on the north side of Kettle Creek, and turned out his horses to forage among the reeds which lined the edge of the swamp. His men, who had been on short allowance for three days, were slaughtering bullocks and parching corn. Colonel Boyd's second officer was Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, of North Carolina, who is said to have been deficient both in courage and in military skill. The third in command, Major Spurgen, was brave and competent.

As Colonel Pickens neared the enemy, Captain McCall was ordered to reconnoitre his position, and, unperceived, to acquire the fullest possible information of the status of affairs. Having completed his observations, that officer reported the encampment formed at the edge of the farm near the creek, on an open piece of ground flanked on two sides by a cane swamp, and that the enemy was apparently in utter ignorance of any hostile approach. The Americans then advanced to the attack. As they neared the camp the pickets fired and retreated. Hastily forming his line in rear of his encampment, and availing himself of the shelter afforded by a fence and some fallen timber, Boyd prepared to repel the assault. Colonel Pickens, commanding the American centre, obliqued a little to the right to take advantage of more commanding ground. The right and left divisions were somewhat embarrassed in forcing their way through the cane, but soon came gallantly into

position. Colonel Boyd defended the fence with great bravery, but was finally overpowered and driven back upon the main body.

While retreating he fell mortally wounded, pierced with three balls, two passing through his body and the third through his thigh.

The conflict now became close, warm, and general. Some of the enemy, sore pressed, fled into the swamp and passed over the creek, leaving their horses, baggage, and arms behind them.

After a contest lasting an hour the Tories retreated through the swamp. Observing a rising ground on the other side of the creek and in rear of the enemy's right on which he thought the loyalists would attempt to form, Colonel Clarke, ordering the left wing to follow him, prepared to cross the stream. At this moment his horse was killed under him. Mounting another, he followed a path which led to a ford and soon gained the side of the hill, just in time to attack Major Spurgen who was endeavoring to form his command upon it. He was then accompanied by not more than a fourth of his division, there having been some mistake in extending the order. The firing, however, soon attracted the attention of the rest of his men, who rushed to his support. Colonels Pickens and Dooly also pressed through the swamp and the battle was renewed with much vigor on the other side of the creek. Bloody and obstinate was the conflict. For some time the issue seemed doubtful. At length the Americans obtained complete possession of the hill; and the enemy, routed at all points, fled from the scene of action leaving seventy of their number dead upon the field, and seventy-five wounded and captured. On the part of the Americans nine were slain and twenty-three wounded. To Colonel Clarke great praise is due for his foresight and activity in comprehending and checking, at its earliest stage, the movement of the loyalists beyond the swamp. Had they succeeded in effecting a permanent lodgment upon the hill, the fortunes of the day would have proved far otherwise. This engagement lasted for one hour and forty-five minutes, and during most of that time was hotly contested.

As the guard having charge of the prisoners captured when Boyd crossed the Savannah River heard of the disaster which had overtaken the main body, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, thirty-three in number, to those whom they held in captivity, promising, if allowed to return in peace to their homes, to take the oath of allegiance to the government of the Confederate States.

The battle ended, Colonel Pickens waited upon Colonel Boyd and tendered him every relief in his power. Thanking him for his civility, the loyalist chief, disabled by mortal wounds and yet brave of heart, inquired particularly with regard to the result of the engagement. When told that the victory rested entirely with the Americans, he asserted that the issue would have been different had he not fallen. During the conversation which ensued he stated that he had set out upon this march with eight hundred men. In crossing the Savannah River he sustained a loss of one hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. In the present action, he had seven hundred men under his command. His expectation was that McGirth with five hundred men would form a junction with him on Little River either that very afternoon or on the ensuing morning. The point named for this union of forces was not more than six miles distant from the place where this battle had been fought. Alluding to his own condition he remarked that he had but a few hours to live, and requested Colonel Pickens to detail two men to furnish him with water and to inter his body after death. Delivering to that officer certain articles of value which he had upon his person, he asked the favor that they be forwarded to his wife with a letter acquainting her with the circumstances of his demise and burial. These dying injunctions were carefully observed. He was a corpse before morning.

Dispirited by the loss of their leader, and stunned by the heavy blow which had fallen upon them in an unexpected moment, the followers of this dangerous chieftain scattered in various directions. Some fled to Florida; others betook themselves to the Creek nation; others still sought refuge among the Cherokees; others returned to their homes and craved mercy at the hands of the patriots; while a remnant, under the command of Colonel Moore, numbering some two hundred, retreated to Augusta.

Dismayed at the defeat which had overtaken Colonel Boyd, and pausing not to retrieve the fortunes of the day, McGirth fled precipitately to Augusta and rejoined the forces under Colonel Campbell. The prisoners captured at Kettle Creek were carried to South Carolina, tried, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to death. Only five of the most noted offenders were executed. The others were pardoned. Departing from the field of action the Americans encamped for the night in a locality near the present town of Washington and, on the 15th recrossed the Savannah River. In the affair at Carr's Fort and in the engagement at Kettle Creek the Americans possessed themselves of some six hundred horses and a large quantity of arms, equipments, and clothing. This accession to the scanty stores of the patriots was most opportune and valuable. In the general gloom which was encompassing all, this victory shone like a star of substantial hope, dissipating despair and enkindling confidence in the hearts of the Revolutionists. From the banks of this insignificant stream, rendered historic by the prowess of Pickens, Dooly, Clarke, and their valiant followers, there arose a martial shout which proclaimed the restoration of Whig ascendancy in Upper Georgia and the discomfiture of the Royalist cohorts. With no uncertain sound did the bugle-blasts then blown summon to further feats of patriotic emprise, and admonish the king's officers that Georgia was not wholly within their grasp.

This battle was quickly followed by movements which, although partial in their character, indicated that the love of liberty and the spirit of resistance were abroad in the land. Advancing with a portion of his brigade and some of the Georgia militia, General Andrew Williamson encamped not far from Augusta, on the Carolina side of the Savannah River (Jones 2001).

In his more than 700 pages on Revolutionary War battlefields, first published in 1877, Colonel Henry B. Carrington offered only one sentence about the engagement at Kettle Creek. He stated, "On the fourteenth, Colonel Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, and Colonel Dooley, of Georgia, with three hundred men, surprised Colonel Boyd's Provincials on the north side of Kettle Creek, in Wilkes county, Georgia". In his Index, Carrington referred to "Boyd's Provincials", and he dismisses the action at Kettle Creek as a, "skirmish". This brief mention shows that Carrington considered Kettle Creek to be of little significance in

the outcome of the war. Carrington placed the number of combined Patriot forces at Kettle Creek at 300 men, although he offers no primary sources for these estimates (Carrington 1877:464).

In his history of the South Carolina upcountry in the American Revolution, historian John Landrum briefly discussed the battle at Kettle Creek. He stated that the battle lasted about two hours and resulted in 70 Tories killed, 75 taken prisoner, nine Patriots killed and 23 wounded. Landrum provided no new documentary evidence (1897:101-103, 296).

An 1886 Athens, Georgia newspaper reporter noted that, "The battle field is now owned by Mr. H. T. Slaton, and is about ten miles from Washington and about two miles from the Greensboro road" (*Weekly Banner-Watchman* 1886:1). That reporter provided this summary of the battle, which includes some unique details:

About the time Boyd reached Bullard's ferry on Broad river, Pickens and Clarke were on Fishing creek, and had struck camp not far from old Heard mill, now owned by Jno. L. Anderson.

Col. Boyd sent out a number of scouts to hunt for the enemy, and these scouts came upon six men of Clarke's army in the old mill house, very busy grinding, for the command. The British at once opened fire and killed three of the Americans, while the other three escaped, one of them jumping out of the mill window and holding on to a bag of bullets, which were then considered almost as valuable as gold.

The army which was in camp about a mile from the mill was alarmed by the firing, but the British scouts escaped before any detachments of Clarke's army reached them. The three Americans were buried near the creek, and in 1840 their skeletons were washed up by a freshet. All the country for miles around met and re-interred their bones with great ceremony on a hill near by.

When Col. Boyd the British commander learned from his scouts that the American army was lying on Fishing creek, he left the neighborhood of Bullard's ferry and crossing Long's creek near the mouth of Dry Fork, passed near where Sardis church and Centreville now stand, on towards Kettle creek where the battle took place...Colonel Boyd camped on a hill near Kettle creek, known as War hill, and was entirely unsuspecting of any danger near so much so, that his men were engaged in sports of various kinds and many of them were skinning beeves for the use of the command. None of his men were ready for battle, and when Clarke's men made a sudden and determined attack, Boyd's army of Indians, Tories and British regulars were routed at once, and the battle was a mere slaughter.

The defeat was complete, and of the force of nine hundred men, not more than three hundred men found their way, in small squads to the British post at Augusta. The remaining six hundred were either killed or captured and but little quarter was shown by the Americans, on account of the brutalities which had been practiced by the Indians and Tories.

Col. Boyd fell mortally wounded, and when the battle was over requested an interview with Col. Clarke. He desired Clarke to give him a decent burial, and forward his watch and papers with an account of his death, to his family in England. This request was complied with, and his last hours made comfortable. It is believed by historians that this battle was the turning point of the revolution in the south" (*Weekly Banner-Watchman* 1886:1).

The above-mentioned owner of the Kettle Creek battlefield, H.T. Slaton, was Henry Thomas Slaton, a prominent farmer and merchant born in Wilkes County in 1835 or 1836 and died in 1918. Slaton had one of the largest plantations in Wilkes County in the 1850s, which included 5,000 acres of 3rd Class Land and 67 enslaved persons in 1857. In 1860 Slaton had improved 1,000 acres of this land. William Slaton, H.T. Slaton's father, operated a grist mill on his Kettle Creek property, which was in operation before and after his lifetime. The mill seat was possibly in existence at the time of the 1779 battle. The location of William Slaton's mill was not determined in this study and no evidence of a mill was observed within the studied section of Kettle Creek. William Slaton (1789-1869) also operated a large plantation in Wilkes County. In 1860, he owned 3,410 acres of 2nd Class Land, 2,385 acres of 3rd Class Land and enslaved 58 persons. The sites of the former residences of William Slaton and H.T. Slaton were not located within the study area (Southern Historical Association 1895; Saggus 1996:147-148).

Eliza A. Bowen, a local Wilkes County resident and newspaper contributor, wrote local history-related articles for the Washington newspaper during the late 1800s. Her collected works on the subject were published in 1950 (Hays 1950; Warren 1978). Bowen had access and interviewed older residents of the county, including some who may have had primary and/or secondary information about the battle, the battlefield relics, and land use history in the vicinity of the battle dating to the early through late 19th century. Bowen personally visited the Kettle Creek battlefield on more than one occasion, as she noted,

I have myself seen the battle ground of Kettle Creek, which is on the plantation now belong to Mr. Henry Slaton. There is a steep bluff on the south side of the creek, which is to this day called the War Hill by people living in the neighborhood. On the north side, there is a low meadow, then swampy near the creek. Part was then covered with a cane brake....There used to

stand a large tree, Walnut I think, which was said to mark the spot where Boyd fell, but I think it has been cut down (Hays 1914:14).

Bowen further described the Kettle Creek battlefield as it appeared on her visit in 1865:

I saw the battlefield in the summer of 1865, not very long after Sherman's march through Georgia. Sherman did not come through Wilkes county, but he turned off the road leading through, so near us, that the people living on the Union Point and Washington Road drove their stock off to keep them from falling into the hands of his bummers. Some of these thought of the old battle ground which is an out of the way place off the main roads. So they drove a lot of stock there for security and when I saw the battlefield in 1865, there were charred remains of their camp fires on the top of War Hill and corn cobs and shucks where they had fed their cattle (Hays 1950:187).

Several articles on the Kettle Creek battlefield appeared in the *Atlanta Constitution* newspaper in the late 1800s. These articles provide some insight on the condition of the battlefield during that period. An 1875 newspaper article anticipated the centennial celebration of the battle noting, "We are glad to learn from the *Washington Gazette* that arrangements are being made to celebrate the centennial on the old battle field", and in 1886 newspapers stated that the battlefield was, "upon the field now owned by Mr. H.T. Slaton, in Wilkes county, through which Kettle Creek passes" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1875:2; 1886:6). An 1890 newspaper article reported an artifact discovery on the battlefield,

Washington, Ga., May 25. — [Special.] — Mr. John Smith, living not far from the battlefield of Kettle creek, which took place in the revolution, Valentine's day, 1779, brought in a button dug up from the battlefield a few days ago. It is probably British, as the killed on that side were most numerous, but we cannot identify it. It bears a mark of a bullet which passed it. Mr. Smith gave it to Mr. M.P. Reese, who presented it to the Mary Willis library, which will carefully preserve so valuable a relic of old Wilkes county (*Atlanta Constitution* 1890:1).

An 1893 newspaper article celebrated the 114th anniversary of the Kettle Creek battle. That article noted Colonel Boyd and his Loyalists camped on the evening of February 13th, "near Kettle creek on a place near Slaton's mill" (*Atlanta Constitution* 1893:4). Slaton's Mill was owned by Henry T. Slaton, a prominent farmer and merchant in Wilkes County and who also owned the battlefield property in the late 19th century (Southern Historical Association 1895).

Willametta Andrews [Mrs. T.W.] Green (1901), another Wilkes County native and amateur historian, compiled a long list of Patriot soldiers, whom she considered were present at the Kettle Creek battle. Her list was officially entered in the U.S. Congressional record, which gave it considerable recognition as an authoritative source. Most subsequent historians discount this list as overly inclusive, noting that many men on the list were either dead, or had not yet enlisted in the military at the time of the battle. Green's list actually may have done more harm than good in determining who was (or was not) a participant in the battle of Kettle Creek.

Green summarized the activities of the Kettle Creek Chapter of the D.A.R. in 1903:

We have also been trying to locate the graves of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Wilkes county. It is well known that hundreds of these old warriors lie sleeping within the bosom of old Wilkes, but to locate them is extremely difficult, since tombstones and monuments were rare in those days, and we must depend largely upon tradition and the memory of old people. However, we have located quite a number. We have had a committee to visit Old Smyrna churchyard, and also several of the oldest private burying grounds, on the original homestead lands of Revolutionary soldiers. Among these we made a pilgrimage to the home of Elijah Clarke. Here we found a tombstone, in a fair state of preservation, over the grave of George Walton Clarke, son of John Clarke, son of Elijah Clarke. The date on this stone is 1797—one hundred and five years ago. And we have had pointed out to us the grave which is said to be that of Elijah Clarke^ From the fact that these graves are at the home of Elijah Clarke, and in the old Clarke burying ground, we believe that we have found the resting place of that old Revolutionary general, but we shall take steps to prove it, before a moiument is erected to mark the spot. We have also had a public road opened to the wilderness, where the battle of Kettle Creek was fought (Avery 1903:464-465).

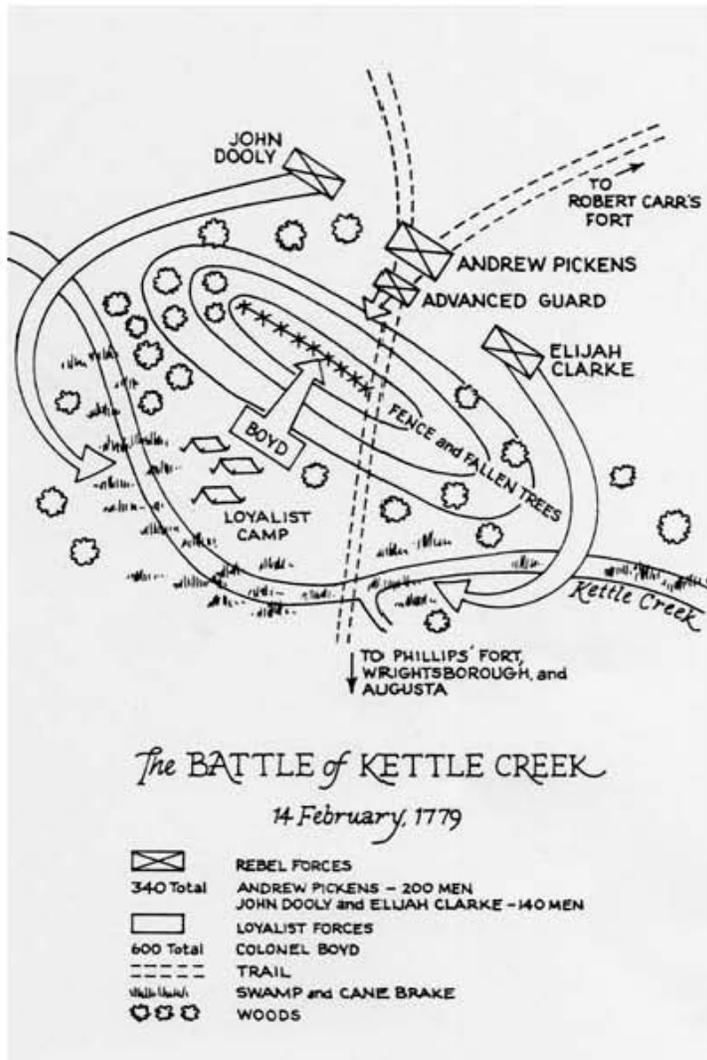
D.A.R. member, Mrs. R. Hume Smith (1906) summarized the national significance of the battle of Kettle Creek,

There was no battle worth recording except the battle of Kettle Creek, in Wilkes county, Georgia, February 14, 1779. As it was the only American victory in the far south and followed so many overwhelming defeats, this little conflict, though it seems so unimportant and is barely mentioned in the records and then only in the biographies of the principal actors, was a prominent factor in holding the militia together and affording them encouragement to fight to ultimate victory (Smith 1906:494).

Writing in 1906, Historian John Franklin Dobbs summarized the importance of the battle of Kettle Creek, “The effect of this battle was to break the tory spirit in the Carolinas, and no more large bodies were organized” (Dobbs 1906:81). These sentiments about the importance of the battle in quelling another Loyalist uprising in the Carolinas was emphasized in dozens of American history text books that were published in the 19th and 20th centuries. This theme was established early on, as reflected in this statement in this 1805 biography of George Washington, “This defeat broke for a time the spirits of the tories, and preserved the quiet of the western country” (Marshall and Washington 1804:24).

Otis Ashmore (Northen 1907:54-57) wrote a biography of Colonel John Dooly. Ashmore describes Dooly’s military career ascent and his death in 1780 and makes brief mention of his command in the battle of Kettle Creek. Historians Otis Ashmore and Charles Olmstead (1926) provided historical analyses of the battle in their treatment of the Revolutionary War engagements at Briar Creek and Kettle Creek. While no maps of the battle were available to them, they created a simplified diagram of the battle, which is reproduced in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Schematic Diagram of Kettle Creek Battle (Ashmore and Olmstead 1926).



The Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) writer’s project generated this summary of the Kettle Creek engagement, which has been transcribed and posted online by Kurimiski (2008):

Many Georgia and Wilkes County patriots rallied around Colonel John Dooly on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River and soon, attempted to come back into Georgia. Trying to cross the river just below Dartmouth, they were so closely pressed by Colonel Hamilton that they fled back into the adjacent state. Having been joined by 250 men under Colonel Andrew Pickens, they again planned to attack Hamilton, who was encamped on Captain Thomas Waters' plantation near the mouth of the Broad River. On February 10 the combined forces of Dooly and Pickens came into Wilkes prepared for an attack but found that Hamilton had gone on an expedition to administer oaths of allegiance.

Hamilton's goal was Carr's Fort, one of the numerous blockhouses of Wilkes County. Pickens, foreseeing Hamilton's line of march, sent a subordinate ahead to arrange for defense of this fort, a refuge of women and children, finding it protected by a few old patriots, the officer deemed defense impracticable and allowed the British to take possession; but the enemy were so closely pushed by the American forces under Dooly and Pickens that they were forced to leave their horses and baggage outside the stockade. Although there was little shooting during this encounter because of the women and children inside the fort, nine British and five Americans were killed while three loyalists and seven patriots were wounded, Pickens hurriedly sent men to take possession of a log house, from which the patriots could command the only effective source of water, and planned to starve the British into surrender. Soon, however, he received news that Colonel John Boyd, a notorious Tory, with eight hundred loyalists was moving toward Georgia from South Carolina. The American patriots hastened across the Savannah to meet Boyd, and Colonel Hamilton retreated to Wrightsboro, in a neighboring county.

Before leaving for South Carolina, Pickens and Dooly called for reinforcements under Captain Anderson to patrol the Savannah in order to hold back the loyalist forces whenever they should attempt a crossing. Boyd changed his course of march, failed to encounter Pickens, and attempted to cross into Wilkes at Cherokee Ford, which he found protected by a blockhouse. He consequently went five miles up the river and effected a crossing by dividing his men into small groups and sending them across on rafts. Passage was hotly contested by a small force of a hundred Americans, and Boyd lost a hundred men, killed, wounded, and missing. Sixteen Americans were killed and wounded and an equal number were taken prisoners.

Pickens and Dooly, hastening back into Georgia, were reinforced by Captain Anderson with his remaining troops and by Colonel Elijah Clarke with a hundred dragoons. After assembling on the Broad River, the combined forces, informed by couriers as to the movements of the enemy, hastened southward after Boyd, who was seeking to join Colonel Daniel McGirth and his five hundred men on the Little River about six miles from Kettle Creek. Although the skirmishes had cost him men and horses, Boyd still had seven hundred soldiers and was confident of supremacy. Near Kettle Creek at a spot twelve miles from Washington he halted his men for a breakfast of parched corn and fresh beef. But, unknown to him, Clarke, Dooly, and Pickens, were close on his trail. On the night before, the five hundred Americans had encamped on a creek within four miles of the enemy. Among the soldiers was Clarke's son John, a lad of thirteen.

Early in the morning of February 14 they began a march to overtake Boyd's forces. Soon they heard drums in the enemy's camp, halted, and sent a young officer to reconnoiter and ascertain the position of the British. Upon learning that the time was propitious, the Americans advanced, with Pickens commanding the center, Dooly the right wing, and Clarke the left. Boyd's pickets, catching sight of the advance guard, fired and thus gave alarm. Though taken by surprise, Boyd went into immediate action. Deploying his men into battle formation, he advanced with a hundred soldiers, using fallen timber and an old fence to break the range of flying bullets.

Soon the American charges drove them back from the valley and across the creek, causing them to abandon their horses and equipment. Boyd fell, mortally wounded. Clarke shrewdly surmised that the retreat was a strategic maneuver to gain the vantage point of the hill beyond. To frustrate this plan, he decided to plunge ahead. As he gave the command to charge, his horse was shot from under him, but quickly mounting another he led his men forward. At the foot of the elevation, now known as War Hill, the noise of a sharp encounter soon drew the forces of Pickens and Dooly to his aid. In less than two hours the patriots had won a great victory, losing only nine men to Boyd's seventy. Twenty American soldiers were wounded and ninety-five British. After the battle, Clarke pushed on after the retreating enemy, leaving two soldiers with the dying Boyd to attend his last needs.

One of the decisive battles of the Revolution, the encounter of Kettle Creek was important not only to the citizens of Wilkes County but also to those of the state. From this engagement and the preliminary skirmishes the Americans gained a quantity of much-needed munitions and six hundred horses. Boyd's forces were scattered, some to the British in Augusta, where McGirth's reinforcements had already retreated. These men never again assembled as a fighting unit, and except for pillaging by raiders Wilkes County was not again invaded. This victory broke the hold of the British in Georgia and led to Colonel Archibald Campbell's decision, to abandon Augusta for a while. Although there was much fighting in the state throughout the following year, Georgia was no longer completely in the hands of the British (Works Progress Administration 1941:18-20; Kurimski 2008).

Most of the 20th century accounts of the Kettle Creek battle were regurgitations of earlier 19th century versions. These include many newspaper articles. Despite their recitation of the facts (and myths), a few new details occasionally appeared in these writings. Unfortunately, most of these new details are unattributed as to their primary source.

Relic collectors have gleaned objects from the battlefield for many decades. This collecting behavior was accelerated with the advent of metal detectors and their widespread use from the 1970s to the present. Over the course of the present study, the research team heard about several individuals who had actively mined the battlefield and who had recovered a variety of metal military items. The full extent of this behavior remains undocumented but three examples deserve remarks.

Mr. William Lake, a newspaper man from Union, South Carolina wrote to the Georgia Historical Society in 1942 requesting information about the Kettle Creek battle. Mr. Lake stated, “We have here a cannon ball dug up on the old battlefield. The owner wishes to donate it to the scrap iron collection for the War effort and desires the history of the battle” (Lake 1942:1). Lake’s mention to a cannon ball is an important reference, since it tends to confirm the presence of artillery on the battlefield—a fact not mentioned in any of the primary accounts.

A person nicknamed, “Jabbo”, who was a resident of the Tyrone community, reportedly owned a metal detector and used it to gather relics from the battlefield. His collection was described as, “a five gallon bucket of cannonballs” by one unidentified area resident. Another story was that he had, “dug one cannonball out of a tree”. Jabbo was an elderly African-American who drove a Wilkes County school bus until his retirement. Jabbo, whose surname was later determined to be Mr. Williams, was deceased (Richard McAvoy personal communication February 8, 2008). The research team tracked down his former residence and attempted to contact his descendants. His daughter, who lives in the metropolitan Atlanta area, was contacted, but no further information about Williams’ relic collection or her father’s relic collecting activities, was ascertained (Jackie Young personal communication February 8, 2009).

A second story of an important relic find was related to the research team by Carolyn Bryant Faz, a local historian. She related a conversation that she had with a landowner on the north side of Kettle Creek. That farmer was approached by an unidentified relic hunter for permission to collect artifacts from his property. The landowner granted permission. He later received a telephone call from the relic hunter, who announced that he discovered a small cannon, exposed in the creek bank on his property, and that collector offered to show this discovery to the landowner. The landowner, however, was disinterested and declined and he never saw this alleged find. The current whereabouts of this cannon, if indeed it truly exists, remains undetermined. It seems unlikely that the Patriots would have “lost” something as valuable as a cannon on the battlefield, unless it was broken and worthless. If the Loyalists had a cannon, it most likely would have been captured by the Patriots. This mystery of a cannon at Kettle Creek remains unsolved.

Early in this project Elliott spoke with a long-time Georgia relic collector and relic dealer, Mr. Chad Childs, Childs stated that he and his father had made several dozen visits to the Kettle Creek battlefield in the 1980s. Childs emphatically stated that most relics that he and his father had discovered were not located on the knoll containing the Kettle Creek monument (Locs A, B and H) but were on an adjacent lower ridge slope. Childs mentioned one noteworthy find, which was a brass spike, or spontoon, that was decorative and bore a number. Spontoons were decorative pointed weapons made of silver, brass or iron and mounted on a long staff. They were used by soldiers on both sides of the American Revolution. The spontoon find was not discovered by Childs or his father but by another collector, who was present at the same time as Childs. The research team attempted to contact Larry Childs (Chad Child’s father) by two letters for any information about his relic hunting activity and collections from the Kettle Creek battlefield but received no response. Chad Childs mentioned several other avid relic hunters who made repeated trips to Kettle Creek and unearthed and removed many military relics. No contact information for these individuals was made available to the research team, so these people and their collections remain undocumented (Chad Childs personal communication October 15, 2007).

Additional commemoration of the Kettle Creek battlefield was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by the Kettle Creek Battlefield Commission. The Kettle Creek Battlefield Commission, which was composed of Mr. Turner Bryson, Mrs. John A. Callaway, and Mrs. J.M. Griffin, sought information on War Hill and Star’s Hill in 1962. Turner Bryson remarked that, “information is particularly needed concerning a place called Star’s Hill. The Commission... would like to know if Star’s Hill was ever known as War Hill and if there was ever a church and or graveyard located nearby” (*Washington News Reporter* 1962). We were unable to determine whether any additional information was brought forth in response to Bryson’s request. Newspaper reporter Gale Whyte described a ceremony in 1974 where soil from the suspected grave sites of two Patriot veterans and one spouse were buried and marked by a tombstone (or more properly, a cenotaph) near the Kettle Creek monument. Whyte wrote:

Behind the crowd—probably about 100 people including the 30-piece band—three-old fashioned glass-top fruit jars stood on the ground, each almost filled with red dirt, and each wrapped in a plastic bag. On each jar was a masking tape label. Beside each jar was a hole, and behind each hole was a tombstone.

Those jars, as unpretentious as they looked, were what the ceremony was all about. The dirt in the jars was what was left of two soldiers of the American Revolution, Lewis Flemister and Richard Peteet and Peteet's wife Delphia. Another tombstone stood nearby in memory of Capt. James Cartledge, who also was being honored, but whose remains could not be located (Whyte 1974:60).

Whyte also recorded additional details about the D.A.R.'s veteran grave recovery and relocation program that was being implemented at the Kettle Creek monument. Whyte recounted a conversation with Mrs. Lou Singleton, a prominent D.A.R. officer:

'Next year I hope we're going to move Abraham Simon,' Mrs. [Lou] Singleton said when she took time from scooting back and forth across the clearing arranging relatives, D.A.R. members, speakers and visitors. 'He was a Jew. After he died, his widow married Jesse Mercer. Simon's money—he was very wealthy—went into the founding of Mercer University. They say he was buried standing up with his gun in his hand. Said he was ready to meet the devil.'

'There are plenty of soldiers around. Last year we moved Maj. John Lindsey. We were really digging in his grave because he was known as Silver Fist Lindsey. He lost his arm over at the Battle of Long [Cane] Creek 'cross the river. [Lindsey] Had a silver prosthesis. We wondered if we could find the silver fist, but we didn't. Whether they buried him with it, we don't know. But somebody else could have gone there and dug. We felt like it had been tampered with' (Whyte 1974:62).

Robert Willingham, Jr. conducted historical research on the Kettle Creek battle for his history of Wilkes County (Willingham 1969). Willingham's research included the examination of numerous pension records, although these were not referenced and that research effort is of minimal use for purposes of this study. Janet Harvill Standard (1973) wrote a history of Wilkes County, which includes some information about the Kettle Creek battlefield. Standard's treatise on the subject is important because it contains some unique historical information that she gathered from older citizens of Wilkes County.

By far the most thorough historical research on Kettle Creek, prior to the present study, was done by historians Robert Scott Davis, Jr. and Kenneth Thomas, Jr. Their collaboration resulted in a lengthy report. In subsequent books and journal articles, Davis has continued to explore the history and historical geography of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Both Davis and Thomas were helpful in guiding the present research.

Robert Scott Davis, Jr. and others conducted limited reconnaissance of the Kettle Creek vicinity in 1974 and 1975, in conjunction with the efforts to document the site in the National Register of Historic Places and in anticipation of the creation of a Georgia State Park at Kettle Creek. The NRHP listing was successfully achieved but the creation of a state park concept, after some preliminary study, was shelved. Robert Scott Davis, Jr. and Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. wrote a summary of the Kettle Creek battle for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources. They compiled information on many of the participants of the Kettle Creek battle from pension records, although that effort represents only a small sampling of the total participants. As a result of the efforts of Davis and Thomas, a National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination was completed and submitted to the President's Advisory Council for Historic Preservation recommending the Kettle Creek Battlefield. The NRHP nomination was approved and Kettle Creek Battlefield was listed in NRHP in 1975. The NRHP property boundary was a rectangular parcel 40 acres in size.

Davis and Thomas (1975:95) stated that, in an interview with Mr. Nicholas [sic, Henry Nichols aged 102 in 1974]; "the cemetery on the hill directly north of War Hill is the burial site of the Revolutionary War Soldiers." Davis and Thomas noted that they "visited the site on July 2, 1974 and found one of the graves covered with bricks and the others marked with small rocks" and they concluded from their observations, "We believe this cemetery to be of a much later vintage than the Revolutionary War." Below is a transcription of a handwritten manuscript on file, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources (Figures 5-7). After jogging his memory, Robert Scott Davis, Jr. claimed authorship of this unattributed document, which was entitled, "Archaeological Possibilities of Kettle Creek":

Description: The War hill site is a round shaped point of a saddle approx. 100 feet above the nearby creek and 40 feet above the top of the low area between the points of the saddle. There are no visible sites on the hill such as fortifications, structures,

etc. of the war period but there are three stone monuments and possibly some trace of a bridge and pavilion in the area all constructed within the last fifty years.

Mr. Cofer, who lives nearby, claims that a pile of rocks and bricks nearby is a traditional graveyard of men killed at Kettle Creek. He took Bob Davis and Ken Thomas and Dr. Bryson a veterinarian from Wilkes County to the 'cemetery' [sic] and to a pile of stones he claims was the chimney of a nearby house. The brick was removed from one of the graves by Bob Davis. We moved due north across Kelly Branch and a dry ditch and up a hillside. Dr. Bryson located the 'graves' at the top of the hill and Mr. Cofer found the pile of stones he says were the house 100 yards east. Dr. Bryson can take anyone back to the site who needs to see it. The pile of bricks is under a barb wire fence that is rusted and torn down in many places.

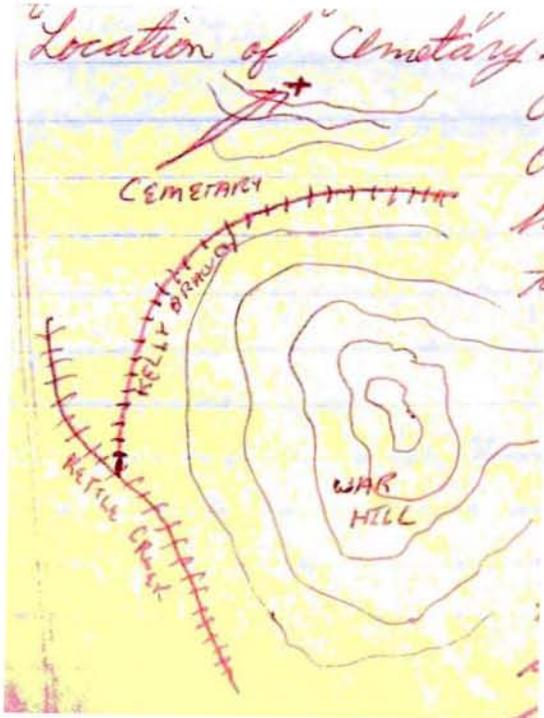


Figure 5. Davis' "Location of Cemetery", Sketch Showing "Cemetery", Marked by an "X", Kelly Branch, Kettle Creek and War Hill] (Davis 1974).

The bricks are in a pile two to three feet high and covered in soil and leaves. Other graves consisting of a headstone and foot stone are nearby but covered in leaves to almost obscurity. The pile of stones making the chimney are [sic] in much the same state are four to five feet high. None of the bricks are of 'perfect shaped' but bent and imperfect although of all appear intact. There are no visible markings on any of the bricks examined by any of those at the site. The rock pile that supposedly is a chimney of a home that stood nearby looks similar to the pile of rocks marking the grave of a 'legendary' Indian princess in North Georgia (Davis 1974).

What Davis described may be the archeological remains of the Liberty Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Committee on Publication 1904; Stacy 1912; Cartledge 1988; Simpson 1941; McKay 2008; Hays 1950:153). Unfortunately, timbering activity that has transpired since Davis' visit in 1974 has likely obscured the surface evidence that he observed. Consequently, the present survey team was unable to relocate this site despite a thorough reconnaissance of

the ridge in question. Historical information pertaining to the Liberty Presbyterian Church is presented below. Although it likely post-dates the 1779 battle, it may have relevance, in that there may have been continuity of site use as a cemetery from the battlefield-era to the church-era.

The Liberty Presbyterian Church, established around 1783, was originally located near War Hill in the Kettle Creek area of Wilkes County, Georgia. Bowen noted that the church stood, "not very far north of the battle ground of Kettle Creek" on "land, that now belongs to Mr. Henry T. Slaton, between the Greensboro and Scull Shoals roads" (Hays 1950:153). It featured a log church and associated cemetery. The church site was abandoned around 1808 when the church relocated southward and was renamed Salem Presbyterian Church. By 1904, only "ancient burial ground" remained from the original church site. Pastors of Liberty Presbyterian Church included: John Newton (unconfirmed association, 1784-1796), Daniel Thatcher (ca. 1783-ca. 1795, John Springer (ca. 1795-1798), and Robert M. Cunningham (1798-1808). The church congregation originally consisted of about 15-20 members, who included: James Daniel, Kitty Nelson, John Nelson, Archibald Simpson, and members of the Finley and Stephens families. It was among the earliest Presbyterian Churches in the Ceded Lands of Georgia. The Presbyterian sanctuary building was open for use by other orthodox denominations during its existence. The published history of the Liberty/Salem Presbyterian church includes two photographs. The first is a photograph of a log church, which is most likely the Salem Church (ca. 1808). Although this photograph was probably not taken at War Hill, it is a good example of how the original church may have appeared and probably similar in approximate size. It is interesting to note that the log building is on fieldstone piers and, once rotted, would not likely leave much archeological trace. The photographs show no sign of any glass windows or any heating system. A 1904 history of Liberty Presbyterian church records lamented, "There is nothing to mark the spot but the ancient burial ground, where sleeps the dust of the worshippers who, on rude seats, patiently and gladly listened to the man of God". The authors provided a photographic view of the "Burial

Ground of Old Liberty Church." A person is standing on the right side of this photograph and his/her scale suggests it was a fairly large cemetery. The cemetery appears to be near the top of a ridge (Presbyterian Committee on Publication 1904:1-17).



Figure 6. Davis' Profile Sketch Showing "headstone nearby of other grave", "brick pile", and "fence" (Davis 1974).

The Georgia Historical Marker for Liberty-Salem-Woodstock-Philomath Church, which was erected in 1958 and is located on Georgia Highway 22 in Philomath, Oglethorpe County, states:

This ancient Church has served under four names and in four counties. Liberty Presbyterian Church was organized by the Rev. Daniel Thatcher, about 1788. The original place of worship, a log house, was erected near War Hill, about seven miles from the present site. The church was called "Liberty", because, though built by Presbyterians, all orthodox denominations were allowed to use it. The Presbytery of Hopewell, formed Nov. 3, 1796, held its first session in Liberty Church on March 16, 1798. Soon after 1800, the log house was abandoned, and a new structure erected at the top of Starr's Hill on the old Greensboro Post Road. The name of the church was then changed to Salem. The Rev. Francis Cummins was the first minister to preach there. This building was used until 1834, when the location of the Greensboro road was changed, and a new church edifice was erected at the site of the present Phillips Mills Baptist Church. The Rev. S. J. Cassels was the first pastor, followed by the Rev. Francis R. Goulding. In 1848, the Salem church building was sold to the Baptists, and the entire Presbyterian membership moved to Woodstock, now Philomath, where a new church edifice had been built. The Rev. John

W. Reid was pastor at the time of the removal (Georgia Historical Commission 1958).

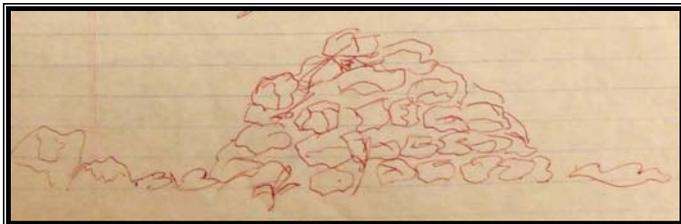


Figure 7. Davis' Unlabeled Profile of Suspected Chimney (Davis 1974).

Faz provided this historical summary of

the Presbyterian Church in the study vicinity:

In 1783 a group of descendants of Scots Covenanters from Pennsylvania came to Wilkes Co. what is now Oglethorpe Co. 1 mile SW of Lexington and built a fort on a hill. Rev. John Newton came to GA [from Pennsylvania] to do missionary work among the Indians in 1784 from Mecklenburg Co., NC. Newton ended up ministering to the Scots who built a log meeting house next to the fort in 1785. The church was called Beth-Salem. He started New Hope in what would become Madison Co. in 1793. Most likely he had a hand in forming Liberty. Beth-Salem is usually considered the 1st Presbyterian church organized in GA. I can't swear to that but that is what the sign out front says. My great grandfather, George C. Smith, wrote an unpublished history of a few pages, of Beth-Salem, now Lexington Presbyterian Church. I have been told the four graves next to Liberty Church are the Nelsons and the Simpsons. Lou Singleton is the source of that bit of information. John Newton died in 1796 leaving New Hope and Beth-Salem without a minister for a year or two (Carolyn Bryant Faz personal communication, April 10, 2008),

Faz concluded:

The 3rd Liberty Church is called Philomath Presbyterian Church now. It is not an active church at this time. But the town of Philomath has an association that is restoring it...Just that Samuel Whatley was probably preaching there at the same time as some of the Presbyterians. And it is quite possible that some of the Presbyterians' tenure overlapped because they were supply preachers at the same time (Carolyn Bryant Faz, personal communication April 10, 2008).

The sequence of preachers who may have preached at the small sanctuary building known as Liberty at Kettle Creek, based on Faz's research, are summarized as follows:

- ❖ John Newton--1784 till 1796.
- ❖ John Springer --1790 -1798
- ❖ Samuel Whatley—Baptist--1821 -1826
- ❖ Benjamin Thompson, Sr. –Baptist--about 1783 until about 1789

(Carolyn Bryant Faz, personal communication April 10, 2008).

Interestingly, Samuel Whatley and Benjamin Thompson's son, Benjamin Thompson, Jr. both fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. Another member of the Presbyterian clergy, who may have been associated with the church at Kettle Creek, was Reverend Robert M. Cunningham. Although most of his preaching career was spent in other states, Cunningham was a native Georgian. Most of his preaching career was located beyond Wilkes County, Georgia. Reverend Cunningham died in 1839 (McKay 2008).

Clearly, Kettle Creek was an important place in the development of the Protestant faith in the Georgia frontier in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While this aspect may not be directly related to the February 14, 1779 battle, the church may have played a role (or have been influenced) in its aftermath, particularly regarding the selection of a cemetery location for the church congregation. The existence of the first Liberty Presbyterian Church on Kettle Creek is well established in historical literature but the precise location of this church and its relationship with the Kettle Creek battlefield remains unclear. The church was likely not yet constructed at the time of the battle. The location of the burial of the war dead from the February 14 battle is currently unknown, but it is quite possible that the area containing a mass grave for soldiers may have continued in use as a cemetery in the years immediately following the battle. No historic references were located to confirm this assertion. No early deeds or plats were located that point to a more precise location of the church or the cemetery. Archeological reconnaissance in 2008 failed to locate the possible cemetery ruins visited by Davis in 1974, as will be discussed later in the archeological findings chapter. While historic cemeteries are generally considered ineligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, the mortuary resources at Kettle Creek transcend these standard criteria for two reasons. The burial sites of the Patriots and Loyalists who fought at Kettle Creek are of national and international historical importance. The establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Georgia also is a topic of widespread historical interest. These topics will remain a subject for future study.

PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Matt McDaniel (2002a) conducted a study of Kettle Creek (and other battlefields in Georgia) for the American Battle Protection Program of the National Park Service. McDaniel's thesis also contained information gleaned from this study (McDaniel 2002b). McDaniel conducted a reconnaissance survey of the Kettle Creek battlefield vicinity in 2001, although since his visit many hundred of acres of the forest land surrounding the Wilkes County property, which is currently owned by Plum Creek Timber, was clear-cut and replanted in pines. McDaniel offered this about the adverse effect caused by continued timbering in the battlefield area,

The single-biggest threat to the Kettle Creek site is continued timbering in its immediate vicinity. Although land adjacent to the memorial park has not been timbered recently, no regulations would prevent it. Evidence of clear-cut logging can be seen within a few miles of the park, and a number of small clearings have been made in much closer proximity. If any additional historical research or archaeological evidence reveals the extent of the battle to be larger than the park and its immediate surrounding, archaeological evidence, if not already so, could be severely damaged or lost (McDaniel 2002b:96).

Archeological research in Wilkes County by professional archeologists has been quite limited. A review of the Georgia Archaeological Site File (GASF) at the University of Georgia, Athens, revealed no previously recorded archeological sites or formal archeological surveys within a three mile radius of the battlefield. No formal archeological studies are documented for the Kettle Creek battlefield vicinity, prior to the present study.

IV. The Participants

This chapter details the findings from the historical research conducted on the people who participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. As a preamble to this discussion, we offer this capsule summary of the Battle of Kettle Creek. Table 1 contains a timeline of important events in the American Revolution, particularly as they pertained to the Kettle Creek story. Table 2 presents an order of battle for the Patriots in the February 13th engagement, which was reconstructed on the basis of the present historical research. The list of captains commanding the Patriot companies from South Carolina and Georgia also has missing parts. One or more of the captains listed under Elijah Clarke's command may actually have been commanded by John Dooly but this is not indicated by the review of surviving historical documents. This summary is followed by biographical information on the Patriot militias and Loyalist militia who were involved in the conflict. Additional information on soldiers in the conflict is contained in Appendix II.

PATRIOT MILITIA

The Patriots in the southern states who had not joined the Continental Army were organized by county (Jacobsen 2003). The concept of "minuteman" was an American invention that predated the American Revolution. Minutemen were militia soldiers who were ready to serve on a minute's notice. This term won popular appeal, associated first with Massachusetts militia troops in battles at Lexington and Concord. The concept spread to other states, including Georgia. Elijah Clarke's troops were frequently referred to as minutemen, as well as riflemen, mounted horsemen, and militiamen. Wilkes County was an American frontier before and during the American Revolution. Citizen settlers in this region were accustomed to defending themselves against Indian attack, which came with little or no warning. When the Revolution began, hostile Tories were added to that defensive equation. Numerous veterans stated in their pension applications that their garrison and ranging services, while posted in Wilkes County, were intended mostly to protect the citizenry from Indian and Tory attack.

The South Carolina militia from the Ninety-Six District was commanded by General Andrew Williamson. At the time of the battle at Kettle Creek, General Williamson and most of the South Carolina militia were headquartered near Adams Ferry, opposite from Augusta, Georgia in present-day Aiken County, South Carolina. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell of the British 71st Regiment included a map of Williamson's camp at Adams Ferry in his journal (Campbell 1981: Plate III). The South Carolina militia was organized into two regiments. Colonel Andrew Pickens commanded the regiment that was involved in the battle of Kettle Creek. Another South Carolina militia regiment was commanded by Colonel John Hammond.

Pickens' militia regiment consisted of fewer than 350 men in February, 1779. Colonel Dooly placed the number of South Carolina militiamen significantly lower, at 200 men. Colonel Pickens' regiment in the battle was composed of at least 11 companies, commanded by Captains: Baskins, Casey, Collins, Hamilton, Hays, Hill, Jones, McCall, Miller, Moore, and Noble. Captain Casey's company, which was greatly reduced, had been detached to serve under Pickens and was not normally part of his regiment. Captain Andrew Miller was being held prisoner by Colonel Boyd at the beginning of the battle.

Private Edward Doyle attested in his pension application that Pickens' expedition against Colonel Boyd consisted of "300 mounted militia" on the Patriot side (Footnote.com 2008 [Edward Doyle S32216]). His statement indicates that all of Pickens' troops were mounted. In "A Return of the Detachment of Light Horse Commanded by Colo Andrew Pickens Camp at Fargason Plantation June 21, 1779", a detachment of troops under Colonel Pickens' command numbered 102. Pickens' return is summarized in Table 3.

Table 1. Timeline of Significant Engagements and Events in the American Revolution.

Year	Month/Day	Engagement or Event
1773	8/3	Treaty of Augusta, resulting in Ceded Lands, now Wilkes County
1774	1/14	Creeks and Cherokees attack William Sherrill's fort, panic in British colonies
1774	10/20	Creeks reaffirm 1773 peace treaty with British
1775	2/5	Wilkes County created. County militia formed
1775	11/21	Battle of Ninety-Six, South Carolina
1776	2/27	Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. North Carolina, Loyalists defeat, 850 captured
1776	7/4	Declaration of Independence signed
1776	August	South Carolina campaign destroys 13 Lower Cherokee towns
1776	August	1 st East Florida campaign, Patriots withdraw
1777	March	2 nd East Florida campaign, Patriots withdraw
1777	5/20	Treaty of Dewitt's Corner, S.C. between Cherokees, Georgia & South Carolina
1778	June	3 rd East Florida campaign, Patriots withdraw
1778	6/30	Lieutenant Colonel Clarke routed at Alligator Creek
1778	November	Campbell's force sails from Sandy Hook, New Jersey for Savannah
1778	12/29	Battle and British capture of Savannah
1779	1/9	Siege and British capture of Sunbury, Georgia
1779	1/26	Colonel Dooly and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke receive their officer commissions
1779	1/31	Campbell's troops capture Augusta, Georgia
1779	2/10	Siege of Carr's Fort, Wilkes County, Georgia
1779	2/11	Battle of Vann's Creek, Georgia. Patriot defeat; Loyalist have heavy losses
1779	2/13	British forces retreat southward from Augusta
1779	2/14	Battle of Kettle Creek. Patriot victory
1779	3/3	Battle of Brier Creek, Georgia. British victory
1779	March	Trial of Loyalists at Ninety-Six, 5 hanged
1779	6/20	Battle of Stono Ferry, South Carolina. British victory
1779	March	Colonel Taitt and Loyalist Indians destroy five Wilkes County forts
1779	March	Colonels Pickens and Dooly battle Taitt near Gunnell's fort
1779	10/9	Failed siege and battle of Savannah by Allied forces, British victory
1780	5/12	British siege and capture of Charleston, South Carolina
1780	5/12	British regain control of Augusta
1780	May	Parole of Colonel John Dooly and his men
1780	6/20	Battle of Ramsour's Mill, South Carolina. Patriot victory
1780	8/8	Battle of Wofford's Iron Works, South Carolina
1780	8/16	Battle of Camden, South Carolina. British victory
1780	8/19	Battle of Musgrove's Mill, South Carolina. Patriot victory
1780	9/14-18	1 st Siege of Augusta by Clarke. British victory
1780	September	Elijah Clarke leads fellow Wilkes County refugees to mountains
1780	10/7	Battle of King's Mountain. Patriot victory
1780	11/20	Battle of Blackstock's, South Carolina
1780	12/12	Battle of Long Cane Creek, South Carolina. British victory
1781	1/17	Battle of Cowpens. Patriot victory
1781	5/23-6/5	2 nd Siege of Augusta. Patriot victory
1781	6/18	British defend Fort Ninety-Six
1781	10/17	S.C. and Georgia militia end campaign against 13 Lower Cherokee towns
1781	10/19	Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, Virginia
1782	1/19	Major General Anthony Wayne's Continentals enters Georgia
1782	April	Clarke joins with Wayne's army at New Ebenezer
1782	7/10	British evacuate Savannah
1782	9/17	Pickens and Clarke end campaign against Cherokee towns
1783	5/31	State of Georgia signs treaty with Cherokee and Creeks at Augusta
1783	9/3	Treaty of Paris signed, Revolutionary War ends

Table 2. Patriots Order of Battle, Kettle Creek, February 14, 1779.

Kettle Creek, February 14, 1779	
ORDER OF BATTLE, PATRIOTS	
<i>South Carolina and Georgia militia, North Carolina Light Horse detachment</i>	
Commanding Colonel Andrew Pickens	
Center	<i>South Carolina militia</i>
	<i>Advance</i>
	Right division
	Captain James McCall, Jr.
	Captain Andrew Hamilton
	Captain Alexander Noble
	Captain James Baskins
	Captain William Baskins
	Captain Joseph Collins
	Captain James Hays
	Captain James Jones
	Captain Samuel Moore
	Captain Andrew Miller (Lt. __, commd.)
	Captain Thomas Weems
	Captain Joseph Pickens
	Captain Robert Anderson
	Captain William McGaw
	Captain McCrary
	Captain John Norwood
	<i>Undetermined</i>
	Captain Levi Casey
	Captain John Hill
	Captain Hugh McCall
	<i>North Carolina militia, Light Horse detachment</i>
	Colonel Tutt (absent)
	Captain Adam Hampton
	Captain Henry Turney
	<i>Georgia militia</i>
<i>Commanding</i>	Colonel John Dooly, Battalion
Right flank	Major Burwell Smith
	Captain Alexander Noble
	Captain John Cunningham
	Captain Joseph Collins
	Captain George Dooly
	Captain James Little
	Captain Robert Carr (Lt. John E. Autry, commd.)
	Captain Josiah Dunn (killed)
	Captain Stephen Heard
	Captain Bernard Heard
	Captain William Freeman
Left flank	Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke, Georgia militia
	Major John Lindsey
	Captain Charles Jordan, Jr.
	Captain Isham Burkes
	Captain Daniel Gunnells
	Captain Joseph Nail, Sr.
	Captain John Pope
	Captain John Barnett
	Captain [unidentified] (Lt. McClelland, commd.)
	Captain McClean
	Captain Samuel Beckham
	Captain James Cartledge
	<i>Undetermined</i>
	Captain John Gunnells
	Captain __ Stewart
	Captain Benjamin Catchings

A detachment of North Carolina militia, including at least two companies of Light Horse, rode to the assistance of Colonel Pickens and these men fought at Kettle Creek. These men were commanded by Captains Adam Hampton and Henry Turney. Their regiment was commanded by Colonel Tutt, who was not likely present in the battle. The evidence for the participation of the North Carolina Light Horse was not contained in any published histories on the battle of Kettle Creek. It was recognized by the present research effort while reviewing pension records of participants in the battle (Footnote.com 2008 [Joseph Dunn S12811]).

Captain David Wilson commanded a company of “light horse” from Mecklenburg County, North Carolina in February, 1779. Wilson’s company participated in the campaign against the Loyalist uprising (Tompkins 1903:38). Private William Tucker served in Captain Wilson’s company was part of a regiment under command of Colonel Matthew Lock [probably Colonel Francis Locke] in 1780 (Footnote.com 2008 [William Tucker R18574]). Major [David?] Wilson commanded the North Carolina militia and served under Colonel Francis Lock in the battle of Ramsour’s Mill, North Carolina in 1780 (Sherman 2003). Our research was unable to determine if Captain Wilson’s company fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. The company participated in the battle of Brier Creek on March 3, 1779, however, so the company was active in the Savannah River watershed. Private Hugh Forbus served in Captain Wilson’s company and he stated in his pension application that he was discharged on February 1, 1779 at the Savannah River (Footnote.com 2008 [Hugh Forbus pension application S5853]).

Table 3. Troop Return of Pickens' Detachment, June 21, 1779.

A Return of the Detachment of Light Horse Commanded by Colo Andrew Pickens Camp at Fargason Plantation June 21, 1779.	
<i>In Camp Present fit for Duty</i>	
<i>Head Officers Commanding Officers</i>	
Colonels	1
Captains	2
Lieutenants	9
Adjutants	1
Quarter Master	1
<i>Non Commanding Officers & Privates</i>	
Sergeant Major	1
Drum Major	1
Sergeants	8
Rank & file	<u>69</u>
<i>Total</i>	93
<i>Sick</i>	
<i>Commanding Officers</i>	
Captains	1
Rank & file	<u>7</u>
<i>Total</i>	8
<i>Killed Wounded & Missing</i>	
<i>Non Commissioned Officers & Privates</i>	
Rank & File	<u>1</u>
<i>Total</i>	1
(Adapted from Pickens 1779).	

A preliminary list of soldiers in the South Carolina and North Carolina militia who were almost certainly participants in the battle of Kettle Creek is presented in Table 4. This table also includes soldiers in the North Carolina militia (Light Horse), who were detached to serve under Colonel Pickens in the February 1779 campaign). A more exhaustive list, which includes soldiers who were possibly present, or whose status in the battle was not determined is provided in Appendix II.

The Georgia militia was commanded by Governor John Houston in January, 1779. Houston, a resident of Vernonburg, Georgia, was elected governor in 1778 and had taken office on January 10, 1778. The Georgia government was in a state of disarray by February, 1779 and was experiencing major problems, not the least of which included the British capture of Savannah in 1778. Savannah had been the seat of government of the State of Georgia. The death of Governor Button Gwinnett created other

problems. In addition, John Houston had led the Georgia troops on their third failed attempt to conquer British East Florida.

The next State governor of Georgia and commander of the Georgia militia was William Glascock. Governor Glascock took office as President of the Executive Council on January 10, 1779 and ended his service prematurely on July 24, 1779. Glascock took office less than a month before the battle of Kettle Creek in the midst of the capture of Sunbury and Ebenezer and just after the capture of Savannah, so it is unlikely that he had any significant influence in the military action in Wilkes County in February, 1779.

Governor Glascock's seat of government was at Augusta but even that location would fall to the British by late January, 1779, when Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's troops took the town.

Table 4. South Carolina and North Carolina Militiamen at Kettle Creek.

Name	Rank	Regiment/Battn.	Company
<i>South Carolina militia</i>			
Andrew Pickens	Col.	Pickens' Regt.	COMMANDER
Andrew Hamilton	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Hamilton's Co.
	Acting Major		
Robert Anderson	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
James Baskin	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	J. Baskin's Co.
William Baskin	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	W. Baskin's Co.
James Hays	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Hays' Co.
Adam C. Jones	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Jones' Co.
Hugh McCall	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	H. McCall's Co.
James McCall	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	J. McCall's Co.
William McGaw	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	McGaw's Co.
Andrew Miller	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Miller's Co.
Samuel Moore	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Moore's Co.
Alexander Noble	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Noble's Co.
John Norwood	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Norwood's Co.
Joseph Pickens	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	Pickens' Co.
George Reed	Capt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Francis Carlisle	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Alexander Ramsey	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Thomas Ramsey	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.
Samuel Reed	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	Reed's Co.
Samuel Roseman	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	
William Strain	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Joseph Wardlaw	Lt.	Pickens' Regt.	Prisoner
Thomas Langdon	Surgeon	Pickens' Regt.	Staff
William Buchanan	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Prisoner
James Calvert	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
William Carithers/Carothers/Carruthers	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Absolom Davis	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Samuel Emory Davis	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Edward Doyle	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Casey's Co.
Robert Ellis	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
James Gillison	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.
James Jones	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
John Laird/Loard	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Lt. McClelland's Co.
Benjamin Lawrence	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
Robert Long	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	McCrary's Co.
James Luckie	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Norwood's Co.
Samuel Mayfield	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
John McAdams/McAdam	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Jones' Co.
Joseph/John McClaskey	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Weems' Co.
Joseph McMillen	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
Elijah Moore	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Moore's Co.
Alexander Patterson, Sr.	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
William Pickens	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.

Table 4. South Carolina and North Carolina Militiamen at Kettle Creek (continued).

Matthew Robinson	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.
William Spear, Sr.	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	H. McCall's Co.
John Trimble	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.
Dempsey Tyner	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	Miller's Co.
John Verner, Jr.	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.
David Verner	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.
John Warnock	Pvt.	Pickens' Regt.	
Name	Rank	Regiment/Battn.	Company
Nathaniel Austin		Pickens' Regt.	
William Bell		Pickens' Regt.	Weems' Co
David Davis		Pickens' Regt.	Caruthers' Co.
James Dillard		Pickens' Regt.	
Thomas Holland		Pickens' Regt.	
William Luckie, Jr.		Pickens' Regt.	
William McMaster		Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.
Mordecia/Mordica Miller		Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.
John Prater		Pickens' Regt.	
William Smith		Pickens' Regt.	
David Waters		Pickens' Regt.	
William Williams		Pickens' Regt.	
John Boyer	Capt.	Lile's Regt.	Boyer's Co.
William Wofford	Col.	Wofford's Regt.	Prisoner

North Carolina militia, Light Horse

Adam Hampton	Capt.	Hampton's Regt.	Hampton's Co.
Henry Turney	Capt.	Hampton's Regt.	Turney's Co.
John McClain	Lt.	Hampton's Regt.	Hampton's Co.
Joseph Dunn	Pvt.	Hampton's Regt.	Hampton's Co.

Unknown militia affiliation

James Lamar
Benjamin Joyner

The Georgia militia was organized by the counties where they were formed. Militiamen who were involved in the battle at Kettle Creek included men from Wilkes and Richmond counties. Wilkes County was created on February 5, 1777. A militia regiment existed in the vicinity of the Ceded Lands of Wilkes County prior to that date. Citizens of the State of Georgia were called to duty in the militia for a period usually lasting three months. The 1833 pension application of Private William Gilliland, Sr., who served in the Wilkes County militia, contained an explanation of the militia organizational process.

As soon as I arrived at the age of 15 years, which was in November 1776, I was placed on the muster roll. The men of Wilkes about this time were divided into three classes each of those classes served every three months guarding the frontiers of Georgia during the year 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780, in one of those classes I served as a private my regular tours and in each of the four named years ending in the month of June 1780. That is four months in each of the first named years and two in the last during this time of the Regiment in which I served as a private was commanded by Colonel John Dooly of Wilkes County in the State of Georgia in a company commanded a part of the time by Captain Walker of Wilkes County and the balance of the time Captain Ware. I[n] September 1780 I volunteered and joined as a Private the Georgia refugees commanded by Colonel Elijah Clarke of Wilkes County the Company in which I served was commanded by Captain Dunn about this time...(Footnote.com 2008 [William Gilliland W7533]).

The Executive Council of Georgia met on January 26, 1779, where: "A return being made from the County of Wilkes for Officers elected for said County Viz, John Dooly, Colonel; Elijah Clark, Lieutenant Colonel;

and Burwell Smith, Major; Commissions were accordingly made out and delivered” (Candler 2001). One regiment of Georgia militia participated in the battle of Kettle Creek.

Colonel Dooly’s regiment in the battle was composed of two battalions, although they were never described as such. Dooly commanded one of these battalions and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke commanded the other. Dooly’s battalion consisted of at least five companies, commanded by Captains: Cunningham, [John] Gunnels, Little, Nail, and Noble. Dooly’s second in command was Major Burwell Smith. Captain James Little had been severely wounded a few days earlier in an engagement with Colonel Boyd’s regiment on the Savannah River. Because of his wounds it is unlikely that Captain Little was able to command his company at Kettle Creek, and it is uncertain whether he was actually present on the battlefield.

Lieutenant Colonel Clarke’s battalion in the battle was composed of at least eight companies, commanded by Captains: [John] Autry, [Alexander] Autry, Barber, Beckham, Burkes, Cartledge, and Williamson. Researchers were unable to determine the identity of the remaining company commander. The pension claim of Levin Watson, who served under Clarke’s command before and after Kettle Creek but not during, noted that he [Watson] was in “the Horse Company Elijah Clarke’s Regiment.” Watson’s statement implies that an entire company of Clarke’s command was mounted. Other companies under Clarke’s command were also mounted militia, including Captain Burke’s company. The ratio of infantry to horsemen in the Georgia militia in 1779 is a question deserving more consideration. It is quite likely that all of Clarke’s troops were mounted at the battle of Kettle Creek.

Only a few rosters of the Wilkes County militia have survived from the Revolutionary War period. Lists of soldiers in Major Burwell Smith and Captain Robert Carr’s companies provide a glimpse of how these militia companies were organized and which families were linked to two of the company commanders. Over the course of the war, the association of companies with Colonel John Dooly became a distant memory and most veterans who made statements about their service in the Wilkes County militia identified their commander as Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, or General Elijah Clarke. Since John Dooly accepted a parole in May, 1780 and was killed soon afterward, he had no role in the remaining years of the war. Elijah Clarke, on the other hand, did not accept any parole and he commanded the Georgia militia in numerous bloody campaigns after Kettle Creek. Clarke achieved a degree of notoriety and was well regarded by his fellow soldiers. Their pride in being part of Clarke’s militia is reflected in their pension statements of the 1830s.

A preliminary list of soldiers in the Georgia militia who were almost certainly participants in the battle of Kettle Creek is presented in Table 5. A more exhaustive list, which includes soldiers who were possibly present and those whose status in the battle is undetermined, is provided in Appendix II.

Table 5. Georgia Militiamen Who Fought at Kettle Creek.

Name	Rank	Regiment/Battn.	Company
John Dooly	Col.	Dooly's Battn.	2nd in command
Elijah Clark/Clarke	Lt. Col.	Clarke's Battn.	3rd in command
Benjamin Catchings	Maj.		Catchings' Co.
John Lindsey	Maj.	Clarke's Battn.	Lindsey's Co.
Burwell Smith	Maj.	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.
Isham Burks/Burke	Capt.	Clarke's Battn.	I. Burke's Co.
Joseph Collins	Capt.	Dooly's Battn.	Collins' Co.
John Cunningham	Capt.		Cunningham's Co.
George Dooly	Capt.	Dooly's Battn.	G. Dooly's Co.
William Freeman	Capt.		W. Freeman's Co.
Daniel Gunnells	Capt.	Clarke's Battn.	D. Gunnell's Co.
Stephen Heard	Capt.	Dooly's Battn.	S. Heard's Co.
James H. Little	Capt.		Little's Co.
William Martin	Capt.	Clarke's Battn.	Martin's Co.

Table 5. Georgia Militiamen Who Fought at Kettle Creek (continued).

Joseph Nail, Sr.	Capt.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
Dyonisius Oliver	Capt.		
_Stewart/Stuart	Capt.		Stewart's Co.
George Barber, Sr.	1st Lt.	Clarke's Battn.	
William Black	Lt.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
John Freeman	Lt.		
Jesse Gordon	Lt.	Clarke's Battn.	Gunnell's Co.
Benjamin Hart	Lt.		
Stephen Bartley Westbrook, Sr.	Lt.		
Micajah Williamson	Lt.	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.
Ezekial Cloud	Ens.	Dooly's Battn.	
Joseph Nail, Jr.	Ens.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
Lloyd Kelley	Sgt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
David H. Thurmond	Sgt.	Clarke's Battn.	Gunnell's Co.
William Anderson	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.
Alexander Autry, Sr.	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
Nathan Barnett	Pvt.		
John Black	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
Micajah Brooks, Sr.	Pvt.		
Michael Buckhalter	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
Austin/Asten Dabney	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
John Favor	Pvt.		
Owen Fluker	Pvt.		
Charle Gent	Pvt.		Gunnell's Co.
James Graves	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
Robert Hammett	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
William Hammett	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
Walton Harris	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
William Holliday, Jr.	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
Jesse Hooper	Pvt.		Little's Co.
David Madden	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
Benijah/Benajah Noridyke	Pvt.		
Wylie Pope	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
Peter Strozier	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	
Benjamin Thompson, Jr.	Pvt.	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.
Austin Webb	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
John Webb	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.
Name	Rank	Regiment/Battn.	Company
Samuel Whatley	Pvt.		
James Williams	Pvt.	Clarke's Battn.	
Nancy Hart	Civilian		
Elijah Bankston		Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.
John Clark/Clarke		Clarke's Battn.	
William Daniell		Clarke's Battn.	
George Darden, Sr.			
William J. Foster			
Morgan Hart			
Jesse Heard			
Drake Kade [Drury Cade]			
Frederick Lawrence			

Table 5. Georgia Militiamen Who Fought at Kettle Creek (continued).

Beckham May	
Thomas Rainey	
John Simmons, Sr.	Clarke's Battn.
Richard Tyner	
Thomas Wooten, Jr.	Clarke's Battn.

BIOGRAPHIES OF SELECTED PATRIOT PARTICIPANTS

Colonel Andrew Pickens

Colonel Andrew Pickens commanded the South Carolina militia and was the senior commander in charge of the combined Georgia and South Carolina militias in the engagement at Kettle Creek (Pickens 1934; Ferguson 1960; Waring 1962). Several early 19th century images of Andrew Pickens are known (Lane and Browne 1906, Volume III: 1155). The earliest surviving representation of Andrew Pickens was an engraving published in Charlton's (1809) biography of James Jackson (not shown). James Barton Longacre made an engraving of Andrew Pickens late in life, which was based on an earlier (1835) painting by artist Thomas Sully. Sully's original portrait of Pickens is in the Smithsonian Institution. Figure 8 shows a portion of this portrait.

General Andrew Pickens provides a post-war account in an 1811 letter to Henry Lee detailing the events leading up to the battle of Kettle Creek. Colonel Pickens is said to have remarked that, "the severest conflict I ever had with the disaffected Tories was in Georgia at Kettle Creek in 1779" (Pickens 1811). Pickens' 1811 version of the Kettle Creek battle began with a summary of events on the preceding days:

The plan had previously been laid in New York by the British commander with a Col. Boyd who commanded the Tories when Savannah was taken by the British. Col. Camble [Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell] was advanced to Augusta. When this was done Boyd who had returned from New York was to notify the disaffected on the Western frontier of North and South Carolina and force his way along the frontier into Georgia and join Gen. Camble [Campbell] at Augusta. Genl. Williamson went with the Militia except part of my regiment to oppose Campbells crossing Savannah river. My regiment was mostly small detachments on the frontier from Saluda to Savannah River to guard against incursion of Indians.

Coln. Campbell detached Coln. Hamilton, now camped in Virginia with 200 mounted mostly irregulars up Savannah river on the Georgia Side. The Whigs of Wilkes County fled to the Carolina side of the river and gave me immediate notice.

I immediately went down with what men I could hastily collect and ordered other to follow me. I met at the river Generals Dooley and Clark with about 100 men. Hamilton appeared the next morning and shewed intention of crossing the river, but we had secured all the flats on the Carolina side. - I had enough to cross and guard the place which were necessary. We maneuvered opposit each other for two days up and down the river for ten miles- on the evening of the second day he disappeared - I immediately sent two men to reconneiter to know whether it was a feint or whether he was gone some distance -

They returned and informed me that he had taken the road to a fort about 10 miles from the River where there were some old men with some women and children - I immediately commenced crossing the river and as we had but one fort at the place and all horsemen it was nearly break of day before we got all over - When we all had gotten over, I had the men paraded for as Dooley was a full Colonel in Georgia and I in Carolina he then had command - Clark was then Lieut. Col. under Dooley -I then spoke to Dooley and told him that unless he gave up the full Command to me I would not proceed further to which he readily consented and then spoke to the men and told them that I was determined to pursue the enemy and attack him wherever I found him and that if any wished they might return: but further that I was determined to be obeyed to which they all heartily agreed. As soon as it was clear light we proceeded with all the rapidity possible and when we came to the fort where they had stayed that night, they had just left it and said they were going to Kerr's fort which was [a]bout twelve miles further -

I then dispatched two men on good horses who were well acquainted with the country to get to the fort before them, advise those in the fort to shut their gates and keep them shut out, for that I would certanily be there in a short time after them -They got into the fort but were so neglectful or stupid as not to mention their business until Hamilton stepped in after them. His

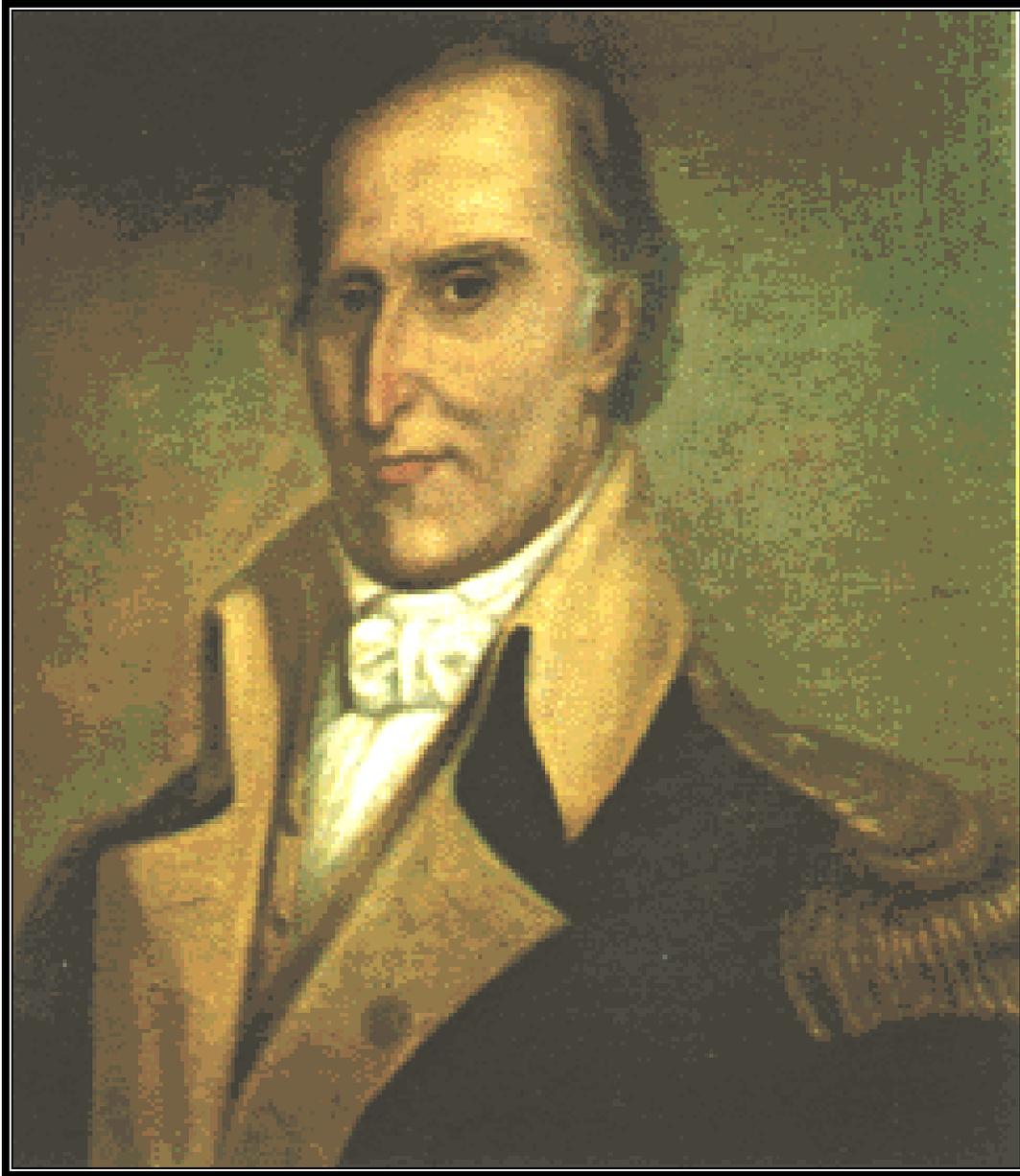


Figure 8. General Andrew Pickens (Sully 1835).

rear had not got quiet to the fort when my advance fired on them. They took to the fort and when firing commenced I had several men wounded - We got a few into a small house near the fort which annoyed them much -

At length I sent a flag desiring them to surrender and save the effusion of blood - Hamilton refused it - I then sent desiring him to let the women and children come out which he also refused - It was an old stockade fort full of little old cabins very dry - as soon as it was dark I intended to sett it on fire and had prepared light wood for this purpose upon a waggon which would have been rolled down the descent of a hill against the gates along a smooth road which led to it -just as it was growing dark I received a particular account of Col. Boyd and his tories advancing along the frontier of South Carolina and was expected to reach Savannah River that night to the number of seven hundred men there was no time to be lost -

I ordered the wounded men to be taken off, called the principal officers together and communicated to them the intelligence - It was immediatley agreed to cross the Savannah River and try to intercept them if possible - We immediately kindled a long line of fires just over the top of the ridge which ran parallel with the fort about 150 yards from it, so that they could see the light of the fire from the fort - then horses, saddles and bridles were all taken many were tied to the stockades - We got to the Savannah River early the next morning, got over that day and ten or twelve miles on the Carolina side, but could get no certain account of where Boyd with his party was -Early next morning I sent two or three active men with good horses to

proceed up the River and when they got certain intelligence of the Enemy one to return and in meantime I would proceed up the river as far as possible. About the middle of the day one returned. I had then gone 14 miles up the river.

He informed me that Boyd with upward of 700 men had crossed the river above the settlement on rafts - Cpts. Anderson, Baskins and Miller and my brother, a captain had crossed Savannah River at the Cherokee ford with about 80 men expecting to prevent Boyd from Crossing but as his men had gotten mostly over before they were got up they attacked him, not knowing what numbers he crossed and were defeated. He had seen Anderson who had informed him of his defeat.

We then halted, Capt. Baskin and Miller were made prisoners with some men. When Captains Anderson and Pickens came in and gave us a full account of this business, numbers who had not turned out at first had joined us, we amounted to about 400 men - officers and men willingly agreed to pursue them, we re-crossed the river that evening and sent out spies to discover the rout they had taken who returned in the night but could give us satisfactory intelligence -

As soon as light sent out again and directed them to proceed up Broad River the Western bank of Savannah River till they found the trail, in the mean time I would proceed up the river until I head from them, knowing that they might cross that river to get to the British at Augusta and as it was then above the (hostilities) could get us information of them until we could find their rout (Pickens 1811, in Draper mss; Lee 1969 [1811]).

General Pickens went on to describe the Kettle Creek battle:

...In the evening (my spies returned) and had seen them re-crossing Broad River (for 10 miles higher up) and had taken a stragler prisoner who could give satisfactory information respecting them. - I then immediately crossed the river to the South side (desiring) to get between them and Augusta and still keep a few active men ahead to reconnoiter and give intelligence - In the dark of the evening their (spies) came in sight of ours and exchanged a few shots, but without hurt to either party - we left - down that night as soon as light next morning proceeded and (about sunrise came again) on their tracks we proceeded but a short distance when we came to where they had encamped -

We traveled on as far and with as much caution until about (10) o'clock we heard this drum or hoisted their colors since they had crossed Savannah River - I then halted, examined and had our guns fresh fitted and primed and told my men that if any of them had anything to eat to divide [it] with their comrades. I then made arrangements for the attack expecting to come up upon their flank, Col. Dooley had the right division (line) and Col. Clark the left with orders when we come up with their escorts press forward on their flank while I would press forward upon their rear - We then move on out with my divisions and I went on with the center on their trail with a small advance with orders when they discovered any of the enemy not to fire first but immediately let me know - The enemy had not gone more than two miles from where they had (beat their drums) [broke camp] when they halted at Kettle Creek to kill some cattle wich they found there and cook their breakfast-

On their front was the Creek, both (margins) of which were grown thick with (cover) in their rear was a cleared field 1/2 of a mile in thier (sic) rear was a beef killed and a few men butchering it. My advance - pretty near before they discovered them being too eager and not attending to their orders they imprudently fired on them which gave the alarm -

Boyd being (of British Practices) advanced immediatley with a party of men through the field to the edge of the woods and concealing them behind old trees which had fallen down and an old fence - The main body was drawn up along the edge of the (cane) creek which came in circular from round on the right.

I advanced with the center to the top of the hill where Boyd was concealed with his party - As I had the men formed in a line advancing on their line, we received a fire from his party, which killed and wounded a few men. We were within thirty yards before they fired or we discovered them as they lay flat on the ground. They immediately fled down through the cleared ground to their main body - Fortunately for us, when Boyd had run about 100 yards, three balls passed through him. - The action then became general and (warm) confused for about twenty minutes, they called for us much out of the cover. The divisions on the flank did not press as I wished them to cross the creek above and below.

This was not for want of courage but for want of experience and knowledge of the necessity of obeying orders - They retreated across the creek and formed on a rising ground. We pressed though the cane, the action was renewed mor[e] obstinately and continued near half an hour - As they had the advantage of the grounds they contended obstinately but at length gave way -

Then when about 70 of the enemy killed on the ground and many wounded We took a number of prisoners, nearly all their horses and bridles with a number of good rifles which they had collected in their progress (our losses were inconsiderable) though some brave men fell and some died of their wounds and the prisoners which they had were recovered -

I left a few of the prisoners to bury their dead with a promise that they might return to their families if they would return to me which they did - It was dark before we got from the ground. I brought off all my own wounded and re-crossed the Savannah River the next morning at Fort Charlotte....The defeat of Col. Boyd with the dispersion of the Indians with Tate completely disappointed the designs of the British at that time - Col. Campbell soon retreated from Augusta and went below (Brier) Creek - There was not a gun fired between him and Williamson all this time opposite each other at Augusta - there I believe Williamson was corrected and nothing of consequence happened in separate command further till after the fall of Charleston (and his) almost constantly on duty -

I have been very particular in my account of the affair of Kettle Creek because the circumstances which led to it were not generally known and because I believe it was the severest check and chastisement the tories ever received in South Carolina or Georgia (Pickens 1811, in Draper mss; Lee 1969 [1811]).

Colonel John Dooly

Colonel John Dooly (1740-1780) commanded the Wilkes County militia at the battle of Kettle Creek. Davis (2006a) provides the most recent and accurate biographical sketch of John Dooly. Many previous historians wrote short biographies of the man. Dooly achieved fame as a Georgia Patriot. Sherwood (1837:271-272) wrote:

Colonel John Dooly was born in Wilkes County, North Carolina, of Irish parentage, about 1740. About the commencement of the Revolution he removed to the Edgefield District, South Carolina, and soon became a distinguished partisan officer. After this he settled in Lincoln County, Georgia, 40 miles above Augusta, on the Savannah, at a plantation now called Egypt. Here he was a terror to the Tories. He distinguished himself in several skirmishes, and especially at the battle of Kettle Creek, in Wilkes, in 1779, where he commanded a regiment.

John Dooly was a commanding officer in a Light Horse company of Georgia militia. Dooly followed Colonel Jacob Colson, who died in 1777, and Colonel John Coleman, who commanded the company in 1778. The Executive Council of Georgia met on September 8, 1778 and ordered, "That Commissions be made out for the Officers of Wilkes County agreeable to a return made to this Board by Colo. John Dooly". The Council was concerned because, "the alarming situation of the Western frontiers renders it absolutely necessary that the Militia now on scouting duty in Wilkes County should be supplied with provisions during the time they are actually on duty" (Candler 1908, Volume II:100).

John Dooly received his commission as a Colonel in the Wilkes County militia on January 26, 1779, only weeks prior to the battle at Kettle Creek (Candler 1908, Volume 2:136-137). Colonel John Dooly commanded the regiment of the Georgia militia at Kettle Creek. Although Colonel Dooly held command of the entire Wilkes County militia, he deferred to Colonel Pickens as the senior officer in the expedition against Colonel Boyd.

John Dooly provides us with the best first-hand account of the battle, which was written in a letter to Brigadier General Samuel Elbert from Colonel Dooly's camp at Cowan's Ferry, South Carolina, on February 16, 1779, only two days after the battle. Dooly's letter, which was transcribed verbatim by Robert Scott Davis, Jr., read:

I arrived here last night out of Georgia after having one of the Severest Marches that I Ever had in my Life. I Crossed Savannah River on the 12th of this Instant about Ten miles above fort Charlotte with Colo. Pickens with about 140 of my Right. And Colo Pickens had about 200 of his Rigt. And we then pursued Colo Boyds and Mores Rigiments of Tories and horse-thieves and the 14th we overtook them near Phillips fort at Kettle Creek Killing Some Beefs and we Emedantly fired on Some of there party and in a few Minets it became a General Engagement and held for about 15 minets Vary hot and then they Retrated a Cross the Creek through a Large Cane Swamp and Imbodied them Selves on the other Side on a hill and wee Pursued them over the Creek and first we had some Diffiquilty in getting our Men a Cross the Creek and I think upon my honoiur that from the first of the Engagement to the Last it was at least 3 ours Constant firing and Some Times it appeared to me that they fired 200 guns at us in half a Minet but not withstanding they had at Least 700 Men we Drove the Villens and beat them a fair fight wounded there great Colo Boyd for Death and Left him on the ground and Took there Collers [Colors] and from the best accounts I can get from the Prisnors we Kild or wounded Colo More as he Could not be found by his own people after the Engagement was over we Left about 20 or more of there min Dead on the ground and a number wounded and a good Many of them Vary Mortel and we had 4 our wounded Died on our Return and I am affraid Some more of our Men Will Die on of my Captains was badly wounded a fine Soldier Capt Little and I bleave we had no other officers Kild or wounded but I must assure you Sir that Most of our officers and Men behaveed Vary Well Colo Pickens and Colo Clark behaved wonderful well and acted with a Great Deal of Courage and Spirit. Colo Clark had his horse Shot Down from under him and I am Sure that it must be nothing but the hand of Providence that Saved Colo Pickens and Colo Clark and my Self from begin Kild or badly wounded as wee warr much Exposed on horseback During the whole Engagement. We Took Two of there Cpts and 12 or 14 Privates and Released about 20 of our Prisnors they had tho they had 3 of our Captains that thay cared off with them that they had been Prisnors with them for Some days and thay ar just this moment Come in and have brought in the guard that was guarding them with them (Dooly, in Davis 1978:19).

Colonel John Dooly continued to serve as a commanding officer in the Georgia militia and as a leader in Wilkes County politics throughout 1779. Georgia militia participated in the battle of Stono Ferry in South Carolina in June, 1779, although Colonel John Dooly did not (Moultrie 1802, Volume II: 8). On August 6, 1779 the Georgia Executive Council recorded, "A return being made by Colo. Dooly, of the Free Citizens from Wilkes County, Who signed the delegation of the late House of Assembly from that County. It appeared that there were three hundred and three, who signed the same" (Candler 1908, Volume II: 146). The Executive Council of Georgia met on August 18, 1779 and, as recorded in their minutes, they applauded the recent accomplishments of Colonel Dooly,

When the enemy retreated from Augusta, those who had received protection, imagining that they would be deemed traitors, and treated as such, went down with them; to this we impute the cause of so many joining them. Since then, a number of the people of the Counties of Burke, Richmond, and Wilkes under the command of Colonels Dooly, Few and Twiggs, have given repeated proofs of their zealous attachment to the cause of their Country; among others the Militia under the command of Colo. Dooly were very instrumental in defeating a large body of disaffected people from the back parts of your State, commanded by Colo. Boyd, which put a stop, in a great measure; to the enemy receiving the support they expected from thence; and while they were in Johns Island a party from Burke County under the Command of Colo. Twiggs, penetrated as low down as Ogechee Ferry, within fifteen miles of Savannah, and totally defeated a party of fifty picked regulars; at the same time near three hundred horse, under the Command of Colonel Dooly were on their March down the Country, and in all probability would have effected something of consequence had not a great part of the force of the enemy returned to Savannah.

These exertions of the people of the back Country have greatly exasperated General Provost [Prevost], who declares he will have nothing unattempted, to ruin them (Candler 1908, Volume II: 163-164).

Colonel Dooly had lobbied the Georgia government for support of Wilkes County's citizens. The Executive Council of Georgia met on January 19, 1780 and passed this resolution:

On a representation made to the Board by Colonels Dooly & Clark, of the necessity of having the new erected Forts in the frontiers in Wilkes County properly garrisoned.

RESOLVED, That His Honor the Governor be requested to issue orders to Colonel Dooly to order thirty men for the defence of each Fort, including one hundred and eighty men in the whole, to be kept on constant duty, untill the further orders of this Board.

RESOLVED, That a Fort be built at Harris old Fort and that the sum of five hundred pounds be allowed for the building the same, and to be erected under the direction of Captain Zachariah Philips agreeable to the regulations which were made with respect to the other Forts on that frontier (Candler 1908, Volume II:202-203).

If it was Dooly's concept that Wilkes County would be defended by 180 men and Captain Philips was to receive 30 men for his company, then the other 150 requested troops were to be distributed at five other stations. What he received, however, were fewer men. On February 8, 1780 the Executive Council of Georgia met to consider a plan offered by Colonel Dooly, which was so ordered,

WHEREAS, it has been represented to the Board by Colonel John Dooly that a number of men may be had from the State of South Carolina to Garrison two forts upon the western frontiers of this State; provided they were not compelled to do any other duty,

ORDERED, That the said Colonel John Dooly do appoint the Officers for two Companies, and that they be allowed two dollars per day exclusive of the Continental pay and rations (Candler 1908, Volume II: 215).

Colonel Dooly's popularity as a military officer reached his zenith about that time but his fortune quickly soured. The defeats at Briar Creek, Savannah, and finally at Charleston convinced Dooly to cease hostilities. John Dooly took a parole from the British after the capture of Charleston in May, 1780. Dooly was killed by Tories at his home in Wilkes County in mid-1780 (Coleman 1976:85). No image of John Dooly is known to exist.

Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke

Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke (1742-1799) commanded one battalion of Wilkes County militia in the battle of Kettle Creek. Clarke was instrumental in the Patriot victory at Kettle Creek and his valiant service there was one of a series of his heroic military actions in the Revolutionary War and subsequent frontier wars.

Elijah Clarke was born in Edgecomb County, North Carolina. He was likely the son of John Clark and Mary Gibson (Ancestry.com 2008). In 1765, Elijah married Hannah Arrington. On October 11, 1773, Elijah Clarke received a grant for 150 acres on the south side of Red Lick Creek at a place called Clark's camp in the Ceded Lands. Clarke established his home there with wife, 1 son and 3 daughters in 1774.

Clarke's first Georgia plantation was located in western Wilkes County on the waters of Clarks Creek. This location also held Clarke's Fort, which was garrisoned during the war by soldiers in the Wilkes County militia (Callaway 1877; E.Allen Burton personal communication February 14, 2009). In 1780 Clarke led

his family, along with several hundred other Patriot refugees to the mountains. In their absence the British and Loyalists destroyed many settlements and forts in Wilkes County.

Clarke's second Georgia plantation, called "Woburn" was located in present-day Lincoln County, portions of which were inundated by the construction of Lake Clark Hill (McCall 2004, Volume I: 14; Ebel 1996). This plantation was formerly the plantation of Colonel Thomas Waters, a prominent Loyalist and Provincial Ranger officer whose land was confiscated by the Georgia government. Clarke was given Waters' plantation by the State of Georgia as a gift for his service to the state in the American Revolution and he was living there by 1782 (Candler 1908, Volume III:116).

Elijah Clarke served the Patriot cause as a militia officer throughout the American Revolution. He was commissioned as a Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Stewart's 1st Battalion in 1777. Stewart's Battalion was authorized for two years of service and it participated in the East Florida campaign in May and June, 1778. The 1st and 2nd Battalions of Georgia minutemen were officially disbanded on March 1, 1778, prior to participation in the East Florida campaign, where, at the battle of Alligator Creek, Clarke was badly wounded. Clarke recuperated from his wounds at Sunbury, Georgia and later returned to Wilkes County. Clarke received another commission as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Wilkes County militia only a few weeks before the battle of Kettle Creek, on January 26, 1779 (Candler 1908, Volume 2:136-137; 2001). He was second in command of the Georgia militia at Kettle Creek. Clarke is credited with achieving the rout of the Loyalists at Kettle Creek after he pursued them across the creek and to a hill on its western side. That status was confirmed by the present research.

Colonel John Dooly's death in July 1780 led to Elijah Clarke's advancement in the Georgia militia for the duration of the war. Clarke commanded Georgia and South Carolina militia troops at battles in Augusta, Savannah, and numerous engagements in South Carolina and North Carolina. He also participated in Colonel Pickens' campaign against the Lower Cherokee towns. Following the first battle of Augusta in September 1780, Clarke led a group of Wilkes County refugees to the Blue Ridge Mountains, where they joined with other Patriots. That group of soldiers, also known as the Overmountain men, helped to turn the tide of the war against the British with their participation in the battles of King's Mountain, Cowpens and other places in the Carolinas. Elijah Clarke is Georgia's most celebrated Revolutionary War hero. Clarke continued to serve as a military leader in the Georgia militia after the American Revolution. His creation of a "Trans-Oconee Republic" was received by the U.S. Government as a treasonous act. In early 1790 he led the Georgia troops against the Creek Indians in several engagements. General Elijah Clarke died on December 15, 1799 (McCall 2004, Volume I: 14).

Several portraits of Elijah Clarke have survived. All of these are likely derived from an original oil on ivory miniature portrait of Elijah Clarke, possibly painted by noted artist Rembrandt Peale. Peale was born in 1778 and he achieved fame when he painted George Washington in 1795. Numerous examples of miniature portraits on ivory by Peale are known to exist.

One early oil portrait of Elijah Clarke is privately owned by a family descendant and is housed in Mobile, Alabama (Louise S. Thoman personal communication February 14, 2009). It is shown in Figure 9. Thoman, who has researched the provenance of this artwork, suspects that the first oil on canvas portrait was made from an ivory miniature for which Elijah Clarke sat, shortly after the end of the American Revolution. Two additional paintings were commissioned based on this portrait, one for Drury Thompson and the other for Ann Clark Campbell. Ann Clark Campbell, daughter of Elijah Clarke's son John, wrote to Lyman C. Draper in 1872 with some information about the portrait, which is contained in the Draper manuscripts. In excerpt from this letter Ann Campbell stated,

I have heard my Mother say that my grandfather Gen'l Clark was one of the handsomest & most courtly men in his appearance and manners she ever saw. He was a little over six feet in height, and had blue or rather gray eyes, brown or sandy hair, with a fair complexion. The portrait I have was taken from a miniature painting for [sic] Gen'l Elijah Clark soon after the close of the war. His children not thinking it did him justice refused to take it. But my mother insisted upon keeping it. Mr. Drury Thompson, my cousin, hearing it was in my possession, had a portrait for himself & one for me taken from it. The only change made was in the color of the coat. The miniature represented the old revolutionary uniform of pale blue & buff, the artist claimed the privilege of changing it to a dark blue (Campbell 1872, in Draper Manuscripts).

The portrait now owned by Thoman is likely the portrait that was commissioned for Drury Thompson. Thoman noted that this painting was made in Manhattan, New York in the 1830s (Louise S. Thoman personal communication February 14, 2009). A similar portrait of Elijah Clarke sold at auction in 2007. It was owned by a family descendant before it was offered for sale by Carl W. Stinson, Inc. This painting is probably the other portrait made from the miniature at about the same time as Thoman's piece.

Another early portrait of Clarke is currently on display in the Augusta History Museum in Augusta, Georgia (Moore 2008). This original portrait of Clarke was handed down in the family until 1982, when it was donated to the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, Georgia. In 2004, the High Museum de-accessioned the artwork and it was auctioned by Sotheby to "benefit acquisition funds." The portrait was again sold in 2004 by Anne Frances Moore Fine Art in New York to the Augusta Museum of History, Augusta, Georgia where it currently resides (Anne Frances Moore personal communication, November 19, 2008). It is a sad statement that this extremely rare artwork, original piece of Americana, family heirloom, and shared Georgia treasure, with its excellent provenance was given to and held for over two decades by a prominent Georgia museum—only to be sold as a fund-raiser on the open market four short years ago! Fortunately this rare portrait of Clarke is now back in Georgia in a museum setting for citizens to enjoy.

Major John Lindsey

John Lindsey (also spelled Lindsay) was from Halifax, Virginia, where he was born about 1750. He served as an Aide de Camp and a Major for either the Georgia militia regiment of colonels Elijah Clarke or William Few. He received the rank of Colonel by the end of the war. Lindsey was severely wounded in the battle of Long Cane Creek, South Carolina, in December, 1780 (McCrary 1901:831-832). That wound resulted in the loss of Lindsey's hand. Surgeons devised a silver prosthesis for his missing hand and Lindsay was known later in the war as "Silver Fist Lindsey." Previous researchers located no mention of John Lindsey's participation in the battle of Kettle Creek. Current researchers also found no primary documents confirming his participation. Lindsay may have been present, although his name is absent from all contemporary accounts that were reviewed.

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McCrary (1901:831-832) discussed the battle of Long Cane Creek, where Colonel Few commanded the Georgia militia. McCrary remarked, "Colonel Clarke, Lieutenant Colonel McCall, and Major Lindsay were ordered by Few to meet the enemy...Major Lindsay, who had received three wounds, was sabred upon his head and arms, and one of his hands was cut off by Captain Lang of the dragoons, as he lay on the ground." Hugh McCall (1811) discussed the battle of Long Cane Creek, which includes mention of Lindsey's wounds, "Clarke received a wound in his shoulder, which was at first supposed to Mortal, and he was carried off the field. Major Lindsey had fallen under three wounds, and was left on the ground; in that



Figure 9. Portrait of Elijah Clarke (Courtesy of Louise S. Thoman and Scott Thoman 2009).

condition, captain Lang, of dragoons, fell upon him while he lay on the ground, chopped his head and arms in several places, and cut off one of his hands". Hammack (2008) provides additional information about Major Lindsey's wounds and his Revolutionary War service. He noted that,

War Department files I have state in part: 'In response to your letter dated the fourteenth ultimate, you are advised that the records of this Bureau show that Major John Lindsay was allowed pension of twenty-five dollars per month at the Georgia Agency; his service is not shown and there are no papers on file, the same having been destroyed in the burning of the War Office.' The volume entitled 'American State Papers, Claims 9,' page 169, shows 'John Lindsay, resident of Wilkes County, Georgia, Aide-de-camp and Major, Colonel Few's militia or Colonel Clarke's, has lost his right hand; the bones of his right leg shattered, and the leg shortened; and otherwise much disabled by wounds received at the battle of Long Cane, December, 1780.' Another document in the file says he was a resident of Wilkes County. Another said he was in Gen. Elijah Clarke's Regiment, died, buried in Lincoln County, Georgia (Hammack 2008).

Major Lindsey recovered from his wounds received at Long Cane Creek and he settled in Wilkes County after the war. Lindsey received a bounty land grant in Georgia for his military service in the Georgia militia. He and his family lived in Wilkes County, Georgia by 1788. His name appears on a list of invalid veterans that was recorded by the Georgia House of Representatives on March 2, 1795 and also on an 1835 list of Georgia pensioners who were paid by the Federal veterans agency in Savannah (ASP, Vol. 36:169). His pension payments from the U.S. government were \$300 per year. Lindsey's name was listed on a 1799 tax list for Jackson County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2008). His last will and testament was signed in 1804 in Wilkes County, Georgia and he died about 1808 in Wilkes County, Georgia (Ramsay 1996; McCall 2004, Vol. I: 110). Major Lindsey was buried in a family cemetery in Wilkes County but his remains were

exhumed and re-interred near Kettle Creek about 1973 (Newsome and Newsome 1970:161; Whyte 1974). Davis and Thomas (1974) noted, “The remains of Maj. John Lindsay, a Revolutionary War soldier from Wilkes County who was granted a disability pension in 1794, were reinterred at War Hill in 1973, as a project of the Kettle Creek Chapter of the DAR, the Lindsay family and Dr. Bryson. The grave was moved from obscurity at an old farm [between Danberg and old Floral Hill schoolhouse] to War Hill site in order to save it from being lost as was John Shank’s grave.”

Major Burwell Smith

Burwell Smith received his commission as a Major in John Dooly’s Regiment of Wilkes County militia on January 26, 1779. Major Smith and his company were engaged in the battle of Kettle Creek. A muster roll of “Captain Burrell [Burwell] Smith’s Company of Dooly’s Regiment of Wilkes County militia, covering the period from June 1 through August 1, 1778,” has survived in the Georgia Archives. This document was transcribed by Robert S. Davis, Jr. and has been published (Davis 1779). A summary of this muster roll is presented in Table 6. Major Smith continued to serve in the Wilkes County militia after Dooly’s death in 1780. Smith was killed at the battle of Wofford’s Iron Works on August 10, 1780 (Jones 1888, Volume II).

Burwell Smith's Company, John Dooly's Regiment, June-August, 1778		
Surname	Name	
Smith	Smith, Burwell	Captain
	Lieut. (name illegible)	Lieutenant
	Sergant (name illegible)	Sergeant
Phillips	Phillips, __	
	[Illegible]	
	[Illegible]	
	[Illegible]	
Stewart	Stewart, James	Private
Graves	Graves, Richard	Private
Mims	Mims, Shadrack	Private
Camp	Camp, William	Private
Littleton	Littleton, Thomas	Private
Hindsmond	Hindsmond, Athal	Private
Anderson	Anderson, William	Private
Dardin	Dardin, John	Private
Kitchens	Kitchens, Joseph	Private
Wilson	Wilson, John	Private
Linsley	Linsley, James	Private
Crain	Crain, Frances	Private
Pester	Pester, __	Private
Parks	Parks, John	Private
McClain	McClain, John	Private
Anglin	Anglin, Henry	Private
McBurnitt	McBurnitt, __	Private
Huett	Huett, __	Private
Wilkins	Wilkins, __	Private
Heard	Heard, __	Private
Smart/Stuart	Smart, __	Private
Reacton	Reacton, __	Private
Warters/Waters	Warters, Solomon	Private
Comer/Conner	Comer, Daniel	Private

Source: Davis 1979

Table 6. Summary of Captain Burwell Smith’s Company, Dooly’s Regiment, Wilkes County militia, June through August, 1778.

Captains Alexander and John Autry

Alexander Autry commanded a company of the Wilkes County militia and fought at Kettle Creek (Knight 1920; ancestry.com 2008). He was an early settler in the Ceded Lands, received a grant for land in the Ceded Lands vicinity in 1773 and held title to property on Kettle Creek by 1783 (Davidson 1933). Thus, he was probably quite familiar with the battlefield topography.

Early documents are somewhat confusing concerning Captain Autry, since his brother John also was a Wilkes County militia captain and the documents often omit their given names. A Captain Autry commanded a company of Wilkes County militia in 1777, according to Captain Andrew Bankston. Alexander Autry commanded at Fort Washington in Wilkes County in 1780, according to Thomas Bankston (Footnote.com 2008 [Andrew Bankston W8746; Thomas Bankston R477]).

Captain John E. Autry (1741-1788) commanded a company of Wilkes County militia in Elijah Clarke’s battalion. Captain Autry’s company may have participated in the battle of Kettle Creek, but it is unclear whether Captain Autry commanded at the time. John Autry was embroiled with accusations by Wilkes County officials that he was a Tory. John was one of four Autry brothers, and brother Absalom was a

Tory officer. Private Thomas Bankston (aged 75) stated in 1835 that he volunteered under Captain John Autry in 1778 and, “served 10 months in guarding the frontiers in Wilkes County Georgia & being in several small fights with the Indians”. John Autry was scalped and killed by Creek Indians at Scull Shoals,

Greene County, Georgia in 1788 (Knight 1920; ancestry.com 2008; Footnote.com 2008 [Thomas Bankston R477]).

Captain George Barber, Sr.

George Barber, Sr., served as a 1st Lieutenant and a Captain in the Wilkes County militia under Elijah Clarke. Barber was born in 1743 in Augusta County, Virginia He settled in Wilkes County, Georgia, fought in the American Revolution under Clarke as a Lieutenant and Captain, fought in the Indian Wars of the 1790s under Clarke as a Lieutenant Colonel, and died in Oglethorpe County, Georgia in 1822. Barber had a son, George Barber, Jr., who was born in 1786 (Rootsweb.com 2008; Morgan 2008). George Barber, Sr. fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. His rank at that time may have been a Captain, but was more likely that of a 1st Lieutenant.

Captain James Baskins

Captain James Baskins commanded a company of the South Carolina militia under command of Andrew Pickens. Baskins was captured, along with some of his men, by Colonel Boyd at the Savannah River. Baskins was probably with Boyd's men, under armed guard, when they were attacked at Kettle Creek. He was likely freed with the others.

Captain Samuel Beckham

Captain Samuel Beckham led a company of Wilkes County militia under command of Elijah Clarke. Samuel Beckham was born in Granville County, North Carolina in 1760 and he died in Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia in 1825 (Ancestry.com 2008). The pension claim of Solomon Beckham, Samuel's brother who died in 1838, contains an affidavit by Solomon Beckham's son recounting his father's service under Clarke (Solomon Beckham pension claim R697; Powell 1931:222). Samuel Beckham participated in the 1827 lottery for Revolutionary War veterans, where he received land in Baldwin County, Georgia (McCall 2004, Volume I: 278).

Captain John Boyer

Captain John Boyer, South Carolina militia, stated in his pension application that he was present and engaged "In the battle of Savannah River in AD 1778: our troops were commanded by Colonel Andrew Pickens, the enemy by Colonel Boyd who was killed" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Boyer S32125]). Captain Boyer served in Colonel John Liles regiment of South Carolina militia at the time of the Kettle Creek battle, which suggests that he was detached to serve with Colonel Andrew Pickens in that battle. Captain Boyer mistakenly dated the battle to 1778.

Captains John and Isham Burke

Captain Isham Burke commanded a company of mounted horsemen in the Wilkes County militia under Elijah Clarke. Burke was born in 1761 in Amherst County, Virginia, and later moved with his parents to South Carolina and then Wilkes County, Georgia. John and Sarah Burke and son, Isham, settled in 1773 on Sherrill's Creek in present-day Taliaferro County, Georgia (Davidson 1933). Isham Burke's father also served as a Captain in the Wilkes County militia in Colonel Stewart's regiment and Isham enlisted in his father's company in 1778. Isham received his Captain's commission in early 1779 and quickly formed his own company. Captain Isham Burke commanded his company at the battle of Kettle Creek. In addition to participating in the battle at Kettle Creek, Isham also participated in Major General Howe's Florida Campaign and the siege of Augusta and was assigned to duty at Little's Station (Georgia) and Fort Knox, (present-day Oglethorpe County, Georgia) (Footnote.com 2008 [Isham Burke S3093]). Captain Isham Burke stated in 1833,

Through the Influence of my father, Captain John Burke, Col. Clark [sic, Elijah Clarke] then of the State of Georgia Recommended me to the Governor as a proper person to be appointed Captain, upon said recommendation Governor Howley, then Governor of the State of Georgia commissioned me a Captain in the militia of this State of Georgia, he does not now Recollect the precise date when his commission bore date but believes it was the first of the year 1779. So soon as I received my commission, I raised a Company of mounted volunteers for the term of six months in Wilkes County, in a very few days after I made up my Company I was ordered to march to the Frontiers of Georgia, which place was then entirely unguarded and had remained so ever since Col Stewart's Regiment was sent on the Florida campaign. So my Company alone marched to a place called Fort Knox. This place I made my head quarters, from here I extended my Company in small parties first one place and then another watching and guarding this Frontiers from the Indians which was doing all this mischief they could to the whites, after remaining here for some considerable length of time, an express arrived from Col Clarke for me to march my Company directly on to the Savannah River, there to join Col Pickens. So soon as my junction with Col Pickens we marched in pursuit of several hundred Tories who had embodied themselves. We overtook them at a place called Kettle Creek when we had a severe battle, which I was in, this battle was of short duration, the Whigs proving Successful. This battle as well as he recollects was fought some time in the year 1779 (but do not know the precise date). From here I was ordered back to Fort Knox where I remained guarding and defending the place from the Indians until my soldiers terms was out (Footnote.com 2008 [Isham Burke S3093).

Captain John Peartree Burke was born in 1733 in Virginia. He took command of a militia company in Colonel Stewart's regiment of Wilkes County militia. Colonel John Stewart, who commanded the regiment in 1777-early 1778, was replaced by Elijah Clarke in late 1778. Captain Burke was in command of his company as late as 1778, when it fought with Elijah Clarke's minutemen in the battle of Alligator Creek in East Florida (Ancestry.com 2008; Footnote.com 2008 [Joshua Dover R3053; Thomas Connell R2224; Thomas Snelson S17111]). Evidence is lacking that Captain John Burke participated in the battle of Kettle Creek.

Captain Robert Carr

Captain Robert Carr commanded a company of Wilkes County militia in John Dooly's Regiment. A January 9, 1779 list of the soldiers in Carr's company was transcribed by Davis (1983). Carr may not have participated in the battle of Kettle Creek for he was possibly on furlough in early 1779. Carr was killed by hostile Indians in March, 1779 (Ragan 1998). Payroll records for Captain Robert Carr's company covering the period from August 15 through October 15, 1778 have survived. Transcriptions of two monthly payroll returns by Ellis and Ellis (2008) were used to reconstruct a muster list for Carr's Company for this period, which is shown in Table 7. Carr's Company grew in size from 37 to 39 men over these two months. The number of officers increased when two privates were promoted to the rank of sergeant. Carr's second in command was 1st Lieutenant John Autry (spelled Otry in these payroll documents). Autry probably commanded the company in the battle of Kettle Creek. He was later promoted to captain of his own company. His brother, Alexander Autry also later commanded a company of Wilkes County militia, although he was only a private as late as October, 1778, as these documents indicate. Robert McNabb, who had constructed a fort on Kettle Creek, was a private under Carr's command. Individuals with surnames of Philips and Hammett that were under Carr's command probably also live in the Kettle Creek vicinity at that time.

Captain Levi Casey

Captain Levi Casey commanded a company of the South Carolina militia, who fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. Casey's men (consisting of only about seven soldiers) were not part of Colonel Pickens' regiment but were temporarily under command of Pickens during the Kettle Creek engagement. Private Edward Doyle stated in 1833 that Captain Casey and six men fought at Kettle Creek under Colonel Pickens. Private James Dillard may have been another soldier in Casey's detachment (Footnote.com 2008 [Edward Doyle S32216; James Dillard S6797]). Levi Casey was born in Ninety-Six District, South Carolina in 1749 and he died in Washington, D.C. in 1807. Casey was later promoted to the rank of Brigadier General in the South Carolina militia (Ancestry.com 2008).

Captain Joseph Collins

Joseph Collins was a Captain in the Wilkes County militia. He served under command of Major Burwell Smith in John Dooly's regiment. In 1833, 94 year-old Collins makes no specific mention of any involvement at the battle of Kettle Creek, although he was under Major Smith's command at the time of the battle and Major Smith and others in Smith's brigade are documented participants in the battle. Among the duty stations in northeastern Georgia cited in his pension application were Dooly's Fort, Knox's Fort, and Phillip's Fort. Collins provided interesting facts about his militia company in his pension statement.

That he entered the service as a Captain in the militia of the State of Georgia in the Spring of the year 1777, the month and day there of he is unable to state from old age and consequent loss of memory, that he served as Captain in Colonel John Dooly's Regiment for the term of three years at which time he left the service. That the Battalion to which he belonged, was commanded by Major Thomas Dooly until he was killed at the dry fork of Long Creek, Wilkes County Georgia and that Major Burwell Smith commanded the Battalion on the death of Dooly until he died, the Command then was assumed by Major John Cunningham who commanded the balance of the term of Service of this deponent. Colonel John Dooly commanded the Regiment to which this applicant [belonged] until his death, he being killed in his own House in the County of Wilkes State of Georgia by the Tories. After his death Colonel Elijah Clark [sic, Elijah Clarke] assumed the command, and commanded during the balance of the term of this deponent's service. He resided in the County of Wilkes State of Georgia at the time he entered the service, and volunteered, and was commissioned a Captain by the Governor of Georgia, to wit, Governor John Houston which commission has long since been destroyed, or lost (Footnote.com 2008 [Joseph Collins, R2179]).

Captain John Cunningham

John Cunningham served as a Captain (and later as Major) of a company of Wilkes County militia. He served under command of John Dooly and after Dooly's death in May 1780, in Colonel Elijah Clarke's regiment. Cunningham is mentioned in several pension applications made by soldiers who had served under his command, including Joseph Collins and Henry Anglin. The latter testified in support of John Cunningham's pension application, filed by Cunningham's widow in 1846, stating, "he [Anglin] was personally acquainted with John Cunningham who was a Major Commandant in Colonel Dooly's Regiment and subsequently a Lieutenant Colonel of Colonel Elijah Clarke's in the time of during the War of the Revolution. That he was a very active and efficient Officer, constantly in service of his Country as a Militia Officer until Peace was consummated with the British, and the Enemy was driven from the Country" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Cunningham W6752]). Anglin stated that he had served under John Cunningham from his enlistment in 1779 through 1783. Captain Joseph Collins attested for Cunningham's pension application that Cunningham took command of Colonel Dooly's regiment after the deaths of Dooly and Major Burwell Smith. While none of the pension documents mention his service at Kettle Creek, Captain John Cunningham and his company likely participated.

Captain John Freeman

John Freeman commanded a company of Wilkes County militia but that command was probably late in the war. In 1780, Freeman served as a Lieutenant in Colonel John Jones' regiment (Early 1920:307; Jones 1888, Volume II). Colonel Jones was severely wounded with eight saber cuts to the head in a battle near Saluda, South Carolina. Foster (1913) provided this biographical information about John Freeman:

Captain John Freeman was a native Georgian, a Revolutionary soldier, he was present at the siege of Charlestown and Savannah, a participant in the battles of Cowpens, King's Mountain and Guilford Court House, at the battle of Kettle Creek, and also at the capture of Augusta in Georgia.

In most of his adventures in the Revolutionary war, Captain Freeman had with him a colored boy named Ambrose, who lived to a very great age and was well known to the younger generation as 'Uncle Ambrose' (Foster 1913: 106-107).

John Freeman continued to live in Wilkes County, Georgia after the war. Foster noted that John Freeman did not live long after the Revolutionary War and after his death in 1806, his widow, Kathryn Carlton Freeman, married Shaler Hillyer. The Hillyers were prominent residents of nearby Petersburg, Georgia in the decades following the American Revolution (Foster 1913:107; Coulter 1965; R. Elliott 1988). Captain John Freeman's obituary gave his death as May 28, 1806 (*Commercial Advertiser* 1806:3). The discussion of Ambrose, Freeman's enslaved attendant, is noteworthy. Quite possibly Ambrose was present at Kettle

Creek and, if so, he is one of the few named “non-combatants” who were on the battlefield. Foster’s sources for the story of Ambrose, however, were not specified.

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Captains Daniel and John Gunnells

Captain Daniel Gunnells commanded a company of the Wilkes County militia under command of Elijah Clarke in the American Revolution and this company participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. Gunnells commanded a company in Clarke’s regiment on October 4, 1782, when 10 companies of Clarke’s regiment gathered at Captain Gunnell’s Station in Wilkes County (G.S.S.A.R. 2008). Captain John Gunnells, brother of Daniel Gunnells, commanded a company of the Wilkes County militia in the American Revolution. Lieutenant Jesse Gordon attested in his pension application that Captain Gunnells and his company fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, although he neglected to specify which Captain Gunnells (Footnote.com 2008 [Jesse Gordon W13280]). As with the Autry brothers, the two Gunnell brothers are difficult to identify, particularly because the early references often omitted mention of their given names. Most likely, Captains Daniel and John Gunnells were present at the battle of Kettle Creek, both serving as company commanders.

Table 7. Captain Robert Carr's Company, August-October, 1778 (Ellis and Ellis 2008).

Name	Rank	Name	Rank
8/15-9/15/1778		9/15-10/15/1778	
Carr, Robert	<i>Captain</i>	Carr, Robert	<i>Captain</i>
Awtry, John	<i>1st Lieutenant</i>	Awtry, John	<i>1st Lieutenant</i>
Runnals, George	<i>2nd Lieutenant</i>	Runnals, George	<i>2nd Lieutenant</i>
Henderson, Zackariah		Henderson, Zackariah	<i>Sergeant</i>
Hopkins, Lambeth		Hopkins, Lambeth	<i>Sergeant</i>
Awtry, Alexander, Jr.		Awtry, Alexander, Jr.	
Awtry, Alexander, Sr.		Awtry, Alexander, Sr.	
Bagby, George		Bagby, George	
Duggan, Jonathan		Ellis, William	
Ellis, William		Hammett, Edward	
Hammett, Edward		Hammett, Robert, Sr.	
Hammett, Robert		Jackson, William	
Hammett, William		Madden, Dennis	
Jackson, William		McNabb, Robert	
Lackey, William		Morgan, Asa	
Madden, David		Morgan, Luke John	
Madden, Dennis		Morgan, William	
McNabb, Robert		Norton, John	
Morgan, Asa		Philips, Benjamin	
Morgan, Luke John		Philips, John, Sr.	
Morgan, William		Philips, William	
Norton, John		Runnals, Fedrick	
Philips, Benjamin		Summerill, Henry	
Philips, David		Trapp, Moses	
Philips, John, Jr.		Trapp, Robert	
Philips, John, Sr.		Tunstall, Roan	
Philips, William		Wilkins, Isaac	
Runnals, Fedrick		Awtry, Jacob	
Smith, Abraham		Coats, John	
Summerill, Henry		Fling, John P.	
Thompson, Benjamin, Sr.		Hammett, Robert, Jr.	
Thompson, William		Hopkins, William	
Trap, Joseph		Norton, Thomas	
Trapp, Moses		Riggan, Jonathan	
Trapp, Robert		Sanger, Black	
Tunstall, Roan		Walker, Saunders	
Wilkins, Isaac		Wilkins, Jacob	
3 Officers, 34 Privates		Young, Daniel	
TOTAL, 37 Men		Young, William	
		5 Officers, 34 Privates	
		TOTAL, 39 Men	
<i>Source: Ellis and Ellis 2008</i>			

Captain Andrew Hamilton

Captain Andrew Hamilton commanded a company of South Carolina militia in Pickens' regiment. Hamilton was from Abbeville District, South Carolina. Hamilton's company fought at Kettle Creek and Hamilton served as a Major in that battle, commanding Pickens' right division (Moss 2006). In his 1832 pension application Major Andrew Hamilton provided a short description of the battle:

...The applicant also states that in the year 1779 several hundreds Tories embodied and marched along the Western Frontier of South Carolina taking several persons prisoners in their march, and that Col. Pickens collected a force of three hundred men and followed these Tories to a place called Kettle Creek in the State of Georgia. Col or [Colonel] Gen Pickens then disposed his force into three divisions and give the command of the right division to the applicant who acted as Major in this battle, at Kettle Creek, where after an action of some considerable contest, the Tories were completely routed and defeated with a loss of about forty killed, including their commander Colonel Boyd, the loss on the part of the whigs was comparatively small.... (Footnote.com 2008 [Andrew Hamilton S18000]).

Hamilton provided this additional information about the battle in another pension document, filed in 1832:

In 1779- he acted as Capt. & as a Major part of this year under the Authority & immediate command of Col. Pickens, with whom, the defendant acts as Capt. In the attack upon Carrs fort in the State of Georgia, where he also bore a flag of truce, to the enemy in the fort, which was abandoned by Pickens, to meet a Col. Boyd, the deponent further says that Pickens pursued Col. Boyd to Kettle Creek in Georgia & the deponent in this battle, acted as Major & commanded the right wing which killed Boyd, the deponent being near, & an eye witness to his fall and death, & whose last expiring words were 'that he had this consolation that he died a true friend to his majesty King George the third' Boyd then give something, to Col. Pikens, to forward to his wife & then expired (Footnote.com 2008 [Andrew Hamilton S18000]).

Captain Adam Hampton

Captain Adam Hampton, a resident of Rutherford County, North Carolina, commanded a company of Light Horse in the North Carolina militia. Hampton's company of North Carolina Light Horse was detached to serve with Colonel Pickens' forces in pursuit of Colonel Boyd's Loyalists. Captain Hampton's company participated in the battle at Kettle Creek in February, 1779, as indicated by pension records of soldiers in his company (Footnote.com 2008 [Joseph Dunn S12811]). Captain Hampton was later promoted to Colonel and he resigned that commission in the North Carolina militia in a letter to the North Carolina General Assembly, dated January 31, 1781 (North Carolina General Assembly 1781).

Captain James Hays

Captain James Hays was a Virginian who commanded a company of South Carolina militia in Pickens' regiment. In 1818, James Hays stated that, "he was in thirteen engagements against the Common Enemy", including, "the battle of Kettle Creek & the Siege of Savanna." Hays' statement reflects the importance placed on the battle of Kettle Creek by many of its participants. He provided no other details about the battle (Footnote.com 2008 [James Hays R4787]).

Captain Stephen Heard

Stephen Heard was a prominent Wilkes County patriot. His father, John Heard, moved from their home in Virginia to Georgia in 1759, where they settled on Fishing Creek. Several historians state that Stephen Heard fought in the battle of Kettle Creek (White 1849:323; 1854:213; Northen 1907:158-159). White noted, "At the memorable battle of Kettle Creek, he [Stephen Heard] acted a distinguished part, not only by encouraging the Americans by his patriotic speeches, but also by taking an active part in the engagement" (White 1959:323). Heard is said to have greatly distinguished himself on the battlefield Northen quoted an unknown source stating that Heard was "encouraging his men and leading them to points of danger and vantage" in the battle of Kettle Creek (Northen 1907:158-159).

Captain John Hill

Captain John Hill commanded a company of Wilkes County militia in Dooly's regiment in February, 1779 (and later in Clarke's regiment). A May 1, 1782 muster roll of Captain Hill's Company of Clarke's

regiment has survived (Davis 1979a). In 1782, Hill's Company included: Captain Hill, 1st Lieutenant Stephen Bishop, 2nd Lieutenant Joseph Mimms, Sergeants John Shatley, Ezekiel Miller, and Joshua Hill, and two dozen privates (Davis 1979a).

Captain James Jones

James Jones, South Carolina militia, was a Virginian (born in 1753) who enlisted as a volunteer in the South Carolina militia at Ninety-Six District on January 1, 1779. He fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as well as the siege of Fort Augusta, battles at Brier Creek and Blackstock's, the siege of Ninety-Six, the battle of Eutaw Springs, and others. In 1843, 90 year old Jones stated that "he was also in a small skirmish on Kettle Creek under Colonel Pickens in which the Tories were defeated," but Jones provides no other details about this battle. The passage of nearly 64 years since the time of the battle had evidently caused it to fade in significance in Jones' estimation. He left the service in 1782 with the rank of Captain (Footnote.com 2008 [James Jones R5706]). Jones' rank at the time of the Kettle Creek battle remains undetermined.

Captain William McGaw

William McGaw commanded a company of South Carolina militia under Colonel Pickens in 1779. He fought at Kettle Creek, as evidenced by the pension testimony of John Loard, who served in McGaw's Company (Footnote.com 2008 [John Leard/Loard S21862]).

Captains James McCall, Jr. and Hugh McCall

Captain James McCall, Jr. led a company of South Carolina Rangers who fought at Kettle Creek under command of Colonel Andrew Pickens. Captain McCall and his rangers shadowed Colonel Boyd's regiment after the Loyalists had crossed the Savannah River into Georgia. Based on McCall's scouting report to Colonel Pickens, the Patriots devised their attack strategy at Kettle Creek. Captain McCall and his men were the advance guard of Pickens' troops at the Kettle Creek battle. James McCall served valiantly in the American Revolution and he participated in many important battles and skirmishes, mostly in the Carolinas.

James McCall died in May, 1781, after contracting smallpox (Crawley 2008; Murphy and Crawley 2006:20). Captain Hugh McCall also served in the South Carolina militia and may also have participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. David Verner, a private in a company of one of the Captains McCall (not specified if it was James' or Hugh's company), described it in 1834 as a "mounted rifle company" (Footnote.com 2008 [David Verner S21550]). The two McCall captains are the source of some confusion in the historical literature.

In addition, James McCall had a nephew named Hugh McCall, who was not old enough to be in the Battle of Kettle Creek (12 years old at the time), but the young McCall likely obtained information that he used in his well-regarded account of the battle.

Captain Andrew Miller

Captain Andrew Miller, South Carolina militia, served under Colonel Pickens in early 1779. Captain Miller was captured, along with some of his men, by Colonel Boyd at the Savannah River. Miller was probably with Boyd's men under armed guard when they were attacked at Kettle Creek. Matthew Robinson stated in 1835 that Captain Andrew Miller, probably the same as Captain Miller above, was killed at Cowpens in 1781.

Captain Samuel Moore

Captain Samuel Moore commanded a company of South Carolina militia (mounted horsemen) under Colonel Pickens in 1779. Colonel Pickens placed Moore at the battle of Kettle Creek when he mentioned Moore in orders to Captain Irvine written a few days after the battle (Pickens 1779). Pickens' orders to Irvine required Elijah and Samuel Moore to turn over to the State rifles that they collected at the battle at Kettle Creek. Captain Moore's attendance at the battle is further corroborated by the pension application of William Buchanan, who served in Moore's company (Footnote.com 2008 [William Buchanan S21675]).

Captain Joseph Nail, Sr.

Joseph Nail, Sr. (also spelled Neal) served as a Captain in Colonel Dooly's (and later Colonel Clarke's) regiment of the Wilkes County militia. Captain Nail's company was probably under Colonel Dooly's command at the time of the battle of Kettle Creek. Nail also maintained a fort near the Broad River in Wilkes County during much of the war. Among the private soldiers in his company who fought with him at Kettle Creek were Elijah Cloud, David Thurmond, Austin Webb, and John Webb.

Captain Alexander Noble

Alexander Noble served as a Captain of a company in the South Carolina militia in Pickens' regiment. Noble's company fought at Kettle Creek, as indicated by pension records. His actual presence at the battle remains unverified. Noble was captured at St. Augustine in 1781. Captain Noble may have been promoted to the rank of Major.

Captain Dionysius Oliver

According to family tradition, Captain Dionysius Oliver fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. He was not, however, a captain of a militia company. Rather, he was Captain of a Privateer, either in the Georgia or Continental Navy, so his involvement in the battle is somewhat perplexing. Dionysius Oliver is most remembered as the founder of the town of Petersburg, Georgia, which after its founding in 1786, grew to be the second largest town in Georgia in the early 19th century (Coulter 1965; Elliott 1988). Dionysius is purported to not only have fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, but also the Siege of Savannah and other battles. His name appears in Green's list of Kettle Creek battle participants (Green 1901) and he is also recognized by Davis and Thomas (1974:89). Dionysius operated a ferry over the Savannah River in Wilkes County as early as 1784 (N.S.D.A.R. 1902:430). He received a bounty land grant for 250 acres in Georgia in 1784, which supports his service in the Patriot cause. Captain Oliver was present in the upper Savannah River region around the time of the battle as attested by Private John Webb's pension records. Webb noted that, after fighting the battle of Kettle Creek, he and his fellow soldiers marched to Fort Charlotte. Webb stated,

This declarant marched during this three months from Fort Charlotte in South Carolina to Kettle Creek in Wilkes County State of Georgia where he was engaged in the battle last aforesaid thence back again to Fort Charlotte aforesaid in South Carolina where this declarant remained until about the 10th of April in the year last aforesaid when being detached with others he marched under the command of Captain Dionysius Oliver from Fort Charlotte aforesaid down the Savannah River upon the South Carolina side of said River to the encampment of General Williamson (John Webb, pension application S32055).

Private Webb's description suggests that Captain Oliver served not only as a naval officer but also as an infantry officer. The Olivers, originally from Virginia, were among the more prominent early settlers of upper Georgia. Dionysius was born in 1735 in Virginia and died in 1805 and was buried in Elbert County, Georgia.

Captain George Reed and Lieutenant Samuel Reed

George Reed and Samuel Reed were two Irishmen who fought under Colonel Pickens in the February 14 battle at Kettle Creek. The Reeds arrived in America from Northern Ireland in 1745 and settled what later

became Rowan County, North Carolina. The pension application of Samuel Reed, who was George Reed's son, noted that he Samuel was appointed a Lieutenant in the South Carolina militia in Abbeville. Samuel Reed made no direct mention of the Kettle Creek battle in his pension application, although accompanying documentation, dated March 1, 1938 written by the "Executive Assistant to the Administrator", however, stated that, "Colonel George Reed's South Carolina Regiment, was in the battles at Car[r]s Fort, Kettle Creek, at the second siege of Ninety Six and in many skirmishes with the Tories and Indians" (Footnote.com 2008 [Samuel Reed S14259]). Samuel Reed survived the war and afterwards he accumulated substantial land holdings in Wilkes, Greene, Oglethorpe, Putnam, Randolph, and Gwinnett Counties, Georgia. Samuel Reed died near Mobile, Alabama in 1842 at the age of 93 (Harvey 2009).

Captain Henry Turney

Henry Turney was Captain of a North Carolina militia company commanded by Colonel Tutt. Captain Turney participated in the battle of Kettle Creek under command of Colonel Andrew Pickens. The details of the arrangement of Colonel Tutt's troops in Colonel Pickens' campaign are not specified, although Captain Turney may have been part of the aforementioned detachment that included Captain Adam Hampton's North Carolina Light Horse. In 1833, 80 year-old Turney recalled the events in Georgia, including his participation in the battle of Kettle Creek:

That in the month of March 1777 as well as he now recollects he entered the service of the United States as a Captain of a militia company (not a volunteer) in the Militia in the North Carolina line: that Tutt was his Colonel, Hampton was his Major does not recollect the number of the Regiment. That he joined Colonel Tutt in Mecklenburg County in North Carolina from thence he marched to a town called Cross-Creek now called Fayetteville in North Carolina continued there only a few days, from thence he was marched back to his on [sic, own] house in Bunkum [sic, Buncombe] County in North Carolina (his Colonel having directed him to go home) and continued there till further orders his first tour of service was one month and continued there three or four weeks at the expiration of which time Declarant was called upon by his Colonel to go out against the enemy again and he went out and from there marched on and crossed Savannah River and then on to Kettle Creek in Georgia & at Kettle Creek he was in a battle with the Tories in which battle 49 of the Tories & 38 of the Whigs were killed and in said battle General Pickens who commanded the Whigs had one horse shot down under him, but the Whigs were victorious in said Battle and from thence Declarant marched to Augusta in Georgia and continued there three or four months, but owing to the great lapse of time and the loss of memory declarant does not recollect which, at the expiration of which time he marched to Bryar Creek in Georgia at which place he was in a battle against the British in which Battle the British were victorious and from thence he marched back to Augusta in Georgia and continued there but a few days...(Footnote.com 2008 [Henry Turney W8794]).

Captain Turney's recollection of the battle is interesting because he offered specific body counts for the number Tories and Whigs who were killed in the battle (49 and 38 killed, respectively). Turney's estimate for the number of Tories killed falls in the mid range of other written estimates. His estimate for the number of Whigs killed is considerably higher than other written accounts.

Captain Micajah Williamson

Micajah Williamson was born in Buckingham County, Virginia in July, 1744 and he died in Washington, Georgia in December, 1796 (Ancestry.com 2008). Williamson commanded a company in Dooly's Battalion of Wilkes County militia in 1779. Captain Williamson fought at Kettle Creek on February 14 where he, and two others in his company, became separated from the rest of Dooly's Battalion and found themselves behind the Loyalist's lines within sight of Colonel Boyd. All three men fired at Boyd and hit their mark, mortally wounding Boyd (Davis 2006a:34). Their quick thinking and opportune action disabled Boyd from his command, which, in turn, led to the breakdown in the regiment's cohesion, which hastened the end of the battle and the Patriot victory.

Micajah Williamson was living in Wilkes County by 1766 or 1767. He was married to Sarah Gilliam and by February 14, 1779 they had had seven children (the oldest son who was 12 years old died in July, 1778 and they youngest was only 10 days old at the time of the battle). Williamson fought in numerous battles in the Revolution including Alligator Creek, Florida; Musgrove's Mill, Kings Mountain, Long Cane Creek, Cowpens, and the 1781 battle for Augusta, where Williamson assumed temporary command of the Georgia militia when Colonel Clarke was stricken with smallpox. After John Dooly's death Williamson served as

Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Clarke's command. Williamson established a tavern in Washington, Georgia near Stephen Heard's Fort, which he continued to operate following the war (Ancestry.com 2008; Foster 1913:128; Jones 1883, Volume 2:477).

Foster (1913:128) recounted a family story regarding the tragic death of the Williamson's eldest son in July, 1778, which took place while Micajah was away from their rural Wilkes County farmstead, "Finally, one day the dreaded Tories, incensed at her husband's activity in the cause of the colonies, made a raid on the home and after taking all they wanted, destroyed by fire every building on the plantation, and their fiendish hearts not being yet satisfied with the suffering of this loyal woman, they hung her eldest son, a handsome youth, in the presence of his mother." The Williamsons fled to North Carolina, along with many other Wilkes County Patriots, and they later returned to settle in Washington, Georgia. The Williamsons had five more children after the war. Micajah Williamson was later commissioned as a Major General in the Georgia militia (Foster 1913:128; Ancestry.com 2008). Micajah Williamson was embroiled in a land dispute after the war. It involved a 12,500 acre land grant in Franklin County that he had received from the state of Georgia in 1787. Williamson had received this land for his service in the Revolution. The land dispute continued after his death and was finally settled by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1810 (PublicResource.org 2009).

Lieutenant Daniel Conner

Daniel Conner (Connor) was a Lieutenant in the Wilkes County militia. An enlisted man noted as "Daniel Corner," possibly the same as Daniel Conner, appears in an August 1, 1778 muster roll of Captain Burrell Smith's Company of Dooly's militia regiment. Conner may have served under Smith in the battle of Kettle Creek but this is not documented. He served under command of Captain Micajah Williamson and Colonel Elijah Clarke in the American Revolution. Conner was wounded in September, 1780 at Augusta, which rendered him an invalid. A statement 1791, signed by Elijah Clarke testifies to Connor's service and a wound he received. Conner filed an affidavit in 1828 attesting to his service in Captain Williamson's company in Clarke's regiment. Daniel Conner was apparently incapacitated by 1832, when his wife, Martha, filed for a pension. An 1854 pension document places the date of Conner's death on August 30, 1837. His pension documents include no mention of Kettle Creek but his period of service in the Wilkes County militia in Williamson's Company at the time of the battle implies his participation (Davis 1979a; Footnote.com 2008 [Daniel Conner R2228]).

Lieutenant Jesse Gordon

Lieutenant Jesse Gordon served under Captain John Gunnells in the Wilkes County militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. Gordon was born in 1756 in North Carolina. By September, 1778 Gordon was living in Wilkes County, Georgia, where he enlisted in Clark's regiment. He also fought in battles at Moore's Creek, North Carolina; Ninety-Six, South Carolina; Carr's Fort (Wilkes County, Georgia); the sieges of Augusta and Savannah; Midway (Liberty County, Georgia); and in other engagements. Gordon died on August 27, 1850 in Illinois. In 1833, Jesse Gordon briefly mentioned his participation in the battle of Kettle Creek.

In a short time after his said last mentioned discharge not later than the first of September 1778 he enrolled himself in a Company of Militia in the County of Wilkes State of Georgia under the Command of Captain John Gunnells and joined the Regiment commanded by Colonel John Dooley and Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clark and by this instrument subjected himself to be called into active service at any moment. Previous to this time this Deponent had become a Citizen of Wilkes County Georgia. This County soon after became the seat of an almost constant war (with either British, Indians or Tories) and this deponent was for the most part of the time in actual service until peace was made with England and for some time after. This County was on the frontier. The Indians on two sides and the British and Tories on the other two so that the noted Militia were almost constantly engaged in short expeditions and although occasionally at home a few days at a time it being subject to sudden calls had no time to attend to any business. After the British had taken Savannah and Augusta a party of them were sent to Wilkes County commanded by Colonel Hamilton. The Militia to which this Deponent was attached turned out under Colonel Clarke, drove Hamilton into Carr's Fort and there fought him some time until an express arrived that 700 Tories were at the Cherokee Ford of Savannah River intending to cross over into said County of Wilkes. The militia took all the horses belonging to Hamilton's party that were alive with their equipment, raised a few more so as to make rank and file, 297, and marched to meet the Tories. They had however crossed over before we arrived and we pursued and overtook them at Kettle

Creek, fought and Defeated them there. The Tories were commanded by Colonel Boid [sic, Boyd] (Footnote.com 2008 [Jesse Gordon W13280]).

Lieutenant David Madden

David Madden was eventually a Lieutenant in the Georgia militia. Madden was probably a private, however, at the time of the battle of Kettle Creek and was in Captain Robert Carr's company in August, 1778. Madden recalled fighting at the battle of Kettle Creek, although his memory was confused as to the year and month of the battle. In 1832, David Madden made a brief mention of his participation in the battle, as he stated,

After I got my discharge I returned to Wilkes County Georgia in the summer of 1779. In the month of January 1780, [I] volunteered in Wilkes County Georgia under Captain Alexander Awtry [sic, Autry] in the militia of Wilkes County Ga., John Dooly was the militia colonel of the County. Colonel John Dooly took the command of us and Col. Elijah Clark also volunteered and was appointed Lieutenant Colonel by Colonel John Dooly. In the latter part of January 1780, Colonel Dooly with his Regiment fought Col. Boyd from Spartanburg District S.C. at a place called Kittle Creek in Wilkes County, Georgia, in which we were successful (Footnote.com 2008 [David Madden S31835]).

Lieutenant Thomas Ramsey

Lieutenant Thomas Ramsey served in Captain James Baskin's Company of South Carolina militia. Ramsey was born in 1750 in York County, Pennsylvania and he enlisted in the militia in Abbeville District, South Carolina, in 1775. Ramsey was in the battle of Kettle Creek and provided this summary in 1832,

Deponent [Thomas Ramsey] was in the Battle at Kettle Creek on the 14th of February 1780 [sic, 1779]. Deponent [Thomas Ramsey] with Charles Collins, Drake Kade & George Barber were acting as spies to ascertain the number of Tories then under arms – and marching to Savannah to join the British. Deponent stationed himself on the declivity of a Hill on one side of a Hill and George Barber on the declivity on the other side. The Tories were expected to pass on the [illegible word] on the top of the Hill. They did pass & their number was computed at seven or eight hundred – when Deponent thought they had all passed, he fell back into the Trail behind them but about forty of the Tories had fallen behind the main body and approached within 15 paces of Deponent unobserved until then to each other. Deponent to save himself stepped aside & hollowed out to them [“]Boys, what are you doing here[?] – Colonel Boyd left me behind to tell you the rebels are close behind.[”] They dashed off on their horses – left Deponent safe. When Barber asked him how did you escape, to which he replied [“]Hell was never made for him[.”]–in two hours – after the rebels (so called) – overtook and beat them, losing 14 men & finding 47 of the Tories killed – Col Boyd of the Tories wounded -- & died in the evening ... (Footnote.com 2008 [Thomas Ramsey S31922]).

Lieutenant David H. Thurmond

David Thurmond, a native Virginian, was a resident of Wilkes County, Georgia when the Revolutionary War began. He was commissioned as a Sergeant in the Wilkes County militia and was a participant in the battle at Kettle Creek. In 1833, David H. Thurmond stated, “The first battle he (Thurmond) fought was at Kettle Creek in said County of Wilkes with the Tories.” Thurmond provided a few details about the battle:

In that year (1779) in the month of February marched under the command of Colonel Elijah Clarke, Major Burwell Smith and Captain Daniel Gunnells, from the frontier fort, to the fort further in the Settlement, in consequence of and because the Tories had embodied in South Carolina, and were marching into Georgia across the Cherokee Ford, on the Savannah River, and the fishdam Ford, on Broad River: At Kettle Creek, about 6 miles from Washington in Wilkes County aforesaid, we encountered and defeated the Tories: From Kettle Creek battle we marched to Hinton's fort in the Wilkes County Georgia where declarant served as a Spy. In August this year (1779) the Indians came to declarant's Mother's House, robbed and burnt it, with its contents among which was his, the declarant's, commission which was issued and signed by Colonel Elijah Clarke as well as declarant recalls who, together with the other Officers under whom this declarant served is long since dead... (Footnote.com 2008 [David H. Thurmond, S32010]).

In 1778 Thurmond served as a Lieutenant in Captain Pulliam's Company of the Wilkes County militia. Thurmond explained his service after leaving Pulliam's Company for Hanover, Virginia, and returning to Wilkes County in early 1779,

Declarant remembers; that he well recalls that shortly after this Declarant was elected a Lieutenant, as he has stated in the said last declaration, Captain Pulliam brought commissions from Colonel Clarke for this Declarant and four others, but is not positively certain whether Clarke or Dooly signed them, but thinks they were signed by Clarke. That this Declarant, after he was elected a Lieutenant as aforesaid, under Captain Pulliam, served and acted as such Lieutenant, as well as he can recollect, from the month of February until November 1778 inclusive, uninterruptedly, when he went to Hanover, in Virginia, as stated

in his said declaration. That immediately after the Battle of Kettle Creek (which took place as well as this Declarant can remember the 14th of February 1779), Colonel Clarke requested this Declarant again to serve as Lieutenant in the company of Captain Gunnells, whose Lieutenant had then recently returned to North Carolina: That from that period, to wit the month of February 1779 he acted and served as Lieutenant whenever he was with his Company, which he always was when that Company was engaged in active service, that when not so engaged in active service this Declarant, having always a good Horse, and being possessed of a knowledge of the Country, road [sic, rode] as a spy from Fort to Fort and along the line of the frontiers.

That Captain Gunnells having taken a parole, as offered by Manson and recommended by Dooly as aforesaid, Col. E. Clarke offered the Captaincy of a Company to this Declarant, but as he had never acted as Captain, he declined it and advise Colonel Clarke to appoint Gibson Clarke his younger brother, and said he would and did take a Lieutenancy under him the said Gibson, in the month of May or first of June 1780, as well as he can remember, without, however, any written commission (Footnote.com 2008 [David H. Thurmond S32010]).

Ensign Ezekiel Cloud

Ezekiel Cloud served as an Ensign, or 2nd Lieutenant, in the Wilkes County militia and he fought in the battle at Kettle Creek in Captain Gunnell's or Captain Barber's company. Cloud was born in Anson County, North Carolina, (or possibly South Carolina) in 1757 or 1762. He died in May 1850 following a 60-day bout of palsey (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Mortality Schedule 1850; Ancestry.com 2008; Nolan 1881). In his final years Ezekiel farmed on land he was granted in Henry County, near McDonough, Georgia. Although Cloud made no mention of his participation at Kettle Creek in his pension requests, his company of Wilkes County militia was present at the battle, so his presence was almost certain (see Footnote.com 2008 [Austin Webb W3902; John Webb S32055; David Thurmond S32010]; Knight 1913, Vol. I: 679-680). In 1832, 70 year-old Ezekiel Cloud stated,

That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers, & served as herein stated – Viz. -- Colonel John Dooly, Elijah Clarke, Lieutenant Colonel, Beverly Smith Major, Daniel Gunnells Captain George Barber first Lieutenant (Second Lieutenant or Ensign not recollected)– all of the State of Georgia & County of Wilkes --

His service commenced about the year 1778 & served in tours until the latter part of the year 1779 to the amount of eight months. That he commenced again in September 1780 under Col. Elijah Clarke & Micajah Williams [Williamson] Lieutenant Colonel John Cunningham Major, Daniel Gunnells Captain –George Barber first Lieutenant (Second Lieutenant, or Ensign not recollected) & was in the Battle of the first Siege of Augusta, under the last named officers in September 1780 – That he retreated under the Command of the last named officers, through Georgia & the upper parts of South Carolina, into the Settlements of Holston (now East Tennessee – where we refreshed our horses about 25 days (Footnote.com 2008 [Ezekiel Cloud, W6920]).

Cloud went on to describe his service with Colonel Elijah Clarke in the Carolina backcountry. Cloud returned to Wilkes County in 1781, however, as he noted,

We then recruited a few days, & marched & scouted through the upper part of South Carolina back to Wilkes County Georgia. Shortly after this applicant joined Captain Joseph Nail's Volunteer Horse Company, & scouted the frontiers of Wilkes County Georgia to suppress the Tories who had taken refuge among the Creek & Cherokee Indians, & continued in Captain Nail's Company till he died. He then joined Captain Daniel Gunnells' Horse Company again & remained with him till after the Second Siege of Augusta in 1781 (the month not recollected). After this we scouted the frontier of Georgia again, under the Command of Lieutenant George Barber until May 1782 – during which time we had a Battle with the Creek Indians on the frontier of Wilkes County, Georgia. And this affiant can't [sic] further state that he remained in the Service of his Country scouting against the British & Tories until the War finally Closed. The whole of which was served as a private Volunteer (Footnote.com 2008 [Ezekiel Cloud W6920]).

Ezekiel Cloud further stated,

That in the year Seventeen hundred and eighty two about the last of April or first of May this deponent [Ezekiel Cloud] resided in the County of Wilkes State aforesaid in a Fort Called Hintons Fort on Chickesaw Creek--that deponents father Jeremiah Cloud had a block house about four miles distant from the Forest which he had built as a place of refuge for his family at the time (as this deponent had been informed by his brother Noah Cloud who was at the block house aforesaid). One evening about sunset the horse belonging to this deponents father and brother aforesaid came running up to the block house and appeared very much frightened they then suspected an attack from the Indians and tied the horses in the yard and they then enclosed themselves in the block house and in a few minutes the Indians commenced firing at the block house and continued for about two hours during which time they killed the horse belonging to deponents brother Noah Cloud and wounded a mare belonging to deponents father. The Indians then left the block house and went to a cowpen about two hundred and fifty yards off and killed five milch cows which were enclosed in it and they took nearly fore-quarter of each cow. My father and two brothers kept the block house until morning and Noah Cloud then came to the fort and brought news of the circumstances above related. In consequence of which attack from the Indians George Barber who was a Lieutenant in Capt. Gunnells company raised a volunteer Company (of which deponent was one) of twenty men besides himself in order to pursue [sic, pursue] them. The Company then preceeded [sic, proceeded] to the Block house where deponent saw the

horses and cows which the Indians had killed--they then persued [sic] the Indians along their trail toward the Creek Nation, which induced the Company to believe that they were the Creek Indians and followed them nearly three days but could not overtake them. We then left the trail (one of our Company shot at a deer to get provisions about this time) and went a north course to see if we could find any Indian camps late in the evening on the day we left the trail. We came to a fresh trail which led towards the White Settlements which we followed till nearly dark and crossing a large creek we left a guard until dark went about a mile and hobbled our horses out to graze (having nothing to feed them with) and then encamp[te] [sic, encamped] for the night. That night the Indians stole this deponents horse and seven other horses besides belonging to the Company and as deponent is now on oath he has no scruples in saying his horse at that time was worth one hundred dollars. The next morning part of the Company tracked the Horses back to the large Creek toward the Creek Nation. The Company generally believed that the Indians were in persuit [sic, pursuit] or heard the gun of one of our Company fired at a deer and persued [sic] on after us until night and stole our horses and then returned to the Creek Nation.

We then kept the same trail toward the White Settlements but has not preceeded far before we met a Company of Indians whereupon a fight immediately ensued. The Indians kept up a firing and retreating for about a half a mile, when they hid themselves in a swamp. We took from the battle ground twelve packs which belonged to the Indians and found among them the scalp of a white woman that was killed on the frontier of Wilkes County and deponent was informed some time afterwards that this was a company of Creek Indians and that one of them was wounded in the Skirmish and to the best of deponents knowledge and belief his horse was taken by the Creek Indians (Footnote.com 2008 [Ezekiel Cloud, W6920]).

Sergeant Major James Dillard

Sergeant Major James Dillard, South Carolina militia, provided testimony similar to that of Private Robert Long in his pension application, "After his return from Florida he again volunteered under Col. McCrary and served a tour of one month in pursuit of Col. Boyd who commanded a detachment of Tories" (Footnote.com 2008 [James Dillard S6797]). Private Dillard stated that he served in Captain Josiah Greer's company of militia in Colonel James Williams' Regiment, with Lieutenant Colonel Robert McCrary.

Sergeant Lloyd Kelley

Lloyd Kelley enlisted as a Sergeant in Captain Autry's company of Wilkes County militia in December, 1778 and served at that rank until the September-October, 1779 siege of Savannah. Private Kelley was performing garrison duty at Carr's Fort in Wilkes County when the fort was attacked by Hamilton's Loyalists in early February 1779. Sergeant Kelley described the event in his 1833 pension statement at age 76. Kelly was, "under Captain Ottery [Autry] from Wilkes County Georgia does not remember the date and served under him for 10 months – principally against the Indians and Tories in Georgia, he under Captain Ottery was in an engagement against the British and Tories in Wilkes County at Carr's fort, the British were commanded by Colonel or Major Hamilton." Private Kelly was a participant in the battle at Kettle Creek as he noted in his pension stating that, "he fought under the command of General Pickens – there were in service at this engagement Colonel Dooly, Col. Clarke, Captains Gunnells, Stewart, George Dooly and Barker four days thereafter General Pickens' Army of which he was one attacked Colonel Boyd commanding the British at Kettle Creek in Georgia" (Footnote.com 2008 [Lloyd Kelley S31790]). Lloyd Kelley also provided testimony in 1834 for the pension application of Benjamin Thompson, which corroborates his own pension documents. In his 1834 statement, however, Kelley made no mention of Kettle Creek (Footnote.com 2008 [Benjamin Thompson S32016]). Lloyd Kelley died in 1841. Moss (2006:522) lists a Loyd Kelly in the South Carolina militia. These two individuals are quite likely the same person.

John Clark

John Clark, eldest son of Elijah Clarke, possibly served in Clarke's Wilkes County militia regiment. John, who was born in 1766 and was nearly 13 years old at the time, participated in the Battle of Kettle Creek. John Clark rose in the ranks to become a Major by the end of the Revolutionary War. He was a Major General of the Georgia militia in the Georgia-Indian war of the 1790s leading the attack at Jack's Creek, near present day Monroe, Georgia. John Clark later served twice as Governor of Georgia. He moved his family to St. Andrew Bay, Florida, and he died from fever in 1832. A portrait of former Governor Clark is displayed at the Georgia Capitol Museum in Atlanta (Sherwood 1829:189; Foster 1913:215; Knight 1917:131-132; Harris 1896:142-143; Chappell 1905:158-560; Georgia Secretary of State 2008; Cook 2005).

William Speer, Sr.

William Speer, Sr. served in Captain Hugh McCall's company of South Carolina militia in Pickens' regiment. Speer fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as evidenced by the writings of his son, William Speer, Jr. (1868, 1874; Snowden 1920, Volume IV:232; Speer 1998). William, Sr. was born in county Antrim, Ireland in 1747. He arrived in America in 1772 and came to Charleston, South Carolina in 1774. William Speer, Jr. wrote concerning his father's military service in a December 9, 1869 in a letter to relative John A. Speer:

He [William Speer, Sr.] remained in Charleston until after Sir Peter Parker's attack on Charleston, 28th of June, 1776, was in Drayton's, or 'Snowy Camps', came to the Long Cane settlement, Abbeville District, and lived in the family of General Pickens for three years, when he was not in the service. He served in the calvary company of Capt. Hugh McCall, but when the State was over run by the British (after the fall of CHARLESTON) and many took protection; he with others went as refugees to North Carolina, until Gen. Green took command in South Carolina. Previous to this time he was in a campaign under Gen. Williamson in the first expedition against the Cherokee Indians. During the war a rising of the Tories commenced in Spartanburg District, under command of Col. Boyd, who was making a circuitous route to join Colonel Brown, who was commanding the British post at Augusta, Ga. Col. Pickens had command of the Block House at the Cherokee Ford, on Savannah river, in Abbeville District; who hearing that Boyd was approaching with 700 men, joined by the notorious Bill Cunningham, left Capt. Anderson in command at the Block House whilst he was absent raising the Whig Militia in his own District. Boyd advanced and burned "Fort Independence", which stood on the plantation now owned by the estate of the late Wm. Young, in this District. Boyd advanced and sent forward a party under Cunningham to attack the Block House, and thereby open his way across Savannah river at Cherokee Ford. Capt. Anderson having a four pounder in the Fort that the Tories were not aware of, opened fire on them. The Tories fled at the first fire, and made good their retreat, crossing the river near the mouth of Van's creek. After Boyd had crossed into Georgia, Pickens having collected 300 Whigs, commenced pursuit and overtook Boyd at Kettle creek, in Wilkes county, Ga., where my Father, under Pickens, participated in a severe battle, Boyd was killed early in that engagement, his forces defeated and dispersed. After the battle was over, Pickens sent my Father on an express to White Hall, S. C. The Whigs and Tories distinguished themselves - the Whigs by wearing a white paper in the hat-the Tories by wearing in the hat a pine top. He again joined Pickens at 'Fort Charlotte' (Speer 1869).

William Speer, Jr. wrote a short biography of his father in 1874, which included these statements, "My father served in the army in the Cavalry under the command of Capt. Hugh McCall," and he noted that his father "was in the battle of Kettle Creek where Col. Pickens with 300 men defeated Boyd with 700 men. Boyd was killed" (Speer 1874). William Speer, Jr.'s statement that his father had delivered an express to General Williamson, if it was true, indicates that William Sr. was a trusted soldier under Colonel Pickens' command. It should be noted that no official military service or federal pension record was located for William Speer. A pension record was located for an Ensign William Speer, but an examination of these documents determined that he was another individual.

Private Beckham May

Beckham May was from Columbia County, Georgia. He served as a private soldier in the Georgia militia under command of Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke. May fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as he stated in his pension application in 1855 at age 100, "he was at the battle of Kettle Creek in 1779, at which Pickens and Clarke were present, and the Tory Colonel Boyd was killed" (Footnote.com 2008; Beckham May pension application R7049). Not surprisingly, May did not produce many corroborating witnesses by fellow soldiers, since most all of them were dead by 1855. Beckham May served with distinction in numerous battles in Georgia, as he describes in his pension testimony.

Private William Black

William Black was a Private in Captain Joseph Nail's Company of Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke's Wilkes County militia. He fought in the battle of Kettle Creek and numerous other engagements. William Black made a brief mention of his participation in the battle at Kettle Creek when he stated in 1833,

That he entered the service of the United States in the Georgia militia under the following named officers, his Colonel was Elijah Clark [sic, Clarke], his Captain Joseph Neal; that he entered the service in the summer of 1776 and served the whole of the war, drew pay during the whole of the time, served two years under Captain Neal [Nail] and was in the Battle of Carr's ford [sic, Carr's fort] and Kettle Creek in the State of Georgia (Footnote.com 2008 [William Black W9730]; Davis & Thomas 1975:81-82).

Private Micajah Brooks, Sr.

Private Micajah Brooks, Sr., served in Captain Barber's Company, Wilkes County militia in 1779 and he participated in the battle at Kettle Creek. Micajah was born about 1761 and lived to the age of about 98. According to Brooks' pension application, which he filed in 1850 at age 89,

He [Micajah Brooks] entered the service in the County of Wilkes in the State of Georgia as a volunteer, that while he was under the last mentioned officers in said County of Wilkes they got in pursuit of some Tories and said Clarke sent Captain George Barber and Thomas Rainey as spies to ascertain the number of Tories, they went and returned to the main body and reported that there were seven or eight hundred Tories and after hearing the probable number Col. Elijah Clarke after halting for some time on account of the number of Tories, he the said Col. Clarke followed on after them and came up on them (after dark in the first part of the night) where Kettle Creek and Little River run together and after coming on them, Col. Clarke fired on the Tory Sentinels and they run in, said Col. Clarke then charged on the Tories and they, the Tories, fled and ran in every direction and left their horses provisions and plunder in the hands of Col. Clarke and his men. During the time [of this skirmish], there were three Tories killed and they shot back and killed a captain belonging to Col. Clarke's command by the name, he thinks, of Anderson from South Carolina he thinks though not certain as to his name or place from whence he came, was, after he entered the service under the above named officers he marched from Tugaloe River to the mouth of Kettle and Little River in the said County of Wilkes and from there to Newsom's fort in now Warren County said State of Georgia and after remaining two or three weeks at said Fort he was discharged (Footnote.com 2008 [Micajah Brooks W27694]).

Micajah Brooks presented an ambivalent story with many errors in describing the February 14th battle of Kettle Creek. His account of the battle is not reliable, although a few of the facts seem to fit. The reference to "seven or eight hundred Tories" is consistent with the Kettle Creek battle, but the timing of the engagement, "after dark in the first part of the night" and the location, "where Kettle Creek and Little River run together" do not match other versions of the battle. Previous researchers have pointed out numerous inconsistencies with Micajah Brooks' recollection (Davis and Thomas 1975:134). Brooks may be confusing the February 14th event with another military action that took place in 1782 at the confluence of Kettle Creek and the Little River in which Josiah Dunn was killed, or possibly some other undetermined skirmish (Strain 2006; Davis 1986).

Private William Buchanan

William Buchanan was a native of Ireland who was living at Cambridge, South Carolina when the war began. Buchanan enlisted at age 16 and served several times as a Private in the South Carolina militia throughout the war. In 1832, 70 year-old Private Buchanan stated that during his fourth tour of duty in the South Carolina militia under a Lieutenant Wardlay, he,

Was drafted out of Capt. John Irwins Company to guard the frontier of South Carolina on Broad Mouth Creek near the Cherokee boundary line, in Abbeville Dist. Then Ninety-six Dist. Against Indian encroachments, here the applicant was taken prisoner by a Col. Boyd a tory officer who marched the applicant with other prisoners to Kettle Creek in the State of Georgia and was a prisoner during the Kettle creek battle in which Col. Boyd was killed, the defeated tories after marching him & other prisoners one day and night, requested the prisoners & to intercede & obtain a pardon for them, to which the prisoners agreed and all marched back & came in to Genl Pickens at fort Charlotte in Abbeville or Ninety-six Dist who pardoned the tories, and discharged them to go to their homes in safety, this was before the seige [sic] of Ninety-six (Footnote.com 2008 [William Buchanan S21675]).

Private Samuel Davis

Samuel Davis, a militiaman from Georgia or South Carolina, was possibly wounded in the battle of Kettle Creek. Davis was a Georgian and the father of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America. Samuel was reportedly only 16 years old at the time of his enlistment but quickly rose in the ranks to become a Captain in the Georgia militia (Jones 1890:43; Fleming 1919:154; Haller 2008). Benjamin Springer mentioned in his pension application that he joined Captain Autry's company of Clarke's regiment in 1782 as a substitute for Samuel Davis (Footnote.com 2008 [Benjamin Springer S1592]).

Private Edward Doyle

Private Edward Doyle, South Carolina militia, fought in the battle of Kettle Creek under command of Captain Levi Casey. Doyle (born about 1758) was from Ninety-Six District where he enlisted in early

1779. Captain Casey's men (consisting of only about seven soldiers) were normally under command of Colonel James Williams, but in early 1779 they found themselves near Augusta in proximity to Colonel Pickens and they were "attached" to Pickens. They were temporarily under command of Pickens during the Kettle Creek engagement. Private Doyle, aged 74, stated in 1833,

...From thence [their post opposite Augusta] Capt. Levi Casey and about six of his men myself included attached ourselves to Col. Pickens' Regiment and marched under the command of Col. Pickens in pursuit of the Tories—and on this expedition there was about three hundred mounted militia & Col. Pickens attacked & defeated a party of Tories at Kettle Creek in Georgia. The Battle lasted about one hour. The said Edward Doyle was in said Battle. The Tories were all mounted and it was said there were about five or six hundred of them, we killed several of them and took about two hundred prisoners and marched them to our encampment opposite Augusta at Liberty Hill & from thence Col. Williams' regiment guarded them to the Jail at ninety six and the Tories remained in jail & were guarded until a court was convened & were tried for their lives. Many of them were convicted, but few of them were executed. One by the name of Aquilla Hall was executed and after the trial of the Tories, this deponent was discharged & went home & the Discharge lost or destroyed (Footnote.com 2008 [Edward Doyle S32216]).

Private Doyle's estimate of "about one hour" for the length of the battle is on the low end of the various estimates. His account is unique, since his company (Captain Levi Casey's) was charged with escorting the captured loyalists from the Kettle Creek battlefield to Colonel Williamson's camp at Liberty Hill opposite Augusta. His estimate of "about two hundred prisoners" should not be entirely dismissed as inflated, since he was among the men who were actually performing the guard duty. Likewise, his estimate of "about five or six hundred" Loyalists at the battle is a reasonable figure. Other aspects of Doyle's military service are described in some detail, such as his description of the October, 1779 attack on Savannah. His details of the Kettle Creek battle were disappointingly terse. Doyle died in 1833, not long after making his pension deposition.

Private Joseph Dunn

Private Joseph Dunn was from Rutherford County, North Carolina (born in Guilford County in 1755). He volunteered for a second tour of duty in the North Carolina militia in early 1779 where he was assigned to a Light Horse company commanded by Captain Adam Hampton. Their company united with Pickens' South Carolina militia and participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. Dunn served for about two years during the war and participated in the battle of King's Mountain, among others. In 1832, Joseph Dunn stated,

That about the beginning or spring of the year 1779 he volunteered as a private from the same County, and joined a light horse company commanded by Captain Adam Hampton (son of Colonel Hampton) and soon after marched towards Georgia, through South Carolina and joined Col. Pickens [Andrew Pickens] near his own farm in South Carolina on Seneca River, who was then collecting all the forces in his power to oppose a body of Tories collected in the back parts of South Carolina, with an intention of proceeding to Augusta (or was said) to join the British. After Col. Pickens had assembled all the troops he could, he began his march, and came up with these Tories (consisting of six or 700) at Kettle Creek, and there defeated them with considerable loss, and Col. Boyd [James Boyd] their leader was among the killed: several who escaped were afterwards taken and tried as traitors, and five (he thinks) were executed. Some of these Tories however, reached the enemy & joined them. This defeat broke the spirits of the Tories for awhile, and preserved quiet of the Western part of the Country. After this battle we returned to North Carolina (Footnote.com 2008 [Joseph Dunn S12811]).

Private Charles Gent

Charles Gent was a Private in Captain Gunnell's company of Wilkes County militia. Gent fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as stated in 1832.

Applicant then became a volunteer under Captain Gunnells and he served for a long time in the petty but dangerous warfare of the day; He was in an engagement against the Tories at a place called "Kettle Creek." The battle was very warm & lasted near four hours. The Tories were commanded by Col. Boyd & Col. Moore— General Clarke of Georgia with Colonel John Dooly & Colonel John Cunningham under him commanded the American troops. It was said that General Clarke had several horses shot under him during the fight, though this the applicant only speaks of from the reports of the day (Footnote.com 2008 [Charles Gent S1903]).

Private Gent's reference to Clarke having "several horses shot under him during the fight", which he did not witness first-hand, is an exaggeration. Also, at the time of the battle Clarke would have been second in command, under Colonel Dooly and Cunningham was further down the chain of command and did not hold

the rank of colonel at the time of the battle. Gent's statement that the battle lasted, "near four hours" is at the upper end of the various estimates of the length of the battle.

Private James Gillison

Private James Gillison fought with the South Carolina militia in the battle of Kettle Creek. According to a deposition by his wife Jane Gillison, filed in 1845 at age 92, Gillison served for three years in the South Carolina militia and, "he was at the battle of Kettle Creek in the State of Georgia," and that he "did most of his service in the upper part of South Carolina under the command of Colonel Pickens & Major Noble in the Company of Captain Baskins." She noted that her husband died near Annapolis, Maryland around 1813 (Footnote.com 2008 [James Gillison W10061]).

Private Jesse Hooper

Jesse Hooper was a Private in the Wilkes County militia and fought at the battle of Kettle Creek in Captain Little's Company. Hooper was living in Wilkes County when he enlisted as a Private in the 1st Georgia Regiment in 1776 and served for one year under command of Colonel Coleman. Hooper (aged 74) stated in 1832 that Colonel Coleman got sick and died, after which Hooper stated, "Soon after this the British aided by the Tories and Indians became so troublesome & dangerous that the frontier settlements of Georgia broke up their forts and settlements and many of them went to the forts in South Carolina" (Footnote.com 2008 [Jesse Hooper, S1913]). After Colonel Colson died, Jesse Hooper volunteered for militia service in Captain James Little's Wilkes County militia company. In his pension application, Hooper stated that,

He [Hooper] was in an engagement against the Tories at a place called "Kettle Creek". The battle was very warm, & lasted near four hours. The Tories were commanded by Col. Boyd. Genl. Clark of Georgia with Col. Dooly & Col. Jno. Cunningham under him commanded the American troops. It was said that Genl. Clarke had several horses shot under him during the fight, though of this the applicant [Jesse Hooper] only speaks from the report of the day (Footnote.com 2008 [Jesse Hooper, S1913]).

Colonel Coleman, mentioned in Hooper's documents, commanded a company of Light Horse in the Georgia militia in 1777 and 1778 (Candler 1908, Volume II:32). Private Hooper likely served as a mounted soldier under Coleman's command.

The two preceding soldier's pension statements, Charles Gent's and Jesse Hooper's, contain several identical statements, which is quite curious. Both veterans described the battle as, "very warm, & lasted near four hours." Both Charles Gent's and Jesse Hooper's statement were taken on July 28, 1832 in Davidson County, Tennessee. The two soldiers were long-time friends and apparently they collaborated on their stories. Gent's pension statement points to this connection, when he testified that,

...he [Gent] was in the battle of Kettle Creek spoken of in the above declaration with said Hooper that the Tories were commanded in said battle by Col. Boyd that the American troops were commanded by Genl. Clark of Georgia, Cols McDooly & Cunningham that said battle was warmly contested, that said Hooper behaved himself well as a private in said action, that three horses were shot under Genl. Clark on the day of engagement..." (Footnote.com 2008 [Charles Gent S1903]).

Private William Hammett

William Hammett (1749-1832) enlisted as a private in Captain Robert Carr's Company of Wilkes County militia in early 1778. He fought at the battle of Kettle Creek, probably under Captain Carr's command. William Hammett was a resident of Wilkes County prior to the war and after the war he received land grants for property near the Kettle Creek battlefield. This property may be the same land in the newly ceded lands that he had requested in 1773 under colonial rule. Private Hammett rose in the ranks to later command a company under Colonel Elijah Clarke. The pension application for William Hammett, which was filed in 1846 by his son, James, stated that, "he had heard his father say that he was in the Battle at Kings Mountain Sulivans Island and at Kettle Creek where he had two Brothers killed in the engagement, he continued to serve in the war from its commencement to until peace was made". James Hammett further testified that he had heard his father speak of Elijah Clarke and that, "he [Colonel Clarke] was present when

the Said Captain William Hammett was wounded by a ball in the engagement at Kettle Creek” (Footnote.com 2008 [William Hammett M804]). James Hammett asserted that his father was a Captain at the time of the battle, but the records of Carr’s company from 1778 tend to indicate he held a lower rank in early 1779. William Hammett died in Marion County, Mississippi in 1832 (Footnote.com 2008); Hammett 2008:117). Interestingly, James Hammett’s 1846 pension petition for his father was not approved because he failed to furnish proof of service, as specified in the pension law. The converging historical facts, however, support that William Hammett was a participant in the battle of Kettle Creek, although not likely at the rank of Captain, and that he served for several years under Colonels Dooly and Clarke in the Wilkes County militia, including specifically verified service in 1778 in Captain Robert Carr’s Company of Wilkes County militia, and he was issued a bounty land grant by Colonel Clarke in 1784 for his military service during the war (Ellis and Ellis 2008; Footnote.com 2008).

The identity of one of the two brothers, mentioned in the pension application of William Hammett, who were killed in the battle of Kettle Creek can be deduced from the 1778 records of Carr’s Company and from their absence in subsequent historical records. Robert, Sr., Robert, Jr., and Edward Hammett were enlisted as privates in Carr’s company in 1778. Robert, Jr. and Edward were William Hammett’s brothers. William had two brothers, John Hammett, who is mentioned in Wilkes County military records after February 14, 1779, so he was not killed at Kettle Creek (Hammett 2008). No other males of William Hammett’s generation are identified by name from family records or other historical documents. Therefore, we conclude that one of the Hammett brothers who were killed at Kettle Creek was Solomon Hammett. His descendants did not file any pension application, since the previously discussed application for William Hammett is the only one on file in Washington. The other Hammett who was killed at Kettle Creek remains unidentified.

Private Benjamin Lawrence

Private Benjamin Lawrence, South Carolina militia, was from Abbeville District and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. He served in the militia as an infantryman and cavalryman for about two years and fought at the siege of Augusta, Midway [Georgia] and other places, rising to the rank of Lieutenant. Lawrence died on April 22, 1826 and his widow, Rachel Lawrence, stated in 1844, that her husband, “was in the battle at Kettle Creek.” Benjamin Lawrence’s participation in that battle was confirmed by one of his fellow militiamen, Private David Verner, who stated that he, “was in the Battle of Kettle Creek with him” (Footnote.com 2008 [Benjamin Lawrence W21547]).

Private Robert Long

Robert Long enlisted in the Little River militia of South Carolina. In early 1779 he served under Captain Josiah Greer in Colonel Robert McCrery’s [McCrary’s] regiment. In his pension claim, Private Long described his participation in the campaign to stop Colonel Boyd, “In 1779 in January a certain Boyd dignified with the title of Col. collected about 500 Tories to join the British at Savannah; against these he volunteered on horseback under the same Captain & Col. viz Josiah Greer & Robert McCrery was out about a month or six weeks” (Footnote.com 2008 [Robert Long S7157]).

Private John McAdams

John McAdams served as a Private in the South Carolina militia in Pickens’ regiment. McAdams stated in 1832 at age 73 that he, “Again volunteers under Col. Pickens Capt. Ones [Jones?] commanding the company, with Lt. Roseman and set out after Tories, under Col. Boyd; crossed Savannah River at Cherokee Fording and overtook them at Kettle Creek and destroyed them.” Private McAdams noted that that the campaign lasted six weeks (Footnote.com 2008 [John McAdams W2649]).

Private John McClaskey

Private John McClaskey was a cavalry man in Captain Thomas Weem's Company of South Carolina militia. McClaskey (McLaskey, McCloskey, McCleskey, and McClusky) was born about 1756 and was a resident of Abbeville District at the time of his enlistment in 1776 or 1777. McClaskey fought in the battle of Kettle Creek. He also participated in the Florida Campaign, the siege of Savannah, Eutaw Springs and other places (Footnote.com 2008 [John McClaskey W1449]). McClaskey stated in his pension application that,

Immediately after my return from 96 I was called on to march into the State of Georgia. I was then under the command of Captain Weems who was attached to Colonel Pickens' Regiment; had a small scrimmage at a place called Kettle Creek; from that place we marched under the command of General Pickens against a certain McGirt [Daniel McGirt] at St. Mary's commonly called the Florida expedition (Footnote.com 2008 [John McClaskey W1449]).

Private Joseph McMillen

Joseph McMillen was born in Ireland in 1743 and he arrived with his parents in Charleston, South Carolina. He served in Captain Robert Anderson's Company of the South Carolina militia. McMillen fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as he recorded in his 188 pension testimony. He stated that,

A part of his Regiment was stationed for sometime in the stone fort on the Savannah river, and sometime in the night the said Col. Pickens with the balance of his Regiment came in to the Fort and ordered thirty-seven of those who were stationed there, of whom applicant was one, to march forthwith to Kettle creek, where they met with a considerable collection of Tories, fought them, and took the ground, and killed Col. Boyd their commander- applicant states that his Regiment took considerable booty here and brought it in to the stone fort and sold it to the Georgians (Footnote.com 2008; McMillen pension application S4200).

Private Mordecai Miller

Mordecai Miller was a Private in Captain Baskins' Company of the South Carolina militia. Private Miller fought in the battle of Kettle Creek, as he stated in 1832,

...he [Miller] was drafted again for the term of thirty days and he went to McGounds [McGowan's] Blockhouse on Savannah River. While he was at the said Blockhouse we were surrounded by seven hundred men who was commanded by two men by the name of Boyd & Moore who were Tories out of Lincoln County, North Carolina, and they demanded of us the Blockhouse and the Ferry and we refused to give it up to them and we had a man in the blockhouse by the name of Alexander McCopin who had a Blunderbuss. We made up a load out of our own shot bags and horns and he loaded it and fired on the enemy in consequence of which they retreated and crossed the river four miles above the ferry at the mouth of Brass Creek and the next morning Col. Anderson [Robert Anderson, then a captain] and Capt. Baskin came with forty men to assist and we crossed over the river at the ferry and went up the river for the purpose of preventing the enemy from crossing the river as aforesaid and we fought them all day and they took Captain Baskin and fourteen men with him and the horsemen crossed the River & came in on our backs and we were compelled to retreat in disorder and we returned on our route home and met General Pickens with three hundred men and we crossed the savannah River at the Cherokee ford and pursued after the Tories to Kettle Creek in the State of Georgia and surprised them there. We killed the before mentioned Boyd and then went home (Footnote.com 2008 [Mordecai Millar S16972]).

Private Benajah Nordyke

Benajah Nordyke was a Private in the Wilkes County militia who participated in the February 14 battle. Nordyke stated in 1852 at the age of 87 that he, "was in the engagement at the battle of Kettle Creek" (Footnote.com 2008 [Benajah Nordyke R7691]).

Private John Prater

John Prater was a Private in the South Carolina militia who fought in the February 14 battle. He was a resident of the Pendleton District. Prater stated in an 1809 pension application that, "did duty in the Militia commanded by the then Cap'n Andrew Pickens and under his command on or about the 14-th day of February in the year of our Lord 1779 you petitioner received a wound through his shoulder which broke the bone in an engagement with a party of Royalist under the command of Col. Boyd" (Sharp 1963). Prater's widow filed for his pension in 1830. Elinor Prater stated, "that he [John Prater] was wounded in the American Service in the time of the Revolutionary War, that she, this deponent, went to the hospital in

Abbeville Dist. and nursed her said husband for about four months that as soon as he recovered he gain entered the service and she believed continued in it to the end of the war” (Sharp 1963).

Private Matthew Robinson

Private Matthew Robinson, South Carolina militia, fought in the February 14 battle. Robinson was born about 1760 in Virginia and raised in Abbeville District, South Carolina, where he enlisted. He fought as part of Captain McCall’s Company at Kettle Creek. He also fought at Cowpens and Ninety-Six. In 1832 Robinson stated that, “he was engaged [illegible] with the Tories and Indians fought with the Tories at a creek called Kettle Creek in Georgia fought near the mouth of this River St. Marys with the English Tories and Indians under the command of Capt. James McCall,” and in 1835, Private Robinson stated that he was, “in a very severe contest on Kettle Creek in the state of Georgia” (Footnote.com 2008 [Matthew Robinson S11309]).

Private Peter Strozier

Private Peter Strozier probably fought with the Wilkes County militia on February 14. Peter Strozier and his wife settled on Kettle Creek around the time of the American Revolution. Strozier received a plat for property on Kettle Creek in 1783 (McGinty 2007). According to Peter’s widow, Margaret Strozier, who applied for his pension benefits in 1832, Peter served in the Wilkes County militia for five years and, “her husband was also in the battle fought at Kettle Creek, Wilkes County Georgia.” Margaret also testified that Peter Strozier had joined the militia under command of Colonel Dunn and later served with Captain Patty Carr [Paddy or Patrick Carr] under Clarke (Footnote.com 2008 [Peter Strozier R10279]).

Private Dempsey Tyner

Private Dempsey Tyner served in Captain Miller’s Company of the South Carolina militia and was at the battle of Kettle Creek. Private Tyner provided this information about the battle in 1832,

Soon after this applicant returned from the siege at Savannah [December 1778] he was again called on by his Captain (Miller) and marched to McGowen's blockhouse against the Tories where Capt Miller's and Captain Baskin's Companies had an engagement with the Tories, and Capt Miller was shot through the knee and he and Capt Baskins taken prisoners by the Tories. This applicant and several others who were in the engagement made their escape without being taken and joined Major Pickens at the Cherokee Ford and marched against the Tories to Kittle Creek under him where we had another engagement with them and defeated them and took three hundred prisoners. This applicant was ordered on the guard to guard the prisoners to Ninety Six (Footnote.com 2008 [Dempsey Tyner S1599]).

Private David Verner

David Verner was in Captain McCall’s Company of the South Carolina militia and probably participated as a 19-year old in the February 14 battle. He stated in an 1844 affidavit for a pension application for Benjamin Lawrence’s widow that, “he [Verner] was in the Battle of Kettle Creek” (Footnote.com 2008 [Benjamin Lawrence W21547]). Verner’s pension application, however, contains no mention of his participation in the battle of Kettle Creek. In 1834, Verner (aged 74) stated that he had kept a journal starting in 1776 but that journal was not located by the present research. Private Verner stated that he served under Captain McCaw [Captain James McCall] in 1778 (Footnote.com 2008 [David Verner S21550]).

Private John Warnock

John Warnock, a Private in the South Carolina militia, was present at the battle of Kettle Creek where he was freed from imprisonment by the Patriots. Warnock was an Irishman (born about 1757) living in Abbeville District, South Carolina when the war began. Warnock enlisted in the 3rd Regiment, South Carolina Continentals in July, 1775 where he served until May, 1777 when he was discharged on account

of a broken leg. He joined the South Carolina militia, under Andrew Pickens, where he served as a Waggoner. He was captured by the Tories in February 1778 [sic 1779] but was set free at the battle of Kettle Creek. He later fought at Stono, Savannah, and Ninety-Six, and he participated in Pickens' Cherokee campaign. Private Warnock died on May 28, 1842 (Footnote.com 2008 [John Warnock W22515]).

Private Austin Webb

Austin Webb was a Private in Captain Nail's Company of the Georgia militia who fought in the February 14 battle. Private Webb stated in 1832 that he,

volunteered in the militia of the State of Georgia under Captain Joseph Nail about the first of February 1779 and served in Colonel Elijah Clarke's Regiment from the State of Georgia under the following named officers, Colonel Elijah Clarke, Major Smith who died soon after entering the service and who was succeeded by Major George Dooly, Captain Joseph Nail, first Lieutenant Thomas Johnson who died a short time after this deponent's entering the service he was succeeded by Joseph Nail Jr. to the Lieutenancy....And this deponent further states that during his service as a Militia Soldier as aforesaid, he was engaged in the following Battles, first this deponent was in the battle at Kettle Creek which was the 14th of February 1779 under Colonel Elijah Clark who commanded the Georgia militia. Boyd & Moore commanded the British -- Boyd killed first. And this deponent further states that Colonel Andrew Pickens who commanded the South Carolina Regiment was engaged in the same battle with Colonel Clarke. And that Captain McCall commanded a company under said Col. Pickens. And this deponent further states that he was engaged in the first & second Sieges (Footnote.com 2008 [Austin Webb W3902]).

Private John Webb

John Webb was a Private in Captain Nail's Company of the Georgia militia. Private Webb stated in 1833 that,

in January 1777 he volunteered under Captain Joseph Nail who erected a Fort against the Indians called Nail's Fort near Broad River Wilkes County, Georgia and remained there until January 1779, thence Retreated to the State of South Carolina Abbeville District or County and in a few weeks was engaged under the command of Colonels Clarke and Pickens Major Burwell Smith and Captain Nail in the Battle of Kettle Creek against a detachment of Tories under the command of Boyd and Moore, then Returned to South Carolina Fort Charlotte (Footnote.com 2008 [John Webb, S32055]).

Austin Dabney

Austin Dabney was one of the more celebrated participants in the battle of Kettle Creek, although his participation in the battle is not fully documented. Dabney was a slave on a plantation owned by Richard Aycock. Around the beginning of the war, Aycock settled in Wilkes County, Georgia and he was soon called to serve in the Wilkes County militia. Aycock sent Dabney as a substitute to serve in the Georgia militia. When Aycock was informed that Dabney, who had been presented as an enslaved person, could not serve in Aycock's stead, Aycock revised his story and described Dabney as a free person. Dabney, it seemed, was the child of an itinerant gambler and an enslaved woman, who was born and raised on Aycock's plantation. Dabney served valiantly under Elijah Clarke's command. He exhibited skills as an artilleryman and served in that capacity in Clarke's command, first as Richard Aycock's substitute, and later as a volunteer soldier (Gilmer 1851, 1855; White 1849:806-809; 1854:584-585; Simms 1852:507-535; Hartgrove 1936; Newman and Ham 1974; Scott 2008).

George Rockingham Gilmer, an early settler in the Broad River valley of upper Georgia (and later Governor of Georgia) who wrote an early history of the region gave an oft-cited account of Dabney,

In the beginning of the Revolutionary conflict; a man by the name of Aycock removed to Wilkes County, having in his possession a mulatto boy, who passed for and was treated as his slave. The boy had been called Austin, to which the Captain to whose company he was attached added Dabney. Dabney proved himself a good soldier. In many a skirmish with the British and Tories, he acted a conspicuous part. He was with Colonel Elijah Clarke in the battle at Kettle Creek, and was severely wounded by a rifle-ball passing through his thigh, by which he was made a cripple for life. He was unable to do further military duty, and was without means to procure due attention to his wound, which threatened his life. In this suffering condition he was taken into the house of a Mr. [Giles] Harris, where he was kindly cared for until he recovered. He afterwards laboured for Harris and his family more faithfully than any slave could have been made to do (Gilmer 1851:11).

Governor Gilmer's version of the Austin Dabney story, linking his wounds to Kettle Creek battle, was recounted by more than a dozen later authors to the present day. Consequently, the assertion that Dabney fought at the battle of Kettle Creek where he was severely wounded approaches established fact. Writing in 1852, noted historian, biographer, and historical fiction author, William Gilmore Simms offered a version of the story that was very identical to Gilmer's,

No soldier under Clarke did better service during the revolutionary struggle. In the battle of Kettle Creek, the hardest ever fought in Georgia between the whigs and tories, Austin Dabney was shot down, and left on the battle ground very dangerously wounded. He was found, carried home, and taken care of by a man by the name of Harris, who lived close by. It was long before Austin Dabney recovered....The United States government allowed Austin Dabney a pension, on account of the limb which was broken at the battle of Kettle Creek (Simms 1852:518-519).

Dabney may well have been wounded in the battle of Kettle Creek. Historical documents, however, attest that Dabney's most severe wounds were received later while fighting with Clarke in the first battle of Augusta in 1780. There, according to Elijah Clarke, Dabney was badly wounded in the leg, rendering him unable to perform heavy labor.

After the war, the State of Georgia recognized Dabney's patriotic and brave contributions by enacting legislation emancipating Dabney. Dabney settled in western Georgia on William Harris' plantation near Zebulon in Pike County, where he lived out the rest of his life, dying in 1830 (State of Georgia 1795). Mr. Harris, the person who befriended and took the severely wounded Dabney into his home was Giles Harris, born in 1766, and a native of Virginia. He married his second wife, Thurman, in Virginia in 1792 and settled in Georgia, where he raised a family. Giles Harris was involved in the tobacco business in Augusta in 1790. Harris died in 1844 in Madison County, Georgia and his oldest son, William Harris inherited his father's estate and maintained a close relationship with Austin Dabney, allowing Dabney to live on Harris' plantation in Madison and Pike counties, Georgia (Rootsweb.com 2008; Richmond County, Minutes of Inferior Court, Volume II, 1790-1821, in Talmadge 1926:315).

The present researchers were unable to locate any primary documents that directly link Austin Dabney to the engagement at Kettle Creek, although he certainly may have been present. Artillery is not mentioned in any of the primary battle accounts for Kettle Creek but one iron grapeshot example was discovered in the present study and cannonballs were reportedly collected from the battlefield in decades past. The Patriots had several artillery pieces in the days immediately before February 14, 1779, including a four-pounder and two swivel guns that are mentioned in accounts of the fighting at the Savannah River. The Patriots probably also had some light weight ordnance with them at Kettle Creek. Dabney may have been one of the artillery men in Clarke's battalion by that time. Perhaps future research will locate documents, which verify or refute this assertion.

Other Patriots at the Battle

The mounted militiamen of Dooly's, Clarke's, and Pickens' regiments who rode under Colonel Pickens command were probably not the only patriots present at the Kettle Creek battle. A contingent of wagoners, enslaved servants, and other camp followers probably accompanied the troops. Incidents reported in pension applications support this claim. For example, Private John Bird was in the East Florida campaign. In his 1839 pension application, at the age of 79, he described how Elijah Clarke, "lost his Negra and horse" in an engagement with Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and his East Florida Rangers (John Bird pension application S10372). Bird's reference to Clarke's enslaved servant demonstrates that at least some officers in the Wilkes County militia were attended by servants while on the battlefield. The speed at which Pickens' troops pursued Colonel Boyd may have caused the "camp followers" to lag behind. The present research found no mention of any support personnel, although this group of people as a class is often anonymous in historical accounts.

OTHER PATRIOTS LINKED TO KETTLE CREEK

Captain John Stephens

John Stephens commanded a company of South Carolina militia in 1779. Captain Stephens was apparently cashiered from military service as a result of his poor performance in the expedition against Colonel Boyd's regiment. Captain Stephens was probably not directly involved in the battle at Kettle Creek and the details of his court martial remain unknown. Private John Ridgeway served in his company, and he noted in 1833, "In the fall of 1779 he [Ridgeway] was drafted for a tour of three months and served under Capt. John Stephens about two months of the time when Stephens was cashiered for improper conduct and the company in consequence of the approach of the Tories under Col. Boyd dispersed" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Ridgeway S21947]). The present researchers did not pursue Captain Stephen's story, so his presence on the battlefield remains undetermined.

Private David Anderson

Private David Anderson, South Carolina militia, did not participate in the battle of Kettle Creek, although he had been in pursuit of Colonel Boyd as far as Fort Independence, South Carolina. Anderson stated in his pension application, that he volunteered for service in 1778, "under Capt. William Mulwee (sic, Milwee) company officer and Major John (sic, James) Williams, Col. Brannon (sic, Brandon) field officers; marched to Ripley's Fort; from thence went in pursuit of one Boyd a Tory; pursued as far as Fort Independence on Savannah River where we learned Boyd had been captured by Col. Pickens at Kettle Creek. Hence went in pursuit of other Tory parties, returned home after a tour of about six weeks." (Footnote.com 2008 [David Anderson S6515]).

Private Patrick Cain

Private Patrick Cain, South Carolina militia, was not a participant in the battle of Kettle Creek. He was at Cherokee Ford and participated in the battle at Vann's Creek days prior to the battle; however Cain provided these details in 1833,

Again, in the latter part of the year 1779 or about the first of 1780, I volunteered to defend a fort on the Savannah River, at the Cherokee Ford, under the command of Lieutenant Shankland. This fort was deemed of considerable importance, particularly against the Tories, who at that time had collected to the number of about 700 men under Col. Boyd Moore, in the back parts of South Carolina, and was marching to Augusta or Savannah. Gen. Pickens was then at the head of a body of militia, and stationed himself at Cedar Island on the Savannah about eight miles below the fort in order to intercept them. The Tories approached near the fort and sent in a flag, and asked permission to pass the ford, which if granted, they would not attack the fort but Shankland returned for answer that he was able to defend the fort and ford both. Colonel Little being apprized of the intention of the Tories to force a passage at the ford, sent in reinforcement, which I supposed deterred the Tories from attempting a passage, and they turned their course up the river in order to cross at the mouth of Van's Creek. To prevent this, Captains Millin M. Baskin and Anderson, with about 100 men were detached across the river, and marched up to the mouth of Van's Branch, and opposed their passage. I was now again under Captain Anderson. Before we reached the place, the greater part had crossed but we immediately began the attack which continued over an hour, by which time the remaining Tories had crossed over and reinforced the others. We then gave way and retreated in some confusion, having lost one killed and 18 prisoners. We organized the Fort in a short time after this, Gen. Pickens defeated these same Tories at Kettle Creek. I served in this fort and at this time two months and was discharged (Footnote.com 2008 [Patrick Cain S1185]).

Private Marshall Frank

Private Marshall Frank served in Colonel Leroy Hammond's regiment of South Carolina militia and he did not participate in the battle of Kettle Creek. Private Franks did, however, was involved in the aftermath of the battle when he captured two of the fleeing Loyalist participants, Ensign Aquilla Hall and Hector McNeal. The capture happened after Franks became separated from the rest of his regiment during the battle of Briar Creek in early March, 1779. In 1836 at age 84, Franks described their capture and their march to Ninety-Six, or Cambridge, South Carolina:

This applicant [Franks] in the charge was cut off from the main body of his company, & in winding his way down the creek to rejoin his friends he encountered & took prisoner a Tory of fame & renown & for whom Col Williams had offered a reward of five hundred dollars, his name was Aquillah Hall. Aquillah had been cut off from his friends & mistook the applicant for one of his friends until he was ordered to surrender, which he was compelled to do. Before he rejoined his friends he encountered & took another prisoner called Hector McNeal, who was also known as a Tory of considerable influence in his country. This applicant found it somewhat difficult in getting along with his two prisoners who seemed very sullen, but fortunately he met with one of his friends by the name of Wm Smith who joined him in guarding the prisoners into his friends. It [would] not be amiss, however, to state how he took 'Hector' inasmuch as he already had one in his custody—his plan was this Hector was with another dragoon who immediately on sight of this applicant & his prisoner put spurs to his horse & cleared himself. He [Franks] had given 'Aquillah' his orders, to join him in his threats against Hector who was now left alone, or his life should pay the forfeit which 'Aquillah' done manfully. Hector thinking himself outnumbered gave up without any resistance. The party returned to Liberty Hill [opposite from Augusta, Georgia]. From Liberty Hill they marched to Cambridge having taken in this tour a number of Tories amounting in all (together with those which had been sent to them at Liberty Hill by Col Pickens) to three or four hundred. They remained at Cambridge some time until one Judge Pendleton from Charleston arrived who tried the prisoners for their lives, five of whom was hung, the famous Aquillah Hall already mentioned being one of the number. They were then verbally discharged & this applicant returned home having served in this tour at least three months (Footnote.com 2008 [Marshall Frank S10703]).

Private John Harris

Private John Harris, South Carolina militia, did not participate in the battle of Kettle Creek because, as he indicated in his pension application, he received a severe head wound three days prior to the battle and was completely disabled. The rest of his military unit, Captain Alexander Noble's Company, fought in the battle. In Harris' 1833 pension application, he provided several details of the action leading up to the battle at Kettle Creek.

...From another pay roll of Capt. Noble's Company now before me it appears that this company on horse back was employed in an expedition against the tories under Col. Andrew Pickens from 13th Feb'y 1779 to 15th July 1779, and that my name is entered for 150 days with the remark that I was wounded— The whole of this period and long after, I was either actually engaged in service or disabled by a wound. I belonged to a detachment under Lieut't. Callahan which was stationed at McGowan's Blockhouse on the Savannah River near the Cherokee Ford. Whilst we were there a large body of Tories under Col. Boyd, attempted to cross the Savannah River into Georgia, and being prevented by our Fort from crossing there, they crossed above at Vann's Creek, and the Whigs from the Block house and neighborhoods attacked them on the Georgia side, three days afore the battle of Kettle Creek in which Col. Pickens defeated them – In this attack, I was shot through the head, the ball entering at the left eye and coming out in front of the right jaw, and by this wound I was prevented from being in Pickens' expedition and disabled for more than a year – My name [word illegible] was returned by the Capt. for the whole time his company was out. For a much longer time I was suffering under my wound — I know of no living witness to this period of my service – some who were in the battle of Kettle Creek having no recollection of me as I was wounded 3 days afore (Footnote.com 2008 [John Harris, S21801]).

Private John Files

John Files was a Private in the South Carolina militia. John Files was probably not engaged in the battle of Kettle Creek, although he was a participant in the earlier engagement at Vann's Creek above McGowan's Blockhouse. Private Files described this action in 1832,

That soon after about the last of March same year he enlisted in the [South Carolina] State Service under the same General Colonel & Major & Captain William Baskin 1st Lieutenant James Baskin 2nd Lieutenant William Harris and was stationed at a block house on the lines between Saluda & Savannah rivers 14 months during the period had a battle on the 14th of February 1778 [sic, 1779] at the mouth of Van Creek in Georgia we were defeated at that engagement. This about 30 miles from Seneca Fort. That the Block House above was the head quarters of the forces & that he ranged on the frontier (Footnote.com 2008 [John Files S32245]).

Privates John Finley and Paul Findley

Several other Patriot soldiers saw military service at Kettle Creek but were not in the February 14, 1779 battle. The pension applications for two of these men provide interesting details about other military activities on Kettle Creek in the American Revolution.

John Finley was from South Carolina and served in the military from 1776-1778 and he did *not* participate in the February 14, 1779 battle at Kettle Creek. He did serve at Kettle Creek, however, on another occasion. In 1832, Private Finley stated,

John Finley entered the service of the United States at the age of 16 years on the 15th day of August 1776, that he was an enlisted soldier or recruit and enrolled as such by one Sergeant Emmit for the particular service of a corps of mounted horsemen called as the Applicant believes the Georgia Provincials or Rangers whose sole duty appeared to be the frontier protection in Georgia against Indian depredations and Tory revolt against the Country, that he enlisted under the said Sergeant Emmit in Craven County afterwards Ninety Six District and now Laurens District on the 15th day of August 1776 for the term or period of time of 18 months, that he with other recruits of like character were marched from the this place in the State of South Carolina by the said Sergeant Emmit to a place in the State of Georgia called Kettle Creek where he was placed under the command of one Captain McFarlin who had rendezvoused his company at Kettle Creek for about the period of one month and from thence was marched by Captain McFarlin to a place called Neels or Neals fort [sic, probably Nail's Fort] on the frontiers of Georgia where the company joined another but under what Captain the Applicant does not recollect, at Neal's Fort about the number of three companies were embodied collected or organized, and from thence the Applicant was marched with the said troop under the command of a Major Marberry [sic, probably Leonard Marbury] to a place called Fort Barrington on the Altamaha River in the State of Georgia which place was designated the Head Quarters of the troops, and at which place the troops had a battle with the Indians who were defeated with a loss not known to the Applicant but with a loss on the part of the troops of five or six men killed, and from which place the troops alternately issued and moved in small squads & scouting parties up & down the said River & over to the North & South bank through the country to check and intimidate the inroads of the Indians and other enemies of the Country for about the period of seven months, ending in April or May 1777 (Footnote.com 2008 [John Finley W1257]).

Paul Findley (or Finley) recounts a similar story to the preceding John Finley account. Private Findley stated in his pension account,

that he [Findley] enlisted under the said Sergt. Emmit on the fifteenth day of August one thousand seven hundred & seventy six for the term or time of Eighteen months; that on the day of his said enlistment he was a resident of and living in Craven District afterwards known as Ninety Six District and at present called Laurens District in the State of South Carolina; that he with other recruits of like character were marched from the place by the said Sergt. Emmit to a place in the State of Georgia called Kettle Creek, where he was placed under the command of one Capt. ___ [blank in original] Mc Farlin [McFarlane ?] who it appeared had rendezvoused his company at Kettle Creek for about the period of one month & from thence was marched under said Capt. McFarlin's company by him to a place called Nails or Neal's fort on the frontier of Georgia where this company joined another but under Capt. The applicant does not recollect; at which place about the number of three companies were embodied, collected, organized and from thence the applicant was marched with the said troops under the command of Major ___ [blank in original] Marberry [probably Leonard Marbury, also spelled Marbrey] either Leonard Marbury or to a place called fort Barrington on the Altamaha River in the State of Georgia which place was designated their Headquarters...(Pension account, Paul Findley W9440X).

John Finley's and Paul Findley's versions are important evidence of a military encampment on Kettle Creek, which preceded the February 14, 1779 battle. Both soldiers attest that they were taken to the area by a Sergeant Emmit and were later under command of a Captain McFarlin [possibly McFarland]. Captain McFarland's company spent about one month camped at Kettle Creek in late 1776. Such a prolonged encampment by a company of soldiers would likely leave an archeological footprint. Louise Hammett has suggested that Sergeant Emmit may be the same as her ancestor, James Hammett and that the differences can be explained by a variant spelling of the surname (Hammett 2008:48; Louise B. Hammett, personal communication July 11, 2008). She argues that in a largely illiterate population, the pronunciation of the Hammett surname was interpreted variously. Hammett's interpretation of Sergeant Emmit and James Hammett being the same person may be valid. Warren noted that English and French pronunciation in the 18th century typically did not pronounce the "H" at the beginning of a word, which would further support Hammett's theory that Emmit and Hammett was the same person (Mary Bondurant Warren, personal communication, January 1, 2009). A preliminary search for non-commissioned officers in the Georgia and South Carolina militias and Continentals yielded no results for the surname Emmit. James Hammett did attain the rank of Sergeant in the Wilkes County militia and was one of the earliest Euro-American settlers on Kettle Creek. James may already have been familiar with the Kettle Creek area by 1776 or 1777 when a military camp was established there.

Private Robert Ellis

Private Robert Ellis served several tours in the South Carolina militia and was at Kettle Creek in 1781. In 1838 Ellis stated that, "He again Volunteered under Captain Robert Maxwell in the fall of 178_[last digit omitted] to serve three months under Colonel Anderson and was marched to the Kittle Creek and little Brasstown under General Pickens and was in several skirmishes" (Footnote.com 2008 [Robert Ellis S26084]). It is unclear from Ellis' testimony, whether he participated in the February 14 battle, although he was present in that area with other South Carolina militiamen later in the war.

Private Richard Harrison

Richard Harrison was a Private in Dooley's regiment of the Wilkes County militia but Harrison did not participate in the battle of Kettle Creek, having been discharged in the spring of 1778. In his 1832 pension claim Harrison (aged 75) offered some insight into the organization (or lack thereof) in the Wilkes County militia in the months prior to the battle,

The same fall about the last of November or first of December of same year he marched from the County of Pittsylvania, Virginia to Georgia under command of Capt John Dooley [&] Lieut. Burwell Smith. When he reached Georgia, Capt Thomas Dooley was placed over him, who was killed by the Indians. He had enlisted in the Continental service for eighteen months. He was afterwards commanded by Capt Burwell Smith who had been promoted after Capt Dooley was killed. They were attached to no Regiment as he knows of. He once saw a man who reviewed the troops soon after they reached Georgia and who was called a Colonel, but he was attached to no other troops but the two companies which marched with to Georgia. The troops were promised a bounty of two hundred acres of land, which he has never received and a monied bounty of eight dollars which was all he received for his service. He continued to serve the eighteen months in Georgia and was discharged in Wilkes County some time in the spring of 1778, which discharge he has lost (Pension claim, Richard Harrison, W3807).

Private William McGarity

Private William McGarity was a volunteer soldier in the South Carolina service. William McGarity was not involved in the February 14, 1779 battle at Kettle Creek. He did participate, however, in a lesser known battle on Kettle Creek, which Private McGarity described in 1835:

[an] express came in that a Fort in the upper part of Georgia that the Fort was besieged; marched under Major Ross to the relief of the Fort; the Fort was taken before the company of arrived and the Indians were carrying all the women & children; pursued them to Kettle Creek where the Indians were defeated. Major Ross was killed there. Marched back to Williamson's Army with the prisoners; lay there sometime.(Footnote.com 2008 [William McGarity R6713]).

Our research team did not determine the location and precise date of this other battle on Kettle Creek that William McGarity cited. It can be roughly bracketed between March and September, 1779, since McGarity cites Ashe's defeat at Briar Creek as preceding this event and Major General Benjamin Lincoln's campaign in Georgia as following the event. Nor was the identity of the fort discovered. This battle remains a subject for future study.

Mrs. T. M. [Willametta Andrews] Green, former Regent of the Wilkes County Chapter of the D.A.R. compiled a list of, "Names of Soldiers who fought in the Battle of Kettle Creek February 14, 1779". This list, which contains 500 names, was entered into the U.S. Congressional Record in 1901 (Greene 1901, reproduced in Davis and Thomas 1975:84-88). In her introduction, Green stated, "This list though not complete, is correct, having been carefully compiled from the records of Wilkes county, and those in the office of the Secretary of State Atlanta," and that, "It will be added to from time to time as other names may be identified as belonging to it," The problem with Green's list, as Davis and others have noted, is that it contains far too many soldiers when compared to the troop strengths reported by officers in command of the battlefield that day (Clarke, Dooley, and Pickens).

The difficulties in tracing the military service of participants in the battle of Kettle Creek can be illustrated in the example of William Wiggins, Sr., and his son, William Wiggins, Jr. Activities in 1921 conducted by the Governor Treutlen Chapter of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR) in Fort Valley, Georgia, included the erection of a historical marker at the Old Pond Church cemetery (Smith 1921:675). This early Methodist Church (established ca. 1821) contained the graves of these two members of the Wiggins family. Smith stated that William, Sr.'s young son, William, Jr., "fought with him under Col. Elijah Clark at the battle of Kettle Creek." Supporting historical documentation for their service with Colonel Clarke and as participants in the battle of Kettle Creek is lacking. Neither member of the Wiggins family appears in Green's generous list of participants (Green 1901:85-88). Nor were these men identified by Davis from his extensive research (Davis and Thomas 1975; Davis 1978). A search of the 1832 pension applications yielded one applicant named William Wiggins. That soldier was from the Roanoke River vicinity of North Carolina. He enlisted in the military in April, 1781 and was wounded at the battle of Rock Fish Creek in North Carolina. Nothing in that soldier's application referenced any service in Georgia (Footnote.com 2008 [William Wiggins S1739]).

Private Henry Mayner

Private Henry Mayner served in the North Carolina Continentals in 1781 and possibly in a South Carolina militia regiment prior to that. Mayner was not present for the February 14 battle at Kettle Creek although he saw service there on another occasion. He stated in 1821 at age 57 that he, “marched to Kettle Creek, Ga. where he was placed under command of Captain McFarlin who had rendezvoused his company at Kettle Creek for about the period of one month” Information from two other pensioners with similar stories (Paul Findley and John Finley) place the time of this service in 1776. Mayner stated that he later served at Neals [Nails] Fort in Wilkes County (Footnote.com 2008 [Henry Mayner W8268; Paul Findley W9440X; John Finley W1257]).

LOYALIST MILITIA

John Boyd was given a commission in command of a regiment of North Carolina Volunteers in late 1778. The documentation of Boyd’s military commission has not been located, but his situation was likely very similar to that of John Hamilton, for whom supporting documentation has survived. Boyd arrived with Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Regiment, at Savannah in November, 1778 and he participated in the conquering of Savannah in December. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell later wrote these words in his journal alluding to Colonel Boyd, “a Gentleman who came a Volunteer with me from New York; and who on Account of his Influence among the Back woods men of North and South Carolina, was dispatched to these Districts to collect the Loyalists and join me at Augusta” (Campbell 1981:78-99).

On January 20, 1779, Boyd set out for the Carolinas to assemble his regiment of Loyalist volunteers. His mission, once he had amassed these troops in sufficient quantity, was to march to join Campbell at Augusta, Georgia. Boyd went from Savannah to South Carolina by way of Wrightsborough, Georgia. Apparently Boyd was not all that familiar with the region of eastern Georgia and western South Carolina, for upon arriving at Wrightsborough, he secured a guide to lead him through the backcountry. It was during the process of inquiring about a guide that word of Boyd’s intentions leaked out to the Americans. An informant, William Millen, made a deposition to Stephen Heard, a prominent Patriot in Wilkes County, who, no doubt relayed this information up the chain of command. Boyd arrived and established a camp in the South Carolina central piedmont a few days later, whereupon he immediately began forming his Loyalist regiment.

Prominent loyalists from the South Carolina piedmont, Zachariahs Gibbes, Thomas Fletchall, James Lindley, Christopher Neally, and Aquilla Hall, several of whom were also Boyd’s neighbors, acted as Boyd’s recruiting agents. By Gibbes’ account, they raised 600 men in two days and Captain Neally reportedly brought in 150 of his neighbors and also supplied the new regiment with ammunition. The regiment acquired additional supplies by raiding a Patriot fort in Fairfield County (Davis 1986:13).

Meanwhile, John Moore was actively recruiting men for the regiment in Tryon County, North Carolina. Moore and his 250 recruits headed southwest and joined up with Colonel Boyd’s force at Reedy River, South Carolina. By February 7, Boyd’s full regiment crossed the Saluda River headed southwest towards Georgia (Davis 1986:14).

Boyd’s regiment, which was comprised of Loyalists from North and South Carolina, existed as a military unit only a few weeks before Boyd’s regiment were battle-tested at Cherokee Ford and again at Vann’s Creek on the Savannah River. At the time of the battle of Kettle Creek these Loyalist troops were inexperienced in battle and in working as a military unit.

The North Carolina Volunteer militia formed quickly and apparently was not formally organized by the time of the Kettle Creek battle. The remnants of Boyd’s force, along with other Loyalists who made their way to enlist at Augusta, were formally organized as the Royal North Carolina Regiment in March, 1779, and were placed under command of Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton. That regiment served with distinction throughout the remainder of the war.

The Loyalists in North Carolina were active in the early years of the American Revolution but it was not until March, 1779 that they were formally organized into a military unit. There was activity, however, prior to that. In November, 1777, John Hamilton, a Virginia merchant and Tory, traveled to New York from North Carolina. North Carolina Royal Governor William Tryon wrote a letter of introduction to Sir Henry Clinton for Hamilton on November 27, 1777 (Tryon 1777). This introduction was even more important when Sir Henry Clinton replaced Howe as Commander of British Troops in North America on May 8, 1778. In December, 1778, John Hamilton sailed from Sandy Hook, New Jersey to Savannah, Georgia with Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's invading force. During that period Hamilton was commissioned a Captain and in January, 1779, following the British victory at Savannah, he was given the rank of Major. After that, he was sent to take command of some refugee North Carolinians in Augusta, Georgia (Thornton and Boynton 2008). Meanwhile, John Boyd, a South Carolinian, was made Colonel of a combined Loyalist militia from North and South Carolina. Boyd's command was short lived, for he was mortally wounded at Kettle Creek on February 14, 1779.

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell organized two companies of North Carolina refugees into the Royal Volunteers of North Carolina on February 22, 1779, only eight days after the defeat at Kettle Creek. Lieutenant Colonel John Moore was given command of this Corps. By October 1779 the Royal Volunteers had grown to two battalions. Sometime between October 1779 and May 1780 the two battalions, now known as the Royal North Carolina Regiment, were consolidated into one (Cole and Braisted 2008). The Royal North Carolina Regiment defended Savannah in the 1779 siege and fought in 1780 and 1781 in the Carolinas. In October 1782 it sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, to St. Augustine, East Florida. The regiment was housed at the St. Augustine Barracks on May 10, 1783 when Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton wrote to Brigadier General McArthur regarding the disposition of the men. In late 1783 the regiment sailed for Nova Scotia where those troops had been given land. The regiment arrived in November 1783, whereupon it disbanded (Hamilton 1783; Cole and Braisted 2008).

A preliminary list of Loyalist soldiers from South Carolina and North Carolina, who were almost certainly participants in the battle of Kettle Creek, is presented in Table 8. A more exhaustive list, which includes soldiers who were possibly present and those whose status in the battle is undetermined, is provided in Appendix II.

SELECTED LOYALIST PARTICIPANTS

Colonel John Boyd

Colonel John Boyd commanded the Loyalist troops at Kettle Creek. Although Colonel Boyd was a key figure in the Kettle Creek story, his personal life remains an enigma and he has proven to be an elusive figure for Revolutionary War historians. Even at the end of this study, his identity remains in question. John Boyd received his commission as a Colonel of a North Carolina militia regiment from Sir Henry Clinton, Commander of British forces in North America. Boyd was mortally wounded in the battle and succumbed later that day. He was buried on the Kettle Creek battlefield and his gravesite has yet to be located.

In 1778 John Boyd had traveled to New York where he was received by Sir Henry Clinton. Boyd was given a commission and authorized to create a regiment of North Carolina Loyalists once he returned to the Carolinas. Boyd accompanied Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and his invasion force, which sailed from Sandy Hook, New Jersey for Savannah, Georgia. Colonel Boyd participated in Campbell's capture of Savannah in December, 1778. He made preparations to depart for the Carolinas to recruit soldiers for his regiment. He left Savannah around January 20, 1779 and arrived at Wrightsborough, Georgia by January 24. There he procured a guide to take him through the backcountry to the South Carolina piedmont, possibly in the Rabon Creek vicinity. Rabon Creek is a tributary of the Saluda River and is located in present-day Laurens County (Acme Mapper 2009). Boyd established a recruiting camp and put out the call to local loyalists to join his regiment, which was being formed.

Table 8. Known Loyalists in Battle of Kettle Creek.

<i>South Carolina Provincials</i>	
Name	Rank
John Boyd	Col.
William Albertus Spurgin, Jr.	Maj.
Christopher Coleman	Maj.
George Carter	Capt.
Charles Draper	Capt.
Zachariaas Gibbes	Capt.
Isaac Gray	Capt.
James Harvey	Capt.
Martin Livingston	Capt.
Stephen Mayfield	Capt.
Christopher Neally	Capt.
David Reese	Capt.
Alexander Stewart	Capt.
Elijah Wells	Capt.
Philip Wells	Capt.
John Devaux	Chaplain
Samuel Campbell Clegg	Ens.
Aquilla Hall, Jr.	Ens.
William Young	Lt.
Samuel Buffington	Pvt.
John Alexander	
John Anderson	
George Hollingsworth	
Daniel McKisek	
<i>North Carolina Provincials</i>	
Name	Rank
John Moore	Lt. Col.
William Fields	Capt.
Samuel Biggerstaff	Capt.
Joseph Lawrence	Capt.
James Lindley	Capt.
David Robertson	Capt.

Lorenzo Sabine (1847:171-172) provided this biographical sketch of Colonel Boyd in the 1840s:

Of Carolina. He commanded a corps of Tories, who were robbers rather than soldiers. What they could not consume, nor carry off, they burned. Advancing to join the royal army near the river Savannah, Boyd encountered Colonel Pickens at the head of a strong detachment of Carolina Whigs, and was defeated. The battle raged with great fury; neighbor fought against neighbor, and both parties evinced much rancor. Boyd himself was left dead upon the field; and of the prisoners, the Whigs condemned seventy to suffer death, but executed only five. This affair occurred in 1779, and repressed the ardor of the Loyalists in that region, who previously were embodying themselves in considerable numbers.

By the early 1860s more had been written about Colonel Boyd and Sabine provided a more detailed discussion of Colonel Boyd in his next edition on Loyalists:

BOYD, Of Carolina. Colonel, and in command of a corps of Tories, who were robbers rather than soldiers. What they could not consume or carry off, they burned. Boyd himself was bold, enterprising, and famed for his dishonesty. He had a conference with Sir Henry Clinton at New York, and planned an insurrection in the back part of South Carolina, to be executed as soon as the Royal Army should obtain possession of Savannah.

In 1779, at the head of eight hundred men, he passed through the district of Ninety-Six on his way to Georgia, and destroyed life and property by sword and fire, along his whole route. In a skirmish with a party of Whigs, under Anderson, of Pickens's corps, he acknowledged a loss of one eighth of his command in killed, wounded, and missing. He endeavored to avoid Pickens himself, but, overtaken by that officer, when unapprehensive of danger, was surprised and defeated. He received three wounds, which proved mortal. After the battle he was visited by Pickens, who recommended preparation for death, and tendered services suited to the occasion. Boyd expressed thanks; said the Whigs owed their success to his fall; Desired that two men might remain with him to give him water, and to bury his body after he died: and asked that his wife should be informed of his fate by letter, and that some articles about his person should be sent to her. Neighbor had fought against neighbor; and in the exasperation of the moment, the Whigs doomed seventy of their prisoners to death; but three hundred escaped, and formed the intended junction with the British troops in Georgia (Sabine 1864, Volume I:246-247).

The present research discovered land records that suggest he was John Boyd. John Boyd owned land in colonial Craven County, South Carolina. Boyd also may have owned land in Anson County, North Carolina and in the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina (Jones 1921:80; Moss 2002:139). In his history of North Carolina Samuel Ashe (1908, Volume I:598-599) described Colonel Boyd as, “a resident of the Lower Yadkin.” The primary evidence for Ashe’s conclusion was likely the deposition of Samuel Beckam in 1812 who mentioned that Colonel Boyd came from “Yadkin N. Carolina” (Davis 1983:168; Bevan 1812). Davis and Thomas (1975) tentatively concluded that Boyd was a resident of the Rabon Creek area of South Carolina, which is in present-day Laurens County.

Figure 10 is a copy of a 1753 plat for 200 acres on Lynches Creek in Craven County, South Carolina granted to John Boyd (S.C.D.A.H. 2009).

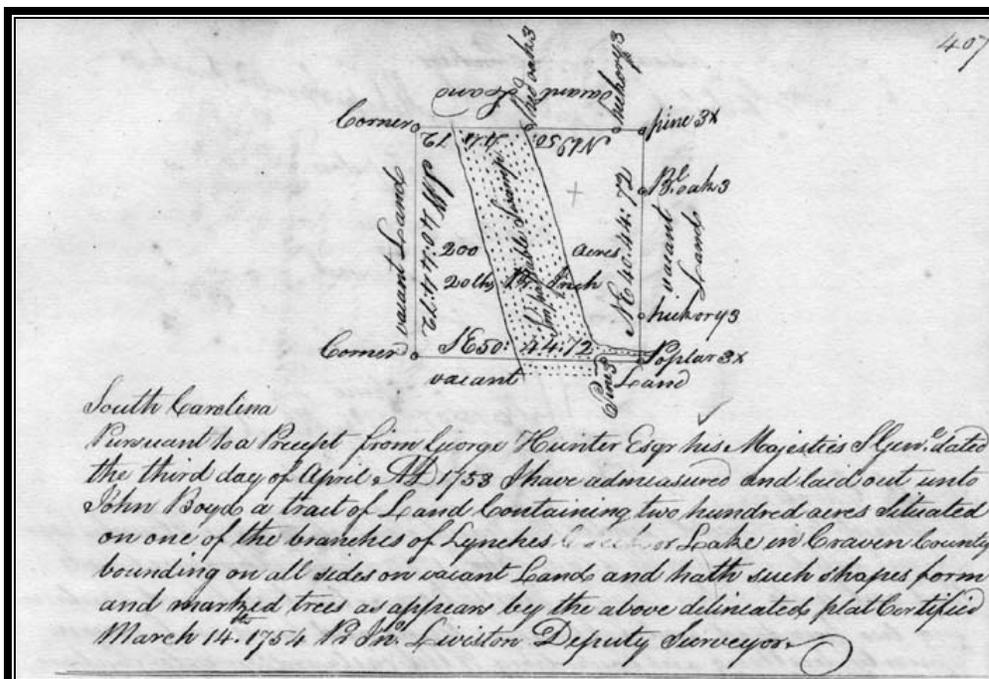


Figure 10. A 1753 Plat for John Boyd's 200 acres in Craven County, South Carolina (S.C.D.A.H 2009).

Other land records for John Boyd include a 1772 plat for 200 acres of land on Pen Creek of Little River in Craven County, South Carolina that was conveyed to John Boyd. John Boyd was platted another 250 acres in 1772, which was located on Hiller Creek between the Broad and Saluda rivers in Craven County. Boyd already owned land on Durbins Creek in Craven County in 1772, as he was shown as a neighboring landowner on a 500 acre plat to Alexander Neiffer. John Boyd received plats for additional lands in Craven County in 1773, including plats for 200 acres and 100 acres, and 100 acres on “Durbens” Durbins Creek of the Enoree River. Durbins Creek is a tributary of the Enoree River and is located in present-day Laurens County (Acme Mapper 2009). On July 20, 1773, John Boyd filed a memorial for 200 acres on Pen Creek of the Little River in Craven County. John Boyd was granted 250 acres in Craven County in 1774 and he filed a memorial for 250 acres between the Broad and “Saludy” [Saluda] rivers in Craven County that same year (S.C.D.A.H. 2009).

John Boyd’s name appeared in a November 1779 list of men who had gone to the enemy [British], which was published by the patriot newspaper in Charleston, South Carolina. By that date, of course, John Boyd was deceased.

Colonel Boyd was possibly incorrectly identified as James Boyd, who was another prominent South Carolinian but who, based on subsequent land records was shown to have survived Kettle Creek. The identification of Colonel Boyd as James Boyd is derived from the January 28, 1779 deposition of William Millen. Millen’s testimony was recorded by Stephen Heard. That original document is held at the North Carolina Department of Archives and History. A transcription of Millen’s deposition was published as Appendix G in Davis’ and Thomas’ (1975:156) study of the Kettle Creek battlefield. The original document was re-examined by the present research team and Davis’ and Thomas’ transcriptions were validated. Stephen Heard did record Millen’s testimony as “James Boyd,” but we conclude that this was either a case of mistaken identity by Millen, or a clerical error by Stephen Heard.

Another possible explanation is that a man named James Boyd may have been the man who Millen described, but that he was a different person from the John Boyd who was recruiting loyalists in the Carolinas a few weeks later. Supporting evidence for this interpretation was discovered in the present research.

One family of Boyds was living in the Central Savannah River area during the American Revolution. Their farmstead was near the present-day Clark Hill Dam in Richmond County (present-day Columbia County), Georgia. The family, who came to the Carolinas in the 1760s possibly from Northern Ireland, moved to Georgia in 1778 from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina. The family included three adult males. Two of them served in the Richmond County militia under Colonel James McNeil but the third, James Boyd, did not follow the same path as his brothers. A family historian noted that “no record has been found indicated James was a Revolutionary Soldier” (Boyd 1980:155). This James Boyd was born in 1757 and died in 1834. James Boyd, possibly the same person described above, filed two memorials for land in 1773 in Craven County, South Carolina. The first of these was for 200 acres on Camping Creek and the second memorial was for 300 acres of land on Raeburn Creek [in present-day Laurens County] (S.C.D.A.H. 2009). This would place James Boyd in the same locale as John Boyd, so there may be some connection between the two men. Researchers discovered no documents, however, that place James Boyd on the Kettle Creek battlefield. Our research was unable to determine if he was the James Boyd that met with Millen at Wrightsborough but we offer it as a possibility. None of the Loyalists who were identified as participants in the battle of Kettle Creek, other than Colonel Boyd, were named Boyd.

The preponderance of evidence indicates that the name of the man who commanded the Loyalist regiment at Kettle Creek on February 14, 1779 was Colonel John Boyd. Other historians have reached a similar conclusion (Coleman 1991:81). John Boyd’s ethnicity also remains in dispute and theories range from English to Irish to Scottish. One account of statements made by Boyd at his deathbed suggest that he was English, since he requested that his personal effects be delivered to his wife in England. The present research uncovered no new evidence to resolve this issue. Furthermore, the family connection between James Boyd, of Richmond County, Georgia, and Colonel Boyd remains a mystery.

Lieutenant Colonel John Moore

Lieutenant Colonel John Moore was second in command of the Loyalist regiment at Kettle Creek on February 14, 1779. When John Boyd arrived in the Carolinas to form a regiment in January, 1779, John Moore was busy in North Carolina simultaneously enlisting recruits. As second in command of the regiment, he was noticeably absent in contemporary descriptions of the battle of Kettle Creek. Perhaps he was captured by the Patriots early in the engagement and unable to command. Or he may have been wounded and temporarily incapacitated. Lieutenant Colonel John Moore survived the battle, despite his reported death on the battlefield in the *Virginia Gazette* (1779:2) He went on to fight with the Loyalists.

Moore served as a Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Volunteers of North Carolina, which was formed by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell on February 22, 1779 (Cole and Braisted 2008). A Colonel John Moore was listed as a prisoner at Ninety-Six jail in 1779, who may be the same as the Lieutenant Colonel Moore at Kettle Creek. If Moore was captured and held prisoner in 1779, he must have later won his release. John Moore continued to serve in Colonel John Hamilton’s North Carolina Loyalist regiment later in the war, although he received little mention and his status during that period is unclear (Sabine 1864:100-103; Cole and Braisted 2008).

John Moore, the son of Moses Moore, was born after 1753 in present-day Gaston County, North Carolina. John Moore was an ardent Loyalist who led a party of 300 Tories in Tryon County, North Carolina in early February, 1779 to unite with Colonel Boyd’s men for the march into Georgia (Griffin 1937, 23, 51). Sabine (1864, Volume II:100-101) provides this biography for John Moore:

MOORE, JOHN. Lieutenant-Colonel of the North Carolina Loyalists. He joined that corps late in 1779, and in the following summer returned to the neighborhood of his home, under orders from Lord Cornwallis to excite the loyalty of the people, but not to embody a force until after harvest. He disobeyed. After enlisting about two hundred, he attempted to surprise a party of Whigs, and failed. The battle of Ramsour's Mills followed, in which his recruits participated, and suffered severely. With thirty of the survivors, he reached the Royal Army at Camden, was treated with disrespect by the British officers, and threatened with a trial by court-martial, for disobedience, and the consequences of it. Lord Cornwallis deplored Moore's conduct years afterward.

The Hon. William A. Graham, in his Address before the New York Historical Society, in 1852, gave an account of the ‘Tory rising,’ in 1780, far too interesting to be omitted. He said: — ‘Early in June, the militia of the counties of Mecklenburg and

Rowan, comprehending the region between the Yadkin and Catawba, who had so early and so constantly signalized their devotion to liberty, were ordered out under Brigadier General Rutherford, to oppose the triumphal march of the British General. Scarcely had they assembled at the place of rendezvous, about ten miles northeast of Charlotte, when intelligence arrived of an assemblage of a body of Loyalists at Ramsour's Mills, some forty miles distant, beyond the Catawba, in the county of Tryon, and within view of the present village of Lincolnton. Unwilling to weaken the force he had gathered to impede the advance of the British Army, General Rutherford despatched orders to Colonel Francis Locke, of Rowan, and other faithful officers, to collect the available force of their several neighborhoods, and suppress the insurrection at the earliest practicable moment. It appeared that one John Moore, of the County of Tryon, (now Lincoln,) who had joined the enemy in South Carolina the preceding winter, had recently returned dressed in a tattered suit of British uniform with a sword, and announced himself a Lieutenant-Colonel in the well-known regiment of North Carolina Loyalists, commanded by Colonel John Hamilton, of Halifax. He brought detailed accounts of the siege and surrender of Charleston, and an authoritative message from Lord Cornwallis that he would march into that section as soon as the then ripening harvests were gathered, so as to afford a support for his army. Very soon thereafter, Major Nicholas Welsh, of the same vicinity, who had been in the British service for eighteen months, and bore a Major's commission in the same regiment, also returned, with splendid official equipments and a purse of gold, which was ostentatiously displayed to his admiring associates, with artful speeches in aid of the cause he had embraced. He also gave the first information of Burford's defeat, and represented that all resistance on the part of the Whigs would now be hopeless. Under these leaders then was collected, in a few days, a force of thirteen hundred men, who were encamped in an advantageous position, preparatory to their being marched to effect a junction with the British in South Carolina. Colonel Locke, and the other officers who had received the orders of General Rutherford, already referred to, proceeded to execute them with the utmost alacrity and promptitude. In less than five days they levied their several quotas, and, crossing the Catawba at various fords, effected a junction, within sixteen miles of the camp of the Royalists, on the 19th of June, with three hundred and fifty men. At sunrise the next morning, with this unequal force, and without any chief commander or understood arrangements of battle, except that three companies of horse, which constituted their cavalry, should go in front, they assaulted the camp of the Tories, containing, as already mentioned, thirteen hundred men, and, after a well-sustained and bloody engagement of an hour, compelled them to retreat. The particulars of this action, did time permit us to recur to them, are of much interest. Blood relatives and familiar acquaintances fought in the opposing ranks, and, when the smoke of the battle occasionally cleared away, recognized each other in the conflict —the Tories wearing their well-known badge of a green pine twig in front of the hat, and the Whigs a similar badge of white paper, which was in some instances taken as a mark by the enemy, and occasioned the wearers to be shot in the head. These were the only means of distinguishing the two parties in the action, in which neighbor met neighbor in deadly strife, with the rifles carried in hunting, and in the use of which weapon one hundred men on either side were as expert and unerring as any like number of Kentuckians in the time of Boone. Seventy men, including five Whig and four Tory captains, were left dead on the field, and more than two hundred were wounded, the loss being shared about equally by the respective sides." He added that: "For daring courage on the part of the Whig assailants, considering that the enemy outnumbered them in the proportion of five to one, and had great advantage in position, it is surpassed by few events of the war; and as a chastisement and a check upon the rising and excellent spirit of the Loyalists over the recent disasters to our arms in South Carolina, the result was of the same nature, and almost equal in its salutary effects, to the victory of Coswell and Lillington, at Moore's Creek Bridge, four years preceding.

The Whigs attainted Moore of treason, and confiscated his estate.

According to Patriot General Richard Winn, about a year after Lieutenant Colonel John Moore's defeat at Ramsour's Mill, he "was taken up as a Spy in So. Carolina tried as Such and Convicted & Hung 10 Miles below Granby on the Congaree River" (Winn n.d.). Winn's claim that Moore was hanged is supported by a North Carolina Loyalist's statement that was published in the Political Magazine in London in April, 1783, which noted that "he was taken prisoner by Col. Wade Hampton, near the Wateree and hanged" (Griffin 1937:70; Draper 1881:298). His estate was confiscated by the Patriots and Moore left no family. Lieutenant Colonel Moore's actions in the fighting at Kettle Creek remain a mystery.

Major William Albertus Spurgeon, Jr.

William Albertus Spurgeon, Jr. was a Major in the Loyalist North Carolina militia. He was born in 1734 in Essex, England or Frederick County, Virginia. At the beginning of the American Revolution, Spurgeon was a prominent planter in Rowan County, North Carolina. He first married Mary Jane Sellers Wellborn in 1750. Major Spurgeon served with distinction at Kettle Creek as third in command. After Colonel Boyd was mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Colonel Moore exhibited an apparent lack of leadership, Major Spurgeon rallied the Loyalist troops on the east side of Kettle Creek. There the Loyalists kept up a heated engagement with Clarke's militia. The Loyalists were finally overpowered and fled south down the Wrightsborough Road. Their successful retreat and escape from capture is attributed to Major Spurgeon's skill. He went on to fight with the Loyalists in other battles in Georgia and South Carolina. Major William Albertus Spurgeon survived the war and settled with other Loyalist refugees in Charlottesville, Ontario Canada (Ontario Historical Society 1900:68-124).

Sabine (1864, Volume II:325) provided this biographical summary of William Spurgeon:

SPURGEON, WILLIAM. Of North Carolina. Major in Boyd's corps. Authorized by Governor Martin, January, 1776, to erect the King's standard, to enlist and array in arms the loyal subjects of Rowan County, and to 'to oppose all rebels and traitors.' In 1779, in the battle of Kettle Creek, when Boyd was mortally wounded, and Moore, the Lieutenant-Colonel, exhibited a want of military skill, Spurgeon conducted with spirit, and maintained his ground until overpowered. Estate confiscated (Sabine 1864, Volume II:365).

William Spurgeon may have fled northward at the termination of the war but he returned to the South soon after the American Revolution ended. In 1790 Spurgeon was in North Carolina when he ran away with Ann Besaul Ruddick, a 32 year old mother of five and wife of Solomon Ruddick, a North Carolina Quaker. According to family records provided by Jean Mayfield Cuevas, Ann Bedsaul Ruddick abandoned her children to her husband Solomon.

[Ann] had run off with William Spurgeon (also Spurgin), a man in his fifties. Spurgeon was a loyalist who had been hiding-out, in the woods near Chestnut Creek for about six or seven years. He had formerly lived in Rowan County, North Carolina where he left a wife and 12 children. William Spurgeon had been a successful plantation owner for over 20 years, before he became involved with the loyalist cause and later lost his entire estate (706 acres) in a series of lawsuits.

In the summer of 1792, William and Ann Spurgeon escaped north. She and their young son stayed for a time in Pennsylvania while William crossed Lake Erie into Canada. On September 10, 1792, he petitioned the British government on his behalf for assisting the Cornwallis army during the Revolution. After this, the Spurgeons spent a year or so residing in the loyalist settlement at Long Point, Ontario. Eventually, William acquired 800 acres of land in Charlottesville and Wallpool Townships near London, Ontario. On April 2, 1800, he took his oath as the first Associate Justice of the London District Court. Records show that he was paid \$50 for his services the following year and he appears in court records through 1805. William Spurgeon died on August 13, 1806, aged about 73 years. Ann survived him and may have moved back to the United States with her sons about 1823, settling just east of Columbus, Indiana, and not far from the children she had abandoned over 30 years before (Cuevas 2002, in Rootsweb 2008).

Major John Spurgeon

A competing theory as to the identity of the Major Spurgeon who fought at Kettle Creek asserts that he was John Spurgeon. Although Davis concluded in 1974 that the Major Spurgeon at Kettle Creek was William, his current thought is that the man was John Spurgeon (Robert Scott Davis, Jr. personal communication January 6, 2009). Davis notes that John Spurgeon lived in the same vicinity of South Carolina as John Boyd and that John Spurgeon's name appeared in a November 1779 list of men who had had gone to the enemy [British].

Patriot Captain Bigelow reported in a letter that was later published in several northern newspapers that a Major Spurgin was killed in a battle near Augusta in early April, 1779 (*New England Chronicle, The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser* 1779:1). Davis noted that Major Spurgeon, who was then commanding the Royal South Carolina Volunteers, was killed in a skirmish near Shell Bluff (in Burke County below Augusta) and that Captain Zachariah Gibbes incurred expenses related to recovering Spurgeon's body and its burial in Savannah (Davis 1986b:20, 110-111, 117).

Project historians conducted an online review of colonial land records for South Carolina was conducted for the surname Spurgeon and its variant spellings (S.C.D.A.H. 2009). John Spurgin had several land transactions in South Carolina beginning in 1767, when he filed a memorial for 150 acres on the Enoree River in Berkeley County, a 300 acre plat for 300 acres on the Enoree River in Craven County, . John Spurgin was formally charged by the King with fraud and deceit in 1772. John Spurgens was identified as a land owner on the Tyger River in Craven County on a 1775 memorial for land filed by Edmund Bearden.

Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton

John Hamilton was a Virginia merchant who became involved in military events in North Carolina in 1776. Hamilton's role in the battle of Kettle Creek remains an enigma. Hamilton had fled North Carolina in November, 1777, after the debacle at Moore's Creek Bridge, North Carolina, and sailed to New York with other loyalist refugees, where they joined the British. Hamilton brought with him a letter of introduction from Royal North Carolina Governor Tryon to Sir Henry Clinton, which advised Clinton of Hamilton's loyalty and familiarity with the Regulators (Tryon 1777).

John Hamilton volunteered to serve under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell in 1778 and Colonel Hamilton accompanied Campbell's fleet as they sailed to Georgia in late 1778. Hamilton had his own ship, *Britania*, which carried several dozen of his fellow Carolinian Loyalists to the Southern theater. Hamilton was given the rank of Captain in late 1778. The next month John Hamilton was promoted to Major. Hamilton commanded a group of North Carolina refugees. Hamilton's men joined the British on their retreat from Augusta at Odom's Ferry on Brier Creek in Burke County, Georgia. In January 1779, John Hamilton was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the Royal North Carolina Regiment (Raymond 1899). The regiment was reorganized at Hudson's Ferry, Georgia, on February 22, 1779 with Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton commanding a battalion of the Royal North Carolina Regiment. Shortly after October, 1779, Hamilton had command of both battalions and maintained that command until 1783, when the regiment was disbanded (Cole and Braisted 2008).

After the war, Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton filed a claim for his losses suffered and for back pay equal to the rank of Colonel. Although Hamilton provided supporting documentation to indicate a valid claim, it was rejected by the governing body. Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton's memorial contains an affidavit by Major General Archibald Campbell, which was made in London on December 21, 1784. In it, Campbell stated,

I do hereby certify that John Hamilton Esqr at the commencement of the American Rebellion was a decided part in favor of Government and quitted a property of great value to join the Royal Army in 1777. That in November 1778 he offered himself a volunteer under my command for the attack of Georgia; where he conducted himself as an active intelligent, Gallant officer. In justice to his merits in that respect, I promoted him to the Rank of Colol and intrusted him with the raising and forming of a Corps of N. Carolina Loyalists, which I understand he afterwards completed, and led into the field, so much to his own honour and good of His Majesty's Service, that I think him justly entitled to the Rank & Pay of Colol. (Hamilton 1789).

Archibald Campbell further certified, on July 24, 1789 that, "in the year 1778, Col. John Hamilton was ordered to carry from New York to Savannah in Georgia, in his Armed Brig *Britannia* upwards of Thirty Gentlemen Volunteers, with the Troops destined to attack of that Province under my Command," and in his memorial, Hamilton stated that, "he had his Orders to carry these men from Sir Archibald Campbell, the Vessel was a Privateer in which he had a concern" (Hamilton 1789).

Alex Shaw, Major General Augustin Prevost's Aid de Camp and Deputy Inspector General of Provincial Forces, while he served in Georgia, provided additional certification of Hamilton's military service. Shaw noted on August 15, 1786 that Hamilton had received a warrant from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell,

to raise a Regiment with these conditions- viz- to have the Rank of Major when he had rais'd two hundred (or two hundred & fifty) men; of Lieut. Colonel when he had rais'd three hundred and fifty, and the Rank of Colonel when he shall have completed five hundred men; and that soon afterward Major General Prevost succeeding to the Command on his arrival in said Province did appoint he said Colonel Hamilton to take Rank and act as Lieut Colonel before he had completed the said number of 350 men, but in consideration of that warm active and spirited Zeal for his majestys Service, which every part of his conduct constantly manifested- to the entire satisfaction of the General (Hamilton 1789).

John Hamilton stated in a memorial of his service, and that of his brother Archibald Hamilton, that, in 1776 he had "secured a large quantity of provisions for the use of His Majesty's Troops that were expected." in North Carolina, "but the scheme was rendered abortive by the premature rising of a body of Loyalists who were afterwards defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge." Hamilton and his brother were banished from North Carolina by the Rebel government, under penalty of Death if they, "returned to that country". Hamilton further stated that he had "raised for His Majesty's service upwards of 1400 men with whom he served during the war in the Southern Colonies," and that he was "present at the taking & siege of Savannah, the actions of Briar & Kettle Creek, Stono ferry, Siege of Charleston, the Actions of Monks Corner, Hanging Rock, Camden, Guildford, and at the Siege of York Town in Virginia; during the above period he was thrice wounded" (Hamilton 1789).

The movements of Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton following the lifting of the siege of Carr's Fort by Colonel Pickens on February 10, 1779 are poorly understood. We know that several weeks later Hamilton was at Augusta, where he reorganized the North Carolina and South Carolina Tories who had been Boyd's regiment. But Hamilton's exact geographic location on February 14, 1779 remains open to debate. By his own memorial, Hamilton placed himself in the action at Kettle Creek. If he construed the events at Carr's

Fort and Boyd's defeat under a single rubric of action at Kettle Creek in February, 1779, then Hamilton's claim is correct. If he implied, however, that he was actually present on the battlefield on February 14, then this is the debatable issue. No other accounts of the battle link him to the battlefield on that day.

The traditional scenario voiced by historians is that, once they realized that the siege of Carr's Fort had been lifted by Colonel Pickens and his men had left the area, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and his men emerged from the fort by February 11, and marched rapidly to Wrightsborough, Georgia with the intent of joining up with Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's army as soon as possible. Following this interpretation, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and his troops were nowhere near Kettle Creek on February 14, and could not have participated in the battle.

Quite recently, Robert Scott Davis, Jr. challenges this interpretation. Davis questions whether Hamilton and his men actually left on February 11, or even February 12. He offers a scenario where, after several days' hard march and a scalding engagement at Vann's Creek, Colonel Boyd and his men established camp on the evening of February 13 at Robert Carr's Fort, where they found Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and his detachment. The united forces set out early on the morning of February 14 and reached James Hammett's plantation on Kettle Creek, where Boyd made the decision to rest and feed his men and all the horses to graze on the pasturage that they found there. Perhaps he saw this as an opportunity to confer with Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton on the unfolding (and deteriorating) military situation in the backcountry. Surprised by the Patriots, the battle ensued. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and many of his detachment managed to escape and, along with the other Loyalists, made their way to Wrightsborough. Davis surmises that Hamilton made little mention of his involvement in the battle during the war, since it was an embarrassment. He possibly included it in his list of his military service to King George III in his memorial since it demonstrated the personal losses suffered during the war. This reinterpretation of events bears more consideration.

Whether he was present on the battlefield or not, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton's actions before and after the battle were an integral part of the drama that makes up the Kettle Creek story. More research on Hamilton and his Royal North Carolina Regiment may produce leads that will help interpret the Kettle Creek battle more accurately.

Lieutenant Colonel William Young

William Young was an Englishman who fought in Georgia at Kettle Creek. His memorials, filed in London on June 1, 1788 and April 29, 1789, noted that he, "was defeated in action at Kettle Creek while going with party to join Army in Ga." (Coldham 1980:547-548; Loyalist Claims AO13/10/373-392). William Young filed a memorial in 1789, wherein he attested to his participation in the battle of Kettle Creek. Young stated, "That the Memorialist in 1779 was defeated by the Rebels in an Action at Kettle Creek when going with a party to join the British Forces in Georgia, in which Action his Horse was disabled and his Baggage taken", and he further described,

That in consequence of Colonel Campbells Proclamation on the Arrival of His Majestys Troops in Georgia requiring all Loyal Subjects in Carolina to join the Army the Deponent with a Body of near Five Hundred Loyalists being on their march for that Purpose were pursued by the Enemy. And in an Action at Kettle Creek w[h]ere the Party was Defeated, and many taken and Killed the Deponents Horse worth at Least Forty Guineas Received a Shot which disabled him from which the Deponent having lost also, as his Baggage, Clothing &c, Computes his Loss at Fifty Pounds Sterling (Young 1789).

Lieutenant Colonel Young continued to fight with the Loyalists in campaigns in South Carolina in 1779 and 1780. He participated in the British defeat at King's Mountain, was captured, and later escaped to rejoin the British Army at Ninety-Six. After the reduction of Charleston in 1780 William Young was again taken prisoner, and was "confined nearly two months, then marched on foot nearly 200 miles experiencing great hunger, thirst, and abuse, expecting to be put to death." After the war William Young lived in Exeter, England. William Young's rank, while a participant at the battle of Kettle Creek is undetermined. Given his later rank as a Lieutenant Colonel, Young may have commanded a company at the time of the battle.

Captain George Carter

Captain George Carter commanded a company of the South Carolina loyalists and fought with Colonel Boyd at Kettle Creek. Carter owned numerous tracts of land in the South Carolina piedmont with the earliest dating to 1768 (SCDAH 2008). Apparently many of the men under Captain Carter's command were killed or deserted at Kettle Creek since Carter was not given command of a company when the South Carolina Royalists were organized at Hudson's Ferry, Georgia on February 22, 1779 (Brice 1779). Carter was instead promised half-pay at a Captain's rate for his service prior to February 22, which was fulfilled in Savannah later that year. From these British payroll documents we may infer that Carter's Company found themselves in the heat of the battle and suffered severe casualties.

Captain Zachariahs Gibbes

Captain Zachariahs Gibbes was from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina where he had lived since about 1763. Gibbes commanded a company of the South Carolina Loyalists and was with Colonel Boyd at Kettle Creek. Gibbes was captured during the battle and was marched in irons as a prisoner of the Patriots to Ninety-Six, South Carolina. He was sentenced to death but received a reprieve after 15 months of imprisonment. He was released and continued to serve the British cause after the capture of Charleston in 1780. Gibbes went with other South Carolina Loyalist refugees to settle in Nova Scotia after the war (Jones 1921:79-82). Gibbes later testified that while he had served under Boyd, his Patriot neighbors had burned two of his houses (Davis 1986:22).

Captain James Harvey

Captain James Harvey commanded a company of South Carolina Loyalists in the battle of Kettle Creek. Harvey owned numerous tracts of land in the South Carolina piedmont at the beginning of the American Revolution (SCDAH 2008). His name was among those Loyalists listed in a November 1779 proclamation by the Patriot South Carolina Governor, which threatened those listed with confiscation of their property unless they renounced their allegiance to King George III (SCAGG 1779a). Harvey filed a memorial in 1780 in Savannah attesting to his service to the King, which began,

That your Memorialist Raised Soon After the Commencement of the Present Rebellion a Compleat Company of Men Consisting of Fifty three Rank & file Exclusive of officers, All which your Petitioner brought into this Province.

That Your Memorialist in Company with with [sic] Many others of the 2nd Battn. So: Carolina Royalists was Attacked by a Considerable number of the Rebels at Kettle Creek, Where your Petitioner & his men was Defeated by the Enemy & his Company Dispersed.

Your Petitioner After this Action did every thing in his Power to Collect his Men together, which he did to the amount of Thirty odd Men, which your Petitioner Deliverd up by order of Colo. Campbell to fill up the other Companies called the 2nd Battn: of Carolina Royalists – on his Promise before the Revd: Mr. Devaux & Several others that I shoud Receive half Pay as a Capt: untill Shuch time as I coud Compleat my Compy.

That Your Petitioner ever since his Arrival in this Province, in the Begining of February last has been in every action the English Troops has had with the Rebels both in this Province & So: Carolina....(Harvey 1780).

Captain Harvey's statement that he entered Georgia with 53 rank and file and an unspecified number of officers and that by February 22, when he turned his company over to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell for its reorganization, they were reduced to "Thirty odd Men". This indicates that Harvey's Company lost at least 23 men at battles of Vann's Creek and Kettle Creek prior to their arrival at Hudson's Ferry on February 22. Some percentage of them were undoubtedly killed or deserted at Kettle Creek but the scant records do not permit any further breakdown of his casualty figures (Brice 1779).

Captain James Lindley

James Lindley was born in Pennsylvania in 1735. His father moved their family to North Carolina, where James was married. James Lindley owned land in Orange County, North Carolina, where he received a plat

for 200 acres in 1756 and by 1761 he owned more than 1,000 acres in North Carolina. In 1768 Lindley moved his family to South Carolina (Hofmann 1986:37-38; Powell 1991, Volume 4:67; Kimber and Kimber 1769:334). Lindley settled in the Raebun [Rabon] Creek area of Ninety-Six District (present day Laurens County), South Carolina (Lindley/Smith Families 2008; Lambert 1987:93; Holcomb and Lucas 1989, Volume 2:201). Two land transactions, which are abstracted below, attest to Lindley's land holdings in Craven County [present-day Laurens County] on "Rabins" [Rabon] Creek and Durbin's Creek, where his property adjoined that of John Boyd:

On 7&8 Sept 1772, James Lindley of Craven County, Esqr, and Mary, his wife, to John Williams merchant of same for 112 lbs. SC money land granted 12 Sept 1768 to Robert Briggs, on a branch of Rabins Creek adj. land of John Turk. Said Robert Briggs did convey to Ralph Humphries and said Ralph sold to James Linley, Esqr. 31 Jan. 1772. James Lindley (LS) Mary Lindley (LS) Wit: Thos Cohune, Randal Hennesley, Rec. 15 Jan.1774.

On 15 Sept 1775, James Lindley, Esq, J.P., Lewis Dutarque, and John Boyd, witnessed deed of Ralph Humphreys Surveyor of Craven Co., Province of S.C. to John Williams planter for 300 lbs 100 ac on Durbin's Creek originally granted 15 July 1768 to John Humphreys & conveyed to Ralph Humphreys bounded on John Boyd's land (Laurens Co., Deeds) (Lindley/Smith Families 2008).

Lambert noted that Lindley was a respected farmer who had tried on numerous occasions to support the British cause. Lindley fortified his home to defend his family against Indian attack. Lindley's fort was attacked by Cherokees in 1776. By that time however, Lindley had joined up with the Loyalists and his fort had been taken over by Patriot refugees. The archaeological remains of Lindley's Fort were located and recorded by archaeologist Richard Carrillo and it was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978 (LaForge 1976).

Captain James Lindley commanded a company of the Upper Saluda Regiment of the South Carolina militia (Ancestry.com 2008). In February, 1779, he joined with Colonel Boyd's regiment and participated in the march to Georgia. Captain Lindley was captured at Kettle Creek and was taken to Ninety-Six where he was imprisoned. After a brief trial, James Lindley was found guilty of treason and hanged in April, 1779.

Captain Martin Livingston

Captain Martin Livingston commanded a company of South Carolina Loyalists in Georgia in 1779. Livingston owned numerous tracts of land in the South Carolina piedmont at the beginning of the American Revolution (SCDAH 2008). His name was among those Loyalists listed in a November 1779 proclamation by the Patriot South Carolina Governor, which threatened those listed with confiscation of their property unless they renounced their allegiance to King George III (SCAGG 1779a). Captain Livingston apparently survived the battle at Kettle Creek, although 13 of his company were reported as dead or deserted by February 23, 1779 (Brice 1779). Captain Livingston was killed on June 21, 1781 (Raymond 1899).

Captain James MacDonald

James McDonald served as Captain of the North Carolina Loyalists. Payroll records made in New York list that he was paid for 1,357 days of service from February 5, 1776 through November 24, 1779 (Clark 1981, v.1:347). This document demonstrates that MacDonald was serving at the time of the Kettle Creek battle. James McDonald was among the prisoners held in the jail at Ninety-Six, although his rank is not given.

Captain Christopher Neally

Christopher Neally served as Captain of a company in Boyd's regiment. Neally was from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina and after the war he and his family resettled in the Bahamas (Fraser 1905:727-728). When Boyd arrived in the Carolina backcountry, Neally zealously recruited 150 men for the regiment. Captain Neally rode with Boyd into Georgia but Neally was not present at the Kettle Creek battle. Instead, he was headed with his men towards Colonel Boyd's camp, from some undisclosed but nearby location, when the battle took place. The Patriots intercepted Neally's party and captured 29 of their number. Captain Neally turned himself in to the Patriots in South Carolina, as he stated in later British

pension claim documents (Fraser 1905:727-728). While Captain Neally was not in the battle of Kettle Creek, his 1786 account provides important details about events in the battle's aftermath. Neally, who was badly wounded in battle early in the war, testified in August, 1786, that he,

Remained at home till Col. Campbell penetrated as far as Augusta in 1779. He sent several Gentn. into ye Country to raise the Loyalists. Claimant raised a body of men accordingly & joined the Militia; a party of about 600 were raised & were going to join Col. Campbell and cut off at a Place called Kettle Creek.

Claimant [Neally] was then gone to bring up a party of 150 men. His party were afterwards cut off. Claimant made his escape, but was obliged to deliver himself up on Terms. His party were all imprisoned 29 in No. and tried for their Lives. Claimant was tried & Convicted & sentenced to die in 12 Days, but was discharged on arrival of Govr. Rutledge [Rutledge]. Produces his discharge, on giving Security in L10.000 Bail for good Behaviour & not to return to the District [Ninety-Six] where his family were during the War (Fraser 1905:727-728).

Christopher Neally filed a memorial attesting to his service to the King, in which he described his involvement in the battle of Kettle Creek. Neally stated,

: that in the Year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine upon Colonel Archibald Campbell's coming to Augusta in Georgia, the said Christopher Nealley joined some Gentlemen who came from the British Army to raise the Loyalists; that the party he joined was cut off by the Americans at a place called Kettle Creek, and from the great number of Enemies then in Motion, he was not only prevented from joining the British Army, but reduced to the necessity with some others to surrender to the American General Williamson, who contrary to this promise of not molesting the said Christopher Nealley and the others who surrendered, caused them to be confined in the Goal of the said District of Ninety six, where this deponent was also confined in the same room with the said Christopher Nealley, who was tried for his life for conspiring with the British Army and supplying the Loyalists with Ammunition, and condemned to be hanged in twelve days after Sentence; that eight days after Sentence he was removed by Habeus Corpus from the said Goal to that of Orangeburgh from whence he was discharged by Governor Rutledge upon his giving very considerable Security for his future good behaviour and not to pass beyond certain Limits allowed him, as this Deponent has been informed and believes; that the said Christopher Nealley broke Bounds and returned to the said district of ninety six either at the end of the Year one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine, or in the beginning of the Year one thousand seven hundred and Eighty... (Neelly 1786).

Captain Nicholas Welch

Nicholas Welch (or Welsh) served as a Captain in the Royal North Carolina Regiment in February 1779. According to his memorial, Welch claimed that he raised 90 men for service in Georgia. After the Royal North Carolina Volunteers were reorganized as the Royal North Carolina Regiment, Welch served as Captain. He was later promoted to the rank of Major before leaving the Regiment in May 1781 because of hardship (Raymond 1899; PRO 1/629/391-392; Welsh 1786).

Captain John Wormell

John Wormell served as a Captain in the Royal North Carolina Volunteers. In February 1779 the Royal North Carolina Volunteers were reorganized as the Royal North Carolina Regiment (Raymond 1899). Captain Wormell's participation in the battle of Kettle Creek is unconfirmed.

Other North Carolina Provincial Captains

Historical research of Loyalist records yielded quite a few officers in North Carolina Loyalist regiments who may have participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. Brief information on these men is presented below.

Captain Eli Branson and Captain Hunter led companies of North Carolina militia in the war. Both of these officers may have fought at Kettle Creek, although their participation is unconfirmed. Eli Branson served as a Captain in the North Carolina Volunteer Independent Company. Branson was from Chatham County, North Carolina. He filed a claim in 1788 for cattle and grain he had supplied to the Army. At that time Branson was living in Canada. Captain Hunter was in another company in the North Carolina Volunteers, although his period of service was not determined (Raymond 1899; Coldham 1980:50).

Thomas Hamilton, William Hamilton, Daniel Manson, and John Martin were Captains in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. William Hamilton served as a Captain of the Light Infantry Company of the Royal

North Carolina Regiment. John Martin served as a Captain in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. Daniel McLean was appointed an officer in the Royal North Carolina Regiment in Camden, South Carolina on August 19, 1780. William Chandler served as a Captain in the North Carolina Regiment in July 1781 (Raymond 1899; Despard in Frederick Mackenzie Papers 1780; Cole and Braisted 2008; PRO 1/629/391-392; Thornton and Boynton 2008). In February 1779, Captain Daniel Manson was in Charleston building boats for Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, so he was not at the battle (Davis 1986:187). Many of these officers may have fought at Kettle Creek, although this is unconfirmed.

Thomas Rutherford, M. Sappenfield, M. MacArthur, Alexander MacKay, John McLeod, and Alexander Morrison served as Captains of the North Carolina Loyalists. Payroll records made in New York indicate that Alexander Morrison was paid for 1,357 days of service, from February 5, 1776 through November 24, 1779. Payroll documents written in New York at the war's end indicate that Captains Rutherford, Sappenfield, MacArthur, MacKay, MacLeod, and Morrison were serving at the time of the Kettle Creek battle. Daniel McNeil (or McNeal) served as a Captain in the Royal North Carolina Regiment (Clark 1981, v.1:346-347; Raymond 1899). Many of these officers may have fought at Kettle Creek, although this is unconfirmed.

Lieutenant Alexander Campbell

Alexander Campbell was a Lieutenant in Boyd's South Carolina regiment. No specific mention of Campbell's participation in the battle of Kettle Creek, although given his previous and subsequent service, his involvement is likely. Campbell was later promoted to the rank of Captain and he survived the war, settling in eastern Canada (Brice 1779; Liddell 1920).

Lieutenant William Cunningham

William Cunningham, better known in popular historical literature as "Bloody Bill" Cunningham, may have served briefly under Colonel Boyd in 1779. Cunningham was from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina. He was a Whig Captain in South Carolina in 1776, when he deserted. His allegiance shifted and he is better known for his service to the Crown. While serving the British he held the rank of Major (Ramsay 1789:257; 1809, Volume I: 449-451; Landrum 1897:342-359; Simms 1840:289). Sabine considered Cunningham a traitor, noting that he had killed 35 men (Dean et al. 1865:89). Cunningham and his men wreaked havoc in the South Carolina upcountry. A newspaper obituary, dated January 30, 1787, for Major William Cunningham indicates that he spent his post-war years living in the Bahamas and it reads, "Nassau, Jan. 20, Thursday last died here, Major William Cunningham, formerly of the South-Carolina Royal Militia" (Webber 1918:261). Several historians place William Cunningham at the engagements involving Colonel Boyd's regiment at the Savannah River (Pickens 1934). The present research team located no primary documents to support this assertion. Major Cunningham was active in the Carolinas before and after the battle of Kettle Creek. William Cunningham filed a memorial in 1786, which indicates that he was present in the battle of Kettle Creek. It began,

That upon His Majesty's Troops taking possession of the Province of Georgia, Your Memorialist assembled the Loyalists in the District of Ninety Six, South Carolina, and accompanied by 600 men, set off for Georgia; and being twice Attacked by the Rebels on the march, many of the men killed, or taken, & others declining the enterprize, Your Memorialist with 330 men, joined the army under Colonel Archd. Campbell at Briar Creek in Feby. 1779. That Your Memorialist was immediately appointed Lieutenant in the 2d Battn. So. Carolina Royalists commanded by Colonel Innis (Cunningham 1786).

Lieutenant Alexander McCra

Alexander McCra (McCrae) was a Loyalist from North Carolina. According to his own memorial to the King, McCra was badly wounded while serving in Georgia. Andrew Johnston, a practicing physician in Augusta, Georgia, treated Lieutenant McCra's for a gunshot wound. Although Johnston does not specifically mention that his gunshot wound was sustained at Kettle Creek, it is a strong possibility (McCra 1780). Johnston described in his memorial to the King,

That your Memorialist before the Surrender of the Town of Augusta by order of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell attended Lieut. Alexr. McRae of the Brittish Legion from the 14th Feby. 1778 [sic-1779] to the 26th June following and Cured him of a Gun Shot wound with a Fracture of the Shoulder and the Bone much Shattered & supplied him with all Kind of Medicines and Necessaries for the same (Johnston n.d. [178_]).

Other North Carolina Provincial Lieutenants

James Campbell, Alexander Fotheringham and James Hamilton served as Lieutenants in the Royal North Carolina Regiment in 1779. Samuel Jones served as a Lieutenant in the North Carolina Volunteers, Independent Company. Christopher McCrae served as an Ensign in the Royal North Carolina Regiment in 1779. An Ensign McCraw (possibly the same as Christopher McCrae) was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the regiment at Camden, South Carolina, on August 19, 1780. John Shaw served in the Royal North Carolina Regiment from 1779. He received an appointment as Ensign in Camden, South Carolina, on August 19, 1780 and was later promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the regiment. Charles Atkins served as an Ensign in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. He had served in the regiment in 1779 and received his appointment as Ensign in Camden, South Carolina, on August 19, 1780 (Raymond 1899; Frederick Mackenzie Papers 1780; Cole and Braisted 2008).

Ensign Aquilla Hall, Jr.

Acquilla Hall, Jr. (1727-1779) was a prominent Loyalist and plantation owner in colonial Craven County and Ninety-Six District, South Carolina (NSDAR 1897, Volume 21:73; Holcomb and Lucas 1989, Volume 2:106, 122; *Georgia Genealogical Magazine* 1970:173; Motes and Motes 1994:174). Hall owned 150 acres of land on Beaverdam Creek, a tributary of the Saluda River, in Craven County by September, 1767. He received additional land grants for 150 acres in Craven County in 1770 and he was granted land on the Reedy River in Ninety-Six District sometime prior to his death in 1779 (S.C.D.A.H. 2009).

In early 1779 Hall joined as an Ensign in the North Carolina Provincials with Colonel Boyd on his march to Georgia. Clark (1983, Volume 3:168) lists Aquilla Hall as an Ensign in the South Carolina Royalists. Hall fought in the battle of Brier Creek. He escaped capture and any major wounds as a result of that battle. Hall was captured less than two months after the Kettle Creek engagement, possibly in a skirmish at Rocky Comfort Creek in the Ogeechee River watershed. Davis (1983:168) noted that Lieutenant Aquilla Hall with 25 Dragoons were all taken prisoner by the Patriots. Hall was captured by Marshall Franks and was taken to Ninety-Six to stand trial. He was convicted of treason and was one of five who were hanged at Ninety-Six in April, 1779 (Footnote.com 2008 [Marshall Franks, S10703]; Lambert 1987:93).

Ensign Samuel Clegg

Samuel Clegg (ca. 1740-1779) was a prominent Loyalist and plantation owner in Craven County and Edgefield District, South Carolina. He was living in South Carolina by 1766 and owned land by 1768. By the late 1770s Clegg owned more than 1,400 acres in South Carolina. At the time of the American Revolution was married to Barbara Marie Flick and they had four children. Clegg served an Ensign in Colonel Boyd's regiment and he helped to raise recruits and he participated in the battle of Kettle Creek. Clegg, who was considered by the Patriots to be a "ring leader" of the Loyalist uprising, was captured in the battle and marched as a prisoner to Ninety-Six. Clegg was tried for sedition and treason, and hanged at Ninety-Six in late April, 1779 (S.C.D.A.H. 2009; Cann 2004:4-7; Davis 1979b:172-181).

Other North Carolina Provincial Ensigns

Donald Morrison served as an Ensign in the North Carolina Loyalists. Payroll records list his period of service from February 5, 1776 through March 16, 1779. Donald Campbell served in 1779 as an Ensign in the Royal North Carolina Regiment and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the Royal North Carolina Regiment at Camden, South Carolina, on August 19, 1780. Donald McAlpine served as an Ensign

in 1779 and was promoted to a Lieutenant later that same year in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. Dugald McKeathan served as a Lieutenant in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. John Murchison served as Lieutenant of the North Carolina Loyalists. Payroll records in New York listed him paid for 1,357 days of service from February 5, 1776 through November 24, 1779. Robert Hamilton, Alexander McCaskill, Archibald McDonald, Thomas McDonald, Thomas Manson, and Robert Simpson served as Ensigns in the Royal North Carolina Regiment in 1779. James Borland served as an Ensign in the Independent North Carolina Volunteers but his period of service was not determined. Many of these junior officers may have fought at Kettle Creek but no documents were located that firmly place these officers on the Kettle Creek battlefield. Charles Atkins served as an Ensign in the Royal North Carolina Regiment. He had served in the regiment in 1779 and received his appointment as Ensign in Camden, South Carolina on August 19, 1780 (Raymond 1899; Frederick Mackenzie Papers 1780; Cole and Braisted 2008; Clark 1981, v.1:347).

John Alexander

John Alexander was an Irishman who arrived in America in 1773. Alexander settled in the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina in 1775. John and his two sons were strong supporters of the King. He joined Boyd's Regiment in 1779 and he was killed in the battle of Kettle Creek. He is one of two identified Loyalist soldiers who were killed at Kettle Creek, the other being Colonel John Boyd, and we only know his fate because of statements made in the July, 1786 pension testimony of his only surviving son, Robert Alexander. Richard Paris testified that John Alexander's plantation had been located on the north side of the Enoree River in South Carolina (Fraser 1904:170; Davis & Thomas 1975:81-82).

Daniel McKisek

Daniel McKisek was from Ninety-Six District, South Carolina. McKisek filed a memorial in 1786 attesting to his service to the King, which included reference to his participation and capture at the battle of Kettle Creek, "That Being loyal to his Majesty took up arms in behalf of British Government under the Command of Colonel Boyd; was taken prisoner at Kettle Creek Battle and Remained prisoner from the 14th of February 1779 unto July ye 18th 1780" (McKisek 1786).

Trial of Loyalists at Ninety-Six

The Loyalist soldiers who were captured by the Patriots at Kettle Creek were marched to Ninety-Six, South Carolina. There they were jailed and charged with treason and convicted. Only five of several hundred of these men were executed in March, 1779 and the others were paroled. Private John Magnum (aged 69), a former South Carolina militiaman who was stationed opposite Augusta at the time of the Kettle Creek battle, attested in 1832 at the age of 69 that "the Tories rose and many were taken prisoners by Major Andrew Pickens and brought to us where they stayed while we guarded them and later took them to court—at court the prisoners were tried—five Tories were hanged and the others discharged.—After which I was discharged in March 1779" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Magnum S16939]).

A list of those Loyalists from Boyd's regiment who were captured at Kettle Creek (or in the immediate aftermath) has not been located but other documents relating to prisoners held at Ninety-Six in early 1779 include many of Boyd's regiment (Davis 1978:63-65; Davis 1979b). A composite list of 173 prisoners held at Ninety-Six in 1779 was created from documents cited by Davis and is incorporated in Appendix II.

Colonel Andrew Pickens issued these orders to Captain John Irvine on March 12, 1779:

On receipt of this immediately march, with twenty-five men of your company, to Ninety-Six, and join Col. Williams, in order to guard the prisoners while on trial. You will receive orders from Col. Williams when you arrive at Ninety-Six. Dinborough is to supply you with provisions while on duty. You will have Lieut. Joseph Wardlaw and any others of your company that were prisoners with the Tories, and can be any evidence against any of them. Elijah and Samuel Moore, that were with me at the battle of Kettle Creek, I am well informed have some horses and two rifle guns that were taken at that battle, and as that property belongs to the people in general, you will order them, without loss of time, to bring those effects to me, or they may depend on being prosecuted for the same (Gibbes, Volume 2, p. 109)

Two days later, however, Pickens wrote on March 14 to Irvine with a change of orders:

I wrote you a few days ago to reinforce Colonel Williams at Ninety-Six with twenty-five men from your company; but, as I have just got orders from Gen. Williamson to march a strong party of my regiment to Cowan's Ferry, on Savannah river, you will, therefore, march with two parts of your company to that place, to be there on Wednesday next, the 17th inst., armed and accoutred, with good horses. I have wrote to Col. Williams to let your men come home, though you had better see him yourself. I hope you will be spirited in this matter (Gibbes, Volume 2, p. 113).

History records that many of the soldiers captured at Kettle Creek, who had been condemned to die were not hanged. Only five men, Samuel Clegg, James Lindley, John Anderson, Aquilla Hall, and Charles Draper, were hanged. the others were given reprieves. Others captured at Kettle Creek were imprisoned in North Carolina, where they also faced trial at Salisbury in September, 1779. The men who were prosecuted in that trial were “ringleaders” from North Carolina. The treatment of these prisoners of war was a subject of great controversy at the time. Major General Prevost urged strongly for their proper treatment under the articles of war. The five who were executed were charged with sedition and treason, which was an unprecedented application of this legal concept to soldiers who were engaged in battle. The fact that most men were not executed indicates that the Patriots realized this unjust application of the law and modified their original plans for these men. O’Kelley (2003) suggested that the Loyalists’ ill treatment in the wake of the battle of Kettle Creek set a precedent for later Loyalist atrocities against the Patriots in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Although as many as 150 men were imprisoned following the battle of Kettle Creek, the actual number of soldiers that were captured on the battlefield may have been as few as 20. Captain Christopher Neally and 78 other men, for example, surrendered to the Patriots following the battle. Others, such as Samuel Buffington, who were captured at Kettle Creek faced confinement in Charleston (Buffington 1779).

TROOP STRENGTH AND CASUALTY ESTIMATES

One goal of the historical research for the present project was to more accurately determine who fought in the battle of Kettle Creek and who was killed, wounded, or captured as a result. This proved to be a challenging task. The various primary and secondary sources on the subject were assembled and provided a range of potential candidates. The review of pension applications and other historical records revealed only a few direct mentions of the names of those wounded or killed at Kettle Creek. In the absence of any troop rosters dating to the time of the battle, a rough estimate must suffice. Even after the present research effort, a list of the killed and wounded at Kettle Creek remains glaringly incomplete. The results of this part of the project are detailed in Appendix II.

The Patriot militia strength at Kettle Creek was between 300 to 420 soldiers. An additional 33 Patriot militiamen were being held prisoner by the Loyalists at the time of attack. These prisoners, who lacked weapons and may have been confined were later freed, either on the battlefield on February 14, or within a few days. The Patriots suffered about 32 casualties in the battle. These included nine killed and 23 wounded. At least two of those wounded died soon after the battle. These totals were provided by Patriots, so they may under-represent the number of the casualties.

Most of the Patriots who were killed or wounded remain unidentified. Among the Patriots who were killed at Kettle Creek were Privates Robert Hammett and Thomas Wooten, Jr. Among those who were wounded were Lieutenants Micajah Williamson and Francis Carlisle and Privates Samuel Emory Davis, William Hammett, Benjamin Joyner, Frederick Lawrence, and John Prater (Appendix II).

The Loyalist militia strength at Kettle Creek was between 600 to 700 soldiers. Accounts of Boyd’s previous engagements on the Savannah River at Vann’s Creek indicate that approximately 100 of his 800-strong regiment were killed or wounded. While some of the less seriously wounded may have accompanied Boyd to Kettle Creek, they should probably not be considered as viable participants in his fighting force. The Loyalist casualties on the Kettle Creek battlefield included between 40-70 killed, and 75 wounded or taken prisoner. Many of those Loyalists who were taken prisoner were also wounded.

Almost all of the Loyalists who were killed or wounded remain unidentified. Among the Loyalists who were killed at Kettle Creek were Colonel John Boyd and John Alexander (rank unknown). Among those wounded was Lieutenant Colonel John Moore (Appendix II).

Several company commanders suffered severe losses in the battle, as specifically stated, or deduced, from later payroll records. Captain Martin Livingston, for example, recorded 13 dead or deserted in his company of South Carolina Royalists in the period from December 1778 to February 23, 1779. Some of these men may have been killed at Vann's Creek, as well as Kettle Creek. Likewise, Captain Samuel Biggerstaff [Bickerstaff], South Carolina Royalists, lost an untold number of men in his company. Captains George Carter, Isaac Gray, and James Harvey apparently lost so many men in their regiment that when the South Carolina troops were reorganized on February 22, these officers were not given a company to command but Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell promised these men half-pay at the rank of Captain for their previous service (Brice 1779; Harvey 1780).

As many as 150 Loyalists who participated in the battle were taken prisoner, although many of these were captured in the days and weeks after the battle or they turned themselves in to the Patriots voluntarily. Some undetermined portions of those captured from Boyd's regiment were given parole by Colonel Pickens and were allowed to return to their homes in the Carolinas. Another unknown number of Loyalists returned to their homes without fanfare. Approximately 250-300 of Boyd's original regiment joined Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton's North Carolina regiment at Augusta in the days following the battle. The number of deserters from Boyd's regiment is unknown. If the casualty figures, prisoner estimates, and additions to Hamilton's regiment are valid, then somewhere between 230 and 260 men may have returned to their homes following the battle at Kettle Creek. Our historical research was unable to determine how many soldiers, of those who fled the battlefield, were wounded. An unknown number of men probably died in the days and weeks after the battle and their deaths went unrecorded.

Scholars agree that the battle of Kettle Creek was an American victory. The Patriot militia lost between 8 to 10 percent of its effective fighting force in the battle of Kettle Creek. The Loyalists lost between 19 to 24 percent of its effective fighting force in the battle. The total number killed on the day of the battle, on both sides, was probably fewer than 90 men. Many of those who were wounded likely died in the days and weeks to follow, either as a direct result of their wounds or from secondary infections. The total number of wounded on both sides was no more than 200 men. The ratio of later deaths to survivors cannot be estimated. Many of the wounded did survive and continued to fight in the American Revolution.

V. The Battlefield

BATTLEFIELD IMAGERY

Early Cartography

No surviving Revolutionary War-era map of the Kettle Creek battlefield has been identified, despite extensive research by many historians over more than two centuries. That deficiency was noted by researcher Robert Scott Davis, Jr. and the present research confirms an absence of primary battle maps for Kettle Creek (Davis 1983:158).

Two maps from the Colonial period show details relevant to the study area. A map of interior Georgia by Royal Surveyor William DeBrahm (1771) shows features in the upper coastal plain but DeBrahm's map did not extend far enough northward to include Kettle Creek. In 1771, Kettle Creek was Indian land but it became Crown land after a major land cession was agreed upon in a 1773 treaty with the Creek and Cherokee Nations. A map showing the "Ceded Lands" was drafted by Royal Surveyor Philip Yonge (1773). While the project vicinity is included in Yonge's map and major and minor stream drainages are shown, no cultural features are indicated in the Kettle Creek vicinity and Kettle Creek is not specifically identified by name.

A slightly later map of Georgia also shows no cultural features in the Kettle Creek vicinity (Hinton 1779). A detail of Hinton's map, which includes the study area, is reproduced in Figure 11. The project vicinity on Hinton's map is identified as, "Hunting Grounds of the Cherakees and Muskohgees", which reflects a lag time of several years between historical events (land cessions of 1763 and 1773) and British cartography.

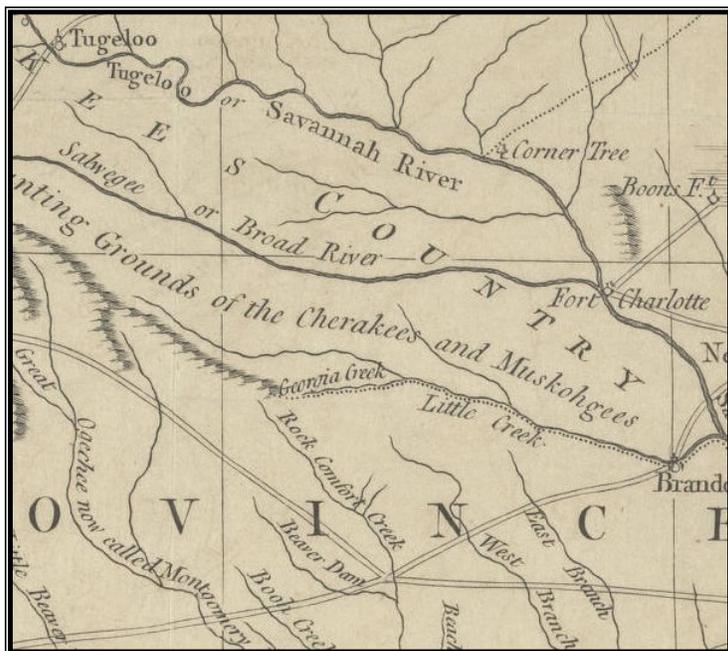


Figure 11. Detail of Hinton's Map of Georgia (1779).

The trek of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and his British troops from Savannah to Augusta was documented with a detailed map (Campbell 1780). That map's coverage, however, did not extend far enough to the north to include the Kettle Creek vicinity. Another map in the Campbell family estate, entitled, "A Plan of a Part of the Province of Georgia in North America" was located by Davis and a redraft of that undated map was published by him (Davis 1986:18, Figure 8). A close-up view of a portion of this map, which includes the study area, is reproduced in Figure 12.

A review of post-war maps and early 19th century maps of Georgia yielded no information about the Kettle Creek battlefield. Maps reviewed included: Barker (1794, 1796), Russell (1795, 1798), Tanner (1796), Doolittle (1796), Bradley (1797), Phillips (1799), Lewis (1805, 1815), Cary (1806), Scoles (1810), Melish (1813), Young (1824), Young & Delleker (1822, 1828), Knight (1828), Hinton (1831), and others. Tanner's 1796 map shows the approximate route of the road that ran through the center of the battlefield. By the early decades of the 19th century, that route was abandoned for another further southeast.

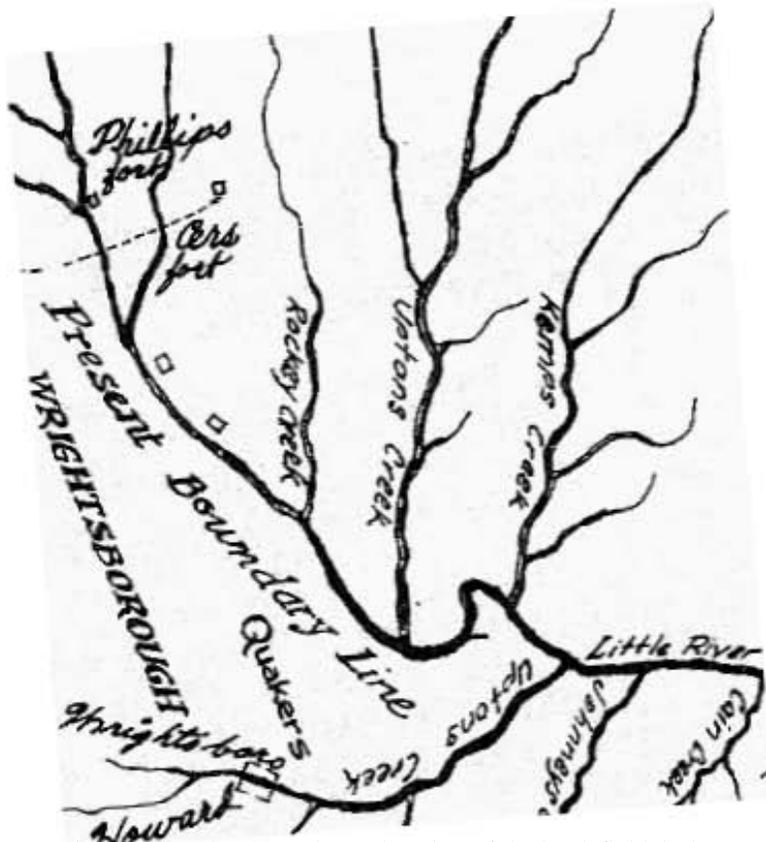


Figure 82. Portion of Davis' Redraft of "A Plan of a Part of the Province of Georgia in North America" (Davis 1986:18, Figure 18).

The earliest cartographic reference to the Kettle Creek battlefield is found on William Bonner's 1847, 1849, 1851 and 1856 maps of Georgia. Bonner's 1847 map contains the notation, "Kettle Creek Battle Ground". Similarly, Amanda Barnett's (1868) map of Wilkes County contains an added "X" marking the location of the "Kettle Creek Battle Ground" (Figure 13). Lloyd's 1864 map of Georgia shows, "Kettle Creek Battle Ground" in Wilkes County. An 1865 U.S. Coast Survey map of Georgia shows, "Battle Ground" in the Kettle Creek vicinity of Wilkes County. While this map information on Bonner's, Lloyds, the U.S. Coast Survey, and Barnett's maps is useful for

determining the approximate location of the battlefield, it does not provide any detailed information. Thomas Callaway (1877) made a map of Wilkes County, Georgia that showed the boundaries of the various militia districts and key communities (not shown). It also showed the approximate location of the Kettle Creek battlefield in the southwestern part of the county.

Granade's (1901) map of Wilkes County shows Kettle Creek and selected landowners in the vicinity. Figure 14 shows a portion of a color version of this map, which is mounted in the Wilkes County Courthouse. Granade's map also shows an unnamed road that enters Wilkes County on the south side at a ford. The road continues north and crosses Kettle Creek and then leads northward to a T-intersection with the Scull Shoals Road (an east-west route).

A U.S. Geological Survey map of the study area was produced in 1906. This 1:125,000 scale topographic map is based on field survey data collected in 1903 and 1904 (U.S.G.S. 1906). A portion of this map showing the Kettle Creek vicinity is reproduced in Figure 15.

A soil survey was conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Soils and the results were published in 1919. An accompanying map, completed in 1915, shows many of the roads and dwellings in the county, in addition to extensive soil information (U.S. Bureau of Soils 1915; Long 1919). A portion of this soil map, detailing the study area, is reproduced in Figure 16.

Early Aerial Photographs

A number of early aerial photographs of the Kettle Creek vicinity have survived. These photographs were taken for the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The images show changes on the Kettle Creek landscape from 1938 to the present. Figure 17 shows a portion of the 1938 U.S.D.A. index sheet for Wilkes County. The Kettle Creek study area is visible in this view.

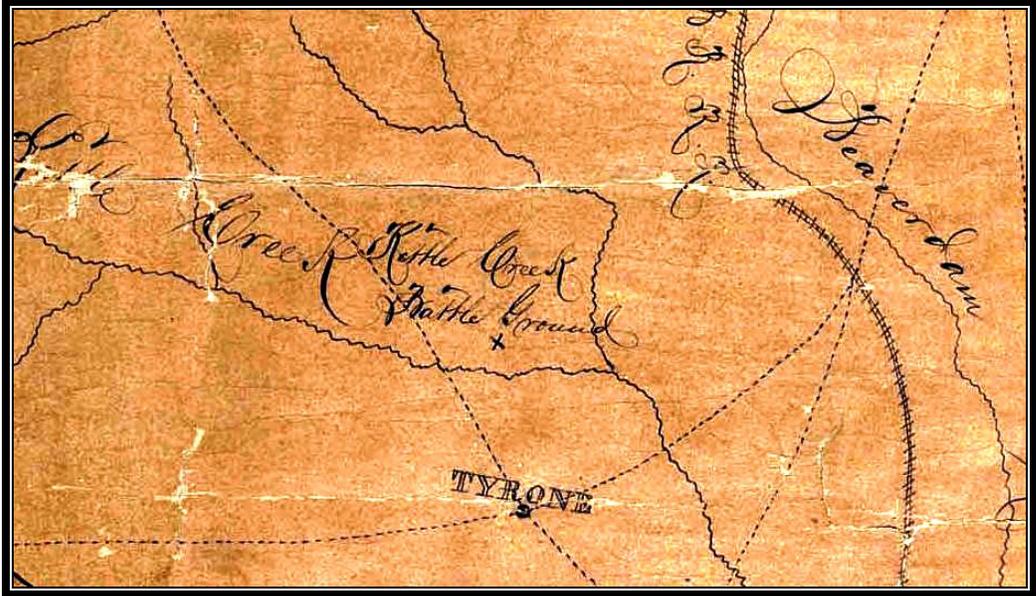


Figure 13. Detail of 1868 Map Showing Kettle Creek Battlefield (Barnett 1868).

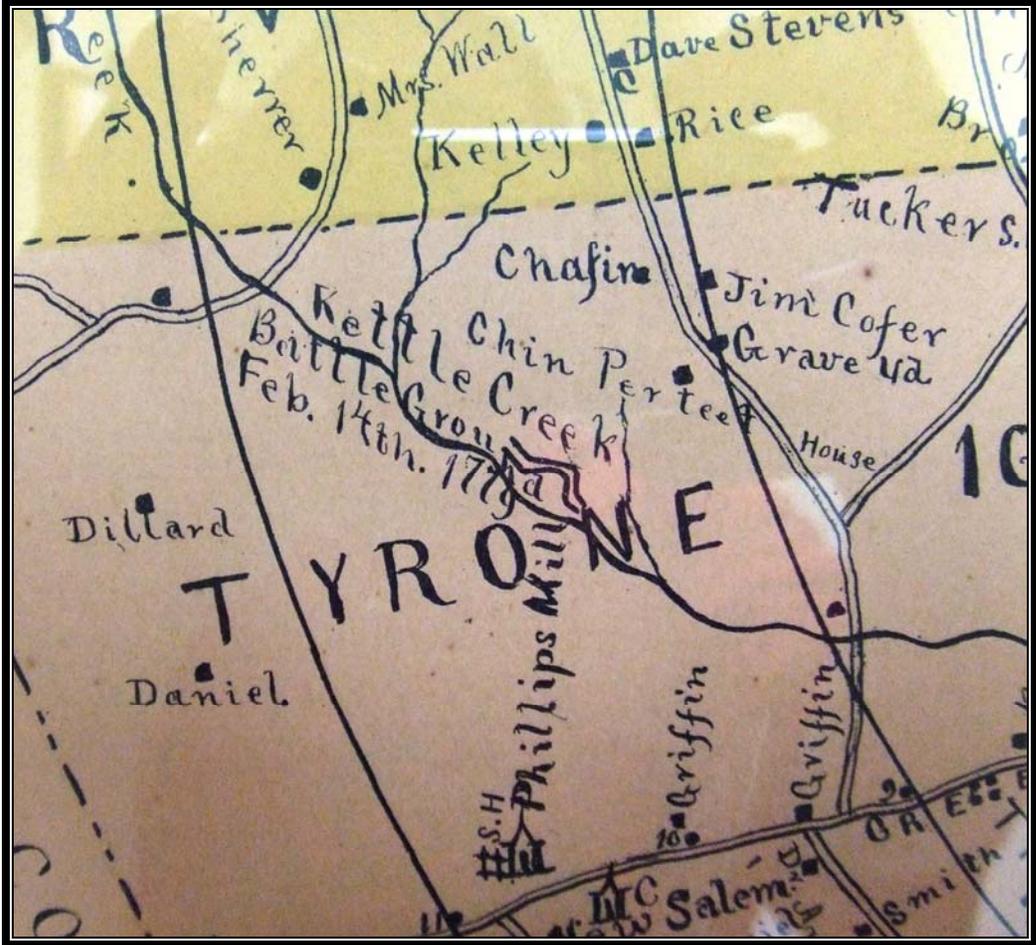


Figure 14. Detail of Map of Wilkes County, Showing Kettle Creek Battleground (Granade 1901).

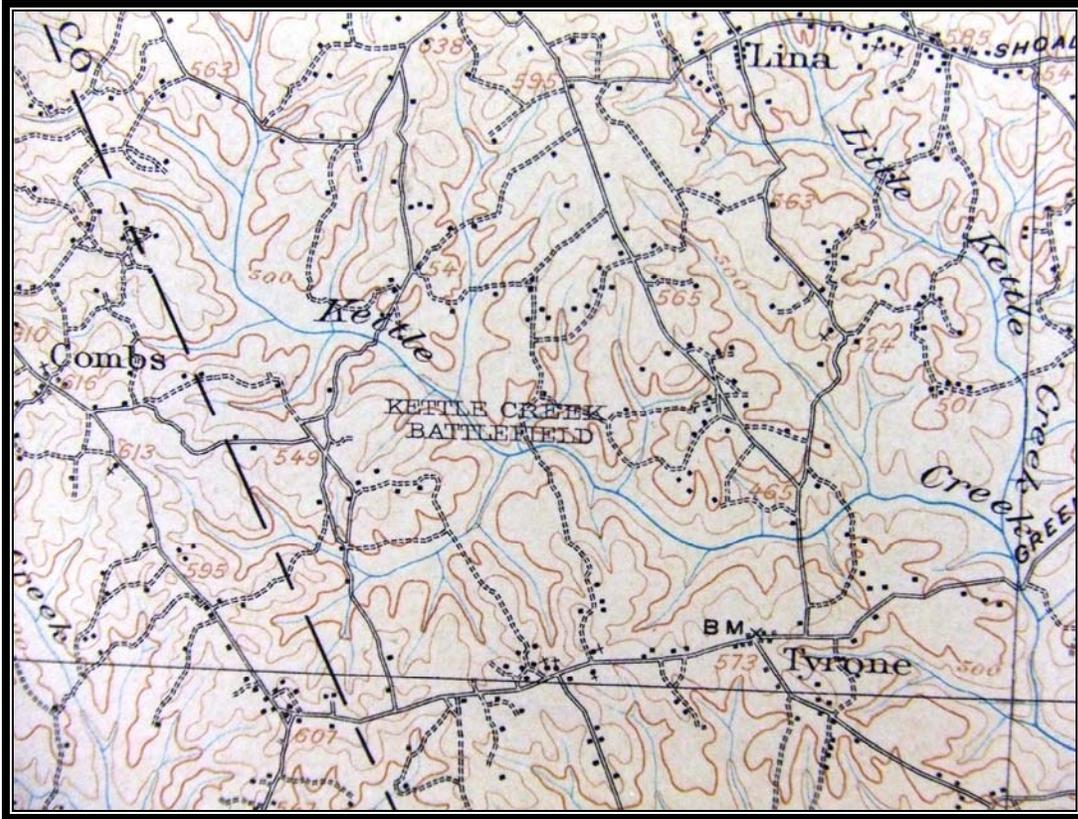


Figure 15. Portion of U.S.G.S. Quadrangle, Showing Kettle Creek, circa 1903-1904 (U.S.G.S. 1906).

The 1942 aerial photograph of the study area is shown in Figure 18. It is interesting to note the differences compared with the earlier 1938 aerial. After only four years, the extensively terraced ridge north of the dog-leg bend in Kettle Creek, which was in cultivation in 1938 was fallow land by 1942. By the time of the 1952 aerial photographic flight (not shown), this same area had entirely reverted to forest.

MILITARY LANDSCAPE OF WILKES COUNTY

Kettle Creek was in the heart of the American frontier in February, 1779. The landscape in east-central Georgia was dotted at that time with a series of fortified houses, militia forts, and ranger forts, of which a very few contained regular British army troops. Most of these had been constructed with the perceived threat from Indian attack. In late January, 1780, the Georgia Executive Council met and,

...On a representation made to the Board by Colonels Dooly & Clark, of the necessity of having the newly erected Forts in the frontiers in Wilkes County properly garrisoned.

RESOLVED, That His Honor the Governor be requested to issue orders to Colonel Dooly to order thirty men for the defence of each Fort, including one hundred and eighty men in the whole, to be kept on constant duty, until the further orders of the Board.

RESOLVED, That a Fort be built at Harris old Fort and that the sum of five hundred pounds be allowed for the building the same, and to be erected under the direction of Captain Zachariah Philips agreeable to the regulations which were made with respect to the other Forts on that frontier...(Candler 1908, 2001).

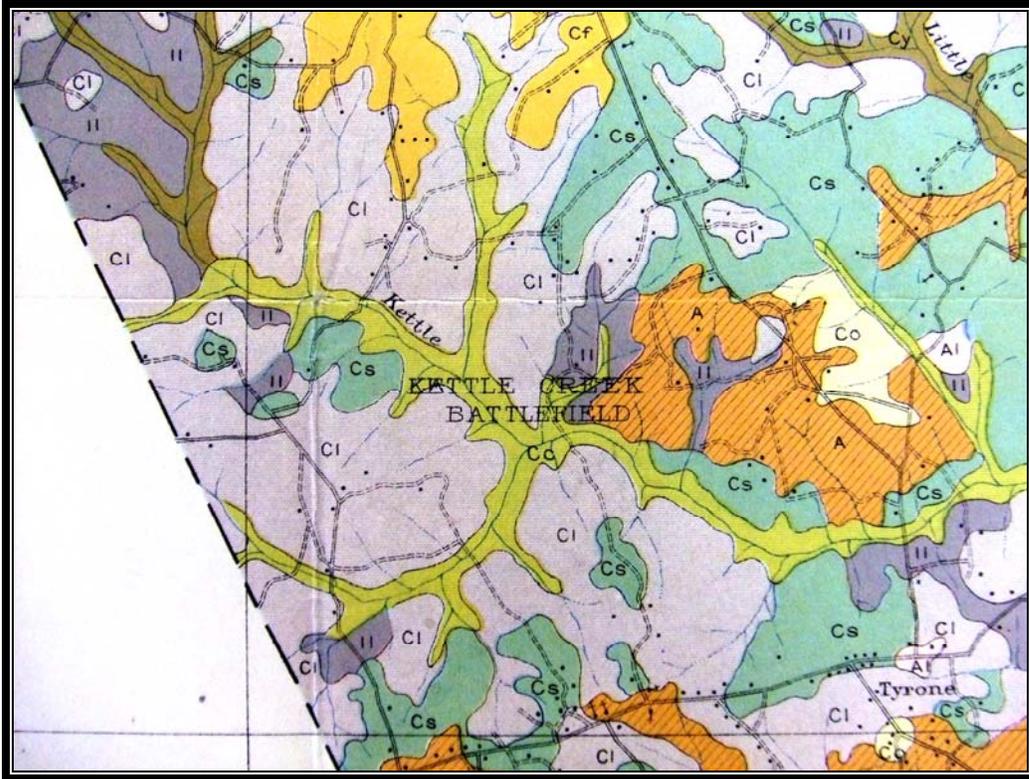


Figure 16. Soil Map of Wilkes County, Showing Study Area (Bureau of Soils 1915).



Figure 17. Portion of Wilkes County Index Sheet, Showing Study Area (U.S.D.A. 1938).

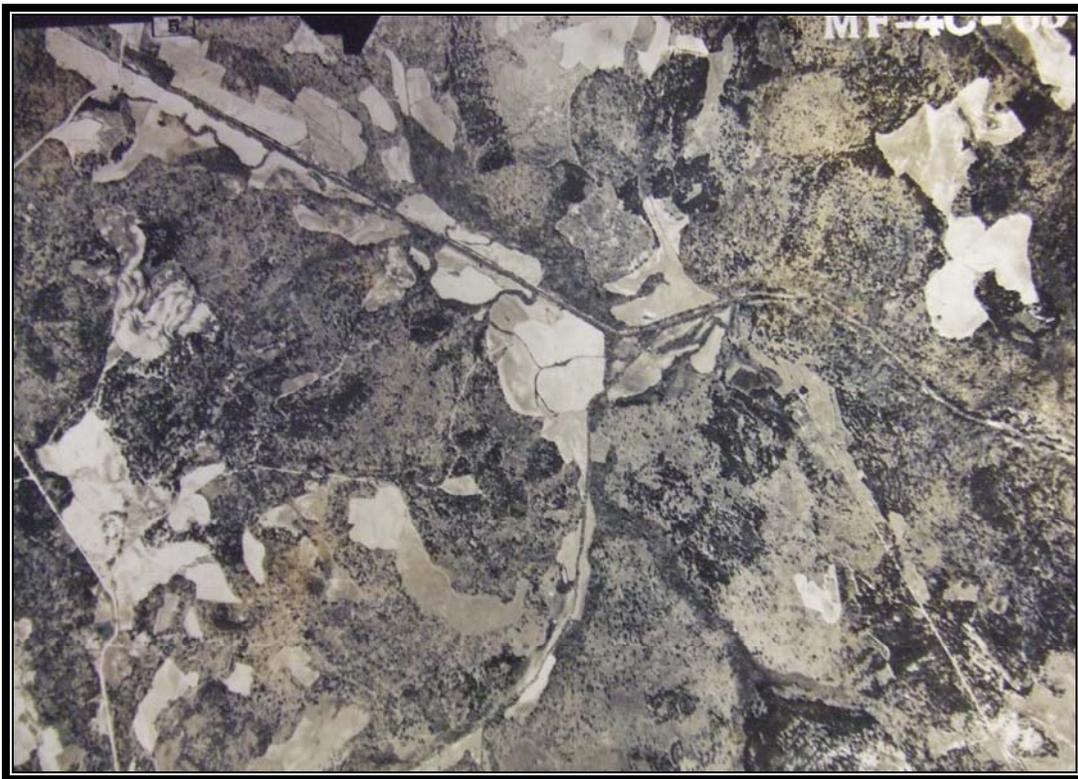


Figure 18. 1942 Aerial Photograph Showing Study Area (U.S.D.A. 1942).

Davis (1983:158-166; Appendix B in Davis and Thomas 1975:133-135) summarized the many forts and military stations located in Wilkes County in the American Revolution. The list is impressive and it attests to the uncertainty and instability of this part of the Georgia frontier in the 1770s and 1780s. Davis' list of forts was compiled largely from his review of pension applications and his examination of John Goff's "Forts Files" at the Georgia Archives. Davis prepared two maps showing the approximate location of forts, stations, settlements and engagements in original Wilkes County. The present research has augmented the earlier efforts by Davis, which is incorporated into the following narrative.

Autry's Fort

Private Paul Castlebury attested in 1832 that he was drafted, "to serve a tour against the Creek Indians under Captain Howard & Colonel Dunn & was stationed at Autry's Fort where they remained for two months" (Footnote.com 2008 [Paul Castlebury W27664]). While the 71 year old Castlebury forgot the specific year of his service at Autry's Fort, his records suggest that it was likely in early 1777. The location of Autry's Fort is unclear. It may be the same as Williamson's Fort on the Broad River, where Captain Autry commanded a garrison later in the war. As noted earlier, there were two Captain Autrys in the Wilkes County militia and both of them may have established fortifications for the soldiers in their militia companies (and as a refuge for their neighbors) during the war. The Autry family is associated with land on Fishing and Kettle Creeks in original Wilkes County.

Carr's Fort

Carr's Fort, also known as Carr's Station or Karr's Fort, was a Wilkes County militia fort manned by the Patriots. It was located on Robert Carr's property, which was probably within a few miles of the Kettle Creek battlefield. The location of Carr's Fort was on Beaverdam Creek in Wilkes County. It appears as,

“Carr’s fort” on a period map (Davis 1986:18, Figure 8). One of the roads shown on James Hammett’s 1783 land plat is thought to have led to Carr’s Fort (McGinty 2008c; Davis 1983:159, 164; Davis and Thomas 1975:133). Robert Carr was killed during the war, possibly in March, 1779, and was survived by his wife Leannah, who later remarried and became Leannah Graham. Leannah Carr Graham owned real estate in Wilkes County (Davidson 1933; Ragan 1998).

Carr’s fort functioned not only as the fortified farmstead for Robert Carr and his company of militia men; it also was garrisoned by other companies. Private Joshua Dover attested in his pension application that he had served as a minute man under Captain John Burk in Elijah Clark’s regiment and,

was marched to Carr’s Fort in the State of Georgia at which place he was stationed most of his term, but at times for short periods at other places – the service of the force with which he served being in guarding the frontiers. Captain ___ [blank in original] Baldwin, the father of the lieutenant above named, succeeded Burk as Captain, and under whom applicant served part of his time. Applicant was on one occasion marched from Carr’s Fort in Georgia under the officers above named on an expedition to St. Augustine which went to the St. Mary’s River where Clarke had a skirmish with the enemy, got wounded by a shot in the leg and returned and discharged applicant at Sunbury [sic, Sunbury] (Footnote.com 2008 [Joshua Dover R3053]).

Robert Davis provided these observations regarding his recent scholarship on Robert Carr’s and Robert McNabb’s forts (personal communication February 27, 2008):

I have just been through the well indexed volumes one and two of the ‘Indian Depredations Claims’ from Georgia Archives microfilm. The claims by Robert Carr’s heirs confirm that Carr’s fort was on Beaverdam Creek and the McNabb heirs state that Robert McNabb’s plantation/fort was on Kettle Creek. No more information is given on location. Apparently in times of Indian attack, everyone in the community “forted up” at Carr’s fort, even the McNabbs. In addition to 1778, McNabb’s fort may have also been attacked by Indians in 1782.

The claims are not entirely reliable because hope of compensation is involved but should you ever find someone’s fort/plantation from Wilkes County from those days, the Indian Depredation claims can be a gold mine of information (as are the early Wilkes County estate records). Carr’s fort was not successful as a fort, suffering destruction at the hands of the Indians in 1779, but it is interesting that the Carrs lost ‘12 shifts’ as well as what was described as one of the largest local herds of cattle and horses. I also note that although Robert Carr was illiterate, he owned a clock.

Cherokee Ford/McGowan’s Blockhouse

Cherokee Ford was an important ford across the Savannah River at its confluence with the Rocky River. This site is presently inundated by the waters of Lake Richard B. Russell in Abbeville County, South Carolina. It was also the location of a Wilkes County Patriot militia fort, known as McGowan’s blockhouse on the South Carolina side of the river. Colonel Boyd’s troops arrived at Cherokee Ford hoping to cross the river there. He faced opposition from Captain Robert Anderson’s South Carolina militia company and Captain James Little’s Georgia militia company. The Patriots had set up two swivel guns on a hill near the crossing and fired on Boyd’s men. Colonel Boyd opted to move about five miles upstream before crossing the Savannah River at Vann’s Creek where a battle between Colonel Boyd’s Loyalist and the South Carolina and Georgia Patriot militias ensued. Loyalist losses in that battle was reportedly 100 men killed, wounded, missing, or deserted (Davis 2006:32). As a result of these two engagements, Colonel Boyd’s troop strength was reduced from about 800 to about 700 (Davis and Thomas 1975:133). Captain Little was badly wounded in the engagement but he recovered and fought throughout the war.

Fort Charlotte

Fort Charlotte was a British fort located on the east side of the Savannah River, a few miles below the Broad River confluence in present-day McCormick County, South Carolina. Fort Charlotte was attacked by the South Carolina [Patriot] Rangers in July, 1775. This fort site was minimally studied by archeologist Joseph R. Caldwell prior to its inundation beneath the Clark Hill Reservoir [Lake Strom Thurmond] (Salley 1906:50; Davis 1949; Caldwell 1952; Elliott 1995).

Cowan's Ferry

Cowan's Ferry was an important Savannah River crossing. Its former location lies submerged beneath the waters of Lake Strom Thurmond [Clark Hill] (Elliott 1995). This ferry was possibly fortified by the Patriots. Colonel Dooly was encamped on the South Carolina side of Cowan's Ferry on February 16, 1779, where he wrote to Samuel Elbert informing him of the outcome of the Kettle Creek battle.

Fort Dement

Thomas Bankston stated in 1835 that in 1782 and 1783 he served in Wilkes County, Georgia under command of, "Captain Halms at fort Dement & served with him for three months against the frontier Indians who were very troublesome" (Footnote.com 2008 [Thomas Bankston R477]). Bankston's statement is the only mention of Fort Dement encountered in the present research. Its location is not known.

Fort James/Fort Dartmouth/Waters' Fort

Fort James was a British ranger fort located in the forks of the Savannah and Broad Rivers. This fort was established following the 1773 treaty and was garrisoned by a troop of rangers commanded by Captain Edward Barnard. That location, which was named Dartmouth by the British, was later the site of the town of Petersburg (Coulter 1965; Ivers 1974; R. Elliott 1988). Captain Thomas Waters commanded a company of Loyalist rangers from this post early in the American Revolution. It was probably the same as Water's Fort, which is mentioned in several pension applications. The plan for this fort, as envisioned by Royal Governor Wright's land commissioner stated,

That a Fort be Erected at the Point of the fork of Savannah and the Rivers Dart, at Place already Marked out by his Excellency the Governor, The Fort to be 120 feet Square with a four Bastions made of Square Loggs, Two of them to be covered and 2 left open on the Top. The Curtains lines of Puntions, and officers House Kitchen Barracks, Gaol -- House and Magazine (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:5).

Fort Independence

Fort Independence was a small Patriot fort located on the Rocky River in present-day Anderson County, South Carolina (Bastian 1982). It was burned by Colonel Boyd's militia in early February, 1779, a few days prior to the battle of Kettle Creek. The archeological site of Fort Independence was excavated in 1981 and its architectural plan was delineated.

Log (Loggy) Fort

In 1832 Private John Bynum identified a fort named "Log Fort," which was located opposite the British Fort James (later becoming Petersburg). Other veterans identified this as "Loggy Fort" in their pension statements. This Log Fort was built by the militia company commanded by Captain Joseph Nail, Sr. It was probably located in the vicinity of the later settlement of Lisbon, which is in present-day Lincoln County (R. Elliott 1988). Davis (1983:162) describes an Indian attack on Captain Elijah Clarke and a wagon train near this fort in 1776 (Footnote.com 2008 [Charles Gent S1903; David H. Thurmond S32010]).

Fort Marbury

The Patriots also established forts on the upper Ogeechee River, one of which was known as Fort Marbury. This fort was also known as Fort Harris. The fort, likely named for Colonel Leonard Marbury, was garrisoned by militia and Georgia Continental troops. Colonel Marbury commanded a Cavalry troop in the American Revolution.

Barnard's Ogeechee River Fort

In 1773 the Georgia Royal Government authorized a British ranger fort to be established on the shoals of the Ogeechee River. Cashin (2000:59) noted that a fort was authorized under the terms of the 1773 Treaty of Augusta, which allowed for two hundred acres on a branch of the Ogeechee River for a square fort. It was to measure 100 feet and be garrisoned by an officer and 20 men. The name of this fort was not determined but its commander was Georgia Ranger Captain Edward Barnard. Royal Governor Wright's land commissioner outlined a plan for this fort which stated,

All Persons Paying Down 10 pounds pr. 100 acres by way of Deposit be allowed 3 months in Lieu of One month to Pay the Remainder after the Lands are Surveyed and Valued; this Concerns only Immediate Settlers. These (12 & 13) Chiefly Concern Edward Barnard Esquire, Captain of his Majesty's Troop of Rangers. 12th. That 200 Acres of Land be Reserved for the uses of the Publick on a High Hill at a Small Runn on the North Side of the North Fork & Branch of Ogeechee River, About One and a half Miles Above the falls on said North Branch of the River, whereon a Stockade Fort may be Erected for the Rendezvous of an officer and Twenty men to be sent there by the Desire and on the application of the Inhabitants in Wrightsborough and Those who have already taken up Lands about Ogeechee and Places Adjacent; who have agreed to erect or assist in Erecting the Said Fort and other Buildings for the Shelter of the Rangers. The fort to be 100 foot square (CRG).

The precise location of Captain Barnard's Ogeechee River British ranger fort has not been determined, nor whether it was actually constructed or garrisoned. From the preceding description it was probably located 1.5 miles above the fall line and on the northern branch of the Ogeechee, not too distant from Wrightsborough. This would be in present-day McDuffie County (Davis 1986).

Alexander's Fort

Alexander's Fort was another Patriot fort that was probably located in the Ogeechee River watershed. Micajah Brooks, Jr. stated in 1850 that Captain Samuel Alexander was stationed "on the head waters of the Ogeechee in Wilkes County" (Footnote.com 2008 [Micajah Brooks W27694]). Samuel Alexander was granted land on Williams Creek, a tributary of the Little River. That land was located near the Ogeechee River. Captain Samuel Alexander's plantation on the Ogeechee River was later known as Alexandria (Crumpton 2003).

Barber's Fort

Captain George Barber commanded a Wilkes County militia fort that was located on Long Creek. This fort is mentioned by Elijah Bankston in 1832. Bankston was stationed at Barber's Fort in 1781 (Footnote.com 2008 [Elijah Bankston R478]). Captain Barber and his men fought at Kettle Creek.

Fort Chatham

Fort Chatham was built in Wilkes County as early as 1778. It is mentioned in the January 28, 1780 voucher of Thomas Johnston (Davis 1983:165-166). No other reference to Fort Chatham was located in the present research.

Clarke's Station

Elijah Clarke's farmstead served as a militia station during the war. In 1835, Private John Waddill testified that he had served under Colonel Elijah Clarke and was posted at Clarke's Station in 1780. Waddill described Clarke's Station, "on the South Side of Savannah River, on Pistol Creek...upwards of 50 miles above Augusta" (Footnote.com 2008 [John Waddill R10977]). Clarke's Station, also known as Fort Clarke, was a relatively important Wilkes County fort. It should not be confused with Elijah Clarke's subsequent fort built at Scull Shoals in Greene County, Georgia or Clarke's post-war residence on the Savannah River. Clark Creek, a tributary of Long Creek, is located in northwestern Wilkes County west of Tignall, Georgia. This area today is mostly used as timber land, pasture and agricultural fields. Slaton (1996:5, 11) provided the approximate location of Clarke's first homestead (and Clarke's Fort).

Dooly's Fort

John Dooly's Fort is mentioned in several Revolutionary War pension applications. Dooly's Fort was located on the Savannah River in original Wilkes County, or present-day Lincoln County. Not long before the American Revolution, John Dooly acquired a 500 acre plantation on the Savannah River at the mouth of Soap Creek. His fort was probably located on that plantation, which Dooly called "Egypt." The remains of Dooly's Fort may be located on the present-day Elijah Clark State Park but they have not been identified archeologically (Hitz 1956:265; Davis 1983:163; 2006a; Davis and Thomas 1975:133-174; Footnote.com 2008 [John Collins R2179; David H. Thurmond S32010; Moses Perkins S3677; John Smith R9769; Daniel Sutherland (Southerland) W6608]). Three members of the Dooly family fought with the Wilkes County militia—Thomas, John and George. Thomas Dooly was killed in a skirmish with Creek Indians in 1777. John Dooly commanded the Wilkes County militia regiment until the capture of Charleston in May, 1780. He returned to his home on parole but was killed by a band of Tories at his home soon afterward. His brother, George Dooly continued to serve in the Georgia militia after the death of John Dooly.

Fulsom's Fort

Captain Benjamin Fulsam (Fulsom) built a fort in Wilkes County, prior to 1777. Captain Fulsam and his company were attacked near this fort in 1778 and Fulsam and seven of his company were killed. The fort was rebuilt and was again was attacked and destroyed in 1779 by Loyalist Indians, commanded by David Taitt. Private James Culbreath attested in his pension application that he had served under Captain Reed in 1777, "at Fulsom's fort against them [Creek Indians] there also three weeks" (Davis 1983:165; Davis and Thomas 1975:134; Footnote.com 2008 [James Wood W4405; James Culbreath S8271]). Private James Wood also served at Fulsom's Fort. Fulsoms Creek is located in present-day Hancock County, northwest of Jewell, Georgia. This area is rural and mostly in timber land.

Gunnell's Fort

Captain Daniel Gunnell established a fort on Sandy Creek in Wilkes County. This fort was in existence in 1779, when colonels Pickens and Dooly met there after defeating David Taitt and the Loyalist Indians (Davis and Thomas 1975:134; Footnote.com 2008 [Micajah Brooks W27694]). Slaton (1996:3, 11) described the approximate geographic location of Daniel Gunnell's homestead, which may be the same location as one of the Gunnell's Forts. The possible location of Captain John Gunnell's fort was not determined.

Heard's Forts

Possibly three or more forts in Wilkes County bore the name Heard's Fort. The patriarch of the Heards in Georgia was John Heard. John Heard was born in Hanover County, Virginia in 1740. Heard moved his family to Georgia in 1759, settling on Fishing Creek about 45 miles from Augusta, Georgia (Cook 2005:40). In 1759, Fishing Creek was Indian land and it was not ceded to the Crown until 1773. In 1773 and 1774 John Heard's Fort was built at the confluence of Anderson's Mill Creek and Fishing Creek (Slaton 1996:10-11; McGee 2008). This area is presently in timber land, known as the Heard's Fort Tract. A skirmish at this fort resulted in three Patriots becoming trapped and killed by Tories. According to local tradition, these men were buried nearby and their graves were later displaced in the 1840s by a strong freshet. The skeletal remains were reburied, possibly in the Heard family cemetery, which was located nearby (Mary Bondurant Warren personal communication, January 1, 2009). Willingham noted that he had visited this particularly Heard Fort site and that trace of it were visible (Robert Willingham personal communication February 1, 2009). This location is currently vegetated in 16 year old pine forest (McGee 2008).

John Heard's sons, including Stephen and Barnard, commanded companies of Wilkes County militia in the American Revolution. Stephen Heard was the most prominent of the Heard family, serving as Governor of Georgia in 1780-1781. Stephen Heard received a grant for 150 acres near the mouth of Little River in 1760. Stephen Heard's Fort was a Wilkes County Patriot militia fort located on Stephen Heard's property.

The location of Stephen Heard's fort is the subject of some debate. Some scholars place it in the general vicinity of present-day Washington, Georgia, approximately eight miles northeast of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Sherwood (1860:140) states that Heard's Fort was created (in Washington, Georgia) in 1774 to protect against Indian intrusions.

At the age of 81, former Private Jacob Mercer provided additional information. Mercer stated in 1834,

That he was living in the frontiers of Georgia in Wilkes County and was called out into Service for a term of 6 months to defend and protect the frontiers and to build a line of forts; That he entered the service in September 1777 in the company of Captain Heard, the Regiment was commanded by Colonel Dooley, the whole under the Command of General Elijah Clark, and served until March 1778 and was discharged, we built at that time a line of Forts from the Ogeechee, to the Savannah River -- say 12 or 14 forts. On 2 April 1778 he was again drafted, for a tour of 2 months, the Company was commanded by Captain Richard Heard, the Regiment by Colonel Dooley -- the whole rendezvoused at Heard's Fort Wilkes County Georgia (Footnote.com 2008 [Jacob Mercer S31862]).

None of the Heard's Forts have been explored archeologically and they would be interesting subjects of further study (Davis 1983:163; Footnote.com 2008 [John G. Heard R4822; Evans Haines W8897; Solomon Mitchell W181; Daniel Sutherland (Southerland) W6608]).

Hill's Fort/Fort Martin

Captain John Hill established a fort for his Wilkes County militia company on Long Creek in Wilkes County (present-day Warren County). Hill's Fort was mentioned in two pension applications and one letter from a Georgia governor. One pension applicant stated that Joseph Mimms was killed in an attack at Hill's Fort (Footnote.com 2008 [Micajah Brooks W27694; William Brooks R1263]; Davis 1983:164; Davis and Thomas 1975:134). Captain John Hill conducted a muster of his company at "Fort Martin on the frontier" on May 1, 1782. Georgia Governor John Martin wrote a letter to "Capt. John Hill, Fort Martin, Wilkes County" on August 27, 1782 (Davis 1979a; Martin 1782, in Georgia Historical Society 1917; 321-322).

Hinton's Fort

Hinton's Fort was on Chickasaw Creek in Wilkes County, which is a tributary of the Broad River and located more than 20 miles north of Kettle Creek. Hinton's Fort has not been located archeologically but would be situated near the Norman community (Davis 1983:162; Davis and Thomas 1975:134). Hinton's Fort is cited by Sergeant David H. Thurmond, Wilkes County militia, in 1833. Thurmond noted that the fort was the immediate destination of the Wilkes County militia after the battle of Kettle Creek (Footnote.com 2008 [David H. Thurmond, S32010]). It is also mentioned by Private Elijah Cloud (Morgan 1975:3). Hinton's Fort is an excellent candidate for archeological discovery, since Chickasaw Creek has a relatively small catchment area and the Chickasaw Creek watershed is presently rural with mostly timber land, pasture and cultivated fields.

Kerr's Fort

Kerr's Fort is reported to have been located on the Broad River nearly opposite the mouth of Long Creek. It was located near Nail's Fort. Kerr's Fort was in existence in 1778. The similarity of Carr's Fort and Kerr's Fort, if indeed there were two separate forts, has cause some confusion (Ashmore and Olmstead 1926:91; Davis and Thomas 1975:135; Footnote.com 2008 [John Bynum S3111]). The location described above would place the ruins of Kerr's Fort in present-day Elbert County, south of the Bell community.

Kiokee Fort

Kiokee Fort is mentioned in the pension application of Alexander Smith. Most of Kiokee Creek is located in Columbia County, southeast of Wilkes County. Alexander Smith noted in his pension claim that Kiokee Fort was in Columbia County (Davis 1983:165; Footnote.com 2008 [Alexander Smith S16530]).

Knox's Fort/Cherokee Corner/Gourd Vine Station

Knox's Fort was a militia fort in the American Revolution that was located near Cherokee Corner in present-day Oglethorpe County, Georgia. Another name for a military camp in this vicinity was Gourd Vine Station. At least one Revolutionary War veteran described serving at Knox's Fort during the American Revolution. Several veterans mentioned being stationed at Gourd Vine Station in 1777. William Anderson enlisted in 1777 and served as a private in Captain Burwell Smith's company of Wilkes County militia. He was stationed at Gourd Vine Station at the Cherokee Corner for two and one-half years (Footnote.com 2008 [William Anderson W512]). This fort has not been located archeologically.

Little's Station/Little's Fort

Little's Station, or Little's fort, was a militia fort in Wilkes County in the American Revolution. Little's fort was located on the Broad River but this fort site has not been studied archeologically. This fort was established at the farmstead of Captain James Little, who commanded a company of Wilkes County militia. It was used during the war as a garrison for the soldiers in Captain Little's company, as well as other troops (Footnote.com 2008 [Isham Burke S3093]). Captain Little was badly wounded in February, 1779 at the battle of Vann's Creek. He recovered from his wounds and continued to serve in the Georgia militia throughout the Revolutionary War. Captain Little's men participated in the battle at Kettle Creek.

McNabb's Fort

Robert McNabb, a Wilkes County militiaman in Captain Carr's Company, built a fortified house located somewhere along Kettle Creek. His fort house was attacked and burned by hostile Indians during the American Revolution, and McNabb was killed in the attack. A second attack on McNabb's Fort happened in 1782, several years after the battle of Kettle Creek. Hammett (2008) suggests that McNabb's Fort may have been built on the former site of Carr's fort near Beaverdam Creek, rather than on Kettle Creek. Davis' views on the possible location of Carr's fort were discussed earlier. The location of McNabb's fort and farmstead has not been determined.

Fort Nail

Fort Nail, or Nail's Fort, was a Wilkes County militia fort that was located on the north side of the Broad River at the confluence of Deep (Deer?) Creek (Davis 1983:162; Davis and Thomas 1975:135). Deep Creek is located in present-day Elbert County. This fort was attacked twice in 1778, by Creeks in August and by Cherokees in November. Its commandant was Captain Joseph Nail, Sr., a Virginian. Among the soldiers associated with this fort were the other members of the Nail family, Thomas Moffet, and John Webb. These men were likely in Captain Nail's company of Wilkes County militia. This fort has not been located archeologically. Captain Nail and his company of Wilkes County militia fought in February, 1779 at Kettle Creek and at Carr's Fort. Captain Nail and his men were familiar with the countryside of Kettle Creek and served as guides for the rest of Colonel Pickens' force. Davis (1983:162) noted that Captain Nail accepted a parole from the British in 1780 but later rejoined the Patriot cause and died in battle. Fort Nail is mentioned by at least six Revolutionary War veterans (Footnote.com 2008 [William Black W9730; Elijah Cloud W6920; William Melton W25703; Solomon Mitchell W181; Mathew Neal/Nail S14004; Reuben Nail S31877; John Webb S31055]; Audited Account of William Pickens AA5936, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Voucher of Thomas Johnston, January 28, 1780, Telamon Cuyler Collection).

Sergeant William Melton, who served in Hammond's regiment of South Carolina militia, served at Nail's Fort and other forts in Wilkes County, and he stated in 1823 that,

on the second of September 1778 he [William Melton] took his father's place marched to fort Charlotte on Savannah river thence he marched to the block house on Rocky river South Carolina and this deponent declares that he served under the same field officers as before this deponent still Sergeant Solomon Pope Captain William West 2 Lieutenant Budy Eskridge first Lieutenant this deponent first sergeant John Ethridge 2 Sergeant. After leaving the block house we marched to Nailles station in Wilks [sic, Wilkes] County Ga from thence we continued on the South Carolina & Georgia frontiers to Phillips ford

on Little river where we were discharged after a service of fifty two days on the twenty fourth of October 1778 – making one month & twenty two days still Sergeant (Footnote.com 2008; William Melton W25703).

Sergeant Melton further stated that in late October, 1778, he volunteered in,

Captain Solomon Pope's company Col. L. Hammond's regiment we marched to the frontier of Georgia Cherokee Corner where we came to meet General Twiggs of Georgia. When we got there we fell on an Indian trail. Major Andrew Pickens of South Carolina beat up for volunteers to pursue the trail. When this deponent turned out a volunteer we pursued the Indians & came up with them, killed fourteen warriors we retook all our plunder and returned back to our army station in Wilkes County Georgia (Footnote.com 2008]William Melton W25703]).

Newsom's Fort/Newsom's Ponds

Captain Solomon Newsom commanded a company of Wilkes County militia. The company constructed Newsom's Fort, which was in original Wilkes County but now located in present-day Warren County. The fort was located on the south side of Brier Creek (Footnote.com 2008 [William DuPuy S12821]; Davis 1983:165). Private James Culbreath attested in his pension application that, in 1777, he had served "under Captain Reed at Newsom's ponds Ga. against the Creek Indians" (Footnote.com 2008 [James Culbreath S8271]).

Phillips' Forts

Possibly three forts known as Phillips' Fort were located in original Wilkes County during the American Revolution. Only one of these forts appears on maps from the period. Davis (1986a:18, Figure 8) published a redraft of a portion of a map that shows the location of "Phillips fort." Joel Phillips' Fort was a militia fort in the American Revolution that was located near the confluence of Reedy Creek and the Little River. This fort was a few miles south and relatively near the Kettle Creek battlefield.

A Phillips' fort was visited in 1777 by Brigadier General Samuel Elbert, Georgia Continentals. Phillips' Fort was probably located in the same vicinity as "Harris old Fort," which was mentioned by the Georgia Executive Council in January, 1780. Those minutes contained a resolution authorizing Captain Zachariah Phillips to build a fort at that location. This fort and others authorized by this resolution were to contain a garrison of 30 men (Candler 1908, 2001).

Captain Zachariah Phillips, Wilkes County militia, constructed a fort on Little River. Private William Green also served in Captain Zachariah Phillips' company of Wilkes County militia beginning in May, 1775. In 1835 at aged 81, Green attested, "That in the year 1772 he removed to originally Wilkes County Georgia. That here in the month of May 1775 he was engaged as a volunteer in frequent excursions against the Creeks and Cherokee Indians under Captain Zachariah Phillips -- that he was thus occasionally employed until the month of November 1776 during which time he assisted in building Phillips Fort near Little River in Wilkes County" (Footnote.com 2008 [William Green R4279]). Private Green further stated that following his service at Cupboard Hill [east of Augusta] in mid-1780 that he,

Then marched under his old officers to the frontier on the Oconee River and during this Tour they were stationed for several weeks at Fort Phillips in Wilkes County the first place he ever performed duty as a soldier. The troops here [indecipherable word] Major Lee whom they had found in command of this place, marched up the Country and deponent with the others dividing went down to the Ogeechee frontier In the summer of 1780 -- he removed up to Wilkes County -- his old neighborhood -- with his wife and one infant child -- and here remained for many months -- from a wound received in the thigh from the Tusk of a wild boar -- he was rendered unfit for service for a long time. And in the spring of 1781, he thinks -- he went into Garrison at old Fort Phillips under Captain Phillips -- and occasionally went out on excursions on the frontier. Some time in the spring -- Colonel Clarke arrived at this place with some militia...and [Green] marched down under Colonel Clarke to the Siege of Augusta (Footnote.com 2008 [William Green R4279]).

South Carolina militia from Captain James Pettigrew's company was sent to Georgia in 1777 or 1778 to garrison a military station on the Little River. This may be the same as Phillip's fort, which also was garrisoned for part of the war by South Carolina militia. William Anderson was stationed at Phillip's Fort in Wilkes County, Georgia around 1780 (Footnote.com 2008 [William Anderson W512]). Private Notley Gore (aged 79) probably refers to Phillip's fort on the Little River, as he attested in 1832,

That he enlisted in the Army of the United States in September 1777 or 8 with Captain James Pedigrew and served in the minute Regiment of the South Carolina Georgia line and served under the following named officers -- Notley Gore states he was born June 10, 1753 in the State of Maryland & when quite a babe his parents moved to South Carolina to the District of Camden. Here he was raised and in the year 1777 or 1778 he enlisted under Captain James Pedigrew, Lieutenant John Long & Ensign Drury Campbell -- Samuel Jack was his Colonel. He marched from the District of Camden to the Station on Little River in the State of Georgia where he staid 8 months (Footnote.com 2008 [Notley Gore S31070]).

Davis (1983:164) and Hammett (2008) note that the Phillips family constructed more than one fort in Wilkes County during the American Revolution. The fort built by Captain Zachariah Phillips and his Wilkes County militia company seems to be a substantial fortification. It had a moderate-sized garrison composed of Georgia and South Carolina militia (different units at different phases of the war) and was used for most of the war.

Another possible location of a Phillip's fort is near Williams Creek, a tributary of the Little River, which is in present-day Warren County, Georgia. Neither of the two Phillips' forts has been located archeologically (Davis 1983:164; Davis and Thomas 1975:135).

Potts' Fort

Potts' Fort was a Wilkes County militia fort during the American Revolution. This fort is mentioned by Private Isham Young in 1832. Young noted that he served at the fort for two weeks under command of Captain John Wheat (Footnote.com 2008 [Isham Young S1889]).

Powell's or Childer's Fort

A fort known as Powell's Fort and later known as Childer's Fort was located on a tributary of the Ogeechee River near the headwaters of Little River (Davis 1983:164; Footnote.com 2008 [Alexander Smith S16530]). A Childers Creek is located in present-day McDuffie and Warren counties and the area is predominately wooded. Powells Creek is located in present-day Hancock and Taliaferro counties, although this creek is not located near the headwaters of Little River.

Shannon's Fort

Shannon's Fort was a Patriot fort located on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River opposite Wilkes County. The fort was commanded by Captain Gunnells, a Georgian, in 1781. The fort is mentioned by Elijah Bankston in 1832 (Footnote.com 2008 [Elijah Bankston R478]). It is unclear whether Bankston was referring to Captains Daniel Gunnells or John Gunnells, both of whom commanded companies of Wilkes County militia.

Sherrill's Fort

Sherrill's (Sherral's) Fort was the fortified homestead of William Sherrill. This fort was attacked by Creek and Cherokee Indians in January, 1774 (Brymner 1885:123). An early plat shows a road to Sherrill's Fort (Crumpton 2002; Davis 1983:165). Sherrill's fort was apparently abandoned prior to the American Revolution and it played no role in the battle of Kettle Creek. The ruins of this "house fort" would be an interesting subject for study, particularly because of its place in the sequence in the evolution of Wilkes County forts. Sherrill's Creek is located in present-day Taliaferro County, Georgia.

Hovington's Fort/Stewart's Fort

At least three veterans mentioned serving at Stewart's or Stewart's Fort in Wilkes County in the American Revolution. John Bynum identifies this fort as first built by Captain Hovington (or Howington) and known by his name and later as Fort Stewart. Colonel John Stewart was appointed to command one of two minute men battalions that were authorized for two years of service by the Georgia House of Assembly on June 3,

1777. Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clark was second in command of Stewart's 1st Battalion. The 2nd Battalion was commanded by Colonel Samuel Jack. These two battalions were supported by two light horse companies. Stewart's 1st Battalion, consisting of about 200 soldiers, participated in a campaign against East Florida in May and June, 1778 (Candler and Knight 1908). Colonel Stewart's fort was located on the Broad River approximately 12 miles above the confluence with the Savannah River and two miles east of Nail's Fort (Footnote.com 2008 [Thomas Connell R2224; Malachi Culpepper R2566; John Bynum S3111; Alexander Smith S16530]; Davis 1983:162).

Private William Lewis Queen, Sr., who was a soldier in Colonel Stewart's (and later Clarke's) regiment, attested that in 1824 he

entered & served under Capt. James Buoy on Ogache [Ogeechee] above Savanah under Colonel Stewart, in the Georgia Regulars on Continental establishment in the Army of the Revolution, in the year 1777 or thereabouts, that he served the first year under Captain John Stewart Junior, the next under Captain John Pooly [Dooly], then under Captain James McFarland, That General Elijah Clark was his commander (Footnote.com 2008; William Lewis Queen, Sr. S9462).

Private Queen further attested in 1832,

The first tour of my service was in the troops called Georgia rangers. I cannot recollect precisely the year in which I entered this service but think it about the year 1774. I served in this tour something like one year, was a volunteer and was a resident of Wilkes county in the State of Georgia. Elijah Clarke was our Colonel. James Smith was Major and George Duly Captain. I was in some skirmishes but no battles in this tour. We were frequently driven into South Carolina. There were no regiments of Militia regulars with us in this tour. We ranged from one fort to another on the line of forts which surrounded the frontier (Footnote.com 2008 [William Lewis Queen, Sr. S9462]).

Wells' Fort

Wells' Fort was located on the Ogeechee River in Wilkes County. It was visited by Samuel Elbert in 1777 and destroyed by Native Americans in 1779. Davis notes that Wells' Fort and Drury Roger's Fort may refer to the same place (Davis 1983:165; Davis and Thomas 1975:135; Footnote.com 2008 [Mordecai Chandler R1848; Samuel Jordan W8224]). Drury Roger's Fort was located on Poplar (or Camp) Creek, a tributary of the Ogeechee River. This fort was destroyed by Loyalist Indians commanded by David Taitt in 1779 (Davis 1983:165; Footnote.com 2008 [James Swords S32002]).

Williamson's Fort

Captain Micajah Williamson was commandant of a militia fort on the Broad River in Wilkes County. Captain Alexander Autry also commanded at Williamson's Fort late in the war. Williamson's Fort was mentioned by Elijah Bankston in 1832. Thomas Bankston, who also served under Captain Alexander Autry's command in 1780, filed a pension application in referring to this place as "fort Washington". Thomas Bankston's brother Abner testified in 1834 that Thomas had served at Fort Washington for six months. This fort also may have been known as Broad River Station. Private William Anderson stated in his pension application that he served at the Broad River station under Captain Autry, probably around 1780 (Footnote.com 2008 [Elijah Bankston R478; Thomas Bankston R477; William Anderson W512]).

Wrightsborough

Wrightsborough was a large Quaker settlement located south of the Kettle Creek battlefield. The town was formed late in the colonial period (around 1770) and many of its residents were loyal to King George III. A road leading to Wrightsborough crossed Kettle Creek in the battlefield vicinity. The archeological remains of Wrightsborough are located in present-day McDuffie County, Georgia (Baker 1965; Davis 1986; Moore 1997). Wrightsborough played an important role in the story of the Kettle Creek battle because the British and Loyalists used it as a base of operation. Colonel Boyd stopped at Wrightsborough in late January, 1779 on his way to form his new regiment in the Carolinas. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, who was besieged at Carr's Fort on February 10, retreated to Wrightsborough after Colonel Pickens' siege was lifted. Hamilton returned to Augusta and would later lead the North Carolina regiment that was formed from the remnants of Boyd's tattered force.

The rock dwelling of Thomas Ansley more commonly known as the Rock House, was a fortified dwelling in the Wrightsborough community. Some sources place the age of the rock building at ca. 1758, while conflicting sources state that it was not constructed until after the American Revolution (ca. 1785) (Baker 1965; Georgia Historical Commission 1990; The New Georgia Encyclopedia 2008). One fact is known, that Wrightsborough was fortified in some fashion but the location and configuration of such fort is presently unknown.

McGirth's Little River Camp

Two prominent 19th century historians noted that, in the days prior to the battle, Colonel Daniel McGirth was camped on Little River, only a few miles south of Kettle Creek (Stevens 1847, Volume 2:190-192; Jones 2001). There McGirth and his Loyalist militia troops waited to unite with Colonel Boyd's forces and march to Augusta to join with Colonel Archibald Campbell and the British forces. Had this union been successful, the combined army of British and Loyalist militia likely would have been unstoppable and Georgia's interior would have been conquered for the duration of the war. McGirth's Camp was a temporary encampment that was probably only used for a few days. It has not been located archeologically. This camp was one of the destinations of Colonel Boyd's force. Had their forces united prior to the battle of February 14, the outcome of the struggle for control of the Georgia back country may have been completely different, which in turn could have affected the outcome of the American Revolution. McGirth's camp, if it can be located archeologically, would offer a glimpse of a brief event in the American Revolution in Georgia. At present, however, there are few clues available for an easy discovery.

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND KETTLE CREEK

The entire Kettle Creek watershed was located within the "Ceded Lands" of Georgia. This portion of the State was acquired by a cession of Creek and Cherokee nations, held in Augusta in 1773. Shortly after these talks were completed a survey team was dispatched to the region and a map was prepared (Yonge 1773). From 1773 to 1775 the British government may have issued land grants in the newly ceded section that included Kettle Creek, but none of these were located. Colonial documents for the Ceded Lands included several north of Little River. What is apparent from a review of these documents is that many settlements and improvements already existed in the area, prior to the 1773 land cession. A few documents have survived that refer to Kettle Creek lands in 1773 (Davidson 1933, Volume 1).

McCall (2004, Volume I:11) observed that many of those people who received bounty land grants in the former "Ceded Lands" following the war had served under Colonel Clarke's command in the Wilkes County militia. Therefore, the early land records in this area are another clue of possible participants in the battle of Kettle Creek. For this reason, this research team compiled readily available land records in the Kettle Creek vicinity and abstracts of these land transactions are presented in the following narrative.

Grace Davidson transcribed and published a vast number of Wilkes County land records and other court records (Davidson 1933). Davis and Thomas (1975, Appendix D:142-150) presented a thorough history of the chain of ownership of property in the vicinity of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Their evidence merged both land plat information and recorded deeds and other legal documents. More recently Phil McGinty (2007) has scanned dozens of early plats in Wilkes County and has created two composite maps showing their relative locations in the Kettle Creek and Little River vicinities. One of McGinty's maps, which include the Kettle Creek study area, is reproduced in Figure 19. The efforts by Davidson, Davis, Thomas, and McGinty were extensive and their results need not be repeated in this volume. A few key aspects of the land ownership are discussed.

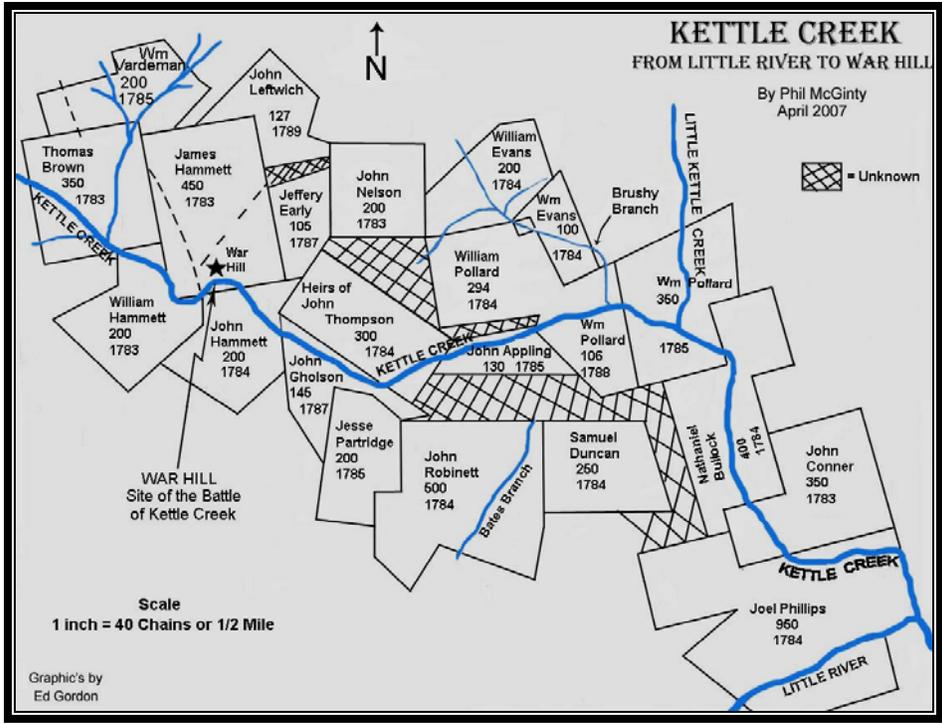


Figure 19. Reconstruction of Early Plats in the Kettle Creek Vicinity (McGinty 2007).

Figure 20 shows the 1783 plat of land granted to James Hammett, which probably contained most of the Kettle Creek battlefield (McGinty 2008). Notable features on this plat include two roads that fork within the land tract, as well as the distinctive “dog-leg” bend in Kettle Creek, which (although channelized) remains a recognizable landscape feature today. The right fork probably led towards Robert Carr’s fort on Beaverdam Creek, while the left fork headed in the direction of one of the Heard’s fort. The road to the south led toward Wrightsborough by way of Philips’ Fort on the Little River. The latter was also known as the Old Quaker Springs Road by the late 19th century.

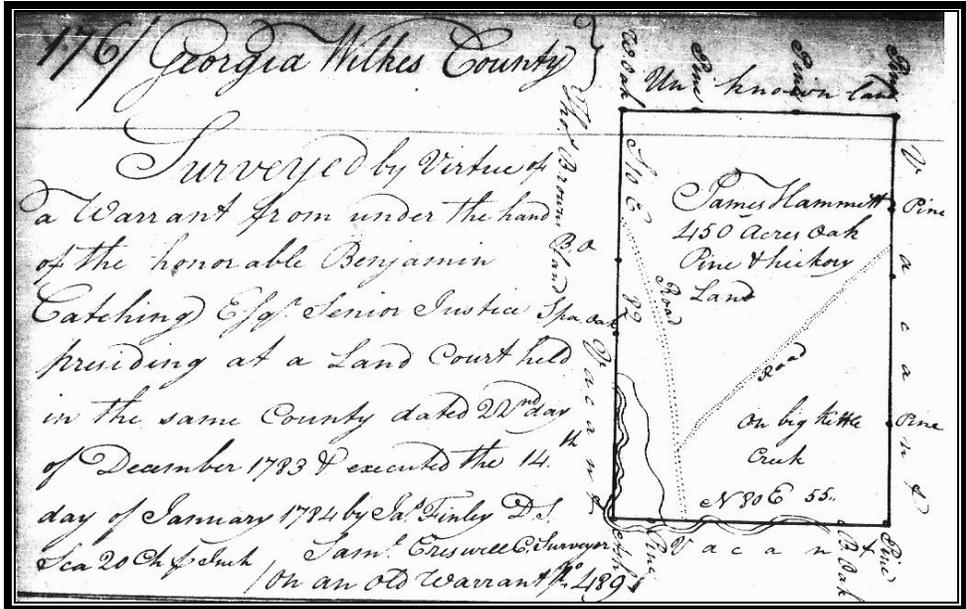


Figure 20. Plat of 450 Acres Granted to James Hammett in 1783 (McGinty 2007).

Joseph White, a North Carolinian with a wife, five sons and five daughters (ranging in age from 19 to 4 years) applied for 650 acres on Kettle Creek, south fork, about five miles from the mouth. His petition was recorded on December 7, 1773 at Wrightsborough (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:22). No post-Revolutionary War land records were discovered that link Joseph White to the Kettle Creek vicinity. Joseph White's petition is one of the few Colonial era land documents that mention Kettle Creek. Others probably applied to the land commissioners for property in the Ceded Lands, but did not receive a clear title to the property until after 1783, are discussed in the following narrative. Wilkes County was created by the Georgia Patriot government on February 5, 1777. Land records during the war years for Wilkes County have not been located and it is likely that few were issued during that time period.

The Hammetts

Most of the Kettle Creek battlefield is probably contained on 450 acres of land granted to James Hammett. A 450 acre plat surveyed for James Hammett was found (Wilkes County Plat Book G:176). The warrant for the survey was issued on December 22, 1783 by Benjamin Catching, Senior Justice, presiding at a Land Court held in Wilkes County. The survey was executed on January 14, 1784 by surveyors James Finley and Samuel Creswell. The rectangular plat is bounded by vacant lands on the east, unknown ownership on the north, Thomas Brown and vacant lands on the west and vacant on the south. Kettle Creek forms the property line on the southwest and south. A road is shown crossing Kettle Creek and entering the plat from the south. Soon after, the road forks and the eastern fork of the road is thought to have led to Karr's Fort. This plat was the site of the Battle of Kettle Creek. Patriot forces coming from Karr's Fort discovered the British near what is now known as War Hill, located just south of the fork in the road. A skirmish ensued and the British, once their commanding officer was killed, were driven back to the south, down the road and across Kettle Creek (McGinty 2008a-b).

James Hammett, John Golson and Jeffrey Early deeded 63 acres on Kettle Creek (adjacent to said Hammett and Golson, and Micajah Bennett, to William Leveritt) on October 13, 1789. On March 11, 1802 James Hammett was guardian of James Hammett and James' estate (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1801-1812:20; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:164; Volume 2:87). Wilkes County Deed Book GG:136).

Other members of the Hammett family settled near James Hammett on Kettle Creek. A 200 acre plat surveyed for John Hammett was found in Wilkes County Plat Book B:98. The warrant for the survey, dated January 7, 1784, was issued by Absalom Bedell, Senior Justice, presiding at a Land Court held in Wilkes County. The survey was completed on January 19, 1784 by James Finley. The survey tract is bounded on the east by John Thompson, on the north by James Hammett, on the northwest by William Hammett, on the southwest by vacant land, and on the southeast by unknown ownership. Kettle Creek loops through the north side of the survey tract. The Battle of Kettle Creek concluded on this tract as the British fled down the road across Kettle Creek toward Wrightsborough. John Hammett sold 200 acres adjoining William Hammett, James Hammett and John Thompson to Jeffrey Early on October 23, 1785 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:153; McGinty 2008a-b).

William Hammett, a South Carolinian with a wife and one daughter, applied for 200 acres on the first branch of Beaver Dam Creek, including his own improvements on January 13, 1774 (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:24). This indicates that he was living in the Ceded Lands prior to that date, although he was not placed specifically (from the documents) on Kettle Creek. William Hammett fought with the Wilkes County militia at Kettle Creek, where he was wounded (Davis and Thomas 1975:81-82). A 200 acre plat surveyed for William Hammett is found in Plat Book B: 98. The warrant for the survey, dated December 1, 1783, was issued at a Land Court held in Wilkes County. The survey was executed on January 15, 1784 by James Finley, Deputy Surveyor. The plat is bounded by James Hammett on the northeast, Thomas Brown on the north, Owen Fluker on the northwest, Joseph White on the southwest, and vacant lands on the southeast. William Hammett and his wife, Martha conveyed to Charles Cargile, 200 acres on the branches of Kettle and Long creeks, originally granted in 1785 to Jacob Early, recorded May 14, 1790 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG: 491; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:89).

As were many of their neighbors along Kettle Creek, the Hammetts were slave owners. Enslaved African-Americans belonging to William Hammett were offered for purchase at a Sheriff's Sale in Wilkes County in August, 1794 (Genealogybank.com 2008; *Southern Centinel* 1794:4). The advertisement in the *Augusta, Georgia*, newspaper offered for sale, "the following Negroes, to wit, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses; taken under sundry executions as the property of William Hammett, Esq." This notice provides the given names for three African-Americans who may have lived in the general vicinity of the Kettle Creek battlefield in the mid-1790s.

Some of the Hammetts moved westward as the Georgia frontier expanded. William Hammett and family followed this pattern. An August 15, 1810 advertisement for a Sheriff's Sale in Randolph County, Georgia listed 20,000 lbs of deer skins "levied on as the property of William Hammett, to satisfy an execution in favor of James Dick, & Co. and pointed out by the defendant" (*Georgia Journal* 1810:4) (Figure 21).

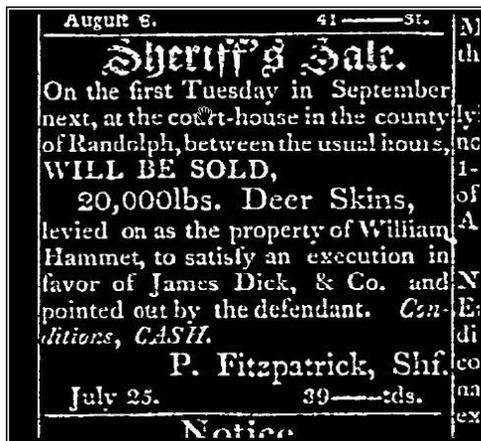


Figure 21. Advertisement for Sale of William Hammett's Property (*Georgia Journal* 1810:4).

The McNabbs

Robert McNabb settled on Kettle Creek where he established a blockhouse by 1778. McNabb served in Captain Robert Carr's company of Wilkes County militia from September 15 to October 15, 1778 (Hammett 2008:91). McNabb's Fort was attacked by hostile Indians as many as four times in its history. Davis stated that in November, 1778 McNabb's blockhouse was attacked by hostile Indians and destroyed. McNabb and his family

survived that attack. Robert McNabb was killed in January, 1782, as Robert Davis noted:

From a careful reading of volumes one and two of the 'Indian Depredations' transcripts it appears that Robert McNabb's home/fort on Kettle Creek was destroyed by Indians in 1778 while his family and neighbors were 'forted up' at Carr's fort on Beaverdam Creek. Robert Carr's fort was attacked by an Indian party of eleven warriors in 1779. Carr was killed but his family escaped into the night, leaving their property to be destroyed by the Indians. The community seems to have fortified up at McNabb's in 1781 (maybe because Carr's fort was not rebuilt?) when it was again destroyed by Indians. On January 3, 1782, while most of the community was again fortified up at McNabb's fort (Robert Davis personal communication February 27, 2008).

Robert McNabb's widow was issued certificates for bounty land in Franklin and Wilkes counties by Colonel Elijah Clarke on February 2, 1784. On February 20, 1784 Mary McNabb, was appointed Administratrix of Robert McNabb's estate in Wilkes County. In 1785 Mary McNabb was a resident of Captain Hagan's militia district in Wilkes County, where she owned 350 acres of land. Her property in 1785 was bounded by property of William Seals Muse and his wife Judith Seals Muse (the Muse's 200 acres was conveyed to Laurence Bankston on November 2, 1785). A December 5, 1791 deed identified "McNabb orphans" as a neighboring landowner on Kettle Creek. A December 28, 1795 deed, however, conveyed 200 acres, "agreeable to the original grant on Kettle Creek, adj. N. by McNabb, NW by Nicholas Subtrine, W. by Mrs. Riddle, SE by McNabb."

The 1795 deed from Mary McNabb, widow, and Henry McNabb, her son, to George Darden indicates that Henry McNabb was Mary McNabb's son. The date of Mary McNabb's death is not recorded, although by deed records indicate she was living as late as May 15, 1800.

Henry McNabb, the son of Robert McNabb, conveyed 64 acres of land, "adj. John Chaney, the creek" to John Chaney on April 23, 1798. On September 24, 1804, Mathew Lyle, Henry McNabb and Betsey McNabb conveyed 150 acres on Kettle Creek, "granted to the heirs of Robert McNabb, 25 June 1784" to Nicholas Stephens [Shubtrine]. Henry McNabb continued to reside in Wilkes County from 1801 through 1809 but by 1817, he had moved to Morgan County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2008).

The Williamses

Rowland Williams was an original settler in Wilkes County and he owned property along Kettle Creek. Information provided by one of his descendants, Leward L. Dunn, supplemented other land record abstracts by Davidson (Leward L. Dunn personal communication February 15, 2008; Davidson 1933).

In 1784 Rowland Williams received a warrant for 200 acres, "on the Waters of Kettle Creek, adjoining Land of the Widow Carr, on his own Head Right" (Land Court Minutes Wilkes County:27). The 1785 and 1786 Wilkes County Tax Returns list Rowland Williams living "near Kettle creek waterway, South of Rayle & East of Philomath." Tax lists show that Rowland owned 200 acres of 2nd grade land, 300 acres of 3rd grade land, and eight slaves. The 1787 tax return lists him as owner of 350 acres of 3rd grade land. In 1788 John Graham and Leannah his wife sold Rowland Williams a tract of land on Kettle Creek containing "350 Acres as per plat of a grant to Leannah Karr now Leannah Graham, wife of John Graham granted March 20, 1786" (Wilkes County Deed Book EE:16). The 1790-1793, 1795, 1797, and 1800-1805 Wilkes County, Georgia Tax Returns list Rowland Williams living, "near Kettle creek waterway, South of Rayle & East of Philomath." The tax records show that he owned a maximum of 11 slaves during this period (Williams 2008:1-22). Williams' property included, "Land adjoins John Horn & William Hammitt at Kettle & Beaverdam Creeks". Rowland Williams, Sr. died about April, 1817.

On October 24, 1822, Rowland Williams, Jr. sold 142 ½ acres to James Rutledge for \$525.00, which included "all that tract or parcel of land situated in and being in the county and state aforesaid on the waters of Kettle Creek whereon the said Rowland Williams now lives, containing one hundred and forty two acres and a half it being part of the tract or parcel of land originally granted to Leannah Carr." This tract was described as "Beginning at a stake at the branch in Mathews line thence up the branch the various meanders thereof to a stake on Alexanders line thence south 35 W 18 to a pine tree thence south 37 east 51 to a pine thence north 53 east 39 to the beginning corner."

Leward Dunn claimed that he had seen an early legal document pertaining to Rowland Williams that included reference to a "Tory Cemetery." Dunn's assertion created a search for this alleged document, but no supporting document was located. As part of this search, Robert S. Davis, Jr. reexamined the loose headright and bounty land grant file for Leanna Carr at the Georgia Archives. Davis noted,

It contained a warrant for survey for 350 acres on Kettle Creek in lieu of old warrant of 'Robt. Carr deceased' November 3, 1783. Also, the file includes a warrant for survey for her for 200 acres in Wilkes County on waters of Beaverdam Creek of Little River, February 6, 1784. Oddly enough the second warrant is likely the land that was the 1778 site of Robert Carr's fort by all accounts.

In state plat book A (1779-1785), microfilm roll 51/18, p. 178, I found the survey for Leanna's 350 acres that includes three branches of a creek coming together where the land adjoins Seymour Cathings on the south side. December 19, 1783.

I have the deed where John Graham and Leannah his wife (land granted to her as Leannah Kerr) sold 350 acres on Kettle Creek to Roland Williams, January 2, 1789. Wilkes County Deed Book EE (1788-1790), pp. 67-68. It gives no neighbors, boundaries, or other description but refers to Leanna's grant.

In Wilkes County Deed Book MM, pp. 69-70, there is a deed from John and Mary Crouch sell 200 acres on Kettle Creek that adjoins William Hammett, Rowland Williams, Martin, & Billingslea. It was granted to Crouch on May 25, 1785. [Davis did not look up this deed].

In the same state plat book A (see above), p. 283, I found the plat for John Crouch, June 25, 1784. It is an odd shaped broken pyramid on the waters of the Reedy Fork of Kettle Creek. It adjoins 'Peter Strotherd' [Peter Strozier] on the southeast.

I tried to find where Roland Williams sold the land but [he did not]...I did find in Wilkes County Deed Book HHH (1823-1825), pp. 308-9, where he sold part of the grant of Leanna Carr (142 1/2 acres where he lived) to James Rutledge of Oglethorpe County. It adjoins Mathews line and Alexander's line.

There is also a deed from William Brown to Obediah Slaton, December 2, 1805, that is ninety acres on Kettle Creek adjoining the said Brown on the NW and NE; McNight and Roland Williams on the SE. I did not get a copy of this deed and I need to recheck the deed index for the sale of the rest of the land.

My best guess is that if Crouch's grant adjoined William Hammett and Leanna Carr's grant adjoined his, these lands must all be west of War Hill and well clear of the battlefield. These lands would also not be anywhere near Robert Carr's Fort on Beaverdam Creek (Robert S. Davis, Jr. personal communication, February 18, 2008).

The present researchers were unable to verify Dunn's claim of a documented "tory cemetery" on land in the Kettle Creek area. Our search was not exhaustive, however. If the cemetery does exist, it was not likely located in the present study area.

The Evans

William Evans, Sr. (1746-1806) is another early settler who is associated with the Kettle Creek battlefield property (Davis and Thomas 1975:142). He served as a Lieutenant in the Georgia militia under Colonel Clarke and received a certificate of service in 1785 (Knight 1920). Evans received two grants in the Kettle Creek vicinity. He received 200 acres on September 7, 1784 and 100 acres on December 25, 1784 (Wilkes County Plat Book H:40). The 200 acre plat of William Evans is bounded on the east by John Bohannon, on the northeast and north by William Shropshire, on the northwest by John Nelson, on the southwest by Zachariah Glass, and on the south by vacant land. The plat is bisected by a branch of Kettle Creek. The 100 acre plat of William Evans is bounded on the east by William Pollard, on the northwest by William Pollard, and on the southwest and south by Zachariah Glass. Apparently this land was sold to John Ray in 1786. On September 1, 1786, John Ray and his wife Mary sold 260 acres on Kettle Creek to Walton Harris. This was described as two adjoining tracts purchased from William Evans in 1785 and 1786 (Wilkes County Deed Book AA 1785-1787:163). Both of William Evans' tracts were located approximately one mile east of the Hammett lands on Brushy Branch, a tributary of Kettle Creek (McGinty 2008a). On April 16, 1785, William Evans and his wife Tabitha deeded 200 acres on Kettle Creek to John Ray. It was property originally granted in 1785 to Evans (Wilkes County, Loose Deeds 1784-1785:50; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:237)

John Ray and his wife, Mary conveyed 260 acres on Kettle Creek, being two adjacent tracts, originally granted in 1785 to William Evans and conveyed to said John Ray by deeds dated 1785 and 1786, and then conveyed to Walton Harris on Sept. 1, 1786 (Wilkes County Deed Book AA, 1785-1787:163; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:250). Walton Harris conveyed 260 acres on Kettle creek, "formerly the property of and granted to William Evans, now in possession of said Walton Harris" to Richard Moore on June 19, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:62). According to Wilkes County tax records, by 1801 William Evans was living on land granted to James Hammett on Kettle Creek. William Evans, Sr. died in testate in 1806 and his estate was inventoried in 1806 and sold by January 16, 1807 (Davis and Thomas 1975:142). The Petition of Stephen and William Evans, Administrators of William Evans, to sell 340 acres on Kettle creek was recorded in Wilkes County in 1808 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1798-1811:351; 1807-1809:82; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:151, 179). The real estate of William Evans, Sr. was sold on January 2, 1809 to his two sons, William Evans, Jr., and Stephen Evans. William Evans, Jr. received the 345 acres that was originally granted to James Hammett (and containing War Hill) (Davis and Thomas 1975:143). William Evans, Jr. died in 1822 and his will was probated November 4, 1822. His real estate was left to his wife Elizabeth for her lifetime and a final division was not to take place until the youngest child was of age, or his wife died or remarried. In 1829, the property was advertised for sale and subsequently purchased by members of the Evans family.

On August 7, 1810 Arden Evans, Administrator of David Evans, deceased, filed a petition in Wilkes County to sell real estate on Kettle Creek (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1798-1811:435; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:155). The exact location of this property was not determined.

The portion of the property owned by William Evans, Jr., including War Hill, was purchased by his son-in-law, Chenoth Peteet, who married to Martha Evans. He purchased 630 acres, which probably included War Hill. By 1839 Peteet owned 1,728 acres on Kettle Creek and other lands in Wilkes County (Davis and Thomas 1975:144). Peteet was involved in several lawsuits over debts, which led to the seizure of his property and its public auction. On February 2, 1840, Sheriff Edward R. Anderson sold 3,970 acres of Peteet's property to James M. Smythe. Smythe sold the same land to William Slaton in March, 1841. The Peteet lands abutted William Slaton's property. According to his descendants, William Slaton owned 12,000 acres. Slaton died in 1869 and his real estate was divided among his children. In 1871, William Slaton's son, Henry Thomas Slaton (1834-1918), received 3,185 acres, including the War Hill property (Davis and Thomas 1975:145).

Henry Thomas Slaton was unmarried and had no heirs. Before his death, Slaton sold 4,462 acres of his land holdings to Mr. A.L. Richardson. Richardson had the land resurveyed, although the plat by W.G. Tatum, dated December 28, 1899, has not been located. Two small lots, consisting of 12.5 acres, were sold on January 9, 1900 to the Wilkes County Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) for \$75.00. The U.S. Congress, House of Representatives passed a resolution (H.R. 25243) and accepted a report on establishing a monument to commemorate the battle of Kettle Creek in 1910 (U.S. Congress, House of Representatives 1910:1257-1258). On July 29, 1929 the D.A.R. granted the U.S. War Department an easement in perpetuity to their property, which was legally required for the War Department to erect the monument that had been authorized by Congress in 1929. The "metes and bounds" of the monument site were surveyed by the Quartermaster General in 1938. On December 12, 1960 the monument property was transferred from the D.A.R. to the Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues of Wilkes County, Georgia, and this tract is currently owned by the Commissioners of Wilkes County (Davis and Thomas 1975:145). The current owners of the property surrounding the monument tract are discussed in a following section.

Other Early Landowners on Kettle Creek

Many other families lived in the Kettle Creek watershed in the late 18th and early to mid-19th centuries. Some information is presented in the following section on these people. It is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the subject. It does, however, provide a better understanding of the vibrant nature of early frontier and plantation-era settlements in the Kettle Creek area. Furthermore, many of the people or their surnames will ring familiar, since many of them had been earlier participants in the battle of Kettle Creek or had served in the Wilkes County militia in the American Revolution. These property owners are presented in alphabetical order.

The Petition of William Arnold, Executor of Joshua Arnold, deceased, was recorded by Wilkes County to sell 360 acres on Kettle Creek on November 3, 1823 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1817-1824:115; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:205). The location of the Arnold property on Kettle Creek was not determined.

Alexander Autry was living in the Ceded Lands by November 9, 1773, when he is mentioned in request for a land voucher by Ellis Hayns, a resident of the Fishing Creek vicinity (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:15). Alexander Autry was issued a warrant for survey for 200 acres on the northeast side of Kettle Creek in 1783. That tract was slightly more than one mile upstream from the Kettle Creek battlefield (McGinty 2008b). Alex Autry and his wife, Elizabeth conveyed to Jas. Roan, 400 acres on Kettle Creek as described in a grant from the Governor in 1790. This deed was recorded on Apr. 26, 1791 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:450; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:71). Captain Alexander Autry served in the Georgia militia for Wilkes County and fought at Kettle Creek. His brother, Captain John E. Autry also served in the Wilkes County militia, and was scalped and killed by Indians in 1788 (Knight 1920; ancestry.com 2008).

Reuben Bennett conveyed to 225 acres on Kettle Creek to Mark Snow on Nov. 9, 1789 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:166; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:73). Reuben Bennett deeded 200 acres on Kettle Creek, originally granted in 1785 to said Reuben Bennett, to Meredith Catching on June 10, 1786. Meredith Catchings conveyed the same property to Richard Madden on June 9, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:159-160). The exact location of the Bennett and Snow property was not determined, although the location of some of the Catching lands is known (McGinty 2008b).

Jeremiah Boggess and wife Hannah deeded 10 acres on Kettle Creek that was part of a former grant to Daniel Ramsort, but since granted to said Boggess, to Daniel Ramsort on Oct. 20, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:143). The precise location of these 10 acres was not determined.

Several members of the Brown family settled on Kettle Creek. John Brown and wife, Dolly conveyed to Richard Sappington 99 acres on Kettle Creek adjacent to John Weaver and Howell Jarrett, originally granted in 1788 to said John Brown, dated Nov. 4, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:25; 71-72).

Thomas Brown, a South Carolinian with a wife, two sons and two daughters (ranging in age from 7 years to 3 months old) was granted 350 acres on Kettle Creek six miles from Little River, including his camp. That was issued at Wrightsborough on December 7, 1773 (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:20). Thomas Brown received a plat for 350 acres on the north side of Kettle Creek, immediately west of James Hammett's property, in 1783 and a grant for the same on February 13, 1784 (Wilkes County, Plat Book A:86; Wilkes County Deed Book BB, 1787-1789:41; McGinty 2008a, 2008b). The survey tract was surrounded by vacant lands on all sides when it was surveyed on January 13, 1784. Kettle Creek runs through the lot from northwest to southeast. Thomas Brown and his wife, Betty sold 350 acres on Kettle Creek to James Gresham on March 17, 1790. William Brown conveyed 62 acres on Kettle Creek, which was "part of a tract where Brown now lives, adj. N.W. by said Brown, S.E. by Roland Williams, S.E. by McNight, N.E. by said Brown" to Obediah Slaton on October 6, 1804.

John Buchanan and his wife, Ann, deeded 400 acres on Kettle Creek, originally granted in 1785 to John Buchanan, to Fadda Jarrot on June 2, 1786 (Wilkes County, Loose Deeds 1784-1785:70; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:237). The exact location of the Buchanan and Jarrot property was not determined. John Buchanan, possibly the same person, had served in the South Carolina militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek.

Nathaniel Bullock received a grant for 400 acre, which was surveyed on March 14, 1784 (Wilkes County, Plat Book B:24). The survey is bounded on the east by John Conner, vacant and James Dorroughs; on the north by vacant and William Pollard; on the west by Hodges; and on the south by Joel Phillips and John Conner. The plat is bisected by Kettle Creek. Nathaniel and his wife Mary sold 400 acres on Kettle Creek to Alexander Gordon on August 21, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book DD, 1788-1789: 97).

Aquilla Burroughs and Joseph Henderson, Sr., Executrix and Executor of William Lea, deceased, had applied for leave to sell 150 acres on Kettle creek, Joseph Henderson, as surviving Executor, was granted permission by Wilkes County in 1809 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1807-1809:145; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:180). The location of the Lea property on Kettle Creek was not determined.

The Petition of Francis W. Butler, Administrator of David Butler, deceased, to sell 206 acres on Beaverdam and Kettle creeks was recorded in Wilkes County in 1824 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1824-1827:28; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:210). The location of the Butler property on Kettle Creek was not determined.

On May 17 1790, Seymore Catchings and Rachel, his wife, of Wilkes County, deeded 200 acres on Kettle Creek to William Hammett, of Wilkes County., for L200. This property had been granted to Catchings on January 12, 1784. The deed was proved on Aug 1, 1787 and registered on June 15, 1790 (Wilkes County Deed Book HH:57; Farmer 1996:200). Two members of the Catchings (Cathing) family, Major Benjamin Catchings and Joseph Catchings had served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle at Kettle Creek (Standard 1973:47-49; Knight 1920). Meredith Catching was issued a plat for 100 acres on the Dry Fork of Kettle Creek in 1783 (McGinty 2008b). That tract was located immediately adjacent and northwest of a 200 acre plat that was issued to Joseph Catching in 1784. Both of these tracts are more than one mile upstream from the Kettle Creek battlefield. Meredith Catching deeded 150 acres on Kettle Creek, which was part of an original grant of 400 acres to Meredith Cathing, to Joseph Catching on July 3, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:101). Meredith Catching was issued a land warrant for military service in 1784 (Knight 1920). On December 5, 1791, Merideth Cathing and Annis Station his wife, conveyed to James Stringer 250 acres of land on Kettle Creek, "adj. NW by John Lindsay, W. by John Hudleston, S. by Peter Strozer, E. by McNabb orphans."

John Cole, Jr., deeded 450 acres on Kettle Creek, adjoining property of John Leftwich, to Reuben Bennett on Sept. 19, 1789 (Wilkes County Deed Book BB, 1787-1789:35; Davidson 1933, Volume 1: 253). Although the precise location of this property was not determined, it may have been located north of Leftwich's tract and probably more than one mile from the Kettle Creek battlefield.

John Conner was granted 350 acres on Kettle Creek, several miles downstream (southeast) of the Hammett property and the battlefield. Conner's survey was completed on November 10, 1783 (Wilkes County Plat

Book G: 98). The land had been previously warranted, Old Warrant No. 264. The grant was issued to John Conner on January 3, 1785 and it was registered on January 11, 1785 (Georgia Grant Book FFF:296). This plat continues along the course of Kettle Creek above Joel Phillips' property. The plat is surrounded by the following neighbors: Daniel Conner on the east, Joel Phillips on the south, McMurray and Peter Strozier on the west, and vacant land to the north. John Conner was probably a relative of Daniel Conner, who served in the Wilkes County militia.

Samuel Creswell deeded 800 acres on Long and Kettle Creeks to Buckner Harris on Dec. 7, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book DD, 1788-1789:112). The location of these Kettle Creek lands was not determined.

On May 12, 1800 Elizabeth McNabb and Sarah McNabb conveyed 200 acres to George Darden, "agreeable to original grant in Wilkes Co on Kettle Creek waters, adj. NW by McNabb, NW by Nicholas Subtrine, James Wilson, SE by McNabb."

The Will of Thomas Darracott, dated September 4, 1792 and probated December 19, 1793, left to his son William. "...200 acres on Kettle creek formerly belonging to Daniel Terondet, Esqr., and slaves Leah and Matt..." (Wilkes County Record of Wills 1790-1801:71; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:55). No deeds or grants were found for Daniel Terondet by the present research. The Will of Daniel Terondet is recorded in Wilkes County, dated April 21, 1795 and probated July 8, 1795, but it makes no mention of any real estate (Wilkes County Record of Wills 1790-1801:149; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:55). Apparently, by the time of his death in 1795 Daniel Terondet no longer owned property on Kettle Creek. The location of the Terondet and Darracott lands on Kettle Creek has not been determined.

Samuel Duncan received a plat for 250 acres on February 9, 1785 (Wilkes County Plat Book G:135). The survey tract was bounded by Nathaniel Bullock on the east, William Pollard on the north, and John Robinett on the west and vacant on the south. Samuel and his wife Mary sold 200 acres on March 1, 1787 to William Elder. The lot is described as being on Kettle Creek and adjoining Nathaniel Bullock and William Pollard (Wilkes County Deed Book CC: 59).

Jacob Early and his wife, Elizabeth deeded 820 acres on Kettle Creek, originally granted in 1785 to Jacob Early, to William Hammett on April 26, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:30). Jacob Early conveyed to Jeffrey Early for £5, 100 acres on Kettle creek adjacent to Jeffrey Early on June 10, 1790 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:426; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:81). The Will of Jacob Earley, which was signed on January 16, 1793 and probated February 7, 1793, left, "To wife Elizabeth for life, five slaves, Peter, Agg, Jude, George and Aaron, tract of land where we live, her household goods, etc. To dau. Ann Harris, slaves Glasgow and Sall. To dau. Sarah Early slaves Annacy and Chas. To dau. Elizabeth Early slaves Dick, Jinny, Doll, Pat, Selah and Jim. To dau. Mary slaves Will, Nanny, Pheby, Moses, Randal and old Sarah. To dau. Ailcy slaves Cupit, Philip, Melinda, Peter, Hanna and Aron" (Wilkes County Record of Wills 1790-1802:86; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:55-56).

Jeffery Early received a plat for 105 acres, immediately east of James Hammett's lands north of Kettle Creek on August 25, 1787 (Wilkes County Plat Book Q:82; McGinty 2008a). The 105 acres is bounded on the east by the heirs of John Thompson, on the north by John Leftwich, on the west by James Hammett and on the south by Gholson. On March 9, 1788, Jeffery Earley and his wife Sarah sold 25 acres on Kettle Creek to John Gholson (Wilkes County Deed Book EE:120). On May 5, 1791 Jeffery Early conveyed to Joseph Crockett, 250 acres on Kettle creek, beginning at Samuel Crockett's corner (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:481; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:81).

The Petition of John Favor, Administrator of Richard Mattox, deceased, to sell 200 acres on Kettle creek was recorded in Wilkes County in 1823 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1817-1824:75; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:201). The location of the Mattox property on Kettle Creek was not determined. John Favor [also spelled Faver/LeFevre] had served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek and may have been associated with this property (Davis and Thomas 1975:81-82). John Faver moved from Georgia to Limestone County, Alabama, where he died in 1846 (Carroll 1990).

William Fitzjarrill and his wife, Elizabeth deeded 200 acres on Kettle Creek to Vines Collier on September 3, 1785 (Wilkes County, Loose Deeds 1784-1785:55; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:237). That land was originally granted in 1785 to William Fitzjarrill.

Owen Fluker was issued a plat for 800 acres, mostly on the south side of Kettle Creek, in 1784. His property was situated less than one mile east of War Hill (McGinty 2008a). Fluker had served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek (Davis and Thomas 1975:81-82).

On November 3, 1789, John Gholson conveyed to Sheppard Foster 200 acres on Kettle Creek, adjacent to said Gholson, the widow Thompson, and Kimme Foster (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:129; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:83-84) Gholson received a plat for 145 acres on July 7, 1787 (Wilkes County Plat Book B:279). The 145 acre plat is bounded by the heirs of John Thompson on the northeast, John Gholson on the northwest and southwest, and Partridge on the southeast. Kettle Creek cuts through the plat on the north. That property included land on both sides of Kettle Creek and was located immediately downstream from lands owned by John Hammett (McGinty 2008a). John Gholson conveyed to Kimme Foster, 100 acres on Kettle creek, adjacent to the Widow Thompson and Sheppard Foster, dated Nov. 3, 1789. John Gholson and wife, Ann Pettus Gholson conveyed to Spencer Branham, 229 acres on Kettle creek, dated 1792 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:130, 501; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:84, 86).

The Petition of David Glaze, Administrator of Jesse Walker, deceased, to sell 200 acres on Kettle creek was recorded in Wilkes County in 1810 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1798-1811:433; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:155). The location of the Walker property was not determined.

Alex Gordon and his wife, Susanna deeded 350 acres on Kettle Creek according to a grant 1785 to [missing text] to Joel Terrell on April 11, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book DD, 1788-1789:93). The location of this property was not determined.

John Graham and his wife, Leannah deeded 350 acres on Kettle creek to Rowland Williams on December 30, 1788. This tract had been granted in 1786 to Leannah Karr, now Leannah Graham, wife of said John (Wilkes County Deed Book EE, 1788-1790:67). The location of this property was not determined.

Edward Hagan was granted 200 acres at the confluence of Kettle Creek and Little River in April, 1785 (Wilkes County Plat Book G:177; Georgia Grant Book GGG:550). This property is several miles downstream from the Kettle Creek battlefield. The neighbors of Edward Hagan were Joel Phillips along the west bank of Kettle Creek and Robert Day on the east. Edward Hagan and his wife Elizabeth sold their 200 acres on Little River at the mouth of Kettle Creek to Charles Carroll on February 2, 1786 (Wilkes County Deed Book CC:146).

Joseph Henderson, Sr., surviving Executor of William Lee, deceased, was awarded permission to sell 150 acres on Kettle Creek in 1809 (Wilkes County Minutes of Inferior Court 1793-1811:375; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:152). The location of William Lee's real estate on Kettle Creek was not determined by the present research.

Samuel Hoof, a single man from North Carolina with no family, applied for 100 acres on Kettle Creek approximately 4.5 miles north of Little River. His petition was recorded at Wrightsborough on November 8, 1773 (p.8; Davidson 1933, Vol. 1:14). No post-Revolutionary War land records were discovered that link Samuel Hoof to the Kettle Creek vicinity.

John Leftwich received a plat for 127 acres located immediately north and east of James Hammett's property in 1789 (McGinty 2008a). Leftwich's tract is within the area covered by the present archaeological survey.

Frederick Lipham received a plat for 250 acres on the middle fork of Kettle Creek in 1783 (McGinty 2008b). He deeded 250 acres on Kettle Creek to Matthew Martin on July 4, 1785 (Wilkes County Loose Deeds 1784-1785:26; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:234). Lipham's property was located several miles northwest of the Kettle Creek battlefield.

Robert McGinty and his wife, Deborah deeded their original 100 acres land grant on Kettle Creek to Thomas Daniel on August 11, 1786 (Wilkes County Deed Book AA:140; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:248-249). The exact location of this property was not determined.

William Seals Muse and wife Judith Seals Muse conveyed 200 acres to Laurence Bankston on November 2, 1785. The tract was described as “on a branch of Kettle Creek adj. Mary McNabb's old line, whereon said Bankston now lives, orig. grant 1785 to said Muse.”

John Nelson was issued a warrant for 200 acre on January 8, 1784 for property on Kettle Creek (Wilkes County Plat Book Q:267). The plat is described as being on the waters of Kettle Creek. It was bordered by William Evans on the east, vacant land on the north and west, and John Thompson and Fulton on the south. John Nelson and his wife Elinor sold 199 acres to Robert Morrow on August 25, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:2). Nelson’s property was located less than one-half mile east of James Hammett’s land.

Jesse Partridge was issued a 200 acre plat for property on a branch that flowed into Kettle Creek in August, 1785 (Wilkes County Plat Book H:145). The survey shows John Robinett on the east, Thompson on the north, and vacant land on the west and south. Jesse Partridge and his wife Sarah sold 200 acres on the waters of Kettle Creek to John Gholson on March 13, 1790 (Wilkes County Deed Book HH:51). Partridge’s land was located less than one-half mile southeast of John Hammett’s land and is on the south side of Kettle Creek.

Joel Phillips was granted 950 acres at the confluence of Kettle Creek and the Little River on December 9, 1784 (Georgia Grant Book FFF:90). The large tract was surveyed on April 10, 1784 (Wilkes County Plat Book G:288). This tract contained Phillip’s Mill Baptist Church. The property ran from the confluence of Kettle Creek and Little River, and along Little River for over a mile and half to the west. The following neighbors were shown around Joel Phillips: Edward Hagan is on the east, John Lang and vacant land are on the south; Reuben Phillips and vacant land are on the west; and Peter Strozier and John Conner are on the north. Joel Phillips and his wife Elizabeth sold 175 acres on Little River to Alexander Norris on September 26, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book FF:57). Joseph Phillips, probably a relative of Joel Phillips, served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek (Standard 1973:47-49).

William Pollard was granted three tracts on Kettle Creek. These include plats for 350 acres, 294 acres, and 106 acres (Wilkes County Plat Book G:284, 290, Plat Book Q:219). The 350 acres was surveyed on February 10, 1785. The property was bordered by Bullock and Hurley on the east, William Pollard on the north, Glass on the west, and Nathaniel Bullock on the south. The plat showed the fork of Kettle Creek and Little Kettle Creek. William Pollard and his wife, Alecy deeded the 350 acres on Kettle Creek to Alex. Gordon on October 22, 1787. The acreage was originally granted in 1785 to Pollard (Wilkes County Deed Book DD, 1788-1789:140). Pollard and his wife sold 350 acres on both sides of Little and Big Kettle Creek to Nathaniel Bullock on July 31, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book FF:1). The plat showed William Pollard on the east, William Evans on the northeast and north, vacant land on the west and on the south. Kettle Creek formed part of the southern boundary line. A small creek, known as Brushy Branch on the William Evans plat, flowed into Kettle Creek on the east side of the property. William Pollard and his wife Alecy sold 294 acres on Kettle Creek to Harwood Gibbs on March 10, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book DD:88). The survey of the 294 acres was completed on December 25, 1784. A tract of 106 acres was surveyed on July 21, 1788. This property was bounded on the east by William Pollard, on the north by Kettle Creek, on the west by Captain Richardson, and on the south by Nathaniel Bullock. All of Pollard’s lands were located more than 1 mile from the Hammett lands and the Kettle Creek battlefield.

Jonathon Ragan and his wife Ann deeded 125 acres on Beaverdam and Kettle creeks to Richard Melear on October 29, 1787 (Wilkes County Deed Book DD, 1788-1789:22). The location of this property was not determined. Jonathan Ragan served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek (Standard 1973:47-49).

An inventory of the estate of the deceased John Scott, recorded on July 23, 1794, included, “600 acres on Kettle creek, nineteen slaves, horses, cattle, household goods, plantation tools...” (Wilkes County Book of

Inventories, 1793-1794:70; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:110). The exact location of Scott's real estate on Kettle Creek was not determined.

The August 8, 1809 petition of Sally Stallings, Administratrix of Jesse Stallings, to sell 400 acres on Kettle Creek was recorded in Wilkes County (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1798-1811:406; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:153). The exact location of the Stallings property on Kettle Creek was not determined.

On September 1, 1823, the Wilkes County Inferior Court issued a Bond for title to 300 acres on Kettle Creek. In 1816 a transaction from John H. Pope and Alex Pope to Samuel Staton, now deceased, resulted in the court ordering clear titles be given to the property (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1817-1824:107; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:204). William Stayton and William Robertson were Administrators of Samuel Stayton, deceased. They petitioned on September 6, 1824 to sell land on Kettle Creek from the estate, as recorded in Wilkes County (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1824-1827:24; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:210). The location of the Pope and Staton/Stayton lands on Kettle Creek was not determined. Captain John Pope, possibly related to the John H. Pope in the 1816 land transaction, served in the Georgia militia and fought in the battle of Kettle Creek (Standard 1973:47-49).

James Stringer conveyed to Edwin Mozley 100 acres on Kettle Creek. This was part of an original grant dated March 12, 1791 to Daniel Ladner, adjacent to land of Michael Huntsman and to David Moore (Wilkes County Deed Book GG:448; Davidson 1933, Volume 2:99). The exact locations these tracts on Kettle Creek were not determined.

Elizabeth McNabb and Sarah McNabb deeded 60 acres, "on Kettle Creek Waters, adj. McNabb's old line, to a sq. corner till it strikes old line" to Peter Strozier on May 15, 1800." The heirs of John Thompson conveyed 150 acres in Wilkes County to Peter Strozier, Sr., on August 24, 1801 (Ancestry.com 2008). Peter Strozier was a veteran of the Wilkes County militia and, according to his widow, fought in the battle of Kettle Creek.

The Petition of Jeremiah Terry, Administrator of Moses Terry, deceased, to sell 100 acres on Kettle Creek adjacent to Cyrus Billingslea was recorded in Wilkes County in 1808 (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1793-1811:350; 1807-1809:82; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:151, 179).

The heirs of John Thompson were issued a warrant for 300 acres on the north side of Kettle Creek on October 16, 1784. This tract was immediately east of John Hammett's land in 1784 (Wilkes County Plat Book B:135; McGinty 2008a). At the time of the survey, however, the property was surrounded by vacant land on all sides, and it showed Kettle Creek flowing across the eastern corner. As noted earlier, the heirs of John Thompson conveyed 150 acres in Wilkes County to Peter Strozier, Sr., on August 24, 1801.

William Vardeman was issued a plat for 200 acres on a tributary on the north side of Kettle Creek on January 20, 1785. His property was located immediately northwest of James Hammett's land (McGinty 2008a; Wilkes County Plat Book B:259). The tract was bounded on the northeast by Stubblefield, along the north by vacant lands and unknown owners, on the west by unknown owners, on the south by Thomas Brown and James Hammett, and on the southeast by Osten Carter. On the eastern half of the plat, two branches of Kettle Creek cut through the property and on the west, Stoziers [Stroziers] Road was indicated.

John Crouch and Mary, his wife, deeded 200 acres on Kettle Creek waters, "adj. William Hammett, Rowland Williams, Martin & Billingsley, granted to said Crouch, 24 Aug 1785" to Jesse Walker on November 12, 1792. William Walker and wife Judith of Wilkes deeded 26 acres on Kettle Creek to Henry Karr of Greene County on December 13, 1788. This tract adjoined William Shopshire, John Buchanan, Godding, Gibbes, Zachariah Glass and John Nelson. This land was originally granted on September 7, 1784 to William Walker and Judith Walker (Wilkes County Deed Book MM folios. 321-22. 29 Dec 1794).

Joseph White, a North Carolinian with a wife, five sons and five daughters (ranging in age from 19 to 4 years) applied for 650 acres on Kettle creek, south fork, about five miles from the mouth. His petition was

recorded on December 7, 1773 at Wrightsborough (Davidson 1933, Volume 1:22). No post-Revolutionary War land records were discovered that link Joseph White to the Kettle Creek vicinity.

John Wilson was issued a plat for 300 acres in 1785 for property on both sides of Cussupy's Branch, which is a tributary of Kettle Creek located several miles northwest of the battlefield. Wilson and his wife, Elizabeth deeded 300 acres on the fork of Kettle creek adjacent to lands of Benjamin Riden to Joseph Catchings on April 17, 1788 (Wilkes County Deed Book EE, 1788-1790:74). One interesting feature shown on Wilson's 300 acre plat is the "Whitelick Path," which followed a nearly east-west course. The path probably led to the Great Buffalo Lick, which was mentioned by botanist William Bartram, who visited the area in 1773. The Buffalo Lick is located in present-day Oglethorpe County, near Cherokee Corner. The lick was a mineral deposit that attracted large game animals, including bison and white-tailed deer. This trail no doubt had great antiquity and was a well-traveled path.

On April 9, 1794 Daniel Price, Wilkes County Tax Commissioner was ordered to pay William Crawford for building a bridge across Kettle creek (Wilkes County, Minutes of Inferior Court 1793-1794:10; Davidson 1933, Volume 1:126). The exact location of Crawford's bridge was not identified by the present research. The bridge was probably not at the Kettle Creek ford, where the battle took place, but probably located further downstream.

Current Landowners

The current landowners of property containing evidence of the Kettle Creek battle were identified from Wilkes County tax appraisal maps. These landowners included Wilkes County, Plum Creek Timberlands, Robert McBay, and Mark Prior. Wilkes County owns approximately 14 acres surrounding the Wilkes County Battlefield Monument. This land holding is comprised of two contiguous parcels. The original 12 acre tract was created for purposes of creating a battlefield memorial, as described earlier in this chapter. An additional two acres east of the 12 acre tract was acquired by Wilkes County from Plum Creek Timberlands, Limited Partnership [LP]. Plum Creek Timberlands, LP, owns a large tract that surrounds the Wilkes County property on the east side of Kettle Creek. Robert McBay owns a large tract on the west side of Kettle Creek. Mark Prior owns another large tract on the west side of Kettle Creek. The Prior land is located adjacent to the McBay tract. Other outlying properties may contain some cultural resources that are peripheral to the battle. Access to these lands was sought but not obtained, therefore these tracts were not explored. The research potential of these outlying tracts is regarded as low to moderate, as pertains to the story of the Revolutionary War battle.

LANDSCAPE MODIFICATIONS

Since the time of the 1779 battle the landscape in the study area has been extensively altered. By 1779 the Euro-American homesteaders along Kettle Creek were clearing the land, cutting down timber stands and creating cultivated fields and pasture, as well as farmstead compounds. Other improvements that accompanied this initial frontier settlement, or followed very soon afterwards, were grist mills and liquor stills. All of these actions altered the existing Kettle Creek landscape and its ecology.

After the Revolutionary War, other changes took place. The landscape continued to fill with settlers as the land was subdivided into many small tracts. Road systems were created connecting these farms to each other and connecting farmers to various parts of their farms. The area in cultivation was steadily expanded, especially once these settlers were able to afford enslaved Africans Americans. The additional labor of slaves translated into more acreage in agriculture and more forests denuded.

The piedmont hills that surround Kettle Creek are highly prone to erosion, as is all of piedmont Georgia, and once the land was cleared and cultivated topsoil soon washed off of the hilltops and ridge slopes. The Kettle Creek floodplain filled with silt from this runoff. This increased alluvial bed load in the creek floodplain had several negative repercussions for the residents of the area. The clogged streams and rivers became more prone to flooding, which drowned crops that were planted in the creek floodplain. The ecosystem was probably destabilized, which may have led to an increase in mosquitoes and mosquito-borne

diseases, such as malaria. Consequently, the lower lying ridges were soon recognized by the local people as unhealthy and the source of the “miasma,” which brought sickness and death in the late summer and early fall months. The increased sediment also created problems for the operation of grist mills and the fisheries.

Artificial terraces were constructed on some areas of the battlefield to offset the soil erosion. These terraces were created for agricultural purposes to serve as baffles to slow the slope wash and to create stepped, level planting areas. Most field terracing in Wilkes County and the Georgia piedmont is a result of 20th century farming practices, which were encouraged by the federal government. Some of the terraces may be earlier, however, particularly those located in close proximity to the farmsteads.

Throughout the 19th century the areas chosen for settlements in the Georgia piedmont tended to be at increasingly greater slopes and eventually on hilltops. Generally, the later historic sites in the piedmont are on the higher elevations, whereas the earlier historic sites (late 18th-early 19th century) are more situated on the ridge toe slopes and floodplain margins. These earlier settlers probably obtained most of their drinking water from natural springs, whereas the later residents dug wells for their water. As the demand for cropland grew, some areas that had been the site of earlier settlements were cultivated for crops. Repeated plowing of these areas, and the resultant erosion, led to the obscurity of these sites in the archeological record. By the early 20th century, the amount of acres in cultivation in Wilkes County had reached its zenith (Long 1919:719-750). Soils in Wilkes County were mapped in detail in the early 20th century and the results were detailed in a written soil survey and accompanying soil survey map (U.S. Bureau of Soils 1915; Long 1919). This early soil map is useful because it shows the approximate locations of numerous buildings and roads, many of which no longer exist.

Some small areas of the study area may have remained in forest throughout the 18th-20th century (Long 1919:719-750). The 12 acre monument tract has been in mixed hardwood forest since 1900, and possibly earlier. Evidence of farming was discovered scattered over the study area in the form of plow shares and other metal items related to farming. A few small rock piles, which may represent farmer’s field clearing piles, were noted in several areas of the study area.

By 1918 flooding was a serious problem for farmers on Kettle Creek. The U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Public Roads began to address the situation. Drainage surveys and plans were prepared for Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, which entailed 1,150 acres (U.S.D.A. 1919:389). Local farmers pooled their resources and hired a mechanical dredge to channelize and improve the flow of Kettle Creek. This work was done in the period from 1918 to 1922 (Davis and Thomas 1975:165). Channelizing transformed the natural course of Kettle Creek throughout the battlefield vicinity. Davis and Thomas (1974) included a photograph of the dredge boat in operation on Kettle Creek in 1918. The earliest aerial photograph of the study area in 1938 reveals the land use at that time and the channelized creek. Unfortunately, no detailed maps of the stream course of Kettle Creek, dating prior to the channel modification project, are known to exist.

VI. Archeological Results

BATTLEFIELD LANDSCAPE

Defining the cultural landscape of the battle of Kettle Creek is a complex task. Three students of the battle, Robert S. Davis, Jr., Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., and Steven J. Rauch, offered schematic diagrams of battle events and troop positions, based on their examination of the battlefield terrain and a close reading of historical accounts. Both sets of schematics presented by Davis and Thomas, and Davis and Rauch are reasonable predictions of the battlefield plan. What was lacking from their interpretations, however, was archeological confirmation. Davis and Thomas (1975:11-14) presented two schematic versions of the battle. The first was based on Hugh McCall's account and the second was based on Andrew Pickens' version. Figure 22 is a schematic of the first two phases of Major Hugh McCall's account of the Kettle Creek Battle. Figure 23 reproduces a schematic of the latter two phases of Major Hugh McCall's account of the Kettle Creek Battle. Figure 24 details a schematic of the first two phases of General Andrew Pickens' account of the Kettle Creek Battle. Figure 25 is a schematic of the latter two phases of General Andrew Pickens' account of the Kettle Creek Battle (Davis and Thomas 1975:11-14).

Rauch's schematic version of the battle was incorporated into a journal article by Davis (2006), which presents similar troop locations and movements layered on a topographic map of the battle vicinity. Figure 26 is a schematic showing the position of troops prior to the commencement of hostilities (Rauch, in Davis 2006). Rauch depicts the three regiments of Patriot militia widely spaced on three ridge systems with Pickens in the center, Dooly on his right flank and Clarke on his left flank. It depicts McCall's company of South Carolina rangers as an advance guard, south of Pickens' main force. Davis and Rauch placed Colonel Boyd's force on the south side of Monument Hill and Major Spurgeon's men on the ridge just south of Kettle Creek.

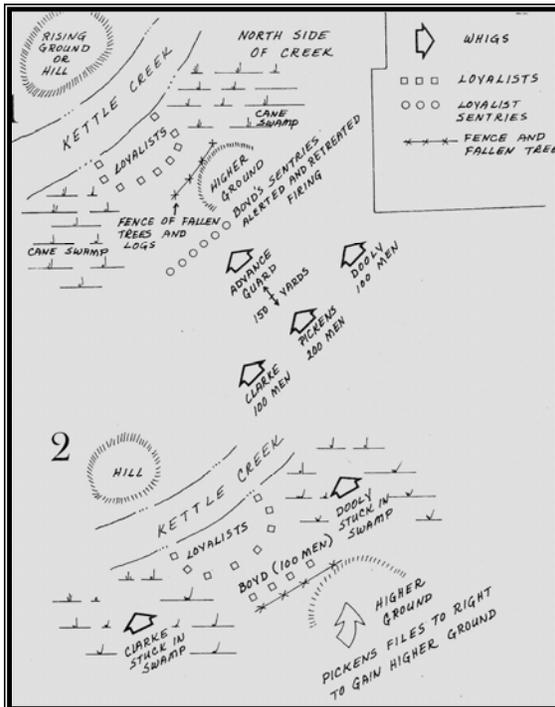


Figure 22. Schematic of McCall's Account of the Kettle Creek Battle, Phases 1 and 2 (Davis and Thomas 1975:11).

Figure 27 is a schematic showing the battle 30 minutes after it commenced (Rauch, in Davis 2006). In this scenario, Rauch depicts McCall's advance guard on the lower, northern slope of Monument Hill (Locus B), Pickens' main force on the lower ridge slope north of Kelly Branch (Locus C), Dooly's regiment "stuck in the swamp" below the ridge containing Locus E, and Clarke's battalion on the ridge system east of Pickens' regiment (near Locus G). Rauch shows Colonel Boyd with his 100 Loyalists having advanced to the crest of Monument Hill (Locus B), while most of his men remain on the lower slopes above Kettle Creek, south of Locus A.

Figure 28 is a schematic showing the battle one hour after it commenced (Rauch, in Davis 2006). Rauch depicts Colonel Dooly's regiment "Stuck in Swamp" below the lower ridge slope, south of Locus E.

Pickens' regiment is executing a pincher movement that resulted in Colonel Boyd being wounded and unable to command his troops. Most of Clarke's battalion was "stuck in swamp" and 25 to 50 of his men were advancing to cross Kettle Creek. The Loyalists are depicted as fragmented, although many having shifted to the south side of Kettle Creek.

Figure 29 is a schematic showing the battle one and a half hours after it had commenced (Rauch, in Davis 2006). In Rauch's scenario of the final phase of the battle, soldiers from Pickens and Clarke's battalions had managed to ford Kettle Creek and were advancing against the dispersed Loyalists, who are shown as scattered in the floodplain and lower ridge slopes southwest of Locus F. A small group of Pickens' men are left to guard the prisoners on Monument hill (Locus A) and many of Dooly's and Clarke's regiments remained on the north side of Kettle Creek. Major Spurgeon and his troops are shown as retreating towards the southwest in a cross-country fashion (Figure 30).

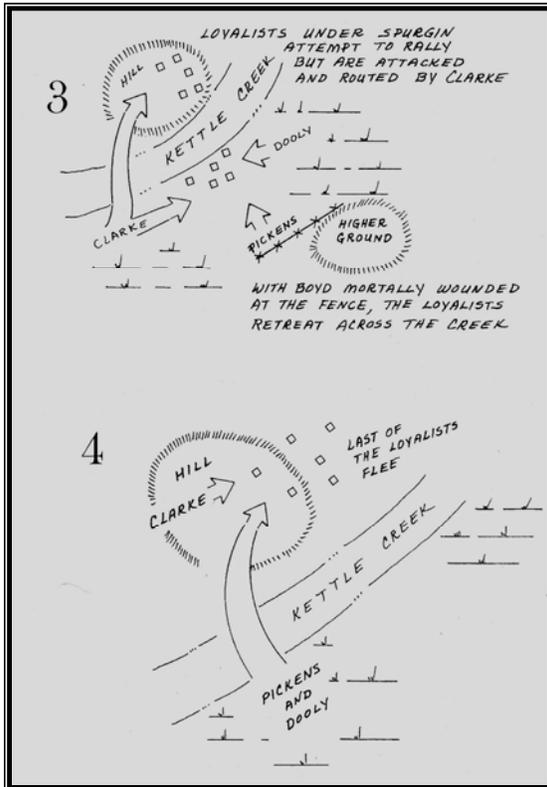


Figure 23. Schematic of McCall's Account of the Kettle Creek Battle, Phases 3 and 4 (Davis and Thomas 1975:12).

McDaniel (2002b) made a preliminary assessment of the Kettle Creek battlefield in his state-wide study of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 battlefields, as part of the Congressionally-mandated, Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Initiative. That work was done under contract for the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Park Service. McDaniel made a brief surface examination of the site and compiled readily available historical documentation about the battle. These data were used to compile a battle narrative, preliminary battle maps, and make preliminary definitions as to the potential National Register boundaries, core area of the battlefield, and defining battlefield features.

Archeologists with the ABPP developed the concept of potential National Register boundaries, acronym POTNR for battlefield sites. Following the ABPP guidelines, McDaniel (2002b:97) offered these suggestions for a POTNR at Kettle Creek:

The current National Register boundary for this site encloses 12.5 acres on the north side of Kettle Creek and should be expanded to include the north and south banks of the creek, the high ground on the south side of the creek, and a portion of the flat, open agricultural fields just west of that rise. This boundary could be more particularly described as a broad corridor of approximately 1000 feet, centered on Kettle Creek and running from west to east, beginning just east of the confluence of Kettle Creek and Carlton Branch and ending 500 feet east of War Hill and swelling to include both the existing National Register boundary north of the creek at 'War Hill' and the rising ground opposite of that hill on the south side of the creek.

This boundary would include all relevant events and natural features related to the action at Kettle Creek. Strategic natural features include the creek and both hills: War Hill and the rise on the opposite bank. By extending the boundary as a corridor further east and west of these hills, the site would incorporate troop movements made along and across the creek but not in the immediate vicinity of the action itself—most notably Colonel Dooly's and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke's flanking movements on opposite sides of War Hill. The initial action was fought on the slopes and in the immediate vicinity of War Hill, and following the first Tory retreat, on the rising ground south and across the Creek (McDaniel 2002b:97).

McDaniel's results were submitted to the National Park Service and were used in a synthesis volume on the status of America's Revolutionary War and War of 1812 battlefields and associated sites. That report, which was requested by and submitted to the U.S. Congress, was recently released to the public (Gossett and Mitchell 2007).

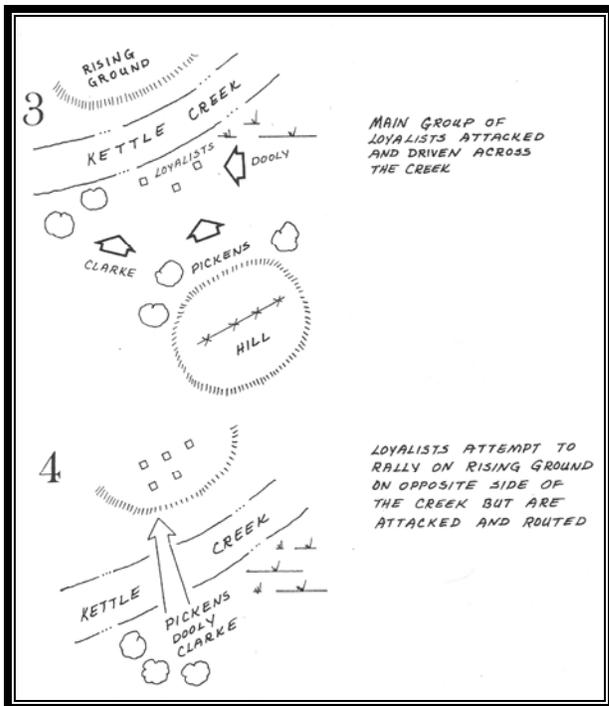


Figure 24. Schematic of Pickens' Account of the Kettle Creek Battle, Phases 1 and 2 (Davis and Thomas 1975:13).

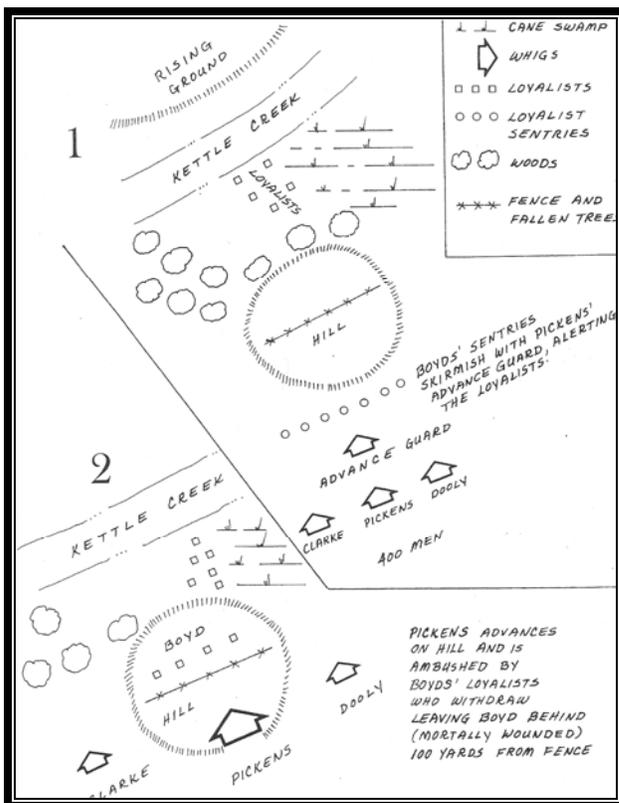


Figure 25. Schematic of Pickens' Account of the Kettle Creek Battle, Phases 3 and 4 (Davis and Thomas 1975:14).

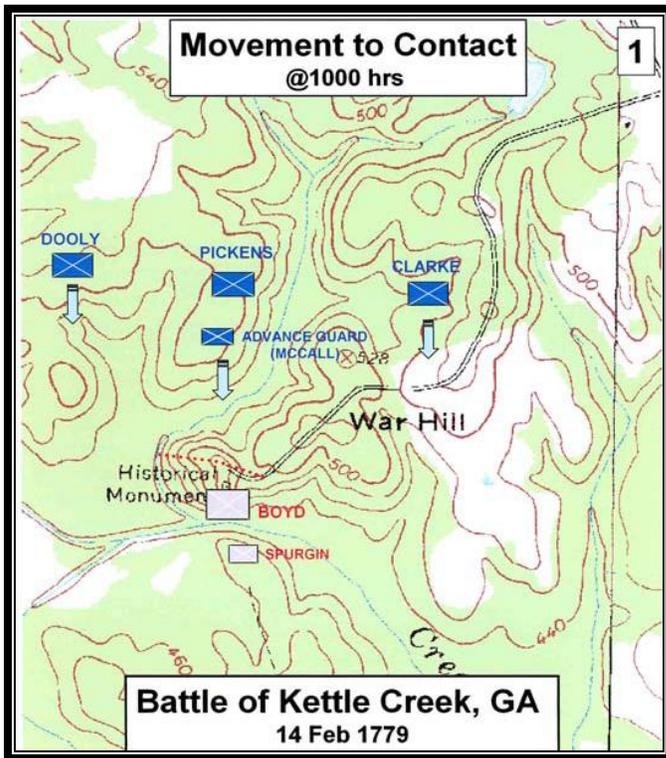


Figure 26. Kettle Creek Immediately Prior to Battle (Rauch, in Davis 2006).

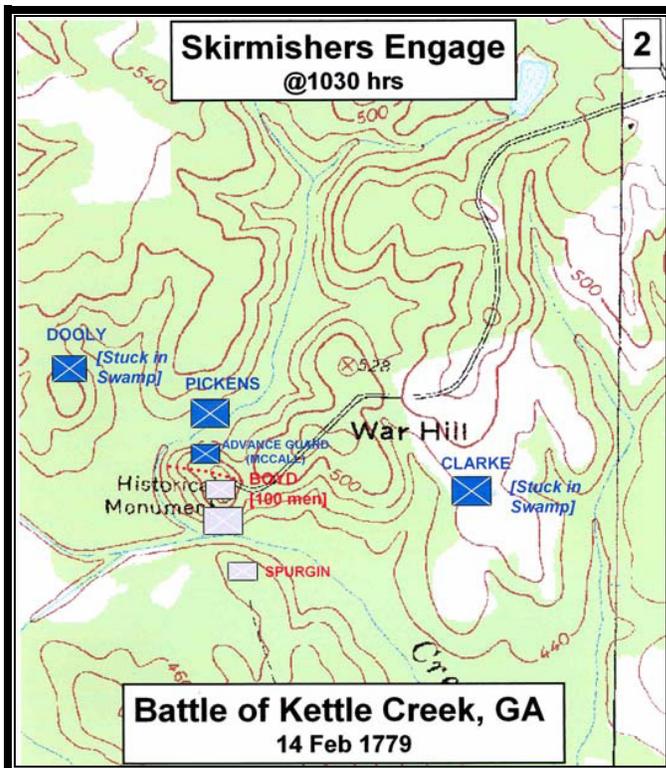


Figure 27. Initial Phase of Kettle Creek Battle (Rauch, in Davis 2006).

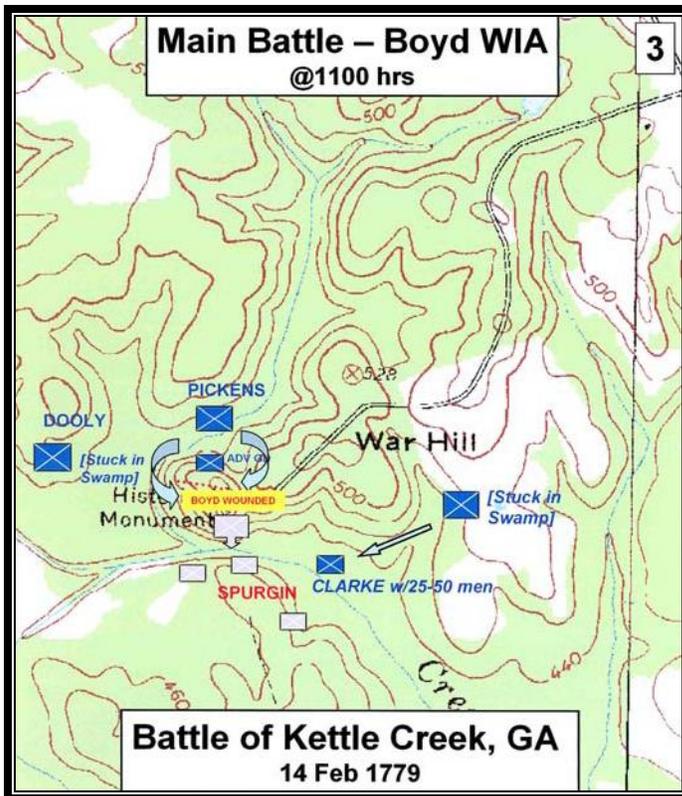


Figure 28. Kettle Creek Battle Fully Involved (Rauch, in Davis 2006).

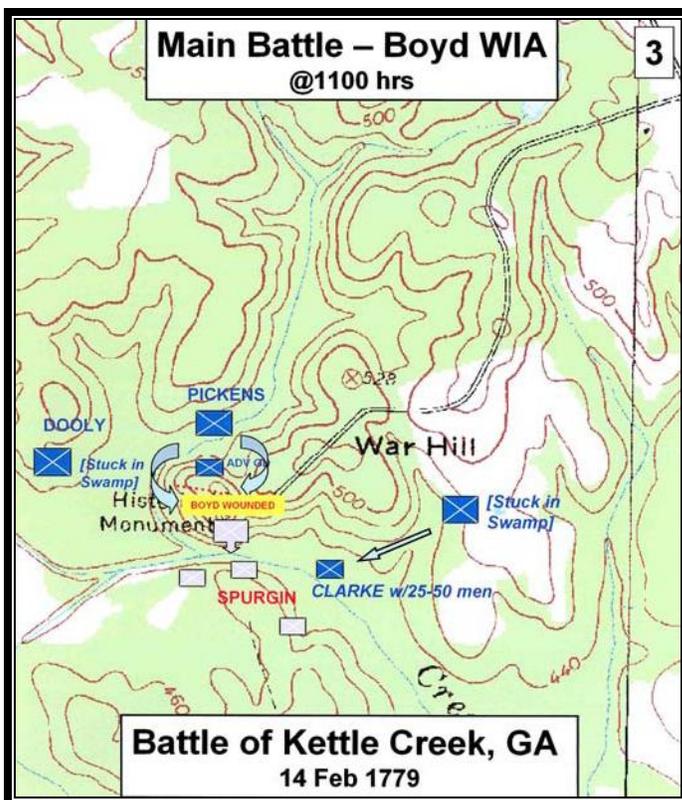


Figure 29. Final Phase of Kettle Creek Battle (Rauch, in Davis 2006).

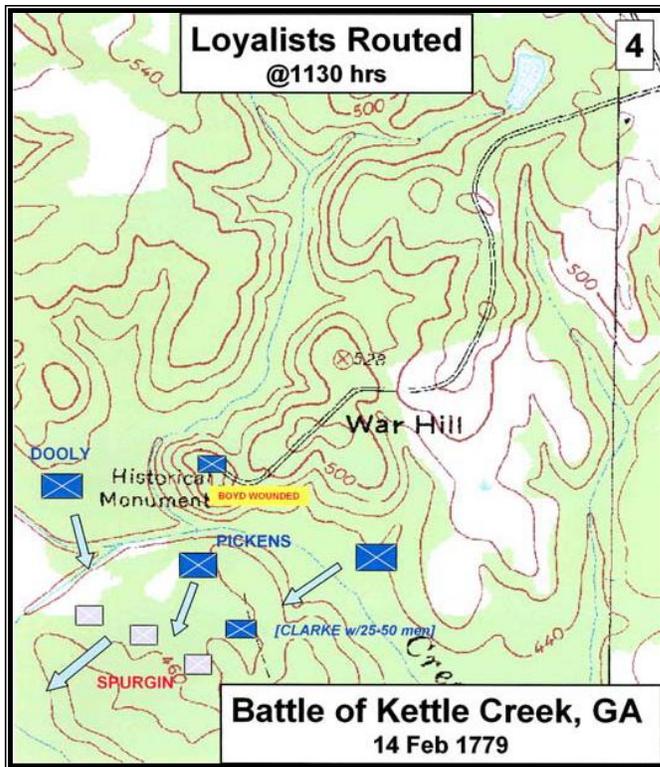


Figure 30. Kettle Creek, Loyalists Routed (Rauch in Davis 2006).

ACTIVITY LOCI

Fourteen historic period activity loci and one prehistoric Locus were defined by the present survey of the Kettle Creek battlefield study area. These were designated by letters, A through O. These loci were areas where artifacts were concentrated. Some of them relate specifically to events in the battle, while others represent historic settlements. An area of Archaic period activity, which was unrelated to the Kettle Creek battle, was designated Locus O. The artifact inventory in Appendix I includes a column indicating the Locus where each artifact was located. A few stray artifacts were not given an activity locus designations. The locations of each historic activity locus (except Locus O) are shown in Figure 31. Each locus is described below.

Locus A

Locus A includes the knoll where the Kettle Creek Monument now stands, often referred to as Monument Hill. The obelisk monument is centered at grid point 9242N, 5194E. Other recent features of Locus A include a cement picnic table, historical markers, and a rectangular cemetery/cenotaph plot enclosure. The crest of the knoll at Locus A has been heavily disturbed by grading associated with the road and monument construction and the area is quite eroded. Exposed soil surfaces consisted of reddish sandy clay and saprolitic bedrock. Much of this soil erosion has been the result of foot and vehicular traffic by visitors to the battlefield over many decades. A gravel road leads to the summit of the knoll, which has also destroyed archeological evidence on portions of the knoll. In addition, some visitors to the site during the 20th century used this area as a dumping ground for refuse, and tin cans and extraneous metal trash are scattered over portions of the knoll, which rendered metal detector use difficult to ineffective in those areas. No battle-related artifacts were located on the hill crest at Locus A.

A concentrated search of Locus A yielded no battle evidence. The south slope of the monument hill is quite steep and it contains several large boulder outcrops. These outcrops, which contain several crevasses and niches that would have provided cover during a battle, were carefully metal detected for any battle evidence. Numerous metal cans, shotgun shells, and other modern metal trash were found in these areas but they contained no battle evidence. The precipitous slope on this side of the knoll is steep for horse travel and this area may have been avoided by both sides during the battle. Alternatively, riflemen may have been positioned in these areas but they either dropped no artifacts or any artifacts have been removed by collectors.

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted on portions of this area of the Kettle Creek battlefield. GPR survey was directed by Daniel T. Elliott and Sheldon Skaggs. GPR data from three small rectangular, contiguous grids were collected. Each block was assigned a letter designation, A, B or C. GPR Blocks A and B were located within the cemetery/cenotaph enclosure. GPR Block C was located immediately north of this enclosure. Appendix IV contains a series of maps and profiles from the GPR

survey. This includes three animated .jpeg movies that show plan views of the Blocks A, B and C with increasing depth.

Locus B

Locus B was the wooded area on the northern slope of the Kettle Creek monument knoll (Locus A). The first battle-related artifacts of the project were discovered in Locus B. This hill slope was thoroughly searched and it yielded a broad, light scatter of battle-related artifacts. Locus B produced 35 historic artifacts and of these, 14 were in the Arms Group. One lead ball was found on the wooded slope, southeast of the monument in Locus B and many military-related artifacts were found down slope to the north in Locus B. A few machine cut nails were scattered over this area as

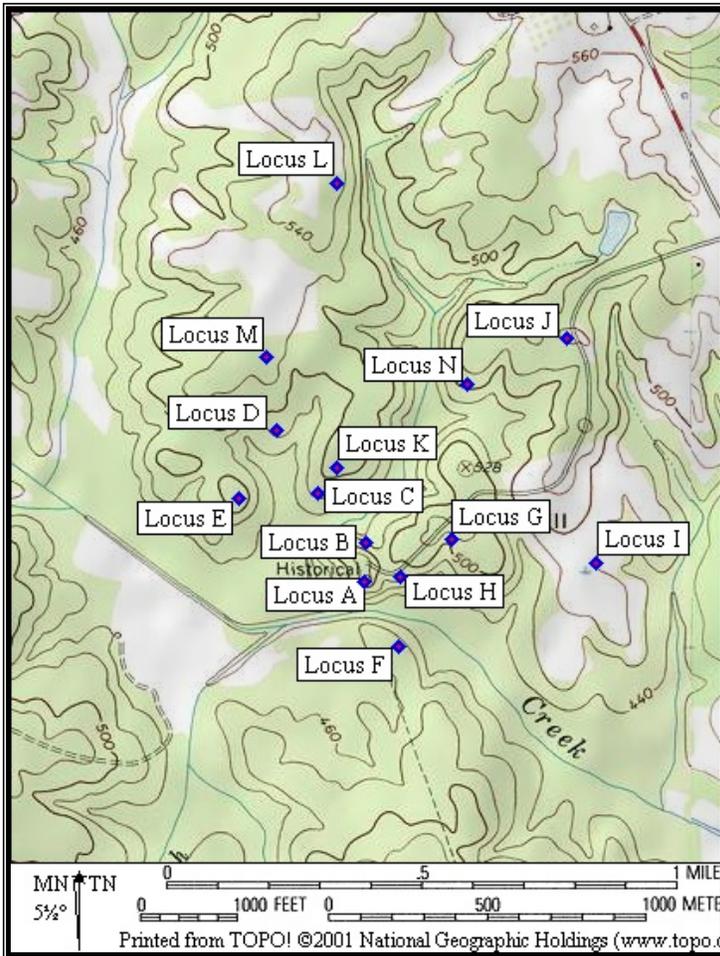


Figure 31. Activity Loci, Kettle Creek Battlefield.

well, but not in sufficient quantities to indicate a domestic structure. In addition to the scatter of lead balls and one rifle butt plate, Locus B contained many small, shallow depressions. At first some of these were thought to represent rifle trenches and GPR locations were recorded for them. The periphery of these depressions was carefully searched with the metal detector, which did not indicate that they were more likely than the surrounding landscape to contain artifacts. While some may indeed represent rifle trenches, most are more likely tree falls, where trees were uprooted and toppled over the centuries, leaving an elongated depressions perpendicular to the hill slope. Unlike the ridge systems to the south and east, Locus B may not have been under cultivation. The lack of plowing would have smoothed out the landscape and made ancient tree falls less detectable. Some of these depressions may have been formed in the past century or less, since most of

this area has been part of the monument tract for more than 100 years.

A larger depression was located just inside the wooded area and northwest of the cement picnic table at the margin of Loci A and B. Traces of a 19th century fence line were noted just west of this depression. This suspicious depression measured approximately 4 m in diameter. It resembled a cellar depression and was sub-rectangular in outline. The depression was approximately 50 cm deep and it was filled with a thick deposit of leaves and rotted tree branches. A volunteer crew was tasked with cleaning out the leaves, sticks, and root mat so that this potential feature could be better studied. Once the area was cleared of debris, we metal detected the area and sampled it in several areas with a metal probe. All of these tests proved negative. The soils were very compact, rocky clay, which did not appear to have any potential for cultural deposits.

Locus C

Locus C is situated on the lower ridge slope on the next ridge north of the Kettle Creek monument knoll (Loci A and B). Locus C contains an early domestic site and a light deposit of combat-related artifacts. The survey located a total of 42 artifacts and of these, only three were in the Arms Group. Clothing Group artifacts, however, were well represented (n=9, or 24%). The most telling artifacts from Locus C were metal buttons, which date to the battle period and may represent a field hospital. All of these buttons were undecorated buttons of 18th century manufacture.

A series of five shovel tests were placed along the spine of Locus C to better define the site. Early ceramics were located in three of these tests. These included creamware, pearlware, and whiteware. Historic ceramics were not observed on the surface, so this limited shovel testing proved effective in documenting their presence on the site. Locus C also contained a scatter of wrought nails, which indicate an early historic structure in this vicinity. Unusual artifacts that were located in Locus C were a clipped silver coin with an indiscernible date and a brass bell.

The soils in Locus C were extremely eroded and low, linear mounds of soil from the previous timbering episode were visible on the surface. This area also exhibited a clear indication of previous agricultural land use including a series of agricultural terraces and one iron plowshare that was located northwest of Locus C. The plow part was not collected. The earliest aerial photograph (1938) shows this vicinity in hardwood trees, indicating that the agricultural use dates well before 1938.

Locus D

Locus D is located on a minor ridge between the two main ridges on the north side of Kelly Creek. Locus D contains an old road trace and the faint remains of an early dwelling. It also contains a light scatter of lead balls and one brass trigger guard fragment, which attest to battle action in this vicinity. The survey located 165 artifacts in Locus D. Of these, 22 (13%) were in the Arms Group.

The old road trace in this vicinity is deeply entrenched and it has long been abandoned. This road is almost certainly the road shown on the 1783 plat of James Hammett's land (McGinty 2007). Heading south the evidence for this road disappears beneath the Kettle Creek floodplain soils. Near the point where the road trace is no longer recognizable, the archeological team located a deeply buried iron steering wheel, possibly from an early tractor or truck. That object was buried approximately 40 cm below the ground surface. The old road trace was followed for a short distance to the north until it became indistinguishable from the heavily gullied ridge slope. Presumably this road continued southward but was obscured by the overburden in the Kettle Creek floodplain. The under-story vegetation in the floodplain was too thick for GPR survey to be employed as a technique to follow this feature. With a minimal amount of clearing of smaller vegetation along sample transects in this area, GPR may be an effective way to map the course of this road.

Test Unit 1, a 2 m by 2 m square, was excavated in Locus D. The area where this test unit was placed yielded several wrought nails and a domestic site was suspected. The test unit confirmed this suspicion when it yielded several pieces of 18th century ceramics and bottle glass. Soils in this test were quite shallow and indicate the area has been extensively eroded and negatively affected by decades of former agricultural land use.

The lead balls at Locus D were most concentrated along the flanks of the old road trace. This led to our belief that these represent shots fired by Colonel Boyd's pickets and aimed at the approaching Patriot militia, probably Colonel Pickens' regiment of the South Carolina militia. The discovery of this road trace and the military-related artifacts that were associated with it is very important for establishing troop positions on the battlefield. Many other related artifacts from the battle probably lie at the southern end of Locus D, but these are too deeply buried beneath colluvium and floodplain soils for their location to be identified by metal detector survey.

Locus E

Locus E lies on the western ridge finger, north of Kelly Creek and immediately east of Kettle Creek. A wood's road runs through the center of Locus E. The locus contains the ruins of several buildings that were probably parts of a farmstead complex. The ruins include one large brick chimney fall, two or more rock chimney falls, and several large rock foundation stones. The deposit of metal artifacts defined the limits of the farmstead. Locus E yielded 175 historic artifacts and one aboriginal artifact (a ground basalt celt). Surprisingly, only one artifact in the Arms Group was discovered in Locus E. That artifact was a piece of hardware from an 18th century musket. The total absence of lead balls probably indicates that Locus E was not the scene of a fire fight during the battle.

Test Unit 2, a 1 m by 1 m excavation, was placed adjacent to a brick chimney fall at Locus E. That test revealed a shallow deposit of early 19th century artifacts, including machine cut nails and glass. Two shovel tests also were excavated at Locus E. One was excavated near a large granite foundation stone. That test revealed shallow eroded soils and yielded a small quantity of glass. The other shovel test was placed in an area of suspected midden soil. Although the organic soil deposit was thicker in this area, compared to the previous shovel test, it yielded only a few artifacts.

Locus F

Locus F is situated on the south side of Kettle Creek on a wooded, lower ridge slope. Locus F yielded 46 metal artifacts, of which 26 (56%) fell in the Arms Group. This represents the greatest concentration of battle debris in the study area and it is interpreted as the last stage of the battle. The primary artifacts recovered from Locus F were lead balls. One piece of iron grapeshot was recovered from this area, which was the only indisputable evidence for artillery found by the present survey. A light scatter of nails also was present over Locus F, but no domestic site was indicated by the fieldwork. A small rock pile, located south of the main artifact concentration of Locus F, contained two metal artifacts on the surface. One was a wrought iron rod and the other was an iron plowshare. Neither artifact was collected. The rock pile and iron rod may indicate a property marker. The plow part suggests that this vicinity had been under cultivation in the past. The earliest extant aerial photograph (1938) shows the area as wooded, however, so the agricultural use likely dates well before 1938. Archeological evidence indicates that Locus F was undoubtedly where Major Spurgeon rallied the Loyalist militia and a heated battle with Elijah Clarke's Patriot militia detachment ensued.

Locus G

Locus G contained a light scatter of three lead balls and one other metal item. It is located in an overgrown timber clear-cut, east of Locus B and northeast of Locus H. Locus G appears to be spatially discrete from these other two loci. The survey conditions were less than favorable due to the thick undergrowth. This deposit of bullets may relate to the Kettle Creek battle. If so, then it is likely associated with the advance of Lieutenant Colonel Clarke's Patriot militia regiment. It is interesting to note that Locus G is situated north of a large gully that leads down to Kettle Creek. Quite possibly this gully once contained a road leading to a ford across the creek. Traces of an old road were observed on the exposed land surface, although it was unclear whether it was an 18th century road cut, or a heavily eroded one associated with the recent timbering activity.

Locus H

Locus H is a heavily wooded ridge slope and ridge saddle located just east of Locus A (the Kettle Creek monument) and southeast of the newly constructed parking lot. Survey in Locus H yielded 31 artifacts, of which only one was in the Arms Group. Battle evidence in this vicinity was limited to a single lead ball, which suggests that heavy combat did not occur here. Locus H contains a scatter of machine cut square nails that may represent a mid-19th century fence line, or possibly an animal pen. One large cut nail was embedded in small piece of wooden plank, which was collected. The concentration of nails at Locus H may indicate that this area was used to contain livestock sometime during the 19th century. This may have been

an animal pen that was maintained by one of the property owners, or it possibly relates to the Civil War refugees who drove their livestock to this remote area for protection during Sherman's "March to the Sea," as related by Bowen (Hays 1950). While it is an interesting part of the Kettle Creek story, Locus H provided very few clues about the battle itself.

Locus I

Locus I was positioned on the southeast side of the study area (north of Kettle Creek) that contained a scatter of early historic artifacts, which probably represents a domestic house site. A small sample of 26 artifacts was collected, which indicate an early to middle 19th century date for this site. Artifacts include creamware and pearlware ceramics, clothing items, and a wrought nail. The approximate center point of the artifact scatter is at grid point 9144N, 5791E. This dwelling may have existed at the time of the Kettle Creek battle, although it was certainly occupied for many decades after the war. It may have important archeological deposits relating to the post-war land use and culture in the study area. No battle-related artifacts were located in this vicinity. This locus received only a cursory examination and additional study of this area is recommended.

Locus J

Locus J lay on the eastern end of the study area and contained a scatter of nine early historic artifacts, which probably represents a domestic house site. Artifacts were collected over a recent timber clear-cut area approximately 5 m in diameter. The center of the artifact scatter was at grid point 9989N, 5839E. The deposit was very sparse but sufficient to indicate that an occupation was formerly present at this location. The artifacts included creamware and pearlware ceramics and wrought iron scrap. The artifact collection from Locus J was too small for an accurate age assessment but it can be approximately dated to the late 18th to very early 19th centuries. It may represent a house that was standing at the time of the Kettle Creek battle, or it may date slightly later. No battle debris was found in this vicinity.

Locus K

Upslope from Locus C is a sizeable house site (Locus K), which dates to the 19th and possibly early 20th centuries. That locality contained abundant debris but its recent age rendered the metal detector search for early items ineffective. This house site may cap a deposit of earlier artifacts that relate to the battle but more study, including additional test units or systematic shovel testing, are necessary to accurately define this portion of the battlefield. A sample of 18 artifacts was uncovered in Locus K and of these, only one was in the Arms Group. That lone arms artifact find was a chewed lead ball, which may post-date the Revolutionary War period. Since the abundant, more recent later artifacts may be masking 18th century deposits, the metal detecting survey strategy was not cost-effective in this portion of the study area. The boundary between Loci C and K was arbitrarily defined, as the two occupation areas merge. More study of Locus K, using other survey and testing techniques, may prove fruitful. Such work was beyond the scope of the present study.

Locus L

Locus L is a historic house site situated on the northern limit of the study area. This house site probably dates prior to the 20th century but it was not fully investigated. The site was located by preliminary reconnaissance and was not revisited during the project. No artifacts were unearthed in this vicinity, although numerous metal "hits" were registered in the preliminary reconnaissance. Project resources did not allow further investigation of this locus, so its relevance to the Kettle Creek battlefield remains to be fully understood.

Locus M

Locus M is a historic house site positioned in the woods, north of the woods road, in the northern part of the study area. This house contains a large stone chimney foundation, which is surrounded by very thick under-story vegetation, vines and greenbrier. Consequently, the area was not well suited for metal detecting because of this ground cover, except along the adjacent road. Many iron signals were heard during the preliminary reconnaissance but these were not explored further. This house site appears to date, minimally, to the 19th century and possibly earlier. The relevance of this early house site to the Kettle Creek battle is presently unknown. This site appears to have features and may have subsurface integrity. Additional investigation of this site is warranted. The preliminary reconnaissance did not locate any battle-related debris in this vicinity. No artifacts were collected from Locus M.

Locus N

Locus N consists of a minor cluster of lead balls and other 18th century artifacts on a ridge in an overgrown timber clear-cut on the eastern side of the study area. The vegetative cover in this vicinity was not conducive to a thorough metal detector search, so the full potential of this area was not assessed. A total of six metal artifacts was located at Locus N, of which three were in the Arms Group.

Locus O

Locus O was on the southeastern limit of the study area in an overgrown timber clear-cut area. This area contained a surface scatter of prehistoric chipped stone and ground stone artifacts, which likely date to the Archaic period (10,000-3000 years ago). The reconnaissance investigation of this area failed to locate any historic artifacts. This area was probably outside of the engagement area. Since no historic artifacts were located at Locus O, it is not shown on any of the artifact distribution maps.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Tangible evidence of human presence across the landscape at Kettle Creek was widespread. A total of 573 artifacts were located by the survey and their geographic locations were recorded. Of these, 490 were collected and transported to The LAMAR Institute's laboratory for further analysis. The remaining 83 artifacts were identified in the field and returned to the ground in their approximate original locations. A complete inventory of these artifacts (both those collected and those left on-site) is included as Appendix I. Selected artifacts from the project are shown in Figures 32 through 36. Many additional photographs of artifacts from the Kettle Creek project are contained in Appendix III.

The material culture collection included chipped stone tools, stone debris, and pottery from prehistoric times. The archeological crew and volunteers identified a variety of domestic historic sites, many of which post-dated the Revolutionary War battle. They also located other domestic sites, including early farmsteads that may have existed at the time of the Kettle Creek battle, or were built within a few years afterward. It is possible that these early farmsteads contain artifact assemblages directly relating to the battlefield landscape. These artifacts and landscape features provide a context for the early settlement in the region, which has wonderful interpretive value for any discussion of the Revolutionary War events in Wilkes County.

Due to the nature of the survey sampling strategy, which consisted primarily of controlled metal detector surveys, the vast majority of the artifact collection from the project consists of metal items. This represents a skewed sample of the entire material culture at Kettle Creek, although it is likely that metal objects naturally dominate the assemblages of the military sites in the Kettle Creek area. These types of sites, of course, were the primary subjects of the study. A systematic shovel test survey of the same land would no doubt yield a different representation of prehistoric and historic settlement in this locality. Since the survey funds were limited, the cost-benefit of a controlled metal detector survey strategy was justified because it focused on locating battle related sites and had limited adverse impact on non-battlefield sites. It also provided data that would have been uncollected using traditional archeological survey means (such as

systematic shovel testing). The project was successful in delineating the Kettle Creek battlefield due to the strategy selected. Other areas that were delineated, particularly the domestic residential sites, would undoubtedly benefit from a return visit with a more traditional excavation strategy. With this intentional bias in mind, we present a discussion of the recovered material culture.

Architecture Group

Architectural artifacts that are commonly found on 18th century sites in Georgia include nails and spikes, other metal hardware, window glass, brick, and building stone. Window glass is less common on the frontier and none was found by the present survey. Brick also was rare in the study area. One brick chimney fall was identified on Locus E. Several other chimney falls were noted but these were made of local, undressed fieldstone.

Wrought nails were widely distributed over the study area, where they formed several discrete spatial clusters. Each of these clusters probably denotes a domestic site. Wrought nails were commonly used prior to 1790 in Georgia and they were common throughout the colonial and Revolutionary War period. Each nail was handmade and Rose-head, T-head, and L-head wrought nail forms were identified in the study collection. The wrought nails ranged in size from small finishing nails to large spikes. Once machine-made nails became more readily available in the Georgia piedmont (by 1810) wrought nails became very uncommon and were replaced by the machine cut nails. Since wrought nails were used both before and after the American Revolution one cannot say with 100 percent certainty whether a building built with wrought nails existed at the time of the Kettle Creek battle. Many of the nails located by the survey post-date the battle of Kettle Creek. Machine cut nails first appeared in Georgia a few years after the invention of nail making machinery in 1790. Cut nails were imported to Savannah by ship by 1800, and by 1810 nail foundries were established in Augusta, Georgia (*Georgia Gazette* 1800:1). While they can often signal the location of late 18th century sites, machine cut nails were not in use during the American Revolution and would not be associated with the 1779 battle. Many nails recovered during the project were either too fragmentary or corroded for a full identification. Unidentified square nails were classified as “wrought or cut” nails. Wire nails were made after 1865. Wire nails were not common in the Kettle Creek study area, which suggests that the area was not heavily settled after the American Civil War.

A limited array of other metal hardware is included in the architecture group. Survey of Locus E yielded several examples of door (or window) hardware. These included a hand wrought door lock and two wrought hinge fragments, which were discovered in Locus E. Large pieces of wrought iron were frequently recycled by blacksmiths in the 18th and early 19th century, which was a period when raw iron stock was difficult to procure. Large iron scrap also was collected from rural areas of Georgia for the U.S. war effort during “drives” in World War’s I and II.

Kitchen Group

Kitchen Group artifacts are typically the second most common artifact group on early historic sites in Georgia. Many of these artifact types, however, are ceramic and glass and were not the targets of the present metal detector survey. A small assemblage of ceramics and glass artifacts was located on the ground surface and in the limited excavations, but this sample is admittedly skewed because of the survey strategy. Ceramics and glass, however, were not expected to be major indicators of the battle of Kettle Creek so their under-representation was expected and justified by the project goals. Enough ceramics were located in a few areas, however, for an approximate age estimate for the domestic occupations. Larger ceramic assemblages are needed to rigorously define the periods of occupations for these sites, which should be a future project goal.

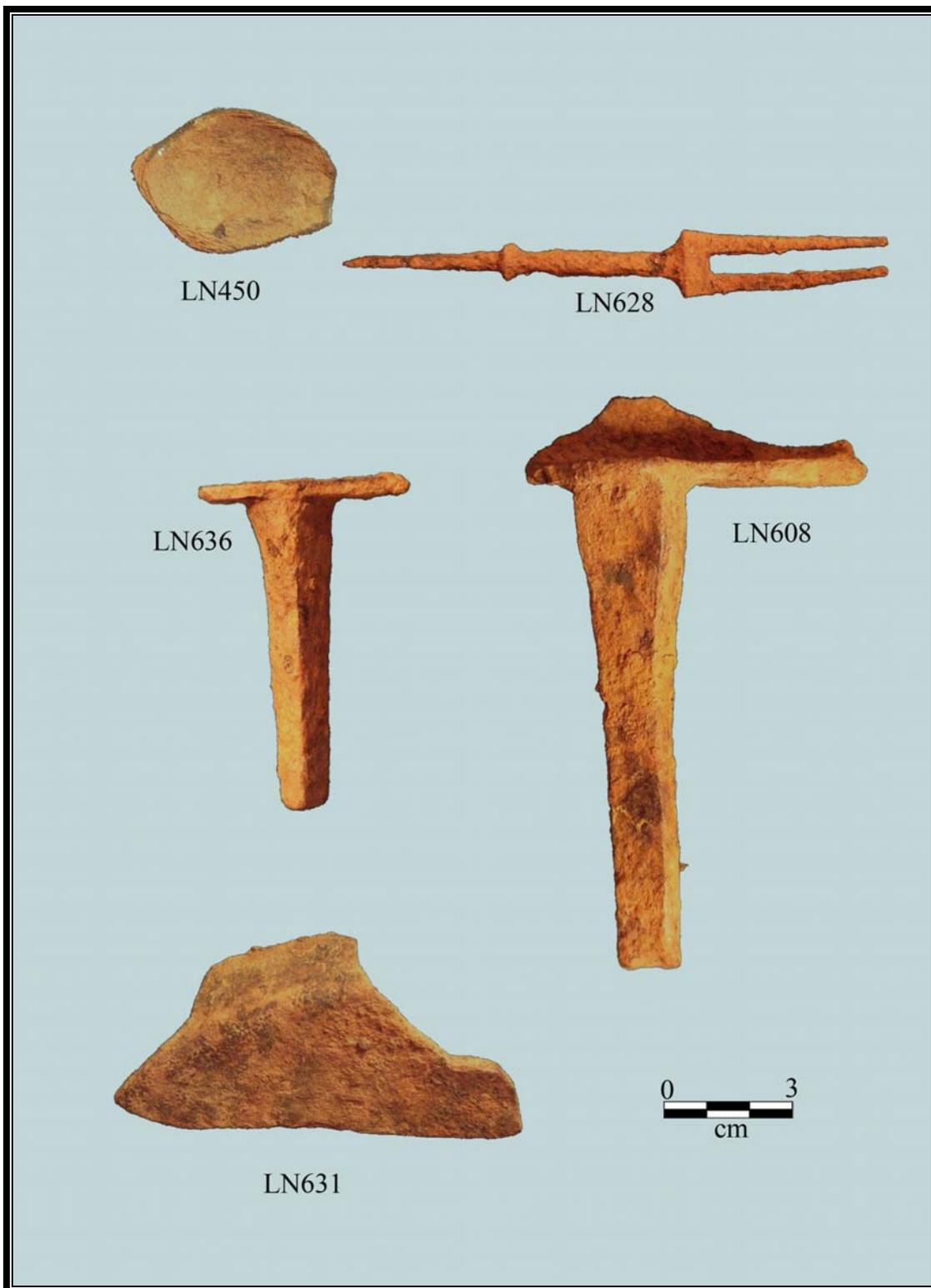


Figure 32. Selected Kitchen Group Artifacts.

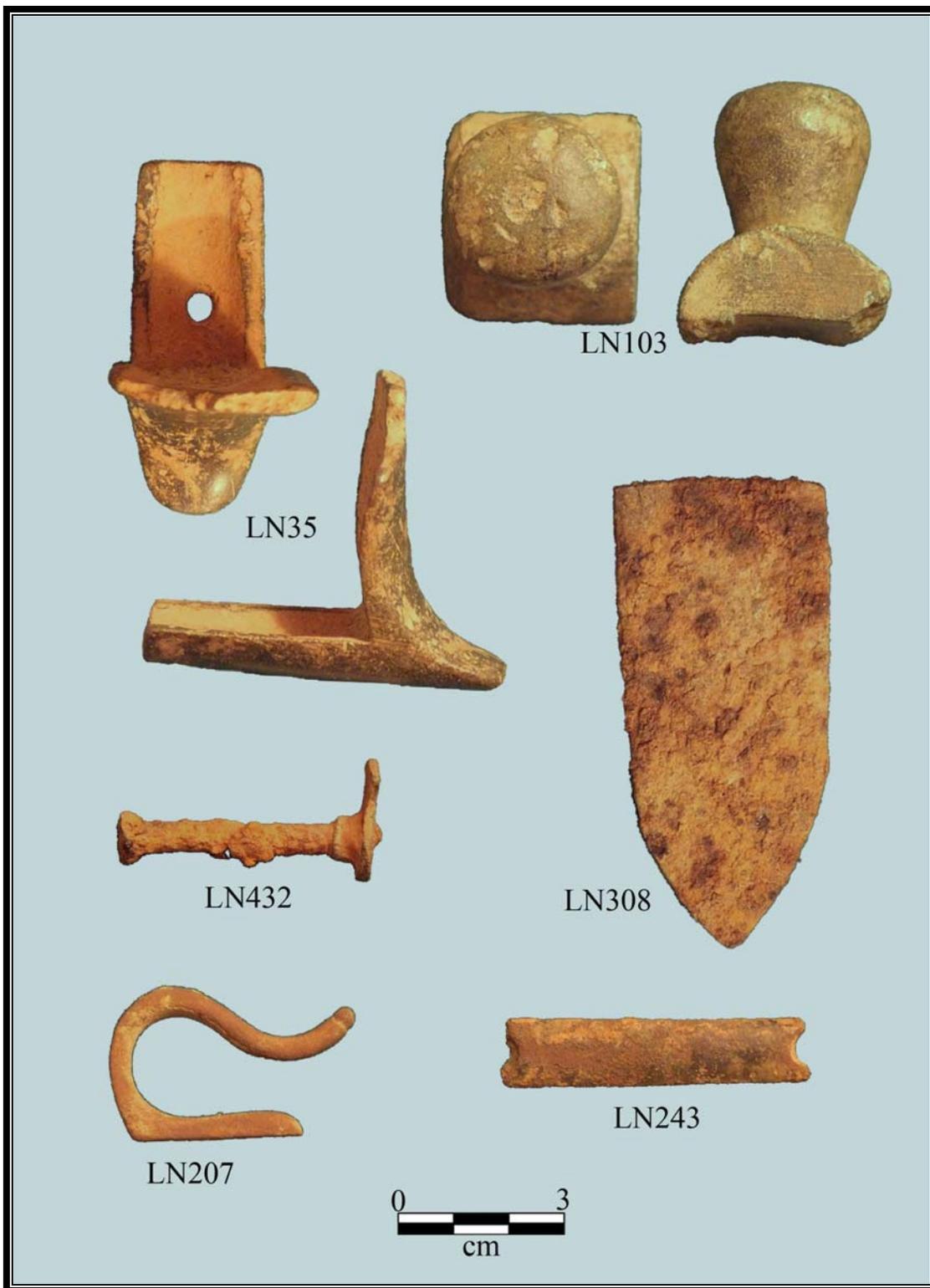


Figure 33. Selected Arms Group Artifacts.

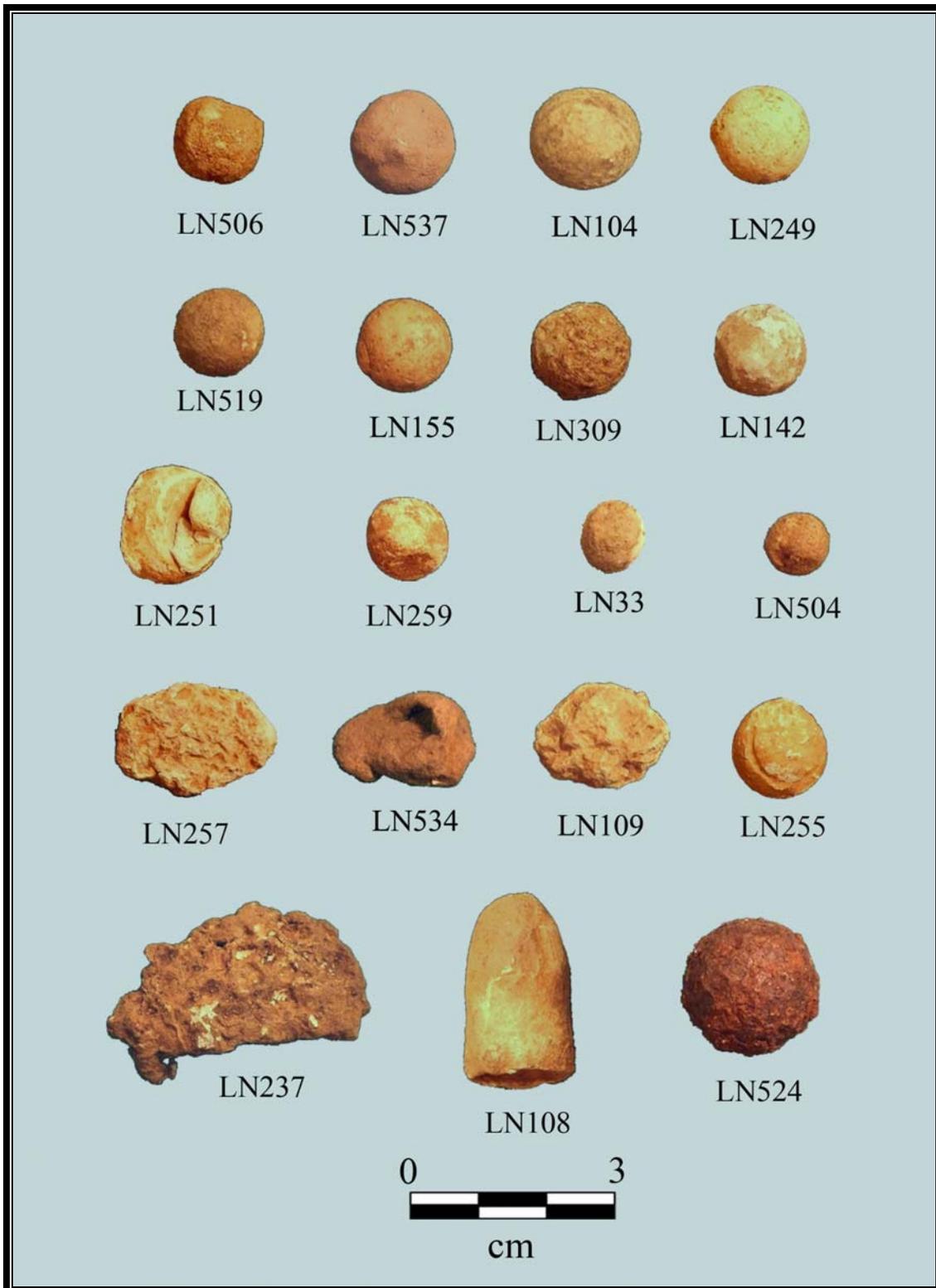


Figure 34. Selected Arms Group Ammunition.



Figure 35. Selected Clothing, Personal and Activities Artifacts.

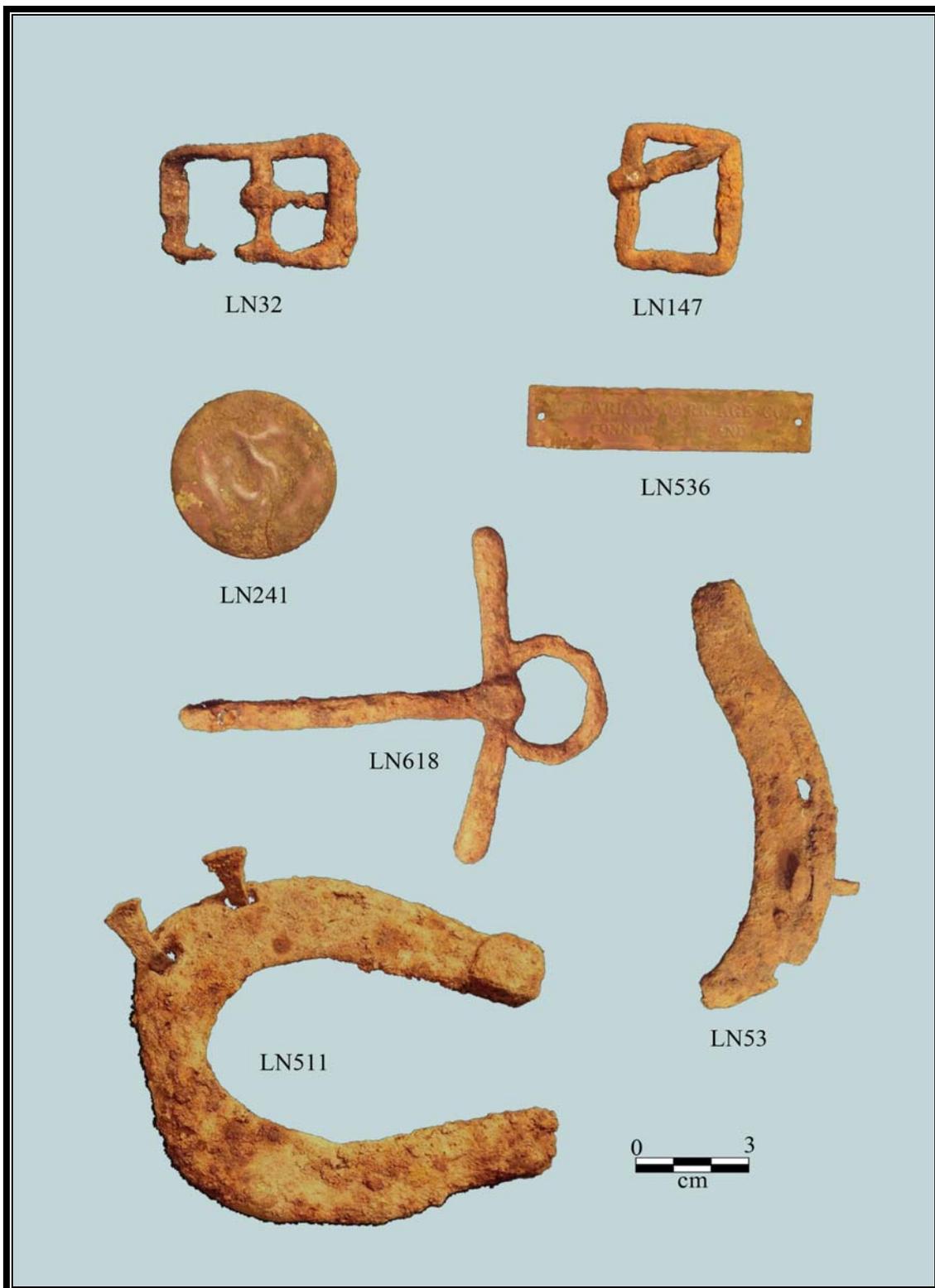


Figure 36. Selected Activities Artifacts, Horse-Related.

Three main types of refined earthenware were located by the survey. These are creamware, pearlware and whiteware. Creamware was first produced in England in 1762 and remained in production until about 1820. Creamware was a common ware in the American Revolution but its continued use in the decades after the war makes it only partially useful for dating sites associated with the Revolutionary War period. Pearlware also was produced in England. Creamware was supplanted by pearlware, which first appeared about 1774 and continued in production until the 1840s. Some pearlware ceramics have been recovered from Revolutionary War contexts in Georgia, particularly edge decorated wares and under glazed blue hand-painted cups and bowls. The more elaborately decorated pearlwares were not manufactured until after the American Revolution. Whiteware, a variety of English refined earthenware, was first produced about 1810 and was produced into the 20th century. This ware post-dates the American Revolution.

One small sherd of coarse earthenware was located on the surface, northeast of Locus H. No other artifacts were located in this immediate area. This isolated find was an unglazed rim sherd from a creampan. It bore a remarkable similarity to coarse earthenware creampans that were produced and used in the Ebenezer colony of St. Matthew's Parish (present-day Effingham County, Georgia) (Elliott and Elliott 1992). A review of the early settlers along Kettle Creek reveals several surnames of people who were either direct migrants from Ebenezer, or direct descendants of Ebenezer residents who moved westward following the Georgia frontier. Evidence for the production and use of coarse earthenware is not seen in Georgia after the American Revolution. It is quite likely that this single sherd dates to the Colonial or Revolutionary War period. Creampans probably had multiple uses but one important use was associated with dairying. The presence of this pottery type has not been previously described for Wilkes County, Georgia.

The survey generated several examples of hand blown bottle glass and tableware glass. The bottle glass included olive green and light green bottle glass sherds. The tableware glass included clear tumbler and goblet fragments. Since glass is not metallic, this artifact category is likely grossly under-represented in the survey collection. Glass is typically a common component in early historic artifact assemblages. Spirit bottle glass is usually found in greater frequencies on military habitation sites in the 18th century. Given the brief duration of military activity at Kettle Creek, the bottle glass that was recovered is not likely associated with it.

Quite a few metal artifacts in the Kitchen Group were identified by the present survey. The survey at Locus E revealed some evidence for eating utensils. A two-tine iron fork was discovered at Locus E (see Figure 32, LN628). This fork style was common throughout the 18th century. The bowl portion of a large pewter spoon was discovered at Locus E. This find was the largest piece of pewter located by the survey team. Pewter was valuable in the 18th and early 19th century and it was readily recycled by melting and recasting. It was infrequently discarded on archeological sites in Georgia and most pewter finds are very small fragments.

Cast iron kettle or pot fragments were discovered in several locations in the study area. Twenty-three sherds of cast iron cooking vessels were located by the survey team. Cast iron cookware was used throughout the 18th through early 20th centuries in Georgia. Cast iron pots and pans were used directly over fire and coals. They were either suspended by hooks and handles, or had raised legs that straddled the heat source (see Figure 32). Cast iron cookware was produced in North America in the 18th century. No 18th century furnaces capable of casting iron have been identified archeologically in Georgia. Ironworks were in existence in the South Carolina piedmont during the American Revolution. A Revolutionary War battle at Wofford's Iron Works, near present-day Spartanburg, South Carolina, attests to the existence of an iron industry in the south. Once cast iron cooking vessels were broken, most of the smaller pieces were likely discarded. Unlike wrought iron, which was easily recycled by blacksmiths, cast iron could not be easily transformed back into a malleable raw material, which accounts for its frequent discard on archeological sites. The soldiers in both armies in the American Revolution made use of cast iron cookware. This likely included the Loyalists who were preparing breakfast when they were surprised at Kettle Creek. Any useable cast iron vessels that the Loyalists abandoned on the battlefield were probably scavenged by the Patriots, or by later residents of the area. The many broken fragments were probably deposited in the ground at (or near) where they were broken.

Arms Group

The common militiaman in the American Revolution was lightly equipped. An April 6, 1779 list of “Articles of Equipment” that were to be provided to the Continental soldiers in the northeast included the following items:

A good Fire-Arm, with a Steel or Iron Ram-Rod, and a Spring to retain the same, a Worm, Priming wire and Brash, and a Bayonet fitted to your Gun, a Scabbard and Belt therefor, and a Cutting Sword, or a Tomahawk or Hatchet, a Poach [pouch] containing a Cartridge Box, that will hold fifteen Rounds of Cartridges at least, a hundred Buck Shot, a Jack-Knife and Tow for Wadding, six Flints, one pound powder, forty Leaden Balls fitted to your Gun, a Knapsack and Blanket a Canteen or Wooden Bottle sufficient to hold one Quart (Hopkins 1940:19).

A variety of battlefield weapons and relics in the Arms Group have been discovered and taken from the site in the 229 years since the battle ended. Bowen noted that, “For a long time, pieces of muskets, of bayonets, and also musket balls were picked up at the battlefield of Kettle Creek” (Hays 1950:18). Oral history provided by former Kettle Creek area residents Henry Nichols and Eloise Slaton in 1974 to Davis and Thomas (1975:95) included recollections of, “gun barrels, bullets, dishes etc. being found in the area.” We cannot determine the percentage of battlefield relics that were removed by people in years past, although it probably represents a significant percentage of the total. Bear in mind, however, that the entire battle event took less than four hours, it included no entrenchments, and the victors (and later residents) scoured the battlefield and collected weapons and other valuable materiel.

To illustrate one type of object that was likely removed from the battlefield, collector and artifact merchant Childs provided an unconfirmed report of a spontoon that was dug by a relic collector from the Kettle Creek battlefield several decades ago. Wier (2004) provides this discussion of spoons and their use in the American Revolution:

A spontoon, formally called an espontoon, was a spear carried by European and American army officers in the 18th century. The spontoon served as a badge of rank, to direct troops, and occasionally for a personal weapon in battle, as need arose...During the War for Independence General George Washington directed that officers carry spoons rather than firearms. He wrote "As the proper arming of officers would add considerable strength to the Army, and the officers themselves would derive great confidence from being armed in the time of action, the General orders every one of them to provide himself with a spear or half pike as soon as possible -- fire arms, when made use of, withdrawing their attention too much from their men, and to be without either, has a very awkward and unofficer-like appearance At Valley Forge in 1778 a council of brigade commanders recommended that '...the Quartermaster General be directed to cause spoons or pikes made for the officers, the staff six feet long and one inch and one quarter diameter in the largest part, and that the iron part to be one foot long.' There was no standard design for the spontoon; they varied from ornate to crude (Wier 2004).

If this alleged relic, which Childs attributes to the Kettle Creek battlefield, was tracked down and its provenance more securely established, it would likely provide very useful information about the battle, as well as contributing significantly to the interpretive material culture. The presence of spoons at Kettle Creek would be expected for both Patriot and Loyalist militias. In the absence of any firm evidence, however, the find mentioned by Child must remain unverified hearsay.

The present survey located 71 artifacts in the Arms Group (see Figures 32 and 33). Most of these are probably associated with the battle of Kettle Creek. Figure 37 shows the spatial distribution of the Arms Group artifacts over the battlefield landscape.

Small Arms. The combatants in the battle of Kettle Creek included skilled marksmen, both Loyalist and Patriot. These fighters were from the interior, where weapon skills were essential for survival. A variety of firearms were used in Georgia in the American Revolution. These included rifles, smoothbore muskets, and pistols. All were flintlock weapons. The standard weapon of the regular Continentals was the French Charleville musket, which had a .69 caliber barrel. The standard firearm of the British foot soldier was the Brown Bess musket, which had a .75 caliber barrel. The firearm arsenal for the militia was a different matter, however. Militia flintlocks were a mix of whatever was available at the time the war began. For many, this was a rifle.

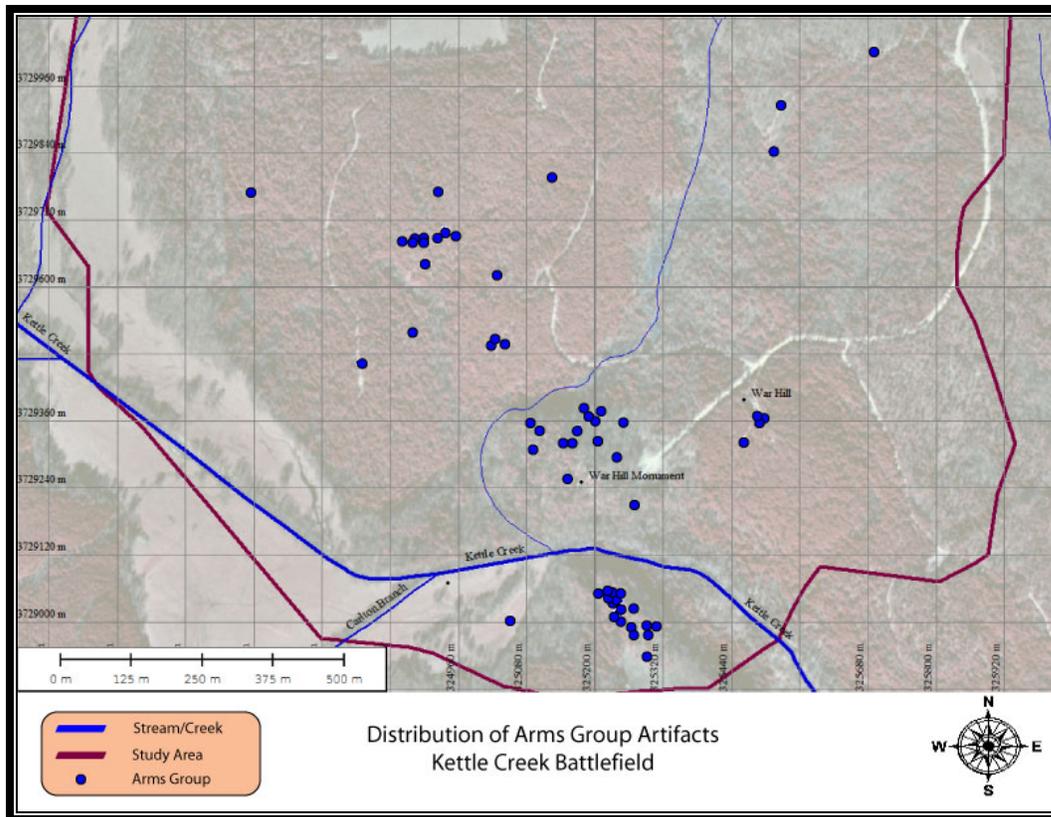


Figure 37. Distribution of Arms Group Artifacts, Kettle Creek Battlefield.

Rifles were introduced to America around 1700 as a German hunting piece. Rifles were popular in the interior of America by the time of the American Revolution. Most rifles from the Revolutionary War period fired a smaller caliber ball than either the Charleville or Brown Bess smoothbore muskets. Rifles were more accurate than smoothbore weapons, although they took longer (approximately 3 times longer) to load and fire. A sizeable percentage of the combatants at Kettle Creek carried rifles. Private William Anderson described himself as a “volunteer rifleman” when he enlisted for his second militia tour under Elijah Clarke (Footnote.com 2008 [William Anderson W512]).

Baika Harvey, a young Scot newly arrived in Georgia, wrote back home to his godfather in 1775 with fearful praise of the marksmanship skills of the backwoods Georgians:

I am Just Returned from the Back parts where I seed Eight Thousand men in arms all with Riffeld Barrill guns which they can hit the Bigness of a Dollar between Two & Three hundreds yards Distance the Little Boys not Bigger than my self has all their Guns & marches with their Fathers & all their Cry is Liberty or Death Dear Godfather tell all my Country people not to come here for the Americans will kill them Like Dear in the Woods & they will never see them they can lie on their Backs & Load & fire & every time they draws sight at anything they are sure to kill or Creple & they Run in the Woods like Horses I seed the Liberty Boys take Between Two & Three hundred Torreys & one Liberty man would take & Drive four or five before him Just as shepards do the sheep in our Cuntry & they have taken all their arms from them and put the head men in gaile (Harvey 1775 in Davis 2006:3-4).

While many historians and weapons’ experts herald the American rifle as instrumental in the victory over the British Army, many Patriot officers were not convinced that the rifle was the perfect weapon in battle (Wright 1924:293-299). Rifles were slower to load than smoothbore muskets. They were not well suited to close-in combat because the riflemen often had their vision obscured when a combination of rifles and muskets were fired in volley. Rifles were more difficult to load and maintain, and most rifles were not made to affix a bayonet (which was a deadly factor when facing an oncoming charge). The formation of lines of troops firing volleys from smoothbore muskets remained the primary firing technique for the British and Americans, and rifles were not effective in this type of warfare. Rifles were certainly

recognized as extremely useful weapons at great distances and used by an experienced marksman. At a distance of 100 yards, smoothbore musket had only a 40 percent accuracy rate for hitting a human-sized target, whereas a good marksman could hit a target the size of a man's head at 200 yards and a man's body at 300 yards. Both the British and Patriots had rifle regiments, although the number of Patriot riflemen greatly outnumbered that of the British.

A major advocate of the rifle for the British military was Major Patrick Ferguson. Ferguson arrived in Georgia in December, 1779 and he fought in several battles in the south until meeting his death at King's Mountain in 1780. Back in England, Ferguson had designed a prototype rifle, which he used in battle. Ferguson had also participated in weapons testing with captured Patriot rifles, as well as his own design. Ferguson's design did not require a ramrod and it could be fired faster than a smoothbore musket. Only about 100 Ferguson rifles were manufactured and his innovative design was not available to the combatants at Kettle Creek.

One brass butt plate from an American-made rifle was located in Locus B just down slope to the north of the Kettle Creek monument. An iron butt plate fragment was an isolated find on the northern part of the study area (see Figure 33, LN35). A relic collector's find, which was donated to the LAMAR Institute just as this report was being finalized, is a brass triggerguard that is probably from a flintlock pistol. The style of this triggerguard is consistent with pistol triggerguards that were manufactured circa 1750-1790. This specimen bears an engraved rose motif on its exterior. The crudeness of execution of the engraving suggests that this weapon was an American-made piece (see Appendix III, Collector's gunpart). The approximate location of this pistol triggerguard was estimated by Daniel Battle, based on conversations and map review by its finder. Other pieces of gun hardware were located by the survey but were unable to reveal the weapons of their origination.

An unknown percentage of the combatants at Kettle Creek had no firearms. These men may have carried pikes or edged implements such as sabers, swords, dirks, tomahawks, and hangars. Of the 1,600 Loyalists who fought at Moore's Creek Bridge, North Carolina, in 1776, for example, only about 500 actually had firearms. That situation in the interior of North and South Carolina may not have changed very much over the ensuing few years. Many of these men probably joined Colonel Boyd's regiment with the intent of securing firearms from the British, once they reached Augusta.

Ammunition. The main evidence for weapons at Kettle Creek was the lead balls. Sixty-five examples were recovered by the present survey (see Figure 34). These were fired from muzzle-loading flintlock weapons of various calibers. Colonel Dooly remarked in a letter written two days after the battle, "from the first of the Engagement to the Last it was at least 3 ours Constant firing and Some Times it appeared to me that they fired 200 guns at us in half a Minet" (Dooly in Davis 1978:19).

Let us assume that about 1,000 men faced off at Kettle Creek but that only one-third of these men carried firearms. Also assume that the duration of the battle was three hours. If each gunman fired one round per minute, that would have generated 59,400 lead balls on the battlefield. If one assumes that 10 percent of these struck an organic target, such as another soldier or his horse, then 2,970 bullets may have traveled from the battlefield. That leaves 53,460 bullets on the battlefield. If this estimate is reliable, then the present survey recovered about one-tenth of one percent of the bullets fired in the battle. If we calculate an estimate using another method, the outcome is fairly similar. Assuming that each of the 333 gunmen fired 40 rounds in the battle before requiring additional ammunition, then that firefight would be represented by 13,320 bullets.

Forty rounds of ammunition was the allotment provided to each Patriot soldier prior to the October 9, 1779 attack at Savannah and a similar distribution was probably the case at Kettle Creek. Osborne notes, as their ammunition supplies dwindled, the Patriots relied more and more on weapons other than firearms and he observed that the Patriot militia was issued only 20 rounds at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina (Brett Osborne personal communication February 15, 2009). Since the Loyalists had their supplies at Kettle Creek captured by the Patriots, it is unlikely that Loyalist cartridge boxes were replenished during the battle. Assuming that the Patriots were re-supplied once during the battle, each with 40 rounds, then this would bring the total of bullets fired on the battlefield to 13,716. Using the same 10 percent estimates for

bullets that struck organic targets that left the battlefield, this leaves 12,344 bullets on the battlefield. Using this estimate, the present survey again recovered about one-half of one percent of the bullets fired in the battle.

If we use Colonel Dooly's estimate of 200 guns fired by the opposing Loyalists at a rate of twice a minute for one hour, then this would have generated 24,000 bullets. If one figures that the firing rate during the other two hours of battle was one third of that, then the Loyalists may have fired as many as 39,840 bullets. And if one uses the same rate of hourly fire for the Patriots, then this would have generated another 7,920 bullets, or a total of 47,760 bullets. Even if Dooly's estimates were inflated by two thirds, that still leaves 15,761 bullets. Compared to Dooly's estimate of 47,760, the other estimates ranging between about 13,000 and 54,000 bullets are probably not too far off the mark. An average of the two extremes provides us with an estimate of 36,588 bullets fired in battle, then deduct the 10 percent removed from the battlefield by the participants (n=3,293) and that leaves 32,929 bullets on the battlefield. The recovered sample of 65 bullets is just under one-fifth of one percent (0.19%) of the bullets fired.

Reenactor data provided by Brett Osborne suggests a lower estimate for the number of bullets fired is more realistic. Osborne noted that rifles are more prone to misfires and require more frequent cleaning of the barrel during use than do smoothbore weapons. The shooter also must allow time for the heated rifle barrel to cool after repeated firings. Osborne suggests that a sequence of 10-12 rifle firings is a reasonable estimate before the weapon required tending. The cleaning and cooling of the barrel would have taken several minutes for each weapon. The combination of slower firing repetitions and "time out" for tending to the weapon would have substantially reduced the total number of bullets fired on the battlefield (Brett Osborne personal communication February 15, 2009).

Of course an armchair exercise, such as this, for estimating the number of bullets expended on the Kettle Creek battlefield is wildly inaccurate. It relies on too many tenuous assumptions. It was presented here to emphasize the relatively minute size of the recovered ammunition sample found by the present survey. An overwhelming majority of the bullets fired on February 14, 1779 were not recovered. An unknown percentage of these have been collected over generations by visitors to the battlefield. Another unknown percentage likely lie deeply buried beneath a meter or more of Kettle Creek floodplain soils. With all this said, however, the bullets that were recovered by this project speak volumes about the events of that day.

Lead shot and balls from the study were classified by caliber, weight (in grams), and by their condition (impacted versus dropped or non-impacted). The lead shot used by both sides during the battle of Kettle Creek are visibly indistinguishable. They are round balls of various smaller calibers, which were fired from a variety of non-military issue weapons. The sample of lead balls from the Kettle Creek battlefield is too small for any detailed statistical analyses.

Caliber measurements were obtainable for 29 of the 61 lead balls in the survey collection. These ranged from .33 to .64 calibers. Twelve of these were greater than .50 caliber and 17 were .50 caliber or smaller. The sample of 61 lead balls weighed an average of 10.28 g per ball. They ranged in size from 1.8 g to 17.5 g. Lead ball weights were sorted by Loci and the average weight per ball was noted.

Thirteen balls from Locus B averaged 6.2 g. They ranged from 7.4 to 13.2 g. Two measured specimens were .33 and .34 caliber balls. The spatial distribution of bullets in Locus B was scattered across the hillside. That pattern suggests a general, unfocused firing, probably by the advancing Patriots under Colonel Pickens command.

Eighteen balls from Locus D averaged 11 g and ranged from 3.8 to 17.1 g. Eleven measured specimens ranged from .34 to .60 calibers. Seven examples were between .50 and .54 caliber. One ball was .34 caliber, one was .47 caliber, one was .54 caliber, and one was .60 caliber. The spatial distribution of bullets in Locus D is more concentrated, which may indicate a firing pattern generated by only a few shooters firing at a compact, stationary target.

Locus F yielded the largest sample of lead balls from any of the battlefield loci. Twenty-five balls from Locus F averaged 9.3 g and ranged from 3.3 g to 17.2 g. Twelve measured specimens ranged from .35 to

.60 calibers. Seven of these were from .39 to .49 calibers. One ball was .35 caliber, one was .50 caliber, two were .56 calibers, and one was .60 caliber. The spatial pattern of bullets in Locus F suggests multiple events took place. The initial influx of bullets may have been fired by Colonel Clarke's battalion as they approached the retreating Loyalists. Other bullets may represent a general firefight that ensued between Major Spurgeon's men and Clarke's men.

Surprisingly, Locus C, which generated so many early historic artifacts, yielded no bullets. From this we may conclude that few bullets were fired at Colonel Dooly's horsemen who most likely approached the Loyalists via this ridge. The largest round ball found by the survey was a .64 caliber example from Locus G. It was impacted, revealing that it definitely had been fired.

Dropped balls were not common on the battlefield. Some of the analyzed specimens appeared to be dropped (or unaltered) balls but impact evidence was apparent with closer observation. Only 13 examples exhibited no obvious evidence of impact or alteration. Dropped balls on battlefields are found particularly in areas where soldiers are panicked or do not have time to properly load their weapons. Dropped balls also can occur where soldiers fall or spill their cartridge boxes.

Impacted balls from the battlefield were the dominant category of lead balls at Kettle Creek. These artifacts can be grouped by those that were only slightly deformed by impact and those that were heavily deformed. Caliber measurements were made on those that were only slightly deformed, whereas no caliber measurements were attempted on the heavily deformed balls.

Jammed balls, either caused by misfires or by a frantic marksman, probably constituted a significant portion of the bullets at Kettle Creek. Balls that were lodged in gun barrels had to be removed using a worm, which left distinctive damage on the bullet. No wormed examples were identified in the survey collection.

Nine examples of chewed lead balls were found at over the Kettle Creek study area (see Figure 34, LN257, LN109, LN237). Two clusters of chewed balls were observed. These were at Loci D and E. Both of those areas contained numerous other lead balls. One chewed ball, recovered from Locus K, was larger than the others (28.4 g) and it may be from a 19th century bullet, such as a minie ball. This latter example of a mutilated ball may not be related to the Kettle Creek battle. These chewed balls are presumed to be the product of chewing by humans, although Battle (personal communication February 10, 2008) has observed similar artifacts modified by pigs.

One bullet fired from an Enfield musket was located in the study area (see Figure 34, LN108). Enfield bullets are most often associated with the Confederate Army in the American Civil War. Enfield rifles were used by civilians in the mid to late 19th century. This specimen was the only bullet from this period identified in the study area. It attests to the lack of military action at Kettle Creek during the Civil War.

We examined the distribution of lead balls across the study area by their caliber. Several maps were generated but these maps did not clearly demonstrate any significant differences in bullet size across the battlefield. Modest concentrations of lead balls larger than .50 caliber were located in Loci D and F.

Next, deformed or impacted balls were included with those examples for which caliber measurements were possible. To do this, all balls weighing more than 10.5 g were classified as .50 caliber or greater and those examples 10.5 g or less were classified as less than .50 caliber. This arbitrary division point of 10.5 g was determined by comparing those specimens that had both weight and caliber measurements. By doing this the sample size increased considerably, this allowed a better comparison of bullets by their estimated sizes over the battlefield. This exercise yielded 36 examples in the estimated .49 caliber or less range and 29 specimens in the estimated .50 caliber or greater range.

The spatial distribution of lead balls measuring .50 caliber or larger (which includes those estimated by weight) is shown in Figure 38a. The greatest concentration of larger balls is in Loci D and F. Isolated examples are located at other parts of the study area. The concentration of fire of these larger weapons at Locus D is interpreted as incoming Loyalist fire (Colonel Boyd's men firing at Colonel Pickens' troops).

The concentration of fire of the larger weapons at Locus F is interpreted as incoming Patriot fire (Colonel Clarke's men firing at Major Spurgeon's men). The firing pattern in Locus D is somewhat more dispersed compared to Locus F. This may indicate that Spurgeon's men had bunched up during their final rally on the battlefield. The more scattered pattern at Locus D may indicate that Pickens' advance troops were dispersed. Interestingly, Locus B, which is the presumed location where Colonels Pickens and Boyd had a heated exchange for about an hour, larger balls are extremely rare. This may be due in part to heavy relic collector activity in this part of the battlefield.

The spatial distribution of lead balls smaller than .50 caliber is shown in Figure 38b. Clusters are apparent in Loci B, D and F and isolated examples are scattered elsewhere in the study area. Locus B has a dramatic increase in smaller lead balls, particularly when compared to the paucity of larger balls, as discussed earlier. Locus D has fewer small balls, compared to large balls. This may indicate that the weapons fired toward Locus D were not rifles but were smoothbore muskets. Locus F has two clusters of smaller balls and their spatial distribution essentially overlaps the distribution of larger balls. This suggests that the weapons fired toward Locus F included both rifles and smoothbore muskets. The distribution of smaller balls in Locus B is more dispersed than in Locus F. This suggests a scattered pattern of troops in Locus B, whereas the "targets" in Locus F, that is Loyalist militia, were more concentrated.

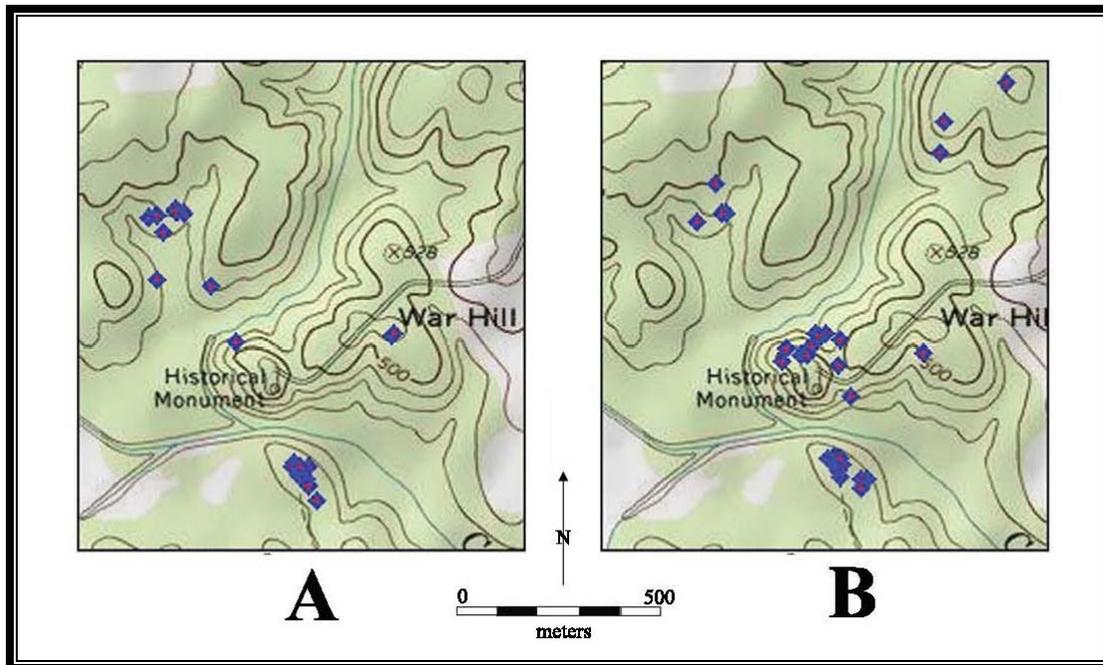


Figure 38. Comparison of Bullet Distribution, Kettle Creek (A. Bullets .50 caliber or Greater; B. Bullets less than .50 caliber).

Obtaining Lead. Since most of the recovered objects that are most likely associated with the Kettle Creek battle were lead, we explored the topic of lead and its geology, mining, and distribution in the American Revolutionary War period. A logical next phase of the research at Kettle Creek may include characterizing the lead objects through scientific means, so that lead balls may be linked to geological sources. Lead was a vital military commodity for both opposing armies in the Revolution. Lead was actively mined in both America and the British Isles decades before the American Revolution began. Lead is a metallic element that is found in metamorphic rocks. Lead does not typically occur in its pure form, but is usually associated with galena rocks. Copper, galena, gold, silver and zinc often co-occur in areas where lead is mined. Lead required smelting from the ore to extract it in a pure form. Lead (Pb) is a toxic metal, which in its unstable forms, leads to neurological damage in humans. In the 18th century lead had several uses in addition to its obvious use as ammunition. Lead was used in the manufacture of printing type, paints, ceramic glazes, crystal glass, and lead comes (to secure glass panes in windows). It was also used in

medicines, since its toxic properties, while known, were only partly understood at that time. The melting point for lead is 621 degrees Fahrenheit.

The British and Loyalist troops received their supplies of lead mostly from England. A New York newspaper in January, 1778 contained a merchant's advertisement that included, "shot and bar lead" (*Royal Gazette* 1778:4). Lead was extensively mined in England, Ireland and Scotland. The British military would have had access to all of these lead sources. Extensive lead deposits were mined in Cornwall, England, where it was found in association with copper (Pryce 1778).

Pryce described the properties of lead and its occurrence in Cornwall:

It [Lead] is seldom found malleable and purely metallic; for what have been taken for specimens of native Lead, have produced, very often, three parts in four of fine Silver; from whence many have supposed, that there is no such thing as native Lead: I have however seen two specimens of it, in the possession of Mr. Bennalack in this county... This Metal seems to consist in part of an impure leprous earth, of a sulphureous nature; and it abounds also with something very acid and corrosive, though cold, and causing paralytick complaints in those who are much concerned in the melting of it. It may be dissolved in many sorts of weak acid menstrua, much better than in those of the greatest strength; and it will incorporate indifferently well with Quicksilver [Mercury]; but does not admit of ignition, for it melts in a very small degree of heat.

The only Lead Ores which we have seen in Cornwall are these four sorts: first, the lead coloured bluish gray, of no particular form; secondly, the Antimoniated striated glittering Ore; thirdly, the steel grained; and lastly, the tessellated or diced Lead: most of which are so extremely rich both for Silver and Lead, as to be well worth the working, if the Cornish Lead Lodes were of a larger size, and more lasting than they generally are. The small profits arising from this Metal hitherto wrought with us, have damped the ardour of our adventurers in their-pursuit of it; and the Lead which has been discovered in the west of the county, has for the most part offered itself accidentally, when the Miners have been searching for Copper, with which it is more generally associated than with Tin. For my own part, I have never seen it blended with Tin; - but Copper frequently; and always very rich for Silver, but in no quantity. Black Jack and Mundick are very close companions with it; but they, and Copper Ore, are all of them distinct and discernible from each other, in the Stone or Mineral state. In searching for Copper Ore in Nanskuke Downs, in a very promising Gossan, we discovered a leader, six inches wide, of very rich Lead of the Antimoniated kind upon the north wall of the Lode. The Silver in it was plenty, insomuch as to render the Mineral worth £.18 or £ .20 #* ton without any dressing. It produced about a ton and half, and then totally disappeared.

It is a mistake of those who think that Lead becomes brittle by extracting the Silver from it, for it is rather more ductile. The deleterious properties of Lead I have already hinted at, in treating of Quicksilver; and I may observe in this place, that any saturnine preparation given inwardly must be very hazardous, unless administered under the direction of a skilful practitioner.

In degree next to our provincial Metal, Tin, this island has been famous in the annals of past ages for its peculiar production of Lead; and the kingdom in general has been more remarkable for the quantity produced, insomuch that Pliny saith, 'In Britain it runneth ebb in the uppermost coat of the ground and that in such abundance, that, by an express act among the islanders themselves, it is not lawful to dig and gather Ore above such a proportion set down by stint.' And Sir Joshua Child, in his discourse of Trade, tells us, 'That our Lead and Tin, which are natives, and by God's blessing inseparably annexed to this kingdom, carry on much of our trade to Turkey Italy, Spain, and Portugal; • besides great quantities that are sold to Holland, to France, and to the Indies, as is well known to all the merchants that trade to those parts.'

We have had many ancient Mines of Lead in Cornwall, particularly in Perran Zabulo; the Garres in St. Allen; and elsewhere. It is said that the wars in France were carried on by the Silver of those and the Devonshire Mines. The Ore in the Garres, when last wrought about sixty years since, was so rich in Silver, as to yield one hundred ounces to one ton of Lead (Pryce 1778:57-58).

Pryce's scholarly treatise on mineralogy and metallurgy, cited above, reflects the scientific and practical industrial interest in lead mining and refining in the British Empire at the time of the American Revolution. Far less lead was mined and refined in America, compared to that produced in Great Britain in the 18th century. Significant lead deposits existed in New York, New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee (Hofman 1899:23). Lead was mined in eastern North America, in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York in the 18th century. Some of these lead deposits had been mined for decades before the Revolutionary War and a local mining industry (albeit on a small scale) was well-developed in those regions of the Eastern Seaboard. Lead was also mined in the Midwest in the area of present day Missouri, Illinois, Iowa and other areas of the upper Mississippi valley in areas that were influenced by the French or autonomous Native Americans. The most significant lead deposits in the Revolutionary War period were located approximately 70 miles south of St. Louis (Rohrbough 2004:114).

Lead is a very heavy mineral and geographic factors affected its transportation in the 18th century. An important lead mining area that was close to Georgia and the Carolinas was in southern Virginia along the Kanawha River in present-day Wythe County. Lead may have been mined in the Carolinas at that time, but any such activity is poorly documented (Pulsifer 1888). The Patriots experienced difficulties in obtaining

lead supplies during the war. Fort Roberdeau, which was located in the Sinking Valley of Bedford County, Pennsylvania, was built by Patriot militia in April, 1778, to protect a lead mine and smelting operation. This fort was never attacked and the lead production there supplied the Patriots with about 1,000 pounds of lead in 1778 and a smaller quantity in 1779. Lead smelting and mining operations were disrupted by Loyalists in the surrounding region, however, which severely limited later production. General Daniel Roberdeau, whose idea it was to develop the Bedford County lead deposits, shifted his attention to lead mines in Virginia after 1779. The 18th century lead mines in this vicinity have not been relocated archeologically and they may have been destroyed by subsequent zinc mining in the 19th century (Fort Roberdeau Association 2008).

Despite the abundant native lead sources in North America, vast amounts of lead were imported into the United States, even as late as 1828. In 1828, the U.S. imported 8,076,796 lbs (\$294,563) of “bar lead, sheet and pig” lead and 88,543 lbs (\$3,981) of lead shot. That same year, \$2,534,076 of bar, sheet and pig lead and \$56,980 of lead shot, “under the drawback system,” were re-exported from the U.S. (*American Farmer* 1829:271). As late as 1813, lead remained difficult to obtain in northern Georgia. Asa Allen wrote on September 9 from Carnesville, Georgia to Georgia Governor David Mitchell requesting lead for the protection of people on the frontier from hostile Native Americans. Allen wrote, “If we can get a few arms it would be well to let us have a few Pounds of Powder & lead Major Jones will furnish Powder at this place at 75 cts pr pound and Your order will answer with him, Lead Cannot be procured here” (Allen 1813). Allen’s letter implies that no local lead deposits were exploited in the region at that time. The availability of local lead in this region during the American Revolution was likely even more restricted. Most of the lead that came to the southeastern U.S. arrived by sea. Lead was traded to Georgia and the Carolinas in several forms, including bar lead, sheet lead, and lead shot (*Georgia Gazette* 1769:3). Prior to the war, the American Colonies received the bulk of their lead from London. When war erupted, that supply was halted.

While many of the Continental soldiers and regular British troops were supplied with prepared cartridges, many others made their own bullets from raw stock. Bullet molds that were capable of producing single bullets or multiple shot were used by the troops. Bullet molds from the period were made from brass, soapstone, and iron. Bar lead was the most massive form of imported lead. At New Ebenezer, archeological evidence indicates that bar lead was chopped into smaller pieces with a butcher knife, axe or similar cutting tool. The small chunks from these bars were issued to the troops so that they could manufacture their own bullets by melting the lead and pouring it into bullet molds. Archeologists recovered one small lead chunk, which exhibited cut marks on the lower ridge slope south of Kettle Creek in Locus F.

Artillery. Artillery was used to a limited extent in the battle at Kettle Creek. Evidence for artillery on the battlefield consists of: one iron grapeshot recovered during the present archeological survey, a Wilkes County museum collection specimen (a small stone ball, dark green color, measurements 64.6 mm by 59.3 mm), anecdotal reports of multiple cannonball finds and a small cannon find. The grapeshot discovered by the present team was located on the south side of Kettle Creek in Locus F (PP524, 9011 North, 5245 East). This vicinity is probably associated with the final actions of the battle. This grapeshot was likely fired by the Patriots and aimed at the Loyalists after the Loyalists had reformed under Major William Spurgeon on the ridge. This specimen is made of cast iron, is spherical (.75 caliber) in shape, and weighs 25 grams. It bears no manufacturers’ marks and its Patriot provenance is based solely on the geographic location of the find, since Loyalist and Patriot grapeshot are presently indistinguishable. The survey team closely reexamined the area surrounding this find after this discovery was made, but no other examples were located.

The present survey also recovered one unusual cast brass fragment (Piece Plot 103). This item, which was not conclusively identified, is very reminiscent of cannon hardware. It may be a fragment of an elevation adjuster knob, possibly for a small-sized cannon such as a 4-pounder or smaller. It was recovered from Locus C. Our research team was unable to locate any identical specimens when reviewing sources on Revolutionary War ordnance.

The D.A.R. reported in 1902 on the efforts by Mrs. T.M. (Willametta Andrews) Green, Regent of the Kettle Creek Chapter, in “collecting relics and records”, and that, “Among the relics is a cannon ball that

was plowed up on the battlefield of Kettle Creek,” and elsewhere in the D.A.R. magazine for the same year, Mrs. Green reported, “We are locating the graves of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Wilkes county. We have petitioned the county commissioners to open a public highway to War Hill...We have also continued to unearth relics and records. Among our relics is a cannon ball that was plowed up on the battlefield of Kettle Creek” (N.S.D.A.R. 1902:209, 429).

Scruggs (1975:48-49) published a photograph of Mrs. John Singleton holding a small cannonball, which was discovered at the Kettle Creek battlefield. The Wilkes County museum collection includes one small alleged cannonball in their display, although upon examination by this author, this object was determined to be made of stone and its function as a cannonball was called into question. The several stories of other cannon ball finds and the possible discovery and removal of a small cannon from the creek bank of Kettle Creek remain unverified and uncorroborated.

The Wilkes County militia had some pieces of light artillery both before and after the battle of Kettle Creek. Only days prior to the battle, as cited in pension records, Patriot militiamen used a four-pounder and some swivel guns against Colonel Boyd’s men at the Savannah River. Clarke’s regiment also had artillery later in the war. Jones (1888, Volume II) noted that Captain William Martin, “the only artilleryman in [Elijah] Clarke’s command, was unfortunately killed just after the guns [from Fort Grierson] were brought into action” at the White House near Augusta, Georgia in 1780. The guns from Fort Grierson included a four-pounder and a six-pounder, neither of which were fitted for field service (Rauch 2005:1-15). Austin Dabney, a mulatto who later served under Elijah Clarke as an artilleryman, may have served in that capacity at Kettle Creek, but no such service is mentioned in the historical documents pertaining to him (Newman and Ham 1974; Hartgrove 1916:110-131).

Since Colonel Boyd’s force was on their way to Augusta to join with the British Army, it is quite likely that they had in their wagons some small artillery pieces. Since their wagons were captured by the Patriots, this may indicate that the Loyalists did not have an opportunity to use them in the battle. The Patriots were most likely to have used cannons in the battle. The single grapeshot was found in the area on the south side of Kettle Creek suspected to be Major Spurgeon’s rallying point, which was the target of the Patriots. We suspect that this grapeshot was fired at the Loyalists by a Patriot artillery piece in the latter phase of the battle.

Historical accounts about wounds and deaths suffered at Kettle Creek are an important line of evidence in reconstructing the battle events. Babits (1998) used these data, mostly gleaned from pension records, to locate the positions of several units on the Cowpens battlefield. For example, a shoulder wound with a sword may indicate that an infantryman’s was inflicted by a sword-wielding horseman. His creative analysis served as the model for the present study. Unfortunately, the number of recorded wounds or deaths at Kettle Creek was small and more tenuous than for Cowpens.

Captain Josiah Dunn and Privates Robert Hammett and Thomas Wooten, Jr., Georgia militia, were killed in the battle but the nature of their death wounds was not determined. South Carolina militiaman Private Prater was wounded in the shoulder and Lieutenant Carlisle was wounded in the right thigh by a rifle ball. Whether Private Prater was hit by a lead ball, or was cut with an edge implement is not known. Lieutenant Micajah Williamson, Smith’s Company, Georgia militia, lost a finger in the battle, although no details were located as to how he suffered this wound. Private William Hammett, Georgia militia, was wounded by a ball in the battle. Private Davis, South Carolina militia and Privates Lawrence and Joyner, Georgia militia, were wounded in the battle, but no details of their wounds were located. Although the sample is quite small, the evidence suggests that the Georgia militia suffered more casualties than did the South Carolina militia. Injuries caused by rifles, and possibly other firearms were reported by the Patriots. The predominance of lead ball wounds may indicate that a minimum of hand-to-hand combat was involved in the battle.

The scant casualty data for the Loyalists provides very few clues about the battle, despite the fact that many more Loyalists were killed or wounded than were Patriots. Colonel John Boyd was mortally wounded by three rifle balls, which were fired by Lieutenant Williamson and two other militiamen, who were in Major Burwell Smith’s Company, Georgia militia. Captain Andrew Hamilton, who commanded the right division

of South Carolina militia, witnessed Boyd's wounding by the Georgia militiamen. Historical accounts indicate that Boyd was surprised and hit by multiple rifle shots while standing somewhere on the left (west) side of War Hill. The details of Lieutenant Colonel John Moore's wounds were not discovered. None of Moore's fellow soldiers from North or South Carolina can account for his whereabouts on the battlefield and some imply that he was not serving as an effect leader. This may indicate that Lieutenant Colonel Moore was hit by gunfire early in the engagement but not so severely that he was unable to leave the battlefield without being captured. He was apparently not among the troops being rallied by Major Spurgeon on the south side of Kettle Creek. Moore's wounds were likely slight, however, since he managed to rejoin Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and returned to service within a few weeks. Our research team located no details of John Alexander's death on the battlefield.

Clothing Group

Clothing group artifacts in this study included two main types, buttons and buckles (see Figure 35). Other items related to clothing were sewing articles, including scissors (one example) and brass thimbles (two examples). Fragments of three decorated cast metal shoe buckles of typical 18th century style were located (Stone 1974).

The present study located a small quantity of clothing artifacts that may be associated with the two armies at Kettle Creek. All of the buttons were metal with undecorated faces. All were 18th century button types and many, if not all, may be from militia uniforms and related to the battle. Based on clothing artifacts alone, the artifacts do not indicate the presence of any military uniforms on the battlefield.

Buttons comprise most of the clothing group artifacts. All of the 18th century metal buttons recovered by the survey team were undecorated examples. These include: Type 6 (n=1), Type 7 (n=9), and Type 29 (n=1) buttons (South 1964). These three button types are consistent with those worn in the American Revolution. None were definitively associated with military uniforms, although undecorated buttons of these types were quite likely were worn by militia soldiers. Two spatial clusters of metal buttons are evidenced by the survey data.

By far the greatest concentration of clothing artifacts was observed in Locus C (n=9, or 21% of Locus C artifacts) (Figure 39). In that area small brass Type 7 buttons were the dominant artifact category, which is most unusual for early historic sites in Georgia (see Figure 35, LN204). Clothing Group artifacts usually comprise no more than a few percent of the overall artifact assemblage. The observed artifact pattern at Locus C is well outside of the range of the various artifact patterns. At the 1770s Hannah farmstead (9JF195) in the Queensborough Township for example, Clothing Group artifacts comprised less than 0.5 percent (n=10) of the historic artifact assemblage (n=2,313 historic artifacts) (Elliott and Elliott 2002:98). This clustering of buttons in Locus C led the team to an interpretation that this area served as a temporary field hospital for those wounded on the battlefield. Admittedly, this is a tenuous conclusion based solely on two observations. First, the button cluster represents a disproportionately high percentage of buttons for an early historic domestic site. Secondly, Locus C's position in the "heart" of the battlefield makes a field hospital a likely interpretation. These buttons all have broken loops on their reverse. Broken buttons may have been the result of the rapid removal of bloody clothing from the wounded and their immediate discard in a discarded clothing pile. Davis argues that this button distribution may represent the location of the burial site of the battle victims. This is certainly a possibility, particularly if the burials were shallow originally. Quite possibly the field hospital and the burial site were in close proximity, since many of those who were wounded and being treated died that day and were buried along with the other war dead. Unfortunately, the extremely eroded condition at Locus C may preempt full determination of this area as a field hospital or as the battlefield cemetery. We suggest that additional archaeological test excavations be conducted in Locus C to explore these possible interpretations.

The other button cluster was located at the northern end of the battlefield in Locus D. Both button clusters are associated with other domestic artifacts, including wrought nails. This probably indicates that a building was present in these places when the buttons were deposited in the ground. Surprisingly, Locus E, the most intensively settled historic area, did not produce any metal buttons, despite its diverse artifact inventory and

lengthy occupation. The absence of buttons at Locus E may be an indicator of intense relic collecting for non-ferrous objects by unknown persons in the past.

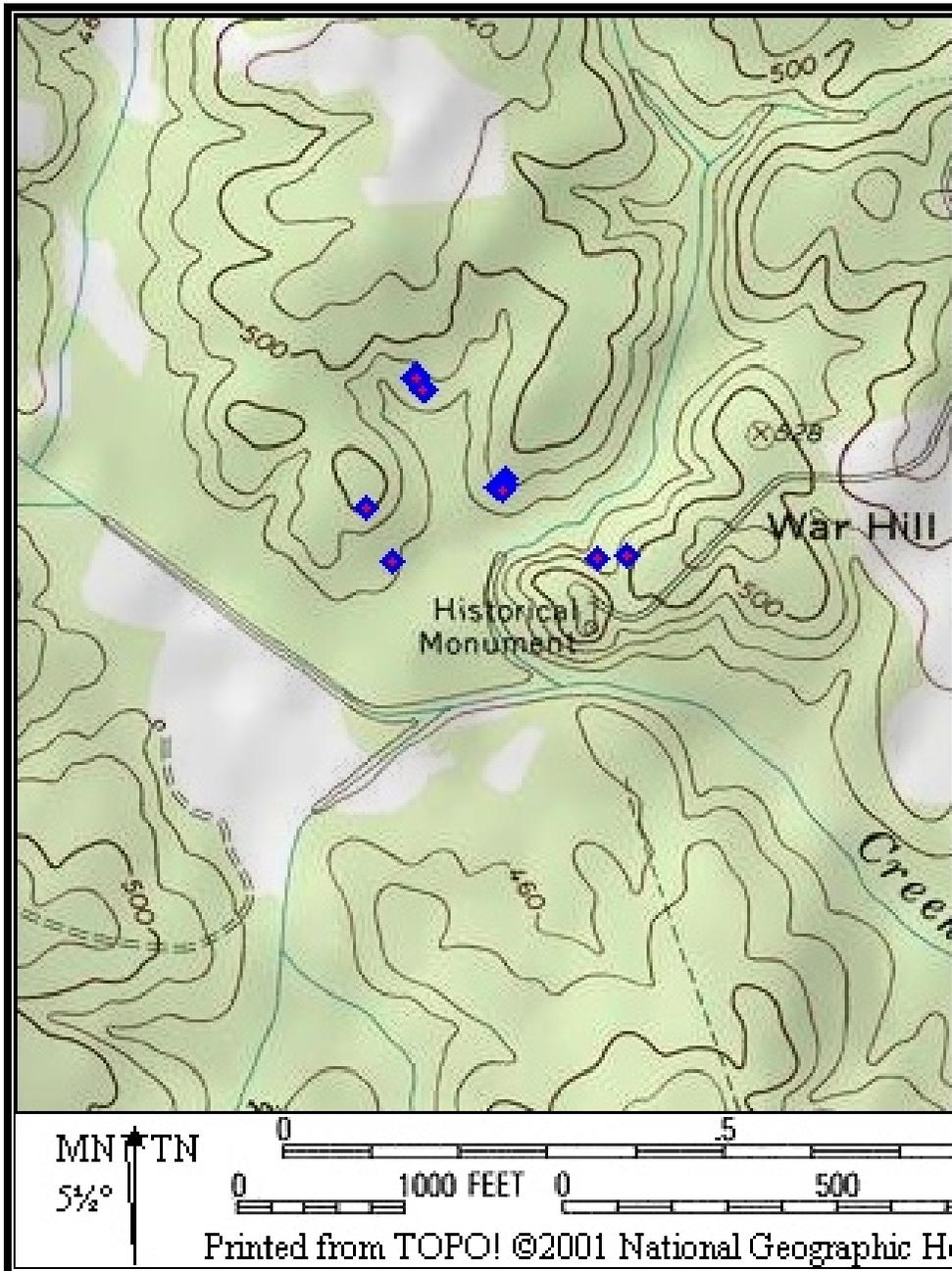


Figure 39. Distribution of Clothing Group Artifacts, Kettle Creek.

The uniforms worn by the Royal North Carolina Regiment, which was formed a few weeks after the battle at Kettle Creek, included: “Red coats, blue facings, white waistcoats and breeches, black round hats with black feathers” (Nelson 2008). It is not known whether the men in Boyd’s regiment had these uniforms at the time of the February 14 battle. Many of them were more likely clothed in civilian garb. The uniforms worn by the South Carolina militia, the Georgia militia, and the Light Horse detachment of North Carolina militia were likely equally Spartan.

Tobacco Group

The survey yielded no artifacts from the tobacco group. The most commonly encountered article in this category from 18th and 19th century sites is clay tobacco pipes. Since they are not metallic, they were not detected with the metal detector and their frequency on the domestic sites, where excavations were conducted, was too low for their recovery.

Furniture Group

A cast pewter bail handle, which was decorated in Rococco style, was recovered from the northern part of Locus D (see Figure 35, LN 145). This elegant piece of furniture hardware is unusual for the Georgia frontier. It may have been related to the Kettle Creek battle, either as plunder taken by the Loyalists or perhaps on an officer's field chest. Alternatively, it may be from a furniture piece that graced one of the nearby farmsteads. This item was broken and no similar objects were located nearby, which may indicate that it was deposited some distance from its place of use.

Personal Group

Four pocket knives were found in several locations in the study area. Pocket knives have changed very little in form since the 18th century. The age of the specimens that were recovered in the survey remains undetermined. Some may be associated with the battle but it is equally likely that they were lost by settlers or hunters in the area in the decades since the battle.

One pocket watch part was located by the survey. This specimen was an undecorated watch cover part, which was made of sheet brass with no distinguishing marks. Pocket watches were manufactured throughout the 18th through 20th centuries and pocket watches were carried by many officers in the American Revolution. At the 1779 siege of Savannah Major General Benjamin Lincoln's staff put out a notice for a lost gold pocket watch (Hyne 1779-1780). The Kettle Creek specimen was a less expensive watch than the one lost in Savannah. It is possibly associated with the Kettle Creek battle, although it was more likely lost or discarded by a later settler or visitor to the area.

The survey located a few examples of early jewelry. They include: a brass brooch, which held an oval insert that was not recovered (see Figure 35, LN 629); a cast-brass hair pin with a floral motif; and a very small pewter piece with a decorated border. Jewelry is more often associated with women, although many soldiers carried keepsakes in battle. The examples in the survey collection are probably not from the battle period.

A sheet brass harmonica reed plate was found by the survey. This specimen was broken with no reeds attached. Harmonicas were introduced to the United States in 1862 from Germany by the Mathais Hohner Company. Although they became wildly popular among the troops in the American Civil War, harmonicas are not associated with Revolutionary War sites in Georgia. A brass umbrella rib was located by the survey. Umbrellas and parasols were common in the 18th and 19th century. Surprisingly, they have been found on numerous early military sites in Georgia, including sites from the American Revolution such as Fort Morris at Sunbury and New Ebenezer. A small stamped brass pencil cap was found by the survey. This artifact probably post-dates the 18th century and is not likely associated with the Kettle Creek battle.

One small, clipped silver coin was recovered from Locus C. The coin had been clipped to a rectangular shape and it weighed 1.2 g. This coin is barely recognizable as coinage and it was not identifiable during analysis (see Figure 35). It resembles Spanish coinage, which was commonly used by Georgians in the 18th and early to mid-19th century. Spanish coinage remained legal tender in the United States until 1857.

Activities Group

The activities group artifacts identified by the present survey included 132 artifacts, which reflect a wide variety of historic activity. Many of these items are domestic in nature and are not associated with the battle

of Kettle Creek. They are related to the numerous farmsteads that dotted the margins of Kettle Creek. The Activities Group included horse tack (including a snaffle bit, bridle rosette, animal shoes), chains, agricultural implements (a hoe, axes, and plowshares), a range of wrought iron fragments of unidentified tools, many pieces of iron, pewter, lead and brass scrap. Among the more unusual items was a fragment of a brass bell, which was from Locus C (see Figure 35, LN205). Some of the wrought iron pieces suggest that a blacksmith was operating in the study area. Interestingly, Activities Group artifacts co-occur with most areas that also yielded battle relics. Plowshares found at Loci C and F attest to the agricultural land use that dominated the 19th and early 20th century in the study area. Figure 40 shows the distribution of Activities Group artifacts in the Kettle Creek study area.

Since many of the participants in the battle of Kettle Creek were men mounted on horseback, we examined the spatial distribution of horse tack and horseshoes (Figure 41). These include 20 horseshoes or horseshoe nails, one iron snaffle bit (Locus E, see Figure 36, LN618), and one brass and iron bridle rosette (Locus D, Figure 36, see LN241). The animal shoes were hand forged and were considered as potential items from the battle. Many horses and draft animals were likely present on the battlefield and an unknown number of these animals were probably killed or wounded. Historical accounts mention one horse that was disabled in the battle. According to his fellow horsemen, Elijah Clarke's horse was shot from under him while attempting to cross Kettle Creek. A previous battlefield study by The LAMAR Institute at the Nash Farm site determined that many horse shoes and horse tack pieces were debris from that Civil War cavalry action.

The Kettle Creek data indicates horse tack and horseshoes in several parts of the battle area. Clusters were noted in Loci D and E. Locus C and F each yielded two examples. Locus B contained one example and isolated horseshoes were found east of Monument Hill, possibly along Lieutenant Colonel Clarke's route. The Locus E cluster may represent a wrought iron stockpile, possibly intended for a blacksmith's use. Wrought iron was frequently recycled in 18th century Georgia, so animal shoes were a good source of wrought iron. Most of the horseshoes were fragments and only two complete specimens were recovered. All of the horseshoes exhibited heavy wear. Many examples are shown in Appendix III. Others were isolated finds that were located along a woods road. These isolated horseshoes may represent shoes that were lost while animals were working in the fields, or while traveling along the road. Most of the horse tack and horseshoes may be associated with the historic settlements from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but some may be remnants of the battle.

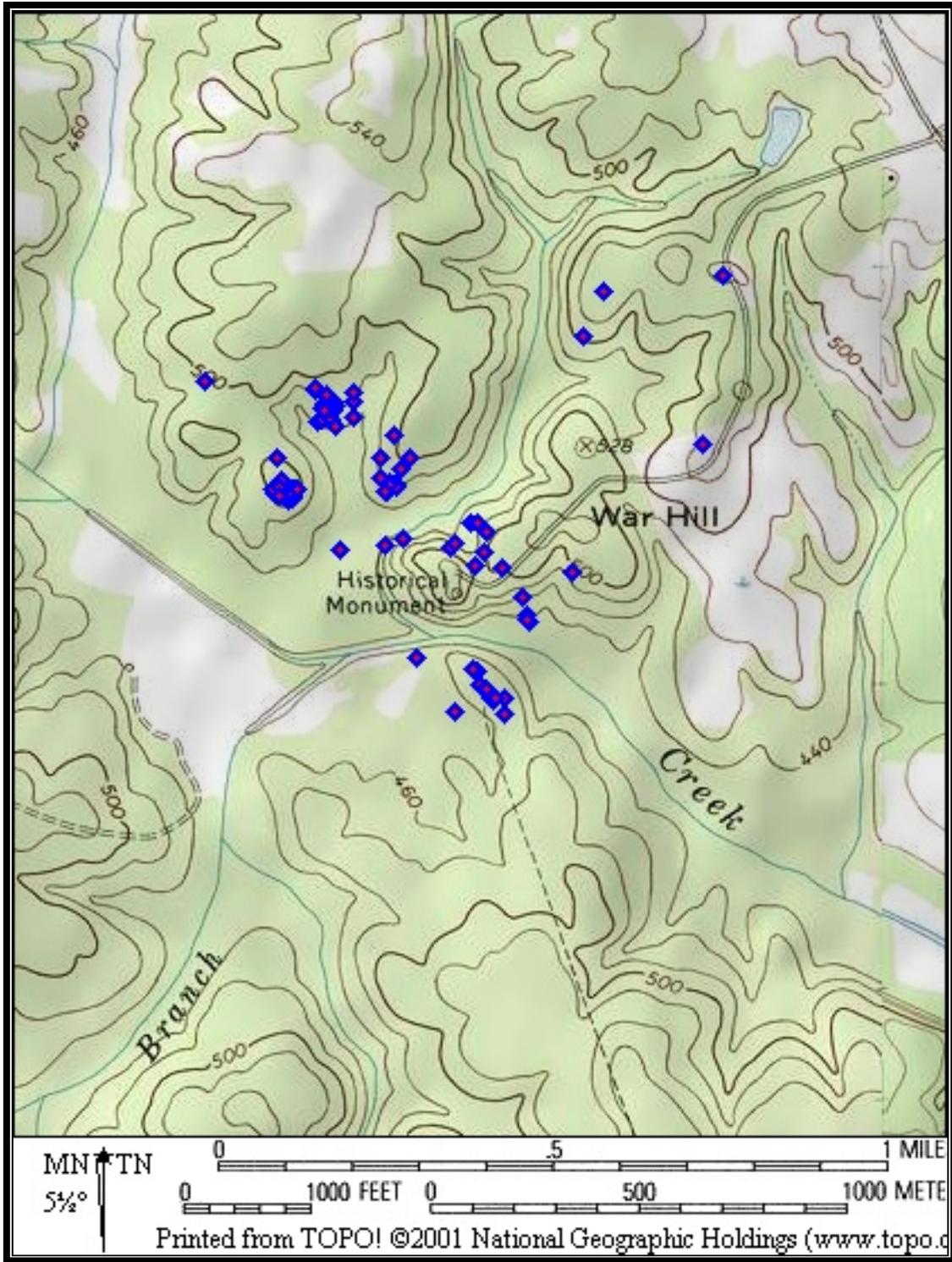


Figure 40. Distribution of Activities Group Artifacts, Kettle Creek.

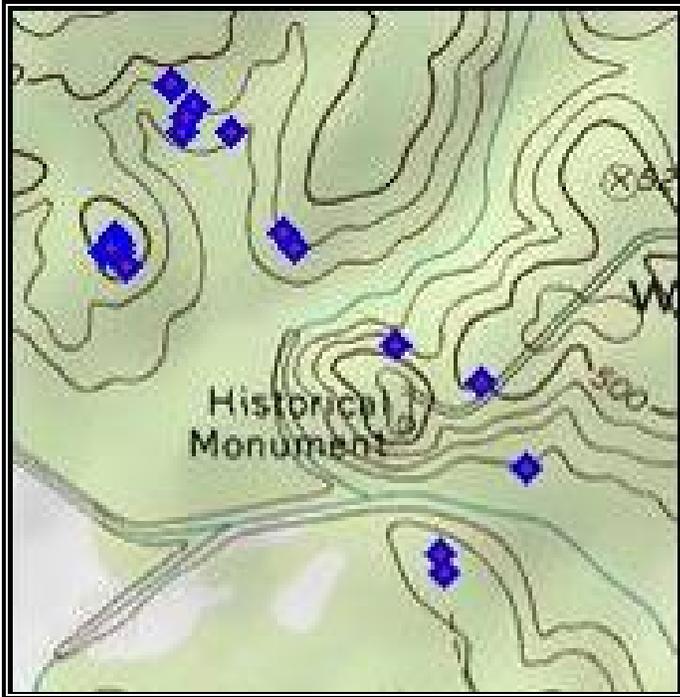


Figure 41. Distribution of Horseshoes and Horse Tack, Kettle Creek.

VI. Summary and Recommendations

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The LAMAR Institute's research team located and documented the Kettle Creek Revolutionary War battlefield in 2008. This study combined historical and archaeological research methods to locate, delineate and interpret the battlefield. Although historians have discussed the importance of this battle since the 1780s, it had never been systematically studied archaeologically prior to this study. The historical research drew together a wide range of documentary sources and secondary histories on the battle. The archaeological survey located several hundred artifacts left on the ground as testimony to the location of the battlefield. For the first time the modern-day landscape was solidly linked to its Revolutionary War history. The survey identified 15 loci and 14 of these yielded artifacts that may pertain to the battle. Several of these loci provided important clues as to the locations of troops and military engagement on the landscape. These include the site of Colonel Pickens' initial clash with Boyd's loyalist pickets, Boyd's last stand on War Hill, and Spurgeon's rally on the south side of Kettle Creek. These clues were compared with the various historical accounts to produce a "new and improved" version of this important Revolutionary War battle. This study resulted in the definition of a "Core Area" for the battlefield, which represents land that is historically important and which should be preserved and interpreted to the public.

BATTLE ANALYSIS

The present study followed on the heels of decades of research by Robert Scott Davis, Jr. and his colleague, Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. Their well organized and thorough research was difficult to top. The historical research phase of the present study included visits to a number of previously unexplored archives. A major advantage for the present research team was the ease of access to archival and library collections through a variety of electronic means. The internet allowed nearly immediate access to hundreds of books and journal articles on the subject of the American Revolution, Georgia history and genealogy.

Davis and Thomas (1975) pointed out the absence of any detailed battle maps, or any detailed contemporary maps of the region. They extracted geographic references contained in the historical documents. The present research team's revisit to these documents revealed how thorough previous researchers had been. The greatest advantage of this project proved to be the addition of archeology to the study of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Archeological discoveries allowed for confirmation of the battlefield site to a degree not possible with historical research alone. Figure 42 shows a map of the Kettle Creek battlefield with all identified artifacts and the 14 historic activity loci demarcated. Figure 43 shows these data superimposed on an aerial photograph of the study area.

Firearms in the American Revolution had limited range. Smoothbore muskets had an effective range of about 100 m. Rifled muskets of the period had a greater range, possibly three to four times that of a smoothbore weapon. These estimates assume firing on open ground with no substantial forest cover. The terrain at Kettle Creek was hilly and some portion of the battlefield was wooded. These parameters were used by archeologists during data analysis. They conducted bullet radius analysis to ascertain potential firing positions. To do this they generated circles around each artifact in the Arms Group. This created a map with a bewildering array of overlapping circles. Areas where clusters of these circles overlapped were noted. Those areas were considered to be potential firing positions, since combatants would be firing back at enemies located in these areas. This would have resulted in the observed pattern of bullets on the battlefield landscape.

Historical accounts by the participants in the battle offer some clues about the battle strategy. Historian Hugh McCall (1909:394-39), who was not present at the battle but who may have heard first-hand accounts from his older relatives who were there, described the Loyalist's situation, "The encampment was formed on the edge of the farm next to the creek, on an open piece of ground, flanked on two sides by the cane swamp." The "farm", mentioned by McCall is probably the site represented by Locus D in the present survey. The "open ground" was probably an area in close proximity to the farm buildings, or on the lower ridge slope. The statement that the "open piece of ground, flanked on two sides by the cane swamp"

indicates that the field was at the base of the ridge, or likely more than 50 yards from the main farm complex. Pickens recalled in 1811 that, “in their [the Loyalists’] rear was a cleared field 1/2 of a mile in their rear was a beef killed and a few men butchering it.” Colonel Boyd’s camp headquarters was not at this farmstead, but was on a ridge south of it (Locus A), as that area contained no archeological evidence of a contemporary farmstead.

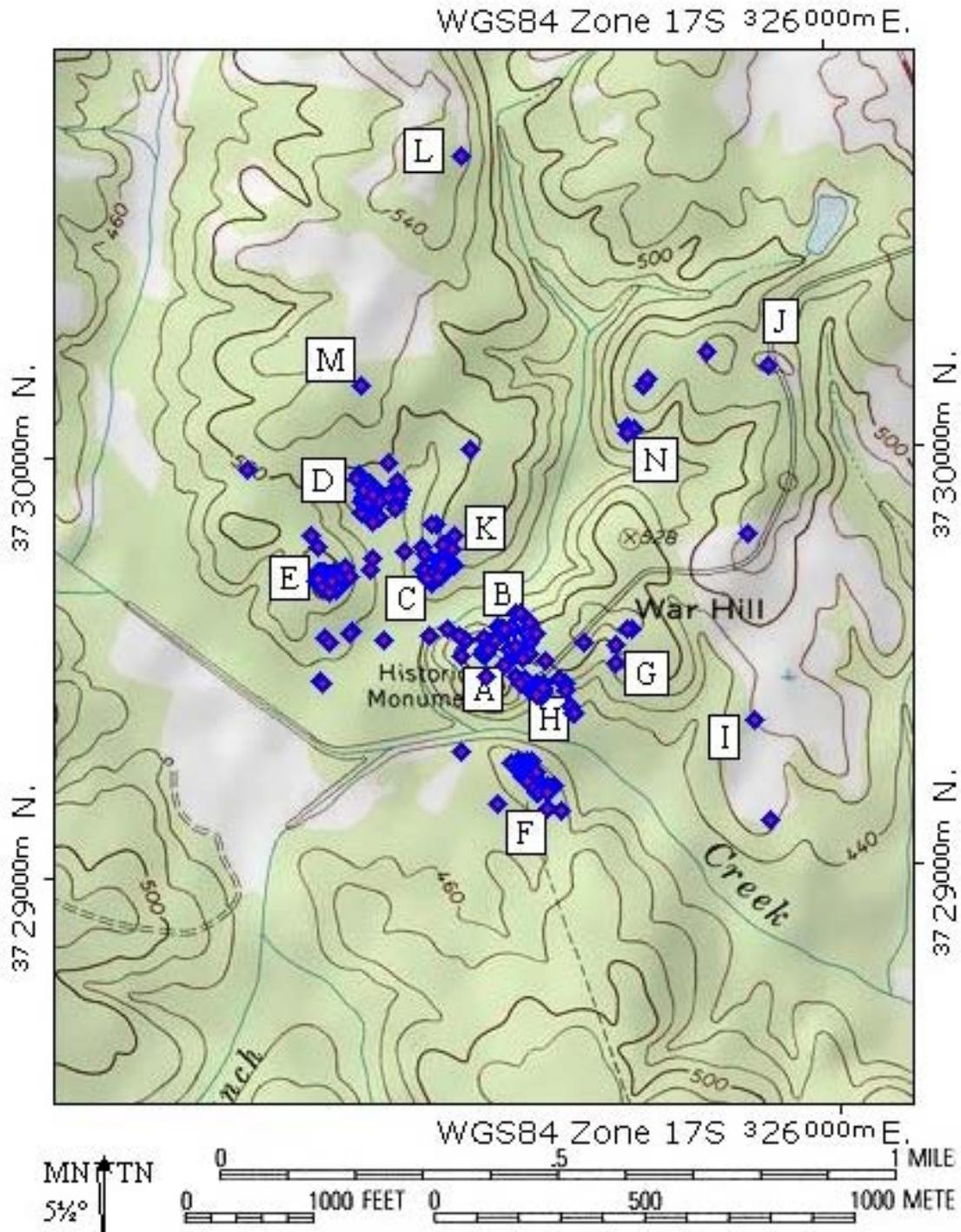


Figure 92. Composite Map Showing Artifact Finds and Activity Loci, Kettle Creek Battlefield.

The Patriots were almost certainly entirely mounted on horseback. Their capture of Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton's horses and baggage at Carr's Fort four days earlier would have provided a horse for any of Pickens', Dooly's or Clarke's infantry (if indeed, they had any foot soldiers at all). Lieutenant Jesse Gordon of Captain Gunnell's company later stated, "The militia took all the horses belonging to Hamilton's party that were alive with their equipment." Conversely, the Loyalists, who may have arrived at Kettle Creek on horseback, were mostly dismounted at the time of the attack. Many of their horses were grazing in the floodplain. Battlefield accounts stated that Boyd's horses were captured. Pickens' 1811 recollection suggests that the Loyalists lost control of their mounts at the beginning of the battle.

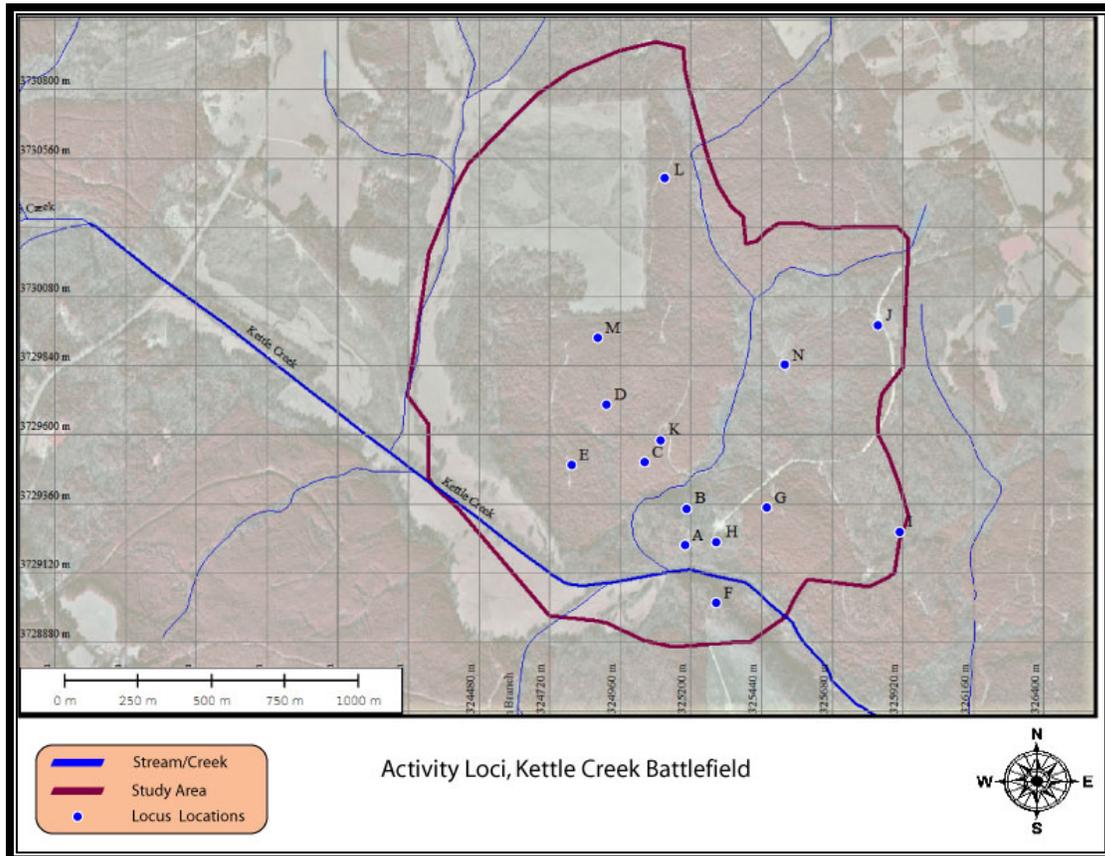


Figure 43. Activity Loci, Kettle Creek Battlefield.

At first the Patriots had the element of surprise. They had time to prepare their weapons for battle. The sources agree that Colonel Boyd's men were scattered, some butchering cattle, others preparing meals and establishing a camp, and others tending to their horses. The Loyalists were not well organized in a defensive posture and were unaware of the approaching Patriots. Pickens' scouts in McCall's company (the advance guard) provided intelligence of Boyd's position. Armed with this information Colonel Pickens was able to develop his attack strategy and divide his force into three prongs. The place where Pickens, Dooly and Clarke split up was probably where the ridge splits into three sections, just north of Locus M in the present survey. Figure 44 shows the suspected routes of the Georgia and South Carolina militia, based on the archeological findings.

Pickens wrote in 1811, "I went on with the center on their trail with a small advance with orders when they discovered any of the enemy not to fire first but immediately let me know." The "trail" was likely the old road trace that was discovered by the survey team in Locus D. The advance guard who made first contact with the Loyalists picket commenced a firefight, which alerted everyone within earshot to the engagement. Locus D is probably the location of the first contact. Pickens' force was probably between 100 to 200 yards north of this advanced guard and his men quickly moved southward to join the fray. Realizing they were greatly outnumbered, the Loyalist picket retreated towards Boyd's camp. The gunfire also announced to

Colonel Dooly and Lieutenant Colonel Clarke of their discovery by the Loyalists, which no doubt led to their accelerated advance. Pickens attributed the initial gunfire to his own advance guard who “pretty near before they discovered them being too eager and not attending to their orders they imprudently fired on them which gave the alarm.” Other writers were more forgiving and attributed the initial shots to an alert Loyalist picket. Whoever fired the first shots, that noise announced the beginning of the battle.

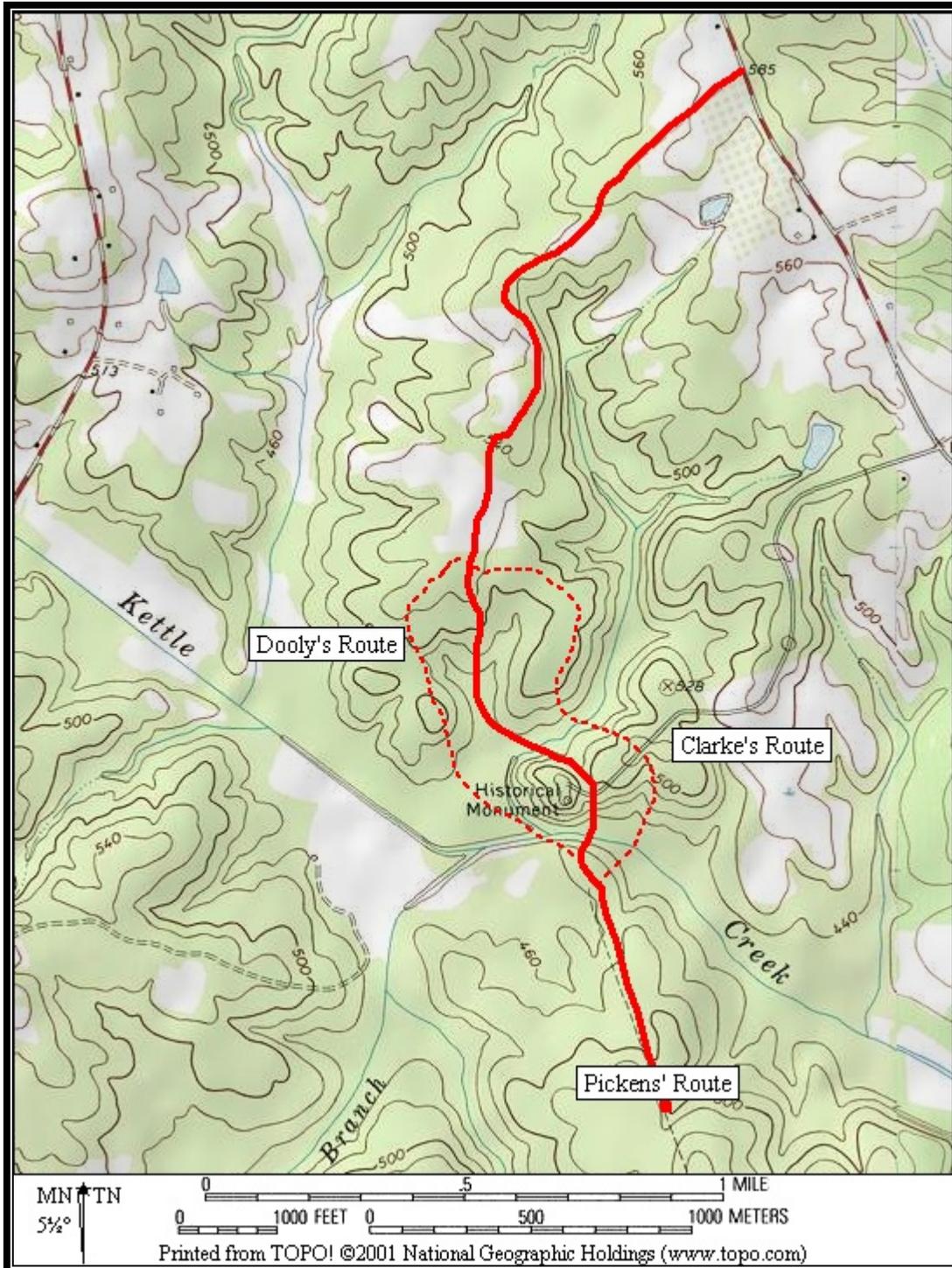


Figure 44. Suspected Routes of Patriot Militia, Kettle Creek Battlefield.

Pickens (1811) statement that “Boyd being (of British Practices) advanced immediately with a party of men through the field to the edge of the woods and concealing them behind old trees which had fallen down and an old fence - The main body was drawn [drawn] up along the edge of the (cane) creek which came in circular from round on the right” is informative. It indicates that once Colonel Boyd realized that his men were under attack, he formed a formal battle line as dictated by British Army practice. This line of troops advanced northward to meet Colonel Pickens’ men, probably firing volleys in a rigid formation. Boyd’s men quickly shifted their strategy and sought cover behind natural and cultural features (uprooted trees and a fence line). From their concealed positions, the Loyalists would have been able to fire rifles, as well as smoothbore muskets, at the Patriots. Many of the men encountered by Pickens at this phase of battle were probably the 100 or so Loyalist soldiers that Boyd had at his immediate disposal. Their position was likely at Locus B in the present survey.

While Colonel Boyd was still in command, he and his troops began their retreat. Pickens recalled in 1811: “We were within thirty yards before they fired or we discovered them as they lay flat on the ground. They immediately fled down through the cleared ground to their main body.” According to Pickens, it was during their flight that Colonel Boyd received his mortal wounds, “Fortunately for us, when Boyd had run about 100 yards, three balls passed through him” (Pickens 1811).

The rest of Boyd’s men were scattered and in the cane break when the attack began. Pickens’ reference to the rest of Boyd’s men as coming “in circular round from the right” means that these Loyalists were down in the Kettle Creek floodplain, west of Colonel Pickens’ men and probably directly down slope for Colonel Dooly’s advancing horsemen.

The cane break offered concealment for the Loyalists, many of whom were without their horses and were not well organized in any particular battle order. Pickens’ grandson later quoted his grandfather (whom the grandson never knew) as saying the enemy “galled us much out of the canes,” referring to the gunfire from the Loyalists who were visibly hidden from within the canebrake (Pickens 1937:44).

The canebrake was an impediment for both Colonel Dooly and Colonel Clarke’s men. Colonel Clarke’s men were probably less impeded by the canebrake (and by the Loyalists), which would partly account for Clarke’s detachment’s ability to cross Kettle Creek before either Colonel Pickens’ or Colonel Dooly’s men. Clarke himself, however, was the target of enemy fire, since more than one participant describe him having his horse shot from under him.

The archeological potential for the canebrake was not determined by the present survey. This area presents two major challenges. First, the creek channel was straightened beginning in 1918 and portions of Kettle Creek no longer follow its original course. The process of channelizing the stream was accomplished by piling the dredge spoil on both banks of the new creek channel. This resulted in a long, new levee and this overburden likely obscures some original stream bank deposits that may contain battlefield debris. The dredge spoil also may contain battle artifacts but these are redeposited from their origin deposition. Secondly, the Kettle Creek floodplain has accumulated as much as one meter of sediment since 1779. This thick mantle of overburden prohibited the effective use of metal detectors in these soils. Those metal objects that were detected in the former canebrake were of modern age. While this area may yet contain important buried battlefield artifacts, their location would require extensive excavation which was beyond the scope of the present study.

The balance of Colonel Boyd’s men, who were separated from Colonel Boyd, did not join up with Boyd. Many of them may have fired a few volleys at the Patriots but they were in a vulnerable position and they soon fled to the south side of Kettle Creek. Their exodus was probably accompanied by a great deal of confusion. The south side of Kettle Creek offers a larger area of floodplain than does the north side and quite possibly, most of Boyd’s men may have already been on that side of the creek. None of the battle accounts mention any retrograde movement by the Loyalists from the south to the north, across the rain-swollen creek. Thus, while some Loyalists were probably drawn to Boyd’s aid, especially those who were located nearby at the time of the attack, most were not. Had they all formed as a single unit, the battle

might have turned in their favor. Once Boyd was incapacitated by his wounds and unable to command, the group cohesion of the Loyalists around him deteriorated and they fled in panic. Since Dooly's and Clarke's troops surrounded them to the east and west and Pickens men were to the north, southward across Kettle Creek was their only option.

Pickens recalled, "The action then became general and (warm) confused for about twenty minutes, they called for us much out of the cover," which suggests that the Loyalists stayed in the canebrake for some time before crossing Kettle Creek. Pickens was frustrated that Dooly's and Clarke's men were stalled in the canebrake as he later wrote, "The divisions on the flank did not press as I wished them to cross the creek above and below. This was not for want of courage but for want of experience and knowledge of the necessity of obeying orders" (Pickens 1811). Pickens went on to say that the Loyalists "retreated across the creek and formed on a rising ground. We pressed though the cane, the action was renewed mor[e] obstinately and continued near half an hour - As they had the advantage of the grounds they contended obstinately but at length gave way" (Pickens 1811). In his account Pickens does not give Elijah Clarke any credit for being the first to cross the creek or engage in the final phase of the battle. The place where the Loyalists had "the advantage of the grounds" was at Locus F in the present survey.

Figure 45 is a schematic diagram of the suspected firing positions and troop movements of the Patriots and Loyalists in the battle at Kettle Creek. This version of the battle is derived from a synthetic analysis of the historical and archeological research conducted as part of this study.

The present study examined most of the areas confined within McDaniel's study area (McDaniel 2002a). This encompassed many hectares, however, and the fieldwork lasted only 10 days with a small field crew, so the coverage was not 100 percent. This work constitutes a reconnaissance survey of the entire battlefield with specific areas receiving more focused scrutiny. Many areas were identified that are relevant to the battle, which confirmed that McDaniel's battlefield size estimate was relatively accurate.

Defining Battlefield Features are the essential components in Battlefield Archeology for an accurate interpretive reconstruction of a historic battle. These features are tangible. They include natural topographic features, cultural improvements such as farms, roads, fences, mills, agricultural fields, etc. (existing at the time of the battle), military barricades, entrenchments, or fortifications, fields of fire, cemeteries, and other associated geographically definable features. Defining Battlefield Features for the Kettle Creek battlefield included:

- ❖ Kettle Creek (Channelized but largely the same as shown on modern maps)
- ❖ Canebrake or Swamp (Bottoms between Loci E, C, B, F, and H)
- ❖ Monument Knoll (Loci A and B)
- ❖ Hill on south side of Kettle Creek (Locus F)
- ❖ Fence line on knoll slope (not located)
- ❖ Archibald Simpson's (or Mr. Nelson's) farmstead (not located)
- ❖ James Hammett's farmstead (Locus E)
- ❖ Simpson's (or Nelson's) Cow pen (possibly between Loci C and E)
- ❖ Loyalists camp (Locus E)
- ❖ Wrightsborough Road (Locus F)
- ❖ Road to Carr's Station (Locus D)
- ❖ Road to Heard's Fort (Locus D)
- ❖ Joel Phillip's Fort (not located)
- ❖ Slaton's Mill seat (not located)
- ❖ Robert McNabb's Fort (not located)
- ❖ McGirth's camp on Little River (not located)
- ❖ Battlefield graveyard (not located)
- ❖ Ford across Kettle Creek (between Loci A and F)

The battle at Kettle Creek lasted less than three hours but the participants, who were on horseback and on foot, covered considerable distances over the course of the battle. The result is that the battlefield is spread over several hundred hectares. Following ABPP survey protocol the results of the present historical

research and field survey were used to define a Core Area for the Kettle Creek battlefield. It is shown in Figure 46.

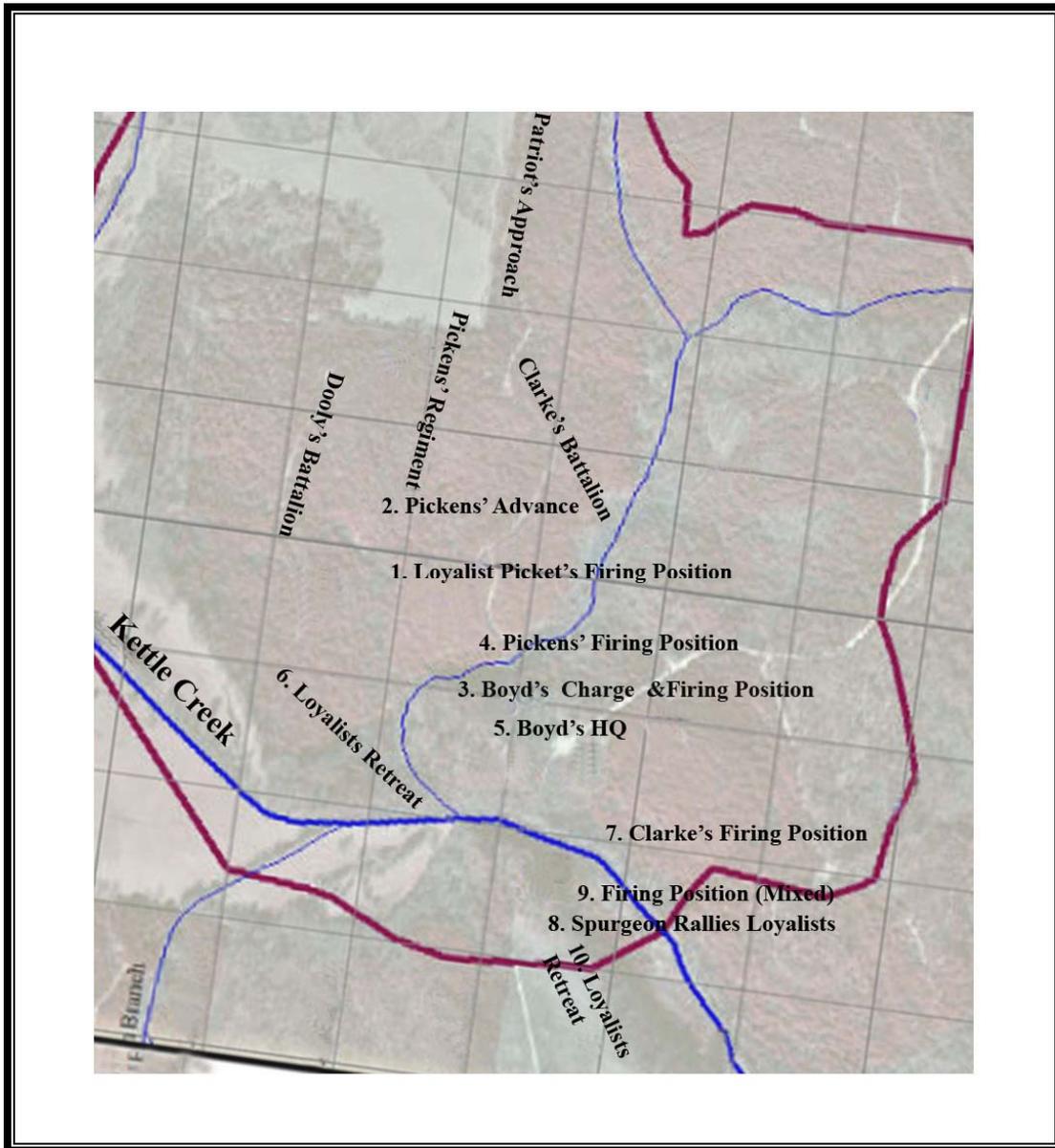


Figure 45. Hypothesized Firing Positions and Troop Movement, Kettle Creek.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study provides baseline information on the location of the battlefield. Several loci within the battlefield were identified. These areas have the potential for varying degrees of public interpretation. The findings from the present study contain sufficient historical and archeological information to support the creation of a historical park honoring the Kettle Creek battlefield. This proposed park should include, at a minimum, the Core Area of the battlefield, or the property delineated in Figure 44. This property is currently privately owned, either by individuals or private corporations. In order to secure a more complete visual vista of the battlefield environment, additional property should be secured beyond the Core Area. The additional lands would serve as a visual and sound buffer insuring a more historically accurate setting. In addition an access corridor (route of entry) to the proposed park should be secured. This transportation

corridor should be at least 1,000 feet wide and should be flanked by a scenic buffer. The existing county road that accesses the Kettle Creek monument is not an ancient road (built in the 20th century and currently maintained by Wilkes County) and, as such, it detracts from the battlefield landscape. A more historically accurate entry route would be via New Salem Church Road (to the south of the battlefield) or by reconstructing the northern route followed by the Patriots, which is currently woodlands.

Creation of this proposed park could be done by direct property acquisition or by protective covenants or easements by the various participating landowners. The current landowners of lands in the defined Core Area include:

- Plum Creek Timber Company (Contact person, Charlie Cornish)—Tract North of Kettle Creek
- Robert McBay—Tract South and Southeast of Kettle Creek
- Mark Pryor—Tract South and Southwest of Kettle Creek

The concept of a historical park at Kettle Creek is not a new idea. The transfer from A.L. Richardson to the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1900 set the stage for creating a place where people could come to commemorate the historic battle and its consequences. By the standards of that day, a memorial was seen as a fitting way to commemorate the battle site. One hundred and nine years later the significance of the Kettle Creek battle and the Patriots and Loyalists who fought and died there is no less diminished.

The NPS was presented with a case to create a National Park at Kettle Creek during the 1960s and early 1970s. U.S. Congressman Robert G. Stephens wrote to the NPS urging the creation of a National Park at Kettle Creek, which met with a negative response. The critical mass to follow through with a full scale historical park, however, was hampered by the lack of support from the NPS. Since that time, however, the U.S. Congress and the National Park Service historians and archeologists have come to realize that a deficiency exists, particularly in regards to Revolutionary War and War of 1812 era battlefields and associated sites in the Southeast (Gossett and Mitchell 2007:53). In that study, the NPS classified Kettle Creek as a Priority II, Class C battlefield in their list of Revolutionary War Preservation Priorities. That list included 52 other Revolutionary War battlefields in America. We should point out that that Class C classification was made prior to the present study. The supporting historical and archeological evidence assembled by the present research effort should only serve to advance the battlefield's status in the eyes of the NPS.

Kettle Creek Battlefield was nominated to the Georgia Heritage Trust Program for possible state acquisition but an economic downturn and budgetary shortfalls prevented this from happening. The State of Georgia committed some funds to promote the idea of a historical park (David M. Sherman personal communication January 6, 2009). The Georgia Department of Natural Resources created blueprints for a larger historical park, formulated but which was never advanced beyond the early planning stage. The study by Davis and Thomas (1975) served to advance the historical importance of the Kettle Creek battlefield as a turning point in the war in the South. State funds were not sufficient for the acquisition of additional property, however, and the movement to create a state park at Kettle Creek quickly lost momentum.

Since 1900, historical battlefield parks have grown increasingly sophisticated. The NPS has taken the lead in this regard, but many state and local battlefield parks have been developed with great success. Few of the NPS battlefield parks, highlighting the American Revolution, exist in the Southeast however, and none are located in Georgia. Kennesaw Mountain, Chickamauga and Chattanooga battlefield parks are the only ones operated by the NPS in Georgia and these three parks highlight the Civil War period. The NPS also operates parks at Andersonville Prison, Fort Pulaski, and Fort Frederica. The State of Georgia currently maintains only a few parks with Colonial or Revolutionary War themes. These include Fort King George, Fort Morris and Wormsloe. These three historical sites are located in coastal Georgia. An economic downturn in the state budget currently threatens the future operation and existence of several of these parks.

In light of recent scholarship on the Revolutionary War in Georgia, Georgia now has several potential destinations for heritage tourist. The Coastal Heritage Society and the City of Savannah are currently developing Battlefield Park in Savannah, which interprets the October 1779 Siege of Savannah. That project presents many challenges since the battlefield is heavily urban. Notwithstanding, key elements of

the battle and the city's defenses have been located since 2005 (R. Elliott 2006). If properly developed, the Kettle Creek battlefield could attract large numbers of heritage tourists to Wilkes County, Georgia.

South Carolina and North Carolina are better supported with tourist destinations for the American Revolutionary War period and both of these states provide examples that Georgia can emulate. The Cowpens battlefield near Chesnee, South Carolina, Ninety-Six National Historic Site near Greenwood, South Carolina and the Moore's Creek battlefield near Currie, North Carolina are examples of Revolutionary War battlefield parks in the region. Cowpens, which was the scene of a major Patriot victory, has the largest visitorship of any Revolutionary War historical park in the Southeast. Several recently published tour books and overviews for Revolutionary War battlefields in North and South Carolina (Barbour 2002; Barefoot 1998, 1999; Gordon 2003) are designed to direct the interested public to the dozens of little-known battlefields in those states. Georgia has no similar directory at present, although an older compilation by Stember (1974) discussed several battlefields in Georgia.

The Revolutionary War Trail project in the South Carolina low country is a relevant example of one way that the Revolutionary War resources at Kettle Creek could be developed more effectively. The Revolutionary War Trail was launched by the Lowcountry Council of Governments, which was recently awarded a 2008 Excellence in Regional Transportation Award from the National Association of Development Organizations in Washington, D.C. Phase one was completed with funding from the South Carolina Department of Transportation and includes more than 22 miles through four South Carolina counties (Smith 2005; Low Country Council of Governments 2004).

Another example is the Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail, currently under development by the National Park Service (2007, 2008). This trail crosses portions of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina. It traces the route of the Patriot militias as they followed the British. This campaign ended in the Patriot's victory at King's Mountain, North Carolina.

The Kettle Creek battlefield with its rural setting is an excellent candidate for a battlefield park. Kettle Creek is currently off the beaten path. One of the delicate tasks for historic preservationists and regional developers is how to attract tourists to remote, rural places like the Kettle Creek battlefield without detracting from its serenity and its natural charm, or adversely impacting archeological components. Currently, the Kettle Creek battlefield has a 360 degree vista that is largely devoid of the visual trappings of modern day life. It has no electrical transmission lines, microwave towers, or even many houses or buildings. This "original" cultural landscape is one the battlefield's strengths, in terms of its potential as an interpretive history park. The Kettle Creek battle site also should be placed in a more regional cultural context beyond that of the immediate battlefield. The present historical research identified more than two dozen Revolutionary War forts that existed in original Wilkes County, Georgia. At present none of these forts have been located or explored archeologically. A research program designed to locate a sample of these forts should be initiated and the results could serve to create a network of interconnected heritage tourism destinations that would provide a more complete experience for the visiting tourist.

The concept of a "13th Colony Trail Initiative" for eastern and coastal Georgia, which is currently in the early stages of development, has the potential to mesh with interpretive development of the Kettle Creek battlefields. This project is a collaborative effort of local, county, regional and state managers and historic preservation groups. Interested parties gathered for a concept meeting for the proposed trail in January, 2008. Two subsequent planning meetings and one teleconference were held later that year (G.S.S.A.R. 2008a-c). These meetings met with enthusiastic support. Participants in a 17 county area are currently compiling preliminary inventories of historical resources in their areas, which cover the span from 1720 to 1820, which includes the Revolutionary War period.

The combination of Kettle Creek Historical Battlefield Park and several fortified homesteads and military garrisons has the potential to offer a diversity of experiences for the heritage tourist. The collective Revolutionary War resources in Wilkes County offer the necessary "critical mass" to attract visitors to explore American history, "off the beaten path". The present study provides baseline data on one component of this proposed heritage tourism network in Georgia.

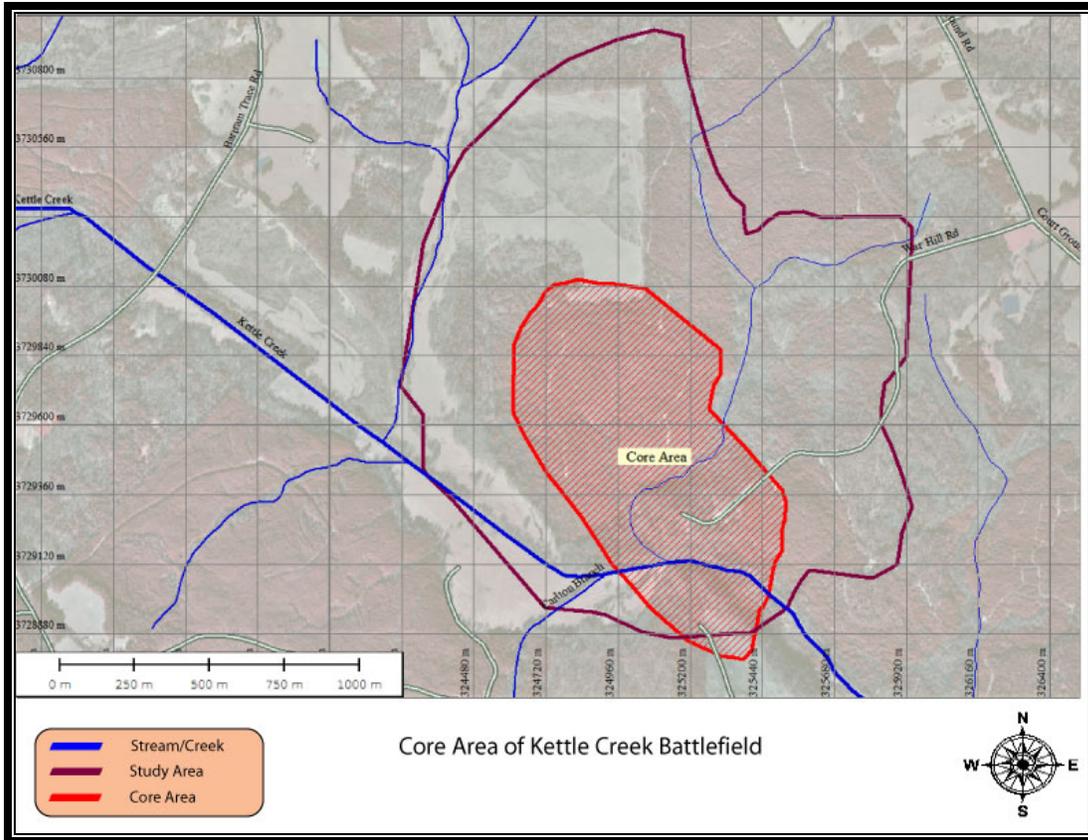


Figure 46. Core Area of Kettle Creek Battlefield.

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Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory,
Kettle Creek Battlefield, Survey, 2008

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
1	3729260	325220	9260	5220	B	0	z	Modern bullet				1
2	3729345	325104	9345	5104	B	1	r	Lead ball	7.0			
3	3729239	325244	9239	5244	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
4	3729240	325234	9240	5234	H	0	z	Modern bullet in wood				
6	3729362	325272	9362	5272	B	1	a	Machine cut nail				
31	3729386	325257	9386	5257	B	1	m	Brass hardware, possible reins guide	6.0			
32	3729358	325185	9358	5185	B	1	m	Iron buckle				
33	3729363	325249	9363	5249	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	4.5			
34	3729329	325222	9329	5222	B	0	z	Modern metal				1
35	3729325	325209	9325	5209	B	1	r	Rifle buttplate fragment, brass	112.0			
36	3729356	325087	9356	5087	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	13.2			
37	3729323	325145	9323	5145	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.9			
38	3729311	325093	9311	5093	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.9			
39	3729348	325173	9348	5173	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	8.2			
40	3729371	325195	9371	5195	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.4	8.6	0.34	
41	3729365	325201	9365	5201	B	1	c	Brass button, plain, Type 7	4.0	22.5		
42	3729380	325211	9380	5211	B	1	r	Lead ball	4.7	10.6	0.42	
43	3729260	325150	9260	5150	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.0			
44	3729372	325190	9372	5190	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.4	8.0	0.32	
45	3729380	325182	9380	5182	B	1	r	Lead ball	3.4	8.5	0.33	
46	3729240	325287	9240	5287	H	1	a	Machine cut nail, large fragment				
47	3729242	325269	9242	5269	H	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
48	3729231	325286	9231	5286	H	1	a	Machine cut nail, large				
49	3729229	325286	9229	5286	H	2	a	Machine cut nails (2), one is embedded in wood				
50	3729228	325275	9228	5275	H	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				
51	3729253	325244	9253	5244	H	0	z	Benson & Hedges keychain, enameled brass				
52	3729231	325247	9231	5247	H	1	p	Brass decorative pin, hair brooch	6.5			
53	3729295	325295	9295	5295	B	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2	72.0			
54	3729225	325342	9225	5342	H	1	m	Large hook, wrought iron				
59	3729225	325342	9225	5342	H	1	m	Iron hook				
61	3729228	325270	9228	5270	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
62	3729226	325286	9226	5286	H	2	a	Machine cut nail fragments				
63	3729226	325270	9226	5270	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
64	3729218	325287	9218	5287	H	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
65	3729217	325283	9217	5283	H	3	a	Machine cut nails				
66	3729223	325270	9223	5270	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
67	3729212	325280	9212	5280	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
68	3729208	325281	9208	5281	H	2	a	Machine cut nail fragments				
69	3729352	325148	9352	5148	B	1	a	Machine cut nail				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
70	3729373	325060	9373	5060	B	1	m	Animal trap, steel				
81	3729251	325325	9251	5325	H	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				
81	3729251	325325	9251	5325	H	1	a	Wire nail				
82	3729241	325341	9241	5341	H	1	a	Machine cut nail				
83	3729170	325353	9170	5353	H	1	m	Iron buckle fragment	16.3			
84	3729168	325360	9168	5360	H	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
85	3729183	325353	9183	5353	H	1	m	File fragment, steel				
86	3729213	325270	9213	5270	H	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.4			
87	3729408	325224	9408	5224	B	1	m	Axe, iron				
101	3729496	325022	9496	5022	C	1	c	Button, plain, brass front, iron back, Type 7	3.5	18.5		
102	3729504	325024	9504	5024	C	1	p	Silver coin, clipped rectangular	1.2			
103	3729496	325014	9496	5014	C	1	r	Brass knob, possibly from artillery ordnance				
104	3729506	325026	9506	5026	C	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	15.8			
105	3729408	325237	9408	5237	B	1	m	Brass strip, unident., curved, cast	3.0			
106	3729349	325174	9349	5174	B	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2	162.5			
107	3729680	324892	9680	4892	D	1	c	Shoe buckle fragment, brass, cast, ornate				
108	3729692	324926	9692	4926	D	1	r	Enfield bullet, fired, impacted, possibly .58 caliber	31.4			
109	3729683	324864	9683	4864	D	1	r	Lead ball, chewed	17.0			
110	3729691	324889	9691	4889	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.3			
111	3729499	324783	9499	4783	E	1	c	Button, plain brass, backmark (19th c)	6.0	25.3		
112	3729371	325258	9371	5258	B	1	c	Thimble, brass				
113	3729311	325253	9311	5253	B	1	p	Pencil cap, brass				
114	3729299	325239	9299	5239	B	1	r	Lead shot, impacted	1.8			
115	3729305	325231	9305	5231	B	1	m	Lead scrap, possibly modern	0.6			
116	3729338	325254	9338	5254	B	1	m	Staple, wrought iron, large				
117	3729306	325218	9306	5218	B	1	p	Pewter jewelry, decorated	1.0			
118	3729372	325218	9372	5218	B	1	p	Pocket knife				
119	3729315	325143	9315	5143	B	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				
120	3729318	325154	9318	5154	B	1	a	Machine cut nail				
121	3729315	325149	9315	5149	B	1	a	Machine cut nail				
122	3729315	325155	9315	5155	B	1	a	Machine cut nail				
123	3729358	325016	9358	5016	Z	1	m	Chain, wrought, large, 4 links				
124	3729568	325007	9568	5007	K	1	m	Bucket fragment, tin				
126	3729575	325052	9575	5052	K	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	23.2			
130	3729528	325074	9528	5074	K	2	a	Wrought nail fragments (2)				
131	3729522	325070	9522	5070	K	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
132	3729527	325081	9527	5081	K	1	a	Wrought spike, iron				
136	3729521	324882	9521	4882	K	1	r	Chewed lead	14.2			
137	3729547	324885	9547	4885	C	1	k	Domestic stoneware, brown lead glazed, body				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
138	3729560	324961	9560	4961	D	1	z	Wheel, steel				1
139	3729556	325013	9556	5013	K	1	a	Machine cut nail, burned				
140	3729676	324946	9676	4946	D	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				1
141	3729665	324942	9665	4942	D	1	m	Horseshoe				1
142	3729698	324937	9698	4937	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.3	13.3	0.52	
142	3729698	324937	9698	4937	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.0	12.8	0.50	
144	3729705	324935	9705	4935	D	1	r	Lead ball	12.6	13.0	0.51	
145	3729686	324948	9686	4948	D	1	f	Furniture bail handle, pewter, roccoco, cast				
146	3729701	324942	9701	4942	D	1	a	Machine cut nail, large				
147	3729959	325551	9959	5551	N	1	m	Buckle, iron				
148	3729946	325539	9946	5539	N	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				1
149	3729928	325527	9928	5527	N	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	4.2			
150	3729851	325499	9851	5499	N	1	m	Axe, iron				1
151	3729844	325515	9844	5515	N	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.9	8.5	0.33	
152	3730025	325691	10025	5691	N	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	8.3			
153	3729589	325781	9589	5781	E	1	m	Buckle, iron				
154	3729366	325491	9366	5491	G	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	17.5	16.3	0.64	
155	3729369	325500	9369	5500	G	1	r	Lead ball, modified	12.8	13.7	0.54	
156	3729349	324782	9349	4782	Z	1	p	Pocket knife, bone handle				
157	3729358	324766	9358	4766	Z	1	k	Wrought iron, spoon?				
158	3729475	324802	9475	4802	E	1	a	Unidentified nail				1
160	3729474	324798	9474	4798	E	1	k	Kettle, cast iron				1
161	3729476	324797	9476	4797	E	1	m	Hoe, iron				1
162	3729484	324807	9484	4807	E	1	a	Wrought iron hinge, decorative				
163	3729575	324758	9575	4758	Z	1	m	Bolt, wrought iron				
164	3729601	324742	9601	4742	Z	1	a	Wrought spike, rosehead				
165	3729084	325087	9084	5087	F	1	m	Iron pipe				
200	3729514	325039	9514	5039	C	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
201	3729506	325029	9506	5029	C	1	m	Flat iron, unidentified hardware				
202	3729502	325028	9502	5028	C	1	c	Button, brass, silver wash, Type 7	1.3	14.5		
203	3729498	325029	9498	5029	C	1	c	Button, pewter, plain, iron back, fragment, Type 7		20.0		
204	3729511	325038	9511	5038	C	1	c	Button, plain, brassw/ silver wash, Type 7		14.1		
205	3729488	325025	9488	5025	C	1	m	Bell, cast brass	22.8	54.4		
206	3729490	325023	9490	5023	C	1	m	Cast iron, decorated, tea kettle fragment				
207	3729501	325042	9501	5042	C	1	r	Frog, for bayonet or sword, cast brass	19.6			
208	3729502	325042	9502	5042	C	1	m	Melted lead	2.6			
209	3729501	325040	9501	5040	C	1	m	Brass, sheet, 1/2 cylindrical piece	0.7	7.6		
210	3729510	325029	9510	5029	C	1	m	Pewter scrap	2.0			
211	3729502	325032	9502	5032	C	1	c	Button, plain, brass w/ silver wash, Type 7		14.8		

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
212	3729502	325027	9502	5027	C	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, unidentified				
213	3729507	325028	9507	5028	C	1	c	Button, brass, plain, Type 7	0.5	12.8		
214	3729511	325036	9511	5036	C	1	c	Button, brass, plain, Type 7		17.7		
215	3729542	325055	9542	5055	K	1	m	Oil lamp hardware, brass				
216	3729504	325037	9504	5037	C	1	c	Button, brass, plain, Type 7		15.3		
217	3729506	325046	9506	5046	C	1	a	Machine cut nail, early variety, burned				
218	3729499	325044	9499	5044	C	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
219	3729514	325011	9514	5011	C	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2	93.8			
220	3729493	325031	9493	5031	C	1	c	Button, pewter, plain, Type 29	4.3	18.2		
221	3729498	325044	9498	5044	C	1	m	Sheet lead, scrap	1.5			
222	3729492	325029	9492	5029	C	1	a	Wrought nail fragments, T-head				
223	3729500	325046	9500	5046	C	1	m	Cast iron, decorated beaded, slightly convex	85.8			
224	3729492	325026	9492	5026	C	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
225	3729517	325005	9517	5005	C	1	m	Plow share, iron				1
226	3729556	325013	9556	5013	K	1	p	Harmonica reed plate, brass				
227	3729493	325025	9493	5025	C	1	a	Wrought nail, round head				
228	3729492	325026	9492	5026	C	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2	59.5			
229	3729491	325026	9491	5026	C	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
230	3729489	325021	9489	5021	C	1	m	Blade fragment, iron	7.6	41.5		
231	3729493	325031	9493	5031	C	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
232	3729484	325025	9484	5025	C	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
233	3729488	325019	9488	5019	C	1	m	Wrought iron tong/cut bar				
234	3729523	325041	9523	5041	C	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
235	3729520	325052	9520	5052	K	1	k	Cast iron pot fragment	122.8			
236	3729535	325043	9535	5043	K	1	k	Cast iron pot fragment	46.0			
237	3729625	325029	9625	5029	D	1	r	Chewed lead	28.4			
238	3729519	325055	9519	5055	K	1	a	Wrought nail				
238	3729519	325055	9519	5055	K	1	a	Machine cut nail				
238	3729519	325055	9519	5055	K	1	a	Wire nail				
241	3729566	325076	9566	5076	K	1	m	Wrought iron, wagon wheel tread				
241	3729624	325040	9624	5040	D	1	m	Rosette, brass undecorated, iron back	30.8	44.5		
242	3729597	325082	9597	5082	K	1	p	Pocket watch back cover, sheet brass		51.6		
243	3729689	324897	9689	4897	D	1	r	Triggerguard, brass, flat fragment w/ 2 screw holes	10.0	54.8		
244	3729682	324895	9682	4895	D	1	k	Cast iron pot fragment, mold seam	63.5			
245	3729664	324870	9664	4870	D	1	m	Disc rosette, brass iron back		33.2		
246	3729665	324889	9665	4889	D	1	m	Pewter scrap	5.3			
247	3729679	324879	9679	4879	D	1	r	Chewed lead	10.0			
248	3729699	324941	9699	4941	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	13.0	13.6	0.54	
249	3729700	324937	9700	4937	D	1	r	Lead ball, dropped	14.1	13.4	0.53	

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
250	3729702	324938	9702	4938	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.3	15.2	0.60	
251	3729699	324937	9699	4937	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted and cut	11.1			
252	3729699	324939	9699	4939	D	1	r	Lead ball				1
253	3729644	324903	9644	4903	D	1	m	Wrought iron wheel tread, flattened section				
254	3729698	324944	9698	4944	D	1	r	Lead ball	3.8	8.6	0.34	
255	3729703	324934	9703	4934	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.8	13.4	0.53	
256	3729709	324957	9709	4957	D	1	a	Machine cut nail				
257	3729695	324955	9695	4955	D	1	r	Chewed lead	9.4			
257	3729695	324955	9695	4955	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.0	13.2	0.52	
258	3729704	324944	9704	4944	D	1	m	Iron rod, wrought				
259	3729775	324928	9775	4928	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	8.4	11.9	0.47	
260	3729728	324948	9728	4948	D	1	m	Iron threaded nut with wrought attachment				
261	3729698	324879	9698	4879	D	1	c	Shoe buckle, brass, decorated fragment				
262	3729696	324884	9696	4884	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	177.2			
263	3729695	324888	9695	4888	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	106.3			
264	3729700	324872	9700	4872	D	1	c	Button, brass, Type 6, back		15.8		
265	3729701	324874	9701	4874	D	1	m	Scrap brass, melted	8.8			
266	3729694	324885	9694	4885	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron, 2 ribs	124.2			
267	3729701	324884	9701	4884	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	110.4			
268	3729698	324878	9698	4878	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	58.9			
269	3729700	324876	9700	4876	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment, T-head				
270	3729707	324879	9707	4879	D	1	c	Shoe buckle fragment, cast brass, decorated	1.7			
271	3729704	324888	9704	4888	D	1	m	Horseshoe fragment, 1/4 portion				
272	3729697	324883	9697	4883	D	1	m	Iron scrap, wrought				
273	3729697	324901	9697	4901	D	1	m	Iron scrap, wrought				
274	3729683	324902	9683	4902	D	1	c	Scissors fragment, iron	21.3			
275	3729633	324887	9633	4887	D	1	a	Wrought spike fragment				
276	3729689	324885	9689	4885	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	83.0			
277	3729697	324889	9697	4889	D	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
278	3729702	324891	9702	4891	D	1	m	Iron strap				
279	3729704	324888	9704	4888	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
280	3729699	324887	9699	4887	D	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				
281	3729687	324886	9687	4886	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
282	3729708	324888	9708	4888	D	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
282	3729708	324888	9708	4888	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
283	3729696	324891	9696	4891	D	2	m	Wrought iron scrap (2)				
284	3729695	324893	9695	4893	D	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				
285	3729696	324894	9696	4894	D	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				
286	3729692	324895	9692	4895	D	1	r	Blade fragment				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
287	3729685	324895	9685	4895	D	1	m	Unidentified iron				1
288	3729679	324889	9679	4889	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
288	3729679	324889	9679	4889	D	1	c	Buckle fragment, brass				
288	3729679	324889	9679	4889	D	1	m	Brass wire				
289	3729689	324888	9689	4888	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
290	3729690	324888	9690	4888	D	1	m	Unidentified iron				1
291	3729691	324886	9691	4886	D	1	m	Unidentified iron				1
292	3729692	324884	9692	4884	D	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				1
293	3729691	324882	9691	4882	D	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				
294	3729693	324883	9693	4883	D	1	m	Iron scrap, wrought				
295	3729693	324882	9693	4882	D	1	m	Lead scrap	2.3			
295	3729693	324882	9693	4882	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
296	3729694	324880	9694	4880	D	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				
296	3729694	324880	9694	4880	D	1	m	Unidentified wrought iron				
297	3729693	324878	9693	4878	D	2	a	Wrought nails				1
298	3729690	324884	9690	4884	D	1	m	Wrought iron strap				
299	3729686	324882	9686	4882	D	1	a	Wrought nail				1
300	3729256	324757	9256	4757	Z	1	a	Wrought spike, rosehead				
301	3729248	324760	9248	4760	H	1	c	Suspender buckle, iron (19th or 20th c)				
302	3729376	324833	9376	4833	B	1	a	Hinge, wrought iron, strap, 2 holes				
303	3729368	324828	9368	4828	Z	1	c	Brass, cast, possible buckle				
304	3729348	324908	9348	4908	Z	1	m	Wrought bail handle, iron, crude				
305	3729493	324778	9493	4778	E	1	m	Scrap brass, sheet	4.9			
306	3729478	324794	9478	4794	E	1	m	Pewter, flat fragment, possibly decorated tankard	34.5	50.6		
307	3729760	324590	9760	4590	Z	1	m	Wrought iron, "S" shaped flat piece				
308	3729801	325125	9801	5125	Z	1	r	Butt plate fragment, iron				
309	3729028	325268	9028	5268	F	1	r	Lead ball	13.9	14.1	0.56	
310	3729008	325244	9008	5244	F	1	r	Chewed lead	13.9			
311	3729007	325246	9007	5246	F	1	m	Lead chunk, cut	31.0			
312	3728983	325294	8983	5294	F	1	m	Melted lead	14.5			
313	3728978	325294	8978	5294	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	5.0	11.5	0.45	
400	3729684	324882	9684	4882	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	31.7			
401	3729687	324879	9687	4879	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
401	3729687	324879	9687	4879	D	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
402	3729683	324877	9683	4877	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
403	3729685	324877	9685	4877	D	1	m	Wrought nail, horseshoe				
404	3729688	324879	9688	4879	D	1	a	Wrought nail				1
405	3729688	324876	9688	4876	D	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				1
406	3729688	324875	9688	4875	D	1	m	Unidentified iron, wire				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
407	3729689	324873	9689	4873	D	1	m	Rivet, wrought iron				
408	3729690	324871	9690	4871	D	1	m	Iron buckle tongue				
409	3729691	324869	9691	4869	D	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	9.9			
410	3729676	324864	9676	4864	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
411	3729701	324885	9701	4885	D	1	m	Iron scrap, wrought				
412	3729704	324877	9704	4877	D	1	k	Kettle, loop handle fragment, cast iron				
413	3729711	324881	9711	4881	D	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
414	3729713	324882	9713	4882	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
415	3729715	324883	9715	4883	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
416	3729720	324880	9720	4880	D	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, unident				
417	3729721	324879	9721	4879	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
418	3729718	324878	9718	4878	D	1	m	Iron scrap, cast iron				
419	3729724	324883	9724	4883	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
419	3729724	324883	9724	4883	D	1	m	Wrought iron, hoe blade				
420	3729712	324885	9712	4885	D	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
421	3729704	324890	9704	4890	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
422	3729708	324892	9708	4892	D	1	m	Iron scrap, wrought				
423	3729710	324893	9710	4893	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
424	3729696	324887	9696	4887	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
425	3729648	324869	9648	4869	D	1	f	Padlock hasp, iron				
426	3729656	324860	9656	4860	D	1	m	Barbed wire, eary variety				
427	3729707	324897	9707	4897	D	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, unident				
428	3729733	324855	9733	4855	D	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
429	3729738	324853	9738	4853	D	1	m	Horseshoe, complete				
430	3729745	324858	9745	4858	D	1	a	Machine cut nail				
431	3729989	325839	9989	5839	J	4	k	Undecorated creamware body (4)				
431	3729989	325839	9989	5839	J	1	k	Blue edge pearlware plate rim, scalloped				
431	3729989	325839	9989	5839	J	1	k	Green edge pearlware plate rim				
431	3729989	325839	9989	5839	J	1	k	Undecorated pearlware body				
431	3729989	325839	9989	5839	J	2	m	Scrap wrought iron (2)				
432	3729464	324783	9464	4783	E	1	r	Gun side plate and rivet, brass and iron				
433	3729464	324782	9464	4782	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
434	3729466	324782	9466	4782	E	2	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
435	3729466	324783	9466	4783	E	1	c	Thimble, brass				
436	3729468	324783	9468	4783	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
437	3729472	324782	9472	4782	E	1	a	Wrought nail				1
438	3729470	324784	9470	4784	E	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
439	3729473	324783	9473	4783	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
440	3729474	324782	9474	4782	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
441	3729477	324792	9477	4792	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
441	3729477	324792	9477	4792	E	1	k	Pearlware, undecorated, plate body				
442	3729478	324792	9478	4792	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
443	3729482	324795	9482	4795	E	1	a	Wrought nail				1
444	3729479	324796	9479	4796	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
445	3729487	324793	9487	4793	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
446	3729487	324790	9487	4790	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
446	3729487	324790	9487	4790	E	1	k	Dark olive green bottle glass				
447	3729489	324789	9489	4789	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
448	3729491	324786	9491	4786	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
449	3729490	324793	9490	4793	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
449	3729490	324793	9490	4793	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
449	3729490	324793	9490	4793	E	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				
450	3729490	324799	9490	4799	E	1	k	Pewter spoon bowl	28.8			
451	3729491	324803	9491	4803	E	1	k	Dutch oven lid fragment, cast iron				
452	3729494	324804	9494	4804	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
452	3729494	324804	9494	4804	E	1	m	Wrought iron, unid. Hardware				
453	3729497	324806	9497	4806	E	1	a	Wrought nail				1
454	3729503	324805	9503	4805	E	1	x	Celt, basalt				
454	3729503	324805	9503	4805	E	1	k	Pot, cast iron	190.0			
455	3729504	324807	9504	4807	E	1	a	Wrought nail				1
456	3729498	324802	9498	4802	E	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, loop				
457	3729495	324794	9495	4794	E	1	a	Door lock plate, wrought iron				
458	3729496	324795	9496	4795	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
459	3729497	324794	9497	4794	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
459	3729497	324794	9497	4794	E	1	m	Strap, wrought iron				
460	3729497	324795	9497	4795	E	1	a	Wrought nai				1
461	3729502	324791	9502	4791	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
462	3729498	324795	9498	4795	E	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	92.2			
463	3729483	324795	9483	4795	E	1	a	Machine cut nail, early variety				
464	3729484	324794	9484	4794	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
465	3729501	324787	9501	4787	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
466	3729509	324795	9509	4795	E	1	a	Wrought or cut nail, possibly early variety				
467	3729511	324794	9511	4794	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
468	3729514	324793	9514	4793	E	1	a	Wrought spike, rosehead				
469	3729504	324780	9504	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
470	3729502	324781	9502	4781	E	1	m	Wrought iron strap w/eye				
471	3729498	324780	9498	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
472	3729497	324782	9497	4782	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
473	3729493	324782	9493	4782	E	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				1
474	3729493	324782	9493	4782	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
475	3729491	324781	9491	4781	E	2	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
476	3729490	324781	9490	4781	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
477	3729489	324781	9489	4781	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
478	3729487	324781	9487	4781	E	2	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
479	3729485	324780	9485	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
480	3729488	324784	9488	4784	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
481	3729484	324784	9484	4784	E	1	m	Wrought iron ring and chain link				
482	3729481	324780	9481	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				
483	3729493	324780	9493	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
484	3729496	324780	9496	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
484	3729496	324780	9496	4780	E	2	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
485	3729498	324780	9498	4780	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
486	3729486	324784	9486	4784	E	1	k	Pan, cast iron	29.8			
487	3729479	324777	9479	4777	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				
488	3729481	324770	9481	4770	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
489	3729479	324763	9479	4763	E	1	p	Umbrella rib, brass				
490	3729480	324763	9480	4763	E	1	m	Unidentified flat iron				1
491	3729481	324763	9481	4763	E	1	m	Wrought strap with 2 rivets				
492	3729480	324765	9480	4765	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
493	3729481	324762	9481	4762	E	1	k	Kettle, cast iron	28.3			
494	3729495	324749	9495	4749	E	1	m	Wrought chain link				1
495	3729493	324752	9493	4752	E	1	m	Chain link, wrought iron				
495	3729493	324752	9493	4752	E	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
496	3729486	324753	9486	4753	E	1	m	Clevis, cast iron (19th or 20th c)		Horseshoe, 1/2		
497	3729495	324755	9495	4755	E	1	m	Unidentified flat iron, thin				1
498	3729494	324758	9494	4758	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
499	3729493	324759	9493	4759	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
501	3729502	324831	9502	4831	E	1	k	Hook, wrought iron, trammel?				
502	3729527	324819	9527	4819	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
503	3729527	324819	9527	4819	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
503	3729527	324819	9527	4819	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
504	3729327	325463	9327	5463	G	1	r	Lead ball	3.7	9.3	0.37	
505	3729055	325243	9055	5243	F	1	r	Lead ball	10.5	12.4	0.49	
506	3729054	325244	9054	5244	F	1	r	Lead ball, modified	10.0	12.5	0.49	
507	3729056	325256	9056	5256	F	1	p	Pocket knife				
508	3729038	325246	9038	5246	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	7.5			
509	3729038	325244	9038	5244	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	5.1			

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
510	3729052	325235	9052	5235	F	1	r	Lead ball, dropped, possibly modern	10.9	12.4	0.49	
511	3729047	325229	9047	5229	F	1	m	Horseshoe, complete				
512	3729046	325224	9046	5224	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.3			
513	3729055	325221	9055	5221	F	1	m	Melted lead	13.3			
514	3729053	325207	9053	5207	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.5	9.9	0.39	
515	3729019	325234	9019	5234	F	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
516	3729024	325236	9024	5236	F	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
517	3729026	325234	9026	5234	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	6.9			
518	3729030	325229	9030	5229	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	16.7	15.3	0.60	
519	3729039	325234	9039	5234	F	1	r	Lead ball	10.4	12.6	0.50	
520	3729032	325229	9032	5229	F	1	r	Lead ball	5.0	10.3	0.41	
521	3729022	325241	9022	5241	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	13.5	14.2	0.56	
522	3729028	325248	9028	5248	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	17.2			
523	3729018	325238	9018	5238	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.8			
524	3729011	325245	9011	5245	F	1	r	Grapeshot, cast iron	25.0	19.1	0.75	
525	3729006	325243	9006	5243	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.5			
526	3729006	325252	9006	5252	F	1	m	Lead scrap, rolled and cut	4.0			
527	3729009	325271	9009	5271	F	1	p	Pocket knife blade, iron				
528	3728995	325266	8995	5266	F	1	r	Lead ball, chewed	12.1			
529	3728991	325259	8991	5259	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	16.2			
530	3728990	325259	8990	5259	F	1	a	Wire nail				
531	3728984	325263	8984	5263	F	1	m	Axe, butt end				
532	3729057	325224	9057	5224	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	4.7			
533	3728986	325275	8986	5275	F	1	m	Wrought chain and loop				
534	3728981	325269	8981	5269	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted and/or chewed	14.2			
535	3728981	325266	8981	5266	F	1	m	Axe blade, shattered				
536	3728979	325267	8979	5267	F	1	m	Carriage tag, brass	5.7			
537	3728942	325290	8942	5290	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	13.4			
538	3728997	325310	8997	5310	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	3.4	9.0	0.35	
539	3728996	325295	8996	5295	F	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	6.9	10.5	0.41	
540	3728989	325294	8989	5294	F	1	p	Pocket knife				
541	3728939	325322	8939	5322	F	1	m	Wrought nail, horseshoe				
542	3728944	325294	8944	5294	F	1	m	Wrought iron rod				1
542	3728944	325294	8944	5294	F	1	m	Plowshare, iron				1
600	3729492	324759	9492	4759	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
601	3729492	324759	9492	4759	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
602	3729490	324757	9490	4757	E	1	m	Spud, wrought iron				
603	3729489	324759	9489	4759	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
604	3729489	324762	9489	4762	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
605	3729503	324756	9503	4756	E	1	a	Brick, handmade (sample near TU2)				
606	3729497	324760	9497	4760	E	1	m	Cut wrought iron piece, possible latch				
607	3729494	324763	9494	4763	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
608	3729493	324765	9493	4765	E	1	k	Pot leg, cast iron				
609	3729497	324766	9497	4766	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
610	3729492	324771	9492	4771	E	1	a	Wrought nail, L-head				
611	3729488	324768	9488	4768	E	1	m	Wrought chain link				1
612	3729482	324771	9482	4771	E	1	m	Iron buckle fragment				
613	3729484	324773	9484	4773	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
614	3729487	324772	9487	4772	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
615	3729487	324772	9487	4772	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
616	3729491	324773	9491	4773	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
617	3729492	324775	9492	4775	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
618	3729491	324776	9491	4776	E	1	m	Snaffle bit, iron				
619	3729490	324776	9490	4776	E	1	a	Wrought or cut nail, early variety cut?				
620	3729489	324765	9489	4765	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
621	3729495	324774	9495	4774	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
622	3729496	324771	9496	4771	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
623	3729497	324773	9497	4773	E	1	m	Rivet, wrought iron				
624	3729500	324772	9500	4772	E	1	m	Wrought iron loop				
625	3729499	324775	9499	4775	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
625	3729499	324775	9499	4775	E	1	f	Hinge, iron, small				
625	3729499	324775	9499	4775	E	1	m	Flat iron, thin, unidentified				
626	3729497	324775	9497	4775	E	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				1
627	3729480	324794	9480	4794	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
628	3729478	324798	9478	4798	E	1	k	Fork, iron, 2-tine				
629	3729502	324762	9502	4762	E	1	p	Brooch, brass (3 fragments)				
630	3729517	324767	9517	4767	E	1	m	Wrought iron scrap, blacksmith cut	56.5			
631	3729515	324758	9515	4758	E	1	k	Pan, cast iron	92.3			
632	3729513	324757	9513	4757	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
633	3729508	324760	9508	4760	E	1	k	Pot leg, cast iron				
634	3729504	324754	9504	4754	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
635	3729505	324758	9505	4758	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
635	3729504	324753	9504	4753	E	1	a	Machine cut nail				
636	3729498	324763	9498	4763	E	1	k	Pot leg, cast iron				
637	3729499	324766	9499	4766	E	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
638	3729504	324769	9504	4769	E	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
639	3729504	324765	9504	4765	E	1	m	Wrought nail, horseshoe				
640	3729501	324777	9501	4777	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
640	3729501	324777	9501	4777	E	1	m	Wrought iron rod				
641	3729504	324778	9504	4778	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
642	3729508	324781	9508	4781	E	1	m	Iron rod, wrought, bent into loop				
643	3729503	324775	9503	4775	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				
643	3729503	324775	9503	4775	E	1	m	Horseshoe, 1/2				
644	3729509	324772	9509	4772	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
645	3729507	324779	9507	4779	E	1	a	Wrought nail, T-head				1
646	3729507	324757	9507	4757	E	1	m	Hinge, iron, small				
647	3729517	324769	9517	4769	E	1	m	Wrought nail, horseshoe				
648	3729516	324762	9516	4762	E	1	a	Wrought nail, rosehead				1
649	3729508	324764	9508	4764	E	3	m	Wrought chain sections (3)				
650	3729502	324758	9502	4758	E	1	m	Flat iron, unidentified				
651	3729501	324765	9501	4765	E	1	m	Wrought nail, horseshoe				
651	3729501	324765	9501	4765	E	1	m	Wrought iron strap				
652	3729500	324765	9500	4765	E	1	a	Machine cut nail fragment				
653	3729500	324771	9500	4771	E	1	a	Wrought or cut nail fragment				
654	3729738	324853	9738	4853	D	1	x	Palmer PPK base, chert				
655	3729337	325386	9337	5386	H	1	k	Coarse earthenware rim				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Blue edge pearlware plate rim, scalloped, molded				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	a	Machine cut nail				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	12	k	Plain creamware, body (12)				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	6	k	Plain pearlware, body (6)				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Gray salt glazed stoneware, body				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Polychrome h.p. pearlware body, early variety				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Blue underglaze h.p. pearlware body				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Blue underglaze t.p. rim, pearlware				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Blue underglaze t.p. body, pearlware				
656	3729144	325791	9144	5791	I	1	k	Plain pearlware, rim				
657	3728904	325824	8904	5824	O	1	x	Pitted stone, gneiss				
657	3728904	325824	8904	5824	O	1	x	Stemmed PPK base, quartz				
657	3728904	325824	8904	5824	O	1	x	Stemmed PPK base, quartz				
657	3728904	325824	8904	5824	O	1	x	Morrow Mtn. PPK, quartz				
657	3728904	325824	8904	5824	O	1	x	Biface fragment, quartz				
658	3729644	324904	9644	4904	D	1	r	Chewed lead	17.1			
659	3728955	325173	8955	5173	F	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, unident.				
660	3729285	325193	9285	5193	A	2	x	Quartz biface fragments (2)				
661	3729699	324939	9699	4939	D	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	12.7	12.8	0.50	
662	3729284	325461	9284	5461	G	1	m	Wrought iron, stirrup-like				
Hous	3730499	325116	10499	5116	L	0		House				

PP#	Northing	Easting	Northing	Easting	Loci	Count	Group	Description	Weight (g)	Diam mm	Caliber	No collect (1)
Shoe	3729708	324869	9708	4869	D	1	c	Shoe buckle fragment, brass, cast, ornate				
Spike	3729633	324887	9633	4887	D	1	a	Spike, wrought iron				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	a	Wrought nail fragment				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	8	k	Undecorated creamware body (8)				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	k	Undecorated creamware plate rim				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	k	Light green bottle glass				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	k	Stoneware, unidentified burned body				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	m	Scrap wrought iron				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	23	x	Flake fragments, quartz (23)				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	6	x	Thinning flakes, quartz (6)				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	2	x	Thinning flakes, chert (2)				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	x	Morrow Mtn. PPK base, quartz				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	x	Bifacial flake tool, R&V chert				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	x	Secondary flake, quartz				
TU1I	3729699	324886	9699	4886	D	1	x	Secondary flake, chert				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	10	a	Machine cut nails (10)				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	k	Crown cap, modern				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	k	Green edged pearlware plate rim				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	k	Clear tumbler glass w/ pontil scar				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	k	Goblet glass, clear rim				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	k	Clear glass				
TU2I	3729501	324755	9501	4755	E	1	x	Secondary flake, quartz				
	3729325	325160	9325	5160	B	1	r	Lead ball, impacted	8.6			
	3729524	325054	9524	5054	C	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				1
	3729515	325047	9515	5047	C	1	k	Blue edge pearlware rim, scalloped, embossed				
	3729530	325047	9530	5047	C	1	k	Polychrome h.p. pearlware body, early variety				
	3729545	325047	9545	5047	C	1	k	Plain whiteware body				
	3729492	324772	9492	4772	E	1	k	Olive green bottle glass				
	3729492	324772	9492	4772	E	1	m	Clear lampglobe glass				
	3729492	324772	9492	4772	E	1	m	Scrap iron				
	3729484	324791	9484	4791	E	1	k	Polychrome h.p. pearlware rim, early variety				
	3729484	324791	9484	4791	E	1	m	Wrought iron hardware, unident.				
	3729520	325055	9520	5055	K	1	a	Wrought or cut nail				1
Dona	3729560	324753	9560	4753	E	1	r	Brass pistol triggerguard fragment [location estimated]				

Appendix II. Kettle Creek Roster.

Status Key: 1. Present in battle; 2. Possibly present; 3. Unknown; 4. Absent from battle.

Order of Battle Key: A-S.C. militia; B-Detached to S.C. militia; C-GA militia; D-SC Provincials; E-NC Provincials; F-Prisoner; G-Civilian

Patriots

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Or
Pickens	Andrew Pickens	Col.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	COMMANDER		1 A
Anderson	Robert Anderson	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Baskin	James Baskin	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	J. Baskin's Co.		1 A
Baskin	William Baskir	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	W. Baskin's Co.		1 A
Hays	James Hays	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Hays' Co.		1 A
Jones	Adam C. Jones	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Jones' Co.		1 A
McCall	Hugh McCall	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	H. McCall's Co.		1 A
McCall	James McCall	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	J. McCall's Co.		1 A
McGaw	William McGaw	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McGaw's Co.		1 A
Moore	Samuel Moore	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Moore's Co.		1 A
Noble	Alexander Noble	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Noble's Co.		1 A
Norwood	John Norwood	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Norwood's Co.		1 A
Pickens	Joseph Pickens	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Pickens' Co.		1 A
Reed/Reid	George Reed	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Hamilton	Andrew Hamilton	Capt. Acting Major	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Hamilton's Co.		1 A
Ramsey	Alexander Ramsey	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Ramsey	Thomas Ramsey	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.		1 A
Reed/Reid	Samuel Reed	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Reed's Co.		1 A
Roseman/Rosamond	Samuel Roseman	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Strain	William Strain	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Carlisle	Francis Carlisle	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Calvert	James Calvert	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Carithers/Carothers/Carruthers	William Carithers/Carothers/Car	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Davis	Absolom Davis	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Davis	Samuel Emory Davis	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Doyle	Edward Doyle	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Casey's Co.		1 A
Ellis	Robert Ellis	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Gillison	James Gillison	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.		1 A
Jones	James Jones	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Laird/Loard	John Laird/Loard	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Lt. McClelland's Co.		1 A
Lawrence	Benjamin Lawrence	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Long	Robert Long	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCrary's Co.		1 A
Luckie	James Luckie	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Norwood's Co.		1 A
Mayfield	Samuel Mayfield	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
McAdams/McAdam	John McAdams/McAdam	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Jones' Co.		1 A
McClaskey/McCloskey	Joseph/John McClaskey	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Weems' Co.		1 A
McMillen	Joseph McMillen	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Moore	Elijah Moore	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Moore's Co.		1 A
Patterson	Alexander Patterson, Sr.	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Pickens	William Pickens	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		1 A
Robinson	Matthew Robinson	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.		1 A
Speer/Spears	William Speer, Sr.	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	H. McCall's Co.		1 A
Tyner	Dempsey Tyner	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Miller's Co.		1 A
Verner	John Verner, Jr.	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.		1 A
Verner/Venor	David Verner	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.		1 A
Warnock	John Warnock	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Austin	Nathaniel Austin		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Bell	William Bell		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Weems' Co		1 A
Davis	David Davis		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Caruthers' Co.		1 A
Dillard	James Dillard		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Holland	Thomas Holland		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Luckie	William Luckie, Jr.		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
McMaster	William McMaster		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCall's Co.		1 A
Miller/Millar	Mordecia/Mordica Miller		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.		1 A
Prater	John Prater		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Smith	William Smith		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Waters	David Waters		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Williams	William Williams		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			1 A
Langdon	Thomas Langdon	Surgeon	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Staff		1 A
Boyer	John Boyer	Capt.	SC militia	Lile's Regt.	Boyer's Co.		1 B
Hampton	Adam Hampton	Capt.	NC militia	Hampton's Regt, Light Horse	Hampton's Co.		1 B
Turney	Henry Turney	Capt.	NC militia	Hampton's Regt, Light Horse	Turney's Co.		1 B
McClain	John McClain	Lt.	NC militia	Hampton's Regt, Light Horse	Hampton's Co.		1 B
Dunn	Joseph Dunn	Pvt.	NC militia	Hampton's Regt, Light Horse	Hampton's Co.		1 B
Dooly/Dooley	John Dooly	Col.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	2nd in command		1 C
Clark/Clarke	Elijah Clark/Clarke	Lt. Col.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	3rd in command		1 C
Barber	George Barber, Sr.	1st Lt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.			1 C
Burks/Burke	Isham Burks/Burke	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	I. Burke's Co.		1 C
Collins	Joseph Collins	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Collins' Co.		1 C
Cunningham	John Cunningham	Capt.	GA militia		Cunningham's Co.		1 C
Dooly	George Dooly	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	G. Dooly's Co.		1 C
Freeman	William Freeman	Capt.	GA militia		W. Freeman's Co.		1 C
Gunnells	Daniel Gunnells	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	D. Gunnell's Co.		1 C
Little	James H. Little	Capt.	GA militia		Little's Co.		1 C
Martin	William Martin	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Martin's Co.		1 C
Nail/Neal	Joseph Nail, Sr.	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.		1 C

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Or
Oliver	Dyonisius Oliver	Capt.	GA militia			1	C
Stewart/Stuart	_Stewart/Stuart	Capt.	GA militia		Stewart's Co.	1	C
Heard	Stephen Heard	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	S. Heard's Co.	1	C
Hart	Nancy Hart	Civilian	GA militia			1	C
Cloud	Ezekial Cloud	Ens.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.		1	C
Nail	Joseph Nail, Jr.	Ens.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	1	C
Black	William Black	Lt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	1	C
Gordon/Gorden	Jesse Gordon	Lt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Gunnell's Co.	1	C
Hart	Benjamin Hart	Lt.	GA militia			1	C
Westbrook	Stephen Bartley Westbrook, Sr.	Lt.	GA militia			1	C
Williamson	Micajah Williamson	Lt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	1	C
Freeman	John Freeman	Lt.	GA militia			1	C
Catchings	Benjamin Catchings	Maj.	GA militia		Catchings' Co.	1	C
Lindsey	John Lindsey	Maj.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Lindsey's Co.	1	C
Smith	Burwell Smith	Maj.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	1	C
Anderson	William Anderson	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	1	C
Autry/Autrey	Alexander Autry, Sr.	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Barnett	Nathan Barnett	Pvt.	GA militia			1	C
Black	John Black	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	1	C
Brooks	Micajah Brooks, Sr.	Pvt.	GA militia			1	C
Buckhalter/Burkhalter	Michael Buckhalter	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Dabney	Austin/Asten Dabney	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Faver/Favor/Favours	John Favor	Pvt.	GA militia			1	C
Gent	Charle Gent	Pvt.	GA militia		Gunnell's Co.	1	C
Graves	James Graves	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Hammett	Robert Hammett	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Hammett	William Hammett	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Harris	Walton Harris	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Holliday	William Holliday, Jr.	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Hooper	Jesse Hooper	Pvt.	GA militia		Little's Co.	1	C
Madden/Madin/Maddin	David Madden	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Noridyke	Benijah/Benajah Noridyke	Pvt.	GA militia			1	C
Pope	Wylie Pope	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Strozier	Peter Strozier	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.		1	C
Thompson	Benjamin Thompson, Jr.	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Webb	Austin Webb	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	1	C
Webb	John Webb	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	1	C
Whatley	Samuel Whatley	Pvt.	GA militia			1	C
Williams	James Williams	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Bankston	Elijah Bankston		GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	1	C
Daniell	William Daniell		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Darden	George Darden, Sr.		GA militia			1	C
Fluker	Owen Fluker	Pvt.	GA militia			1	CI
Foster	William J. Foster		GA militia			1	C
Hart	Morgan Hart		GA militia			1	C
Kade/Cade?	Drake Kade [Drury Cade]		GA militia			1	C
Lawrence	Frederick Lawrence		GA militia			1	C
May	Beckham May		GA militia			1	C
Rainey	Thomas Rainey		GA militia			1	C
Simmons	John Simmons, Sr.		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Tyner	Richard Tyner		GA militia			1	C
Wooten	Thomas Wooten, Jr.		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Kelley	Lloyd Kelley	Sgt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	1	C
Thurmond	David H. Thurmond	Sgt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Gunnell's Co.	1	C
Heard	Jesse Heard		GA militia			1	C
Clark/Clarke	John Clark/Clarke		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		1	C
Joyner	Benjamin Joyner		militia			1	CI
Lamar	James Lamar		GA & SC militia			1	CI
Miller	Andrew Miller	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Miller's Co.	1	F
Wofford	William Wofford	Col.	SC militia?	Wofford's Regt.	Prisoner	1	F
Wardlaw	Joseph Wardlaw	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Prisoner	1	F
Buchanon/Buchanan	William Buchanan	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Prisoner	1	F
Trimble/Trimbel/Tremble	John Trimble	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.	1	F
Cowan/Cowen	John Cowan	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Cowan's Co.	2	A
Hutton	William Hutton	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Hutton's Co.	2	A
McCrary	___ McCrary	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	McCrary's Co.	2	A
Weems	Thomas Weems	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Weems' Co.	2	A
Calhoun	Joseph Calhoun	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.	2	A
Farr	John Farr	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.	2	A
Liddell	Moses Liddell	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Maxwell	Robert Maxwell	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Shanklin	Thomas Shanklin	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Caruthers	Robert Caruthers	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Anderson	William Anderson	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Bell	Robert Bell	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Bird/Byrd	John Bird/Byrd	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Breazeal/Brazil/Breazeale	Willis Breazeal	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Cofer	Thomas Cofer	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Cosby	___ Cosby	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Crockett	Samuel Crockett	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Files	John Files	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	W. Baskin's Co.	2	A
Liddle/Liddell	Andrew Liddle	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Or
Turk	William Turk	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.	2	A
Crosby	William Crosby		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Baskin's Co.	2	A
Milner	John Milner		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Reed	Matthew Reed		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	A
Runnalls	George Runnalls	2nd Lt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	2	C
Barnett	John Barnett	Capt.	GA militia		Barnett's Co.	2	C
Carr	Robert Carr	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	2	C
Cartledge	James Cartledge	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Cartledge's Co.	2	C
Heard	Barnard/Bernard Heard	Capt.	GA militia		B. Heard's Co.	2	C
Hill	John Hill	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Hill's Co.	2	C
Jordan/Jourdine	Charles Jordan, Jr.	Capt.	GA militia		Jordan's Co.	2	C
Pope	John Pope	Capt.	GA militia		Pope's Co.	2	C
Wooten	Richard Bradford Wooten	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Wooten's Co.	2	C
Wooten	Thomas Wooten [Sr.?)	Lt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Wooten's Co.	2	C
Buckhalter/Burkhalter	John Buckhalter	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Downs	William Downs	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Eidson	Sheldon Eidson	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Hollomon	David Hollomon	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Rogers	Reuben Rogers	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Simpson	Archibald Simpson	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Smith	Nathan Smith	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Thompson	John Thompson	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Thompson	William Thompson	Pvt.	GA militia			2	C
Butler	Edmund Butler		GA militia			2	C
Day	Robert Day		GA militia			2	C
Evans	John Evans		GA militia			2	C
Evans	William Evans		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Fluker	William Fluker		GA militia			2	C
Glass	John Glass		GA militia			2	C
Glass	Thomas Glass		GA militia			2	C
Gorham	John Gorham		GA militia			2	C
Harper	Robert Harper		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Harper	William Harper		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Johnson	John Johnson		GA militia & 3rd GA Cont.			2	C
Lamar	John Lamar		GA militia			2	C
Lamar	Zachariah Lamar, Sr.		GA militia			2	C
Manadue	Henry Manadue		GA militia			2	C
McLean	James McLean		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	McLean's Co.	2	C
McLendon	Jacob McLendon, Sr.		GA militia			2	C
Montfort	___Montfort		GA militia			2	C
Phillips	Joseph Phillips		GA militia			2	C
Pool	Henry Pool		GA militia			2	C
Pope	Burrell Pope		GA militia			2	C
Pope	Henry Pope		GA militia			2	C
Pope	William Pope		GA militia			2	C
Redden	George Redden		GA militia			2	C
Redden	Joseph Scott Redden		GA militia			2	C
Redden	Scott Redden		GA militia			2	C
Saffold	___Saffold		GA militia			2	C
Snow	___Snow		GA militia			2	C
Staples/Stiples	Stephen Staples		GA militia			2	C
Stroud	Thomas Stroud		GA militia			2	C
Sutton	R. Sutton		GA militia			2	C
Terrell	William Terrell		GA militia			2	C
Truitt	___Truitt		GA militia			2	C
Walker	James Walker		GA militia			2	C
Walton	John Walton		GA militia			2	C
Walton	Nathaniel Walton		GA militia			2	C
White	James White		GA militia			2	C
Wiggins	William Wiggins, Jr.		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Wiggins	William Wiggins, Sr.		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		2	C
Wilkinson	Benjamin Wilkinson		GA militia			2	C
Wilkinson	Elisha Wilkinson		GA militia			2	C
Williamson	L. Williamson		GA militia			2	C
Henderson	Zachariah Henderson	Sgt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	2	C
Freeman	George Freeman		GA militia			2	C
Freeman	James Freeman		GA militia			2	C
Heard	John Heard		GA militia			2	C
Peters	Jesse Peters		NC 1st Bat			2	C1
Elliot	Arthur Elliot	Civ.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		2	G
Williams	Charles Williams	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Williams' Co.	3	A
Casey	Levi Casey	Capt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Casey's Co.	3	A
McClelland	William McClelland	Lt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Lt. McClelland's Co.	3	A
Adams	William Adams	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A
Beard	David Beard	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A
Beard	John Beard	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A
Brown	William Brown	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A
Buchanan	John Buchanan	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A
Caldwell	James Caldwell	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.		3	A

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Orn
Calhoun	John Calhoun	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Cane	James Cane	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Carmichael	Daniel Carmichael	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Carson	Samuel Carson	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Chevas	Alexander Chevas	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Coyle/Coil	Thomas Coyle	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Crawford	George Crawford	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Hamilton	Thomas Hamilton	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McAlphin	John McAlphin	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McCurdy	John McCurdy, Jr.	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Posey	Richard Posey	Pvt.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Aaron	Alexander Aaron		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Baker	Thomas Baker		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Bullock	Daniel Bullock		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Crawford	Andrew Crawford		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Crozer	Thomas Crozer		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Davis	Benjamin Davis		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Davis	John Davis		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Davis	Thomas Davis		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Dickson	___ Dickson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Dillwood	John Dillwood		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Gailey	John Gailey		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Gillispie	John Gillispie		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		3 A
Gordon	John Gordon		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Haggit	Allen Haggit		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Harston	William Harston		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Hatcher	Jamston Hatcher		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Hay	Benjamin Hay		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Hay	Gamaliel Hay		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Johnson	Francis Johnson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Miller's Co.		3 A
Johnson	Henry Johnson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Jones	Henry Jones		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Kelley	L. Loyd Kelley		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Kerr	David Kerr		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Kerr	James Kerr		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Kerr	William Kerr, Jr.		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Lively	Reuben Lively		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Logan	Isaac Logan		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Logan	John Logan, Jr.		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Long	James Long		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Masterson	John Masterson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Matthews	William Matthews		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McA__	Eliezer McA__		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McBride	William McBride		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McCalister	Nathan McCalister		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McCany/McCamey	John McCany		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McCarly/McCarley	William McCarly		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McConnel	John McConnel		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McGarity	William McGarity		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McGowen	Samuel McGowen		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McKeen	William McKeen		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Anderson's Co.		3 A
McKindley	John McKindley		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McMacken	William McMacken		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McMaster	John McMaster		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
McNitt/McKnitt	John McNitt		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Paxton	Samuel Paxton		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Pettygrew/Pettigrew	William Pettygrew		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.	Noble's Co.		3 A
Ramsey	John Ramsey		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Russell	William Russell		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Sample	John Sample, Sr.		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Sanderson	John Sanderson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Sims	Nathan Sims		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Skaggs	James C. Skaggs		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Stedman	John Stedman		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Steel	Isaac Steel		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Stephenson	Thomas Stephenson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Strain	James Strain		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Strain	Thomas Strain		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Stub/Stubbs	James Stubs		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Swearingham	Joseph Swearingham		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Thacker	Bartholomew Thacker		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Thacker	Isaac Thacker		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Whit	Charles Whit		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Williams	Thomas Williams		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Wilson	Gilbert Wilson		SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 A
Autry/Autrey	John E. Autry	1st Lt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.		3 C
Barron	William Barron	Capt.	GA militia		Barron's Co.		3 C

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Orn
Burks/Burke	John Burks/Burke	Capt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	J. Burkes' Co.	3	C
Heard	Richard Heard	Capt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	R. Heard's Co.	3	C
Irvine	Christopher Irvine	Capt.	GA militia		Irvine's Co.	3	C
McLendon	Travis McLendon	Capt.	GA militia		McLendon's Co.	3	C
Scott	William Scott	Capt.	GA militia		Scott's Co.	3	C
Gunnels	John Gunnels	Capt.	GA militia		J. Gunnell's Co.	3	C
Peteet	Delphia Henderson Peteet	Civilian	GA militia			3	C
Chapman	John Chapman		GA militia			3	C
Conner	Daniel Conner	Lieut.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	3	C
Johnson	Thomas Johnson	Lt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.		3	C
Alexander	Samuel Alexander	Lt.	GA militia			3	C
Bedel/Bedell	Absalom/Absolem Bedell	Maj.	GA militia			3	C
Freeman	Holman Freeman [Sr.?)	Maj.	GA militia			3	C
Broughton	Job Broughton	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	S. Heard's Co.	3	C
Coats	John Coats	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Deardon/Darden	George Deardon/Darden, Sr.	Pvt.	GA militia			3	C
Hopkins	William Hopkins	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
McNabb	Robert McNabb	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Morgan	William Morgan	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Nail	Reuben Nail	Pvt.	GA militia	Clarke's Battn.	Nail's Co.	3	C
Norton	John Norton	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Norton	Thomas Norton	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Phillips	Benjamin Phillips	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Phillips	John Phillips, Jr.	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Phillips	John Phillips, Sr.	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Phillips	William Phillips	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Ragan/Riggan	Jonathan Ragan/Riggan	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Roan	Tunstall Roan	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Sanger	Black Sanger	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Stewart	James Stewart	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Smith's Co.	3	C
Trapp	Robert Trapp	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Walker	Saunders Walker	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Whatley	William Whatley	Pvt.	GA militia			3	C
Wilkins	Isaac Wilkins	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Wilkins	Jacob Wilkins	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Young	Daniel Young	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Young	William Young	Pvt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Alexander	William Alexander		GA militia			3	C
Anglin	David Anglin		GA militia			3	C
Anglin	John Anglin		GA militia			3	C
Anglin	William Anglin		GA militia			3	C
Avery	Archer Avery		GA militia			3	C
Avery	Isaac Avery		GA militia			3	C
Avery	John Avery		GA militia			3	C
Aycock	William Aycock		GA militia			3	C
Bagby	George Bagby		GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Bankston	Laurence/Lawrence Bankston		GA militia			3	C
Bankston	Thomas Bankston		GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Barnett	Claiborne Barnett		GA militia			3	C
Barnett	Joel Barnett		GA militia			3	C
Barnett	Mial Barnett		GA militia			3	C
Bullard	Thomas Bullard		GA militia			3	C
Bullock	Hawkins Bullock		GA militia			3	C
Burton	Thomas Burton		GA militia			3	C
Bussey	Hezekiah Bussey		GA militia			3	C
Calder	John Calder		GA militia			3	C
Carson	John Carson		GA militia			3	C
Carter	Thomas Carter		GA militia			3	C
Catchings	Joseph Catchings		GA militia			3	C
Cloud	Jeremiah Cloud, Sr.		GA militia			3	C
Cupp/Cup	Michael Cupp		GA militia			3	C
Durkee	Nathaniel Durkee		GA militia			3	C
Edmunds	Francis Edmunds		GA militia			3	C
Fain	Ebenezer Fain		GA militia			3	C
Ferrington	Jacob Ferrington		GA militia			3	C
Freeman	Coldrop Freeman		GA militia			3	C
Freeman	Daniel Freeman		GA militia			3	C
Furlow	William Furlow		GA militia			3	C
Gresham	John Gresham		GA militia			3	C
Hammett	Edward Hammett		GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.	3	C
Hammock/Hammett?	Robert Hammock		GA militia			3	C
Hardy	John Hardy		GA militia			3	C
Harris	Buckner Harris		GA militia			3	C
Harris	Giles Harris		GA militia			3	C
Harris	Sampson Harris		GA militia			3	C
Hart	John Hart		GA militia			3	C
Hart	Thomas Hart		GA militia			3	C
Harvey	Evan Harvey		GA militia			3	C
Holliday	Thomas Holliday		GA militia			3	C

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Or
Holliday/Halliday	William Holliday, Sr.		GA militia				3 C
Jackson	Walter Jackson		GA militia				3 C
Johnson	Nathan Johnson		GA militia				3 C
Johnson	Nicholas Johnson		GA militia				3 C
Jones	John Jones		GA militia				3 C
Jones	Moses Jones		GA militia				3 C
Jones	Nathan Jones		GA militia				3 C
Jordan	Samuel Jordan		GA militia		Jordan's Co.		3 C
Kimbrough	William Kimbrough, Jr.		GA militia				3 C
Leverett	Thomas Leverett		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.			3 C
McLendon	Isaac McLendon		GA militia				3 C
McLendon	Joseph McLendon		GA militia				3 C
McLendon	Thomas McLendon, Jr.		GA militia				3 C
Mercer	Jacob Mercer		GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	R. Heard's Co.		3 C
Mounger	Henry Mounger		GA militia				3 C
Nelson	John Nelson		GA militia	Twigg's Regt.			2 C
Oglesby	Thomas Oglesby		GA militia				3 C
Pilcher	William Pilcher		GA militia				3 C
Powell	Benjamin Powell		GA militia				3 C
Powell	Lewis Powell		GA militia				3 C
Powell	Moses Powell, Jr.		GA militia				3 C
Powell	Moses Powell, Sr.		GA militia				3 C
Shivers	Jones Shivers		GA militia				3 C
Simmons	William Simmons		GA militia				3 C
Smith	John Smith		GA militia				3 C
Thornton	Solomon Thornton		GA militia				3 C
Webster	Benjamin Webster		GA militia				3 C
Wilder	William Wilder		GA militia	Clarke's Battn.			2 C
Williams	Charles Williams		GA militia				3 C
Williams	Frederick Williams		GA militia				3 C
Williams	John B. Williams		GA militia				3 C
Wise	William Wise		GA militia				3 C
Barton	Willoughby Barton	Sgt.	GA militia				3 C
Hopkins	Lambeth Hopkins	Sgt.	GA militia	Dooly's Battn.	Carr's Co.		3 C
Jones	William Jones	Sgt.	GA militia				3 C
Freeman	Holman Freeman, Jr.	Unk	GA militia				3 C
Heard	William Heard	Unk	GA militia				3 C
Collins	Charles Collins		militia				3 C1
Veazey	James Veazey, Jr.		militia				3 C1
Triplett	Francis Triplett		militia				3
Finley/Finlay	Matthew Finley	Civ.	SC militia	Pickens' Regt.			3 G

Loyalists

Boyd	John Boyd	Col.	Provincials	SC	COMMANDER		1 D
Spurgeon/Spurgin	William Albertus Spurgin, Jr.	Maj.	Provincials	SC	3rd in command		1 D
Carter	George Carter	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Carter's Co.		1 D
Draper	Charles Draper	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Draper's Co.		1 D
Gibbs/Gibbes	Zacharias Gibbes	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Gibbes' Co.		1 D
Gray	Isaac Gray	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Gray's Co.		1 D
Harvey	James Harvey	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Harvey's Co.		1 D
Livingston	Martin Livingston	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Livingston's Co.		1 D
Mayfield	Stephen Mayfield	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Mayfield's Co.		1 D
Neally/Neelly	Christopher Neally	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Neally's Co.		1 D
Reese	David Reese	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Reese's Co.		1 D
Stewart/Stuart	Alexander Stewart	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Stewart's Co.		1 D
Wells	Elijah Wells	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Well's Co.		1 D
Wells	Philip Wells	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Well's Co.		1 D
Devaux	John Devaux	Chaplain	Provincials	S.C.			1 D
Clegg	Samuel Campbell Clegg	Ens.	Provincials	SC			1 D
Hall	Aquilla Hall, Jr.	Ens.	Provincials	SC			1 D
Young	William Young	Lt.	Provincials	SC	Halen's Co.		1 D
Coleman	Christopher Coleman	Maj.	Provincials	S.C.			1 D
Alexander	John Alexander		Provincials	SC			1 D
Anderson	John Anderson		Provincials	SC			1 D
Buffington	Samuel Buffington	Pvt.	Provincials	S.C.			1 D
Hollingsworth	George Hollingsworth		Provincials	SC			1 D
McKisek	Daniel McKisek		Provincials	S.C.			1 D
Moore	John Moore	Lt. Col.	Provincials	N.C.	2nd in command		1 E
Fields	William Fields	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Fields' Co.		1 E
Bickerstaff/Biggerstaff	Samuel Biggerstaff	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Bickerstaff's Co.		1 E
Lawrence	Joseph Lawrence	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Lawrence's Co.		1 E
Lindley	James Lindley	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Lindley's Co.		1 E
Robertson	David Robertson	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Robertson's Co.		1 E
Cunningham	Andrew Cunningham	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Cunningham's Co.		2 D
Davis	William Davis	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Davis' Co.		2 D
Halen/Hillin/Hillon	Nathaniel Halen	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Halen's Co.		2 D
Plummer	David Plummer	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Plummer's Co.		2 D

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Orn
Bishop	Samuel Bishop	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Halen's Co.	2	D
Buffington	Moses Buffington	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		2	D
Coleman	Robert Coleman	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Well's Co.	2	D
Hanby	John Hanby	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Plummer's Co.	2	D
Mock	Benjamin Mock	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Davis' Co.	2	D
Pensin	Duke Pensin	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Cunningham's Co.	2	D
Bailey	Zachariah Bailey	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.	Well's Co.	2	D
Campbell	Alexander Campbell	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		2	D
Deloter	George Deloter	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.	Davis' Co.	2	D
Hinsley	James Hinsley	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.	Reese's Co.	2	D
Holmes	William Holmes	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.	Plummer's Co.	2	D
Spurgeon/Spurgin	John Spurgeon	Maj.	Provincials	SC		2	D
Buffington	John Buffington		Provincials	SC		2	D
Buffington	Peter Buffington		Provincials	S.C.		2	D
Cunningham	James Cunningham		Provincials	SC		2	D
Cunningham	Thomas Cunningham		Provincials	SC		2	D
Hutchinson	Thomas Hutchinson		Provincials	S.C.		2	D
Robertson	David Robertson	Adj.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Durmont	Joseph Durmont	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Durmont's Co.	2	E
MacDonald	James MacDonald	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	MacDonald's Co.	2	E
Richardson	Samuel Richardson	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Richardson's Co.	2	E
Welch/Welsh	Nicholas Welch	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Welsh's Co.	2	E
Clements	Abraham Clements	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Moltheus	James Moltheus	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.	Reese's Co.	2	E
Shuforth	George Shuforth	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Cunningham	William Cunningham	Lt.	Provincials	N.C.	Cunningham's Co.	2	E
Fortenbury	Isaac Fortenbury	Lt.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
McCra/McCrae	Alexander McCra	Lt.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Richardson	John Richardson	Lt.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Hamilton	John Hamilton	Lt. Col.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Durmont	John Durmont	Qtr.Mstr.	Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Allen	Daniel Allen		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Anderson	Abner Anderson		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Armstrong	William Armstrong		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Ashbranner	Valentine Ashbranner		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Ashbranner	Philip Ashbranner		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Bagwell	Littleton Bagwell		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Bailey	John Bailey		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Black	Matthew Black		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Blevins	James Blevins		Provincials	Moore's NC Battn.		2	E
Brackett	Philip Brackett		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Broadway	Jonas Broadway		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Buson	Solomon Buson		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Clements	Gabriel Clements		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Cockran	William Cockran		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Coxey	Daniel Coxey		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Craig	William Craig		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Craig	John Craig		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Crane	William Crane		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Davies	Allan Davies		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Devore	Samuel Devore		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Fleming	Richmond Fleming		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Fluman	Joseph Fluman		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Fortenbury	William Fortenbury		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Fullbright	George Fullbright		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Goultry	James Goultry		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Gualtry	Robert Gualtry		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Harmon	Anthony Harmon		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Hartshorn	John Hartshorn		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Hinson	Philip Hinson		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Jasper	Abel Jasper		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Johnson	Sampson Johnson		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Magnus	Benjamin Magnus		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
McDugald	McDugald, Archibald		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
McKarley	Thomas McKarley		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Morgan	John Morgan		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Newley	James Newley		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Osborn	John Osborn		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Prockter	Samuel Prockter		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Procter	Robert Procter		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Procter	Benjamin Procter		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Robinson	John Robinson		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Rynhart	John Rynhart, Sr.		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Rynhart	John Rynhart, Jr.		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Rynhart	Jacob Rynhart		Provincials	N.C.		2	E

Surname	Name	Rank	Army	Regiment/Battn.	Company	Status	Or
Rynolds	John Rynolds		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Rynolds	Edward Rynolds		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Sims	George Sims		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Sims	Adam Sims		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Stunwry	John Stunwry		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Suttle	Enoch Suttle		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Trammel	Samson Trammel		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Vinos	William Vinos		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Waynwright	Thomas Waynwright		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Welch	John Welch		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
White	David White		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Wise	Daniel Wise		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Wood	William Wood		Provincials	N.C.		2	E
Woods	William Woods		Provincials	N.C.		2	E

Bailey	T. Bailey	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Bailey's Co.	3	D
Daviss	John Daviss	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Daviss' Co.	3	D
Dawkins	George Dawkins	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Dawkins' Co.	3	D
Lindsay	Charles Stewart Lindsay	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Lindsay's Co.	3	D
McLane	Laughlin McLane	Capt.	Provincials	SC	McLane's Co.	3	D
McLauren	Evan McLauren	Capt.	Provincials	SC	McLauren's Co.	3	D
Murphy	John Murphy	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Murphy's Co.	3	D
Pearis	Robert Pearis	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Pearis' Co.	3	D
Plummer	Thomas Plummer	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Plummer's Co.	3	D
Plummer	Daniel Plummer	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Plummer's Co.	3	D
Risinger	Vitus Risinger	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Risinger's Co.	3	D
Robinson	Joseph Robinson	Capt.	Provincials	SC	Robinson's Co.	4	D
Stuart	William Stuart	Capt.	Provincials	S.C.	Stuart's Co.	3	D
York	John York	Capt.	Provincials	SC	York's Co.	3	D
Bishop	T. Bishop	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Coleman	John Coleman	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Hanby	Thomas Hanby	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Moake	T. Moake	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Pineen	Thomas (or J.) Pineen	Ens.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Deloter	William Deloter	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Holmes	Thomas Holmes	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Sheety	T. Sheety	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Tinsley	James Tinsley	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Young	Henry Young	Lt.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Lee	Basil Lee	Qtr. Mr.	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Hatton	Joseph Hatton	Surgeon	Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Allicocke	Charles J. Allicocke		Provincials	SC		3	D
Carter	John Carter		Provincials	SC		3	D
Hartly	Henry Hartly		Provincials	S.C.		3	D
Livingston	John Livingston		Provincials	SC		3	D
Mushel	Samuel Mushel		Provincials	S.C.		3	D
VanHorn	William VanHorn		Provincials	SC		3	D
Wright	___ Wright		Provincials	SC		3	D
Donworth	Peter Donworth		Provincials	SC		3	D
Wormell	John Wormell	Capt.	Provincials	N.C.	Wormell's Co.	3	E
Swiney	James Swiney	Lt.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Hamilton	Robert Hamilton	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Manson	Thomas Manson	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
McCaskill	Alexander McCaskill	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
McDonald	Archibald McDonald	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
McDonald	Thomas McDonald	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Simpson	Robert Simpson	Ens.	Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Johnston	Andrew Johnston	Surgeon				3	E
Campbell	Donald Campbell		Provincials	N.C.		3	E
McKethen	Dougald McKethen		Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Shaw	John Shaw		Provincials	N.C.		3	E
Abercrombie	James Abercrombie		Provincials			3	E1