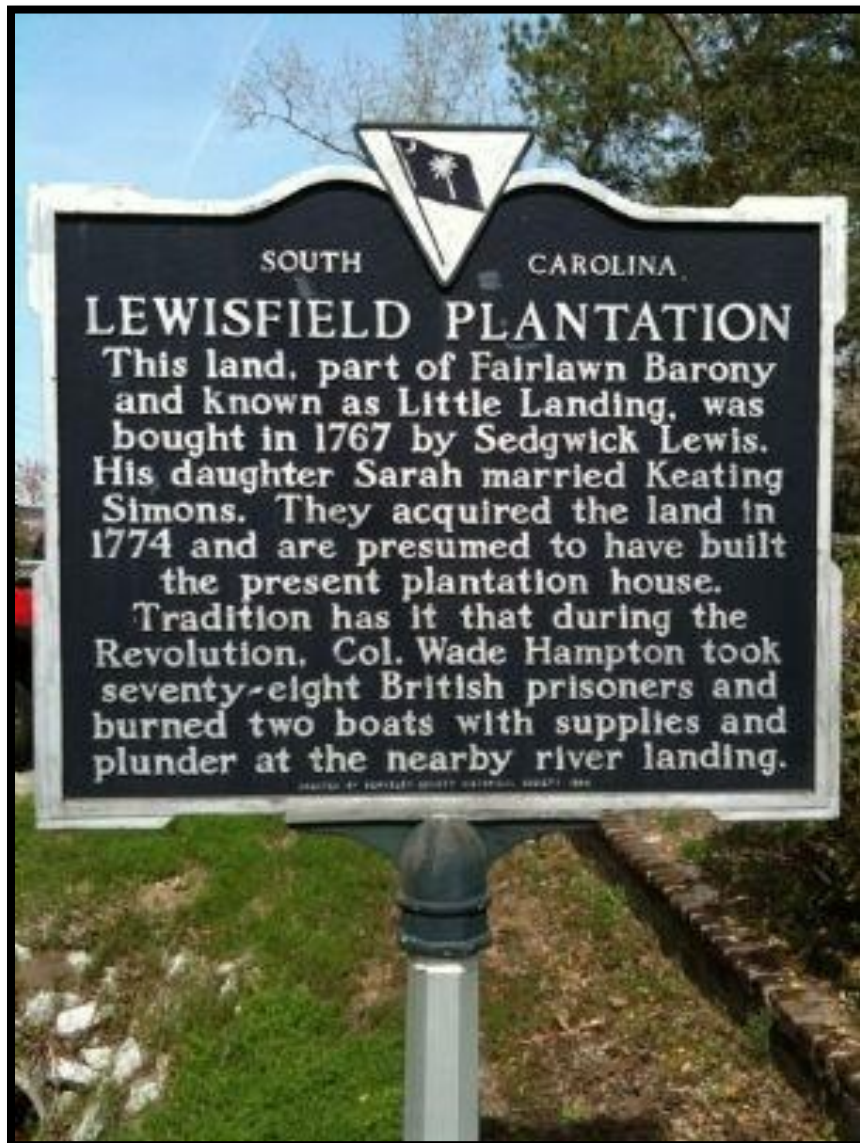


The “Two Cannon Wreck” Project

Archaeology Underwater at Lewisfield Plantation, Berkeley County, SC



1987
(revised March 2018)

ABSTRACT

In the fall of 1986 South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology personnel conducted test excavations at the Two Cannon Wreck site (38BK856). This site is located offshore from Lewisfield Plantation, on the West Branch of the Cooper River near Moncks Corner in Berkeley County, South Carolina. A reminiscence of an action that occurred at Lewisfield Plantation in the American Revolution on July 16, 1781, was published in the nineteenth century. Based on this account, three divers found a sunken vessel and recovered two cannons of Revolutionary War vintage. Pursuant to the mandates of The South Carolina Underwater Antiquities Act of 1982, a long-term archaeological recovery plan was undertaken, the first phase of which involved limited testing and extensive archival research. A total of nine five-foot-square excavation units were opened along one side of the keel that revealed about twenty feet of the vessel. This testing revealed a burned vessel of indeterminate length and approximately fourteen feet abeam. Artifacts recovered from the test units date from the entire period of the occupation of Lewisfield Plantation. However, artifacts directly associated with the vessel, including melted glass and military items, date to the period of the American Revolution, supporting the contention that this vessel was burned and sunk during the Revolution. Extensive research into primary and secondary documents on the American Revolution in South Carolina has revealed nothing to corroborate the published reminiscence, or to clearly document (or deny) this, or any, action at Lewisfield. Thus, the archaeological record may be the only source of substantiation for this minor event in the Revolutionary War.

PREFACE

The “Two Cannon Wreck Project” is an incredible blast from the past for me. Despite being thirty years old, in 1986 I had just graduated from the University of South Carolina. I did a couple of contract archaeology jobs that winter (rent needed to be paid) but got lucky when my friend Stanley South recommended me to Alan Albright, head of the underwater archaeology division at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), to serve as field director for this project and help with the division’s outreach program. This was amusing. I was not an underwater archaeologist and had no real interest in “ships and boats,”

On the other hand, I was born and raised in the Lowcountry just a couple of miles from the site and had a great interest in local history from childhood. I had, in fact, completed an independent study project with Stan South that dealt with Spring Grove plantation, a site just a few miles from Lewisfield. He was confident that I could do the job and convinced Alan, Bruce, and me that I would be a good choice. Again, I would rather that a really talented underwater archaeologist had been hired, but I had good help and did okay. I grew up around boats, so I was comfortable working on the water, even if I couldn’t dive. We managed to get the fieldwork done with a minimum of drama and no accidents or injuries.

When the site was first discovered there was a desire to minimize knowledge of its location off of Lewisfield Plantation. Since two cannons had been found “The Two Cannon Wreck” was chosen as a name. In 1987, a third cannon was found, ruining that name, so it was decided to call this the Little Landing Wreck 1. Another wreck a hundred or so meters downstream is the Little Landing Wreck 2. Little Landing was the plantation name before Lewisfield. Over time, news releases and a display of one cannon in the Berkeley County Museum made the story available to the public. Keeping the location of the vessel confidential ceased to be a consideration. I personally think of it as the Lewisfield site, for what it’s worth.

How good of a job we did is a question I can’t really answer. I was on the surface, communicating with divers by radio. Reading soil and stratigraphy in broad daylight on land sites is hard enough, but under twenty feet of muddy water in zero visibility is another matter. Furthermore, on land we dig in square units that have vertical walls that stay in place when we quit for the day. Underwater we dug in grid squares, but the walls slumped in as soon as the excavation stopped. So, the concept of stratigraphic integrity is moot. We were forced to clean out contaminated soils as a first step each day and rely only on artifacts that were clearly associated with the vessel itself, not the overlying soils. But I do feel confident that the few artifacts found in that context were associated with the vessel and not with the plantation. This was another, obvious lesson that had to be demonstrated empirically. Having fished from docks and thrown all manner of trash in the water as a child, it should not have come as a surprise that people had been throwing trash or “artifacts” into the water as long as there had been a dock at Lewisfield. So, when we quit work in the afternoon the unit would be fairly clean, but the next morning it would be filled in with sediment and, usually, a shotgun shell, beer can, or some other

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artifact dating to the twentieth century. So, the results are a little murky, but the evidence combines to confirm that this is a vessel which had been burned, and that it had British military artifacts on board when it sank.

This was an important point since in 1781 a battle had reportedly been fought at Lewisfield in which a British vessel was burned and sunk. In fact, the site’s discoverers had been led there by a reference to the battle in a popular history of the Cooper River. But before we went into the field I did some fairly extensive background research and found no other mentions of this battle whatsoever. Since the first generations of South Carolina historians, beginning with John Ramsay in 1808, had been obsessed with the American Revolution and learned all about it from the people who had fought in it, this set off alarm bells, to say the least.

After our work on the wreck site, I returned to Columbia and began working on a site report summarizing the fieldwork and then began comprehensive documentary research. Meanwhile, Bruce Rippeteau was revamping SCIAA. Alan Albright was pressed into resigning and guess who became the acting State Underwater Archaeologist! Yes, me. In this period of flux there was little for me to do other than work on my report and do sport diver outreach. Neither I nor anyone else wanted me to start any new projects if someone was going to replace me at any time. So, I finished what follows. This was done at a time when the Institute had a professional artist, photographer, and editor. Unfortunately, there was only one of each, and they had to serve the entire staff of SCIAA, so getting final graphics for the report was a problem. Thus, at a certain point, my part was done, but the report was still incomplete.

After a few months of searching, Christopher Amer was hired to head the underwater division. I was happy to leave the division to him and move on to my next project. I kept in touch with the editorial department about graphics, but then was told that Chris had decided to return to the site for more work, and that he was going to produce a comprehensive report, so he wanted them to take my job out of the queue. As a Canadian he would actually use the word queue. So, fair enough. Why duplicate our efforts? If they were doing more work, a comprehensive report made perfect sense. Well, long story short, here I am thirty years later writing the preface to the only thing that ever got written about this project!



The author directing underwater operations in 1986.

I have, in fact, picked the research up and revised it a number of times, yet for some reason I have never tried to publish it. As a hybrid project it is difficult to decide whether to aim it at an

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archaeological audience or a history audience. I always wanted to add a little more but never seemed to have the time to do it. The rent won't pay itself and paying jobs must come first, unfortunately. So, I am a veritable fountain of excuses but now at the urging of Drew Ruddy, a long-time Hobby License diver, and a principal of the South Carolina Artifact Documentation Project which is devoted to publicizing maritime archaeology in South Carolina, I am attempting to remind myself that perfection is the enemy of good (as the cliché goes) and just get what I have out there before it is gone completely. So, for better or worse, here is a revised version of my 1987 report, with a few graphics added. It is a project that I greatly enjoyed doing, and I hope you enjoy this report.

What follows is mostly as produced in 1986-87, and it should be noted that some of the background material in this report was taken from existing underwater division publications written by Alan Albright and David Brewer.

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INTRODUCTION

In October 1985, three divers, Steve Thornhill, Don Ard, and Bobby Snowden, discovered the remains of a colonial vessel in the Cooper River near Moncks Corner, just offshore from Lewisfield Plantation. These gentlemen, guided to the site by a passage in a nineteenth-century travelers account titled *A Day on Cooper River* (Irving/Stoney 1969), removed two loaded cannons from the vessel. Although they were not licensed Hobby Divers at the time, they reported their find to Alan B. Albright, as required by state law (see discussion below). Albright dated the cannons to the late eighteenth century. SCIAA staff members David Brewer and Joe Beatty visited the site in December of 1985, confirmed that a vessel was present, and made a surface collection of artifacts. Because of heavy silt overburden and limited visibility, they were able to say little about the physical characteristics of the vessel at that time. Based on this reconnaissance and the artifacts collected, the site was recorded in state archaeological site files as site 38BK856. Determined to be of major importance, further work was planned.

South Carolina was the first state and is still one of only a small number of states in the nation that has as part of its state policy a program of active cooperation with the sport diving community in the management of its underwater archaeological resources. The vehicle for this cooperation is set forth in The South Carolina Underwater Antiquities Act. Individual Hobby Licensed divers are granted permission to collect, using non-mechanical means only, artifacts and fossils from state waters, and are granted full ownership of collected items if they have fulfilled the requirements of the law. The law requires divers to hold a valid Hobby License, report their finds and diving activities, and make their finds available to SCIAA’s underwater division (located on the campus of the University of South Carolina in Columbia) for study for a period of sixty days before the diver is granted full ownership of the objects.

The law states that artifacts not reported or illegally collected may be confiscated by the state, though it should be noted that such confiscation is not the policy of the Institute, even when artifacts were collected illegally, as in the case of the Two Cannon Wreck

Most licenses issued are to individuals who pursue artifact and fossil recovery as a hobby, but occasionally search or salvage licenses are issued to qualified institutions and individuals. Holders of these licenses must submit research plans and justification and receive the approval of the State Underwater Archaeologist. The Antiquities Act however, does not permit the issuance of salvage licenses on sites determined to be of “primary scientific value.” Because of the significance of the Two Cannon Wreck site, (as explained below), neither the discoverers nor anyone else is permitted to excavate it or legally collect artifacts from it under any form of license. Instead, SCIAA’s underwater division agreed to excavate the site under a scientific research plan that would, hopefully, result in the best possible treatment of the site, fulfilling both the state’s responsibility and moral obligation to the discoverers, and the ethical responsibility of the archaeologist to the state’s submerged cultural resources.

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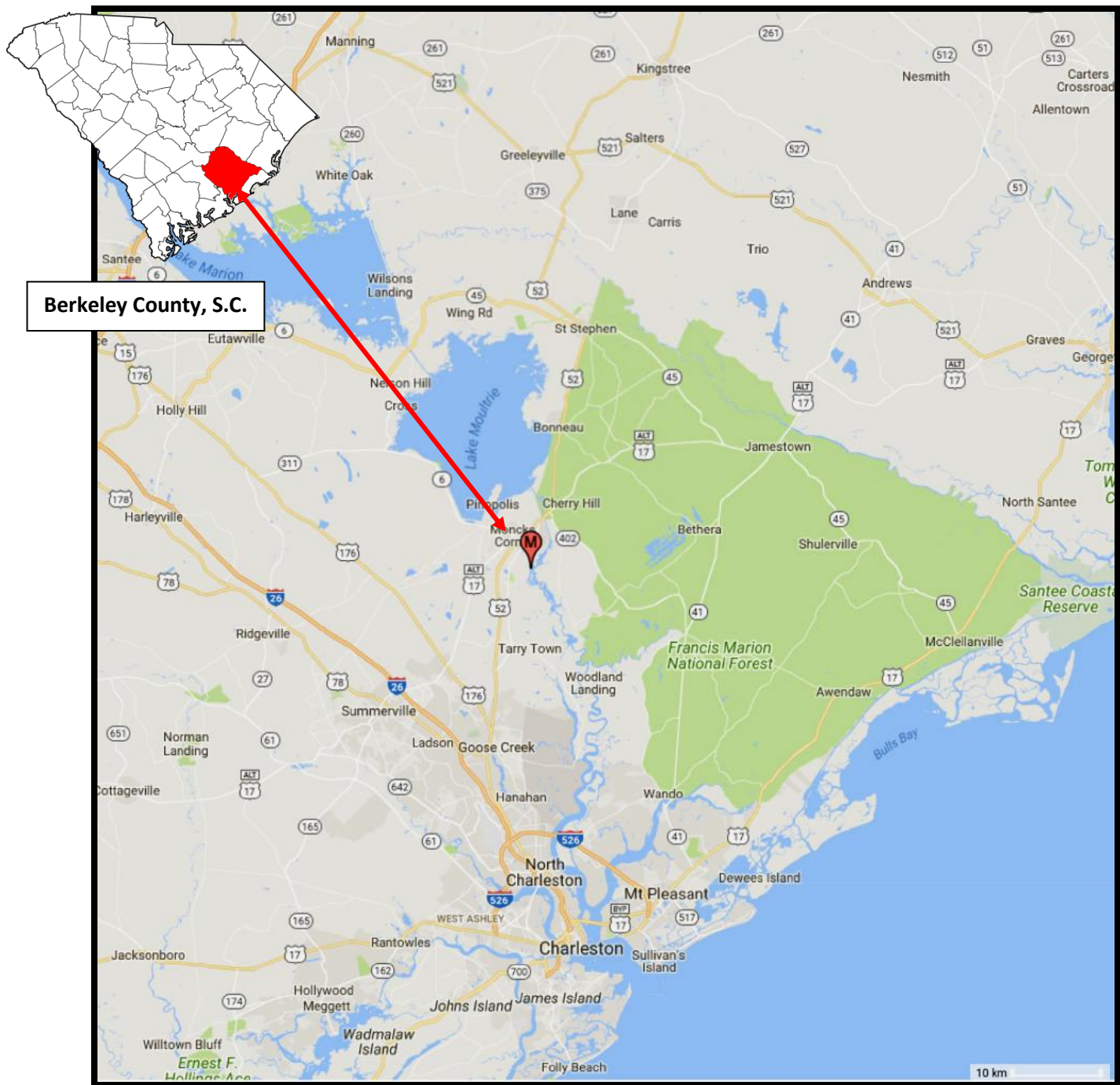


Figure 1: Project locator.

The failure to excavate this site in timely fashion, leaving it open for vandalism and looting, thus not protecting the finder's interests, would undermine the confidence of Hobby Licensed divers in the program and severely cut the flow of information now being received in the diver's reports. In effect, sitting on the site would diminish the most productive program of state/diver cooperation in the nation.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the Two Cannon Wreck was considered from two perspectives. First, the treatment that the discoverers receive would serve to assure the state’s divers that they will receive more than fair treatment from the state if they cooperate, thus strengthening the tie between the underwater division and the Hobby Licensed diver. Second, the archaeological and archival study of the site would provide significant information on both colonial vernacular watercraft construction and on the Revolutionary War in South Carolina.

The primary mission of SCIAA’s underwater division is to develop and run a program to properly manage the underwater archaeological resources of the state. This can best be done with the willing assistance and support of the citizens of the state, and specifically with the help of the Hobby Licensed diving community. The discoverers of the Two Cannon Wreck demonstrated confidence in the program and the integrity of SCIAA by turning over to the Institute the location of the site and agreeing to refrain from further artifact recovery. However, because of the sophistication of SCUBA equipment and the determination of a few to loot sites in defiance of the law, the integrity of the Two Cannon Wreck site was in jeopardy. The site had already been partially looted by unknown divers using mechanical excavation devices even after it was put under the protection of law officers of the South Carolina Wildlife and Marine Resources Department (now the South Carolina Department of Natural Resources).

Since the location of the site was now well known, it was determined that the site could not be entirely protected, increasing the potential for damage to the site. Adequate protection could have been achieved through police surveillance, which is both distasteful and impractical, or an underwater excavation. If SCIAA did nothing and the discoverer’s equity in the site was not protected, future cooperation of the Hobby Licensed diving community would be lost, and for good reason. This meant that an excavation at the earliest possible time to prevent looting of the scientific data by untrained persons was needed. It also meant that cataloguing, analyzing, conserving, as well as dividing the artifacts with the three divers must take place in a timely fashion. How this discovery was handled was vital to our resource management program in the future. Hobby Licensed divers have reported numerous canoes, shipwrecks, and significant artifacts. The degree to which this reporting continues would reflect the way this case was handled.

The archaeological investigation of the Lewisfield vessel would add much new information to the data base of the study of Southern maritime history. The only colonial vessel of Southern origin that has been studied to any extent thus far is the Brown’s Ferry Vessel. Even so, our knowledge of many of the construction details of that vessel is still incomplete because many of the loose boards recovered from the vessel have yet to be refitted to the frame. Further study was possible when the vessel was reassembled and put on display in the Kaminski Building in Georgetown in 1992. In contrast to the single example of a Southern colonial vessel, there have been reports and examinations on a number of vessels from Northern waters.

Although the skirmish at Lewisfield was not in itself of paramount importance in the struggle for America’s independence from Great Britain, it is of particular significance in South Carolina’s history. The action at Lewisfield illustrates the nature of the struggle between South Carolinians and the British and Loyalist occupation forces in microcosm. The British, more powerful and better supplied, ran roughshod over the plantations of the Lowcountry, especially those owned by Whig troops. The poorly accoutered Whigs resisted through a form of “cut and run” guerilla warfare, fighting only when they could win, and relying on speed and surprise rather than on military might. The same tactics were successfully adopted by Mao Tse Tung and disseminated to other guerilla movements of the twentieth century. Thus, the events at Lewisfield have wide-ranging implications. In addition, there are solid associations with prominent local families that played a dominant role in South Carolina’s social, political and military history that add further interest.

SITE ENVIRONMENT AND GEOLOGY

The Two Cannon Wreck site is located in the West Branch of the Cooper River about twenty-five miles (as the crow flies) north of Charleston, in the Outer Coastal Plain of South Carolina (Kovacik and Winberry 1986:15). The sources of the Cooper River are a few miles above the site. As the underlying geological formation changes, two long creeks (Biggin and Wadboo) draining extensive swamps join to form the West Branch of the Cooper River. At the Two Cannon Wreck site, about two miles downstream, the river is wide and deep.

The hydrology of the Cooper River has been profoundly altered by man. In the nineteenth century a canal was built from the mouth of Biggin Creek to the Santee River. As a commercial venture this canal was never successful, nor did the volume of water that it permitted to enter the Cooper have a large effect. However, the twentieth-century construction of the Santee-Cooper lake system and the Tail Race Canal have had a very serious effect, increasing the flow of fresh water into the Cooper by about 15,000 cubic feet per second in 1979 (S.C. Water Resources Commission 1979: 240). The opening of the new redirection canal in 1985, has diverted much of the water formerly flowing into the Cooper through the Tail Race, back to the Santee. The water level in the Cooper has not significantly dropped however, as brackish tidal waters have taken the place of the fresh water flow formerly coming from the lake (Charles and Mills 1986:8).

A local informant told us as well that during World War II the Cooper had been dredged as far up as the entrance to the Tail Race Canal to allow Liberty ships (troop transports) to come upriver to wait to be loaded at the Army Depot (at the east end of Remount Road), and that he had seen Liberty ships anchored in front of Lewisfield on numerous occasions. Liberty ships were 441 feet in length and drew 27 feet of water, and it seems improbable that such large ships could get that far up the Cooper River. Nevertheless, assuming the story to be true, the effect of this dredging doubtless had no direct effects on the site since they would not have dredged close to shore, but out in the main channel. Yet, the indirect effects could be far reaching. Current flow could have been decreased at the site by deepening the channel, thus allowing silt to build up over the vessel. A ridge of dredge spoil could have been built

up on the river bottom that could increase the flow at the site or cause an eddy that eroded the bottom and shoreline. This is clearly a case in which further research is needed simply to begin to be able to make informed comments on the problem.

The Coastal Plain of South Carolina is of a relatively recent origin in terms of geologic time, being made up of sediments from the Cretaceous, Tertiary, and Quaternary periods. In terms we can all understand, that generally means less than about ninety million years old. The rise and fall of sea levels over time has resulted in a Coastal Plain landscape that consists of remnant beaches and sea floors. A profile view of the Coastal Plain shows a series of steps of land that fall within the same general elevation range (terraces-sea floors) that are punctuated by rather abrupt drops at their margins (escarpments-relict beaches). Each of these terraces has a slightly different underlying stratum of rock (Colquhoun 1969).

There are four Pleistocene terrace formations found in Berkeley County (Colquhoun 1965:8, Long 1980:43,54,55). The Two Cannon Wreck site lies on Talbot Terrace within about two miles of an escarpment (The Summerville Scarp) that marks the southern edge of the Penholloway Terrace. These terraces are perhaps easiest to visualize when we think of them in terms of elevational differences. At Stoney Landing (the Summerville Scarp), the elevation is about fifty feet above mean sea level, while Lewisfield, about two miles downstream, is about ten feet above mean sea level. The Cooper River begins, essentially, at the interface between the Talbot and Penholloway terraces.

The nature of the environment and geology of an area inevitably influences the land use choices and the pattern of settlement of the area. The location of Lewisfield Plantation in this particular place is no exception. At the time of its settlement, Lewisfield was located on a peninsula of high ground bounded on one side by swamp and the other, probably, by fresh water marsh. Both of these lowland environments are suited for rice cultivation, while the dryer uplands are suited for the growth of indigo, corn, peas, vegetables, and pasture grasses (Orvin 1973:60, Long 1980:60).

Thus, the choice of this land for a plantation is easy to understand. It provided a perfect environment for growing the most important crops of eighteenth-century South Carolina and was easily accessible to the river, the main highway of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commerce. The twentieth-century land use is equally understandable from an environmental perspective. The relict rice fields make excellent habitat for migratory birds and game fish, while the swamps and uplands support deer, wild turkey, quail, and other game. It comes as no surprise then that the land was used as a hunting preserve during much of this century (Irving/Stoney 1969:50).

SITE DESCRIPTION

To date, two vessels believed to have been associated with the 1781 skirmish at Lewisfield have been discovered. One lies just offshore from Lewisfield, and the other is several hundred yards downstream. The first vessel, the one we excavated, was discovered by the hobby divers in September of 1985, as noted earlier. The second vessel was discovered in December of the same year by Institute staff members David Brewer and Joe Beatty. Because of the heavy silt overburden of the bottom, the length of neither vessel was not accurately determined at that time, but both appeared to be about fourteen feet in breadth.

The Two Cannon Wreck, the one directly in front of the Lewisfield Plantation main house, is situated near a bank cut into a finger of high ground that touches the water on a gentle curve of the river. A ridge on the river floor rises between the shore (and vessel) and the main river channel, forming a trough that makes the current flow at the site less than that in the main channel of the river. The site is in about twenty feet of water, with the exact depth depending on the tide and the amount of water being released from the lakes. The bow of the vessel (west end) is buried under about one foot of silt and sand, with the stem post projecting above the bottom surface. Test units (five-foot squares) were opened on an east/west axis beginning at the bow. By the fourth square (twenty feet away from the bow) the vessel is buried in silt, sand, mud, and gravel about six feet deep. Ballast stones are visible lying partially buried in the surface silt, and two large tree trunks lie close (more or less parallel) to the vessel.

The nature of the soil deposition at the site is poorly understood. The excavation crews reported a surface layer of silt overlain by a deep lens of sand, silt, and mud, that contained shell (both live and dead freshwater mollusks), gravel (broken up ballast stone for the most part), chunks of marl, whole and fragmentary bricks, artifacts from the entire occupation period of Lewisfield, and both modified and unmodified wooden objects (i.e., tree limbs and lumber). The basal stratum of the site is marl. No attempt was made to excavate the test units in either natural or arbitrary levels, (a decision made in the name of expediency). The excavation crews reported that no natural strata were discernible beneath the silt layer. Several factors may be at work here that could have prevented the excavators from seeing any subtle stratigraphy that may exist. Those are: poor visibility at the best of times, and once the silt was stirred up, no visibility. In other words, at most times the divers were working blind. Also, there was a general lack of experience with reading stratigraphy on the part of the excavation crew, none of whom were trained archaeologists. In fairness to the excavation crew, who did the job as best they could, even the best land archaeologist would have had problems trying to read stratigraphy twenty feet underwater, wearing a constricting face mask, with little or no visibility, in a unit with almost liquid walls. The reasons for not being able to see stratigraphy are clear, but the problem is not insurmountable. Before work is carried out at an underwater site, soil cores should be taken, and an attempt at reading the stratigraphy from the areas to be excavated be made. When this is done a method can be contrived that will allow a more sensitive excavation of the remainder of the site. Such

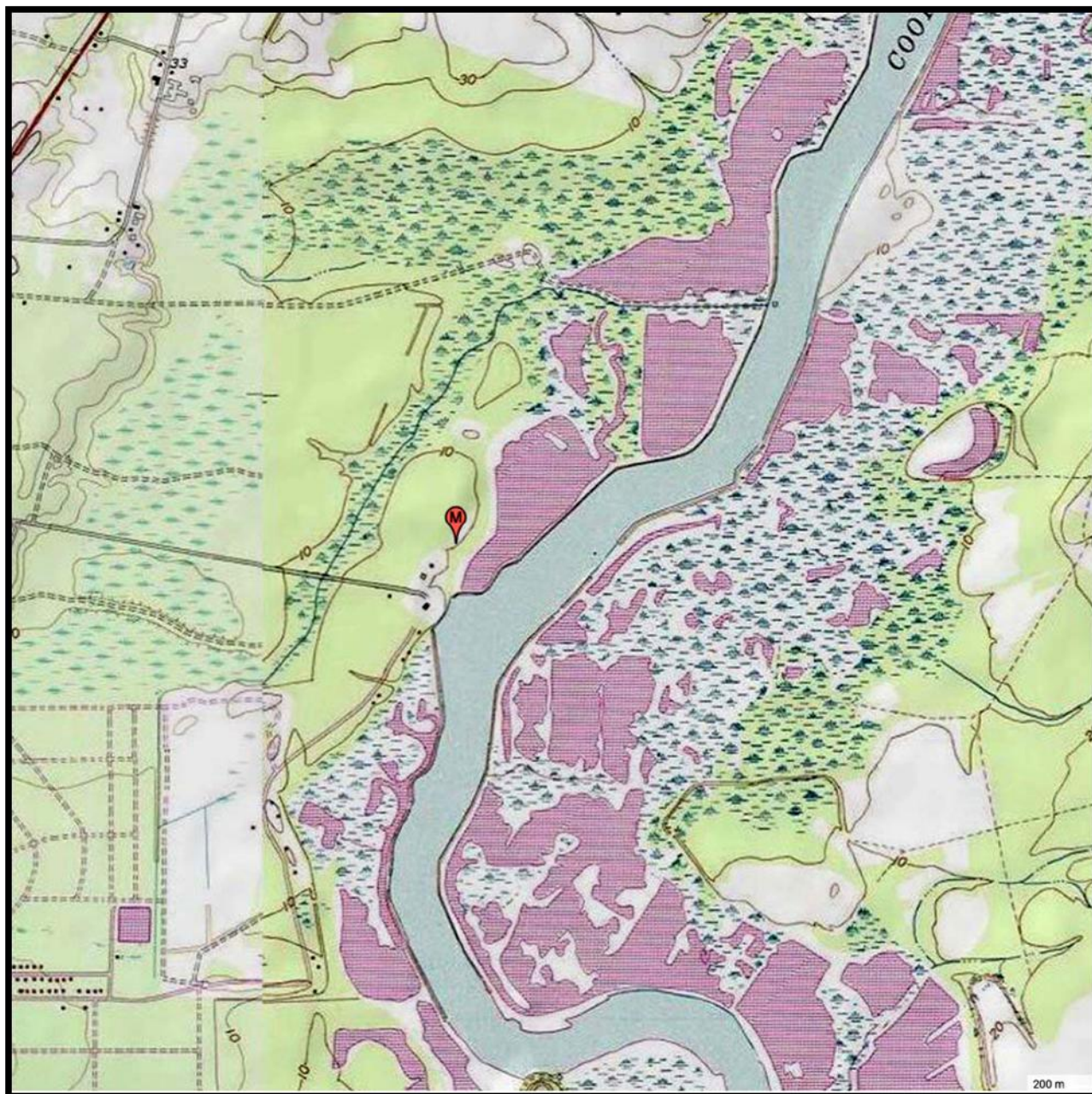


Figure 2: Site Area—USGS Topographical Map.

a plan might include provisions for partially excavating units adjacent to the site and building up retaining walls to hold back the silt. Then the area over the vessel could be excavated in levels that may show a stratigraphic sequence for the site. Conversely, it may be discovered that the strata are affected by literally every freshet and major storm, thus constantly mixing the artifacts that end up in the water. As we said at the beginning of the paragraph, the stratigraphy of the site is poorly understood, and except for defining the parameters, this project has done little to remedy the problem. The second vessel is in water between about three and six feet deep. It shows signs of extensive

burning and no ballast rocks associated with this vessel have been seen. Artifacts recovered from within the burned remains also indicate a time period of the second half of the eighteenth century. A small dock has been built over it and one of the dock pilings was driven completely through the vessel. At the site of the second vessel, it has not yet been determined how much of a current flow is present, nor is the stratigraphy well understood.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBJECTIVES

Before test excavations were conducted the following objectives were delineated for the study.

1.) The primary purpose of this project is to learn more about small vessel construction, design, and utilization in a Southern state during the colonial period. We might learn if they were locally built or British built by analysis of the wood used in their construction. We should be able to learn if they were primarily river and coasting vessels or if they were meant for the deep-water trade by their general form. By their mast steps and other features, we should be able to determine their rig. Most of the few plans of American vessels of the eighteenth century that have survived the years or have been extrapolated from artworks and descriptions are of ocean going vessels built in the Northern colonies. At present little is known about Southern river vessels of the colonial period because they were generally built without blueprints or formal plans or the plans are no longer extant. Little research has been done on vessels built in Southern shipyards of the period. What information we have about individual vessels comes mostly from newspaper accounts or governmental documents which report on the vessels mission, not its design and construction features. We do not know the rigs (sail plan) of the vessels, their length, their names, the captains' or owners' names, or the names and number of the crew. We do not know whether they were locally built or brought from other ports in British possession for service in South Carolina. Thus, in terms of information we have literally everything to gain from this project.

2.) The secondary purpose is to determine the vessel's function by an analysis of the artifacts recovered. Our knowledge of many of the small actions of the American Revolution is incomplete. If indeed, the sloops were loaded with “loot” from nearby plantations what did this loot consist of? Was it sterling silver plate, jewels, rich clothing, or did it consist of the major need of troops billeted in an unfriendly land--food. Or was it a combination of the two? This might prove to be more difficult to discover than it seems. For instance, if the Colonial troops removed all the cargo and furnishings from the vessels before they burned them, we might never know if they were carrying loot. If, on the other hand, medical and/or military supplies, or house furnishings, are recovered we might be able to make a reasonably accurate decision about the events of the day and give credence to one of the two stories. Whatever it turns out to be, its state of preservation in the fresh water of the Cooper River might be much better than if it were recovered from land where the elements could more dramatically take their toll. If no items with military connections are found, then we can disprove the theory that this vessel was involved in a military action.

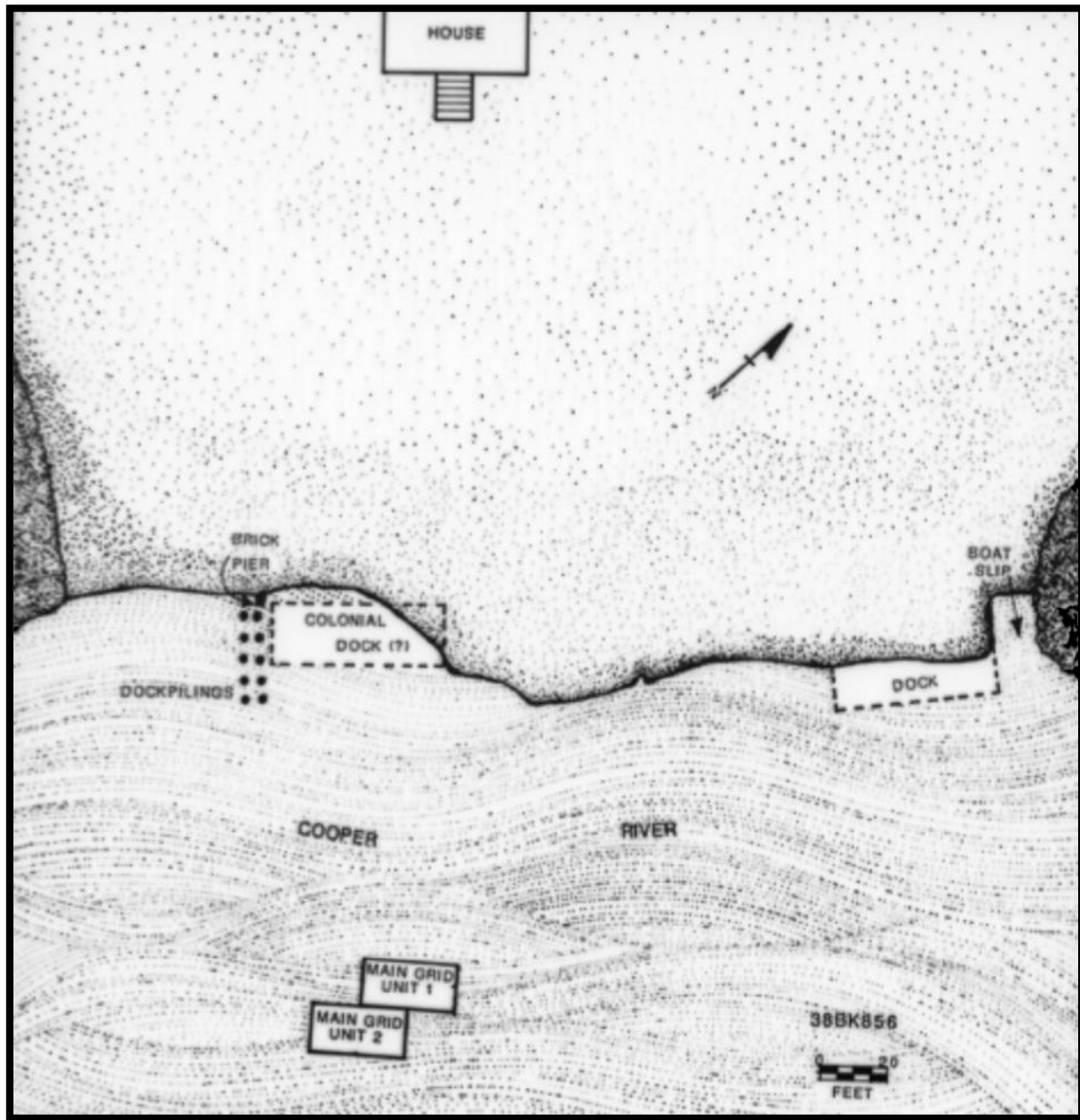


Figure 3: 1986 Site Plan.

3.) Because the Two Cannon Wreck is located directly in front of the main house of Lewisfield Plantation, it is believed that a substantial percentage of the artifacts on the site may have originated with the plantation, rather than with the wreck. The proposed (long-term) program of testing both on and off the actual wreck itself will allow us to begin to establish baseline comparative data. This can be used in the future to compare “pure” wreck sites with “pure” plantation landings and both with wrecks at plantation landings. Such a plan is a necessary first step toward understanding the dynamics of underwater site formational processes.

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4.) Because of the potential for relatively well-preserved and intact artifacts to be present, the excavation can give us a data base well suited to the task of reconstructing past lifeways and thus to more accurately understand the past. Careful analysis of the recovered artifacts may yield significant data on the material culture of the period and may well shed light on the materials of earlier and later periods that are also known to be present.

5.) Another goal of this project is to establish a data base (as mentioned above) for comparing various types of underwater sites. This testing program is designed with replicability in mind, while allowing for modifications to fit particular situations. In addition, on- and off-wreck testing will allow statements to be made concerning site formational processes and factors involved in artifact distributions on underwater sites. Such a program will begin to allow underwater archaeology to catch up to the gains made in the past twenty years by terrestrial historic sites archaeology.

6.) One of the more important goals of the testing phase of excavations at the site is to try out and refine various field methods and equipment. The details will be discussed below, but many of the methods and much of the equipment used will have been tried here first. The search for effective ways of coping with the problems raised in conducting an excavation in twenty feet of water, with little or no visibility, is an ongoing task. The present excavation will not solve all the problems, but lessons can be learned that can be put to work in the future.

7.) The final goal of this phase of work on the Two Cannon Wreck is to conduct extensive historical document research to determine objectively the truth regarding the action.

FIELD METHODS

The following section contains a discussion of the methods and equipment used in the 1986 field season at 38BK856. The effectiveness and efficiency of the methods and equipment used will be assessed and discussed.

Personnel

The crew for this project was divided into two categories; surface crew and dive crew. The project was directed by Alan Albright, overall. The surface crew consisted of Carl Steen, surface director, and three assistants, Tony Magliacane, Greg Seminoff, and Howard Weaver. The surface leader was responsible for communicating with the divers, controlling the diver's air supply, keeping dive logs, field notes, and the field map, and directing the surface assistants. The surface assistants served as line and diver tenders, screen monitors, compressor operators, and performed other tasks as necessary.

The dive crew consisted of Mark Newell, Joe Beatty, Peggy Brooks, and Carl Naylor. Alan Albright served as the overall supervisor of dive operations and was available to dive when needed but did not serve as a regular dive team member. Joe Beatty served as the underwater division's equipment

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manager and was therefore responsible for much of the equipment maintenance. Project policy was to try as much as possible to limit the tasks required of the divers, conserving their strength for diving. Except for tending lines and helping to load and unload the boats, the divers were not required to pull double duty except when it was necessary.

Safety

All SCIAA dive operations are covered by dive plans approved by a Dive Safety and Control Board. This board consisted of Dr. Bruce Rippeteau, Alan Albright, and individuals from the state’s diving community. At the time of the 1986 excavations at 38BK856 the members of the board included Mark Newell, Dick Clark, and Larry Ogburn.

The state Occupational Safety and Health Administration has established guidelines for state organizations to follow when conducting scientific diving in state waters. They allow the organization to choose one of two plans under which to operate; the regular OSHA guidelines or an internal governing board. The SCIAA has chosen the latter because of the unique type of diving that we do, and the conditions that we encounter. To work under the provisions of the self-governing board several requirements must be met:

- 1.) There must be a Diving Safety Manual that includes, at minimum, procedures covering all diving operations specific to the program and criteria for diver training and certification.
- 2.) There must be a Dive Safety and Control Board with a majority of active divers who will at a minimum have “the authority to approve and monitor diving projects, review and revise the diving safety manual, certify the depths for which a diver has been certified, take disciplinary action for unsafe practices, and assure adherence to the buddy system (a diver in continuous contact with another diver in the water) for SCUBA diving.” The dive plan under which the excavation of 38BK856 was carried out was submitted to the SCIAA Dive Safety and Control Board on October 2, 1986.

A short-wave radio tuned to the frequency of the Dennis Wildlife Center, local headquarters for the South Carolina Department of Wildlife and Marine Resources (SCDNR), was kept on hand and operational at all times in case of emergency. A fully stocked first aid kit was kept on hand as well, and several of the crew members on the project were trained in first aid. In addition, Peggy Brooks was a licensed Emergency Medical Technician.

Divers were checked thoroughly before being allowed to enter the water each day and divers were not allowed to dive or work alone. Shifts of two hours underwater were planned. Line tenders kept the divers’ umbilical lines under constant control so that they did not become entangled with any loose equipment or lines. Divers were in constant contact with the surface leader, so that an almost instant response was possible in case of emergency. A safety diver was on site and ready at all times. The site’s perimeter was marked with a series of marked buoys. When the project crew was on site flags symbolizing “Divers Down” were flown to warn off approaching boats.

Equipment

Underwater Archaeology projects require a tremendous amount of equipment compared to a land project. Redundancy in equipment is of critical importance for reasons of both safety and efficiency. Elaborate first aid and emergency communications equipment must be on site and operational at all times. Diving and boating are intrinsically hazardous. The time wasted in getting an injured person first from the water into a boat, then from the site to the landing, and then from the landing to the hospital dictates that every possible time saving device be used. The same time-wasting impediments work on the daily level as well since a trip to town for spare parts or materials can bring operations to a standstill for hours. Thus, when the Two Cannon Wreck project went into the field a tremendous amount of baggage necessarily went with it, and a substantial block of time was spent each day loading and unloading equipment.

A list of every piece of equipment used on this project would be incredibly long and of questionable value, so only the major items will be discussed here. The major equipment includes a Cascade air system, KMB-10 dive masks, a Helle underwater communications system, an airlift and compressors, and a rigid aluminum grid. Surface equipment, in addition, included two pontoon boats (a dive boat and a command boat), a johnboat, two motor boats, a stationary barge, and a screen boat. A description and discussion of each follows.

Screen Boat--The screen boat was a sixteen-foot fiberglass boat with a three-foot-by-four-foot well in the center. A removable screen frame rests on top of the well. The screen used in this excavation was one-quarter-inch mesh hardware cloth. The front and rear seat areas of the boat had been filled with flotation material to ensure that the vessel would stay afloat even if every available space was filled with water. The discharge hose for the airlift was run over the side of the vessel and lashed to the screen. A surface crew member tended the screen at all times, removing artifacts and debris, and ensuring that the discharge from the airlift was properly screened. In addition, the screen tender kept the surface leader informed of the character of the discharge so that he could in turn relay the information to the excavation crew. Two incidents that occurred during the fieldwork illustrate the effectiveness and absolute necessity of screening airlifted materials in limited visibility conditions. First; to train the new divers in the use of the airlift a practice square (square eight) was opened about twenty feet from the wreck. It was decided by the project director that the unit was not to be screened, and despite the care taken by the divers, one of whom was experienced with the use of the airlift, only a single artifact was found--a large twentieth-century whiskey bottle. Since the practice unit was about the same distance offshore as the screened units (closer, in fact, than most) we must assume that the unit contained at least one or two small artifacts that the excavators missed. The second incident occurred when the screen tender noticed pieces of wood with holes bored in them coming out of the discharge hose. Since these items were unusual, the tender informed the surface leader and airlift operations were halted. The excavation crew waited for visibility to improve and then collected what was left of a British Revolutionary War cartridge box, with five shot still in place, perhaps the single best piece of evidence found supporting the contention that the vessel was on a mission of a military

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nature. Because of the almost total lack of visibility the crew on the river bottom thought that the box was a piece of ship timber. This excavation has demonstrated that screening airlifted sediments is an absolute necessity in limited visibility situations. If any form of scientific archaeology is to be conducted underwater, then we must be sure to use scientific methods and collect and give proper consideration to all artifacts.

Johnboat--The johnboat was a sixteen-foot aluminum boat powered by a twenty-five horsepower Evinrude outboard. This was used mainly for ferrying personnel between the pontoon boats and the stationary barge, but also served as a reliable backup to the larger outboard motor boats.

Motor Boats--The motor boats were both McKee's, one a seventeen-footer and the other a twenty-two-footer. These are open, high-sided, tri-hull fiberglass work boats. They are powered by eighty-five and one-hundred-and-fifteen horsepower Evinrude outboards respectively. One of these boats was to be kept tied to the side of the pontoon boats for equipment storage space, while the other was to be kept free for emergencies and errands. It seems that one or the other of the two was inoperative for most of the project due to various engine malfunctions, and the day was saved by the johnboat.

Barge--The stationary barge was a twelve-by-twenty-four-foot steel barge borrowed from The State Wildlife and Marine Resources Department (now SCDNR). A gas-powered air compressor system (to be described below) was installed on the barge. To keep the noise level on the command pontoon boat to an acceptable level, the barge was tied up at the shore some two hundred feet away from the excavation area.

Pontoon Boats--The two pontoon boats were eight-feet wide and twenty-feet long. One was outfitted as a dive boat and the other as a command center. Dive equipment and tools were kept aboard the dive boat, while the command boat carried the cascade air system and controls, underwater communications equipment, drawing table, first aid supplies, emergency communications equipment, and artifact storage containers. The command boat was partially roofed and had roll-down siding to ensure that the dive logs, excavation notes, and field maps could be kept dry. The pontoon boats were lashed together to provide the largest possible work space, but even then, there never seemed to be enough room for all the equipment and crew.

KMB-10/Cascade/Helle systems--The Cascade system, KMB-10s, and the Helle system all functioned in concert. The KMB-10 is a full-face dive mask that can be supplied with air either from SCUBA tanks, a compressor, or from tanks on the surface. In this case we used what is known as a cascade system, which consists of three high-pressure, two-hundred-cubic-foot air tanks hooked into a common manifold containing on/off valves for the individual tanks and a regulator that ensured that the air going to the divers was of proper pressure. High-pressure lines carried the air from the surface to the divers. Entwined with these lines were communications wires and safety lines (three-quarter-inch nylon) as well. The KMB-10 masks were equipped with a Helle underwater communications system, consisting of a waterproofed, containerized microphone and earphones built directly into the

mask. This system allowed the underwater crew to be in constant communication with the surface leader, facilitating easier and more efficient real time documentation of the operation, as well as allowing them to be in constant communication with each other. Using only SCUBA gear, excavators have to wait until the end of their shift to be debriefed and can only communicate with each other by hand signals. It is believed that the use of this system greatly improved the effectiveness and efficiency of the project, especially in situations where two divers were needed to conduct a task that necessitated their being out of visual contact; leveling the grid for instance. Mapping the excavation units, a simple task on land, is made incredibly difficult by the lack of visibility. Most of the time one could not see from one end of the unit to the other. Visibility at times was so bad in fact that the divers could literally not see their hand in front of their face, even when it was placed on their face mask. The action of the current tends to carry the tapes away and tie them in knots. In addition, one must also consider the intrinsic difficulty of writing and drawing underwater while wearing heavy gloves. The difficulty of communicating underwater can compound the situation. In other words, one cannot simply say to one's mapping partner “move the tape north a little and catch that point.” One must swim over and put a finger on the point, then swim back to the other end of the tape, take the measurement and draw it in. With the KMB-10s and Helle system, the divers could communicate with each other, even when they couldn't see each other. Instead of having to draw their own maps underwater, they could send the coordinates to the surface leader, who plotted them on an overall site map. The divers made a sketch map underwater on an erasable waterproof slate so that they could modify the field map when they reached the surface.

Thus, using this system we were able to map both tightly fixed points and provide more interpretive, but subjective, mapping of difficult to draw (and describe) things like odd shaped timbers and the relationship between various timbers. Without listing every instance in which the KMB-10/Helle system came in handy we can still state unequivocally that it improved the project immensely and should be used whenever possible in the future.

Airlift and Compressors--An airlift is essentially a hand-held, air-powered underwater vacuum cleaner used to remove soil overburden. The airlift used at the site consisted of sections (in this case two eight-foot sections) of rigid aluminum tube four inches in diameter with a flexible discharge hose attached to the top. Air is introduced into the tube through a ball valve about one foot above the bottom orifice. This creates suction as the air rushes up the tube to the surface. This suction pulls material into the orifice and up the tube, where it is directed into the screen. The airlift was powered by air fed into it from the compressor system by way of a five-eighths-inch-diameter garden hose. The suction power of the airlift is under the control of the operator. The foremost suction power adjustment is through the ball valve, which controls the amount of air allowed into the tube. The suction created by the airlift is also affected by the distance from the bottom that the tube is held, the length of the tube and discharge hose, the depth of the water, the angle at which the tube is held, and the amount of air that is made available.



Figure 4: Screen boat.



**Figure 5:
Pontoon boats,
Barge with
Compressor for
Airlift in the
Background.**



Figure 6: Barge with compressor.

The air supply for the airlift came from two Ingersoll-Rand compressors mounted on a specially designed and built trailer. Each of these compressors delivered twenty-five cubic feet of air per minute at a pressure of one-hundred-and-twenty-five pounds per square inch. A thirty-six-gallon air reserve tank was mounted on the trailer and all air was fed through this tank. Each of the compressors was powered by a sixteen horsepower Briggs and Stratton gasoline engine, a spare of which was kept on hand in case of problems with one of the primary engines. Although both compressors could be run at the same time if necessary, only one at a time was needed for this job. The trailer also featured both covered lockable storage and open storage areas. The use of this trailer, convenient as it was, in many ways, presented some problems of practicality. The foremost problem was getting it to the site. As the project was originally planned, working from the lawn of Lewisfield, the trailer would have been ideal to drive it up and park it. As things worked out this was not possible. Only rarely is it possible to drive close enough to an underwater site to run air hoses from land. Thus, as long as the trailer is used there will have to be a barge present which is large enough to hold it. Loading the trailer onto the barge required the use of a borrowed crane which demanded that the entire crew be on hand for loading, transporting, and unloading. These operations took at least a full day (not including the time required to push the barge from Charleston to Moncks Corner), which is the equivalent of seventy-two man-hours. This is clearly not a cost or time efficient system. In addition, once the trailer was on the barge there was no room for anything else on the barge.

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Dive Gear--Each diver was equipped with a KMB-10 mask and harness, a foam-rubber submersion suit (wet suit), a weight belt, two knives, underwater flashlights, an underwater watch, a buoyancy compensator (inflatable vest), an emergency air tank and regulator, fins, and a nylon mesh bag for artifacts. SCUBA equipment was kept on hand for the use of the safety diver.

Figure 7: Communication center.



**Figure 8:
Communicating
with the divers.**

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The Grid--A rigid grid made of three-inch angle aluminum was fabricated for this project. The grid consisted of two sections fifteen-feet square that could be used separately or combined into a single fifteen-by-thirty-foot unit. The grid was designed to be transported completely disassembled. The overall fifteen-by-thirty-foot unit is referred to as the Main Grid Unit (MGU), with the first positioning of it known as MGU one, the second position as MGU two, etc. Squares within the grid units were numbered consecutively without regard to which MGU into which they fell. Corner braces were welded onto one of each of the corner elements, and the elements were all pre-drilled, lettered and numbered for ease of assembly. The fifteen-foot square sections were assembled on land and lowered into the water from the dive boat and the two sections were joined underwater. Holes (three fourths of an inch diameter) were drilled at five-foot intervals for mounting the assembly on pipes driven into the bottom. The grid was placed on the pipes and leveled using a forty-eight-inch carpenter's level. Galvanized conduit pipe clamps bolted into place above and below the grid frame were used to hold the grid level and in place. A separate grid, five-feet wide and fifteen-feet long, with crossbars forming a central five-foot square was then mounted in the center of one side of the main grid unit to allow the controlled excavation of individual five-foot squares. A serendipitous use was found for this unit when it was discovered that it could also be used to excavate units adjacent to the MGU, without moving the whole MGU, by simply flipping it over the side, remounting, and leveling it. To effect precise relocation of the grid during the next phase of work at the site the corners were mapped in relation to two permanent datum points driven into the marl near the bow of the vessel.

Daily Dive Operations

Surface--Each morning the two pontoon boats and the small boats were loaded with all the gear needed for the day's operations and launched from the Berkeley Country Club boat landing. This operation consumed about forty-five minutes. The reverse took about the same amount of time each afternoon. After loading, the boats were driven to the site and tied to permanent mooring lines attached to iron bars driven into the marl. The dive boat and command boat were lashed together, and the smaller boats were tied to the river side of these vessels, away from the excavations. The screen boat required some innovative mooring to get it as far away from the work site as possible to keep screened silt from raining directly down onto the excavation but to keep it within reach of the discharge hose (the length of which affects the efficiency of the airlift). The screen boat was generally tied to a permanent mooring stake in the river bottom, with a line running to a point on the shore and another to the back of the command boat. The tension of the various lines dictated its exact location.

Prior to beginning the day's operations, the Wildlife radio and walkie-talkies were checked to make sure that they were operational. The dive teams were given their instructions, and with the help of the surface tenders the divers were suited up and their gear was checked. Special emphasis was given to assuring that the air and communications systems were in good working condition. Divers left the dive boat from a permanent dive step on the front and went down the mooring line to the bottom. After finding the correct grid square and getting the airlift ready for use, they called the surface leader, who signaled for the compressor tender to start it up, and work was begun.

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During any time that a diver was suited up, his umbilical line was constantly monitored by a surface tender to ensure that it stayed clear and untangled. When the divers surfaced at the end of their shift, they were helped to remove their gear and then debriefed by the surface leader, project director, and the other dive team members, informing them of any special conditions that might exist, things found, etc. While the first team was being debriefed the second team was generally suiting up for their shift. The surface leader manned the communications center at all times when divers were suited up. When the divers put their KMB-10 masks on, the air was turned on and communications were checked. If there were no problems with breathing or communicating, divers were told to enter the water. The surface leader kept a log of the time that divers entered and left the water, of the amount of air consumed, tenders for each diver, and dive supervisor. While the divers were in the water, the surface leader made note of any observations the divers might have, kept a field map, conferred with the project director, and gave necessary instructions to the divers. General notes of each dive's operations were kept by the surface leader. Notes on underwater operations were the responsibility of the dive supervisor, and overall site notes were kept by the project director.

After the last shift of the day the boats were unmoored and driven to camp, where the reverse of the morning's process was done. The boats were taken out of the water. Artifacts were removed for storage. Dive gear, cameras, and electronics were placed in the SCIAA dive truck for safe keeping. The KMB-10 units were taken to the main tent, where they were examined, cleaned, repaired if necessary, and set aside to dry. Dinner was catered by Mrs. Ruthie Graham of Moncks Corner and served at 5:30 p.m. The day's activities were discussed, and plans were made for the next day's operations.

Underwater--Divers were given their assignments and then proceeded to suit up (full wet suits) prior to beginning their diving operations. A surface tender assigned to each diver helped the diver to suit up, fitted the KMB-10 mask, checked the emergency air tank, (also used to inflate the diver's buoyancy compensator), ensured that air was coming to the diver from the cascade system, and that the communication system was working. After checking to ensure that the diver was fully equipped and that all systems were operating properly, clearance was given by the surface leader to begin the dive. The divers entered the water from a step attached to the dive boat and proceeded down a permanent mooring line that terminated near one corner of the grid. From that point they moved along the grid to the square to be excavated. There they would find the airlift, which was left in place at the termination of each dive. Upon reaching the square the divers reported the bottom conditions to the surface leader. Conditions usually changed little between shifts, but overnight, squares tended to accumulate overburden, both from silting and from slumping walls. If the square was clear then operations could continue unhampered, but if overburden was built up it was necessary to remove it first. This overburden was screened and any artifacts that came from it were bagged with that square's artifacts. When the bottom conditions were reported, and the proper course of action was derived, the divers would inform the surface leader and he would order that the compressor be started. It generally took thirty to sixty seconds for the compressor to build up sufficient pressure to power the airlift. The divers would then begin their work.



Figure 9: Rigid grid segment.

The visibility at the site was poor, with divers reporting about six feet of visibility at best, and absolutely none at worst. Usually there was from about one to three feet of visibility when the divers reached the bottom, but once they started moving around and stirring up the silt layer, visibility was reduced to zero. A further problem arose when the current was running too slow to remove the silt pumped up by the airlift to the screen boat. At slack tide, or on the incoming tide, or when the current was running inordinately slow, the sediment pumped into the screen boat would fall out in a cloud that soon covered the divers with silt. An attempt was made, through creative mooring, to keep the screen boat as far away from the operation as possible. Mechanical limitations made it difficult to move the screen boat far, however, since the discharge hose could only be so long (about twenty-five feet), and the screen boat could not be placed between the command/dive boat and the excavation for safety reasons (thus eliminating that option). Poor visibility made the task of excavating underwater even more difficult than it already was. The operators would first feel around with their hands to try to locate artifacts. If artifacts were found in this manner the operator would carefully remove the overburden from the area and assess the nature of the deposit. If the artifact was isolated it would be collected and put into the mesh artifact bag that was part of each diver's equipment and work would continue. If other artifacts were associated, then the operators would back off and wait for visibility to clear up a bit and then examine the nature of the deposit. Overburden would then be removed on a wider scale, with both divers ensuring that the artifacts remained in situ, by either holding the individual artifacts down, or by placing their hand over the end of the airlift and allowing only a small amount of soil to be picked up.

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This manner of screening the artifacts with their fingers was a standard practice for divers while airlifting. Nevertheless, many small artifacts--sherds and such--were recovered from the screen, and as related above in the discussion of the screen boat, the use of the screen allowed us to check in the light of day what was impossible to identify underwater.

Each five-foot grid square was given a number. Divers worked the individual units until they were finished before moving on to the next square, at least in the initial stages, when units were shallower. Later it became necessary to partially excavate adjacent units so that the primary unit could be taken down to the wreck level. The use of the rigid grid allowed the divers to map items on both horizontal and vertical planes. As stated above, the units were not excavated in either arbitrary or natural levels, so this ability to locate artifacts in relation to a fixed plane is essential.



Figure 10: Surface tenders paying out air/communications lines.

Unit mapping was done on the horizontal level by triangulation, using level tapes attached to the corners of the grid square, and a plumb bob. Although this sounds straightforward, it was in practice, quite difficult in the deeper units. A diver had to lay on the bottom and move the plumb bob into position, instructing the other diver (not visible), who was holding the tapes at the grid level as to where and when to move the tapes and plumb bob (also not visible). Imagine trying to hold two cloth tapes and a plumb bob string still while floating in a slow moving but steady current and wearing thick gloves! Not an easy task. Vertical measurements were made by running a tape across the grid and holding it tight to establish a plane and then dropping the other tape to the point to be measured.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

Data Collection

The following section will cover the data collection in more or less chronological order. Cardinal directions are given in relation to grid north, not magnetic north. Grid north in this case is along the short axis of the grid toward the shore. Unit depths are given below grid level. The grid was about six inches above the surface at the north end, and about one foot above surface at the south end. Overall unit depths given herein are to the keelson, even though excavations between the futtocks went a few inches deeper.

Reconnaissance--An initial reconnaissance dive to check the condition of the site resulted in the discovery that a small area of the vessel had been uncovered by unknown vandals. The area of the vessel affected was roughly four feet square, although the total area of the excavation was about ten feet square. The looted area began at the stem post and extended into the vessel. The damage caused by this looting episode is unclear but may not be significant since the excavation unit that was directly affected (unit six) was in the front of the vessel and relatively shallow. The excavation does not appear to have extended very far into the ballast. Some ballast had been displaced to expose the ship's timbers, but the majority was left in place.

The two cannons recovered at the site were found in this area, so it is likely that the looters were in search of more cannons, gold, whole bottles, and such. It is also likely that they were unsuccessful in their quest. Artifacts could have been lost, but since the ship was burned, and anything of value (either items like guns and other supplies useful to the military or items with monetary value) would probably have been either removed beforehand or destroyed by the flames. It is not believed that anything of significance related to the wreck (plantation artifacts are a different story) was lost. Using this same logic, it is difficult to understand why two loaded cannons would have been left onboard, especially when one of them was a swivel gun only thirty-four inches long. This gun could thus have been easily transported on horseback. One possible answer is that perhaps Wade Hampton and his men took off all the supplies that they could carry and simply did not have room for these particular items. This may be one of those unanswerable questions of history.

In the end we are forced to say that the damage caused by this act of vandalism is of an indeterminate extent, but that it does not appear to be serious. We can also say that it does not appear to have detracted much from the value of the data collected.

Surface Collection--Once the grid was in place and leveled, loose culturally modified wood was collected. At this time, it was also decided that significant artifacts (whole eighteenth-century and



Figure 11: The divers were always deployed in teams.

nineteenth-century bottles, ceramic vessels, buttons, coins, etc.) would be collected if they were seen. Modern bottles and debris were noted but not collected, and no “significant” artifacts were recovered. At the close of the excavations a second collection was made. This collection was made on an opportunistic basis after the grid was disassembled, and thus the artifacts cannot be accurately assigned to any particular square.

Square Eight--This unit was originally intended to be an off-wreck control unit, and in addition, a practice square to test the equipment and allow the divers to try out the airlift. By decision of the project director, the unit was not screened and only a single artifact--a modern whiskey bottle--was recovered. The divers stated that no artifacts were seen. Since the unit was about the same distance from the shore as the screened units with small artifacts having been found in those squares, it is assumed that the lack of artifacts from this unit resulted from not screening the fill. Thus, this unit cannot be used as a control for comparing plantation and wreck deposits, because of the different treatment which the unit received.

The top three-quarters of an inch of this unit was fine silt. Beneath this there was a layer of sand, silt, and shell to a depth of about thirty-six inches below the surface, underlain by a layer of slightly coarser sand with intermixed gravel. The excavation was terminated at about five feet below surface, and marl (subsoil or sub-bottom) was never reached.

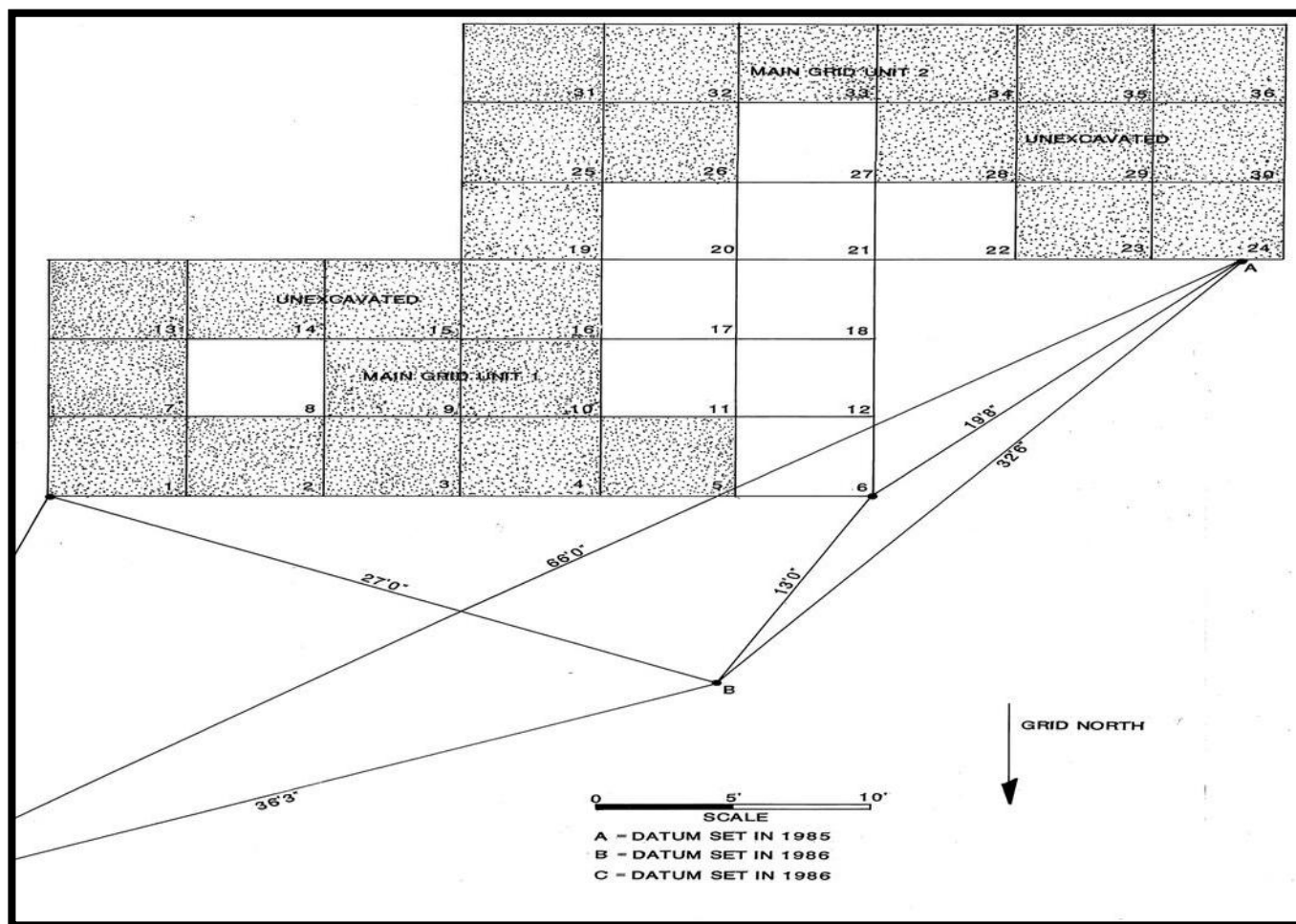


Figure 12: Excavation Plan (includes later excavations).

Square Six--The excavation units were located so as to expose the keelson (the center of the vessel) and the starboard side (assuming that what we have called the bow, is indeed the bow) of the vessel. This square was located about ten feet from the end of the exposed portion of the stem post. The soil in the square was a silty sand, with large amounts of brick, ballast stones, shell, and wood intermixed. The soil between the futtocks (ship timbers) contained heavier concentrations of the above. The soil outside of the ship consisted more of sand, silt, and shell, indicating that the bricks and ballast at least are probably related to the wreck, rather than the plantation. Some of the wood recovered was natural tree branches and such, while other pieces were culturally modified. The latter were saved while the former was discarded. Later it was decided that culturally modified wood would be saved only if it was thought to have interpretive value. Much of the wood recovered consisted of small sections of lathing strips and other bits and pieces of cut wood of an indeterminate nature. Representative samples of the various types of cut wood were kept, but most of it was discarded.

Square six was screened, and numerous artifacts were recovered. These include ceramics, and both melted wreck-related glass and plantation-related glass (i.e., twenty-three sherds of window glass). Also collected were nail fragments, brick and lithic specimens (ballast stone), and various pieces of wood.

Square Eleven--Square eleven was only partially excavated. The entire east half of the unit was taken up by a large tree trunk that was later found to run parallel to the vessel, converging with the excavations at square twenty-one. The ends of the futtocks in square twelve were exposed and the unit was terminated at that point (about two feet below surface). All the artifacts recovered in this square probably originated with the plantation occupation of the site.

Square Twelve--Square twelve was the second unit excavated that fell in the heart of the vessel. Much of the time involved in excavating this square was taken up in removing ballast from the square. The ballast here was up to three feet deep and presented some minor logistical problems. It had to be moved several feet away from the edge of the unit to keep it from falling back in on the excavators. A loose futtock was found about six inches below surface (extending downward). Timbers found at the base of the unit included futtocks, ceiling planks, and the keelson. The mast step, (a slot about three and-one-half-inches wide, three-and-one-half-inches deep, and eleven-inches long), was located in the keelson in this square (see the discussion of the vessel's construction for further information). Sediments in this unit ranged from about three-feet deep at the north end to five-and-one-half-feet deep at the south end of the unit. The soil consisted of fine silty sand with ballast throughout (but thicker toward the base of the unit). Most of the artifacts found in this unit appear to be related to the plantation occupation, but part of a bottle stained with soot that mends to sherds found in square twenty-one was recovered, and this is believed to (possibly) be associated with the wreck.

Square Eighteen--Before square eighteen was begun it was decided to skip ahead to square twenty-one and excavate that unit first, but complications arose from the outset there (to be discussed below). It was decided to go back and excavate square eighteen. This unit ranged from about five-and-one-half to six-and-one-half-feet deep. A considerable amount of ballast was found in the northern end of the unit (adjacent to square twelve) with the amount diminishing somewhat in the southern end. Square eighteen was extremely productive, both in the number of artifacts recovered, and in the vessel construction details uncovered. The artifacts recovered from this square included numerous plantation-related artifacts and most of the artifacts thought to tie the wreck to the Revolutionary War period. The most notable of these artifacts is a leather-covered cartridge box containing five sixty-nine caliber lead shot. Numerous pieces of melted glass, including a 1760s-70s wine bottle rim and both burned and unburned gunflints were recovered. In addition, there were several pieces of a burnt barrel, pieces of a burnt wooden box, several pieces of rope, ship's hardware, and an English axe head.

Square Seventeen--The depth of the soil deposits in square eighteen and twenty-one necessitated the excavation of the top two or so feet of soil from this square (as well as squares twenty, twenty-two, and twenty-seven) to retard slumping. The soil in the unit was a fine silty sand with intermixed brick,

ballast, shell, and artifacts. All artifacts recovered in this square were of recent origin. They include a Pepsi bottle cap, beer can fragments, a piece of insulated copper wire, and a toy pistol grip. Much of this unit was taken up with a tree.

Square Twenty--Square twenty was excavated to a depth of about two feet below surface for the same purpose as square seventeen. The soil in the unit was a fine silty sand with intermixed shell, brick, ballast, and artifacts. The most notable artifact recovered was a substantial portion of a nineteenth-century English porcelain platter. The remaining artifacts were of nineteenth-century or twentieth-century origin, except for a piece of melted lead, which could conceivably be associated with the burning of the wreck. A tree trunk takes up much of this unit.

Square Twenty-two--The two-foot-wide strip of square twenty-two adjacent to square twenty-one was initially excavated to a depth of two feet below surface. After the excavation of square twenty-one it was decided to return and excavate the remainder of square twenty-two, since the soil was still slumping into square twenty-one, and a mass of tree branches and ship timbers were making square twenty-one extremely difficult to excavate and interpret. The top four feet of soil consisted of fine silty sand, while the soil below that, at the wreck level, was a coarser silty sand. Artifacts from this unit include numerous plantation related items, as well as a few vessel related pieces. These include three pieces of melted glass, a piece of rope, and an iron spike. Fragments of a brass can, possibly a snuff can, that is of indeterminate origin was also recovered.

Square Twenty-seven--This unit was partially excavated to keep soil from slumping into square twenty-one. The soil in the unit was a fine silty sand. Artifacts recovered from this unit include a shotgun shell, a small, irregular piece of iron, a tin can, a bone, and the sole of a shoe with three fragments of the upper. The age of this shoe sole is indeterminate.

Square Twenty-one--Square twenty-one was the deepest and most difficult unit to excavate. The soil in this unit was about six-and-one-half-feet deep. A tree trunk and its associated branches extended into the unit from the east. This tree was mentioned above in the discussion of square eleven. Because of slumping, several adjacent units had to be excavated before this square could be completed. Whether it is because of the tree in the square, or because of the vessel ending is difficult to say at this point, but the vessel appears to end in this square. Slumping, obfuscation caused by the tree, and the end of our allotted time in the field would not allow us to make a final determination of the vessel construction in this area. The soil in this unit was the same as the soil in the other squares--a fine silty sand overlaying a coarser silty sand, with ballast, brick, artifacts, and shell throughout. Artifacts found in this square that are thought to be related to the vessel include burnt bottle glass, sherds from a burnt white salt-glazed stoneware plate, heat spalls from a ballast stone, burnt gunflint fragments, spikes, rope, leather shoe fragments, parts of a barrel (including staves, the lid, and a bung), and parts of a wooden box.

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Probing and Mapping--At the close of the excavations, the vessel was “dusted off” and the vessel components were mapped in relation to the grid on both the horizontal and vertical level. When this was accomplished, a series of probe holes at one-foot intervals was extended southward from the southwest corner of square eighteen, beginning ten feet from the corner. These probes were made by attaching the airlift air supply hose to a ten-foot length of three-quarter-inch iron pipe and blowing the soil out of a hole that was about four inches in diameter.

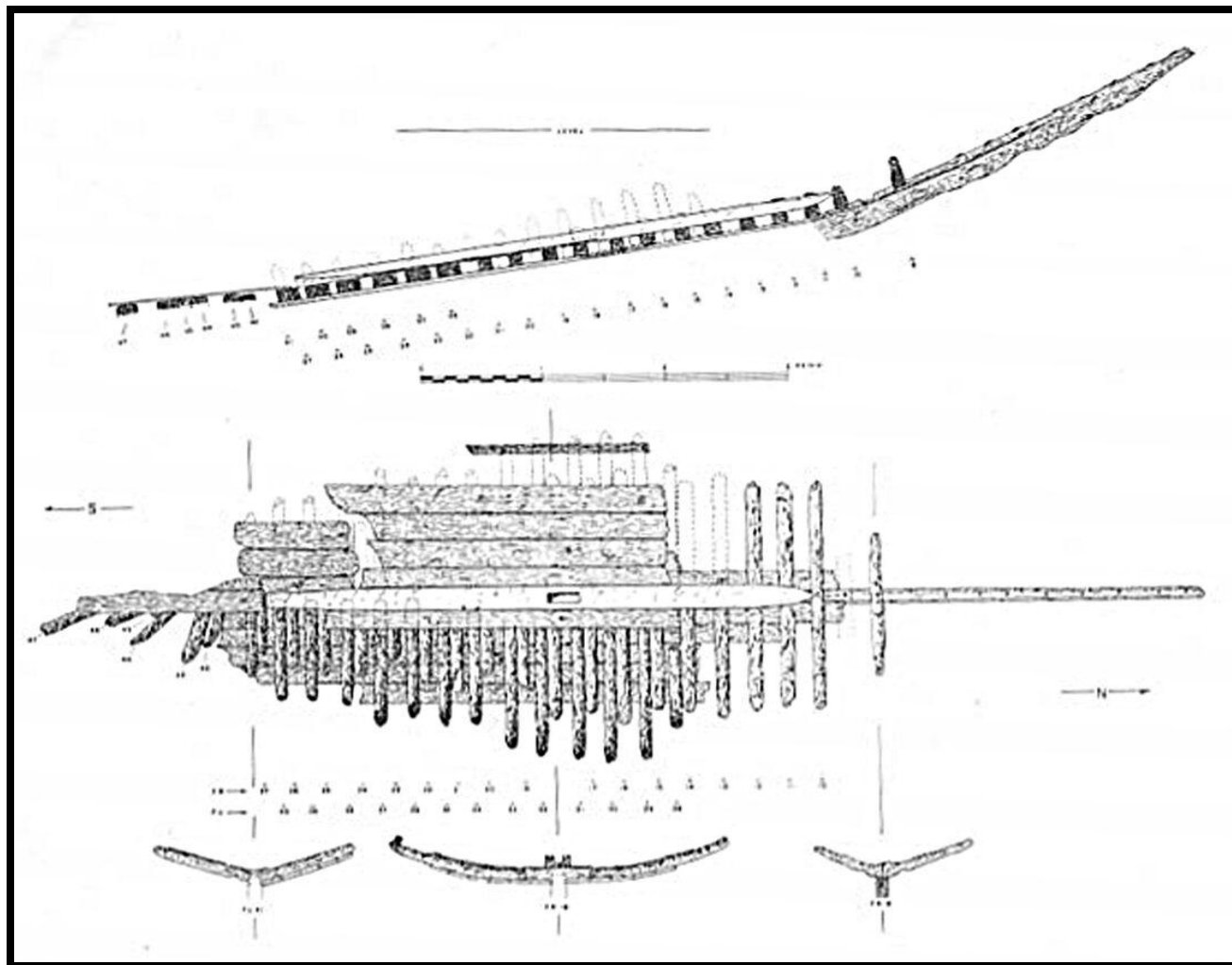


Figure 13: Preliminary vessel plan from 1987.

The divers reported feeling what they thought was wood (very difficult to tell for sure) at about four feet below surface at ten and twelve feet out, and at five feet below surface at fourteen and seventeen feet out. At thirteen, fifteen, and sixteen feet out the probe went six-and-a-half to seven feet below surface before hitting what was thought to be marl. The final probe on this line went down only three feet before hitting “something hard.” A second series

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of probes was begun from the same datum, this time heading downstream. Wood was encountered in the first six probes at depths between two and seven feet below surface. Marl was encountered at depths between two and six and one-half feet below surface, from seven to twenty feet out.

This probing is thought to be of limited value. The divers had considerable trouble telling exactly what it was they were hitting, especially in the first series of probes. In the second series of probes, the divers felt a little more confident in their observations, and what they observed fits our expectations for the width of the vessel. Nevertheless, this probing is not thought to be reliable enough to do anything more than to give us a general idea of the depth of the sediment.

Summary--A total of nine five-foot-by-five-foot excavation units were opened during the 1986 field season. Four of these units were excavated to the level of the vessel remains. It was necessary to partially excavate the five adjacent units to keep the first four clear of slumping soil. The vessel remains were exposed on the surface at the north end of the grid, but in square twenty-one they were five-and-one-half to six feet below surface. The soil in these units consisted of fine silty sand with considerable amounts of brick, ballast, shell, and artifacts intermixed, overlaying a quite similar soil at the level of the wreck, with the most notable difference being that the soil at the wreck level contained slightly coarser sand. The artifacts recovered from these units ranged from modern materials (fishing sinkers, golf balls, and Coke bottles) and artifacts related to the plantation (eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century ceramics, wine bottle fragments, and colonoware) to artifacts related strictly to the vessel (the cartridge box, melted glass, burnt gunflints).

The excavations revealed a burnt vessel constructed of local pine and oak. The artifacts recovered in direct association with the vessel tend to support the contention that this vessel was sunk during the 1770s to 1780s. Military items recovered from directly within the vessel support the hypothesis that this is a military vessel, rather than a civilian trading or transport vessel.

Artifacts

The interpretation of the artifacts recovered from the Two Cannon Wreck is complicated by the location of the site. This wreck is located about eighty feet off the present-day shore at Lewisfield Plantation. As noted earlier, the Lewisfield house was built in 1774 and has seen continuous occupation since (Cross 1985:88). Before the property came into the hands of the Lewis family in 1767, it was known as the Little Landing section of Fairlawn Barony, granted to the Colleton family in 1672 (Cross 1985:33). It is not known if there were any structures in place at the time of the sale in 1767, but since the property was known as “Little Landing Plantation” (Orvin 1973:24) it is likely that there were at least slaves present somewhere on the tract before 1767.

A line of postholes cut into the marl runs parallel to the shoreline and corresponds with a cut made into the shoreline. From this it appears that a wharf was located almost directly between the wreck and the plantation house. At this point there is no way of saying how long this wharf stood, or when it was built or abandoned, thus we cannot clearly tie the wreck to the wharf. We can say, however, that its presence (and thus the activities associated with it) very definitely affected the character of the site. A second, more recent dock, the pilings of which are still extant, is located at the south end of the line of post holes that mark the wharf’s location. It therefore seems unlikely that temporally discrete concentrations of artifacts that will give us a clear idea of the lifespan of the missing wharf will be definable.

The shoreline was surveyed on several occasions, but not heavily collected. From this survey it is clear the artifacts to be found on the shore are thoroughly mixed in both functional and temporal terms. A dense, apparently uniform distribution of artifacts is present along the shoreline that is generally representative of the artifacts recovered from the excavation units.

This being the case, it is not surprising to find that the artifacts recovered from the excavation units at the wreck itself are not strictly from the period of the wreck. In fact, everything from twentieth-century golf balls to eighteenth-century porcelain was recovered in the same unit. Since stratigraphy was not observed in the excavations, one of the first things we did was separate the wreck artifacts from the plantation artifacts. In a few cases artifacts were noted either *in situ* or as they were being recovered from the screen, and thus we know their provenience. Luckily some of these are military artifacts and burned items. With the remainder of the assemblage it seems that the best solution was to consider this assemblage in the same way that one considers a plow zone assemblage. This provides a less sure interpretation, but there seems to be little choice here.

Since we assume with a fair degree of certainty that the wreck is of Revolutionary War vintage, we can separate some of the wreck artifacts from the plantation artifacts without much trouble. In other cases, it is frustratingly hard, if not impossible, to say with any certainty whether a given artifact was cargo on the wreck or originated with the plantation. Coke bottles, golf balls, shotgun shells, and other artifacts that postdate the Revolutionary War obviously were not cargo on the vessel. A Revolutionary War cartridge box that was mapped *in situ* can definitely be tied to the wreck and provides the best

single piece of temporal data from the wreck. Falling between these two extremes are artifacts that are of the correct time period. Some of these artifacts can plausibly be tied to the wreck because they are burned. The majority of the eighteenth-century artifacts found were not burned, however, and thus cannot be positively tied to the wreck. In such cases we are forced to use various degrees of ambivalent language and say things like “this is possibly from... probably from... almost without a doubt surely from... could be from... the wreck.” This is a frustrating position to be in, but this is generally the case in analyses of surface and plow zone collections.

The artifacts were analyzed with pattern recognition in mind, but not necessarily using South’s Carolina artifact pattern framework, because it cannot be applied to this type of site without serious modification. This and similar sites reflect a pattern of in-water refuse disposal that has not been professionally studied and thus is not yet well understood. In fact, we would venture to say that most archaeologists working on land sites are not fully aware of the copious numbers of artifacts that were intentionally disposed of, as well as lost and abandoned, at docks, landings, wharves, bridges, and ferries. It is clear from the present study and the reports of hobby divers that plantation sites do not end at the water’s edge; rather they seem to intensify. Lewisfield, Mepkin Abbey, and Strawberry Ferry are frequently named on hobby reports, and over the years hundreds, if not thousands of artifacts, including whole bottles and ceramic vessels by the dozens have been recovered from just these sites. The underwater components of plantation sites are valuable, yet essentially unrecognized (professionally) components of plantation sites. Systematic excavations of such sites have either not been done, or have not been reported on, and quantitative analysis has, to my knowledge, never been addressed. It is hoped that with this report a step can be made in that direction.

No “water interface refuse disposal pattern” will be proposed at this time, although it seems sure that such a pattern exists, just as the “Brunswick Refuse Disposal Pattern” exists (South 1977:47-80). This decision has been made for two reasons. First, there are no professionally excavated sites to compare 38BK856 to, and one cannot define a pattern based on one (or two or three) sites. This is a mistake that has been made more than once (South: Personal Communication). Second, the development of a usable system of classification for such sites may be years down the road because underwater sites include artifacts that do not fit comfortably within the established categories, which can cause endless debate over their correct group assignments. A few questions that come immediately to mind follow. Are ships, boats, and barges found at plantation landings to be considered analogous to structures on land sites? Or, because of their mobile nature should they be thought of as separate sites entirely? (But would we consider an abandoned car on a land site a separate site or part of a larger site?) If a vessel is held together by treenails should treenails be quantified as architectural group artifacts? Is a wooden rudder a tool or an integral part of a structure like a roof on a house? How should structural materials, which are generally not preserved on land sites, be classified? Wouldn’t several hundred planks and timbers skew the data and make sites un-comparable (say a burnt boat vs. a wrecked boat)? What about ballast? Should oarlocks be considered architectural hardware or activities group? Should a cargo of bottles of fine Madeira wine on a barge be considered strictly as cargo--a classic example of activities--

or should it be included as a kitchen group artifact? What about personal effects taken on board by passengers that really have little to do with the boat?

To try to solve all these problems is clearly beyond the scope of the present project, but a long-term goal of underwater archaeological research in South Carolina should be to address these and the hundreds of similar questions that this study raises. Questions of shipbuilding techniques and transportation networks aside, studying the underwater components of plantation sites can add tremendously to our general knowledge of the material culture and life ways of the inhabitants of these sites. Underwater artifacts are generally preserved much better than land artifacts; for instance, the best single collection of intact colonoware pots came from an underwater excavation at the Bluff Plantation on the Cooper River. The present project, along with the recent work at Mulberry Mound (Judge 1987) and the Allendale Chert Quarry (Goodyear et al 1985), has demonstrated to us that there is a tremendous potential for underwater archaeology to make a substantial contribution to the data base of archaeology in general.

We need not consider underwater archaeology to be strictly a “ships and boats” oriented field. Through conscientious, in depth, descriptive reporting and the use of a widely known organizational framework, such as Stanley South’s Carolina pattern, to ensure inter-site comparability, steps toward a better understanding of the nature of underwater sites, plantation, shipwreck, aboriginal, or otherwise can be made.

Since there are so many points to consider before a good pattern-oriented framework can be established, we have chosen to organize the artifact analysis by material type, rather than in functional categories. Thus, although light bulb and lamp chimney fragments are included with kitchen type glass, a future researcher hoping to abstract an artifact pattern from this work will at least have a logical place to begin looking. It is hoped that after a few more sites are approached with pattern-oriented analysis in mind we will be able to come back and fit this site into a larger framework.

The work at the Two Cannon Wreck site was conducted in two phases. The first phase consisted of a general surface collection made by SCIAA divers in November of 1985. The second phase includes all the excavations and controlled collections of the 1986 field season. Since the first phase of work was not a controlled collection, artifacts recovered at that time will not be included in the tables below or considered as proof in the dating of the wreck. Some will be discussed in the text, however, and some of these artifacts will be illustrated.

Cannon

As mentioned previously, two cannons were recovered by the three divers who identified the site of the vessel and made the initial report of its location to the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. The first cannon discovered was a three pounder cast iron barrel. The divers using flotation drums raised it to the surface and brought it to the Berkeley Country Club boat landing for removal from the water and

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transport. Upon examination by SCIAA, the cannon was found to be loaded with a ball shot. Beneath the three pounder, a portable swivel gun was located and it too was raised. Like the larger cannon, it was also loaded with a shrapnel type charge. Although the divers raised the cannons without previous consultation and clearance from SCIAA, they did report the finds and turn them over to the Institute for conservation and management.



Figure 14: Three pounder cannon before conservation.



Figure 15: SCIAA conservator Curtis Peterson examines the Lewisfield swivel gun.



Figure 16: The Lewisfield swivel gun after conservation.

Ceramics--The ceramic assemblage at the Two Cannon Wreck site reflects fully the two-hundred-plus years of European-American and African-American occupation at the site. The ceramic names and dates used in this discussion follow South (1977) and Noel Hume (1970) unless otherwise noted.

Three sherds of colonoware were recovered. Two of these were curved body sherds, and the other was a rim sherd. The sherds come from an indeterminate form of vessel, but colonoware is generally found in two major forms; bowls and jars, and less often in other forms. Colonoware is commonly found on both rural and urban eighteenth-century sites in South Carolina, especially plantations, where it sometimes constitutes more than ninety percent of the total ceramics from the sites (Steen 1985). Since colonoware is found in such copious amounts on plantation sites, especially in slave quarters, it is believed that most of it may have been made on-site by slaves (Ferguson 1978). There are also sub-types of the ware that may well have been made by aboriginal Americans, particularly the Catawba Indians (Wheaton et al 1983:225). Clearly, regardless of who made it, colonoware was primarily used by slaves. Colonoware has been recovered from Revolutionary War contexts at Fort Moultrie (South 1974), Camden (Lewis 1976), and at the British redoubt at Moncks Corner (38BK1030 personal observation). Although some African-Americans served as soldiers and pioneers (i.e., guides) during the Revolution, the majority were more likely used as a labor force; in building the earthworks at these forts (South 1974:186) for example (see the historical sections of this report for further information and references). If the vessel excavated was indeed an impounded colonial vessel used by the British, it is likely that its crew would have included slaves, especially if, as Sayen (John Sayen: Personal Communication) suggests, the vessel in question is a galley. It is possible then that the colonoware sherds may originate with the vessel, but considering the plantation context of the site overall, we can't make too strong an argument for the possibility.

European-American ceramics at the site include three sherds of red earthenware with a yellowish lead glaze. These sherds appear to come from a utilitarian vessel such as a cream riser or storage jar. A single sherd of Jackfield ware from an indeterminate vessel form was also recovered. Jackfield ware, a hard-bodied red to purplish red earthenware, is generally found in forms related to tea service--sugar bowls and tea pots for instance--rather than in more utilitarian forms. Also recovered was a single sherd of unglazed red earthenware from a vessel of indeterminate form and function.

Twenty-four sherds of red earthenware tiles, glazed in black on one side, were also recovered during the excavations. These are generally thought of as roofing tiles, but Noel Hume cautions that one should not automatically assume that these tiles were used for roofing, since they could also serve as drain tiles, or for other purposes (Noel Hume 1970:295). The number of fragments seen both on the shore and in the excavations indicates an extensive use of these tiles on the site. Thus, unless there was a very extensive drainage system constructed in the front lawn, the idea that they were used for roofing is the most viable.

One sherd of plain delftware with a white glaze as opposed to blue tinted (considered to be a trait of

wares originating in London [Garner and Archer 1972]) was found, as were nine sherds of plain creamware. These two wares are of the correct age to be considered part of the wreck assemblage, but the lack of burning on the sherds indicates that they may not originate with the wreck. A creamware plate fragment (constituting about one half of the vessel) was also recovered.

The pearlwares and whiteware/ironstone wares probably all originated after the Revolutionary War period. No decorative motifs such as blue hand painted chinoiserie or even shell edge that could be attributed to the 1770s or 1780s period were present. The pearlwares were plain and transfer printed. The whiteware/ironstone wares included plain, hand-painted (polychrome), and transfer-printed sherds. Sherds from at least two vessels (a ten-inch dinner plate and an eight-inch saucer) of a set of green transfer-printed whiteware were recovered. These are marked with an impressed anchor and a printed pattern mark: the “Sicilian” pattern. Unfortunately, the mark and pattern could not be attributed to a specific manufacturer or date, although several references were consulted. Underglaze transfer-printed wares in colors other than blue date after 1838 (Lewis and Haskell 1981:132), and thus clearly are not associated with the wreck.

Only a single sherd of Chinese porcelain was recovered. The remainder of the assemblage (eight sherds) is likely to originate in England or the United States and is thought more likely to date to the nineteenth or twentieth centuries than the eighteenth century, although none of the pieces had closely datable attributes. Identifiable vessels in the assemblage include a tea or coffee cup and a small oval platter with a molded edge decoration and a flat base.

Conversely, with only one exception, the stoneware assemblage is of eighteenth-century origin. This assemblage includes nine sherds of a single white salt-glazed stoneware plate, two sherds from a salt-glazed stoneware bottle, and a single sherd of alkaline-glazed stoneware. The white plate was burned and cracked into numerous pieces by the heat, apparently at or near the place of its deposition since most of the sherds mended and one of the mends was between units 18 and 21. It seems very likely that this plate was onboard the vessel when it burned, instead of being a piece of plantation refuse. It is very doubtful that so many pieces of a plate burned on shore would have come to rest in the same area so far from the shore. If they had been found within twenty or thirty feet of the shore there would be more room for speculation that these sherds were part a load of trash that was thrown into the river, but this is clearly not the case. The bottle sherds were recovered from excavation units at the wreck and may also have originated with the wreck, although there is no direct evidence that they did.

The alkaline-glazed stoneware sherd was collected from the beach surface. Alkaline-glazed stoneware was first manufactured in the Edgefield, South Carolina, area during the early nineteenth century (Greer 1970). Later the manufacture of this ware spread across much of the Southeast as the technique was carried with the mass of migrating South Carolinians to the newly opened western territories of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas.

Glass--The glass assemblage includes sherds that fit into three categories: glass not of the period, glass of the period that is melted, and glass of the period that is not melted. One hundred and ten sherds of melted dark green bottle glass were recovered. Two melted wine bottle rims were identifiable as 1760s-1780s forms using Noel Hume's typology (Noel Hume 1970:63-68). This melted glass came from deep in the excavation units and is probably associated with the wreck, although the sherds were not mapped in place. We feel that the presence of the two dated rims is evidence for the assignment of a Revolutionary-War-period date to this vessel.

Another six intact wine bottle rims were recovered, most from surface contexts. One was from a mold-made, nineteenth-century or twentieth-century wine bottle (Lewis and Haskell 1981:68), and one was from a nineteenth-century (1834?) free-blown vessel (Noel Hume 1970:68). Three of the remaining rims were from English wine bottles dating to the last half of the eighteenth century (Noel Hume 1970:63-68), and one was from a French wine bottle (Noel Hume 1970:71). Also recovered were three bases and seventeen body sherds. The bases featured sand pontils, and their diameters indicate that they were probably from cylindrical English wine bottles of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

Sherds from two free-blown pharmaceutical bottles were recovered. Neither of these showed any signs of burning, but both probably originated in the correct period (Noel Hume 1970:73-75). Mendable sherds from a single small free-blown bottle that is heavily stained with soot were also recovered. The



Figure 17: Eighteenth-century wine bottle rim, melted, patinated.

function of this bottle is indeterminate, but it has been suggested that it may be a special function bottle, such as a mercury container (South: Personal Communication). This bottle appears to have been seven to eight inches tall, with a shallow kick up (approx. $3/8$ "") and an integral rim. The glass is well finished, symmetrical, and of a very light-green color. The heavy soot staining on this bottle leads us to believe that it was probably on board the vessel when it burned, but the fact that it was not melted leads us to accept the possibility that there could be another explanation for this staining as well.

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A wide-mouthed food bottle dating to around the mid-nineteenth century (Lewis and Haskell 1981:97) was also recovered. The remainder of the glass assemblage consists of various later nineteenth-century and twentieth-century bottle glass, tableware, lamp chimney, light bulb and window glass sherds.

Iron--Relatively few iron artifacts were recovered during the 1986 field season. In this collection there were three square (that is to say it is indeterminate whether they are wrought or cut) nail fragments, and one wire nail. The three square nails may have originated with the wreck, but their function is indeterminate. Ten wrought spike fragments were collected which could have been used for fastening major structural elements of the ship together, or they could have been used for a similar purpose in the construction of the dock. Three round bolts, on the other hand, were almost surely used in the construction of the ship (Falconer 1970:50). A handmade nut and bolt recovered are of indeterminate function but may originate with the ship. A handmade eyebolt and ringbolt were also recovered. The eyebolt has a threaded shank and an attached square nut. The ringbolt is essentially an eyebolt with an attached iron ring. Falconer states that “ring bolts are for several uses, but particularly to hook the tackles to, by which the cannon of a ship are managed and secured: accordingly there is one fixed in the deck opposite to every cannon...[and]...in the edges of the gun ports” (Falconer 1970:406). A diagram of shipbuilding techniques of the late eighteenth century shows an eyebolt being used for a similar purpose but attached to the gun carriage itself (Science Museum, London 1969). It could be assumed that these items were used for attaching tackle to one of the cannons recovered from the site, but we should also bear in mind that these items may have been used for attaching tackle for numerous other purposes as well. While ringbolts and eyebolts are also used for various purposes on land--on carriages and plows for instance--these are thought very likely to have originated with the ship.

Another item recovered that almost surely originated with the ship was an eighteenth-century British felling axe (Mercer 1929:5). This axe was apparently burned along with the ship, as charred wood is to be found in the eye of the handle of the axe.

A C-shaped iron collar about six inches in diameter, three inches wide, and one-and-a-half inches thick was collected from the surface near the excavation grid. This object does not represent a closed circle, but rather has a three-inch-wide opening on one side. The function of this object is unclear, but it has been suggested that it may have been used as a mast collar.

Other iron artifacts recovered include a kettle fragment and a small piece of a barrel strap, possibly related to the wooden barrel parts to be discussed below.

Non-Ferrous Metal--Seven brass objects were recovered. These include a single plain button (South type seven) that dates to the eighteenth century. In an assemblage of eighteenth-century buttons collected from nearby Wadboo Creek, there were few marked buttons attributable to Continental or South Carolina Militia units, but there were numerous British uniform buttons and literally hundreds of plain and decorated civilian buttons present. The Continental and Militia troops operating in South Carolina were terribly undersupplied and the militia units were frequently reorganized, thus they may

not have had access to formal unit buttons. The possibility exists then that this button may be related to the vessel, although we cannot say for sure.

Other brass objects include a piece of a brass strap about one-half-inch wide. This consists of two separate pieces riveted together. Obviously, straps are used for holding things together, but what this particular strap held together is indeterminate. Also recovered was a length of brass spring about three inches long and an eighth-inch wide. This spring, which is broken into two pieces, has attachment loops at both ends. Its function is indeterminate.

A fragment (each) of the lid and the body of a small brass can were recovered as well. This can is rectangular and at least one-and-three-quarters by two inches on a side by at least one inch deep. This could be classified as a snuff can but may have been used to hold any number of things.

The final brass object is a “run” of melted brass. Of all the brass items this, the least diagnostic, is the most likely to have been on the vessel at the time of its destruction.

Other non-ferrous objects recovered include a domed copper item that is probably part of an oil lamp wick holder, four pieces of melted lead, and five lead shot (to be discussed below). The latter two probably originated with the vessel, while the former almost surely did not.

Pipes--Two fragments of a single kaolin pipe stem were recovered. This stem was decorated with spiraling rouletting and a makers’ mark that reads “H:DE.ION IN:.” The bore of the stem was 5/64 of an inch, which would place it, generally speaking, in the late eighteenth century (Binford 1971:230).

Organic Material--Ship parts will not be dealt with in this section. Numerous wooden objects that may well have been on board the vessel at the time of its burning were found. Numerous parts of a burned barrel were recovered. Intact staves were twenty-eight inches long, and lid fragments indicate a diameter of about twenty-one inches for the barrel. Any number of things were stored or shipped in barrels including indigo, rice, wine, water, rum, salted meat or fish, hard tack, and tobacco. If the British were looting the plantation, as Johnson (1972) reports, some of the loot would probably be packed in barrels. On the other hand, if the Americans saved the valuables from the boat, we must assume that the contents of the barrel were either spoiled or not considered worthy of saving. Thus, we could say that this barrel was more likely to have contained water than wine, for instance.

Several pieces of a burned wooden box were found as well, but its size was indeterminate. This could have been used for shipping confiscated goods, storing ships’ supplies, or for any number of purposes.

Perhaps the most interesting find of the excavations was a fragmentary wooden cartridge box (Peterson 1956:231-236). Cartridge boxes of this type consist of a block of wood with several rows of drilled holes. The block is covered with leather and a strap is attached to hang it around the individuals’ neck. Generally, a buckle is attached to keep the box cover closed, but in this case the buckle was not found. These boxes were used to store pre-measured loads for muskets, consisting of a

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shot and a measure of powder. These would be rolled up in a piece of paper (like a cigarette) with the ends twisted. When the soldier was ready to load his weapon, he would pull out the paper cartridge, tear off the end, pour the powder into the barrel, drop in the ball, and use the paper for wadding. This type of storage was quicker, more efficient and conservative of powder than the use of powder horns and shot pouches.

The cartridge box found consists of one large wooden block and thirty-five pieces of wood, as well as twenty-nine pieces of leather thought to be from the cover of the box. Found within the box were five lead shot, all of which were about sixty-nine caliber (within .005”). Both South (1974:206) and Ferguson (1973:27) recovered lead shot of this size from British contexts. These shot were probably used in a British Brown Bess musket.

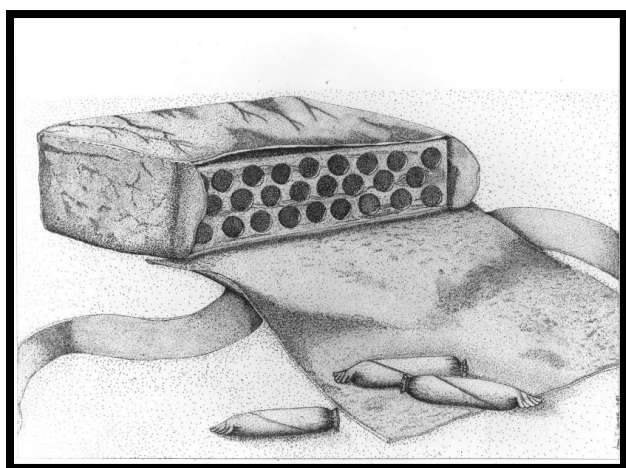


Figure 18: Drawing of a cartridge box of the type recovered on the Lewisfield vessel.

Figure 19: Wooden core of the cartridge box recovered on the Lewisfield vessel.

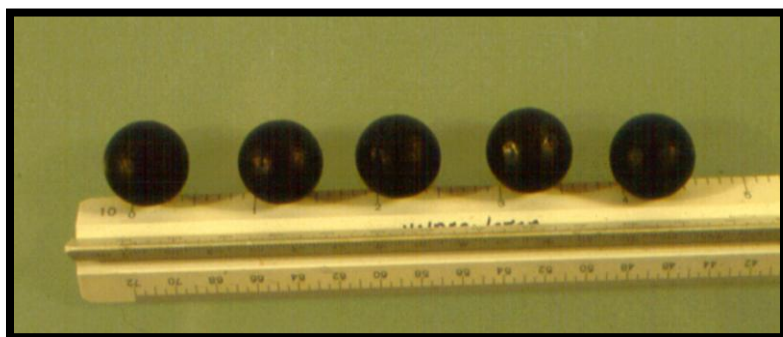


Figure 20: Lead shot from cartridge box.

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A number of other well-preserved organic artifacts were also recovered. These include twenty-four fragments of rope, numerous pieces of wholly and partially charred wood, as well as unburned finished wood fragments. Many of these fragments are doubtlessly parts of the ship, but several pieces were identified as twentieth-century objects.

Eleven leather shoe parts were recovered, although the age of these is unclear. Two complete soles were found, one with a rounded toe and the other with a flat toe. A single rubber heel was the only clearly datable shoe part found, and rubber heels date to the twentieth century, so this could not have been related to the vessel.

One piece of turtle carapace and forty-five fragments of mammal bone were recovered from the various contexts. The bone fragments have not been subjected to intensive analysis at this point.

The final organic item is five small lumps of what has tentatively been identified as indigo. If this is identified as indigo, it will constitute a valuable bit of evidence, because if the British were indeed looting the Cooper River plantations, indigo would be a desirable commodity because of its resale value.

Lithics, Bricks, and Mortar--A single intact blade-type gunflint of black flint was recovered. Fragments of three burned gunflints were also recovered. One of these was a blade-type flint, a second was a spall-type flint, and the third was of an indeterminate type. Blade-type gunflints, especially of black flint, are referred to as English gunflints by Hamilton (1980).

A large fragment of a flint cobble that exhibited extensive flaking along one edge was also recovered. This cobble was probably used as a fire-starting flint.

One half of a “Dutch” type brick, and thirteen fragments of red bricks, probably locally made, were saved as samples. These brick fragments, along with the numerous pieces of eighteenth-century shell mortar (one representative sample was saved) that were found, are more likely to originate with the plantation than with the wreck. Twenty-one pieces of ships’ ballast were saved as specimens.

About one half of a marble mortar seven-and-one-half inches in diameter and five-inches deep was found on the beach surface. Mortars of this type serve different purposes, such as for grinding spices or medicines.

Twentieth-Century Items--These included three shotgun shells, sixteen beer-can fragments, a Pepsi cap, a fishing sinker, a piece of insulated wire, a glass marble, a piece of a phonograph record, eight pieces of a clay pigeon, a piece of neoprene, two golf balls, and a toy pistol grip made of Bakelite.

SITE HISTORY

South Carolina Overview

Since an in-depth discussion of all the important issues affecting South Carolina’s development would necessarily fill several volumes, only a somewhat facile overview of the history of South Carolina will be presented here. The references cited herein can be used as a guide to more in-depth study of the issues in question.

The history of South Carolina can be broken down, roughly, into five major periods. These are the exploratory period, the proprietary period, the colonial period, the antebellum federal period, and the postbellum federal period.

Early exploration and attempted settlement of the geographic area now known as South Carolina was made by both the Spanish and French in the sixteenth century. Good discussions of these attempts can be found in Kovacik and Winberry (1986), Lyon (1984), Quinn (1971), and Jones (1971,1985).

South Carolina’s first permanent European settlers arrived in 1670. The colony was settled under the auspices of the Lords Proprietors, a group of English gentlemen that gained the favor of King Charles II by supporting his bid to regain power after the English Civil War. In return, King Charles gave them dominion over the area between the 31st and 36th parallels from coast to coast. The original known bounds of the colony included most of what is now North and South Carolina, Georgia, and northern Florida (Wallace 1951).

Many of the original settlers of South Carolina were planters from Barbados and other West Indies islands (Jones 1971:20). These islands, settled as much as fifty years earlier, were facing severe pressures by the 1670s as their sugar plantations prospered and required more slaves to work them. Land became scarce, being taken up in large holdings, and the cost of living was high (Clowse 1971:5). Thus, there was a lack of land and opportunities, particularly for released indentured servants and second sons (Jones 1971:21). The opening of the South Carolina colony allowed a release for these pressures. Settlers also came from several other sources, but none were more influential in the early years of the colony (Jones 1971:26).

The Barbadian settlers of South Carolina brought with them a well-developed system of plantation agriculture based on the use of black and Indian slaves (Wood 1974:7,24; Wallace 1951:38). Initially slaves were used in more varied occupations--as pioneers, boatmen, woodsmen, cattle herders, and hunters, among others--and were more like partners to the planters hacking a farm out of the wilderness. After the discovery of a staple crop suited to the colony (i.e. rice), slave occupations were oriented more toward purely agricultural pursuits, although it should be noted that slaves in South Carolina performed numerous tasks throughout the period of slavery (Wood 1974).

The early years of the colony were characterized by experimentation and the search for a staple crop that would allow South Carolina to “take off” economically (Clowse 1971:69). The introduction of large-scale rice production provided this impetus for economic growth. Combined with the sale of timber products, skins, and livestock, South Carolina’s viability as a colony was ensured (Clowse 1971:132-138). This is not to say that there were not ups and downs, but generally speaking after the 1690s the survival of the colony was never in serious question.

With the introduction of rice agriculture ever-increasing numbers of slaves were imported to work the fields. By 1708 blacks outnumbered whites in the colony and twenty years later there were more than twice as many blacks as whites in the colony (Clowse 1971). The presence of these slaves is considered by many to be the major factor shaping the cultural development of South Carolina. Material contributions easily visible today include major contributions to the language (both Gullah for blacks and the distinctive Lowcountry accent of whites), food ways (including both style and substance), crafts, music, and folklore of the state. Less easily measured are the contributions made in the areas of agriculture and husbandry, work habits, and in very abstract terms, the attitudes and psychological orientation of the ruling race. These themes are discussed in several secondary works including Oakes 1982, Wood 1974, Genovese 1974, Littlefield 1983, Dunn 1972, and Kovacik and Winberry 1986.

The period of rule by the Lords Proprietors ended in 1719. Problems with their administration caused the settlers to petition for relief from the royal government. Their complaints included, among other things, high taxes, the lack of adequate defense of the colony by the proprietary government, a denial of representation in the decision-making processes that governed their lives, and the denial of their rights under English common law (Wallace 1951; Bargar 1970).

The rule of the royal government was more equitable, but nevertheless was considered too repressive in the long run and lasted only six years longer than the rule of the proprietors. The financial encouragement in the form of bounties for naval stores and indigo and the efforts of the crown in the area of defense allowed the colony to grow at a slow but constant rate throughout the colonial period. The adoption of the township system encouraged lower class white farmers to settle in the interior of the colony (the backcountry), both within the townships themselves, and in the surrounding areas (Wallace 1951:146). This provided a buffer between the Native Americans and the Lowcountry plantations. Scotch-Irish settlers began coming down the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania and points north in the 1750s, settling along the Broad River near the present North Carolina border first and then spreading throughout the foothills and Piedmont by the 1760s. By the time of the Revolution, the aboriginal inhabitants of the state were confined to the extreme fringes of the state and the European-American domination of South Carolina was complete (Kovacik and Winberry 1986).

The settlement of the backcountry by lower-class whites allowed the relative percentages of blacks and whites in the population to equalize somewhat by the 1770s (Kovacik and Winberry 1986:77). A British-type class system in which the wealthy had power and the poor were oppressed prevailed in

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South Carolina and was the source of much conflict between the poor inhabitants of the backcountry and the wealthy planters of the Lowcountry. Backcountry whites were forced to travel to Charleston to vote (if they could pass the property requirements that pretty much ensured that only the wealthy could vote). The trip was required to bring charges against a thief or murderer or sue a debtor or get a marriage license, yet they were expected to pay taxes and serve in the militia at the pleasure of the aristocrats (Jones 1971:92,93).

Tired of the lawless and outrageous behavior of their neighbors and the lack of concern of the Lowcountry-dominated legislature, backcountry men took the law into their own hands, forming a group known as the Regulators in the 1760s (Wallace 1951:223-230). The sheer numbers of the backcountry men and the threat that an uprising represented forced the General Assembly to recognize them and their problems, and give them some degree of enfranchisement, but it wasn't until well past the end of the Revolution that local government and courts were established in the backcountry. (Jones 1971:117).

This brings us to the period of the American Revolution in South Carolina which will be discussed in a later segment of this report.

The antebellum federal period was characterized by both a continuation of old ways and the adaptation of the state to its independence. This independence was a two-edged sword. On one hand it allowed the state the freedom to trade with whomever it saw fit, but on the other hand it caused the state to lose the bounties that made marginal crops such as indigo profitable. With the loss of the bounties on indigo and naval stores it became necessary for the South Carolina planters to find new crops.

The most important of these turned out to be cotton. The invention of the cotton gin, which efficiently separated the seeds from the fibers and thus allowed it to be shipped without rotting or being ruined by oil staining, made cotton a truly viable crop. This improved technology paired with the development of improved strains of seed, a growing market in Europe and the United States for industrially produced cloth, and better transportation allowed cotton to become the mainstay of the state's economy by the early-nineteenth century (Kovacik and Winberry 1986).

With this change in the orientation of agriculture, the uplands of the backcountry and the sea islands that had previously been considered relatively worthless became more coveted. Backcountry farmers became wealthy slave owning planters. The opportunity to make large sums of money farming cotton provided the impetus for a massive out migration of farmers in search of new land, since the methods of farming cotton used in South Carolina at that time resulted in the rapid depletion of the soil.

Increasing friction over the issue of slavery and the rights of states to dictate their own internal affairs in contravention of federal laws led South Carolina into the Civil War in 1861. South Carolina saw relatively little action in the Civil War. The shelling of Fort Sumter, the capture of Port Royal, and Sherman's March stand out. Nevertheless, large numbers of South Carolinians fought and died in the Southern army, and the changes wrought by this conflict revolutionized the social structure of the state.

The agrarian economy of South Carolina was devastated by the Civil War. The emancipation of the black slaves of South Carolina had multifaceted effects. The foremost effect was that the plantation system of farming, with its reliance on large numbers of laborers working essentially for no pay, was no longer possible. Thus, when planters were faced with paying wages to a work force that could no longer be effectively managed, many were unable to continue. Since slaves often represented the most valuable collateral that a planter owned, when they were freed a planter's net worth dropped substantially overnight, forcing many into bankruptcy (Kovacik and Winberry 1986:106).

To say that the effects of emancipation were all positive for blacks is also difficult. In fact, the best thing that one can say is that at least they were no longer physically enslaved, because the system of tenant farming that replaced slavery offered little real freedom when one considers that tenants were legally bound to the land by a system that almost ensured that tenants would remain in debt to the landowners (Kovacik and Winberry 1986:108). Freedom, for the first generations of freed slaves, offered more hope than results. Indeed, it was not until the 1960s that steps toward a true equality for blacks were made.

Industrial development began to take the place of agriculture, especially in the backcountry, early in the nineteenth century. After the Civil War, the number of whites working for wages in industry began to rise sharply, although South Carolina has never developed the type of industrial base prevalent in the northern United States.

Tenant farming has slowly declined with the advent of mechanized farming, and many landless former tenants migrated to Northern industrial and urban areas in the twentieth century. This out migration was most prevalent in the 1910s through 1940s (Kovacik and Winberry 1986:124). It appears that this process is reversing as the South is catching up to the rest of the nation in terms of industrial development. Twentieth-century South Carolina still relies a great deal on agriculture, but along with the rest of the “New South” much of the state's economic activities are becoming oriented toward goods and services; more in line with the rest of the nation than the “Old South.”

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Lewisfield Plantation was originally part of Fairlawn Barony. Baronies were subdivisions of land consisting of twelve thousand acres. These subdivisions were a relic of the English feudal system that was set up by the Lords Proprietors. Under the feudal system any land coming into the possession of the state became the property of the King to do with as he pleased. The King could create vassals, grant them lands, give them the power to populate these lands with tenants, give them power to rule their tenants, and demand that taxes be paid on the lands.



into eight counties, and each county was divided into forty units of twelve thousand acres each: eight seignories, eight baronies, and twenty-four “colonies.” Each of the proprietors were granted one seignory in each county. The landgraves received four baronies, and there was one landgrave per county. Cassiques received two baronies each. Although there should have been a great deal more, apparently only about fifteen baronies (in the common usage all the divisions were called baronies) were ever granted, probably because the lands that were safe for habitation were limited during the Proprietary period. After the colony reverted to Royal rule, the system of granting baronies ended, but some of the landholdings remained recognizable for some time (Easterby 1952).

Fairlawn Barony was granted to Sir John Colleton in 1671 and the Lewisfield tract remained in the hands of the Colleton family until 1765, at which time the one-thousand-acre tract known as “Little Landing” was sold to Sedgewick Lewis, who renamed it Lewisfield (Leiding 1921:63). The property was included in the dowry of Lewis’ daughter, Sarah, when she married Keating Simons in 1774 (Cross 1985:84). Lewisfield remained in the hands of the Simons family until 1903 when it was sold to Charles Stevens. After World War I the property was sold to Mr. John Poppenheim of Goose Creek, who used it as a hunting club (Irving/Stoney 1969:50). The property was bought by State Senator Rembert Dennis and his family in 1970.

The Revolutionary War in South Carolina

The Revolution in South Carolina began with what has been called a civil war in the backcountry. This was characterized by sporadic fighting and agitation between backcountry Loyalists and Whigs in the fall of 1775. The Snow Campaign was the most notable action of this period. In this campaign patriots under Col. Richard Richardson forced the backcountry Loyalists to submit to Patriot rule with relatively little bloodshed. Although the situation was to change later, the backcountry lived in peace for a while. The stage was set, however, for the vicious fighting between Loyalist and Whig neighbors that was to be the case later in the war.

In June of 1776, the British attempted an amphibious attack on Ft. Moultrie. A naval force under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, in concert with the British army under Sir Henry Clinton, had planned to join a large group of Loyalists in North Carolina and establish a base of operations there. Unfortunately, the defeat of the Loyalist troops in the Battle of Moore’s Creek prevented them from making their junction and the plan had to be modified. Parker and Clinton decided to attack Charleston and establish a base on Sullivan’s Island instead. Poor planning resulted in the first major defeat of the war for the British.

Their plan was to attack from the land side of the fort with a force of some two thousand men that they had landed on Long Island (Isle of Palms). In the meantime, three ships were to cross the bar and shell the fort on the unfinished inland side, while the remaining ships were to fire on the fort from the sea side.

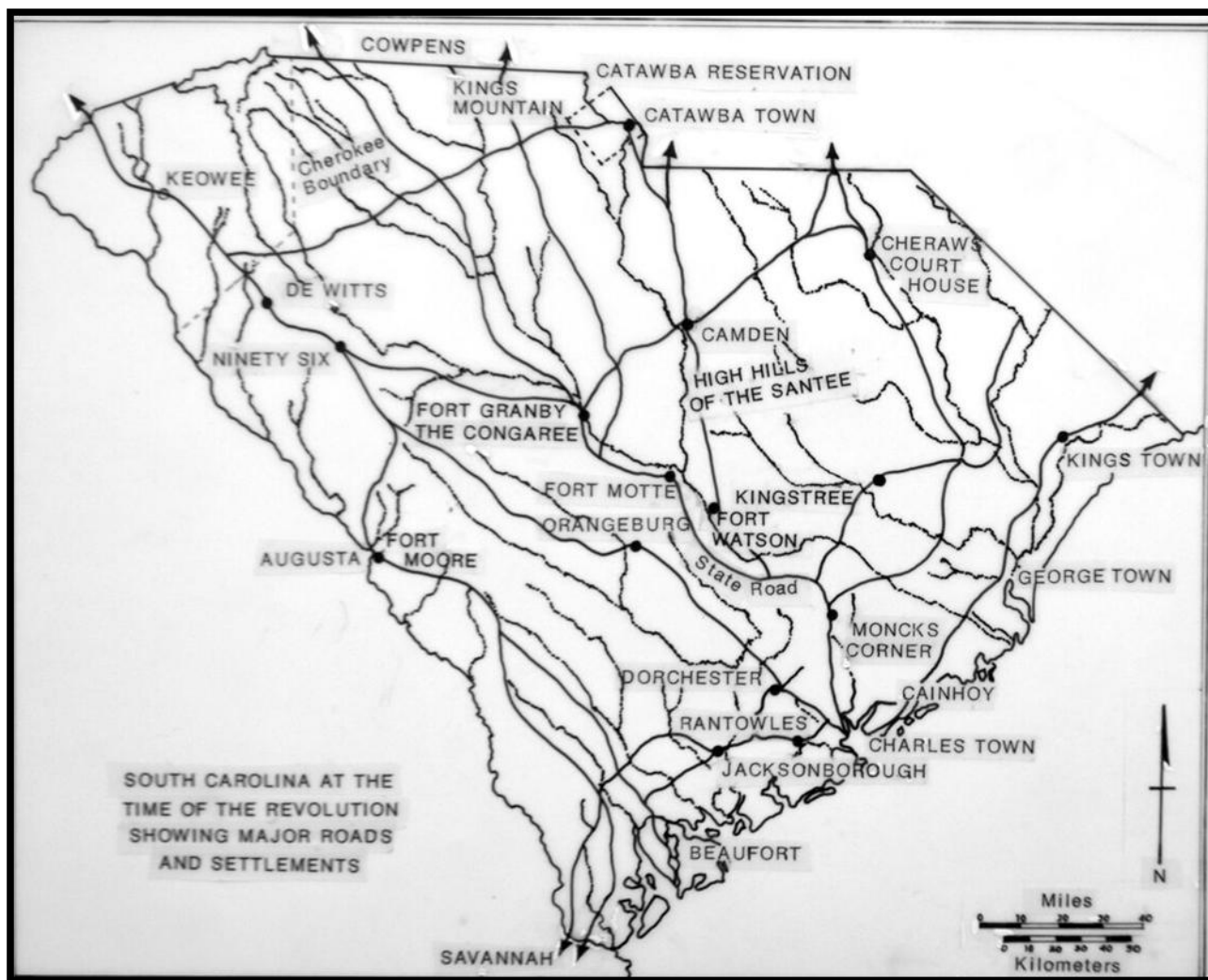


Figure 22: South Carolina during the American Revolution.

If they had been able to carry out the details of their plan, their operation would doubtlessly have been successful since they had the Americans out manned and out gunned. Unfortunately, the troops could not wade across Breach Inlet to Sullivan’s Island as planned, and the three ships ran aground, where they could easily be shelled. The ships on the sea side were forced to pass the fort directly in the line of fire to keep from running aground. Despite a shortage of gunpowder that restricted the amount of fire that the fort could bring to bear and a fort that was so poorly constructed that the commanding general’s first advice was to abandon it and take a stand elsewhere, the Americans were able to defeat the British conclusively in their first engagement.

Soon afterwards, at the instigation of British agents, a war broke out with the Cherokee Indians on the frontier. The combined militias of South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina were able to contain the uprising by invading Cherokee country and setting fire to several of their villages, destroying crops and stores, and generally laying waste to the countryside.

There was little fighting in South Carolina for the next three years. The British took the poorly defended city of Savannah in December of 1778 and began to take the posts along the Savannah River early in 1779. In an effort to retake Savannah and drive the British from Georgia, Gen. Benjamin Lincoln drove inland toward Augusta. Seeing that Lincoln had left Charleston defended by only a small force, British General Augustine Prevost, with about four thousand men, moved up the coast to the gates of Charleston where he demanded the surrender of the city. This demand was refused, and with the return of Lincoln’s troops imminent, Prevost’s force was obliged to withdraw or be caught between the forces that had assembled in the city and Lincoln’s army.

In October of 1780, a joint effort to retake Savannah by American and French troops failed from a lack of cooperation and coordination of their efforts. A British force of some eighty-five hundred troops under Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis then landed at Savannah and soon moved on Charleston. Clinton chose a cautious approach to Charleston, capturing the surrounding country and then besieging the town. In May of 1781, after a siege of almost three months, the garrison of more than five thousand Continental troops and militia were forced to surrender, making this the largest defeat of an American army of the Revolution.

The militiamen captured at Charleston were allowed to go home to live as prisoners on parole (see James Place’s parole in Appendix II for an example of the terms). Within weeks, the entire state was nominally under British control, but several factors served to galvanize the opposition of the rebels in the state to British rule. British and Loyalist soldiers made themselves seem notably obnoxious by robbing and pillaging indiscriminately. The British cavalry colonel, Banastre Tarleton, made himself a much-hated figure when, after defeating a regiment of Virginia militia under Abraham Buford, his men proceeded, literally, to cut them down where they stood, despite the fact that they had surrendered honorably. The final straw however, was when the British high command chose to interpret the terms of the surrender of Charleston as meaning that the citizens of South Carolina were once again British citizens. This interpretation allowed the British to insist that paroled militia take up arms on the side of the British. Many chose to fight against the British in violation of their paroles rather than to submit to what they believed to be an unfair request. Their resolve was reinforced by the knowledge that if they were captured they could be tried for treason and hung. The case of Colonel Isaac Hayne is perhaps the best-known example of a hanging under this rule, since he was an officer and an aristocrat, but certainly not the only case. In all fairness to the Loyalists, it must be said that numerous examples of Americans hanging or otherwise killing Loyalist prisoners are also extant. The horrors of war were the rule rather than the exception in South Carolina. These factors, among others, did much to agitate a population that may well have been ready to lay quiet and recover from a costly season of war.

Militia units under Colonels Brandon and Bratton were active in the backcountry within a month of the fall of Charleston. Gen. Francis Marion and his troops fought the first battle of their guerrilla campaign in August, as did Thomas Sumter. McCrady (1902) lists thirty-two actions between May and

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December of 1780, most in the backcountry and most involving militia units. The largest actions in this period took place at Camden and Kings Mountain. For the Americans the former was a miserable defeat in which the Continental army under General Horatio Gates broke and ran, while the latter was a heartening victory for the militia.

After the British victory at Camden, Gen. Cornwallis felt that the time was right to push northward and subdue the opposition in the backcountry. His ultimate goal was to capture Virginia and catch Washington's army between the British northern army under Clinton and his force. This was the remnant of a Southern strategy that had originally been intended to include both Clinton's and Cornwallis' armies moving up from the south, subduing the opposition and putting Loyalists in power as they went. This plan, which may well have worked, was deranged when intelligence was received that a large French fleet had sailed for America and was expected to land any day. Clinton, in Charleston at the time, quickly loaded his troops and returned to protect the base at New York, which was then their most strategically important stronghold. Thus, Cornwallis was left to conquer and control the South with less than half as many troops as he had expected. If he had been able to put loyal Americans in power, and if he had been able to raise an army from the citizens of the conquered territories, his plan might still have worked. Their inability to do so underscores a fundamental problem of the British in America: they simply did not understand Americans. They treated all Americans badly, friend or foe. Most Loyalist regiments, for instance, were led by British officers regardless of their qualifications (buying a commission was one of the most common ways to get one), under the assumption that Americans were bumpkins. They also assumed that once conquered the Americans would gladly submit to British rule and do whatever was requested.

In October 1780, during his first attempted move north, Cornwallis lost eleven hundred troops at King's Mountain. He and his men were forced to retire to their winter camp at Winnsboro instead of continuing. In December 1780, the command of the American army was taken over by Gen. Nathanael Greene, who split his forces, sending one third of his troops under Gen. Daniel Morgan to the heavily settled area between the Broad and Pacolet rivers (present day Cherokee county) while removing the remainder to a winter camp near Cheraw. Morgan's troops solidly defeated the feared Green Dragoons of Tarleton at Cowpens in January of 1781, killing and capturing more than nine hundred men. After the Battle of Cowpens, Cornwallis' army set off in pursuit of the Americans, who retreated with great alacrity all the way to the Virginia border. Greene then turned his army and took a stand at Guilford Courthouse near present day Greensboro, North Carolina. The British were able to win the battle, but at the loss of more than a quarter of their troops. At the end of a tenuous supply line, in the midst of hostile territory that was already stripped of the necessities of life for an army, and with a third of his troops sick or wounded, Cornwallis was forced to retreat to Wilmington to allow his troops to recuperate and to be resupplied.

Again in April, with glory on his mind, Cornwallis set off to catch Washington in Virginia. Perhaps his force was weakened too much in the southern campaign, or perhaps they would not have been equal to the task at any time. Either way they were defeated and captured by Washington's army in October of

1781. This was to be the last major action of the Revolution although for us the story certainly does not end with this action. After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, Greene moved back into South Carolina and began a series of actions designed to weaken the British without overly weakening his forces. His plan was, in effect, to bleed them to death, rather than trying to strike a single crushing blow.

The British had set up a series of outposts in the interior of the state. The most important of which were at Camden, Ninety Six, Augusta, Granby, and Orangeburg. Greene’s plan was simple--he had his troops attack the supply lines and supporting posts for these forts, harass the enemy at every opportunity, and then slip away without allowing themselves to be cornered. During the early part of the summer of 1781, American troops besieged and captured the fort at Augusta, and at the same time besieged the fort at Ninety Six. A large force of British troops under Lord Rawdon arrived to relieve the garrison at Ninety Six before it could be taken, but the position was considered untenable and the garrison was ordered to abandon the fort as soon as possible. The Loyalists of the area were told that they too would have to leave or be considered enemies of the crown, so a large party of refugees accompanied the British force on its return to the Lowcountry.

After relieving the fort at Ninety Six, Rawdon took a position at the town of Orangeburg. Greene found their position too strong to attack and camped for several days within a few miles, hoping to draw the British out to do battle. A force of the British Third Regiment came up from Moncks Corner to reinforce Rawdon’s forces, and with the Ninety Six garrison’s arrival imminent, Greene removed his troops to a camp in the High Hills of the Santee, near present day Stateburg.

At this point (mid-July), Greene assembled the militia cavalry and mounted infantry, along with the Continental cavalry under Col. “Light Horse” Harry Lee, to make a raid on the Lowcountry garrisons at Dorchester, Moncks Corner. As Green wrote to Sumter, they were to even “thunder at the gates” of Charleston. It was during this campaign that Wade Hampton is supposed to have sunk the Lewisfield vessel.

Early in September of 1781, the final large battle of the Revolution in South Carolina was fought at Eutaw Springs. In this battle a force of about two thousand Americans faced a British force of equal size. As usual, Greene’s force was compelled to leave the field, and the victory, technically, went to the British. Nevertheless, they were forced to abandon their position and fall back to the forts at Moncks Corner and Dorchester. In October of 1781, the territory firmly held by British was limited to the neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and the near sea islands. In November of 1781, Greene marched on the Lowcountry, and the disheartened garrison troops abandoned their posts at the news of his approach. The British took up virtually unassailable positions in the city of Charleston and the surrounding sea islands and remained there until December of the following year. At that time, they loaded their forces, Loyalist families, slaves, and accumulated plunder into an evacuation fleet and sailed away. Thus ended the fighting of the Revolution in South Carolina, a war in which the victors lost every major battle, but still won the war.

The Raid of the Dog Days

William Gilmore Simms, South Carolina’s most eminent nineteenth-century man of letters, termed Thomas Sumter’s July 1781 foray into the Lowcountry “The Raid of the Dog Days” (Simms 1860:319). He illustrates the background events and the personalities involved in his 1855 novel *The Forayers*, the sixth of his seven Revolutionary War novels. *The Forayers* is a highly romanticized, but factually accurate (as they go) historical novel, as Simms’ novels generally are. His choice of the Dog Days foray as a backdrop underscores its place as an exciting and colorful event in South Carolina’s history. The Revolution was a time of larger-than-life figures, and of brave and daring acts. The Dog Days foray was led by General Thomas Sumter, known as “The Game Cock.” Regiments were led by the “Swamp Fox” Francis Marion and Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee, father of Robert E. Lee--colorful figures all (see Appendix I for short biographical sketches of these figures).

I have attempted to use original primary documents as much as possible in this section. To streamline citing these documents the following abbreviations will be used: The Greene Papers from the Wm. L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan will be cited as GP 38:53 (citing volume and item). The Clinton Papers from Clements will be cited as Cl 38:33. Greene papers from the Huntington Library will be referenced as HGP GR 1417. Letters between Nathanael Greene and Thomas Sumter reprinted in the Charleston Yearbook of 1899 and unavailable in the original will be cited as YBK I: page (Greene to Sumter) and YBK II: page (Sumter to Greene). Some of these documents are printed in full in Appendix II.

The Dog Days foray was an ambition that Thomas Sumter had apparently had for a long while before the plan was carried out. In a letter of July 3, Greene says to Sumter, “I fear the opportunity for striking the posts at Moncks Corner and in that Neighborhood is past” (GP 37:14). In late June, after Greene gave up the siege at Ninety Six, he was pursued by Lord Rawdon’s troops for two days before Rawdon was forced to give up the chase because of a lack of supplies and sickness among his troops. Rawdon’s troops (the Nineteenth Regiment) were newly arrived from Ireland and thus prone to heat stroke, malaria, and various sicknesses caused by the water and insects. Rawdon hoped to establish a post at the Congarees (near present day Columbia) and begin a reconquest of the interior of the state but was surprised to find that Greene had looped around, beat him to the Congarees and was ready to fight him there. Since Rawdon’s forces were spread thin, holding down posts at Orangeburg, in the Charleston area, and at Ninety Six, and much of his army was unfit for fighting, Rawdon retreated to Orangeburg to await a junction with the troops of Major Alexander Stewart (from Dorchester) and Colonel John Cruger (from Ninety Six) before proceeding. Greene wanted to prevent Rawdon from re-establishing a British presence in the interior of the state and stepped up his harassment by besieging Orangeburg in an attempt to draw Rawdon into a fight before he could be reinforced.

Francis Marion wrote to Greene on July 7 that “their troops [in Orangeburg] are so fatigued they cannot possibly move. Three regiments were going to lay down their arms and they believe they will

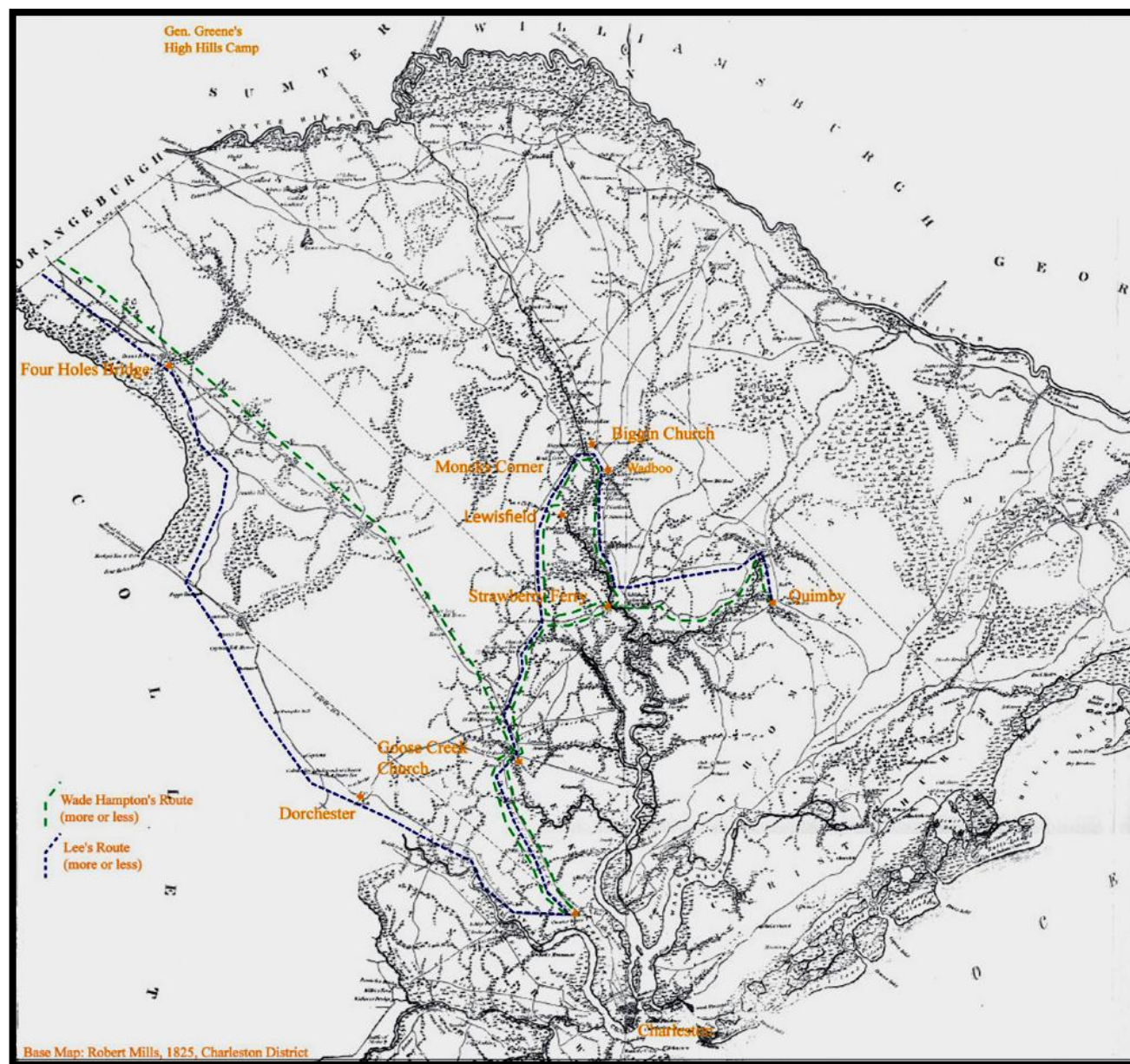


Figure 23: Robert Mills map of the Charleston District, 1825, showing locations mentioned in the text.

today if they are ordered to march” (GP 37:31). On the following day an intelligence report from Ninety Six stated that the troops there were packing up to leave and that the star fort had been demolished in preparation for its abandonment (GP 37:49). Greene, knowing that Cruger’s force of some fifteen hundred men would be arriving soon and that the time to strike was immediate, ordered his scattered troops to converge on Orangeburg: “I wish you to join us without fail at Colleton’s on the bridle road...be prepared for action the moment we meet, as there can be no doubt of the enemies moving towards us the moment they get intelligence of our advancing if they intend to fight us” (HGP GR 1417).

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The enemy had no intention of marching out to do battle, however, since their position was virtually unassailable. The British had situated themselves in a brick jail and among the buildings of the town, thus rendering the American’s biggest advantage, their cavalry, useless, and the position was too strong for an infantry attack. After camping within four miles of Orangeburg for two days and failing to draw Rawdon into battle, Greene decided that the most prudent course would be for him to withdraw to a camp of repose in the High Hills of the Santee before Cruger and his fifteen hundred troops arrived on the scene.

Before settling in for their period of rest and recovery the Americans decided to make a final incursion into the Lowcountry. Thus, on the July 14 Greene wrote to Sumter: “No time is to be lost, push your operations night and day... keep Col. Lee and Marion advised of all matters from above and tell Lee to thunder even at the gates of Charlestown. I have high expectations from your force and enterprise. Nothing can deprive you of complete success but the want of time.” (GP 38:1)

Sumter’s force consisted of about eleven hundred mounted men (GP 38:1), mostly South Carolina Militia; Sumter’s cavalry, including both Henry and Wade Hampton’s commands; Thomas Taylor’s troops; Francis Marion’s troops, including Peter and Hugh Horry’s commands; Major Hezekiah Maham’s men; Col. Edward Lacy’s troops; and two hundred and fifty Continental Cavalry troops under Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee.

Sumter’s plan was to send detachments down separate routes to isolate the garrison at Moncks Corner. The detachments would then move back up, form a junction with the main body at Moncks Corner, and capture, if possible, the British detachment there, which consisted, it was thought, of about nine hundred men (GP 38:26).

Lee’s legion took the westerly route with the aim of investing the fortification at Dorchester and then meeting up with Hampton for a joint strike at Charleston. The strike at Charleston was designed more with its potential psychological effects in mind than with the intent to cause any real damage. It was thought that to strike at the very gates of the city would both hearten the beleaguered Whigs of the city and countryside and frighten the Loyalists. In addition, the British would be both embarrassed and forced to draw back from their far-flung posts if it was demonstrated that the Americans could move in force so close to the city (Johnson 1960: 165)

Moving toward Dorchester, Lee left a detachment of some two hundred men commanded by Henry Hampton at the Four Holes bridge on the road to Orangeburg to cover his rear and provide both resistance and warning if a large British force was seen. On the evening of the fifteenth, a Sunday, Lee wrote to Greene, “I took near Dorchester [at the plantation of Alexander Wright] this morning all the waggon horses belonging to a convoy of provisions for Lord Rawdon, which had reached Dorchester... I also took four waggon, three empty, and one laden with ammunition for artillery” (GP 38:10).

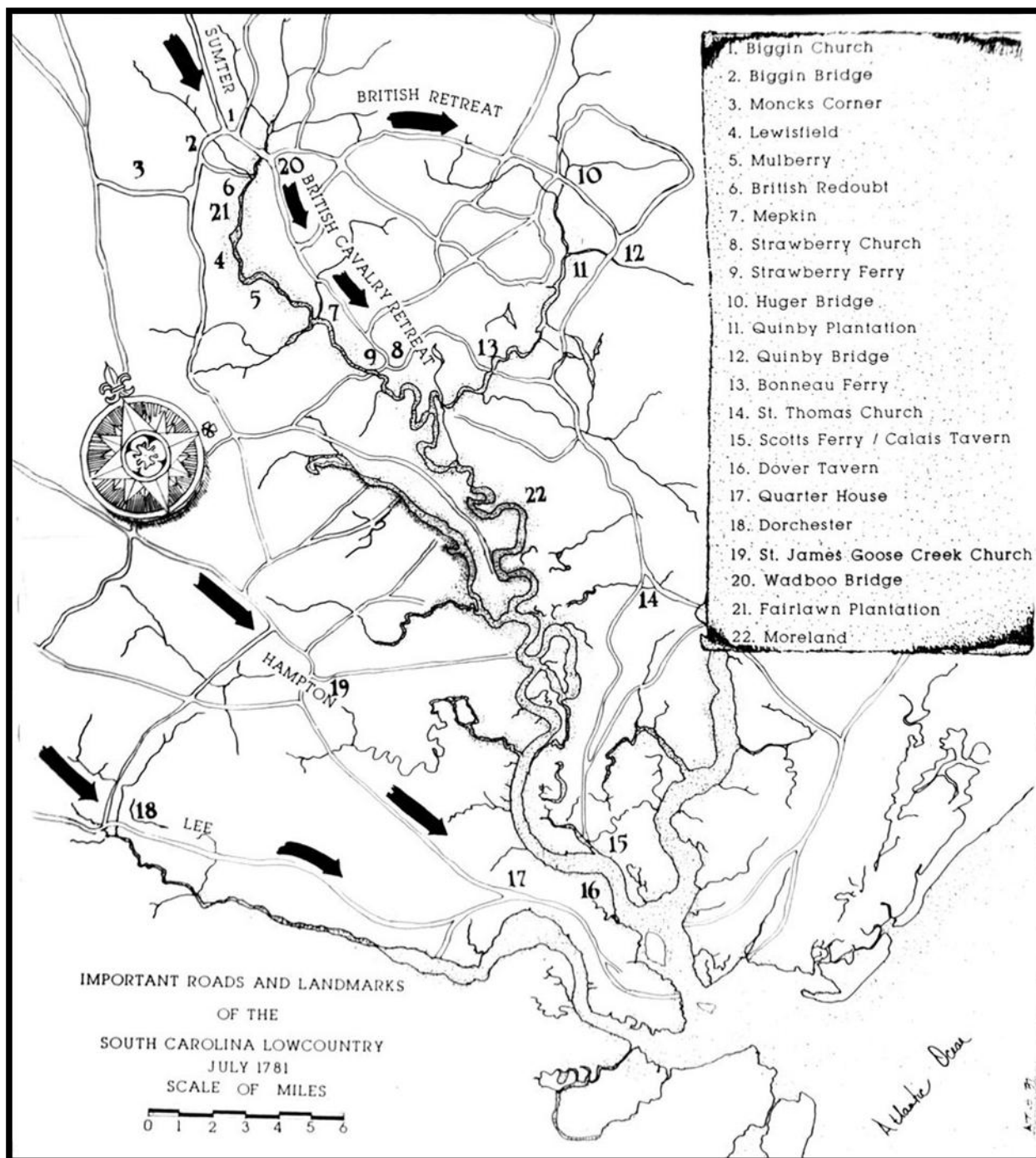


Figure 24: Troop movements - July 1781.

Also taken were between forty-nine and three hundred horses. In a move second guessed by virtually every writer on the subject, Lee sent these supplies on to Greene. Since the expedition failed in its ultimate goal, for a lack of ammunition, it is easy to point fingers at Lee. We should bear two important facts in mind. First, at the time there was little else that he could do, for accumulating bulky baggage would hinder any necessary rapid movements. Second, his orders were, apparently, to do just what he did. In a letter of the twenty-third, Sumter says to Greene in this regard, "Should be glad he

[Lee] was directed to send them on” because the greatest abuses have been perpetrated on the captured prosperity... I make not the least doubt but there is near as much lost as we have in our possession” (YBK II:47).

Johnson reported that Lee encountered no opposition at Dorchester. Lee said, “Major Frazer did not risk the relief of them [the convoy]” (GP 38:10), indicating that when he arrived in the area of Dorchester, he at least thought that the fort was occupied. In his letter to Greene, and in his memoirs, Lee reported no opposition and no prisoners taken. Major Thomas Fraser’s South Carolina Royalist Cavalry was reported to be in Moncks Corner on the fifteenth, and a reinforcement of one hundred men and a field piece was said to have arrived from Dorchester as well (GP 38:11). It may be that while Lee busied himself with his prize, the garrison of Dorchester moved to Moncks Corner. Johnson (1960:169) points to a reported mutiny that had occurred at Dorchester a week or so earlier (“there was a mutiny at Dorchester and Major Maham informs us there was 30 killed and 60 wounded” (GP 37:42) and suggests that the garrison ran away in fear and disarray. This may be true, but there is no evidence to confirm or deny it. They may simply have retreated to Charleston before Lee’s superior force, or joined Coates’ force in Moncks Corner, or a combination of the two.

What, exactly, Lee did after he captured the stores at Wrights plantation is hard to say. He was supposed to make a junction with Wade Hampton at Goose Creek after investing Dorchester, but as Sumter put it, he [Hampton] was “altogether disappointed by Col. Lee” (GP 38:53). Sumter further said, “Col. Henry Hampton was to have fallen in the rear of Col. Lee after leaving a strong observation detachment at the Four Hole bridge; which party he posted & proceeded in quest of Col. Lee but not finding him he retreated to the Four Holes.”

So, it seems that on the fifteenth of July, Lee was nowhere to be found, engaged in mysterious activities upon which no light is shed by either Lee’s memoirs or the documents examined in this study.

The next day (the sixteenth) Lee “pushed below the Quarter House (near present day Dorchester Road at Rivers Avenue) in the neck, from the confidence that in a place so near Charleston an advantageous stroke might be made. But it so happened that on that day none of the usual visits to the Quarter House took place, nor was even a solitary officer picked up in their customary morning rides” (Lee 1822:387).

There is little wonder in this for Hampton had attacked the post the day before! This brings up a point deserving of a slight digression that illustrates a major problem that one faces when doing historical research. The quote above comes from Lee’s memoirs, written in the early nineteenth century. One would expect that Lee knew exactly what had transpired and why he found no opposition. However, the accuracy of Lee’s facts, especially when they made the subject appear less exalted, were not a major concern. Thus, we have Lee’s memoirs making him look as if he almost single handedly won the Revolution in the South. William Johnson in his “Life of Greene” criticized Lee and pointed out

the numerous errors and glaring omissions in his memoirs. Taking the offensive, Henry Lee published a rebuttal to Johnson (Lee 1975). Because of Lee’s openly expressed contempt for the South Carolina Militia, virtually every South Carolina historian downplays Lee’s contribution in a show of partisan defensiveness. And so it goes, with each historian having his personal favorites and least favorites: this type of writing, in other words, was not restricted to Lee and Johnson. The British generals, Clinton and Cornwallis, carried on a running battle of blame-placing for years after the war and published thousands of pages of “proof” for their respective points. While reading historical documents we need to bear in mind that even the accounts presented by people who were present at an event are colored by their personalities (egos), experiences, and biases, and seek to avoid including such biases in our own work or allowing them to color our interpretations. If this research has shown us anything, it is that we need to approach the documents with a critical eye. We need also to bear in mind that colored interpretations are not strictly the provenience of people writing long ago: our experiences affect the way that we see things just as theirs did.

That digression, while making the author feel better, does nothing to explain where Lee spent the remainder of July 15, or why he failed to meet Hampton at Goose Creek as planned. Wade Hampton and his troops had taken the easterly route to Goose Creek, where they waited to hear from Lee. Growing impatient and perhaps apprehensive, Hampton “surrounded the [St. James Goose Creek] Church, took all the horses of the congregation, & paroled the men attending the divine service” (CL 165:19) He then proceeded toward Charleston without Lee. Arriving at the Quarter House, Hampton’s troops, under a Captain Read, attacked “some British Dragoons [British accounts say that they were South Carolina Loyalists] drawn up at the Quarter House; upon which he made so spirited a charge as broke them; & being followed by the main body, they killed, wounded and took the whole, saving two” (GP 38:53) with the loss of only one man, Capt. John Wright of Wassamassaw. “This business was done about one or two in the open day, and their impudence led them to very near Shulbricks, only three miles from town,” writes Jeremiah Savage, a Charleston Loyalist (CL 165:19). Johnson states that when the news of this attack reached the city, “a scene of greater alarm and confusion has seldom been exhibited. The bells rung, the alarm guns were fired, and the whole city was under arms” (Johnson 1960:168). But Hampton did not press on, “Having captured at the Quarter House twenty odd British, a number of horses, & some waggons, he [Hampton] thought it most prudent to come off” (GP 38:53).

Now it is Hampton’s turn to disappear for a day, for the next time we hear from him he is meeting up with Sumter late in the day on the sixteenth. Sometime between one or two o’clock on the fifteenth and the afternoon of the sixteenth Hampton’s troops “burnt two schooners, one loaded with indigo, & took thirty odd prisoners at the Strawberry” (GP 38:53). This communication is cryptic, for there is no further explanation or mention of the burning of the schooners or the taking of the prisoners.

It is this period that is of the most importance to us involved with the Two Cannon Wreck project because this is the most obvious time during the Dog Days foray for any action to have occurred at Lewisfield. In the best of situations, we would have a document that specifically stated what happened.

Unfortunately, the report mentioned above is the most detailed account yet uncovered. This report can be read two ways: we can say that the clauses of the sentence should stand separately or that the sentence should be assumed to stand as a whole. If we choose the first, then we can say that what Sumter meant was that Hampton sunk two vessels at one place and captured thirty odd prisoners at another--Strawberry Ferry. If we choose the second, which is how the sentence seems to read, then in the absence of stronger punctuation than a comma, we must say that he meant that Hampton sunk two vessels and took thirty odd prisoners at Strawberry.

On the other hand, we have a very questionable “Reminiscence” published seventy years after the fact that indicates that the two vessels were sunk at Lewisfield, not Strawberry. This reminiscence, discussed separately below, fails to jibe on enough counts to discount it, except for the fact that we have recovered archaeological data that suggests that there is, at least, some truth to it.

The available British accounts of the foray add nothing but confusion to the matter. David Bell, a captain in the British Nineteenth Regiment (see Force Ms. 7C, #51, VI), fails to mention the Lewisfield affair at all, which leads us to believe that whoever was in charge of the vessels, and whoever the troops were that were captured, were probably not from the Nineteenth Regiment. More likely they were from the garrison force at Charleston. Jeremiah Savage, a Charleston Loyalist, states in a letter on July 18, “I am told one hundred sick who were on board schooners at the landing of Moncks Corner with an armed vessel were taken--all the small craft burned and the men carried off” (CL 165:19). My feeling on this matter is that Savage is describing the destruction of two vessels at Wadboo bridge on the sixteenth. (“About two hundred of us destroy Bigham Bridge and two schooners at the bridge” (Samuel Mathis’ diary in Kirkland and Kennedy 1968:403). I have no idea where the factual basis may lie (i.e., what his sources of information were) for Savages’ belief that a hundred sick prisoners were taken. This is mentioned in none of the American accounts of the foray--and a prisoner is a prisoner, sick or not, they all count. Nor is it mentioned in Loyalist newspaper reports of the action. Therefore, it seems likely that this is erroneous hearsay, for after all he does say “... I am told...” not “I was there and I saw...”

That at least some British convalescents came under American control is clear however, because a note from Col. James Coates, commander of the Nineteenth Regiment to “Any American Officer” reads: “finding myself under the necessity of leaving several sick and convalescents behind me __ request that any American officers hands that they may fall into will consider them in that light, treat them with humanity and let them be sent on that and come to Charlestown...” (GP 38:18).

Coates mentions only “several,” which does not seem to be a likely hundred, and besides, this note was left behind with the sick men. It seems that if he had gone to the trouble to load them on a boat (as Savage’s report reads), he would have sent the boat downstream instead of leaving it to be captured. Added to the above, Sumter fails to mention that these sick were present when he came upon the scene at Biggin church after Coates’ retreat so their number was doubtlessly inconsiderable.

While Lee and Hampton were attacking the lower posts and cutting off the lines of communication with Charleston, Sumter was moving with the main body of his force toward Moncks Corner. On July 15, he wrote from his camp at "Rocks" (there is a plantation by that name about fifteen miles northwest of Moncks Corner [Irving/Stoney 1969:inside cover map]) that he had "received accounts that the enemy were at Murrays Ferry, in consequence of which I detached three hundred this morning" (GP 38:11). This report proved to be erroneous, and the detachment of yet another large portion of his force weakened Sumter's command so that he had no other choice but to wait for Lee and Hampton to join him before attacking the garrison at Moncks Corner (McCrady 1902:330). This gave the troops at Moncks Corner a bit of breathing space, time to get reinforcements, and a chance to formulate a plan for retreating before what they thought to be the vanguard of Greene's army (Johnson 1960:169). Sumter camped within striking distance of Moncks Corner on the fifteenth and sent out "a strong party of observation ... to obtain a more accurate account of their position strength & c. Also to destroy Wadpoo bridges & force a picquett they had there at" (GP38:26). This force, under Colonels Horry Maham, of Francis Marion's brigade, partially destroyed the bridge and burned two vessels tied up nearby before it was attacked by a charge of the South Carolina Loyalist cavalry under Major Thomas Fraser. The Americans repelled the attack and sent Fraser's force packing. They started once again to destroy the bridge but a renewed attack by a larger detachment forced them to fall back to the American lines with the job left undone.

At this point Sumter thought that the British were marching out to do battle and fell back to a piece of high ground to receive their attack, but, as Johnson put it, their purpose "was only to wear out the day in amusing him" (Johnson 1960:170). When darkness fell, the British piled their supplies and baggage in Biggin Church, set fire to them, and marched off into the night, apparently repairing the partially destroyed bridge and then tearing it up after they crossed. Their escape wasn't discovered until about three a.m., because the American party (from Marion's brigade) left at Wadboo bridge had apparently deserted their post. It wasn't until the conflagration at the church had broken through the roof and become visible at Sumter's camp three miles away that there was any inkling that anything was amiss. Sumter wrote from the scene "I arrived here this morning at four o'clock and found this post evacuated. The church, stores and c. burnt Have not been able to ascertain or even gain the least knowledge of their route" (GP 38:26).

Sumter sent out scouts to determine their route, and soon it was discovered that they were heading for Scotts Ferry near Charleston. At a fork in the road the Loyalist cavalry split off from the main force and headed for Strawberry Ferry with Wade Hampton's cavalry in pursuit. By the time Hampton's troops arrived at the ferry the Loyalists were safely across the Cooper River. In the meantime, Lee's legion was pursuing the main body, the rear guard of which they caught near Quinby bridge.

As Captain David Bell of the Nineteenth put it: "Colin Campbell with part of the rear guard, sick, stragglers and c. were taken prisoners within three hundred yards of the regiment...there was upwards of sixty of them" (Force Ms. 7C #51, VI). Lee put their number at about one hundred (Lee 1975:389). Having been informed that Quinby bridge was at least three miles away, Lee hesitated in order to

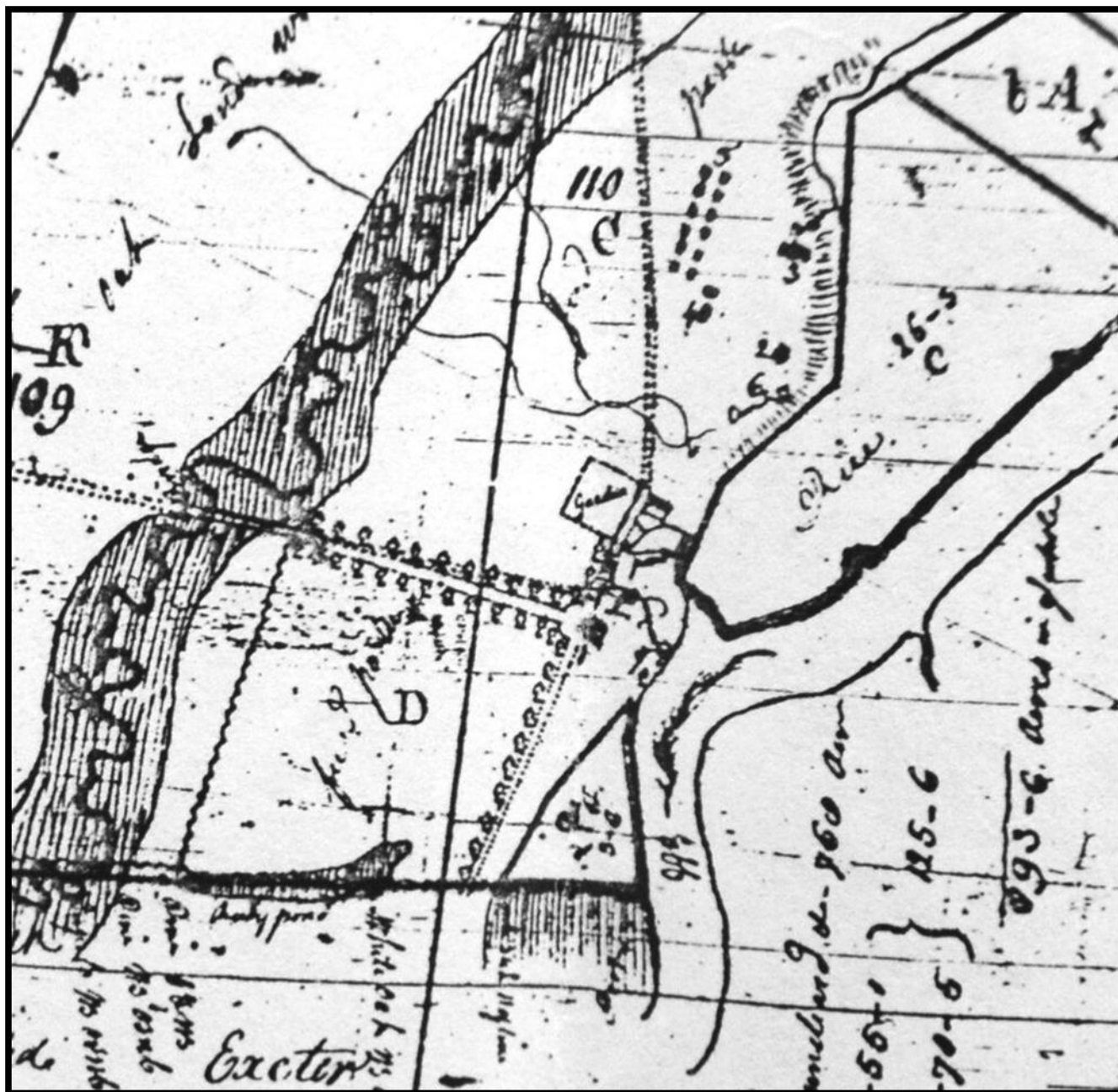


Figure 25: Lewisfield Plat - detail of settlement and dock area.

thought ourselves safe, and took a little rest, but about nine o'clock a party of rebels galloped over the bridge in the face of our field piece; rode through the regiment and wounded two men: it was the most daring thing I ever heard of” (Force Ms. 7C #51, VI).

What had happened was that Lee had been misinformed about the distance to the bridge. Instead of being three miles away he was less than a mile away. When Captain Armstrong suddenly came up on the enemy force milling around on the causeway beyond the bridge he sent a man back to tell Lee and ask for instructions. Somehow the intelligence that the enemy was on the opposite side of the creek was not transmitted, and Lee “warmly reminded him of the order of the day, which was to fall on the foe without respect to consequences. Stung, with this answer, the brave Armstrong put spur to his horse ... and threw himself over the bridge upon the guard stationed there with a howitzer. So sudden was his charge that he drove all before him.” (Lee 1975:390).

Armstrong’s charge sent some of the loosened bridge planks into the water, leaving a gap. A second squad under Lieutenant Carrington was able to make the leap, upsetting more planking. A third squad under Captain James Macauley of Francis Marion’s brigade leapt the gap also, but in doing so they left an impassable chasm and found themselves stranded on the wrong side of the creek. After the initial confusion of the attack, the British began to regroup, and the Americans were forced to take to the woods to make their escape. Lee says, “Both officers were unhurt, only one horse killed and one wounded, but some few of the bravest dragoons were killed and more wounded” (Lee 1975:392). Sumter reported two killed in the action but does not mention any wounded--probably because Lee left without telling him the next morning, thus if any wounded had died he wouldn’t have known about it (GP 38:53).

Lee sent word back to Francis Marion of the bridge’s destruction, and both sought a ford upstream until the bridge could be repaired. In the meantime, the British took post in the house and grounds of Shubrick’s plantation--now known as Quinby Plantation. Bell said, “We saw them [the Americans] during the day make disposition to attack us: on our part you may suppose we were not idle in preparing to defend” (Force Ms. 7C #51, VI). The British posted themselves in the brick plantation house and in a row of slave houses “with clay walls which was very difficult to penetrate” (GP 38:21). The position that they chose was simply too strong to take without artillery, but having left his artillery behind, Sumter was forced to make the attempt without it, for to wait even a few hours could have been a fatal mistake, with the likelihood of the British receiving reinforcements by land or water from Charleston at any time.

The attack began at about four in the afternoon, with Sumter’s men in the center under cover of some outbuildings and slave houses. Marion’s brigade, down to about one hundred men because of desertion (GP 38:26), was split into two divisions and took the right. Col. Thomas Taylor’s troops took the left. The main body of Sumter’s force was in the center. Since the enemy was in a well-covered position that rendered the American cavalry useless, Lee and Hampton’s troops were held in the rear. “The firing kept up for about forty minutes,” said Bell. “I never saw more regular firing at a field day”

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(Force Ms. 7C #51, VI). He continued, “not a man left the field till their ammunition was entirely exhausted” (GP 38:26). “The firing was close and warm, and the militia and state troops behaved with a degree of gallantry which would have done honor to veterans” (GP 39:6). “Our [American] loss was inconsiderable tho the troops were much exposed. The reason was the enemy were all raw Irishmen and knew little or nothing about firing” (GP 38:49).

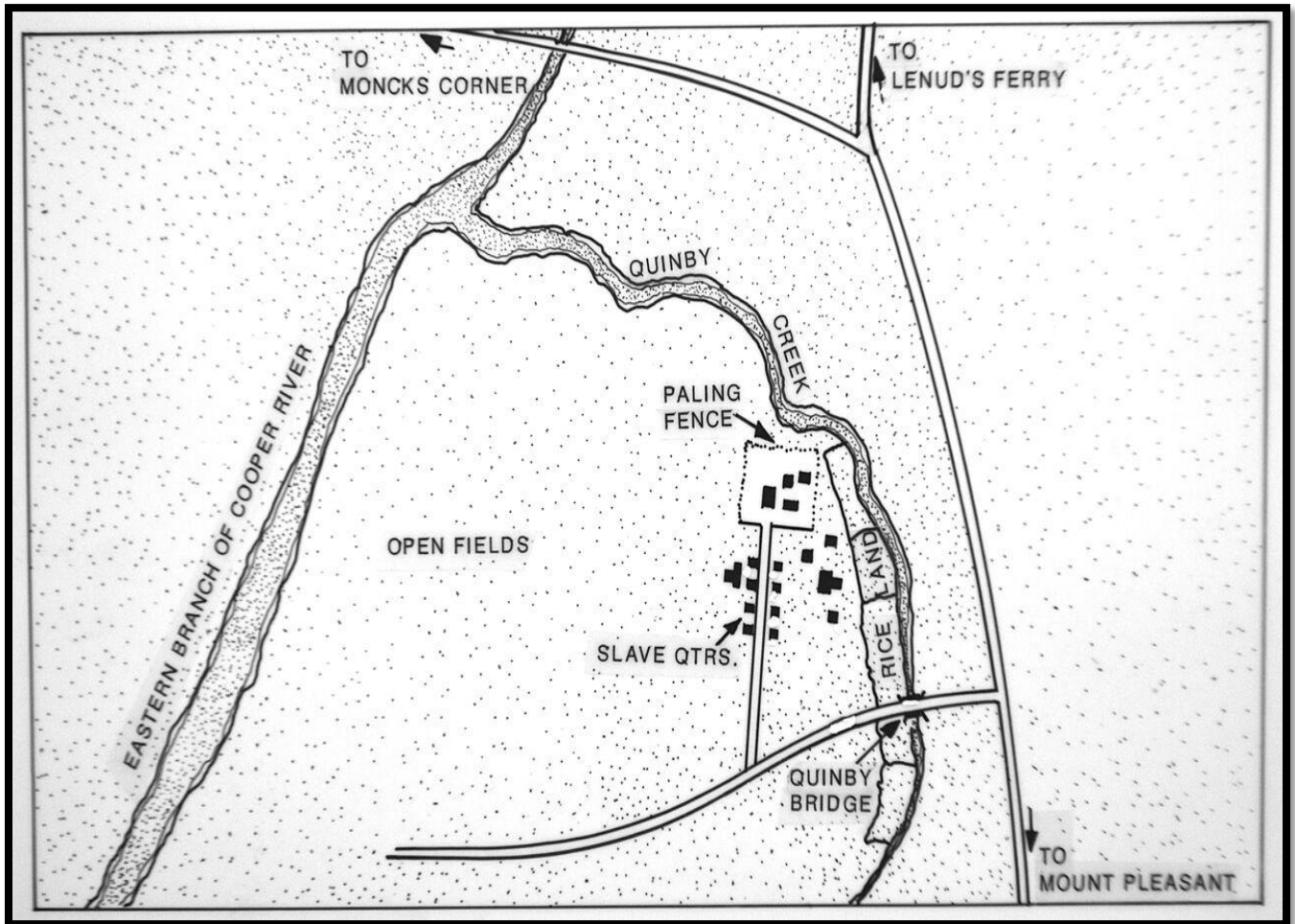


Figure 26: Quinby settlement (copied from land plat).

Wallace places the American losses at about sixty killed and wounded (Wallace 1934:282), which is probably accurate. American reports of the British losses in this battle are high: Sumter states that the British had seventy killed (YBK II:48), but David Bell puts the number at six killed and thirty-four wounded, although he states that four more subsequently died, bringing the total to ten (Force Ms. 7C #51, VI). Since Bell was in the British camp and Sumter was not, we must assume that his report is more accurate. The *Charleston Royal Gazette* reports the same number of killed and wounded.

Marion's men, and indeed, some of Sumter's troops (especially those under Col. Taylor), feeling that they had been exposed unnecessarily in a futile effort, left in the night. Lee's legion decamped and

headed off to the High Hills of the Santee and Greene’s camp without informing Sumter. His force anemic, British reinforcements on the way, and being out of ammunition, Sumter was forced to retire as well with his job only partially done. As Greene put it:” On the whole the affair was clever but far short of what it could have been” (GP 39:6).

THE ACTION AT LEWISFIELD

The historical marker shown on the right is on state highway 762 at the entrance to Lewisfield Plantation. This inscription is based on a passage in a book called *A Day on Cooper River*. The book consists of a series of articles by Dr. Robert Irving about an excursion up the Cooper River on a new steam packet. The book was serialized in the *Charleston Courier* in 1842. The book edition was “enlarged and edited” by Louisa Cheves Stoney during the 1920s, and copyrighted and published in 1932, and then reprinted in 1969. The point that many readers of this book have missed is that when Louisa Cheves Stoney enlarged and edited it, she enlarged it substantially. The recounting of the Lewisfield action is in the middle of an eighteen-page digression added by Mrs. Stoney. The story, in other words, does not come from Irving at all.

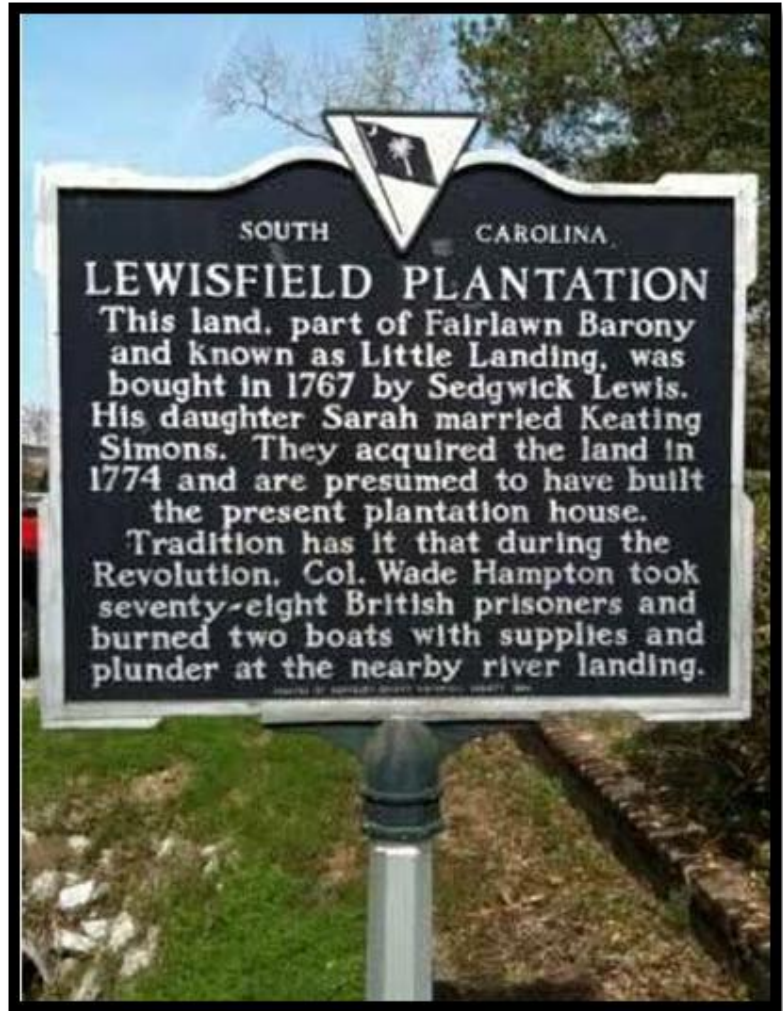


Figure 27: Lewisfield Historical Marker.

The first step in investigating this case was to find out where, in fact, the story came from. In her editor’s note, Mrs. Stoney says that she consulted a number of individuals for background information that could be “learned nowhere else.” She continues, “For books consulted: McCrady, Johnson, Dalcho, Ramsey, Fraser” (Irving/Stoney 1969:IV,V). Research into these author’s works reveals the same story almost word for word in Joseph Johnson’s *Traditions and Reminiscences of the American Revolution in the South*. In his 1851 edition Johnson, while discussing the Simons family, relates the following: “Mr. Simons remained on parole at Lewisfield, waiting to be exchanged, until the middle of

July 1781. At this time General Greene sent his cavalry down into the lower part of the state, even within sight of Charleston.”

As Johnson tells the story:

Colonel Wade Hampton took the Dorchester road across to Goose Creek bridge, that he might rejoin Sumter at Biggin. They came, about breakfast time the next morning, near the avenue to Lewisfield, and Hampton, as if to procure something ready cooked, proposed that he should turn in, to obtain from his friend, Simons, some refreshments, while the rest of his detachment were riding slowly forward. This was his ostensible object. but, in fact, it was to see his “lady love.” He was, at that time, courting Mr. Simons’ youngest sister, who was living with him. “Love rules the court, the camp, the cot,” and “love directed,” Hampton came up while a party of British, from two vessels at the landing, were plundering everything on the plantation, that they could lay their hands on. He had sent his bugler ahead of him as a look-out, and Mr. Simons seeing him gave him notice of his danger, by waving his hat to turn him back. Hampton saw the signal, knew there was something on foot, and would not be put off, without ascertaining the particulars. He galloped up to the house, received an anxious smile from the lady, and information from his friend that eighty or one hundred Englishmen were on shore, and their two vessels were fast aground. This was excellent. Hampton thought no more of his breakfast, but galloped back to the main road, vaulted upright on his saddle--being an elegant horseman and a very active man--waved his sword over his head, and shouted for his command to return. All this was in sight of the family.* [the asterisk indicates the following footnote: *He was in the habit of galloping his horse and at this speed would stoop from his saddle and pick up from the ground his cap, sword, whip or glove. This lady, in telling of the adventure, suppressed the name of the commander, and made no allusion to her having been the source of his success. She died on the 10th April, 1848, aged eighty eight years and eight months.] In a few minutes they cantered up the avenue, captured seventy-eight prisoners, burnt two vessels, and saved the property, which would otherwise have been carried off. Some of the British party escaped in their boats, down river to Charleston, and told their story, so as to throw on Mr. Simons a suspicion that he had been accessory to the surprise and capture. An expedition of Black Dragoons was immediately sent out with orders to bring him in, dead or alive, but he did not await their arrival.

Mr. Simons reflected that the burning at his landing of the sloop and schooner was a glaring circumstance against him and that the refreshments and congratulations so cordially welcomed and reciprocated at Lewisfield would be embellished in the details by the prisoners on parole. He therefore left his home early in the evening of that day, broke his parole, joined General Marion, and with him took a large share of the fighting at Shubrick’s house, [Quinby] a day or two after. It was well for him that he retired in time; about a day after his departure, a company of black dragoons surrounded his house, thundered at the door for admittance, and demanded that Keating Simons should come out. They were assured that he had left the plantation the day before, but they were not satisfied and

insisted on searching his premises. When they had searched the plantation, and were assured of his absence, one of the family inquired what they would have done if they had found him, and received a prompt answer, “We would have spilled his hearts blood” (Johnson 1972).

This is a fine story, but research into the documents of the period, both British and American, fails to substantiate it. In fact, if this story was true this battle would have been the most important action of the entire Dog Days foray. In a letter to Col. Wm. Henderson dated July 22, 1781, Nathanael Greene says: “In our late operations below near Charlestown we took near one hundred and fifty prisoners killed and wounded near one hundred more and burnt and destroyed a great quantity of stores for the use of the British army. The stores were at Monks Corner and on board four vessels coming up the river.” In letters to the President of The Continental Congress, Gen. Lafayette, the Governor of North Carolina, and others, Greene reports, with minor variations, the same take. Thus we can see that an action in which seventy-eight prisoners were captured and two boats burned would definitely have been worthy of mention.

A closer look at the passage reveals several important points and some inconsistencies. Let us consider several segments of the passage.

First: “Mr. Simons remained on parole.” Although it is accepted as fact by Simms, James, McCrady, Ramsay, et al. that Keating Simons served under Francis Marion, the records of the Continental Army at National Archives don’t list a Keating Simons. Neither he nor his widow ever applied for a pension or any form of compensation. Considering the unchallenged general agreement among South Carolina historians on his service (including some who were his contemporaries) we must assume that he served in the militia only (that is, not in the Continental establishment), possibly in an unofficial capacity, without pay. No parole records mentioning Mr. Simons have been located, so we can’t say whether this aspect of the story is true or not at this time. Keating Simons “joined General Marion and with him took a large share of the fighting at Shubricks House” [The Battle of Quinby Bridge]. As stated above there is no evidence to corroborate this. Although Simons probably did serve in the militia, there is no mention of him taking part in the action at Quinby in either Sumter or Marion’s accounts of the battle.

Second: “They came about breakfast time the next morning.” It is difficult to get a good feel of the exact movements of Hampton’s command during the foray because there is no detailed report of his activities extant. On July 15, a Sunday, Hampton’s troops captured the congregation of Goose Creek church, and waited for there to rendezvous with Col. Henry Lee before heading on to Charleston without them. There they attacked the Quarter House (on the Charleston neck near present day Dorchester Road) took several prisoners and horses, and apparently had a nice lunch (“After lying there about two hours and regaling themselves with better fare than they have been accustomed to, the whole party decamped” (*Charleston Royal Gazette*, July 18, 1781). “This business was done about one or two in the open day” (CL 165:19). Thomas Sumter’s July 22 report of the action states “some of Col. Hampton’s party proceeded down within two miles of town; but the detention he had met with at

Goose Creek Bridge apprised the enemy of his approach. The alarm being fired in town and having captured at the Quarter House twenty odd British; a number of horses, and some waggons; he thought it most prudent to come off; he also burnt two schooners, one loaded with indigo, and took thirty odd prisoners at the Strawberry” (GP 38:53). If he did all of this in one day it is possible that he could have stopped to rest at or near Strawberry on the night of the fifteenth, and thus could easily have stopped off at Lewisfield early the next morning for breakfast.

It could also be that the business reported to have happened at Strawberry in fact occurred at Lewisfield. It is difficult to imagine such a mistake in geography being made by military men in a time when ferries were practically the only way for a large group to cross the river between Moncks Corner and Charleston, and Strawberry was the only ferry for miles either way. Since Hampton’s troops chased the Loyalist cavalry down the road to Strawberry Ferry (on the other side of the river) on the seventeenth, such a mistake seems doubly unlikely.

It seems clear that Sumter, Hampton, and all concerned would have been perfectly aware of where Strawberry was. Another possibility comes to mind if we take Sumter’s report apart: it may be that when he says, “He also burnt two schooners, one loaded with indigo” he is describing one action and when he says “and took thirty prisoners at Strawberry” he is referring to a second action. Either way this conflicts with Johnson’s account. If the schooners and prisoners were taken at the same time, then we are about fifty prisoners short. If they are separate actions, then things are even more confused. It seems entirely possible that Sumter made a mistake in his official report that was copied verbatim by Greene and others, and never rectified. Subsequent historians accepted this report, and the truth has not come to light until now.

Third: “it was to see his lady love.” Wade Hampton married Martha Epps Howell between April of 1782 and January of 1783. She died in 1784 and he remarried in 1786. His second wife also died, and he married again in 1801. (Meynard 1981:75). This does not, I suppose, mean that he didn’t “court” Molsie Simons, but for whatever reason nothing marital ever came of it.

Fourth: “A party of British, from two vessels at the landing, were plundering everything on the plantation, that they could lay their hands on.” It is difficult to understand why the British would have waited so long to “plunder” Lewisfield since by July of 1781 they had already been in possession of the area for about seven months. Armies, at that time, “lived off the land,” and it may well be that there was a British party at Lewisfield collecting, say, forage for their horses, or food for their soldiers. Since the inhabitants of the countryside were considered to be under the protection of the King, it is unlikely that they were “plundering everything on the plantation,” Rather, this is likely to be an exaggeration. If the British wanted the valuables from the plantation, they could certainly have returned the following day and taken them, but there is no mention of their doing so.

Fifth: “their two vessels fast aground.” This suggests that the British party couldn’t escape if they wanted to, since their ships were stranded. The bottom and shore may have been vastly different at that

time, but today there would be no problem because the bottom drops off quickly to a depth of fifteen to twenty feet. It also seems likely that there would have been a dock on the site to facilitate loading and unloading plantation produce as well as passengers, a likelihood corroborated by postholes in the marl and a large cut in the bank of the river adjacent to the wrecks. In short, there seems to be little reason to suppose that the ships were actually grounded. Perhaps, this aspect of the story was added for dramatic effect.

Sixth: “captured seventy-eight prisoners.” As stated earlier, there is absolutely no evidence to corroborate this aspect of the story. If seventy-eight prisoners had been taken, it would have been the largest number of captives taken in any single engagement of the foray and thus well worthy of mention. Since it wasn’t mentioned, we must assume that this aspect of the story is erroneous. Thirty or so men would seem like a more likely complement for a foraging party in two boats.

Seventh: “burnt the two vessels.” There is certainly a burnt vessel at the site, with British Revolutionary-War-period military artifacts in close association. A second burnt vessel of the same period was found a few hundred yards downstream, but we have not yet been able to determine whether there are any military artifacts associated with it.

Eighth: “An expedition of Black Dragoons was immediately sent out.” This is a very interesting point because a corps of black troops that included both pioneers (guides), and mounted troops did, in fact, exist. This reminiscence contains the lengthiest discussion of them that we have found in the secondary literature. They are mentioned in passing a few times, and Johnson mentions them briefly (Johnson 1960: 472,473), but even the more comprehensive sources on Loyalists--Sabine 1847 and Moore 1984, for instance--fail to even mention them.

The present investigation has uncovered two documents in the Clinton Papers pertaining to these troops. The first is a “list of the names of the negroes belonging to Capt. Martin’s company, whom they belonged to, and the respective places they lived at” (Cl 233:43), which includes the names of fifty-four black pioneers and notes on the parts of the country that each knew. For example, Jno. Britain of Charleston, formerly owned by Jno. Snelling, “knows the back roads as high as Goose Creek.” A second item, a deposition of sorts, relates the story of Murphy Steele, who was apparently visited by God on two occasions. God told Steele to tell General Clinton to warn George Washington that if he did not “surrender himself and his troops to the King’s Army ... the wrath of God would fall upon them.” (Cl 170:27).

The Tottenham-Young Loyalist Research Collection at the William L. Clements library contains some thirty cards on the Black Pioneers. These cards contain little or no detail--rather they refer the researcher to documents that, unfortunately, are not available in South Carolina, so any detailed research on this subject will have to be done at a later date. The Tottenham-Young collection, consisting of hand written, abbreviated note cards, is confusing and incomplete but when combined with the documents in the Clinton Papers the following is indicated: A corps of Black Pioneers was in

existence as early as April of 1777 under the command of Captain George Martin. Where this command was serving at that time is indeterminate, although it doesn't seem likely that they would have been in South Carolina then, since South Carolina was in American hands. Murphy Steele's deposition is dated August 16, 1781, and Steele, a native of North Carolina, is listed as a member of Martin's company, which, according to Steele's deposition, was quartered on Water Street in Charleston. It may be that a corps of Black troops was active in the North at an earlier date and then was either transferred to South Carolina after its fall to form a nucleus for a Carolina corps, or Martin, an officer familiar with Black troops, was transferred to South Carolina to form such a corps. Martin's name was not found on Clinton's Army list, so the regiment to which the Black Pioneers were attached is not known. The Black Pioneers left South Carolina in 1782 when the British evacuated the state. Their destination was “the West Indies,” with St. Vincent being the only specific place mentioned (and then only in the context of an officer formerly attached to the corps having died there) in the Tottenham-Young collection. The Black Pioneers were still in existence as late as 1794 in the West Indies. A black Carolina corps was established in the West Indies in the 1790s that consisted of men “brought from North America to the West Indies,” the fate of which remains unknown at this point. It is hoped that further research will be conducted on the Black Pioneers to chronicle their experiences and fate.

Although their contribution to the war effort was probably not a major one, their existence must surely have had a large psychological impact. It is interesting to note that South Carolina historians and writers of the nineteenth century have glossed over the contribution of black troops in the South completely. The early-to-mid-nineteenth century was a time during which abolitionist sentiment and debate over slavery was rising. For instance, the famed debate between Robert Young Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster took place in 1829 (Freehling 1966:183), and the South very nearly left the Union in the 1830s (see Freehling 1966 for a book length discussion of the “Nullification Controversy”). Thus, even mentioning the existence of fighting blacks must have been seen in a negative light. This may have been an unconscious recognition that if slaves could fight both beside and against whites in time of war then they could also fight against them in a revolt. It would also bring up the unpleasant (to the whites) fact that blacks were as human as they were: a fact that would necessarily alter the conception of blacks as lower beings suitable for enslavement.

SYNTHESIS OF HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

We are faced with a paradoxical situation. Everyone who is familiar with this project knows that, based on what was written in “A Day on Cooper River,” Steve Thornhill, Don Ard, and Bobby Snowden, three Hobby divers, searched for and found a burned boat and two Revolutionary-War-period cannons exactly where they should be if the account is true. Excavations in the fall of 1986 revealed further evidence leading us to conclude that the wreck in question is quite definitely of the correct time period and contains artifacts of a purely military nature--blade type (English) gunflints, a cartridge box and musket balls in the caliber most commonly used by the British.

This is where the paradox comes in. As a historian relying strictly on the documentary evidence, I would be forced to conclude that this action most likely did not occur. As an archaeologist, relying on the material evidence, I must conclude that the action did, in fact, occur.

To rectify this paradox, we can perhaps compromise by saying that, considering the source, the action in question may not have occurred on the date reported, was not of the magnitude suggested, and may not even have involved the principals reported. Johnson’s facts, in other words, could be all wrong. Considering the tendency of nineteenth-century historical writers to romanticize the past, it is easy to accept this premise. Perhaps the best example of this type of romanticization is the fictionalized *The Life of General Francis Marion* by General Peter Horry and the Rev. Mason Locke Weems. In fairness to Horry he cannot be blamed for this. It is based on his remembrances and notes, but he bitterly protested the book when it was published. Although W. D. James’ *Life of Marion* is based on his personal experiences in Marion’s brigade and is generally accepted as fact, Robert Bass, twentieth-century biographer of Francis Marion, states that when compared to the primary documents of the Revolution, James’ and Weems’ biographies have about equal validity (Bass 1959:247).

A second point to remember is that Johnson, in his footnotes, states that the lady in question was apparently in her eighties when she told him this tale. She may not have lied or exaggerated on purpose. She may well have thought that this is precisely what happened. The fault here lies with Johnson for not verifying the particulars of the story, or perhaps for fictionalizing the story and presenting it as fact.

A more likely scenario is that perhaps a vessel or even two vessels were at Lewisfield loading supplies, but instead of there being seventy-eight troops on shore maybe there were only seven or eight. Or, it could be that Hampton reported to Sumter that on the way from Strawberry to Moncks Corner he had captured thirty prisoners and burnt their boats, which Sumter mistook for Hampton reporting that the action had occurred at Strawberry. So, the fault then, might lie with Sumter, a man more noted for his impetuousness than his attention to details. Or it could be a combination of the two. We could speculate forever without arriving at the truth of the matter. Clearly further research into archival documents is needed.

In the end we are left with the bare facts. The boat is there as reported. The historical documents neither conclusively confirm or deny the story, so based on the archaeological evidence, we must conclude that there is at least a germ of truth to Johnson’s account. Reality may diverge radically from the story, but until further evidence comes to light we must accept what we have.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the fall of 1986, the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology conducted test excavations on the Two Cannon Wreck site. Substantial archival research was done following the field work, and both are reported on here.

Above it was mentioned that certain objectives were implicit in both the historical and archaeological research. Our success (or the lack thereof) in attaining these goals will be discussed below.

Archaeological objectives

1. Construction: During the 1986 field season we uncovered about fifteen linear feet of the keelson of a burned vessel and exposed twenty-four futtocks. A mast step was discovered about seven feet from the end of the keelson (bow end?) which tentatively suggests the sail plan. A bilge pump tube made from a pine log indicates that the vessel was decked. The length of the vessel is not known, and the conditions in the final square (twenty-one) to be excavated will not allow us to make even a good guess. The width of the vessel is, based on the distance between the center of the keelson and the farthest removed futtock, a minimum of ten feet. The wood from which the vessel was constructed appears to be pine and oak, both of which are locally available.

2. Function: Military goods found on board and burnt artifacts from the second half of the eighteenth century suggest an appropriate functional and temporal affiliation for the vessel to be the one discussed by Johnson (1972) and Irving/Stoney (1969). Diagnostic artifacts, in general, were fairly scarce at the level of the wreck, and it cannot be said that anything clearly identifiable as “loot” was recovered. Parts of a barrel and a box were found, and a lump of what is tentatively identified as indigo was also recovered. One could construe these as pilfered goods, if one so desired. The barrel could have been used to hold rum or wine, the box could have been loaded with valuables, and indigo would certainly be a salable commodity, but one could easily contend that almost any vessel on the river in the first three quarters or so of the eighteenth century could have been carrying the same items, so the presence of these things alone does not settle the issue. The general dearth of diagnostic artifacts on the wreck itself makes it difficult to clearly state a function for the vessel, but the presence of military goods in direct association with the vessel will allow us to say that it was probably on a military mission. Our historical research indicates that the British military used vessels of various types (Sayen 1987) on the Cooper River to gather and transport supplies more than troops (for instance when Colonel Gould came to the aid of Colonel Coates his troops marched), so it may be true (as stated in Johnson) that the vessel was involved in a foraging expedition. Whether these troops were stealing everything that wasn't nailed down, as Johnson suggests, or not is a different matter. Doubtlessly such an observation is a subjective one. What the British viewed as reasonable requisitioning, the people whose goods were being requisitioned probably viewed as theft or, at best, extortion. All the above notwithstanding, we must consider it likely that the vessel was unloaded before it was burned, and that this question can probably not be settled with archaeological evidence.

3. Plantation: The third objective has not been clearly obtained. An off-wreck test was dug, but not screened, and thus the unit is not comparable to the on-wreck units. The artifacts recovered from the screened units were overwhelmingly related to the plantation occupation at Lewisfield and suggest a great potential for the investigation of the underwater components of plantation sites. The horizontal and vertical integrity of off-shore deposits, and underwater site formational processes in general, are very poorly understood at this point. However, the data collected here leads us to believe that the underwater landscape may well be as structured as the above water landscape and that meaningful data beyond the realm of material culture alone may be obtainable.

4. Methods and Equipment: The equipment used at the Two Cannon Wreck functioned in an acceptable manner, for the most part. From an archaeological perspective, the airlift, screen boat, rigid grid and the KMB-10/Helle systems were invaluable pieces of equipment. Working from the pontoon boats was inconvenient, cramped, and neither time nor energy efficient. A large stationary platform that will remain in place, precluding the exhausting and time wasting twice daily loading/launching process is clearly called for.

The search for effective ways of dealing with the problems inherent in underwater excavations, especially in low visibility conditions, is an ongoing task. The use of the underwater communications system and rigid grid are considered a great step forward for South Carolina underwater archaeology. These have allowed for a well-documented excavation and a basis for replicability in the future.

Two related areas of the methodology clearly need attention. Better excavation control must be used in the future for the results to be meaningful. First, levels, even if they are gross (say two-foot levels for instance) and arbitrary, must be used. The lack of stratigraphic control makes statements about association suspect unless the artifact was mapped in place. Considering the amount of slumping we faced even those artifacts are questionable unless they were excavated when the unit was open for the first time (before soil from adjacent units had a chance to slump in). So, we can also say that slumping must be controlled, because the introduction of unscreened soils into an open unit throws the findings into question as well. The only choice that we have had here in artifact interpretation is to treat the artifacts as if they came from a single mixed level--like a plow zone. In short, we are forced to pick and choose the artifacts that we want to consider related to the vessel and the plantation. Obviously, we could, if we wished, contrive our criteria to ensure that what we “found” was exactly what we expected and wanted to find. Instead, we have attempted to err on the side of caution, choosing only artifacts that were mapped in place or burnt to relate to the vessel. Despite this caution there remains a nagging element of doubt when considering material excavated in so poorly controlled a manner. It is clear that in the future we need to deal with these problems before the data recovered can be considered unquestionable.

5. Historical Research: The historical research conducted during this phase of work at the Two Cannon Wreck was done with one main objective in mind: to document the action at Lewisfield. Since it seemed obvious from the outset that such documentation might not be found, the research was done

with some secondary objectives in mind that might help us to interpret the archaeological record. These were: (1) to compile all available information on the raid, (2) to gather all pertinent information on the British troops in South Carolina at the time, both to suggest who (on both a regimental and individual level) may have been involved in the action, (3) to guide future research on British sources, (4) to do the same for American troops, (5) to find out as much as possible on black Loyalist troops, and (6) to add new information to the pool of information on the Revolution in South Carolina in any way possible.

We were unable to find documentary evidence of the occurrence of this action. The documents examined clearly demonstrate that the action could not have occurred as reported in Johnson (1972) and Stoney/Irving (1969) without being read into the official record, for it would have been the biggest victory of the Raid of the Dog Days and surely would have been mentioned. Enough ambiguity exists in the written record to allow us to say that it is possible that an unreported action could have occurred; a contention that is supported by the archaeological data. Thus, it is quite likely that an action did occur at Lewisfield, probably at the time of the Raid of the Dog Days, since our documentary research found no later or earlier mention of an action at Lewisfield, but that the details of the report were exaggerated when related some sixty years after the fact.

The secondary objectives of the research were to some degree attained. Our information on the Raid of the Dog Days is the most detailed and up to date available. We have collected all available troop lists from both sides to guide further research. We have found little information on black troops, but we believe that we have collected more data than was previously available on them in any one place, and this publication will mark the first published consideration of the role of these troops. Through the above and through the collection of additional documentary materials we have attained the final goal of the historical research.

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APPENDIX I: PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (HISTORIC FIGURES)

Bell, David John--A captain in the British Nineteenth Regiment from 1779. Bell wrote a letter describing the actions of the Nineteenth during the month of July 1781. This letter is signed DJB and addressed to “Charles.” Volume 273 of the Clinton papers, which is a Manuscript Army list compiled in 1781, shows only one captain in the Nineteenth with the initials DJB--David John Bell. Two Charles’ are listed, Captain Lieutenant Charles Masterton, and Lieutenant Charles McDonell.

Clinton, Sir Henry--Commander in chief of British forces in North America (see McCrady 1902 for further information).

Cornwallis, Earl--Commander of the Southern branch of the British Army (see McCrady 1902).

Coates, James--Colonel and commander of the Nineteenth regiment in South Carolina. Served in South Carolina from June 1781 to December 1782 (Katcher 1973:37) (see McCrady 1902).

Cruger, John Harris Lieutenant Colonel of the First DeLancey’s Regiment, a Loyalist Regiment raised in New York. Cruger was the officer in charge of the garrison at Ninety-six when it was besieged in 1781. Cruger is generally described as a well-respected and able man: a good administrator and military man (see McCrady 1902:280).

Fraser, Thomas--A major of the cavalry in the South Carolina Royalist regiment from 1780. Fraser was involved in several actions during the Revolution. His most notable action was, perhaps, the capture of Isaac Hayne. Fraser led the charge on Horry and Maham’s troops at Wadboo bridge during the Dog Days foray (Fraser is mentioned in any number of references including McCrady 1902, and Bass 1959).

Greene, Nathanael--Major General of the Continental Army in South Carolina after December of 1780. Numerous works discuss Greene in depth (see particularly McCrady 1902, Johnson 1824).

Hampton, Henry--Lt. Colonel in Thomas Sumter’s militia brigade, and brother of Wade Hampton. Henry Hampton was assigned to hold the Four Holes Bridge during the Dog Days foray.

Hampton, Wade--Lt. Colonel in Sumter’s Brigade. Wade Hampton is supposed to have sunk the Two Cannon Wreck during the Dog Days foray. Hampton went on to become a General in the War of 1812 and was the scion of the famous and powerful Hampton family of South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. (See Meynard 1981, and Bridwell 1980)

Horry, Peter--Lt. Colonel in Marion’s militia brigade, Horry was in charge of destroying the bridge at Wadboo during the Dog Days foray. Horry and Weems wrote a biography of Francis Marion (or actually Weems wrote a fictionalized biography of Marion based on Horry’s journals and memoirs). (see Bass 1959)

Lacey (or Lacy), Edward--Colonel in Sumter’s brigade. Lacey played a notable role in the Battle of Kings Mountain, Blackstocks and other upcountry actions. (See McCrady 1902)

Lee, Henry--“Light Horse Harry” Lee was a colonel in the Continental Army under Nathanael Greene. Lee was a cavalryman from Virginia and the father of Robert E. Lee. His memoirs are extensive, if flawed, and generally good reading (see Lee 1822, 1824, and McCrady 1902).

Maham, Hezekiah--Lt. Colonel in Marion’s brigade. Maham is best known for his idea of building a log tower that would enable the force besieging Fort Watson to fire into the fort, thus forcing the defenders to surrender (see Ferguson 1975).

Marion, Francis--General of the South Carolina militia in the Lowcountry. Several biographies have been written, including Bass' 1959 work. The nineteenth-century works, while not altogether accurate, make good reading.

Rawdon, Lord Francis--Commander of British forces in the interior of South Carolina, and Colonel of the Volunteers of Ireland, a Loyalist Brigade consisting of Irish immigrants. Rawdon was forced to leave the country late in the summer of 1781 due to recurrent illness (see Pancake 1985).

Savage, Jeremiah--Savage was a Charleston Loyalist, but his role in the war is unclear. He was not a military man, but he was “An addresser of Sir Henry Clinton ... banished, and in 1782 his property was confiscated” (Sabine 1847:595). Some rather pessimistic letters from Savage to Clinton, and Wm. Crosbie (who was the Barracks Master general of the British Army in New York) have been located, one of which is included here in appendix II. Archaeological investigations were conducted at Savage's “Green Grove” Plantation in 1980 (Carrillo 1980). Documentary evidence gathered at that time shows that Savage was born in 1734 in Bermuda and that he and three of his brothers immigrated to South Carolina sometime before 1750. He and his brothers were in the mercantile business and were involved in the slave trade, in addition to owning plantations and slaves. Savage was a member of the Commons House of Assembly (the state legislature) in the 1760s and served as justice of the peace in the 1760s and 70s. He remained loyal to the crown throughout the Revolution, although he was party to the Non-importation Association in 1776 and signed an oath of allegiance to the state government in 1778. In March of 1779 Savage in some way assisted Gen. Prevost in his attack on Charleston, for which he was imprisoned by American authorities until the state fell into British hands. Savage's actions during the British occupation are unclear. When the State Assembly met in Jacksonboro prior to the British capitulation Savage's name was included on the list of Loyalists to be banished and whose estates were to be confiscated. Title to his plantations was restored to him in 1784, but he never returned to claim them. He wrote from England in 1792, “We are comfortably settled with the desirable blessing, health, which far exceeds all other comforts.”

Stewart (or Stuart), Alexander--Colonel of the British Third Regiment; the Buffs. Succeeded Rawdon in command of the South Carolina interior after sickness forced Rawdon to leave the country in August of 1781 (see McCrady 1902).

Sumter, Thomas--General of the South Carolina militia, Sumter led the Dog Days foray. Robert Bass has written a biography that I will refer the reader to for further information (see also McCrady 1902, Pancake 1985).

Taylor, Thomas--Lt. Colonel in Sumter's militia brigade. Taylor led a command in the Dog Days foray and was one of the bitterest protesters after the Battle of Quinby Bridge, because he felt that his men had been needlessly sacrificed (see McCrady 1902).

APPENDIX II: PERTINENT HISTORICAL LETTERS

[Note: In the interest of authenticity, grammatical errors, misspellings, and abbreviations have been left intact.]

British

165:19 CLINTON PAPERS CLEMENT LIBRARY
JER. SAVAGE TO LT. COL. WILLIAM CROSBIE

Chs.Town July 18 1781.

Dr. Sir

Since my last things have been in the same train--all wrong- After 96 was relieved Greene was closely pursued for 40 miles-but his movements being so rapid, and the route he had taken, besides every intelligence, strongly indicating his retreat, or rather his return to Virginia, Lord. R. returned to 96-and after leaving some troops, the 63-64 & Coffin with the Cavalry & Hessian troop with Cruger-he moved with the remainder of the army to Congaries on his way to Charlestown-and there was to be joined by the 3rd Regt- Greene seeing so divided a disposition, returned and meant with his force a Blow at Lord R

Lee's cavalry were advanced, and his Lordship in rather a difficult situation from the 3rd Regt. not being at the Congaries as he expected--A Detachment of cavalry who went out a foraging were cut up and I believe 40 Men & as many Horses taken- As they went out without orders this loss was effected witht our knowing any thing of it, tho within 2 Miles of Ld.R's force. Lord R. immediately moved to Orangeburg, and the day after was joined by the 3rd. regt- where he was the 11th and only waiting the arrival of Cruger & his Troops from 96 to proceed, I suppose, thither.—Last Sunday a party of Rebels at Cypress swamp passed our post at Dorchester went to the plantation of Mr. Alex. Wright where they destroyed all most every thing, took above 49 horses belonging to the Q.M.Genl. & some waggons, and then moved towards Goose Creek, where they surrounded the church, took all the horses of the congregation & paroled the Men attending divine service, and then proceeded to the Quarter House, where they fell in with 40 Men Men [sic] of the South Carolina Regt- and as many Horses with their appointments, which mostly fell into their hands- This business was done abt. one or two o'clock in the open day, and their Impudence led them to very near Shulbrick's. only three Miles from town-- Major Fraser with the South Carola. regt. newly mounted was at Moncks Corner withthe 19th Regt-,who it was supposed wd. be attacked--And accordingly by yesterday the Rebels in force & mounted, reached it. A skirmish happened in which we lost two offr. of the Sth.Cara. Reg. & 4 Men killed & 1 Capt. & 12 privates of the 19th taken but what is still more vexatious, is, that I am told 100 sick, who were on board schooners at the Landing of Moncks Corner with an Armed Vessel, were taken-- all the small craft burned and the men carried off perhaps they may be sent in on par [ole]

Col. Gould with abt. 600 men w [went?] out last Night for Moncks Corner, but to what purpose?-- Our Hosp. are full, and I fear these New Troops will greatly suffer:---Thus are we hourly insulted & in the end must be ruined unless something is done with judgement--. We have Troops in plenty-and if

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properly employed & managed, wd. extirpate Rebellion from this Province-- Anthony with his Boats again troublesome and not a Kings ship in Harbour-indeed when they were here they wd.not give the smallest assistance.

Yrs.

Jer. Savage

P.S. I really believe Green expects the French here soon and all his operations seem to indicate it.---

Ld. R. certainly goes home in the first Vessel.-

SERIES 7C, #51, VI PETER FORCE MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
CAPTAIN DAVID JOHN BELL TO CHARLES MASTERTON OR MCDONNELL

Dear Charles,

I am to thank you for your favor of the 15th July which I received by W. Fleming two days after our arrival at this place & where you did not expect it would find me.

I also thank you for the details of your operations it being the first account we had of any of you since you went up the country. I find you have had a good deal of moving but it should seem your opponents move as fast as you, as they have not suffered you to speak with them, though the gentlemen coming & encamping within four miles of you was pretty bold. I hope you are now better supplied than when you wrote, as I understand one or two convoys went from hence to your relief which I presume arrived safe. I understand from Fleming you want a tent to be sent you. I shall send you no such thing, for in the first place I have no method of conveyance & in the next I conceive it would be a perfect incumbrance to you. We had not a Tent amongst us all / except the Colonel/ during the time we were out, & I promise you when we go out again I will not carry one.

No doubt but you have been informed of the cause which brought us so unexpectedly into this town. We thought ourselves unable to cope with the Enemy at Moncks Corner therefore thought it expedient to leave that place and on the march we lost every atom of baggage we had; all the officers baggage, men's Tents, knapsacks, Blankets &c.&c. were all burnt, destroyed or pillaged, and what does not redoun't much to the honor of the nineteenth, most of the pillaging was done by our own people who lagged behind and sold all our things to the rebels. W. McCloud the Musician was at the head of this party, for which he has got a Black R Set against his name that he won't readily get the better of. My Trunk unfortunately could not be saved. It however fell into Genl. Sumter's Hands who made prize of the money but was civil enough to take care of my books & Sgt. Laidlow is gone a few days ago to him to get them again. I am ashamed to say how much money was in the Trunk but assure you it was a very considerable sum. I had the honor of exchanging the first shot with the enemy, for on the 16th July having the Piequett at a Bridge leading from Moncks Corner to Bigging Church,, they came and attacked me there, but I having fortified my bridge Secundem Artem did not fear them much; in this affair Caulfield who was one of my officers got a wound in his shoulder, which, if the Ball does not work itself out (for the surgeons cannot get at it/ will lose him the use of his left arm. We marched all that night and a little after daybreak on the 17th crossed Huger's Bridge where we thought ourselves

safe, & took a little rest, but about 9 oclock a party of Rebels galloped over the Bridge in the face of our field piece; rode through the Regiment and wounded two men: it was the most daring thing I ever heard of; one of them made a stroke at the Colonel which he turned off with his Hanger. McPh__ instantly brought him down, but not with his clarionett. It was a plain common musket shot. Three of the five paid for their temerity. About this time Colin Campbell with part of the rear guard, sick, stragglers &c. & the waggon with my trunks were taken prisoners within three hundred yards of the Regiment. They gave them all their parole to go to Charlestown. There was upwards of sixty of them. We next took post in Shubricks plantation a commanding Height. We saw them during the day make disposition to attack us: on our part you may suppose we were not idle in preparing to defend. About half after four the attack began, and the firing kept up with great spirit on both sides for about forty minutes. I never saw more regular firing at a Field day than was ours. the Enemy went off much faster than they came on, and we were not in a situation to pursue them. I wish you had been with us to have penciled it off-it would have been well worth while for it was really a pretty sight. We had six men Killed & 38 wounded four of whom are since dead.

The best information we could get say they could not be fewer than 1500. they must I am confident have suffered very considerably. On the morning of the 19th Col. Gould arrived from Charlestown with 700 men to our relief and conducted us here, where we arrived on Sunday the 22nd and I do not care how soon we leave it for it is the most extravagant place mortal man ever set his foot into.

If Marjoribanks or you or any of you want anything here let me know your commands and I will endeavor to execute them the best in my power.

Ever since we came here untill yesterday that Skerrek came off command, I have been the only Captain doing duty, and we have had only two subalterns, they have been all sick, but are now mending except Wray who is yet very bad. The Colonel has also been very ill ever since we came here but he now begins to go out. Our Parade for some time was only one Brevet Major, one Capt., & one Lieut. Deputy Adjuant. General Leslie is expected here every hour, a vessel having arrived which sailed two days after the Carysfort on board which the General is. Lord Rawdon who was to have sailed last Tuesday waits his arrival. Jem [?] is doing very well though his wound is not yet healed. He will never be the man he was again.

As I suppose Marjoribanks, Smith & Heigh will see all or the greatest part of this letter; for which you are obliged to a very rainy day; let it be my apology for not writing to any of them at this time but assure them I have them not the less in my remembrance. Remember me also to the Rest of the Boys, particularly my Lieut. Lord Edward and tell him I have heard of his exploits.

Adieu Dear Charles, & believe me,

Charlestown 11th August 1781

yours affectionately.

D.J.B.

38:18 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
JAMES COATES TO ANY AMERICAN OFFICER

Sir, 17th July 1781

I understand there is a ballance of prisoners on the last cartel in favour of Great Britain and finding myself under the necessity of leaving several sick and convalescents behind me and request that any American officers hands they may fall into will consider them in that light treat them with humanity and let them be sent on that & come to Charlestown a surgeons mate is left to attend them

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most Hum. Svt

Jas Coates Lt. Col.

19th Regt.

American

38:11 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
THOMAS SUMTER TO NATHANAEL GREENE

15th July 1781 Camp at Rocks

Dr. Sir,

I have this instant recd. accounts from Colo. Maham, who has been detached as a party of observation; that the post at the church near the corner has been lately reinforced wt.. about a hundred foot & a field piece: and all the horse they could possibly collect, supposed to amount to one hundred & fifty, from Dorchester.

This together wt.. the large detachment I have out occasions me to move with.. the greatest caution, & all the allacrity in my power-

Have large detachments easterly to prevent the enemy getting further succor, & to throw every impediment in their way should they attempt to retreat;

I make not the least doubt but Colonels Lee & Hampton; will expedite their business which will bring on a junction & enable me to invest them with force; should time admit I make not the least doubt but I'll give a good account of them, & not withstanding my forces are so considerably divided; I continue to proceed, & am using my utmost exertions against them-

Every precaution has been & still is used in securing a retreat; it is a matter sir that claims my earnest attention; as well as that of observation parties-

large detachments are out who is to[?] approach & attack the enemy in the neighbour of their post this forenoon-- from whom I expect to hear in a few hours & gain a more certain account of them-- a person is gone to Colonels Lee & Hampton to hurry them so that I may expect them shortly.

I have also sent to Colo. Henry Hampton to desire him to destroy the four hole bridge & maintain that post to the last extremity to retard the enemy as much as possible from coming down to the relief of the post to which I am destined-

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I am Sir most respectfully

Yr. very Obt. Svt.

Tho.Sumter

NB I should have been forward with the Artillery had I not recd. accounts the enemy were at Murrays Ferry, in consequence of which I detached 300 this morning; since which I am informed they

are gone again-- this caused some detention or should not have been here now-

T.S.

since the conclusion of this I am informed the enemy have constructed some new works at Biggin, but cannot learn particularly what they are-

T.S.

38:26 GREENES PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY

THOMAS SUMTER TO NATHANAEL GREENE

Biggin 17th July 1781

Dr. Sir

I arrived here this morning four oclock & found this post avacuated. The church, stores & c. burnt; some waggons unconsumed & a little baggage which seemingly they had not time to throw into the flames.

Have not been able as yet to ascertain or even gain the least knowledge of their route; notwithstanding I have had the most vigilant officers out with parties on every quarter many of whom are perfectly aquainted wt.. the ground & neighbourhood for miles round.

I am persuaded they have taken nothing off with them but what they had on their backs;- the considerableness of their late reinforcement added to that of their superiority in cavalry together with the large detachments I had out retarded me some in my approach till I could hear from Colo. Lee & Hampton which I did not till yesterday.

Sunday I sent off a strong party of observation down on their lines in order to obtain a more accurate Account of their position strength & c. Also to destroy Wadpoo bridges & force a picquet they had threat.

The business was effected with respect to the Bridges but the enemy being apprised of the parties approach they failed in the latter;

Colo. Horry Commandant of the party tarried within about three miles of Biggin all day yesterday in the afternoon about 5 oclock the enemys cavalry under Major Fraser came out in force & full charge on Colo. Horry; but fortunate for us they made a most confused dastardly attempt for not withstanding our brave fellows were taken somewhat unawares they repulsed them immediately, & drove the heroick Major & his terrified clan in to their amazed Brethren at Biggin-- killing some & taking 2 sub & light dragoons of Colo. Innis's Corps; Noble militia whatthink you sir of their charging British

Dragoons with Rifles & pursuing them too their lines--in short the command is highly praiseworthy & nothing but the fleetness of their horses saved them - both officers & men discovered the greatest intrepidity

After this skirmish Colo. Horry discovered the enemy advancing in force, in consequence of which he retreated to fall in with me. I was then approaching but when informed of this I thought it advisable to retrograde a little to a defile which I left in my rear & wait their coming up, it being a very advantageous position; but to my mortification it turned out to be a covering maneuvre for they avacuated in the night-

By intercepted letters it appears they were strong & intended avacuating that post to form a junction with Lord Rawdon to enable him to have commanded & gained an extensive possession of the Congarees; This plan I flatter myself this plan is completely frustrated; on the 14th inst. by a return it appears they drew 900 Rations & forage for 250 horses-

I am just informed of the enemys route. They are gone for Scots ferry landing to Charlestown, shall pursue instantly.

18th In.

I came up with them at Shubrick place where I attacked them about five oclock in the afternoon fought til near sunset - a very warm engagement indeed. Their position was the most advantageous that could have fallen in their way, lodged in a long line of houses on an eminence; my troops had some of them small coverings such as fences & a few small houses; & notwithstanding the distance was only from 40 to 80 yds. they did very little damage; my loss is seven killed & twenty wounded all the latter I have brought off. The enemy must certainly have sustained a considerable loss; a calm and well directed fire was kept up for an hour, they behaved with the greatest deliberate intrepidity; officers & men merit the greatest encomiums for their distinguished valour; not a man left the field till their ammunition was entirely exhausted, which compelled me to order a Retreat. They came off in good order lamenting their situation. They stuck so close to the houses the horse could not Act at all. they were not engaged. Was I not in such a predicament together with their being within 20 miles of town & a most convenient pass open for succor coming by water I should have renewed the Attack this morning but situated as I am compels me to return.

About sixteen cavalry 12 of Colo. Lees & 4 volunteers charged their rear & brought off fifty odd prisoners. a Capt. Cambell of the Nineteenth infantry was the only officer--& a considerable quantity of baggage—

Two schooners was burnt at Wadpoo wt. stores. The Bridges mentioned in this was not so effectually destroyed as they ought to have, for the enemy soon mended them up again by which means they got off-

Previous to any transaction mentioned in this Colo. Wade Hampton, wt. his Dragoons charged a party of the British at the Quarter House & brought 20 odd prisoners & a considerable quantity of stores with the loss of only a Capt. Wright-

Excuse the briefness of this narrative & expect further particulars [upon?] the first opportunity-

I'm in haste sir most respectfully

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Yr. very obt. Hble Srvt.,
Thos. Sumter
Major General Greene
19th In.

NB: the enemy were on the ground late yesterday & had not gone 100yds. out, such is their apprehension it appears. They were more than twice my number; Genl. Marions Brig. diminished fast from the time I left you. When we overtook the enemy he had scarcely 100 left.our hasty pursuit exposed the stores & baggage, a great part of which was by that means lost. Amongst other things taken was a pay masters trunk--which I inspected last evening for the purpose of securing any thing of value as the cart it was in was by some means got in the rear, it contained different pieces of specie to the amount of near 800 guin.. & a great quantity of cloathes & c. I have just recd. accounts, the British are moving down, they were at Syppress yesterday & had turned off on a road leading to Monks Corner, whether to forage or come that route I can't say; have sent a strong party to demolish the Works at Biggin am moving up to Nelsons Ferry, but shall take a position 11 or 12 miles below; men much fatigued & horses quite broke down: the artillery goes over this day.

T.S.

38:53 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
THOMAS SUMTER TO NATHANAEAL GREENE

Camp at Peviss Ponds, Santee 22 July 81
Dr. Sir,

On Friday 13th Inst. I detached four large parties in order to cut off all communications & succor from town & give a general look below.

Colo. H. Hampton to the westward with near two hundred men as a covering party, he was to have fallen in the Rear of Colo. Lee near Dorchester after leaving a strong observation Detachment at the four hole Bridge; which party he posted & proceeded in quest of Colo. Lee but not finding him he retreated to the four holes to annoy & check the enemy at that pass had they come down;-

Colo. Lee was to have taken the Dorchester Rout have done what he could there, & have proceeded down to Chas. Town Gates, but he altogether failed in this business-

Colo. Lee appointed to let Colo. W. Hampton hear from him at Goose Creek bridge; after Colo. Hampton's waiting there some time & being altogether disappointed by Colo. Lee he proceeded down; Capt. Read of his Regimt., who was the advance, with twelve men discovered some British Dragoons drawn up at the Quarter House; upon which he made so gallant & spirited a charge as broke them; & being followed by the main body, they killed wounded & took the whole saving two; our loss was one man killed- a Capt. Wright of the militia whose fall is much to be regretted, in him we have lost a brave intrepid officer, a good soldier, & staunch friend: some of Colo. Hampton's party proceeded down within two miles of town; but the detention he had met with at Goose Creek bridge; apprised the enemy of his approach- the alarm being fired in town & having captured at the Quarter House twenty odd British, anumber of horses, & some waggons, he thought it most prudent to come off; He also Burnt two schooners, one loaded wt. Inigo, & took thirty odd prisoners at the Strawberry-- In short the

officers & men of that detachment merit the greatest applause for their intrepidity & activity during the command-

In mine of the 17th inst. relating to the scirmish between Colo. Horry & the enemys cavalry under Major Fraser I omitted Colo. Lacey who broke the enemys charge with the Riflemen of his Regimt. himself & men merit the greatest applause for their spirited behaviour on that occasion; as does also the whole of the command; for certain it is that nothing but the fleetness of their (enemy) horses saved them;

I have to add their position at Biggin was very advantageous; strong double abattoirs, & the church walls three Bricks & half thick;

Further that the charge made by the gallant Capt. Armstrong of Colo. Lee's corps said to be on the Rear of the enemy, is somewhat erroneous; whereas it was thru their whole line of march in which he lost 2 Dragoons killed & two horses; Colo. Mahams horse was shot under him, The enemys loss is supposed to be far greater--his heroick exploit needs no colouring-

Had the whole of the cavalry gone thro with the charge, it's most probable they would have captured the enemy.

Their strength & position at Shubrickks was as heretofore related, only that they had one field piece, which I believe I omitted mentioning-- the conduct and Behaviour of the troops surpassed my expectations, never did militia (or any sort of men) behave better—

I am now recruiting my fatigued troops & rode down horses, so as to enable me to pay them a visit downwards shortly-

I ask Capt. Singletons pardon for not taking notice of him earlier; his attention & activity during the expedition merits my particular notice & claims my warmest thanks.

I'm Sir very respectfully

yours _____

Thos. Sumter

38:9 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
WADE HAMPTON PAROLE OF LIEUTENANT JAMES PLACE

Whereas Lieut. James Place, of the Prince of Wales A Regimt., prisoner of war to the United States of America, now on parole in Charlestown, having Memorials & Lieut. Genl. Greene, on account of his ill state of health, requesting his parole may be extended to New York.

Permission is hereby given to Lieut. James Place to go to New York, & remain as prisoner on parole to the United States of America until regularly exchang'd, and he is not to say or do anything prejudicial to the arms or allies thereof; [illegible]

[separate sheet]

James Place, Ens. Prince of Wales A Regimt. considers himself as a prisoner on parole to the United States of America and is not to say or do anything prejudicial to the arms or the allies thereof and on account of his ill state of health may remain at or within twelve miles of Charlestown until regularly exchanged or otherwise called for. July 15th 1781

True Copy ordered [signature illegible]
by Col. Wade Hampton

38:10 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
HENRY LEE TO NATHANAEL GREENE

I took near Dorchester this morning all the waggon horses belonging to a convoy of provisions for Lord Rawdon which had reached Dorchester last evening & was waiting orders. Major Frazer did not risk the relief of them. I also took four waggons three empty, & one laden with ammunition for artillery.

By some lettrs. of the 11th from officers at Orangeburgh I find that Lord Rawdon did intend to move to Chs. Town on Cruger joining: that his lordship has altered his determination & is preparing to advance. These letts. were wrote previous to your movement to Orangeburgh. If we have tolerable fortune here his lordship cannot execute his wishes

Yours most respectfully
Sundy evening [July 15 1781]
Henry Lee Esq.

38:21 GREENE PAPERS CLEMENTS LIBRARY
FRANCIS MARION TO NATHANAEL GREENE
St. Stephen 19th July 1781

Sir

After parting with you we marched down to St. Johns Church. The enemy retreated with great precipitation Burning the Church and all their stores. The particulars I make no doubt will be given you by Genl. Sumter. The 17 ult. we overtook Colo. Coats at Quinby Bridge in St. Thomas Parish, Lt. Colo. Lee & some of my militia horse charged their rear & took some prisoners. The number I do not know precisely on this occasion. I had Lt. Postell & one private wounded. Our main body coming up Genl. Sumter determined to attack the Enemy posted in houses with clay walls which was very difficult to penetrate without a field piece (the one we had was sent back from the church) and where our cavalry could not [possible?] act, our disposition being made I was ordered to advance with my Brigade on the left. Lt. Col. Hugh Horry with his regiment advanced under a hill on the right in such a position as to be opposite to my troops which wheeled to the right and faced the Enemy formed in an oblong square in the center [.] between my right & Lt. Col. Horrys left Genl. Sumters Brigade was occupied with the houses in their front which was a cover to them, my front & Col. Horrys was intirely open, I marched my men to a fence about fifty yards of the enemy under a very heavy fire, we soon made them take shelter in and behind the houses but was fired on from the stoop of the houses & through the doors windows and corners, our ammunition being intirely expended I was oblige to retire - My loss on this occasion was Lt. Col. Swinton Maj. Baxter and ten men wounded and five killed; on the left with Lt. Col. Hugh Horry one Captn. killed and three privates; wounded one Captn. and five

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wounded, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that every man of my brigade behaved well and am very certain that had the action been in an open field we should have gained the day without the assistance of cavalry--- I cannot give any particulars of Genl. Sumters Brigade as they was too great a distance from me with fences & cornfields which interrupted the sight but by all I can learn they behaved well & our not succeeding was wholly owing to the strong situation of the enemy and the want of ammunition; our men & horses being greatly fatigued we have retired, to refresh them. Genl. Sumter is

in St. Johns near Wantoot Ravenels Plantn. I shall wait here untill the relief of my militia take place-

I have the honour to be your ObSvt.

Fran. Marion

NB I have not ammunition for
my men

FROM THE CITY OF CHARLESTON YEARBOOK 1899 PAGE 47
THOMAS SUMTER TO NATHANAEL GREENE

Camp at Purces Pond 23rd July 1781

Honble Major Genl. N. Greene

Head Quarters

Dr. Sir

Just as I enclosed my last I receivd yours of the 21st inst. In obedience thereto shall have an Inventory made of all the stores & c. captured during my late expedition, shoud have done so earlier, but had not, nor have I yet been able to collect the whole together: shall transmit you the same without delay. Col. Lee has some waggons with Stores on with him; shoud be glad he was directed to send them immediately, to enable me to take an Accurate Account of the whole.. I am Extremely Sorry your Waggon Horses has faild which reduces you the necessity of Calling on me, being much distressed for Horses myself, the cavalry many of them on foot, & Waggons without Teams.. the greatest abuses have been perpetrated on the Captured prosperity owing to our precipitant pursuit & the different detachm..necessarily despatchd; which put it out my power to pay proper attention to the whole-- I make not the least doubt but there is near as much lost as we have in possession-- I had formed a design of moving down against the Enemy again as soon as my troops & Horses were refreshed a little; but decline that, & pursue your Instructions-

With Esteem & respect

I am Sir

Yr--most--obt--Hble--Servt

THOS—SUMTER

N.B. The accounts of the enemy's all leaving Orangeburg is imperfect-- I am just informed a large foraging party was out yesterday near Brown's Mills from Orangeburg-

T.S.

APPENDIX III: ARTIFACTS

Provenience Key

Provenience #	Location
1	Beach Surface
2	Surface Collection-General-1985
3	Surface Collection at Grid-1986
4	Square 6
5	Square 11
6	Square 12
7	Square 17
8	Square 18
8A	Square 18/21
9	Square 20
10	Square 21
11	Square 22
12	Square 27

Ceramic Key

Type #	Type
1	Colonoware
2	Red Earthenware--unglazed
3	Red Earthenware--yellowish lead glaze
4	Red Earthenware--Jackfield ware
5	Red Earthenware--Pantiles- black glaze
6	English Delftware—plain
7	Creamware--plain
8	Pearlware--plain
9	Pearlware--blue transfer print
10	Pearlware--brown transfer print
11	Pearlware--miscellaneous
12	Whiteware--plain
13	Whiteware--polychrome hand painted
14	Whiteware--green transfer print
15	Whiteware/Ironstone--plain
16	Chinese Export Porcelain--blue hand painted
17	English or American Porcelain--plain
18	English or American Porcelain--plain/cup frags.
19	Porcelain--plain with ribbed exterior
20	Porcelain--molded edge with gilt overglaze

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- 21 English or American Porcelain--molded edge platter
- 22 Salt-Glazed Stoneware--white tableware
- 23 Salt-Glazed Stoneware--bottles
- 24 Alkaline-Glazed Stoneware

		3	4	5	6	7	8	8a	9	10	11	12	Total
type #													
1		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
2		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3		0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
4		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
5		1	1	3	6	0	6	0	0	4	3	0	24
6		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
7		2	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	9
8		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9		0	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	6

10		0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
11		0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
12		0	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
13		0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
14		0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
15		0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
16		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
17		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
18		0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
19		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
20		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
21		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
22		0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	9
23		0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
24		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
total		4	4	11	18	0	29	1	1	13	5	0	86

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Glass Tabulation Key

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dark-Green Wine Bottle--necks/rims 2. Dark-Green Wine Bottle--bases 3. Dark-Green Wine Bottle--body sherds 4. Dark-Green Wine Bottle--burnt/melted 5. Light-Green Non-Mold Made (NMM)--misc. 6. Wide-Mouthed NMM Bottle 7. Light-Green NMM Soot-Stained Bottle 8. Lt.-Green Pharmaceutical Bottle--NMM 9. Dark-Green Case Bottle 10. Lt. Green Bottle--Mold-Made (MM) 11. Clear Bottle Glass Sherds- MM | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Clear Bottle Glass with lettering 13. Brown Bottle Glass--MM 14. Selenium Tinted Glass--MM 15. Manganese Tinted Glass--MM 16. Panel Bottle sherds 17. Coke Bottle 18. Lamp Chimney 19. Milk Glass 20. Tumblers--NMM 21. Window Glass 22. Light Bulb |
|--|---|

Prov #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	8a	9	10	11	12	Total
1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
3	0	0	4	3	2	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	17
4	0	0	9	0	0	0	41	17	0	40	3	0	0	110
5	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
7	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	8
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
10	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	8
11	0	0	0	1	2	8	0	15	2	1	5	0	0	34
12	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
13	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	13
14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
20	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
21	0	0	0	23	6	15	0	31	3	1	7	8	0	94
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
total	1	5	14	28	29	31	53	78	5	49	18	8	1	320

Other Artifacts

Prov	1	3	4	5	6	7	8	8a	9	10	11	12	Total
Square nail frags	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Spikes/frags	1	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	10
Drift Bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Wire Nails	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tacks-brass	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	3
Bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Eyebolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

Cartridge Box*	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cart. Box Pcs	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	35
Cart. Box Leather	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	29
Rope frags.	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	1	1	24
Charcoal frags.	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	0	0	25
Burnt Misc. Wood	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	0	0	0	0	0	48
Misc. Wood	0	0	0	0	0	0	80	0	0	5	0	0	85
Shoe Parts	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	5	0	1	10
Shoe Heels	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dutch Brick	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

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Ring/bolt	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Axehead	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Iron Object	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kettle Frag	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Barrel Strap	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Iron Collar	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Brass Button	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Brass Objects	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	6
Copper Obj	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Melted Lead	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	4
Lead Shot*	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
Gunflint	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Gunflint- Burnt	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	5
Flint-for fire	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Indigo?	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	5
Barrel Parts	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	6	0	0	18
Wooden Box Parts	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	7

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Brick specimens	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	6	0	1	0		13
Mortar Specimens	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Lithic Specimen	0	0	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	4	3	21
Marble Mortar	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pipe Stems	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Shotgun Shells	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Beer/all tin cans	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	8	1	1	16
Pepsi cap	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fishing Sinkers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Insulated Wire	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Toy Pistol Grip	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Glass Marble	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

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Phono Record	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Golf Balls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Neoprene Fabric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
“Clay” Pigeon frag	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	8
Turtle Shell	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Bone	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	3		6	1	0	16
Unidentified Matl.	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	7	1	0	15

Artifacts Recovered In The General Surface Collection Of 11/23/85

1. One rim sherd of lead glazed redware with a yellowish glaze.
2. Two sherds of redware with no glaze.
3. Five redware pantile fragments with black-glazed interior.
4. One creamware plate fragment, approx. 1/2 of vessel, flat base, plain rim, 9 3/4” diameter.
5. Two plain white earthenware sherds, indented type, 1 rim, 1 body
6. One whiteware plate fragment, green transfer-print decorated--approx. half of vessel, “Sicilian” pattern.
7. One whiteware bowl base—hand-painted “Gaudy Dutch” decorated--approx. 1/2 of base.
8. One molded salt-glazed stoneware body sherd--floral decorated mug.
9. One sherd of clear, curved glass.
10. One sherd of light green non-mold-made glass.
11. Two case bottle bases.
12. Nine non-mold-made dark green bottle bases, eight are from cylindrical bottles typical of the late-eighteenth century, one is from a bottle with slightly flaring sides.
13. Three non-mold-made dark green bottle rims/necks with 1760s/70s rims.
14. Two wrought-iron spikes.
15. Three wrought-iron nails with indented heads.
16. One iron object--stirrup fragment (?).
17. One iron object--rope eye (?).
18. One pewter spoon.
19. One piece of coal
20. One brick fragment

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