Sergeant John Vaughan
Soldier of the American Revolution

by
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of
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John Vaughan Soldier of the American Revolution

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Out of Many, One

In 1761 Henry Livingston was born in Antrim, Ireland. He claimed to have arrived in the colonies the first year of the American Revolution. Some members of his family settled in Frederick County, Maryland. To Frederick and neighboring counties, families of Carmacks, Fraziers, and Vaughans also came. The prominent Gist family, known to George Washington, was nearby in Baltimore. George Washington lived a stone’s throw across the Potomac at Mt. Vernon. Beginning in 1776, members of these neighboring families would be joined together in a war against their King and his Tory following. From New England to Georgia their soldier husbands, brothers, fathers and sons would serve side by side in the war under Generals George Washington, Henry Knox, and Nathanael Greene, and under lower officers Charles Harrison, John Ecclestron and William Brown. John Vaughan and Robert Livingston served in a Maryland Artillery unit under Captain Brown and Colonel Harrison. These men of southern Maryland banded together in war, the sons and daughters of their families later married each other and raised families, and after the war some of them moved west together into a free land of opportunity that they had helped create. Their bond was strong and lasting. Two Carmacks, witnesses to the 1841 will of John Vaughan, were by the side of their good friend in Hawkins County, Tennessee till the day he died.

As Virginians joined the fight, the names of Helton, Midkiff, Church, Christian, and more Vaughans appeared on Revolutionary muster rolls, and when age carried their tired, worn, and wounded bodies into the nineteenth century some of these old soldiers also settled with their families in Hawkins County. Most of these Virginians had soldiered there during the war, before Tennessee was a state.

From Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and the Carolinas other rebels with names like Chaney, Sutton, McFadden, and Loudermilk enlisted. These men were from families who had come to America from Ireland, France, and Germany, and there were others enlisting who were born to Cherokee natives who were already here when these folks arrived. But in 1776—English, or not—they were all subjected to English rule—even those who hailed from the natives.

One day, long after the war, the American descendants of many of these brave, free spirited colonists who fought against imperial tyranny would be joined together as Vaughans and Vaughans-in-law, forming American families who enjoyed the freedoms for which their ancestors proudly fought. Some of the war stories of these ancestors—told when they were aged veterans—are recorded and are told here. Their documents
help tell of the adventures of Sergeant John Vaughan of Maryland’s 1st Artillery Regiment who is the soldier patriarch of this Revolutionary War history.

John, who claimed to have been born in Ireland in 1762, must have loved the American Revolution. His Irish forefathers had suffered long under English royalty, and here he was a boy in America where English colonists were suffering under King George III. People all around John began calling His Majesty a tyrant.

When the colonists had had enough, they rebelled against their mother England, King George, and his English Parliament and declared their independence. For the first time in known history, a war was being fought for an idea—not for kings or lands or power or gold. Freedom loving colonists came to believe that God had not anointed any one man to rule over them. Instead, they began to believe in a God that gave them the right to rule over themselves.

No longer able to think of themselves as subjects of King George, they went to war believing in the idea of equality—that is, no king or nobleman was better than any other man no matter how much land or power or gold lay in the royal coffers. In 1776 Thomas Jefferson wrote it down, and at the risk of being hanged, drawn, and quartered, many brave gentlemen signed up on the notion that all men are created equal. To the Irish, this sounded like a cause worth fighting for.

Soon heroic rebels from New England to Georgia were fighting for equality. From the beginning they had young men believing in the cause. Fifteen year old John joined up, eager to follow leaders who talked about fairness and justice.

John was beside Washington and Greene and Knox, struggling through an unforgiving winter at Valley Forge in the beginning and in the end forcing the English and Lord Charles Cornwallis to fight so long and hard in the Carolinas that they lost the war. In 1781 the proud Redcoats had to drag themselves into Yorktown, where, unable to defend their fort against the murderous accuracy of Rebel cannonading, they surrendered. Young John, by then a Sergeant under the command of General Greene, had spent months in a classic “retreat to victory,” driving them out of the Carolinas, herding them toward defeat, and in the end he was still standing—standing right beside a big, deadly gun.

All along, unannounced in American history, and thus unbeknownst to America, John, an artillery gunner in the American Revolution, was a brave and true war hero.

Americans love the virtuous George Washington, and Nathanael Greene is attrition warfare’s ultimate general, and their history is a well-told tale. But John was with them all along—un-named and unheralded—and the strength and courage it took for a teenage boy to join them in the fight against the world’s most powerful military, and win, is notable too. The famous history of the war, the muster and payrolls of military campaigns, The Maryland Revolutionary Records, the collection of General Mordecai Gist, Maryland’s war archives, pension claims of old Revolutionary War Veterans, and the humble 1858 testimony of John Vaughan’s aged widow, Nancy Callicott, say that is exactly what happened.

Before the states were united, before there were dollars and cents, before there was a star spangled banner, before there was a united army—many colonists saw the common sense in the idea of equality long before they saw the value in unity. Thus, with no united colonies, no leader, no flag, and no army—they decided to fight and die for the idea of a free nation, if not for a united one. In no way, but spiritually, were they
prepared to be free. John Vaughan would soon find out how hard it had been for his Irish forefathers to fight England; in 1777 he became one of thousands, some younger than he, who voluntarily joined the fight against an all-powerful English tyrant.

With no drill sergeant to teach him, no mess sergeant to feed him, no money to pay him at muster and roll calls, and no materials with which to fight a war, he soon understood it was a fight which no one boy, one man, or one state could make alone. Suffering the greatest deprivations the times could offer, he quickly ran into reasons enough that could have made him give up and give in to tyranny. Instead, the war united him and his noble band of young brothers, and he fought on for more than six years. They were united in fighting for the cause of a free nation, and it made them strong. Besides a sacred cause, what he and a brand new United States of America also gained was General George Washington to lead them.

John's military career with the Continental Army began almost a month before Valley Forge at White Marsh, Pennsylvania. He was serving with an artillery company from Maryland. November 22, 1777, he enlisted in the war along with Maryland's 1st Artillery, commanded by Captain William Brown. The next year a fellow Marylander, twenty-five year old Robert Livingston, signed on. They stayed with their captain and company through bloody battles and scarring deprivations till the war's end. No matter the hardships John had to face, the fifteen year old Irish boy was willing and able to fight against British aristocracy. Some did give up, but he signed up for the duration—and at war's end, there he was—still stoking, aiming, and firing a big deadly gun.

Since there was not yet a United States Army—there had been no recruiting station to sign him up and no clothier, commissary, or barracks to sustain him once he arrived. There was not even an arsenal to provide him with a weapon and ammunition, nor a drill sergeant to prepare him for the fight. John and Robert, with Captain Brown, had to join the Continentals as a part of the State of Maryland's quota.

With mother England no longer tending to their military needs, the new states began scrambling to find ways to protect and defend their citizens. It was a task made for Washington. Seeing that what the new country needed most was a united, organized army, as quickly as he could arrange it, he began working on acquiring these necessities of war, and no one was more important toward this end than Benjamin Franklin. In France for the purpose, the old man miraculously convinced France to send money. Soldiers had families—they needed a paycheck. The miracle in France meant that they would get one.
For John’s first paycheck he is listed on the payroll of the Continental Troops as a Matross for $8 and 1/3 dollars a month, February 1, 1778. They were still counting money the English way—in pounds, shillings and guilders—money that was worth something—called the old money.

Before aid from France arrived, the new Continental Congress had no money. Since most representatives opposed the power fundamental to a national military force, individual colonies raised and tended to an army—thus the need for each state to recruit a quota. In addition, there were independent militias and guerilla freedom fighters made up of thousands of courageous and angry patriots who deserved to be paid. Incredibly, out of all this mayhem, from the act of rebellion grew a sense of unity.

In the initial scramble, however, the individual way of doing things required local leadership, and in Maryland the process depended on Mordecai Gist, a prominent Baltimore citizen. Matched to John’s military records, the dates and addresses of the letters between General Gist and Generals Washington and Greene relate some of the young patriot’s battle history. It is significant that in an army that was scarred by the mutinies of starving, unpaid soldiers, John’s war records from the Northern Campaign indicate he was paid and paid well—as a soldier from Maryland.

From General Washington on down to the private of the lowest rank, in the new-born military it was learn as you go—a characteristic nearly every soldier embraced. The story of the war is the story of the Continental Army’s ability to innovate, improvise, and to be self reliant. Leading them in this practice was George Washington.

Early in the war Washington reflected on his passion for the cause of freedom. He confided in General Nathanael Greene that he feared that the young boys showing up to fight did not share his sense of patriotic zeal. When Greene pointed out that no one was as patriotic as Washington and that the troops should not be judged by his standards, he saw his soldier boys in a different light from that point on. For the day to day sacrifices they made in the future they earned Washington’s undying allegiance.

Before long Washington discovered, and was reminded every day for eight years, that the Revolutionary soldier was zealous enough to die for him and his cause.

Beyond the money a boy could make at fighting and vanquishing his foes, John’s zeal for the rebel cause may not have been equal to Washington’s, but it was immediate, and lasting. Concerning the Patriot leaders, Franklin and Washington, it is obvious—in later years he named his newborn sons after his heroes, a tradition that filled nineteenth century Southern neighborhoods with George Washington Vaughans. As the war waged on, the admiration became mutual; John was clearly one of the “brave boys” his General bragged on, time and time and time again.
In the Beginning, Valley Forge

There was a reason the colonists still counted their money in English denominations—most of them were English. They had been proud and loyal subjects of English kings for over one hundred and fifty years. In the 1760’s they became angry because Parliament and King George had stopped treating them like Englishmen. They possessed no representation in Parliament, and their closest kinship to the mother country could be described as that of mistreated step-children. Angered citizens began to complain. Only after years of neglect and abuse did they began to fight.

While the war was but a grumbling rumor, Mordecai Gist formed a Cadet Corps for the youth of Baltimore. In the summer of 1777 a British fleet sailing up Elk River near the Delaware border brought General William Howe with 17,000 troops to the fight. Howe was on his way to capture Philadelphia—the rebel capital, and he had been led to believe there was Loyalist support in Baltimore that would help them get there. He was met instead by a hailstorm of rocks flung from the Maryland shore by these angry Cadets. Since John was in the neighborhood he could have been one of Gist’s boys, and he could have hated the English enough to chunk rocks at them. Maybe the fifteen year old was acquainted with the colonial patriot who was urging youths to sign up for the fight; there had long been relationships between Vaughan and Gists families, including at least one marriage. Whatever their relationship, by war’s end they both ended up in the Southern Campaign, fighting in the same theater against an English Lord, General Charles Cornwallis.

At the start of the war, Gist’s colonial Maryland had cannons. They needed men—and boys—to fire these big guns. In a short time the Continental Congress realized their brand new Continental Army needed them. Late in 1777 Mordecai Gist took his men, including Captain William Brown’s Artillery Company—with at least one boy—to General Washington, camped near Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

Earlier that year Washington left his headquarters in Wilmington, Delaware to try to keep Howe out of Pennsylvania; the boys chunking rocks at 13,000 of the King’s men clearly needed some help.

Howe was still searching for help from the rumored Loyalists. He waged his battles from Brandywine to Germantown, and probably he did have the help of at least one Loyalist spy. The Patriots fought all spring and summer trying to protect Philadelphia, but they failed, seemingly because the enemy was well informed. The Redcoats should have let them win; the bitter war in Pennsylvania became a rallying point all across the colonies. To White Marsh, where Washington had retreated, recruits filed in. On November 22, Captain William Brown and young John Vaughan, who as Marylanders may have been fighting all along as Gist’s men, showed up.

Their first battle, as Continentals, took place at White Marsh, December 5th through the 8th. After days of fighting, Howe gave up trying to beat the Rebels, and he took his troops back to winter in the comforts of the city; soon after, he was asking permission to go home, whining that trying to put down the rebellion was a “...very painful service.” The Continentals, beaten and bedraggled in everything but spirit, followed Washington into Valley Forge.

Thus, John’s army career, which had its beginnings in Captain William Brown’s Maryland Artillery, took its Continental turn.
He enlisted as a matross; at the Battle of White Marsh he had been one of the kids who tended to the cannon and prepared it for a gunner to fire. Some of the boys who showed up were as young as twelve. Occasionally, the youngsters turning up could play the fife and drum; taken on as drummers and fifers they became the communication crews for the Revolution.


The British these boys could fight; the miracle of John’s first months of war is the fact that he and his fellow surviving soldiers physically made it through the winter at Valley Forge. The hard part was battling the unrelenting triumvirate of cold, famine, and disease. What is well-known is how their General helped the survivors to come out as a formidable army.

Keeping the men alive was the first order of the day, but the reason for them being there at all was so they could fight. While the struggle against the elements carried on, during the spring and summer of 1777 General Henry Knox kept himself busy organizing artillery companies. They marched, or sloshed, into General
Washington’s freezing, snow covered encampment at Valley Forge in early 1778. Captain Brown’s Company joined up with Knox, and 1st Artillery became a part of the famous General’s history.

On his arrival at Valley Forge General Knox found the conditions deplorable; if anything was going to stop the patriots, it looked like this was it. Yet, Henry Knox set about organizing the troops around his field guns, and in fact, he took the first step in establishing the finest of U.S. Army traditions—its artillery branch.

The Patriots did need help in arming and aiming their big guns—General Knox would fix that within the next year at a place called Pluckemin. At Valley Forge George Washington began providing the rest.

In the spring General Washington brought in Count Friedrich von Stueben—who was a fake Count, but an all too real drill sergeant; he would train and discipline the men at Valley Forge to fight like real soldiers. He taught them how to use the musket and the dreaded bayonet, how to wheel and turn with the stars and stripes of the new Continental flag, and how to march in step—as one army—to the beat of fife and drum. So important to good discipline were the fifers and drummers, they earned the same pay as an enlisted soldier. At different times the fifers in Captain Brown’s Artillery Company were John Carroll and David Younge; James Brooks beat the drum for most of the war. They weren’t trained for the job; they were chosen for their talent.

The Revolutionaries were setting precedents in more ways than just in the way they were thinking. The brand new army regulations under von Steuben came out of expediency, which encouraged innovation, and he set military standards that became traditions. The fake aristocrat even wrote the U.S. Army’s first training manual.

Even more expedient for the men than regulations was—getting them fed. To insure that the nutritional needs of these soldiers were met, and that not another one of them starved to death, Washington assigned a Quartermaster General who could handle the snows of Valley Forge—his best, most trusted General, Nathanael Greene. The uninspired quartermaster who Greene replaced—blaming the weather on what was sheer incompetency—had been a bitter disappointment to Washington. Greene, a fallen Rhode Island Quaker, was none too happy about the job either, but he was a good
soldier who did what he was told, and even before the snow had melted--making it easier to bring in food--he got the boys fed and saved thousands of lives.

Now the Patriots were well trained and were eating their promised ration of beef and bread. In April they got some great news to go with their meals. They heard that Ben Franklin had convinced the French king to help them fight the English king and that their American Revolution had escalated into a World War! Not only would the French help them fight England, forcing her into emptying her nation's treasury all the more, but financing the Continental Army meant that American soldiers could be housed, clothed, fed, paid, and armed—equal to their enemy. The happy soldiers at Valley Forge celebrated the news so loud and long--parading proudly to the tune and of fife and drum, with flags and gunfire salutes--the dismayed Redcoats from Philadelphia heard them.

Altogether, Washington, Greene, Knox, Franklin, and von Steuben turned the struggling Continentals into a force of warriors that would eventually defeat the world's supreme power. They had good stock to work with. Time and again the troops astonished their leaders with what they could do. After a hard-driving campaign in another part of the war, Commander George Rogers Clark, claimed, “They no longer think of themselves as men.” They believed they could do anything, he explained, and that nothing could stop them—not even the British Empire. George Washington, who knew better than anyone the potential disaster that hung over them, felt the same.

With a uniform on his back and armed with weapons of war, plus eight and one third dollars a month in his pocket, John Vaughan must have felt and looked like a soldier. He had a quartermaster to look after him, a drill sergeant to give him orders, and leaders of a worthy cause to take him into battle. With a new sense of discipline to go with their purpose the Continentals ended their winter encampment. Shaped out of the trials and triumphs of Valley Forge, he and his patriotic band of brothers were brave, and they actually were unbeatable.

Smallpox!
George Washington once had everyone at Mt. Vernon inoculated for smallpox.
During a smallpox epidemic amongst his troops, he did the same.

Soldiers Inoculated
By Vincent Vaughan W4366
A short time before our time of service had expired, about the middle of March, the smallpox made its appearance among the Soldiers, and our Regiment was marched to the Hospital and every man of us inoculated and returned to our station at the Barracks, where we remained until we were all well of the infection, and as well as I can recollect but one of our men died of the disease.

Vincent Vaughan
A Brief De-Tour of Duty in Delaware

After only four months at Valley Forge, on April 5, 1778, John Vaughan the teenaged Matross was promoted to Gunner. Two days before his promotion, he was in a fight.

In March he mustered in Wilmington, Delaware. The Redcoats were causing trouble in Delaware, where, at this time, they were able to purchase supplies from their Loyalist supporters from Fort Penn to New Castle. The Delaware Blues and Delaware Militia were fighting against Loyalist forces in Kent County, and John’s artillery unit was ordered to Wilmington to help them out.

They drove some of the Loyalists out of Delaware, allowing much of their property to be seized, and they put a stop to a British supply line. One of these battles took place April 3; the boy must have blasted someone clear across the Delaware that day, because recorded on his muster sheet just two days later was a promotion to Gunner and a raise in pay.

In his day and time the artillery was the elite branch of anybody’s army all over the world. Every man and boy at war wanted a chance to fire the big guns. The Continental soldier was no different; for the raw teenage recruit to be assigned the job, which tried and true adult warriors wanted and were waiting in line for, young John must have been a big, strong matross who was especially brave and especially good at what he was doing.
Gunner John Vaughan’s last roll call at Valley Forge was on June 3rd, 1778; six months of war had passed since he entered the winter quarters of George Washington’s army. He started out as a matross, the equivalent of a private in the regular army, and now he was a gunner. He had fought the British at White Marsh and had chased the Loyalists out of Delaware. Preparations were being made in late June for marching out of Valley Forge and into battle. For the sixteen year old, in control of one of the biggest guns in camp, the excitement was building.

At that time, exactly six months to the day that General Washington had led the Continentals into winter quarters, rebel spies informed him that the British were pulling out of Philadelphia, headed north. Under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Charles Cornwallis, they had enjoyed the winter in the comfort of the big city. The Continental Congress, assembled in Philadelphia, had barely escaped capture when they moved in. Subsequently, Redcoats had terrorized Philadelphians all winter and plundered wagonloads of their property. Washington was as eager as his brave boys to make them pay.

After the Americans turned out to be more trouble than General Howe had bargained for, and after he resigned and ran home crying to mother England, Clinton took command of all the British armies in colonial America. By May 20, 1778 he was in Philadelphia where the Redcoats were 10,000 strong. Worried about losing his Hessians to the American countryside, as a precautionary measure, he had sent them and three thousand regulars by sea to New York. The Rebels, now from all the colonies, outnumbered the British in Pennsylvania, and were ready—United States Army ready—to fight.

Washington led the way.

Since 1776, after Washington took command of the Continentals, with every lost battle and every dreadful event, he had learned what it would take to beat England’s well-trained and heavily armed troops. It would take men—good men, and lots of them; all he had to do was keep them alive. He had inspired his boys’ cause; at Valley Forge he prepared them to fight for it. The army that marched out of Valley Forge was in uniform, armed, trained to kill, and ready to die for their new country and their General.
Monmouth Courthouse, New Jersey, 1778:
By William Vaughan 35107
State of Maryland
Baltimore County

. . . . William Vaughan who makes Oath on the Holy Evangelists, that in the year 1778 he enlisted at Cambridge in the State of Maryland in the Company commanded by Captain Eccleston, in the 2nd Regiment Maryland Line, was marched to Valley Forge, fought at Battle of Monmouth [28 Jun 1778]. . . .

By Thomas Vaughn S22030
Fredericktown, Maryland

. . . . Thomas Vaughn marched into Pennsylvania where he joined the regular army under Gen’l. Washington, and Gen’ls. Charles Scott & Anthony Wayne. He remained with the regular army until the battle at Monmouth, 28 Jun 1778, which he was in.

On to Monmouth Courthouse

When Gunner John Vaughan got the word to, “Move’em out!” he hooked up the limber to his cannon and hauled out of Valley Forge. He didn’t pack up just to start off to another camp—he was taking his gun to a fight.

According to Washington’s spies, the British were on the north road out of Philadelphia stretched out for twelve miles in the summer heat. It was June 19th, exactly six months since the Continentals had entered Valley Forge in the snow. The colors of the Redcoats soon ribboned the road into New Jersey. Sir Henry Clinton was marching his gaudy crew, loaded down with plunder from Philadelphia, to New York City. The Americans went after them.

June 28, 1778 they caught up with the enemy at Monmouth County Courthouse, eager for combat. Their commander, Major General Charles Lee was not. Ordered to attack the rear of the British column, Lee ran from the field before the infantry got off enough rounds to heat up a muzzle. Before Washington relieved the coward of his command, some of his boys heard their General curse Lee for losing the initiative.

Immediately, Washington rushed in to save the day. He rallied his troops by riding before them, back and forth on horseback, all the while being fired upon by the enemy. His foes just wasted their bullets on the man. On that day, as on days before, George Washington was invincible.

Lee’s problem was simple—he did not train at Valley Forge, and he had no idea what these soldiers could do. Washington had been there with his men. He had helped train them, and he had inspired them to believe in the cause, even landing them a red, white, and blue flag with stars to guide them—and also to wave at the enemy. He expected that they were as ready as he was to show what they could do.

Taking command he immediately told his men to take the high ground and ordered Gunner John Vaughan and the rest of the artillery unit to fix their field pieces on the British position; Major General Nathanael Greene, happy to get out of his quartermaster duties for the moment, immediately brought up a four gun battery to blast the enemy line. A soldier in the field called the roar of their cannons, musical.
Under this bombardment General Charles Cornwallis, second in command to Clinton, was forced to withdraw. The gunners kept up their roaring music till it got too dark to see how to aim their guns. Washington could hardly wait till morning to start them up again. But, the British had had enough, and they sneaked off in the night. They were headed for the safety of New York City.

Historians like to call the Battle of Monmouth a draw, but Washington and his soldiers knew better. They had learned what midnight runs meant, from losing many a fight themselves. During the worst of times Washington had invented the ploy and used it twice already to save his army. The Redcoats had sneaked out of Monmouth to save themselves. After Monmouth they were almost ready to give up battling the troublesome northern Patriots altogether. They immediately made plans to try their luck at winning further off, down south, where many, many colonists actually were still loyal to their king.

During their frozen encampment at Valley Forge the Continental soldiers had sought entertainment in drinking, playing cards, singing songs, telling stories, reading books, writing letters, and keeping their diaries. This hot, hot June day the Monmouth County grounds became a soldiers’ stage. The excitement of running the powerful British off the field had to be heady stuff for a teenager. John Vaughan could not even write his name, but it was a place for stories to be told, or sung in songs, and being an Irish boy he probably told or sang his share that evening. The gunners surely replayed every detail of every firing.

Another young Vaughan--seventeen year old Thomas of Fredericktown, Maryland, who was serving under General Anthony Wayne--joined John at Monmouth. General Wayne was one of many battlefield legends. Another was Molly Pitcher. According to one story, the wife of an American artilleryman came to the battle to help her husband--bringing water for swabbing the cannons and for the thirsty crews, and she took a gunner's place after he fell, and she fought beside her husband—just one more example of the patriots' belief in their cause. The story is based on a true incident, but it has changed with the telling of it over the years. In truth there were many Molly Pitchers who followed the army camps and helped where ever they could. On that hot summer day, where soldiers were dropping out and dying from heatstroke as much as from hot lead, the gunners on the overheated cannons had to love every one of them.

By nightfall many of the exhausted soldiers lay on the ground where they had fought in the heat of the day. Before falling asleep they watched the stars, savored their victory, and listened to the music of the cannons echoing in their ears. . . . That night, alongside his hard fighting soldiers--on that same ground, under the same stars—it was said General George Washington slept too.
Keeping Watch on the British

The British, beating a hasty retreat from the fray at Monmouth, left no one for the 1st Maryland Artillery to shoot at. They retreated all the way to the safety of their New York headquarters. Their inability to subdue the rebels in the North, or to find adequate support for the Crown of England there, left them in dismay. Their leaders began making plans to try their luck with the southern colonies. In search of friends of aristocracy, General Cornwallis would soon sail off with 8,700 men, one third of the King's troops; he hoped to take advantage of strong Tory support in the Carolinas and Georgia. For his part, John stayed stationed up North; for the next two years the Continental artillery kept their sights trained on the rest of the Brits stationed in and around New York City and went after the Tories on the colonial frontier.

General Washington positioned units of his army in strategic outposts which encircled the city. From July 26, 1778 until the end of the year John mustered at two of them. At White Plains, New York he found himself on a weathered battleground, in the company of soldiers who had fought the Hessians there two years earlier and lost. The Hessians, powerful wielders of the bayonet, were feared German warriors, the hired guns of King George. A private from Connecticut sat in the midst of eroded graves that now gave up the skeletons of these cruel mercenaries--which he had fought against, and he wrote about his former enemies in his diary.

*Here were Hessian skulls, poor fellows. They were left unburied in a foreign land. They should have kept at home. But the reader will say that they were forced to come and be killed here, forced by their rulers who have absolute powers of life and death over their subjects.*

*Well then, bless the kind providence that has made such a distinction between your condition and theirs.*

*Joseph Plumb Martin*

Private Joseph Plumb Martin was a year older than John and could read and write. No doubt, his now famous diary provided the troops with marvelous entertainment. John never learned to read and write, but being Irish he most certainly loved a good story—especially about dead Hessians.

Through November and December John mustered further north, up the Hudson River at Fishkills, New York, celebrating one year of service. He was still a Gunner at 8 and 2/3 dollars a month and collecting regular pay; since other units were not paid regularly, this may have been thanks in large part to monies raised in Maryland by his captain, William Brown, and included the help and influence of Mordecai Gist.
Fishkills was one of several rebel outposts in New York. Washington didn’t have a large enough force to mount an attack, but he kept forts from New Jersey to New York’s western frontier prepared with warning beacons which his soldiers could light up to alert everyone—including local militias—if the Brits went on the move. At Fishkills John was stationed near the most prominent beacon. Now called Beacon Mountain it is the highest peak of the Hudson Valley region. It rises over the Hudson River and provided the Continentals with the best watch over Fort Arnold, later called West Point, and any navigation on the river. Signal fires on the mountain could be seen miles away in New York City. The Americans kept watch and sent out warnings for more than two years from the Fishkills area. During that time the enemy burned homes and destroyed rebel communities but was unable, or unwilling, to launch any really big attacks on the Continentals; this was in part because of the warning system George Washington organized and put to use.

This stalemate was just the kind of lull in the war that Brigadier General Henry Knox needed to go to work on organizing all his Patriot artillery units. Knox was twenty-eight years old; he earned about three dollars a day in the Continental Army as Chief of Artillery. He would use the break to create the very beginning of the most powerful fighting force the world has ever known—the artillery branch of the United States Army.

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**THE SOLDIER’S POST**

**Remembering the Stalemate**

Abram Helton  
Cherokee Veteran  
Age 93 years

That he entered the service of the United States as an enlisted soldier. The precise time he cannot recollect, but it was during the time that Gen’l Washington fought at Monmouth Ct House [Battle of Monmouth NJ, 28 Jun 1778] and made the British take shipping at Hackensack.

They were stationed a part of the time at Valentines Hill in what was then called New England; . . . He belonged to what was known as the regular troops, in which service he continued for two years—the time for which he was enlisted. During the time of his service [1778-1780] he was marched through a part of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Jerseys and to New York; they had frequent skirmishes with the enemy but were in no regular battle.
December 23, 1778, John Vaughan mustered near a place called Pluckemin on a New Jersey Watchung Mountain hillside where Knox was creating an artillery academy. It was John’s sixteenth Christmas season. Here, officers and artillerymen could get schooled in the preparation, planning, and engineering which were required in the handling of heavy guns. When Knox was through, America would truly have its first military academy, an elite fighting force, and the start of a tradition that would become the envy of the military world.

John was one of over 1,000 soldiers at Knox’s Academy. After months of formal military training, the youngster came out of Pluckemin among the best troops in the world—the first in a proud line of American artillerymen. Knox’s school set the standard for West Point later on.

In John Vaughan’s day artillerymen had to be sophisticated as well as brave and strong. Firing a field piece was not simply a matter of a gunner lighting a match to a fuse; if not done right the deed could be dangerous. He had to be a mathematician, a chemist, and an engineer. Knox knew what it took to teach him, and at Pluckemin the artillery crews received military training that turned them into the professionals they needed to be.

As a combat arm of the Continentals, the artillery men received their training in teams, or crews, who had to learn to work together, perfectly, and to coordinate their cannon fire with the overall attack. It took a team of five to six men to fire a field gun. John started out as a matross, and now as a sixteen year old gunner, he had to depend on these new aides to do as good a job as he had done. Since their role in combat was to provide close support or to attack targets, total teamwork was essential in avoiding tragic mishaps.

There was a science in being able to aim and fire their weapons; the point was to knock out the enemy without blowing up each other. The scientific element of cannon fire was in knowing the specifications of the gun barrel, carriage assembly, and ammunition ratios. The method of firing colonial cannon involved the touch of a linstock (a great big match) to a touchhole drilled into the breech to ignite a proper quantity of powder. The wrong amount could burst a gun upon an inept crew.

In John’s time, black powder was the only available charge. Large amounts were required to propel a heavy cannon ball onto a distant target. So much had to be used it made huge clouds of white smoke that obscured targets and betrayed positions. Besides being brave and strong, all of this indicates that this boy, who could not read and write, had to be able to figure amounts, velocities, and trajectories—a headful of numbers. When he and his army buddies graduated from Pluckemin they were good
enough at science and math, as well as soldiering, to defeat the British and that is exactly what they did.

**America’s First Military Academy**
The Pluckemin Artillery Park-- E-shaped camp at Pluckemin housed barracks, storage, and wagon sheds, and workshops for armorers, carpenters.

**II. A Soldier’s Dance**

An event at Pluckemin that represented a welcome break from the perils of war was the Grand Alliance Ball of 1779. To celebrate the first anniversary of the French-American Alliance of February 18, 1778, which Ben Franklin coaxed out of the King of France, the Americans gave a party. French money had paid, fed and clothed Washington’s troops for a year and bought the rebels some time. Washington danced the night away in a toast to the French. It was a grand affair and General Knox’s letters are filled with every magnificent detail.

At Pluckemin, Knox had set up an armorers shop, a military forge and a laboratory where engravers and tinsmiths plied their trade, and where forge work, leather work, and painting skills were honed—usually for the purpose of wagon repair and manufacturing ammunition and military goods. For the dance the workshops were put to work on decorations and entertainment for the party. The Artillery provided the entertainment. There was a theme using the number thirteen to honor the thirteen rebel colonies. John could have been one of the gunners who opened the festivities with a thirteen gun salute of roaring cannon fire, but even if he was only an onlooker, according to Knox, it was a sight and sound to behold. After the big gun salutation, hundreds of guests sat down to dinner and conversation and offered up many, many toasts to all colonial patriots and their cause. Afterwards they were treated to “illuminating fireworks.” For the fireworks display the artillery corps had erected a frame formed like a Corinthian
temple—with thirteen arches. Instead of Greek figures each arch was painted with a patriotic emblem of the Revolution. Fireworks were set off from the top of the structure in a glorious display. Afterwards, the dancing began, and the war weary patriots happily danced all night.

In June of 1779 when John pulled out of Pluckemin to go back to war, the youngster was raring to go—so much so, he reenlisted for the duration of the war. So, back to war he marched, along with his Generals, George Washington, Nathanael Greene, and Henry Knox; he was in for the long haul—or, until death. He was a trained gunner now, trained by Knox to aim with deadly precision. The artillery men who came out of the Pluckemin Artillery Academy were so accurate that Washington later credited the murderous pounding they gave the British forces at Yorktown for Cornwallis’s surrender. Knox and his military academy succeeded in making his men the best in the world.

Brass Cannon

Capturing enemy artillery could mean the difference between who won or lost a battle. Cannon were a highly sought prize and many field pieces changed hands more than once. To prevent a cannon that was about to be captured from being used, gun crews spiked it so it could not be fired. Brass cannon were more valuable than heavy metal ones because they could be re-forged and reused and the heavy metal ones could not.
After John’s artillery training ended at Pluckemin, he went on special assignment. He was stationed at Chester, New York—one of the outposts guarding the Hudson River Valley. His job was to keep the Redcoats who were encamped in New York City from any attempt to take over the northern frontier area, especially the fort at West Point, ten miles east of his station. The artillery guarding West Point controlled the Hudson River. Iron was mined at Bull Mill in Chester. It was a frequent site where General Washington set up camp. His troops stacked rocks and stones protectively around their encampment there so many times they practically built a stonewall fortress. John was with them the summer of 1779. The Chester mine provided iron to forge a giant chain barrier the Rebels linked across the Hudson River below West Point Fort.

By July 9th 1779 John was “on duty” at his Chester outpost, an assignment for which he was awarded double pay and more. His job looks to have been valuable, and so, probably dangerous. His roll sheets are periodic. September’s roll is incomplete and October is missing altogether. Through November and December, instead of getting 8 and 2/3 dollars per month, he received 37 and 1/3 dollars for two months—ten dollars per month extra in subsistence pay, just as he had on the summer payroll. The
confusion and extra pay may be the result of his Company’s watch over enemy activity around West Point.

The Americans and the Redcoats were facing off at New York City—each waiting for the other to make a move, so this was a period lacking in any major engagements. On this quiet battlefront, an incident in July concerning West Point may have been the focus of John’s cannon.

West Point Fort was securely in the hands of the Americans in 1779, as it was for the entire war. In the spring, however, British forces were able to take control of Verplanck Island and Stony Point, two staging points across the Hudson from each other and down river from West Point a few miles. John’s Artillery Unit at Chester was ten miles off the Hudson’s west bank and covered the rear of Stony Point.

The British hoped their move would draw General Washington and the garrison at West Point into a fight that would leave the fort unprotected and enable them to capture the important site. When Washington refused to

Original payroll for June 1779, for Gunner, John Vaughan. Subsistence pay is for special duty. Includes only a partial list of Matrosses. Note figuring—bottom right hand corner.
take the Stony Point bait, the marauding Redcoats then sent detachments into nearby Connecticut —raiding communities and assaulting the locals—trying to draw him out a second time.

Once again the proud British failed to recognize Washington’s tactical brilliance. He was not willing to trade West Point for anything the British dangled before him. Not only did he stay put, protecting West Point, he ordered General Anthony Wayne to storm Stony Point—which the Brits had left unguarded—to take in his troops in a midnight raid and destroy it. His enemy’s plan to separate New England from the rest of the colonies—with control of West Point—was doomed to failure with this oversight. It was the last northern campaign the British attempted. West Point held the key that opened and closed the door to the frontier, and the Americans kept it locked up tight.

When General Wayne, in command of the American Light Infantry, made his move on Stony Point at 2 AM, July 15, 1779, Captain William Brown’s Company of Artillery mustered and waited at Chester as part of the Continental troops who stayed garrisoned protectively around West Point.

Earlier in the year, while John was still getting schooled at Pluckemin, Wayne’s troops had wintered at a place called Ramapo near Middlebrook, New Jersey. Among the colorful Anthony Wayne’s troops stationed there was Thomas Vaughan.

WAYNE'S BAYONETS-only night attack, and subsequent victory, on Stony Point raised the spirits of the Continentals. No one was lost, and West Point was safe. Both sides believed the little fort to be a key to final victory.

Shortly thereafter, John left Chester for a remote post on the frontier which West Point was supporting—Fort Schuyler. Lonely little Fort Schuyler stood between Canada and the new United States. Defending the new infant government from the gigantic British Empire, it was the last outpost.

Fort Schuyler stood in an especially dangerous territory which was called the Mohawk Valley, the land of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. The Iroquois were a strong, well-governed people, and when the war started four of the six tribes allied with England. Earlier that year the Sullivan Expedition had taken a bitter war to the hostile Iroquois and nearly wiped them out. Angry remnants of the four Tory tribes still were “on the loose” and had to be watched.
Orders of George Washington to General John Sullivan May 31, 1779:
The Expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements . . . .

I would recommend, that some post in the center of the Indian Country, should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions whence parties should be detached . . . .

Patrolling the Frontier
I. The Mohawk Valley

From Chester, in the Hudson Valley, General Washington sent John Vaughan further out to patrol the western hinterlands in the Mohawk Valley. By winter he was stationed at Fort Schuyler on the colonial frontier—the original homeland of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. This was 1779, the year of the “hard winter,” and the young gunner now had two years of military service under his belt.

Back in the summer while John was busy at Chester overlooking the Stony Point Battle, a Patriot campaign to put down a frontier uprising of Loyalists settlers and Tory Indians made up the biggest engagement in New York. Their settlements were totally devastated. A few Indians were left who were very, very angry. Fort Schuyler was in the middle of their lost lands.

To the south the two warring armies had been in a stalemate since Monmouth. Unable, or unwilling, to attack the Continental Regulars that had them boxed-up in their New York City encampment, and while trying to draw Washington into a fight on the Hudson, the British turned to their Indian and Tory allies to do some fighting for them. Four nations of the Iroquois Confederacy sided with England in the war—-the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga and Cayuga; the Tuscarora and the Oneida tribes sided with the colonists, a major split among the Six Nations.

Tory Indians, along with Tory farmers, battled the rebellion on the frontier. The people living south of Canada in western New York were largely supporters of the Crown. Tory marauders raided Patriot settlements and the villages of the two American-allied Iroquois—-which meant native tribes were sending brother against brother, the same as white Tory and white Rebel colonials were doing. The Continental Congress ordered George Washington to put a stop to the Indian danger.

Indeed there were enough Loyalists in Western New York to be a threat to the cause, but it was the four hostile tribes of the Six Nations that worried the Continental Congress. The threat was enough that a cannon or two at Fort Schuyler was needed.

Tory Indians who joined England were as feared and as fearless as the Hessians. They helped pillaging Redcoats burn patriot towns and massacred the inhabitants. In response, Washington sent 3,200 troops to the frontier battleground and afterwards left Fort Schuyler reinforced with artillery.

The invading Continentals were under the command of Major General John Sullivan and Brigadier General James Clinton. Known as the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, the campaign lasted from June to October, and a scorched earth policy effectively destroyed the Iroquois. Most of the Loyalists were run out of the country to Canada and Nova Scotia, and their property was confiscated before John arrived.
Washington later wrote that the Revolution was a war of posts, that strategy should be defensive, and to risk nothing in avoidable combat, "into which we ought never to be drawn." The Iroquois Nation had been destroyed, and it never recovered. Its people went west to Niagara, seeking refuge beyond the great falls. But by the time John arrived at Fort Schuyler the remaining Indians were still capable of carrying out an attack; the artillery for Fort Schuyler was evidently a precautionary measure.

Ambivalence toward Native Americans dictates how some researchers report the war in the Mohawk Valley, but the Iroquois were a powerful enemy and they deserve to be regarded as any other foe. In every way the ancient Iroquois communities were superior to those of the struggling colonists; still, they, like the British Empire, simply could not beat an army of American soldiers.

Modern historians make a mistake in sympathizing with the Iroquois, their argument being that Washington destroyed Indian villages, but not English villages. The reason is simple geography: the Atlantic Ocean protected English villagers from Washington’s army—and his wrath. George Washington was a good, loyal soldier; the Continental Congress ordered him to destroy the hostile tribes of the Six Nations, and he did. White Tory farmers in the Mohawk Valley were run out of the country, as well, and they lost everything too.

The Iroquois were not pitiful and poor. According to eyewitness reports the Iroquois communities were more prosperous than those of white people. One of Sullivan’s officers, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who was to become commander of Fort Schuyler, wrote:

"It is remarked that the Indians live much better than most of the Mohawk River farmers, their houses being very well furnished with all the necessary household utensils, great plenty of grain, several horses, cows, and wagons".

Beyond being good farmers, the Iroquois were fierce warriors, and the white soldiers saw them as brutal. They committed what seemed like atrocities in their attacks on white Patriot communities, but they attacked their Patriot brethren, the Oneida and Tuscarora, using the same atrocious methods.

Fighting unfairly—whether perceived or real—was the same mistake the British had made to start the war, and kept on making, to their regret. Massacres didn’t scare the American soldier as much as they worked to inspire him to fight; the massacre of innocent civilians led to higher recruitments. In addition, meeting the Continental payroll was a problem throughout the war, and the capture of Loyalist property, whether Indian or white, helped pay the soldiers to fight on. Food from their farms, which wasn’t destroyed, helped feed them.

Writers sympathetic to the defeated Iroquois try to make the case that the Sullivan Expedition failed. Unfortunately for the Indians they are wrong. The wreckage of their native home and culture wasn’t the only factor in their demise, but it was the most important one. The Mohawk Valley was a verdant Garden of Eden when Washington ordered its devastation. After the war the Indians were gone, and many, many of the Continental soldiers who destroyed its orchards and gardens moved into the vacated valley and claimed it, garden by garden, farm by farm. The Six Nations never returned and never recovered.
II. Fort Schuyler

The Continentals prepared well for their war with the Indian nations. Plenty of supplies and men were sent by Congress to get the job done. Initially it was feared by the field commanders that more of everything would be required to fight Iroquois warriors. The main army then gathered on the frontier for over a month—building their numbers, and building forts, before the troops began their raids on villages that destroyed homes, crops and orchards in the scorched earth policy Washington ordered. August 29th they fought their only major battle, the Battle of Newtown, in which 3,200 Continentals defeated 1000 Iroquois and Loyalists enemies. When the battle was over, very little support for King George was left in the area. Then, before winter set in the Continentals pulled out and headed for Washington’s winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. A detachment marched out of Fort Schuyler on the way to one final frontier engagement: they had orders to arrest all male Mohawks—a Tory tribe—living in the neighborhood.

This last operation took place September 27. On the way out of the Mohawk Valley, the 3rd New York Regiment made the arrests. Men and boys were incarcerated at Albany without cause and were held unjustly for several months. This action cost the Mohawks their homes. Local white settlers, who had lost their homes after Iroquois raids, asked Gansevoort to turn the Mohawk homes over to them. Sadly, many of the Mohawks in the Fort Schuyler area were Patriots.

The four Indian tribes which the Continental Army essentially destroyed, early in the war had officially and ceremoniously declared their allegiance to England. John Vaughan was a good, loyal soldier; if his orders were to guard against Tory frontiersmen—whether white or native-- then he fought them the best he could—and he fought anyone who helped them in their attack on him and his cause and country.

Fort Schuyler, by January 3, 1780 was assigned to John’s company. Raids by a few remaining Indians continued, British Canadians were the nearest neighbors, and so, as requested by General Washington, his unit was needed in the area.

At Fort Schuyler John Vaughan was again "on duty," drawing more subsistence pay and surviving. He was even receiving pay once a month while the rest of the Continentals, struggling at Morristown, New Jersey were not. The settlement of accounts after the war show that Captain William Brown was paying his Maryland troops and going into debt. Later, General Nathanael Greene—John’s commanding officer in the Southern Campaign—did the same. In any case, John was at Fort Schuyler March 1, 1780 where he last appears on a regular basis in military records; this was his last regular payday to
show up. Again he was paid 37 and 1/3 dollars for January and February while on special duty—more than double a gunner’s usual pay.

Nine months later he was still stationed at the fort. The last record of him in the North appears in a paymaster’s note when he left the fort in December, headed for the war in the South. In 1858, John’s widow, Nancy Callicott Vaughan, applied for a widow’s war pension. In her affidavit, she reported that he fought in famous battles, and she had heard him tell his war stories, but she was old and a seemingly insignificant Fort Schuyler was one of only two names she could recall:

_She recollects of having her said husband speaking of several places that he was at during his service some of which she recollects as follows . . . the High Hills of the Mt Santee & Fort Schuyler . . ._

But, Fort Schuyler was not insignificant. As West Point was to the Hudson River Valley, Fort Schuyler was called the key to the Mohawk Valley. It was located in the western part of the Adirondack Mountains, and from the beginning of the war until after the Sullivan Expedition—when Canada next door the area remained a threat to the American cause to the end of the war.

John had no significant battles to fight, but sometimes a soldier’s duty was to stand guard, to be defensive, making it possible to avoid combat into which he “ought never to be drawn.” He was simply a Revolutionary soldier beside a big gun, on duty, holding His Majesty’s men at bay.

Most of the hostile natives also stayed away; at least they weren’t the threat they were before the Sullivan Expedition. While there is no record that says John fought an important battle in the area, the angry Iroquois tribes continued to try to cause as many problems as they could for Patriot settlements. By stationing an artillery company at lonely little Fort Schuyler the American Army continued to avoid major combat with them.

While he was at Fort Schuyler, there was a relative peace in the Mohawk Valley. For his last few months up North, the military career of John Vaughan is marked by historical events more than by cannon fire.
Morristown, New Jersey
The winter of 1779-1780

John Vaughan never mustered at Jockey Hollow where Washington wintered the Continental troops in 1779-1780, but his part in the war can be better told in the background of this hillside setting. That awful winter American troops carved their camp out of two thousand acres of wooded hills near Morristown, New Jersey. Ten thousand Continentals cleared trees and built huts for themselves and some of their officers. When occupied, Jockey Hollow became the fifth largest city in the United States.

During 18th century wars it was customary not to fight in the cold. Whole armies would seek shelter, and then hunker down during winter months to rest, make plans, wait, and watch. Washington himself helped draw up plans for the neat little huts and laid out their perfect alignment, row by row, throughout the hills. Coming upon the Continentals was the worst winter of known history, and all that stood between the soldier and the continuous ice storm was a 14’ X 16’ log house for twelve, a fireplace, a bed of straw, and one blanket.

It snowed so often, the freezing, hard-working soldiers had to build their hut city in the snow. But build it they did.

Since John mustered at the Chester lookout post from June to December, 1779, and from January to March, 1780 at Fort Schuyler, he skipped the horrors at Morristown. While not stationed there, he was close enough to know the suffering of thousands of his fellow soldiers, and he, himself, would have had to go south that winter, and pass up Cornwallis, to have escaped the blizzards and freezing temperatures that froze every harbor from the Carolinas to New England.

Diaries and letters of the men who were there recorded their misery. Blizzards and snowstorms closed roads and made supplying and tending the troops impossible. There were mutinies of hungry, unpaid soldiers. Days of blizzards and months of snowy days left grass and fodder covered in six to eight feet of snow for weeks at a time. Horses died from lack of feed and some were herded south to Virginia. Washington’s own letters state his fear of the defeat of his army by the ice of Morristown. John, nearby, would have known their stories even if he was not there. Farther north, Fort Schuyler got blown by the same icy winds.

John Vaughan does not appear on the pay rolls of Jockey Hollow, but very few—if any—did, and there truly were mutinies in the ranks of unpaid, hungry, freezing soldiers. Rank mattered in some cases, but the weather was no respecter of persons. The foot soldiers were hungrier, more ragged, and poorer than their officers, but no one escaped the freezing cold. Improvements over Valley Forge in sanitation and medical service lowered the death rate, but the toughness of these seasoned vets played the biggest part in their survival. Plus, they had the fiery belief in the rebellion to hold on to, and it kept them warm.
By April the only condition that showed any improvement was the temperature. Many troops were still unpaid, and pay rolls that were met were funded by a worthless Continental economy. What little pay the men did receive was “not worth a Continental.” John was on duty at Fort Schuyler, receiving more than double pay; was he getting double of nothing? A Connecticut unit wanted at least a piece of paper. When they tried to walk out of camp in April—hungry, broke, and half-naked, an officer talked them back in by appealing to their patriotism. Later, in July, as the British continuously tried to draw Washington away from West Point--burning and pillaging Connecticut villages—they were there, standing tall, alongside their Continental brothers in arms, fighting back. The army’s numbers had swelled with mutinous, starving men in the cold of winter, but in the summer’s sun and with a little food in their warm bellies, most were still fiery Patriots.

When the winter winds died down and the weather warmed, the Continental Army was fortunate to still be alive. The British inched out of the protection of New York City and, with Tory aid, began attacking New England settlements in June. First the enemy attacked Elizabethtown, igniting Washington’s beacon fires. Rebel beacon fires that alerted the Regulars at Jockey Hollow also drew the New Jersey militia out of the woods in huge numbers, among them--some who had gone home. The two sides skirmished for the next two weeks until they met in Springfield for the last major battle in the North. In this encounter General Nathanael Greene led the Continentals in driving the Redcoats back to their New York City headquarters. General Washington praised the New Jersey Militia for its efforts and numbers.

Historians fill their books with disbelief that Washington’s soldiers survived crisis after crisis. They say that hard winters, poverty, mutinies—in their fight against a powerful foe—should break the spirit of the common man. If the men were asked how they did it, they could well answer that it was the very idea of being common—of being equal—that they were fighting for. They had no doubt they were the equals of English royalty. In their own mindset they were like knights battling against an evil monarchy.

Thousands of Revolutionary War patriots stayed for the reasons all good soldiers stand and fight; they were an 18th century band of brothers, standing bravely together for a cause in which they held an uncommon belief.

THE SOLDIER’S POST
We were unwilling to desert the cause of our country when in distress. We knew her cause was our own... Joseph Plumb Martin
The Traitor and the Patriot:
Benedict Arnold and John Vaughan

According to the Army's Paymaster records, dated Dec. 26, 1780, John was still stationed at Fort Schuyler. He was stationed there from March through December, dangerously close to the Canadian line. During that year General Washington had good reason to worry over his troops stationed in the Mohawk Valley; the reason was one of his generals: Benedict Arnold.

Benedict Arnold began his military career as a brilliant leader who fought bravely for the cause. Along the way, he lost his way. He fought battles and suffered horrible wounds, won battles, and became a favorite general of George Washington. Unfortunately his abilities and accomplishments were overlooked, and he saw the credit he deserved for his accomplishments as a Patriot go to others. Unable to bear the suffering of the many slights he endured, he turned in his blue coat for a red one and hoped for a better deal from England.

Historians sometimes try to make excuses for the once gallant Arnold, but they are wrong to do so. His disappointments were no different from those suffered by regular troops. John and his fellow soldiers were familiar with similar setbacks, but they didn’t turncoat. Hungry soldiers grumbled, asked for back pay for their unrewarded efforts, and sometimes they even mutinied when their cries went unheard. They saw higher ups fed and clothed while they went hungry and naked, and saw them paid when they were not. They had been led into battles by foolish leaders who got them wounded and their comrades killed. And, any incompetent general--who couldn’t fight his way through a line of Molly Pitchers--could claim the glory earned for him by the bravery of his men. All this, yet they did not turn traitor.

Late in the war when the Redcoats sent out Loyalists to sympathize with a group of mutineers, the angry Patriots arrested them and hung them as spies. American soldiers had a cause to fight for, and they wanted to win, but they had to be able to fight. These Patriots were cold, hungry and sick, and according to their newfound American belief, they felt they had the right to complain to their government. They were on their way to find Congress with their grievances when they encountered and arrested the Loyalist greeting party.

Mutineers, there were hundreds; traitors, there was Benedict Arnold. George Washington was no stranger to mutineers. He had dealt with plenty of them, often hearing their complaints and talking them back into the ranks, and just as often meting out punishment. To him, mutineers were brave men who had a right to be angry. Benedict Arnold’s treason against America’s steadfast troops sent their General into a rage.

After the Brits evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, Washington had appointed Arnold to oversee the plundered city’s recovery efforts. Arnold abused his power and became a greedy war profiteer. He also was hanging out with suspected Loyalists, and even married one who happened to be rich and young and pretty. Newspapers published
attacks on him, led by Joseph Reed, the leading government official of Pennsylvania. Finally in 1780 Congress looked at the charges against him. Whining before Congress, Arnold answered the charges by wailing about all the good he had done and about how he had suffered for it, and he convinced the delegates to drop the charges against him. Historians call his defense, “eloquent”, but Reed, a former soldier himself, and a true patriot, was not convinced. He protested to Washington.

It just so happened, in one of the strange ironies of the war, that Reed was a businessman in charge of building war wagons that Pennsylvania was providing for the rebellion. Washington needed wagons to move the troops and their baggage. Reed said in effect: reinstate the charges, or--no wagons.

Washington reprimanded Arnold in a harshly worded letter, but Arnold had already formed a secret plot against his namesake, Fort Arnold, soon to be called West Point. A plot was discovered in which he offered to turn the coveted fort over to the British in exchange for money and high appointment. When discovered, he fled to their headquarters in New York City. He escaped punishment, but his accomplice, an intelligence officer named John Andre, was caught and hanged.

. . . . When the time came--Pennsylvania provided the needed wagons.

If Arnold’s plan had succeeded, and the British took West Point, then John Vaughan—and all the Patriots between West Point and Canada--would have been overrun and defeated without a chance of being rescued. The fort was situated above a narrow bend in the Hudson River and overlooked the surrounding countryside. British troops could not navigate the river without being blasted out of the water as their ships had to negotiate a tricky turn below the fort’s artillery. The rebels had made it even trickier with a huge chain forged out of Chester iron stretched from bank to bank across the water.

West Point was where Burgoyne’s invasion from Canada was headed when he was stopped at Saratoga by Daniel Morgan—and, by Benedict Arnold. In 1780, John Vaughan, and all who were stationed at Fort Schuyler and any other frontier outpost, would be cut off from help from the American Army if Arnold had succeeded in turning over his fort to the British. West Point was never referred to as Fort Arnold again.

History is a carousel of events. While stationed at Fort Schuyler during 1780, John Vaughan himself was on this historical merry-go-round with Benedict Arnold. Early in the war, Patriots at Fort Schuyler had been under siege by the British and by Tory Indians. No one wanted to go in and rescue them. About the
time young John was signing up with the Continentals in 1777, Arnold volunteered to take an attack in, and he was successful in rescuing Fort Schuyler. Three years later, with John stationed at the old fort, Arnold nearly gave him—and the fort he once rescued—over to the British.

While Arnold escaped a hanging, his co-conspirator, Major John Andre, did not. As the world and history turned, Nathanael Greene was president of the military tribunal at Major Andre’s trial, September 29, 1780. He, and Henry Knox, who also sat on the board, sentenced Andre to death, and he was hanged October 2. John Vaughan, watching from Fort Schuyler, barely escaped being turned over to the British in the treacherous scheme of the conspiracy. Historians usually include a sympathetic eulogy for the spy, reporting on how bravely he faced death, but for the foot soldier who his evil deed placed in the line of fire, the hanging man may have looked more criminal than gallant.

As John’s world kept spinning through history, his next assignment turned out to be with Greene and Knox. Washington talked the Continental Congress into appointing Greene to take over for one of the cowardly incompetents who got many of his men killed down south—Horatio Gates; this was in the first battle at Camden in South Carolina, 1780. General Knox would be loading up his artillery for the trip. He and Greene had war wagons from Pennsylvania to load; 1,300 Continentals didn’t have to haul anything heavier than their knapsacks to South Carolina, thanks in part to the wagons Washington bargained for in exchange for his chastisement of Benedict Arnold. Washington went after Arnold with a vengeance for the rest of the war, but never caught him; the wagons had to be his consolation prize.
Dec. 26, 1780, Letter from the Army’s deputy Paymaster:

Gentlemen -- Captain William Brown, of Colonel Charles Harrison's regiment of artillery, who has been stationed at Fort Schuyler, is now on his march with his company to join the Southern army.

The Southern Campaign

The Military Genius of General Nathanael Greene

After he presided over the trial and hanging of Benedict Arnold's co-conspirator, Major John Andre, General Nathanael Greene moved to command the Southern Department of the Continental Army in early December 1780. His command was now second only to George Washington. Gunner John Vaughan, with the 1st Artillery Regiment, would soon join him in the Carolinas. They were heading into dangerous territory; the reports of Tory and Loyalist support for King George in the South were not rumors. Many battles were fought there between Tories and Rebel partisans without a Redcoat in sight, and though they were fought between feuding families, friends, and neighbors, they were more vicious than any clash John had seen on a Northern battleground. On the other hand he would witness the Tories' tender devotion to their king when at one battle site a truce was declared and the war stopped for King George's birthday. Nevertheless, under Greene, the Continental Regulars brought a new war to the southern doorstep.

And so, the soldier boy marched off to a different kind of war where he would find strong opposition to his cause; fortunately, the supporters he met there were of a higher caliber than the Royal competition. He had just begun his nineteenth year. In a few months, after numerous engagements against Tories, Loyalists and Royal troops, he would be called, Sergeant Vaughan.

When Greene arrived in Charlotte, North Carolina, England owned the South, and the newcomer found his troops
beaten, hungry and without leadership. He had to figure out a way that he could lead a mix of Continentals, militias, and partisans against the bigger forces of well-fed, organized, and mightily armed Redcoats, Loyalists, and Tories. In the South, where there were as many people who loved King George as hated him, rebel forces were almost always outnumbered. Undaunted, Greene set to work. With the able assistance of rebel leaders Daniel Morgan, Henry Lee, William Washington, and Francis Marion he united the American militants in the southern states. He fed them, and even got some of them paid—paying some out of his own pocket, mounting up a bankrupting personal debt. He brought with him a new strategy, the most important element of which was to keep his soldiers alive. United and uplifted by their new leader, his troops began to turn the warring tide in the Carolinas and Georgia.

Greene was born a Quaker, and he had to give up his religion, which was based on an absolute belief in peace and turning the other cheek, to enlist in the fight for his cause. Because he walked with a slight limp, he had trouble getting started, even as a private. But, Greene was in no way handicapped. In no time his military genius caught the attention of his superior officers, and he became the man that Washington counted on the most. In what was to become an American tradition in all military branches, Greene’s ability to improvise and solve problems during wartime earned him a promotion; for him, it was huge—he went from Private Greene to General Greene.

In 1781 Greene’s forces are said to have lost battles at Guilford Courthouse in March, at Hobkirks Hill in April, and at Eutaw Springs in September, but, each time the Americans were left standing, and it was the Redcoats, diminished in number, who fled. Like Washington had known in the North, Greene knew he didn’t have to win—he just had to survive. With the help of partisan guerillas under Francis Marion and that of local militias who would fight to the death for Daniel Morgan, he simply had to make the British go to more trouble than it was worth for each so-called victory. Agreeing with Washington that it was better for the men not to get killed in hopeless battles, Greene’s campaign was based on his own clever strategy that aimed to divide the enemy, elude him, isolate him, and force him to empty his war wagons. With patience and wit, the time would come when such an enemy could be beaten—and beaten so badly no one could argue the outcome.

On the pension application of William Ligon of Owen County, Kentucky, a soldier described one of the first of Greene’s victorious defeats:

THE SOLDIER’S POST

. . . .I was at Guilford Courthouse, and Col William Washington commanded the horse and was also there. Gen’l Nathanael Greene was the commander in chief at this place. . . . .I was in the Battle that took place there; the Americans retreated about 7 miles to the Troublesome Ironworks. It was a most disparate engagement. . . . .From thence we pursued the British army to low down on Cape Fear River.

William Ligon

In Greene’s so-called lost battles, the British suffered heavy losses; they were not celebrating any victories. Sometimes they were even pursued by the beaten Americans.

General Greene’s famous quip: We fight, get beat, rise, and fight again, describing the indomitable spirit of the Patriots, did not go unheard by the Redcoats.
Over and over Cornwallis was forced to withdraw, regroup—all the while begging for reinforcements, which were promised but never came, from New York. As victims of Greene’s tactics, even with Tory recruits filing in, the Redcoats were losing more men than they could afford. Back home their war in America was becoming so unpopular, recruiting became very difficult. General Greene was providing war critics in Parliament with an arsenal of ammunition which was used to blast Lord Cornwallis and all the King’s men. In 1781 England was fighting battles in every corner of its giant empire and doing well elsewhere; American soldiers made up the only force in the whole warring world the Redcoats could not beat down and keep down, and their shiny reputation was becoming a bit tarnished. If the American soldiers had any doubt that they could win, it didn’t show up in the way they fought; thousands of men just like John signed up for the “War,” meaning—for just as long as it takes.

Cornwallis simply could not make the fleet footed Americans stand and fight. Knowing that the British could hit harder, Greene moved his smaller, lighter army out of harm’s way, all the while drawing the foe deep, deep into the Carolina back country, and he wore the Redcoats out. Continental chief engineer, the brilliant Polish Colonel, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, rode with Greene and mapped out every turn in every road, creek and river. In addition, Francis Marion knew the lowland swamps well enough that he made camp and lived in them; the British didn’t call him the Swamp Fox for nothing. With reconnaissance from the Horse Companies of William Washington, and Light Horse Harry Lee, Greene always knew where he was and where he was going.
With this level of intelligence Greene was able to get the Tories under control, and he played keep-away with the Redcoats long enough to eventually tease them into the trap of Yorktown. When informed by his scouts that Cornwallis was chasing after him, Greene responded, “Then I have got him.” Furthermore, to reinforce Greene’s strategy, from his headquarters in the North, General Washington did send help. Artillery support arrived March 4th. In 1781 nineteen year old John Vaughan arrived in Halifax with Colonel Harrison and Maryland’s 1st Artillery prepared to fight—or, under Greene, prepared to march. After his arrival into the fray, John was forced to swim his cannon across rivers and streams and drag it all over the Carolinas and Georgia and at least once out of Halifax, Virginia. In 1794 a much older John Vaughan would return to Halifax County, marry seventeen year old Nancy Callicott, and start a family. It is believed two sons, James L. and Beverly, were born there.

On his arrival at Charlotte, North Carolina in the winter of 1780, Greene had faced the unwashed, spiritless men in awe of the task before him. The small, pitiful detachment of the Continental army that General Gates had abandoned at Camden was starving. No more than eight hundred men were fit for battle. To restore discipline and morale, just as he had done at Valley Forge--he got his boys fed. History books don’t dwell upon Revolutionary War food stores, mess halls, and commissaries, or the men who fed the troops, but they should. Greene lined up provision wagons, and foragers were called up to man them; they were assigned life-saving duty. Feeding the hungry rebels was a never-ending job, and no one could say it was a thankless one.

Greene’s experiences as Quartermaster General at Valley Forge, no doubt, helped procure food for them more quickly. John’s company had a Forage Wagon Commander; his name was John Head. Several of John’s fellow soldiers remembered their foraging duties.

The Soldiers’ Post
Greene Feeds Troops!

Foragers Go Fishing
By Sowell Frazier S8730

...The next tour of duty I served we were sent into Virginia on the Roanoke River on an Expedition to catch fish for the Army. This duty was early in the spring of 1781. It was immediately after the battle at Guilford and the fish was designed for the use of the Army under General Greene.

Sowell Frazier

Hungry Troops Get Steak!

Vaughan Provides Beef
By William Vaughan S9498

I was a volunteer again for six months, and marched up the county on Rocky River, then to the south, then back again into Anson County. I was employed six months to provide cattle for the regular army through this section of the county on their march to the south. General Greene and his army stopped a short time near my house, when I lived at the crossroads near Mays Mills on Jones Creek.

I was a volunteer and served 3 months tours in a horse company, and served a 6 months tour employed in providing beef cattle and other provisions for the regular army and other troops in service. . . .

William Vaughan
Foraging was dangerous work. In one report the foragers’ attempt to round up cattle ended up with nothing but a loss of men who were killed, wounded, or captured.

Once his Regulars began to look like an army again, while he awaited help from Washington, General Greene called together all the fighting forces in the South. Daniel Morgan and his men were coming off a big victory at King’s Mountain and Morgan brought up his troops from the Carolina backcountry. After going through the debacle at Camden with General Horatio Gates, the Swamp Fox Francis Marion, from South Carolina, was eager to serve under a man of Greene’s courage.

Thus reinforced, Greene divided his army, detaching Morgan into the Carolina backcountry. Greene hoped this move would force Cornwallis to divide his army for the chase. Cornwallis took the bait, divided his force and went after Morgan in one direction and Greene in the other. Soon he and his men were worn out trying to catch the Americans. A detachment of dragoons he sent after Morgan’s men were unfortunate enough to catch them and got whipped at Cowpens, South Carolina.

Morgan’s sensational defeat of Bannister Tarleton’s hated Dragoons at the Battle of Cowpens on January 17, 1781 began drawing recruits and volunteers out of the hills and swamps in new numbers. After his victory, he went north to rejoin Greene, and the chase went on. Dragging Cornwallis into North Carolina, they led him farther and farther away from his coastal base, making resupply and reinforcement operations difficult for the British. As the chase went on Greene made sure his foragers cleaned out the countryside and left nothing for the famished Redcoats. In addition, new crops were growing more and more scarce, as any able-bodied male old enough to handle a hoe was now wielding a gun, flag, fife, drum, or driving a forage wagon for the cause.

In North Carolina, with the sharp eyes and good sense of Lt. Col. William Washington’s scouts to assist him, Greene began picking and choosing his battlegrounds where he could make the best use of partisans, militia, and Regulars to carry out his strategy. Light Horse Harry Lee’s Cavalry, or Horse Company, had survived the earlier ill-conceived command of General Gates. Under Greene, he took his magnificent legion of horsemen and partisan infantry to wipe out Tories along the Congaree and Santee Rivers of South Carolina. The coastal guerrilla fighters of Francis Marion ranged in number from a few dozen to several hundred and controlled the southern swamplands. Lee’s cavalry was able to join Francis Marion’s guerrillas toward the coast. He and Marion fought splendidly together, and even had the loan of a field piece from Greene. Unfortunately the big gun set idle because the only artillerist amongst them got killed.

Cornwallis supposedly won all their battles, but up against Greene’s guerrilla warfare tactics that stretched the Redcoats thin, he lost the war. By October 1781, except for Charleston and Savannah, Greene had the South securely under the control of the guerrillas, the militia and the Continental Army. Done in by the chase, endless skirmishing, the accuracy of Continental cannonading, and dwindling supplies and men, Cornwallis dragged what was left of his army up to Virginia to wait at the small village of Yorktown for resupply and reinforcements that would never come. Under such dire circumstances, escape by sea became a consideration, but by that time the French Navy had arrived, trapping Cornwallis for good.
Richard B. Meacham was a part of the many units Greene sent out on search and destroy missions aimed at isolated enemy garrisons. For some of these engagements, Greene sent field pieces from his artillery, usually the three or four-pounders; the artillery crews were kept busy by these numerous assignments. The accuracy of the cannonading laid on the enemy in these “little skirmishes and jaycees,” as well as in battles, hurried the demise of the Redcoat Army.

We are soldiers who devote ourselves to arms not for the invasion of other countries, but for the defense of our own, not for the gratification of our private interests but for public security.

General Nathanael Greene, Commander of Continental Troops and all Southern Armies
Portrait by John Trumbull, Yale University Art Gallery
The Battles

I. Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina

In mid-February, after Daniel Morgan’s victory over Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina, he reunited his men with General Greene’s Regulars at a crossing of the Dan River on the Virginia border. He arrived with Cornwallis right behind him. Earlier Col. Kosciuszko had all the Carolina streams and rivers mapped out, while General Greene ordered all boats confiscated; thus, the Patriots owned the waterways. A hapless Cornwallis, worn out by the chase—and stunned by the speed of Morgan’s march, watched from the North Carolina shore as the last boatload of Americans landed safely on Virginia soil. Adding insult to injury, their artillery was pointing right back at him.

General Morgan was very ill, and Greene sent him home. It was a big loss for Greene, but part of his genius was in learning and adapting, and he would use Morgan’s winning tactics in battles to come. The Americans camped out at Halifax Courthouse, Virginia for a week, where they got a rest and heard word of approaching reinforcements. Captain Brown’s Company, now under the command of Virginia’s Colonel Charles Harrison, had been marching since late December.

The expected reinforcements would allow the rested Americans to cross back over the Dan River a more powerful force than their enemy. All the North Carolina boats that Greene had earlier commandeered were moored and waiting on the Virginia shore, and the 1st Maryland and all the Continental artillery was eventually latched down on them and rowed across the water. They immediately marched in Greene’s shadowing campaign, staying just out of reach of Cornwallis until Greene was ready. John’s unit rowed over March 4. Greene had a battleground already picked out and, on March 15, 1781, led the Redcoats right to it. The place was called Guilford Courthouse.

Cornwallis, with only two thousand men, marched to the battleground where the Americans waited. Greene had his infantry set up in three lines similar to the alignment Daniel Morgan had used at Cowpens to whip Bloody Bannister Tarleton. Each line had the support of cavalry and artillery units. He had over four thousand men to work with. The first line was North Carolina militia and rifleman. The second was the Virginia militia staked out in a wooded area with the support of two cannon. The Continental Regulars formed the last line and had the support of the rest of the artillery.

The fighting actually began four miles down the road from Greene’s setup when Tarleton’s Light Dragoons accidentally ran into Light Horse Harry Lee’s men. The road Lee got caught on passed through the center of the American position. Two field pieces guarded the road. There was a vicious fight, and many of his men were killed; Lee tried a retreat toward his lines.

Then the Battle of Guilford Courthouse began. First, Cornwallis marched his troops into the smoke and fire from the North Carolina militia and took on heavy casualties. Still, officers urged their men forward, marching them into the killing range of rifle and musket fire. Cornwallis ordered up his artillery against the small guns of the Patriots, breaking up the North Carolina militia and driving it into the nearby trees.

Under cover of the woods further up the road, Virginia militia and more artillery waited. The Redcoats kept coming and after a fierce firefight the Virginians found themselves in bloody hand-to-hand combat. All the while a regiment of Hessians was driving Lee’s men—and all chance of a rescue by his cavalry—away from the main battle. Finally, Cornwallis forced the Virginia militia’s retreat.
By now British forces had fought three battles, and when they came out of the woods the exhausted Redcoats found themselves facing a third line of Americans up on the high ground. The Continental Regulars cast a threatening blue shadow across an open field and began mowing down the Redcoats with musket and cannon.

In spite of heavy casualties, the British troops regrouped and charged again. The charge was successful, and this time they captured two artillery pieces. Immediately General Greene gave Lieutenant Colonel William Washington the order to take them back. He did. The Lieutenant Colonel and his Horse Company attacked from the rear to recapture the big guns. At this point in the action it was said ... victory alternately presided over each army. Nevertheless, Cornwallis panicked at the strength and determination of the Patriots. He ordered his artillery to fire grapeshot into the fray, clearing the battlefield. He killed as many of his own men as Patriots, but it worked. Unwilling to get a soldier killed just so he could say he won the field, Greene called off the counterattack and ordered a general retreat. Some American artillery was lost.

During the cruel, bitter battles of the Southern Campaign, some saw the Continentals as too humane in an inhuman conflict. In particular, the militias and partisans, whose men had suffered torture and hangings, the burning of their homes, and the deaths of family members, wanted revenge. But General Greene’s masterful direction of this horrendous theatre of war calmed them and kept them alive to fight another day. He didn’t mind running, if it meant saving his army. He never doubted his victorious retreats would win the war, and he made believers out of those who did.

Cornwallis could claim he took the field, but it cost him more than a fourth of his army to do so. Desperate for men and supplies, he retreated to Wilmington, North Carolina. Before long he took his worn out troops all the way to Yorktown where they dug in and hoped in vain for reinforcements from New York City. General Greene was left free to roam the South and to retake the Carolinas and Georgia.

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After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, and both sides had filed their reports, a British Sergeant described the aftermath:

Sgt. Roger Lamb of the 23rd Regt.: "[After the battle] every assistance was furnished to them [the wounded of both sides], that in the then circumstances of the army could be afforded; but, unfortunately the army was destitute of tents, nor was there a sufficient number of houses near the field of battle to receive the wounded. The British army had marched several miles on the morning of the day on which they came to action. They had no provisions of any kind whatever on that day, nor until between three and four in the afternoon of the succeeding day, and then but a scanty allowance, not exceeding one quarter of a pond of flower, and the same quantity of very lean beef. The night of the day on which the action happened was remarkable for its darkness, accompanied by rain which fell in torrents. Near fifty of the wounded, it is said, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action during the night, exceeded all description. Such a complicated scene of horror and distress, it is hoped, for the sake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life."
II. Hobkirk’s Hill, South Carolina

THE SOLDIER’S POST

Record of service of Robert Livingston
State of New York, Albany County
That he, the said Robert Livingston, b 1752, enlisted in the Maryland Company commanded by Captain William Braun in the Artillery, Col’l. Charles Harrison’s Reg’t., the Continental Establishment; that he continued to serve in the said corps, or in the service of the United States until the close of the American Wars in the year 1783, about four & a half years, when he was discharged from service in Annapolis, state of Maryland, that he was in the battles of York Town [Siege of Yorktown VA, 28 Sep - 19 Oct 1781], Eutaw Springs SC, 8 Sep 1781, Fort Ninety Six [Siege of Ninety-Six SC, 22 May - 19 Jun 1781] where he was wounded in the arm.

.... and I was also at the 2nd battle of Camden nearby Hobkirk Hill on 24 Apr 1781.

Robert Livingston

The actual Battle of Hobkirk Hill was fought April 25th; it turned out to be a hair-raising experience for Robert, John Vaughan and . . . any of “the Maryland Company commanded by William Braun in the Artillery” who were with them.

The April morning broke full of bright sunshine, warming the South Carolina air for Continentals who bathed in the fine waters of Martin’s Spring running below the hill. Others were laundering their clothes and some had begun cooking breakfast nearby. Only the Regulars were on site. General Greene had left his Cavalry and Artillery in the rear the night before. On the 24th he had pitched camp, in battle order, below Lord Rawdon’s British headquarters up on the hill. When Cornwallis inched his way up to Virginia, he left Rawdon as the highest ranking officer in the Deep South. Between the hill and the town of Camden, Rawdon and his troops were stationed inside a stockade, supported by four redoubts; he kept it manned in part by Negroes, Tories and Indians. The Americans down the road were just out of reach of the fort’s cannon fire. Greene had purposely camped just close enough to be safe from enemy artillery while at the same time tempting the enemy to sally forth.

The Americans were camped out on the road they marched in on. It was a broad road leading from Charlotte in North Carolina to Charleston in South Carolina. It passed near Camden and trailed through timber country that was covered by heavy wood and underbrush which might be used by the enemy for cover. General Greene sent patrols out into the woods and then ordered that the weapons of the men at leisure be laid out in battle order, ready for action at a moment’s warning from his piquet guard.

During the night a drummer in the American camp turned traitor. He went to Lord Rawdon and informed him that Greene was without his horse company and his artillery. Rawdon leaped into action, immediately manning the redoubts with Negroes, Indians and Tories. Silently, without fife and drum, his army prepared for a morning attack. His cavalry led the way out of the fort.

Within minutes Greene’s advanced piquets were attacked by a bayonet charge and driven in after a furious fight. Alarmed by the sounds of the fracas, all the soldiers enjoying Martin’s Spring, and about to enjoy a meal, abandoned their bath and laundry, and ran to their readied arms--stacked in the very line they needed to form. 1st Artillery Regiment, under Colonel Charles Harrison, had just come up the main road. At about
the same time Lt. Colonel William Washington arrived with his cavalry and about two hundred and fifty North Carolina Militia.

Greene, as usual, had picked the perfect spot to cause the most damage to the enemy. His position on a running stream was a threat to their mills and their daily bread—as well as to their water supply; it divided the enemy forces, preventing correspondence between them; and it penned down the aristocratic Lord Rawdon himself.

The 1st Artillery Regiment and Washington’s Cavalry waited on their orders. With the Regulars in position, General Greene was openly pleased with the prospect of his army taking the field. The only elements he didn’t have under control were the woods—and human error. It was said that the woods were so thick that a man could not be seen at one hundred yards distance at noon day, and that the very trees could take the sound of a man’s voice and turn it.

Lord Rawdon was on the way. Greene directed the gunners of the artillery to the middle of the big road and detached Lt. Colonel Washington’s cavalry to flank the rear.

The British, with bayonets, neared the spring; they pressed directly forward under cover of thick woods and had scarcely been seen except by the piquets. When their cavalry reached the great road they advanced in close order by slow step until they were surprised to find themselves directly in front of the cannon of the 1st. The gunners opened up on them with canister and grapeshot and blew man and horse off the road. American gunners didn’t miss what they aimed for. From the rear, Washington’s Cavalry came up and routed the infantry. So many prisoners were taken they became a hindrance to soldiers trying to fight a battle. Greene’s perfectly laid plans were being carried out.

With Rawdon’s cavalry dispersed, and many of his infantry killed and many more taken prisoner, the sound of 1st Regiment’s cannon sent Lord Rawdon into a rage. The sight of his routed cavalry was maddening. After ordering a hanging for the drummer deserter who told him Greene had no cavalry and no artillery, he galloped up to the disaster where he was quickly surrounded by Washington’s Horse Company and his sword demanded.

Then, the best laid plans went awry.

A bow had formed in one line of Continental Regulars. Their commanding officer, Colonel John Dunby, ordered them to halt. Trying to maneuver through the woods for an advantage, other advancing lines heard the order and thought it was for them. They stopped their attack. In this hesitant moment, the Americans lost the offensive. Before the Colonel could be understood and restart the charge, the enemy got amongst the confused soldiers and made them give way. Many who had been taken prisoner were able to turn on their captors, and they escaped to rejoin the battle.
Lord Rawdon, himself a prisoner, was surrounded near the head of 1st Artillery and saw what was taking place. Some of his cavalry had rallied and with his infantry was coming to his relief. Rawdon was a sneaky villain. He feigned politeness, bowing to his captors, and in an elaborate pretense struggled to remove his sword from its scabbard. With awed Rebel eyes affixed on his show, his men came upon them and were able to rescue him. The British were then able to take the fight to the befuddled Americans.

General Greene watched his plans go awry with his usual coolness and ordered a general retreat. In doing so he was able to keep some of his prisoners and gave them to Washington’s Cavalry to move them to Sanders Creek, four miles in the rear. He succeeded in carrying off all the British surgeons and several officers. Most important of all, he kept his army alive to fight another day.

A retreat was not so easy for an artillery regiment. Since the artillery just came up as the battle began, the guns, attached to limbers—the fore-wheels that formed a carriage for road travel—were merely unhooked and let down for the gunners to put some immediate fire on the enemy. The gunners had fired several volleys of grapeshot before the horses could even be unharnessed. The boys that drove them had not yet dismounted and had barely moved out of the way of the big guns when they spotted their army in retreat. Lord Rawdon’s men were not far behind.

The frightened drover boys took off for cover. They spurred their horses off the road and headed the animals into the woods, dragging the limbers behind them. They didn’t get very far. The woods were lovely, dark and deep, and too thick for a two-wheeled axis to pass through. Soon the boys were stuck in the trees and underbrush. Unable to move, and still likely to get shot at, they cut their horses loose and fled, leaving behind 1st Artillery’s fore-wheels, without which the heavy field pieces could hardly be moved.

The limbers were quickly found by the British. This was more than even General Greene could stand. He went at full gallop back to the best officer he could find—Captain John Smith, of Maryland—and ordered him to fall to the rear and save the cannon. The big Captain was already famous among his troops for his heroism. Called Captain Jack—even by the General—he had the strength of several men and in hand-to-hand combat could take out two or more opponents at a time. This was called double combat. It was a well-known fact that a musket ball had once struck him in the back of the head, and it barely stunned him.

The courageous Captain Jack hurried back to find John Vaughan and the men of 1st Artillery afoot, hauling their fieldpieces with the drag-ropes. He and his men gave a hand, and pulling altogether they actually broke into a trot. Still, the pursuing British cavalry, on horseback and unencumbered by heavy cannon, were catching up. Smith formed his men across the road and gave them a full volley at close range. That checked their horses and threw many of the riders. Smith’s soldiers then joined the artillerists in their traces, and they all trotted on down the road as before. After some time the Brits
remounted and galloped after them. Smith formed his men a second time and blew them out of their saddles again, and steadfast in his mission, the gritty Captain continued on down the road with his General’s artillery. But, the Brits wanted those guns. They got up after every volley, again and again and again, each time, their number growing smaller. This went on for miles, the Americans rescuing their artillery—the British on horseback, chasing after them.

Then, another plan went awry. An unexplained firing of a gun of one of Smith’s men broke up their maneuver and allowed the pursuing cavalry to rush in. The men on horseback cut Smith’s men to pieces. Though it was said the Americans fought like pit bulls, they were all killed or taken. But, these men were true warriors, and they held off the enemy long enough for 1st Artillery to escape. By that time they were near the Sanders Creek encampment.

Captain Smith was a man of Herculean strength, but finally, overcome in this combat by drastically superior numbers, he was forced to surrender. He was taken prisoner and stripped of everything he had on except his shirt and his commission which hung around his neck. Thus he was marched to Rawdon’s jail near Hobkirk’s Hill.

He was an officer, but he was put in close confinement and locked up without justification. After wasting in jail twenty-four hours he heard from the jailer that he would be hanged the next morning at eight o’clock. Smith found that a Lieutenant Truman, who had been wounded in the foot and taken prisoner, was also jailed. Lord Rawdon sent word to them, wanting to know when it was that their artillery and cavalry had come up, and their true answer saved the life of the misinformed drummer deserter who was also scheduled to be hanged. Andrew Jackson, age fourteen, a future President of the United States, was in jail with them. He had been captured in an earlier battle and was being held for assaulting a British officer. From his cell window Jackson had watched the Battle of Hobkirk Hill.

That night a deserter from Rawdon’s side sneaked out and informed General Greene that his heroic Captain Jack was to be hanged the next morning. Once again, General Greene jumped into action. He immediately sent in an officer bearing a flag, demanding Smith’s release—or else. Lord Rawdon would soon be high-tailing it back to England—just another aristocratic officer who found fighting American Patriots too painful a service. He didn’t need to be reminded that Greene was in possession of some fine pieces of artillery and that some deadly accurate gunners were ready to man them. Those same gunners only needed an order to blow Rawdon away to rescue their hero. Captain Smith was set free.

A few days later, Lord Rawdon emptied the fort at Hobkirk’s Hill and abandoned it. Not long after, nineteen year old Gunner John Vaughan was promoted to Sergeant. History does not say what happened to the boy drover who lost the limber to the Sergeant’s gun carriage.
THE SOLDIER’S POST
An Officer and a Gentleman, Nathanael Greene
Dudley Invited to Dine with General
By Col. Guilford Dudley W8681
Williamson, Tennessee

... The General rode up to visit my quarters, and did me the honor to invite me to breakfast the next morning at headquarters. This invitation it may be easily imagined I readily accepted, and accordingly in the morn, at the proper hour, waited on him, when the General, who seemed to have been expecting me, came to the front door of his apartment, & saw me close at hand and ready to dismount at the gate in the upper corner of the yard.

At the first glance I thought I perceived in the General's countenance an expression of something of a pleasing and interesting nature, and so there was. With his accustomed politeness he stepped out of the door; his fine manly face wearing the smile of complacency and benevolence so natural to him, and met me at the yard gate, where, hardly taking time to present his hand, with apparent eagerness, asked me if I had heard the news.

Struck by the manner of his asking the question, I hastily replied, "No, Sir, what news?"

"Rawdon evacuated Camden yesterday afternoon," (and added in a facetious way,) "and has left Capt. Jack Smith!"

... Capt. Jack Smith had been made a prisoner on the 25th April, on Hobkirk’s Hill, and carried into Camden that night, & threatened with death, but General Greene interposed by a flag & prevented it. . . .

Guilford Dudley

III. Siege of Ninety-Six, South Carolina

From the time John and the 1st Artillery Regiment arrived on the Southern scene, British troops began singing a different tune. Sounding a bit off key, they began to wonder if they could beat America’s ragtag army of Rebels. At the same time, Rebel forces may have been ragged, but they were in harmony. In the American army, units as diverse as professional Continentals, state militias, partisan bands, and coastal guerrillas played the part General Greene gave them—and played it well. The result was a military show of shows. Since March 1781, the King’s men had lost Fort Balfour, Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, Fort Galphin, Friday’s Ferry, Orangeburgh, and had evacuated from the stockade at Hobkirk’s Hill, Camden—all after run-ins with one unit or another of this motley American crew. The only song left for General Lord Cornwallis to sing was a sad one as he wailed from the eastern coast for reinforcements and supplies.

Two important outposts that remained for Rebel forces to take from His Majesty’s realm were Augusta in Georgia and District Ninety-Six in South Carolina. At Ninety-Six a sizeable British contingent remained stationed. The 1st Artillery, which had just finished fighting at Hobkirk’s Hill, would make the Siege of Ninety-Six, with John Vaughan’s cannon preying around the South Carolina and Georgian border area until the end of the war. By August, in his role as Gunner in the South’s theatre of war, he had been promoted to Sergeant. The nineteen year old and thousands of men just like him had changed the Redcoat’s tune.
A star fort was located on a hill above Ninety-Six Village, South Carolina, a little Loyalist town. It was stockaded and fortified with an abatis and a dry moat to slow down enemy assaults and had been built by the British. At Fort Schuyler John had felt safe for many months behind the walls of such a fort; West Point was also a star fort. The Gunner knew from experience that these battlements with multiple wings offered the best protection against enemy artillery attacks.

The enemy stockade at Ninety-Six had been built to serve as a base of operations, necessary in South Carolina’s backcountry warfare. It was intended to help the Loyalists control the South when General Charles, Lord Cornwallis and his British Army moved out. Lt. Colonel John Harris Cruger, in charge of Ninety-Six, was a Loyalist from New York, and he pursued and punished Rebels with diligence in maintaining order in the area; he used the town of Ninety-Six as his base in his raids and skirmishes against local Patriots.

An earthen bank, from which the sharp points of felled trees formed the abatis, worked to slow down any Rebel assault force; with an enemy thus hindered, those inside could take aim at their attackers in a turkey shoot. Inside, Cornwallis had left three brass three pounders to do the damage and also dispatched a wagonload of entrenching tools with which the defenses of the fort could be improved. Cruger was prepared quite well for a siege.

General Greene hoped to sack Ninety-Six, rid the backcountry of the British, and then be free to make the enemy in Charleston stay in Charleston. Greene was beginning to worry the British and their allies. After abandoning Hobkirk at Camden, Francis, Lord Rawdon sent messages to Cruger ordering him to evacuate Ninety-Six. Greene’s patrols were so effective the British could hardly communicate, and Brig. General Andrew Pickens’ men intercepted Rawdon’s orders. When presented to General Greene, he immediately set a siege May 21st of 1781.

The 1st Continental Artillery Regiment brought four six-pounders and their smaller guns to the fray. John Vaughan and Robert Livingston’s commanding officer, Col. Charles Harrison, led one hundred men—barely rested up from their run at Hobkirk’s Hill—to take up siege positions. General Green ordered earthworks prepared for the gun batteries, and the mounds were up before sunrise on May 22nd. Continental chief engineer, Col. Kosciuszko, laid out the siege lines. From the first day on, the Patriot artillery was kept busy firing round after round into the Star Fort. By this time John himself had to be an engineer of sorts to have any hope of knocking down such a formidable structure. He would need super human stamina as well; South Carolina was in the grip of a deadly heat wave. General Greene added a little heat to the rising temperature by ordering incendiary bombs fired into the fort to try to burn it down. The desperate British responded by tearing off the roofs of the fort’s blockhouses.

The siege was on. June 3rd, the Patriots attempted to dig their way in. In their fight for the trench, the Americans were driven back with bayonets and a clubbing from
Loyalist muskets. One casualty was Kosciuszko with a bayonet wound. Another was Capt. Joseph Pickens--Brig. General Andrew Pickens's brother.

On June 6th Greene built and set up a forty-foot Maham Tower, a tactic used earlier by General Marion to capture Fort Watson. The tower took its name from the officer who thought up the idea—a man who was perhaps familiar with Roman history when such structures were used. A sniper perched in the tower could fire down into the fort. Crack riflemen climbed the tower and picked off Cruger's artillerymen at will. Greene reported on his sharpshooters: "Not a Man could shew his Head but he was immediately shot down." For his part, Cruger fired heated cannon balls at the tower, but its green logs would not ignite. To counter sniper fire, he raised the height of the parapet with sandbags.

June 8th, Brigadier General Pickens and Lt. Col. Henry Lee arrived from a Siege of Augusta, with prisoners. On learning of his brother's death, the grief-stricken Pickens paraded his prisoners in front of the fort's defenders who had killed him. It was a siege—Lee suggested that the Loyalist's water supply was vulnerable. From a spring flowing outside an upper fortress called Fort Holmes, men with pails hauled in water each day. Two sharpshooters, Squire William Kennedy and Major Thomas Young, from two hundred yards out began picking off the water carriers. From either garrison the distant shooters could not be spotted. Afterwards, no one was thirsty enough go after a drink they'd only get killed for. In desperation the Loyalists sent out naked slaves in the moonless night to haul water for the men and the artillery.

June 11th brought news the Americans had been dreading: a relief column of two thousand soldiers under Rawdon was marching from Charleston. Greene dispatched the followers of Marion and Thomas Sumter to harass them--he may not have known that Marion disliked Sumter, that he regarded him as a plunderer rather than a Patriot, as rabble rather than a Rebel. He ordered Pickens and Washington to ride out after them to help slow down two thousand Redcoats. A Horse soldier named John Chaney, a native of Ninety Six Village, rode with them and recorded this venture.

Knowing Lord Rawdon was on his way, General Greene went to work. He drew up a two-pronged attack on both garrisons. Fort Holmes was smaller than Star Fort, and he ordered Lt. Col. Henry Lee's Legion Infantry and the North Carolina and Delaware Continentals led by Maj. Michael Rudolph to take it. The other force, under Lt. Col. Richard Campbell and made up of a detachment of Virginia and Maryland Continentals, he would send to Star Fort.

On June 17th, the men of 1st Artillery kept up a barrage all day on Fort Holmes to soften it up for Lee and Rudolph. At noon on June 18th their angry field pieces poured it on Fort Holmes again. In short order Major Rudolph rushed his troops across the moat and fought his way into the small fort. The cannonading had nearly forced the Loyalists out, and they left it for Rudolf's men to take over with little resistance.

Taking the larger fort was more difficult—even for the rough, tough Virginians and Marylanders. Campbell's men hurried into the big ditch and went after the sand bag reinforcements; pulling them down with hooks attached to long poles, they exposed its defenders once more to sniper fire from the tower. Greene's plan worked at first. Campbell's men breached the abatis and those with axes were able to hack it down; others worked on filling the ditch with fallen sandbags. But, they were unable to take it. The Loyalists spilled out of Star Fort and fought back with a vengeance. With their
muskets for clubs and their bayonets bloody, they drove the Patriots back to their trenches. The artillery could do nothing to help. With the failure of the attack, and Rawdon now only thirty miles away, Greene called off the assault.

On the morning of the 20th, Green lifted his siege, John hooked up his cannon, and off they marched. Lord Rawdon marched into Ninety-Six during the afternoon of June 21st. The militia and cavalry Greene sent out to greet him had barely slowed him down. For once the Rebel reconnaissance had failed. During the siege Greene lost one hundred and fifty men; he was not willing to lose more fighting Rawdon.

Rawdon went after Greene, but when he caught up to the rear guard—made up of Lee’s Legion and Captain Robert Kirkwood’s Delawares, the British were in no shape to fight. The heat and the forced marches from Charleston in pursuit of the Patriots had taken their toll. More than fifty of his men had died of the one hundred degree heat. Ironically, the dead were mostly the King’s Irish troops. To make things worse, Greene gleaned the land of forage for his own men and had dismantled all the mills as he went, so there was no food left for the enemy’s table. The dejected Redcoats dragged themselves back to Star Fort, another victim of General Greene’s hard marching army.

On his return to the Loyalist fort, Lord Rawdon just wanted to get out of town; he was too weak to hold it. From the garrison at Ninety-Six he replaced his sick and wounded, and on June 29th he ordered his depleted troops to leave all gear that was not needed, including their knapsacks and blankets, and he marched out with eight hundred men and sixty horses.

He left Lt. Col. Cruger to protect the Loyalist townsfolk until they too could pack up their belongings and skedaddle. On July 8th, Cruger, following Rawdon’s order, destroyed Star Fort and started out escorting the Loyalist citizens of Ninety-Six to Charleston. All that was left for the Patriots to do was to march into the deserted village, take it over, and notch another fallen post to their credit.

John was seeing the rebellion take over the back country. The South was no longer ruled by Loyalists and Tories who favored monarchy. The Loyalists refugees from Ninety-Six eventually settled in Rawdon, Nova Scotia—named for their hero, Lord Rawdon—and started over, still clinging to the belief that King George III had a God-given right to rule over them. Within a year he would witness the most notorious Tories begging Greene and him and the Continentals for quarter; they were right to dread what would become of them if the militia men and partisans caught them.

With most of the enemy pushed all the way to the Atlantic Ocean, huddling along a line on the eastern seashore, Greene gave his hard marched men a memorable six weeks of R&R. During the hot months of July and August the young Sergeant enjoyed a well earned rest in the High Hills of the Santee, South Carolina. He mentioned the place at least enough that years later the elderly Nancy Callicott Vaughan recalled him telling about being there, and she listed it on her pension application affidavit.
IV. A Fellow Soldier’s Tour of Duty—

THE SOLDIER’S POST

Militia Ordered to Harass Lord Rawdon

By John Chaney S32177

Horse soldier and native of Ninety Six Village,

About the age of seventeen or eighteen John Chaney went to South Carolina near Cook’s Mill in the District of Ninety Six to live with his cousin. Having been there about a year, he then and there enlisted to serve in the service of the United States in the War of the Revolution in the State Troops of South Carolina for one year. He was promised one hundred pounds Sterling and lands, the quantity of which he has forgotten, as bounty, no part of which he ever received. The same day of his enlistment in the year seventeen hundred and Eighty one, at the latter part of spring or first of summer, he marched off with other recruits towards Augusta in Georgia and was marched back to Ninety Six or near it.

The Brigade was commanded by General Griffith Rutherford who marched the Brigade down near to Moncks Corner. They were there met by the enemy, Lord Rawdon, who had been there sometime lying with several thousand foot men and one thousand dragoons going to relieve Colonel John Harris Cruger who was in Ninety Six besieged by General Nathanael Greene.

Upon meeting Lord Rawdon, they retreated and were pursued by the enemy. From Moncks Corner to Ninety Six was about 160 or 150 miles. The British pursued them to Little Saluda to the Juniper Springs at West’s Old Fields where they had a fight with the enemy's dragoons, all of Rutherford's men—including John, being mounted horsemen. They had mounted near Ninety Six where a Guard Pasture was.

Knowing that the enemy had foot to support them, they were compelled to retreat—with the loss of about twenty eight killed and a number wounded. In this Action John was wounded in three places with the broad sword by a Hessian dragoon whom he met in full charge. His antagonist, being well skilled in the sword exercise and uncommonly strong, was greatly his superior. The first wound was a slight cut across the fingers on the sword hand; the next a severe cut across the wrist of the same hand at which turning his horse round a pine sapling to escape, he received a severe cut and wound a little back of his left temple which brought him to the ground. He jumped to his feet and whilst running round a pine, one of his companions rode up with his pistol and shot the Hessian dragoon dead in his saddle.

He lost his horse, saddle, holsters, pistols and sword but saved himself by mounting behind his companion. A fever rising in his wounded wrist, and no doctor to be had, he suffered much.

The Americans continued to retard as much as possible the British Army until they arrived at Saluda Old Towns where they camped about 100 yards from the British picket. Colonel William Washington, with a Brigade under his command, was there at this time.

One of Washington’s dragoons, Billy Lunsford, requested of his Captain leave to steal upon and shoot a British sentinel. The Captain told him it could not do the cause any good, and as the sentinel was doing his duty, it was a pity to shoot him. Billy swore his time was out, and so he was going home to Virginia, and he would have it to tell that he had killed one damned British soldier.

Accordingly, Billy commenced pacing backwards and forwards with a pistol and then creeping on his all fours and grunting like a hog. The sentinel was heard to slap his cartouche box and fire, and Billy changed his grunting to groaning being shot through the body, the bullet entering his right and coming out of his left side. It was as pretty a shot as could have been made in daylight. The British sentinel being reinforced carried Billy, a prisoner, into their camp where by the kind attention of a British surgeon who nursed him, and had him nursed all night to prevent his bleeding inwardly and to make him bleed outwardly, recovered.

The next day was kept up, and continued from that day for several days in succession, skirmishing for the purpose of checking the enemy until General Greene could raise the siege of Ninety Six and escape with his baggage.

“We were always encamping at night and making fires with the appearance of intending to remain until morning and fighting, but soon after making our fires, marched all night, halting to sleep in daytime just after crossing a river or suitable place to gain advantage of ground.” Between Ninety Six and Broad River, he and the army joined General Greene.

The British turned from the pursuit at the old Saluda Towns to go to Ninety Six, and finding that General Greene had gone, immediately went in pursuit of Greene. The Americans were retreating with great speed and halting to rest on the Banks of Streams, and after crossing, placing their cannon against the Fords.

The British at length turned back to Ninety Six, and John, with the American army, marched down the Congaree River, and there remained stationed a long time in the High Hills of the Santee. John Chaney
THE SOLDIER’S POST
Nickens fights on Land and Sea
In Charge of Colonel Harrison’s Baggage
By James Nickens $38262

I, James Nickens a Free Man of Color aged about Fifty Five Years do certify and declare that about the Commencement of the Revolutionary War I enlisted in the Naval Service of the United States for the Term of three years and served the said Term in succession on Board the Ships: Tempest, Revenge, and Hero.

I enlisted in the Land Service for the War and was marched from thence to join the Division of the Army under the Command of the Baron Steuben. Then I was detached from the Command of the Baron Steuben to join the Army of General Nathanael Greene in South Carolina and accompanied Captains Ragsdale and Fleming Gains of Colonel Harrison’s Regiment of Artillery to march & joined the Army of General Greene previous to the battle of the Eutaw Springs, at which battle, I was stationed in the rear in charge of baggage belonging to Fleming Gaines & John T. Brookes, officers in Harrison’s Regiment of Artillery...

James Nickens

V. The Battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina

To his hard-marched troops—who were in continuous skirmishes, who fought battles at Guilford Courthouse and Hobkirk’s Hill; who besieged Ninety-Six and Georgian Loyalist strongholds; and who out-marched the Redcoats for eight months—General Greene granted a six weeks rest in the Santee Hills of South Carolina—one of only two places John’s widow, Nancy Callicote Vaughan, could recall her soldier husband mentioning. Their hard marching was called a retreat to victory. After they rested up, in September Greene led them in a battle for their lives—and the life of their new nation—at a place called Eutaw Springs. It is a battle immortalized in poetry, art, and song.

For the British it became another battle that cost them more than they could afford, as Greene intended. To eliminate the last chance of re-enforcements coming up from the South to rescue General Charles Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Greene and his brave men stood and fought. Many died. After a four hour battle, the pristine ground at Eutaw Springs ran red with their blood.

Late in the summer Greene heard reports that the Northern Army of Continentals was on the march to Virginia. For his Southern Army the news meant it was time to stop running. The challenge now was to keep the British who were garrisoned at Charleston, under Colonel Alexander Stewart, from marching to the rescue of Yorktown. The Redcoats were going to need a much bigger army in Virginia because the reports were true; George Washington was on the way south with his.

Relaxing in the peaceful oak and hickory woods of the High Santees, Sergeant John Vaughan and Robert Livingston could lean over their quiet cannon and wonder aloud if it would not all be over soon. They had pushed the Loyalists to the Atlantic, weakened the Tories of the Carolinas, and had depleted the King’s royal forces. In Lord Rawdon’s departure across the sea they could celebrate the inglorious exit of yet another British officer who had found fighting against them to be too painful.
In 1781 they were a ragged bunch—worn out, and always hungry, as men are, but they were proud. In less than eight months they had nearly cleaned out the Tory scourge from the Carolinas and emptied the roads and fields of a redcoated menace. If the recent rumor was true that their beloved General Washington was on the way to Virginia to get Cornwallis, their marching days could be over. But, not before a fight. To save their cause the menace huddling in Charleston must not be allowed to reach and rescue Yorktown. A showdown looked to be just over the brilliant sunrise coming up on the Santee Hills.

Maneuvering brilliantly around, in front of, and against the most powerful army on earth, their General Greene had led them in delivering the South from years of Royalist tyranny. By late summer, 1781, the Continentals, militias, partisans, and guerillas under Greene had taken control where ever they marched.

The British, confounded by Rebel soldiers who didn’t stand still for Redcoat bayonets, who would not stay in line to be shot and killed, who were deadly accurate with Kentucky Rifles and roaring cannon, and who abandoned battlefields with impunity—only to rise and fight again, were losing faith in their cause—that is, their country and their King. They had marched out of Ninety-Six, their only remaining inland stronghold, and it was burning. As they left, they gazed back on the fiery glow of a fire their own officers had put to it. Lord Rawdon was not the only one who was homesick.

Star Fort had held the last Royal garrison in the Carolinas, and there they were abandoning it—withdrawing to Charleston, and Lord Rawdon had set sail for England—exactly what the Americans had fought for. Downhearted with the loss of troops and leaders and ground, they were on their sad retreat when they were met by Colonel Stewart out of Charleston. He brought the news that General Nathanael Green’s ragtag band of rebels had to be found and destroyed, or it would mean the end of their King’s rule in more places than Star Fort.

The end of King George’s reign—exactly what the Americans were fighting for. To contain British movement and to prevent reinforcements from going north to Virginia, Greene intended to take his troops to Charleston. The Redcoats had to be kept penned up on the coast, but his men were exhausted, and so he had paused for a rest in the scenic hills of the Santee River. Greene’s scouts were the best in the land, and one after the other—based on their keen reconnaissance, he deployed detachments to keep an eye on the enemy’s movement and to harass him at every opportunity.

Lee and Marion had made it a hard trip for Alexander Stewart. Sallying up the big Charleston road with his army, Stewart searched in vain for his tormentor’s comrades, who were presently—at ease.

After numerous skirmishes along the Charleston highway with these Rebel detachments, Colonel Stewart, with over two thousand men, finally met up with the British troops and Cruger’s Loyalists out of Star Fort. Early in September he set up camp with them at Eutaw Springs.

Unknown to him, Greene was waiting just a few miles up the road. The Patriot, Francis Marion, and his furious band of guerillas knew the land like no other. The Swamp Fox provided exact intelligence for William Washington and Henry Lee and their Horsemen to act on. The Americans knew where the British were, but, camped out in the shade around the flowing waters of Eutaw Springs, Colonel Stewart had no idea where Greene was. Certainly, he didn’t know he was about to be ambushed.
On September 7th, seven miles away at Burdell’s Plantation where Greene had come out of the Santee Hills to encamp with his two thousand men—Marion, Pickens, Sumter, Lee, and William Washington joined together to form a strategy that had to work. Marion gave him his plans. Start with an ambush, he said, and lead to the fight. By strategically placing guerrilla units and militia with the Regulars, they could defeat the surprised Redcoats. It must have been a somber moment for a man of Greene’s sensitivities; this time his men were in for a fight he couldn’t get them out of.

The next morning the sun’s early light was already heating up the damp air around the British who were encamped at the gushing springs. Near their encampment was a plantation with a brick house towering over it. A foraging party was scouring the farm’s potato field, digging up yams for the Redcoat’s next meal. At the springs, the troops were just sitting down to breakfast when the sound of gunfire roared through the trees.

Two opposing reconnoitering parties had met on a road outside the woods. The American scouts led the British on a chase into the waiting Legions of Light Horse Henry Lee. Lee then pursued the fleeing Redcoats into the potato patch and captured scouts, potato pickers, potatoes, and all.

Gunfire had alarmed Colonel Stewart, and he immediately deployed his forces out onto the farmland. Following Marion’s plan, Greene had his men line up in two firing lines—militia to the front, Continental Regulars to the rear. That’s how the battle began. Each time the British broke through a position, another section would step up, reinforcing every break. The men went down by the hundreds. No one ran away. As always, General Greene led from the front. His horse was shot out from under him, and from afoot, he continued to order his brave men to stand, fight, bleed, and die. This time the British advance was halted and Redcoats retreated in all directions.

Rebels chased some of them back to their camp. Perhaps not used to being on the pursuing end—or, perhaps they were just hungry—the victorious Americans stopped their pursuit and devoured their foe’s abandoned breakfast! Their bellies full, they then plundered the enemy camp, found kegs of rum and enjoyed a drink or two. By the time their officers got them under control, the British battalion which they had driven off had fallen back to the big brick house. Artillery attacks on the house were ineffective, and Colonel Stewart was able to rally his troops, launch a counterattack and drive the Americans from his camp.

For four hours the two armies slugged it out, back and forth, until the ground was covered in the blood of dead and dying soldiers. When it was over, the British limped
back to Charleston, without a sliver of hope of rescuing Lord Cornwallis. General Greene continued following his plan to keep them there.

**THE SOLDIER’S POST**
Col. Washington Captured!

September 1781, Eutaw Springs Battle Report
By James Magee S1555
State of Tennessee, Jefferson County

I, James Magee, joined Col. Charles Harrison of the Artillery train, -- and recollect a Capt. Burrell in the regular service under Harrison.

--General Greene, formed his auxiliary and the Regulars in the rear on each side of the road and ordered General Malmedy to advance, and fire and retreat until he brought the enemy within the ambush there formed -- Col. Malmedy, having discovered the enemy lying close to the ground, directed his men upon the word "halt," to fire at the ground, which was done with such success, that Malmedy did not retreat, but continued to keep up the fight until General Greene rode up.

--Greene in turning his horse to ride back to his artillery, had his horse shot from under him whereupon he marched his Regulars & artillery to the battle ground where the 12 months men and the militia opened upon the right and left, and Greene marched through in front of the battle. -- Col. Malmedy commanded the right wing of the 12 months men & militia & Col. Washington was on the right wing with his troop of horse -- Col. Lee with his troop of horse was on the left wing.

-- Col. Washington charged the Queens Regiment, the 71st called the "Buffs." As he returned, his horse was bayoneted & he taken prisoner.

-- The British were driven beyond their baggage, when our men commenced rummaging their tents, drinking rum, which the enemy discovering, came back upon us, & drove us back into the woods, where we formed again -- we charged them a 2nd time & drove them off of the ground.

-- In the evening the enemy sent in a flag, stating that Greene might keep the ground if he would bury the dead -- Greene returned for answer, that his honor was great enough to bury the dead, & the ground he would keep anyhow. --

James Magee

The Battle of Eutaw Springs was the last major engagement of the war in the Carolinas. It was a desperate conflict for both sides; over a thousand men were killed, wounded, or captured. It left the British army in no shape to rescue Cornwallis.

**VI. Yorktown**

History books almost stop the war on October 19, 1781 with the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown, but for Sergeant John Vaughan and the 1st Artillery the fighting and dying went on for two years and more.

Victory at Yorktown meant big changes for the Redcoats and their officers; most of all, they began heading home where they belonged—or to fight for their king in other wars which they could win. On the other hand, Southern Tories lurked around and stayed fighting mad. For the next year John first was posted to see that they didn’t cause too much trouble in Georgia, before being stationed at Bacon’s Bridge, South
Carolina. There he was to guard the big road out of Charleston against royal troop movements. In Georgia and South Carolina everyone but the Tories was hoping and waiting for a peace treaty to be signed. After the British left Yorktown, the Continental soldier--North and South—had a whole new world to contemplate.

The Soldiers’ Post
Cornwallis Surrenders!

From an Interview with Lemuel Cook

Long after the event, Lemuel Cook of Connecticut at 105 years of age remembered seeing the surrender at Yorktown. He recalled his unit marching all night under General von Steuben from Maryland to Virginia. Near Yorktown, they waited on the side of a little hill near the siege. He didn’t see much fighting. When the British surrendered, after being under siege and bombarded by artillery for days, they were a pitiful sight—starving, covered in lice, and some without boots or shoes. They were hungry and thirsty, and so were their horses. Swarms of flies pestered men and animals.

General Washington saw how pitiful they looked, and he ordered all the conquering troops not to laugh at their enemies. He said not to harass the surrendering soldiers, because surrender was hard enough without being insulted.

Mr. Cook recalled the Redcoats came out clubbing their guns on their backs and were paraded to level ground where they were ordered to stack their arms. Some of the enemy saw the artillery that bombarded them out, and they recognized their cannon that had been captured in 1777 from Burgoyne at Saratoga.

….He recalled that General Greene came up from the South.

Revolutionary War Artillery Park, Yorktown Virginia

French Encampment

Limbers are directly behind the gun carriages. When attached to the gun carriage, the gun becomes a 4-wheeled vehicle. Powder wagons are parked to the right of the horses. Ammunition wagons are last in line. Mortars and smaller guns are lined up in the next row. The horses are driven by boy teamsters. Early on in the war these youths worked on contract, but later they were ranked as soldiers who served under orders from the Continental Army; as such, they could be shot for running away. Artillery crews camped with their weapons, and their herd of horses, apart from the Regulars.
When the militia under the command of Major Eaton marched into Augusta, a Tory named Hunnicutt killed the Major, after he had surrendered. Sgt. Arthur Fuller S9337, amongst the militia troops, remembered fighting for three weeks until they took possession of the Tory’s fort. They then captured and killed the commander and the Tory Hunnicutt who had killed their leader.

The End of Monarchy
I. General Greene and Georgia’s Tories

The Tories tried to keep it going, but the war was all but over in the South. January 28, 1782 the 1st Artillery Regiment mustered at Camp Col. Screvens on the Georgia—South Carolina border. Twenty year old Sergeant John Vaughan was now paid at a rate of ten dollars per month as Sergeant. Georgia was the last stronghold of Tory operations; John would earn every cent he got if he had to fight against these unhappy characters.

Since General Nathanael Greene’s Southern Campaign against the British Army turned out to be a big success, by 1782 the main task left for his forces to carry out was to keep the area Tories under control. With a peace treaty in the works, watching over the stragglers of the King’s beaten Redcoats didn’t take much effort. After years of war, everybody was ragged, hungry, and worn out, but in Georgia there were Tories who were vicious and vengeful as well.

Tories fell into two categories in the South. One group was made up of wannabe aristocrats. They hoped King George would make them huge landowners after the war. If all those soldiers fighting for equality should win, then the lowly soldiers might win the land. The Continental Congress was handing out acreage right and left—not just to officers, but to the common soldier as well. John himself was in line for several hundred acres. Plus, grateful American citizens were deeding parcels of land to their tacky heroes.

Property rights were not good for an aristocracy. The nobility in England had always depended on poor, landless people to support them. At present thousands of England’s lower classes were fighting a world war for them.

Native peoples were the original land owners in America. Most Georgian tribes sided with the local Tory groups in the hope they could get better land deals than the Continental government was likely to give them. When the war was over, and the Patriots won, many of the aristocratic hopefuls left the United States of America; the natives stayed, but nearly all of them lost their land.

The other kind of Tory was nothing but a hooligan using the war as an excuse for criminal behavior. Soldiers fighting for the American cause who were unfortunate enough to get captured by these Tories were often executed. Sometimes Patriots were
turned over to Tory Indian allies to be tortured and scalped. If Tories were caught by a Patriot militia or by a partisan group, they were likely to suffer retaliation.

Because the Continentals fought by the rules of war, and were mostly led by officers who were gentlemen, it was sometimes said about them that they were too humane to fight the Tories. Amongst the independent units men could be heard grumbling about one enemy or another who should have been hanged, but was not. General Marion was said to have finally ordered his guerilla fighters not to hang any more Tories, but to let them enlist with his men during the war and--watched closely--he believed they would make good soldiers.

Still, Tories were not particularly fond of Greene or any of his gentlemanly officers. No Tory had gotten at the clever General any better than had Cornwallis, but guerilla warfare being what it was, Tories and Greene’s Continentals seldom came to blows; he wasn’t around in order for them to get a chance at him. They didn’t see much of John, either; artillery was especially ineffective against guerilla tactics. In Georgia, there was a particularly vile group of these troublemakers, and after Yorktown, Greene used his militia and partisan units to go after them and clear them out.

With confidence, he sent Mad Anthony Wayne in charge of the cleanup of the Tory Indians. For his success, Wayne was promoted to Major General on October 10, 1783.

As far as Georgians were concerned, Wayne was a hero for cutting British ties with the tribes in Georgia, along with his negotiated peace treaties with both the Creek and the Cherokee. After the war the state gave him a rice plantation in appreciation. With pride many an old soldier recalled serving under him.

General Greene shared the hero’s spotlight with Wayne as Georgians began naming counties, boroughs, villages, towns, and babies after their heroes. Sadly, after the war, Greene was broke. But, his woes were short-lived. As soon as the war was over, the people of the new State of Georgia showed their gratitude to the good General with the gift of a beautiful colonial plantation—and by paying his debts. He was terribly broke, and debts he had aplenty. To support his troops he had sold everything he owned to help pay his men. For his money they won him a whole new nation, and his new Georgian plantation would have been the envy of any of his imperialistic foes.

General Greene, like many of his men, gave up everything for the cause. He even left his church, the peaceful Quakers, to join the war, but in the end he led an army that fought to create a nation in which he, and even Tories, were free to enjoy the right to do so.

His military genius knew no equal. Early on in the conflict in America the wily General won over quite a number of war critics in London. While England was winning battles for Empire all over the rest of the world, in America she was losing ground to Greene’s stubborn troops whose refusal to give up and give in never ceased costing the Crown more than it could afford. Greene’s strategy included emptying His Majesty’s treasury. His conduct of the war in the Crown’s southern colonies played a large part in winning over the English Parliament. After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, in which Cornwallis slew his own men to gain the ground, when the battle reports came in to London, Charles J. Fox, a Member of Parliament quipped, "Another such victory will ruin the British army." Greene saw to it that this was no joke and that it happened just as the Parliamentarian predicted.
THE SOLDIER’S POST
AWar Review: A Tale of Two Generals

General Gates Runs From Battle!
Benjamin Taylor R10407
State of Georgia, Screven County

Benjamin Taylor, aged 70 years, is of Screven County, Georgia where he has been living for the last 48 years. He was born in 1759 and was at school when he first entered the service. He served during the year 1780, 1781 and 1782 and part of 1783 as a private soldier in the war of the Revolution.

He was at Gates’ defeat at Camden 1780 and recollects that Gates ordered his men not to fire and that the British advanced within a few paces and had the first fires by which many of the Americans were killed. He saw General Gates with one foot in his stirrup ready to mount when he gave the order for his men to advance, Gates then immediately mounted his horse and fled. Gates’ defeat was the first battle he was engaged in, and he recollects that the two armies fought with bayonets precisely three hours and three quarters, Afterwards he went up the Country and was in a terrible battle near the Mountains where the Army was commanded by General Benjamin Washington, a relative of General George Washington. Next to Guilford C. H., the battle at the mountains was the greatest.

He fixes the 1781 battle of Guilford Courthouse on the 15th March, on Thursday. On the evening of the preceding day of Wednesday, he recollects that General Greene rode from company to company making speeches to his men and exhorting them to stand by their Country.

The Americans fired first, and killed about 500 of the British.

He recollects that General Greene was a little above the middle size, about 5 feet eight or nine inches high, with sandy hair, and teeth that showed prominently when he talked, and was the politest man he ever saw, as he would take off his hat to his soldiers. He marched with General Greene from one place to another. Incidents he recalls to memory, such as soldiers breaking into orchards and corn fields, and drinking a great deal of cider. He attended the baggage at the battle of Eutaw Springs, and has been in three miles of where Morgan defeated Tarleton. He never was once wounded. He was discharged at Bacon’s Bridge, South Carolina – discharge was signed by General Greene.

These are the principal circumstances, which he remembers.

Specie certificate issued to Benjamin Taylor for Military Services: one for thirteen pounds, thirteen shillings (£13.13) and another for Nine pounds, Two Shillings (£9.2)

II. Made in America

The days of fighting were nearly over when John mustered at Camp Colonel Screvens in January of 1782. Battles were winding down into forays and skirmishes in forgotten churchyards, in the ditches of some lost road, or near somebody’s well that has long since been filled in and covered up. The Redcoats were gone from Georgia’s back country and so were Loyalist troops. Only the Tory whites and Indians were venturing out in a raid here and there and even these attacks were more like feuds than military tactics.

General Wayne had settled the Indian issue so that in 1782 mostly all that was left to go after in Georgia were the feuding Tories. Since artillery was not the weapon of choice in settling a feud, it was not left to John to get rid of them. For this, General Greene assigned local units—militia and partisans.

While the byways of history are covered in the vines of time and hidden behind verdant walls that surround overgrown sites of human conflict, the soldiers who traveled these obscure roads of confrontation never forgot. Colonel
Screven is memorialized in placards and historical markers, but the deeds of the soldiers who mustered at his encampment, or slept in a Georgian tobacco field, or had a wound tended in a plantation house that is no longer standing are seldom--if ever--mentioned. John’s artillery company may have been needed in 1782 to oversee the British withdrawal to Savannah, but most of what he saw has been overlooked by historians who find the day to day grind of soldiering to be insignificant.

To those who watched the war ending in front of their very eyes, nothing was insignificant--not the joy of victory or the agony of their losses. The reports of old soldiers who did duty in Georgia are not so much military reports as they are stories of human beings at war, an element of behavior that is very much on the mind of the wounded, the pursued, and those who witnessed the bloody deaths of their comrades.

The imperialists who believed that George III had a God-given right to rule over them were finally defeated, and they were beaten by men who believed more passionately that they had a God-given right to be free. And, all those who had fought to live under a monarchy were free to go do that somewhere else. Their choices were legion—the British Empire stretched all over the world. Only in America had soldiers been smart enough, brave enough, and strong enough to fight and defeat the foolish idea that God made and appointed kings.

The remnants of a 1700’s English heritage remained in the way Americans measured and counted, in the way they spoke and wrote their language, and even in the way they worshipped--but their government and their army were made in America. In 1782 Georgia, John Vaughan and the army of soldiers marching alongside him were nearly finished with their part in setting political and military standards that would be written deep into America’s history.
FIRST PENNSYLVANIA BATTALION

The battalion commanded by Col. William Thompson, in the army of the United Colonies raised for the defense of American liberty, and for repelling any hostile invasion thereof.

This Battalion was raised in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, of the 12th day of October, 1775, recommending the Assembly or Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania to raise one battalion, on the same terms as those ordered to be raised in New Jersey, and to be officered in like manner. Each battalion to consist of eight companies—each company of sixty-eight privates, officered with one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, and four corporals. Privates to be enlisted for one year, at five dollars per month, liable to be discharged at any time, on allowing them one month's pay. Each private to be allowed, instead of bounty, one felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and a pair of shoes; the men to find their own arms. Pay of the officers to be the same as that of the officers of the Continental army. The men enlisted to be furnished with a hunting shirt, not exceeding in value one and one-third of a dollar, and a blanket, provided, these can be procured, but not to be made part of the terms of enlistment.


In the Company of Heroes

I. On Duty

The history of the Revolutionary War is well documented and is more than a twice-told tale. Students have been heard to claim it is tedious, dull, boring... Of course no war was ever tedious, but the telling of its history sometimes does go awry. If the men who fought the war could tell the story, then any student who heard their version, instead of being bored, they would call for more than a tale twice told.

John Vaughan didn’t leave behind much of “his story,” but he was in the company of men who did: men who were there, who grew old, remembered their service, remembered their battles, remembered their officers, and remembered each other. Their memories transport the modern student back to another place and time. Their words allow today’s historian to see the army come into being and the American soldier come into his own. An understanding of the war and of how a ragged bunch of rebels with nothing but a cause could beat the armies of the British Empire cannot be reached without hearing their voices. These men definitely came from a different place and a different time, and John Vaughan was with them.

Not everyone could be an artillery gunner, making headway with a lot of fire and noise; others played parts just as crucial to the cause. No one man is an army and an army has to be fed, clothed, armed, and led; not only does it live as one—it fights, suffers wounds, and wins or loses as one. Someone has to beat the drum and bear the standard. There is equipment to acquire and maintain. There are horses to tend—lots and lots of horses—and an army of man and beast it has been said, moves on its stomach.

Old soldiers who told their stories in applications for veteran’s benefits are frequently men who wound up with little to nothing. These are men who started out in a whole new world—a world largely created by their efforts; sadly, at the end of their lives many of them were counting their possessions in teacups and plates, old broken tools, and bits and pieces of kitchen furniture. Desperate for financial help, they turned to the government they had a hand in building. In their pension applications they left their names—like on a paper memorial—so that they are not unknown soldiers, they are just unheard.

Along with their names, they left their triumphs and their losses. John couldn’t read or write, but he could see and he could hear. These men describe what he heard and saw. They had some interesting things to say about their part in building the United
States of America and about how they went about laying the groundwork for its splendid army. Their duties ranged from tailors to officers.

While John served, army clothes were hard to come by. The history of the Revolutionary soldier is written with words like--barefoot, ragged, and half-naked to describe his condition. James Magee S1555, State of Tennessee, Jefferson County told of his duty as a tailor:

_In the summer of 1776, his brother Willie Magee was drafted for a one-month tour--his mother being a widow, and Willie being the oldest son, James Magee went as a substitute for Willie._

_About the first of March, 1778, Williamsburg--the 15th Regiment was then lying there waiting for clothing before marching to the North to join General Washington. James was immediately placed in the shop of one Nickerson, a tailor, where he and 4 others (that being all in the Regiment that could sew) remained until the Regiment was equipped, which was some time in August. He was constantly in the tailor's shop, and never paraded with the troops, except in the march to New Kent._

Jesse Gammon W1 of Jefferson County, Tennessee told of his duty as one of the first army cooks. He also explained some 18th century peculiarities of the early army drafts and the organization of military units.

_About a mile from the town of Halifax, opposite the town, on the South side of the river, Public Shops were carried on, under the superintendance of Colonel Long, for the purpose of making horsemen's caps, Shoe boots, canteens, Saddles, clothes, Cartridge Boxes, and Iron utensils. Colonel Long asked for a young man to cook for and wait on the shops, and Jesse Gammon went down in the month of July and volunteered to serve for a tour of three months--and Col. Long informed him this Service would be the same as a term in the army of three months._

_In the month of June 1782, orders were received by the Captains of Halifax County, to raise men to serve eighteen months. Early in July, in 1782, a place of drafting was appointed at the Old Marsh Store in Halifax County, eight or nine miles from Halifax Courthouse. The orders were that every twentieth man was to be drafted. The companies agreed to class themselves into divisions of twenty, each division having some men in it who was willing to become a substitute and the other nineteen agreeing to pay him for going in the place of the drafted man and when this could be done, no draft was necessary, and none was made. Jesse offered himself as a substitute and was hired by his class who gave him three hundred and thirty three dollars and one third of a dollar._

Unless he was marching to Georgia, Gammon was way overpaid. The inner workings of an emerging military establishment show up in the documents of individual soldiers as they actually built an army, duty by duty. Gammon
returned home, prepared for the service, and went into the Courthouse where men were examined, judged, and sworn. Like John, he ended up at the Bacon’s Bridge headquarters on Ashley Hill under General Greene. He recollected Generals Greene and Gist and the evacuation of Charleston by the British. Afterwards he encamped on James Island and built huts, went out to sea in search of refugees, and worked the docks at Charleston loading rum and wine. To him there was hardly any difference in the Regulars and Militiamen: “I Served with Continental troops under General Greene and our company wore the same uniform as the Continentals, and our officers were regular Officers--but we were not called Continentals--we were called drafted Militiamen. While on Ashley Hill we were occasionally engaged in intercepting the British foraging parties from Charleston. While on James Island we were not engaged in any active Service. I well recollect General Greene and General Gist, (pronouncing his name Guess).”

From the beginning the army had to deal with internal woes, desertions, sickness, and hunger. Waggoner Stephan Siddall, W6065 reported on them all. His review includes the history of the battles in which John Vaughan fought and the atmosphere in which he served. He struggled on the same battlegrounds and marched the same highways as John so John’s eyes saw and his ears heard the same sights and sounds as Stephan’s.

“After Gen. Green received considerable reinforcement he returned to give Corn Wallace Battle, and had a seivear Battle with him at Gilford Courthaus, North Carolina, 15 Mar 1781. After Battle, Gen. Green pursued Corn Wallace a fiew days and halted at Ramsey’s Mills, on Deep River.

“We remained there a fiew days and while there hung a deserter.

“Then we met with Lord Rawdon and had a severe Battle with him at Hobkirk Hill near Camden, 25 Apr 1781. After the Battle, General Green retreated to Rugeley’s Mill. While there Gen. Green and Col. Hawes had a dispute, and they came verry neare having a serious difficulty.

“After remaining there a short time General Green took up the line of March for 96, a Garrison in possession of the British Army. After we reached that place we commenced digging ditches and Throwing up Brest works for several days & firing Cannon.

“After the Siege of Ninety Six, 22 May - 19 Jun 1781 the sick of General Greene’s Army was taken to Camden. I was sent with them and while at Camden one of the waggoners who was a Negro was taken with the small pox and died. I was put to driving his waggon and was ordered to drive to some mills and load the waggon under my charge with cornmeal for General Greene’s Army which was stationed at High Hills of the Santee River.”

How to rightly define just what one’s duty might be involved on-the-spot training, even for officers—maybe, especially for officers. Adopting the practices and principles of solid leadership seemed to come easy to them, even though they were clearly playing by ear. Armies are always desperate for men, but, lacking the numbers, what the Continental Army did get was good men—the best. That is one reason the U.S.
Army turned out to be the best of all time. From General Washington down to the youngest matross it started with soldiers who knew how to conduct themselves while at war. The triumphs resulting from the decisions they made and carried out, even under the most trying circumstance, indicate they were either incredibly good or incredibly lucky.

The powerful British Empire went up against an army of boys, merchants, and farmers, and they lost. They recruited the best soldiers money could buy in the Hessians but nothing could turn Englishmen, who had nothing against their colonist cousins, into soldiers who were as first-rate as the Americans turned out to be. Their officers, touted to be the best, simply didn’t have the right stuff to work with. American officers, on the other hand, had the best, and they knew how to work with what they had. This feature allowed a fifteen year old matross with four months experience to move up to gunner in the prestigious artillery, and it permitted a Quaker private with a bad leg to move straight up to general. This worked in the Revolution and forever after.

Reporting on the conduct of two colonels at the Battle of Wetzell’s Mills, Joseph Graham recalled a telling discussion between the two officers with their Major.

Cols. Williams and Lee used great exertions to form the militia, but as they got some to fall in, and exerted themselves to rally others, these would move off again. Major Joseph Dickson, of Lincoln, who, with his characteristic coolness and decision, saw the difficulty, observed to Williams, ‘You may depend upon it, Sir; you will never get these men to form here while the enemy are firing yonder. If you will direct them to form on the next rise beyond that hollow one hundred yards back, they will do it.’

Col. Williams instantly adopted this plan. Our line was restored.

The history of the American Revolution is a history of good—or lucky—decision making.

Since mother England had always tended to every facet of their lives, the Rebels had to start from scratch in making decisions and taking care of themselves. The Patriot leaders didn’t miss a detail. In the beginning rules and regulations were written down as they were needed. An Orderly manual stresses common decency:

But should any disgrace themselves, and the cause in which they are engaged by drunkenness, rioting, and other disorderly behavior, and instead of supporting the laws of their country should disturb the peace thereof, by insulting the inhabitants or abusing the peace officers, they may depend on being punished with severity.

During John’s early training, when a soldier could be arrested for starting a rumor or for not using a proper latrine, he was just as likely to be given a wide berth on the orders he was given. When European Baron von Steuben took over training at Valley Forge he remarked that in Europe officers told soldiers what to do, and they did it; American soldiers would first question an order, he said, then the officer in charge would have to explain, and then the soldier would obey. Yet, the Baron brought these
independent minded Americans out of Valley Forge a highly disciplined and well trained fighting force.

Situations to be judged popped up in the new army like weeds in springtime. Arthur Fuller, and others, remembered a fracas in which one captain cut off another captain’s hand and was “... cashiered for cowardice.” Decades later many an old soldier reported the exact, same incident.

Arthur Fuller S9337, fought at Guilford Courthouse, and he and his company got caught in an early military catch-22 at the field of battle.

His duty was on the front line. He stood near a wheat field and he recalled being ordered,

... to fire at the British about the waistband of their britches. As the British approached us we fired at them a time or two but they did not stop or fire at us but came on hollering as fast as they could. Our Captain ordered us to clear ourselves if we could & we all fled—the Virginia militia opened & let us pass. After we started the British fired at us but they aimed too high as their shot passed over our heads. I did not see my Captain any more till after I got home. After getting home my Captain called by & as many of the company as could be—was collected, & marched to Chatham. At Chatham Courthouse we were all tried for running away from the battle of Guilford & sentenced to serve 12 months in the regular service. We were then marched to Santee in South Carolina & put under Continental officers.

... Where they served, some cheerfully, all proudly.

Just doing his duty, following his captain’s orders, and he found himself in trouble. After sentencing, he and the others were then titled Twelve Months Men; there was another unit of Eighteen Months men, Eight Months Men, and, on and on. Faithful in fulfilling their duty, and more, they formed the beginning of the “army way” of getting things done.

Stephan Siddall’s recollection of General Green and Colonel Hawes having a dispute and coming “verry neare having a serious difficulty” after the battle with Lord Rawdon at Hobkirk Hill—plus others recalling two officers in a bloody duel—and, added to memories of deserters being hanged—indicate the “army way” was never without its problems. It also says that the army itself was all about solving problems.

No doubt there were more than a few complaints heard early on in response to the new army’s untried and unproven regulations and training. Alexander McFadden S8887, Militia, freely inserted his soldierly discontent decades later—after a helpful differentiation between the military services.

I am of opinion that we was differently situated in this Section of country. Our militia Service was not uniform. The men of families stayed at home; when a draft was made then the young men took their place and they went to the lines. Their farms lies to the guard of the forts. The situation of the frontiers was so situated that we had no regular standing Army and our frontiers was entirely guarded by the militia volunteers, and
them commanded by militia officers. We that was in this part of Country, I think, is perfectly justified in saying we was in continual service during the Revolutionary War.

I went in the different parts of the County to take any of the Tory party to a stand that was appointed. I was in actual service from 1776 to the end of the war. The Tories & British took everything I had except my land. I am worn out, spent the prime of my life in the defense of my Country for a small pittance. Alexr McFadden.

Soldiers complained, but they carried on. The steadfastness of these focused men and boys, their attachment to a purpose, and their belief in the job they were doing, formed the heart and soul of the American Revolution. These made-in-America soldiers met every hardship with resolve and never shirked a duty. In later days, when they were old and in need, sometimes they used words such as cheerfully to describe how they went about getting the job done. They were proud to have served. It is sad that America's first war veterans fell on hard times and could no longer take care of themselves and their families. Mostly, they had just grown old. When applying for their pensions, many apologized for losing their battle with time.

II. Commissary

Much of the time the soldiers worked hungry, notwithstanding the best talents of General Greene at feeding a multitude with five loaves and a few little fishes. The army of foragers he sent out was huge. The tales of the old “Waggoners” filled up the War Department’s files. No history student would ever find the experiences of these early teamsters tedious. Standing on guard beside his cannon, John Vaughan kept their provision trains in his highest hopes and most fervent prayers because with them came the promise of a good meal or warm clothes or a dry blanket. These men were highly regarded.

The history of Revolutionary War Waggoner Solomon Chalffin, S9166, reflects much of John Vaughan’s early military history. From the beginning Chalffin drove wagons full of goods, often to places where John was stationed. He wrote about his several duties:

“I was enlisted as a private soldier, in August 1776, and we joined the main army. We marched to Fort Lee, where I was ordered to drive a waggon of deficient arms to Philadelphia to be repaired, which order I very reluctantly obeyed, as I preferred remaining in my company, but my officers were pleased that a man for this service should be selected from their company.

“From Philadelphia I drove the waggon back loaded with cloathing for the first and third Virginia regiments, which was very acceptable at the time.

“From thence I went to head-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey where the troops wintered.”

Chalffin was at the battle of Brandywine in September 1777, and during the engagement supplied the artillery with ammunition. Soon after the engagement, he was
appointed--without any solicitation on his part--he said, Wagon Master by the Waggonmaster General. He went into winter quarters at Valley Forge the winter of 1777 and was engaged in hauling forage for the army. During the whole of the year 1778 he collected forage for the army, and in the winter of that year, wintered at General Henry Knox’s artillery school at Pluckemin, New Jersey. In the latter part of 1779, although the term of his enlistment was out, he was ordered to take a huge herd of horses belonging to the United States into Prince William County, Virginia to winter. In March or April 1780 he left the service, which he would not have done, he said, but he had been very much injured by the upsetting of a wagon.

John’s cannon rolled over the ruts left by Chalffin’s busy wagon.

In the year 1777 when young John was getting ready to enlist as a matross in George Washington’s army, nearby, another boy, John Clarke R1991, marched to the battleground at Chadd’s Ford, Pennsylvania and volunteered. When the Americans went forward to attack the enemy, Clarke, being young, was left in charge of the baggage and horses of the Company.

He was then employed in the service of the Waggonmaster General to help collect wagons and horses for the American Army to use to convoy the baggage of the Army to battlefields. The neighborhood settlement was one of Hickory Quakers, the most inveterate Tories, he said, and the wagons and horses were obtained by impressments.

On the day of the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, he was engaged in removing the wounded of the American Army to a church. After the battle he collected wounded soldiers and carried them to his father’s house where their wounds were dressed and where they remained for some time, until they were sent for from the General hospital at Valley Forge. Moreover, Clarke said:

*During the whole of the winter of 1777 and 1778 I was engaged as a volunteer preventing Tories in the States of Pennsylvania and Delaware from carrying provisions to the British Army, then in Philadelphia. This duty was very severe being in the winter as most of it had to be done in the night. All the stock taken from the Tories on their way to Philadelphia was transferred to the American Cantonment under General Washington.*

So, while John Vaughan shivered and starved at Valley Forge, another young boy walked the same snowy ground and was helping to rustle the beef, mutton, poultry, or pork needed to feed him.

Till the very end of the Revolution, wagonloads of flour for bread, salt, bacon, potatoes, beef, rum and wine were driven into camps from foraging, impressments, or plain old thievery. Brandy and cider finds were considered treasures. Sometimes they hauled bought goods. Clothing, blankets, lanterns, muskets, ammunition, and lead had to be brought in constantly. One teamster told how his only job was to haul in fifty bushels of corn for General Greene every Monday morning.

Henry Connelly W8188 was in the North Carolina militia, and he told of his men and horses doing without. The militia’s job, he said... was to keep down the Tories, which were so numerous in this region of N. Carolina. During the year 1778, the men suffered much for clothes and every necessary, and our forage master frequently had to
press forage for our perishing horses. Continental money was then one hundred dollars for one; I could not get a breakfast for $100 in Continental money.

To the soldier, the waggoners were the heroes of the war. Neill Conley R2221 of Laurens County, Tennessee was one. (At the time he made his application for his pension Conley happened to mention a deadly smallpox epidemic in his Tennessee neighborhood.) He got five cows and calves for standing as a substitute. He was attached to a foraging company and was employed in gathering cattle for the main Army after Gates’ defeat, at about the time General Greene took command. He was with the wagons, and during the battle of Guilford he received a wound on the shin from a sword before Col. Washington came to his rescue. During the whole campaign he was engaged in gathering and delivering cattle for General Greene’s Army and was in no engagement.

He drove the cattle to camp and also drove one of the camp wagons. He did not muster in camp, he said, but only assisted in feeding them.

After the war his former captain gave Conley one hundred acres of land out of a one thousand acre tract in the State of Tennessee, “… for his bravery, honesty and integrity in the Revolutionary War.”

III. Bearing Arms

By war’s end the United States Army was well on its way to being an organization of note—the men who served established traditions that lasted and that helped it become a powerful fighting force. The standards set concerning clothing, food, arms, and organization often came about from necessity. Innovation and motivation during the rebellion set those standards and won a war at the same time that it began gearing up for a future United States military. But, for John Vaughan and his fellow soldiers, without precedent to go by—and certainly unable to see what they meant to the future—every day that they served was an act of faith in their cause. It just so happened that a standing army was basic to saving their cause.

The Continental Army went through at least seven organizational changes during John’s service, each one correcting past deficiencies and building on what was working. When Captain William Brown’s Artillery Company of Maryland was handed over to the command of Colonel Charles Harrison of Virginia—to the dismay of the Marylanders—by the orders of a united government, the big guns never ceased firing. With every reorganization there was grumbling and groaning, but the men never lost sight of who the enemy was.

Whatever was done, it was done without tax money. The Continental Army was fighting for a united Continental Congress, a government with no power to tax, and thus, no money for the soldiers who were fighting to save it.

Lacking public funding, the soldier not only stayed hungry and half naked, if he didn’t want to starve and march barefooted, he had to take care of himself—or rather, they had to take care of each other. Starting with their officers—many of whom went to war relatively well off, the soldiers shared. Officers like William Brown, John’s Captain, often went into debt to pay their own troops. Most soldiers, however, had no surplus wealth. What they did have was talent and skills—and a willingness to work hard. They worked like a colony of ants—everyone with a job to do, and everyone getting the job
done. As long as their assignment was in support of what they believed in, there was little the Continental soldier could not do.

As fighting men, one thing they believed in was the right to bear arms. The colonists’ guns lay the foundation for the American army as well as for an amendment to the future federal constitution. The Orderly manual includes privately owned guns in its instructions:

The several captains to make out exact returns of their respective companies, mentioning the men's names and where now resident, the number of guns (and whether proved or not), bayonets, &c., and deliver them to Major Morris, on Tuesday next, at ten o’clock in the morning.

Also what state the barracks are in and how the men are provided with blankets and other necessities.

To continue training the men and mounting guard as usual, until further orders.

One piece of equipment southern patriots owned was a gun—a good gun. In the South, where Kentucky rifles were in every home, the state militias and partisans were heavily and properly armed. This meant these local armies of farmers had guns—not pitchforks, as the British had hoped. Not only were these farmers armed, their weapons were well cared for and they worked when fired in battle. Occasionally this was not so of the musket, the weapon used by the Continental Regular.

Warfare tactics during the revolutionary years required a musket—and the bayonet attached to it, but the importance of the Kentucky rifle to the war’s history and outcome, and of the men who owned one, should not be forgotten. Called the Brown Bess, the musket did not have the range and was not as accurate as a rifle, was difficult to load, and sent a blast of fire and smoke into the face of the shooter. Mishaps occurred, but it was the necessary weapon of the war. At the battleground, after firing in line, a bayonet charge followed. Army issue muskets came with bayonets; privately owned guns did not; that is why militia men, armed with their own weapon, often ran away.

Tales of the musket abound in the old soldiers’ stories.

THE SOLDIER’S POST
Cornwallis Surrenders!

Fifer Hit in the Mouth, Takes up Musket
Eleazer Craddock S8252

We marched to the Santee Hills of South Carolina; were joined on the route by many other troops. I was at the Battle of the Santee Hills, and, there had the fife knocked not out of my mouth by a ball, and my brother-in-law was killed by my side. After having served about six months as fifer—having lost my fife, I took up a musket and performed the duties of a private. I performed the duty of a private all the time I was engaged in Service.

War Ends!

Patriots Turn in Muskets
Jesse O'Briant W1637

Jesse O'Briant served sometimes carrying expresses, sometimes for the purpose of protecting the neighborhood against the incursions of the enemy & not infrequently in the pursuit of Horse thieves & marauders of various kinds with which the County was much infested.

During the whole Revolutionary Struggle the heart and feelings of this soldier was with his Country. To it was also devoted his services as often as occasion offered, after he became old enough to be efficient. The last tour, he was marched down upon the South Edisto where the glorious news of peace was
received & the Troops discharged. He, having been marched back to Orangeburg, stacked his musket against the end of Orangeburg Jail & with as happy a heart as he has had since, returned to his home.

**Guns Repaired in Good Order**

**Young Blacksmiths Deliver Three Dozen Guns**

*By John Connelly W74*

*Bedford County, Tennessee*

Col John Jones, the Colonel of Brunswick County in the State of Virginia, proposed to each young Blacksmith in the Regiment that would repair and put in complete order—twelve muskets each should be exempt from the next tour of duty. John Connelly, an Older Brother, and an apprentice boy repaired and put in good order thirty six guns and delivered them to Col Jones. The time he was engaged in repairing said guns was a month or more.

**Muskets Repaired**

*Joseph Spicer S14554*

March, April, and May 1781 was under Gen. Lafayette at Richmond, when the Tobacco warehouses at Manchester opposite Richmond were burnt before the eyes of the whole army, by the British troops [30 Apr 1781].

The first of June 1781 he was detailed by Capt. William Smith R9872 to repair muskets at Duggins’ Shop near Davenports Ford, in Hanover County, under William Duggins, as master armourer, and in the company with John Lively, James Hall S6946, and James Seay W8038. He was constantly employed as armourer from June 1781 till after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis on the 19th of October 1781 with William Duggins as Master armourer in repairing Muskets.

**Drummer Takes up Musket, is Wounded**

*Hezekiah Carr W3509*

Hezekiah Carr enlisted as a drummer in the infantry company commanded by Captain Jack Smith of the 3rd Maryland Regiment, Maryland Line. In the engagement at Guilford court house, he was wounded by a musket ball and three buckshot and then conveyed to troublesome Old Iron works where he remained until he recovered from his wounds.

At the battle of Cowpens, this was the first battle in which Carr served as a soldier with a musket.

At the Siege of Ninety Six, he served in the forlorn hope assault. (“Forlorn hope” was the name the soldiers gave to two assault forces that attempted to breach the British fortifications on the day before the siege had to be abandoned.) Lt. Isaac Duval led one of the forlorn hopes. Lt. Duval was later shot at Eutaw Springs as he mounted a captured cannon, took off his hat, and gave three cheers. He died within half an hour.

Carr saw the Lieutenant fall at the head of his company.

**Uniform Makes Musket Wadding**

*Edward Steedman W9676*

Edward Steedman marched to the frontiers of Georgia to guard a fort against the Indians and Tories. He was stationed for some time with the Lines in Georgia and then marched to Stono.

He was at the Skirmish at Biggin Church, July 17, 1781, near Monck’s Corner. He went in the pursuit of the British the next morning to where they took shelter among a number of the houses in a large Negro quarter. Considerable skirmishing ensued, but they could not dislodge the enemy. He remembers well to have cut a bullet patch out of his jacket when engaged at that place.

The patch Edward cut from his jacket was a patch used to wrap the bullet fired from his muzzle-loading flintlock. The bullet was a small lead ball, about three quarters of an inch in diameter. When loading the musket it was necessary to wrap the projectile in a small piece of cloth, or paper, called wadding, so that it would fit snugly in the musket breech once it was rammed down the barrel. The infantry soldier carried a supply of wadding with his musket balls in a bag called a cartouche or cartridge box. Sometimes he ran out.

By 1785 Edward seems to have made peace with the remaining Tories—or at least one of them. On the 21st day of February 1846, Agness Steedman, maiden name Agnes Ferguson, believed to be the sister of Col. Ferguson, the infamous Tory militia
commander, filed a pension application. She was married to Edward Steedman the 10th day of January, 1785. Col. Ferguson was dead at the time—killed in the war.

IV. Tories, Patriots, and Politics

THE SOLDIER'S POST
Loyalists and Whigs Form Parties

Militia Evens Score
Major James Gray S8594.

In the year 1775 I was living in Tryon now Rutherford County North Carolina. The Indians & Tories mastered very strong. We was divided into two parties: the King's party & what was called the Liberty Men. There was considerable disturbance at all of our gatherings: each party rallied to his standard.

The Young men formed a Company of Minute Men under Captain James Miller. We held ourselves ready at the call of an officer to perform duty. We was kept moving from post to post in the County until Patrick Ferguson marched into the County with a considerable force; we had to cross the mountain to recruit our forces.

We joined the Regiment under the command of Colonel William Campbell. We then came back and met Ferguson & his forces at King's Mountain where we paid him back in his own way. I had some satisfaction on that, in taking some of my own acquaintances—who I knew pursued me when I was not able to defend myself.

I was in continual service. We was in a much worse situation than those who was in the Regular Army. There was a large frontier for us to guard. At one period of our difficulties our service was hard. The Indians pressed us on one side, the British on another. In the midst of the Tories--Ferguson at their head, with a number of our citizens taking refuge under him--was alarming times with me. I knew I was a mark for them to shoot at, and if they could by any means take me, I would have to suffer many deaths. James Gray

New Government at Work:
General Marion Serves in Legislature

Youth Joins Freedom Fighter!
William Vaughan W11691
Sumter District, South Carolina

I entered service as a volunteer under Marion on the South side of the Santee River.

At Fort Watson and Fort Motte I was engaged in the siege at both these forts under General Marion -- Colonel Lee commanded the Cavalry at both of the sieges. Many of Marion's men were killed at the bridge--to the great dissatisfaction of Marion.

I was also at the battle of Eutaw. After that Marion's men were stationed on the South side of Santee River at Perry's plantation. The River was crossed repeatedly by the troops under General Marion. In the latter part of the year 1781 and beginning of 1782 the troops under command of Marion were encamped in the vicinity of Charleston at different posts.

General Marion was absent a part of the time at the Legislature.

I recollect that an order came on to dismount the footmen from Marion --this was in 1782--I had kept a horse from my first entering service -- I would not give horse up after being accustomed to horseback so long -- and I therefore volunteered in the Corps of Cavalry commanded by Colonel Maham. In June 1782 I retired from the service.

At the period of my leaving the service there was no active warfare -- the provisions were scarce. Many men left by permission and consent of the officers--under an agreement to return when called upon--should the exigencies of the service require. William Vaughan

Army Posts Guard for New Government
David Bazwell R645
State of Tennessee, Williamson County

...We marched to the same place in Hillsborough and stationed to guard the Assembly again.

We remained here in service three months when I was discharged again by my Capt. I sold one of my North Carolina discharges to Col. Murphey for fifteen shillings soon after the termination of the war. I sent the other by one Benjamin Douglass to an auction of muskets and Cartridge boxes that he might buy me a musket. He did so and gave in pay my certificate of service.

Tories Terrorize South Carolina Settlements!

Raid Home of Discharged Minuteman
Samuel Reynolds W1080
County of Franklin, State of Tennessee
Samuel Reynolds served as a minute man for the purpose of keeping down the Tories, who still continued to molest the settlements.

He was marched to Bacon's Bridge on Ashley River in South Carolina and there stationed under the command of Genl. Pickens where the troops remained for the term of six months when he was discharged at Bacon's Bridge. Genl. Nathanael Greene & Col. Lee were with the troops at Bacon's Bridge.

The night after he returned home from the performance of his tour of duty, the Tories, about 14 or 15 in number, came riding through the yard of his stepfather. He went off the same night & lay in the woods & the next morning he went & joined Captain Blasingame's Company & remained with it until December 1783. There was one incident when the company--he being along--went down on the Edisto in pursuit of a party of Tories, a little below Orangeburg in a swamp, overtook them, & had a fight with them

He was out in the field or in camp & not in Garrison. Samuel Reynolds

**Tories Sue for Quarter!**

**Wood Narrowly Escapes Capture by Bloody Bill**

By Zadok Wood: S3612

Bedford County, Tennessee

Zadok Wood was called out again to guard Hayes' Station against the Tories. He went out this time, as a private militiaman. He was in service this term, three weeks, and being then taken sick, he was permitted by Col. Hayes to go home.

The second day after he left the fort it was taken by the Tories under the command of William Cunningham, commonly called devil Bill Cunningham, also called “Bloody Bill Cunningham,” and Col. Hayes together with fifteen of the men was killed.

In the month of July following, he was again drafted and marched in defense of his country. He was marched down the country toward Charleston against the British. He, together with the other troops under Major Gordon, was stationed at Bacon's Bridge on Ashley River twenty miles above Charleston for the purpose of guarding that point. General Nathanael Greene with the main American army was at that time encamped six or seven miles farther down the river, and was the commander in chief of all the American troops in that part of the country.

While he was stationed at Bacon’s Bridge, the British were about leaving the country, and the war drawing near to a close, the Tories began to sue for quarter in large numbers, and he remembers that Gen. Robert Cunningham and Col. Thomas Pearson, Tory officers, came to Major Gordon under a flag to ask for protection and to get the Major to furnish such of their men as might come in with an escort to conduct them to Gen. Greene. Their request was granted, and large numbers of them came in for several days & nights. They were, by the command of Major Gordon, conducted to General Greene's encampment. Zadok Wood
From April 1782 till the war’s end John was stationed at the Continental’s encampment known as Bacon’s Bridge, South Carolina. It was huge.

Bacon’s Bridge is on the Ashley River, an actual bridge, about fifteen miles out of Charleston. Rebel forces had cleaned up the Carolinas and Georgia and pushed what was left of King George’s subjects to the sea. General Greene headquartered in the area to keep them under control. The whole Southern Army, the militias, and even some partisans gathered around for the ending. They stayed posted at Bacon’s Bridge and were privileged to watch their enemy pull out of Charleston in December 1782—over a year after Yorktown. The British took thousands of their Loyalist supporters—and a few Tories—with them. The soldiers watched them go.

After Yorktown many Maryland men from the Northern Campaign came down to Bacon’s Bridge to assist their Continental brethren in arms; they were led by General Mordecai Gist.

John Boudy W5858, born in Maryland, enlisted in the Army of the United States the third of September 1776 near the place of his birth. About two weeks after he enlisted, he rendezvoused at Annapolis and was attached to the Second Regiment of the Maryland Line. At the beginning of the war Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland raised the biggest armies. After Yorktown, the Pennsylvania troops were mostly kept under Washington’s command up North, and Virginia had lost thousands of its men when Cornwallis captured Charleston—good men who rotted away on English prison ships off shore—so in the end it was largely left up to the Marylanders to hold the Continental line in the Southern Campaign.

The war took Boudy through the entire Northern Campaign to places where John Vaughan had been stationed and had fought, and finally to Yorktown. After the British garrison surrendered, in the latter part of the winter and early in the spring of 1782, many of the Maryland troops were dispatched to Bacon’s Bridge. Boudy gives a good recounting of the war’s coming to an end, the same version John would have written if he had been able to write. Soldiers stationed at Bacon’s Bridge were coming upon a grand moment of celebration.

By John Boudy

-- All the officers & men of my Regiment (or nearly all I think) were ordered to the South, under command of General Gist of the Maryland line, the other Pittsylvania troop were commanded by General Wayne. In consequence of the Scarcity of provisions, in the Country through which we had to march, we went in detached parties -- my company passing Halifax in N.C., and thence to Greene’s Camp, which we found near Bacon’s Bridge , S.C., about the middle of May 1782. We marched to within about twelve miles of Charleston, and encamped upon the Ashley River.

About this time it was generally reputed that the enemy, who were now in possession of Charleston, would soon abandon it. Our troops having Command of nearly all the Country around Charleston rendered it
difficult for the enemy to get their supplies of provisions. Our men would frequently harass their foraging parties.

It was in the latter part of August of this year, a large troop of the enemy went to the Combahee ferry for the purpose of seizing some provisions that were near the ferry. Greene ordered our commanding officer Gist to give them battle, and we came up with them at Page's Point where our Colonel Laurens, who was far in advance, fell, in the outset of the engagement. I remember of seeing four men carry him into our rear, where it was said he died before we left the field.

In about three or four weeks after the engagement at the Combahee ferry, it was agreed upon that an attack be made on a small detachment of the enemy on James Island. The command was given by General Gist, to Captain Wilmont. About forty-five or fifty of us volunteered under him, but our attack on the enemy proved unsuccessful, they proving a much stronger force than we had been informed they were. Our Captain Wilmont was killed as also Lieutenant James Bettis, and some five or six privates. This was the last Battle that I was ever in --

About two weeks before Christmas, the British agreed to leave Charleston and let our troops occupy it. As had been arranged, part of our men and part of Wayne's were to jointly march into the City and take possession as soon as the British should leave. We accordingly did so -- Wayne marched us into Charleston. The British moved out of town unusually slow and repeatedly complained to our General that we pressed too close upon them – whereupon, Wayne ordered us to march, "more slowly."

We marched to the State house where we halted.

A great part of the Soldiers had permission to visit town, discipline now being almost suspended. In the afternoon all the troops were liberally treated with the most choice spirits, and much ceremony and parade was used. General Greene, Brigadier General Gist, the governor and others marched in procession into the City, followed by the whole of the light horse belonging to the Army. The doors, I remember, and windows were thronged with the people of Charleston, cheering the procession and giving it many a hearty welcome.

That winter, my Regiment quartered on James Island, where many of us erected huts of 'pine falls.'

It was sometime in the next Spring about the middle of April, 1783 that the news of peace reached us, and in the month of May, I took shipping in the "Lady Washington" for Philadelphia, and about the 3rd of June received a discharge from General Washington for my services as a Continental Soldier. When I received my discharge I had been in service, six years and nine months, which will fix the time of my enlistment to the 3rd September 1776.

During this time, which the old veteran recalls with a great deal of poignancy, complemented by accuracy, John's 1<sup>st</sup> Artillery Regiment was camped outside of
Charleston with their big guns trained on the roads in and out of the city. The war had gone on after Yorktown; it would go on against Tory Royalists even after the Redcoats slowly marched out of Charleston, and men continued to die for their cause and their country. Happily though, some days were marked by parades, celebrations, and unexpected finds of cider, rum, brandy, and booty.

It also became a time of reunion; many Maryland men marched to the Continental encampment at Bacon’s Bridge with tales to share of Bloody Bill, rivers crossed, battles fought, and miles of marches made on sore and sometimes bare feet. Tales of Cherokee lands to the west and of battles with Tory Indians who lived there were shared. From Georgia and the Carolinas they found some of the natives in uniform amongst them and counted them as fellow soldiers and friends. Free spirited men of color in the state militias and partisan guerillas added excitement to the motley throng. Anticipating the war’s end, altogether this military melting pot of Americans could ponder just what their past sacrifices had wrought.

It was just as much a time of beginnings. A western valley in the Clinch Mountains with a creek running through its pristine meadows and woods had been painted to sound like a dream. Perhaps Bacon’s Bridge itself became a gathering place where the waiting and watching soldiers like John Vaughan and Robert Livingston talked about hopes and dreams for their families--and of families in the future--living in the new, free country on which they were just now putting a finishing touch. Furthermore, it was a land of which many of them were about to own some acreage.

In the spring of 1783 their job was nearly finished. In mid April Great Britain agreed to a cessation of hostilities and Congress ratified a preliminary treaty. On the 4th of July that summer there was a celebration to beat all others from Bacon’s Bridge. On this glorious day, in a running fire, the Artillery shot off one round with the cannons, one after the other, and the Infantry followed by firing two musket rounds by platoons; these happy soldiers could not make enough noise in saluting the first true Independence Day. The smoke lifted up from their weapons—no longer in the fog of war but in the spirit of freedom and in the hope of peace to come. Within a few months, following six long years of war, Sergeant John Vaughan, a Gunner in the American Revolution, could shut down his cannon and march home to Maryland, USA.
No record of John Vaughan’s parents has ever been found. For him to have joined the war so young, perhaps he was an orphan, but perhaps not. Most of his fellow soldiers were young—a few younger than he. Where ever his parents were, John was a Marylander. An anchor to his parents, or to a kind caretaker, was an Irish camphor bottle of his that made it through the war. Someone had to be keeping it safe, because it came to him unscathed after the war. Perhaps at least his mother, who had brought the bottle from Ireland, was alive somewhere in Maryland and as a female, hard to find. But there were families in a Maryland neighborhood whose members served with John during the war—and still others who stayed with him forever after—who could have kept his things till he returned for them. In pension claims old soldiers wrote up possible connections to John. From 1751 Ireland, to Maryland, to Bacon’s Bridge, to the Indian lands in pre-statehood Tennessee—these soldiers formed a band of brothers that lasted up to 1841 Hawkins County. There is even a full blood Cherokee link amongst them. There’s a symmetry to their lives that not only includes John; at times, it centers on him.

After the war the way home led past Halifax, Virginia and near Yorktown and thus to the east of the Clinch River Valley and at last to Annapolis, Maryland. Robert Livingston returned with John as far as Annapolis. Robert was born in Maryland but after the war he ended up in Albany, New York where the name, Robert Livingston, was famous. It was on the door of the governor’s mansion, and in 1776 it was one of five names that appeared on the final draft of the Declaration of Independence which Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston—of Albany, New York—presented to the Continental Congress for consideration.

At Annapolis, Robert and Sergeant Vaughan were mustered out of the Continental Army’s 1st Regiment of Artillery, Captain Brown’s Company. Again at Annapolis, in “Settling the Accounts of the Army for Maryland,” on January 12, 1784 both seasoned veterans were awarded the Gratuity of Eighty Dollars which Congress had promised them for staying in the fight till the end. Which they did—John, unscathed, Robert, wounded once in the arm.

Sergeant John Vaughan left the military with money and land—hard earned rewards for his enduring service. The families of his Irish friends, the Livingstons, were still in Frederick County; although Robert would move on to New York, soon John would meet their good friends—brothers, Cornelius and William Carmack. Before long John and William became lifelong friends, and the Carmacks and Livingstons would become in-laws. There would soon be a marriage and children and a move west for all of them.

The Carmacks both served on the western frontier, smack-dab in the Clinch River Valley. They were Indian fighters. Interspersed in his war stories, which were certain to be told, William Carmack could understandably continue a saga of the celebrated beauty of the Clinch Mountain area that was the exact spot of the tribal lands of the Chicamauga Cherokee. He had served there, on the exact spot, which would one day be Hawkins County, Tennessee. In December of 1841 he was back, witnessing the last will and testament of John Vaughan.
During the war William Carmack S9193 was a very young witness to the campaign against any Tories in the area. William, in 1779, and his brother Cornelius, in 1777, were stationed at the site at different times to pursue and punish the Tory Cherokee who lived there. A John Carmack served with them. Cornelius had been on an earlier campaign that had made peace with some of the tribes there.

After enlisting, William met up with the militia at the Long Island of Holston River, at present Kingsport, Tennessee. He reported a march . . . to the mouth of Big Creek in Hawkins County, now in Tennessee, where we were stationed some days. We marched to the Chicka Magy towns [sic: towns of the Chicaamauga band of Cherokee Indians on Tennessee River], in company with a Militia Regiment commanded by Col. Evan Shelby. Cornelius had served there two years earlier.

On reaching the Indian Towns in springtime they found the Indian cornfields growing lush and green. The natives’ corn always grew greener and taller than that of the white colonists. The soldiers occupied the towns for about two weeks, and while there they destroyed all the corn in the neighborhood. The Indians had fled and didn’t return while the soldiers were around. In April young William joined the hardy Regiment commanded by Col. George Rogers Clark at Vincennes. In February Clark had made his famous march on which he marveled at the unconquerable spirit of his men.

William’s older brother, Cornelius Carmack, Sr. S2420, had earlier entered the service of the United States as a volunteer; it was in the summer of 1776 during harvest time. He went out of the harvest field in the month of June, one month before Thomas Jefferson finished writing the Declaration of Independence. He was on his way to a place that would become Hawkins County, Tennessee. He was marched to the mouth of the Watauga River, where he remained several days. His unit left from there in the night, and by morning they arrived at the Island flats of the Holston for an assault on the Cherokee. There was a fight, and the soldiers killed and scalped thirteen Indians. Five whites were wounded, as is stated in the history of Tennessee.

It could be titled the History of Hawkins County.

Several weeks later he marched to Shelby’s Fort where he continued his service until Christy’s Campaign started against the Cherokee Nation in early Oct 1776. He went on that campaign but was in no engagement with the Indians, the Indians having left the country. At least they had cleared out so that they could not be found. Christy’s Campaign was that of one William Christian. William Christian was an ancestor of Malvina Church who would one day be married to one of John Vaughan’s sons. Malvina ended up owning a beautiful piece of land on which these men were fighting.

That winter Cornelius was stationed on the Holston River. The next summer some of the head Indians came in and a treaty was struck between them and the white men in the famous Treaty of Long Island, June 20, 1777. Colonel Christy, as William Christian was called, was the commanding officer. No matter what the treaty said, the natives lost their land. Some of the soldiers in attendance, or their descendants, would one day return to the site after it was called Hawkins County, Tennessee; the Carmacks came and brought with them—either directly or indirectly—the Livingstons and John Vaughan. A patriarchal legacy for John began then and there in the Clinch Mountain Valley area as marriages took place, homes were built, and children were born. John Vaughan bought over two hundred acres of the historic lands and became a settler.
Other soldiers added names to the Hawkins County legacy. Midkiff, Shelton, Elliott, Ford, and Church are a few who were destined to become a part of the John Vaughan clan as ancestors of common descendants. Isaiah Midkiff S1700 entered the service of the United States in the year 1777 under the command of Colonel Christian in Captain James Shelton's Company which was guarding the frontier. He also fought against the Cherokee and saw the treaty made with them at the Long Islands.

Midkiff played a part in another celebrated moment. He once belonged to Captain Joseph Cloud's Company, and he could relate the tale of a hated Tory's demise to his Hawkins war buddies:

... We joined the regiments under Colonels Campbell, Sevier, and Shelby on Broad River, we then marched against the British and Tories under Colonel Ferguson and overtook him at King's Mountain in Carolina where he was defeated and killed and his Army taken.

Having fought in a revolution that lasted eight years, their war stories were endless. Cornelius Carmack told how he marched to the north fork of Clinch River and met Daniel Boone—spelled, Danl Boon. Boone's fort had recently been attacked by the British and Indians in the Siege of Boonesborough, Kentucky.

Henry Livingston R6394, born in Frederick County, Maryland, who would become the brother-in-law of Cornelius Carmack, moved to Overton County, Tennessee, and he was among the first of the Ireland to Maryland to Tennessee migrants; he made his move in 1801. At sometime he and Colonel Christian's son George of Hawkins County became friends. "I am well known to George Christian, Esq.," Henry wrote, "who can testify as to my character for veracity and my reputation as a soldier of the revolution."

He was hired as a substitute by his older brother Samuel, who had been drafted. He served under another brother, Captain Peter Livingston, and they were in charge of a herd of pack horses in the neighbourhood of Abingdon, Virginia. "I had little to do in the army as I was very young; my business was to attend to pack horses," he said.

Henry was even younger than John. He was born the first day of March 1764. He entered the service in 1778, at a time sixteen year old John was being promoted to gunner in the 1st Artillery Regiment.

Though not destined himself to be a part of the family dynasty of John Vaughan, one Hawkins County veteran served with those who were. Nevertheless, Littleton Brooks S1503 beat everyone to Hawkins. He enlisted in Sullivan County—then North Carolina, now Tennessee—early in the year 1776 as a volunteer against the Indians. He served under Captain James Elliot and Colonel Christy. At the place where he was stationed there was no fighting, since Col. Christian had cleared the Indians out.

He volunteered under Captain John Carmack in the fall of the year 1779 to serve in a campaign against the Indians on the waters of the Clear fork of Cumberland River. He was stationed at the Hickory Cove Fort in what is now Hawkins County. He took part in scouting parties for at least five months at which place Captain John Carmack acted as Commissary for the troops.

He, like the others, was at the battle of the Long Islands of Holston River. He said that he moved to Hawkins County after the Revolutionary War and had lived there
ever since. In his neighborhood his service against the Indians was said to be “traditional and well known.”

The history of Hawkins County is filled with blood and painted with sorrow. Where there were Tories—white or native—there always was a lot of blood. From the time the Cherokee watched their green fields charred black, life on their tribal lands was over for them. Actually when they chose to be Tories it was over. As in Georgia, the Clinch Valley natives had helped the British because they thought faraway England would not be quite so hungry for their homes as was the newly born, United States of America. They had reason to be concerned; these white men who fought in the Indian campaigns returned after the war and did take their land. Tennessee became a state in 1796. Henry Livingston was there as early as 1801, and so was John Vaughan.

No matter which side they fought on, the Cherokee were doomed. In 1804 John Helton—whose Cherokee kin had fought and bled for the American cause at Eutaw Springs—who made Tennessee his home after the war, sold a scenic piece of the former tribal lands on Clinch Mountain to John. Sadly, it didn’t matter that the Heltons fought on the right side. When they applied for their war bounty, their claims were denied by the War Department. They were denied because the Heltons were Cherokee.

Helton’s land deal came about when William Vaughan bought some land from William McClean in the new state of Tennessee. It was two hundred and fifty acres on the north side of the Clinch Mountains on Little War Creek in Hawkins County, down in the beautiful Clinch River Valley. Three years later William sold one hundred acres of the same tract to Helton. Shortly thereafter, Helton sold this acreage to John Vaughan, already in Tennessee; John then moved his family to the Clinch Mountains and stayed.
A Camphor Bottle from Ireland

John Vaughan’s life began in Ireland where his mother was born. His father was English. Their American history began in the mid 1760’s when his father loaded up the family on a ship and sailed to the colonies. He brought with him a wife who held a frightened John on her lap all the while they crossed the big sea. The Vaughans carried with them an apothecary bottle filled with camphor: the bottle, and at least John, landed in Maryland.

The trip was frightening to the child. The big water, the big boat with loud, popping sails, the big wind, the sailors with mean voices--English cannon, firing at him in a future war, would not seem so loud—or scary. At least that’s the way he told it to his children who told their children who told their children.

In 1777 John left his Maryland home to join the war at age fifteen. He came back six years later. Exactly where John’s home was, not even his future wife and children seemed to have known. It isn’t likely that his children ever knew their Vaughan grandparents. But, John did return to someone in Maryland, time and time again, and someone there watched out for the soldier boy and kept a place for him and his things. At the end of the war the camphor bottle was safe, and it was placed in his hands and afterwards taken to Tennessee. At war’s end John was furloughed at Annapolis, “…at the entertainment of General George Washington,” finally finished with the job he had signed on for. During his years of service, somewhere back in Maryland, the Irish bottle--like John--made it unscathed through the turmoil of the Revolution. When the time came it was sent off with him, to be in his care and possession for the rest of his life.

Before Tennessee, he visited Virginia.

From 1765 until 1792 he spent a lot of time—at least on paper—in Maryland. During the Revolution he enlisted with Maryland troops in 1777, camped with them, fought with them, got promoted with them, and was paid with them, and after the war he was rewarded by the state of Maryland in 1784 and 1789 for his service.

The first time he showed up in Virginia to matter much was when he met his future wife, Nancy Callicott. According to Nancy’s sworn affidavit, “…at least the first time she ever knew him was in Charlotte County in Virginia, and …that she was about eleven years of age.” This was a few years after the War—maybe early 1789—the year the United States Constitution came to be.

Nancy’s older sister Dicey Callicott was having a wedding on the fifteenth of January of that year. Dicey was going to marry a Ligon Vaughan, a man who could have been John’s younger brother. Since he had never been to the Callicotte home before, perhaps John was drawn to Charlotte for his brother’s wedding. It is very possible, and more than likely, the two Vaughan men were knowingly at the same place, at the same time.

John went back to Maryland that year, and in the fall, on September 5, he received a reward of one hundred acres from Maryland for his military service. In 1792 John went back to Virginia, perhaps to visit an ailing brother—perhaps to go to his funeral—for the recent bridegroom, Ligon Vaughan, passed away in ’92, three years after his marriage to Dicey.
While in Virginia, John decided to get married—the bride-to-be was Nancy Callicott. When they filled out their marriage bonds, John Vaughan put down that he was born in 1762 and that he was born in Ireland.

Nancy was fifteen when she and John signed their marriage bonds. When John said he was born in Ir in 1762—not only did this make him twice Nancy’s age, it made him Irish. They didn’t fulfill their bond—which was legally binding in 1792—but two years later they ran off from Nancy’s home in Charlotte County and eloped to Halifax County where they were married by a Parson Hayse, or Hay, in his home. They lived in Virginia for the next three or four years and started a family.

Their first two children were born in Virginia—James L., born October 16, 1795 and Beverly, born January 4, 1797. Tennessee achieved statehood in 1796, and families from the eastern states were on the move for cheaper land. The Vaughans made their move to Tennessee about 1800. In 1804 John and Nancy bought their first farm in the Clinch River Valley in Hawkins County. Nine more children were born in Tennessee — Polly, Rebekah, Benjamin, Nancy, Mahala, John, Samuel N., Martha, and George Washington on this farm.
John prospered. He always seemed to have enough money—buying and keeping at least two farms in his lifetime, then leaving his property to his heirs, and owing no one anything when he died. When he was urged to apply for a veteran’s Revolutionary War pension, he was heard to say he didn’t need it. “I have enough to do me this lifetime,” he claimed — perhaps knowing of the frightful needs of his former comrades in arms who were counting their possessions in cups and plates, old broken tools, and bits and pieces of kitchen furniture. He was among the last of these proud, brave men to go, and at the time of his death the mourners reflected on the passing of yet another one of the old soldiers, and on how sad it was that there was so little left of America’s Revolutionary Army.

The family grew and prospered, dwelling on the Hawkins place until around 1832 when John bought a second farm for his family on the southern slopes of the Clinch Mountains. Ten years later the aged soldier died there in old Hawkins County, Tennessee on July 14, 1842, ten days past his sixty-sixth Independence Day. He was eighty years old.

The End

Mabel Harp, John Vaughan’s great-great-great-granddaughter is dwarfed by this giant tree growing in Hawkins County, Tennessee at the site of his original farm. Mabel said, “Just think of all the children who played under this tree.”
Sergeant John Vaughan
Soldier of the American Revolution

by
Helen Vaughan Michael,
Great-great-great-granddaughter
of
John and Nancy Callicott Vaughan

Sergeant John Vaughan
Soldier of the American Revolution
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