DATA SHEET

Form 10-306
(Oct. 1972)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY – NOMINATION FORM
FOR FEDERAL PROPERTIES

(Type all entries - complete applicable sections)

STATE:	
South Carolina	
COUNTY:	
York & Cherokee	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY DATE	

1. NAME

COMMON: Kings Mountain National Military Park

AND/OR HISTORIC: Kings Mountain 5500

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: about 10 mi. NE of Gaffney off I-85
4 miles south of I-85 via exit 2 on N.C. 216 and 9 miles south of I-85 via

CITY OR TOWN: Exit 8 on N.C. 161
Gaffney mc

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: Number 5

STATE: South Carolina — CODE: 45

COUNTY: York/Cherokee — CODE: 091/021

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
[X] District [ ] Building [ ] Site [ ] Structure [ ] Object	[X] Public [ ] Private [ ] Both	Public Acquisition: [ ] In Process [ ] Being Considered	[ ] Occupied [X] Unoccupied [ ] Preservation work in progress	Yes: [ ] Restricted [X] Unrestricted [ ] No

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

[ ] Agricultural	[ ] Government	[X] Park	[X] Transportation	[ ] Comments
[ ] Commercial	[ ] Industrial	[ ] Private Residence	[ ] Other (Specify)	
[X] Educational	[X] Military	[ ] Religious		
[ ] Entertainment	[X] Museum	[ ] Scientific		

4. AGENCY

Kings Mountain National Military Park (National Park Service)

REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS: (If applicable) Southeast Regional Office

STREET AND NUMBER: 3401 Whipple Avenue

CITY OR TOWN: Atlanta

STATE: Georgia — CODE: 13

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Cherokee County Courthouse & York County Courthouse

STREET AND NUMBER:

CITY OR TOWN: Gaffney

STATE: South Carolina — CODE: 45

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:

DATE OF SURVEY: [ ] Federal [ ] State [ ] County [ ] Local

DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:

STREET AND NUMBER:

CITY OR TOWN:

STATE: — CODE:

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STATE: South Carolina
COUNTY: York & Cherokee
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER
DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One)					
	☐ Excellent	☒ Good	☐ Fair	☐ Deteriorated	☐ Ruins	☐ Unexposed
	(Check One)		(Check One)			
	☒ Altered	☐ Unaltered	☐ Moved	☒ Original Site		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL *(if known)* PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

5500-1 The battle of Kings Mountain took place on typical piedmont terrain, in slightly rolling country lying between 660' and 1043' above sea level. The area was covered with a dense, hardwood, virgin forest with interspersed pines. There was little or no ground brush and visibility on the forest floor at times reached ¼ mile. The battle took place between hardy colonial frontiersmen from Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Georgia, led by Colonel Campbell of Virginia & other frontier leaders, and a loyalist force of about 125 provincial rangers and 1000 Carolina tory militia led by Colonel Patrick Ferguson.

The fierce fight lasted for about one hour and terminated in a patriot victory. As the first significant victory for American forces in over two years the battle began a chain of events that culminated in the surrender of British forces at Yorktown.

The park is slowly returning to a hardwood stage through natural plant succession. Presently much of the area is covered with secondary growth, including both pines and hardwoods.

Kings Mountain National Military Park was established by an Act of Congress on March 3, 1931 (46 Stat. 1508).

Significance: 1st Order

Longitude:			Latitude:		
	NW	81° 25' 15"		NW	35° 09' 30"
	NE	81° 21' 30"		NE	35° 09' 30"
	SE	81° 21' 30"		SE	35° 07' 00"
	SW	81° 25' 15"		SW	35° 07' 00"

Acreage: 3,950

Recommended Treatment: Restoration by means of allowing ground cover to return to its original condition through natural plant succession.

Historical Structure #2: The Howser House. The house is in a state of disrepair. It appears to be unaltered with the probable exception of a wooden room added to the back of the house.

The two-story house completed in 1803 is made of native stone, finished smooth in front and somewhat irregular on the sides. It has a cellar. The interior is plastered with chainail moulding. Underneath the plaster separating the rooms are wooden slats. On each side of these slats a mixture of clay and straw was used as insulation. The plaster was then of course, placed on top of this. Apparently every two feet or so a vertical board was placed in the clay/straw mixture to hold it while drying. Fire places are on each side of the house. There are 3 rooms downstairs, not counting the wooden addition dating to about 1930, one chimney on each side of the house but there is a fireplace for each room of the two on the east side.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

8. SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

- [ ] Pre-Columbian
- [ ] 15th Century
- [ ] 16th Century
- [ ] 17th Century
- [x] 18th Century
- [ ] 19th Century
- [ ] 20th Century

SPECIFIC DATE(S) *(If Applicable and Known)* 1780

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

- Aboriginal
  - [ ] Prehistoric
  - [ ] Historic
- [ ] Agriculture
- [ ] Architecture
- [ ] Art
- [ ] Commerce
- [ ] Communications
- [ ] Conservation
- [ ] Education
- [ ] Engineering
- [ ] Industry
- [ ] Invention
- [ ] Landscape Architecture
- [ ] Literature
- [x] Military
- [ ] Music
- [ ] Political
- [ ] Religion/Philosophy
- [ ] Science
- [ ] Sculpture
- [ ] Social/Humanitarian
- [ ] Theater
- [ ] Transportation
- [ ] Urban Planning
- [ ] Other *(Specify)*

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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

5500-1 Kings Mountain was a surprising action that halted the triumphant northward movement of Lord Cornwallis, British commander in the South, who had undertaken to subdue that section in a final effort to end the Revolution.

Though far removed from the main course of the Revolution, the hardy southern Appalachian frontiersmen rose quickly to their own defense at Kings Mountain and brought unexpected defeat to Cornwallis' Tory invaders under Major Patrick Ferguson. With this great victory came an immediate turn of events in the war in the South. Cornwallis abandoned his foothold in North Carolina and withdrew to a defensive position in upper South Carolina to await reinforcement. His northward march was thus delayed until January 1781, giving patriot forces an opportunity to organize a new offensive in the South. After Kings Mountain there also came a sharp upturn of patriot spirit in the Southern Piedmont which completely unnerved the Tory organization in the region. This renewed patriot resistance led eventually to the American victory at Yorktown in 1781. The engagement at Kings Mountain was not only a memorable example of the individual valor of the American frontier fighter, but also of the deadly effectiveness of his hunting rifle.

The battle of Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780 was an overwhelming blow struck by American patriots against British forces engaged in the relentless Southern Campaign of the American Revolution. The military importance of this sharp engagement was described in strong and realistic terms by Sir Henry Clinton, then commander in chief of the British forces in North America. He spoke of the battle as "an event which was immediately productive of the worst Consequences to the King's affairs in South Carolina, and unhappily proved the First Link of a Chain of Evils that followed each other in regular sucession until they at last ended in the total loss of America."

The site of the Battle of Kings Mountain is of the first order of historical significance. It contains approximately 3950 acres, of Class VI Land.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Draper, Lyman C. Kings Mountain and Its Heroes, Cincinnati; Ohio: 1881.

Ferguson, James, Two Scottish Soldier, D. Wyler & Sons: Aberdeen, 1881.

Mackenzie, George C. Kings Mountain National Military Park, Goverment Printing Office: Washington, D. C., 1955.

Bearss, Edwin & Alderstein, Mike, Historic Structure Rport Howser House, National Park Service, 1974.

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING A RECTANGLE LOCATING THE PROPERTY						OR	LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING THE CENTER POINT OF A PROPERTY OF LESS THAN TEN ACRES					
CORNER	LATITUDE			LONGITUDE			LATITUDE			LONGITUDE		
	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds
NW	35°	09'	30"	81°	25'	15"	°	'	"	°	'	"
NE	35°	09'	30"	81°	21'	30"						
SE	35°	07'	00"	81°	21'	30"						
SW	35°	07'	00"	81°	25'	15"						

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: 3950

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
South Carolina	39	York	091
		Cherokee	021

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE: James J. Anderson, Historian *James J. Anderson* DATE: 12-16-74

BUSINESS ADDRESS:

STREET AND NUMBER: Post Office Box 31 PHONE:

CITY OR TOWN: Kings Mountain STATE: North Carolina 28086 CODE: 37

12. CERTIFICATION OF NOMINATION

State Liaison Officer recommendation:

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ None

State Liaison Officer Signature

In compliance with Executive Order 11593, I hereby nominate this property to the National Register, certifying that the State Liaison Officer has been allowed 90 days in which to present the nomination to the State Review Board and to evaluate its significance. The recommended level of significance is: ☒ National ☐ State ☐ Local

FEB 27 1976

Federal Representative Signature *Date*

Deputy Assistant Secretary

Title

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register.

Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date

ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date 6-23-75

Form 10-300b
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
South Carolina	
COUNTY	
York & Cherokee	
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ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

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(Number all entries)

7. Description

Historical Structure #2 continued: The Henry Howser House is a significant architectural resource, illustrative of the social, cultural and economic history of the region. Its architectural significance was recognized by the National Park Service and the Historic American Buildings Survey more than 30 years ago. There are only several stone houses of this type in the Piedmont Region of North and South Carolina.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 24' 40" Latitude: 35° 08' 34"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Stabilization(as minimum) Preservation

Preliminary Cost Estimate: $38,000 (Minimum).

Historic Structure #3: Howser Barn Foundations. Presently, all that can be found of the Howser barn foundations are 4 stone corners about 1 foot high with one complete wall foundation about 21 feet long being evident. These remains probably represent a typical farm building of the early 19th century.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 24' 38" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Acreage: Approximately 1/8

Recommended Treatment: Stabilization (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: No professional estimation have been arrived at.

Historic Structure #4: Howser Cemetery. Approximately 15 graves are in this area covering about ¼ acre. Some graves are sunken; others are marked, but the stones have fallen and are somewhat deteriorated. The earlist legible date on any of the stones is 1811. This can be assumed to be a typical family cemetery of the period in this section of the country. Similiar cemeteries were established on most of the larger farms.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 24' 34" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

Acreage: Approximately ¼

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Form 10-300a (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
South Carolina	
COUNTY	
York & Cherokee	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description

Historic Structure #4 continued:

Recommended Treatment: (Preservation) Stabilize area, straighten, clean, and plumb headstones.

Preliminary Cost Estimate: No professional estimate has yet been arrived at.

Historic Structure #5: Centennial Monument. This monument is 28 feet high, rising from a square base of 18 feet. It tapers up by five steps to another base 10 feet square. The pylon rises from there, its base being 5'7" square feet, just above which are the marble plaques bearing inscriptions.

Structurally the monument is sound, its surface has been defaced slightly by vandals. The monument was erected in 1880 by the Kings Mountain Battleground Association to mark the location of the start of the battle.

Significance: 2nd Order

Longitude: 81° 23' 02" Latitude: 35° 08' 26"

Acreage: Less than ½

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estmate: N/A

Historical Structure #6: U.S. Monument. The monument is a white granite obelisk, 83 feet high, rising from a base 16'3" square, the diagonals of which roughly face the cardinal points of the compass. Four bronze plaques 3'6" by 5'5" signify the event, list the commanders and military units of both sides and also list the patriots killed in action. The monument was erected in 1909 by an act of Congress. It is in good condition. The Monument was erected in 1909 by Congress to mark the location of the most bitter fighting and the end of the battle.

Significance: 2nd Order.

Longitude: 81° 22' 52" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

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7. Description

Historical Structure #7: "Ferguson Fell" monument. The time of erection of the marker which marks the spot where Ferguson was wounded, is unknown, but it was possibly put up as early as 1840. It is a rough stone monument measuring 3'2" high and 1'10" by 1' 1" at the base.

The surface is worn, but inscription is legible. This stone marks the traditional spot where Colonel Patrick Ferguson, leader of the Tory force, was mortally wounded.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 22' 47" Latitude: 35° 08' 34"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning. (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

Historical Structure #8: Old Ferguson Grave Marker. This is a granite block 3'2" by 1'10" by 1'1", which marks the foot of the grave of Colonel Patrick Ferguson. It possibly was erected as early as 1840.

The surface is worn, but inscription is legible. This early stone, possibly erected around 1840, marks the foot of the traditional grave of Colonel Patrick Ferguson.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 22' 47" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

Historical Structure #9: Old Chronicle Grave Marker. This old stone, measuring 3'5" high by 1'10" by 11", was erected in 1815 by Dr. William McClean to honor Major William Chronicle, Captain John Mattocks, William Rabb, and John Boyd, all patriots killed in the battle. The stone is so badly weathered that its original form and inscription can no longer be determined.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 22' 44" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

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7. Description

Historical Structure #9 continued:

Acreage: Less than 1/8

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

Historical Structure #10: New Chronicle Grave Marker. This stone marker, measuring 4' high by 2'8" by 1'5", was erected in 1914 to preserve the inscription of the original 1815 marker. The inscription carved very simply in the flat face of the stone. Present condition is good. The Kings Mountain Association of Yorkville(now York, South Carolina) erected this new marker in 1914.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 22' 44" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

Acreage: Less than 1/8

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance and cleaning (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

Historical Structure #11: Yorkville-Shelbyville Road. This is a dirt road approximately two miles of which lie within the park boundaries. The midpoint of the old road intersects the Main Park Drive, and its western half is closed to the public. The average width of the road is about fifteen feet, and it is presently in good condition. This dirt road, dating from before 1800, was at one time one of the major thoroughfares in this vicinity. The mountainmen of 1780 used portions of this road when entering the area before the battle.

Significance: 2nd Order

Longitude: NE End 81° 22' 33" Latitude: NE End 35° 09' 25"
SW End 81° 24' 07" SW End 35° 08' 45"

Acreage: Approsimately 6

Recommended Treatment: Routine maintenance, including grading (Preservation)

Preliminary Cost Estimate: Approximately $75.00 Bi-annually

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
South Carolina	
COUNTY	
York and Cherokee	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description

Historical Structure #12: Old Indian Trail. Little evidence remains of the original trail, traditionally thought to be an Indian trail, although traces of a later public road, now abandoned, mark its route.

Trail is overgrown, but still discernible in places. Part of this trail will be incorporated into the battlefield trail. Main Park Drive covers part of the old trail. We are unable to ascertain whether there actually is prehistoric significance to this old trail. It was a public road when the Park Service took over this area. Either as a trail or a road, this route probably existed at the time of the Battle of Kings Mountain and may have been followed by some of the mountain men.

Significance: 2nd Order

Longitude: NW End 81° 23' 47"
SE End 81° 21' 44"

Latitude: NW End 35° 09' 08"
SE End 35° 08' 08"

Acreage: Approximately 6

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Preliminary Cost Estimate: $300.00

Historical Structure #13: Mary Morris(Norman) House. Presently, this six-room, one-bath house is occupied as a residence by the park maintenance foreman. It is a wood fram building with a tin roof and has undergone many alterations since its construction in about 1880. The Park Service acquired it in 1960. This old house has no historical significance other than its age.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 24' 17"

Latitude: 35° 08' 43"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Preliminary Cost Estimate: N/A

Historical Structure #14: Gordon Cemetery. This old family cemetery covers about one-quarter acre and contains probably twelve graves. Only two headstones, dated 1845 and 1858, are still evident, although anumber of footstones, one dressed and with initials and the remainder simple natural stones, can still be seen.

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
South Carolina	
COUNTY	
York and Cherokee	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

(Number all entries)

7. Description

Historical Structure #14 continued: The cemetery is of local interest only. The individual who died in 1845 was 13 years old at the time of the Battle of Kings Mountain, although it is not known if he lived in the area at the time.

Significance: 3rd Order

Longitude: 81° 23' 12" Latitude: 35° 07' 42"

Acreage: Less than ¼

Recommended Treatment: Preservation

Preliminary Cost Estimate: No professional estimate has yet been arrived at.

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Geographical Data Kings Mountain National Military Park

UTM References

A. 17/467340 / 3890495
B. 17/467340 / 3885870
C. 17/461690/ 3885870
D. 17/461670 / 3890490

KINGS MOUNTAIN NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

List of Classified Structures Report

5500-1 Kings Mountain National Military Park

Historic Structure #2 The Howser House
Longitude: 81° 24' 40" Latitude: 35° 08' 34"

Historic Structure #3 The Howser Barn Foundations
Longitude: 81° 24' 38" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Historic Structure #4 Howser Cemetery
Longitude: 81° 24' 34" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

Historic Structure #5 Centennial Monument
Longitude: 81° 23' 02" Latitude: 35° 08' 26"

Historic Structure #6 United States Monument
Longitude: 81° 22' 52" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Historic Structure #7 "Ferguson Fell Monument"
Longitude: 81° 22' 47" Latitude: 35° 08' 34"

Historic Structure #8 Old Ferguson Grave Marker
Longitude: 81° 22' 47" Latitude: 35° 08' 32"

Historic Structure #9 Old Chronicle Grave Marker
Longitude: 81° 22' 44" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

Historic Structure #10 New Chronicle Grave Marker
Longitude: 81° 22' 44" Latitude: 35° 08' 37"

Historic Structure #11 Yorkville-Shelbyville Road
Longitude: NE End 81° 22' 33" Latitude: NE End 35° 09' 25"
SW End 81° 24' 07" SW End 35° 08' 45"

Historic Structure #12 Old Indian Trail
Longitude: NW End 81° 23' 47" Latitude: NW End 35° 09' 08"
SE End 81° 21' 44" SE End 35° 08'08"

Historic Structure #13 Mary Morris(Norman) House
Longitude: 81° 24' 17" Latitude: 35° 08' 43"

Historic Structure #14 Gordon Cemetery
Longitude: 81° 23' 12" Latitude: 35°07'42"

NPS Form 10-900
(Rev. 10-90)

OMB No. 1024-0018

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DEC 2 1994
NOV 23 1994
INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Kings Mountain National Military Park

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO)
Located approx. ½ mile south of Cleveland County, NC, between Kings Creek and Kings Mountain State Park.

not for publication ___

city or town Kings Mountain, NC *vicinity* x

state South Carolina *code* SC *county* York *code* 091
Cherokee 021

zip code 29702

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ___ nationally ___ statewide ___ locally. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Benjamin Levy 12/1/94
Signature of certifying official *Date*

NPS
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria. (___ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

_____ _____
Signature of commenting or other official *Date*

_____
State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

____ entered in the National Register _____ _____
___ See continuation sheet.
____ determined eligible for the National Register _____ _____
___ See continuation sheet.
____ determined not eligible for the National Register _____ _____
____ removed from the National Register _____ _____

X other (explain): additional documentation accepted

Signature of Keeper / Date of Action 1/10/95

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply)

___ private
___ public-local
___ public-State
x public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

___ building(s)
x district
___ site
___ structure
___ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed properties in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
3	10	buildings
1	0	sites
6	4	structures
5	2	objects
15	16	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 13

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) _____

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

Defense: battle site
Recreation and Culture: monument/ marker
Landscape: park
Domestic: single dwelling
Agriculture/Subsistence: agricultural field

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions)

Recreation and Culture: monument/ marker
Landscape: park
Domestic: single dwelling
Vacant/Not in Use

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Early Republic: Federal
Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals: Beaux Arts, Colonial Revival
Modern Movement
Other: NPS rustic style in the East

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation: Stone
Brick
walls: Stone: granite
roof: Wood: shingle
Asbestos
Stone: slate
other: Stone: marble
Metal: bronze
Metal

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

_x_ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

_x_ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

_x_ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

___ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

___ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

___ B removed from its original location.

___ C a birthplace or a grave.

___ D a cemetery.

___ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

_x_ F a commemorative property.

___ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

Military
Architecture
Other: Commemoration
Landscape Architecture

Period of Significance

1780
1803-1941

Significant Dates

1780
1909
1803
1815
1880
1931
1940

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

Sevier, John
Shelby, Isaac
Campbell, William
Ferguson, Patrick

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American

Architect/Builder

McKim, Mead & White
Howser, Henry
National Park Service

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographical References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS)
___ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_x_ previously listed in the National Register
___ previously determined eligible by the National Register
___ designated a National Historic Landmark
___ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
___ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data
___ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State agency
_x_ Federal agency
___ Local government
___ University
___ Other

Name of repository: National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office; Kings Mountain National Military Park

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 3,945

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
A	17	461480	3888500	D	17	467290	3888130
B	17	461410	3890530	F	17	462270	3885560
C	17	467090	3890430	F			

___ See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Robert W. Blythe, Historian; Maureen A. Carroll; Historian; Steven H. Moffson, Architectural Historian

organization National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office

date November 16, 1994

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Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps
A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs
Representative black and white photographs of the property.

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Description of Kings Mountain National Military Park

Kings Mountain National Military Park (Park) commemorates an important Revolutionary War engagement: the victory of Patriot militia, from North and South Carolina, Virginia, present-day Tennessee, and Georgia, over Loyalist forces on October 7, 1780, at the Battle of Kings Mountain.[1] The spontaneous rising of a Patriot militia army in the absence of any call from the Continental Congress or state officials exemplified the self-reliance and initiative of backcountry settlers. The Patriot victory at Kings Mountain temporarily halted the advance of a British army northward into North Carolina, and was the first in a string of British defeats that culminated in the October 1781 surrender of Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia.

The bulk of the Park, including Battleground Ridge[2] where the engagement occurred, is located in York County, South Carolina, with additional Park acreage lying within Cherokee County. The Park contains 3,945.29 acres, all federally owned, and adjoins the 6,100-acre Kings Mountain State Park. The Park lies one-half mile south of the North Carolina border and midway between Charlotte, North Carolina, forty miles to the northeast, and Spartanburg, South Carolina, forty miles to the southwest. The park is reached from both the northwest and east via State Road 216; the Park lies two miles south of Exit Two of Interstate Highway 85 and three miles west of South Carolina 161. State Road 216 ends at the Park boundary and becomes federally owned and maintained Main Park Drive.[3]

The Park is located in a predominantly rural portion of the South Carolina Piedmont, an approximately 100-mile-wide strip of gently rolling terrain that lies between the Sandhills to the southeast and the Blue Ridge Mountains to the northwest. The bedrock of the Piedmont consists primarily of Precambrian metamorphic formations overlain by yellow and red clays; topography is largely a product of river and stream action. Battleground Ridge is a spur of the 16-mile Kings Mountain Range, a monadnock formation that rises above the

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[1]The modern spelling of Kings Mountain, without an apostrophe, will be used throughout this report, except in direct quotations and the names of organizations, where the spelling appearing in the original will be used.

[2]The name "Battleground Ridge" obviously gained currency after the Battle of Kings Mountain, but it will be used throughout this study to distinguish the spur where the battle occurred from the larger Kings Mountain Range.

[3]*The National Parks: Index 1991* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Public Affairs and Division of Publications, 1991), 67; "Statement for Management, Kings Mountain National Military Park" (National Park Service, August 16, 1991, Typescript), 6.

surrounding plateau. In 1780, York County was sparsely settled by a few small farmers, and a mature hardwood forest with occasional stands of pine covered the land.[4]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, York County residents cleared much of the remaining forest for farms, most of which contained fewer than 200 acres. Cotton was an important crop in the area from the early nineteenth century until the 1920s, when the depredations of the boll weevil and soil depletion severely curtailed cotton culture. In the late nineteenth century, textile mills were established in the eastern portion of the county, particularly in Rock Hill. Following World War II, York County settlers and those throughout the Piedmont increasingly abandoned farmland, and it returned to forest. Beginning in the 1960s, diversified industrial firms also moved to the county. York County is part of the Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, and exurban residential development is occurring in the northern and eastern portions of the county. The area between the Park's northern boundary and the North Carolina line has attracted scattered residential developments.[5]

A century of private commemoration at Kings Mountain preceded the first involvement of the federal government in the early twentieth century. In 1815, Dr. William McLean erected a small marker on the battlefield, one of the first such gestures to commemorate American war dead. In 1880, the King's Mountain Centennial Association, supported by private and state subscriptions, purchased a thirty-nine-and-one-half-acre portion of the Battleground Ridge and unveiled the Centennial Monument. The U.S. Congress appropriated funds for the United States Monument, dedicated in 1909 and designed by the prominent New York architectural firm McKim, Mead & White. Local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution and individuals also raised a number of markers on the battleground in the early twentieth century. In 1930, President Herbert Hoover addressed a crowd of more than 75,000 at a ceremony marking the battle's sesquicentennial. After years of lobbying efforts, an act of Congress established the Kings Mountain National Military Park on March 3, 1931. The

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[4]South Carolina Department of Archives and History, "York County Historical and Architectural Inventory," (Columbia, S.C.: 1992), 3-4. A more detailed description of area topography and vegetation in the 1780s appears below in Context A.

[5]South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 7-15; "Statement for Management, Kings Mountain National Military Park," 15; Charles F. Kovacik and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: A Geography* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987), 43, 146.

War Department administered the Park until August 10, 1933, when it was transferred to the National Park Service (NPS).[6]

The NPS and the State of South Carolina planned and developed a recreation demonstration area in tandem with the military park on more than 10,000 acres acquired by NPS in the 1930s. Under NPS direction, Civilian Conservation Corps labor accomplished most of the development work between 1937 and 1942. As planned, the federal government deeded approximately 6,000 acres of recreational land to the State of South Carolina in 1940 for a state park, leaving 4,012 acres for the national military park. Subsequent minor land exchanges produced the current Park acreage of 3,945.29.[7]

Park cultural resources from the Revolutionary War period are the battlefield itself and the Battleground Road (Colonial Road), which was used by both armies to reach Battleground Ridge. A number of monuments and markers commemorating the battle and its participants are present. The 1803 Howser House, foundation remnants of its barn, the family cemetery, and associated roads represent nineteenth-century settlement of the area. The circa 1902 Goforth-Morris Norman House is currently used as staff quarters. The Park has a 1941 headquarters building, a 1975 Visitor Center, maintenance and residential complexes, 11.7 miles of roads, and 23.9 miles of walks and trails.

Because ample recreational facilities are available in the adjacent state park, Kings Mountain National Military Park has no picnic grounds or camping facilities. A system of hiking trails connects the two parks, and staff from both parks work together on planning and management issues.

Descriptions of Contributing Properties

Previously Listed Contributing Resources

Battleground Road (Colonial Road), before 1780: This approximately 20′-wide road segment, with 3′-4′ embankment in areas, begins near Main Park Road and then proceeds southeast toward the battlefield. It is considerably overgrown. South embankment was altered by construction of Main Park Road. (Structure: IDLCS 12253)

Centennial Monument, 1880: A 28′ high, four-sided, gray granite shaft at the south end of the battlefield. The base is composed of five reticulated granite steps. The shaft is divided into three sections and tapers toward the

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[6]Gregory De Van Massey, "An Administrative History of Kings Mountain National Military Park" (National Park Service, Southeast Region, 1985), 7-17.

[7]De Van Massey, 19-81.

capstone. Each side contains an inscribed marble tablet. (Structure: IDLCS 12246)

Chronicle (McLean) Marker, 1815: This is a badly damaged 2′ x 1′ x 3′ marker with weathered inscriptions on the north face. The marker faces north away from the asphalt battlefield trail, across from the DAR marker and west of the New Chronicle marker. (Object: IDLCS 12250)

Ferguson Fell Marker, 1909: A 2′ x 3.5′ x 1′ granite rock-faced shaft with a beveled face (approx. 1.5′ x 9") inscribed: "Here/Col. Ferguson/Fell/Oct. 7, 1780." Beveled face has been vandalized. It is located northwest of Ferguson grave and nearly abuts asphalt trail. (Object: IDLCS 12248)

Ferguson Grave Marker and Cairn, 1909: The cairn consists of a 21′ x 17′ x 3′ stone rubble mound located behind a 1930 granite marker. The original granite marker lies at the northeast end of the cairn with only its inscribed beveled face exposed: "Here/Col. Ferguson/Was/Burried." (Structure: IDLCS 12449)

Gordon Cemetery, 1800-1860: A rural cemetery measuring 52′ x 45′ with twelve identifiable graves. Three are marked with mid-nineteenth-century headstones, five are marked with fieldstones, and four are identified by depressions in the earth. It is located on high ground in a clearing at the south end of the park. (Site: IDLCS 90217)

Henry Howser House, 1803: A 31′ x 27′, two-story, three-bay, double-pile stone house set on a raised basement. The wood-shingled, side-gable roof is flanked by two, interior gable-end chimneys. The symmetrical exterior belies a more traditional German three-room floor plan. (Building: IDLCS 12243)

Howser Cemetery, 1811-circa 1900: Located on a rise north of the Howser House, the Howser Cemetery includes the graves of Henry Howser and his family. Fourteen marked graves with approximately eight to ten marble and granite early- and mid-nineteenth-century headstones are present. Numerous other graves are identified by soil depressions. Headstones face east. Some depressions were filled and headstones righted in 1989. (Site: IDLCS 90218)

Howser Outbuilding Sites (7), 1790-1882: The sites of three animal barns, a tenant house, and a cotton house are located on the south side of Howser Road, opposite the Howser House. Except for the outline of a barn's stone foundation, these sites are virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding wooded terrain. There are above-surface remains at the sites of the well and privy, which are located on the east and west sides of the house. (Site)

Goforth-Morris Norman House, circa 1902: A one-story, three-bay, single-pile frame dwelling with central passage plan, side-gable roof, and rear ell. It features two brick and stone gable-end chimneys, additions at rear, and a

3/4-width front porch. Mostly original materials remain, although NPS altered the interior with sheetrock. (Building: IDLCS 12254)

"New" Chronicle (DAR) Marker, 1909: This 2.5′ x 1.5′ x 3.5′, granite marker has a smooth, inscribed face and rock-faced sides and back. It is set in a concrete foundation along the asphalt battlefield trail facing south. It is east of the Old Chronicle marker and north of the DAR marker. (Object: IDLCS 12251)

U. S. Monument, 1909: Located on the north end of Battleground Ridge, the 83′ monument is a hollow-brick obelisk faced with Mt. Airy white granite. It features a two-step base and a bronze tablet and low-relief frieze on each of four sides. Sandblasting in 1957 significantly damaged friezes on north and east sides. (Structure: IDLCS 12247)

Yorkville-Shelbyville Road, circa 1808: An approximately 27′ wide, dirt and gravel road that traverses the park for 3.2 miles on an east-west axis. It is minimally maintained between Stone House Road and Main Park Road as a fire road. East of Main Park Road to Love Valley Road it has a good gravel surface and is open to the public. (Structure: IDLCS 12252)

New Contributing Resources

Administration Building, 1940-41: The 57′ x 61′ Administration Building is a T-plan, one-and-one-half-story, five-bay structure with a double-pitched gable roof and a full-width front porch. Walls are laid with coursed, rock-faced, load-bearing masonry. An interior gable-end chimney is located on the south end. (Building: IDLCS 90164)

Administration Building Flagstaff, circa 1941: The flagstaff is an approximately 35′ tall, freestanding tapered metal pole. It is located approximately 25′ southeast of the Administration Building. (Structure: IDLCS 90220)

Administration Building Parking Area, 1939-1943: The 170′ x 45′ parking area is located across Main Park Road from the Administration Building and features low stone walls and drains on the north and east sides. The south end features an L-shaped flagstone walk. (Structure: IDLCS 90165)

Chronicle Fell Marker, 1925: A 3.5′, uncut, roughly conical-shaped granite marker with a bronze plaque set on a concrete base. The marker is sited on a dais with a coursed, terraced, granite retaining wall and faces northeast toward the battlefield trail. It is one of three Chronicle markers at the foot of the trail. (Object: IDLCS 17106)

Col. Asbury Coward Marker, 1931: This is a 2′ x 2′ x 2′ uncut granite marker with a 19" x 15" bronze plaque that commemorates the Kings Mountain Centennial Association leader. The marker faces north and is located on the south side of the trail, east of the Centennial Monument. (Object: IDLCS 17107)

Col. Frederick Hambright Marker, 1939: A 5′ x 2′ x 4′ trapezoidal stone marker with a 1.5′ x 1′ bronze plaque. The marker is set on a roughly coursed stone base with rude mortar joints. Stone and plaque have been damaged by vandals. Marker is approximately 100′ north of Ferguson Fell Marker off trail. (Object: IDLCS 17109)

Howser Terraces (3), circa 1880-1920: A series of three terraces running north-south between Kings Creek and the rear of the Howser House. The uppermost terrace is approximately 70′ long, rectilinear, and features a 3′-high stone retaining wall. Archeological investigations have definitively linked this walled terrace with the construction of the house. Lower terraces are 500-600′ long, curvilinear, and do not feature retaining walls. Their exact age is unknown. (Structure: IDLCS 90161)

Howser Road, circa 1800: This 12′ to 16′-wide, gravel-surfaced road runs in an east-west direction from Main Park Road to Stone House Road west of the Howser House. It formerly was part of the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road, which now is located outside the park boundary. (Structure: IDLCS 90159)

Kings Mountain Battlefield: An approximately 600-yard-long and 60- to 120-yard-wide ridge and its steep wooded slopes. The grassed and largely open crest is anchored at each end by the Centennial and U. S. Monuments and bisected by the Battleground Pedestrian Trail. Battleground Ridge rises approximately 60 feet above the surrounding plain. There are several features of this site that contribute to its integrity as a battlefield and commemorative landscape and they include: topography, vegetation, monumentation, trails intended for circulation among the monuments and markers and for access to the ridge, and views of the overall battlefield and the significant scenes of action. (Site)

Main Park Road, 1937-1941: Built with CCC labor and paved by NPS, the road has 20′ of pavement within a 30′ graded width. Grassed shoulders have 3′-5′ cuts. It features granite curbing and stone culverts and some stone gutters, located near the Visitor Center. Main Park Road replaced parts of Battleground and One-Day roads. (Structure: IDLCS 90157, 90158, 90219)

"New" Ferguson Grave Marker, 1930: This 3′ x 1′ x 6.5′, pink granite marker is in the form of a pointed arch with rock-faced sides and an inscribed and polished face. The stone faces south toward an asphalt trail. The rock cairn and original Ferguson grave marker are located behind it. (Object: IDLCS 90160)

Norman Shed, circa 1940: A 14′ x 16′ one-story, gable-front frame shed with flush horizontal wood siding. Shed rests on stone piers and has a roof clad with sheet metal. It features vertical plank doors and three, six-light casement windows. (Building: IDLCS 90162)

President Hoover Marker, 1931: This marker is a 5′ x 1′ x 4′, uncut granite stone with a 12" x 19" bronze plaque that marks the site where President Herbert C. Hoover addressed a large crowd at the sesquicentennial of the battle. The marker is located on a wooded rise east of the pedestrian trail and west of Battleground Ridge. (Object: IDLCS 17105)

Stone House Road (Dillingham Road), 1808-1827: A road trace that runs roughly north-south between Howser Road and the western boundary of the park. Stone House Road crosses Dillingham Branch south of the Howser House. (Structure)

Superintendent's Residence, 1940-41: The 52′ x 34′ Superintendent's Residence is a one-and-one-half-story, three-bay, double-pile Colonial Revival house with a one-story side ell. The steep, side-gabled roof features three gable-front dormers and two more joined by a shed-roofed dormer at rear. (Building: IDLCS 90163)

Noncontributing Properties

Amphitheater, 1939: Altered in the mid-1970s, the amphitheater no longer retains its original scenic setting. NPS added an enlarged stage, paved and formalized the seating area, and removed vegetation that contributed to the naturalistic setting. (Structure)

Kings Mountain Battleground Marker, 1931: (IDLCS 17103): Removed from its original location on the battleground in 1941 and reset along the Main Park Road upon its completion. Removed from the battleground commemorative site, the marker now marks the entrance into the military park and has lost its original association with the local commemorative effort upon Battleground Ridge. (Object)

Lt. Col. James Hawthorn Marker, 1949 (IDLCS 17108): Constructed after the period of significance for Context B. (Object)

Maintenance Facility, 1958-1973: Constructed after the period of significance for Context C. (3 buildings, 1 structure)

Springhouse, 1937-1942: Altered by NPS in the mid-1970s, it no longer retains architectural integrity. (Building)

Staff Quarters, 1955-1965: Constructed after the period of significance for Context C. (4 Buildings)

Radio Transmitter Building, 1985-1986: Nonhistoric. (Building)

Water Filtration Plant: Nonhistoric. (Structure)

Visitor Center, circa 1975: Nonhistoric. (Building)

Deer Spring Wall, circa 1939-1966: Mentioned in accounts of the battle, this spring reputedly marks the site of the deer camp, but the authenticity of the site cannot be verified by existing documentation and has not undergone archeological testing. Several other springs punctuate the battleground landscape, although no structures (spring walls) are associated with them. (Structure)

Statement of Significance

This nomination assesses the eligibility and evaluates the integrity of the Site's cultural resources within four historic contexts. These contexts relate to historic themes identified by the National Park Service and the South Carolina SHPO. The thematic framework of the NPS is outlined in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Landmark Program*. South Carolina has identified a number of historic contexts, some of which relate to the HRS contexts. The following historic contexts have been developed for this study:

A. The Battle of Kings Mountain, September-October 1780

B. Commemorating the American Revolution: The Influence of Veterans and Patriotic Organizations, Kings Mountain National Military Park, 1815-1939

C. Rural Settlers and Their Houses: Expressions of American Vernacular Architecture and Settlement Patterns in the South Carolina Piedmont, 1803-1940.

D. Park Development and Park Architecture, 1932-1942.

Context A, "The Battle of Kings Mountain, September-October 1780," corresponds closely to the NPS subtheme "War in the South" under theme IV, "The American Revolution." Context A also relates to the South Carolina Historic Context "Military History Sites."

Context B, "Commemorating the American Revolution: The Influence of Veterans and Patriotic Organizations, Kings Mountain National Military Park, 1815-1939," outlines the development of commemorative activity related to historic events and individuals, an evolving area in historic context studies. Context B relates most directly to NPS theme XXXIII, "Historic Preservation," especially subtheme B, "Regional Efforts: The South, 1860-1890" and subtheme G, "The Federal Government Enters the Movement, 1884-1949." The decorative and designed monumentation on the battlefield relates to theme XVI, "Architecture." Currently, South Carolina has not identified a historic context relating to commemoration.

Context C, "Rural Settlers and Their Houses: Expressions of American Vernacular Architecture and Settlement Patterns in the South Carolina Piedmont, 1803-1940," relates to several NPS themes. Context C relates to subtheme X, "Vernacular," of theme XVI, "Architecture"; theme XVII, "Landscape Architecture"; and subthemes B, "Farming Communities," and E, "Ethnic Communities," of theme XXX, "American Ways of Life." The South Carolina historic contexts "Farmsteads and Rural Landscapes" and "Burial Grounds in South Carolina" are relevant to Context C.

Context D, "Park Development and Park Architecture, 1932-1942" relates to subtheme Y, "Rustic Architecture," under theme XVI, "Architecture" facet 3, "The National Park Service and the New Deal," of subtheme H, "The Federal Government Enters the Movement, 1884-1949," of theme XXXIII, "Historic Preservation."

A. The Battle of Kings Mountain, September-October 1780

1. Context Narrative

The Battle of Kings Mountain (October 7, 1780) was one of the most dramatic and hotly contested of the Revolutionary War. On an isolated ridge top in the Carolina backcountry, 900 American Patriots surrounded and overwhelmed an approximately equal number of American Loyalists. The only Briton on the field was Maj. Patrick Ferguson, commander of the Loyalist force. The Loyalists fought in close-order ranks with volley fire and bayonet charges, while the Patriots fought frontier-style from behind trees and rocks. The phenomenon of Patriots spontaneously organizing under the leadership of militia colonels to track down Ferguson's force exemplified the self-sufficiency and emerging democracy of the American frontier. The rout of the Loyalists at Kings Mountain was the first major setback for Britain's southern strategy and began a train of events that culminated in Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown.

The Battle of Kings Mountain within the Context of the Revolutionary War
Campaigns in the southern colonies,[8] beginning in late 1778 and ending in the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia (October 19, 1781), were critical in achieving American independence. Unable to win a decisive victory over Lt. Gen. George Washington's Continental Army in the North, the British government in 1778 shifted its strategic focus to the southern colonies. With few new regular troops available, London hoped to arm and organize southern Loyalists to carry more of the war's burden. The southern strategy also aimed to deprive the rebellious Americans of revenue from southern staples—tobacco, rice, indigo, and naval stores. Southern military action included typical eighteenth-century set-piece battles as well as hundreds of smaller skirmishes and partisan raids. The Battle of Kings Mountain (October 7, 1780) brought an abrupt reversal of Britain's fortunes in the South. Although the campaigns of Washington's army in the North have received far more attention, the failure of the British southern campaigns finally convinced London of the impossibility of retaining its North American colonies. To understand the role of the Battle of Kings Mountain in the American Revolution, it is appropriate to summarize the broader background of the revolutionary movement.

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[8]The southern colonies were Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. This overview deals with Revolutionary War actions in all except Maryland.

Origins of the Revolutionary Movement

The French and Indian War (1755-1763), the American component of the European Seven Years War, brought out the underlying tensions in the relationship between Great Britain and her North American colonies. England and France, the major protagonists, fought in Europe, the West Indies, North America, and on the high seas. In this wide-ranging conflict between imperial powers, the American colonists were primarily interested in whether France or Great Britain would dominate the region west of the Appalachians, which already was attracting settlers from the thirteen colonies. Americans and Britons had very different responses to Britain's decisive victory over France in the war. Americans focused on the role of colonial troops in defeating the French and their Native American allies in North America, while the British government was appalled by the meager financial contribution of some colonies and widespread American trade with the enemy during the war. In the 1763 Peace of Paris, France ceded to Britain all of its possessions east of the Mississippi. With the French no longer present to impede western settlement and arm Native Americans, Americans in the thirteen colonies felt less need for British protection and more inclined to pursue an independent course. The British government, by contrast, was determined to more closely regulate colonial trade and make the Americans share more of the burden of military defense.

The new British initiatives disrupted the traditional division of authority between Parliament and the colonies that Americans took for granted. Before 1763, Americans generally did not challenge the British Parliament's authority to legislate in the areas of foreign affairs and overseas trade, as long as colonial assemblies, popularly elected through limited suffrage, were permitted to deal with most internal matters. The Americans also relied upon a very loose enforcement of British trade regulations. Conflicts occasionally arose when royal governors asserted the crown's authority too vigorously, but most governors accommodated the will of a colonial assembly rather than force a confrontation.

Following the French and Indian War, the British Parliament enacted a number of laws designed to establish its control over settlement of the Transappalachian region, regulate colonial commerce, and raise revenue from the colonies. These modifications to the traditional, flexible system of colonial administration elicited opposition from many Americans. The new initiatives had the support of King George III (reigning 1760-1820), who at this time personally directed much of British policy through his allies in Parliament and the ministries. George III was largely ignorant of colonial affairs but strongly opposed measures that seemed to weaken the British government's absolute authority.[9]

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[9]John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1877* 3d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1957), 116; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 198-99.

The first British move that disturbed Americans was the Proclamation of 1763, which imposed a moratorium on all settlement west of the Appalachians and ordered pioneers already resident there to return. The British government then acted to tighten the notoriously lax enforcement of colonial customs regulations. The Revenue Act of 1764 (popularly known as the Sugar Act) actually lowered the duty paid on molasses imported to North America, but the British ministry for the first time acted to enforce collection of the duty. Both of these acts were unpopular in America, but the Stamp Act of 1765 aroused a storm of opposition.[10] The tax stamps required on newspapers and legal documents were intended solely to raise revenue and led some Americans to articulate a position opposing "taxation without representation." Proponents of this position asserted that the British Parliament, which contained no American members, had no authority to levy taxes on the colonists. Americans acknowledged an allegiance to the British crown, but increasingly believed that only their own assemblies could legislate for them. Some argued that the royal charters that established the colonies formed compacts between the colonists and the king, giving no jurisdiction to Parliament. Others conceded Parliament's authority to regulate colonial trade but not to tax the colonists. Although the theoretical justifications varied, many Americans moved gradually to a stance that denied any right of Parliament to legislate for them.[11]

Nine colonies, including South Carolina, sent representatives to a Stamp Act Congress in New York City in October 1765. The Congress adopted resolutions opposing taxation without representation. In May, the Virginia Assembly had already registered its strong opposition to the Stamp Act in the Virginia Resolves, introduced by Patrick Henry. Going well beyond statements of principle, Americans openly ignored the Stamp Act and prevented stamp agents from carrying out its provisions. A number of violent acts occurred, including the burning of a Massachusetts justice's house in Boston by a mob. Faced with nearly universal American opposition, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in March 1766, but asserted its absolute legislative authority over the colonies in a declaratory act. Repeal eased colonial relations, but renewed efforts in 1767 to impose higher customs duties brought renewed conflict. The Townshend Duty Act (named for Charles Townshend, British chancellor of the exchequer), which imposed duties on imported tea, paper, glass, lead, and painters' colors, was a direct challenge to the prevailing American theory of taxation.[12]

Opposition to the Townshend Act was especially strong in Massachusetts, where many merchants had grown rich by openly flouting British customs regulations. The Americans threatened the livelihood of British merchants by refusing to

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[10]Hicks, 111-16; Morison, 183-85.

[11]Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 124-25.

[12]Hicks, 114-17; Morison, 186-90; Middlekauff, 79-83, 124-25.

accept British goods; British merchants in turn pressured Parliament to back down. In 1770, Parliament rescinded all duties but that on tea, and relative calm returned to colonial relations. The Americans, however, were now on alert to oppose any parliamentary act that adversely affected them. In 1772, committees of correspondence were organized throughout the colonies, providing a communications network ready to spring into activity at the next crisis.[13]

That crisis came with the 1773 Tea Act, designed by Parliament to aid the East India Tea Company and assert parliamentary authority. The new duty on tea provoked a storm of opposition, including the destruction of a cargo of British tea by a mob, later dubbed the Boston Tea Party, on December 16, 1773. The violent American response inflamed public opinion in Britain and led Parliament to pass the "Intolerable Acts" of early 1774. These draconian measures included the revoking of the Massachusetts colonial charter, closing the port of Boston, and authorizing colonial governors to requisition private buildings for quartering British troops. These events hardened positions on both sides of the Atlantic, and advocates of independence began to dominate colonial politics.[14]

Americans responded to Parliament's tough stance by organizing militia companies and stockpiling munitions in New England, and sending representatives to the First Continental Congress, which convened in Philadelphia in September 1774. The congress adopted a Declaration of Rights embodying the American position on the limits of parliamentary authority and backed it up by authorizing the nonimportation of British goods under an agreement known as the "Association." Massachusetts at this time organized an independent provincial congress in defiance of British authority. British merchants again urged accommodation, but George III and Parliament opposed any compromise. Hostilities began when British Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage sent troops from Boston to seize armaments collected by Massachusetts militia companies. On April 19, 1775, American militia clashed with the British troops at the villages of Lexington and Concord, commencing the American Revolutionary War.[15]

The American Situation at the War's Beginning

The American Revolution was both a struggle for independence from Britain and a civil war among Americans over the appropriate form of government. Proponents of separation dominated the Second Continental Congress, which convened in 1775, but as many as one-third of Americans remained loyal to the British crown. Out of a total population of 2.5 million, approximately 50,000 Americans fought with the British to maintain royal authority, while some

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[13]Hicks, 118-20; Morison, 190-94.

[14]Hicks, 120-33; Morison, 203-6.

[15]Hicks, 123-27; Morison, 206-10, 212-15.

200,000 fought for independence.[16] Sentiment for independence was strongest in New England and Virginia; New York and the Carolinas contained substantial numbers of Loyalists. Royal authority rarely touched the lives of many Americans living in the Carolina and Virginia upcountry, and many backcountry residents were indifferent to the issues of trade and taxation at the core of the dispute. The struggle between American Patriots (or Whigs) and American Loyalists (or Tories) was often bitter, with neighbor fighting neighbor in guerilla warfare. No effective civil authority, royal or revolutionary, existed in the Carolinas during portions of the war, leaving them close to a state of anarchy. Many Americans simply tried to stay out of the conflict entirely but often were compelled to take a stand. Changes of allegiance accomplished at gunpoint to prevent destruction of property and bloodshed were common.

At the strategic level, Britain needed to reassert authority in a vast territory stretching from Maine to Georgia. At various times, British strategy concentrated on isolating and overwhelming the rebellious New Englanders, decisively defeating Washington's army, destroying the American economy through coastal raids, and pacifying individual colonies with a core of British regulars and Loyalist militia. British policy often foundered on the contradictions inherent in trying to harshly punish suspected rebels, while simultaneously providing the peace and security required to attract uncommitted Americans to British authority. Until the French entered the war on the American side in February 1778, Britain enjoyed control of the sea lanes, allowing it to move and provision troops up and down the coast.[17] When France and later Spain became involved, America became just one theater of a larger war. From mid-1778, Britain's resources were stretched thin, and few additional regular troops were available to Britain's North American commanders.[18]

Throughout the war, the British ministry attempted to understand the situation of American Loyalists and make optimal use of them. Lobbied by Loyalist refugees eager to recoup their American properties, British cabinet ministers often overestimated the extent and depth of American Loyalist feeling. Only a few British commanders realized or cared that Loyalists were subject to savage reprisals if they declared themselves and then lost the protection of British

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[16]Hicks, 133; Middlekauff, 547-50.

[17]Hicks, 138.

[18]The discussion in this and the following paragraph relies heavily on John Shy, "British Strategy for Pacifying the Southern Colonies, 1778-1781," in *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution*, ed. Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978) and Ira D. Gruber, "Britain's Southern Strategy," in *The Revolutionary War in the South*, ed. W. Robert Higgins (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1979).

troops. The British government never consistently applied a policy of pacification involving the slow expansion of British troop occupation combined with the establishment of civil authority and the encouragement and protection of Loyalists. Typically, the British army would temporarily occupy fortified posts in a colony, make some attempts to rally Loyalists, and then abandon them when strategy changed. Often, a pledge of neutrality or loyalty to the crown did not protect Americans from pillaging British troops. A policy of pacification never had consistent support, partly because British leaders never gave up the hope that one stunning victory over Washington's army would decide the war.

While the British struggled to control and pacify a widely scattered, largely hostile population, the revolutionaries had major problems with coordination and cooperation. Suspicious of all central authority and jealously protective of state and individual rights, members of the Continental Congress established a loose confederation with little power to compel meaningful assistance from the states. With foreign trade interrupted, the Americans faced severe financial problems. The Continental Congress had no powers of direct taxation, opposition to state tax levies was strong, and the Continental paper currency became virtually worthless. The 1778 French alliance brought not only troops and naval power, but crucial loans to the nearly bankrupt American cause.[19] Lack of coordination among state officials and militia officers and the Continental Congress and Army was a chronic problem. Many state militia commanders refused to take orders from Continental Army officers, and some Continental generals disdained the assistance of militia units.[20]

In one sense, the American strategic goal was easier to achieve than the British objective: the British had to pacify a vast territory, but the Americans had only to keep the war going until it seemed not worth pursuing for the British government. Britain had a far-flung empire and substantial interests in Europe. The nettlesome problem with the Americans had to be weighed against the competing demands of the Caribbean sugar islands, India, and the Mediterranean. Ultimately, the seemingly interminable American war was such a drain on British resources that parliamentary opposition forced its abandonment.

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[19]France advanced one million dollars while still officially neutral and provided an additional 1.6 million dollars in direct aid and 6.4 million dollars in loans after declaring war on Britain (Morison, 230).

[20]See Donald R. Lennon, "'The Graveyard of American Commanders': The Continental Army's Southern Department, 1776-1778," *North Carolina Historical Review* 67 (April 1990):133-58 for a discussion of the conflicts between state officials and Continental commanders in the South.

Organization of the Opposing Armies

The armies that fought the American Revolution were small compared to nineteenth-century armies. Throughout the eighteenth century, warfare in Europe and its dominions was limited both in its scope and in the numbers involved. Small, professional armies served European monarchs and their dynastic aims. Although armies could be expected to plunder the regions they moved through, they did not otherwise affect the lives of most citizens. The phenomenon of American farmers, craftsmen, and shopkeepers taking up arms to fight the British was without recent precedent in European warfare. Even with broader participation on the Patriot side, the armies in typical Revolutionary War battles numbered from one thousand to six thousand men.[21]

The British relied on regular army regiments sent from England, German mercenaries, and various Loyalist units recruited in America. The British never had more than 35,000 regular army troops in America at any one time. British officers were aristocrats who purchased their commissions for substantial sums. Officers used harsh discipline and relentless drill to form recruits drawn from the dregs of society—mostly vagrants, drunkards, and criminals—into effective fighting units. Because the rank and file were ill-educated and likely serving under duress, commanders insisted on rote obedience to orders for marching, forming for battle, and firing.[22]

Patriot forces in the Revolution consisted of Continental Army units and various state militia units. The Second Continental Congress created the Continental Army in June 1775 and authorized the enlistment of the New England militia units gathered around Boston plus additional units from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. Virginia's George Washington was made commander of all American forces. Washington admired European military doctrine and attempted to apply it in his army, with mixed success. Washington trained his army to fight in close-order formation like the British Army. Americans, however, would not submit to the harsh discipline of the British Army, and punishments for infractions were milder in the Continental Army. Because America had no tradition of a standing army and a more fluid social structure than Great Britain, the officer corps was drawn from among artisans, independent farmers, and shopkeepers as well as the landed gentry. The Continental Congress appointed general officers, based sometimes on political rather than military considerations. At the company level, some troops elected their own officers. A few Continental officers had experience in the French and Indian war. The American enlisted man was more likely to be a farmer or

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[21]Middlekauff, 297-98; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Vintage, 1958), 345-47.

[22]Middlekauff, 338; William J. Wood, *Battles of the Revolutionary War, 1775-1781* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1990), xxvii-xxix; Franklin Wickwire and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The American Adventure* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 64-66.

artisan than a criminal or vagrant. Americans generally were much more familiar with frontier fighting against Native Americans than with European open-field warfare.[23]

Crucial to the Patriot effort, especially in the South, were state militia units. Americans during the Revolution adapted a longstanding tradition of rapidly mobilizing militia forces to meet localized Native American threats. Revolutionary militiamen typically enlisted for six months, and units often formed and dissolved as the need arose. Militiamen fought in organized units in set battles and also as partisan bands, raiding British lines of communication and seeking targets of opportunity. In many battles, Continentals provided a core of combat-tested troops around which the militia could rally.[24]

Most regular troops on both sides were infantry, with small numbers of cavalry used for scouting, guarding the flanks of an army on the move, and occasionally providing a shock force for sudden attacks at key points of a battle. More typically, mounted units rode to the battlefield but fought dismounted. Both armies were equipped largely with muzzle-loading, ¾-inch bore muskets that had an effective range of less than one hundred yards and took 20 to 30 seconds to load. In open-field warfare, troops were deployed in triple or double lines, allowing one line to fire while the other(s) reloaded. The attacking force marched to within 70 yards of the defenders, and the opposing sides traded massed volleys. Because of the inaccuracy of musket fire, only a massed volley was likely to inflict serious damage. When a commander believed his opponent's lines were faltering, he ordered a bayonet charge. A few American troops, usually those from the backcountry, carried rifles, which were considerably more accurate than muskets. Because rifles were fragile and took a full minute to load, they were impractical for open-field battles. Rifles were most valuable to guerrillas and sharpshooters firing from protected positions. A widely held belief is that American Patriots repeatedly defeated the British by fighting "Indian style" from behind trees. Although this was true in many partisan skirmishes in the South, the Patriots used formal eighteenth-century open-field tactics in a number of important battles, such as Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse. The Battle of Kings Mountain, where the Patriots devastated Loyalist formations by firing from concealed positions, contributed to the general misconception about Revolutionary warfare.[25]

Artillery played a relatively minor role in most Revolutionary War battles. Only small pieces, six- and three-pounders, could be easily moved over the primitive American roads, and armies generally traveled with few artillery

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[23]Wood, xxi-xxvii; Middlekauff, 503-5; Morison, 224-28.

[24]Boorstin, 352-56; Middlekauff, 300-01; 504-10.

[25]Boorstin, 350-51; Middlekauff, 500-502; Wood, xxxi-xxxii.

pieces. Loaded with grapeshot (two-inch iron balls) or canister (musket balls), artillery was effective only at short range. Where large siege guns could be brought up, as at Yorktown, they were often effective.[26]

The Carolinas and Georgia at the War's Beginning

Loyalties were decidedly mixed in the Carolinas and Georgia, and in many instances, political convictions were not firmly held. In the Carolinas, the divergent interests of lowland proprietors of large plantations and upcountry yeoman farmers with small holdings complicated the situation. In the 1760s, a "Regulator" movement with vigilante aspects arose in upcountry South Carolina, because the interior of the colony lacked courts and colonial officers. The Circuit Court Act of 1769 finally provided courts for the interior. In 1771, North Carolina quelled a Regulator rebellion of its own at the Battle of Alamance Creek. The North Carolina Regulators were protesting the corrupt administration of justice. In both colonies, coastal interests were politically dominant, and many uplanders were not inclined to follow the low-country politicians into revolution. Some Carolinians were recent Highland Scots, Irish, or German immigrants with an attachment to the British crown. Settlers along the frontier, fearing that the conflict among whites would encourage Native American uprisings, were reluctant to leave their homes for far-ranging militia action. Georgia, with a small population, was isolated from the other colonies and threatened by British garrisons in East Florida.[27]

Early events in the Carolinas favored the Patriots. South Carolina Whigs organized a provisional government in 1775, forcing the newly appointed royal governor, Lord William Campbell, to seek refuge in a British warship anchored in Charleston Harbor in September. Both Loyalists and Whigs organized militia units, which at first maintained an armed truce. In November, 1,800 Loyalists attacked 600 Whigs under Maj. Andrew Williamson holding a fortified position at the town of Ninety Six. The outnumbered Whigs held firm through two days of fighting, after which an armistice was arranged.[28] The Whigs then mustered some

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[26]John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaigns in the Carolinas, 1780-1782* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 40; Morison, 233.

[27]Pancake, 21; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), 183-84, 196-97; Joseph C. Morton, "Regulators," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, ed. by David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 1045-46; Jerome J. Nadelhaft, *The Disorders of War: The Revolution in South Carolina* (Orono, Me.: University of Maine Press, 1981), 14-23.

[28]This clash produced the first South Carolina death in defense of the Patriot cause.

5,000 militia statewide who arrested the leading Loyalist commanders and broke up and discouraged their followers.[29]

In North Carolina, Royal Governor Josiah Martin worked aggressively in 1775 to organize Loyalists and frustrate revolutionary aims. Martin persuaded the British government to dispatch troops to North Carolina under the command of Maj. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, the second-ranking British officer in America. Clinton left New York in early 1776 to rendezvous off the mouth of the Cape Fear River with troops arriving from Ireland. Instead of waiting for the British regulars to land, the Loyalists gathered 1,500 men on the lower Cape Fear River in February 1776 and moved to take Wilmington from the Whigs. Whig militia under Cols. James Caswell and James Moore laid a trap for the Loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge. The Whigs removed the planks from the bridge deck and dug in on the far bank. On February 27, 1776, as the Loyalists attempted to cross on the bridge stringers, the Patriots opened fire and achieved a resounding victory. Some 500 Loyalists were killed, wounded, or drowned, and the remaining 850 were taken prisoner. The Whig losses were one killed and one wounded.[30]

Clinton's British regulars finally arrived off North Carolina in May 1776. The disaster at Moore's Creek Bridge made an attack on Wilmington unappealing, and Clinton and Commo. Sir Peter Parker chose to assail Charleston instead. Charleston was defended by approximately 4,500 militia under the command of Charles Lee, a commissioned major general in the Continental Army. Defensive works established by militia Col. William Moultrie included an unfinished palmetto log fort on Sullivan's Island. The British planned a coordinated attack on the fort involving naval fire from the harbor and a land assault from neighboring Long Island. When the water between the two islands proved unfordable, only the naval assault went forward on June 28, 1776. This was easily repelled by the Americans, and Clinton and his force retreated to New York in July.[31]

The failure of Clinton's expedition, coupled with the Whig victories in both Carolinas, quieted Loyalist activity in those states for more than two years. Patriots vigilantly suppressed Loyalists; tar and feathers and banishment from the colony were typical punishments for outspoken expressions of pro-British sentiment. Upland Carolinians also were preoccupied with putting down a Cherokee uprising in the fall of 1776. A similar situation prevailed in Georgia, where Whigs had taken over the colony's governmental apparatus in late 1775. Thomas Browne, an outspoken Augusta Loyalist who was beaten and tortured by Patriots, escaped to Florida, where he organized a Tory force known as the

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[29]Alden, 199-201; Pancake, 73-76.

[30]Alden, 196-98; Pancake, 21-22.

[31]Alden, 202-05; Pancake, 22-24; Lennon, 139-40.

Florida Rangers. Their sporadic raids into Georgia and South Carolina were the major Loyalist activity in the South until late 1778, when the British launched an expedition against Savannah. Preoccupied with events in the North, the Continental Congress largely ignored the defensive posture of the South in this period. For the most part, the extremely bitter partisan warfare that characterized the later years of the war had not yet appeared in the South.[32]

The Evolution of Britain's Southern Strategy

After Clinton's unsuccessful Charleston effort in June 1776, Britain's strategy focused on Canada and New York. A Patriot siege had forced Maj. Gen. Sir William Howe, overall commander of British troops in America, to shift his forces from Boston to Halifax, Canada, in March 1776 and then to Long Island in August 1776, prior to the capture of New York City in September. On July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress declared American independence, making a negotiated settlement unlikely. A large British force under Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne moved south from Canada in June 1777 in an attempt to isolate New England and reinforce Howe. Instead of operating to support Burgoyne, Howe shifted his base to Philadelphia in September 1777. Burgoyne lost two battles near Saratoga, New York, in September and October and surrendered his entire beleaguered army of 5,800 to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates on October 17, 1777. In May 1778, the British replaced Howe with Clinton and ordered Clinton to return to New York. As the main British army shifted from city to city, Washington's Continentals followed, harassing communications and striking at isolated units.[33]

After three years of war, Britain in mid-1778 had made little progress in subduing the American revolutionaries. The American war was increasingly unpopular in Britain, and opposition members in Parliament pressed the government for results. Clinton's army was largely immobile in New York, watched over by Washington's Continental Army and able to make only brief forays into nearby coastal areas. A southern campaign was one of the few plausible options left to the British ministry in 1778. If all of the colonies could not be saved, retention of the southern provinces was the second-best outcome for Britain. The belief also persisted in London that the southern colonies teemed with covert British sympathizers who would rally to the crown if a British army arrived to succor them. Accordingly, Clinton in late 1778 dispatched 3,000 British and Hessian troops from New York to Georgia.[34] From this point forward, all the war's major actions took place in the South.

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[32]Pancake, 31, 76, 93; Nadelhaft, 47; Lennon, 158.

[33]Hicks, 132, 137-41

[34]Alden, 32; Pancake, 27, 32; Henry Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South* (New York: Paragon House, 1981), 28.

The Fall of Savannah
The forces brought south by Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell and Commo. Hyde Parker landed below Savannah in late December 1778. Patriot forces under Continental Maj. Gen. Robert Howe set up hasty defenses east of the city. On December 29, 1778, the British easily defeated the Patriots, taking 450 prisoners at the cost of three dead and ten wounded, and occupied Savannah. In January 1779, Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost arrived from St. Augustine in East Florida with reinforcements and took command of the British forces in Georgia. Prevost sent one thousand men under Campbell to occupy Augusta and encouraged Loyalists to come to their aid. Loyalist militia began to form in Georgia and the Carolinas, but the British threat also aroused the Whigs, who soon had 4,000 militia in the field. On February 14, 1779, Whig militia commanded by South Carolina Col. Andrew Pickens defeated 700 North Carolina Tories at Kettle Creek, fifty miles northwest of Augusta. Patriot harassment forced Campbell to give up Augusta, exposing Loyalists to Patriot reprisals. Five Tory survivors of Kettle Creek were hanged as traitors or criminals, signalling an intensification of partisan warfare and reprisals in the South.[35]

Action in the South during the remainder of 1779 was inconclusive. In April, a large militia and Continental force under General Benjamin Lincoln, newly appointed Continental Army commander in the South, moved up the Savannah River to contest British occupation of the Georgia backcountry. General Prevost countered by moving on Charleston, defended by only a small Patriot garrison. Lincoln abandoned his offensive and rushed reinforcements to Charleston, compelling Prevost to retreat. In the fall, Patriots and their French allies failed in an attempt to retake Savannah. Having accomplished a mission in the West Indies, French Adm. Charles D'Estaing in September landed 3,500 troops near Savannah. Lincoln brought 1,500 men from Charleston, but the Franco-American assault on the city's defenses was turned back. The allies lost 200 killed and more than 500 wounded. Among the dead was the exiled Polish count, Casimir Pulaski, a brigadier general of cavalry in the Continental Army who had distinguished himself in combat at Brandywine and Germantown.[36]

The Fall of Charleston and the Occupation of South Carolina
When D'Estaing's fleet sailed for France following the defeat at Savannah, General Clinton moved to expand British gains in the South. Clinton left New York in December 1779 with 8,500 men in a fleet commanded by Vice Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot and landed 30 miles south of Charleston in February 1780. Reinforced from Savannah, Clinton in March began the siege of Charleston with 10,000 troops. Unwilling to abandon the South's largest city, General Lincoln chose

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[35]Alden, 232-35; Pancake, 32-33; Nadelhaft, 58-59; Lumpkin, 28-30.

[36]Pancake, 34-35; Alden, 235-39; Lumpkin, 30-40; Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971), 355; Thomas H. Johnson, *The Oxford Companion to American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 664.

to defend Charleston with his 2,000 Continentals and 3,500 militia. Situated on a narrow neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, Charleston was particularly vulnerable to a siege. By April, the British had cut off all escape routes from the city and began pushing their parallels ever closer to the Patriot lines. In early May, they were within artillery range and began shelling the city. Lincoln surrendered his force of 5,500 on May 12, giving the British their largest victory of the war.[37]

The British moved quickly to re-establish their authority in South Carolina. Within days of Charleston's fall, Clinton had set up a string of British garrisons in an arc extending from Augusta through Ninety Six and Camden to Georgetown on the coast north of Charleston. At first, Clinton pursued a conciliatory policy, allowing Patriot fighters to return home unmolested if they gave their paroles that they would not oppose British authority. Militia Colonels Andrew Pickens and Andrew Williamson accepted these terms, and some Patriots switched sides and enlisted in the Loyalist militia. Clinton had no authority from London to establish a civil government in South Carolina and did not attempt to do so. The British were able to maintain control through military force for a short period in some areas, but attacks by Patriot militia loosely organized in partisan bands soon revealed the tenuous extent of British authority. Prominent among the South Carolina partisan leaders were Thomas Sumter (nicknamed the "Gamecock"), Francis "Swamp Fox" Marion, James Williams, and William Davie.[38]

Scattered incidents of torture and murder had occurred in the Carolinas prior to 1780, but with the reappearance of the British, the war in the South became vicious. British and Loyalist troops plundered the countryside, burning and looting, and Loyalists sought revenge against their Whig neighbors. An engagement at Waxhaws near the North Carolina border had lasting repercussions. On May 29, approximately 350 retreating Virginia Continentals who had been unable to reach Charleston before the surrender were overtaken by the Tory Legion. The legion was an elite mounted force commanded by Col. Banastre Tarleton, an aggressive British officer. The Americans refused to surrender, and Tarleton attacked, easily gaining the advantage. The Patriots then raised a white flag, which was ignored for a time, either deliberately or inadvertently. The Patriots alleged that Tarleton ignored their pleas for quarter and deliberately slaughtered them. The lopsided casualty figures—113 Patriot dead compared to five in Tarleton's force—give credence to the charge.

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[37]Pancake, 62-67; Alden, 239-41; Higginbotham, 356-57.

[38]Alden, 241-42; Pancake, 69-72.

Regardless of what happened, Tarleton earned the sobriquet "Bloody Ban," and "Tarleton's Quarter" became a rallying cry for the Whigs.[39]

Although the British seemed to have the upper hand during the summer of 1780, partisan militia leaders like Sumter and Marion refused to give up and attacked the thinly spread occupying forces when opportunities arose. Perhaps because subduing the Americans proved more difficult than anticipated, Clinton issued tougher edicts to guide the pacification of the countryside before returning to New York in June 1780. Neutrality was no longer acceptable; the British general announced that all those unwilling to actively support the crown would be treated as enemies, and some were imprisoned for refusing to bear arms. This policy backfired in many cases. When marauding Tories burned Andrew Pickens's farm, he justifiably considered his parole violated and immediately took to the field at the head of local Patriot militia, adding his forces to those already opposing the British occupation.[40]

The Campaigns of Cornwallis

Clinton's departure left General Charles, Earl Cornwallis, a veteran of battles on Long Island, at Brandywine, and in the New Jersey campaign, in command of British forces in the South. Although Clinton left general instructions for Cornwallis, the slowness of communication between New York and Charleston meant that Cornwallis in effect operated an independent command. Ambitious and aggressive, Cornwallis aimed to subdue the Carolinas and then seek additional victories on the Chesapeake Bay. In addition to Colonel Tarleton, Cornwallis's chief subordinates were Col. Francis, Lord Rawdon, and Maj. Patrick Ferguson.

The southern Patriots had a new commander as well. In June 1780, Congress appointed Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, widely hailed as the "Hero of Saratoga," to overall command in the South. Gates arrived in Hillsborough, North Carolina, in July to command a mixed force of Maryland and Delaware Continentals under German-born Gen. Johann DeKalb and assorted militia. Gates hoped to surprise the small British garrison at Camden, South Carolina, and set out in late July through country that offered few provisions for his army. Cornwallis learned of Gates's move and arrived in Camden with reinforcements from Charleston well in advance of the American army. At the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780, Gates deployed his 3,000 troops with the battle-tested Continentals all on the right and the untried militia on the left. Cornwallis had only 2,000 men, but 1,400 were veteran troops. When the battle began, the militia holding the Patriot left broke and ran from a British bayonet charge. Without support on their left flank, the outmatched Continentals on the right held on courageously for almost an hour, but then were overwhelmed. The Patriots lost some 1,100

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[39]Pancake, 70-71; Nadelhaft, 56-57; Hank Messick, *King's Mountain: The Epic of the Blue Ridge "Mountain Men" in the American Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), 41-43.

[40]Pancake, 85; Nadelhaft, 55-56.

men at Camden, and General Gates abandoned his army, traveling the 160 miles to Hillsborough in just three days. Two days later, a small force under Tarleton surprised Thomas Sumter's militia at Fishing Creek, South Carolina, inflicting heavy casualties and nearly capturing Sumter.[41] These victories encouraged Cornwallis to press on into North Carolina but did not stop the activities of Patriot partisan forces. The isolated British garrisons and their tenuous lines of communications remained extremely vulnerable.[42]

British Invasion of North Carolina

The rout of the Patriot army under General Gates at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780, and Tarleton's defeat of militia Col. Thomas Sumter at Fishing Creek two days later encouraged the British and temporarily stunned southern revolutionists. After Camden, Cornwallis faced no sizable Patriot army in the Carolinas, but partisan attacks on his detachments, wagon trains, and messengers continued. Cornwallis was convinced that supplies and reinforcements from North Carolina were all that kept the South Carolina Patriot bands in the field. His grand plan was to secure his hold on South Carolina by invading North Carolina and then move on to Virginia, where he hoped to connect with British troops sent from New York by General Clinton. By this strategy, Cornwallis intended to restore the southern provinces to the crown. A professional soldier trained in the code of eighteenth-century warfare, Cornwallis overestimated the importance of his victories in set-piece battles like Camden. He was never able to follow up his battlefield victories by establishing reliable British authority in the Carolinas.

The reaction of the revolutionists to the defeat at Camden was mixed. Partisan militia bands led by Francis Marion, James Williams, and William Davie of South Carolina and Georgia's Elijah Clarke continued to attack isolated British forces and interrupt their supply and communications lines. Between raids, some militiamen headed home to protect their families and rest while awaiting further developments. Others took their families across the mountains to safe haven in the North Carolina settlements on the Watauga, Nolichucky, and Holston rivers (present-day East Tennessee). The burning and looting done by British troops and the prospect of Cornwallis's further advance into the interior spread alarm throughout the Carolinas.[43]

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[41]Pancake, 98-106; Alden, 243-46; Lumpkin, 66, 86.

[42]Small battles occurred at Musgrove's Mill (August 18, 1780), Nelson's Ferry (August 25, 1780), Blue Savannah (September 4, 1780), and Wahab's Plantation (September 21, 1780) (Lumpkin, 266-67).

[43]Lumpkin, 266-67; Pancake, 111; Colonel Isaac Shelby's Account, published in the *American Review* December 1848, reprinted in Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heros* (1881; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1971), 540.

Cornwallis spent the last two weeks of August at Camden tending to his wounded troops and prisoners and preparing for a move into North Carolina along a line running through Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsborough. In early September, he advanced with a force of 2,200 British regulars and occupied Charlotte on September 25. Simultaneously, he dispatched Maj. Patrick Ferguson's Loyalist troops on a parallel march into North Carolina along the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Ferguson had been commissioned inspector of militia by General Clinton in May and spent the summer recruiting and training Loyalist militia in the Ninety Six district. By September, Ferguson's force consisted of 125 provincial regulars from New York and New Jersey and about 1,000 militia. All were thoroughly trained in the close-order battlefield tactics favored by the British Army. Ferguson's new mission was to gather additional recruits in western North Carolina and continue to disrupt Patriot activity. Ferguson's advance would also protect Cornwallis's main army from possible attack from the west. Although Ferguson's operations were largely independent, Cornwallis expected him eventually to rejoin the main British army in North Carolina.[44]

Maj. Patrick Ferguson was a brilliant, erratic, and dangerously overconfident commander. Born in 1744 of a Scots landed gentry family, Ferguson entered the army at fourteen. Because of recurrent illness and perhaps his own arrogance, he rose slowly, not attaining the rank of major until he was thirty-four. In the 1770s, Ferguson developed an improved breech-loading rifle, which he demonstrated to King George III and British army generals. Although the weapon was vastly superior to the muskets then carried by British troops, conservative army officers refused to adopt Ferguson's rifle. Ferguson volunteered for the American war and received a wound at the Battle of Brandywine (September 11, 1777) that permanently crippled his right arm. Frustrated by his slow professional progress and the resistance to his invention, Ferguson seemed determined to make the most of the independent command he received in 1780. Like many British officers, Ferguson was contemptuous of Patriot military capabilities.[45]

Ferguson's troops in fall 1780 moved through the Carolina Piedmont, an upland region one hundred miles wide extending from the Blue Ridge Mountains on the northwest to the Sandhills on the southeast. The Sandhills, which coincide with the Fall Zone of major rivers, are remnants of an ancient coastline left behind when the sea began to recede some forty million years ago. The Sandhills also mark an abrupt change in Carolina geology. Southeast of the Sandhills, the Coastal Plain extends one hundred miles to the Atlantic Ocean.

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[44]Wickwire and Wickwire, 194-200; U.S. Army War College, Historical Section, *Historical Statements Concerning the Battle of Kings Mountain and the Battle of the Cowpens* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928), 14-18; Lumpkin, 96.

[45]Wickwire and Wickwire, 200-3.

Northwest of the Sandhills is the Piedmont, consisting mainly of Precambrian metamorphic rocks—schists, gneiss, and slates—created more than one billion years ago. In the last several million years, rivers and streams have shaped the Piedmont topography, forming gently rolling hills and wide river valleys. Isolated mountains and ridges known as monadnocks occur in the Piedmont where more durable rock formations remain after the erosion of the surrounding plateau. The Kings Mountain Ridge is an example of a schist monadnock. Soils in the Piedmont are mostly compact yellow and red clays that absorb run-off poorly and are subject to erosion when deforested.[46]

In the 1780s, much of the Piedmont was still covered by mature hardwood and short-leaf pine forests. White settlers cleared small farms in the colonial period, but major deforestation did not occur until the early nineteenth century, when cotton growing became widespread in the Piedmont. Numerous rivers and streams trending generally northwest to southeast cross the Piedmont; the most important for Ferguson's movements were the Broad and Catawba Rivers and their tributaries. Armies could cross rivers only at fords and ferries. Heavy rains made rivers unfordable, trapping an army or protecting it from pursuit if the enemy was on the far side of a swollen stream. In 1780, primitive roads, sometimes following the paths of Native American trails, connected the small towns and settlements of the Carolinas. Ferguson's army and that of his opponents typically moved along roads or river courses. Ferguson and his officers were mounted, but the enlisted men traveled on foot. Supplies and ammunition traveled in wagons, which required roads and sometimes took a different route than the troops.[47]

The Euro-American settlement of the Carolina Piedmont and the mountain valleys to the west was well under way by 1780. Between 1750 and 1775, thousands of migrants, most of them of Scotch-Irish ancestry, moved southwest through the Shenandoah Valley into the Carolina Piedmont from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. They were joined there by lesser numbers of immigrants from Germany, Switzerland, and the British Isles. Substantial German Moravian communities existed at Salem, Bethania, and Bethabara, North Carolina. Several thousand migrants settled beyond the Appalachians in the valleys of the Watauga, Nolichucky, and Holston Rivers, an area then claimed by North Carolina and now part of northeast Tennessee. By the mid-1770s, the

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[46]Kovacik and Winberry, 16-19.

[47]Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 1-4; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 3; Kovacik and Winberry, 42-43, 75-82.

South Carolina backcountry[48] had 35,000 settlers and accounted for three-quarters of the colony's white population. Living above the Fall Zone and far from markets, the upcountry settlers subsisted on livestock they raised and small self-sufficient farms of 200 or fewer acres; many supplemented their diets by hunting and fishing. The response of these self-reliant upcountry residents to Ferguson's incursion had a major impact on the course of the American Revolution.[49]

Ferguson crossed the North Carolina border on September 7 and soon reached Gilbert Town (present-day Rutherfordton), where he attempted, with limited success, to recruit additional troops. He paroled two prisoners who carried a verbal warning to the inhabitants of the settlements on the western slopes of the mountains. As later related by Militia Col. Isaac Shelby, Ferguson threatened that if the western men "did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay their country waste with fire and sword."[50] One of the released prisoners was a distant relation of Colonel Shelby's and immediately carried Ferguson's message to him. Rather than intimidating the militia leaders, this threat convinced them to organize a force to track Ferguson down.[51]

Isaac Shelby was one of a number of aggressive, tough-minded militia officers who intended to make Ferguson pay for his violent threats. The militia commander of Sullivan County, North Carolina, which embraced the Holston River settlements, Shelby was a veteran of frontier Native American wars and had fought the British in South Carolina at Cedar Springs (July 12, 1780) and Musgrove's Mill (August 18, 1780). Upon receiving Ferguson's message, Shelby conferred with Col. John Sevier, militia commander of Washington County, North

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[48]The backcountry or upcountry included all of South Carolina beyond an approximately sixty-mile-wide coastal strip where the colonial plantation economy thrived. Backcountry and upcountry consequently are more inclusive terms than Piedmont.

[49]Wallace, 220-21; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 9, 13-24; Wilma Dykeman, *With Fire and Sword: The Battle of Kings Mountain, 1780* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1978), 4-12.

[50]Isaac Shelby's Pamphlet, April 1823, reprinted in Draper, 562.

[51]Draper, 169; Middlekauff, 461.

Carolina, which included the Watauga and Nolichucky settlements.[52] The two men resolved to organize a militia force and planned a September 25 rendezvous at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga River (near present-day Elizabethton, Tennessee). They enlisted the aid of Col. Charles McDowell of Burke County, North Carolina, and Col. William Campbell of Washington County, Virginia.[53]

Approximately 1,000 men gathered at Sycamore Shoals in late September. Colonels Shelby and Sevier each commanded 240 troops, roughly half of the able-bodied men available in their counties; the rest stayed behind to defend against the Cherokee threat. Colonel Campbell had 400 men, and Colonel McDowell brought 160 from east of the mountains.[54] Many of the men from both sides of the mountains were rugged frontiersmen—expert marksmen and veterans of combat with Native Americans. The great majority were mounted, and all were armed; most carried a muzzle-loading "Pennsylvania" rifle. This army had no baggage train and no standard uniform. Each man carried his own bedroll, a drinking cup, and a leather wallet of provisions, largely parched corn. Typical attire was a linen hunting shirt, buckskin breeches and moccasins, and a broad-brimmed wool hat. The encampment on the Watauga presented a colorful sight, with many wives and children on hand to see the men off. According to tradition, the Rev. Samuel Doakes offered a blessing, invoking the Biblical struggle of Gideon's people against the Midianites and suggesting a battle cry: "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!"[55]

The militia army crossed the mountains, headed east along the north bank of the Catawba River, and camped September 30 at Quaker Meadows. Joining them there were 350 men from the North Carolina counties of Wilkes and Surry, commanded by Col. Benjamin Cleveland and Maj. Joseph Winston. By right of seniority, Col. Charles McDowell should have commanded the entire force, but the other officers considered him unequal to the job. Shelby suggested that William Campbell, the only Virginia colonel, take command, and persuaded McDowell to take a message to General Gates's headquarters asking that an experienced Continental Army officer be sent to command them. Gates never responded to the request, and McDowell missed the Battle of Kings Mountain. Colonel Campbell assumed command of the Patriot force, guided by daily councils with his fellow colonels. From

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[52]Both men followed their wartime exploits with distinguished political careers: Shelby was the first governor of Kentucky and served in the War of 1812, while Sevier became the first governor of Tennessee and later served in the U.S. House (Draper, 411-24).

[53]Draper, 170-75; U.S. Army War College, 21-22.

[54]Although the victors at Kings Mountain are often described as the over-the-mountain men, roughly one-half of the force came from east of the mountains.

[55]Draper, 175-76; Wickwire and Wickwire, 208-9; Lumpkin, 97.

Quaker Meadows, the army moved south toward Gilbert Town, following the paths of Silver Creek and Cane Creek. They were joined on the march by twenty South Carolinians from the South Fork of the Catawba commanded by Maj. William Chronicle and thirty Georgia militia.[56]

Ferguson soon learned he was being pursued; his reaction betrayed his overconfidence and contempt for the frontiersmen. Ferguson left Gilbert Town on September 27 in pursuit of a partisan band commanded by Elijah Clarke, which was retreating after an unsuccessful attack on the British garrison at Augusta. Two Patriot deserters on September 30 informed Ferguson of the formation of the partisan army in the mountains. He then issued an infamous proclamation, which was posted at crossroads and country stores. The proclamation read in part:

> The Backwater men have crossed the mountains; McDowell, Hampton, Shelby and Cleveland are at their head, so that you know what you have to depend upon. If you choose to be pissed upon forever and ever by a set of mongrels, say so at once and let your women turn their backs upon you, and look out for real men to protect them.[57]

Had Ferguson moved quickly, he easily could have covered the eighty miles to Charlotte and joined Cornwallis before being overtaken. Instead, Ferguson continued his futile search for Clarke's men, made a feint of moving south toward Ninety Six, and then began marching slowly eastward along the north bank of Broad River toward Charlotte. On September 30, Ferguson sent a dispatch to Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger at Ninety Six asking for reinforcements, and he also recalled all his militia that had been granted furlough. By the night of October 3, Ferguson was at Tate's Plantation, one mile east of Buffalo Creek, just inside the South Carolina border and within fifty miles of Charlotte.[58]

Failing to find Ferguson at Gilbert Town, the Patriot army then briefly lost his trail at Denard's Ford on Broad River, just north of the South Carolina border, on October 4. The following day, the party's leaders selected 700 of the best-armed and best-mounted men to press ahead, leaving more than 600 to follow as best they could. The chosen 700 proceeded to a rendezvous with South Carolina militia at the Cowpens, a well-known cattle-herding center five miles south of the North Carolina border. South Carolina Col. James Williams joined the group there on October 6 with 400 troops. A Patriot spy, Joseph Kerr, arrived in camp with the news that he had that morning been in Ferguson's camp some six or seven miles from Kings Mountain. Fearful that Ferguson might reach

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[56]Draper, 183-89, 214; Shelby's Account in Draper, 541-42; Lumpkin, 97-98.

[57]Messick, 88-89.

[58]Draper, 199-203; U.S. Army War College, 23-24; Wickwire and Wickwire, 209; Wood, 194-95.

Cornwallis's army at Charlotte, the Patriot colonels selected 200 of the new arrivals at the Cowpens and began a night march with 900 troops to overtake the Loyalists.[59]

After remaining two full days at Tate's Plantation, Ferguson had moved on. He seemed eager to fight the Patriots on his own rather than seek the protection of Cornwallis's troops. On October 3, Ferguson notified Cornwallis that if enemy numbers were "within bounds," he would seek favorable ground and fight them.[60] On October 5, he sent a dispatch to Cornwallis stating that "I am marching towards you by a road leading from Cherokee Ford north of King Mountain."[61] This road, sometimes known as the Ridge Road, ran northeast from the ford along the high ground between the watersheds of Buffalo Creek and Kings Creek. On October 6, Ferguson left the Ridge Road and took up a position on the Battleground Ridge spur of Kings Mountain, using a trail (later called the Battleground Road[62]) running southeast from the Ridge Road and passing through Stony Gap and Hambright's Gap at the northeast corner of Battleground Ridge. Ferguson's decision to stop and risk battle rather than continue on to Charlotte stemmed from his overconfidence, a hope that more furloughed Loyalists would rejoin him, and his belief that Battleground Ridge was an excellent defensive position.[63]

The Patriots began their march from Cowpens in a drizzle about 9 p.m. on October 6. Many wrapped blankets or shirts around their rifles to protect the delicate firing mechanisms. The army crossed Broad River at Cherokee Ford before daybreak and paused briefly to eat a scanty meal. Through a steady rain, the Patriots continued along the same Ridge Road that Ferguson had used. Colonels Campbell, Sevier, and Cleveland proposed a halt, but Shelby vowed, "by God, I will not stop until night, if I follow Ferguson into Cornwallis' lines," and the march continued.[64] Several local residents confirmed Ferguson's

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[59]Draper, 216-26; U.S. Army War College, 26.

[60]Wickwire and Wickwire, 209.

[61]Wickwire and Wickwire, 209.

[62]There is no documentation indicating what, if any, name this trail bore at the time of the battle. Names used subsequently in the commemorative period were Battleground Road, Cherokee Trail, and Rutherford Road. Current park usage styles it the Colonial Road. For consistency, Battleground Road will be used throughout this study.

[63]Edwin C. Bearss, *Historic Resource Study: Roads, Trails, and Burial Sites, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1974), 3, 33-34; Draper, 209-10.

[64]Shelby's Account, in Draper, 542.

presence on Kings Mountain, and the colonels stopped to form a battle plan. The Patriots had excellent knowledge of the enemy's position; the previous autumn, two of their officers, Major Chronicle and Captain Mattocks, had made a deer hunting camp on the very ridge that Ferguson occupied.[65]

Kings Mountain and Vicinity in 1780

The Kings Mountain battlefield (Battleground Ridge) is a spur of the sixteen-mile Kings Mountain Range, which runs northeast to southwest, starting near Gastonia, North Carolina, and extending one and one-half miles into South Carolina. Before the arrival of European-American settlers, the Kings Mountain area was part of a buffer zone between the Catawba and Cherokee tribes. The Catawba had villages to the east along the Catawba River, and the Cherokees had villages to the west in the mountains. Each tribe hunted in the buffer zone, but neither established permanent settlements. In 1772, the State of North Carolina settled a boundary dispute by ceding a strip of land ten miles wide and 60 miles long to South Carolina. This tract included Battleground Ridge and was known as the New Acquisition. During the Revolutionary period, the New Acquisition was part of the Camden Judicial District. In 1785, when the South Carolina legislature established counties, the New Acquisition became York County. The county was probably named for the City of York in southeast Pennsylvania, the area of origin for many immigrants to the South Carolina Piedmont.[66]

At the time of the battle, the New Acquisition was a sparsely populated portion of the Carolina Piedmont. White settlement of the Piedmont accelerated in the 1760s, but most farmers avoided the immediate vicinity of Kings Mountain because of its relatively poor soil. Among the few families that did establish small farms was one named King, which gave its name to Kings Mountain and Kings Creek.[67] At the time of the battle, the Kings Mountain area consisted mostly of mature hardwood and pine forest, with scattered small farms (200 or fewer acres). In addition to the Ridge Road and the Battleground Road, mentioned above, several roads ran through the New Acquisition southeast of Kings Mountain, converging on Charlotte. It is possible that Major Ferguson eventually expected to use one of these roads to reach Charlotte, taking advantage of the Kings Mountain Ridge to screen his movements.[68]

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[65]Draper, 226-31; Wickwire and Wickwire, 211-13; Lumpkin, 98-99.

[66]York County's original western border was Broad River. In 1897, a portion of northwest York County was added to pieces of Union and Spartanburg counties to form Cherokee County (Kovacik and Winberry, 9).

[67]William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (1802; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968), 243.

[68]Klein, 13, 41, 110; Bearss, 34; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 3.

Battleground Ridge is approximately 600 yards long and shaped like an elongated club; the fairly level crest ranges from 60 yards across at the southwest to 120 yards across at the northeast. The summit lies approximately sixty feet above the surrounding broken terrain. At the time of the battle, the crest had few trees, because only a thin layer of soil covered the underlying schist outcrop. On the ridge's very steep slopes, however, were numerous large trees and some boulders, providing cover for the attacking Patriots. The surrounding area was mostly forested, but had little or no understory to impede the movement of men on foot or horseback. Battleground Ridge lies between the watersheds of Kings Creek and Clark's Fork of Bullocks Creek, both tributaries of Broad River. A spring on the northwest slope of the ridge is one of the sources of Clark's Fork. According to tradition, this spring supplied water to the Kings Mountain wounded following the battle.[69]

When Ferguson occupied Kings Mountain and defied the Patriots to displace him, he believed that he occupied an impregnable topographic position. He wrote to Cornwallis on October 6: "I arrived today at King mountain & have taken a post where I do not think I can be forced by a stronger enemy than that against us."[70] Ferguson relied so strongly on the steep slopes of the ridge and his well-trained army that he failed to fortify his position in any way and did not clear a field of fire on the sides of the mountain.[71] With the addition of some North Carolina recruits picked up on the march, Ferguson had about 1,100 men. He brought his tents and wagons onto the hill, and pitched camp on the broader northeastern portion of the ridge. The Loyalists had no artillery. On the afternoon of October 7, the Patriot army arrived and proved that Ferguson's confidence was misplaced.[72]

The Battle of Kings Mountain

On the afternoon of October 7, the Patriots turned off Ridge Road and headed southeast toward Kings Mountain along Battleground Road. They halted approximately one mile from Battleground Ridge, and the rank and file left their horses under a small guard. The force divided into two right and two left columns of approximately equal strength and advanced on foot, led by the

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[69]George C. Mackenzie, "Area Service History, Kings Mountain National Military Park," National Park Service, Kings Mountain NMP, June 1955, Typescript, 3-5; Franklin D. Pridemore, "Research Project, Historical Base Map for Kings Mountain National Military Park," December 20, 1963, Typescript, 4-5; Draper, 209-11.

[70]Wickwire and Wickwire, 211.

[71]Given the thin soil layer on the ridge, the construction of earthworks would have been difficult, but log breastworks would have been feasible, although they were not commonly constructed by Revolutionary War armies.

[72]Wickwire and Wickwire, 210-11.

mounted colonels. The battle plan was simple: at the foot of the ridge, the right and left columns separated and filed to either side to surround the mountain. Colonels Campbell and Sevier commanded the right column, which included McDowell's and Winston's men, and Colonels Shelby and Cleveland led the left, which included the detachments of Williams, Lacey, Chronicle, and Hambright. The colonels exhorted each rifleman to act as his own officer and take advantage of shifting battlefield circumstances. Shelby's and Campbell's men, on opposite sides of the narrow southwestern portion of the ridge, began the attack about 3 p.m. Within ten minutes, all the Patriots regiments were in position, and the Loyalists faced fire from all directions.[73]

The Loyalists' scouts detected the advancing enemy when they were about one-quarter mile away. As many as 200 men were away from camp on foraging missions among the few small farms in the area. Ferguson formed his remaining 900 troops into a hollow rectangle, drawn up in close columns. Ferguson, mounted on a white horse, rushed from point to point along his lines, brandishing a sword in his good left hand and blowing a silver whistle to rally his men. The advancing Patriots took advantage of the trees and boulders on the mountain's slopes to fire from cover. On the narrower, southwestern portion of the ridge, the Loyalists repulsed their attackers with two or three bayonet charges. Each time, Patriot officers rallied their men, who picked off numerous Loyalists as they returned to their positions after the charges. Soon, the Patriots gained the crest of the ridge on the southwest and began to drive the Loyalists into a small area around their tents on the northeast.[74]

The Loyalists fought valiantly but were at a severe disadvantage. Clearly silhouetted against the sky, they made easy targets for the frontiersmen with their accurate rifles. The volley fire of the Loyalists was ineffective against the Patriots, both because the Patriots fought as individuals from cover and because troops firing downhill tend to overshoot. The steep, broken ground of the ridge slopes also hampered the bayonet charges. After about 45 minutes of fighting, some Loyalists ran out of ammunition, and the hilltop camp became a roiling mass of increasingly desperate men. Ferguson was not about to surrender to troops that he contemptuously dismissed as "backwater" men. According to some accounts, Ferguson cut down two white flags with his sword. When the Loyalists' second-ranking officer, Capt. Abraham DePeyster, suggested the futility of further resistance, Ferguson vowed he would "never surrender to such a damned banditti." Toward the battle's close, Ferguson and several other mounted men attempted to break through the lines on the southeastern slope of the ridge. Instantly, the partisans fired on him, and Ferguson fell, mortally wounded by seven or eight rifle balls.[75]

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[73]Draper, 233-46; Bearss, 34-37; Dykeman, 49.

[74]Draper, 238, 249-73.

[75]Draper, 274-81; Wickwire and Wickwire, 214; Wood, 201-2.

Command passed to Captain DePeyster, who raised a white flag that many Patriots ignored. For some, accustomed to Native American warfare, a white flag had no meaning. Others, bitter over Tarleton's conduct at Waxhaws and elsewhere, killed deliberately, shouting, "give them Tarleton's quarter!" The more responsible Patriot officers attempted to stop the slaughter, knocking down loaded rifles with their swords. Finally, Colonel Shelby, disgusted with both sides, rode toward the Loyalist lines and demanded, "Damn you, if you want quarter, throw down your arms!" The Loyalists complied, and firing soon ceased. Colonel Campbell led the victors in three "huzzahs for Liberty."[76] Suddenly, a single shot rang out, mortally wounding Patriot Col. James Williams.[77] Fearful that the Loyalist prisoners were attempting a breakout, some Patriots began to shoot them. Some one hundred more fell before the firing finally ended. To prevent a recurrence of fighting, the prisoners were marched to the opposite end of the ridge, away from their surrendered arms.[78] Loyalists killed totaled 156, with 163 seriously wounded, and more than 600 taken prisoner. Patriot losses were 28 killed and 62 wounded.[79]

Aftermath of the Battle

The treatment of the Kings Mountain prisoners demonstrated the cruelty of the war in the Carolinas. The victors left the seriously wounded Loyalists on the battlefield without blankets or provisions. In their defense, the Patriots had little of either to spare. Some Loyalist wounded were later moved to nearby farm houses for shelter and treatment. Ferguson's body was looted and stripped for souvenirs. According to tradition, some of the victors, remembering Ferguson's intemperate proclamation, urinated on the corpse.[80] When the demands of revenge had been satisfied, the Patriots allowed some Loyalist prisoners to wrap Ferguson's body in a raw cowhide and bury it on the slope near where he fell. The supposed burial site was later marked with a cairn of stones.[81]

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[76]Draper, 284.

[77]Whether this shot came from a Loyalist on the ridge or a member of a returning foraging party is unknown. It has even been suggested that a South Carolina Patriot, disgusted by Williams's previous attempts to divert the army from pursuing Ferguson, shot him (Messick, 148-49).

[78]Draper, 281-85;

[79]Pancake, 116-20; Alden, 249-50; Draper, 168-301.

[80]Messick, 152.

[81]Visitors to the battlefield placed stones on the supposed site of Ferguson's grave; by one report, the bulk of the stones were apparently placed there in 1909 when the U.S. monument was dedicated (Bailey, *Commanders at King's Mountain* [Gaffney, 1926], cited in Bearss, 65).

The victors and their prisoners slept the night on the battlefield. On the morning of October 8, the dead were hastily buried in shallow graves, and the Loyalists' wagons were burned. Fearing that Cornwallis would pursue them, the Patriots at 10 a.m. began their retreat north and west toward the mountains. The victors disarmed the prisoners' muskets and made the Loyalists carry the captured weapons off the field. Food was short for all, and the Patriots naturally fed themselves before the prisoners received anything.[82] Some of the Patriots mistreated the prisoners on the march; on October 11, Colonel Campbell found it necessary to issue an order directing "the officers of all ranks in the army to endeavor to restrain the disorderly manner of slaughtering and disturbing the prisoners."[83]

The desire for retribution remained strong among some of the victors. On the night of October 14, while the army was encamped at Bickerstaff's Plantation, nine miles northeast of Gilbert Town, the Patriots tried and sentenced to death thirty-six prisoners. War had disrupted the judicial apparatus of North Carolina, and the militia colonels believed that the presence of some magistrates among their ranks gave them authority to conduct trials. The Patriot accusers alleged that all the defendants were murderers, arsonists, and thieves, but the crimes of some, like Col. Ambrose Mills, appeared to extend only to being effective Loyalist commanders. Further inflaming the Patriots was a report that Loyalists recently had hanged eleven men at Ninety Six. The Patriots conducted quick trials by campfire light at Bickerstaff's and began the hanging, hoisting up three men at a time. After nine had been executed, Colonel Shelby stepped forward and proposed that the rest be pardoned, and the killings ceased.[84]

Having eliminated the threat from Ferguson's army, many of the Patriots were eager to go home. Few had much patience for guard duty, making the withdrawal from Kings Mountain a disorganized affair. As various militia units peeled off the line of march to head for home, the prisoners had many opportunities to steal away into the woods. By the time the column reached the Continental Army outpost at Hillsborough, only 130 remained in custody.[85]

The elimination of his left wing, one-third of his effective force, at Kings Mountain stopped Cornwallis's advance into North Carolina and forced him to withdraw to a defensive wintering position in South Carolina. Cornwallis sent Tarleton's legion after the retreating frontier army on October 10, but recalled it the next day when he learned the full extent of Ferguson's

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[82]Draper, 308-20.

[83]Draper, 326.

[84]Draper, 329-43.

[85]Draper, 349-60.

disaster. On October 14, the British force at Charlotte began a retreat to Winnsboro, South Carolina, located within supporting distance of the British outposts at Ninety Six to the west and Camden to the east. The decisive victory at Kings Mountain came after a string of Patriot defeats at Savannah, Charleston, and Camden and immediately boosted revolutionary morale throughout the country. The withdrawal of Cornwallis gave Patriot forces much-needed breathing space to reinforce, reorganize, and train. News of the Patriot victory at Kings Mountain spread rapidly throughout the Carolinas, emboldening Patriots and discouraging Loyalists from rising. At one stroke, the threat of extensive organized Loyalist activity in the South was eliminated. Cornwallis's plan to pacify the Carolinas with a handful of garrisons supplemented by Loyalist militia had no chance for success after October 7, 1780. With the elimination of one of the major strategic goals of their southern campaign—the raising of a Loyalist force—the royal authorities were confounded, and British opponents of the American war were strengthened.[86]

General Greene Assumes Command

Although they took no part in the Battle of Kings Mountain, the remnants of General Gates's Continental Army force remained in North Carolina and occupied Charlotte following Cornwallis's retreat. In December 1780, Gen. Nathanael Greene, one of Washington's most reliable subordinates, assumed command of Patriot forces in the South. Greene quickly restored discipline and morale among the 950 Continentals and 1,400 militia of his command. He received welcome reinforcements in the person of Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee and his fast-moving legion of 300 men. Greene took the bold step of dividing his force, dispatching 1,000 men under Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan to the southwest, while he took the rest of the army southeast. Greene was careful, however, to make detailed plans for the eventual reuniting of the two commands. Cornwallis, who had received 2,000 fresh troops in December 1780, had 4,000 men available for campaigning. Cornwallis responded to Greene's division of forces by sending Tarleton with a mixed force of 1,100 cavalry and infantry to defeat Morgan or at least drive him into Cornwallis's force.[87]

Morgan began a retreat toward North Carolina to escape Tarleton; when it became obvious that he could not outrun the British, he took up a defensive position at Hannah's Cowpens, south of Broad River, on the evening of January 16, 1781. Morgan's battle preparations demonstrated his sure grasp of the capabilities of his troops. Remembering the collapse of the militia at Camden, Morgan positioned his militia in the first two of his three lines and instructed them to fire two volleys and then fall back. The third line contained seasoned Continentals, and Morgan kept a small cavalry unit under William Washington in reserve, out of sight of the British advance. As his force arrived on the field on the morning of January 17, Tarleton committed them hastily. Morgan's

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[86]Draper, 367-71.

[87]Pancake, 130-33; Alden, 252-53.

militia did just what he asked of them, and the British attack faltered at the third line. Washington's cavalry then fell upon the British right, and the regrouped militia attacked the British left. This successful double envelopment turned the British retreat into a rout. Tarleton escaped, but his command was virtually wiped out, with 110 killed, more than 200 wounded, and 500 captured. Morgan lost 12 killed and 60 wounded.[88]

Cornwallis moved quickly in an attempt to punish Morgan and recapture the British prisoners. Greene was just as determined to reunite his forces and avoid battle until he was fully prepared. Greene sent the British prisoners from Cowpens north with a regiment of Virginia militia whose terms of enlistment were about to expire. In early February, he joined the two wings of his army near Guilford Courthouse, in north-central North Carolina, and continued to retreat toward Virginia, where he requisitioned fresh horses and other supplies for his weary men. He soon returned to North Carolina. By early March, militia accretions had swelled the Patriot army to almost 5,000, and Greene opted to offer battle to Cornwallis. Greene at this point understood that a Patriot "loss" that substantially weakened the British Army was as valuable as a clear victory.[89]

Greene deployed his 4,400 men astride the Salisbury Road near Guilford Courthouse in an arrangement patterned on Morgan's at Cowpens. Greene placed most of his militia in two forward lines and established a main line of Continentals to their rear. On March 15, 1781, Cornwallis arrived with about 2,000 British regulars and began the battle. After driving the first two lines, the British settled into a costly seesaw fight with the Continentals. At a crucial point, Cornwallis ordered his artillery to fire grapeshot and canister through his own lines into the Patriots. This harsh measure turned the tide, and the Americans began an orderly retreat from the field. Left in possession of the field, the British could claim a technical victory, but it came at the cost of 532 casualties, 28 percent of the force engaged. Greene achieved all the strategic gain; Cornwallis was unable to continue his advance and retired to Wilmington to receive supplies from British warships.[90]

The Patriot Reconquest of South Carolina

Still possessed by visions of glory along the Chesapeake Bay, Cornwallis began a march toward Virginia, after a pause in Wilmington, in late April 1781. He was aware that this decision put the British garrisons in South Carolina and Georgia at great risk but seemed indifferent to their fate. Lord Rawdon was left with the unenviable task of defending South Carolina. Instead of pursuing

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[88]Pancake, 132-38; Alden, 253-54.

[89]Pancake, 156-77; Alden, 254-56.

[90]Pancake, 177-85; Alden, 256-59.

Cornwallis, Greene moved his army into South Carolina where, in coordination with militia bands, he intended to pick off the British posts one by one.[91]

Lord Rawdon commanded 8,000 men, but they were scattered in ten garrisons: Charleston, Savannah, and Georgetown on the coast and Augusta, Orangeburg, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, Ninety Six, Camden, and Fort Watson in the interior. While Rawdon concentrated as many troops as he could at Camden, Greene marched south from Guilford Courthouse. Greene reached the Camden area in late April with approximately 1,500 men, a force insufficient to mount a siege. Greene sought to draw Rawdon into battle in the open, and the British commander, believing that only a decisive victory could relieve the pressure on his isolated posts, accommodated him. The armies met on April 25, 1781, at Hobkirk's Hill on the Camden to Salisbury Road, several miles north of Camden. In the bloody, but indecisive battle, the Americans seemed on the verge of victory, when the First Maryland Continentals became confused and began a retreat that soon was general. Although the British retained possession of the field, they were too weakened to pursue Greene's army. The Battle of Hobkirk's Hill did nothing to relieve the pressure on the British, and Rawdon abandoned Camden on May 10.[92]

News of Camden's fall spread quickly and encouraged Patriot militia throughout South Carolina. Fort Watson had already fallen to Francis Marion and Light Horse Harry Lee on May 8, and within a month, Orangeburg, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, and Augusta were in Patriot hands. Rawdon had ordered the abandonment of Ninety Six when he evacuated Camden, but Col. John Cruger, an American commanding 550 Loyalists at Ninety Six, never got the message. When Greene began the siege of Ninety Six in late May, he discovered that Cruger had improved the garrison's defenses by constructing an earthen star fort and a stockade. Greene was also working against the clock, because Rawdon sent a strong relief column from Charleston when he learned of Cruger's plight at Ninety Six.[93]

Greene's army of 850 Continentals and 200 militia began constructing parallel approaches to the star fort. The Patriots also raised a 40-foot wooden tower that allowed sharpshooters to fire down on the defenders inside the fort. On June 8, Harry Lee and Andrew Pickens arrived with reinforcements following their capture of Augusta. Lee's men began building parallels near the stockade fort that protected the garrison's well. On June 11, Greene learned of the approaching British reinforcements. Knowing he would have to retire before Rawdon's arrival, Greene ordered a two-pronged assault for June 18, which failed. Greene's army then retreated toward Charlotte, with British troops in

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[91]Pancake, 187-90; Alden, 259-61.

[92]Pancake, 190-200; Alden, 260-62.

[93]Pancake, 200-03, 209-10; Alden, 264.

pursuit. Although the siege failed, Rawdon soon realized that he was overextended and ordered the evacuation of Ninety Six.[94]

The Patriots were unable to trap the British column retreating toward Charleston, and Greene temporarily withdrew to the High Hills of Santee to reprovision and regroup. Harassment of the British by the partisan bands continued. In late August, Lord Rawdon sailed for Great Britain, and command of the British forces passed to Col. Alexander Stewart. Greene now had 2,400 men available and felt strong enough to go on the offensive. Stewart moved north from Charleston with 2,000 troops and camped at Eutaw Springs on the south bank of the Santee River. On September 8, 1781, Greene attacked, with his battle lines deployed in imitation of the Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse arrangements. At first, the Patriots drove the British back, but many hungry soldiers stopped to loot the British camp, allowing the British to regroup and take the offensive. After three hours of combat, Greene broke off the engagement. The Patriots suffered nearly 500 casualties, but the British loss was catastrophic: 85 killed, 351 wounded, and 400 captured. Stewart had little choice but to withdraw to Charleston. Eutaw Springs was the last major battle in the Carolinas. The British held only the three ports of Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.[95] While the British position in the Carolinas was deteriorating, events in Virginia were deciding the war's outcome.[96]

Surrender in Virginia

The British ministry shared Lord Cornwallis's view on the importance of the Chesapeake region. Under pressure from London, Clinton had dispatched expeditionary forces to Virginia in 1779, 1780, and 1781 to raid Patriot supply depots and hinder troop recruitment. When Cornwallis arrived in Petersburg from the Carolinas on May 20, 1781, he combined his force with those already present, giving him command of 7,000 British and Loyalist troops in Virginia. Washington sent 1,200 Continentals under the young French aristocrat, the Marquis de Lafayette, to Virginia to harass Cornwallis. Lafayette added 2,000 untested Virginia militia to his command when he arrived in early May. Cornwallis spent most of the summer raiding in Virginia, at one point driving the Virginia legislature out of the temporary capital at Charlottesville. Ignoring Clinton's suggestion that he operate in tandem with the main British army in New York, Cornwallis in August established bases at Yorktown and Gloucester on opposite banks of the York River.[97]

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[94]Alden, 264; Pancake, 21-14.

[95]In late 1781, after Yorktown, the Wilmington garrison evacuated to Charleston (Pancake, 237).

[96]Pancake, 215-21; Alden, 264-66.

[97]Alden, 290-99; Pancake, 189, 222-25.

The availability in late summer 1781 of a large French fleet and a large landing force under Admiral the Comte de Grasse opened the door for a new American offensive. Washington hoped to attack the British army at New York, but the misgivings of French General the Comte de Rochambeau and the failure of the states to supply enough militia made this impossible. When Admiral de Grasse opted to land his troops on the Chesapeake, Washington and Rochambeau hatched a plan to trap Cornwallis on the banks of the York.[98]

Washington managed to march most of his army from its position around New York without arousing Clinton's suspicions. De Grasse's fleet reached the mouth of Chesapeake Bay in late August. Cornwallis and Clinton were curiously inert while the trap closed around Yorktown. Only in early September did a British fleet from New York under Adm. Thomas Graves arrive at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. The French fleet defeated the British fleet on September 5, 1781, in the Battle of the Capes. De Grasse landed 3,000 French troops, giving the allies more than 16,000 men to Cornwallis's 8,000. De Grasse was soon joined by a smaller French fleet under Admiral the Comte de Barras, which had been on station off Newport, Rhode Island. The combined fleets totaled thirty-five ships of the line, more than a match for any force the British could assemble. With the French in command of the bay, Cornwallis could neither evacuate nor receive reinforcements by sea. On September 28, the French and Americans began the siege of Yorktown and used heavy artillery, brought by de Barras, to systematically destroy the British defenses. Surrounded and cut off, Cornwallis ordered his subordinate, Gen. Charles O'Hara, to surrender the British force on October 19, 1781.[99]

The surrender at Yorktown ended any lingering hope in London that the North American colonies could be retained. In spite of winning a number of battles in the Carolinas, the British were unable anywhere to establish the king's peace and protect their Loyalist friends. The opposition in Parliament gained ascendancy, and in late March 1782 the ministry of Lord North, which had faithfully pursued George III's policy, fell. The British government began negotiating terms with American representatives in April. General Greene kept pressure on the British garrisons at Charleston and Savannah until a final settlement was reached, but he did not risk a major battle in a war that was essentially over.[100]

The Battle of Kings Mountain ended the string of British successes in the Carolinas and Georgia. The Patriot victory at Cowpens three months later further bolstered revolutionary morale. General Cornwallis never fully recovered from these two disastrous losses. The sudden appearance of the Kings

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[98]Alden, 294-95; Pancake, 189, 222-25; Wood, 262-63.

[99]Alden, 295-98; Wood, 262-86.

[100]Alden, 299; Pancake, 225-30.

Mountain militiamen from the Piedmont and mountain regions flew in the face of British expectations about latent Loyalist sympathies in the Carolinas. A little more than a year after the Battle of Kings Mountain, the surrender at Yorktown effectively secured American independence.

2. Significance

Kings Mountain was a key turning point in the Revolutionary War. The epic journey and victory of the southern Patriot militiamen assumed a mythic position in American history and added impetus to the traditional American reliance on militia and abhorrence of a standing army. The Kings Mountain battlefield and Battleground Road are the significant historic resources associated with Context A: The Battle of Kings Mountain, September-October, 1780. Both resources are significant under Criterion A (events) and Criterion B (persons). The Battle of Kings Mountain was a pivotal event in the Revolutionary War, and several of the Patriot colonels involved went on to important political careers. Both resources fully represent Context A. Ferguson's Loyalists traveled on Battleground Road to their position on Kings Mountain, and the Patriot army used the same road to approach the mountain prior to their attack. The battlefield represents the location and the setting in which the Battle of Kings Mountain was fought.

3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its historic significance. The aspects of integrity relevant to the Kings Mountain battlefield are location, setting, feeling, and association. For Battleground Road, the above aspects plus those of design and materials apply.

The battlefield, composed of the 1,200-foot Battleground Ridge and its surrounding slopes, possesses integrity of location—it is the site of the October 7, 1780, battle. The battlefield also retains integrity of setting, feeling, and association. The topography of the battlefield, which was key to the battle's outcome, is unchanged. The ridge and its slopes are covered in second growth oak and pine forest with dense understory growth that succeeded intense agricultural use of the area following the battle. The current vegetation is denser than that described by battle-era contemporaries, but the succession of hardwood forest contributes to the integrity of the battle ground setting. Several areas are cleared and maintained in grass. Contemporaries described the openness of the stony ridge crest, but it is not known if the existing vistas, which have a direct association with post-war commemoration efforts, existed at the time of the battle. Although a significant number of monuments and markers have been erected on the ridge and informal paths have been stabilized and paved, the combination of unchanged topography and successive forest growth produces substantial integrity of feeling at Kings Mountain. The physical condition of the battleground, covered in dense forest and characterized by steep slopes, greatly affected the events of October 7,

1780, and the persistence of these characteristics conveys great associative values.

Battleground Road traverses the park in discontinuous but clearly identifiable segments. The road segments have deep ruts and high banks in places. From all appearances, the road follows its original course through forested areas, passing through Hambright's Gap at the north end of Battleground Ridge, and thus retains integrity of location and setting. In 1780, Battleground Road was a dirt trace; consequently the surviving dirt segments, abandoned when the park road system was reconfigured, retain integrity of design and materials. Some trees have invaded the road bed but they do not significantly compromise the road's integrity. The road traces, following the original road course and unaltered by later improvements, have substantial integrity of feeling and association.

4. Contributing Properties under Context A

Kings Mountain battlefield
Battleground Road (Colonial Road)

5. Noncontributing Properties

Deer Spring Wall

B. Commemorating the American Revolution: The Influence of Veterans and Patriotic Organizations, Kings Mountain National Military Park, 1815-1939.

1. Context Narrative

The post-Civil War period witnessed a growing interest in national history and commemorative activity directly related to war events and participants. After four years of civil war, widespread popular participation in commemorative activity served as a public emotional response to the enormous physical, economic, and social impacts wrought by the war. By contrast, commemorative efforts following the American Revolution and the War of 1812 were minor movements that evolved primarily from veterans associations and hereditary societies and largely remained important only to the elite. A consensual view of national history gained greatest acceptance in the 1890s when Civil War veterans' organizations, dominated by enlisted men, and hereditary associations, established for the wives, sons, daughters, and grandchildren of soldiers and early settlers, advocated the popular celebration of patriotic holidays and heroes. Through commemorative gestures, these groups imbued the entire citizenry with an ethos of patriotism and public memory and demanded support and recognition from the federal government. These organizations significantly increased commemorative activity in the United States and

established a pantheon of heroes and a calendar of events that created a national mythology.

The history of commemoration at Kings Mountain represents the developing American national commemorative movement that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Five commemorative events marked the anniversaries of the battle or honored its participants. Held in 1815, 1855, 1880, 1909, and 1930, these celebrations were largely inspired by local historic and patriotic organizations. However, in 1909, as a symbol of national recognition of the site's significance, the War Department erected a towering granite-faced obelisk at the Kings Mountain battle site in memory of the fallen. But the ensuing celebration was muted compared to other community-sponsored events held at Kings Mountain. In 1931, Congress elected to include the battleground in the system of national military parks after nearly three decades of local lobbying efforts. In 1933, the National Park Service gained administrative authority over the battleground.

Until this federal participation, only private commemorative efforts ensured the preservation of the Kings Mountain battlefield. Individuals, veterans and their organizations, hereditary societies, and local historical interests combined to keep a public memory of the battle alive. Like other nineteenth-century commemorative groups, Kings Mountain advocates actively promoted patriotism, revived citizens' interest in historical events and personalities, and eventually institutionalized commemorative activities by establishing annual celebrations and pageants and erecting monuments. At Kings Mountain, commemorative efforts remained localized until approximately 1855. Thereafter, commemoration proponents set their sights on national recognition of Kings Mountain and its heroes. Through increasingly formalized ceremonies, heightened rhetoric, and a vigorous program of monument construction, state and regional patriots created a place for Kings Mountain in the national historical consciousness.

The Veterans

Revolutionary War commemorative activities in the United States originated in veterans' organizations. The first, the Society of Cincinnati, was organized in 1783 and consisted of officers of the Continental Army who had served at least three years or were actively soldiering at the war's end in 1781. Following a common practice among trade associations and craftsmen's guilds, the Cincinnati served as a benevolent association for its members. Subsequent membership in the Cincinnati followed the practice of primogeniture, whereby only the oldest son could lay claim to his father's estate and title, which in this case applied to membership and any benefits. For some members, including the Cincinnati's first leader, Lt. Gen. George Washington, the rule of primogeniture ominously resembled the aristocratic authority and privilege that Patriot forces had condemned through revolution. Additional public criticism of the Cincinnati stemmed from the society's attempts to establish federal assistance to veterans. Because of the Cincinnati's elite membership, few citizens believed these officer veterans needed government aid. In spite of

political and popular criticism of the Cincinnati, Washington did not forsake his membership. Instead, he chose to limit his public appearances on behalf of the society. By the 1790s, public criticism of the society diminished, because its threat to the republic's values appeared negligible. A peerage system and elitist dominance never emerged from the organization as some citizens had feared.[101]

Despite the significance of the rebellion, Revolutionary War commemorative activity was minor. The Cincinnati represented a small group of elite veterans and as such, never gained widespread popularity or recognition, even among those eligible. After Washington's death in 1799, republican leaders discussed constructing a public memorial for this much-beloved leader. However, opposing Federalist and Jeffersonian interests could not agree on an appropriate memorial, and the project remained dormant until the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the immediate postwar period, the government failed to erect any publicly sponsored memorials honoring Revolutionary War participants. As the war's veteran ranks declined in the 1820s and 1830s, a renewed interest in commemorating the Revolutionary War emerged, focused particularly on the erection of heroic equestrian statuary and the marking of soldiers' graves. Overall, veterans' organizations ebbed significantly between the 1790s and the 1850s, in part because until the Mexican War, American fighting forces remained relatively small. State militia companies, which frequently contributed to a national army, experienced dwindling forces as compulsory militia duty waned in the 1830s. Relative peace in this period also contributed to diminishing veterans' organizations. Finally, the lack of leisure time and reliable transportation in a rural society significantly deterred the growth of broad-based social organizations.[102]

Although Revolutionary War commemorative activity never gained popular expression, the growth of common ideals was not retarded. Two views of the Patriots emerged: one portrayed them as conservative and righteous heroes fighting for a homogenous and politically unified population. Frequently, elite militia companies that made sole heredity claims to war participants maintained this conservative view of the war's events. The other view, espoused specifically by artisans, emphasized the revolutionary and radical nature of Patriot actions and claimed Tom Paine as its hero. With the increase in German and Irish immigration throughout the 1840s and 1850s, Anglo-American citizens narrowly defined patriotism and proudly reinforced their connections to original American settlers. This nativism ignored the radical aspects of

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[101]Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783-1900*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 2-14; Gunter Kurt Piehler, "Remembering War the American Way: 1783 to the Present" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers State University of New Jersey, 1990), 22-23.

[102]Piehler, 26-28, 30, 34.

the Revolutionary War period and attempted to create a homogenous view of the past. Accompanying these beliefs, Fourth of July celebrations expanded, and popular historians, such as George Bancroft, waxed eloquent on the values of liberty and freedom. In 1853, veterans of the War of 1812 mobilized an effort to create an umbrella organization for all veterans of American wars. However, until the 1880s and 1890s, veterans' organizations remained small and their agendas were parochial.[103] The Civil War radically changed the obscure status of the veteran and his kin.

The Civil War affected more than veterans' organizations. As the largest conflict in the country's eighty-five year history, it vastly altered Americans' view of war. The Civil War engaged large armies and produced enormous casualties. It drastically reduced the male populations of many small towns and families and left behind a nation of widows.[104] As a civil war, it called into question previously held beliefs of nationalism and patriotism. In the aftermath, Union and Confederate soldiers and northern and southern populations attempted to reconstruct ideals of patriotism by fostering all forms of commemorative activity. The war veterans began a national bereavement that eventually blossomed into a movement to celebrate the nation's past.

The largest postbellum veterans' organization was the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), which first appeared in Illinois in 1866. The GAR, composed largely of former enlisted men from the Union Army, held greatest sway in the midwestern states, but even had members residing in some of the southern states. In 1890, at the height of its activism, the GAR counted 400,000 members nationally. Linked to veterans' associations, women's auxiliaries also grew during the 1880s and 1890s. The Women's Relief Corps, the first female auxiliary to the GAR, formed at the Denver national encampment in July 1883. In the 1890s, the women's leagues continued to grow, but the large northern veterans' associations waned. Confederate soldier associations formed considerably later than the GAR, in part because southern repatriation limited any public expressions that emphasized southern loyalty over national allegiance. Thus, the largest southern veterans' group, the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), waited nearly twenty-five years before emerging in New Orleans in June 1889. The UCV pooled veterans from Louisiana, Mississippi, and

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[103]Piehler, 34, 39; Davies, 20-23.

[104]Civil War armies frequently numbered more than 100,000 and engaged 100 times more men then Revolutionary War battles. The large casualties, numbering more than the total of all wars fought in by the U. S., including world wars, and the make-up of state militia companies, engaging nearly the entire male population of local communities, literally transformed the postwar domestic scene. See James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989).

Tennessee. By 1890, at the UCV's second convention, veterans from six southern states attended.[105]

Women's associations also accompanied the formation of Confederate veteran societies, although many of the women's organizations formed independently. Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs), evolved from women's war work groups, and rapidly followed the war's end. LMAs commonly erected memorials, especially in town cemeteries. One of the largest women's association, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), was independent and did not serve as an auxiliary to the UCV. The UDC erected monuments, administered parades, and lent importance to Confederate blood lines. In September 1894, the first UDC chapter formed in Nashville, followed by a Savannah chapter.[106] The LMAs directed their efforts almost exclusively toward the memorialization of the dead, while later groups like the UDC perpetuated southern distinctiveness and patriotism by sponsoring public parades and erecting Confederate memorials in southern town squares.[107]

The Veterans' Kin

In addition to Civil War veterans' associations and women's auxiliaries, hereditary societies also gained popularity during the postwar period. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, hereditary and patriotic societies, both male and female, increased as the nation's interest in its past created a patriotic self-consciousness. Several centennial celebrations, spurred by both nativism and genuine historic interest, like those held in 1876, 1883, and 1889, commemorated the Revolutionary War period and greatly advanced hereditary societies. New immigration from southern and eastern Europe sounded nativistic alarms among fearful Anglo-Saxon citizens and also spawned renewed patriotism. Genealogical societies formed and espoused native-born superiority.

Revolutionary War hereditary societies grew primarily from two groups: The Sons of the Revolution (SR), organized in 1883, followed by the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR), created in 1889. The SR began strictly as a parochial interest in New York City and reluctantly expanded its membership to a branch in Philadelphia in 1888. An energetic patriotic organizer and controversial SR member, William O. McDowell, upset the genteelly conservative SR when he attempted to open another branch in Morristown, New Jersey.[108]

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[105]Davies, 36-41.

[106]Davies, 29-30, 36, 37-42.

[107]Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 38-39, 128-29.

[108]Davies, 44-48, 52-53.

McDowell, a New Jersey native and enterprising businessman, joined the SR in 1884. After numerous attempts to convince SR membership committees to expand their activities and invite popular participation, McDowell was ejected from the organization and his actions branded a "combination of pertinacity, vanity, and effrontery."[109] Not one to be stopped, McDowell continued his organizing activities and eventually gained the endorsement of Hamilton Fish, the president-general of the Cincinnati, for the new National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Meeting in the historic Fraunces Tavern, where Lt. Gen. George Washington took leave of his officers in 1783, the SAR was born April 30, 1889. The SR and the SAR competed for membership for several years, but by 1900, the SAR had clearly outstripped the SR in nationwide organization.[110]

This renewed interest in Revolutionary War participants spawned a rejuvenation of older associations and general interest in colonial history. The Society of the Cincinnati, practically defunct by the 1890s, experienced a revival and by 1902 had established thirteen branches composed of male heirs of Revolutionary War officers. Several other societies, like the Order of Founders and Patriots (1896) and the Colonial Order of the Acorn (1894), emerged strictly as hereditary societies with no affiliation to the veteran. These organizations accepted as members only those who could trace a direct male bloodline to the pre-Revolutionary War period.[111]

Male hereditary societies grew during the 1890s, but female clubs quickly outpaced the male organizations. The Colonial Dames of America initiated this trend, organizing in May 1890. However, the Dames were quickly overshadowed by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, emerging in 1891. The Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), created October 11, 1890, also experienced splintering, but unlike the Dames, the DAR succeeded in fending off competition and emerged as the most powerful female hereditary society in the United States. Four years later, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) formed and recognized a regional hereditary affiliation that the other women's organizations did not.[112]

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[109]Davies, 52.

[110]Davies, 51-53; Frank B. Sarles, Jr. and Charles E. Shedd, *Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating Our Forebears, 1700-1783* (Washington: National Park Service, 1964), 213-14. McDowell worked doggedly to expand the SAR. By 1900, SR membership included 26 state branches with approximately 6,000 members. By contrast, the SAR had expanded to thirty-five states with more than 10,000 members (Davies, 76-77).

[111]Davies, 54-55.

[112]Davies, 46-48, 52-53, 56-57.

Combined, hereditary societies and veterans organizations spearheaded numerous preservation and commemoration activities related to pivotal conflicts, important historical figures, and associated places. Civil War veterans, the DAR, and the UDC erected thousands of monuments for fallen peers and kin and marked historic places rapidly falling into oblivion through deterioration and neglect. The Civil War veterans and affiliated organizations most commonly marked battlefields and erected monuments to the fallen. Frequently, these organizations urged state officials and the federal government to assist in commemorative efforts by establishing national cemeteries or purchasing battlefields for historic preservation purposes. Official federal government sanction of commemorative activities emerged in the establishment of national cemeteries for the Civil War dead in legislation enacted on February 22, 1867, although Gettysburg and Arlington cemeteries were created during the war. Within the national cemeteries, veterans' groups erected monuments to the Union dead. Confederate associations, consisting mostly of local memorial associations, also erected monuments to their war dead in Confederate cemeteries and southern towns. Finally, in 1926 Congress adopted a program to survey, preserve, and mark the battlefields of all domestic wars.[113]

The first wave of proposed legislation that would provide federal matching funds for the erection of monuments at Revolutionary War battle sites emerged in the 1880s. Approximately eight resolutions appeared before Congress between 1880 and 1886, stemming largely from centennial celebrations. These resolutions would obligate the federal government to sponsor battlefield monuments for Revolutionary War sites. They all failed to pass.[114] Federal interest in Revolutionary War sites remained negligible until Civil War veterans vigorously pursued government sponsorship of monuments and cemeteries.

Commemorative activity following the Civil War naturally focused on remembering its participants. However, beginning in the 1890s and continuing through the 1930s, rising patriotic feelings and sentimentalization of the past encouraged commemorative activities on a broader scale. The formation of the SAR in 1889 followed many elaborate centennial celebrations and introduced an era of patriotic societies, both national and sectional. While patriotic hereditary societies for men grew, women joined the DAR and the Colonial Dames in much larger numbers. By 1911, DAR membership outpaced SAR membership by nearly 75 percent. These female patriotic clubs reanimated interest in the Revolutionary War period by conducting genealogical research, preserving historic buildings, and by marking places important to the period. These organizations also effectively established symbols and gestures of nationalism, through the cult

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[113]Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Park Historic Preservation, 1973), 11, 17-19.

[114]Lee, 7-12.

of the flag and by pursuing the adoption of various national holidays like Patriot's Day and Flag Day.[115]

During the World War I era, nationalism, accompanied by rising militarism, flourished. Before the United States entered the conflict, patriotic societies, like the DAR, urged President Woodrow Wilson to adopt national defense measures against real and perceived German military threats. Once the United States sent troops to Europe, women's organizations like the DAR and the YWCA pursued the formation of patriotic youth associations, helped plant victory gardens, and lobbied to include patriotism demonstrations in the schools.[116]

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the societies based on ancestral links to participants in the American Revolution, like the Children of the American Revolution, the SAR, and the DAR, continued to memorialize the war dead and seek national commemoration of significant military events. These organizations located and marked the graves of soldiers, erected monuments to outstanding colonial figures, and amassed considerable historical records relevant to the period.[117] At Kings Mountain, numerous DAR markers honor fallen soldiers and indicate areas of previous commemorative activity. Finally, because of the DAR's persistent advocacy, Congress established Kings Mountain National Military Park on March 3, 1931.[118]

Commemoration at Kings Mountain

The first efforts to remember and honor the Battle of Kings Mountain and its participants occurred among a group of Virginia veterans who gathered in

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[115]Davies, 218-19.

[116]After the war, the DAR continued to espouse its brand of militaristic patriotism. Conservatism in politics and attempts to censor various forms of cultural expression immediately followed the war's end. Rising labor strikes and union organization awakened anti-Communist zealotry among organizations like the DAR and in the U. S. Justice Department. Patriotic rhetoric, characterized in its extreme by red-baiting, reached a zenith in the immediate postwar years, but continued with the DAR until the late 1920s. Finally, consistent criticism by progressive leaders, thinkers, and especially internal strife among DAR members, eventually halted the organization's witch hunts. See Margaret Gibbs, *The DAR* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), 77-84, 88-90, 100-101; Duff Gilfond, "The Dear Old D.A.R.," *The New Republic*, June 6, 1928:64-66.

[117]Davies, 226-28.

[118]Oswald E. Camp, "In Commemoration of the Battle of Kings Mountain, October 7, 1780: A Compilation" (Kings Mountain: National Park Service, March 15, 1940), n.p.

Abingdon, Washington County, Virginia, in 1810. These veterans had served under the leadership of militia Col. William Campbell and proudly remembered their roles in the "turning point in the American Revolution." At least seventeen Virginians were killed out of the twenty-eight Patriot fatalities suffered at Kings Mountain. Robert Young, a private serving under militia Maj. William Edmondson, boasted that he fired a shot that helped kill Ferguson. Edmondson also was killed at Kings Mountain.[119]

Brig. Gen. Francis Preston spoke at the Virginia veterans' ceremony and reasoned that "because so little justice has been done it in the history of those times, it was deemed proper to rescue it from oblivion by thus publicly celebrating it. . . ." Because relations between Britain and America were increasingly hostile and eventually culminated in the War of 1812, Preston cautioned the audience against jeopardizing American liberty, dearly won by seven years of war, through complacency.[120] This commemoration honored not only the dead and the bravery of the living, but urged citizens to remain loyal to their country's ideals, even to the death. For these Virginians, the commemorative address heightened the importance of ideals, like liberty and freedom, rather than simply an event, place, or person.

The earliest commemorative activity at Kings Mountain battlefield occurred on July 4, 1815, and was initiated by Dr. William McLean, of Lincoln County, North Carolina, who served with Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's army in South Carolina. Local legend asserted that wolves feasted on the unburied dead immediately following the battle and even uncovered the hastily buried participants, thus scattering bones across the ridge. McLean, then a candidate for Congress, and numerous local citizens returned to the rocky battlefield to properly bury the scattered remains of the dead. At his own expense, McLean erected an inscribed slate tablet that honored his fallen peers, Maj. William Chronicle, Capt. John Mattocks, William Rabb, and John Boyd. McLean also included a memorial to Major Ferguson on the reverse side of the slate marker. Early travelers mistakenly believed the memorial site, located in a ravine on the northern extreme of the battle ridge, marked Ferguson's grave.[121]

McLean's efforts likely stemmed from nationalistic sentiments sweeping the nation after the War of 1812. However, the rugged terrain and rural territory probably limited attendance to local citizens. A second memorial celebration held October 4, 1855, marked the battle's seventy-fifth anniversary and attracted more than 15,000 spectators as well as the local press. Military

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[119]Washington County Historical Society, *Memorial Addresses, Battle of King's Mountain, South Carolina, October 7, 1780* (Abingdon, Virginia: Washington County Historical Society, 1939).

[120]*Memorial Addresses*, n.p.

[121]Camp, 68-70; De Van Massey, 7; Bearss, 58-59, 62-63.

companies, volunteer militia, and the Masonic Order all participated and displayed their colors. Former Navy Secretary George Bancroft delivered an inspirational address, and plans for the creation of a national military park began.[122]

The construction of the Charlotte & South Carolina Railroad, and a connecting rail from Yorkville to the main trunk line in Chester in 1852, established a link between the isolated battlefield ridge and the growing centers of Rock Hill and Yorkville. The railroad also signalled the beginning of a local campaign to direct national attention upon Kings Mountain. Subsequent anniversaries benefitted from the improved access the railroad provided.[123]

In November 1855, the Charleston *Mercury* spearheaded an attempt to erect a new monument to replace the McLean marker at Kings Mountain. This campaign lay fallow until 1879, when the citizens of Yorkville, South Carolina, and Kings Mountain, North Carolina, met to begin preparations for the battle's centennial celebration. Delegates from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee gathered July 25, 1879, and formed the Kings Mountain Centennial Association (KMCA), which resolved to celebrate the battle's centennial and "to purchase a suitable monument."[124] Committees for the collection of historic relics, ways and means, preparation of grounds, troops, and transportation formed and followed the lead of Col. Asbury Coward, president of the Association.[125]

The KMCA sought public and private subscriptions to purchase the battlefield core and erect an appropriate monument. The State of North Carolina passed a resolution March 25, 1880, to contribute not more than $1,500 "to aid in the erection of a suitable monument on the battleground of Kings Mountain and

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[122]Camp, 77-79; Mackenzie, 7-8.

[123]South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 11-12.

[124]There is some debate among the various chroniclers of Kings Mountain over which states were represented in the KMCA. Written endorsements published by the KMCA establish the Carolinas, Virginia, and Tennessee as participants. Camp states that Georgia and Kentucky also joined the KMCA, but that cannot be verified. Only the South Carolina and North Carolina legislatures contributed to the monument. The other state representatives may have raised subscriptions for land acquisition. Only the Carolinas, Virginia, and Tennessee sent state representatives to the ceremony. However, the Masonic Order had representation from all six states, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, and Kentucky. "Proposed Centennial Celebration," 7-10; Camp, 80-84.

[125]De Van Massey, 9; Mackenzie, 10; *Battle at King's Mountain, October 7, 1780: Proposed Centennial Celebration, October 7, 1880* (Yorkville, South Carolina: Office of the Enquirer, c. 1879).

defray other expenses in commemorating that event." South Carolina also contributed $1,000 to the KMCA on February 20, 1880. Five months before the centennial celebration, the KMCA purchased thirty-nine and one-half acres from W. L. Goforth, Preston Goforth, F. A. Goforth, and J. W. Wrens for $197.50. On June 23, 1880, the Grand Lodge of the Masonic Order performed the elaborate cornerstone-laying ceremony on the battlefield site purchased by the KMCA. As inscribed, the monument marks the area of the most intense fighting and also celebrates the reversal of American Patriot losses throughout the southern campaign. The Grand Masters deposited a copper box containing various documentation on past and present commemoration activities in the cornerstone.[126]

The celebration commenced October 5, 1880, declared Reunion Day, and lasted three days, including Military Day and Centennial Day. The KMCA erected a grandstand, flew the flags of the original thirteen colonies, and arranged to clear the wooded ridge for military maneuvers. Four young women representing South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia unveiled the granite monument. "The Kings Mountain Lyric" and the "Kings Mountain Ode" were written especially for the ceremony. Fireworks accompanied the unveiling.[127]

The following year, Lyman C. Draper, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and an avid collector of American memorabilia and oral history, published his opus on the battle, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7th, 1780*. Draper's account, which relied on various military records and memoirs and oral history, confirmed or refuted the existing legendary tales related to the battle and provided subsequent commemorative efforts with documented sites and events.

Despite celebrations and publications, patriotic enthusiasm waned decidedly in the next decade, and the battlefield area fell into neglect. A traveling journalist for the *Magazine of American History* noted in 1893 that the battlefield was seldom visited. He wrote that three markers guarded the battlefield: McLean's marker, a wooden post marking the spot where Ferguson was killed, and the Centennial Monument.[128] Over time, the KMCA lost members to ebbing interest and infirmity, and a new battlefield custodian stepped in—the

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[126]Camp, 81-84; De Van Massey, 10; Mackenzie, 11; Bearss, 71.

[127]Mackenzie, 12-13. None of the authors cited consulted newspapers that would have reported the three days of celebration. Drawings from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* published out of New York, October 30, 1880, are the only contemporary coverage of the centennial events.

[128]Robert Shackleton, "A Battlefield That Is Seldom Visited—King's Mountain," *Magazine of American History* 30 (July-August 1893):38-46. There is considerable disagreement among Draper's local sources regarding Ferguson's grave. Draper finally concluded that Ferguson "was buried—on the southeastern declivity of the mountain. . . ." Quoted in Bearss, 64.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Established in 1898, the King's Mountain Chapter of the DAR, with the aid of Col. Asbury Coward, former Chairman of the KMCA, and Maj. A. H. White, organized the King's Mountain Centennial Battlefield Association (KMCBA). The KMCA transferred the battlefield property to the DAR. The pursuit of national recognition began.[129]

Local DAR chapters worked within a national ideological framework, but were largely autonomous. The Kings Mountain Chapter, located in York, South Carolina, vigorously erected monuments and marked important sites within York County, between 1909 and 1939. Many of these markers are located on the Kings Mountain battleground. The U. S. Monument, designed by the firm of McKim, Mead & White and erected in 1909 with a $30,000 congressional appropriation, by far, is the most significant monument erected through the efforts of the Kings Mountain Chapter (See following context on the architectural significance of the U.S. Monument).

In 1899, Maj. A. H. White of Rock Hill, South Carolina, addressed the Kings Mountain Chapter on the anniversary of the battle. Chapter Regent Miss Lesslie D. Witherspoon asked Major White how the now neglected battlefield could be restored. White felt that the chapter could better maintain the battlefield than the diminishing KMCA. A letter writing campaign ensued, and the KMCA agreed to relinquish the land and the Centennial Monument to the Kings Mountain Chapter. The chapter incorporated as the Kings Mountain Centennial Battlefield Association (KMCBA), an all-female organization that maintained a separate organizational identity from the DAR. For approximately ten years, the KMCBA attempted to prevent further neglect of the battlefield.[130]

After years of petitions and letters, and through the significant influence of South Carolina Representative David E. Finley and North Carolina Representative E. Yates Webb, Congress agreed, on June 16, 1906, to erect a monument on the battlefield. The chapter relinquished the battlefield property to the U. S. government and retreated to congratulate itself on its efforts. However, nearly one year after the dedication of the U. S. Monument, the Corps of Engineers of the War Department transferred the battleground property back to the KMCBA, as the 1906 legislation had outlined. The Department insisted that the battlefield lacked distinctiveness and would not commit itself to

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[129]Margaret Adams Gist, "Keepers of the Dead" *Charlotte Observer* (October 5, 1930): n.p.; found in DAR Scrapbook at Kings Mountain National Military Park.

[130]Gist, "Keepers of the Dead," n.p.; The Kings Mountain Centennial Battlefield Association (KMCBA) changed names to the Kings Mountain Battleground Association (KMBA) by 1930. Miss Lesslie Witherspoon remained president in 1930.

establishing a national military park. The DAR needed to call out its commemoration troops again.[131]

The 1909 ceremony dedicating the U. S. Monument, arranged by the Kings Mountain DAR, attracted approximately 8,000 spectators and the governors of Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. No official U. S. representative attended. Dr. Henry Nelson Snyder, President of Wofford College, gave the keynote speech. Local state militia, in larger attendance than in previous ceremonies, performed a reenactment of the battle. The Yorkville Band accompanied singers in performing the "Kings Mountain Lyric." Despite these elaborate ceremonies, local newspapers reported that the monument still lacked its bronze tablets. Nonetheless, residents of Kings Mountain, North Carolina, paid $500 to construct a road between Grover and Kings Mountain to provide better automobile access to the battlefield and established team service from Grover. Special railroad excursion rates brought visitors within three miles of the battlefield. Although the federal government had erected a monument, it appeared largely indifferent about the ceremony, which was, primarily, a local celebration of a national monument.[132]

The Kings Mountain Chapter continued to care for the battleground, clearing undergrowth, erecting markers, maintaining Battleground Road, and petitioning Congress to establish a national military park. Before the October 1909 ceremony, Major White erected, at his own expense, a stone pillar that marked the site where Ferguson fell.[133] In 1914, the Kings Mountain Chapter erected a "new" Chronicle Marker adjacent to the 1815 tablet placed by Dr. McLean, which had been severely vandalized. To prevent further abuse, the DAR, in the name of the KMCBA, installed wrought iron fences to enclose the new and old Chronicle markers and the Centennial Monument. The marble tablets on the Centennial Monument had been defaced and the iron enclosure, with stone steps, allowed visitors to view the monument, but obstructed vandals. A wrought iron fence also enclosed the U. S. Monument.[134] In 1925, the William Gaston Chapter

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[131]Gist, "Keepers of the Dead"; De Van Massey, Appendix A, 151.

[132]Camp, 95; Mackenzie, 15-16; De Van Massey, 11.

[133]Scrapbook, compiled by Kings Mountain chapter. The author notes that the information was quoted in "The Kings Mountain Battleground and its Old and New Monuments" *Charlotte Observer* (August 22, 1909): n.p. It is likely that White also placed Ferguson's burial marker where it now stands in 1909. Both markers are identical in style and form. The cairn, according to the Rev. J. D. Bailey, was created by "the pilgrims whose feet have trod the way to the long grave of Ferguson. The most of this was done on the day that the beautiful obelisk monument was unveiled . . . ." (Bearss, 65).

[134]Gist, "Keepers of the Dead," n.p.; H. R. 11958, February 8, 1904, specified that an enclosure for the monument also be constructed.

of the DAR, organized in February 1913 in Gastonia, North Carolina, erected the Chronicle Fell Marker opposite the trail from the McLean tablet. This marker typifies the DAR markers at the battlefield. It consists of an uncut granite boulder with a small bronze plaque.[135]

The 1930 sesquicentennial anniversary marked the culmination of the DAR's efforts to concentrate national recognition on Kings Mountain. When more than 75,000 people attended the October 7, 1930, ceremony, addressed by President Herbert Hoover, it seemed likely that national military park status would follow. Hoover's address drew the largest crowd northwestern South Carolina had ever witnessed. More than one hundred news organizations, including the *New York Times*, covered the event.[136]

The sesquicentennial, like other commemorative battlefield events, drew dignitaries and local residents, inspired poetry and song, and marked the battlefield with monuments and markers. A large covered stage, erected on the western approach to the battlefield, accommodated the numerous representatives of South Carolina and North Carolina, congressional and executive Washington representatives, local business and booster participants, and President Hoover. The crowd fanned out among the cleared fields south and east of the stage. The citizens of Charlotte, North Carolina, endowed by R. E. Scroggins, donated a new stone marker for Ferguson's grave, previously marked by a stone pillar and a rock cairn. Ronald Campbell of the British Embassy accepted the memorial. A second marker, erected by the Kings Mountain DAR and dedicated after the ceremony, indicated the spot where Hoover addressed the crowd and also recognized the sesquicentennial anniversary. Finally, a pageant, directed by Laura Plonk of Asheville, North Carolina, depicted through allegory and drama the events of the Battle of Kings Mountain.[137]

Prior to 1930, several congressional measures attempted to stimulate interest in the Kings Mountain battlefield. Representative A. L. Bulwinkle of North Carolina's Seventh Congressional District introduced an amendment to the War Department Appropriations Bill that allocated $1,500 for a survey of the Kings Mountain battlefield. It failed to pass. During hearings conducted by the War Appropriations Committee, the Secretary of War deferred to the 1925 Army War College report that clearly ranked battlefield importance and determined whether national military park status was warranted. Because Kings Mountain had already received a monument and contained other lesser markers, Secretary

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[135]Superintendent Oswald Camp, KIMO to Director, NPS, June 11, 1941, Kings Mountain National Military Park, Cherokee County, South Carolina.

[136]Gravure Pictorial Section, *New York Times*, October 19, 1930, n.p.; Found in scrapbook at Kings Mountain National Military Park, York County, South Carolina.

[137]Camp, 102; Mackenzie, 18-19; De Van Massey, 12.

Dwight Davis felt that the battleground was already appropriately memorialized and no further action was necessary.[138]

The 1925 Army War College report and subsequent testimony by Davis spurred congressional legislation in June 1926 that made the War Department responsible for surveying all of the nation's battlefields. Lt. Col. C. A. Bach, Chief Historical Section, Army War College penned a memo which placed battle sites into three classifications of importance. These classifications would regulate the War Department's responsibility concerning battlefield sites and govern congressional legislation concerning the creation of national military parks and battlefield parks and sites. Class I sites would be eligible for national military park status. Class IIa sites would be preserved by marking battle lines and troop positions through limited land acquisition and markers. Finally, Class IIb sites would receive only a monument or marker from the U. S. government. Secretary Davis would not recommend further action for Kings Mountain on behalf of the War Department based on these criteria.[139]

However, Representative Bulwinkle persisted and introduced a second appropriations bill that passed the House and Senate April 9, 1928, as Public Law 246. The act appropriated $1,000 for a battlefield survey and required the appointment of a four-member commission to authorize inspection of the battlefield, determine its suitability for preservation, and submit its recommendations to the Secretary of War. The committee recommended military park status for Kings Mountain, but again Davis disagreed. Thus ensued a three-year battle between Representative Bulwinkle and Secretary Davis, and their successors, Representative Charles Jonas and Secretary Patrick Hurley, over the appropriate degree of national commemoration for Kings Mountain—monument or park status. Eventually, on March 3, 1931, H. R. 6128, which established Kings Mountain National Military Park under the jurisdiction of the War Department, passed the Senate (Senate Report 1865) and received presidential approval.[140]

Commemorative activity by local historical interests continued well after the National Park Service took over the administration of Kings Mountain in 1933. However, the pace of erecting markers slackened after 1931. The Kings Mountain DAR, after the sesquicentennial, erected the Hoover marker and three additional granite markers: the Kings Mountain Battleground Marker in 1931, the Asbury Coward Marker in 1931, and the Major Hawthorn Marker in 1949. The Colonel Frederick Hambright Chapter of the DAR, based in Kings Mountain, North Carolina, erected a stone marker to this local patriot in 1939.

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[138]De Van Massey, 13-14.

[139]Lee, 47-49.

[140]De Van Massey, 15-17.

Although marker erection by private patriotic groups ceased after 1950, historical pageants, anniversary celebrations, and community gatherings still served the purposes of commemoration for local residents. Oswald Camp, the first superintendent of Kings Mountain National Military Park, met with the William Gaston Chapter and the Kings Mountain Chapter of the DAR and encouraged the use of the park's amphitheater and grounds for community commemorations of the battle. The park amphitheater hosted annual Easter services in the late 1930s and historical pageants throughout the 1950s and 1960s, produced by the Kings Mountain Little Theater.[141] The final pageant, held in honor of the bicentennial celebration, represented the remnants of a once vital local commemorative tradition.

Commemorative Architecture

The Centennial and United States Monuments at Kings Mountain National Military Park are among the park's most significant architectural resources. The monuments mark the opposing ends of the 1,200-foot Battleground Ridge where American Patriots defeated British Maj. Patrick Ferguson and 900 Loyalist militia in October 1780. The partially exposed ridge is surrounded by woods that cover its steep, sloping sides. Both monuments are shafts, the architectural form most commonly employed for American commemorative monuments following the Civil War. The United States Monument, designed by McKim, Mead & White in 1910, exhibits exceptional design characteristics and is among the finest examples of its type. The Centennial Monument, erected in 1880, typifies post-Civil War memorial architecture in the United States.

The Public Memorial in the United States

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American memorial architecture was strongly influenced by contemporary European models. Architects in France and Great Britain incorporated antique design sources into monuments designed in the fashionable neo-classical style. In Revolutionary France, established architectural forms were charged with new meanings, as memorials to events and ideals replaced monuments to individuals. Portrait busts and equestrian monuments dedicated to dynastic rulers gave way to monuments commemorating themes such as liberty and democracy. Glorification of the individual returned with Napoleon Bonaparte; however, architecture replaced sculpture as the primary means of commemorating the achievements of individuals as well as more abstract concepts.[142] Although other ancient forms of architecture, such as the triumphal arch and temple, contributed to the development of the public

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[141]Ceremonies and Religious Services, Easter Service, 1941, Park File No. 856-00, Kings Mountain National Military Park; Inspirational Activities, Ceremony of October 14, 1938 by the William Gaston Chapter, DAR, Park File No. 841-00.02, Kings Mountain National Military Park.

[142]Robert L. Alexander, "The Public Memorial and Godefroy's Battle Monument," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 17 (March 1958): 19-22.

memorial, the column, and more significantly the obelisk, were most often chosen to honor important events and individuals in the United States.[143]

The first large-scale public memorials erected in the United States followed the War of 1812. In the twenty-five years following the Revolution and the establishment of the American government, the public's desire for large-scale commemorative monuments intensified. Based on European models, early American monuments featured simple iconographic programs, free of the complex allegories that characterized English and French neo-classical monuments. Although the relative merits of the obelisk and column were debated, both were viewed as the most effective architectural forms for symbolizing a single idea or gesture.[144]

The obelisk derived from ancient Egypt and was the symbol of the sun-god. Obelisks brought from Egypt were erected throughout ancient Rome and later reerected by Pope Sixtus V at the close of the sixteenth century. The obelisk motif remained constant in the memorial imagery of Rome and later France and Britain. Ancient victory columns, similar to the obelisk form, inspired the introduction of new architectural forms in neo-classical Europe. Trajan's Column, erected in Rome in A.D. 107-113, is the quintessential model. It is a 125-foot marble column set on a high podium and topped with a statue of the emperor. The Colonne Vendôme in Paris, built 1806-10, and the Nelson column in Dublin of 1808, for example, were influenced by Trajan's Column. The popularity of the obelisk and column can, in part, be attributed to revivalism, exoticism, Romantic Classicism, and the influence of the French Academy and its educational arm, the École des Beaux-Arts.[145]

Robert Mills, considered the first American-born professional architect, designed many early monuments, including two of the nation's most significant memorials: the Baltimore Washington Monument and the Washington National Monument. The deification of Washington began long before his death in December 1799, and the dedication of a memorial in his honor seemed certain. In 1811, the first of six lotteries, authorized by the Maryland General Assembly, was held, eventually raising enough funds to construct a Washington monument in Baltimore. Mills's design was chosen in an architectural competition in 1813. The white marble monument rises 175 feet and consists of three main elements: a low, rectangular base containing a museum; a plain, unfluted column; and, atop the column, a standing figure of Washington. By the time of the monument's completion in 1829, financial constraints had forced a series of design compromises. Early designs included rich ornamentation, six iron galleries dividing the hollow shaft into seven sections, and a quadriga

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[143]Alexander, 19, 22.

[144]Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 190.

[145]Alexander, 22.

surmounting the column. The design of the completed column is remarkably similar to the Colonne Vendôme, which derived from Trajan's Column.

Columns utilized in a memorial context, however, never achieved the popularity or the widespread use of the obelisk. The Bunker Hill Monument, designed by Solomon Willard in 1825, commemorates the Revolutionary War battle fought there June 17, 1775, and is the first monumental obelisk built in the United States. In choosing an obelisk over a column for the Bunker Hill Monument, Horatio Greenough reasoned that the obelisk was "complete in itself; the column normally stood beneath the weight of a pediment and supported an entablature."[146] Further limited, the column could not serve as a tablet for sculpture or prose while the "complete" obelisk offers four flat sides for virtually unlimited inscriptions. Mills also recommended constructing an obelisk at Bunker (Breed's) Hill, noting "its lofty character, great strength, and furnishing a fine surface for inscriptions," and because it "combined simplicity and economy with grandeur."[147]

Robert Mills designed the Washington National Monument between 1845 and 1852, and it is recognized as the seminal public memorial erected in nineteenth-century America. Efforts to raise the one million dollars needed to complete a monument concentrated on one-dollar donations from patriotic Americans. After five years, only $31,000 had been collected. Despite the paucity of funds, the monument committee accepted a proposal by Mills estimated to cost $200,000. Mills's design consisted of a 600-foot obelisk rising from a colonnaded pantheon 100 feet tall and 250 feet in diameter. The interior was to contain statues of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and paintings depicting events in American history. The decorated obelisk emphasized Washington's military career. Design sources for this form can be traced to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century interpretations of the appearance of ancient mausolea, including the tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassos and Hadrian's Tomb.[148]

As completed by Thomas L. Casey in 1884, the obelisk was reduced in height to 555 feet, and much of the decoration was eliminated. The pantheon surrounding the base was also eliminated, thus creating a monument dedicated solely to Washington. It was constructed of smooth white granite with a plain finish and exceeded the height of all previously erected monuments. The grand scale of the Washington Monument served to validate an already popular architectural form. Nine of the first sixteen Presidents are commemorated with obelisks at

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[146]Quoted in Harris, 192.

[147]Quoted in Alexander, 23.

[148]Pamela Scott, "Robert Mills and American Monuments," in *Robert Mills, Architect*, John M. Bryan, ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1989), 161-62.

their places of birth and/or burial sites: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, and Lincoln.

During the nineteenth century, public memorials, especially memorials with patriotic themes, were thought to improve "national morality" and "national principles" themselves.[149] Petitions appealing for a Washington monument warned that "inattention to the fame, and insensibility to the merits of those who magnanimously protected and laboriously achieved our liberties, may be justly viewed as the decay of that public virtue which is the only solid and natural foundation for a free government."[150] Monuments served to "resharpen distinctions which have grown ambiguous and symbolized creeds and principles in danger of being forgotten."[151] Without a king and imposing ceremony, the United States had few obvious external forms of government. Monuments made the abstract tangible, evoking feelings of patriotism and pride, and connected people with the "idea of country."[152]

Memorial architecture forms derived from antiquity and revived in neo-classical Europe remained popular in the United States throughout the nineteenth century. In 1800, Benjamin West, President of the British Royal Academy, asked English architect George Dance to produce designs for a monument to George Washington. Dance sketched three proposals based on a pyramid form, similar to European monuments, especially the mausoleum at Blickling. Ornamental pyramids constructed of uncoursed rubble mark the birthplaces of Presidents James K. Polk, erected in 1904, and James Buchanan, built after 1868. The pyramid form was also deemed appropriate to commemorate Civil War dead; a rusticated granite pyramid erected in 1869 in Richmond, Virginia, honors 18,000 fallen Confederate soldiers.[153]

In a design competition for the Baltimore Washington Monument, French architects Maximilian Godefroy and Joseph Ramée each submitted designs for triumphal arches based on neo-classical models. Triumphal arches gained currency at the end of the nineteenth century with the ebb of picturesque eclecticism and the rise of Beaux-Arts classicism. George B. Keller's Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Arch in Hartford, Connecticut, built 1884-1886,

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[149]Harris, 194.

[150]Quoted in Harris, 194.

[151]Harris, 193.

[152]Harris, 194-95.

[153]Damie Stillman, "Death Deified and Honor Upheld: The Mausoleum in Neo-Classical England," *Art Quarterly* 1 (1978):196; Howard Colvin, *Architecture and the After-Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 340.

illustrates the former with its rusticated Gothic arch and conical towers.[154] Contemporaneously, McKim, Mead & White designed two monumental arches in New York, the arch in Prospect Park of 1888-89 and the Washington Memorial Arch in Washington Square of 1889-92. Both single arches incorporate elaborate sculptural programs reminiscent of classical and Napoleonic arches.[155]

Most post-Civil War memorials were statues or shafts, which included obelisks, columns, and other tower-like forms. Beginning in the mid-1860s, many shafts were built to honor the war dead. These soldiers' monuments were frequently topped with an allegorical figure or soldier and included highly decorated bases with inscriptions. Historian David M. Kahn asserts that the popular use of shafts and their close relationship to funerary architecture resulted from the sudden demand for monuments at war's end and the lack of an American memorial architecture other than funerary monuments.[156]

The Centennial Monument

In 1879, citizens from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee formed the King's Mountain Centennial Association to erect a monument to commemorate the Battle of Kings Mountain. Public and private contributions were solicited to defray the costs of purchasing land, erecting a monument, and dedicating it with the appropriate ceremonies. A three-day dedication ceremony began October 5, 1880, and ended with the unveiling of the monument on the centennial of the battle.[157]

The Centennial Monument is located at the southwestern end of Battleground Ridge where the first shots of the battle were fired. It is a four-sided, grey granite shaft that rises twenty-eight feet above the battlefield. The base, measuring eighteen feet square, is composed of five reticulated granite steps with bevelled edges. The shaft is divided into three sections and tapers toward the capstone. Each side of the center section contains a white marble tablet and a granite surround. The tablet on the west side of the monument describes the events of October 7, 1780, and the tablet on the north side briefly explains their significance. The east and south tablets are dedicated to "the patriotic Americans who participated in the Battle of Kings Mountain," and who died on the battleground. Above the tablets, eight courses of granite

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[154]David M. Kahn, "The Grant Monument," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (October 1982): 216.

[155]See Leland M. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 136-38.

[156]Kahn, 214-15.

[157]See Context B, "Commemorating the American Revolution: The Influence of Veterans and Patriotic Organizations, Kings Mountain National Military Park, 1815-1931," 76-77.

ashlar taper toward the plain capstone. The DAR erected an iron fence in 1914 to protect the Centennial Monument from vandalism. The fence was removed in 1935.

The United States Monument

The United States Monument at Kings Mountain National Military Park was authorized by Congressional Act (34 Statutes at Large 286) on June 16, 1906, to honor the men who fought at the Battle of Kings Mountain. The project was directed by Brig. Gen. A. N. MacKenzie, Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Washington, D.C., and managed in the field by Capt. E. R. Stuart, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Charleston, South Carolina.

The New York firm of McKim, Mead & White was selected to design the monument. Founded in 1874 by Charles Follen McKim and William Rutherford Mead, who were later joined by Stanford White, this highly respected and influential firm was among America's most prolific, receiving nearly 1,000 commissions before 1910. For many years, their office was the largest in the world. It employed as many as 100 people and functioned as an atelier where many leading twentieth-century architects began their careers.[158]

Early work of McKim, Mead & White includes the Rhode Island estates of Isaac Bell (1881-83), Newport, and William G. Low (1886-87, demolished), Bristol, where many of the defining characteristics of the shingle style were first articulated. In 1887, McKim, Mead & White won the commission for the Boston Public Library, the largest lending institution in the world. The architects designed a two-story, Renaissance classical block with a pink Milford granite exterior and central, arcaded court. It is an early monument of American classicism and represents a complete integration of architecture, painting, and sculpture previously unknown in the United States. This widely published building was extremely influential in establishing Beaux-Arts Classicism in the United States.[159]

The firm continued to design residences, but it focused on large-scale public commissions. These buildings represented the Beaux-Arts and Renaissance classical styles and included: Madison Square Garden (1887-90, demolished), New York; J. P. Morgan Library (1902-07), New York; the Rhode Island State Capitol (1891-93), Providence; the expansion of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1904-20), New York; and Pennsylvania Station (1902-10, demolished), New York. Based on the Baths of Caracalla (Rome, A. D. 211-217) and designed on a Roman scale, Pennsylvania Station was among the firm's finest achievements, carefully

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[158]Leland Roth, "McKim, Mead & White." in *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects*, Diane Maddex, ed. (Washington, D. C.: The Preservation Press, 1985), 93.

[159]Roth, *Master Builders*, 93-95; Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, 115-30.

balancing the movement of pedestrians, automobiles, and long-distance and commuter trains.[160]

The architects also attempted to harmonize and unify urban spaces through monumental public architecture and urban planning. This is first evident in their work at the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1890-93) and later with plans for the new campuses of New York University (1892-94) and Columbia University (1893-94). In 1901, Daniel Burnham invited McKim to join the Senate Park Commission, which sought to reestablish Pierre L'Enfant's original plan of the nation's capital. The Park Commission plan reintroduced space, order, formal clarity, and harmony to the Mall and formed the basis of the City Beautiful movement and modern urban planning.[161]

Public monuments designed by McKim, Mead & White include small memorials and large-scale monuments incorporating the work of many artists. In 1888-91, the firm designed the northern entrance—a memorial arch and surroundings—to Grand Army Plaza, working with numerous sculptors to define the boundary of Frederick Law Olmsted's Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York. McKim and White designed formal settings for statuary by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, including: the Adams Memorial (1886-92), Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C., and the Colonel Robert Gould Shaw Memorial (1890-97), Boston Common, Boston, Mass. The office produced designs for numerous shafts, including the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument (1904-09), Greene Park, Brooklyn, New York, and West Point Battle Monument (1891-96), U. S. Military Academy, West Point, New York. Both are colossal columns topped with sculpture, a motif that was also used to frame primary sculptural elements, such as those at Grant Park, Chicago, and Prospect Park, Brooklyn. The Saint Marys Falls Canal Memorial Obelisk in Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, was designed by McKim in 1905 and built circa 1907. A plain obelisk with plaques mounted above the two-part base, it is similar to the obelisk erected several years later at Kings Mountain.[162]

Despite the murder of White in 1906 and McKim's death in 1909, the firm continued to design and manage large-scale public commissions. Mead continued to supervise the office, and the junior partners, William Mitchell Kendall, Teunis J. Van der Bent, and William Symmes Richardson, who had worked in the office for a number of years, assumed more responsibility. During McKim's travels to Chicago in 1892-93 and with the Senate Park Commission in 1902, Kendall managed his affairs in New York. As early as 1904, several projects

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[160]Roth, *Master Builders*, 95-97; Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, 314-30.

[161]Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, 174-80, 185-94, 251-259.

[162]Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, 130-138, 247-50; Leland Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White: A Building List* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 136.

were left entirely to junior partners, and by 1906, Richardson was almost entirely in charge of Pennsylvania Station.[163]

In September 1907, it was decided that the design of the Kings Mountain monument should be of the "obelisk type."[164] Richardson, representing McKim, Mead & White, traveled to Kings Mountain for a consultation in November.[165] The firm submitted preliminary plans on January 14, 1908. They were approved under the authority of the Secretary of War the following day.[166]

The War Department accepted sealed proposals for furnishing the materials and constructing the "Monument to Commemorate the Battle of Kings Mountain" from March 23 to April 23, 1908. The monument was to be completed by October 7, 1908, the 128th anniversary of the battle. The Southern Marble and Granite Company constructed the monument at a cost of $25,000, with the architects receiving as their fee six percent of its total cost.[167] The obelisk was completed on June 12, 1909; however, the bronze tablets were not installed until January 19, 1910.[168]

The United States Monument is located at the northeastern end of Battleground Ridge where American Loyalists, led by Maj. Patrick Ferguson, surrendered to a victorious American Patriot force. The monument is an eighty-three-foot tall, hollow-brick obelisk faced with Mt. Airy white granite. The granite is laid in alternating narrow and wide courses and set off with dark mortar. The base is composed of two marble steps and measures sixteen feet on each side. A bronze tablet adorns each side of the monument, four courses above the base. These tablets dedicate the monument to the Patriot victory at Kings Mountain and to

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[163]Roth, *Architecture*, xxxv-xxxvi.

[164]Stuart to Mackenzie, September 20, 1907, United States Monument Papers, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.

[165]Stuart to Mackenzie, February 17, 1908, United States Monument Papers, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina; Richardson began his architectural education at the University of California (Berkeley) in 1890-92, graduating from MIT in 1894. He spent a year and a half at the École and entered the office of McKim, Mead & White in 1895, soon becoming Stanford White's principal assistant. Roth, *Architecture*, xxxvi.

[166]Mackenzie to Stuart, January 15, 1908, United States Monument Papers, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.

[167]Stuart to Mackenzie, September 20, 1907, United States Monument Papers, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.

[168]United States Monument Papers, Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina.

the patriotism of those who participated in the battle; explain the tactics and significance of the battle; list the American and British commanders; and list Americans killed at the battle. The dedication and explanatory tablets on the south and north sides are flanked by a low relief frieze that depicts two sitting female figures. The figure on the left grasps a palm frond, and the other holds a sword and laurel wreath, the traditional symbols of martyrdom and victory. The tablets on the east and west sides are flanked by a low relief frieze that depicts sprigs of pine. At the time of its completion, the monument was surrounded by a high iron fence that was specified in a McKim, Mead & White drawing. This fence was removed between 1936 and 1941.[169]

The United States Monument is important for its association with a nationally renowned architectural firm, McKim, Mead & White, and the careful attention to proportions, traditional form, materials, and the restrained use of ornament that give the monument strength and grandeur, characteristics not found in the typically over-decorated monuments of the period. The design is based on McKim's Saint Marys Falls Canal Memorial Obelisk and may have been completed as early as 1907. Because of McKim's failing health and the constraints placed on his time, it is likely that William Symmes Richardson had a significant role in the design or was simply handed the project altogether. Following McKim's death in 1909, Richardson probably saw the monument through to completion.

2. Significance

The Kings Mountain commemorative battleground site, composed of monuments and markers, the battlefield pedestrian trail, and the natural wooded setting, are locally significant under Criterion A for their association with local private commemorative and patriotic organizations active between 1815 and 1939. Commemorative associations grew significantly in membership after the Civil War and increasingly defined the parameters of patriotism and national history traditionally accepted by Americans. Through the efforts of local groups, the battleground survived as a commemorative property and became incorporated into the National Park Service as Kings Mountain National Military Park.

The Centennial Monument is significant at the local level under Criterion C as a representative example of large-scale American memorial architecture erected during the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a plain shaft with inscriptions explaining its purpose, like countless monuments erected after the Civil War. Lacking sculpture or more complex architectural forms, the Centennial Monument evokes grandeur and dignity through its sheer size, simple massing, and dramatic placement on the crest of Kings Mountain.

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[169]Rogers W. Young, "Report on the Monuments at King's Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina," in "Studies by the National Park Service, 1935-1984," *American History and Culture* (Alexandria, Va: Chadwick-Healey, 1986), Microfiche; "Repointing and Repairing the Federal Monument," *Final Construction Report* (National Park Service: Kings Mountain National Military Park, 1941).

The United States Monument is nationally significant under Criterion C as the work of a master that exhibits exceptional design characteristics. Obelisks, or shafts, were among the most common forms for memorial architecture following the Civil War. Unlike many of the picturesque and over-ornamented monuments of the period, McKim, Mead & White emphasized a strong profile over ornament in its design of the United States Monument. Subtleties of form, scale, proportion, and materials provide its grandeur. Although it is one of the firm's less complicated designs, the United States Monument features many of the design characteristics found throughout the work of McKim, Mead & White.

3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

The commemorative activities initiated by individuals and organizations at Kings Mountain National Military Park over the period 1815 to 1939 occurred within the limits of the known battlefield. This area, described by Draper as 600 yards long and approximately one hundred yards wide at the northernmost end tapering to approximately sixty yards on the south, contains all of the resources associated with commemorative activity at Kings Mountain and is identified for purposes of National Register evaluation as the Kings Mountain Battlefield Commemorative Site. When the KMCA purchased thirty-nine and one-half acres in 1879, it owned the ridge crest and some of the slopes that composed the battleground.

The Kings Mountain battlefield commemorative site comprises the monuments and markers, battleground pedestrian trail, and the topographical and vegetative setting located on Battleground Ridge and its slopes. These elements represent nearly 120 years of continuous commemorative activity, which occurred within the period of significance, 1815-1939. Over the years, some markers and monuments have been defaced by vandals, toppled, altered by time and the elements or moved; the pedestrian trail, although altered near the Visitor Center and by paving, is linked to local commemorative efforts and was maintained and expanded upon by the NPS; and the landscape, alternately forested, cleared for agricultural use, neglected, and reforested, have all maintained the essential elements of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Most importantly, the commemorative resources retain their original intent and convey the importance of the site through their scale, placement, and simplicity.

All of the objects and structures associated with commemorative activities located on the battleground are eligible under Criterion A. Only the Kings Mountain Battleground Marker does not meet the criteria established for site-related commemorative properties at Kings Mountain. Original location, on the battlefield, is the most important integrity element that must be maintained for a marker or monument to be considered eligible. Because it was moved from its original location on the battlefield to a position on Main Park Road at the state and federal park boundary, the Kings Mountain Battleground Marker does not possess integrity of location within the battlefield limits. The issue of locational integrity depends on the type of monumentation and the source of

significance. As locally significant resources under Criterion A, the markers at Kings Mountain should reflect through location and design, the interests of the commemorative groups. These groups did not recognize the current park boundaries as the battlefield limits, but restricted their activities to the ridge and its slopes. Therefore, eligible commemorative resources should remain on the recognized battlefield. However, the monuments that are eligible under Criterion C for their superior craftsmanship and design, could suffer a loss of locational integrity without adversely affecting their National Register eligibility. The period of significance for this commemorative district is limited to the activities of local commemoration advocates. Some of the markers and trails established after 1939 may be considered eligible under another context or when they reach the fifty-year age criterion.

All of the properties that contribute to the significance of the historic site under Context B also meet Criterion Consideration F because of their association with local commemorative activity at Kings Mountain. Age, associated tradition, and symbolic importance have invested the markers and monuments and the pedestrian trail with historical significance beyond their initial commemorative purpose.

The pedestrian trails and selected placement of markers and monuments along the pivotal ridge line maintain the solemnity and leisurely setting characteristic of late-nineteenth-century commemorative properties. All of the monuments and markers retain their original design and materials, although some have weathered or been damaged by vandals or inappropriate treatment. In general, the markers erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) do not exhibit characteristic traits of fine workmanship. They are plain and utilitarian markers, consisting of uncut granite boulders and bronze plaques.

The Centennial and U. S. Monuments exhibit significant artistic merit and craftsmanship and therefore are also eligible under Criterion C. The monuments retain all aspects of historic integrity: location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Design and materials, which are key to understanding the significance of these resources, remain virtually unaltered. The removal of the iron fences that surrounded these monuments represents the most significant compromise to the historic setting. Prior to 1930, the clearing at the crest of the ridge was much larger than its present configuration, and the battlefield did not receive regular maintenance. Currently, the NPS tends grassed lawns and an asphalt trail that surrounds the monuments.

4. Contributing Properties under Context B

Centennial Monument (1880)
U. S. Monument (1909)
Chronicle (McLean) Marker (1815)
"New" Chronicle (DAR) Marker (1909) [1914]
Chronicle Fell Marker (1925) [1930]

President (Herbert C.) Hoover Marker (1931)
Col. Asbury Coward Marker (1931)
Ferguson Grave Marker and Cairn (1909)
"New" Ferguson Grave Marker (1930)
Ferguson Fell Marker (1909)
Col. Frederick Hambright Marker (1939)
Battleground Pedestrian Trail (Sesquicentennial, 1930; Master Plan, 1939)

[There are conflicting dates and those in brackets represent the date engraved on the marker; the date in parentheses has been located in at least two sources as the date of construction/dedication].

5. Noncontributing Properties

Lt. Col. James Hawthorn Marker (1949): Nonhistoric
Kings Mountain Battleground Marker (1931): Moved outside the site boundaries
Trail benches: Nonhistoric aluminum benches

C. Rural Settlers and Their Houses: Expressions of American Vernacular Architecture and Settlement Patterns in the South Carolina Piedmont, 1803-1941.

1. Context Narrative

There are two extant house sites, two cemeteries, and several historic roads located within the Kings Mountain National Military Park that represent remnants of the farming communities they once composed and convey land use and settlement patterns important to the local patterns of history in the Carolina piedmont. Built nearly a century apart, the Henry Howser house and the Goforth-Morris Norman house are linked geographically, historically, and by kinship to each other and several other sites within the park's boundaries. Both houses were built by independent landowners and had associated farm acreage, outbuildings, and circulation routes that place them within an important context for nineteenth and twentieth century South Carolina agricultural and settlement history.

Henry Howser built the large, two-story stone house located on Kings Creek in 1803. Previously thought to have been born in Germany in 1756, Howser may have been born in one of the large German population centers in Pennsylvania.[170] Trained as a stone mason, Howser built several iron furnaces in western

[170]Edwin C. Bearss and Michael Adlerstein, *Historic Structure Report: Howser House* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1974), 25. Little is known of Howser's activities in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. Bearss's and Adlerstein's *Historic Structure Report* is a good source of information on the life of Henry Howser.

Pennsylvania before migrating south along the Valley of Virginia to North Carolina. By 1789, Howser had acquired 245 acres on Kings Creek in York (now Cherokee) County, South Carolina.[171] The residence Henry Howser constructed on this tract features a traditional German floor plan concealed behind a symmetrical Georgian facade and illustrates through this dichotomy the rapid acculturation most German Americans experienced at the end of the eighteenth century. The size, materials, and degree of finish reflect Howser's social status and level of affluence.

Much less is known about Mary Morris and her house. During the 1920s and the 1930s, the Morris and Norman families resided as tenants on the former Howser property.[172] In 1919, one of Tom Morris's daughters, Julia, married and moved northeast of her father's house to the Lottie Goforth dwelling. Mrs. Julia Norman's daughter, Mrs. Hood Watterson, remembered that as a child she walked to and from the Goforth dwelling to the stone house (Howser House) to visit her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Morris.[173]

The Goforth-Morris Norman House and the Lottie Goforth House remembered by Julia Morris Norman likely are the same residence. Mrs. Watterson recalls passing a tenant house along the road to the Goforth dwelling. Photographs taken in 1937 of the former Howser estate illustrate that the tenant house differed considerably from the Goforth-Morris Norman House.[174] Mrs. Norman stated that the Goforth dwelling was located approximately one-half mile northeast of the stone house. Only one road, the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road, leads east away from the stone house in a northerly direction. The Goforth-Morris Norman House is located approximately one-half mile northeast of the stone house along the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road.

Henry Howser and His House

When Henry Howser arrived at Kings Creek in 1789, the South Carolina backcountry was settled with small farms and villages located on inland waterways. By the mid-1770s, the large population centers located on the coast were eclipsed by the flourishing backcountry, which contained three-quarters of

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[171]Bearss and Adlerstein, 25-27.

[172]Bearss and Adlerstein, 42-44, 75, 83. Tom Morris and his family resided in the stone house from 1919 throughout most of the 1920s as tenants of J. F. Jenkins. After Jenkins lost his land holdings to his debtors, the Merchant & Planters Bank of Gaffney, South Carolina held the property and maintained Jim Norman as a tenant.

[173]Bearss and Adlerstein, 75, 77.

[174]Bearss and Adlerstein, 80 and "Buildings on Property Acquired for the Park, circa 1937" File No. 620, Kings Mountain National Military Park, York County, South Carolina.

the colony's white population.[175] Religious freedom and the unlimited resources of the Piedmont forests attracted Scots-Irish, Huguenot, and German settlers from Pennsylvania who constructed one- and two-room log cabins. Easy to assemble, these houses provided settlers with immediate shelter and later could be enlarged to form saddlebag and dogtrot dwellings. Through the mid-nineteenth century, log remained the predominant building material for domestic architecture in the Carolina backcountry.[176]

The stone house that Henry Howser built at Kings Creek is a clear departure from local building traditions and reflects Howser's wealth and status in the community. Before arriving in South Carolina, Howser amassed enough capital to buy and sell land freely. In 1788, Howser acquired a 125-acre tract on Kings Creek, which he enlarged the following year with the purchase of 120 acres. Howser continued to increase his land holdings in Lincoln County, North Carolina, purchasing 250 acres in 1790. Howser sold the remainder of this property after 1793, as he turned his attention to Kings Creek.[177]

In 1790, Howser was living at Kings Creek with his wife Jane, two sons, Jacob and John, an unidentified male, and two unidentified females. By 1810, census records indicate that Henry and Jane, four males, and three females resided in the newly built stone house. Howser owned three slaves and was one of six slaveholders in the area. In 1820, only Howser and his wife are listed as the residents of the stone house, but Howser increased his slave population to four. Howser identified himself as a farmer, stonemason, and distiller.[178]

Howser's fortune and status in the community increased dramatically in the early nineteenth century because he actively engaged in land acquisition and speculation. In September 1800, for example, Howser purchased a 53-acre tract on Kings Creek for $132.50, selling the property five months later for $160.[179] At the time of Howser's death in 1822, he had acquired several thousand acres in the York County area and owned property in Rutherford County, North Carolina. Howser's estate, less real property, was appraised at $5,353 and included $731 in notes and judgments against fifty-five persons.[180]

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[175]Klein, 9, 13-24.

[176]Mills Lane, *The Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina* (Savannah, Ga.: Beehive Press, 1984), 86-91.

[177]Bearss and Adlerstein, 3-4, 25-27.

[178]Bearss and Adlerstein, 27-29.

[179]Bearss and Adlerstein, 4.

[180]Bearss and Adlerstein, 7, 91-95.

Little is known of the complex of outbuildings and support structures that surrounded the house during the nineteenth century. Howser likely constructed one or more dwellings for his slaves, one or more barns, a corn crib, a privy, and a shed to house his distilling activity. Following Howser's death in 1822, his son, Henry Howser II, purchased the house and 700 acres at auction.[181] Henry's wife, Faithy Howser, acquired the house and 875 acres following his death in 1842. A plat of 1843 indicates that nearly 150 acres, bisected by Kings Creek, were fenced. The house was surrounded by four unidentified outbuildings with a "still house" located on Mill Branch. The still house was probably built by Henry Howser and later operated by his son, whose estate included "1 Still and Vesals" [sic] among his most valuable possessions.[182]

The widow Faithy Howser remained in the stone house until her death in 1882. During the forty years that she operated the farm, Faithy concentrated on agricultural production, selling two mills to her eldest son. In 1850, she managed an apple and peach orchard, and cultivated wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, and hay on one hundred acres. Her livestock included horses, dairy cows, cattle, sheep, and hogs. Faithy owned three slaves that were quartered in two houses in 1860. At the time of her death, she was also growing cotton on four acres.[183]

Lawson Howell, a grandson of Faithy, purchased the house and sixty acres at auction in 1884. Howell was a merchant and let the house to a series of tenants from 1887 to the time of his death in 1911. The property then passed to his sons Aaron and J. Grigg, who continued to let the property. Aaron's son William W. Howell recalled a detached summer kitchen on the west side of the house. A wood walkway linked the frame kitchen with the rear entrance of the house. A stone-lined well was constructed northeast of the house circa 1900. It had a square, wood well head and was filled circa 1930. Mrs. James P. Jackson, Grigg's daughter, recalled a large log barn and a frame corn crib east of the house, across the road. J. Grigg Howell resided in the stone house from 1915 to 1918, when the brothers sold the property to J. F. Jenkins.[184]

Tom Morris leased the property from Jenkins and resided in the stone house from 1919 through much of the 1920s. Mrs. Julia Norman and Mrs. Hood Watterson,

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[181]Bearss and Adlerstein, 97.

[182]Bearss and Adlerstein, 105.

[183]Bearss and Adlerstein, 36-41.

[184]Bearss and Adlerstein, 42-43 and 154. For evidence supporting the existence of a detached summer kitchen, see Richard F. Carrillo, "The Howser House and the Chronicle Grave and Mass Burial, King's Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina" (Columbia, SC.: Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1976), 12-28.

Morris's daughter and granddaughter, noted the existence of a log barn, corn crib, cow barn, cotton house, and well east of the house and a privy to the west. The two-story, double-pen log barn was constructed of V-notched logs while the cow barn, double-pen corn crib and one-and-one-half-story cotton house featured frame construction.[185]

Mrs. Norman and Mrs. Watterson described the one-story, frame kitchen joined to the west side of the house. Added circa 1900, it had a porch along the south side and was entered from the large north room and by exterior stairs.[186] Morris, among the dwelling's last residents, continued to live in the stone house after the Merchant and Planters Bank of Gaffney, South Carolina, foreclosed on the property in the mid-1920s. The National Park Service held a purchase option on the house in 1934 and bought it four years later as part of the land acquisition associated with the development of Kings Mountain National Military Park.[187]

Years of tenant occupancy and deferred maintenance by the National Park Service contributed to the deterioration of the Howser House. As early as 1937, Oswald E. Camp, the first superintendent of Kings Mountain, observed that the house was in "bad condition, nearly ready to collapse."[188] The NPS finally secured the doors and windows in 1941, preventing vandals from entering the house. No efforts were made, however, to further stabilize the structure, and it continued to deteriorate over the next thirty years. As the original mortar eroded, the stone walls bowed and cracked. The window sashes were broken and rotted, and much of the interior woodwork, such as the lower stair and fireplace surround, was destroyed or removed. In 1949, the NPS razed the last remaining outbuildings, the log barn and corn crib.[189]

Germanic Architecture in America

Most of the German immigrants that arrived in America in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came from the Palatinate area of the Rhineland, although settlers came from nearly every Germanic state. As many as 75,000 Germans arrived before 1820, many emigrating as families, villages, or church

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[185]"Buildings on Property Acquired for the Park," (National Park Service: Kings Mountain National Military Park, n. d.), File No. 620. In 1919, Mrs. Norman resided in a one-and-one-half-story, frame tenant house located one-half mile northeast of the Howser House. The association between the tenant house and the Howser property remains unclear.

[186]Bearss and Adlerstein, 78-79.

[187]Bearss and Adlerstein, 43-44.

[188]Bearss and Adlerstein, 49.

[189]Bearss and Adlerstein, 62, 67.

congregations. The majority settled first in southeastern Pennsylvania, especially Berks, Lebanon, and Lancaster counties. Most Pennsylvania Germans managed farms of various size, although there were artisans, such as butchers, clock-makers, joiners, carpenters, and masons, who owned little or no land. Dwellings in these communities echoed German medieval architectural forms and reflected the geographic diversity of the immigrants and the environmental conditions of the New World.[190]

The primary house form that Germans brought to America was the Flurkuchenhaus or Ernhaus; a two-room plan organized around a central chimney. The Kuche, literally "hearth room," featured a large cooking fireplace. The Stube was heated by a stove opposite the cooking fireplace. It provided space for eating, sleeping, and formal gatherings, similar to the Anglo-American parlor. Although variations of this plan existed in Germany, the central location of the fireplace and stove remained constant because of its efficiency in distributing heat throughout the dwelling. A two-room plan, designated the hall-parlor house, appeared in France and England, but the central fireplace and stove arrangement was unique to German architecture.[191]

Three- and four-room plan German houses that employ the traditional Kuche-Stube arrangement are known in America as Continental houses.[192] The Antes House, constructed in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, circa 1734, is a typical three-room Continental dwelling. The Kuche extends the entire width of the house and features front and rear doors on axis. As the center of daily life, the Kuche features a ten-foot-wide fireplace and provides access to the cellar and upper floors. The space opposite the Kuche is divided by a splined wood partition wall. The Stube is situated at the front of the house and the Kammer, an unheated sleeping chamber, is located at the rear.[193]

The Kreuzhaus, or cross house, features a square plan divided into four rooms disposed around a central chimney. Fort Egypt, an eighteenth-century Rhenish house in Page County, Virginia, illustrates the spatial arrangement typical of the Kreuzhaus. The Kuche and Stube occupy the front two rooms with the main

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[190]Cheryl Powell, "German Georgian in Southeastern Pennsylvania," Unpublished paper (University of Delaware, 1990), 2-4; Edward A. Chappell, "Germans and Swiss," in *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America*, ed. Dell Upton (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1986), 68.

[191]Powell, 6.

[192]Historian Alfred L. Shoemaker introduced the term "Continental" to describe the Hans Herr House in 1954.

[193]"The Antes House, Frederick Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania," Historic American Buildings Survey, eight sheets (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, HABS/HAER, 1990), HABS No. PA-5623.

entrance opening into the Kuche. A thin partition wall divides the Stube from the Kammer. A second partition wall at the rear of the Kuche establishes a fourth room approximately the same size as the Kammer. In Pennsylvania houses, this room functioned as a pantry, but at Fort Egypt it features a small fireplace, suggesting a range of possible uses.[194]

Pennsylvania German houses, like medieval German dwellings, included specialized work spaces. Large gable roofs that enclose multiple stories, such as at the Antes House, featured space in the uppermost attic for the curing of meats. Foods, such as grain and dried vegetables, were stored in the lower attics.[195] Additionally, barrel-vaulted cellars were sometimes built over natural springs for convenient food preparation and storage. Houses were sited so that the land sloped downward at the rear and on one side elevation, providing external access to the basement.

Pennsylvania German houses departed from European antecedents in building materials and techniques rather than in floor plans and house types. Fachwerk, heavy, often exposed, half-timber framing with brick infill, was common throughout Germany, with sixteenth-century examples surviving. Although many Pennsylvanian structures used Fachwerk construction, by the end of the eighteenth century, log construction was more common. These were often one-and-one-half-story dwellings with small, asymmetrically placed casement windows and wood shingles in place of thatch.[196] Settlers often left log walls exposed on the interior, including the ceiling framing.[197]

Stone houses cost more to build in Pennsylvania and, relative to the numbers of log houses erected, few were built. Before the Revolution, in Lancaster, Montgomery, and Bucks Counties, stone houses were built by the bishop and preacher class and served as focal points of the community. The one-story Hans Herr House, constructed in 1719 in Lancaster County, is one example. Elsewhere in Pennsylvania, as in Germany, stone houses indicated wealth, power, and class

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[194]Edward A. Chappell, "Acculturation in the Shenandoah Valley: Rhenish Houses of the Massanutten Settlement," in *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 30.

[195]William Woys Weaver, "The Pennsylvania German House: European Antecedents and New World Forms." *Winterthur Portfolio* (1986):254.

[196]Powell, 7-10.

[197]Chappell, "Germans and Swiss," 69.

status.[198] Stone was used most often to construct public buildings, such as inns, mills, and forges.[199]

Germanic construction techniques spread throughout the eastern United States as German Americans settled areas beyond southeastern Pennsylvania. Beginning in the 1750s, large numbers of German immigrants, most arriving in Philadelphia, began moving southward, establishing settlements in the Virginia and North Carolina Piedmont. Migration continued southwest along the Appalachian axis to Alabama and Mississippi and west, across Pennsylvania to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Cultural expressions of southeastern Pennsylvania Germans, notably traditional building practices, are found throughout these smaller German communities. Rather than house types (the central-chimney Continental house is rarely found outside Pennsylvania), traditional methods of construction were initially diffused from the Middle Atlantic German communities. The most important buildings constructed in the Moravian town of Salem, North Carolina, for example, were built of stone and Fachwerk. Secondary buildings were erected with logs. Log construction, popular among Pennsylvania Germans because of its economic soundness, is evident in German communities in Virginia and North Carolina.[200] In 1733, a group of Germans from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, founded the Rhenish settlement of Massanutten in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, which includes numerous log dwellings.[201]

By the close of the eighteenth century, members of the German community had become increasingly susceptible to the acculturative pressures of Anglo-American society. This process of change is manifest in Germanic architectural forms built after 1790. Influenced largely by the grandeur of the Georgian-style homes erected by English colonists, Germans adopted symmetrical exterior and interior designs.[202] As Germans constructed houses with balanced fenestration and gable-end chimneys, the Continental house, with its central

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[198]Weaver, 243.

[199]Powell, 9.

[200]Kniffen identifies three main "cultural hearths," or source areas: New England, Chesapeake Tidewater and Carolina Low Country, and southeastern Pennsylvania which is the most influential and far-reaching source area. Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 12-13; Catherine Bishir, *North Carolina Architecture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990), 29-32.

[201]See Chappell, "Acculturation," 27-57.

[202]Powell, 13-14; Chappell, "Acculturation," 37-42.

chimney, quickly disappeared from the German building vocabulary.[203] This exterior symmetry, however, often concealed traditional three-room German floor plans. Eventually, German Americans adopted the Georgian central-passage plan and with it more formal room usage. Food preparation was removed from the main floor of the house to the cellar or an outbuilding, following English tradition. This reorganization of space forced new patterns of behavior and contributed to the abandonment of traditional German lifestyles. The adoption of new buildings forms coincided with the replacement of the standard German language and signaled the acceptance of the dominant ethnic culture.[204] By the 1840s, the process of acculturation was complete and, for those who could afford it, the "all-American" two-story, single-pile I-house became the standard house form for most Germans living in the United States.[205]

The stone "mansion house" that Henry Howser built is more characteristic of Pennsylvania German architecture than the modest log dwellings that dotted the Carolina backcountry.[206] It is a two-story, double-pile house set on a raised basement. The basement is accented with a water table and entered from the south gable end, which is oriented to the downward slope of the land. The massive stone block features a side-gabled, common rafter roof with a box cornice and wood shingles. Two interior chimneys are centered on the gable ends. The walls are quoined and constructed of brown and beige uncoursed rubble. The east, or main facade, is laid up with coursed ashlar above the water table. The stone blocks are set in clay with mortar used only as an exterior pointing material to seal and waterproof the walls.

The three-bay front and rear elevations are symmetrical with two first-floor windows and a center door. The main entrance features a six-panel wood door and a four-light transom. A stone lintel above the transom reads: "HENRY HOWSER-Stone Mason/*JANE HOWSER 1803." First-floor windows are nine-over-six sash with (replacement) wood-panel shutters and stone lintels. Smaller, four-over-four sash windows exist at the second-floor level. This same arrangement is repeated on the rear facade, although there is no window above the door.

The symmetrical, Georgian exterior belies a traditional three-room Continental house with the Kuche and Stube oriented to the gable-end fireplaces rather than disposed around a central chimney. The Kuche extends the width of the house and includes the front and rear entrances on axis and stairs in the northwest corner. A six-foot-wide fireplace is centered on the north wall and features a

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[203]Kniffen, 13.

[204]Chappell, "Acculturation," 42.

[205]Chappell, "Germans and Swiss," 72; Powell, 14.

[206]Probated Will of Henry Howser, Deed Book L, Case 23, File 960, York County, South Carolina, January 11, 1832, found in Bearss and Adlerstein.

decorative surround with reeded pilasters and decorative panels. The southern half of the house is divided between the Stube in the southeast corner and the slightly larger Kammer situated in the southwest corner, at the rear of the dwelling. Each room has a fireplace that adjoins the partition wall and divides the two rooms. The layout of the second floor is similar to the first floor plan, except only the large room above the Kuche is heated.

The Lottie Goforth/Mary Morris Norman House
The Goforth-Morris Norman House is located at the intersection of Rock House Road (Howser Road) and the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road in Cherokee County. Little is known regarding the nineteenth-century history of the Goforth-Morris property, but historical maps and deed references indicate that the land belonged to the Howser family. Tom Morris, a tenant farmer, resided in the Howser homeplace after 1918.

The Howser and Morris families' association with the Goforth-Morris Norman House links the broad history of land use and settlement patterns in north-central South Carolina, including southern tenant farming common in the period 1877 to 1945, to this specific property. Combined, the Howser House and the Goforth-Morris Norman house illustrate the transition from independent antebellum subsistence farming to postwar cash crops and absentee land ownership. The most intense period of tenant farming occurred with the revival of cotton markets prior to World War I.[207] In isolated rural areas, however, tenant farming remained viable until mechanized farming practices revolutionized southern agriculture in the post-World War II era.

The Morris family knew the property as the Lottie Goforth House. Faithy and Henry Howser II's daughter, Jane, had married into the Goforth family. Shortly after her son Robinson's death in 1872, Faithy Howser sold portions of the 688-acre home-site property among her immediate family. Jane Goforth bought the 402-acre mountain tract, but kept it for only three years before selling it back to Faithy. In 1882, when Faithy Howser died, the 688-acre Howser property was divided and sold at auction to kin and buyers outside the family. Jane Goforth, at the time of her death in 1883, owned a 402-acre farm located southeast of the stone house property, which Lawson Howell, Faithy's grandson, had purchased. After Jane Goforth's death, Lottie (Charlotte) and Ida Goforth retained a 120-acre tract of their mother's large farm and presumably resided there with their father William. Investor J. F. Jenkins bought 212 acres of the original 402-acre farm.[208]

Between 1885 and 1915, the Howser family retained the stone house property and rented it to farmers, who probably planted at least a portion of their arable

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[207]C. Van Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970), 406-408.

[208]Bearss and Adlerstein, 12-21.

land in a cotton cash crop. When J. F. Jenkins purchased property in the Kings Creek watershed, including the stone house, he also leased the land and its dwellings. Jenkins borrowed heavily in the early 1920s to finance his cotton farming operations and by 1926, the State Planters Bank and Trust Company brought suit against him.[209] Tom Morris and his family lived in the stone house at this time and remained as tenants until the early 1930s. His daughter, Julia Morris, married in 1919 and moved to the Lottie Goforth dwelling one-half mile northeast of the stone house. This marriage linked the stone house tenants with the Howser descendants living in Lottie Goforth's house. The exact relationship between the Goforth and Norman families is not known.

Built circa 1902, the Goforth-Morris Norman House is a vernacular house form that was commonly constructed throughout the Southeast from the third quarter of the nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth century. This one-story, hall-parlor or central-passage plan house type is a traditional English folk form and has changed little since its first appearance in eighteenth-century America. It is two rooms wide and one room deep with a side-gable roof and front porch. The placement of the chimney and the presence and configuration of an ell, for example, varied throughout the region but the basic form remained constant.[210]

Throughout the 1930s, the NPS conducted land surveys over a large geographic area for proposed acquisition for the national military park. The NPS also photographically documented the standing structures located on acquired tracts prior to their removal. These photographs illustrate frame and log residences and dependencies typical of mid- to late-nineteenth-century agricultural settlement.[211] By 1956, over 50 individual tracts had been acquired from private landowners within the national military park, and at least ten of these tracts, most purchased in the 1930s, had dwellings and outbuildings extant at the time of purchase.

These photographs show that agricultural settlement in the area, while not dense, was continuous from the early nineteenth century through the 1930s.[212] Despite the poor agricultural quality of the land, tenant and autonomous farmers remained. These farmers also shared a tradition of vernacular

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[209]Ibid., 22-23.

[210]See Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 94-97.

[211]"Buildings on Property Acquired for Park," circa 1937, File No. 620.

[212]The following discussion is based on the photographs and tract numbers located in File 620 and a "Land Status Map," Drawing No. 5500-92,000, Denver Service Center, June 1974.

architecture represented by wood frame and log buildings without ornament and often constructed from available material.

These residences and outbuildings shared common architectural characteristics including materials and configurations. The most common house form consisted of a rectangular, two-room, gabled house with a central or end chimney and a full-facade attached shed porch. These buildings had brick and stone chimneys, clapboard siding, and stone or brick piers. Board-and-batten siding also appears on several residential buildings. Roof materials varied from wood shingle to sheet metal. Most of the livestock and food barns, equipment sheds, cotton storehouses, cribs, smokehouses, privies, and well houses exhibited frame construction and frequently combined reused materials with new elements. Some log buildings existed, but lightweight frame construction was more common. Gabled and shed roofs were clad in metal, sawn boards laid horizontally and vertically, and wood shingles. Foundation piers were shallow, and external sheathing varied greatly. Frequently, outbuildings possessed irregular vertical and horizontal boards laid end to end or lapped.

Throughout the photographic record, the houses of these landowners and tenants appear well maintained and soundly constructed. The outbuildings reflected their role as utilitarian structures that housed food and animals and that could withstand less meticulous care and construction. Typically, the outbuildings appeared patched because of the variety of building materials used.

The Goforth-Morris Norman House is a one-story, three-bay, single-pile frame dwelling with a central passage plan. The continuous, running-bond, wire-struck brick foundation supports both the main block and rear ell. The hip-roofed ell features the kitchen, dining room, and an enclosed porch. A one-story frame lean-to addition is located at the rear of the main block. The wood-shingle, side-gable roof of the main block is covered with sheet metal and flanked by two stone gable-end chimneys. Bevelled siding clads the entire house. The main block is marked by four-over-four sash windows with plain surrounds; two pairs flank the main entrance. The shed-roofed front porch is supported by four wood posts and extends nearly the entire width of the house.

The current house replaced an earlier residence destroyed by fire c. 1900. The two stone chimneys remained standing and the new house was constructed between them. No evidence exists pertaining to the earlier residence.

The site associated with the Goforth-Morris Norman House includes several structures that contribute to the significance of the property. A circular stone well is partially visible below grade near the southeast corner of the house. A contributing building, the Norman Shed, is located at the south end of the house. It is a one-story, gable-front, frame outbuilding that rests on stone piers and is sided with flush, horizontal wood planks. North of the house, a section of the historic Yorkville-Shelbyville roadbed is visible.

The NPS acquired the Goforth-Morris Norman house after the death of Mary Morris in 1952. For four years, disputes related to the estate ensued, involving Morris's sister and heir Mrs. J. R. Norman. In 1956, the State of South Carolina reconstructed a portion of the Yorkville to Shelbyville Road in front of the Morris Norman house and relocated this new state route northeast and northwest of the original road. The reconstructed road created an irregular boundary and a triangular-shaped inholding. The NPS pursued acquisition of the Norman property in exchange for land lying west of the southwest park boundary.[213] Photographs taken at that time show the house, a large shed, and a barn located on the property, which straddle the portion of the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road shared with the newly designated State Route P-11-86. The barn and the shed were later removed. None of the structures located on the south side of the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road are visible except the house.

2. Significance

The Henry Howser House is significant at the state level under Criterion C as a rare example, particularly as far south as South Carolina, of the process of acculturation manifested in Germanic architectural forms. The Howser property, which includes the family cemetery, earthen terraces, outbuilding sites, and Howser Road, is also significant on a local level under Criterion A for its association with local land use and settlement patterns.

German acceptance of American culture was not immediate, and the Howser House illustrates this German ambivalence toward American architectural forms. Howser built a three-bay stone house with gable-end chimneys to suggest the appearance of the popular Georgian center-passage plan dwelling. The interior spaces, however, retain the traditional Continental house arrangement. The substantial masonry construction of the house is unusual for backcountry South Carolina at the beginning of the nineteenth century and no doubt contributed to its survival over nearly two centuries.

The Howser family, through successive generations, acquired property, which they cultivated, built upon, and subsisted upon over a period of approximately 120 years. This property and adjacent family properties such as the Goforth-Morris Norman homeplace help illustrate the broad patterns of history related to settlement, land use, architectural expression, family relationships, and regional economic and cultural trends.

The Goforth-Morris Norman House is significant at the local level under Criteria A and C as a representative example of a vernacular house form constructed throughout the Kings Mountain vicinity in the postbellum historic period, and as a property that helps illustrate settlement patterns, kin relationships, and land use among upcountry South Carolinians. The house is

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[213]De Van Massey, 38-41.

also important because it is the only example within the park of this once common house form.

Several historic properties related to settlement, but not directly linked to the Howser or Goforth-Morris Norman properties are the Stone House Road (Dillingham Road), the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road, and the Gordon Cemetery. The roads are within the vicinity of both houses, and historical maps clearly indicate that the Howser, Goforth, and Morris Norman families relied on these transportation routes. The Gordon Cemetery is an isolated remnant of another settled area within the park boundary that has no other above-grade structural resources extant.

3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

The Howser House retains integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Design and workmanship are essential to understanding the significance of the house and remain intact, despite decades of tenant occupancy and neglect. Removal of outbuildings and the surrounding wooded acres, which succeeded cultivated fields, have compromised the historic setting, although the original roads remain intact. Development of the area, however, has been minimal and the lands surrounding the Howser House remain rural. The rural landscape characterized the area during the Howser period of ownership.

In 1976-77, the NPS restored the Howser house to its circa 1900 appearance. The walls were repointed and the window sashes were repaired. Deteriorated first floor joists were replaced and the interior walls were replastered and painted. Damaged or missing interior woodwork, such as the lower stair, was repaired or replaced. The gable-roofed entrance to the cellar was rebuilt and the kitchen ell, which had deteriorated significantly, was restored. Land surrounding the house was regraded, and drains were installed around the perimeter to control the flow of water. Several architectural features dating from circa 1900 were not included in the restoration, such as the sheet metal roof (replaced with wood shingles) and the wood-and-glass door, which was replaced with a six-panel wood door.

Although no outbuildings associated with the Howser House survive, several landscape features remain that contribute to an understanding of the significance of the house and its associated land use patterns. Privy and log barn foundations are visible and indicate the approximate size and location of these structures. The well, although not visible, has been filled and remains intact. Howser Road, which remains unpaved, follows its early nineteenth century path along the east and south sides of the house and across Kings Creek. Also, Stone House Road, known during the 1920s as the Dillingham Road,

served as an access and egress path south and west of the house.[214] The steep grade between the rear of the house and Kings Creek has three terraces that were probably constructed during the second half of the nineteenth century. The uppermost terrace, linked archeologically with the house construction period, features a three-foot-high, seventy-foot-long stone wall along the rear of the house that provides a level back yard. The two lower terraces follow the curving slope and vary between five and ten feet tall and 500 to 600 feet long. Finally, the Howser Cemetery is located on the west side of Howser Road, approximately 500 feet north of the Howser House. It contains approximately twenty marked and unmarked graves, including those of Henry Howser and his family.

The Gordon Cemetery contributes to the significance of the district under Criterion A for its association with early settlement in York County, South Carolina. It is not actively maintained but retains many of the features that convey its historical significance.

The Goforth-Morris Norman House retains most aspects of integrity: location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The exterior of the house has undergone few alterations since it was constructed circa 1902, but the interior has been altered with the addition of a partition wall that divides the south room of the main block and obscures the fireplace. A small, frame lean-to was probably added to the rear between 1902 and 1940. The house is at its original location facing the Yorkville-Shelbyville Road. However, the immediate landscape reveals little about the historic land-use patterns associated with the dwelling. The area remains rural and no intrusions compromise the visual setting.

4. Contributing Properties

Henry Howser House, 1803
Howser Cemetery, 1811-circa 1900
Howser Terraces (3), circa 1880-1920
Howser Road, circa 1800
Stone House Road (Dillingham Road), 1808-1827
Howser Outbuilding Sites (7), 1790-1882

Gordon Cemetery

Goforth-Morris Norman House, circa 1902
Norman Shed, circa 1940
Yorkville-Shelbyville Road, circa 1808

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[214]Bearss, *Historic Resource Study: Kings Mountain Roads, Trails, and Burial Sites*, Historical Base Map; Bearss and Adlerstein, *Historic Structure Report*, 79-80.

D. Park Development and Park Architecture, 1932-1942

1. Context Narrative

Congress authorized the creation of Kings Mountain National Military Park March 3, 1931, under the jurisdiction of the War Department. Despite the objections voiced by two War Department secretaries, the agency was now responsible for land acquisition and related development associated with a Class I battlefield. Congress also appropriated $225,000 for land acquisition. After resisting several decades of lobbying for national military park status, the federal government had to transform the stony ridge and surrounding farmland into a park.[215]

There is no evidence that the War Department developed the park beyond what the private commemorative associations had accomplished. When the National Park Service acquired the park in August 1933, by Executive Order 6166, which transferred all battlefield and historic sites and monuments managed by the War Department and the Department of Agriculture to the NPS, the park consisted of approximately forty acres donated by the former Kings Mountain Battlefield Association. Without a clear idea of how large the park would be, the NPS appointed the Kings Mountain Battleground Commission (KMBC) and by November, its legal representatives had obtained purchase options on more than 1,000 acres.[216]

Land acquisition and park planning would consume nearly five years. Land acquisition hinged on appropriations from the Public Works Administration (PWA), which postponed the park's appropriations until mid-1934. At that time, the NPS developed an ambitious park development plan that incorporated more than 10,000 acres. The NPS, in concert with the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) agency, which funded the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), planned to develop a recreation area adjacent to the military park. Utilizing CCC labor, the NPS and the ECW proposed to build several campgrounds, a lake, and roads and trails for recreational use. When completed, the recreation demonstration area (RDA) would be transferred to the state of South Carolina.[217]

The Kings Mountain RDA was part of a new nationwide initiative designed to utilize agriculturally marginal land for recreational purposes sponsored by a joint venture of the ECW and the NPS. The ECW supplied the workforce (CCC), and the NPS purchased the property and designed the campgrounds, roads, bathhouses, and other visitor services facilities. These federally developed recreation areas were given to state or local governments to administer upon

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[215]De Van Massey, 16-17.

[216]De Van Massey, 20-21.

[217]De Van Massey, 21-22, 32.

completion. Through this program, the NPS reclaimed marginal agricultural lands and developed them as recreational areas, implementing sound ecological practices upon public lands and providing a system of state and national recreation areas.[218]

The NPS also utilized the CCC for national park infrastructure development. After 1933, the tremendous influx of new park units, especially War Department historic sites and battlefields in the east, required a systematic planning and development effort. The ECW program, established in April 1933, supplied funding for a workforce dedicated to federal public works projects. The PWA, administered by Department of the Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes, provided federal funding for large-scale public works projects between 1933 and 1937. Later, in 1935, Works Progress Administration (WPA) work relief funding supplemented the ECW and PWA appropriations. The NPS utilized the CCC and WPA workforces and PWA funding between 1933 and 1942 to develop a fledgling national park system in the east.[219]

Throughout the post-World War I era, the NPS had drafted landscape designs and broadly planned park development for the popular western natural parks. Many of these designs and the idea of general development plans gained immediate employment when the NPS incorporated more than 70 units into the system of national parks in 1933.[220]

Between 1938 and 1940, the CCC accelerated park development. Financed by the PWA, the NPS implemented development plans created by the newly designated Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design and used CCC labor. NPS planning reflected a design philosophy that emphasized subordinating all development to the natural landscape. Roads and trails were routed to follow the contours of the land, and structures were designed to blend into their surroundings. The NPS frequently employed a rustic style of architecture using local materials (often stone and logs) and "pioneer" construction techniques. Most commonly employed in western parks, rustic architecture gained considerable acceptance during the 1930s in the great eastern natural parks

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[218]There are many discussions of the Civilian Conservation Corps and its subsequent use by the NPS, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Forest Service. The following are told from the NPS perspective: John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1985) and Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Administrative History: Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s* (Denver: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, 1985). Information on state recreational areas found in Unrau and Williss, passim, 107-39.

[219]Unrau and Williss, passim, 75-102.

[220]Unrau and Williss, 72.

including Shenandoah, Great Smokies, Acadia, and the Blue Ridge Parkway. The Eastern Division frequently designed facilities for historic sites, recreational areas, and national military parks that linked the site to broad national historic themes, or which blended new NPS structures with the natural landscape or existing development. These plans met functional needs for park administrative, maintenance, and residential buildings and employed loop roads, vaulted bridges, and serpentine roadways for visitor circulation. The NPS advanced its design philosophy through the use of stone as a facing or load-bearing material, vegetative screening of utilitarian buildings, and the employment of historic styles for major buildings.[221] "While principles and practices for park development were standardized, their applications were highly individual based on the unique character of each park and the site and setting selected for construction."[222]

At Kings Mountain, the NPS utilized the CCC and the Eastern Division to formalize plans and design landscapes and park structures for the state and national parks. Between 1936 and 1937, after all the park acreage was acquired, the NPS began the Kings Mountain recreation demonstration project. The CCC built a lake, several campgrounds, roads, drainage structures, a bathhouse, and picnic shelters within the RDA. At the national military park, the CCC performed largely road work and cleared brush from the battleground area.[223]

In 1937, the first development project began in the national military park. The Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design drafted plans for a park road that would begin on the north side of the military park at U.S. 29 and proceed south through the RDA. Main Park Road would follow an existing road, locally known as One-Day Road, which traversed the southern boundary of the

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[221]The development of the rustic style of architecture in the National Park system is well documented in : William C. Tweed, Laura E. Soullière, and Henry C. Law, *National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942* (San Francisco: Western Regional Office, National Park Service, 1977); Laura Soullière Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1986); and Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1938).

[222]For an excellent discussion of the development of landscape architecture and its affect on structural development in the national parks see, Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916-1942*, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1993). The application of these landscape design techniques among the eastern historic parks is not well developed and some differences between McClelland's model and examples within the southeastern park system are evident, especially in the late period of park development, 1940-1942.

[223]De Van Massey, 46.

battlefield. At this southern point, One-Day Road visually impacted the historic scene upon the ridge, and the NPS moved the proposed Main Park Road south of the existing road to obscure it from the battlefield.[224] Built by the CCC, the road included wide, sloping, grassed shoulders, which ended with dense woods and within the shoulders, stone rubble swales. Concrete or metal pipe culverts, some with stone headwalls, helped drain low-lying areas.

Concurrent with the construction of Main Park Road, the NPS developed two parking areas for visitor access to the battlefield. The rectangular lots had granite curbing and low, two- to four-foot stone walls and were linked by an 800-foot serpentine drive. The second lot, located at the southeastern terminus of the battlefield plateau, provided direct access by foot trail to the Centennial Monument.[225]

After plans had been developed for access to the site and the battlefield area, the NPS planned to provide visitor services facilities. Kings Mountain Superintendent Oswald E. Camp wanted to develop an administration-museum building and an amphitheater for use by local commemorative groups. Regional Landscape Architect Kenneth Simmons suggested developing the amphitheater and administration-museum building near each other and within easy access of the recently constructed Main Park Road. Simmons indicated that an area immediately south of Battleground Ridge, on the east side of Main Park Road, would provide the desired topographic depression and vegetative cover for the amphitheater and sufficient level ground for the visitor services facilities. Superintendent Camp, Ralston Lattimore, an Assistant Research Technician, and Land Coordinator G. H. Earp disagreed. The park staff felt that the administration-museum building should be located adjacent to the existing parking and trail, within close reach of the battleground. Finally, Regional Historian Roy Appleman decided that the site that used the existing parking and trails was more cost effective, despite the adverse visual effects this development would have on the visitor's experience from the battleground.[226]

By the fall of 1939, the RDA south of the military park was nearing completion, and construction of the amphitheater began. This facility, designed to seat 1,200, is located in a depression east of Main Park Road and has a wedge-shaped, landscaped slope divided between bench and turf seating. Woods surround the arena on the north, east, and west. As designed, the stage consisted of a turf platform with a two-foot stone retaining wall and drain.

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[224]"The Master Plan, Kings Mountain National Military Park," Map Nos. 2052 and 2053, January 1, 1939, Eastern Division of the Branch of Plans and Design, National Park Service.

[225]"The Master Plan, Kings Mountain National Military Park," Map No. 2050, January 1, 1939, Eastern Branch of Plans and Design, National Park Service.

[226]De Van Massey, 54-57.

Trees planted in the turf and bench seating areas provided good shade for amphitheater audiences. The amphitheater was completed in time for the 159th commemoration of the battle in October, 1939.

The next development project was the administration building. Superintendent Camp felt the park sorely lacked visitor services facilities and frequently prodded the regional office to design an appropriate building and begin construction. Initially, the NPS pursued unallotted PWA funds to construct the building, but this appropriation was not adequate. Camp repeatedly expressed chagrin at the meager construction budget proposed by the regional office, but he accepted a $40,000 appropriation garnered by South Carolina Senator James "Jimmy" F. Byrnes. Construction began in 1940.[227]

The final phases of development at Kings Mountain included planting the road shoulders, obliterating the abandoned One-Day Road, encouraging the vegetative regeneration of Battleground Ridge, and constructing a superintendent's residence. Later drafts of the 1939 Master Plan outlined the development of an administration complex on the west side of the Main Park Road that would include the administration-museum building, a grouping of residences, and a maintenance court. In addition, the Master Plan illustrated a network of paths located on Battleground Ridge that would expand the existing looped path system.[228] Only the administration-museum building and the superintendent's residence were completed prior to 1942.

Administration-Museum Building

Plans for a Park Service building at Kings Mountain had been developed as early as 1936. Renderings of a proposed contact station depict a small, one-story, three-bay, stone building with a central chimney and rear ell.[229] The building's form is modeled on the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century domestic architecture of the region, such as the Goforth-Morris Norman House. A second sketch, produced the following year, illustrates a larger building, more closely resembling the completed Administration Building.[230] This building was more stylized, possessing Colonial Revival elements. It included offices for a

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[227]De Van Massey, 60-61.

[228]"Historical Tour Map, Part of the Master Plan," Map No. 2050, January 1, 1941, Eastern Branch of Plans and Design, National Park Service.

[229]"Proposed Contact Station, Kings Mountain National Monument," July 10, 1936, Drawing on Microfiche, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta.

[230]"Preliminary Sketch of Contact Station and Superintendent's Office," February 15, 1937, Drawing on Microfiche, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta.

ranger and the superintendent, men's and women's rest rooms, and a large public room with a fireplace.

The Director approved the plans for the present headquarters building on May 29, 1940. Southeastern Construction Company of Charlotte, North Carolina, submitted the winning bid, and construction began in August 1940. Southeastern Construction probably served as a general contractor, supplying most building materials and possibly overseeing CCC labor. Three quarries located within the Kings Mountain RDA supplied stone; however, no more than four skilled masons were present on the site at any one time. Construction was delayed fifty-three days before the building was completed in March 1941.[231]

The Administration Building is a T-plan, one-and-one-half-story, five-bay structure with a double-pitch side-gable roof. It is constructed of rock-faced load-bearing masonry; the floors are supported with steel joists. The building rests on a full basement that is entered from the interior and the rear, where the level site drops off toward Stonehouse Branch. Three gabled dormers are located on the east, or main facade, and an interior stone chimney is corbeled into the south gable end. The gable-roofed ell contained the museum and features windows only at the basement level. The engaged, full-width front porch is laid with flagstone and supported by eight chamfered wood posts.

The exterior symmetry of the Administration Building is reflected in the plan. The main entrance opens onto a central lobby that controls access to the entire building. A small hall off the south side of the lobby leads to the men's room, clerk's office, and superintendent's office. A stairhall off the north side of the lobby, opposite the hall, leads to the women's room and the stairs. The ranger's office in the northeast corner of the building opens directly onto the lobby. Visitors entered the museum, which features a segmental barrel-vaulted ceiling and indirect lighting behind the cornice, through double doors at the west end of the lobby. The second floor consists of the rectangular space above the main block. Originally left unfinished, this large open space was later divided into smaller rooms and currently contains the park library. The basement features storage rooms, a workroom, a boiler room, and rest rooms originally restricted to African Americans.

The Administration Building is designed in the Colonial Revival style, drawing on the park's historic significance and period association. The style is conveyed through the basic form of the building, the symmetry of the facade, and such details as chamfered posts, gable dormers, and window configuration. Interior elements such as raised-panel doors, chair rails, cornice moldings, and reproduction light fixtures also suggest the architecture of the American

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[231]Robert E. Smith, "Final Construction Report: Administration-Museum Building, Kings Mountain National Military Park," n. d., Kings Mountain National Military Park, South Carolina. The final construction report does not mention the use of CCC labor.

colonies. The NPS derived this design from high-style domestic architectural sources, in contrast to the earlier plans for a small, vernacular contact station.

The Administration Building followed a standardized design used by the National Park Service throughout the Southeast Region. The Administration Building at Sugarlands and the Visitor Center at Oconaluftee, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, built by the CCC between 1938 and 1942, feature the same basic building form. Although modified to meet individual needs, these structures are one-and-one-half-story, five-bay, rock-faced stone buildings with double-pitched, side-gable roofs and engaged, full-width front porches.

Several landscape features, designed and constructed in concert with the building, are intact. Flagstone walks follow the footprint of the building around the north, south, east, and part of the west sides. A wide flagstone walk joins the main entrance with the sidewalk and Main Park Road. A flagstaff, located south of the building, was erected shortly after completion of the building.

Superintendent's Residence
Plans for the residence were completed on May 22, 1940, and approved by the Director the following month.[232] The Civilian Conservation Corps proceeded with construction in September. By fall 1941, the framing was complete, the windows were hung, and the weatherboard was partially applied.[233] The exterior envelope of the building was completed by November.[234] However, limited funds and shortages of skilled labor after 1942 delayed the interior finishing, and the first superintendent may not have occupied the house until the final years of World War II.[235]

The Superintendent's Residence is a one-and-one-half-story, three-bay, double-pile, Colonial Revival style house with a side ell that contains the kitchen. The house rests on a full basement that incorporates a single-car garage.

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[232]"Residence No. 1 (Superintendent)," May 22, 1940, Drawing on microfiche, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, Atlanta.

[233]Robert E. Smith, "Monthly Progress Report for September 1940," Kings Mountain National Military Park, York County, South Carolina.

[234]Robert E. Smith, "Progress Report on Superintendent's Residence," December 1941, Kings Mountain National Military Park, York County, South Carolina.

[235]The Superintendent's Residence had acquired its character-defining features by the end of 1941. Although the house was not "technically" complete, or was not inhabited until several years later, its period of significance is 1940-41.

Stone retaining walls line the drive, which is entered from the northwest, below the ell. A shed-roofed screened porch stretches across the back of the ell and half of the main block. Nestled between the ell and the main block is a brick gable-end chimney with a corbeled cap. The steeply pitched roof is clad with asbestos cement shingles and lined with a molded wood cornice. Three gable-roof dormers project on the main, or northeast facade. On the rear elevation, two gable-roof dormers are joined by a shed-roof dormer that, like all of the dormers, contains a single, six-over-six sash window. First-floor windows feature a combination of both six-over-six and six-over-nine windows. The main entrance is marked by a six-panel front door and an elaborate surround that includes pilasters and a six-light transom. The entrance is approached by a serpentine flagstone walk and a stoop with three stone steps and wrought-iron hand rails. The building is clad in beaded weatherboard.

A stairhall bisects the rectangular main block and provides access to the second floor and the living room. The northwest side of the house is occupied by the living room, which opens onto the kitchen ell. Two bedrooms, a bathroom, and a hall are located in the southeast half of the house. The screened porch is entered from the rear stair hall and the kitchen. The second floor contains a central hall giving access to a bathroom, several closets, and a bedroom at either end.

The Superintendent's Residence, like the Administration Building, reflects the Colonial Revival style, nationally popular during the first half of the twentieth century. The residence at Kings Mountain is a building type that was particularly common because of its simple form and historical associations. The rectangular main block, steeply pitched roof, symmetrical fenestration, and elaborate main entrance are characteristics of this type. Details such as wrought-iron hand rails, beaded weatherboard, and molded wood cornices allude to early American architecture.

2. Significance

The Administration Building and Superintendent's Residence are significant at the local level under Criterion C. They contribute to a designed park development plan more fully expressed in the adjoining Kings Mountain Recreation Demonstration Area, but intact within the national military park. Combined with circulation systems, recreational facilities, and interpretive structures, the Administration-Museum Building and the Superintendent's Residence represent one form of the rustic style of architecture and landscape design philosophy employed by the National Park Service from 1917 through World War II. These buildings represent the last phase in the development of the rustic style in the East. As the park system expanded and CCC labor was diverted to the war effort, construction projects were scaled down and, in some instances, earlier plans were recycled. Rock-faced stone, a characteristic feature of the style, required a large, skilled labor force. As this workforce diminished, NPS used more economical materials including brick veneer and board and batten to complete park development plans. The finest work of this period

is found at sites where there had been little previous development, such as Kings Mountain National Military Park.

The rustic style of architecture employed by the National Park Service was more a design philosophy than an actual style. Incorporating regional styles and building traditions into the architecture of the national parks was an essential tenet of this philosophy. Buildings as diverse in style and materials as the Administration Building at Yakima, Mount Rainier National Park, built as a log block house in 1935, and the adobe Administration Building at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, built before 1938, are generically termed "rustic." Rock-faced stone, oversize boulders, and rough-hewn logs are most commonly associated with the rustic style but compose only a portion of a broad range of building materials and regional styles applied.

Blending a building with its setting was a key goal, and this was likely to find a different expression in the Carolina piedmont than in the Rockies. In the East, where the topography is less dramatic than that found in the West, rustic designs were executed on a smaller scale. Eastern park buildings were usually low, horizontal structures with symmetrical facades, unlike the rambling picturesque buildings constructed in western parks.

3. Integrity/Criteria Considerations

The Administration Building and Superintendent's Residence contain all aspects of integrity: location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Design, materials, and workmanship are key to understanding the historic significance of these buildings. Designed by the NPS and constructed with CCC labor, these buildings retain much of their original fabric and have suffered only minor, maintenance-related alterations. Interior plans remain virtually intact and include details such as woodwork, hardware, and light fixtures.

The setting of the administrative complex retains its historic plan although it contains a considerable amount of nonhistoric material. The flagstone walkways immediately adjacent to the building are historic; the parking area east of the Administration building is also historic in plan and most of its materials. Plans for landscaping the site and completing walkways were abandoned because of labor scarcity and the commencement of World War II. The yards that were carved from the surrounding woods at the time of construction have shrunk as the treeline thickened and encroached upon the buildings.

The primary access to the national military park and the recreation demonstration area is Main Park Road. Constructed in 1937-1940, the road retains its original alignment, grade, and drainage features including stone-faced pipe culverts and stone rubble swales. The parking area on Main Park Road, opposite the Administration Building, was once linked to an upper parking area at the Battleground Ridge by a vehicle road and a pedestrian trail. Only the lower parking area remains. Main Park Road and the lower parking area have

been paved with modern materials but they retain their configuration and stonework.

The upper parking area and access road were removed in the 1970s when visitor facilities were constructed at the northeast end of the battlefield. An L-shaped flagstone plaza replaced the entrance to the access road at the south end of the parking area where it intersects Main Park Road.

The amphitheater was significantly altered in the mid-1970s with the construction of a projection building on the platform and the reorganization of the seating, which features two side aisles rather than a single center aisle. Trees located in the seating area in the original plan were removed, and gravel, and then tar, replaced the grass as the principal ground cover. The amphitheater, in view of these changes, does not retain the necessary historic integrity to be considered a contributing property.

4. Contributing Properties under Context C

Administration Building, 1940-41
Administration Building Flagstaff, circa 1941
Administration Building Parking Area, 1939-1943
Main Park Road, 1937-1941
Superintendent's Residence, 1940-41

5. Noncontributing Properties

Amphitheater, 1939
Maintenance Facility, 1950-1960
Staff Quarters, 1955-1965
Visitors Center, circa 1975

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Boundary Justification

The Kings Mountain National Military Park is classified as a National Register historic district, following the guidelines established in National Register Bulletins 16 and 40.[236] The district boundary matches the boundary of the Kings Mountain National Military Park, finalized in 1959.[237] The entire battlefield and Battleground Road are included within this boundary. Because setting is important in understanding what the participants of the battle experienced and how the geography of Kings Mountain influenced the course of the battle, areas surrounding the battlefield have been included in the district. Additionally, all of the properties associated with commemoration at Kings Mountain, the Howser House and Goforth-Morris Norman complexs, cemeteries, associated roads, and the park development resources are located within the district.

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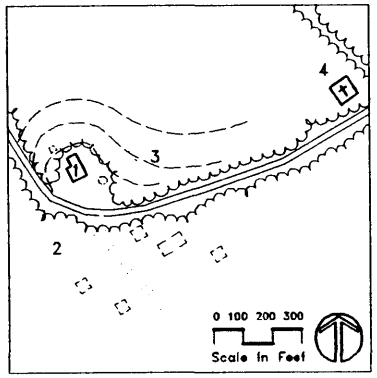
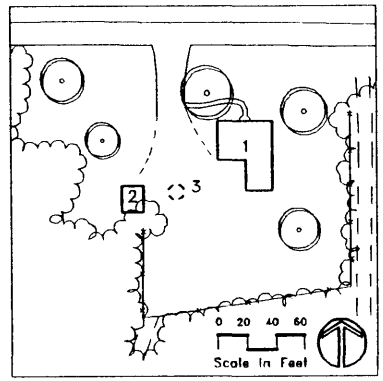
[236]*National Register Bulletin 16A: Guidelines for the Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1991), 56-57; and *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1992), 13-16.

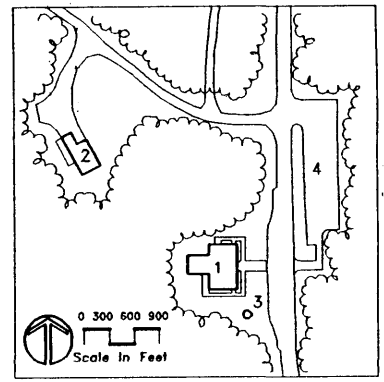
[237]De Van Massey, 41.



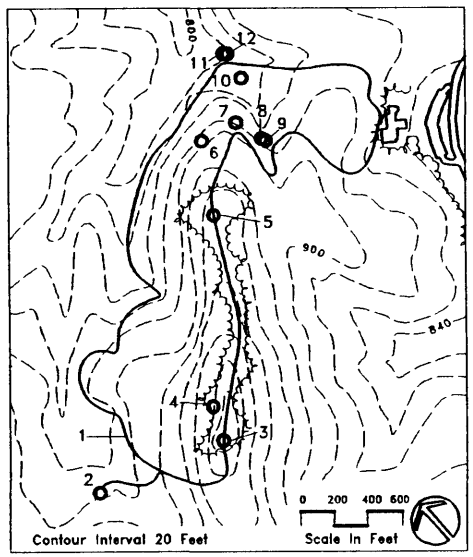
A. Howser Complex
1. Howser House
2. Approximate Location (□) of Howser Outbuilding Sites (7)
3. Howser Terraces
4. Howser Cemetery



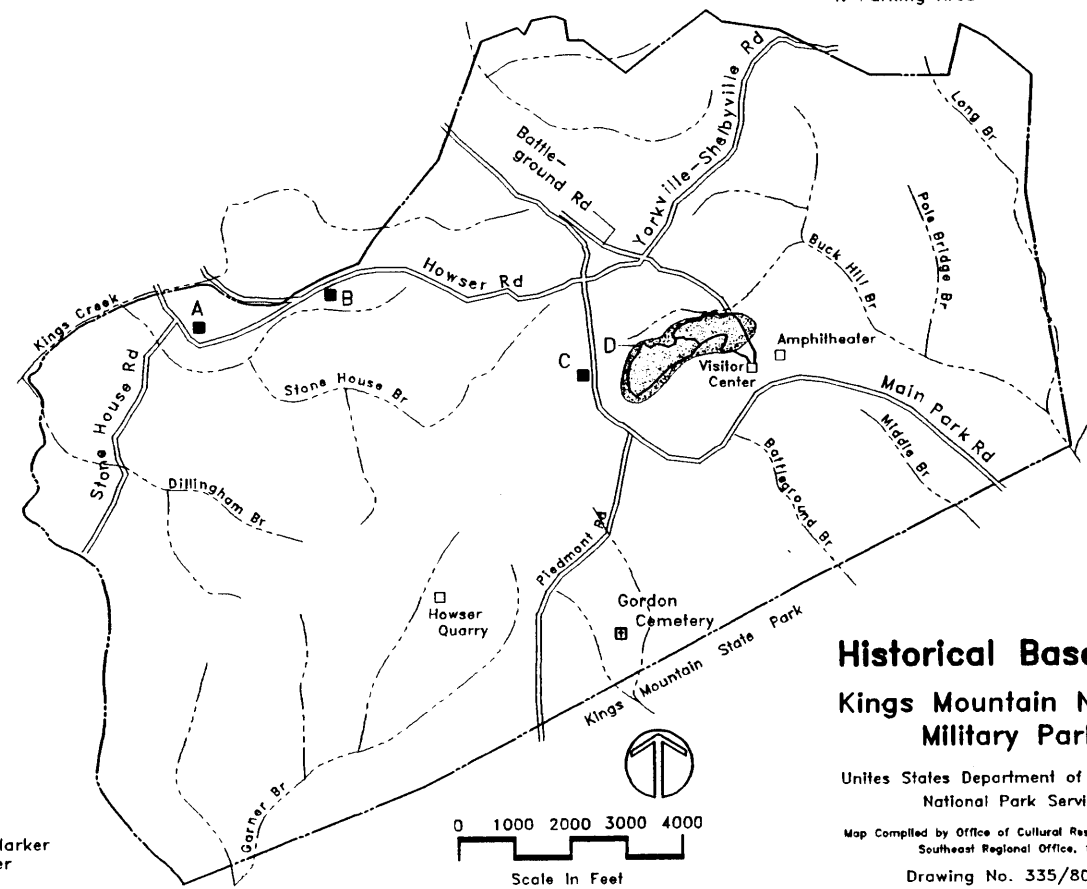
B. Mary Morris Norman Complex
1. Mary Morris Norman House
2. Norman Shed
3. Norman Well Site



C. Administrative Complex
1. Administration Building
2. Superintendent's Residence
3. Flagstaff
4. Parking Area



D. Battleground Area
1. Loop Trail
2. President Hoover Marker
3. Centennial Monument
4. Colonel Asbury Coward Marker
5. U.S. Monument
6. Colonel Frederick Hambright Marker
7. Ferguson Fell Marker
8. Ferguson Grave Marker and Cairn
9. "New" Ferguson Grave Marker
10. Chronicle Fell Marker
11. "New" Chronicle (DAR) Marker
12. Chronicle (McLean) Marker



Historical Base Map

Kings Mountain National Military Park

Unites States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Map Compiled by Office of Cultural Resources Planning
Southeast Regional Office, 1994

Drawing No. 335/80,005

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 660000079 **Date Listed:** 10/15/66

Kings Mountain Natl. Military Park
(Additional Documentation) York SOUTH CAROLINA
Property Name **County** **State**

_____
Multiple Name

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.

Carol Shull 1/11/95
Signature of the Keeper **Date of Action**

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Amended Items in Nomination:

Section No. 8

This nomination is amended to delete the cultural affiliation (Euro-American) since significance is not being claimed under Criterion D.

This change has been confirmed by the Southeast Regional Office, NPS.

DISTRIBUTION:
National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)