

I -- THE INDIAN FRONTIER

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GOUDY'S TRADING POST SITE OF 1751, AND FORT NINETY SIX 1759-61

(38GN1)

We are here making preparations  
to defend our Selves, from the  
barbarity of those Brutes

On May 4, 1738, Thomas Brown, trader and operator of a trading post "near the Congrees Old Fort," received a land grant of 200 acres, "Commonly Called & known by the name of Ninety Six (on the Cherrokee Path) and Butting and Bounding on all sides on Vacent Land..." (Meriwether 1940:53; South Carolina Archives, Colonial Plats II/13/1/7a, Box 206-239, Folder #216. Hereinafter cited as SCA). Brown was looking toward the development of trading centers at critically important junctions of the trading path, such as that at Ninety Six where the Cherokee Path joined the Congaree Path and the Savannah Town Path. However, there is no evidence that Brown ever developed this 200 acres or the 200 acres joining it that he acquired in 1744 (Meriwether 1940:118; SCA, Colonial Plats II/13/1/7a, Box 206-239, #216). There is one small clue to occupation at Ninety Six as early as 1737, when John Lacey purchased three gallons of rum and three pounds of sugar at "a Place called the Ninety Six," indicating a possible trader there at that time (Easterby 1951:566). Perhaps Thomas Brown had a representative at Ninety Six at this time engaging in some trade, the success of which may have prompted him to survey and obtain a grant for 200 additional acres at the site in the following year. The name of Ninety Six originated from the fact that it was ninety-six miles from the Cherokee town of Keowee and was so known as early as 1730

when George Hunter showed the location on his map of the Cherokee country, though it probably was in use some years before that time by the Cherokee traders (Salley 1917:3).

Thomas Brown died in 1747, not having developed his Ninety Six property, and this land, in part at least, was eventually acquired by Robert Goudy (Meriwether 1940:57, 116-118). Goudy (also spelled as Goudey, Gawdin, Gowdey, Gaudey, Gaudy, Gandey, Gandy, Gowdy, Goude, and Goudee)\*, had come from the Cherokee nation to the area of Ninety Six in 1751, having lived among the Cherokee for some time (McDowell 1958:57, 71).

He had come from the Cherokee nation with one hundred horses loaded with leather, indicating the extent of his trading activities (SCA, Journal of the Council, No. 18, Part 1:155. Hereinafter cited as JC).

In November 1751, some months after Robert Goudy's arrival in the area of Ninety Six, "Hamilton's Great Survey" of 200 thousand acres was made. Bordering on the Saluda River and measuring 18 miles on the side, it lay to the north of Thomas Brown's 1738 survey, which may have been bought by Robert Goudy about this time (Meriwether 1940:126). The location of this tract can still be seen on aerial photographs as hedge rows, fence lines, tree lines, and on the ground as well as an embankment running beneath present fence lines along the Hamilton line (Julien 1937).

In May of 1751 a number of incidents with the Cherokee Indians resulted in the "Inhabitation of 96, Seludy and upper Inhabitation of Congree River," fleeing to the Congaree Fort near present Columbia for safety (McDowell 1958:50). From this we learn that there is no fort at

\*Marvin L. Cann in his report "Old Ninety Six in the Revolution, 1730-1781," p. 61, states that the spelling "Goudy" is found in the signature on the will of Robert Goudy, Record of Wills, Charleston County, 1774-1779, Vol. 17, Book B, p. 303, and therefore this is the spelling used here.

Ninety Six at this time. However, in August of the same year John Fairchild reporting to Governor Glen stated that "we thought fit to put up a small Fort with Puncheons in Case Occassion should call for a Place of Retreat" (McDowell 1958:122). This letter was written from "Near 96," at Fairchild's fort, which was said by John Logan to have likely been on the north bank of John's Creek, some 14 miles northwest of Ninety Six (Logan 1859:440-42). From Windsor Forest, or Savannah Town, near Augusta, word was sent by John Pearson on June 7, 1751, that the Cherokees were in an uproar and were holding councils of war, singing death songs, and "...we are here making preparations to defend our Selves, from the barbarity of those Brutes." Pearson asked for some small swivel guns to place in the flankers of the fort (SCA, JC, 18, Part 1:155; SCA, Colonial Plats, II/13/1/7a, Box 206-239, #216). As far as we know, however, no fort was built at Ninety Six at this time.

By 1753 Fort Prince George had been built by Governor Glen at the Cherokee town of Keowee, and Robert Goudy was operating a store at Ninety Six, which was to become highly successful in the years to come (SCA, JC, Part 2:538; Meriwether 1940:132, 206-07). It was not until 1759 that the situation with the Indians had developed to the point that a fortification was required at Goudy's Trading Post at Ninety Six (SCA, South Carolina Gazette, December 1, 1759. Hereinafter cited as SCG).

#### Fort Ninety Six at Goudy's Trading Post - The Lyttelton Expedition of 1759

Throughout the 1750's there were repeated incidents of violence against the back country settlers by the Cherokee Indians, and by the fall of 1759 Governor William Henry Lyttelton took action by leading an expedition into the Cherokee country (Meriwether 1940:218-19). On the afternoon

of November 21, at two o'clock, the army under Governor Lyttelton arrived, with baggage and provisions, at Ninety Six (SCG, Dec. 8, 1759). As far as is known, Ninety Six at this time consisted primarily of the house and barns and other outbuildings of Robert Goudy. Our primary knowledge of Goudy's Trading Post comes from the building of Fort Ninety Six around Goudy's barn, and the account of the attack on the fort by Cherokee Indians a few months later. Because of the importance of these accounts to a proper understanding of Fort Ninety Six at Goudy's place, the accounts will be presented here as they occurred in the South Carolina Gazette.

Nov. 21st, At 9 A.M. Marched for Ninety-Six: arrived and encamped there at 2 P.M. after crossing 2 Creeks. All the Baggage and Provisions got up....

Nov. 22nd, The Ground was reconnoitred for a proper Place to build a Magazine and Stockade-Fort, to secure Ammunition and Provision, and a Retreat if necessary: to save Time, Expense and Trouble, Mr. Gouedy's Barn was fixed on for a Store-house, and it was resolved to stockade it in.

Nov. 24th, Capt. Dugeon, the Engineer, laid out the Ground for the Stockade; the Pioneers, Volunteers, Servants, &c. opened the Ditch for planting the Puncheons....

Nov. 25th, Nothing remarkable happened. Continued to work on the Stockade.

Nov. 26th, Two Runners arrived in the Camp from the Nation, with an English flag, and brought a Talk, and a large Quantity of Wampum: ....

Nov. 27th, The Banquet to the Stockade was finished, and the Gate put up. Some Volunteers from Port-Royal joined the Army. An Express arrived from Virginia. Meazles, Purgings and pleuritic Complaints rather increased than Abated.

Nov. 28th, The whole Army was reviewed, except the Indian Guard and Rangers, and found considerably short of Returns; there were 1299 effective Men. Orders were given to march early on the 29th, for Keowee; during the whole March to which, every Man is to be under Arms an Hour before day, and to continue 'till Sun-rise, to prevent a Surprize, that being always the Time when Indians make their Attacks. A Garrison was to be left at Fort Ninety-Six, which is 90 feet

square, has Sheds on one Side of the Storehouse for the Men, and will be of great Service to the Inhabitants of these Parts in all Times of Alarm (SCG, Dec. 1, Dec. 8, Dec. 15, 1759).

On the following day the forces under Lyttelton marched from Fort Ninety Six, "having finished the Fort there, leaving in Garrison all the Sick and Invalids"(SCG, Dec. 29, 1759). On the trip to Fort Prince George at Keowee they "encamped that Afternoon at Six-Mile Run where at Night they could plainly hear the Indians singing and dancing in some of their Towns" (SCG, Dec. 29, 1759).

From "Fort Prince George near Keowee" on December 10, 1759, Governor Lyttelton wrote:

I Constructed a good Stockake at a place called Ninety Six to secure a Magazine of Provisions (SCA, British Public Records Office, BT Vol. 19, L 69:280).

Apparently the stockade at Fort Ninety Six was not built any too soon, for shortly following the collapse of Lyttleton's expedition in January 1760, Cherokee warriors attacked the frontier.

The day they started a Cherokee wench set out from Fort Prince George in advance of five or six hundred Indians. She arrived at Ninety Six on the 30th, two traders reaching the post the same day, and the alarm thus given undoubtedly prevented a massacre. Twenty men came in from the community that day, and twenty more were expected during the night (Meriwether 1940: 222).

The massacre of 23 settlers at Long Canes was one of the first blows to fall, followed shortly thereafter by an attack on Fort Ninety Six on February 3rd. This attack lasted only two hours, during which the Cherokees lost two men (Meriwether 1940:222). John Pearson reported to Governor Lyttelton on February 8th on the burning and killing, and that they were building more forts.

How long we may continue in Safety in them I know not for the Tarrant hath been so great they have burnt all Goudy's House except the little Fort you built around his Barn, where he and Capt. Francis and some few more are penned up (McDowell 1970:495).

Concern for the safety of Fort Ninety Six was published in the South Carolina Gazette on February 9th, revealing that a well was being dug.

...the Communication with Fort Ninety-Six is cut off: But by Letters from Mr. Thomas Bell and Mr. Williamson, who wrote from that Fort early on Sunday Morning, we learn, that the Garrison was then safe, and consisted of 33 resolute white Men and 12 Stout Negros, all armed: Happily, during the late Expedition, that Fort was built, and a pretty good Stock of Provisions and Ammunition lodg'd there, and when the above Letters were written a Well was digging therein; so that we hope, the Garrison will be able to defend themselves until they can be relieved; but we have Reason to believe, that all below them to this side Saludy-River is destroyed (SCG, Feb. 9, 1760).

Stockade forts such as the one at Ninety Six sprang up virtually overnight throughout the hundreds of miles of the Carolina and Georgia frontier, and were a significant factor in preventing more slaughter by the Cherokees. After the February attacks there was a lull for some days while the Indians celebrated, but then, at a time when the smallpox had two-thirds of the men at the Ninety Six garrison in bed, word arrived that another attack was likely. This warning was brought on March 2nd by two messengers from Fort Prince George and none too soon, for the next morning over 200 Indians attacked Fort Ninety Six (Meriwether 1940:222-24). The South Carolina Gazette for March 15, 1760, carried an account of this attack.

The Particulars of the Affair at Ninety-Six, which we had not Room for in our last, are these, viz. That on Monday the third Instant about 240 or 250 Indians attacked the Fort of that Name, and fired upon it for 36 Hours, without scarce any Intermission, even during the whole Night, but never came within 60 yards of the Stockade, except one Fellow, who was killed and scalped, and whose Body was given to the Dogs, and his Scalp hoisted along-side of the Colours, to provoke the

Enemy to come nearer. On Tuesday Morning the 4th, Major Lloyd, with 11 Men got into the Fort as a Reinforcement, during a hard Shower of Rain, while the Indians were sheltering themselves, and raised the Spirits of the Garrison a good deal. In the Action six Cherokees were killed on the Spot, but 5 of their Bodies carried off as they fell, and many were wounded. In the Fort, one Man was shot thro' the Shoulder, and another in the Mouth; the Ball lodging in the Back of his Neck; but they were both likely to recover. The Morning that Fort Ninety-Six was attacked, Capt. Grinnan with 28 of his Rangers was going thither, but discovering so numerous a Body of Indians, when he got within a Mile and a Half of it, and his People being afraid of the Small-Pox, he thought it most advisable to return and protect the People at Mr. Turner's Fort but first sent them Notice by Doct. Murrey's Boy of the Enemy's being near, &c. In the Afternoon of the 4th, the Enemy withdrew from before Fort Ninety-Six, but had Ambuscaded every where so that Mr. Andrew Williamson with Doct. Murry's boy, made three several Attempts to get into the Garrison, and did not succeed till the 6th. When the Indians filed off, above 100 of them were perceived to separate from the Rest, and go down Saludy-River with their Packs and Blankets, it was supposed to lay waste the Country downwards; and this Supposition was soon Verified, for they have since burnt all the Houses within two Miles of Mr. Turner's Fort and Fort Ninety-Six, among others those of Doct. Murray, Mrs. Edwards at Half-Way Swamp, &c. and likewise all the Grain and Fodder they could meet with, and killed all the large Cattle near.

A Reinforcement of 35 Men are ordered to Fort Ninety-Six. Fourteen Men have died there of the Small-Pox, the Rest were on the Recovery. ...Tis said, that Magazines will be immediately formed at Monck's Corner, at the Congarees, and Fort Ninety-Six, to facilitate the speedy March of the Troops coming from New York (SCG, March 15, 1760).

Two days after the attack the comander of the fort, James Francis, wrote to Governor Lyttelton explaining the events that had occurred there, and provided us with some important details, particularly the fact that the fort had bastions.

Fort 96, March 6th, 1760

Letter from James Francis to his Excellency, William Henry Lyttelton, Esq.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, SIR, On Sunday last McCormick Boyle and Moses Sinclair arrived at this Fort from Fort Prince George, and gave us an Account of the Discovery they made of the Enemy coming down upon us to the Amount of perhaps 300 by the Number of their Fires. As we had no Reason to doubt their Veracity, we put ourselves in the best Order we were able for their Reception, and as we had good Reason to believe, they would collect their whole Force to get Satisfaction if they might for their last Defeat, and being very weakly manned we insisted on those two Men, not to leave the Fort, at least for some two or three Days, to wait the Enemy's coming; which Freedom hope your Excellency will please to excuse as we at that Juncture stood in such Need of Assistance.

The Event answered our Expectations, for on Monday just after Sunrise, two hundred and more of the Enemy began their Attack upon us, and that with no trifling Resolution, they scarce made any Cessation, but kept almost a constant Fire all that Day and the following Night, and some smart Volleys the next Day. We had two of our Men wounded, but hope not mortal. However Sir, we beg Leave to acquaint your Excellency, that we had the Pleasure during the Engagement to see several of our Enemy drop, and we have now the Pleasure Sir, to fatten our Dogs with their Carcasses, and to display their Scalps, neatly ornamented on the Top of our Bastions. These Things Sir, we doubt not but your Excellency will allow may so far irritate them, as to collect their whole Force, and make a stronger Effort if they possibly can to seek Revenge.

And I humbly beg Leave to assure your Excellency, that we had not twenty effective Men during the whole Time of our Engagement, but as Major Loyd arrived here the Juncture of Time that the Enemy left off their firing at us, within a Quarter of an Hour of their last Volley, with an Escort of ten Men from below, we have presumed to withstand his carrying the Whole back, but think to withhold them, until we have some better Reinforcement, which we doubt not your Excellency's Generosity will forward to us, as we have Reason to fear with few effective Men we have, will be greedy to follow the Scout when they come this Way, by which Means the Fort will be left naked, and I know not by what Means to prevent that Evil. It certainly must appear necessary Sir, that this Fort should stand and be defended, as a Barrier to the Province, as well as for a safe Retreat in case of Need &c. Which we humbly submit to your Excellency's far superior Penetration. Humbly begging Pardon Sir, for thus far presuming, I remain in all dutiful Obedience Sir,

Your Excellency's most dutiful and obedient humble Servant  
to command,

Jams. Francis

(McDowell 1970:504).