

THE GRANT EXPEDITION OF 1761

The defeat of Montgomery and the fall of Fort Loudoun in Tennessee a short time later, inspired the Cherokees, and a blockade of Fort Prince George was undertaken. Lieutenant-Governor William Bull acted to counter this new threat by sending detachments of rangers to various points on the Congaree, the Broad, and Savannah River areas. Ninety Six was the base of operations until 1761, and four swivel guns and 50 men were sent there to insure communication with Fort Prince George (Meriwether 1940:229-33; BPRO, XXVIII, August 15, 1760:390).

With the exit of Montgomery from the scene, the task of protecting the frontier again returned to the provincials and regulars at forts such as Ninety Six and Prince George. Although supplies were left there by Montgomery for the use of that garrison, they did not last long, and it was soon again in need of food. On the first of September, Andrew Williamson left Ninety Six with 50 head of cattle for the relief of Fort Prince George. By October 1760, the garrison was again becoming desperate for supplies, and on the 11th a detachment of 268 rangers with horses loaded with supplies left Ninety Six under Major William Thomson for their relief (Meriwether 1940:234; SCG, September 13, 1760).

With the frontier being protected by the forts such as Ninety Six, as well as new ones springing up throughout those areas exposed to possible attack, Lieutenant-Governor Bull made application to General Amherst for additional aid in overcoming the Cherokee threat (BPRO, XXIX, January 29, 1761:17). Amherst's answer to this request arrived in the form of Col. James Grant, who had been with Montgomery, and 1200 troops. These consisted of four companies of the First Regiment of Foot (Royal Scots), the same regiment having accompanied Montgomery on the first expedition; two companies of the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot (Figure 1), and two of the Twenty-second Regiment of Foot, and eight companies of the new raised Independent Regiment of Foot (BPRO, XXIX, January 29, 1761:17; SCG, March 21, 1761). They were not able to march for the Cherokee country immediately, however, for their baggage had not arrived. It was not until March 21, 1761, that we learn of the arrival of the baggage (SCG, March 21, 1761). During the long weeks of waiting at Charleston for the arrival of the baggage, the officers and men became a familiar sight on the streets of that town, and through their good behavior won the respect and admiration of the Charlestonians. Contributing to this good relationship between the elements of the army and the civilians was the fact that the officers gave a comedy and farce for the citizens as entertainment, which was well received (SCG, March 21, 1761). The South Carolina Gazette on March 21st reported the arrival of the long awaited baggage.

...on wednesday laft 4 large tranfport-fhips, having on board the heavy baggage of his majefty's troops to be employed in the approaching campaign againft the Cherokees (In conjunction with the forces of this province) under the command of Col. James Grant, failed up Cooper-River, for Strawberry, where they are to land the fame...(SCG, March 21, 1761).

Figure 1

A Grenadier of the 17th Regiment of Foot, 1751, Illustrating the Appearance of this Unit of Grant's Expedition Against the Cherokee in 1760.

Permission for use granted by Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., publishers of Regiments and Uniforms of the British Army by Major R. Money Barnes, London:1967, Plate V, Figure 11.



Arriving with the baggage from Providence, Rhode Island, were additional troops, those of Montgomery's Highlanders, who had accompanied Montgomery on the previous expedition. The plan called for them to remain in Charleston under command of Alexander Mackenzie while the remainder of the army moved to Monck's Corner. This plan was apparently changed, however, for less than two weeks later the Highlanders marched for Monck's Corner to join Grant's force (SCG, March 21, April 4, 1761). Before the arrival of the Highlanders, the troops numbered some 1600 regulars, and 1200 provincials. With the Highlanders the army probably numbered over 3000 (BPRO,XXIX, January 29, 1761:17).

By March 27th Colonel Grant had arrived at the Congaree settlement and found a newly completed magazine for flour for his army. He was faced with the logistics problem of moving his store of flour and other goods for the army along with the army when it moved toward the Cherokee frontier, or sending it on ahead so as to allow more waggons to be available for transporting the army when it moved. He decided to establish a flour and supply magazine at Fort Ninety Six, and sent Major Moultrie of the Provincial Regiment to do the job (SCA, Money Penny 1761:7). On April 14, Moultrie left for Ninety Six.

Major Moultrie, with the Captains Roberts, and Ainfle, Lieutenants Savage, Marion, Terry and Huger, Ensigns Ward and Huger, and 220 picked men of Col. Middleton's regiment, march'd from their encampment at Congarees for Fort Ninety-Six, having 50 waggons loaded with flour...(SCG, April 11, 1761).

Meanwhile, a change in plans apparently was taking place at the Congarees involving Montgomery's Highlanders and the Royal Scots Regiment. By April 18th Montgomery's Highlanders had embarked on board the Mercury transport for New York, and within a few days some of the First Regiment of Foot (Royal Scots) also embarked [probably two companies], along with the Royal American Regiment aboard the Sally, to join General Amherst (SCG, April 18, 25, 1761). Just why these troops did not accompany Grant on the remainder of his expedition is not known. We might speculate that it may have related to some conflict of command regarding Montgomery and Grant. However, it simply may have been a matter of new orders received for these units from General Amherst. It also may have related to the fact that many Royal Scots left at the Congarees by Montgomery had become sick, and it may have been these who were returned (BPRO, XXIX, October 24, 1760:109-110).

Meanwhile, Major Moultrie and his force from Middleton's Provincial Regiment were working on preparations at Fort Ninety Six, particularly the completion of a magazine for storage of supplies, that had been begun before their arrival (SCG, April 11, 1761). They also built two new stockades.

Major Moultrie has finished a new stockade at Ninety-Six, and intrenched his camp:He is now enlarging the old fort and building large store-houses there. The magazine at that place will soon be filled (SCG, May 2, 1761).

From a witness who kept a diary we learn some details of the fort and the enlargement made by Moultrie to receive Grant's army. Major Alexander Money Penny recorded that:

This is a true American Fort, a pitiful palisade thrown around a Barn, a kind of a Flank at two opposite Angles, where a sentry can Stand, no Ditch. Major Moultrie had fell'd down one side & extended it about 30 Feet, to make another shed for provisions. He was camp'd here with the two Light Infantry Companies & 200 Men of Middlton's (SCA, Money Penny 1761:25-26).

With the new stockade built, the old one enlarged, and storehouses and magazines prepared to receive supplies, Moultrie was ready for the arrival of Grant's army. The expedition arrived on May 14, and consisted of:

1,400 regulars	[2 companies of 17th 2 companies of 22nd 8 companies of Independents 2 companies of 1st [Royal Scots]
689 provincials	[Middleton's] (SCG, April 17, 1761).
401 rangers	[Rogers' Rangers included]
240 waggoners ect.	
57 Indians	[Catawbas, Chickasaws, Mohawks and Rogers' Rangers, with Lt. Wassel and 10 volunteers from the 17th Regiment were formed into a corps the day before leaving Ninety Six] (SCG, May 23, 1761).
41 Negro pioneers	

(SCG, May 23, 1761).

The army consisted of over 2800 men. Captain Daniel and 50 men of Col. Burton's regiment were left at Ninety Six as a garrison, and the expedition began moving out of Ninety Six toward Fort Prince George on May 18th (SCG, May 30, 1761;BPRO, XXIX, May 28, 1761:109-10). On the 25th of May, King Haigler and 19 Catawbas joined the expedition (SCG, June 20, 1761).

Grant's expedition carried out the destruction of crops and Indian towns, but the results were not dramatic in terms of manpower affected, except that food became a serious problem for the Lower Cherokees, and a town for the relief of Cherokee refugees was established to the east of Fort Prince George (BPRO, XXIX, June 19, 1761:119). Grant reported that Ensign John Monroe of the 22nd Regiment of Foot was killed, having been wounded the previous year on Montgomery's expedition. Whether this means that elements of the 22nd Regiment of Foot were with Montgomery, we do not

know. It is likely that this man was then assigned to the Royal Scots Regiment. Wounded were Ensign Knight of the Royal or First Regiment of Foot, as well as a number of others, some from Col. Burton's Regiment and Middleton's Regiment (SCG, July 18, 1761).

A peace treaty was signed in Charleston in December 1761 (Meriwether 1940:240), and the role of Fort Ninety Six, and many similar forts in securing the frontier in a time of crisis, was over. In fact, the fate of Fort Ninety Six is unknown, for it is never again mentioned in the records. We don't even have a passing reference, such as is sometimes found, as to it being "in an advanced state of decay," or to its standing "abandoned and alone" or remaining as "a relic of the Indian war." Its story, as recorded by history, ends abruptly with the close of 1761 and the signing of the peace treaty with the Cherokees. Details of the location of Fort Ninety Six, the exact dimension and shape of its outline, and the location of Goudy's buildings, cellars, the fort magazine, and artifacts directly associated with this moment in the history of South Carolina's frontier are being recovered through archeology after a wait of over 200 years.

Bruce Ezell has suggested that since Robert Goudy was such an important and wealthy trader, and with the building of Fort Ninety Six around his barn focusing attention on his trading center, that Goudy himself very likely kept the fort in repair for the protection of himself and his goods during the 1760's and perhaps even into the 1770's. This would certainly seem to be a valid hypothesis.

Though we are forced to hypothesize the final years of Fort Ninety Six, we are on firmer ground when we look at the contribution made by Goudy's Trading Post to the events and the people of the Carolina frontier.

From its beginning as a rude center for Indian trade, to its role as a major intersection and stage for the unfolding drama of colonial events, Goudy's Trading Post was a vital organ in the expanding frontier of the mid-eighteenth century. Goudy himself, in the quarter of a century between 1750 and 1775, had a comparable growth (reflecting the importance of Indian trade to colonial life), moving from the low of a man who has had all his goods and horses stolen by Indians to wealth equivalent to that of a modern millionaire. His role in the growth of the backcountry during the days of the expanding frontier was central to the drama.