

WILLIAM HENRY LYTTELTON

Colonial South Carolina Governor, 1756-1760



by Daniel J. Tortora

William Henry Lyttelton
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For further examination of many of the events discussed here, pick up a copy of [*Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756–1763*](#).

Colonial governor William Henry Lyttelton began his tenure in South Carolina with much promise and much respect. After a series of tumultuous events, he slipped out of town four years later under much different circumstances while smallpox raged in Charles Town and Cherokee warriors raided the Carolina frontier.

Who was this little-known governor? What influence did he have on colonial South Carolina? What controversies did he attract? And how did he play a part in the larger Cherokee War of 1759 to 1761? This eBook seeks to answer these questions and more.

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William Henry Lyttelton was the fifth son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, 4th Baronet of Frankley.

Sir Thomas was a Whig who sat in the House of Commons from 1721 to 1741, and was one of the Lords of Admiralty from 1727 to 1741. His cousin, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, summed up his political career by writing, "Sir Thomas Lyttelton has always voted as he was directed; and 'twas for that reason, I imagine, he has an employment he can know nothing about."¹

Known by friends and family as "Billy," William Henry was educated at Eton College, an all-male boarding school attended by members of the Lyttelton family since the 1500s.²



Figure 1. *Eton College Chapel*, by Giovanni Antonio Canal, il Canaletto, ca. 1754. National Gallery, London.

Other Old Etonians include Robert Walpole, Generals William Howe and Charles Cornwallis of Revolutionary War fame, South Carolina's own Thomas Lynch, Jr., poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, politician William Gladstone, economist John Maynard Keynes, author George Orwell, actor Hugh Laurie, author Ian Fleming, British Prime Minister David Cameron, Prince Harry and Prince William.

Many of Lyttelton's descendants have also attended Eton, including explorer, Everest climber, and survival skills expert Bear Grylls—and the 12th Viscount Cobham, Christopher Lyttelton—to name a few.

Figure 2. *Bear Grylls*. Photo from the National Churches Trust Photostream, 2014. Flickr/Creative Commons. British explorer and survivalist Bear Grylls, great-great-great-great-great-grandson of William Henry Lyttelton and his second wife, Caroline Bristow.



In 1742, William Henry matriculated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. For reasons that are unclear, he never graduated. After a few years of managing his family's estate, he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1748.

In November that year, twenty-three year old Lyttelton was elected to Parliament to represent the Bewdley district of Worcestershire. (Future prime minister Stanley Baldwin once represented the now defunct district.)



Figure 3. *William Henry Lyttelton (1724–1808)*, by unknown artist, ca. 1750, Bewdley Guildhall. (Photo by Bewdley Town Council.)

Family connections facilitated his rise to prominence. His grandfather had been Governor of Jamaica. His brother George, who was also a prominent poet, sat on the Privy Council. A family friend, George Montagu Dunk, the 2nd Earl of Halifax, was President of the Board of Trade, the body that oversaw and coordinated Britain's colonies. William Pitt, an influential Minister of Parliament and also a family friend, later became Secretary of State.³

In 1754, after returning from a European tour, Lyttelton wrote to Pitt to express his interest in a royal appointment. Pitt offered his assistance, and it set in motion a series of behind-the-scenes discussions.⁴

The Board of Trade and the Lyttelton family discussed a governorship for Lyttelton in January 1755. When it appeared a done deal, Lyttelton, just thirty years old, vacated his seat in Parliament later and prepared for his new opportunity.

He waited four months and spent more than £200 on fees and expenses before he finally appeared before the Privy Council on May 13, 1755. He took his allegiance oaths and received his commission and instructions on May 13. He returned a few weeks later for more specific instructions. His departure for America was further delayed while he waited for a shipment of items to be sent with him to Charles Town: a set of communion plate, a large Bible, gifts for St. Philip's Church, and goods to be given to the Indians.⁵

Finally, Lyttelton set sail for South Carolina aboard the HMS *Blandford*, a 20-gun naval vessel, in late July or early August 1755.

Between 9 and 10 P.M. on August 13, as the *Blandford* neared the Azores, she fell in with a squadron of French ships. Two gave chase. Overtaking the *Blandford*, they hailed her in English and ordered the captain to send over her boat. The Captain failed to make immediate reply.

The smaller of the two French ships "fired nine cannon shot & two Vollies of small Arms." The larger ship came up upon the *Blandford*, but there was no priming in the *Blandford's* guns. The Captain surrendered.

Lyttelton described what he did next: "I then went down into the Cabin & sunk my Instructions & other Papers of Consequence. A French Lieutenant soon afterwards came on board with a party of Men & took possession."

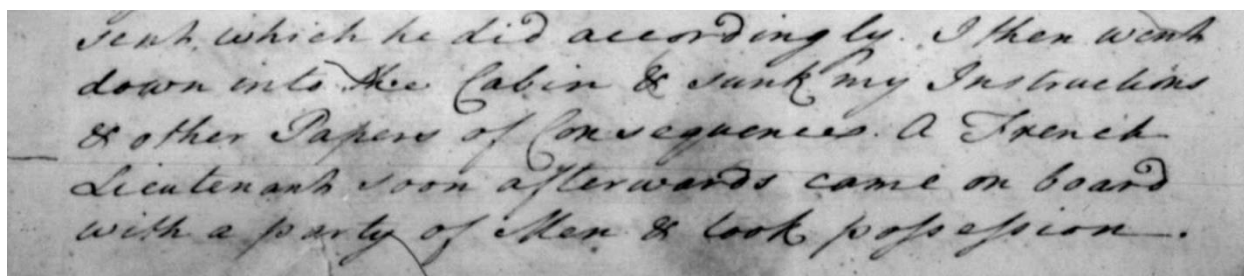


Figure 4. An excerpt from William Henry Lyttelton's handwritten "Account of the Capture of H.M.S. *Blandford* by the French . . ." William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Series I, Box 1, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI. (Microfilm copy, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.)

Lyttelton was taken prisoner. Several days later, he was paroled and, rather than wait for the ship to be repaired and refitted, he decided to travel overland, through France. Fearing for his life, Lyttelton sailed under an assumed name to Brussels, and then sailed back to England to debrief the Board of Trade and to wait for a fresh set of instructions.⁶

During this time, Lyttelton stayed at Hagley Hall, his poet-politician brother George's house, while George was away in London.

"Billy" as William Henry Lyttelton was known to his brother, became infatuated with George's housekeeper, Mrs. Abden Durnford.

A child was conceived. Leaving the noticeably pregnant Durnford behind, Lyttelton then departed once more for Charles Town in the spring of 1756.⁷

George Lyttelton later wrote to his brother three times, believing that William Henry was the father of the child. These letters were destroyed in a 1925 fire at Hagley Hall.

Figure 5: *Hagley Hall, Hagley, Worcestershire, UK. Photo by Richard Barker, 2010. Flickr/Creative Commons.*

January 1758: “You did very ill not to acquaint me with your affair with Dunford.” He continued, “You . . . might have entrusted such a secret to me. . . . But your keeping her in my house was an offense to my wife.” Durnford left Hagley Hall and delivered the baby in Bristol, and this “drew an unpleasant suspicion upon me.” Worse, “She has a brother who is a parson and who takes the affair in a very high tone.”



Figure 6. *George Lyttelton, 1st Baron Lyttelton, by unknown artist. National Portrait Gallery, London.*

On May 5, 1758, he wrote again. “Poor Abden is dead.” The child was in the care of a local widow. The widow was cash-poor, and so was George.

One more reference occurs in a letter dated July 20, 1759: “If you have a mind to atone for your Sins with poor Durnford, you must give five guineas a year” to a local widow who cared for the child. “Impart then your Wealth, not to handsome young Harlots,” George Lyttelton advised, “but to old Women in distress, and you will draw down a Blessing upon it.”⁸

Charles Town lay on a small, mile-wide peninsula, bordered by the Ashley River to the west and the

Cooper River to the east. It was hardly a city by most Britons' standards. Yet it enjoyed a reputation as a place of refinement, fashion, elegance, and hospitality. Slave labor made the town run.⁹

It was, in 1756, a bustling seaport town, with a population of 4,000 whites and 4,000 slaves. The entire colony of South Carolina had roughly 30,000 whites and 70,000 slaves. By contrast, in 1750, London had 700,000 inhabitants.



Figure 7. *An exact prospect of Charlestown, the metropolis of the province of South Carolina, engraved for the London Magazine, 1762.* Library of Congress.

As the *Winchelsea*, a twenty-four gun naval vessel, navigated the shallow bar in Charles Town harbor, to the port side, Lyttelton saw Fort Johnson on a high bluff jutting into the harbor on James Island, its cannons poised at water-level. It had barracks and ramparts above.¹⁰

Perhaps Lyttelton saw African Africans at work, craftsmen and laborers, pilots and oarsmen, or toiling on Lowcountry rice and indigo plantations.¹¹

He might have seen that the Hurricane of 1752 left the city's fortifications in a dilapidated state. But several bastions dotted the waterfront, connected by a high wall.¹²

As the *Winchelsea* drew nearer, the skyline of the seaport town came into view. Two-story stucco-covered brick buildings, with storefronts below and residences above, dazzled in a palette of bright colors. Most had balconies and verandas.¹³

The steeples of the city's several churches rose high above the skyline. One of these, St. Michael's, was under construction. The ship docked at one of the several large wharves lining the Cooper River. William Henry Lyttelton had at last arrived safely in his new home.

June 3. On Tuesday last arrived here, in his Majesty's Ship *Winchelsea*, Capt. Hale, his Excellency William Henry Lyttelton, Esq; our NEW Governor, and was received with every possible Mark of Respect and unfeigned Joy.

Figure 8. A clipping from the *South Carolina Gazette*, June 5, 1756, p. 7.

Charlestonians received their new governor “with every possible Mark of Respect and unfeigned Joy,” the *South Carolina Gazette* reported. Private and public readings of his commission followed. Charles Town elites attended an elegant ball at John Gordon’s inn and tavern at the corner of Broad and Church streets that evening. Candles in upper-floor balconies lit up the night sky along Bay Street. Much had “been mentioned of him in numberless Letters,” said *South Carolina Gazette* editor Peter Timothy. South Carolinians had high hopes for the new governor.¹⁴

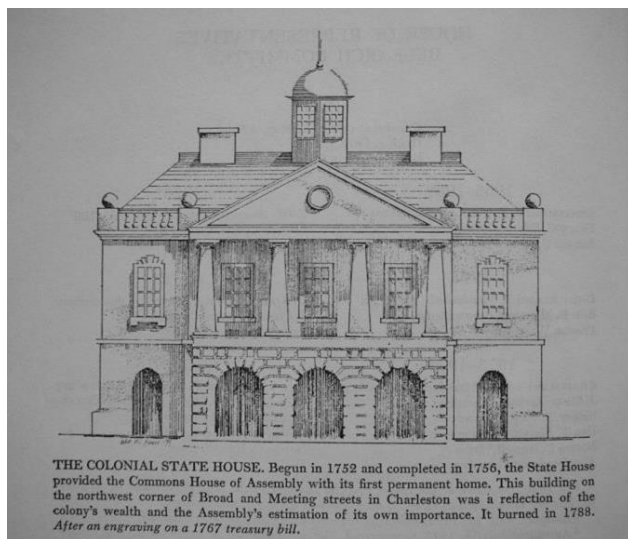
Upon arriving in South Carolina, Lyttelton took up residence in a home on East Bay Street: the Pinckney Mansion, owned by Charles and Eliza Lucas Pinckney (later destroyed in an 1861 fire). He would be one of several colonial governors to live there.

Figure 9. Ruins of the Pinckney Mansion, Charleston. Photo by George Barnard, ca. 1864–1865, from the album *Photographic Views of Sherman’s Campaign*. Library of Congress.



The thirty-year-old Billy Lyttelton was charming, young, and affable. Portraits reveal a lean frame and a mild manner. He joined the Library Society. He was a frequent guest at Gordon’s tavern. He imported turtle meat from the Bahamas and snuff from Cuba and Jamaica and corresponded frequently with other governors. He seemed to be a capable politician.

Lyttelton intended to reverse the gridlock that characterized South Carolina politics in recent years under Governor James Glen. The Crown instructed Lyttelton to show the Acadian refugees (the farmers deported from Nova Scotia by the British and scattered throughout the colonies)—and the Indians on the southern frontier—no mercy. He was to lead the colony during wartime, during the French and Indian War. It was a tall task.



THE COLONIAL STATE HOUSE. Begun in 1752 and completed in 1756, the State House provided the Commons House of Assembly with its first permanent home. This building on the northwest corner of Broad and Meeting streets in Charleston was a reflection of the colony’s wealth and the Assembly’s estimation of its own importance. It burned in 1788. After an engraving on a 1767 treasury bill.

Days after his arrival on June 17, a massive fire swept through Charles Town, destroying Beale’s Wharf. Lyttelton was first on the scene and last to leave and joined in the futile effort to put out the conflagration.¹⁵

Figure 10. The Colonial State House, from Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives, Volume II: The Commons House of Assembly, 1692–1775*

(Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), facing the title page.

But the fire sparked Charlestonians' fears. Many blamed it on the Acadian refugees. The previous winter, 1,200 of these French-Catholic farmers and fishermen from Nova Scotia were deported by the British to South Carolina. (About five thousand went elsewhere in the colonies, and eventually, hundreds relocated to Louisiana, becoming the "Cajuns.")¹⁶

On June 22, over the objections of Councilor William Wragg, a Charles Town attorney, Lyttelton asked the Commons House of Assembly to redistribute the Acadians in order to "prevent their being burthensome or dangerous" to South Carolina.¹⁷

By July 16, the Commons House of Assembly obliged. An "Act for disposing of the Acadians now in Charles Town" awarded three months' compensation for landlords willing to take in the refugees. It banned the Acadians from carrying firearms. And finally, it mandated that the churchwardens enumerate and redistribute the controversial refugees. At gunpoint, militia and Independent Company troops removed 645 Acadians. As Lyttelton wrote to the Board of Trade, force "was accordingly us'd to bind some of them with cords & to handcuff and fetter others." But, he asserted, "upon the whole I endeavour'd to exercise as much humanity towards them as the nature of the business wou'd admit of."

Another 139 remained in Charles Town. Many orphans became indentured servants.¹⁸

By 1759 many Acadians returned to the city to search for work or to reunite with family members, exacerbating tensions in the city.¹⁹

Lyttelton placated the Commons House of Assembly. Wragg had criticized the assembly's handling of the Acadian situation and had called on Lyttelton to dissolve the assembly. To secure the assembly's cooperation, Lyttelton worked to secure the removal of Wragg from the South Carolina Council.²⁰



Figure 11. *William Wragg*, by Jeremiah Theus, 1756, Detroit Institute of Arts.

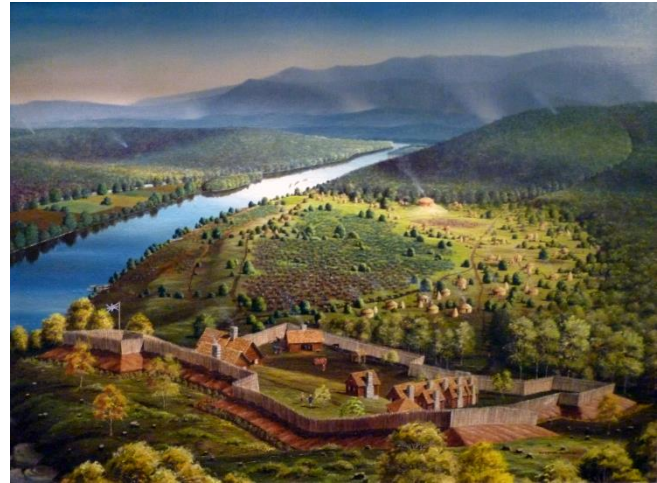
By doing so, the hard-working governor won the respect and cooperation of the Commons House, who raised taxes and granted his every request.

As French privateers prowled the Charles Town, Georgetown, and Beaufort coasts, Lyttelton oversaw the renovation and expansion of the fortification system in these ports. He also oversaw the reorganization and retraining of the colonial militia.

Lyttelton's second major project was the completion of a British fort in the Cherokee Overhills, some 450 miles from Charles Town. Today this is located in Vonore, Tennessee, rebuilt along Tellico Lake.

After early British losses at Fort Necessity in 1754, and Braddock's Defeat in 1755, it was thought that a Cherokee alliance might turn the tide against the French.

Figure 12. *The Little Tennessee Valley of 1757*, by Chester Martin, 1973. Displayed in Fort Loudoun State Historic Area, TN. (Owned by the Fort Loudoun Association.)



A fort in the Cherokee villages, some colonists thought, would help the British cultivate a military and economic alliance with the Cherokees. Cherokees thought it would give them leverage to ensure that the deerskin trade was fair.

With a fresh plan, and more money, Lyttelton sent two new companies of soldiers from the South Carolina Provincial Regiment to build the fort in July 1756. Captains John Stuart and Lieutenant John Postell commanded. Provincial surveyor general and engineer John William Gerard DeBrahm also joined the expedition.

Construction began on October 4.²¹



By July 30, 1757, Fort Loudoun was complete.²² The elaborate, European-style fort on the banks of the Little Tennessee River stood on a rocky ledge that sloped upward from south to north. It mounted twelve cannon and several coehorns and mortars.

Figure 13. *The view of Fort Loudoun from the Village of Toskegee*. Photo by Daniel Tortora, 2009.

Captain Paul Demere (sometimes spelled Demeré) and eighty British troops would garrison the fort and defend the surrounding territory against any hostile incursions of French soldiers or their Indian allies.²³

Lyttelton named the new outpost Fort Loudoun after the then-commander of British military operations in North Carolina, the Earl of Loudoun. Upon the completion of the fort, Cherokee warriors left to fight the Shawnee Indians on the northern frontier.²⁴

Meanwhile, unscrupulous traders continued to defraud the Cherokee Indians and French agents circulating the Cherokee towns. This put both the traders and the soldiers at the fort in danger.

The Board of Trade approved of Lyttelton's measures, lauding them as "well calculated for His Majesty's Service and the public Good." Lyttelton "established," the Board wrote to the king, "a confidence and Harmony in the Minds of the people."²⁵ Unlike the Glen administration, "The Governor and the Commons House of Assembly are upon very good terms," Lyttelton's secretary and chief of staff John Murray noted.

By the spring of 1757, things looked good for Governor Lyttelton. But French privateers still infested Carolina waters. Large numbers of troops were at Fort Loudoun, which raised planters' fears of a potential slave revolt, and the French seized nineteen of the twenty-three ships carrying South Carolina's indigo crop. British officials predicted that the French might attack South Carolina by sea, and South Carolina's merchants petitioned the Crown for protection.

Tensions between the colony and the mother country heightened, laying the groundwork for a more severe future rupture.



In June, five hundred British troops from the Royal American Regiment (the 60th Regiment of Foot) under Col. Henry Bouquet, and 200 Virginia Provincials, arrived in Charles Town. They were later joined by a battalion of troops from the 77th Regiment of Foot—Scottish highlanders—under Colonel Archibald Montgomery (also spelled Montgomerie).

Figure 14. Henry Bouquet. Print by W. G. Armstrong after Benjamin West. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, WA Prints 195, Yale University.

Colonial assemblymen refused to fully provide for the troops' quarters. Lyttelton did not wish to alienate the members of the assembly, so he was mainly an onlooker. In trying to stay out of the conflict, Lyttelton offended British officers who expended him to defend royal interests.²⁶

"The Lawyers, Justices of the Peace, & in general the whole people are eternally against us," Bouquet wrote on August 25. Feeling disrespected and insulted, he opined: "They're extremely pleased to have soldiers to protect their Plantations, but will feel no inconveniences from them, making no great difference between a soldier & a Negro."²⁷

When the Highland battalion, another five hundred troops, arrived on September 3, they faced the same struggle.²⁸ Put up in the half-finished St. Michael's Church, "in Damp Store-

houses” near the wharf on East Bay Street, and in empty houses without straw or blankets, the Highlanders sickened rapidly.

The Commons House of Assembly stalled at every opportunity. Though it eventually built barracks, it refused to provide basic necessities for the troops that came to the defense of Carolina.²⁹

Sixty Highlanders died by December 2. The British officers implied that sympathetic Charles Town citizens “out of Compassion” broke with the assemblymen. Good Samaritans received “near 200 of them into their Houses,” saving many lives.³⁰

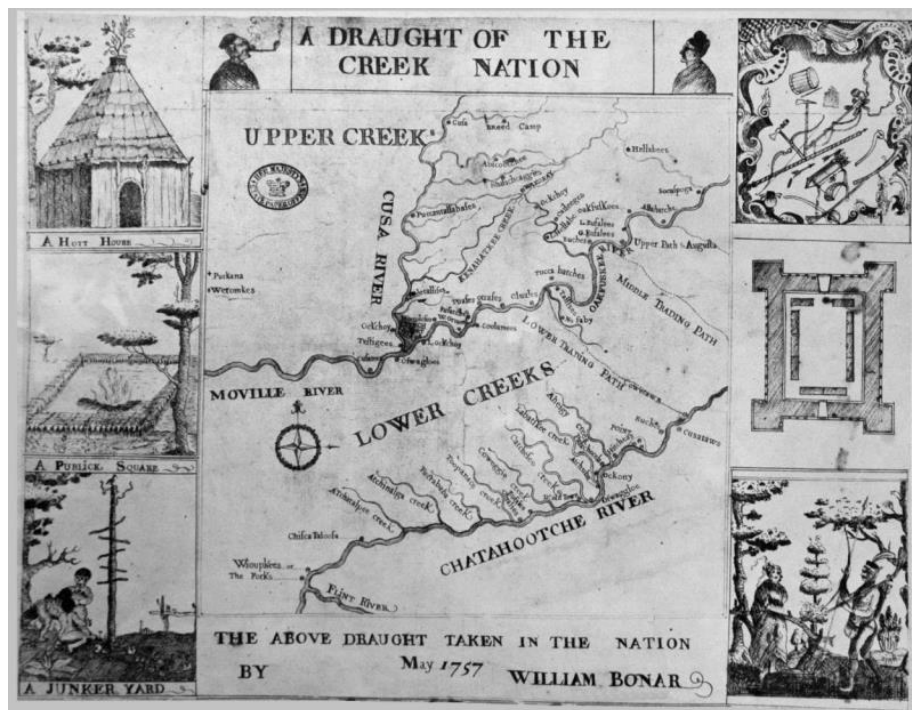
Bouquet pressed Lyttelton about funding for the officers’ lodging.³¹ But on March 18, a Commons House committee that included future patriots Christopher Gadsden again refused to furnish quarters for the troops. The committee declared that to do so would infringe their rights as Englishmen.³²

Figure 15. *Christopher Gadsden, after Sir Joshua Reynolds (1903 engraving). Library of Congress.*



The troops were recalled and left soon afterward.

But the damage was done.³³ “The present confusion of war, low price of our commodity, and heavy taxes, dishearten the planters,” Charles Town physician and naturalist Dr. Alexander Garden wrote. Many of these planters were members of the Commons House.³⁴



By alienating the assembly, Lyttelton lost potential support for his budding scheme: an invasion of French Louisiana.

In 1757, Daniel Pepper (South Carolina’s agent to the Creek tribe) and William Bonar (a surveyor and cartographer) mapped and scouted the Upper Creek villages.³⁵

Figure 16. *A Draught of the Creek Nation. Taken in the Nation by William Bonar, May, 1757. The National Archives, Kew, UK. CO 700/CAROLINA 21.*

In Charles Town, Colonel Bouquet collected information about “the Cherokee country and all in between them and the French settlements.” At Bouquet’s request, Captain Paul Demere sent loyal Cherokees “to reconnoiter their forts and learn the approximate strength of their garrisons.”³⁶

British military officials grew interested in the plan.

British ineffectiveness in the Ohio Valley, New York, and Canada made the potential expedition more intriguing to the masterminds of the British war effort.³⁷

Figure 17. *A view of the Fort Toulouse, reconstructed to appear as it looked from 1751 to 1763, Fort Toulouse-Jackson Park, Wetumpka, AL. Photo by the author, 2011.*

Throughout 1757 and 1758, Lyttelton labored tirelessly from Charles Town to coordinate a naval and overland campaign against French Louisiana.



He sent letter after letter to colonial governors and to British officials. He sent Isaac Colcock, a Charles Town skipper who reportedly had knowledge of the Gulf Coast, to Halifax to meet with Admiral Boscawen in Halifax, Nova Scotia.³⁸

In Spring 1758, Lyttelton traveled overland to Fort Moore (Beech Island, South Carolina), where he visited with Indian traders and gathered intelligence.

He also visited Beaufort on the guise of inspecting a new fort under construction (Fort Lyttelton). There, he interrogated three French deserters serving in the South Carolina Provincial Regiment. He met a British privateering captain. He then went to “the torrid zone”—Savannah—to discuss the plan further with Governor Henry Ellis.³⁹

Lyttelton sent two frigates to Halifax with French prisoners aboard—some had knowledge of Louisiana. And with the departing soldiers, former governor James Glen sailed to Philadelphia to share what he knew about Louisiana with General John Forbes.⁴⁰

A series of almost comical events ensued. The Jamaica governor, who was part of the planning for the scheme, died. A ship intended for the fleet got captured.⁴¹ When Isaac Colcock finally arrived in Nova Scotia in August, Lyttelton’s “expert” had forgotten his journal. He admitted he never navigated Mobile Bay and caught only a mere glimpse of

New Orleans. His brother, also a skipper, knew more than he did but had died eighteen months earlier.⁴²

In September, Lyttelton sent another sea captain familiar with Louisiana, Simon Tufts, to Halifax to supply more information on the Gulf Coast.⁴³ By this time, Boscowen and

Amherst had postponed the expedition.⁴⁴

Instructions to Captain Simon Tufts going to Halifax Sept 8th 1758.

You are to proceed with all ^{on board the} first proper vessels to Halifax & observe a profound secrecy ~~upon~~ concerning the real object of your Voyage

Figure 18. William Henry Lyttelton: Instructions to Captain Simon Tufts, Charles Town, September 8, 1758, Lyttelton Papers, Series I, Box 8. (Microfilm copy, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.)

British priorities were elsewhere—in the North. Though French military and

civilian power in Louisiana Territory was weak (1,750 men in thirty-five companies, and perhaps no more than one hundred settlers near each outpost),⁴⁵ British traders warned that the French could marshal six or seven thousand Creek or Choctaw allies. They feared a slaughter like that suffered by General Edward Braddock on the Monongahela a few years earlier.⁴⁶

In 1758, Lyttelton was busy putting South Carolina on a wartime footing and assisting in the recruitment of Cherokee Indians for British-colonial campaigns to the northward.

Lyttelton wrote letters to traders and Cherokees. He helped prepare South Carolina provincial officer Probart Howarth (who held a joint commission as an officer in the South Carolina Independent Companies), and Virginian councilor William Byrd III to recruit Cherokees for military action. He sent letters to Cherokee leaders.

Although taxes were already high and the colony was experiencing an economic downturn, Lyttelton nonetheless convinced the Assembly to double enlistment bounties and extend its funding of the South Carolina Provincial regiment, to generously fund and outfit the Cherokees. He had little assistance from the Crown-appointed Indian agent, Edmond Atkin, and proposed the Crown reconsider Atkin's role within southern Indian diplomacy.⁴⁷

Some Cherokees had already been assisting in campaigns in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Country. But Lyttelton's involvement helped to raise an even greater number. Some six hundred Cherokees came to the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontier from their villages in the modern-day U.S. states of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

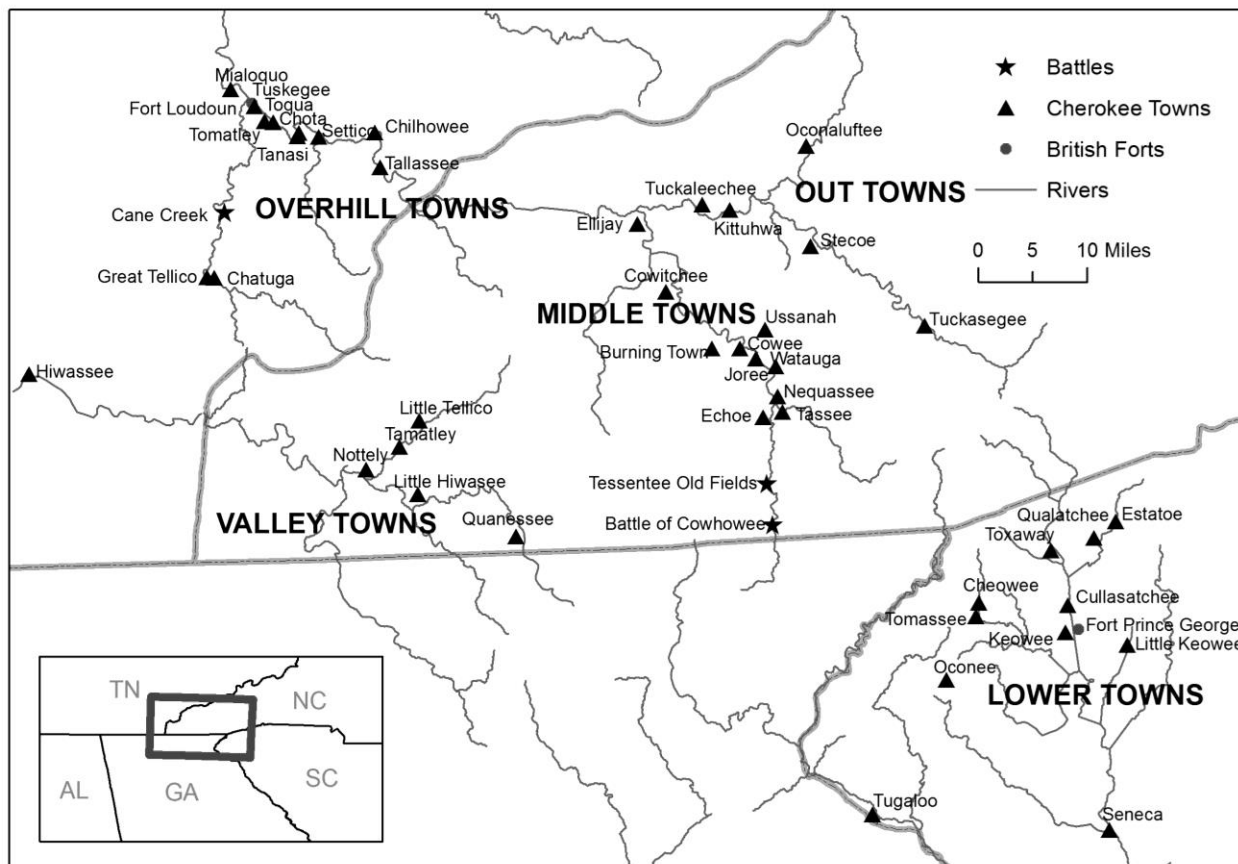


Figure 19. *The Cherokee Country during the French and Indian War. First draft of a map by Daniel J. Tortora, 2011.*

Cherokees provided valuable services for the British army on the Pennsylvania frontier, scouting the defenses of Fort Duquesne, capturing French soldiers and their Indian allies



from whom intelligence could be extracted, and informally training British officers in the tactics used by French Indian soldiers.

But the Cherokees slowly grew disenchanted by the slow pace of preparations. Compensated and treated fairly, they nonetheless needed to return home for their winter hunting season. If not, their families starved, and they ran the risk of not being able to produce the necessary deerskins to pay off their debts and to acquire the manufactured items they relied on for their survival. So, by the fall, they gradually returned home.

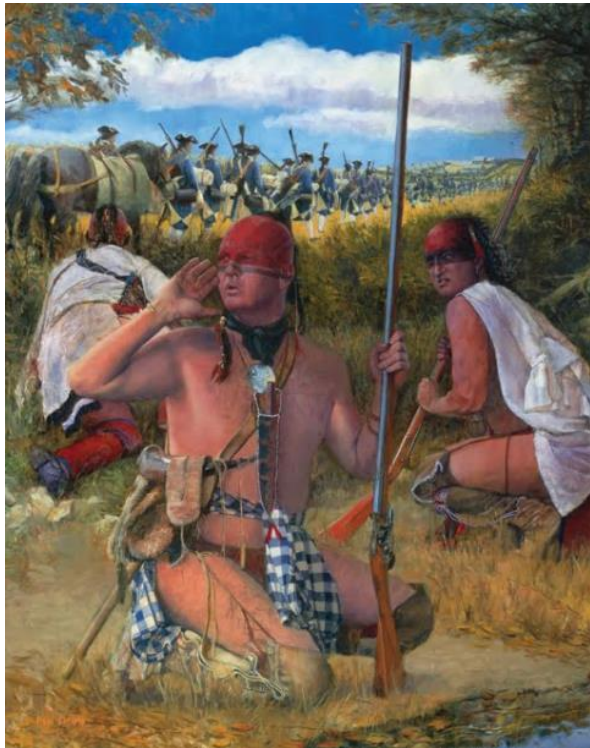
Figure 20. *Friends under Fire, by Robert Griffing, no date given.*

Along the way, they clashed with Virginia frontiersmen. The Virginia frontiersmen, mistaking them for Shawnees, killed three dozen Cherokees in separate incidents. Not a single white frontiersman was killed. In some cases, the lack of a translator doomed the Cherokees.

Governor Lyttelton stepped in to this situation. But he took a heavy-handed approach, looking to try to intimidate the Cherokees into submission.

Not only were the warriors frustrated by the slow pace of the Fort Duquesne expedition and its disorganization. They had lost three dozen compatriots. Adding to that frustration, Cherokee leaders cited a long train of abuses—fraud in the deerskin trade, sexual assault by officers at Fort Prince George—and other matters. The Cherokees wanted Lyttelton to resolve their grievances, but it was difficult for him to do so.

George Milligen, a surgeon in the Independent Company at the time, summed up the situation. He called the traders “a Shame to Humanity, and the Disgrace of Christianity; by their iniquitous and foolish Conduct.” Their behavior soured Indian respect for the English, turning it “into a general Contempt and Dislike.” He continued: “The Savages daily saw themselves cheated in Weight and Measure; their Women debauched, and their young Men



corrupted: These Wrongs and Insults were made the most of by *French* Emissaries amongst them, who took much Pains . . . to alienate their Affections from the *English*.”⁴⁸

From April to September 1759, Cherokee resentment boiled over. Small bands of Cherokee warriors attacked the North and South Carolina frontiers, killing a few dozen settlers.

To make matters worse, authorities foiled a would-be slave conspiracy in the Lowcountry.

Lyttelton paused from interrogating suspected co-conspirators and sent reinforcements to Fort Loudoun. He detached a party of South Carolina provincials under Captain John Stuart from Port Royal with two lieutenants and seventy enlisted men.

Stuart and his detachment arrived in October. This put many Cherokees on high alert. There were now two hundred soldiers at Fort Loudoun. Many of them would never return to South Carolina.⁴⁹

Figure 21. *The Arrival of the Buffs, 1759*, by Ken Smith, 2009. Fort Loudoun State Historic Area.

The security of the southern British colonies hung in the balance.

Within two weeks, Lyttelton made up his mind to go to war with the Cherokee Indians, even though dozens of Cherokee diplomats came with peace overtures.⁵⁰

Lyttelton did so against the wishes of many in the Commons House of Assembly. Speaker of the House Benjamin Smith wrote to colonial agent James Wright: “Some think there was no necessity for the Expedition.” He suggested that Lyttelton might have stopped the trade altogether “till ample Satisfaction was made.” In other words, some folks wanted Lyttelton to impose a trade embargo on the Indians until they delivered up the guilty parties. In trying to restore trade and stability in the southeast, and facing an already tax-strapped assembly, Lyttelton may have overplayed his hand.

Christopher Gadsden, commander of the Charles Town Artillery Company, predicted that declaring war “will be attended with the greatest Evils and Calamities,” with “dangerous and even fatal Consequences” to South Carolina and the neighboring colonies.

The Commons House of Assembly limited Lyttelton’s funding. They banned him from leaving the colony’s borders (perhaps suspecting that he would march for Louisiana instead). They limited the length of time the troops would be paid, giving the governor little time to operate. The Governor painted these people as unpatriotic. He adjourned the assembly until March 26, 1760, and continued with military preparations. At the same time, Lyttelton ignored the issues that fueled Cherokee violence.⁵¹

On October 18, when fifty-five Cherokees arrived in Charles Town for a peace conference, they alleged that the British soldiers had abused Cherokee women.

White British traders confirmed these accounts. Lyttelton scoffed at them for not delivering up those who had killed settlers.⁵²

Over the objections of Councilor William Bull, Lyttelton ordered the Indians to be shackled and imprisoned.⁵³



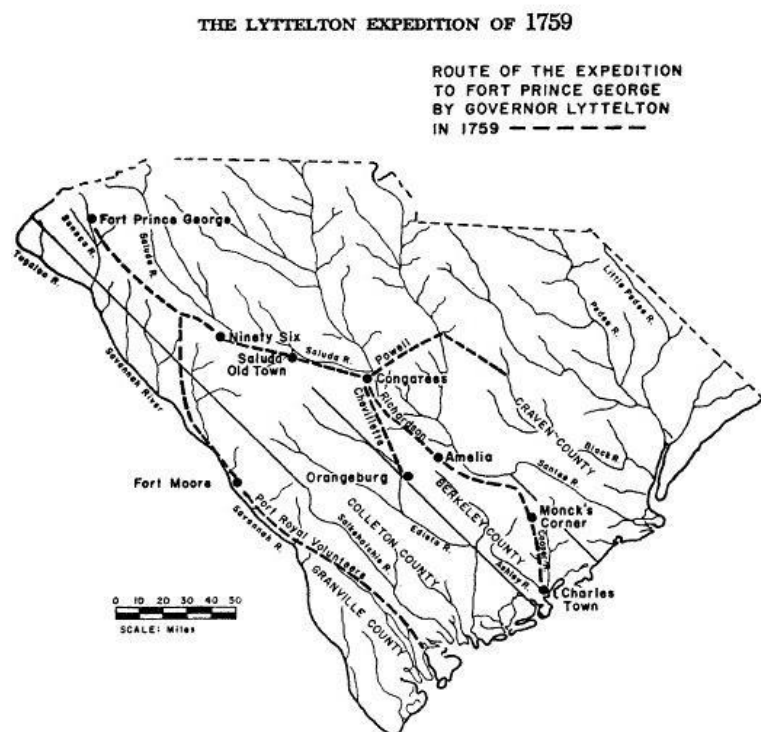
Figure 22. Wax Figures of Three Cherokees Who Visited England in 1762, from an exhibit at the Museum of the Cherokee Indian, Cherokee, NC. Photo by the author, 2012. This image, based on an eighteenth-century engraving, gives a sense of what Cherokee leaders may have looked like when they visited Charles Town.

He raised the three-backcountry militia battalions, all the troops in Charles Town (among them Christopher Gadsden and the Charles Town Artillery Regiment), except for twenty men at Fort Johnson, and

Savannah River Chickasaw warriors. He gathered gentlemen volunteers from the Lowcountry and eventually from Beaufort.⁵⁴

Among these gentlemen volunteers were “The Swamp Fox” Francis Marion and William Moultrie (William was one of Lyttelton’s aides-de-camp and a hero of the American Revolution).

Lyttelton, the youngest son of a prominent British family, may have felt that he had something to prove. He may have been using this job as a stepping-stone to something bigger—an invasion of Louisiana, a more important political office, wealth and fame. And he created a war to do it.⁵⁵



Lyttelton, with the Charles Town troops, gentleman volunteers, and British Independents, left the city on October 23 and 26.⁵⁶ At Monck’s Corner another delegation of Cherokee Indians arrived, hoping to negotiate a settlement. Lyttelton imprisoned them too.

Figure 23. Map from Alan Calmes, “The Lyttelton Expedition of 1759: Military Failures and Financial Successes,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77, no. 1 (January 1976): 11.

They accompanied the army to the “General Rendezvous” at the



Congarees (today, present-day Cayce, South Carolina).

Six Catawba warriors joined Lyttelton’s army at the Congarees. They were led by Quaker surveyor, merchant, and Catawba Indian agent Samuel Wyly (or Wyley), of Pine Tree Creek settlement (now Camden). Earlier that year, a smallpox epidemic claimed the lives of more than two thirds of the Catawba population.⁵⁷

Lyttelton also found Colonel Richard Richardson and Colonel John Chevilette’s militia battalions waiting.

Figure 24. Colonel Richard Richardson, ca. 1770. Private Collection.

On November 2, Colonel George Gabriel Powell arrived with 360 men who had marched from the Pedee region. They were “300 of the sadest Dogs that were ever got together,” Powell wrote.

Many of the common militiamen were shoeless, unarmed, and poorly disciplined.⁵⁸



The army marched on a few days later, reaching Ninety Six on November 21. Soldiers, local militia, volunteers, and slaves built a storehouse and stockade fort around a trader’s barn. Volunteers from Port Royal and Savannah River Chickasaws arrived at that time.⁵⁹

Figure 25. *A Remnant of the Trading Path, Oconee County, South Carolina.* Photo by Scott Withrow, 2008.

As they marched further northwest, militiamen fell ill with “Meazles purgings, and pleuritic Complaints.” Lyttelton’s glorious march to Cherokee country was looking more and more like a colossal debacle.⁶⁰

Finally, on December 9, the army reached the windswept plain where Fort Prince George stood, opposite the Cherokee village of Keowee. Today, the site is under the waters of Lake Keowee. The Cherokees had not fired a shot. They could not risk the lives of the eighty-plus innocent villagers confined and surrounded by Lyttelton’s thousand-man army.⁶¹

A few weeks of posturing followed between Governor Lyttelton and Cherokee diplomat Attakullakulla, “the Little Carpenter.” Attakullakulla was a noted friend to the British, with little respect or support among his own people.

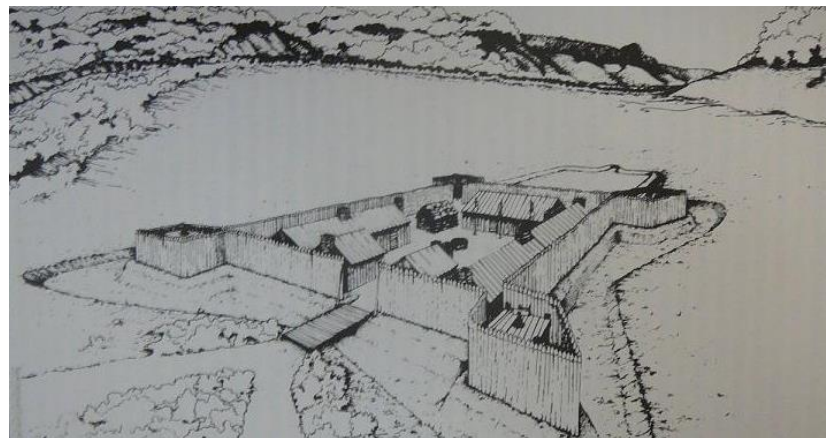


Figure 26. *Fort Prince George*, by Rick Chitty, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.

It was Lyttelton’s thirty-fifth birthday on December 24, 1759. His plans for an invasion against French possessions in the southeast had not materialized. His demands for satisfaction from the Cherokees looked more like

empty threats. Some saw this campaign as a defining moment for the governor and the colony.

If he could make peace with the Cherokees, he might make a name for himself and secure the future of the Carolina frontier. He was unaware that on November 14, the Board of Trade had “promoted” him with a transfer to the governorship of the most profitable colony in the Empire, Jamaica. Lyttelton vowed to “lay waste” to the village of Estatoe if Attakullakulla did not sign a peace treaty. Berkeley County militiamen arrived later that day. This “occasioned a very great consternation among the *Indians*.”⁶²

Once smallpox (which had been in the Cherokee towns) spread through the army, the soldiers began deserting. Only two murderers were delivered up.

Lyttelton’s aide hastily drafted a treaty. Attakullakulla signed it. So did several hostages. They reluctantly signed because they felt it would better position them to free the Cherokees who remained as hostages.⁶³

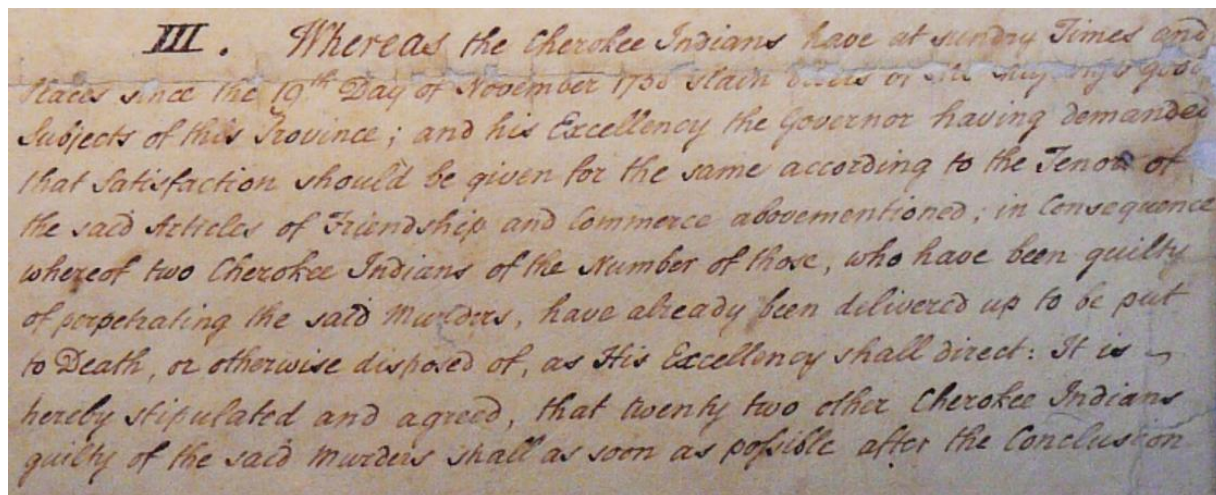
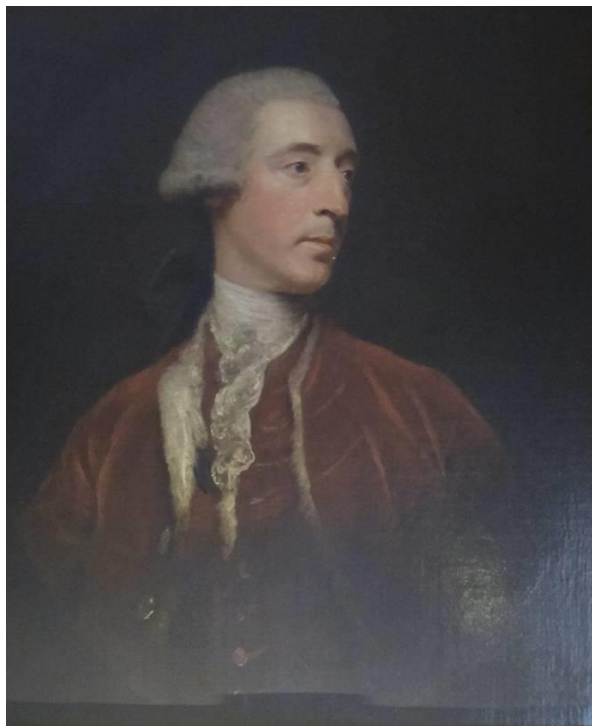


Figure 27. Image from a copy of “The Treaty of Peace and Friendship,” signed at Fort Prince George, December 26, 1759, in *Treaties with the Cherokees, 1759–1777*, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, S131005.

The Cherokees agreed to deliver up twenty-two men, to be exchanged for their countrymen held hostage at Fort Prince George. The treaty did nothing to address Cherokee concerns over land encroachment, abuses in the deerskin trade, or the misconduct of soldiers at Fort Prince George.⁶⁴

As smallpox spread, soldiers deserted in droves. Lyttelton’s army scurried back to Charles Town, with three Cherokee prisoners in tow. (Cherokees turned over one of these men after the signing of the treaty). There were twenty-one Cherokee hostages in the fort.⁶⁵

On January 8, 1760, Charles Town residents awoke suddenly as three cheers and three volleys of gunfire sounded in the crisp night sky. The noise marked the return of Lyttelton’s army from the Cherokee country. Residents poured into the streets to greet the soldiers, as the celebration moved on to Governor Lyttelton’s rented mansion.



The next day, cannon fire boomed from the forts and from vessels in Charles Town Harbor, and local troops regaled the governor “with a general Volley.” Fireworks, bonfires, “and other Demonstrations of that Satisfaction and Joy” later lit the night sky.⁶⁶

Figure 28. *William Henry Lyttelton*, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1772. Private Collection, 12th Viscount Cobham, Hagley Hall, Hagley, Worcestershire, UK.

“This Expedition has terminated *honourably*,” the *South Carolina Gazette* reported. In an open letter, His Majesty’s Council for South Carolina praised the governor for his “mild, just, and prudent Administration,” and expressed “the highest” degree of “Gratitude.”⁶⁷

Lyttelton had not forced “a very numerous, powerful, treacherous and insolent nation of SAVAGES” to “submit.” The “Treaty of Peace and Friendship” had the opposite effect.

In the ensuing weeks, a horrific epidemic took hold in Charles Town. At the same time, Cherokees attacked Fort Prince George and the South Carolina frontier settlements. “Our Governor returned from the Cherokee country in January, as we then thought crowned with laurels,” Dr. Garden wrote, “but, alas,” he griped, “bringing pestilence along with him, and having the war at his heels.”⁶⁸

Smallpox claimed hundreds of lives in Charles Town. Before the epidemic subsided a few months later, 848 residents had died; it hit the Acadian and African American populations especially hard. One third of Cherokees succumbed to smallpox.⁶⁹

Failing to liberate their hostages through diplomacy or by subterfuge, Cherokees launched an offensive on the South Carolina frontier. Meeting in their townhouses, they planned and coordinated an offensive.

Figure 29. *Inside a Cherokee Townhouse*. Oconaluftee Indian Village, Cherokee, NC. Photo by Daniel Tortora, 2011.



From February 1 to April 1, dozens of Cherokees died of disease and

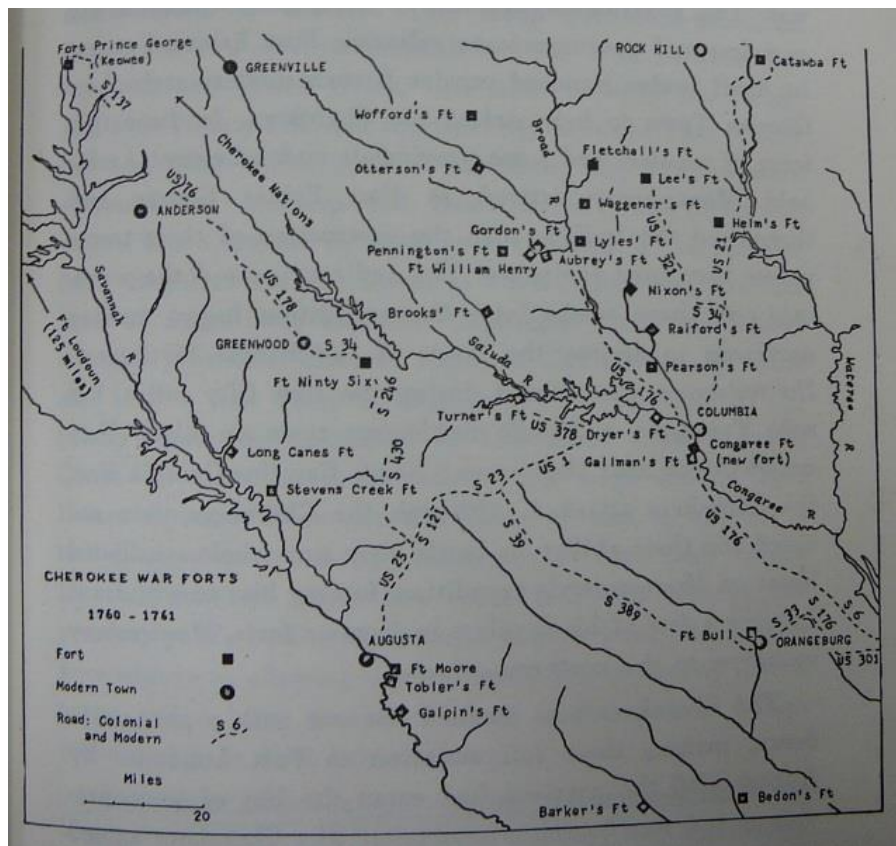
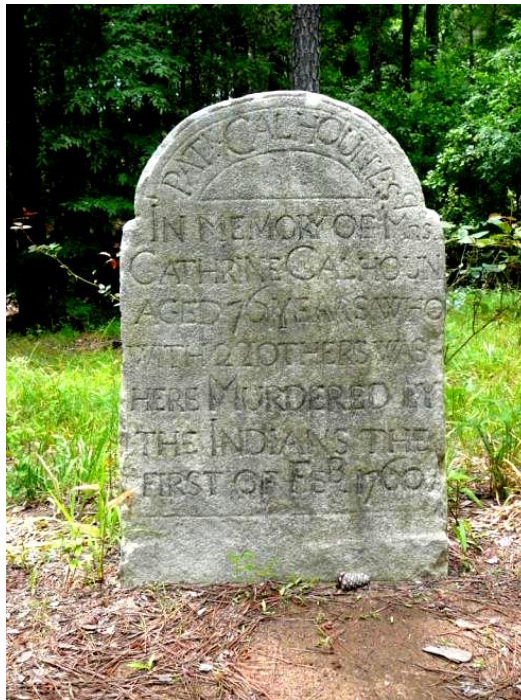
warfare. An even greater number of colonists lost their lives. Several dozen Cherokees and several hundred colonists were taken captive by each side by the end of 1761.

Cherokee warriors attacked settlers as they fled the Long Canes. The Indian war party killed the grandmother of future politician John C. Calhoun and twenty other settlers and took two of Calhoun's cousins captive.

Figure 30. Long Canes Massacre Gravesite. McCormick County, SC. Photo by Daniel Tortora, 2009.

The Commons House of Assembly, disgusted with Lyttelton, and reluctant to support the Scots-Irish frontiersmen, did not meet sooner than it was scheduled to meet.

Many of the frontiersmen were of Scots-Presbyterian descent; they were reminded of their second-class status in Anglican-centered British South Carolina.



All along the South Carolina frontier, more than thirty private stockades were built, housing between 1,500 and 2,000 inhabitants.

Others fled to other settlements further away—including the Waxhaws and New Windsor Township.

Figure 31. Cherokee War Forts, 1760-1761, from Larry E. Ivers, *Colonial Forts of South Carolina* (Columbia: Published for the South Carolina Tricentennial Commission, by the University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 19, after a map by Robert Meriwether in 1940.

In February and again in March 1760, Cherokee warriors attacked Fort Ninety Six and nearly captured it.

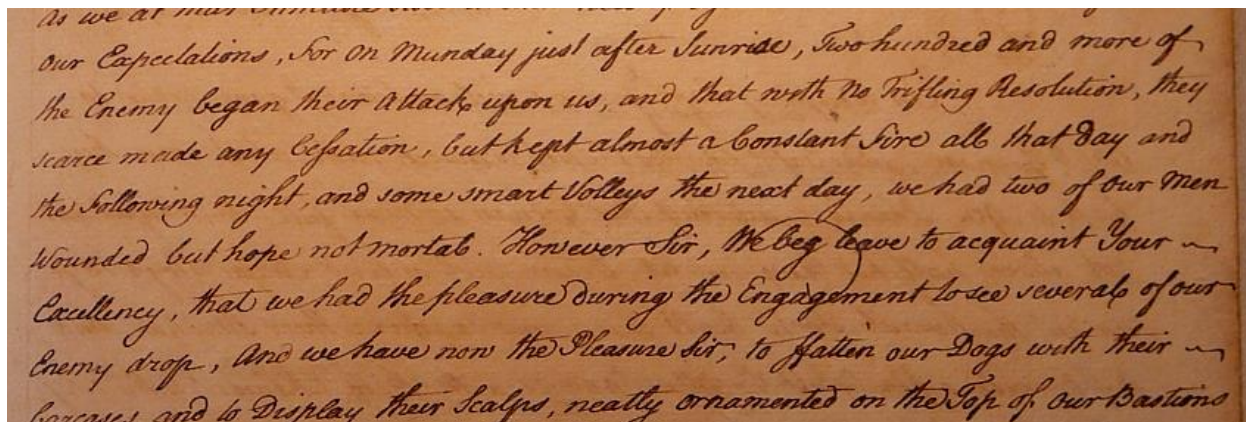


Figure 32. James Francis to William Henry Lyttelton, James Francis to William Henry Lyttelton, Fort Ninety Six, March 6, 1760, South Carolina Indian Books, 1757-1760, 228. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.

Cherokees then lay siege to Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee Overhills, eventually bringing about the garrison's surrender.

As for Governor Lyttelton, on February 13, he received an official letter dated November 27, 1759. It informed him that he was now the governor of Jamaica. He was fulfilling his destiny and following in the footsteps of his grandfather. (His brother George had worked to secure the Jamaica appointment.)⁷⁰

With smallpox raging, and with the Indian attacks reaching unprecedented proportions, Lyttelton withdrew from public affairs.⁷¹ "We have been for this month past in a state of suspense," Dr. Garden wrote on March 21, 1760, "our old governor embarrassed and taken up in settling his private affairs, and our Lieutenant-governor cannot act till the power regularly devolve upon him."⁷²

On April 4, Captain John Lindsay navigated the *Trent*, a 23-gun ship in His Majesty's service, over the bar. Lyttelton took his berth. The town where he spent the past four and a half years disappeared on the horizon two days later. The *Trent*, the *Albany*, and several ships under convoy, set sail "with a fair Wind." But a tempest raged in the Southeast with no end in sight.⁷³

Some South Carolina elites believed that British colonial authorities had failed them and had left the colony in dire straits. "We are, by a fatal piece of ambition," Dr. Garden argued, "brought into a situation too terrible for us."⁷⁴

Lyttelton reached London on May 23, 1760, after a seven-week passage from Charles Town. During his stay, he wooed and won Miss Mary Macartney of County Longford,

Ireland, and they became husband and wife on June 2, 1761. The nuptials delayed his departure for Jamaica, as did the death of George II.⁷⁵

On October 1761, Lyttelton sailed on the *Deptford* with his new bride. They stopped in Madeira, to pick up a large supply of wines, and arrived in the West Indies on January 20, 1762. Jamaica was the richest of the British colonies, but its politics were also the most contentious. The governor walked into an unwinnable situation.

Lyttelton was the first colonial governor of Jamaica to inhabit King's House, located opposite the courthouse and assembly building. King's House was the official governor's residence from 1762 to 1872—when the capital moved to Kingston. It was "large and roomy," according to one contemporary traveler and was "thought to be the noblest and best edifice of the kind, either in North America or any of the British colonies in the West Indies," according to an eighteenth-century historian writing in 1774.⁷⁶



Figure 33. *The King's House, Spanish Town, 1762. The house was destroyed in a fire in 1925. All that remains is the façade.* Photo from <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/westindies/publicbuildings.html>.

Lyttelton also had a country estate and cattle ranch. A visitor wrote that the "Farm, (Penn) and his

Mountain" were "cool and pleasant, the Road to it all along the River is most enchantingly Romantick, and the last three Miles, which are thro' the Mountains, and a Horse road only, is much out of the Common run, and [un]like anything I ever saw in Britain, being entirely covered with a variety of Wood and Underwood not known in Europe."⁷⁷

Lyttelton clashed with the Jamaica Assembly, ultimately resulting in a government shutdown. The British ministry supported him but he was an ineffective leader. Outnumbered planters declined his attempts to raise black militia for British military campaigns in the Caribbean. They had no interest in arming people of color. Lyttelton clashed with the Jamaica Assembly over its criminal statutes. He offended assemblymen by showing a more stubborn and forceful personality than he had displayed in South Carolina.

His life became ever more difficult. Personal tragedy left him desirous of a return to the comforts of family in England. An infant son and Mrs. Lyttelton died within a month of each other in 1765, leaving him a widow with two other children.⁷⁸

At age forty-two, his days as a royal governor over, Lyttelton returned to Europe. He was promptly appointed ambassador to Portugal, a position he held until 1771.

On February 19, 1774, the forty-nine year-old Lyttelton married for a second time. He and wife Caroline Bristow had a son and a daughter.

In the 1770s, Lyttelton resided in Streatham Park during the summers. He lodged at a guest house in this upscale south London suburb, spending time with a number of prominent British literary, intellectual, and cultural figures.

Figure 34. This drawing and engraving produced by William Ellis (London: Harrison & Co., 1792), shows Streatham Park.



Other guests included author Samuel Johnson, author and playwright Oliver Goldsmith, Irish philosopher Edmund Burke, and artist Sir Joshua Reynolds. (Reynolds made portraits of a dozen of “the Streatham Worthies,” including the portrait of Lyttelton shown earlier in this eBook.)



Figure 36. *St John the Baptist Church, Hagley, Memorial to William Lyttelton, 1st Baron Lyttelton (1724–1808).* Photo by GentryGraves, 2009. Creative Commons.

In 1776, Lyttelton was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Westcote. In 1779, his nephew died, and he inherited the family baronetcy and family estates as Lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley. Lyttelton then returned to Hagley Hall.

He seems to have lived a comfortable retirement. He was styled Baron Lyttelton in 1794.⁷⁹

Figure 35. *Sir William Henry Lyttelton (1724–1808),* by Samuel Woodforde, 1801. National Trust, Stourhead. Accession # 732349.

Lyttelton died in 1808. He is buried at St. John the Baptist Church, which stands in the grounds of the family estate at Hagley Hall.





Hagley Hall remains in the Lyttelton family; Lord Cobham now manages the magnificent family estate.

Figure 37. Hagley Hall. Photo by Tony Hisgett, 2011. Flickr/Creative Commons.

A twelve-mile drive from Birmingham, Hagley Hall hosts tourists, wedding parties, corporate events, and classic auto shows. It is well worth visiting.⁸⁰

While he spent only four years in South Carolina in a lengthy and memorable public life, William Henry Lyttelton's time in North America was memorable. He helped shape, directly and indirectly, many of the most significant events in early South Carolina history.

Further Reading

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William Henry Lyttelton Papers. William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI.
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/clementsead/umich-wcl-M-960lyt/>

Endnotes

Cover art: *Sir William Henry Lyttelton, 7th Bt, 1st Baron Lyttelton (1724–1808)*, by Benjamin Wilson, ca. 1750–1760. Antony Private Collection, Cornwall. National Trust, NT 353068.

¹ Romney R. Sedgwick, "LYTTELTON, Sir Thomas, 4th Bt. (1686-1751), of Hagley Hall, Worcs." *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715–1754*, online ed., <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/member/lyttelton-sir-thomas-1686-1751>

² Rose Mary Davis, *The Good Lord Lyttelton: A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture* (Bethlehem, Penn.: The Times Publishing Company, 1939), 264.

³ Charles Mosley, ed., *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage*, 107th ed. (Wilmington, DE: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books Ltd.), 2003; "Lyttelton, William Henry," *Dictionary of American Biography Volume XI: Larned–McCracken*, edited by Dumas Malone (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), 538; Edward J. Cashin, *Guardians of the Valley: Chickasaws in Colonial South Carolina and Georgia* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 94. John Clarence Attig, "William Henry Lyttelton: A Study in Colonial Administration," (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 1958), 5–6. The Board of Trade proposed William Henry Lyttelton to replace Glen. Minutes of the Board of Trade, January 23, 1755, William L. McDowell Jr., ed., *Records in the British Public Record Office relating to South Carolina, 1663–1782*, microfilm edition, [hereinafter referred to as McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*], 37 vols. (Columbia: Archives Department, 1928–1955), 26:132. A Londoner spread a rumor on November 28, 1755, that British authorities planned to send Lyttelton to Barbados and Haldane to South Carolina. *South Carolina Gazette* [hereinafter referred to as *SCG*], February 5, 1756, p. 1; Davis, *Good Lord Lyttelton*, 202, 232.

⁴ William Pitt to William [Henry] Lyttelton, Bath, October 12, 1754, HM 22350, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

⁵ Attig, "William Henry Lyttelton," 7–12, Davis, *Good Lord Lyttelton*, 237.

⁶ William Henry Lyttelton, Account of the Capture of H.M.S. *Blandford* by the French, and Lyttelton's Subsequent Movements and Return to England, August 3–September 1755, William Henry Lyttelton Papers,

Series I: Correspondence and Documents (hereinafter referred to as William Henry Lyttelton Papers), William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI, Box 1.

⁷ Lyttelton's brother George wrote his brother several letters relating to the child during William's governorship. Durnford died in 1758, and a neighbor, the widow of John Hunt in Bewdley, raised the child. Davis, *Good Lord Lyttelton*, 251, 253, 261; Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (London: Alexander Donaldson, 1779), 2:210.

⁸ Davis, *Good Lord Lyttelton*, 251–53.

⁹ Fenning, *A New System of Geography*, 2:671; George Milligen-Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South Carolina* (London: John Hinton, 1770), 24–25, 32; "Journal of an Officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] Travels in America and the West Indies, 1764–1765," *Travels in the American Colonies*, edited by Newton D. Mereness (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), 397; T. P. Harrison, ed., "Journal of a Voyage to Charlestown in So. Carolina by Pelatiah Webster in 1765," *Publications of the Southern History Association* 2, no. 1 (January 1898): 136.

¹⁰ Louis De Vorse Jr., *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 91; Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 36–37; *SCG*, June 5, 1756, p. 7; Commander W. E. May, R.N., "His Majesty's Ships on the Carolina Station," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71, no. 3 (July 1970): 166.

¹¹ Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 32.

¹² The city was much smaller than its present day settlement suggests. Engineers have widened the peninsula over the years. The western third remained farmland, and the northern border, though expanding, lay at present Calhoun Street. Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 36; *The London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, June 1762, 296.

¹³ Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 31.

¹⁴ *SCG*, March 20–27, 1755, p. 1; *SCG*, June 5, 1756, p. 7. John Gordon owned and operated the four-story building, formerly Shepheard's or "The Corner Tavern," from 1747 or 1748 until his death in 1762. Gordon was a Freemason and held meetings in a lodge room at the tavern. He hosted concerts and public meetings, and the Charles Town Library Society met there. The tavern was rebuilt in the late 1790s. McDonald "Don" Burbidge, "Shepheards Tavern," January 10, 2010. *The Grand Lodge of Accepted and Free Masons of South Carolina*, <http://www.scgrandlodgeafm.org/History/ShepheardsTavern.htm> (page now defunct); *SCG*, December 29–January 1, 1759, p. 1. "On Thursday night [January 14, 1762] died, Mr. John Gordon, tavern-keeper; remarkable for his honesty and good-nature, and keeping the best house of publick entertainment in America." *SCG*, January 9–16, 1762, p. 2.

¹⁵ Lyttelton arrived first on the scene and was the last to leave. *SCG*, June 17, 1756, p. 2.

¹⁶ On the expulsion of the Acadians, see John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from their American Homeland* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005); on Acadian refugees in South Carolina, see Lucie LeBlanc Consentino, Acadian & French Canadian Ancestral Home, 2010, <http://www.acadian-home.org/acadians-so-carolina.html>. Accessed March 27, 2010; Ruth Allison Hudnut and Hayes Baker-Crothers, "Acadian Transients in South Carolina," *American Historical Review* 43, no. 3 (April 1938), 500–513; Thomas Gamble, *The Acadians in Georgia and South Carolina* (Savannah: published by the author, 1943); Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Fate of the Exiled Acadians in South Carolina," *Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 2 (May 1938), 199–208; Chapman J. Milling, *Exile without an End* (Columbia: Bostick & Thornley, 1943; Rayne, LA: Hebert Publications, 1990). By the spring of 1756, the number of Acadians now in Charles Town had risen to 1,200. James Glen to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, April 14, 1756, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:57–61; Letter from Charles Town, April 2, 1756, the *Belfast News Letter*, June 22, 1756, Belfast Newspapers Collection, South Caroliniana Library, Manuscripts R129, R2341 (1729–1760), no. 1, p. 8–9.

¹⁷ *SCG*, June 24, 1756, p. 1.

¹⁸ SCG, July 15–22, 1756, p. 1. William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, August 11, 1756, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:138–39.

¹⁹ Milling, *Exile without an End*, 20. The legislative journals are remarkably absent on the poverty of the Acadians after their dispersal. Some men worked on fortifications, some children were apprenticed, but their earnings went to offset government-incurred costs of their inadequate maintenance.

²⁰ Wragg had been a divisive figure for some time. James Glen to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, April 14, 1756, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:57–61; *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 20, 1755–July 6, 1757*, edited by Terry W. Lipscomb (Columbia: Published for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, by the University of South Carolina Press, 1989), xxi–xxv.

²¹ SCG, November 4, 1756, p. 2; De Vorse, *DeBrahm's Report*, 77–83, 18–20, 100–102. See the documents in William L. McDowell, Jr., ed., *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754–1765* (Colonial Records of South Carolina) [hereinafter referred to as *DRIA*], 2 vols. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958–1970), 2:169–70, 214–18, 225, 232–33, 240, 250–51, 260, 261, 272–75, 281, 284–86, 286–29, 301–2, 365–66, 375.

²² Raymond Demere to Lyttelton, Fort Loudoun, July 30, 1757, McDowell, *DRIA*, 2:396; Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, July 12, 1757, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:69.

²³ William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, August 11, 1756, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:133. Born in Bavaria in 1717 to a family within the petty nobility, DeBrahm spent several years as a surveyor in Georgia and South Carolina. He wore a long beard and had a reputation as an eccentric. De Vorse, *DeBrahm's Report*, 7–19; Gilbert P. Voight, “Cultural Contributions of German Settlers to South Carolina,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 4 (October 1952): 187. Raymond Demere was a career officer with service dating to the 1720s. Reassigned to the 42nd Regiment of Foot, he went to Georgia in 1738 and joined the South Carolina Independent Companies in 1749. In the 1750s he commanded Fort Frederica on St. Simons Island, Georgia, and advised Governor Glen. He owned a plantation near the Ogeechee River in Georgia. Patrick M. Demere, *British Officer and St. Simons Island Planter: The Story of Captain Raymond Demere* (St. Simons Island, GA: Fort Frederica Association, 2000); Ellsworth Brown, “The Fort Loudoun People – Raymond Demere,” Fort Loudoun State Historic Area, Vonore, TN, 7.

²⁴ James C. Kelly, “Fort Loudoun: British Stronghold in the Tennessee Country,” *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications* 50 (1978): 78.

²⁵ Board of Trade to William Henry Lyttelton, Whitehall, November 9, 1757; Board of Trade to His Majesty, Whitehall, November 9, 1757, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:323–25, 327.

²⁶ Memorandum: Construction of Barracks, July 21, 1757 (enclosed in Col. Henry Bouquet to Governor William Lyttelton, Charles Town, July 20, 1757), Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent, eds., *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, 19 vols. (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1940–1943), *Series 21631*:42–43; Representation of Field Officers Regarding Troops, Charles Town, December 2, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, *Series 21643*:16. On the British Mutiny Act and colonial assemblies' challenges to it, see Jack P. Greene, “The South Carolina Quartering Dispute, 1757–1758,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 60, no. 4 (October 1959): 193–94.

²⁷ Col. Henry Bouquet to General Daniel Webb, Charles Town, August 25, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, *Series 21631*:63; Representation of Field Officers Regarding Troops, Charles Town, December 2, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, *Series 21643*:16; Ian McPherson McCulloch, *Sons of the Mountains: The Highland Regiments in the French & Indian War, 1756–1757*, 2 vols. (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press), 1:51; Col. Henry Bouquet to Col. John Stanwix, Charles Town, August 25, 1757; to the Earl of Loudoun, Charles Town, August 25, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, *Series 21631*:59, 64. One hundred of the Virginians left for Georgia on August 27, which relieved the quartering situation slightly, but it soon became more difficult than ever. Greene, “South Carolina Quartering Dispute,” 196.

²⁸ Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, September 15, 1757, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:293; James Grant to Alexander Brodie, September 22, 1757, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC, Manuscripts Pob+. On the Highlanders' voyages to South Carolina, see McCulloch, *Sons of the Mountains*, 1:58–59. Bouquet ordered Dobbs to keep the North Carolina Provincials at readiness, to welcome his recruiters into North Carolina, and provide them with provisions. Col. Henry Bouquet to Governor Arthur Dobbs, Charles Town, December 10, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21632:91; Governor Dobbs to Pitt, New Bern, December 30, 1757, Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, ed., *Correspondence of William Pitt, When Secretary of State, with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906), 1:154.

²⁹ *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, October 6, 1757–January 24, 1761*, edited by Terry W. Lipscomb [Hereinafter referred to as *JCA, 1757–1761*], 24–25, 63, 65, 76, 102–5, 107 (October 21, 22, 1757; January 24, 26, 28; February 9, 10, 1758; Greene, “South Carolina Quartering Dispute,” 201; Col. Henry Bouquet: Petition to the Assembly, Charles Town, Jan. 19, 1758, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21632:137.

³⁰ *JCA, 1757–1761*, 41–44 (November 30, December 1, 1757); Representation of Field Officers Regarding Troops, Charles Town, December 2, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21643:17; McCulloch, *Sons of the Mountains*, 1:52.

³¹ Col. Henry Bouquet to Governor William Lyttelton, Charles Town, February 28, 1758, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21632:151–52.

³² *JCA, 1757–1761*, 131, 135 (March 16, 18, 1758). For Bouquet's unresolved demands, see Col. Henry Bouquet: Memorandum, Charles Town, [March?], 1758, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21643:27–30; Col. Henry Bouquet to Governor William Henry Lyttelton, Charles Town, March 3, 1758, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21632:154–55.

³³ Lyttelton to Board of Trade, Dec. 2, 1758, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:113–21. See also “Agreement for clearing quarters,” March 1758, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21643, 33.

³⁴ Alexander Garden to Mr. [John] Ellis, [Charles Town], August 11, 1758, James Edward Smith, ed., *A Selection of the Correspondence of Linnaeus, and Other Naturalists, from the Original Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown), 1:419–20.

³⁵ Daniel Pepper to Lyttelton, Ockchoys, December 21, 1756, McDowell, *DRIA*, 2:299–300; William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, November 3, 1757, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 27:315. On Pepper's agency, see McDowell, *DRIA*, 2:295–97, 297–300, 300–1, 351–57, 363–65, 367, 369–73, 378–79, 380, 387–88, 389, 390, 391.

³⁶ Col. Henry Bouquet to Capt. Paul Demerè, Charles Town, July 28, September 10, 1757, Stevens and Kent, *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21631:46, 94; Deposition of John Charles Vian [Vann], Fort Loudoun, January 30, 1758, McDowell, *DRIA*, 2:442–43. Born in New Orleans, Vann defected to the British and became a Cherokee trader in 1746.

³⁷ Pinckney returned to South Carolina in May 1758 and died soon afterward of malaria. Elise Pinckney, ed., *The Letterbooks of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739–1762* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), xxii.

³⁸ Governor Lyttelton to the Governor of New York, Charles Town, May 20, 1758; to Governor Denny, Charles Town, May 20, 1758; to Governor Pownall, Charles Town, May 20, 1758, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Series II: Letter Books and Account Book, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, MI [hereinafter referred to as Lyttelton Letter Books], 3:4–6.

³⁹ William Henry Lyttelton to Admiral Boscawen, Charles Town, July 6, 1758, Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:16–17.

⁴⁰ James Glen to John Forbes, [Philadelphia?] [June 1758], John Forbes Papers in the Dalhousie Muniments, 1758–1759, GD 2/44/2, Scottish Record Office, General Register House, Edinburgh, Scotland (South Carolina

Department of Archives and History microfilm copy, PR 0094, P90097, of original from the Dalhousie Muniments); Robinson, *James Glen*, 120–21.

⁴¹ William Henry Lyttelton to Governor Tinker, Charles Town, May 24, 1758; to the Lt. Governor of Jamaica, Charles Town, May 24, 1758; Sir Henry Moore to William Henry Lyttelton, Spanish Town, Jamaica, September 8, 1758, Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:9–10, 11–12, 53–54.

⁴² William Henry Lyttelton to Admiral Boscawen, Charles Town, May 21, 1758; Lachlan McGillivray to William Henry Lyttelton, Augusta, July 14, 1758; Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:6–9; 68–71; Edward Boscawen to William Henry Lyttelton, Louisburg, August 28, 30, 1758, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 8; A. S. Salley Jr., “Capt. John Colcock and Some of His Descendants,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 3, no. 4 (October 1902): 216–17, 240.

⁴³ Tufts had been to New Orleans three years earlier. Tufts carried much of the material that Lyttelton had gathered on Louisiana and for the potential expedition. William Henry Lyttelton to Admiral Boscawen, Charles Town, August 22, 1758; Charles Town, September 8, 1758, Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:22, 26–27; William Henry Lyttelton to Simon Tufts, Charles Town, September 8, 1758: Instructions for Tufts for going to Halifax, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 8; Lyttelton to Pitt, Charles Town, September 8, 1758 (enclosed in Governor Lyttelton to Pitt, Charles Town, November 4, 1758), McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:108.

⁴⁴ Admiral Boscawen to William Henry Lyttelton, Louisbourg, August 28, 1758, Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:53.

⁴⁵ On French military posts and strength, see The Examination of John Frene, Henry Bosquet, & Christian Past, Deserters from French Service, now inlisted in the South Carolina Regiment of Foot, taken at Port Royal, the 24th of June 1758,” Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:63–68; Kerlérec to De Machault d’Arnouville, March 13, 1757, Dunbar Rowland, A. G. Sanders, and Patricia Galloway, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, [1701]–1763*, 5 vols. (Jackson, MS: Press of the Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History, 1927–1984), 5:182; Statement by Kerlerrec by companies of the number of troops in La. On August 29, 1758, Colonial Troops, Series D2c, vol. 52, fol. 32, Archives Nationales de France, Paris; Account of La. In 1755 and in 1758, December 5, 1758, Colonial Accounts, Archives Nationales de France, Paris, France, Series F, vol. 24, fol. 482; Census of the Farmers Living around Fort Toulouse, Correspondence General Louisiane, Archives Nationales de France, Paris, France, Series C13A, vol. 40, fol. 157 .

⁴⁶ Lachlan McGillivray and James Adair to William Henry Lyttelton, Augusta, July 14, 1758, Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:68–71; Daniel H. Thomas, *Fort Toulouse*, xxii n; Memoir on Indians by Kerlérec, Rowland, Saunders, and Galloway, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 5:212–25.

⁴⁷ William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, August 7, 1758, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:50–66.

⁴⁸ Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 77–78.

⁴⁹ Journals of His Majesty’s Council, 1757–1762 (Early State Records, microfilm reel E1p/8 (originals in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC, S171002), Unit 2, p. 116 (August 14, 1759); William Henry Lyttelton to Captain John Stewart [Stuart], Charles Town, August 15, 1759, Lyttelton Letter Books, 1:385–86. Ninety others were stationed at Fort Prince George. Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, September 6, 1759, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:209; *SCG*, August 11–18, 1759, p. 2. This number added to the men sent on March 21. William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, April 14, 1759, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:177; *SCG*, March 24, 1759, p. 1. By this point some provincials were wearing new uniforms featuring red, rather than “buff” cuffs and lapels. John Stuart to William Henry Lyttelton, Fort Loudoun, November 15, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13. In July, the assembly reduced Howarth’s Provincial Regiment to three hundred men, without a commanding officer. *JCA, 1757–1761*, 415–16 (July 7, 1759).

⁵⁰ Journals of His Majesty’s Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 124–25 (October 4, 1759). A committee discussed Lyttelton’s proposals. *JCA, 1757–1761*, 431–34 (October 5, 1759).

⁵¹ William Henry Lyttelton: Declaration of War against the Cherokees [October 1759], William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13; Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 128 (October 11, 1759); Extracts of Letters from the Speaker of the Assembly in So. Carolina to Mr. Wright the Agent, concerning the state of affairs respecting the Hostility of the Cherokee Indians, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:266 (November 10, 1759); *JCA, 1757–1761*, 444–49 (October 11, 12, 13, 1759); William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, October 16, 1759, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:245. For the assembly's funding for troop and supplies and the pay of troops listed and explained, see Benjamin Smith, Speaker, Commons House of Assembly to William Henry Lyttelton, October 12, 1759, Baron Jeffery Amherst Papers, the War Office Papers, National Archives, Kew, UK, W.O. 34/35, fols. 131–32. They did not agree to fund the construction of a Catawba fort.

⁵² The Governor reminded them that, in return for goods and ammunition from Charles Town, Tiftoe (also spelled Tistoe) (November 16, 1758) and Attakullaulla (April 18) had promised "in the name of the Nation" to put aside their differences with Virginia. Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 135–36, 136–37 (October 20, 21, 1759); See the tally sheet following "Extracts of Letters &ca. to William Henry Lyttelton, relative to the Murders & Outrages committed by the Cherokees, 1759," William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13.

⁵³ Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 137–39 (October 22, 1759); Milligen-Johnston, *Short Description*, 79–80; *SCG*, October 27–November 1, 1759, p. 2; See also Lyttelton to Ellis, to the Board of Trade, to Dobbs, to Fauquier, and to Amherst. Lyttelton Letter Books, 2:15–18, 18–20, 20–22, 22–25, 25–27.

⁵⁴ Colonel John Chevillet (Orangeburg); Colonel Richard Richardson (Camden); and Colonel George Gabriel Powell (Cheraw). *SCG*, September 29–October 6, 1759, p. 1, 4. The assembly was adjourned until November 19. Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 122–23 (October 1, 1759). See Lyttelton's dispatches in the Lyttelton Letter Books, 3:420, 426–33; William Henry Lyttelton to Francis Fauquier, Charles Town, [October 1, 1759], George H. Reese, ed., *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier Lieutenant Governor of Virginia 1758–1768*, 3 vols. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia Published for the Virginia Historical Society, 1980–1983), 1:250; *JCA, 1757–1761*, 430 (October 1, 1759). On the South Carolina militia, see David William Cole, "The Organization and Administration of the South Carolina Militia System, 1670–1783," (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 1953).

⁵⁵ On the conflicting reports, see *SCG*, passim; *Supplement to the South-Carolina Gazette*, November 17–24, 1759, p. 1, and Richard Coytmore to William Henry Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, November 21, 24, December 3, 1759, Lyttelton Papers, Box 13.

⁵⁶ Alan Calmes, "The Lyttelton Expedition of 1759: Military Failures and Financial Successes," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 77, no. 1 (January 1976): 10–33; Fabel, *Colonial Challenges*, 49–54; Volunteers became a regiment of light horse. The artillery company had existed for a few years. For a list dated October 31, see Christopher Gadsden et al. to William Henry Lyttelton, Congarees, October 31, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 12. Volunteers included future Revolutionary War heroes John Moultrie, Francis Marion, and Benjamin Hayne. Staff officers for the campaign included: "Major Henry Hyrne, Esq., late of the Provincials, Adjutant-General; Lieut. Lachlan Shaw, Esq; of the Independents, Major of Brigade; Ensign Lachlan McIntosh, Esq; of Ditto, Quarter Master; William Drayton and William Moultrie, Aids-de-Camp; Joseph Nutt, Esq; Commissary; George Milligen, Esq; Surgeon of the Independents, chief Surgeon and Director of the Hospitals." *SCG*, October 27–November 1, 1759, p. 2.

⁵⁷ The Catawba population declined from 1,500 to 500 survivors, including fewer than 100 warriors. James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, 1989), 195.

⁵⁸ *SCG*, October 27–November 1, 1759, p. 2, November 1–8, 1759, p. 1. On Powell's march, see Calmes, "Lyttelton Expedition of 1759," 14–17; G. G. Powell to William Henry Lyttelton, Camp at the Great Lake, October 20, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 12. On October 29, Powell with 360 men and officers arrived at the Waterees, "after a fatiguing March of Nine days." Half his men were unarmed. They crossed the

Wateree on October 30 and reached Camp Conagrees a few days later. G. G. Powell to William Henry Lyttelton, Wateree River, October 29, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 12.

⁵⁹ Royal engineer Richard Dudgeon did not produce a drawing since his surveyor's instrument was broken. *SCG*, December 1–8, 1759, p. 2; Robert M. Dunkerly and Eric K. Williams, *Old Ninety Six: A History and Guide* (Charleston: The History Press, 2006), 15–16. There is a 1761 by John Moultrie Jr. (brother of William), showing renovations to the structure. Papers of James Grant of Ballindalloch, 1740–1819, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland. (Microfilm copy, reel 33, frame 109 (folio 24), Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)

⁶⁰ *SCG*, December 1–8, 1759, p. 2. That Lyttelton drew off the Savannah River Chickasaws to assist in the expedition did not sit well with Augusta residents. Nor was Georgia Governor Henry Ellis pleased. Council Meeting, October 30, 1759, James Parris to David Douglass, [New Savannah], October 21, 1759, David Douglass to Henry Ellis, [Augusta], October 25, 1759, Edward Barnard to Henry Ellis, [Augusta], October 26, 1759, *CRG* 8:172, 172–73, 173–74, 174–75; Ulrich Tobler to William Henry Lyttelton, New Windsor, November 7, 1759; Henry Ellis to William Henry Lyttelton, Savannah, November 25, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13. On the Savannah River Chickasaws, see Cashin, *Guardians of the Valley*, 110–12; *SCG*, December 1–8, 1759, p. 2. Lieutenant John Maine and a small detachment of about ten men from the Royal Train of Artillery would march to join the army. *SCG*, January 8–12, 1760, p. 1, December 22–29, 1759, p. 1; “Extracts from Letters rec’d from the Speaker of the House of Assembly in So. Carolina,” McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:267 (December 14, 1759).

⁶¹ McMaster, *Soldiers and Uniforms*, 22; *SCG*, January 8–12, 1760, p. 1, December 22–29, 1759, p. 1. Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 267. “[T]he warriors being with you is the only thing that will hinder their Attempting to waylay you,” Coytmore wrote. On the potential ambush, see Richard Coytmore to William Henry Lyttelton, Fort Prince George, November 14, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13.

⁶² Board of Trade to William Henry Lyttelton, Whitehall, November 14, 1759; George Montagu Dunk, 2nd Earl of Halifax to William Henry Lyttelton, Downing Street, November 15, 1759, William Henry Lyttelton Papers, Box 13.

⁶³ “Treaty of Peace and Friendship,” *South-Carolina Gazette Extraordinary*, January 5–8, 1760, p. 1; Historian James C. Kelly believes that Lyttelton released Oconostota so that he might use his influence to secure the accused murderers. Kelly argues that Oconostota signed only to deceive the governor. James C. Kelly, “Oconostota,” *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 3, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 224–25.

⁶⁴ Article IV lists the hostages. William Drayton (1732–1790) was uncle of William Henry Drayton. Treaty of Peace and Friendship, see *South-Carolina Gazette Extraordinary*, January 5–8, 1760, p. 1; *SCG*, January 8–12, 1760, p. 1; Milligen-Johnston, *A Short Description*, 85–86.

⁶⁵ *SCG*, January 8–12, 1760, p. 2. The Cherokee prisoners arrived in town with Charles McGunningham, a trader accused of riling up the Setticos, on January 15. *SCG*, January 12–19, 1760, p. 4; William Henry Lyttelton to His Majesty's Council, Fort Prince George, December 29, 1759, Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 152–54; treaty on 155–56 (January 7, 1760). On smallpox, see p. 152.

⁶⁶ *South Carolina Gazette* [hereafter *SCG*], January 8–12, 1760, p. 2; Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 152 (January 7, 1760). Some scholars have stated that the Contrary to Joseph Waring, *A History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670–1825* (Charleston: South Carolina Medical Association, 1964), 74; Hatley, *The Dividing Paths*, 125, notes that when the infected troops returned, the disease had already appeared in the city. The South Carolina Council, the Charles Town Library Society, and the colony's Presbyterian clergymen formally praised Lyttelton for his handling of the expedition. *SCG*, January 8–12, 1760, p. 1.

⁶⁷ *SCG*, December 29–January 5, 1760, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Alexander Garden to John Ellis, Charles Town, March 13, 1760, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, 1:473.

⁶⁹ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 128; Suzanne Krebsbach, “The Great Charlestown Smallpox Epidemic of 1760,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 97, no. 1

(January 1996): 30–37. For the death toll and references to the disproportionate deaths of blacks and Acadians, see *SCG*, March 15–22, 1760, p. 2; April 7–12, 1760, p. 3.

⁷⁰ See documents in McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:268–79, 29:51–60, 93–94, 130–81.

⁷¹ Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 169 (February 14, 1760), p. 183 (March 27, 1760). William Henry Lyttelton to the Board of Trade, Charles Town, February 22, 1760, McDowell, *Records in the BRPO relating to SC*, 28:317.

⁷² Alexander Garden to John Ellis, Charles Town, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, 1:479.

⁷³ Alexander Garden to John Ellis, Charles Town, March 21, 1760, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, 1:479; May, "His Majesty's Ships on the Carolina Station," 167; *SCG*, April 2–7, 1760, p. 3. On the transfer of power, see Journals of His Majesty's Council, 1757–1762, Unit 2, p. 103–4 (April 5, 1760); *SCG*, April 2–7, 1760, p. 1. On Lyttelton's later life as Governor of Jamaica, Ambassador to Portugal, and baron Frankeley, and for more on his family, see "Lyttelton, William Henry," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:538.

⁷⁴ Alexander Garden to John Ellis, March 13, 1760, Smith, *Correspondence of Linnaeus*, 1:473.

⁷⁵ New commissions and new instructions for colonial governors were drafted and approved following the transition. *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 30 (1760), 248; Attig, "William Henry Lyttelton," 179–80.

⁷⁶ "Journal of an Officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] Travels," Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 377; Frank Cundall, *Historic Jamaica* (London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India Committee, 1915), 116–17.

⁷⁷ "Journal of an Officer's [Lord Adam Gordon's] Travels," Mereness, ed., *Travels in the American Colonies*, 378.

⁷⁸ Attig, "William Henry Lyttelton," 287, 305.

⁷⁹ He is often credited with having authored "An Historical Account of the Constitution of Jamaica," written in 1764, published in a book of Jamaican statutes in 1792, and reprinted in 1794 in Bryan Edwards, *History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. "Lyttelton, William Henry," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11:539.

⁸⁰ Hagley Hall, <https://www.hagleyhall.com/>.