

A Documentary Narrative of North Carolina's Tuscarora War, 1711-1713 and the Tragic Battle at fort Nooherooka, 21-23 March 1713

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Introduction:

One of the most interesting and informative methods for understanding important historical events is through the reading of original documents written by the characters involved in those moments. The stories of the Tuscarora War and the battle at Fort Nooherooka are particularly suited to this type of reading. Both were dramas filled with a rich variety of personalities--valorous, bumptious, brilliant, vain, wicked, scheming, venturesome, devout and misguided. So many of the individuals involved cut indelible images and left marks of their endeavors--good and ill.

The only problem in looking at documents to understand the Tuscarora War and the tragedy at Fort Nooherooka is that we have none written by the Tuscarora themselves or by any of the other Indian groups involved in this vast panorama across eastern North Carolina. Through the work of archaeologists, however, we know much about the villages, long houses, and fortifications built by the Tuscarora. And through the living traditions of the Tuscarora Nation-- although its members reside on their own reservation in the State of New York, we can now understand much about Tuscarora culture in North Carolina. For the Tuscarora, North Carolina is still their historic homeland. Through the corn they still grow, the matrilineal clans that glue the nation together, and the music and dances still performed, it is possible to look through a window to life on the Tuscarora homeland in North Carolina three centuries ago.

Among the vast number of diaries, maps, journals, and images that arose from the Tuscarora War it is possible to construct a narrative down the center of these events. And through the reflections and observations of one of the central figures in the story--Baron Christoph von Graffenried, we have a perceptive and sympathetic view of the Tuscarora and their travails in early 18th century North Carolina. In the following documents--presented pretty much in their raw form, uncluttered with scholarly annotations--the reader can follow the original trail of history in the same manner as a professional historian. At the same time, one can enjoy the feel of reading history in the often semi-grammatical form in which many of these documents were originally recorded.

Christoph von Graffenried's Recollections on the Founding of New Bern in 1710:

The central figure in this story is Baron Christoph von Graffenried--a well-meaning and highly bred blue blood from Bern, Switzerland. Somewhat like Don Quixote, Graffenried decides that he will lead a large band of Swiss and German immigrants to a promised land awaiting them near the coast of North Carolina. With no prior experience in guiding a group of colonists and with little knowledge of North Carolina, Graffenried arrived with his band of followers in October 1710. His recollections of the many adventures and misadventures he and his followers encountered were written in 1715 or later. Source: Vincent H. Todd, editor, Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1920, pp. 373-81. Translated from French.

Each of my colonists adapting himself as best he could and according to his capacity and skill, it was a question of doing no less in the city. Following the permission and the privileges I had, I accordingly chose a point of land between the Trent and Neuse Rivers, a place where there was an Indian kinglet with his people, about a score of families. The place was called Chatouka. Mention has been made of it on page six (of the original manuscript). We purchased it so dearly because of the advantageous situation. It was a matter of importance then to have my place free. Surveyor General Lawson, who had sold it wanted me to drive off the savages. But I did not want to do anything like that; far from it. I set about purchasing from one of these Indians a small extent of land where I built my cabin, while waiting for something better, and I even made a sort of alliance with this kinglet, named Taylor, and his people. This was done formally. Some little time afterwards, seeing that these savages could not agree with my people nor mine with the savages, the idea occurred to me to propose to them to buy this land also of them, and to assign them another place where they could live just as comfortably and upon the same river not far from this place. They began to appreciate my reasons, and we held a solemn council regarding it. Since I am on the matter of these savages, before speaking of the plan and foundation of the little city of New Bern, I shall continue where I left off with the Indians and also say something about their religion and what took place.

And so we decided upon a day to make our agreement. The kinglet dressed himself in his best, but in such a grotesque fashion that he seemed more like an ape than a man. He came with seventeen fathers of families. They went out into an open field and placed themselves in a circle on the ground. I also put on whatever would glitter most, had a chair brought for me, and taking to my side an interpreter, a savage who spoke English well, I broached the matter and the object of this assembly. After having represented my reasons to them they also told their own, and to speak without partiality they had better reasons in their opposition than I. Nevertheless we came to an agreement. I made them several small presents of little value, and as purchase price for this land in question I gave to the king two flasks of powder holding four

pounds, a flask holding two pounds, and with that 1,000 coarse grains of buckshot; to each of the chiefs a flask of powder and 500 lead shots (a marginal note says some rather coarse shot). After that I had them drink well on rum, brandy distilled of the settlings of sugar, the ordinary liquor in this country, and the agreement was made.

This occasion was nevertheless troubled by the rudeness of Mr. M[ichel] who, having drunk too copiously with some Englishmen who came to dine with me, lost his sense of duty and coming to insult these poor Indians, took the head dress from the king and threw it as far as he could. He entered into the circle and taking by the arm, one of their orators who spoke a little too much against our proceedings, he pulled him out of the circle giving him several blows. I first had this gentleman who was so intoxicated, seized by some of my servants in order to take him to the house, where these invited English kept him company, diverting him as best they could. The reader can easily imagine what effect a procedure like that produced. And so the king making his complaint said that if the Christians made peace and their alliances after that fashion he did not want to have anything to do with them. I did not fail to answer him that he ought not to pay attention to what a brute, controlled by the power of liquor, had done, that I would reprimand him vigorously for it and I would even send him far away, that he should not insult them more, that they should rely on me assuring themselves that I would never do them injury so long as they were good neighbors with me. Satisfied with my answer and with my better treatment they returned home. This gentleman, after a little sleep which ought to have made the vapors pass from him, became quiet. I do not know what fly bit him, but after ten o'clock in the evening when I had gone to bed believing all were at rest, he arose and went toward the Indian lodges. Finding the Indian orator still up, he treated him very badly. But immediately the king with some Indians gave the halloo and I admire the patience and discretion of these savages, in not having beaten the barbarous Christian in their turn. The next day the king with his concillors did not fail to complain of the reiterated bad treatment of this brute worse than a savage, with threats that if they were insulted any more they would pay him in the same coin. I had considerable difficulty appeasing them. I had them drink freely again and sent them away with assurance that I would have this turbulent man leave and that they would not be insulted any more.

After the departure of these Indians, finding my man in his better senses, I talked to him seriously about some things. This person will be spoken of very often in this account; but because of his relatives who are people of distinction, rank and merit, I have consideration for him and do not name him, denoting him only by Mr. M. He was one of the eight associates, to our loss and my ruin and that of several others. May the Good God convert him and give him to know how much evil he has caused. The Surveyor-General has been punished with a terrible execution by the savages for his crimes and bad faith. If this man does not change, the same thing may very well come to him. Living no better than a barbarian he might well be chastized by the barbarians. ([editor's note:] The marginal note says, He died among the Indians'. This appears to have been put in later).

Being badly satisfied with him I sought an expedient for sending him elsewhere. And so he set out to survey the lands along the Weetock River, and for that purpose I furnished him all the necessaries. On his return there arrived one of his old comrades from Pennsylvania in a shallop and another worthless fellow with him. Among the three the plan was made to take a trip towards Cape Fear and to survey the lands along this river, otherwise called Clarendon River; and for this they made such provisions of food and merchandise that there remained to me almost nothing more. Nevertheless they idled away their time in outrageous debaucheries. This trick did not please me and making my reflections upon it one morning before they had eaten breakfast I told them that from the way they were going about it I saw that they preferred to disport themselves than to do a necessary and profitable piece of work, that I had need of this merchandise in order to relieve my necessity and that of the colony, that we had land enough for the present, that we needed first to see how our colonists would succeed, that since great sums were needed to sustain an enterprise of this importance there was more need to think how to procure for ourselves the wherewithal to subsist, than to go to useless and as yet unnecessary expenses, etc. My proposition disconcerted these fine debauchees and they did all they could to argue with me but my resolution was firm and I told Mr. M. that having made so much noise about his silver mines that we had come to genuine treaties, as well with Mr. Perm, Proprietor of Pennsylvania, as with J. Justus Albrecht, chief of the miners from Germany, who was waiting only our orders in order to have them come, it was there that he ought to labor. Accordingly they ought to go to Philadelphia, Capital of Pennsylvania, to notify the governor of my arrival in this country, give our patent to Proprietor Perm and announce to him that we had the design to go visit the mines in question, since they appeared to be situated in the rear of his jurisdiction, and that he should give us the necessary assistance. And then after everything should be ready and in good order and assured against the Indians I would transport myself there, etc. These two rascals, the above mentioned companions of Mr. M. when he was going with several others to the discovery of the mine in question, approved of my proposition and encouraged Mr. M. to this expedition. At last he gave his hand upon it, and they left, provided with the same provisions that they had taken for the little journey to Clarendon River. Several days after their departure, the king with some of his Indians came to find me. Not knowing that for other reasons I had had this Mr. M. leave, he evidenced much joy that I had delivered them from the dangerous man, and this affair did me a great deal of good in my captivity at Catechna where the kinglet spoke in my favor.

Thereupon we promised each other reciprocally to be good neighbors and the Indians left the place shortly after to settle themselves in the place assigned to them, not far from there. Some time afterwards I made a trip to Core Town ten miles from Chatouka, where I had the savages assembled to propose to them that finding myself in their vicinity I intended to live on good terms with them, making offer of my services. This was well received, but as there were two chiefs in the village, one named Core Tom and the other Sam, the first an enemy of the English and the other who was absent, a friend, I could not entirely arrange some things which I should have wished very much to arrange. Never-

theless, rather satisfied with the reception, I returned home the same day. This village of Core is very well situated. There is a cooler atmosphere, and is bordered by the Neuse River. If these Indians had wished to change places I should have liked very much to do so.

Having had until now more pressing occupations, I had not as yet done very much for the establishment of the city. Finding myself a little disengaged I took the Surveyor-General and his clerk with me to make a plan of this new city. Since in America they do not like to live crowded, in order to enjoy a purer air, I accordingly ordered the streets to be very broad and the houses well separated one from the other. I marked three acres of land for each family, for house, barn, garden, orchard, hemp field, poultry yard and other purposes. I divided the village like a cross and in the middle I intended the church. One of the principle streets extended from the bank of the river Neuse straight on into the forest and the other principle street crossed it, running from the Trent River clear to the Neuse River. After that we planted stakes to mark the houses and to make the first two principal streets along and on the banks of the two rivers, mine being situated at the point. And since artisans are better off in a city than on plantations, I gave them some privileges. In place of the inhabitants or new citizens being obliged to pay me annually as my fee and for the three acres of ground a silver crown, the people with trades were free for ten years, the other for three only. At the first I had a good number who began to fell timber in order to build their houses. There were two carpenters, a mason, two carpenters and joiners, a locksmith, a blacksmith, one or two shoemakers, a tailor, a miller, an armourer, a butcher, a weaver, a turner, a saddler, a glazier, a potter and tilemaker, one or two millwrights, a physician, a surgeon, a schoolmaster. There were here and there on the plantations still other artisans. There was lacking as yet only a minister, and while waiting the one I was having come from Germany I performed the function. (Marginal note. Reading sermons after the English fashion) having permission of the Bishop of London to marry and baptize. For the Communion I had a minister come once a year from Virginia. There came a minister from Virginia who preached in English and French and I had engaged him for my colony, he being very well satisfied to come for the 50£ sterling which the Chamber of London for the propagation of the faith orders in such cases, and a reasonable offering which the colony in general made.

After a part of these artisans had their timber work ready and had at least put themselves under cover, while waiting something better, and when I had also fitted up my own dwelling a little better, we were concerned to give a name to the city, which we did in great solemnity; and we joined to Neuse that of Bern. Thus the city was christened New Bern. At the commencement there was to be established a market once a month and once a year a fair. Finally there were several other regulations. When the governor, the council, and many planters of Carolina had advice of our establishment they not only all had a desire to live there but actually had lots, that is to say, limited plots, marked out for them.

They were right; for in all the province there was not a single place of security. There was neither a general provision of food nor munitions of war nor arms. Each was, so to speak, abandoned to the jaws of the wolf.

If the savages were a people better adapted for war they could have destroyed the people of that province whenever they had wished. If the good God had not watched over these fickle Carolinians better (than they themselves did), there would not have remained one soul.

There were many persons of Pennsylvania and several for Virginia who took lots, so that in a few years we should have had a fine city. I should have transferred the seat of government there, the rather, than at Little River, where the large assembly stayed, there were only a few scattered houses, where we were badly lodged and had no security.

While I was busying myself in establishing the affairs of the colony to the best of my ability, having even caused a redoubt to be built up above towards Mill Creek for the safety of the colony and to hold the Indians in check from this side, I also made several regulations and ordinances, as well for the military as for the civil affairs. My provisions of food began to diminish and the merchandise also, which in this country is used as cash. And so I began to reflect very seriously upon my enterprises. Far from receiving any assistance and help, whether from the province or the Lords Proprietors, or of my own country and my society; there arrived, on the contrary, protested bills of exchange. In this bad state of affairs, I no longer knew where to turn, having already written several times to the (old) country and to the society for help. No response having followed, and fearing that they would take my information for tales, I conceived the notion of inquiring whether I might not find some one of the colony, who, tired of his troubles would have a desire to go back to the old country. I found one who was the very person, a man whom two members of the society had chosen to take care of their plantation, but who, seeing that these gentlemen were not furnishing anything for him to live on, resolved to go back home. On his promising me that it would cost me only the expense to Philadelphia, I gave him five guineas for that and a small bill of exchange for him to collect as much at Philadelphia. But the rascal was not satisfied with so little when he came to Philadelphia and found a merchant who was so easy that, without my orders, on my credit, he advanced him more than he needed. At London he did the same, and at Amsterdam also and so on clear to Bern. And our friends, the associates, were much surprised to see his face and more at his boldness and the big bill. Nevertheless before the departure of this rascally pilgrim, I had made and given to him a map of the land and rivers where I had placed my colony and a memorandum of what I had done for this establishment, as well as of the expenses I had incurred on this account, with the bill of everything and a letter prepared to encourage them to support me in this enterprise, to the effect that although it was very difficult and dangerous at the commencement, still, having surmounted the most dangerous obstacles, there was good appearance of success; leaving the rest to the account which he would make by word of mouth, principally concerning the beauty and wealth of the country. This letter he delivered and according to the information I have received of it, he omitted nothing which could tend to the advantage of the establishment, and doubtless I should have obtained the help needed except for the misfortune which came to me a short time after, as is to be seen in my account.

In this hope of a prompt and sufficient assistance, seeing that food for the colony was costing me more for carriage than the purchase price, at the advice of friends and persons of understanding, I purchased a sloop, a vessel suited to be used upon the sea and on the rivers, with a barque which could serve only in the rivers; this for bills of exchange. These vessels did me as well as the province great service, as will be seen later. I was constrained to this expedient because there were very few of these vessels in the province, and during this civil war they were all engaged and one could not get them for love or money, and yet we had to live. There was at this time such a scarcity of salt, because strangers did not dare to bring any during these troubles, that I was obliged to send my sloop to the Bermuda Islands to look for it; and since there had to be something to exchange, I obtained permission of Governor Hyde to gather up grain (marginal note, in this case Indian corn) here and there in the province upon his account and the account of the Lords Proprietors. But ill luck would have it that this corn was wet by a great storm, which spoiled my market, and the profit of this voyage was very small. Nevertheless the salt which I got from the Bermudas did me and my neighbors much good, and I was very glad that for the first time my vessel was saved and returned in good shape except for the sails which were much torn and for some cordage ruined. It had been absent so long that I thought all lost. This might well disturb me very much, having cost me 300£ Sterling. But what disturbed me most was the crew: I had some very good sailors on it. In the uncertainty of the above I went sometimes to survey lands in order to find relief, and I can do no less than relate here a rather peculiar adventure which preceded that of Catechna, when I was taken captive by the savages.

On day when I was going to survey lands, the weather having changed, fearing a great tempest and not wishing to sleep in the woods, I left my surveyors, and took my way home with my valet. My great haste caused me to mistake one path for the other. In this way so much time was lost that night surprised me and I fell among the very Indians who moved from the place where I had settled at Chatouka, now called New Bern. I leave the reader to think in what apprehension I was, and whether the Indians would not have had a fine chance to revenge themselves on me if I had misused them and had not lived peaceably with them. Having had nothing with which to reproach myself in this regard, I reassured myself a little and luckily they received me well. The thing that should have increased my apprehension was that one of the chiefs of the Core savages, who was not favorable to the English, was at that very time on a visit to King Taylor. Nevertheless I got off with a little fear. As I was very thirsty from having traveled all day through the woods, fearing that drinking water would make me sick, in their excess of politeness they sent to a sick woman who had some cider in order to let me have some of it. I did not learn that until several day's after or I should not have drunk so much, and I should have had scruples against depriving this poor sick woman of a drink which she used for a cordial rather than to satisfy her palate. For my supper the king made me a present of a quarter of venison, but this evening I did without supper. Tired with my traveling I was very glad to rest, and so I had my valet stretch my little tent for me to lie under, but I scarcely slept. All night they made fires of joy, dancing and singing about them, making sometimes choruses and cries such

as might have chased the wolves from the forest; music different from that of Orpheus who tamed the most savage animals. The next day early, the king gave me as escort two savages who put me on the right road and accompanied me home. After having given them something good to eat and drink I gave them a little present for King Taylor and in place of his cider I sent him two bottles of rum or brandy of sugar to divide also with the poor sick woman, a much better cordial. This was very well received as I have learned. This same king contributed not a little to my release, next to the Divine assistance, when I was condemned to death by the savages at Catechna.

Letters from German Settlers at New Bern, April 1711

Among the company of German-speaking and writing immigrants transported to North Carolina were several individuals who communicated their observations to family and friends in Switzerland and Germany. Here are excerpts from three such letters written by Hans Ruegsegger, Benedict Zionien, and Michael Zioirien and Salome von Mühlennen in April 1711 from New Bern, North Carolina. Source: Vincent H. Todd, editor, Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1920, pp. 306-07, 307-08, 312, 314. Translated from German.

Hans Ruegsegger--7 April 1711:

We are in a very good and fat land. I am in hopes that within a year I shall have over a hundred head of horses, cattle, swine. If one would present me with the whole lowland, in order that I should go back again to Switzerland and take up the former service I would not do it on account of the freedom of conscience. If my son Uhli would venture to go upon the journey, he should turn whatever he can into money, and if he has not married since my departure, let him take an honorable honest girl to wife, even if she has not much temporal means, if only he can pay the passage over. Whoever desires to come over here, he can call upon Mr. Bitter in Bern. If you, my son, wish to undertake this journey, keep God always before your eyes, and also if you do not wish to come, so that we may enjoy and see one another sometime up above with spiritual eyes in Heaven. . . .

After this I will report to you a little how it went with us upon the voyage. Down the Rhine to Rotterdam we passed through the greatest danger. At Rotterdam we lay quietly for six weeks. There two children and one man died. From Rotterdam to Newcastle two women died. At New Castle we lay quietly for four weeks. Then we started away, went out on the sea, lay still for eight days. After this the fleet started. At that time my daughter gave birth to a little son. Then we took six weeks to cross. For six weeks we saw nothing but sky and water. Out of the hundred persons no one died. So we came to land in Virginia. Then we traveled a hundred miles by water and land, landed at our Landgrave's house on Michael's day. Meanwhile a woman died. After this we lay quietly till New Years; then they began, everyone, to move upon his own land allotted to him. Until now of a hundred persons, nine have died.

I and my daughter's husband have gone from one another about half a mile, for this reason I would have need of my son.

Besides this I send also to the pastor, and all my relatives, as also my father-in-law and his family, also Uhli Müller's wife and the Mayor, yes, also, the whole community, a thousand greetings with a kiss of love. Benedict Kupferschmied my son-in-law sends his father and brothers, as also his sister, friendly greeting, and could wish that they were all with him. He would like to be able to provide his father and his household with food and drink.

Let Uhli Müller, the gunsmith, write me accurately, through Mr. Ritter, how it stands with my property, and also about my neighbors and my son. For this time nothing more than to commend you to God. Given this seventh day of April, from Carolina, 1711.

By me Hans Ruegsegger.

Out of India or America, in the Island of North Carolina, on the river Neuse.

Benedict Zionien:

This country is praised too highly in Europe and condemned too much. I hope also in a few years to have cows and swine as much as I desire. Mr. Graffenried is our landgrave. Of vermin, snakes, and such like, there is not so much as they tell of in Europe. I have seen crocodiles by the water, but they soon fled. One should not trust to supporting himself with game, for there are no wild oxen or swine. Stags and deer, ducks and geese and turkeys are numerous.

Michael Zioirien and Salome von Mühlennen:

We live in North Carolina on the stream called Neuse. Regarding the land: It is tolerable sandy and productive, fairly good for all crops, especially for Indian Corn. Regarding fruit; It does not grow unplanted, either good or bad. The native born inhabitants are quick but naked; for the covering of their nakedness they have coats or else shirts. For this time nothing more. Greet for me my friends Ziorien, and my mother wishes to be remembered to you. Greet for us all good friends and neighbors, and I commend you to God, the Word, and his grace, and remain your affectionate children Michael Ziorien and Salome von Mühlennen.

To Christian von Mühlennen in Switzerland,
in the Canton of Bern, in upper Simmenthal,
in the parish of Bottigen of the Flühli.

Christoph von Graffenried's "Account [of...my Miraculous Deliverance from the Savages," 23 October 1711, part 1:

In September 1711 Christoph Graffenried and John Lawson, North Carolina's Surveyor-General, went on a suspicious and unannounced exploratory expedition which intruded across waters and lands considered even by both Graffenried and Lawson as Tuscarora territory. Graffenried wondered whether this was a safe and advisable venture. But, assured by Lawson--whose land-speculating activities had already aroused suspicions among the Tuscarora--Graffenried joined in the trek. Both were detained by wary Tuscarora warriors and they were placed on trial for attempting to steal Tuscarora land with disastrous consequences for Lawson. The following account of the ordeal was written by Graffenried in a letter to Edward Hyde, the short-lived governor of North Carolina, on 23 October, shortly after Graffenried's life was spared. Source: Vincent H. Todd, editor, Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1920), pp. 261-75. Translated from German.

Honored Sir:

Through the wonderful and gracious providence of the Most High, I have at last escaped out of the barbarous hands of the wild Tuscarora Nation, and have arrived at my little dwelling at New Bern; but yet half dead, because for two whole days I had to travel afoot, as fast as ever I could, out alone through the forests which lie towards Catechna, compelled to take up my quarters by a frightful wild ditch in which there was deep water, because the night overtook me and I could not go farther from weariness. How I passed this night can well be imagined, in no small fear of being caught by the savage or strange Indians, and of being torn to pieces by a number of bears which growled the whole night close about me. In addition I was very lame from walking, without a gun, yes, I did not have a knife with me with which to strike a fire, and because the north wind blew very hard it was a cold night. In the morning when I tried to arise my limbs were so stiff and swollen by the cold and hard lying that I could not go a step. But because it had to be I looked me up two sticks upon which I could walk, but with great difficulty and pain. I had enough to do to get myself over this water, which was full of snakes. I did it by climbing over on a long limb.

At last I reached home. When, I at a little distance from home, came within sight of a dwelling, fortified and full of people, I was somewhat comforted, because I thought that everything there had been burned out and destroyed by the Indians, as well as the houses of the other colonists; yes, also that I should find few of my people, because the terrible expedition of the savages was only too well known to me, when they burned, murdered, and plundered whatever they found along the rivers Pamtego, Neuse and Trent. When my good people got sight of me, black and looking like an Indian, and yet looking like myself as far as my size and blue coat were concerned, they did not know what to think. But thinking, all of them, that I was dead, they were firm in the opinion that it was, rather, an Indian spy who had put on my coat and wanted to spy out something there; and so the men folks put themselves into an attitude

of defense. But when I came toward the house walking very lame on two sticks, they saw by my countenance and posture that I was no Indian or savage. Yet they did not recognize me till several came out in advance to look at me better. When I saw that they were in anxiety I began to speak from a distance, with a very broken voice, to be sure. This shocked them so that they retreated several paces, crying to the rest to come forward, that it was their master, whom they supposed murdered. So they all came running pell-mell, men, women, and children, with loud exclamations, some weeping, some completely dumb with amazement, saluting me as a marvelous spectacle. There was mourning, joy, and bewilderment mixed, and this went to my heart, so that it forced out abundant tears.

After I had stayed some time with these people who surrounded me although I was very tired I finally went to my old quarters, closed my door, and made a hearty prayer of thanksgiving to the good God for such a merciful and wonderful rescue, which for these tunes, indeed, may pass for a miracle.

The next day I asked what had happened in my absence, but so many vexatious things came out that it makes my heart heavy. The worst was that, besides sixty or seventy Palatines who were murdered, the rest who could save themselves were plundered, and the survivors of these Palatines had left my house, in which were their own goods, and the little city. A certain William Brice, an unthankful man to whom I had shown much kindness, yes, whom the money and goods belonging to myself and the poor colonists had brought out of poverty, had drawn them away from me with all sorts of promises and cunning and had brought them to himself upon the Trent River, by means of whom with some English Planters or inhabitants in addition, he had succeeded in getting together a garrison to defend his house. So I had to be satisfied with a number of women and children. In armed soldiery there were no more than forty. These all I had to support for twenty-two weeks. So all my grain, which luckily I had in store, my cattle great and small, were all gone. If we do not soon receive the necessaries, we shall have to starve to death or give up the post. Therefore, Honored sir, we urgently beg you to send as soon as possible and in all haste the needed provisions, military stores, and armed troops, in order that we may drive back these barbarian murderers, otherwise the evil will become greater, and it is to be feared that the whole land will be destroyed.

One cannot wonder enough, yes, it is provoking to see such coolness and so little love among the inhabitants of Albemarle County that with folded arms they can see how their nearest brothers are frightfully murdered by this barbarous nation. Indeed, they themselves need not expect a better fate. They ought to be ashamed of themselves and are worthy of a continuous rebuke. This is also no less to be wondered at, a policy so bad and wrong orders of those in authority, but I except your Excellency here in the best form, assured that you, Most Honorable Sir, had given all necessary commands and made all needful arrangements, but they were badly executed or not executed at all, which is a thing to be mourned.

Honored Sir, the above only as a report how I came home. But to free and justify myself it will be necessary for me to tell how I came into this barbarous nation.

Because of the fine and apparently settled weather, the Surveyor-General Lawson came to invite me to travel up the Neuse River, saying that there was a quantity of good wild grapes, that we could enjoy ourselves a little with them. But that was not enough to persuade me to go there. So the above mentioned Monsieur Lawson came again soon, pled better reasons, namely that we could at the same time see how far up the river was navigable; whether a shorter way might be made to Virginia, in place of the ordinary way which is long and difficult, and in like manner see what kind of land is up there. This, and how far it is to the mountains, I had been for a long time desirous to know and to have seen for myself. So at this I resolved upon a small journey and took everything that was necessary, including provisions for fourteen days. I asked Mr. Lawson in particular whether there was danger from the Indians, especially with those with whom we were not acquainted. He gave me for an answer that this was of no consequence, that he had already made the trip and it was entirely safe, that he knew of no wild Indians on this arm of the river, but that they were tolerably distant. But that we might go the more securely, I took besides two negroes to row, two neighboring Indians whom we knew, to whom I had shown much kindness. And since one understood the English language, I thought if we had these two Indians with us we should have nothing to fear from the others, and so we traveled right on up. It had not rained for a long time; the water was not deep; the stream or current of the water was not strong. The whole day we were upon the river; at night we spread our tent upon the land by the water and rested; in the morning we proceeded again.

May it please the Governor to learn that the above mentioned Surveyor-General Lawson urged me very much for my horses, pleading that he wanted to ride a little into the forest when we were up above, in order to see where the way to Virginia could be most conveniently commenced. At first I did not wish to agree to it. But finally he begged for only one. This I granted him. The one Indian rode by land, but at one place he had to go over the river, which was our misfortune, for he went first to the Indians. I do not know whether he lost his way or did it treacherously. He came to the great Indian village Catechna, where he was immediately asked what the horse was doing, for the Indians use none. He answered that he had to drive the horse for us, while we traveled up the river. This immediately alarmed the Indians, especially the inhabitants of Catchena, so that they ran together from the whole neighborhood. They kept the horse and said to our Indian that he should go immediately to us and announce to us that they would not allow us to go further up through their country. At the command of the king who resides there we should come back, and so the signal that we should stand still was given by a shot which our Indian fired. This we did after we also had fired off our guns as a signal. It was already late when he came to us with the bad news. We were landing at the first spring to take up our quarters for the night. We met already two armed Indians there, who looked as though they were coming from hunting. Upon this I said it did not please me, that we would not remain there, but would go back. He, the Surveyor-

General, laughed at me, but before we turned around it became serious so that his laughter disappeared. In a moment there came out of all the bushes and swimming through the river such a number of Indians and overpowered us that it was impossible to defend ourselves, unless we wanted to have ourselves wantonly shot dead or frightfully tortured. We were forthwith taken prisoners, plundered, and led away.

By this time we had gone three good days journey up the river, not far from another Indian village, called Zurutha.

The river is there still rather broad, but the water not more than two or three feet deep, and it is still far from the mountains.

We asked that they should leave us there this night, with a guard if they doubted us, giving as reason that I could not go so far afoot, that early in the morning we would go by water to the king at Catechna promising that we would be there. But it was not to be done since I was such a rare and important capture; for they took me for the Governor of the whole province. Their barbarous pride swelled them up so that we were compelled to run with them the whole night, through forests, bushes, and swamps, until the next morning about three o'clock when we came to Catechna where the king, Hancock by name, was sitting in all his glory upon a raised platform; although the Indians are accustomed at other times to sit upon the ground. After a consultation and a sharp speech by the leader or captain of our escort the king with his council left and came to us very politely with his chief warrior. But he could not speak with us. After a short time the king went into his cabin or hut; we remained by a fire guarded by seven or eight savages. Toward ten o'clock there came a savage here, another there out of his hut; council was held, and it was disputed vigorously whether we should be bound as criminals or not. It was decided no, because we had not been heard yet. Toward noon the king himself brought us some food in a lousy fur cap. This was a kind of bread made of Indian corn, called dumplins, and cold boiled venison. I ate of this, with repugnance indeed, because I was very hungry.

We had the liberty of walking about the village. Toward evening there was a great festival or assembly of all the neighboring villages. This was appointed for two reasons: first, they wanted to revenge themselves of the evil treatment of certain bad and surly English Carolinians who were of Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers and second, to find out what help they might expect from their neighboring Indians.

N. B. Hereby it is to be observed that neither we nor our colony were the cause of this terrible slaughter and Indian war, as is to be seen and concluded from several circumstances.

In the evening there came hither from all the villages a great number of Indians with the neighboring kings, upon a fine, broad, open space, especially prepared for the festivities or executions. And there was appointed an assembly of the chiefs as they call them consisting of the most prudent, sitting after their fashion in a ring around a great fire. King Hancock presided. There was a place left in the ring for us, where

were two mats, that is to say pieces of wickerwork woven of small canes or reeds, laid down to sit on which is a sign of great deference and honor. So we sat down, and our spokesman, the Indian that had come with us, who could speak English well, sat at our left. The king gave a sign to the orator of the assembly, who made a long speech with much gravity. And it was ordered that one of the youngest of the assembly should represent and defend the interests of the councilor of the Indian nation. He, so far as I could discern, did it in due form. He sat right next to our interpreter and spokesman. The king always formed the question, and then it was debated pro et contra. Immediately after that came a consultation and decision.

The first question was, what was the cause of our journey? Our answer was, that we had come up there for our pleasure, to get grapes and at the same time to see if the river were convenient so that we could bring goods to them by water; to have good business and correspondence with them. So the king asked us why we had not paid our respects to him and communicated our project to him. After this there came into question a general complaint, that they, the Indians, had been very badly treated and detained by the inhabitants of the Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, a thing which was not to be longer endured. And they named the authors of it in particular, and among others, the Surveyor-General was accused. He being present excused himself the best he could. After considerable disputing and after a deliberation which followed, it was decided that we should be set free, and the next day was appointed for our journey home. The next day there was a considerable delay before we could get our canoe or small boat. Meantime there came some of their chiefs and two kings who were curious to know what grounds of justification we had. And so we were examined again in King Hancock's hut two miles from the village, and gave the same answer. Unfortunately the king of Cartuca was there, who reproached Lawson with something, so that they got into a quarrel on both sides and became rather angry. This spoiled everything for us.

However much I tried to keep Lawson from disputing, I could not succeed at all. The examination finally ended, we all rose up, we two walked together and I reproached him very strongly for his unguardedness in such a critical condition. Immediately thereafter there came suddenly three or four of the chiefs very angrily, seized us roughly by the arms, led us back and forcibly set us down in the old place. There were no mats laid for us, they took our hats and wigs away from us and threw them into the fire. After that some malicious young fellows came and plundered us the second time, searching our pockets, which they had not done before when they confined themselves to the larger things.

Hereupon a council of war was held and we were both condemned to death, without knowing the cause of it. And so we remained the whole night, sitting in the same position upon the ground till morning. At the break of day we were taken away from there and again led to the great judgment and assembling place, a bad omen for us, and I turned toward Mr. Lawson bitterly upbraiding him, saying that his lack of foresight was the cause of our ruin; that it was all over with us; that there was nothing better to do than to make peace with God and prepare ourselves

betimes for death; which I did with the greatest devotion.

When we arrived at the place mentioned, the great council was already together. By chance I saw an Indian dressed like a Christian before we were called into the ring. He could speak English. I asked him if he could not tell us what was the cause of our condemnation. He answered me with a very disagreeable face, why had Lawson quarreled with Core Tom and why had we threatened that we would get revenge on the Indians? At that I took the Indian aside, promising everything I could if he would listen to me and afterward tell of my innocence to some of the chiefs. I had enough to do to persuade him to do it. Finally he paid attention to me. And so I told him I was sorry that Monsieur Lawson was so imprudent as to quarrel with Core Tom; that the councilors could themselves see very well that I was not to blame for that; and about the threatening, there was not the least thought of that, it was a misunderstanding or else Monsieur Lawson complaining at my negroes for disturbing his rest the first night. At this I threatened the negroes sharply because of their impudence, and this was all. After the Indian had heard me he left me, I repeating my promises to him.

Whether he spoke very much in my favor I do not know, but a quarter of an hour after the old chief came, led us out upon the place of judgment and bound us there hand and foot, and the larger of my two negroes as well. And there began our sad tragedy which I would like to relate with your leave, if it would not be too long and sad. Yet since I have begun I will continue.

In the middle of this great space we sat bound side by side, sitting upon the ground, the Surveyor-General and I, coats off and bare headed; behind me the larger of my negroes; before us was a great fire and around about the fire the conjurer, that is, an old gray Indian, a priest among them, who is commonly a magician, yes, even conjures up the devil himself. He made two rings either of meal or very white sand, I do not know which. Right before our feet lay a wolf skin. A little farther in front stood an Indian in the most dignified and terrible posture that can be imagined. He did not leave the place. Ax in hand, he looked to be the executioner. Farther away, before us and beyond the fire, was a numerous Indian rabble, young fellows, women, and children. These all danced in the most abominable postures. In the middle was the priest or conjurer, who, whenever there was a pause in the dance, made his conjurations and threats. About the dance or ring at each of the four corners stood a sort of officer with a gun. They beat time with their feet and urged on the other dancers and when a dance was over shot off their guns. Besides this, in a corner of the ring, were two Indians sitting on the ground, who beat upon a little drum and sang, and sang so strangely to it, in such a melody, that it would provoke anger and sadness rather than joy. Yes, the Indians themselves, when tired of dancing, would all run suddenly away into a forest with frightful cries and howling, but would soon come back out of the forest with faces striped black, white, and red. Part of them, besides this, would have their hair hanging loose, full of feathers, down, and some in the skins of all sorts of animals: In short in such monstrous shapes that they looked more like a troop of devils than like other creatures; if one represents the

devil in the most terrible shape that can be thought of, running and dancing out of the forest. They arranged themselves in the old places and danced about the fire. Meanwhile there were two rows of armed Indians behind us as a guard, who never left their post until all was over: Back of this watch was the council of war sitting in a ring on the ground very busy in consultation.

Toward evening when the sun went down, the rabble above mentioned left off dancing and went into the woods to fetch wood to maintain the fires in different places; but especially they made one at some distance in the forest which lasted the whole night and was so great that I thought the whole forest was a fire.

Let the Governor consider what a mournful and terrifying sight that was for me to die, yet I had my mind made up for it. I was, thus, the whole day and night in ardent devotion. Oh what thoughts I had! Everything that happened to me so far back as I could remember occurred to me. I applied and made use of everything that I had read from the scriptures and the Psalms and other good books. In short, I prepared myself as well as I could for a good and blessed end; yes, the merciful God gave me so much grace that fearlessly, calmly, I waited what my end might be. After the anguish of soul I had endured, worse than the fear of death, nevertheless there remained in me I hardly know what kind of hope, despite the fact that I saw no sign of any rescue. Although, as I said before, my sins hovered before me, still I afterwards found great consolation in considering the miracles which the Lord Jesus did in His times on the earth. This awakened such a confidence in me, that upon this I made my ardent prayer to my Saviour, in the strong confidence that my prayer was heard, and that these savage minds and stony barbarian hearts would perhaps turn, so that at my pleading and explanation they would change their minds and be led and moved to mercy; which also happened through God's wonderful providence. For as the sun was going down the council assembled once more, without doubt, to make an end of this fatal, terrible, and sad ceremony. I turned myself somewhat around, although bound, knowing that one of them understood the English language rather well, and made a short speech, telling my innocence, and how if they did not spare me the great and mighty Queen of England would avenge my blood, because I had brought the colony to this land at her command, not to do them any harm but to live on good terms with them; and what else seemed to me good to say to engage them to kindness; with the offer of my services and all sorts of favors if I were liberated.

Now after I had finished talking, I noticed that one of the leading Indians, who before this seemed entirely inclined to me, the one, indeed, who had once brought me food, and who belonged to King Taylor, from whom I had purchased the land where New Bern now stands was amazed and spoke very earnestly; I had no doubt in my favor which turned out to be the case, for it was hereupon decided to send some of their members immediately to the neighboring Tuscarora villages; and with them the result was that I should have my life, but the poor Surveyor General would be executed. I passed the night between life and death, bound all the time in the same place, in continual prayer and sighs. I examined my

poor negro and spoke as well as I could to him, and he gave me more satisfaction than I hoped. But Surveyor General Lawson, being a man of understanding though not of good life, I allowed to do his own devotions. In the morning about three or four o'clock the deputies came back from their mission bringing the decision regarding their errand, but very secretly. One of them came after a while to loose me from my bonds. Not knowing what that might mean, I submitted patiently to the Will of the Lord, the Most High, arose and followed. Oh how dumb-founded I was, when, some paces from the old place, the Indian said to me in my ear, in broken English, that I should not fear, they would not kill me, but they would kill General Lawson. This went to my heart.

About twenty paces from the place where I was bound the Indian brought me to the cabin or hut and gave me food to eat, but I had no appetite. Soon there came a great number of the Indian rabble about me, who all evidenced great joy at my deliverance. The very same man brought me again to the clear space, but a little further in advance, where the whole council sat, and they congratulated me in their way and smiled. Meantime I was forbidden to say the least thing to Monsieur Lawson, not even to speak a single word to him.

They let my negro loose also, but I never saw him again. Poor Lawson remaining in the same place could easily guess that it was all over and no mercy for him. He took his leave of me striving to see me in his danger; and I; not daring to speak with him or give him the least consolation, indicated my sympathy by some signs which I gave him.

A little while after this, the man who had spoken for me in the council led me to his hut, where I was to remain quietly until further orders, and in this interval the unfortunate Lawson was executed; with what sort of death I really do not know. To be sure I had heard before from several savages that the threat had been made that he was to have his throat cut with a razor which was found in his sack. The smaller negro, who was left alive, also testified to this; but some say he was hanged; others that he was burned. The savages keep it very secret how he was killed. May God have pity on his soul.

The day after the execution of Surveyor General Lawson the chief men of the village came to me with the report that they had it in mind to make war on North Carolina. Especially did they wish to surprise the people of Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, and Core Sound. So that for good reasons they could not let me go until they were through with this expedition. What was I to do? I had to have patience, for none of my reasons helped. A hard thing about it was that I had to hear such sad news and yet could not help nor let these poor people know the least thing of it. It is true, they promised that Caduca, which is the old name of the little city of New Bern, should receive no harm; but the people of the colony should come down into the little city, otherwise they could not promise much for the damage. These were good words, but how was I to let the poor people know? Since no savage would take the warning to them, I had to leave this also to the Most High. There were about five hundred fighting men collected together, partly Tuscaroras, although the principal villages of this nation were not involved with them. The other

Indians, the Marmuskits, those of Bay River; Weetock, Pamtego, Neuse, and Core began this massacring and plundering at the same time. Divided into small platoons these barbarians plundered and massacred the poor people at Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent. A few days after, these murderers came back loaded with their booty. Oh what a sad sight to see this and the poor women and children captives. My heart almost broke. To be sure I could speak with them, but very guardedly. The first came from Pamtego, the others from Neuse and Trent. The very same Indian with whom I lodged brought a young boy with him, one of my tenants, and many garments and house utensils that I recognized. Oh how it went through my heart like a knife thrust in the fear that my colony was all gone, and especially when I asked the little fellow what had happened and taken place. Weeping bitterly he told me that his father, mother, brother, yes, the whole family had been massacred by the very same Indian above mentioned. With all this I dared not act in any way as though I felt it. For about six weeks I had to remain a prisoner in this disagreeable place, Catechna, before I could go home. In what danger terror disgrace and vexation is easily to be thought.

All sorts of things happened in this time. Once I was in great perplexity, The men folks were all on this massacring expedition, the women all somewhat distant to get cherries, others to dig sweet potatoes, a species of yellow roots, very good and pleasant. And so I found myself entirely alone that same day in the village. A struggle arose in me whether I should get away from there and go home or not. I studied long over it, considered it best to call upon my God for help in this doubt, so that he would put it into my mind what I should do in such a critical circumstance. After I had made my prayer, examined and treated the matter pro et contra, I finally considered the better way would be to stay; comforting myself with this that He who had saved me from the first extreme peril would still help me further. Again, if any Indian met or saw me I should be a dead man for these would be no hope of mercy. In addition they would be so embittered that before I could get home, since I did not know the way, everything would be plundered, burned, and murdered. Experience proved afterwards that I chose the better way.

After these heathens had made their barbarous expedition they came home and rested for a time. Then I watched the opportunity and when I found the chiefs of the village in good humor I asked whether I might not soon go home. To bring them to a favorable disposition I proposed to make a separate peace with them, promised at the same time each chief of the ten villages a cloth coat, something in addition for my ransom; to the king, two flasks of powder, five hundred bullets, two bottles of rum, a brandy made of sugar. But the Indians wanted to have much more, such as guns, more powder, and lead or bullets; but I told them this was contraband that is war which was forbidden to offer for sale under penalty of hanging; that I would, at least, have to be neutral and help neither one side nor the other: Otherwise there would nothing come of our peace. They accepted these and other reasons, and so we made an agreement as your Highness will see in the enclosed articles of the treaty.

But although we made our treaty, still these suspicious fellows did not

want to let me go without more secure and certain guarantee. They wanted that I should send my smaller negro to New Bern, so that everything that I had promised should be brought up to Catechna; but yet not a savage would go with him although I wanted to give him a passport or safe conduct. I told him that none of my people who survived would come back with him, because they were so frightened at the robberies and murders, and my negro could not come alone against the current with a loaded boat. Since we could not come to an agreement, I referred it to the Indian with whom I lodged, who gave a sensible decision about our strife so that we were satisfied on both sides.

On the very day that I wanted to send the negro to New Bern with a letter to the man who had charge of my house that he should send the above mentioned goods half way, for the security of both sides, strange Indians came on horseback from the Governor of Virginia with a letter as enclosed copy will show. Nobody besides myself could read the letter. The letter was very sharp. I did not know what it contained. Finally I thought the messenger might know the contents of it, so I read the letter to the chiefs of the villages. When I had finished reading the letter I observed something in their faces which showed that it was not acceptable to them, that on receipt of the letter they should send me immediately to my home, failing which, if the least injury came to me, he, the Governor, was prepared to avenge me, yes, to exterminate everyone and spare neither women or children. Upon this they had a council, and it was decided to let me go to the village among the Tuscaroras where the Indian trader from Virginia was, who before, at the very time that Monsieur Lawson was executed, was staying in the same village; and on his, the Governor's return, had told him our sad adventure. Upon which this generous Governor Spotswood had immediately sent this Virginia trader, who dealt with the Indians and understood and spoke their language very well, with the above letter to the Tuscaroras. But he, the Governor, was waiting in the first Indian village called Natoway, with a strong escort, with orders to the neighboring militia to hold itself in readiness to act at once if the desired word did not come.

So the next morning early, I set out on horseback with the Indian messengers; and many of the chief Indians of Catechna came with me towards the principal village called Tasky. They marched as swiftly as I on horseback, and in the evening between day and night, we arrived at the place where the Virginia merchant was also staying. This village was fortified with palisades, and the houses or cabins were very artfully made of withes, mere pieces of bark, placed around in a circle or ring, so that a great fire was placed in the center. The council which consisted of the chiefs of the Tuscarora Nation was, sitting around on the ground. There was a place left for me and a place for the Indian trader above and the Indians who came with me. After I had greeted this gentleman we sat down. In all this I had a secret joy, having the hope of going to Natoway to the Governor of Virginia, who was waiting for me; and so at length of being free from this savage captivity. But unfortunately it did not succeed. The orator of the assembly began a long speech and asked the four Indians who came with me what was the cause of my detention and my crime, After a hearing I was found and declared innocent, and it was decided to comply with the desires of the Governor of Virginia, when it was represented to them what danger would arise from a refusal.

The Virginia trader, as interpreter, spoke what he could in my favor; the four Indians of Catechna would not agree to that for fear that the ransom would not follow although the Virginia trader promised them surety for it; they pretending that they dare not do it without the consent of the other kings and chiefs, yet promising to let me loose as soon as the king and council should be together; but they wanted to keep my negro as security until the ransom should be paid.

The next day my hopes were entirely frustrated. I took my leave of the Virginia trader, who was much vexed at the unfriendly manner of these savages. So I marched back again very sadly. When we had gone three or four miles and were near Hancock Town or Catechna, we heard a great outcry and yelling around in that direction, and here some and yonder other savages came out of the bushes. This inspired fear in me, and not without cause; especially when they came right up to me, all out of breath and frightened, saying that the English and the Palatines were close by. In particular they signified the Palatines with a disagreeable expression, mocking the Palatines by the repetition of ja, ja, to signify that even some of my own people were seen there. In order to have me take a roundabout way they made me go through a desolate ravine. When from a distance I saw a fire I began to hang heavy on my hands, fearing they wished to murder me in secret. I studied how to persuade them that the Palatines had not joined with the English at all; that these words ja, ja, were not German but a rough English word, aye, aye, which is otherwise a good English word meaning yes, that is, ja. I kept them in this opinion as well as I could. When we came to the place where the fire was I saw with perturbation the whole rabble of Catechna where I was captured, together with their household goods and a little food, in a fine corn field where every Indian had placed his own family in the midst of a swamp, that is, in a wild place, a portion of forest in the morass, and water on one side and the other it is next to the river. All, that is to say, the old decrepit men, women, children, and young men under age were there, very much frightened. In order to make myself acceptable to them, and for my part to keep them in security, I did not fail to give them every comfort; assuring them, that as long as I was with them, nothing evil would happen to them. I represented to the warriors who came to encourage the throng, that they ought to have let me go before, and with their warriors; that I would treat with the English and persuade them to peace. They would not let me go however.

The day following, all the Indians round about to the number of three hundred brave fellows came together, joined themselves together with the others, and went to look for the Christians who were no more than sixty in number, and who were only four miles, that is, about three quarters of an hour distant from our village. But the Palatines who did not know how to fight with the Indians any other way than merely to show themselves, were mostly wounded and one Englishman was shot to death. Since they were overpowered by the Indians they turned their backs and hurried home. The Indians pursued them but did no great damage except for what they got in the way of booty. So the savages came back two days afterwards to Catechna with horses, food, hats, boots, also some coats. When I saw all this, especially a neat pair of

boots with silver trimmings belonging to me, I was much dismayed and greatly feared that they had plundered my house and store, but there was no damage done. Why my things were among them is this. My people used the things of which they had need for this expedition.

So these wild warriors or murderers who were in great glory came in triumph home; and we also went out of our place of concealment in the evening, and traveled the whole night through, back again to our old quarters in Catechna. They made great fires of rejoicing, especially in the place of execution, on which occasion they hung up three wolf hides, representing as many protectors or gods. At the same time the women made offering of their ornaments, such as necklaces of wampum, which is a kind of coral of calcined mussels, white, brown, and gold colored.

In the midst of the ring was a conjurer acting as their priest, who made all sorts of strange motions and adjurations; and the rest danced in a ring about the fire and the above mentioned skins.

After the Indian celebration was over I began to become impatient, asked certain of the chiefs whether now they would not let me go home, because they were victorious and possibly all of my people had been slain. One of the troop answered laughing, that they would see what to do, and he called the king and his council.

Two of the chiefs accompanied me, armed, but afoot, until about two hours distant from Catechna. There they gave me a piece of Indian bread and left me. Because I saw a long way before me I begged them to leave me the horse, saying that I would send it back without fail, or they should go somewhat nearer to my quarters with me. But I could not prevail upon them. They remained at the place where I left them and made a big fire, to signify to me that there were strange Indians in the woods, and I should hasten and walk swiftly; yes, for two hours run as fast as ever I could, which I also did, until night overtook me and I came to my frightful, desolate ravine, over which I could not go in the dark on account of deep water; but on the contrary I had to stay over night there until morning. The rest of the journey I have already told to the Governor.

**Letter of Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia to the
Tuscarora Nation, 7 October 1711**

Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, himself also a land and business speculator of rather wide compass, was alarmed to learn that Graffenried had been detained by Tuscarora chiefs. Virginia's trade and commerce to Indian nations across Virginia and North Carolina depended upon good relations with the Tuscarora. But Spotswood was also eager to secure the safety of Graffenried and his German settlers since he hoped they could help him exploit potential mines at headwaters of the Potomac River in Virginia. Spotswood thus implored the Tuscarora to grant the Swiss baron his freedom. Todd, Graffenried's Account, p. 282. Written originally in English.

Alexander Spotswood, Governor, Regent, and Commandant of the Colonies and Provinces of Virginia, in the name of Her Royal Majesty of Great Britain, to the Indian Nation which holds Baron von Graffenried prisoner.

Having heard that Baron Von Graffenried, Governor, and the head of the German Colony in North Carolina is captive among you, I request and command you, in the name of the Queen of Great Britain of whom he is a subject, that on receipt of this you let him go free and send him to our government. And here you are given to know that if you should have it in mind to kill or willfully inflict any injury upon him, I will revenge his blood, and will spare neither men, women, nor children.

Given under my great seal,
the 7th of October, 1711.
A. Spotswood. <L. S.>

**Governor Spotswood's Defense of His Actions to Quell the
Tuscarora Crisis in Virginia and North Carolina, 15 October
1711**

Governor Spotswood, fearing that he might be looking a little inept in his handling of matters in the northeastern section of North Carolina, wrote a lengthy defense of his course of action in the fall of 1711. Virginia governors still viewed the Albemarle region of North Carolina as essentially an appendage of Virginia. And since Spotswood had been closely involved in supporting Graffenried's colonization efforts in North Carolina, he was worried that colonial authorities in London might think he was letting things reel out of control both in Williamsburg and in the Albemarle provinces. Spotswood sought to head off any questions in this letter addressed to Lord Dartmouth, his ultimate boss in Parliament. Source: The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, ed. R.A. Brock (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1882), 1:118-121.

VIRGINIA, October 15th, 1711.

To my Lord Dartmouth.

MY LORD:

In my letters of the 28th and 31st of July last I gave Y'r Lord'ps an account of my proceedings in quieting the Comotions in North Carolina, which were happily terminated by the removal of the head of that factious party, Collo. Cary whom I sent away prisoner in the Convoy to our last ffeet; but I am now to inform Y'r Lord'p of a more tragical Accident that hath lately happened there, and seems to be a Consequence of their former Dissentions. On the 22th of the last month, several towns of the Tuscaruro and other Indians bordering on Carolina made an incursion upon the head of Neuse and Pamlico Rivers in that province, and, having posted men at the several frontier plantations, began just at Sunrise a most bloody and barbarous Massacre in both those places, miserably butchering all that fell into their hands without Distinction of age or Sex; about 60 of the English and upwards of that number of the Swiss and Palatines perished in this bloody execution, and a great many more are wounded. Since which they have continued their Ravages in burning and destroying the plantations of the murdered persons, and others that had deserted theirs for fear of the like Crueltys. The Baron of Graffenreid, Chief of the Swiss and Palatines' Settlement there, is also fallen into their hands and carryed away prisoner. I will not affirm that which will be a heavy Charge against Collo. Cary, that the Invitation his party gave the Indians to cutt off their fellow Subjects has been the occasion of this bloody Massacre, tho' that charge is proved by good Testimonys and firmly believed in Carolina; but I am very certain the Indians would never have attacked them if their own divisions had not given too great encouragement. Mr. Hyde, the Governor of that province, has raised what men he could to defend the rest of the Country, and to suppress these Savages, but the people have been so long accustomed to disobedience to Government that they are not to be brought under any discipline or Rule, and I very much fear their mutinous behaviour among themselves and Cowardice in some Skirmishes they have had with the Indians will embolden the latter to further insolence. Upon the first Advice of this fatal Accident I sent out detachments of our Militia to our Tributary Indians to hinder them joining with the other Savages, And understanding that several of the Tuscaruro towns refused to be concerned with the other Indians in this War, I have sent to them and all the other Neighbouring Indians, to meet me the next week at a place I have appointed on our Frontiers in order to come to some Treaty. And as those Indians stand in some awe of this Government, both from the imagination of our strength and from the consideration of the Straits they would be putt to by the Loss of our Trade, I expect at this Conference to work so far on their Fears and Interests, that I may at least preserve their friendship, if not engage their Assistance in the destruction of those Assassins. And if War be the only means left us to secure her Majesty's people and Territory from the Heathen, I do not doubt but our Assembly (which is to meet the 7th of next month) will Come to such resolutions as become them to provide for the prosecuting it effectually. There is very little temptation for any man to enter into War with people more like wild beasts than men, and whatsoever air I may give the matter with them yet I need not conceal from yo'r Lord'ps that this Country is

in a very indifferent Capacity for an Offensive or defensive War, having neither arms that are usefull nor any reasonable quantity of ammunition, and unless her Majesty will be pleased to send in a supply of both to ly ready against an emergency, I fear I shall not be able to sustain any considerable attack of an Enemy.

Upon the apprehensions We had this summer of a ffrench Squadron (which is said to be now in the West Indies) I made a Shift to raise four Forts and raise some Lines for the defence of our Chief Rivers, and to mount about 70 pieces of Canon, not finding at my arrival such a thing as either Parapet, Pallisade or one single piece of ordnance mounted throughout the whole Government. I endeavoured to make our last Assembly sensible of the naked Condition of their Country, but the expence appearing to them much more imediate than the danger, they were Easily influenced by their Low Circumstances to defer the condition thereof; however I prevailed on them to revive in the meanwhile a former Law made for the defence of the Country in times of danger, and by virtue of that Law, I have carried on the above-mentioned Works during the late Alarm, Notwithstanding I have been mightily Embarrassed by a sett of Quakers who broach Doctrines so monstrous as their Brethren in England have never owned, nor, indeed, can be suffered in any Government. They have not only refused to work themselves, or suffer any of their Servants to be employed in the Fortifications, but affirm that their Consciences will not permit them to contribute in any manner of way to the defence of the Country even so much as trusting the Government with provisions to support those that do work, tho' at the same time they say that being obliged by their Religion to feed the Enemys, if the French should come hither and want provisions, they must, in conscience, Supply them. As this Opinion of theirs is quite different from their practice in Carolina, where they were the most active in taking arms to pull down the Government, tho' they now fly again to the pretence of Conscience to be excused from assisting against the Indians, I have thought it necessary to put the Laws of this Country in execution against that Sect of people, which impowed me to imploy all persons as I shall see fitt for the defence of the Country in times of danger, and impose fines and penaltys upon their disobedience. I doubt not they will sufficiently exclaim against me on this Occasion, and perhaps their Brethren in England, who keep a joint Stock to preserve the quarrells of all the Sect [who] may think fitt to attack me, but I'm persuaded I shall not incur my Sovereign's displeasure so long as I act by the Rule of Law, and it is absolutely necessary to discourage such dangerous Opinions as would render the safety of the Government precarious. Since everyone that is either lazy or Cowardly would make use of the pretence of Conscience to excuse himself from working or fighting when there is greatest need of his service and I fear the Quakers would find too many proselytes on such Occasions.

Christoph von Graffenried's "Account [of]...my Miraculous Deliverance from the Savages," 23 October 1711, part 2:

When Graffenried penned his elongated narrative of his captivity among Tuscarora Indians several years later, he also included in this account an elegant and detailed description of how he viewed the Tuscarora Nation. Indeed, his description of the manners and practices of the Tuscarora in 1711 remains one of the few detailed glimpses into life and customs on the North Carolina homeland of the Tuscarora Nation. Todd, Graffenried's Account, pp. 276-82. Translated from German.

There were seven villages of the Tuscarora Nation, which very much wanted to pretend that they had nothing to do with this Indian war and massacre, and for this reason had no understanding with the other Indians. These were somewhat farther distant, more beyond Virginia, and are loyal yet, keeping their loyalty on the account of trade. These seven towns or villages hold the others in this region in certain bounds and submission. This Tom Blount is a king or leader of a considerable number of wild Indians, has very good understanding, is very well inclined towards the English nation, and contributed not a little to a good peace; yes, when it was argued with regard to me, spoke as best he could for my rescue.

I can here also not forget the generosity and sympathy of a good widow, who, immediately at my arrival and during my captivity, always brought me food, so that there was never any lack of food with me. But the most remarkable thing was, as soon as she had seen that when I was bound young fellows plundered me (among other things, my silver rings were taken from my shoes and these were held on by a small cord only), she took some of her pretty brass buckles through which she had drawn her hair bands on her forehead and fastened them upon my shoes, and had no rest until she discovered what Indian had taken my buckles, and had traded with him and gotten them. She came running back full of joy and put the silver buckles on my shoes. This was indeed a great kindness from a savage, enough to bring conviction to many Christians. I must say here to the shame of Christians, that all in all, the Indians are much more generous. I have observed many good things from them, such as-they do not swear, keep their word exactly whatever they promise, do not quickly quarrel in their games, are not so avaricious, there is not so much haughtiness; among their young people also, I have not noticed anything improper; Altho they are almost naked they act more decently than many Christians. The bad thing about them is that their rage is furious.

It is here to be observed that when these barbarous murderers come home, their wives know before hand through messengers. They prepare themselves for a feast in the night. Each household prepares the best food, after their fashion, brings the same out upon the great execution place where they also hold their dances. Each family makes a small scaffold, before which is a fire. These scaffolds are roundabout, and in the middle of the great space is a big fire, beside which the priest stands. The women took off all their ornaments, which consisted of pendants of

wampum and glass corals; then they took white wands or rather thick whips as an offering into the midst of the ring where there were also stuck up three deer skins as a sort of an idol which they honored. The Queen, or in her absence, the first after her; began; the rest, the one after the other, followed singing. When the ring was full they danced about the fire and the three hides till they were tired, and then each went to her place or scaffold to eat with her husband. When they were through they took white wands with black rings about them and went through the same ceremony as before; took the first little sticks or whips adorned with the corals, stuck the ringed ones in their place, and so turned again to their places. In the meantime the priest did his office, cursing the enemy in the most horrible motions, on the other hand exalting his warriors and urging them on to further bravery. After this the young people took the green limbs covered with foliage, colored their faces with black, white, and red; let their hair hang loose covered with goose down, so that they looked terrible, more like devils than men, and ran to the great open space with a terrible outcry, and danced as described above.

Here is to be observed, that when the above mentioned savage warriors or rather murderers came in with their booty and prisoners, the priest and the leading women seized the poor prisoners, compelled them to go into the dance, and if they did not wish to dance they caught them under the arms and dragged them up and down, as a sign that these Christians were now dancing to their music and were subject to them.

And so these heathenish ceremonies may be considered a sort of sacred litany or divine worship. In the morning I observed at times that they sang a serious little song instead of a prayer; and when they are in great danger, the same.

At New Bern where I settled and started the little city, I observed another custom among the Indians who lived there before, which was somewhat nearer the Christian worship. There they had constructed a sort of altar, very cleverly and artistically, out of woven twigs and having an arched dome. In one place there was an opening as though made for a little door, through which they laid the offering inside. In the middle of this heathen chapel were little holes in which they hung corals and also offered wampum. Towards sunrise there was set up a wooden image tolerably well carved, the figure as herewith sketched, half red, half white, before which was stuck up long staff upon which was a crown. The staff had rings around it, red and white. Toward the north or rather towards the west, there was placed opposite to it another image with an ugly face, colored black and red. They represented thus by the first image a good divinity, and by the other the devil, with whom they are better acquainted.

I cannot omit to tell here what happened to one of my tenants, a sturdy, droll man. When he was coming past, observing these two images, he immediately made a distinction between the one which represented the good God and the other which represented the bad; and because this one was colored with black and red, which were the very colors of the Canton of Bern, he was so embittered at it that he cut the ugly image

in two with his ax. Then when he came home again he boasted of it as a brave deed, as though he had split the devil in two at one blow. This in the beginning provoked a small laughter; but yet I did not approve of the deed. Soon after there came an Indian king very angry, taking this for a sacrilege and a great affront, and complaining bitterly. I treated it indeed as a joke, saying that only a bad idol was injured and destroyed, that it was of no great harm, but if it had been the good one, I would inflict severe punishment; but I would thenceforth take such measures that such vexations should not happen to them any more. Although the Indian king saw that I made a joke of the matter it did not please him but he became serious. So I gave evidence to him in earnest that this man's action also did not please me entirely; and if he could point out the man who did it, he should be punished for it. I gave the king and those who were with him rum to drink, which is a kind of brandy made of distilled sugar waste, in those parts very common and healthful if one drinks it with moderation. In addition I was very friendly with them, so that they went from me well contented and satisfied.

In their burials they make more ceremony than in their weddings or marriages. And I have observed something strange at the burial of a deceased widow. I will not expand much on it here because there are many printed accounts of the life and customs of the Indians; only in passing, what I found most strange.

And principally; when an Indian is sick or dying their 'priests come into the house go all through all sorts of figures and antics, make all sorts of conjurations and give to the sick also all sorts of medicines. If that does not help they blow their breath into the mouth of the sick with a frightful roaring, and I do not know what all conjurations. If the sick one arises there is an indescribable rejoicing, but if he dies a sad howling, enough to frighten one.

They make their graves with great care, and arch them over with bark. When the deceased is carried to the grave two priests stand there and lament and make a funeral sermon after their fashion. If there is anything to be gained they extol the deeds of the departed or comfort his relatives and make, I do not know what all strange conjurations. In short there is much action and chattering so that I have seen the priest or conjurer all in a sweat, but this happens if a good present is to be expected. When this is all over the heirs give to the priest pendants of wampum or made of calcined mussels. These are little things like corals, as has been mentioned above, white, purple, yellow; and this is their pay. N. B. The Indians are accustomed to make out of these things trousers and necklaces, and they know how to knit and to weave them so skillfully and ingeniously through one another, with all sorts of figures, that it is to be wondered at.

When it was done and the grave covered over, in my time something marvellous took place which I myself saw. A pretty fire or flame of about two candle light size went straight up into the air, as high probably, as the longest and tallest tree, traveled again in a straight line over the hut of the deceased and so farther over a great heath, probably half an hour long until it disappeared in a forest.

When I saw this and evidenced my astonishment, the savages laughed at me, as though I ought to know that this was nothing new to them, but did not want to say what it was. After this I ask several about it. No one could say positively, but they set much store by it a[*indecipherable*]! it is considered an especially good sign for the deceased. An artificial fire it cannot be because of the duration and great distance it traveled. Physically it might be considered a sulphurous vapor out of the earth; but this long regularity is too much for me.

Once when I was at Governor Hyde's in the presence of the council and many others while we were busied with the Indians about the peace, I took notice of an old Indian who looked to me like a conjurer or priest. So I asked him what that was which I have just related to have seen. Among twenty-five Indians that were there only this old one besides one other could give me an account of it. But it seemed to me like a fable.

They said that only great men, old experienced priests, could see and do such things. When I questioned them further, they gave me for an answer that this little fire is the soul of the departed, which goes into another good creature, if the person has lived well and behaved himself; if he has not behaved well it goes into a villainous smoke and into an ugly and miserable creature. The priests come to their art in the following manner; namely, it happens that a subtle little fire or flame shoots from one tree into another, but very seldom; and when an Indian sees that he must run as fast as possible to catch it, and if he catches it, it goes right on and becomes a small wood spider which jumps and runs so quickly in and over his hand that it has to be seized quickly by the other hand. But if he finally catches it, this spider grows and becomes like a mouse; and so who ever catches this wonderful thing afterwards becomes the best conjurer or magician and can do all sorts of wonders. N. B. These artists or conjurers as they are called in English, have the faculty of invoking the devil and sending him away again.

A ship captain has asserted to me that he once carried several Indians in his boat or small ship and in the Carolina Sound there came such a calm that they could get nowhere. One among the Indians said that probably he could procure a good wind, and was willing to do it. The steersman who did not have much provisions with him and wished very much to advance farther, left it to the Indian. Soon after this there came such a strong wind that he became frightened and would gladly have had less wind, but he had to go through with it, and so they came in a very short time to the desired place. But the above mentioned captain assured me that he received such a great fright on this account that as long as he lived he would no more use such help.

Whoever will may believe this and the above. It is certain that Satan practices many delusions with these poor creatures; yet if such things seem incredible, I would not have made bold to tell such fabulous things here if it had not gone about and been talked of in such eminent company.

I have heard and observed many more such things among the Indians. But because so many authors have written about them that my remarks

would only pass for repetition I will not relate more, except to say concerning the cruel and barbarous manner of the Indians, that they are indeed furious when one angers them; but if one leaves them in peace, does them no harm, and treats them according to their ways in a friendly and goodhearted manner, they will seldom injure a Christian, except if given cause for it. They have occasionally been treated cruelly and badly by the Christians. I have spoken to many of the Indians about their cruelty, but a sensible king answered me and gave a nice example of a snake. If one leaves it in its coil untouched, quiet, and uninjured, it will do no creature harm; but if one disturbs and wounds it, it will bite and wound. And the Spaniards had used their forefathers too cruelly, yes, very inhumanly. Concerning their, the Indians' massacres and fighting treacherously: They had to use their advantage or else they could not hold their own; they were not so strong in numbers, and were not provided with pieces, muskets, swords, and all sorts of other treacherous inventions made with powder to destroy men; likewise they had neither powder nor lead or else they got them from the Christians themselves; so that our ways were much more treacherous, false, and harmful; otherwise, we would not use them so cruelly. Moreover we practiced among ourselves the greatest tyranny and cruelty. Indeed I have experienced this myself.

Christoph von Graffenried's Treaty with the Tuscarora Nation and Their Indian Neighbors, October 1711

Despite his imprisonment in various Tuscarora villages, Graffenried was eager to establish a treaty of peace and amity with the Tuscarora Nation. Although he lacked clear legal authority to treat with an Indian nation, he nevertheless--Quixote that he was--attempted to parade his Swiss titles as seeming badges of authority to declare a treaty with the Indians surrounding New Bern. He knew that the future of his colony depended upon a peaceful coexistence with the Tuscarora. And he was willing to do virtually anything to win tranquility. Source: Todd, Graffenried's Account, pp. 281-82. Written originally in English.

TREATY.

It is hereby made known to all and sundry that in October 1711, it was agreed as follows between Baron, Count von Graffenried, Governor of the German Colony in North Carolina, and the Indians of the Tuscarora Nation with their neighbors of Core, Wilkinsons Point, King Taylor, those of Pamtego, and others of the region.

1. That both parties shall forget the past and henceforth be good friends.
2. The subscribed Governor of the German colonies, in times when the English and the Indians are in strife, enmity, and war against each other, shall be entirely neutral; in like manner he shall remain quietly in his house and city, allowing neither English nor Indians to pass there, nor do any Indian injury. They promise

the same toward our people. In case strife occurs between the parties named, they shall not get justice for themselves, but shall make their accusation at the proper place; namely with the authorities of both sides.

3. The above named Governor of the German colony promises to stay within his boundaries and to take no more territory, up toward them, without the consent of the king and nation.
4. He promises further, to procure a truce of arms for four days, in order that within this time able persons may be chosen and commissioned to propose salutary plans of peace, which, as far as possible, would have to be acceptable and pleasing to the parties in strife.
5. It shall be allowed to the Indians to hunt where they wish without any hinderance, except in case they come so close to our plantation that the cattle would be driven away or injured or danger of fire might be feared.
6. To them, the Indians, wares and provisions shall be allowed to come at a reasonable and cheap price. Further it is agreed, that where the marks written below shall be on the doors of our houses, hat there no injury or damage shall be done. So shall, herewith, the conditions and clauses be exactly observed. As a genuine voucher of which we on both sides, subscribe ourselves and there is affixed the ordinary signs.

The sign of Neuse, N. Graffenried, Governor of the German Colony.

Tuscaroras' Sign, MA Tuscarora Indians and Neighbors.

Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Ensuing Tuscarora War, 1711-1712

Despite Graffenried's best efforts to secure a lasting peace, the various prickly causes of friction between the highly aroused Tuscarora and the rude English and German settlers around New Bern could not be simply wished away. According to Graffenried skirmishes continued and simply increased due to the activities of equally naughty bands of "wild Indians and the wild Christians" who taunted each other continually. Some of the English settlers--notably Captain William Brice--promoted the hostilities and "through his unreasonable caprices exposed the whole province to danger." From Graffenried's perspective--in spite of his personal sufferings at the hands of his captors--he thought the Tuscarora were quite justified in seeking revenge for the insults preyed upon them. Source: Todd, Graffenried's Account, pp. 234-46. Translated from German.

What caused the Indian war was firstly, the slanders and instigations of certain plotters against Governor Hyde, and secondly, against me, in that they talked the Indians into believing that I had come to take

their land, and that then the Indians would have to go back towards the mountains. I talked them out of this and it was proven by the friendliness I had shown them, as also by the payment for the land where I settled at the beginning (namely that upon which the little city of New Bern was begun), regardless of the fact that the seller was to have given it over to me free. I had also made peace with the same Indian inhabitants so that they were entirely satisfied with me. Thirdly, it was the great carelessness of the colony. Fourthly, the harsh treatment of certain surly and rough English inhabitants who deceived them in trade, would not let them hunt about their plantations, and under this excuse took away from them their arms, munitions, pelts or hides, yes, even beat an Indian to death. This alarmed them very much and with reason.

The Indians kept their design very secret, and they were even then about to take counsel in an appointed place at the time that I happened to travel up the river.

I thought I was so much the more in safety, since only ten days before when I was coming home from surveying and had lost my way in the forest, just as night overtook me I had fallen into the hands of the Indians who before my coming had lived in Chatalognia, at present New Bern. They had now settled in this place and received me very kindly and in the morning accompanied me as far as the right way. They gave me two Indians who went with me as far as my home, and out of thankfulness I gave them something and sent some rum and brandy to the king. This very king, together with the help of the Most High, contributed not a little to my rescue when I was captured by the Indians, condemned to death, and saved in a marvelous manner. What took place among the Indians and how I finally came home and got to New Bern again is to be seen in the account sent to Governor Hyde. Right on the end of this account I had begun to tell what adverse and disagreeable things happened to me immediately on my return, and so there appears to be no end of my ill fortune. But since I could not foresee the future, I shall tell as briefly as possible, what took place further, up to my departure to Europe and my journey home. Firstly, How this Indian war was renewed and ended: Secondly, For what motives I left the colony and went to Europe, yes, clear to Berne. What happened to me after my arrival among the Christians was almost more dangerous and vexatious than when I was among the heathens. Before the heathen tribunal I had my accusers before me, everything was done in good order, nothing behind my back and under cover nor in a rebellious and turbulent manner; but when I came home, thinking to be among friends and Christians and hoping to rest a little, it became worse.

There were a number of rough, jealous, and morose planters or inhabitants. And because I would not immediately accede to their notion of killing or of giving over to their discretion, an Indian to whom I had promised safe conduct because he had come to get my ransom, this sort of evil Christians, worse than the heathen, secretly got information against me, and there was much talk, and threats of nothing less than that I must be hanged. I had not considered it feasible for those to go to war with the Indians before the fifteen Palatine prisoners had been freed and delivered over, who did not have enough provisions nor munitions

nor soldiers, since in addition, half of the Palatines had left my quarters in my absence. So now from a heathen tribunal I had to appear before a Christian judge's bench, yes, to a trial worse than the heathen, if it had gone according to the will of certain godless fellows. To this a Palatine blacksmith who wished to revenge himself because I had punished him for frightful execrations, disobedience, stealing, and horrible threats, contributed not a little, and this he did in a very treacherous manner. He went immediately over to the Indians, and made them very suspicious of me, as though my promise was of no value, as though I were deceiving them, since, instead of keeping peace and neutrality with them, I was entirely on the side of the English, whom I was supplying with firearms and munitions of war. But as soon as I learned of his treachery, and for that cause wanted to punish him, he had gotten wind of it and had betaken himself to William Brice, a common man, who because of his audacity had been chosen captain, and who was very much opposed to me. There, where a garrison composed of rowdies collected together and of disloyal Palatines were guarding his house, the above mentioned blacksmith had said the same things of me as before to the Indians, and more yet, so that I passed for a traitor. Very soon there was a list of 20 articles written up, of which not a point was true. As soon as I had heard of this, I wrote, nevertheless without fear, since I had a good conscience, to the governors of Virginia and of Carolina, informing them circumstantially of all that had happened; and they approved of my conduct, as did all other persons of understanding and reason.

Along with this it happened that since I had caused the effects of the smith as a criminal and a fugitive, who was, moreover, much in debt to me, to be inventoried and put into safe keeping, this abovementioned Brice wanted very much to have the smith and the detained goods given out. His intention was to do this by force in addition to bringing me bound to Governor Hyde, as one guilty of treason, and so he took counsel in secret with some of the most prominent of his crew, and the conclusion was to the effect that if I should refuse to give out the smith's goods, they would take them by force, giving as pretext that they needed them for defense, and because I would doubtless resist, they would then take possession of my person, and so bring me to the Governor. But there was, by chance, a little Palatine boy in the room of whom they took no notice, who understood English. Hearing this he got out of the room as quietly as he could, and told his mother, one of those who were still my subjects. She got quickly into a little boat and came over to me. When she told me this conspiracy I immediately had the drum beat, the gate locked, and my people placed in a good position. I could scarcely get this done when Brice came with 30 or 40 neighboring men, among them that same godless smith and probably 20 of the disloyal Palatines. Not knowing that I was informed of the affair, they thought to go right into the yard 3 5 and take possession of me. But they found everything in a position that they did not expect, and when they asked our people what that was to signify, the corporal answered that we were well on our guard because of the wild Indians and the wild Christians. It was asked in reply whether we took them for enemies, then, and again it was answered that friends are not in the habit of visiting their neighbors in such a manner, that it seemed as though they were our enemies, especially since such traitors and deserters were among them, yet if Colonel

Brice and one other wanted to come in he thought this would not be refused. When this was represented to me I allowed them to come in under good guard. When Colonel Brice complained of my actions I gave as answer that a fine design was known to me, but that I would know how to make his shameless and audacious procedure known in the proper place. I asked him if it was the proper manner towards his superiors to thus raise a mutiny. I told him that I, as a member of the upper house, landgrave, and commandant of this district would be in the right to send him away bound. So I let these false, designing fellows go with short courtesy and severe threats until the next parliament. What other insults were done me and my people by this captain and the disloyal Palatines would be too lengthy and too disagreeable to write in detail, and so I have for the sake of brevity not cared to tell more. But yet a little more in passing.

It is to be observed that the agreement here below made and signed with the Indians, was entered into while I was still in bonds and to save my life, and so I could not be compelled to keep my word. But according to this, since I was not of the view *quod hereticis non habenda fides* (faith need not be kept towards heretics), I was resolved to keep as much as I could conscientiously, with regard also to the duty which I owed to the crown of England. And if they had left me alone afterwards it would have been well for the entire country and much murder and misfortune would have been avoided.

But this Captain Brice along with his gang was so heated, that, without having the wisdom to take counsel, following their blind passion, without reflecting upon any measures nor upon the smaller number of people nor the small amount of food and munitions nor upon the danger to the poor captured women and children, he rejected the proposed truce and immediately began hostilities, and so through his unreasonable caprices exposed the whole province to danger and interrupted all my measures. But if they had let me manage, we should, in the first place, have gained time by this truce, so that the whole province and I could have put ourselves into a good position and we could in this time provide ourselves with soldiers, war and food supplies. Secondly, I was actually already at work during this truce to save the poor captive women and children, for I was not going to give over my ransom, except they had given the prisoners over to me. This had been agreed upon in the first conference, with great danger and difficulty. N. B. It has been very well shown, of how much importance it was and afterwards related in the history of the Indian war how this captured Holtzmann (woodsman?) had to manage the Indians, unless one can make an end of them at the very first. Now while I was doing my best with the Indians in this good work, and thirdly, through my alleged neutrality and the delay, wished to gain time so that the English, as well as the Carolinians, and especially the colony, might get again what they had left buried in their plantations and houses, and likewise be able to catch as much of their cattle as possible in the forests, there came this Brice's mob, wilder and more unreasonable than the Indians, and spoiled all my negotiations for me, by an attack unbeknown to the rest. This whole bad business, the before mentioned treachery of the smith, and this action took all confidence of the Indians in me away. So that from that time on they made attack upon my colony

also, since until then their houses and goods had been spared according to the agreement made. But following the untimely procedure of the Carolinians, the Indians have gone on to destroy everything, and my poor people's houses although the doors were marked with a sign, had to be burned. The rest of the household furniture, although concealed and buried, was hunted up, taken away, and the cattle in the forests shot down. From there the Indians have beset one plantation after another, plundered, slaughtered, and done much harm here and there in the province, especially on the Neuse, Trent, and Pamtego Rivers. What caused worse retaliation by the Indians was the harsh procedure of Brice, for when he got some of the Indians of Bay River, their chief, the king, was used most terribly, yes, severely roasted, tormented with all sorts of unchristian tortures, and so killed. This so embittered the Indians that it is not to be wondered at that they also treated the Christians cruelly. What grieved me most in this was that a disloyal Palatine did the most in this torturing and took pleasure in it. It was this same man who was the author of the disloyalty of the Palatines. There were indeed in Brice's following, bold and courageous people, but wholly inconsiderate. If the other Carolinians had behaved better and had not been so faint-hearted we should have become master of the Indians sooner and things would not have gone so badly.

And now, since it was of so much concern to me to justify my conduct and to show the godless and impudent behavior of Brice's rabble, I went in when the general assembly 39 was held and asked where these false accusers were, and demanded that they should bring these slanderers before my eyes, and give me copies of the complaints in order that I might defend and justify myself in a fitting manner, but no one dared to appear against me, and no one here wanted to tell the articles of complaint, and so there was an end of it. During this time I had much trouble and was in great danger, suffering not a little in my honor and reputation and demanded satisfaction because the complainants and the slanderers were well known to me. I named them out. but the authors did not appear, and in such a confused government and in the midst of the Indian war I could not get any satisfaction. The Governor and the upper house, which consisted of the seven councilors and representatives of the Lords Proprietors, two landgraves, several colonels, and the secretary, made, indeed, their excuses and paid me a compliment in regard to this affair, and with this I had to be satisfied. I sent many memorials and letters to the Governor about this matter, in which these disagreeable stories and proceedings are to be seen in detail, especially in the register of my letters of the years 1711 and 1712. But if all the adverse and grievous things which happened to me in Carolina and Virginia should be told it would make a big book.

To give here as was done above, only a few of the causes of the Indian war:

The carelessness of the Carolinians contributed not a little to the audacity and bold actions of these Indians, because they trusted them too much, and for safety there was not a fortified place in the whole province to which one could retire: also in case of any eruption or hostility no arrangements were made and much less were there the necessary

provisions of food and war supplies. This was carried so far that in these times of unrest, whole shiploads of corn and meat were carried away and exchanged for sugar, molasses, brandy, and other less necessary things. In short, everything was carelessly managed. Instead of drawing together into one or two bodies of well ordered soldiery in order to drive the enemy from the boundaries of the settlements, every one wanted to save his own house and defend himself. This was the cause that finally the Indians or savages overpowered one plantation after another, and soon brought the whole province under them. My idea was that in case the savages would not act in accordance with the agreement made with them, and could not be brought to a good treaty, to divert them with the peace I had made, to procure a truce, and meanwhile, with the help of my people to establish myself in some place and, provided with all necessary munitions and food, by this means to make a greater and more vigorous resistance, or else entirely to destroy the savages. But there was nothing to be done with these wrong-headed Carolinians, who, even if some were more courageous than the others, took the matter up so heedlessly and clumsily, got around behind the Indians who were much stronger in numbers, good shots, and well provided with everything, so that this small handful of Christians immediately had to get the worst of it. Yes, without the help of the Palatines and Switzers they would have been destroyed, as is to be seen in the first account. N. B. In the same account there is to be seen from a letter with the date and salutation, how the troops who were in Bath Town, a little village on the Pamtego River, about 150 in number, would not go according to their word and the sign which they had given to them, and did not have the heart to cross the river to help their neighbors, in such urgent need; but rather, after they had eaten up the corn and meat of the inhabitants of this district, leaving us on the other side along the Neuse River in the lurch, they went home again.

How I fortified myself and New Bern for 22 weeks long and supported myself and the colony with my own means, and finally had to leave my post from lack of anything to eat, in order to go to the Governor, is partly to be seen in the first account. Yet I can not pass over without telling how it went with me on this journey into Albemarle County.

So then after I had experienced and seen how miserably everything was going; what poor, yes, absolute lack of assistance; the impossibility of holding out so, for in the long run, indeed, we were reduced to the very extremity; how that through the invasion of the savages the whole colony had been destroyed, since, as has been said, about 70 had been murdered and captured, the houses of all the colonists burned, their household furniture and whatever they owned carried off, most of the cattle shot down, and our own used for food. So upon the representations of Mr. Michel and other gentlemen from Virginia and Maryland, I resolved to take other measures and because the colony was divided, half of the Palatines having turned from me, to betake myself with the rest, along with the Switzers, to the above mentioned places. Hereupon I packed a part of my things, had my little sloop fitted out with the intention, that when I had reached Governor Hyde I should succeed in getting better assistance in the parliament or general assembly, failing which, I would continue in my design to go to Virginia and Maryland.

So I departed in great perplexity, because my people were in the greatest straits, yes, so much that there was no longer a measure of corn left, but we had to make shift with pork, and that very sparingly. This journey was also unfortunate. I departed with good weather and wind, after I had collected my people and addressed them as best I could, comforting them with hope of speedy help. In the evening when we were almost at the mouth of the river and were about to sail out into the Sound, there occurred a noteworthy sign. On the tip of the mast there suddenly came a small fire and it whistled rather loudly for about a quarter of an hour, and finally it ceased. When I asked the captain of the ship what that was, he told me nothing very good, that directly a great storm would follow and that was certain. I laughed at this and desired to continue my journey. But an hour did not pass, before the wind began to blow harder, and because it was toward night we did not venture, but looked about where we might drop anchor by the land. We were scarcely able to approach the land before the wind struck us so hard that a little later we should have come into the greatest danger. So we stayed over night with a planter, a good man, who had settled there upon an estate. In the morning when the storm was past, we 'went on, and so came in the evening of the second day into the middle of the Sound, which is a sea much bigger than Lake Geneva, since in the middle one could not see land; but we struck against a sand bank, so that the ship gave such a loud crack that we thought it broken in two, and if it had not been very strong we should have had to suffer shipwreck there. We were, then, in the greatest anxiety, and took all imaginable means to get away from this dangerous place. The greatest fear was that even if the ship were finally freed it would have a crack, so that we should have been sent down without fail. But God was so gracious, that after the sea had risen and the wind had become better, we happily got away with spread sails. When we saw that no water came into the boat, we thanked God and started out. On the third day we had such a strong contrary wind that in one place we had to sail towards land. There, where there was a broad expanse grown up to reeds, we dropped anchor, and were compelled to remain several days, until the wind calmed down somewhat, so that we could sail with a side wind through a canal which flows through the reeds. We were scarcely out of the reeds when ill luck would have it that we remained sticking upon a solid rock, so that for half a day we had enough to do before we were free, and again the sea had to help us. Finally the wind increased and we came off all right and reached the appointed place, and it was time we did, for all our meager provisions of food and drink were used up. Instead of arriving in twice twenty-four hours as we hoped to with good winds we used over ten days. Thus one sees what the weather sign upon the tip of the mast means. It seems to be a superstition, to be sure, but experience knows differently.

After I had spent six whole weeks at Governor Hyde's, partly in waiting the termination of the council and the other affairs of the province, partly in providing my people at New Bern with the necessaries of life and military stores, after the expenditure of great pains and much time, my sloop was filled with corn, powder, lead, and tobacco, and sent to New Bern. But oh, what a misfortune. The good people in their extreme distress waited in vain for it. For when the sloop was clear past the Sound and far from the mouth of the river, the people on the ship drank

too much brandy, so that they all went to sleep, thinking they were now out of danger; but because they had not entirely put out the fire in the kitchen, a spark sprang from a stick of wood and got into the tobacco leaves, which were not far from there. These caught more and more, until a fire started, and at length the smoke wakened the shipmen, who, out of fear that the powder cask would catch, tried to save themselves, got into the canoe, that is, a little round-bottomed boat, and left. Before they came clear to land the fire got into the powder, and the sloop went up in flames.

Imagine what sad news for the half-starved colonists to hear a thing like that, instead of the assistance waited for so long and with such great desire, and how that went to their hearts. By the time I had learned this sad news, which had delayed a good while, I had worked with all my might to have them provision a larger sloop or brigantine, but this went forward so slowly that I became very angry, seeing well that such tergiversations in such critical times would not do. For this reason I disposed my affairs with this in view that as soon as my people should have received these provisions, they should sail immediately in the same ship with Mr. Michel to Virginia. This was very much delayed. After I had stayed a long time at Governor Hyde's, as has been said before, waiting for the affairs relating to the war and the province where there was much to do, I went into Virginia in order to make the best arrangements possible. But before I go on to this journey, I can not omit to tell what in the meantime was done for the safety of the country.

After I had strongly represented to Governor Hyde and the General Assembly that we should make better arrangements than had previously been made, otherwise we were in danger of all being killed by the Indians, we got to work, and never in my life should I have thought to meet such awkward and faint-hearted people.

First of all it was of importance to find where provisions were to be obtained, for it was impossible to go to war, and yet these improvident Carolinians were so foolish as to sell grain and meat out of the country. For this reason I urged Governor Hyde immediately, to publish a sharp command forbidding the exportation of certain things.

Secondly, to find out what grain there was in the country, and to take measures accordingly. It was found that there was not enough by far, to carry on such a tedious war. Hereupon arrangements were made with the neighboring provinces which had plenty, to procure some.

Thirdly, to provide powder, lead, and firearms, with which the province was not at all supplied, and of which the individuals had very little. Hereupon it was decided to send for it among those from other places. But no one wanted to give the money for this purpose, nor did the province which was then in bad credit, find means, and so I had to try to effect something with the Governor in Virginia.

Fourthly, Suppose that all the above things of which the people had need were ready, there was still labor. We could with the greatest difficulty

make out scarcely 300 armed men, and there were among them many who were unwilling to fight. They were mostly badly clad and equipped. With reference to this, commission was given to me to seek for help in Virginia. When, finally, Governor Spotswood, acting in the Queen's name, promised them this with the stipulation that the provisions and soldiers' pay should be returned, they did not want it, unless the Governor would send the soldiers and the provisions at the expense of the Queen, asserting that they could not pay back such sums, which was absurd. Why should the Queen have the expenses of the colony since the Lords Proprietors draw the revenue? This gave occasion for several to go to the Governor of Virginia to sound him to see whether he would take upon himself the protection of Carolina. But this the Governor refused, for good reasons.

Fifthly, it was proposed that we fortify some place in the province to be used in case of need as a retreat, in which to keep ourselves in safety. But this did not succeed.

With things as we knew they were, what was to be done? Meantime the Indians continued their depredations, became bold with such poor defense, and overcame one plantation after another.

The last resource was to send hastily to South Carolina for help, which we also obtained, otherwise the province would have been destroyed. So the Governor of South Carolina sent 800 savage tributaries with 50 English South Carolinians, under the command of Colonel Barnwell, well equipped and provided with powder and lead.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Management of Indian Affairs at the Onset of the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712

The records of North Carolina's government in the early 18th century are somewhat limited--some of the records probably absconded by some of its earliest historians. However, from the scattered minute books of the North Carolina Executive Council in this period, it is clear that North Carolina's leaders were obsessed with the activities of Indian nations still living along the coast and around the Albemarle and Pamlico Sound regions. They were especially wary of the Tuscarora Nation--the largest and most powerful Indian nation between North Carolina's coast and the rich hinterlands of the interior.

North Carolina's leaders wanted to deal directly with these Indian nations and wanted to manage them. But they were unable to exercise very much authority due to the pervasive influence of Virginia's government across the northern tier of North Carolina and the intrepid activities of traders radiating out of Charleston, South Carolina. Virginia's leaders were interested mainly in the commerce of selling goods; South Carolina's traders at the moment were much more interested in the commerce of human beings. Before the onset of a vast importation of Africans to work South Carolina's emerging plantation economy, South Carolinians were interested in buying, capturing, and removing the internal Indian population that occupied interior lands. Graffenried and

his colonists happened along at the very moment that South Carolina's traders were busily separating Indians across the southeastern North America from their lands. The minutes of North Carolina's Executive Council reflect these tensions and the virtual impotence of this body in dealing effectively with the Indian inhabitants of the region.

When the frictions between the English and German settlers near New Bern with the adjacent Tuscarora Nation erupted into war, North Carolina's governing council asked both Virginia and South Carolina for assistance. Virginia demurred. South Carolina sent forth one of its best known Indian warriors, Col. John Barnwell, to use his special methods of dealing with the Tuscarora. Commanding a small company of English colonials and a vast force of collaborating Indians--many of them traditional enemies of the Tuscarora--Barnwell arrived in North Carolina in December 1711 and began demanding provisions for his Indian companions. Both he and his Indian allies began taking enemy Indian prisoners to be enslaved wherever they could. Source: Robert J. Cain, editor, Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734 (Colonial Records of North Carolina, 2nd Series, vol. VII) (Raleigh, NC: NC Division of Archives and History, 1984), pp. 8-10.

1711, Novr. It is by this board agreed and ordered that the Hon. the President have power and liberty to send for any of the country Indians, and demand tribute of them, when he shall think fit.

1711/2 Feby. This board having taken into their consideration the necessity of disposing by sale of the Indian Captives now in custody, called the Bay River Indians, who not only have been privy and consenting to the late bloody massacre, but have actually assaulted by force and arms, several of the inhabitants of this government as well to prevent unnecessary charge as to refund several considerable sums of money, which have been disbursed on emergent occasions by the Hon. Edwd. Hyde President and the Hon. Col. Pollock Esq. for the publick service: Ordered that the said Bay River Indians be brought to Capt. John Heckelfield's, the third day of the next Genl. Court, and there be exposed to public sale by the Provost Marshal or his deputy, by way of Vendue, to the highest bidder, the purchaser giving security in the sum of one thousand pounds to export the said Indians out of the government, in one month after the said purchase; and likewise the purchaser to give bond with good security for the payment of the purchase money in November next to the Hon Edward Hyde Esq. President and the Hon. Col. Thos. Pollock Esq.

1711/2 Feby. Ordered that an address of thanks be returned to the government of South Carolina for the seasonable succours and relief sent unto us under the Command of the Hon. Col. John Barnwell Esq. against the Tuscarora Indians now in open hostility, procured by the solicitations of the Hon. Edwd. Hyde Esq. President.

1711/2 Feby. Ordered that the Hon. Lieutenant Col. Thomas Boyd and Thomas Peterson Esq. do return the hearty thanks of this board to the Hon. Col. John Barnwell Esq. Genl. and Commander in chief of all the forces etc., for his great care, diligence and conduct; and to congratulate

him on the success already obtained against the Enemy.

1711/2 Ordered that five hundred bushels of corn be immediately raised and sent round to Bath County for the use and subsistence of the forces now come from South Carolina for our succour: and then shall be delivered at such place or places as the Genl. shall appoint.

Whereas a most horrid and bloody massacre has been committed upon several of the inhabitants of this government by the Tuscarora Indians, their adherents and abettors, and whereas upon the representation of the same by the Hon. Edward Hyde Esqr. President etc. to the Government of South Carolina soliciting their relief and succor, has in tender compassion to the wretched state of this poor country, detached a considerable force under the command of the Hon. Col. John Barnwell Esqr. Commander in Chief to defend us from the imminent danger with which we are threatened and very much exposed to. It is therefore *Resolved*, by the honorable the President with the unanimous advice and consent of the Council of this Government that vigorous resolutions be pursued for carrying on the war, as follows,

First. That no treaty of peace, neutrality or commerce shall be agreed or concluded between this Government and the upper towns of the Tuscaroras until such time as they deliver up such indians of their own towns either alive or dead as were joined with Hancock and his crew being sufficiently manifest not only by the confession of the prisoners taken belonging to those towns, but also by the great quantity of English goods and clothes with the scalps of white people found there, as by the deposition of the Hon. Col. John Barnwell Esqr. Genl. of the forces aforesaid plainly appears. And it is further ordered that an address be presented from this board to the Governor of Virginia praying him that he will be pleased to acquaint those towns with reasons for it.

2ndly. That the Indians in those towns actually joining with Hancock in the massacre, it is resolved that no peace, or any terms whatsoever be agreed with them but entirely to extirpate them according to the laudable custom of South Carolina.

3rdly. For the carrying on so good a work for the future peace and tranquility of this and our neighbor Governments it is resolved that at least two hundred men be raised for four months to concert with the forces of South Carolina and that for the subsistence as well of those forces as of the forces of South Carolina it is resolved that Magazines be erected on the rivers of Neuse and Pamplico at such places as shall be ordered by the Commander in Chief of the said expedition.

And whereas it most unfortunately happened that Major Christopher Gale, who was sent by this Government to South Carolina to negotiate this affair is not yet <1711/2 Feby. > arrived in this Government, though he set out from South Carolina for this place in a Sloop with stores and ammunition etc., three months since, by reason whereof we are utterly ignorant of the treaty or measures concerted between him on our parts and the Government of South Carolina for carrying on this war;

4thly. It is resolved that together with the address of thanks we supplicate the Government of South Carolina that they would be so favorable to us either to send a copy of the said treaty or such instructions to the Commander of their forces to enter into such 'further treaty here as well with: this Government as with the Government of Virginia to concert proper measures to give the finishing stroke to a work so well begun.

Ordered that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Neighboring Governments.

Ordered that a sloop, shallop, boat or Cannoo, be immediately impressed with men and provisions suitable to be sent to South Carolina to acquaint that Government with our proceedings, relating to our present state of affairs.

Colonel John Barnwell's Letters on the 1st South Carolina Expedition to North Carolina in the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712: Letter 1

Colonel John Barnwell, who would earn the sobriquet "Tuscarora Jack" for his campaigns into North Carolina to suppress a so-called Tuscarora uprising, marched into North Carolina and began attacking and leveling Tuscarora settlements wherever he went. Hailed as a hero savior when he first arrived, it soon became clear that he and his combined Indian and colonial force would exact a price from both Indian enemies and Carolina settlers. He needed food (mainly corn), ammunition, local militia, and logistical support. He would soon complain about his ungrateful North Carolina hosts. North Carolina leaders belly-ached equally loudly about the marauding activities of the South Carolina mercenaries and their Indian henchmen. Source: John Barnwell, "The Tuscarora Expedition. Letters of Colonel John Barnwell," The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 9, 1 (January 1908): 30-36.

Narhantes Fort, Feb'ry 4, 1711[1712]

May it please your Hon^r:

I had eight days March from Pedee river where I dated my last to Cape Feare River, being a very bad Road full of great Swamps often pulling our horses out by main Strength and ropes. In the mean time during these 60 miles march I ordered Capt. Bull to take another Circuit among his Indians and meet me at the said River; accordingly he brought about 200 men, some of which were Bowmen. We were two days passing the River on bark logs and Rafts, and when I drew up my forces on this other side I soon perceived a great desertion of the Indians, but mostly of Capt. Bull's, of which there were 67 remaining. I concealed it as much as I could least of discouraging the rest, who I told were gone another way by my order & would meet us again; however the desertion continued & still continues, for the night before I crossed Neuse River I numbered my men and found it thus:

IN CAPT. STEEL'S TROOP

30	-	-	-	-	white men
158	-	-	-	-	Yamasses
155	-	-	-	-	Essaws
<u>182</u>	-	-	-	-	Capt. Bull's.
525					

With Capt. Bull, Major Mackay, myself is in all 528.

YAMASSE COMPANY

Yamasses,	-	-	-	-	87
Hog Logees,	-	-	-	-	10
Apalatchees,	-	-	-	-	56
Corsaboy,	-	-	-	-	<u>5</u>
					158

ESSAW CAPT. JACK'S COMPA.

Watterees,	-	-	-	-	28
Sagarees,	-	-	-	-	20
[pg 31]					
Catabas,	-	-	-	-	40
Suterees,	-	-	-	-	27
Waxaws,	-	-	-	-	27
Congree & Sattees,	-	-	-	-	<u>13</u>
					155

CAPT. BULL'S COMP.

Watterees,	-	-	-	-	28
Pedees,	-	-	-	-	18
Weneaws,	-	-	-	-	24
Cape Feare,	-	-	-	-	11
Hoopengs,	-	-	-	-	11
Wareperes,	-	-	-	-	<u>9</u>
					117

TO HIS COMPANY ALSO.

Saraws,	-	-	-	-	42
Saxapahaws,	-	-	-	-	<u>22</u>
					182

My Scouts made no discovery of any men from North Carolina to joyn me at the place concerted between me and Major Gale jursuant to the articles stipulated between your Hon^r & him, in behalf of that Government, by which means I was destitute of Pilots & information; however relying on the justice of war, and the blessing of God upon our arms, who was pleased to grant us the finest weather that could be desired, I crossed Neuse River the 28th of January at night, at a place the Saxapahaws were lately settled, and 30 mile below the place appointed to meet Major Gale, and about 27 above this place, being the greatest and most warlike Town of the Tuscaruros; the Saxapahaws (called by some Shacioes) were forced to desert their settlements in the beginning of this month by reason the Tuscaruros of this town fell upon them and killed 16 of them,

because they refused to join with them against the English, they were just come among the Wattomas, when I came and were going to pay their Tribute to your Hon^r and beg your protection, but I desired them not to do it untill our Return, and go with me, they seeming to me brave men and good.

The 29th I marched hard all day and most of the night, that if possible I might surprise this great town, but to my great disappointment they discovered us, being continually upon their guard since the massacre. Tho' this be called a town, it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the Country, no where 5 houses together, and then ¼ a mile such another and so on for several miles, so it is impossible to surprize many before the alarm takes. They have lately built small forts at about a miles distance from one another where ye men sleep all night & the women & children, mostly in the woods; I have seen 9 of these Forts and none of them a month old, & some not quite finished.

My next work was to take one of ye forts, and while I was preparing * * & * * to do the same orderly, some of my Yamasees were so mettlesome as to advise to force it by Assault, willing to flesh while they were hot, I immediately ordered the Attack, the Indians were first up, but dropping, they began to cool, when my too few valient white men reinforced them and broke into the fort in three places. Captain Steel was the first in, and I to encourage the men followed, then my Yamasees; but to our great surprise, within the Fort were two Houses stronger than the fort which did puzzle us & do the most damage, but now it was too late to look back, we forced them but the enemy were so desperate, the very women shooting Arrows, yet they did not yield untill most of them were put to the sword.

In this action Capt. Steel & all like rugged braves behaved themselves nobly, so did the Major and young Parence (?) who I made Cornet, throwing the Standard upon the Block House, and calling to the men to recover it, and really every private man behaved himself so well that it was Terror to our own heathen friend to behold us, the word was Revenge, which we made good by the Execution we made of the Enemy.

The Indians when they saw ye Britains enter, they judging the business was over, Crowded in on all hands to plunder which proved ye destruction of several, and when we forced the log houses while we were putting the men to the sword, our Indians got all the slaves & plunder, only one girl we got,

We were not half an hour in taking this their strongest Fort in this part of the country, with the loss of 7 killed & 32 wounded, Viz:

Jan'y 30th in taking ye fort of Narhontes head Town of ye Tuscaruros.

Yamases Comp^a, Peterba King killed, 9 Yamases wounded Waterkee King killed, 2 Apalachees wounded, Cunaba Tom killed; 3 killed, 11 wounded.

Of Capt. Bull's Comp: 1 Sattack killed, King Robin wound, 1 Saxapahaw & 4 Wattaw wound. In all, 1 killed & 6 Wounded.

Of the Enemy: Yamasees bro^t 17 scalps, Capt Jacks Comp. 19 scalps, Capt. Bull's Comp. 16 scalps.

Capt. Jack's Compⁿ 1 Watteree killed, 4 wounded, 1 Watteree killed, 6 Catabas wounded, 1 Congree wounded. In all, 2 killed & 16 wounded.

Besides those of white men we made about 30 slaves & there were several women killed, I saw 10, I was much concerned at my loss with no greater Execution of the Enemy, but much * * when I found ye Enemy terrified at the quick work made here, quitted all their forts, & left a fine Country open full of provisions, Our Indians presently loading themselves with English plunder of which these Towns are full, and running away from me, nothing left for the white men but their horses tired & their wounds to comfort them,

Next morning ye Tuscaruro town of Kenta came to attack us, but at such a distance I could not come up with them so I ordered two of Capt. Jack's Company to cross a great Swamp that lay at the back of us and ly close untill they heard our firing, and then to come on the back or rear of the Enemy if possible to surround them, accordingly they did, but being two eager, they did not time * * * but 9 scalps & 2 prisoners which I ordered immediately to be burned alive, we had 2 more wounded this day.

To day having left a garrison in this Fort to look after the wounded men I marched thro' the 5 Towns of the Enemy whose Country is almost as fine & * * * as Appalatcha, I ordered that ye Fruit trees w'ch are plenty both of apples & peeches & Quinces to be preserved but destroyed all the rest, being about 374 houses, wherein there could not be less than 2000 bushells of corn and everywhere marks of their * * * against the English. In this days march a scalp was brought to me taken from a wounded man that was left behind by the Enemy.

From that day to the date hereof I am confined in this place by rainy weather, the Indians in the mean time making excursions and destroying the Country, but could meet with no p'son I am in want of Pilots, so am at a great Loss how to steer my Course, and much[†] * * * of North Carolina, the greatest part of our Indians are unwilling to proceed into unknown Country, where they may be hem'd in by a numerous Enemy and not know how to extricate themselves; but my brave Yamasees told me they would go wherever I led them. They will live and die with me, and Indeed I have that dependance on them that I would not refuse to give battle to the whole Nation of the Tuscaruros with them. The Enemy can't be less than 12 or 1,400 men, which may be easily judged by their large settlements, but extremely cowardly if they have liberty to run. Our Indians outdo the Enemy very much either at bush or Swamp but the Enemy are Fleeter & has the advantage of knowing the Country.

By the best information I can get there is two navigable Rivers between me and the English Inhabitants, which must be crossed on logs; yet if 200 stays with me I will attempt the forcing my way thither, for what I have hitherto done is but a small matter to the reduction or Extirpating these Indians according to my Instructions. All w'ch by * assistance I will either perform before my return or lose myself in the attempt, w'ch

for the honor of Carolina I am always ready to Sacrifice. As soon as the bad weather is broke up I will cross a river called by the Indians Caticee but what called by the English I can't tell. Afterwards to K. Hancock's fort which they tell me is a day & ½ march from me: they tell me he has some great guns, a great deal of powder, & 300 men, and they suppose most of the men belonging to the towns destroyed will fly there. They confess that young men were wheedled by Hancock to joine in the villainies committed by him, but the old men & chiefs wept bitterly and told them the ill consequences would follow.

I examined several of the prisoners who provoked the Enemy to committ these Murders, and all agree in one story that the beginning of the Quarrel arose about an Indian that the White men had punished for a small fault committed in his drink, that at the same time 12 Senecas came & made peace with them, and told them that the Whites had imposed upon them and that when the whites had used them so, they knocked them on the head, they advised them that they were fools to slave & hunt to furnish themselves with the white people's food, it was but killing of them & become possessed of their substance, that they did not fear the want of ammunition for that, they would come twice a year & furnish them with it. I inquired whether any white men had incited them to it, they unanimously answered no, only that ye Virginia traders told them that the people Massacred were outlandish men and not English, and so they doubted not but soon to make peace with the English and that they were then about it. They tell me that there is two Senecas still among them.

I cant find upon the strictest enquiry that any Virginia Traders has been here with ammunition or goods since the Massacre.

When I come to Hancock's Fort I will offer him a battle, which if refused, I will well view the same, & if I think it practicable, I will have ye honr of finishing the war by taking it. Otherwise I will build a Fort by it and expect the assistance of the pusillanimous Governor of North Carolina, can or will send me.

I congratulate your Honr for the success of our army hitherto and for the honr & Glory of virtuous South Carolina whose armies are the same winter gathering Laurels from the Cape Florida and from the Bay of Spiritta Sancta even to the Borders of Virginia.

I am with most sincere Respect, May it please your Hon^r,
Y^r Hon^r's most obedient serv^t,
John Barnwell.

[†] This appears to be: "much adverse as I am to neglect of."

Colonel John Barnwell's Letters on the 1st South Carolina Expedition to North Carolina in the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712: Letter 2

Source: Barnwell, "Tuscarora Expedition," *SC Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, pp. 36-41.

Pamplico or Bathtown, Feb. 12, 1711-12.

May it please your Hon^r

Here follows an account of my proceedings since my last whereof enclosed is a copy because I am doubtful whether it is yet come to yo^r Hon^r. This day I marched from the Fort of Narhante's, which I demolished, for King Hancock's Town with my whole forces passing thro' Kenta & came to a town called Tonarooka Seated on a branch of Neuse River, when finding no Canoes we were passing by Same upon Logs when a Seneca Indian, Tom Gils by name, Stragled without his gun to plunder and was met with by three skulking Tuscaruros and shott thro' the body, of which he will hardly recover.

I sent parties out on all hands to intercept the Skulking dogs and in an hour's time one of my Yamasees brought me one of them alive, which was an acceptable present for I wanted intelligence and Pilotts. But this took us up so much time that not above a third of my men were over before night which gave an opportunity to Capt. Bull's Indians all every Soul to a man to desert me with Capt. Jack's men except himself & 23 more. So I had only the Yamassees Company with me; as soon as I perceived it I did all I could by fair words and threats to stop them but in vain, only they promised when they had secured their plunder which was very considerable & their Slaves they would return with a greater number. They likewise carryed away 10 bags of spare bullets they had in charge which I could not find nor recover; the Confusion was so great. And to add to the rest of my ill fate is to have to do with such Soldiers, having a great number of wounded men. To encourage the Soldiers to go with me I dismounted myself and most of my men to send them on horseback, and having secured them on the contrary Side of the River they were so unnatural as to do me the kindness to leave them on my hands, which obliged me & my whole people to walk three score miles thro' a very bad way.

Feb'y 5. I called the head men of ye Yamasees & encouraged them to stay with me & proceed in a work So well begun, they answered after some hesitation & argument that they would live & die with me, but that if I should enter them upon action their wounded men would be so many & being in the heart of the Enemy's Country and every one of us absolute strangers in the place, our Enemy so numerous, our men disheartened by ye desertion of the rest and * * * now reduced to a few and many of them Bowmen & boys, they could propose nothing but rely on us. I answered that the people lived within 2 or 3 days march, that before that time I should get there. I should meet with a good number that was promised me. That in the mean time I would not attempt anything only defend ourselves, and that ye Enemy were terrified & great

cowards and that the Tuscaroro prisoner had in his life engaged to pilot me to the English and Lastly that if they would be Entirely obedient and put their Lives in my hands, I did engage to carry them all safe to the English upon which they cryed: Wough! Nemine Contradicente.

I will not tell your Hon^r that some white men were prevailed upon by ye Indian argument, however they have upon all occasions behaved themselves worthy of Commendation.

My prisoners told me most of the young men were gone down to Hancock, that the rest were fled towards Virginia as old men women & children, that they were obliged to disperse into small parcells because they had no provisions but must gather hickory nutts and that there would not be less than 500 men in arms with Hancock but not in a body. That there were two roads to the English settlements, one a short road through the woods, the other a round about way thro' their Indian Settlement.

After a little consideration, I chused rather the Road thro' the settlements for several Reasons too long to recite, the principal was to carry on the terrere the Enemy was in and not give time to them to recollect & follow us, or discover to them our fear. Another reason was That all my men would be more watchful & cautious in ye Enemy's Townes than in the woods, where they would perhaps be careless & straggle, apprehending no danger. Another reason was our Horsemen would be more useful in a cleare open country, where I could * * * than in the Bushes. Pursuant to these Resolutions I made such a march with 178 Indians & 25 white men, 20 odd whereof were wounded that to the immortal Glory of South Carolina has struck the Dominion of Virginia into amazement & wonder, who a month before with 1,500 men in arms believed (to their great shame) they had obtained a glorious victory, when by the dreadful terrour of their troops they begged a most ignominious neutrality of those cowardly miscreants, which they were so gracious to grant upon Condition to have goods at a cheaper rate and their children brought up at the College.

This is hardly credible, but by heaven it is true, for my eyes saw a copy of the Treaty, attested by the Secretary of Virginia. It is too long to inform your Honr how I ordered my march but by noon I reached a great town called Innennits, their Fort was not finished, here I found 14 White people's scalps and a world of plunder. So our Indians threw away all their former plunder to load themselves with better, but I ordered my White people not to encumber themselves, being already well loaded with arms, ammunitions and provisions. Not knowing but I might have occasion to come back this way I ordered the town to be burnt. I stayed here 2 hours & marched still thro plantations ever since I left Narhantes, and encamped in one & immediately made a Fortification & sent our Scouts on all hands & kept good watch.

Feb'ry 6. I marched Still thro' plantations until I came to a deep Brook where our horses Swam, But we had a tree to pass over on. Here I numbered my men as they passed the tree, but very privately so that it was impossible to discover our numbers. The rest of the day I passed

thro' a piney Barren that lay between the Settlements of Neuse & the three Tuscaruro Towns in Pamplico. Here my scouts discovered 5 Enemys w^{ch} were returning from plundering Some English houses. We pursued them & obliged them to throw away their packs & guns, but as I already observed they out run our Indians, they had delicate parsnips & Turnips with a Turkey & sevell other household goods. At night we arrived upon a very large River which I understood afterwards was Pamplico; here my Indians took 6 Slaves & killed 2 men. In the night I Sent Scouts to discover the hut town called Ucouh-Ne-runt seated 5 miles above us on the River.

7th. Not to lose time I ordered Bark Logs to be made in order to cross over. I first ordered 30 stout fellows to swim with their arms to secure our passage in a place where there is an Indian plantation. Next my horses, then the wounded men, then the Baggage. But while this Last was a doing, my Rear was attacked as I expected, so they mete with suitable reception from my brave men. I immediately advanced to them to discover their number but found them not 50. I am sure not 60. Seeing them so inconsiderable I ordered a halt & to tree it as they call it. Then gave order to 70 or 80 to get half a mile along the River and then strike thro' the woods & surround them, if this had been done & well performed we should have taken or killed every man of them. The situation of the ground was so advantageous to us, being surrounded with deep creeks & swamps all in our possession. But the Yamasse Captain being too eager, turned upon them too soon & notwithstanding we all ran as we could, most of them got away, still out running us Leaving a good many Cloaths & guns & blood all over the Field, but I was presented with no more than 2 scalps & had a Yamassee shot thro' the thigh. I returned to ferry over leaving more Ambuscades who presently discovered 6 of the enemy creeping, I suppose to carry off the dead, but they discovered the Ambush too soon & ran for it, & were chased by our best Runners for 2 miles, but in vain. Notwithstanding all my diligence, these disturbances made it night before I could transport all my men. So I crossed over & sent back 20 of my best men to joine the Rest and watch the Enemy's motion.

Feb. 8. By 12 o'clock I marched, and in the evening came to a deep creek, for the late Rains had set the country all on Flote which were tedious to me, being obliged to walk on foot for the sake of the wounded men who I shewed great kindness to, to encourage the rest to venture the exposing themselves. Here I encamped all night, and rising at my usual hour which is daily since I had this charge on my hands, at 4 o'clock in the morning, and at 5 I had just relieved the Centrys and sat at ye fire when ye Enemy poured a volley upon us, and I had reason to believe most of the shott was directed at me for it made strange work with my things & several shott plunged the tree I leaned against. Our Centrys being very quick, fired at the same juncture, w^{ch} was followed with 30 or 40 guns more. I could not distinguish ye number of the Enemy's firing, so that I ordered all to quitt the Fires & to stand to their arms until daylight when I perceived the Enemy was fled without doing the least damage only the breaking of the stock of one gun wth a bullett.

9. I marched to a ruined English plantation where killed Beef & hogs & took the rest of the day in ferrying on logs over a broad Creek.

10th. I march'd three Mile & mett a broader Creek, passing well ruined English plantations. These Creeks gave me a world of trouble, and lest I should meet with many more, I ordered 2 Indians & a white man to march towards the head of ye creek and find out the Road w^{ch} must lead from the plantation to Bathtown & then proceed to Town & desire ye Commander there (if the place was not deserted) to send a perriaugr to me to carry down the wounded men, and men to pilot our horse down. According about midnight, 3 perriaugr^s came & next day we all came up here to ye incredible wonder and amazement of the poor distressed wretches here, who expressed such [41] extremity of mad joy that it drew tears from most of our men.

I am, May it please your Hon^{or},
Your most humble servant,
J. BARNWELL.

Colonel John Barnwell's Letters on the 1st South Carolina Expedition to North Carolina in the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712: Letter 3

Source: Barnwell, "Tuscarora Expedition, SC Historical and Genealogical Magazine, p. 41.

From my camp on y^e South Side of Pamplico 15 miles above Bathtown, Feb'ry 25, 1711-I 2.

May it please yo^r Hon^r
No doubt but you admire that in all this time you hear no news of Major Gale who I'm afraid is either cast away or taken, for this government did not know one word of me untill I brought the news myself, and accordingly no provision made for us. * *

[(SCHGM editor's note:) *Here unfortunately the MS. is lost for several pages; the broken MS. begins thus:*]

Amends for his wounds. The Indians being more dextrous than us at taking slaves and be sure send him back for I hope by that time he will be fitt for service, if you order * * will be great encouragement to the rest of my men. I can't forget to recommend ye miserable condition of 300 widows & orphans that are here without provision or clothing and ill used * * by the dire effects of the barbarous enemy's rage. I cannot mention this without tears and humbly beg the Assembly & y^r Hon^r to commiserate their deplorable case, they are willing upon any terms to transport anywhere for Relief. I heartily congratulate yo^r Hon^r for the continued successes of the prosperous arms of South Carolina.

I am yo^r Hon^r most humble serv't,
JOHN BARNWELL.

Colonel John Barnwell's Letters on the 1st South Carolina Expedition to North Carolina in the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712: Letter 4

Source: Barnwell, "The Tuscarora Expedition," *SC Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, pp. 41-47.

New Berne, March 12th, 1712.

May it please your Hon^r,

According to my usual method by way of Journal I proceed to give you an account of my proceedings since my last.

Febry. 26. This day I was joined by 67 men most of whom wanting ammunition. I exhausted all Pamplico garrisons to procure them 10 shott a man, leaving not a single Bullett I could hear of, telling the people that they should be speedily supplied by a sloop which was speedily expected from Albemarle with ammunition.

27th. This day I was forced for want of provision to march towards K. Hancock's town hoping to find some there, for after a great many promises to supply me day after day with more men provisions and ammunition I waited so long for bread kind until half of men fell sick and willing to preserve the health of the rest, I proceeded to get that of the enemy which was delayed by my Friends, which was so great an uncertainty that I was drawn by the utmost necessity to pursue such hazardous expedients.

March 1st. I marched on foot wth 94 white men and 148 Indians thro' a bad way for 16 mile for the late rains had raised the water in the swamps that we often waded above our waists.

2. I proceeded to ye Town 12 miles more, but found it deserted but to my great joy plenty of corn, but now we wanted pamplico beef.

My scouts discovered a numerous enemy on the other side of the River (which is a branch of Neuse), who fired upon them but we being tired we rested that night.

March 3d. I made sev^l marches & countermarches along the river to get over, but I found it in no place possible, for the floods were very high and the enemy had scuttled all the canoes & often fired at us. However I discovered a proper plan to make rafts, and was resolved next morning to pass there, it being * too late and the enemy watching us. Our scouts tooke a scout of the enemy's who being tortured told me that the enemy had a strong Fort on the Contrary side of the river with about 130 men in it, and that they had sent out to call in all their party. That they had but little powder w^{ch} they bought with gold of white people, and that they hid the captives & their own women & children in a swamp, & that he will shew us ye canoe he came over in. I sent my major with 80 men to get it, but he returned about midnight with an account it was gone.

4. I ordered Lt. Col. Brice before day to march with 70 men 3 or 4 miles up the river with the trumpeters to seek a passage, but if he could find none, then to order the trumpeters to sound & huzza, and make as great noise as he could with his hatchetts, which having done for half an hour to return to me. In the mean time I marched down ye river very silently with the rest of the forces at the place appointed. I threw up a breast work with Fashines & made a raft that held 5 men, but before I could get men over, Brice returned & ye enemy waiting on him at ye contrary side and imediately to firing we went; I ordered the Raft off, the enemy wounded 2 of the men thereon, I got 2 nore to supply it, and they got over safe, and tho' contrary to my orders they imeadiately mounted the bank before more got over, yet as soon as they did the enemy run like deer, upon which our Indians tooke ye river one & all w^{ch} before I could not prevail with them to do, and pursued the enemy by night. We got all over & marched a mile when in some hours we found a Deer & a Turkey, w^{ch} was a sure sign that the Enemy did not expect us to pay them a visit on that side of the river. They were 5 South Carolina men that went first over on the Raft, for I could not prevail with one of this Country Cowardly Crew to venture, w^{ch} was a presage of what followed.

5. Before day I marched with about 100 men thro' the woods to get on the back side of ye Fort & left orders wth my major & Brice to march in ye road way by daylight with the remainder, and if I heard any shooting I would intercept ye ambuscades; but we all got to the Fort without any trouble. I imeadiately viewed the Fort with a prospective glass and found it strong as well by situation on the river's bank as Workmanship, having a large Earthen Trench thrown up against the puncheons with 2 teer of port holes; the lower teer they could stop at pleasure with plugs, & large limbs of trees lay confusedly about it to make the approach intricate, and all about much with large reeds & canes to run into people's legs. The Earthern work was so high that it signified nothing to burn the puncheons, & it had 4 round Bastions or Flankers; the enemy says it was a runaway negro taught them to fortify thus, named Harry, whom Dove Williamson sold into Virginia for roguery & since fled to the Tuscaruros. Yet hoping to finish the war by this stroke, where now all the principal murderers were in a pen, I encouraged my men by promises, &c. I ordered 200 Fashines to be made which ye palatines well understood to do. I had them presently done. It is too tedious to inform yo' Hon^r all the particulars how I ordered the Attack; but in short, when we were got within 10 or 12 yards of the Fort the enemy made a terrible fire upon us without the least damage in the world, but this country base, cowardly people hearing the shott strike their Fashines, threw both them & their arms away & run for life, w^{ch} not only left themselves exposed but also all those that went under their shelters; this encouraged the enemy to renew the firing, who deservedly shott sev^l of them in their backs. In the mean time my brave South Carolina men * 23 of this country undauntedly kept their order. I ordered them to keep their stations until I brought up the runaways. But all my endeavour was in vain, tho' I mauled sev^l wth my cutlass, and as soon as they saw me running towards them they would scamper into the swamp that was hard by. I, seeing the confusion & being afraid that the number that drew the enemy's fire was insufficient to come at the Fort by assault, I ordered a retreat which was bravely managed, for every man got his Fashine on his back, and of my own number I had but one wounded; the most of them had 10 or

more shott in his Fashine, but of the runaways there were 1 killed & 18 wounded and of the 23 that stood by my men there were 3 killed & 2 wounded, in all 4 killed and 20 wounded. It rained smartly during the attempt, w^{ch} proved a great hindrance. I ordered the Indians to make a false attack on the contrary side, which they did with such caution that they had not a man hurt. At night I ordered some of my men to go up & bring off the dead men w^{ch} was performed, only 1 man they could not find. I endeavored to encourage the men to renew the attack in the night, but in vain, for I could get but 16 with my own men, who never refused me anything I putt them upon.

March 6. I being uneasy how to dispose of my wounded men, I marched with 30 men along the River side for 6 mile, where it flows into Neuse to view the country and send an express to Neuse Garrison to bring up canoes to carry off ye wounded. In this march we mett 2 enemys who were so hard chased, that they threw away their packs & Guns & took the River. When I came to the Ferrying place on the Neuse, ye enemy on the other side fired at us, so I considered it impracticable to send an express without a strong detachment which I could not spare. At this 6 mile were new houses abuilding & plantations a clearing by ye Cove & Neuse Indians confederates to the Tuscaroras who deserted their other towns to be nearer the main body. As soon as I returned to the camp I ordered wooden spades to be made & more Fashines & poles got ready, and in the dark of the evening I crept on my belly within 30 yards of the Fort & perceived a curious plan to make a breastwork, that had more command of the enemys canoes & water than they had themselves. To work I went & by morning had a re-intrenchment that held 50 men. I doing of this I had 2 of my own brisk men wounded.

7th. The enemy being terrified at our near approach, began to quit the Fort, but my men fired so hard at ye canoes that obliged them to return, I imeadiately ordered a party over the River, and so blocked up the Fort on all sides, then the enemy when they wanted water would send down the bank one of the English captives to fetch it, our men called to them to have patience, for by next morning they should be delivered, at which the enraged desperate enemy began to torture them and in our hearing put to death a girle of 8 years of Mr. Taylors, upon this the relations of the other captives, came crying & beging of me to have compassion of the innocents, w^{ch} was renewed by Cryes & lamentations of the Captives being about 35 or 40 yards of them, at last I was prevailed upon to call to the enemy, who sent out Mrs. Perce to me to treat about their delivery, she having 5 children within, w^{ch} ye enemy refused on any terms to do but on condition I would raise the siege, otherwise they would put them all to death and fight themselves to the last man & beat us off.

After an hours consideration, having consulted all the officers, upon this I with two more went up to the Fort gates to speak with the head man who dare not come out to me, I perceived two re-intrenchments within the Fort & perceived a great number of men. I ordered one of my men to go in but they would not let him, pleading he might have pocket pistols, I perceived ye head men & others to tremble exceedingly. I found that in case I broke in, I should have hard work against a parcel of desperate villains who would do all the mischief they could before their

death. I knew I had not 30 men I could entirely depend upon, which if some of them were killed or wounded the rest of them would leave me in the lurch. Ammunition was so scarce with the North Carolina men, that some of them had not above 4 charges. I considered that if the place was relieved by the upper towns the enemy brag'd of as much as of the assistance of the senicas, most of my men would run away, & it would be 2 nights more before I could penetrate the Fort for want of spades & Hods, the ground being so rooty our wooded tools worked but slowly. And lastly I had more wounded men than I knew well how to take care of, and if the number should increase upon meeting a repulse I should be forced to leave them to the mercy of ye most Barbarous enemy. All w^{ch} considerations obliged me to agree. That upon their delivering me up 12 Captives then in the Fort immediately & 2 canoes (w^{ch} I pretended was to convey ye captives down) and on the 12th day after deliver me up 22 more captives 24 negroes that were hid in other places I would raise ye seige and that there should be a truce for the 12 days that they may find out & bring the captives securely to Batchelours creek which is within 6 mile of New Bern where also the head men of the Tuscaroras was to meet me to treat about Peace, then I suffered 2 to go out to give notice along the Neuse River to their partys not to shoot at ye canoes when they went down, this they performed very faithfully, for the canoes met with sev^l that spoke kindly to them, and told them they hoped before long to be good friends. Now for the delivery of the rest of the Captives I have only the faith of savages and the 19th instant will discover it.

March 8. I left ye Fort & that night crossed ye River of Neuse at 6 miles off by the help of the canoes.

9th. I marched 20 long miles, in which march I passed thro' Core town w^{ch} certainly is the most lovely, pleasantest, Richest piece of land in either Carolina upon a navigable River. The Cores deserted it, and hid their corn, w^{ch} is in abundance, in a great Swamp on the contrary sides of the River. I sent partys to search for it, for we are in extreme necessity. This day arrived here, being ye seat of the wise Baron. By the enclosed memorial sent to the Assembly here now sitting, you will perceive the barbarous entertainment I have had, which the Gov^r could not help, for the people regard him no more than a broom staff, they pay much more deference to my cutlass which I now & then send some of their toping Dons.

I must not forget one Mr. Mitchell, a Swiss brave gentleman, who for true valor & presence of mind in ye midst of action, accompanied with a gentle obliging carriage & ingenious to a great degree rendered him ye most acceptable companion in this, my last Ramble. This good tempered gentleman is an agent here & in Portsmouth for the Canton of Bern, he had a mind to see South Carolina. I whetted his inclination as much as I could by showing the difference between both Governments.

I am, Your Hon^{rs} Most Obedient humble Servant,
JNO. BARNWELL.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Management of Indian Affairs During the Tuscarora War, 1712

Source: *Cain, Records of the Executive Council, pp. 10, 12, 16.*

March 1712:

At a Council holden at the house of Capt. Jno. Hecklefield in Little River the 11th of March 1711/2. Being present the Hon. Edward Hyde Esqr. President of the Council and Commander in Chief, The Hon. Barron De Graffenried, N. Chevin, Jas Boyd,

The Hon. Baron De Graffenried having been informed of several accusations laid to his charge, relating to a separate peace made with the Indians, desires that he may have a copy of them that he may justify his innocency, and then the board adjourned till to morrow morning 8 o'clock. . . .

And whereas it has been reported and complaints made by Capt. Brice and divers others that the Hon. the Baron had made a separate peace with the Indians under his hand and seal, some having the impudence to say they had seen it. His Honor therefore produced the. paper in which was the pretended peace, which is only an old power of attorney.

Ordered that this Memorandum be recorded. That the Honorable Baron De Graffenried's two Sloops are and have been impressed on the public service Viz.: The Return, Capt. Chas. Glover Master pressed by the Han. Wm. Glover Esqr. 12th of October, and The Sloop Dolphin impressed by Capt. Emanuel Cleeves, the 22nd of Sept. till the 2nd of November, and impressed by the Hon. the Governor again the 10th of December. And that their wages etc. be paid by the public.

Ordered that Capt. Edwd. Adlard shall depart with his Sloop "Core Sound Merchant" to Pasquotank River and there take from on board the Return Mr. Charles worth Glover so much Corn as will load his sloop, give to-Mr. Glover receipts for the same and that he embrace the first fair wind and weather to go to Bath County and there apply himself to the Han. Jno. Barnwell Esqr. Genl. of all the forces of Carolina and follow such instructions as he shall receive from him.

The Hon. Baron De Graffenried, produced a warrant from their Lordships the Proprietors for Five thousand acres of land, and prays it May be recorded it being directed to the Governor and Surveyor Genl. And also produced another warrant from their Lordships for ten thousand acres more, and desires the same may be recorded being directed as aforesaid. Ordered that they be recorded. And also produced a copy of the Journal of their Lordship's board, relating to the ten thousand acres of land and providing for the poor Palatines. And also produced an order of their Lordship's board directed to Xhpher Gale Esq. Receiver General to supply the poor Palatines. All which his Honor desires may be recorded.

Ordered they be recorded.

A warrant from their Lordship's to Lewis Mitchel Esq. for two thousand, five hundred acres of land was produced to this Board and ordered to be recorded.

Ordered that the Hon. Baron De Graffenried have the preference of taking those lands where he pleases and all these warrants to be recorded in the patent book.

Whereas several persons bound by bond or recognizance to appear at the next general Court to answer such matter and things as shall be objected against them on her Majesty's behalf, divers of which persons are desirous to serve in the wars against the Indians,

Ordered that the Attorney Genl. do forbear prosecuting the bonds or recognizances of such persons as shall engage in this present war and that no advantage shall be taken of their absence during the time they shall be in the service aforesaid.

Upon motion of the Hon. Baron De Graffenried Ordered that fifteen hundred and thirty acres of land on the branches of Trent River be transferred (from the warrants of the Lord's Proprietors granted to Barron De Graffenried) unto Capt. Fred Jones, he having paid the full satisfaction for the same.

Upon application made to the Board by Mr. James Took and others showing the present necessity of Black smith in Pasquotank precinct, Ordered that William Hall be exempted from being impressed into the service against the Indians.

Ordered that the will and testament of the Hon. Baron De Graffenried be lodged in the Secretary's Office according to his desire.

Major Tho. Luten, Capt. Jno. Byrd, Capt. Jno. Stepney, Wm. Williams and Tho. Taylor, Capt. Richd. Sanderson, Jos. Jessup and William Linton took the following oath as Treasurers and pressmasters etc. Viz.; "You shall well and truly serve in the office of Treasurer (or pressmaster) according to the true intent and meaning of the laws of this government according to the best of Your knowledge. So help you God."

Resolved and it is the general opinion of the President and Council, that every member of the Council have full power and authority to impress men, horses, or cannoos, or whatsoever else may be needful or the service of the Government and to execute the powers upon any emergent occasion as the Governor himself might do, were he present, provided they acquaint the Council therewith and receive their opinions and consent therein; and that the Secretary or his Clerk give copies to the Clerk of each Precinct of this and all other public orders of Council from time to time who are hereby commanded to publish the same in their respective courts for the good government of this Country.

April 1712:

Whereas we have received information from Col. Barnwell Commander of our forces that he is in want of amunition and corn and we taking into consideration that the security of the Country very much depends upon the supplying the army sufficient with the same and that there hath not been impress above twelve hundred bushels of the corn ordered and directed to be impressed by Act of Assembly and whereas we have just now received advice from the Government of Virginia, that two hundred men of the forces of that government are on there march for our assistance against the indian enemy and who must be supplied accordingly with provisions etc. Ordered that the Commissioners for Impressing for the public service do in each of their precincts make diligent search and impress all the corn which shall appear to them over and above sufficient for each respective family and like wise all ammunition and lead and make speedy return thereof to the President in order to transport the same to the army."

Colonel John Barnwell's Letters on the 1st South Carolina Expedition to North Carolina in the Tuscarora War, 1711-1712: Letter 5

Source: Barnwell, "The Tuscarora Expedition," *SC Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, pp. 47-54.

Fort Barnwell, April 20th, 1712.

May it please your Hon':

I will pursue my usual method of informing you of my proceedings by way of Journal. Inclosed in my last you will find a memorial presenting to view ye miserable condition I was reduced to by the wilfull neglect, designs & controversies of this government, who starved us here lest we should get provisions to enable us to depart their ungrateful service. Between ye date of my last & the 25th of March, Myself, Major Makay, Capt. Bull & sev^l of my men fell sick & a great number of Indians of whom 4 or 5 died. My Major is just recovered. Capt. Bull not yet & more of my men in ye like case, all this occasioned thro' scarce & bad Diets & great cold. This prevented my meeting ye Enemy ye 19th instant at the place appointed, so I got Capt. Mitchell to go, but ye Enemy were worse than their words, wth to make them sensible of I ordered my * * out who returned with 3 scalps. In the mean time the Assembly answered my Memorial with a paper full of Resolutions & addresses, wherein they tell me they passed an act in emulation of South Carolina but they are so choice of it that tho' it was a month ago they & some of them out of some refined kind of Politics keeps it private to themselves. I say some of them because I spoke both to some of the Council & Assembly men who gave their votes & signed it that protested they could not inform me whether their men had 3d. or 12d. a day, this is extremely ridiculous & so hardly credible that when any body reads this & not consider that I write to ye government who placed me in this hon'ble post, they could not give credit to it. When I examined a little further I found that 2 or 3

of ye Assembly supplied ye rest of their wise Brethren with such plenty of punch that they voted, acted, signed & strip'd stark naked & boxt it fairly two & two, all the same day, Gov' Hyde with Collo. Boyd a member of ye Council, the only ragged gown parson with Mr. Speaker, the Provost Marshall with another hon^{ble} member and so round it went. A good deal of such stuff as this made me laugh heartly since I came here where truly I had but small inclination to mirth and I fancy you will do so when I tell you Col. Boyd informed me I was the occasion of all this for they were so long drinking my health that they knew not what they did, while poor me drink cold water, wishing for a little salt to season their grass & wampee I fed on instead of bread. I ought have gone this time to Little River & have partaken with ye rest, but then I should return to Charles-town Commander in Chief of myself & slaves, put ye government to another £4000 charge when they should be in so good a humor as they were this time. Col. Daniel will inform you ye distance between Coretown & Little River is above 200 miles. Excuse me for this Stuff. I am obliged to lay things naked that your Honr may not puzzle yourself to conceive the true Reason of ye rest of their seeming unaccountable Politicks.

March 25th. As soon as I recovered I ordered a garrison at Durhams over against Bath Town on ye South shore of Pamplico, to render ye communication between Pamplico & Neuse more practicable by Land, it being but 25 miles across the necke & 30 miles by water.

28. I ordered all the horses & Baggage to be transported from North side of Pamplico to ye Southside of Neuse that I might be ready to go home as soon as I could get provisions for 6 days unto ye Cape Feare Indians.

29th. Willing to inform myself whether the Enemy maintained their Fort & to get some corn if possible, I marched with 15 white men & 30 Indians (not having provisions for a greater party) though this may be called a rash attempt, yet the Success answered ye opinion I had of the enemy I took Drums & Trumpets. I encountered nothing till I came to Hancock's town where scouts surprised a party of the Enemy who were conveying corn into their Fort & brought in * * As soon as I heard the war whoop I ordered ye Drums & Trumpets to alarm & immediately marched up to 300 yards of the Fort & stayed a quart' of an hour in wth time I got & secured some corn. I found they had built a new fort that extended from the old one to the ground of my former attack, a large ditch surrounded ye palisadoes & tho' there were in 6 y'ds of it I retreated to this place discovering 100 bushels of corn hid up & down in the swamp. I pitched upon a place so naturally fortified that with a little Labour 50 men could keep off 5000. It lyes nigh the middle of Core Town on a point between Neuse River & a fine Branch two sides being 30 feet high full of hanging rocks & springs, and the 3d side gently inclining to the plane like a natural Glacis which I fortified for 180 feet to make each side equal, it is 1500 paces to the next wood, only on ye sides of ye hill and on both sides the brook there are large timber trees & firewood intirely wthin command of the Fort & lyeth 20 miles above New Bern & 7 mile from K. Hancock's town, it is a very charming place.

30th. I sent express to New Bern to bring up some boats & tools; in the night they arrived. I immediately sent to bring into my Fort some corn & built Hutts to preserve it in, & sent for all my Indians (to encamp there), being dispersed all over the country to subsist the better.

31st. This day my Yamisees brought me a scalp belonging to one of ye enemy's scouts. I ordered the Indians to get parched corn flour ready in order to return as soon as my horses come.

April 1st. At last I received an express from Gov. Hyde that Coll^o Boyd was coming to join me wth 70 men. That there was 2 sloops sailed with provisions and that a new Turn was given to affairs, and for the future I should have no reason to complain. This rejoiced me so that I sent express to ye sev^{al} Garrisons of Neuse to join me with all their able men; I ordered the new arrived corn to be brought to my Fort, and this night came up to me to gallons of rum, 2 casks of cider & a cask of wine.

April 2nd. The fame of this liquor encouraged my white men in few days to 153 but was much surprised when I could not furnish them with more than 7 bullets a man & ye powder, & one of ye sloops having 115 bushels of corn to maintain the people that was coming to joine me gave out all but 52, w^{ch} together wth all the corn I got with ye hazard of my life they devoured before they left me. As to the South Carolina Sloop w^{ch} was barbarously stopt untill this day & my letter from yr Honble kept from me under ye pretense of loading corn for ye army, was sent to Bathtown with rum to sell for the Gov^r and the corn put ashore there above 120 mile from ye army. Pray take Capt. Adlar's Deposition.

3. My scouts brought me a scalp of one of ye enemy's scouts this day. From this to ye 6th instant I waited for ye sev^{al} detachments. All ye Field officers came without a dram, a bit of meese bisket or any kind of meat but hungry stomachs to devour my parcht corn flower, and they began to grumble for better victuals w^{ch} putt me in such a passion at all kind of ill usages since I came here that I ordered one of their majors to be tyed neck & heels & kept him so, and whenever I heard a saucy word from any of them I immediately cutt him, for without this they are the most impertinent, imperious, cowardly Blockheads that ever God created & must be used like negros if you expect any good of them. I gott 2 three pounders, 2 patteraros, 7 Granardo shells, 22 Great Shott but hardly powder enough for 10 discharges. Coll^o Mitchell contrived sev^{al} sorts of Ingenious Fireworks, & a mortar to throw them into the Fort; these things I gott without any help from ye Publick.

7th. At night I marched with 153 white men & 128 Indians to K. Hancock's Fort, and before day blockt it up on all hands without any loss, For we were there before ye enemy was aware of us. From this to the 17th the siege lasted w^{ch} was by way of approach, by wth time we gained ye ditch & sev^{al} times fired ye pallsades w^{ch} ye enemy like desperate villians defended at an amazing rate. This siege for variety of action, sallies, attempts to be relieved from without, can't I believe be paralleled agst Indians. Such bold attacks as they made at our trenches flinted the edge of those Raw soldiers, that tho' they were wholly under ground yet they would quitt their posts and with extreme difficulty be prevailed upon

to resume them. The subtell Enemy finding the disadvantage they were under in sallying open to attack our works too ye same method as we did and digged under ground to meet our approaches, w^{ch} obliged us to make sev^{al} traverses and false approaches to deceive them. At last we got to the ditch and ye enemy had a hollow way under their pallsades that as fast as we filled ye ditch they would carry away the Fashines, & tho' we fired ye pallsades yet we could not maintain it. My men were so cowardly in ye trenches I was afraid to venture them to assault ye pallsades, and if I had gained them it would have been nothing towards reducing ye Fort. So as I was resolved to let the pallsades stand & work up to them, and then they would prove as good to us as the enemy; but this 15 foot cost us so much time untill I was thro' extreme famine obliged to hearken to a capitulation for the surrend'ng thereof upon articles, w^{ch} leaves above 100 murderers unpunished besides the women & children of those villians killed & executed. Since my former attempts Virginia furnished them with 400 buckskins worth of ammunition w^{ch} I was informed of by Gov^r Hyde's letters and ye relation of ye redeemed captives. If North Carolina had but furnished me with but 4 days provision more I had in spite of all enemys, without firing many gunns more, entirely made a glorious end of the war. This Fort in both attacks cost me 6 white men & 1 Indian killed & 35 white men & 1 Indian wounded, but it is * * believe ye Report ye Captives give of ye enemy's loss considering how they were fortified but it proceeded from their foolish sallies, w^{ch} as they were desperate attempts so it is inconceivable what they meant by it, for we had 40 to one when they entangled themselves amongst our Trenches. If I have time before the Fleet sails I will in a sheet give you a journal of the seige, and in the mean time here are the heads of the Articles, Viz:

- First. To deliver up all the white captives and negroes imeadeately that are in ye Fort the rest in 10 days at my Fort.
2. To deliver up K. Hancock & 3 men notorious murderers that are alive & shall be named by ye Governor.
- 3rd. To deliver up all the horses, skins & plunder what in ye Fort imeadately & the rest at my town in ten days.
- 4th. To come yearly to the Governor in March & pay Tribute.
5. To deliver 3 hostages immediately, viz: The brothers of the Tuscarora king & the cove king.
6. To furnish me with all the corn in ye Fort for the departure of my Indians.
7. To make complaints regularly to Magistrates upon any quarrel between them & whites.
- 8th. To plant only on Neuse River the Creek the Fort is on quitting all claims to other Lands.

9th. To quitt all pretensions to planting, Fishing, hunting or ranging to all Lands lying between Neuse River & Cape Feare, that entirely to be left to the So. Carolina Indians, and to be treated as Enemys if found in those Ranges without breach of peace, and the Enemy's line shall be between Neuse & Pamlico * fishing on both sides Bear River.

10th The flanks next the attack to be demolished imedeately and the English have Liberty to march thro' the same with all Ensigns of hon^r and the rest of the Fort to be demolished in 2 days & never to build more Forts.

Lastly. In 20 days wait on the Governor & sign these & such other articles as shall be agreed upon; all these articles were performed thus:

1st. 24 Captives children were delivered & 2 negroes one of w^{ch} being a notorious Rogue was cutt to pieces imedeately.

2d. King Hancock was gone to Virginia they will deliver him and 3 others when the Governor names them.

3d. Most of the horses' skins & plunder they sold the Virginia Traders, the remainder w^{ch} but little they delivered.

4. They would yearly come to pay tribute.

5. They delivered 2 sons of the Tuscaroras King & a Brother of the Cove King.

6. This was the hardest article, however, I got as much as furnished 40 Indians Essaws and Palatchees & sent them away, but to my great loss one of my slaves ran away with them. I gave Mr. C. £35 for him & I suppose he is gone thither. Let me beg your Hon^{rs} favour to get him for me.

7, 8, 9. Intirely agreed to by ye Tuscaruro Indians, but grunted at by the Coves upon which they quarrelled, and had I but 4 days provisions I had contrived the matter so well that in that time I could oblige ye Tuscaroras to have delivered all the Coves for slaves. I will take another time to tell you how.

10. They broke down Flanker. I ordered 2 files of So. Carolina men to take possession of the breach. Then I drew the whole body up before the breach & marched them into ye Fort. 2 Trumpets, 2 Drumms, So. Carolina Standard, Yamasee & Apalatchka, Col. Boyd, Coll. Mitchell, Major Makay, Major Cole, myself gentlemen volunteers 2 & 2, So. Carolina men 2 & 2, ye Yamasse Cap^s 2 & 2. I refused these country men to march with me Friday, but after I had gone thro' ye Fort (which amazed me) they had Liberty, for I never saw such subtill contrivances for Defence, but I found a good fire would have made greater Havock than I expected. There was a good number of sick & wounded & a very great mortality which with their nastiness produced such stink that I as soon as the Colour was raised on the Fort and the great guns fired & shrill huzzas, I made a short sharp speech to ye Rebels who hid all their arms & prostrated themselves their wives & children in my power, hoping I would be as good as my word & not take this advantage to murder them.

I might see by the strength of the place a good many would be killed before it could be forced. Some base people was urging to take this opportunity but I would sooner die. In truth they were murderers, but if our Indians found that there could be no dependence in our promises, it might prove of ill consequence besides 70 odd were not there w^{ch} was a number sufficient to hinder all North Carolina from planting & I told them if they did approve of what I had done they might mend it which put them to silence.

When we began the siege besides hardy boys that could draw bow there were 46 men at the Fort. I ordered 200 Volunteers to number them at this time, tho' none agreed in the exact number yet they all agreed as there was above 80 so there was not one hundred.

I am wild exclaiming against this place in writing but when I kiss your Hand I have such a tale to tell of the barefaced villainys daily committed here as will make y^r Hon^r for the future use this country as Virginia does. To spare my horses I walked on foot and came here, but now I find 2 of my horses rid to death the other 2 stolen, for after 10 days are not found, sv^{ll} of my men are in the same case.

If yo^r Hon^r doth not think fitt to send back the shallop for me * * I would come by this opportunity but am unwilling to leave men * * * of whom 1 is killed, 10 wounded & 4 sick, so have not above 7 or 8 well with me.

May So. Carolina flourish when I bleed & suffer * * * body do ten times more than I can pretend to do for its advancement.

May * * me and my poor men, and send some corn to help ye poor Yamasees home, they * * when all others Left me in the midst of my greatest extremity.

I am with * *

Your Honrs most obedient Servant,
BARNWELL.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Management of South Carolina Forces in the Midst of the Tuscarora War, 1712

Weak, frayed, and indecisive governments always look for assistance from outside governments. But when those governments send assisting armies, they transform from would-be saviors to mercenaries and then to occupying forces. That is the way North Carolina's leaders viewed Colonel Barnwell and his largely Indian army as soon as South Carolina's expeditionary force arrived in eastern North Carolina. Colonel Barnwell soon appeared to be a self-serving, bombastic, and selfish occupying commander. To North Carolinians he appeared to be more interested in snaring slaves than in bringing order in the Carolina frontier. North Carolina's leaders thus took steps and sent emissaries to South Carolina asking that Barnwell's mission be clarified and that the marauding com-

mander be recalled. Source: Cain, *Records of Executive Council*, pp. 18, 19, 20, 24.

Meeting at the Home of Governor Edward Hyde in Chowan Precinct--10 May 1710:

Saturday Morne 8 of Clock this Board Mett again present ut Supra.

The Honorable the Governor having Communicated to this Board a Letter from the Governor of Virga. Conteyning the proposals made by that Government to this for raising Forces to Carry on the war against the Indyans. It is the opinion of this Board that the Same be Laid before the Assembly att the next Session for their Consideration. . . .

Whereas it dos appeare to this Board by divers Concurring Informations that Major Generall Barnewell has been verry remiss in the Execution of his trust reposed in him by this Government against the Indyans. It is ordered that if upon Examination he bee found Guilty thereof that a representation thereof be drawn up by this Board and that he be Charged therewith before the Government of So. Carolina by Som Agent to be Sent thither for that purpose.

This Board takeing into their Consideration the Eminent danger the Inhabitants of this Government still lyes under from the Indyans especially those of pamptico and Nuse Wherefore it is ordered by this Board that a Comander and thirty Men be Constantly kept in the Fort at Core Towne Called Hyde Fort untill Farther order And that ten Men be Constantly Kept at the Garrison at Mr. Readings on pampticough as a Barrier and Safeguard to the Inhabitants on and about those two Rivers and that they observe and Follow Such Instructions and orders as they shall receive from tyme to tyme from the Honorable the Governor.

This Board takeing into their Serious Consideration the great want of Amunition as well to prosecute the Warr against the Indyans as to Mainteyn the Garrisons appointed for a Safe Guard to the County of Bath And for as much as the Assembly Cannot possibly Meet tyme enough to Consult of and Assent to Such Measures as may be thought fitt to Suply the present Necessity therein It is ordered by this board that the Honorable the Governor be hereby Impowered to make Such Contracts and Agreements on behalfe of the Country with any person in Virga. or elsewhere as he shall think necessary for Amunition and that he make report of his proceedings therein to the next Assembly for their Concurrency thereto.

Meeting at the Home of Governor Edward Hyde in Chowan Precinc--2 June 1712:

The Honorable the Governor haveing represented to this Board that there is a necessity of Sending Some person as an Agent on behalfe of this Government to the Government of South Carolina in order to represent the present State of the Warr against the Indyans in this Govern-

ment And the late Management as also to Suplicate that Government for farther Aid to Carry on the Said Warr

Ordered that Mr. James Foster be appointed to goe to South Carolina to performe the Said Agency and that a Sufficent Summe of Money be raised for defraying his Charges therein.

Meeting at the Home of Governor Edward Hyde in Chowan Precinc--5 June 1712:

Thursday Morne June 5th this Board met again present ut Supra.

Ordered that Twenty Men be forthwith raised and Imploy'd in two large Canoes to Cruize in pamptico and Core Sounds in order to Supress a party of Indyans which wee are Informed doe harbor in and about those Sounds.

Meeting at the Home of Governor Edward Hyde in Chowan Precinct--31 July 1712:

The Honorable the Governor haveing represented to this Board that there is a Necessity to Send an Express to one [blank] Martin an Indyan Trader on the head of Potomack to gett Intelligence from him of the Motion of the Seneca Indyans

Ordered that the Governor Doe Send Such person as he shall think to the Said Martin with such Letters and Instructions as he shall think proper.

It is ordered by this Board that a Messenger be forthwith Sent With Instructions from the Governor to the Nation of Indyans Called the Saponces to endeavour to get them to Enguagc with us in this present Warr against the heathen upon such Conditions as they shall think fitt And to promise them on behalfe of this Government that if theyr wives and Children will Come into this Country they shall be protected and provided for in the Mean while.

Governor Spotswood Reports to the Board of Trade in London on the Chaotic Conditions in North Carolina, 26 July 1712:

Governor Spotswood, still concerned about his place in English colonial America, attempted to explain the various upheavals that had arisen in North Carolina. He cast an unapproving eye on the activities of his South Carolina rivals for the control of the southern realm. Source: The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, ed. R.A. Brock (Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1882), 1:169-72.

VIRGINIA, July 26th, 1712.

To the Council of Trade:

My LORDS:

It is with very great concern that I find myself still obliged to represent to your Lord'ps the unhappy situation of affairs in the neighbouring province of Carolina. For since the hasty peace concluded with the Indians, of w'ch I gave your Lord'ps an account in my last, The forces sent from South Carolina are returned home and the Indians have committed two fresh Massacres, and it is not likely they will stop there, if there be truth in what one of the Chiefs concerned in the first Massacre hath lately confessed at his execution, That the Senecas have promised them a powerfull Assistance by the latter end of next month, who are in their way to fall on some of the Tributary Indians on our frontiers. And what seems to confirm this is the acco't I have just now seen in a letter from the Sec'y of New York to the Governor of North Carolina, that the French have been very active to persuade the Senequas to join with the Tuscaruros, and it is to be feared have prevailed with them. The conduct of the Governor of North Carolina, from the beginning of this Indian War, has been so unaccountably irregular, that it has reduced all the measures I was willing to enter into for their Assistance ineffectual, and I hope when I have mentioned a few instances thereof, Your Lord'ps will not judge me an idle Spectator of the miserys of my Fellow Subjects, For first, when I had engaged our Assembly to vote a consid'ble Supply for the succour of that province, their Assembly, which was then sitting, instead of acting in concert with ours, fell into such heats amongst themselves because they could not oblige the Govern'r to admitt into their former offices the most notorious Fomenters of the late Rebellion, that they would take no measures against the common Enemy, and to this behaviour of theirs may be in a great measure attributed that of our Burgesses, who fell from their first Resolutions, and could not thereafter be prevailed upon to give assistance to a people so wanting to themselves. Next, when I had by a solemn Treaty, made in the presence of our Assembly, engaged the upper towns of the Tuscaruros to joine in cutting off those concerned in the Massacre, and had communicated the same to the Government of North Carolina, That Government instead of concurring with me in stipulations that provided wholly for their succour and the Relief of the Captives, rather chose to denounce War against all the Towns in general, and without waiting to see whether those upper towns would perform any of their Engagements, they immediately fell upon those very people who (how little so ever they designed to execute their promise) hereupon argued that we had violated ours. And lastly (for I will not trouble Your Lord'ps with all the instances I could give), when their whole Assembly joined in Address to me last Spring, begging an aid of 200 men for the better carrying on the War, and in, that Address told me that they had raised £4,000, whereby the Succours sent from hence would be provided for. I thereupon made extraordinary Efforts to assist them with 200 whitemen and Indians, as Y'r Lord'ps will observe in the Journal of the Council the 24th of April last, and accordingly directed the Rendevoze of those Forces on the 10th of May, Yet upon my meeting the Governor of North Carolina to adjust certain preliminaries for the better carrying on the Service and Subsistence of the troops, I found that Government never intended to furnish so much as provisions or

be at any manner of expence for them, but on the contrary had laid 10 percent on all provisions carried into that country, So that the Forces sent to their assistance must not only be paid and subsisted at the charge of this Government, but must also pay a duty for the Victuals they eat while they were employed in the defence of that Country; and besides this, I found the Commander of their Forces had of his own head clapt up a peace with the Indians upon very odd and unaccountable conditions which no body expected to last long, and it seems he did not intend it should, for he soon after surprized some Towns and carried off a great many Captives of those who looked upon themselves as secure under the Treaty he had made with them, and by that means he has entailed a new War on the people of North Carolina in which he was resolved to have no share, having immediately after set sail with his Prisoners to South Carolina, and the 2 Massacres I have above mentioned have been the immediate consequences of this Mr. Barnwell's Treachery. These proceedings both discourage and disable me to assist the unfortunate people of that province, who must be forced to abandon all their Settlements on Neuse and Pamlico Rivers and thereby encourage the Heathen to further attempts, both on the further part of that Country, and on our Frontiers, and I must sitt down under the Mortification of seeing myself unable to protect her Majesty's Subjects untill a nearer approach of danger convinces the people of this Colony of there Error in not making timely provision to hinder the growing power of the heathen, and alarms both Countrys to act there vigorously for their mutual defence. It was but the other day that a party of the Tuscaruros killed 3, and wounded 2 Nottoway Indians, our Tributarys, as they were hunting near our Inhabitants, which seem only a prelude to what we may expect after their conjunction with the Senecas, I understand by some Traders lately come from South Carolina, that they make great Clamours there, as if our Indian Traders had assisted the Tuscaruros with ammunition, but I'm persuaded Your Lord'ps will find enough on ye Council Journals since Sept'r last to refute the report, and to satisfy Y'r Lord'ps that this Government hath taken all imaginable care to prevent any such Commerce.

Your Lord'ps will observe by our Journal, that even the Trade with the Western Indians has been shutt up ever since the last of October, out of consideration for the province of North Carolina, but finding that Trade still carried on by the people of South Carolina, and that those Indians have no correspondence with the Tuscaruros, I have again, with the advice of the Council, opened the same for our Inhabitants, lest it should be lost to us, and the Indians obliged to sue to the French for those Supplies which South Carolina can't furnish them. The Nations with whom this trade is carried on live sev'll hundred miles from the Tuscaruros, and as our Traders assured me, they must travell at least 1,500 miles to come at the most considerable of them who live on the back of the Mountains in the Latitude of Virginia, if this be true (which I shall know more certainly at the return of our Traders, to whom I have given directions to make observations of the Latitude), Yo'r Lord'ps will, no doubt, think it still more unreasonable that the Carolina men should impose dutys and seize the goods of her Majesty's Subjects for barely passing through their Country. Since my last I have had the honour of Your Lord'ps of the first February last, and shall always rejoice when any part of my administration is acceptable to Your Lord'ps, being with, &c.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Management of Troops Recruited to Protect the Colonial Homefront, 1712

Dealing with an intrusive outside army was one thing. Managing the recruitment, service, and pay of home troops was another. Both posed problems for the governing authorities. Also, in the midst of the Tuscarora War, Governor Hyde was stricken down by one of the dangerous fevers lurking in North Carolina's harsh, humid, and sometimes deadly summer heat. In the words of the diarist for the Executive Council, it "pleased Almighty God to take out of this life the Honorable Edwd. Hyde Esqr. late Governor Capt. Generall and Admirall of this province." His Albemarle neighbor and president of the Executive Council, Thomas Pollock, was chosen to serve as the interim governor. Source: Cain, Record of the Executive Council, p. 26,

12 September 1712:

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this life the Honorable Edward Hyde Esqr. late Governor Capt. Generall and Admirall of this province And the Lds. proprietors Deputys haveing thought fitt for the future good Government of this Country and for preserving the Peace and Tranquillity thereof to make Choice of the Honorable Thos. Pollock Esqr. to be president of the Councill and Comander in Chiefe of This province untill the Lds. proprietors Pleasure be farther Knowne...

Upon Complaint to this Board by Colonell Mitchell and Colonell Alexr. Mackey that they have reed divers Concurring Information against Thos. Cox Senior and Wm. Stafford Senior of Corratuck for that they Did in a Mutinous Maner Seduce and draw aside divers Men who had Enlisted in the Service of this Government to the great Detriment of the present Expedition against the Indyan Enemy.

Whereupon It is ordered by this Board that the Honorable Major Wm. Reed doe Issue out his orders to Such persons as he shall think fitt to Aprehend and take the Said Thos. Cox and Wm. Stafford and Carry them before the Said Colonell Mitchell and Colonell Mackey to be punished as the Lawes in that Case requires Only in Case they shoud be adjudged to Death It is hereby ordered that the execution be Suspended untill farther orders from this Board of which Advice is given to Colonell Mitchell and Colonell Mackey.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Welcome of Colonel James Moore and a New Expeditionary Force from South Carolina, 1712

North Carolina leaders wanted no more of Colonel John Barnwell. The new head of South Carolina's second military incursion into North Carolina was Colonel James Moore, son of one of South Carolina's governors. Moore brought with him a younger brother, Maurice Moore, who would become a major player in North Carolina's colonial development at Brunswick, North Carolina. Moore cooperated with North Carolina

leaders in a much more even-handed manner. And he was ready and prepared to engage the Tuscarora who were in the process of building elaborate fortifications across eastern North Carolina. Source: Cain, Records of the Executive Council, p. 31.

5 November 1712:

Whereas wee are now Credibly Informed that Colonell James Moore may be dayly Expected in with the South Carolina Forces

It is hereby Ordered that the Honorable the president Doe give Such Instructions and make Such Agreements or Treatys with the said Colonell Moore or the Indyans in relation to Carrying on this Warr as he shall think Convenient And Enter into Such other Articles or Agreements with Tom Blount or any other of our Neighbouring Indyans as he shall think proper.

Interim Governor Thomas Pollock's Report and Request of Assistance to Governor Spotswood of Virginia, 23 December 1712

As acting governor of North Carolina, Thomas Pollock, long-time political leader in proprietary North Carolina, kept in close contact with Governor Spotswood. North Carolina planters in the Albemarle region of North Carolina identified much more closely with colonial authorities in Williamsburg than they did with their Carolina colleagues in far away Charleston, SC. Pollock and other North Carolina political leaders were alarmed that their Tuscarora adversaries had built sturdy forts and were evidently prepared to meet any new invading forces from South Carolina with smart and rigid resistance.

Source: Thomas Pollock, "Letter from Thomas Pollock to [Alexander Spotswood], December 23, 1712," in The Colonial Records of North Carolina, ed William Saunders (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, State Printer, 1886), 1: 892-894.

Choan, N. C. 23 December 1712.

Hond: S'

I want words to express the miserable state of this poore Countrey—For Coll: Moore (who is a gentleman seemingly of great worth) not finding provisions ready at Bath County for his forces, was necessitated wth all his Indians, being about nine hunder, to march into this County wher they must by destroying the place until provision is carryed round, and men rayseed here to join them—The want of having provision carryed round was cheifly occasioned by the ignorance and obstinacy of our Assembly, of all w^{ch} Capt Jones can give y^e hon^r a particular account —

Now being informed by Coll: Moor that the Tuscororoes have taken into their Forts, having in his coming in laid three days befor on of them,

And thought it unadvisable to stay longer, being in want of provisions, Tools and some more whitt men, his indians not being very ready in attacking Forts wth out English—For w^{ch} reason, what men of ours can be rased must March wth him, who are generally badly provided in clothing to march this season—

Wherfor would earnestly entreat y^r: honor to order the duffells for us at Mr John Cottons at Blackwater, Likewise a dosen spades, twenty brass pans, and about fifty or sixty hand granads, they being very necessary for the ready takeing of the Forts. I shall have a boat or cannoe at John Cottons on Monday nixt. It will be of extraordinary service to the Countrey at this time For the Army being, to march out the first of the next month, If it come not before that time shall have no men to goe out—

As for y^r: honors disposing of the money by your Assembly, it being impracticable for any of y^r Forces to come at this time, not only by reason of the Badness of the season, and the want of provisions being yet carryed round, but chiefly to have y^r Forces as a reserve. For I hope that Coll: Moore, wth his, and some of our men will be able to reduce our enemy Indians to a low Condition by the midle of Febry next; by wch time it is probable that many of Coll: Moores' Indians, having got Slaves or other Booty may desert. Only about two or three hunder w^{ch} Coll: Moor doubts not he can keep, so that If then we can have some forces from you, they may be a great means to give the finishing stroke & bring enemys that ar left to a Peace on Reasonable terms. And intend to send in ane agent in Convenient time before them, at w^{ch} time y^r: honor may order matters as you shall see the posture of our affairs at that time requires, of w^{ch} shall particularly informe y^r honor from time to time—I have ofteu complaints brought to me of the insolency of the Meherrin Indians on this syde Meherrin River, wth a jealousy of their Killing and driving back the peoples stocks, on John Beverly, who lives near them, againstt whom they have a great hatred, haveing had a mare or twoe shot lately—Also having ordered the Rangers and hunters, for to take upe any Indians they should meet wth on this syde Meherrin River; and haveing taken on of them, brought him in to the for sd Beverlys—in a little time about eighteen of the Meherrin Indians came upe, most of them armed and forced them to lett loose the indians they had taken, giveing them threatening and abusive language—so that besydes their Killing the peoples stocks, supplying the Tuscaroroes wth [894] ammunition, i am in great doubt they may doe further mischeif on this shore, and lay it on other indians—All w^{ch} I hope y^r: honor will either redress; or not take offence If wee take such measures wth them as wee shall see most for our own safty—Tom Blunt, the indian coming in befor I had finished hath hindered my sending thes two dayes, so that i beleive if the boat or cannoe for the duffells be at Mr Cottons by Wednesday the last of this month, it may be time enough—Coll: Moore hath promised Tom Blunt, (upon his being true to the English) protection, and to secure him and the people of his Fort from his indians—Tom Blunt is very desirous of having in, his brother (as he cals him) and his cousine now in your prison, whom the Bearer Wm Charleton our interpreter knows—whom if your honor will be so favourable as to let us have them sent to Mr Cottons, to be brought downe in our boat it will be a great Kindness, and may be of great service to us, Blunt accusing us, for giveing him nothing for all he is done only words, as he says—He had intended to have

come or sent in now, to y^r: honor, But Coll: Moore intending to march in by his towne, he thought it necessary for him to be at his towne; of all w^{ch} our interpreter can give you a full account—

Hond S^r; I am ashamed that necessity forces me to trouble yo fo much. But I doubt not ye will consider our present Condition, And Continue yr Favours to us, wch shall be planted in indelible charectars in his heart, who is

Hond S^r
your most obedient Humble servant,
THO: POLLOCK

Hond: S^r

Tom Blunt just now informes me of on Meherrin Indian latly at his towne, named Tut-sech, bas: queat—so that it is not to be doubted but that they supply them wth what ammunition they use and cary what newes they know of—w^{ch} I doubt not y^r honor will consider
T. P.

North Carolina's Executive Council's Efforts to Support for the Expedition of Colonel James Moore and the Chaos of War, January 1713

It is rarely efficient and effective to manage war by committee. But that is exactly what North Carolina's Executive Council attempted to do throughout most of the Tuscarora War. Reluctant to tax North Carolina's residents (i.e., themselves!), they attempted to extract as much support from Virginia and South Carolina as possible. This meant that busy planters were assigned to carry out missions that did not get accomplished. And every report of Indian activity alarmed the members of the Executive Council so that they were also attempting to manage in reaction to rumors and news reports--never developing a concerted plan either to negotiate with the Tuscarora or to mount a North Carolina grown military campaign. Source: Cain, Records of the Executive Council, pp. 32-34.

9 January 1712/13:

Upon Examination of a Senottaway Indyan taken by one of the South Carolina Indyans in their March hither. It dos appeare that the said Indyan was sent by the Seneca's pursuant to an Order from the Government of New Yorke to Caution the Tuscarora's against going to warr with the English here for which reason it is thought fill that the Said Indyan be purchased from the said South Carolina Indyan by the publick and Sent back to his owne Nation And therefore It is Ordered and Agreed that the Honorable the president doe purchase the said Indyan on behalfe of the publick and take Care that he be Sent as aforesaid And that in Consideration of the Said presidents paying for the Said Indyan and for the trouble he has had with the rest of the Indyans he Doe have and take to his owne use three Tuscarora Men and one Mattemuska now in his Custody...

It appeareing to this Board that two Core Indyans taken and Sent in hither from Virga. are Slaves belonging to one Mr. Drayton and one Mr. Wright Inhabitants of South Carolina.

It is Ordered that the Said Indyans be delivered to Colonell James Moore for the use and on the behalfe of the Owners aforesaid.

12 January 1712/13:

Whereas Colonell Edward Moseley was Intrusted by the Assembly of this Province to Send an Adress from the Said Assembly to the Governor of Virga. which said Adress has been either Carelesly lost or otherwise Imbezled by the Said Moseley.

Whereupon It is ordered by this Board that the provost Marshall or his Deputy doe take the Said Moseley into Custody untill he shall give good Security to appeare before the next Assembly to Answare the aforesaid Neglect And that in the mean while he be of his good behaviour.

It is Ordered by this Board that the Honorable the president Doe give such Instructions as he shall think fitt to Major Gale who is hereby appointed to wait on the Governor of Virga. in order to Concert Such Measures as may be thought proper in the Disposall of what Moneys or other things the Government of Virga. has Contributed towards Carrying on the Warr here against the Indyan Enemy.

C. Gale, T. Knight, Tho.
Pollock, Tho. Boyd, Wm.
Reed, N. Chevin

Interim Governor Thomas Pollock's Second Letter Update to Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, 15 January 1713

Source: Thomas Pollock, "Letter from Thomas Pollock to Alexander Spotswood, January 15, 1713" in The Colonial Records of North Carolina, ed William Saunders (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, State Printer, 1886), 2:4-5.

Janry 15th 1712/13.

Hon^d S^r

Since mine by Charleton, I have reced four of y^s: on by the indians that came wth Tom Blunts brother, another by the Guard of the indian Prissoners—The 3d by Charleton, and the last came wth goods in the cannoe: one teusday the 13th instant. And concerning our not sending in to you the indians Coheree and Hancock, I believe it never entered into Governor Hyds thoughts, nor mine, nor any of the Counsels that ye would have desired it. And their crimes likewise being chiefly against this Government wee did not imagine it could give any offence to have them suffer here: And non here ever questioned but if they had been brought in to you, you would have sent them in here to have Recd their deserved

punishmt—upon receat of y^r honors' last letter, sent away a runner to Tome Blunt, to desire him to be in at Mr Cottens on the 20th instant; And likewise have appointed the bearer Major Christopher Gale, our Agent, to concert what meassures your honor thinks most advantageous, for carrying on the war wth what ye Assembly hath raised for us. Coll: Moore would lykewise willingly have come in, but the destructione his indians make here of our Cattle & Corne is intollerable, having already eat up a great deall of the corne that was rayed by the Assembly to maintain the ware, and also destroyed all the Cattle wherever they have come, so that some of the people here have been seemingly more ready to ryse upe against them, then march out against the enemy. So that he is forced to march out wth them, intending, to depart from hence on saturday next, and to attact the Fort, he was at in coming in.

I am doubtfull wee shall be put to a strait for provisione for the army; all the publick corne that is left, I fear will scarcely be sufficient for the Forces twoe months, And such a scarcity in the Countrey that no more, I believe can be raised, severall people not being able to pay this last tax. So that I beleive itt will be necessary, if you thinke to send y^r forces speedily to our assistance, that provisions be purchased for them out of the 1000th. But if you doe not send them untill our Provisione is caryd round, then wee shall be more capable to judge what we may want—As for the 180lb to be laid out in duffels (For fear of the miscariadge of the supply that is expected from Sth Carolina) I believe it may be convenient to reserve so much of it as may purchass three or four bariels powder & ball answerable—If your honor thinke fitting to send out ye forces speedily, I leave it to your mature consideration, whether it may not be best, whill Collo Moore is attacking the further forts, that your forces should march to Tome Blunts, and either Force him to joine his forces wth yours against the others or attack him as ane enemy. Butt if you thinke it more fitting when some Collo Moore's indians (having got some slaves by taking a fort, or some other blow) have left him, then to send out y^e Forces to joine him to prossecute the warr wth vigoure and reduce them to a necessity of making Peace—For I am Really persuaded that untill the Tuscaroroes have had a smart blow given them ther can be no Expectatione of a firme peace wth them. All w^{ch} I leave to y^r honors more serious consideratione, not doubting of y^r utmost indeavor for the good and Peace of this poore distressed Country—I was much troubled to understand that the Address from our Assembly was not caryed in and delivered to you as I had writt, and as I certainly expected—But I hope when y^r honor hath perused the inclosed (w^{ch} is a true account of the proceedings in that affaire so far as I know, you will imput it only to my weakness and inadvertency in trusting too much to others: and can assure you to the best of my knowledge ther shall no falshood to your honor nor no other slipe from his pen who sincerely is

Your honors'
most obedient humble Servant
THO: POLLOCK

**The Siege and Battle at Fort Nooherooka, 20-23 March 1713:
Manuscript Map, ca. 1713**

The only full period source containing a description of the bloody battle at Fort Nooherooka is an elegant manuscript map of the battle of unknown origins and artistry, but which has been owned by the South Carolina Historical Society since at least the first decade of the 20th century. The map is a unique and carefully crafted and decorated work of art. It contains scale, but is only a rough approximation of the actual fort constructed by Tuscarora warriors over a four or five month period during the winter of 1712-1713. The lengthy legend with the map explains much about the architecture of Fort Nooherooka and provides an order of battle. It also provides one of the two original sources that indicate the casualties on both sides during the course of the battle.

Source: The Fort Nooherooka Map, ca. 1713. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, SC

[Narrative legend on lower left of the map:]

After the Trenches were carried on with good succes and a Triangular Blockhous Finished att A[,] and a Battery at B so high that from them they might Fire over the Enemies Fort[,] and Mine carried under the Enemy's works to C[,] and every Person ordered [to] his Post ready for a Generall Storm:

On Fryday the 20 of March 1712/3 about tenn of the clock in the Morning, the Mine was sprung, but with very little Success the Pouder being damnified. However[,] Att the Sound of the Trumpet the [Assault] was made. Cap^t Stone with 12 white Men from L and Capt Moore with his Brother [*illeg.*] [Captain Hastings,] Cap^t Harford[, and] Capt Thurston with other white Men and Indians from under the [*illeg.*] creek side o o o o o. Presently made [themselves] Masters of the Enemies works from G to K with very little loss of Men, Notwithstanding the Enemy Fired verry briskly through the same Loopholes that our men attacked them at[.]

Capt Maul who was ordered from the Mulberry Battery to make his Attack bettween D and K[,] Imagining he had some better advantage or mistaking his orders[,] marched between Bastions E and D from which Bastions the Enemy made very great Fire, And of which Company [*illeg.*] [twenty] Escaped being killed or wounded, being the greatest Loss sustained dureing the Attack.

Capt Canty from the Yamasee Battery being ordered to attack the same place which Capt Maul [was] ordered to. Seeing Cap^t Maul was gon on the wrong side of the Bastion and that his Indians did not come up readily went to the Commander in chief who was in the Battery B ([*illeg.*] with Cap^t [*illeg.*] Cap^t [*illeg.*] (wounded) imediately followed with the same Story and added that unles he was [relieved, they] would all perish; Coll Moore imediately ordered to make all the Fire that could [be made from] Battery B upon the two Bastions E and D and Capt Maul retreated.

At the same [time Coll.] Moore observing that the small Lodgment made on the Enemys work att G. was [not sufficient] to Shelter above three Men[:;] he sent some Spades to them with which they [flanked?] to the Northeast capable to shelter a great number from the Fire of the Enemy made [from] F and then commanded the work K to be set on Fire, from thence the Commander in Chiefe went to Capt Hastings who behaved himself very bravely att G and ordered Fire to putt [*illeg.*] and by the next morning that [*illeg.*] [*was carried?*] with the Bastion of Blockhouse F and several houses within the Fort.

The Enemy made verry great Resistance, and chose rather to perish by Fire within the Bastion [F] than to retreat in the Caves made under Ground from whence some having timely made their Retreat and gott in the Caves did

very much mischeif the next day and part of the Day following being Sunday, about tenn of the Clock We were intirely Masters of itt the Last place which was held out being the wattering place I which [some] of the Enemy had Fortified more strongly after the Fort had ben sett on Fire.

IN this Action is computed by the Enemies own Account their least Loss was two hundred and seventy of their Briskest men besides others aged and young Fellows, And with what Prisoners were taken their whole Loss cannot be Less than Eight hundred.

LOSS ON OUR SIDE.

Twenty two white men killed, Twenty six white men wounded, whereof twelve killed and Eighteen wounded of Capt Maul's Company [*illeg.*] [Indians] killed, [Fifty eight] Wounded.

The Box in the Upper Right:

D E F. Bastions with Blockhouse raised in them so high as Fire over the Pallisados of the Fort

F. Was covered att the Top.

H Was a large covered Blockhouse [and] raised high, but rendred useless to Enemy before the Attack.

M Was a Trench run out from the Gate by the Enemy. From whence they used to Sally out and hinder the Approaches

N An Angle made by the Enemy on the Partition of the Fort.

Other Markings on Map:

[Upper Left Corner Camp]:

Charoke Camp. Captains Harford and Thurston 10 White men 310 Indians

[Right side near Yammasee Battery]:

Cap^t Maurice Moore[,] Coll Mackey[,] Tenn white men[,] Fifty Indians[,] Cap^t Pearce

[Camp in Lower Right]:

Coll JAMES MOORE. Commander in Chiefe[,] Coll Mitchell, Capt. Maul, Capt. Cauty[,] Capt Hastings[,]

Eighty Eight white Men, Four hundred Indians Of Severell Nations.

Colonel James Moore's Report on Casualties at the Battle of Fort Nooherooka, 27 March 1713

Colonel James Moore, unlike his predecessor John Barnwell, did not leave an effusive report of his wisdom and valor in the siege and taking of Fort Nooherooka. For him, it seemed to be a challenge which he bravely and efficiently met. He destroyed the fort and dispatched or dispensed with the 900 Tuscarora men, women, and children who defended the fortification or who had repaired there for safety and protection. Source: James Moore, "Letter from James Moore, March 27, 1713" in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, edited by William Saunders (Raleigh, NC: P. M. Hale, State Printer, 1886), 2:27.

27 March 1713.

S:

Ye 20th of this instant I attack No-ho-ro-co fort, on C * * * * Creek & ye 23d In ye morning took itt, with ye Loss of 22 white men & 24 more wound'ed – 35 Indians Kill'd & 58 wound'ed – Most of ye Damage wee Reced after wee had Gott ye fort to ye Ground, which we Did in ye first 3. Hours – I have little else to advise y' Hon^{rs} but that ye Qu^t of ye Enemies Destroyed is as follows – Prisoners 392, Scolps 192, out of ye sd: fort - & att Least 200 Kill'd & Burnt In ye fort - & 166 Kill'd & taken out of ye fort on ye Scout, which is all; but My Servis to Capt: Jones, from your Hon^{re} ob^{dt} Serv^t

Ja: Moore.

North Carolina's Executive Council Establishes Military Rule over Indians Following the Battle at Fort Nooherooka, 14 April 1713

Following Colonel Moore's burn, capture, or kill campaign across the Tuscarora homeland in North Carolina, the Indian populations of eastern North Carolina had been uprooted and displaced from their traditional lands and habitations. As they sought safety and refuge in any corner of the land, they still appeared to European settlers as potential marauders or insurgents wherever they went. This was especially true following the bloody battle at Fort Nooherooka. Just a few weeks after the battle, the Executive Council of North Carolina granted Interim Governor Thomas Pollock virtual dictatorial powers to try, judge, and export or execute any Indian brought before him. Whereas subjects of the English Crown proudly proclaimed judicial protection from a tyrannical authority, such protection was withdrawn in the case of Indians inhabiting lands claimed by the colony of North Carolina. Source: Cain, *Records of the Executive Council*, p. 36.

14 April 1713:

It is Ordered by this Board that if for the future any Indyans shall be Sent in to the honorable the president for any Crimes or Misdemeanors

the Said President is hereby fully Impowered to Inflict Such Imediate punishment on them as he shall think the Crime requires Or as might or Could be Done if the Councill Were there present.

News of the Battle at Fort Nooherooka Spread Like Wildfire across Colonial America, May, 1713

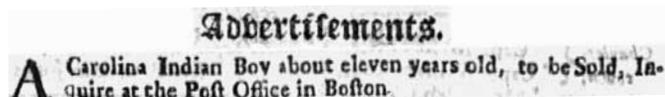
The campaign of Colonel James Moore--like that of his predecessor John Barnwell--was a military operation designed and managed essentially from Charleston, SC. The goals of the expedition into Tuscarora territory were to protect fellow Carolinians, to subdue the Tuscarora once and for all, and to take captives for Charleston's vibrant slave export business. News reports on the operation also radiated from Charleston and were picked up by newspapers throughout the British Empire. Following the editorial practice of newspapers at the time, the *Boston Newsletter* simply cut and pasted a dispatch from South Carolina reporting two significant outcomes of the battle at Fort Nooherooka: (1) "the heart of the Tuskeraro war is broken"; and (2) that while there were 160 captives taken during the battle "the Indians have a great many Slaves, but the White men none." I.e., the Indian allies of the European colonials had outsmarted their white commanders. Source: *Boston Newsletter*, May 4–11, 1713.

South Carolina, April the 16th. By Letters from Nohorookah Fort on Cakennh Creek of March the 23d Last, we are informed that Col. James Moore, who went from hence some time past against the Indian Enemy with a few white Men, and about 1200 Indians, made an attack upon the abovefaid Fort, which the Indian Enemy had best fortified and man'd, having drain'd all their other Forts but one, on purpose to try our Courage and Resolution: at which place he had a long and bloody bruffh with the Enemy, which continued without Intermiffion from the 20th of the faid March at ten of the Clock till the 22d in the Morning, during which attack Col. Moore had 22 white Men kill'd of which Capt. Canty was one, and 26 wounded, none of the Englilh that are alive but had thot through their Cloaths and others in their Bodies, he had also 36 Indians kill'd and 58 wounded. And on the Enemies side there were 640 kill'd, and we have taken 160 Prifoners and the Fort, fo that we hope the heart of the Tuskeraro war is broken; The Indians have got a great many Slaves, but the white Men none.

Where Did the 160 Nooherooka Captives Go after the Battle at Fort Nooherooka, June 1713

While the European commanders left Nooherooka without captives to be sold into slavery, the captives taken by their Indian allies still ended up in slavery. They were bought from the Indians by slave trading factors in Charleston and shipped out of Charleston in two principal directions- the West Indies in the Carribean and to New England in North America. The exportation of Indian captors made money for slave traders and dissipated strong Indian nations such as the Tuscarora. The *Boston Newsletter*, which had just reported news of the Battle at Fort Nooherooka, also

revealed poignantly in one of its very next issues the arrival in Boston of one such Indian captive boy. Source: Boston Newsletter, May 25 – June 1, 1713.



North Carolina's Executive Council's Management of Indian Affairs following the Tuscarora War, 1713-14

Despite the fact that perhaps one fifth of the Tuscarora population in North Carolina was destroyed during the battle at Fort Nooherooka alone, North Carolina's leaders still worried over the outcomes of the Tuscarora War for years to come.

Source: Cain, Records of the Executive Council, pp. 39-44.

8 May 1713:

It is Ordered by this Board that the Honorable the president be Impowered of himselfe to Negotiate any Affair relateing to the Warr either with Colonell Moore or any others And to Send into Virga. and order Soe much of the Money given to this Government by them to be layd out in provisions or other Necessary's as he shall think fitt.

Tho. Pollock, Tho. Boyd,
Wm. Reed, C. Gale, T. Knight

25 June 1713:

The Honorable the President haveing reported to this Board that King Blount hath brought in and delivered up to him Eight of our Enemy Indyan Men And farther Signifying his Intentions of Sending a Vessell to the Wet Indyas and that he is willing to buy the said Indyan in order to Send them off in his said Vessell and be accountable to the publick for the Same.

Whereupon It is Ordered and Agreed by this Board that the Honorable the president have and take the Said Eight Indyan Men to his owne use he paying and allowing to the publick the Summe of ten pounds per Indyan with which he sayth he is Content.

Tho. Pollock, Tho. Boyd, N.
Chevin, C. Gale, T. Knight

4 November 1713:

Upon Petition of Major Morris Moore shewing that One Wm. Harris a Soldier under his Comand is lately Killd by the Enemy Indyan and prays that Such of the Estate of the Said Harris as is to be found in this Government may be put into his Custody for defraying his Just Debts.

Ordered that the Said Major Moore has Administration of the said Harris's goods Committed to him for the purposes aforesaid....

Upon Petition of John Whitby shewing that he being Indebted to One Ebenezer White the Summe of £10 and Confessed Judgement for the Same in the Generall Court in July last upon promise that the said Ebenezer would not take Execution within a Twelve Month after Nevertheless the Said Whitby being Imprest by the Honorable Colonell Boyd to goe after the Indyan Enemy the Said White then Imediatly tooke out Execution by Virtue of Which the sherriffe James Dauge Levyed and Seized one horse Mare and Yearling of a much greater Vallue then the Said Debt and without any Notice given to your Petitioner Sold the Horse And he farther sheweth that at his returne from the Service aforesaid he went and tendred the Money to the Said White upon which he wrote to the Said Dauge to deliver the aforesaid Horse Mare and Yearling which he utterly refused and Still dos deteyn the Same Contrary to Law therefore pray's that upon his paying what is Actually Due that the Sherriff may returne his goods againe etc. And the matter being Duely heard and Considered by this board.

It is Ordered that the Said Dauge doe Deliver the Said Horse Mare and Yealing to the Said Whitby againe he paying to the said Dauge the aforesaid Debt of Ten pounds with the Costs Due to the Judgement Deducing thereout his reasonable Costs and Charges in prosecuting this Petition.

23 January 1713/14:

Complaint being made to this board by King Blount and divers of his great men that the Meherrin Indians have taken two Indian children belonging to the Said Blount and whose parents are at Amity with us and Doe Detayne the Same as Slaves.

Wherefore it is Resolved by this Board, that the President Doe write to the Said Meherrin Indians, Commanding them to deliver the Said Indians as they will answer the Contrary at their Perrill, And upon refusal that the President does take Such further measures as he shall think fit to Compell them thereto.

It appearing to this Board that there will be a necessity of a Small quantity of Corne to be raised for the Support of King Blounts Indians who are employed in the service of this Government It is resolved by this Board that the Honorable the President doe impress 150 bushells of Corn and cause it to be Lodged at McCoy's Garrison for the use of the aforesaid Indians.

Finis

Biographical Notes on Principal figures in the Tuscarora War

John Barnwell (1671-1724), “Tuscarora Jack”, renowned Indian fighter from South Carolina. Born in Ireland and immigrated to America, he was chosen to lead South Carolina forces against Tuscarora insurgents in North Carolina in 1712. During a campaign that lasted many months, North Carolina officials disliked his demands for support, some of his abrasive tactics, and his failure to eliminate what they viewed as the Tuscarora threat to European settlers in North Carolina.

King Thomas Blount (?-?), sometimes Blunt, Tuscarora Indian chief. Considered mainly friendly toward European settlers in North Carolina, Baron Christoph von Graffenried described him as, “a king or leader of a considerable number of wild Indians, has very good understanding, is very well inclined towards the English nation, and contributed not a little to a good peace; yes, when it was argued with regard to me, spoke as best he could for my rescue.”

William Brice (?- 1719), trouble maker for both Tuscarora and North Carolina officials. A resident among the Palatine colonists of North Carolina, he objected to a continued Tuscarora presence near European settlements. His vigilante raids on Indian settlements constantly disturbed peaceful co-existence of European settlers and Tuscarora inhabitants in the vicinity of New Bern.

Christopher Gale (1670-1735), prominent jurist and political figure in proprietary North Carolina. During the Tuscarora War, he served as Chief Justice and appointed emissary to South Carolina. He was the primary point of communication between North Carolina and South Carolina.

Baron Christoph von Graffenried (1661-1743), Swiss nobleman and Carolina colonizer. Making use of his title and connections in Switzerland and England, Graffenried arranged for the settlement of hundreds of Swiss and Palatine Germans in the New Bern area of North Carolina in 1710. Despite considerable efforts to keep peace between his colonists and the Tuscarora in the area, he was constantly undermined by the land-grabbing ambitions and agitations of English and Scottish settlers in the New Bern area. His expedition into Tuscarora territory in September 1711 with Surveyor General John Lawson helped precipitate the Tuscarora War from 1711-1713.

King Hancock (or Handcock; fl. 1711-1713), described by Graffenried as the chief leader at the village of Catechna. Hancock presided over the trials of John Lawson and Christoph Graffenried. In 1712, he converted the town of Catechna into Fort Hancock, which was besieged by Colonel John Barnwell's forces and which Hancock eventually surrendered through negotiation.

Edward Hyde (1667-8 September 1712), first governor of North Carolina as a separate entity from its sister colony to the south. English-born, his short governorship consisted mostly of quelling the Cary Rebellion and leading the colony in the first stages of the Tuscarora War.

John Lawson (1674-16 September 1711), English-born explorer, plant collector, and surveyor. His expeditions across South and North Carolina after 1700 resulted in his writing of “*A New Voyage to Carolina*”, published in 1709 in London—one of the most influential books ever written about North Carolina. In 1711, while on an expedition up the Neuse River with Christoph Graffenried, both men were captured and put on trial by Tuscarora Indians. Graffenried was set free, but Lawson was executed by his captors on 16 September 1711.

William Maule (1690-1726), planter, cartographer, and military leader in North Carolina. Born in a notable Scottish family, he fought in the War of Spanish Succession and moved to North Carolina in 1709 to take up planting. During the Tuscarora War, he became a Captain and participated in the grand assault on Fort Nooherooka. under Colonel James Moore. Due to his contributions he achieved the rank of Colonel and became the Surveyor General of North Carolina.

Frantz Ludwig Michel (aka. Lewis Mitchell; 1675-1720), Swiss-born military engineer and a partner colonizer with Christoph von Graffenried of New Bern in North Carolina. After service in the French army during Louis XIV's reign, he played the role of a significant leader in Swiss and Palatine colonization in North Carolina in the early eighteenth century. During the 1712 Barnwell expedition and the 1713 Moore expedition against the Tuscaroras, he served as a Colonel and led a group Swiss and Palatine men from North Carolina. He used his engineering skills to conduct sieges against the Tuscarora strongholds of Fort Hancock and Fort Neoheroke.

James Moore (II) (ca. 1682-1724), Indian warrior, slave trader, and eventual governor of South Carolina. The eldest son of James Moore (I), one of the first governors of South Carolina, Moore was commissioned a Colonel to command South Carolina forces to be sent against the Tuscaroras in North Carolina in late 1712 to 1713 to succeed Colonel John Barnwell. In March of 1713, his forces successfully besieged and captured Fort Neoheroke—killing, capturing, or scalping those Tuscarora who remained in the fort.

Maurice Moore (ca. 1682/1686-1743), younger brother of James Moore and also an officer in the Moore campaigns against the Tuscarora in North Carolina in 1712-1713. After the siege and battle at Fort Neoheroke, Moore remained in North Carolina and became a significant figure in the expansion of settlement and politics in the Cape Fear region in North Carolina.

Thomas Pollock (1654-1722), planter, politician and acting Governor of North Carolina during the Tuscarora War. Scottish-born, he spent several decades in the Carolinas as a planter, merchant, and official in North Carolina's proprietary government. Following the death of North Carolina Governor Edward Hyde in 1712 amidst the Tuscarora conflicts, Pollock became acting Governor of the colony for two years.

Alexander Spotswood (1676-1740), Lieutenant Governor of Virginia from 1711 to 1722. Serving in place of the absent Governor George Hamilton, Spotswood was expected to keep order in the adjacent border realms of Albemarle in North Carolina. He thus played a significant role in North Carolina's early upheavals, including the Cary Rebellion and the Tuscarora War.

Alexander Mackey (Aka Mackay, Aka Mackie; ?-?), military leader from North Carolina during the Tuscarora War. He was engaged in raising troops and supplies for North Carolina in the early stages of the Tuscarora War. Beginning as a Major and gaining promotion to Colonel by late 1712, he took part in both the Barnwell and Moore Campaigns against the Tuscarora.