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Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War
1711-'13.

July 1902

—BY—
WALTER CLARK.



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- 3.—July—Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War.
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- 4.—August—Moravian Settlement in North Carolina.
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- 10.—Feb.—Raleigh and the old town of Bloomsbury.
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- 12.—April—The Story of the Albemarle.
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BY

WALTER CLARK.

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**'Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her.'**

INDIAN MASSACRE AND TUSCARORA WAR 1711-'13.

WALTER CLARK.

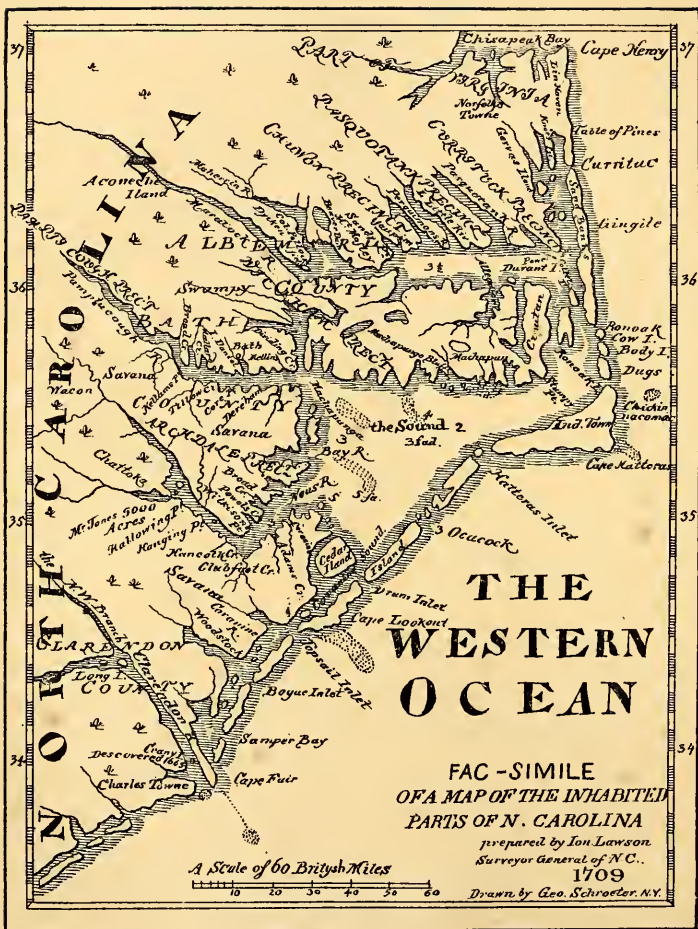
The fate of the "Lost Colony of Roanoke" is one of the enigmas of history. Whether worn out with three years of weary waiting for sails which came not to whiten the sea, or forced by starvation, the colony removed to a more eligible site and gradually amalgamated with the natives, as is claimed, or whether weakened by disease or taken by surprise it was massacred by the savages no man knoweth to this day. The curtain of history has fallen and the breezes that breathe softly over the scene of the settlement and the trials of the colony tell no story to the ears of the anxious enquirer.

But, unless the colony of 1587, under John White, was taken off by massacre, the boast 124 years later of our first historian, John Lawson in 1711, that North Carolina was the only instance of a nation planted in peace and located without blood-shed was well founded. Yet even while he wrote the tomahawks were being sharpened and the Indian warriors plumed and painted were already stealthily gliding along narrow trails, gathering for the harvest of death and torture.

Till that date, friendly relations between the natives and whites had been unbroken. There may have been occasionally variances or feuds between individuals, but these had always been settled by the law, and the races remained at peace. The Indians were employed by the whites, in many instances, as domestics, and all were admitted, without suspicion, and at all times, into the white settlements.

Many reasons have been assigned for the bloody and remarkable outbreak of 1711. By some it has been attributed to the steady encroachments of the whites upon the hunting grounds and fishing of the Indians, threatening their livelihood and thus forcing them to remove far from the burying grounds where reposed the bones of their ancestors. Others thought that the spectacle of the whites engaged in conflicts with one another, divided and weakened, encouraged the Indians to avail themselves of the opportunity to remove the intruders. There is not lacking co-temporary assertion that Carey, who had just been defeated in his rebellion, or at least Roach, his subordinate, instigated and procured the savages to make the assault. Feeling ran high against the defeated and discredited faction and this last motive should be accredited with hesitation, though it has received the support of Dr. Hawks. Certainly the first two causes were sufficient to have moved a suspicious and treacherous race, as the Indians by nature were.

At that time, the force of fighting men among the Indians in this colony contiguous to the white settlement were as follows, as appears from the estimates of that date. The Tuscaroras who lived in Bertie and in the country south of the Roanoke and on the waters of Tar and Pamlic could muster about twelve hundred men. North and Northwest of Albemarle Sound were the Meherrins, Notoways, Chowanokes, Pasquotanks, Poteskeets (or Curritucks,) Connamox and Yeopims. These had been much reduced in number by contact with civilization and use of the white man's fire-water, but they could still furnish one



hundred and sixty warriors. Southwest of Albemarle, besides the Tuscaroras were the Pamlicos, Cotechneys and Neusiocs, and between them and the ocean were remnants of the Maramuskeets, Matchapungos, Hatteras, Cores (or Coranines), Woccons, Croatan and Bear River Indians. Though also reduced in numbers they yet numbered altogether two hundred and fifty fighting men. Farther south were the Saponas of some strength and a feeble tribe, the Sippahaws. Altogether the tribes immediately contiguous to the whites were able to put near eighteen hundred men into the field.

The province at that time, as appears from Lawson's map,* made in 1709, consisted of two counties, *Albemarle*—which was divided into Currituck, Pasquotank, Chuwon and Wickham, (later Tyrrell) precincts. *Bath* county, which embraced Pampticough precinct (now Beaufort and Pitt) and Archdale precinct, (now Pamlico and Craven). The original division had been into Albemarle and Clarendon on the Cape Fear, but as population passed South from Albemarle, the county of Bath had been established, and in 1690 Clarendon county had ceased to exist. In December 1710 the Germans and Swiss landing at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent had founded the town of New Bern, though there was no incorporated town in the colony until later. The Germans were from Heidelberg and vicinity in the Palatinate and hence were called Palatines. The Swiss were from the canton of Bern and the combined Swiss and German settlers under DeGraffenreid and Louis Michel numbered six hundred and fifty. There were two

* A fac simile of this map is prefixed hereto.

other streams of white population, to-wit : the English on the north side of the Albemarle, who had gradually extended west of the Chowan, and comprised the bulk of the population. About half of these were Quakers and not available in war. Some of the Albemarle people had pushed south and were settled on the Roanoke and Tar and about the town of Bath. The third element was the French Huguenots who had come from Virginia in two distinct migrations in 1690 and 1707, the former settled on Pamlico and the latter on Neuse and Trent rivers, whence a few had wandered into what are now Carteret and Onslow counties. There was probably about seven thousand whites all told in the province in 1711. Excluding the Quakers there, was about 1,000 men able to bear arms. Such was the status and strength of the respective races. The rich country of the Pamlico had enticed settlers from north of the Albemarle, especially to the town of Bath which had been established by the French Huguenots from Virginia, in their first migration of 1690 in expectation of making it the commercial metropolis of the province by reason of the access to the ocean through Ocracoke inlet. At Bath, Gale, the Chief Justice of the province, and Knight, the Secretary, resided, and Governor Hyde spent much of his time there.

The Tuscaroras were the leaders in the movement for the slaughter of the whites, and their plans were prepared with skill and secrecy. They assumed the work of destruction of the settlers on the Roanoke, Tar and Pamlico rivers. The tribe of the latter name were to slaughter those on the lower Pamlico above Bath, while the Mara-

muskeets (or Matamuskeets) and Matchapungoes were to complete the work at Bath, and upon the settlers in that section. The Cotechneys, who lived in what is now Greene county, were to join the Cores, and together they were to effect the destruction of the settlers at New Bern and upon the Neuse and Trent rivers. The Tuscaroras calling to their aid the Meherrins and other small tribes above named north of Albemarle, were to harry the whites in that section.

A day was set for simultaneous action, to wit; on the day before the new moon in September 1711, which would occur on 23 September. The work of universal murder was therefore to begin on 22 September, a day which was long thereafter observed by the colony as a day of fasting, prayer and mourning, under an act of the General Assembly. The secret was kept profound as the grave, and the whites suspecting nothing slept in fatal security.

A few days before the appointed time an incident occurred, which, if known to the colonists at New Bern might have aroused them to take measures for their safety. Baron deGraffenreid, and Lawson, the Surveyor General, left New Bern in the former's boat to go up Neuse river to ascertain how far it was navigable and to inspect the lands on either side. About nightfall they landed at an Indian village called *Corutra*, intending to spend the night. Being soon surrounded by a large number of armed Indians, they attempted to return to their boat, but were taken captive and marched all night by their captors to another village some distance from the river and were delivered to its chief. The next day they were tried by a coun-

cil and interrogated as to their purposes. The Indians complained of Lawson as the man who had surveyed and sold their lands. After some vacillation, the negro servant and Lawson were put to death. The body of the latter was stuck full of lightwood splinters and he was burnt alive, the splinters being set on fire. DeGraffenreid was kept a close prisoner and no suspicion was aroused at New Bern by an absence which was expected to continue for an uncertain period.

On 21 September twelve hundred Tuscaroras and their six hundred allies divided into numerous detachments, began their march at all points. Scouts were sent forward among the whites to reconnoitre. About nightfall larger numbers appeared near the white settlements, but as they merely asked for food no alarm was excited. At dawn on the 22nd the war whoop was heard throughout the colony. The domesticated Indians in the homes of the whites answered the signal of those lurking in the woods and the massacre began. No age or sex was spared. The slaughter was indiscriminate and the wonder is any escaped. The torch was then applied and those who had hidden themselves were forced out and killed. As a sample, Chief Justice Gale, soon after the massacre tells this of the fate of one family: "The family of Neville was treated after this manner. The old man was found, after being shot dead, laid out on the floor, with a clean pillow under his head, his stockings turned over his shoes and his body covered with fine linen. His wife, after being murdered, was set upon her knees in the chimney corner and her hands raised up on a chair, as if at prayer. A son was laid out in the

yard, with a pillow under his head and a bunch of rosemary laid to his nose. At the next house the owner was shot and laid on his wife's grave." (Then follows accounts of unspeakable atrocities). * * * * *

"In short their manner of butchery has been so various and unaccountable, that it would be beyond credit to relate them. This blow was so hotly followed by the hellish crew that we could not bury our dead; so that they were left for prey to the dogs and wolves, and vultures, whilst our care was to strengthen our garrisons to secure the living." One hundred and thirty were killed on the Roanoke alone, and sixty of the palatines on the outskirts of New Bern. The total loss of life was appalling throughout the province. The savages infuriated by the liquor they found, commenced a systematic man hunt, and for three days the carnival of blood continued. The smaller settlements and the isolated farms were all destroyed. North of the Albemarle the loss of life was small as the whites outnumbered their assailants in most places.

Governor Hyde saw at once the impossibility of raising near half as many men as there were Indian warriors, for besides the large number of whites slain there were the disaffected who had sided with Carey and Roach who were suspected to have instigated the massacre, and there were also the Quakers who composed so large a part of the population, and who were non-combatants. At the first onset Governor Hyde was not able to embody more than one hundred and sixty men. Many doubtless had gone to Virginia to carry the women and children to safety and many of Carey's faction had recently gone thither for their

own security. There was also no public funds to pay the troops that were raised. The confederacy of the Indians was so wide-spread and comprehensive that the Governor could get no allies from that source by appeals to tribal jealousies. He called upon the adjoining provinces for aid. Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, marched sixteen hundred militia to Nottoway town which prevented Indian attacks extending to that province, and probably to some extent overawed the Indians in North Carolina near the line as Gov. Spottswood's request for the liberation of Baron de Graffenried was granted, after he had been kept a prisoner for five weeks, but owing to internal feuds the appropriation requested to support troops to be sent to the aid of North Carolina was not voted, and hence no assistance was received from Virginia.

DeGraffenreid's enlargement was based upon his treaty with the Indians that his Germans and Swiss at New-Bern should remain neutral in the war between the English and the Indians, and this probably saved that settlement from destruction. DeGraffenreid soon sold out to Col. Thos. Pollock his holdings for eight hundred pounds and put the Atlantic between himself and his late captors.

The legislature of South Carolina to whom Chief Justice Gale was sent to implore aid, promptly sent six hundred militia and three hundred and sixty Indians, mostly Yemasseees, under Col. Barnwell, who with great expedition, traversed the wilderness then separating the settlements on the Neuse from the settled parts of South Carolina. The surviving population on the frontier lines were collected into temporary forts on the Chowan, Neuse and Pamlico,

and guarded by the militia. Food was brought from north of the Albemarle, as elsewhere nearly all the crops and provisions had been destroyed.

As soon as the South Carolina forces arrived they were joined by all the North Carolina militia not required to guard the forts. They advanced upon the Indians, who also collected into one body, fell back to a strong wooden breastwork, or palisade fort which they had erected on Neuse river about twenty miles above New Bern. Here Barnwell, with his combined forces made an attack upon them 28 Jan. 1712. The Indians having been reinforced, marched boldly out to give battle, but they were defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and one hundred taken prisoners, the number of wounded unknown. Those left upon the battle field were doubtless included among the slain. The survivors retreated into the fort and were at once surrounded. By pushing his parallels, Col. Louis Michel succeeded in placing a battery of two guns within eleven yards of the palisade, whereupon the Indians beat a parley and were allowed to surrender. Some three months after, the Council of State put on record their condemnation of Barnwell's conduct. The complaint seems to have been that he accepted the surrender of the Indians at a moment when he had them in his power and might have exterminated them, and further, that after the treaty he had allowed his men to fall upon some of their towns, in violation of the treaty, and carry off many as slaves to South Carolina. Barnwell himself was wounded and returned to Charleston together with his disabled men by water. His Indian allies, according to savage custom, left him in large

numbers immediately after the battle to mourn their fallen braves and sell their slaves and the diminution of his forces from this and other causes may have required him to refrain from exacting an unconditional surrender of the fort. The spot is known as Fort Barnwell to this day.

On 12 March 1712 the General Assembly met and voted 4,000 pounds to carry on the war. They engaged the Sapona Indians as allies and erected Fort Hyde on Core Sound to overawe the Core Indians, and garrisoned it with thirty men. They also erected Fort Reading on Tar river with a garrison of ten men. Application as before was made again for aid to the adjoining provinces, and as before the aid came from the South alone. There was great alarm over a rumor that the Five Nations of New York were to come down to join their Tuscarora brethren for the destruction of this province. A powerful epidemic of yellow fever also broke out and sadly diminished the number surviving from the massacre. Governor Hyde died of the yellow fever 8 Sept. 1712, and on 12 September the Council elected Col. Thomas Pollock President of the colony and Commander-in-Chief.

He took the government at a gloomy time. The colony was bankrupt and Carey's rebellion, the Indian massacre, the succeeding war and the yellow fever had so reduced the population that the whole available force under arms was 140 men. The whole province had to look to the country north of Albemarle Sound for food. Pollock acted with admirable skill. By Indian messengers and negotiations he kept the Five Nations quiet. He obtained an interview with Tom Blunt, chief among the Tuscaroras

and secured a treaty of neutrality with his part of that tribe and ultimately an agreement that he should capture and bring in Hancock, the most hostile of the chiefs. Governor Pollock also pacified the Quakers and secured their aid in provisioning the forces. He also obtained from South Carolina the dispatch of a force of one thousand Indians and fifty white men under Colonel James Moore. Virginia voted 3,500 pounds to aid North Carolina in carrying on the war, and 600 pounds to be used in the purchase of blankets and clothing for our troops. When Virginia asked however for a mortgage on the lands on the Roanoke as security for re-imbursement Pollock resolutely declined to give it on the ground that he was without authority to do so.

On 25 November 1712 President Pollock made a treaty with Blunt and five subordinate chiefs by which they were not only detached from the Confederacy, but they agreed to make war on the Cotechneys, Cores, Neuse, Bear river, Pamlico and Matchapungo Indians, and to slay all above fourteen years of age, and further, to return all property stolen from the English, and to relinquish all claims to lands south of Neuse river or below Cotechney and Bear Creeks on the north side of Pamlico river, with other stipulations and giving hostages.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, which the approach of Colonel Moore and his troops doubtless hastened those auxiliaries arrived. The other portions of the province being bare of food, Gov. Pollock requested Colonel Moore to march his troops into the territory north of the Albemarle. It took much address to prevent collision be-

tween the Indian allies under Moore and the whites of that section and to the great relief of the latter Moore marched his troops about the middle of January 1713 to Fort Reading, south of the Pamlico river. There they were detained by a fall of snow till 4 February.

The Indians had built a fort near where Snow Hill, the county seat of Greene, now stands, which they called *Nahucke*. Into this they retired under command of Hancock on Moore's approach. He laid seige to it 20 March. By a strange oversight no wells were provided in the fort, and on learning this Moore cut them off from the streams from which they were supplied. After having thus greatly distressed them, he took the fort by storm. A large number of Indians were slain and eight hundred were taken. Moore lost fifty-eight men, of whom thirty-six were Indians and eighty wounded, of whom only twenty-four were whites. The Indian allies, as in the previous expedition under Barnwell, having secured all the prisoners they could for slaves left for home save 180 only, who remained with him. The defeated Indians had another fort *Cahunke*, about 40 miles to the southwest, to which those who escaped fled, but taught by the loss of two forts, they did not trust to their palisades again and abandoned this fort before Col. Moore reached it. The greater part under Hancock, crossed the Roanoke higher up and joined their kindred in New York, whose designation was henceforward the Six Nations. Those Tuscaroras who did not choose to go North submitted and accepted whatever terms the whites laid upon them.

Tom Blunt, for his fidelity to the English, was made

king of all the Indians south of the Pamlico river, and thenceforward was known as *King Blunt*. The war was now about over. In April 1713 the Matchapungos made an inroad on Alligator river and killed some twenty whites. Col. Moore sent some of his Indians thither and no trouble has occurred from Indians in that quarter since that day. The only remaining tribe, the Cores, soon after sued for peace. The victory at Nahucke came just in time, as it was afterwards learned that the Five Nations were on the point of coming to the aid of the Tuscaroras in this province.

The war left the province depleted in population and bankrupt. To cure the lack of money, the Legislature issued bills for eight thousand pounds, which was the first paper money it had emitted. There was also the peculiarity that these bills were not promises to pay gold and silver, but were to pass as money *per se*.

The war having closed, Colonel Moore, who had only about one hundred of his one thousand Indians remaining with him returned by water to Charleston.

Not long after, in 1715 an Indian war burst out in South Carolina, an Indian Confederacy of all the tribes from the Cape Fear to Florida having been formed for the extermination of the whites in that province, doubtless by instigation of the Spanish. In this war, our former allies, the Yemassee were the most conspicuous tribe. Gov. Eden, who had then arrived, promptly called out our militia and sent both horse and foot under the command of Colonel Maurice Moore, to the aid of South Carolina, where they rendered efficient service.

The Matchapungoes and Cores in Hyde, hearing of the

South Carolina troubles and the march of our troops again broke out and murdered several whites at the more distant and unprotected settlements but they were promptly punished and suppressed. King Blunt and his faithful Indians were removed and settled on a beautiful reservation in Bertie county, known to this day as the *Indian Woods*. Later these Indians also joined their brethren of the Six Nations in New York, though the Indian title was not extinguished till a century later. A descendant of King Blunt having married into the royal Hawaian family the last sovereigns of Hawaii were lineal descendants of our North Carolina Indian chief.

Col. Louis Michel was the ancestor of the well known New Bern family which now spells its name Mitchell. Chief Justice Gale numbers among his descendants the Little family of Raleigh. Gov. Pollock's descendants are, many of them, buried in the cemetery at Raleigh, and among his living representatives is the Devereux family of this city

Space has not been given to the horrifying details of brutality perpetrated in the great Indian massacre. They can be gathered from the details given of savage outrages in other wars. The massacre of 22 Sept. 1711 was well planned, and embraced all the inhabited parts of the province except the more thickly settled portions north of the Albemarle. Had the Five Nations joined their Tuscarora brethren, as was twice imminent, the total destruction of the colony was within the bounds of probability. From this we were saved first by the efforts of Gov. Pollock and later by the victory at *Nahucke*.

Battles of Revolution Fought in North Carolina.

Moores Creek Bridge,	Feb'y 27th, 1776
Ramsour's Mill,	June 20th, 1780
Pacolet River,	July 14th, 1780
Earles Ford,	July 18th, 1780
Cane Creek,	Sept. 12th, 1780
Wahab's Plantation	Sept. 21st, 1780
Charlotte	Sept. 26th, 1780
Wilmington,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Cowans Ford,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Torrence Tavern,	Feb'y 1st, 1781
Shallow Ford	Feb'y 6th, 1781
Bruce's Cross Roads,	Feb'y 12th, 1781
Haw River,	Feb'y 25th, 1781
Clapp's Mill	March 2nd, 1781
Whitsell's Mill,	March 6th, 1781
Guilford Court House,	March 15th, 1781
Hillsboro,	April 25th, 1781
Hillsboro,	Sept. 13th, 1781
Sudleys Mill, (Cane Creek,)	Sept. 13th, 1781

