

From 1585 to the 1700s



During the 18th century, following the Tuscarora War, Tom Blount, the King Sachem of the Tuskarora Nation in North Carolina from the Northern faction, desired peace and safety for his people. This aspiration emerged from the persistent threat of rival Native American tribes in the Carolinas and the advancing intrusion of English settlers. The Tuskarora Nation, recognized as dominant warriors amongst the tribes and villages of eastern North Carolina, was broadly divided into two factions. A small number of the Southern or Lower settlements, primarily those of the Mangoak Indians, sided with King Hancock's Tuscarora.

The Northern faction, under the leadership of King Tom Blunt, mainly inhabited areas north of the Pamlico River, the Tar River, and along the Roanoke River. The latter was also known as the Moratoc River, a term derived from the Moratoc/Moratock/Moratuk Indians meaning "mean/bad waters," first identified by Thomas Hariot and John White during their expedition to the "New World" with Ralph Lane from 1585-87 and recorded on various maps. (see Diagrams 1A-1F, N.C. Maps of the Moratoc)

Hariot, White, and Lane are notably known for their attempt to establish a settlement on Roanoke Island, an endeavor initiated by Sir Walter Raleigh at the behest of Queen Elizabeth I, who sought to establish colonies. The Americas seemed particularly suitable for English colonization at that time. Arthur Barlowe, one of the two British captains commissioned by Sir Walter Raleigh, embarked on a journey from England in 1584 to explore lands in North America on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I. Barlowe's account of this voyage, which includes detailed descriptions of the Native American peoples, survives in a letter he wrote to Raleigh to report on their expedition. The letter mentions, "They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part, and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn, and chestnut coloured hair (Barlowe 5). (see Diagrams 1G-1H)

Sir Ralph Lane, a renowned English explorer of the Elizabethan era, was involved in the unsuccessful colonization attempt of Roanoke Island in North Carolina in 1585. This island would later give its name to the Moratoc River, renaming it as the Roanoke River. Lane also served the English Crown in Ireland and was knighted by Sir William FitzWilliam, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1593.

Thomas Hariot, also known by the alternative spellings Harriott and Harriot (1560? - 1621) was an explorer, scientist, and author, and holds the distinction of being the first English compiler and publisher of information about the New World. By the 1580s, he had spent several years instructing Sir Walter Raleigh and his sea captains in mathematics and navigation, playing a key role in the early stages of Raleigh's 1583 Roanoke Island endeavor. His direct involvement in England's nascent exploration and colonization efforts in the New World sprang from his participation in the second Roanoke expedition in 1585. Upon his return to England, Hariot utilized his navigational expertise to assist the English in their victory over the Spanish Armada

in 1588. In the early 17th century, he served a short sentence in the Tower of London due to his involvement in a dispute between Sir Walter Raleigh and King James's court. By the mid-1600s, Hariot had returned to his passion for mathematics and astronomy, which he pursued until his death in England on July 2, 1621.

John White, a fellow settler who journeyed with Richard Grenville to modern-day North Carolina in 1585, fulfilled the roles of artist and cartographer on the expedition. During his stay at Roanoke Island, along the Roanoke (Moratoc) River, he produced a series of watercolor sketches capturing landscapes, flora, fauna, and Native American peoples. (see Diagram 1G-1H, *John White's Watercolors*) White, an illustrator, also participated in some of the earliest English voyages to the Americas, including Martin Frobisher's 1577 exploration of Canada's east coast. He accompanied Hariot on the 1585 Roanoke expedition and returned as governor in 1587. White's 1587 group was comprised of farmers, craftsmen, and their families, all eager and prepared to carve out a new life. These pioneers were compensated not with wages, but with promises of shares in the colony's profits, land grants, and participation in self-governance. After the failure of this third colony, White returned to England as Raleigh's fortunes dwindled, leading to the loss of his royal charter in 1603 and the cessation of future colonization attempts. White relocated to Ireland, where he lived out his remaining years, maintaining occasional correspondence with translator Sir Richard Hakluyt.

Ralph Lane embarked on his voyage on April 9, 1585, setting sail from Plymouth alongside Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville. Grenville, a sailor, later authored a book on his findings in the Chesapeake upon his return to England. The fleet, composed of the Tiger (under Grenville's command), the Roebuck, the Red Lion, the Elizabeth, and the Dorothy faced difficulties. Particularly, Lane clashed with Grenville's confrontational leadership style, considering him to be excessively proud and overly ambitious. During a violent storm near Portugal's coast, the Tiger was separated from the fleet. The Tiger arrived at Baye's Musquito (now Guayanilla, Puerto Rico) on May 11. While anticipating the arrival of other vessels, Grenville established relations with the Spanish, concurrently engaging in privateering against their ships, and erected a small fortress. The "Elizabeth" made its appearance shortly after the fort's completion. Impatient to wait for the rest of the ships, Grenville set sail on June 7, leaving the fort, whose present location is unknown. When the Tiger traversed the Ocracoke Inlet on June 26, it became stranded on a sandbank, causing most of the food supplies to spoil. Despite this setback, the expedition managed to mend the ship, and in early July they rendezvoused with the Roebuck and Dorothy, which had arrived at the Outer Banks a few weeks prior. The Red Lion, too, was present but only offloaded its passengers before heading to Newfoundland for privateering.

Upon initial exploration of the continental coastline and its native settlements, Grenville blamed the Aquascogoc villagers for stealing a silver cup, in retribution for which he looted and razed the village. Despite this episode and a dwindling food supply, Lane and 107 other settlers were left on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, then known as "Virginia," on August 17, 1585, to establish a colony at its northern end. A small fort, possibly resembling the one at Guayanilla Bay, was constructed. Almost immediately thereafter, Grenville and his crew departed for England, pledging to return with additional personnel and fresh supplies in April 1586. Prompt contact was established with the local Native Americans. Under Ralph Lane's stewardship, the

English colonists interacted harshly with the Indians, resorting to abduction and murder on several occasions to obtain supplies or extract information. Meanwhile, Thomas Hariot and John White focused on their recording responsibilities and managed to cultivate better relations with the natives compared to Lane. The duo extensively explored the areas surrounding the Roanoke base, collaborating on maps, drawings, and scientific notes, and sought optimal methods of engaging with the local Indians.

The English endured a miserable year attempting to explore the mainland and Virginia's southern coast, prospecting for gold, and establishing a settlement. Their late arrival prevented crop cultivation, and they narrowly avoided starvation due largely to the goodwill of the local Native Americans. Tensions remained high due to the English's mistreatment of the Indians. As April 1586 passed with no word from Grenville and a retaliatory attack on the fort ensued in June due to the stolen cup incident, Sir Francis Drake arrived just in time. He proposed relocating Lane's colony to a more favorable and safer site further north in Virginia—an offer Lane accepted due to dwindling food supplies and escalating tensions with local tribes. Unfortunately, an unexpected hurricane disrupted Drake's fleet and compelled the colonists to retreat hastily back to England, presumably resulting in the loss of a significant portion of Hariot's notes and White's artwork. Drake's fleet reached Portsmouth on July 28, where the Roanoke settlers introduced snuff, corn, and potatoes to England. Ralph Lane's account was later published in Richard Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation" in 1589 (Hakluyt).

Thomas Hariot's "Briefe and True Report," a narrative of his explorations during the 1585 expedition, was initially published in Latin in 1588 and subsequently included in Hakluyt's anthology, "Principal Navigations of the English Nation" (Harriot et al). In 1590, Theodore de Bry released comprehensive versions of Hariot's report in four languages, along with a new section containing White's illustrations annotated by Hariot. De Bry used his own engravings based on White's watercolors, which remained unpublished in their original form until the twentieth century. The versions of Hariot's and White's works currently displayed at the British Museum are facsimile editions of the 1590 publication. John White also maintained a journal of his 1587 experiences, which Hakluyt incorporated into *Principal Navigations* under the title "The fourth Voyage Made to Virginia with Three Ships." Hakluyt later published White's subsequent writings about the search for the Lost Colony. White's reflections, coupled with intriguing accounts of survivors from English explorers in the Chesapeake Bay in the 1600s, sustained interest in the enigma of "The Lost Colony," which remains a historical legend today.

In the spring of 1587, Ralph Lane, in his quest for the country's riches and natural resources, undertook an inland exploration. He first visited King Menatonon of the Chowanokes on the Chowan River, traveling 120 miles from Roanoke Island. Lane subsequently made a journey up the Roanoke River, marking what appears to have been the first contact with the Tuskarora (of the Moratoc Indians) on that stream. However, his progress inland was restricted due to limited supplies and a small crew. A trip to the source of the Roanoke River and the mines of Chaunis Temoatan, a salt mining village where Lane hoped to discover gold, was out of reach. Upon returning to the Albemarle Sound, Lane divided his party into two groups. Lane dispatched a fraction of his group to Roanoke Island and embarked on a journey up the Roanoke River with forty men operating two double wherries. They were in pursuit of the Moratoc Indians for

provisions and the Mangoak Indians for insight about the region's wealth. Unforeseen challenges halted the expedition near Rainbow Banks, a historical Tuskarora town site in Martin County, south of the Indian Woods region in Bertie County. Both the Moratocs' and Mangoaks' towns were discovered to be abandoned, and as Lane recounts, for three days, they encountered no individual or found a single kernel of corn. With only a two-day food supply remaining, the men were so consumed by the desire for wealth that they resolved to continue their pursuit of the Moratoc Indians.

Fifty miles up the Roanoke River, Lane's provisions were exhausted. Throughout the English journey, the Indians remained hidden, with only fires along the riverbanks signifying their presence. Once the supplies ran out, the English were met with a volley of arrows instead of food, marking their initial encounter with what appeared to be the Tuskarora of the Moratoc. Lane and his men then approached the shore, and observing the high and steep banks, they began an aggressive siege, causing the Indians to flee and conceal themselves in the forest. This incident marked the termination of Ralph Lane's pursuit of the Moratoc Indians and his envisioned "City of Gold," Chaunis Temoatan (Corbitt, Explorations). Lane would later engage in additional expeditions. He was appointed muster-master general of Ireland in January 1592. In 1594, he was critically injured during an Irish rebellion against the Crown, an injury from which he never fully recovered, leading to his death in 1603. The knowledge collected about the New World by Ralph Lane, Thomas Hariot, John White, Arthur Barlowe, and Sir Walter Raleigh continued to captivate the English for nearly 150 years. This fascination was possibly driven partly by the aspiration to discover considerable mineral wealth and abundant fertile land in the new territory. This sentiment is echoed in 1609 when the Council of the Virginia Company mentioned the "rich Copper mines of Ritanoc" [Roanoke], located west of the Carolina region.

In 1601, Sir Walter Raleigh, a British adventurer, navigator, and a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I, who had led the unsuccessful search for El Dorado (1595), and established the ill-fated English colony on Roanoke Island in the Americas (1585), was imprisoned in the Tower of London for plotting against King James I. On April 10, 1606, King James I (reign 1566–1625) issued a charter establishing two companies for Virginia, one headquartered in London and another in Plymouth, responsible for settling all land between the Passamaquoddy Bay in Maine and the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. Plymouth was granted the northern half, and London received the southern half. In 1607, Jamestown, christened in tribute to King James I, marked Great Britain's inaugural settlement in North America and the pioneering stronghold of the Virginia Colony. This enduring establishment was the outcome of three unsuccessful endeavors by Sir Walter Raleigh starting in 1585 to build a fort in the territory he dubbed "Virginia" in honor of his queen, Elizabeth I. Nevertheless, its prolonged existence was in jeopardy for the initial fifteen years.

The settlers from London embarked on their journey on December 20, 1606, aboard three vessels – the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery – transporting 100 men and four boys. They made landfall in what is currently known as the Chesapeake Bay region. An exploratory party searched for an appropriate area, and the three ships navigated up the river they named (and are still referred to as) the James River, ultimately reaching the site of Jamestown on May 13, 1607. While Jamestown, Virginia, rather than Roanoke, North Carolina, would transform into the location of England's initial enduring settlement in America in 1607, the

anticipations of the Jamestown colonists regarding the New World were influenced by the experiences of Roanoke, particularly as portrayed in the works of Thomas Hariot and John White. Hariot had to concede that, based on his observations, Carolina and Virginia were not abundant in gold. However, he noted in his report the plentiful commercially viable and edible plants and animals, detailing the diverse fauna and flora and their commercial potential. Hariot, through his descriptions of the plentiful silkworms, the vast pine forests, the fertile soil, the proliferation of game animals, and medicinal plants, portrayed the New World as a land of prosperity. Both Hariot and White were determined to counteract the negative hearsay spread by the disgruntled Roanoke refugees. They offered a respectable and serene image of the Indians to refute the accusations of them being aggressive barbarians. Their drawings and writings constitute one of the most comprehensive records of sixteenth-century Native Americans during the era of initial European contact. Their words and images simultaneously sparked the interest of potential English investors and settlers while providing them with essential practical knowledge necessary for survival in the New World.

The selection of Jamestown as the settlement site was due to its potential for easy defense, as it was enveloped by water on three sides. The water depth was adequate for the colonists' ships, and the area was uninhabited by Native Americans. Regrettably, the absence of Native Americans was due to reasons detrimental to the colonists; there was no drinkable water source, and the marshy environment was teeming with mosquitoes and flies. A combination of disease, high temperatures, and conflicts with the Native Americans depleted both the colonists and their provisions. When the first resupply ship docked in September, only 37 out of the initial 104 colonists were alive.

In 1608, "A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Hapned in Virginia Since the First Planting of That Colony," a memoir by Captain John Smith documenting the early experiences of the Jamestown colony, was published in London. Assuming the helm of the colony's leadership in September 1608, Captain John Smith's governance is lauded for the improvements in living conditions and successful stockpiling of resources. England continued to dispatch supplies and settlers and following the transformation of the colony into a joint-stock enterprise in late Spring 1609, dispatched nine ships carrying 500 settlers from London. The ship transporting Deputy Governor Thomas Gates suffered a shipwreck off the coast of Bermuda. The 400 survivors trickled into Jamestown by late summer, too debilitated to work, yet capable of depleting the accumulated resources. Subsequent disease outbreaks and famine resulted in the colony's population plummeting from 500 to approximately 60 between October 1609 and March 1610. This winter period became infamously known as "The Starving Time," turning the colony into a death zone. On February 28, 1610, the Virginia Company appointed Thomas West, the 12th Baron De la Warr (1576–1618), as the Governor of Virginia. He made a brief visit to the colony in June.

Captain John Smith released the first detailed map of the Chesapeake Bay region, including the present-day territories of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, titled "A Map of Virginia," in 1612. The map remained in active use for the subsequent seventy years. Moreover, 1612 marked the year when English settlers first cultivated the domestic crop of Native American tobacco in Virginia. In 1613, Samuel Argall (1572–1626), an English colonist and adventurer, led an operation in Virginia that obliterated the French settlements at Port Royal,

Nova Scotia. Adriaen Block's ship, anchored at the mouth of the Hudson River, was incinerated, and replaced by the first English ship constructed in the Americas. During its early years, Jamestown functioned primarily as a military outpost, inhabited by gentlemen and indentured servants. These servants, those fortunate enough to survive, were bound to labor for their passage for a duration of seven years. By 1614, these obligations began to expire, and those who opted to stay evolved into free laborers.

The leadership duo of Thomas Dale and Thomas Gates ensured the survival of the colony between 1610 and 1616. The colony's strength began to manifest after John Rolfe initiated his tobacco cultivation experiments, aimed at making it more appealing to English consumers. The marriage of Pocahontas, a royal member of the Powhatan tribe, to John Rolfe on April 5, 1614, helped alleviate tensions with the local Native American community. In 1616, Sir Walter Raleigh was liberated from the Tower of London. King James I did not pardon him but instead commanded him to venture back to the Americas in exchange for his liberty. On April 21, 1616, John Rolfe and Pocahontas, with their infant son, embarked on their journey to England. Pocahontas was bestowed with the title of Lady Rebecca. In March 1617, Pocahontas passed away in Gravesend, United Kingdom, after falling ill on the way home. Her demise brought an end to the tense peace between Jamestown and the Powhatan Indians of Virginia. On January 2, 1618, Sir Walter Raleigh embarked on his journey towards Guyana, pledging to respect the Spanish claims in the region. Contrary to these orders, his troops razed the Spanish village of San Tome de Guyana. Upon returning to England on October 29, Raleigh was executed for treasonous conduct against King James I, a charge dating back to 1603.

In 1621, Sir Francis Wyatt (1588–1644) was appointed the governor of Virginia and headed towards Jamestown colony to assume his role. Jamestown's population suffered heavily due to disease, administrative missteps, and Native American raids. The incorporation of women and families into the colony spurred some growth and stability, but the colony was still beset by factionalism and financial instability. Relatives of Pocahontas attacked Virginia on March 22, 1622, resulting in the death of 350 settlers and sparking a decade-long period of conflict. Jamestown's establishment was primarily driven by the desire for wealth and to a smaller extent, to spread Christianity among the natives. During its early decades, Jamestown went through numerous political shifts and by 1624, it had established a representative assembly called the "House of Burgesses," the first example of representative self-governance in North America. Perceiving the House of Burgesses as a threat, King James I dissolved the financially insolvent Virginia Company's charter in 1624, transforming Virginia into a Crown Colony. Sir Francis Wyatt continued as the Governor of Virginia, but the demise of King James in 1625 put a halt to his plans to disband the assembly. The colony was henceforth known as the Colony and Dominion of Virginia (Barbour; Billings; Earle 365-90).

On October 30, 1629, King Charles I awarded Sir Robert Heath a territory in North America to be named Carolina. King Charles I, a member of the House of Stuart, was executed in England for high treason on January 30, 1649. Virginia, Barbados, Bermuda, and Antigua continued their allegiance to his family, the House of Stuart. In August 1650, Virginia was put under an English blockade after it declared loyalty to the House of Stuart (Schlesinger).

For over six decades, the Moratoc (Tuskarora) and other Native American tribes of eastern North Carolina had watched European settlers progressively encroach on their territories from Virginia to the northeastern Albemarle region of North Carolina. In the 1650s, the first enduring settlement of white settlers in North Carolina was established east of the Chowan River by the English. Guided by Pyancha, an Appomattox native, the English explorers learned that the Roanoke [Moratoc] River was a significant waterway home to numerous critical Indian nations. The settlers observed a high number of bearded Indians, along with many elderly and children. Copper was seen among them, and they were reported to adorn their pipes with silver, implying the possible existence of gold and other metals in the region's hills (Salley 16-17).

In 1653, the Virginia Assembly granted Rev. Roger Green of Nansmond County a grant for ten thousand acres of land on the south side of Chowan river and Moratoc (Roanoke) River. This land was to be given to the first one hundred people to settle in that area, and Green himself was granted one thousand acres (Salley 28). This territory was within an area where the Tuskarora claimed rights due to a prior sale of hunting and fishing rights to the Wyanoke Indians by two Indian [Wiroans] kings and a [Wiroan squaw] queen ("The Indians of Southern Virginia" 5, 7-8). Although there is no evidence to suggest that Rev. Roger Green's grant was indeed settled, it was not long before settlers had spread to the Albemarle Sound area and near the northeast borders of Tuskarora territory. In 1654, an expedition was launched to explore a region which today encompasses various North Carolina counties including Currituck, Camden, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Bertie, Washington, Tyrrell, Dare, Hyde, Beaufort, Pamlico, Craven, Carteret, and Onslow. The expedition was led by Francis Yeardley, the son of Virginia's Governor Yeardley. Yeardley's team encountered a "Tuskarorawes emperor" in the Albemarle region of Carolina, who mentioned a salt and copper mine three days' journey away. The explorers also encountered an Indian with two large gold beads in his ears, and they were told of a significant source of such gold nearby. A conflict between the settlers and the formidable Coree tribe, known for their bravery in battle, hindered further exploration of the area. In response to settlers insisting on returning, the Tuskarora King sent his only son, along with a prominent tutor and other dignitaries, to meet with the settlers. This gathering culminated in the arrival of around forty-five Native American individuals, including multiple kings and the son of the Rowanoke chief who was to be baptized, at the house of one of the settlers on the first of May. Yeardley concluded his expedition with a ceremonial gesture, accepting a piece of turf with an arrow embedded in it as a gift, symbolizing the transfer of the land. He accepted it solemnly in the name of the Commonwealth of England, assuring that England would secure and cherish this affluent and thriving region. He expressed hope that their individual contributions and efforts would not be overlooked (Salley 27).

By the early 1660s, the King of the Yeopim Indians had sold and granted lands along and near the Perquimans River and Roanoke Sound, areas adjacent to the Roanoke River, to the English. The Tuskarora Indians claimed this territory, which led to mounting tension and conflict between the settlers and the coastal Indian tribes. In 1666, as fresh settlers claimed lands along the Chowan River, the Tuskarora responded with force, assaulting the settlements and causing several casualties (Hening and Virginia 230). Traveling to and from the colony became risky as the Tuskarora seemed to receive support from the Chowanokes, who resided along the primary routes to Virginia. In response, the Carolina government swiftly mobilized all available men. The Indians, armed with basic bows, were not prepared for a significant conflict, and peace was

quickly restored. Exhibit 1 To circumvent potential harm from the local Indian tribes in 1668, it was recommended that the plantations of Albemarle in Carolina should not be too distant from each other (Powell, Ye Countie 29).

In 1670, the German explorer John Lederer discovered the town of Kateras, located in the North Carolina Piedmont, not far from present-day Raleigh. It was identified as a vital hub for Indian trade and commerce, and the main base of the powerful Tuskarora emperor, Kaskusara, commonly referred to as Kaskous. Lederer observed that the well-to-do men and women in Kateras adorned their hair, ears, arms, and necks with pieces of bright copper on special occasions. This sight suggested to him that the region was rich with copper mines (Hawks 51). By this period, Virginia traders were increasingly using the old Indian trading routes and becoming highly engaged in Carolina. Trade flourished quickly, as long pack trains belonging to Wood and Bryd, originating from Fort Henry on the Appomattox River at the James River falls, were regularly seen on the Occoneechee Trading Path. This path served as the primary route to the Western and Virgin territory of Carolina, among other less-known trails. Undoubtedly, an escalating influx of rum, weapons, and various goods were reaching the Tuskarora and numerous Indian Nations of the piedmont and mountains (Alvord and Bidgood).

In 1672, George Fox, a Quaker missionary, ventured to North Carolina and preached to the Albemarle Indians, who lived near the Tuskarora. Exhibit 2 He learned of an impending visit by the Tuskarora emperor and his subordinate "thirty Kings" for peace negotiations with the colony. Fox left a document with Captain Nathaniel Batts, known as the governor of Roanoke, to be read to the delegation (Fox 154). In 1676, the Lords Proprietors, dissatisfied with the continued wilderness of the lands South of the Albemarle, expanded the governance of the Albemarle County Governor to cover "settlements made upon the Pamleco (Pamlico) and Newse (Neuse)." This encroachment provoked anger amongst the Coree and other coastal Indians, displacing them from their lands and pushing the population towards conflict. Exhibit 3 In 1681, an investigation revealed that Daniel Pugh, a dishonest trader from the Virginia Colony, had sent some Indians from within the Tuskarora territory as slaves to Barbados. The colony aimed to hold Pugh accountable, but he had already left the colony (Palmer 147, 157-58).

Trade appealed to the Indians as it offered tools such as hatchets, axes, knives, and guns, improving their lifestyle. They were also fond of beads, colorful clothing, and coats. However, the introduction of rum had detrimental effects, leading to their demoralization and decline.

In 1686, John Archdale wrote to George Fox proposing the establishment of a new colony in Carolina. The proposed colony needed "God-fearing, industrious people," and peace was maintained with all Indian nations. Archdale had been visited earlier by "the great fat king of the Tuskarora," concerning a murder committed in the English settlement by an Indian. Upon investigation, it was revealed that the crime was committed by the son of a prominent Chowan Indian. The offender was swiftly apprehended, but his life was bought from the Tuskarora King by the Chowan Indians for a substantial amount of wampum and bage (Fox 154). Despite the Tuskarora King's display of innate wisdom, he was quite eager to wage war against "a nation of Indians called the Matchepungoes," a small Algonkin tribe along the Carolina coast. Archdale sought to maintain peace on the frontier through diplomacy, with the aim of promoting

tranquility among all Indian tribes and between the tribes and the colonists. He also observed that the peace was fragile, with people living in fear of imminent upheaval (Hawks 379).

The leaders of Virginia had allocated land in the area to settlers, and these Europeans continued their southern expansion, moving past the Moratoc (today's Roanoke) and Pamlico rivers towards the Neuse. A group of men from the French settlement on the James River in Virginia established a settlement on the Pamlico River in 1690. Governor Phillip Ludwell received confidential instructions from the Proprietors in 1691 to investigate assertions that "some inhabitants of our province have killed several of the Indians." They highlighted the potentially harmful consequences not just for Carolina, but for all of North America, urging for guilty parties to be prosecuted as per law. They stressed the need to uphold justice and to affirm their commitment to peaceful coexistence to both the Indian King and the world. [Exhibit 4](#)

Historical records suggest that in 1693, Thomas Blunt, an English interpreter and Indian trader from Surry County, traded with the Nottoway and Weyonoke Indians. There was an act enacted, known as "An Act concerning Indians Hoggs," which was about marking the Indians' hogs. This act allowed the court to assign a distinct mark for the towns of the Nottoways and Weyonoke Indians, ensuring that their livestock could be identified by ear cuts. Settlers would routinely register their livestock marks with the courts, as livestock were commonly let loose to graze together in the forests around the settlements. [Exhibit 5](#) Interestingly, an individual known as "Blunt the Indian" lived near the Nottoway and Weyonoke Indians, suggesting a likely acquaintance with "Blunt the Englishman," who had communicated with an unnamed Indian tribe during Henderson Walker's administration from 1699-1703. Shortly after this period, we notice the Blunt/Blount family forming close ties with the Tuskarora of the Moratoc, who resided nearby on the North Carolina/Virginia border, close to modern-day Bertie County. Back then, it was part of the Craven District of Albemarle County. In time, the King of the Tuskarora also adopted the Blount/Blunt surname. Historical researcher Herbert Paschal highlights a record of William Brice reporting to the governor and council, "a directive at a Council held at Mr. Thomas Blount's in Chowan against one Thomas Blount, an Indian, for the returning of a Mare." Another mention is made of another individual, Tom Blount (white), who served as the official Virginia interpreter to the Indians south of the James River from 1691 to 1703, as previously mentioned, during Henderson Walker's administration. There was active trade with the Upper Towns of the Tuskarora during this time, and this Blount and the Indian leader were familiar with each other. Language barriers existed, so interactions required interpreters for effective communication between the Indians and their counterparts. King Tom Blunt, of the Upper Tuskarora, was inclined towards trading with the English. It is reported that Blunt led a council of 16 to 18 chief men. Each clan had the right to have a sachem and a sub-chief in the council, along with a fire keeper and a war chief. It is documented that Doctor John Brickell of Edenton knew that Blunt could speak understandable English, yet this wasn't recorded in the "official records." An interpreter was always necessary during state affairs. King Blunt often requested his friend William Charlton's interpretation services, and Charlton would accompany him on official visits to Virginia.

By 1696, the increasing population necessitated the establishment of Bath County to serve the residents of the Pamlico and Neuse areas. Many of the issues seemed to stem from the pressures exerted on the rapidly deteriorating Algonquin tribes north of the Albemarle Sound.

During this period, land-desiring whites started setting up plantations south of the sound, and in the next two decades, the westward expansion of these settlements along the waterways would provoke serious issues with the coastal tribes and align them with a minor faction of the powerful Tuscarora, from the lower towns, leading to destructive warfare.

During the French invasion of the Empire in 1704, the realm's princes sought aid from Queen Anne of England. In response, she dispatched the Duke of Marlborough with a large English army into the Empire. The French were defeated at Schellenberg on July 2, largely due to Marlborough's bravery. Grateful for the service, the Kaiser and the princes inquired about how they could reciprocate Queen Anne's generosity. The Queen requested that they allow their poor citizens to migrate to America, citing reports from her officers and soldiers about the Empire's impoverished citizens. She believed they could find sustenance in America's vast lands. They agreed to this proposition, demonstrating their gratitude and respect. Since the poor citizens saw no feasible way to undertake the journey, the Queen transported many thousands to England at her own expense. Those willing to move to America were provided free passage, along with provisions, tools, and utensils (Todd 20). The rampant poverty and religious persecutions had been stirring up widespread unrest for years, leading many who saw no prospect of improving their conditions to consider America as a refuge. Franz Ludwig Michel and Baron von Graffenried, in collaboration with the Ritter Company and with support from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, began planning to take immigrants from Switzerland to the burgeoning colony of North Carolina. For this, they enlisted the aid of John Lawson.

John Lawson (approx. 1674 – 1711) was an English explorer, naturalist, and author. Encouraged by a London acquaintance who spoke highly of Carolina, a young Lawson embarked for the North American colonies, landing in Charleston, South Carolina, on August 15, 1700. By March 8, 1705, the town of Bath, the first to be incorporated in what would become North Carolina, came into existence. A portion of the incorporated land was owned by Lawson, who was one of the town's first commissioners and later assumed the role of a court clerk and public register for Bath County. He played a significant role in surveying the interiors of colonial North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and documented his expeditions in a book. John Lawson provided a description of the Tuskarora Indians of North Carolina. He observed that their bodies were rather flat, likely due to the practice of swaddling infants to cradle-boards. According to him, “They are not as physically robust and capable of heavy lifting or enduring laborious and menial work like Europeans; yet some who are slaves prove very diligent and hardworking.” They were adept and composed in their movements; their demeanor was dignified; they typically had full, expressive eyes that were black or dark hazel, and the whites of their eyes often had red lines; their skin was of a tawny hue, darkened by the custom of rubbing it with bear's oil and a pigment similar to burnt cork” (Lawson 103).

In 1705, the Governor's Council, noting the rapidly expanding population of the country, partitioned it into three precincts: (1) Wickham (which became Hyde Precinct in 1712); (2) Pamtecoug, also known as Pamlico (which became Beaufort Precinct in 1712); and (3) Archdale (which became Craven Precinct in 1712). Exhibit 6 Despite its relative isolation, Albemarle County may have warranted an early establishment of local government. Recognizing the need for a town as a government seat and business hub, Bath Town, the first town in North Carolina, was founded in 1705 on Bath Creek, which flows into the Pamlico River.

The Indians were creating such a nuisance for the settlers that Virginia enacted a law by 1705 that prohibited any Indians, including Tuskaroras, from hunting on officially recognized lands. If violated, the offender's hunting equipment would be confiscated, and an Englishman employing such an Indian to hunt on said lands would be fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco (Hening and Virginia 341-345). Although relations with the Tuskarora began with the fur trade around 1700, the slave trade had not emerged as a crucial element until 1705. Pennsylvania was importing such a large number of slaves from Carolina and elsewhere that the Native American populations grew alarmed. As a result, the provincial council issued a law halting the importation of Indian slaves after March 25, 1706 (Hodge 844). Yet, a considerable number of Indian slaves from Carolina were directly transported to the West Indies.

BEGINNING OF THE INDIAN'S TROUBLES... Settlers had reached the Neuse River in Carolina in 1706 and crossed it the following year, paving the way for another settlement of Protestant refugees between the Neuse and Trent Rivers. The settlers, primarily English, were drawn by social and economic factors. Early in 1707, a group from the James River settlement in Virginia arrived south of the Neuse and Trent Rivers, accompanied by a clergyman. Around the same time, land in Carteret County was being claimed, the first patent on record being 260 acres "in Core Sound on the north side of North River." Soon other settlers were claiming lands in the area. This unauthorized encroachment on Indian land sparked greater hostility among the Coree Indians towards the settlers, leading them to seek assistance from the Lower Tuscarora, under King Hancock.

Baron Christoph von Graffenried, the founder of New Bern, North Carolina, was born in Bern, Switzerland in 1661 and received his education at the Universities of Heidelberg and Leyden. In 1708, he left his position as a minor government official with a vision to find prosperity in America. Together with Franz Ludwig Michel, he was instrumental in bringing immigrants, including Palatines from Switzerland, to the new colony of North Carolina. Graffenried's political acumen was on display when he persuaded the Ritter Company to expand its initial plans and petition Queen Anne's government to include Palatines in the voyage. The Palatines, German Protestants, had been driven from their homes by the French. The prospect of moving to the New World was attractive to settlers, given the favorable conditions offered by the Lords Proprietors, including a healthy climate and exceptionally fertile soil. Queen Anne's government agreed to bring Protestant refugees to England for transit to the colonies. These refugees were escaping prolonged suffering in their native lands due to extreme cold weather, religious persecution, and French incursions.

While Graffenried was still in Switzerland, the Canton of Bern had initiated negotiations through a former Bern resident, Franz Louis Michel, for land acquisition in North Carolina. They sought the right to own any tract they purchased, independent of either the Proprietors of Carolina or the Governor of Virginia. As such a request was, naturally, unfeasible, no concrete action was taken concerning the purchase. Nonetheless, an independent colonization venture was initiated, with a man named Georg Ritter playing a pivotal role. Michel returned to Bern, Germany in 1708. Graffenried gathered more information about American conditions from him, and Michel's positive accounts convinced him to venture to the New World. At this stage, his plan was not linked with the colonization efforts of the Canton of Bern or the Ritter Company.

His sole intention was to head to America and locate the silver ore deposits using Michel's instructions and maps. He planned to exploit these deposits for personal gain, employing German miners who would be hired prior to his departure but would not immigrate until summoned. When his term of office concluded in 1708, Graffenried secretly left Switzerland without informing his friends of his plans. He initially traveled to Holland, then to England. En route to Holland or during his stay there, he hired twelve miners to join him upon request. In England, Graffenried met Michel's friend John Lawson, who was publishing an account of his travels in Carolina. Of all the descriptions Graffenried had encountered, only Hennepin's could rival the interest and novelty of Lawson's Journal. Lawson had spent eight years in Carolina and undertaken a thousand-mile expedition from Charleston to a point near present-day New Bern, making a significant detour to follow the Santee River to its origins, then heading north, crossing the upper stretches of the Congaree, Wateree, and Yadkin Rivers, before veering eastwards to reach the Moratoc, now known as the Roanoke River, approximately 120 miles upstream from its mouth. From there, he journeyed southwards, almost reaching Chatoka, currently New Bern, North Carolina. This expedition allowed Lawson to gain a comprehensive understanding of the land and its inhabitants, which Graffenried found impressive. He corroborated Michel's claims about the existence of silver ore.

Lawson's influence and his depiction of Carolina are further evidenced by the swift translation of his book into German and its publication in a seemingly lavish edition, marked using gold lettering. The title of the German edition was: [Most Recent Description of the Province Carolina in the West Indies, along with a Travel-Journal of more than a Thousand Miles among all sorts of Indian Nations, with an Accurate Map and other Copper Plates also. Translated out of the English by Mr. Vischer.] Extracts and passages from Lawson's book provide a sense of his writing style and the type of arguments that likely persuaded Graffenried to opt for Carolina over Virginia. Notably, none of the accounts cited in Lawson's travel through the Carolinas express any immediate fear of the Indians. Though Governor Spotswood's letters and William Byrd's writings indicate an awareness of such a potential threat. One can't help but suspect that these accounts downplayed the danger to attract settlers. These factors demonstrate why Graffenried chose to focus on North Carolina when the opportunity arose. At this point, the only colonists he had committed were a handful of miners and their families. It wasn't long before he anticipated a substantial expansion in the scale and prestige of his venture.

While Graffenried was gearing up to journey to America in 1709, Lawson had returned to London to supervise the publication of his book "A New Voyage to Carolina", where he detailed the native inhabitants and the natural environment of the area. The book was an immediate hit, leading to multiple editions, including translations into German and French. The resulting publicity drew many immigrant settlers to the North Carolina colony, Graffenried and his Swiss Palatines among them. Another significant event in 1709 was John Lawson's appointment as the surveyor of the Carolinas. Colonial records note, ["Whereupon we writ to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina and have received their answer the purport whereof is that they have appointed John Lawson and Edward Moseley Esqrs to be Commissioners on the part of Carolina for surveying the lands in dispute and settling the Boundaries as aforesaid, and in their answer they did further declare that they were willing in case of any dispute between the said Commissioners and those on the part of Virginia to submit the same to her Majesty's Decision."] [Exhibit 7](#) ["Agreed that the Lords Proprietors will subscribe Twenty pounds to Mr. Lawson for Maps of North and South

Carolina. Signed by the Board a Commission to the Hon'ble Christopher Graffenried to be a Landgrave of Carolina.”] Also Graffenried receives 5,000 acres of land in North Carolina for 50 pounds purchase money for the said land. Exhibit 8 On May 18, 1710, as the Swiss were en route, Graffenried and Michel legally joined the Georg Ritter Company by signing a contract with Georg Ritter and Peter Isot. The company was anchored on the actual purchase of 17,000 acres and a twelve-year option for an additional 100,000 acres. They also had permission to claim land above the falls of the Potomac, which would, nonetheless, remain under Crown jurisdiction and subject to the Governor of Virginia. The sum paid for the land was £175. Beyond these land grants, they held mining rights in Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

The grievances endured by the Tuskarora were laid out in a petition presented by two Tuskarora Chiefs, Terrutawanaren and Teonnottein, to two Pennsylvania government representatives at Conestoga on July 8, 1710. Four Conestoga (Susquehanna) chiefs and a Shawnee chief endorsed them. The Tuskarora presented eight wampum belts, each symbolizing a specific complaint they sought redress for, and expressed their intention to request a halt to hostilities until the following spring when their Chiefs and headmen would personally come "to sue for the peace they so much desire."

- First belt-- the older women and mother's sought friendship of the Christian people, the Indians, and government of Pennsylvania, that they might fetch wood and water without the risk of danger.

- Second belt-- the children born and those to be born, implored from room to sport and play without fear of death or slavery.

- Third belt--the young men asked for the privilege to leave their towns without the fear of death or slavery to hunt for meat for their mothers, their children, and the aged ones.

- Fourth belt--the old men, the elders, and the people asked for consummation of a lasting peace so that the forest (the paths to other tribes) be "as safe to them as their forts."

- Fifth belt--the entire tribe asked for a firm peace that they might have the liberty to visit their neighbors.

- Sixth belt--the Chiefs asked for the establishment of lasting peace with the government, people and Indians of Pennsylvania whereby they would be relieved of "those fearful apprehensions they have these several years felt."

- Seventh belt--the Tuskarora begged for a "cessation from murdering and taking them, that by the allowance thereof, they may not be afraid of a mouse or any other thing that ruffles the leaves."

- Eighth belt--the Tuskarora being strangers, came with blind hopes the government of Pennsylvania would "take them by the hand and lead them, and then they will lift up their heads in the woods without danger or fear."

The commissioners of Pennsylvania informed the delegates that "to confirm the sincerity of their past carriage towards the English, and to raise in us a good opinion of them, it would be very necessary to procure a certificate from the government (N.C.) they leave, to this good behaviour, and then they might be assured of a favorable reception. The Tuskaroras request to migrate to Pennsylvania was denied, and the wampum belts were sent to the Five Nations.

Exhibit 9

Urmstone's letter suggested that Graffenried should expect £1,500 in colonial currency. While this may have been overstated, as were other claims in the letter, the fact that Thomas Cary had pledged to give him £500 on behalf of the proprietors suggested that Graffenried had legitimate reasons to anticipate substantial support from them. As it turned out, this expectation saved the Lords Proprietors from providing any aid to the colony, which ultimately contributed to the project's downfall—a twist of fate that Graffenried could not have anticipated given the promising descriptions he received in London. After a smooth voyage, Graffenried and his Swiss compatriots reached the American shores on September 10th, disembarking on the 11th. The news of the first shiploads was a devastating blow. Despite having had the Royal Commissioners inspect the ships and having sent the emigrants under the supervision of Surveyor General Lawson, Receiver General Gale, and another official, many of them perished on the journey due to overcrowded conditions and a diet of salted food that disagreed with them.

While in London, Lawson served as the colony's representative in a border dispute with Virginia. He also facilitated the migration of a group of Germans from the Electorate of the Palatinate to settle in Carolina. A rapid expansion into the inland region took place in 1710 when 400 Swiss and Palatine colonists established settlements along the Neuse and Trent Rivers, near what is now New Bern. These settlers were impoverished Swiss and persecuted German Palatines, led to Carolina by Baron Christoph De Graffenried, a Swiss nobleman who was appointed as a Carolina landgrave, alongside Franz Ludwig Michel, who represented a Berne syndicate interested in founding an American colony. They purchased 10,000 acres from the Lords Proprietors for the colonists to settle. With the support of John Lawson, the colony's Surveyor-General, the embryonic city that would eventually become New Bern was mapped out at the meeting point of the Neuse and Trent Rivers, and thus, New Bern was founded in 1710.

Exhibit 10

Upon arrival, Graffenried was immediately notified of the difficulties that his first group of colonists had faced during their journey and after landing. Their desperate correspondence only emphasized the immediate need for his presence in Carolina. Being a Landgrave and the leader of a significant colony, he had certain responsibilities towards the Governor of Virginia, which meant that he could not directly head to Carolina. Instead, he first had to visit and present his respects to the colony's leadership. As Alexander Spotswood was not present, he met with the Lieutenant-Governor and Edward Hyde, the Proprietors' appointee for the role of North Carolina's governor. Through these interactions, he became familiar with the political situation in Carolina. He kept his visit brief and soon embarked on a journey with his people towards the Chowan River, where they anticipated finding boats that would take them to their land on the Neuse and Trent. Graffenried discovered that the Native American inhabitants still claimed ownership of the land. Against Lawson's advice to displace them, he decided, respecting their

rightful claim, to compensate them for the tract of land and build friendly relations. Observing that his colonists and the Native Americans were unlikely to coexist peacefully, he conducted a formal ceremony with these inhabitants, paid them once again for the land initially settled, likely acquired additional needed land, and successfully convinced them to move away from his settlers' vicinity. This conference indirectly highlighted Graffenried's influence over the Native Americans and their trust in him. The ensuing turmoil from efforts to secure the province probably did not leave a positive impression on the colonists. Consequently, for self-preservation, Graffenried had to align with Hyde's faction. Technically, Hyde was not the governor, as he lacked Edward Tynte's endorsement, and was reluctant to enter the province. Expecting Graffenried, a scion of one of Bern's few noble families and a former bailiff of a notable city who came to America to head a colonization project, to embody a purely democratic spirit or to be receptive to the semblance of democracy he encountered around him would be overly optimistic. The chaos ensuing from the rivalry between Thomas Cary and William Glover, coupled with Cary's refusal to yield to Governor Hyde, posed a serious threat to the colony's existence.

The sheer number of settlers Graffenried brought was a double-edged sword. While he bolstered the population, he also attracted animosity from the opposing side of whichever faction he sided with. Given that Cary, previously dethroned, was ruling for the second time under questionable legitimacy, and the Lords Proprietors intended Hyde to be governor, Graffenried decided to oppose Cary. Further complicating matters, Cary possessed the province's entire funds, which Graffenried needed to fulfill the Proprietors' pledges. Although Cary initially made promising commitments, he continually avoided their realization, causing Graffenried to abandon hope and turn to Virginia, where he had arranged for flour supplies before departing England. This resourceful maneuver enabled his people to continue constructing their town, New Bern. Hyde assumed his duties around January 1711, promptly commissioning Graffenried as a Colonial and summoning him to the assembly. Despite Graffenried's busy schedule, he hoped this would provide an opportunity to secure necessary support for his settlers. While Hyde was amenable, the treasury was barren - Cary still controlled the province's funds and was preparing for open conflict. Graffenried was forced to choose a side as the tension escalated, and the issue of providing support for the Palatines urgently needed resolution. Putting his trust in Hyde over the unreliable Cary, Graffenried devoted himself to Hyde's cause, even though he and his settlers would have preferred to remain uninvolved. In his report to the Georg Ritter Company, Graffenried claimed that he and his settlers sided with Hyde, while his accounts suggest they stayed neutral due to Cary's intimidation. The reality was likely a blend: while they empathized with Hyde and offered lukewarm support, they refrained from active participation in the conflict. During the spring, Hyde and Graffenried's forces managed to detain Cary, though he eventually escaped.

At the same time, the Indian populations living near the Neuse/Trent rivers and Core Sound were facing forced removal from their ancestral lands and enduring harsh treatment at the hands of the Europeans. The mounting frustration and hostility towards the white settlers were nearing a tipping point in 1710. Upcoming events, as revealed in subsequent colonial records, would lead to the captivity of Lawson, Graffenried, and others at the hands of the Southern Tuscarora, Catechna, Coree, and their allies, during their surveying of the Indian lands. The situation was further aggravated by European intrusions and harsh interactions with settlers,

including "The Rebellion of Thomas Cary", where Cary played a key role in inciting the Tuscarora into warfare. Exhibit 11 The optimum time for the Coastal Carolina Indians to strike against the colonists presented itself in 1711. A wave of political unrest among the white settlers swept through the colony, culminating in May when Deputy Governor Edward Hyde led an armed force to Bath with the intent of capturing the former chief executive, Thomas Cary. Hyde, who succeeded Cary, took issue with Cary's ties to the Anglican government. He pressed the fledgling legislature to overturn several of Cary's policies and laws. In response, Cary mobilized Bath County residents, who were largely against Hyde's Albemarle-based administration, urging them to take up arms in his defense against Hyde. Exhibit 12 Cary and his followers successfully repelled Hyde's attack, leading Cary to launch a retaliatory offensive in June, where he sailed an armed brigantine into Albemarle Sound with the intent to seize Hyde at Edenton. Nevertheless, Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia dispatched troops to bolster Hyde, thwarting Cary's rebellious efforts and causing him to flee North Carolina in July 1711 (Powell, North Carolina 30, 31).

Amid the active opposition from Cary and a significant faction, urgent measures were needed for self-defense. A council was convened at Colonel Thomas Pollock's residence, offering Cary a prime opportunity for success. As Governor Graffenried, and Colonel Pollock deliberated their response to the crisis on June 30, the rebels approached their brigantine, firing a shot that damaged the roof. In retaliation, the Colonel fired back twice. Seeing the yellow livery of Graffenried's servant, the attackers mistook it for the armed Palatine colony, causing them to retreat back to their ship in alarm. The Colonel seized this critical moment, launching a boat in pursuit. Panicked, the attackers fled their vessel and took refuge in the woods. This victory handed the upper hand to Hyde, who then held the power to negotiate terms, offering pardon to all except the ringleaders. Graffenried leveraged this opportunity to have the council acknowledge Hyde - a recognition that came over a year after his appointment and roughly seven months post his arrival in the colony. Yet, the peace was fleeting. Cary fortified himself on an island, and efforts to oust him in what could be dubbed the second battle of the war fell short. Graffenried was dispatched to Virginia for assistance. After a prolonged and arduous journey, he arrived in Williamsburg to submit his petition. Hyde's missing endorsement from the Governor of South Carolina still posed a hurdle, leaving Spotswood hesitant to deploy troops. In his capacity as Admiral of the Virginia coast, he dispatched a vessel of Marines. He had intended to send a fleet then present in Virginia waters, but the Commander refused.

Hyde and his supporters had emerged victorious; although, the internal strife had fractured and significantly debilitated the colony. Meanwhile, Cary, the protagonist of discord, was actively enticing the Indians to launch assaults on the settlers. A proclamation by Alexander Spotswood on July 24, 1711, revealed Cary's treacherous plans to engage the lower Tuscarora in a murderous campaign against the settlers of North Carolina, promising them rewards for their efforts. ["Thomas Cary's...Seditious Designs have been Discovered to hold a Traitorous Correspondence with the Tuscarora Indians whereby they have Endeavoured to Incite and stir up the said Indians (by promises of Reward) to Cut off her Majesty's Good Subjects of the said Province of North Carolina."] Exhibit 13 On the 25 of July 1711, Spotswood wrote, ["He [Cary] is there gathering a greater force and threatens to bring down the Tuscarora Indians to his assistance."] Exhibit 14 ["There are several Affidavits sent to me to prove that one Porter who is one of Mr. Cary's pretended Council was with the Tuscarora Indians promising great Rewards to

incite them to cut off all the Inhabitants of that part of Carolina that adhered to Mr. Hyde. The Indians own that the proposal was accepted by their young men, but that their old men (who bare great Sway in all their Councils) being of their own nature suspicious of some trick or else directed by a Superior providence, refused to be concerned in that barbarous design.”] Exhibit 15

Governor Spotswood assembled militia troops along the frontier in anticipation of potential threats. On July 28, 1711, he reported that the rebels were so panic-stricken at the arrival of the marines that they fled, thus averting a third battle. Cary was captured and transported to England for trial, but the issue was ultimately dismissed, and no action was taken against him. This brief, bloodless conflict signaled the impending demise of Graffenried's colony. After the rebel forces were disbanded, an assembly was convened where Hyde was officially welcomed as governor. Graffenried attended, hoping for assistance but was disappointed yet again. A proposal to secure a loan from the province to be repaid in two to three years was also rejected. The entire northern province of Carolina was grappling with the upheaval, and the harvest was poor due to negligence. During this time, a disease that Graffenried identified as typhoid fever claimed many lives. His advice to consume ample boiled water was arguably the best prescription for their condition.

An undercurrent of rivalry seemed to prevail between traders based in Bath County and Virginians vying for trade with the Tuskarora through the Upper towns. Bath settlers quickly seized upon rumors that certain traders were inciting the lower Tuscarora to launch attacks on the Carolinians. The Tuscarora War seemed to have stemmed primarily from the harsh treatment of the Indians by the white settlers and the agitations of Thomas Cary and others, sparking tension between the settlers and the Southern Tuscarora and their tribal allies inhabiting the nearby river tributaries. Just before the outbreak of the war, the Indians voiced their frustration directly to De Graffenreid. They complained of severe mistreatment and harassment by the inhabitants along the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, an issue they could no longer tolerate. The Indians "had been very badly treated and detained by the inhabitants of the Pamtego (Pamlico), Neuse and Trent Rivers, a thing which was not long to be endured" (Todd 266). Adding fuel to the flame were the aggressive actions of some Carolinian settlers who, under the guise of trading, cheated the Indians and prohibited them from hunting near their plantations. Moreover, they confiscated their game, weapons, and ammunition. The incident that ignited their fury was the cruel killing of an Indian who was burned alive, a grievance they understandably felt deeply. Exhibit 16

In early September 1711, John Lawson identified an urgent need for a shorter and safer route to Virginia to provide Bath's traders access to the interior. As De Graffenreid was just finishing the construction of a palisade around his New Bern town, Lawson approached him with an invitation to join an expedition into the country's interior. Major Gale, a Bath County development enthusiast living nearby along the Pamlico River, was also invited to join, but he had to decline due to his wife and brother's severe illness. Exhibit 17 Lawson pondered whether the Neuse River could be navigable further upstream, potentially creating a new pathway to Virginia. The current route via Albemarle County was extremely lengthy and challenging. He also suggested that they could explore the Upper country of the Tuskarora, which had been under an effective trade monopoly with Virginia traders for over twenty-five years. De Graffenreid was eager to see for himself the distance between New Bern and the mountains. However, he held some reservations, as he, like the Pamlico River settlers, had heard troubling rumors about the

Tuskarora's disposition. Still, he found some solace recalling the warmth of the Chattawka village's Indian King, on whose land New Bern was established, and reassured himself that all would end well. Lawson comforted De Graffenreid with reassurances of safety, citing his own experiences journeying through various Indian territories in the past. For additional safety, two neighboring Indians, one of whom spoke English, joined the expedition, along with two workers tasked with rowing the canoe. The Indians were permitted to ride De Graffenreid's horse overland with the objective of finding a path to Virginia. Unfortunately, their trail led to Catechna, a significant village on the Contentnea Creek. The Indian riding the horse was questioned by a local resident about his purpose, to which he responded he was heading to reunite with the expedition upriver. The news stirred the locals. They confiscated the horse, detained the rider, and the news quickly spread to the surrounding area.

The Catechna Indians instructed Lawson's friendly Indian to warn the white men, Lawson and Graffenreid, not to proceed further into their territory, which they would not allow, by order of their residing King. Exhibit 18 On the second day out of New Bern, near the Coerntha (Zurutha) village, Lawson's friendly Indian fired a signal shot from his gun to halt the men in the canoe. The company responded with a gunshot. Upon hearing the alarming news from the Indian, De Graffenreid wished to retreat immediately. Lawson dismissed his concerns, only to have his laughter cut short when armed Indians began to surround them from all sides. His entire party was captured. De Graffenreid observed that the natives, believing him to be Governor Hyde, seemed proud of their 'valuable' capture, potentially fetching a handsome reward from Thomas Cary. Despite the captives' pleas to set up camp for the night, their captors insisted on an immediate journey to Catechna to "justify themselves" before Tuscarora King, "Hancock." They arrived at Catechna, a prominent village in the southern part of upper Tuskarora territory, around three in the morning, located upstream from King Hancock's dwelling. De Graffenreid noticed an unusual sight as King Hancock and his councilmen sat on a raised platform instead of the customary ground seating, seeming to have anticipated Lawson and his party's arrival. After the leader of the escort gave his speech, King Hancock and his council addressed Lawson's party in a respectful manner. Subsequently, Hancock and his senior men retired to their cabins. Meanwhile, De Graffenreid, the two workers, and the Indian guides who had accompanied Lawson were guarded by several men next to a fire for the rest of the night.

The following morning around ten, King Hancock and his council reconvened to decide whether Lawson's party should be held as criminals. Without hearing an explanation for their actions, the council ruled against it. At noon, the king offered a meal of "buckwheat dumplings and venison in an unappetizing bowl," in De Graffenreid's words, which they consumed out of sheer hunger. Afterwards, they were allowed to wander around the village. There was a grand festival in the evening, where the Indians from surrounding areas gathered to discuss two main points: (1) How to retaliate against the severe misconduct of a few hostile Englishmen residing near the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, and (2) How to garner support from neighboring Indian tribes for their cause. News of Lawson's capture drew interest from many Indians, including neighboring tribal leaders. This gathering, or as De Graffenreid refers to it, the "Assembly of the Great," comprised forty elders seated around a fire, in line with Carolina Indian traditions. The assembly took place on a spacious, open ground reserved for celebrations and executions. Lawson and De Graffenreid sat on mats on the ground, flanked by their English-speaking Indian guide who served as an interpreter. The assembly started with a lengthy address

from the firekeepers, followed by the youngest council members being tasked to defend their tribe's interests. King Hancock of the Lower Tuscarora Towns and the Catechna headmen posed several questions for the council to discuss and decide upon.

The first question involved the purpose of their journey. They replied that they were exploring the river for leisure, to gather grapes, and assess the river's navigability for potential trade and friendly exchanges. The king then asked why they had not informed him about their plans. Next, the council broached the general complaint about the harsh treatment of the Indians by the Pamptego (Pamlico), News (Neuse), and Trent River inhabitants, specifically mentioning Surveyor-General Lawson. Lawson defended himself as best he could. After extensive discussion, the council voted to free the captives, scheduling their departure for the next day. Exhibit 19 The next day, Lawson's group was set free, but before they could reclaim their boat, more Tuscarora dignitaries arrived, including two foreign Indian Kings. They wanted to understand how Lawson's group had defended themselves and why they were released. Messengers were dispatched to bring the freed party back, escorting them through two miles of forest to King Hancock's cabin. Among the foreign Kings was Cor Tom, the leader of the Coree town of the Coree Indians, residing northwest of Hancock's cabin. Cor Tom harbored hostility towards the whites, which was justified. In the past, the whites had treated the Indians as pirates and had driven his people from their ancestral lands along the Core Sound. Once dislodged, the lower Tuscarora gave the Coree and the Catechna Indians new lands along the Contentnea Creek and Neuse River, respectively. John Lawson, the Surveyor-General who had mapped out the former Coree lands for white settlement, was a particular object of Cor Tom's resentment. Lawson, known for his temper, got into a heated argument which alarmed De Graffenreid, who tried unsuccessfully to calm his companion and defuse his harsh words towards the angry Cor Tom.

Following Lawson's imprudent conduct, the group was re-captured by a few of the Indian leaders and returned to the previous interrogation site. The hospitality they had previously experienced had vanished – no mats were provided for sitting, and their hats and periwigs were thrown into the fire. Young Indians were allowed to rummage through their pockets, treating them like enemies. This assembly of leaders had transformed into a war council, condemning Lawson and De Graffenreid to death. They spent the night seated on the damp, chilly ground until they were escorted the next morning to the "great execution ground" two miles away in Catechna. On the way, De Graffenreid reproached Lawson, blaming his rash behavior for their predicament and advising him to make peace without involving God. Upon arrival, they found the Great Council already assembled, awaiting their appearance. Before entering the circle, De Graffenreid noticed an Indian wearing English clothes and speaking English. He asked this Indian why he and Lawson were sentenced to death. Initially hesitant, the Indian inquired why Lawson had argued with Cor Tom and accused Lawson of threatening retaliation against the Indians. De Graffenreid, hoping for mercy, promised gifts to the Indian if he could prove his innocence to the council. He expressed regret for Lawson's dispute with Cor Tom, stating that the councilors had witnessed his attempt to intervene, and argued that the perceived threat against the Indians was a misunderstanding. The elder councilors took Lawson, De Graffenreid, and one of their African companions to the execution site, where they were bound hand and foot. The grim spectacle was captured in the chronicles of Baron De Graffenreid, as detailed in the records of North Carolina. Exhibit 20 (see Diagram 1K, Lawson's Execution)

De Graffenreid offered continuous prayers, hoping to inspire mercy in the hearts of the Indians and earn their forgiveness. As dusk approached and the council gathered again, De Graffenreid spotted an Indian who spoke English well. The Baron vehemently insisted on his innocence, warning them of the potential wrath of the powerful Queen of England if he were harmed since he was responsible for establishing the colony under her mandate. He promised rewards to the Indians if he were freed. A relative of King Taylor from the Neuse Tribe, who was part of this council, argued fervently for De Graffenreid's release. The council was divided on the issue and sent runners to the other Tuskarora towns and to the highly esteemed King Tom Blount. The messengers returned the following morning, around 3 or 4 o'clock, with a decision: De Graffenreid was to be spared, while Lawson was condemned. [Exhibit 21](#) Lawson's execution was shrouded in secrecy. Shortly after receiving the news, an Indian came to free De Graffenreid, leading him out "like a lamb to slaughter". The Indian reassured the Baron that he was safe, but Lawson was to die. The Baron's African companion was also set free, disappearing from De Graffenreid's sight forever. Upon his release, De Graffenreid was met by a throng of Indians, who seemed delighted with his liberation. He was taken to cabins situated about 60 feet away from the council area and offered food. Later, he was escorted back to the council area, where he was received warmly by the leaders. De Graffenreid was prohibited from speaking to Lawson, resorting to silent gestures to convey his sympathy. Subsequently, he was led to a nearby cabin, sparing him the gruesome sight of Lawson's demise. De Graffenreid declared that he knew little about the manner of Lawson's death. He heard varying accounts from the Indians, some suggesting Lawson was threatened with his own razor, others that he was hanged, or even burnt. Major Christopher Gale's dubious report, based on Indian intel, suggested a brutal execution method: Lawson was supposedly filled with fine splinters of torchwood, set gradually on fire. [Exhibit 22](#)

The day after Lawson's demise, Catechna's influential men revealed to De Graffenreid their intentions to wage war against the white settlers, specifically those from Pamlico, Neuse, Trent, and Core Sound. De Graffenreid tried, unsuccessfully, to dissuade them from this course of action. Anticipating that De Graffenreid might warn the settlers, the Indians took him captive. He managed to secure a promise from them to spare New Bern but was informed that people from the surrounding plantations would not be so fortunate. The following days saw fervent preparations for the impending attack. Three or four days after Lawson's execution, Graffenreid, in a letter to Governor Hyde dated October 23, 1711, indicated that approximately five hundred combat-ready individuals had gathered. There were primarily Tuscaroras under Hancock's command, although the principal Tuskarora villages under King Blunt were not participating. Other tribes, including the Marmuskits from Bay River, Weetock, Pamlico, Neuse, and Core, initiated simultaneous plundering and attacks. These divided groups wreaked havoc on the unsuspecting inhabitants of Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent. The southern faction of the Tuscarora tribe, led by Chief Hancock, and warriors from several allied tribes launched a brutal assault on colonists along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Trent rivers on September 22, 1711. For three days, roving warbands wrought carnage among the settlers, claiming the lives of numerous men, women, and children. [Exhibit 23](#) The slaughter was appalling, with 130 people losing their lives within a few hours. According to one historian, the massacre from September 22 to 24 nearly eradicated the colony (Wetmore 35). [Exhibit 24](#) The settlers, along with some dissident Southern Tuscarora and other friendly Indian tribes, found themselves at war. By mid-October, three

weeks after the massacre, 11 fortifications had been set up in Bath County. The fort was positioned at what is now Bath, the Lionel Reading plantation south of the Pamlico River, close to modern-day Washington. The William Brice plantation, located at the mouth of the Brice's Creek on the Trent River, and the Shackelford plantation on North River near Core Sound and contemporary Beaufort were also garrisoned. Two or three hundred men shielded over 1,000 women and children from ongoing Indian threats. Messengers relayed the crisis to Albemarle County, Governor Hyde's residence and the colonial capital, soliciting aid. This region of the colony had been largely untouched by the aggressive Indians, partially because the enmity of the lower Tuscarora towns and their allies was concentrated against the opportunists of Bath, and the upper Tuscarora towns were under the guidance of the sagacious King Tom Blount, who refrained from joining the assault. The amiable King Tom Blount did not involve his group of Northern Tuscarora in the strife with the belligerent Southern Tuscarora, Coree, Catechna, Machapunga, Bay River, Pamlico, Coree, Neusiok, and Woccon tribes. Instead, he allied himself and his followers with the English. Subsequently, the English proposed a peace treaty with the Northern Tuscarora, hoping to leverage their power to subdue all aggressive Indians implicated in the massacre and those refusing to make peace.

Upon De Graffenreid's release, a pact was established ensuring that he and his German colony would be left unharmed, adopting a policy of "let bygones be bygones" with the intention of promoting peaceful relations with the Indians. The Baron agreed to remain impartial during the ongoing conflict and refrain from seizing further Indian lands without the consent of the Indian King and his tribe. He also negotiated a temporary cessation of hostilities for fifteen days, allowing time to establish a more lasting peace. The agreement permitted the Indians to hunt beyond plantation boundaries and ensured goods would be sold to them at fair prices. Before releasing Graffenreid, the Indians wanted assurance that he would uphold his end of the agreement. The Baron agreed to discuss the matter with his people and meet the Indians halfway to provide the promised goods. Governor Alexander Spotswood of the Virginia colony disrupted these proceedings when he sent a letter dated October 8, delivered by "strange Indians with a horse," to Catechna. The message insisted that the captive, Graffenreid, be sent to Virginia. The Baron, being the only one capable of reading the letter, felt apprehensive about the possible outcomes. Nonetheless, he read out Spotswood's ultimatum: "If you kill him or do him any violence or harm whatever, we shall avenge his blood and spare neither men, nor women or children." Exhibit 25 The Catechna Indians were not pleased, but their council decided to allow De Graffenreid to travel to the upper Tuscarora towns, where Peter Poythres, a Virginia trader, had previously delivered Spotswood's letter.

Poythres, having a friendly relationship with the Tuscarora, was also tasked with inviting them to send representatives to meet with the Governor at the Nottoway town on October 17. The following day, several high-ranking members of the Catechna tribe accompanied De Graffenreid, who was on horseback, to the village of Tasqui (or Paski) – a journey that lasted from dawn to dusk. Poythres awaited the Baron at this important village, where he had frequently traded with the upper Tuscarora, gaining fluency in their language. Although the Baron was keen on accompanying Poythres back to Virginia, he was denied this opportunity. The Catechna Indians, fearing the loss of their prized treaty with De Graffenreid, refused to let him leave. Despite Poythres's offer to guarantee the treaty's safety, the Indians rejected the idea without the approval of King Hancock and their council. Nevertheless, they agreed to release the

Baron, but only upon the Assembly's approval, and decided to keep his servant as a guarantee of the ransom. The day after the Tasqui council had demanded De Graffenreid's release, he was hastily ushered through a dense swamp, approximately three or four miles from Catechna, where the Indians hid their women and children. The following day, 300 warriors marched against the whites, who were launching an offensive against the Indians with the intention of rescuing Graffenreid. The battleground was no more than four miles from their hideout. Upon their return to Catechna, the Indians brought back "some horses, food, hats, boots, and a few items of clothing." From October 8-15, 1711, measures were taken to ensure peace and stability in the region, as well as to mitigate further invasions by the Indians. ["Mr. Peter Poythres be forthwith dispatched to such of the Tus[k]arora Towns as refused to join with the rest of their Nation in the late massacre. Poythres acquaint them that no Trade will be allowed them from hence till the said Peace be concluded."] Exhibit 26 ["The Governor (Hyde) this day acquainted the Council that pursuant to the Resolutions on the 15th instant, he had met the Deputies of the Tuskarora Indians at the Nottoway town and had made the demands then agreed on."] Exhibit 27 Despite these efforts, the settlers remained wary of the supposedly "friendly" Tuskarora Indians, fearing that victory by Chief Hancock's warriors might prompt those loyal to King Blount to join the conflict against the colonists (Wetmore 37).

Governor Hyde found himself in a precarious situation, with the Quakers refusing to take up arms and the planters fearing that defending their outlying territories could leave them vulnerable to Indian attacks. Thomas Pollock was appointed Major General of the forces to address this dilemma. Pollock, leading 150 men, and William Brice, commanding another fifty to sixty, joined forces to combat the Indians, and their army was dispatched to Bath. Brice fortified his plantation on Trent River, but Pollock declined to cross south of the Pamlico River. Outnumbered six to one, Brice was compelled to retreat, finding refuge in his fort after a prolonged fight that resulted in one man killed and several wounded. His encounter with the Catechnas left Captain Brice frustrated, and he subsequently led a small contingent of English and Palatines against the Bear River tribe, inflicting numerous casualties and capturing, torturing, and executing their King. In the aftermath of Brice's retreat and during a Catechna festival, De Graffenreid again appealed to King Hancock for his release. The King convened his council and on the second day, a horse was provided to De Graffenreid. After a six-mile journey from Catechna, the two Indians accompanying De Graffenreid provided him with a piece of bread and returned the horse to Catechna. As he continued towards freedom, De Graffenreid was cautioned by the Indians to move quickly due to the presence of hostile tribes in the area. That night, with no firearms, knife, or fire, he endured discomfort and fear from lurking bears and hostile Indians, all while exposed to the freezing October cold. The following day, a weakened Baron managed to make his way to New Bern. Upon his arrival on the outskirts of New Bern, he was initially mistaken for an Indian due to his appearance, though once recognized, he was warmly welcomed. Entering the sanctuary of his own home, De Graffenreid gave thanks to God for his "miraculous and gracious rescue." He found his town largely deserted, with only women, children, and about forty men remaining; the rest were at the Brice plantation, too afraid to venture back. Desperately in need of food and ammunition, De Graffenreid sent a plea for assistance to Governor Hyde on October 23. Unfortunately, the government, severely depleted in resources, was unable to provide aid.

Graffenreid endeavored to uphold the truce he had brokered with the Indians, much to the annoyance of the English and the Palatines, especially when he prevented them from killing the Indian who arrived to collect the ransom. In addition, he postponed the payment of the ransom in an attempt to persuade the Indians to release other captives. His knowledge of the English situation proved invaluable. However, this resulted in Brice, who had already alienated many of his followers including a Palatine blacksmith, drafting around 20 to 30 charges against him, threatening arrest and even execution. Despite the well-laid plans of Brice and his allies, their plot was inadvertently exposed by a small Palatine boy who was present unnoticed during their scheming. Sensing something amiss, he informed his mother who was friendly with the Baron and managed to alert him. Consequently, when Brice and his allies came for the Baron, they unexpectedly walked into a trap but due to lack of concrete evidence against them, Graffenreid had no choice but to release them. In a passionate address to the assembly, Graffenreid defended his actions and responded to the myriad accusations leveled against him, yet he was unable to secure a satisfactory resolution. The truce with the Indians was unpopular globally, as both Germans and English were incensed towards the Indians and keen for vengeance. Graffenreid had hoped that the truce would encompass the entire province, but his proposition was flatly rejected in the face of people's eagerness for retribution. The Palatines were also discontented since, after the initial massacre, Brice had led away a substantial number of settlers, leaving the homes of those who were disenchanted, unprotected and significantly weakening the town's defense. Given these conditions upon his return, Graffenreid wisely did not rely on the truce, promptly beginning the fortification of his town and the accumulation of war supplies.

Talk of establishing a new settlement in Virginia was tabled, but such plans were temporarily shelved as they still harbored hope of salvaging New Bern. With inadequate food and ammunition for a prolonged campaign and the absence of robust forts or stockades to withstand an assault, the province braced itself for war against the Indians, who had become sly, ruthless, and increasingly hostile towards the settlers. It was a terrifying period. The atmosphere became fraught with tension, fueled by whispers of the Meherrin Indians and other tribes who had participated in the massacre. On November 28, 1711, the Virginia House of Burgesses suggested that war be declared on the lower Tuscarora towns, trade with the Indians be suspended, and the governments of South Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York be approached for assistance. Delegates from three "upper Tuscarora towns" concurred to wage war against Caughtegnah (Catechna) and other tribes associated with the massacre. On December 11, representatives from the eight upper Tuscarora towns ratified the Articles of League with Virginia. The Indians pledged to enlist the aid of the Chickasaw and Saxapaws in combating the adversaries, procure the release of white captives, and hand over the enemy chiefs' sons as hostages by March 25. In exchange, Virginia committed to encouraging the North Carolina government and the Saponi Indians to deny shelter to enemy Indians, and to remunerate standard rates for slaves and scalps (Palmer 152-154). Meanwhile, as Governor Spotswood was in negotiations with the Tuscarora of the "Upper Towns," disagreements emerged over the Indian issue, leading the Assembly to pass a bill advocating war against the entire Tuscarora Nation. Spotswood obstructed the bill, and the Burgesses did not endorse the funding for his proposal. Eventually, Spotswood secured the necessary finances via a loan from William Byrd, enabling him to uphold his treaty, though it did not involve King Tom Blount's Upper Tuscarora taking action against their own kind.

The difficulties faced in New Bern after the massacre are vividly depicted in a letter penned by Spotswood on December 28, 1711: "Due to their internal conflicts last summer and a subsequent unusual drought, coupled with the destruction wrought by the Indians on their corn and stocks, there is a horrifying specter of famine. The Baron de Graffenried expresses that he may have no choice but to abandon the Swiss and Palatines' Settlement without immediate aid, as the people are so despairing that they are setting their own houses ablaze to avoid enduring the hardships of living in such a beleaguered place." Hyde, in dire need of military support to maintain the colony, reached out to the governors of Virginia and South Carolina. Spotswood dispatched Virginia militiamen to the border between North Carolina and Virginia to deter Indians from his province from heading south to join King Hancock's forces. Barely a month after the massacre, Major Christopher Gale, North Carolina's receiver-general, landed in Charleston, South Carolina. Presenting the grave situation of the northern colony to South Carolina's Governor, Robert Gibbes, he secured their support. South Carolina, already on friendly terms with its tributary Indians, who were foes of the lower Tuscarora, agreed to participate in the expedition against them. The strategy was to fight fire with fire, or in this case, Indians with Indians, in anticipation of obtaining slaves and a sizable reward. Robert Gibbes, the Governor of South Carolina, assembled an army of thirty white individuals and around five hundred natives, hailing from a variety of tribes native to the South Carolina area. This force journeyed towards North Carolina under the leadership of militia Colonel John Barnwell, who accepted the offer of command on November 3. Subsequently, South Carolina issued formal letters to the North Carolina government. Following this, Gale set sail for home aboard a sloop, loaded with provisions and ammunition. Regrettably, Gale's sloop was intercepted by a French vessel, as the French were already causing disruptions along the Virginia-Carolina coast. Major Gale was detained for several months while North Carolina eagerly awaited his return. Only upon Barnwell's arrival in North Carolina was South Carolina's response made clear; by this time, Barnwell and his troops were in dire need of food and supplies. The expedition traversed the Neuse River on January 28, 1712, with Barnwell now leading just 30 white men and 495 Indians. The crossing point was where the Saxapahaw Indians had recently established a settlement, and Major Gale had pledged to rendezvous with Barnwell there. Gale's unfortunate encounter with the French left him unable to offer "destitute of Pilots & information". Still, the Saxapahaws, a Siouan tribe, were familiar with the route to the lower Tuscarora settlements. Once the truce between Graffenried and the Indians was shattered, Graffenried understood that the only path to safety was in the relentless prosecution of the war. Therefore, when white soldiers and tributary Indians led by Colonel Barnwell arrived from South Carolina, he dispatched 50 Palatines under Michel to assist in the assault on the Indian fort. On January 29, Barnwell carried out an all-day forced march, extending into most of the night, to catch the Coree Indian town of Narhantes on Torhunta Swamp (present-day Wayne County) off guard. The Indians had been on high alert following the massacre and had been tipped off about Barnwell's approach. Of the nine forts identified at Narhantes, none were over a month old, and some were still under construction. Barnwell resolved to make this fort a dreadful warning to others. The South Carolina flag was hoisted atop the blockhouse, and Barnwell's men were summoned to reclaim it. Barnwell records that "the word being 'Revenge', which we made good by the Execution we made of the Enemy." This incident marked the South Carolina forces' initial confrontation with Hancock and Cor Tom's warriors approximately thirty miles from New Bern, culminating in the seizure of this Indian fort after roughly thirty minutes of intense combat.

Exhibit 28

Upon seizing Fort Narhantes, acknowledged as the "head Town of ye Tuscaruros [Coree]," on January 30, 1712, Barnwell and his troops were taken aback to discover within the fortification two robust log houses that outmatched the exterior fort's strength. Barnwell noted that while they were eliminating the men, their native allies secured all the slaves and spoils, leaving them with only a single girl. This fort was the sturdiest in that region. Barnwell's forces suffered a loss of 7 white men and at least 32 wounded; their Indian allies had 6 killed and 28 wounded; the Tuscarora [Coree] suffered a loss of 52 men and at least 10 women, with 30 taken prisoner. Barnwell expressed deep frustration at the significant losses they sustained while inflicting only minor casualties on the enemy. De Graffenried recounted this battle, mentioning that Barnwell "advanced towards a large Indian village named Core, approximately 30 miles away from Newbern, drove out King (Cor Tom) and his forces, and fought so fiercely that after killing many, they, to boost their morale, cooked and ate the flesh of a well-fed Indian." In a letter dated February 4, 1712, written at Narhantes Fort, Col. Barnwell listed the different tribes of Southern Indians constituting his diverse force. The tribes, in their own spelling, were: The Yamasses, Hog Logees, Apalatchees, Corsaboy, Watterees, Sagarees, Catawbas, Suterees, Waxams, Congarees, Sattées, Pedees, Weneaws, Cape Feare, Hoopengs, Wareperes, Saraws, and Saxapahaws. Fort Narhantes, as per Barnwell, was the most significant and belligerent town of the hostile Indians, located approximately 27 miles downstream from a prior Saxapahaw or "Shacioe Indians" settlement. These Indians had been compelled to abandon their homes at the beginning of February 1712, by the attacking Narhantes Coree Indians, who had killed 16 individuals due to the Saxapahaw's refusal to join the lower Tuscarora against the English. The Saxapahaw had just reached the Wattomas when Barnwell arrived. After reaching the Neuse River, Barnwell accounted for his men before crossing, noting he had 498 Indians and 33 white men. He lamented the high desertion rate among the Indians, with only 67 of Capt. Bull's original 200 remaining (Barnwell 392-396).

Advancing northward through the Southern Tuscarora territory, the South Carolinians arrived in Bath on February 10, 1712, where they were reinforced by over sixty North Carolinians. This addition was timely and desperately needed as desertions among the South Carolina Indians had dwindled Colonel Barnwell's force to less than 150 Indians. From Bath, the expedition advanced towards Catechna and Hancock's town on the Neuse River. Upon reaching Catechna, they found the town abandoned. However, across the river was a well-fortified fort housing Hancock's warriors and several white captives. This Fort was occupied by a mix of hostile Indians from the Weetock, Bay, Neuse, Cor, Pamlico, and a segment of the Tuscarora tribe. (see Illustration from "The Journal of General Barnwell", Diagram 2) On March 5, 1712, Barnwell initiated an assault on the fort. Upon witnessing the Indians' brutal treatment of white captives, he agreed to a ceasefire. The terms dictated that the siege would be suspended for twelve days if twelve hostages were immediately released, with the remainder to be freed on the twelfth day (March 17). Following the hostage release, Barnwell and the Southern Tuscarora and Catechna leaders would negotiate peace terms. Exhibit 29

According to Graffenried's account, the village of Catechna was a stronghold where our adversaries, comprised of Indians from Weetox, Bay River, Neuse, Core, Pamtego, and some Tuscaroras, had gathered and heavily fortified themselves. Despite our attempts, our planned attack on them proved ineffective due to poorly executed orders and ill-timed advances,

particularly by Brice's impetuous men, which resulted in many injuries, some fatalities, and our eventual retreat. In the council, we were engrossed in deliberating improved tactics for subduing the enemy and refining our strategy. While examining our surroundings, I noticed six or eight neglected, rusted, and sand-filled cannons lying in the yard. I proposed refurbishing two of the smallest cannons, transporting them across, and bombarding the fort. My suggestion was met with laughter and claims of impossibility due to the challenging terrain of marshes, forests, and gorges. I was reminded of Captain Jaccard of St. Croix's account. Following his approach, each small cannon was carried efficiently between two horses, like a stretcher, with the rest arranged accordingly, resulting in a successful strategy. When we approached and only two shots were fired into the fort along with a few grenades, the unfamiliar sound and sight incited fear among the Indians who then requested a ceasefire. Our senior officers then held a war council to decide our next steps and concluded to agree to the truce and aim for a beneficial peace treaty. A significant factor in this decision was the presence of Christian prisoners, survivors from the initial massacre, who alerted us that if the fort were stormed, they would be mercilessly killed. Following this revelation, the enemy agreed to surrender under the condition that the captives be released first. On March 17, the Indians led by Hancock neither freed their hostages nor attended a meeting with Barnwell. Barnwell resumed his siege on Hancock's Indians on April 7, which persisted for ten days. On the brink of victory, Barnwell unexpectedly ceased his assault and negotiated a peace deal with the remaining Southern Tuscarora and Catechna Indians. The agreement stipulated that all white and black prisoners were to be freed by the Indians, and all horses, loot, and supplies were to be surrendered. Further, King Hancock was to be handed over to Barnwell. However, during these negotiations, Hancock had managed to escape from the fort and flee towards Virginia, only to be captured and handed over by King Tom Blount and his amicable Tuscarora. Barnwell's peace agreement with the few remaining Southern Tuscarora and Catechna was established without the knowledge or approval of Hyde, the then Governor of North Carolina, which was not well received by the North Carolinians (Wetmore 38-40).

Expecting significant honors and rewards from North Carolina, Barnwell, disappointed with the outcome, sought a profitable return for his forces. Under the guise of peace, he lured a substantial number of the Indians to the vicinity of Cor (Coree) village, violating the truce by capturing them to be sold as slaves. This action ignited the wrath of the Tuscarora and other Carolina Indians, causing them to lose all faith in the integrity of the white man. Consequently, this triggered numerous Indian incursions along the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, resulting in even more severe disturbances than before. Barnwell's conduct, during his mission to eliminate the Southern Tuscarora, displeased the English, as reflected in the letters of Thomas Pollock, ["Col Barnwell's Indians killed 40 or 50 Cores, Bare River, River Neuse and Mattamuskeet Indian men, and took near upon 200 of their women and children, yet in all the time he was here, not above 30 Tuscarora Indians were killed, that we can hear of; the others being small nations not able of themselves to hurt us."] Exhibit 30

According to various witnesses, including Graffenreid and Thomas Pollock, Colonel Barnwell did not capture or kill many Tuscarora. Spotswood remarked that most of the Tuscarora nation had not participated in the massacre. By then, King Tom Blount had made peace with the English. On June 23, 1712, Governor Hunter of New York expressed his concerns to the Lords of Trade that "the conflict between the people of North Carolina and the Tuscarora Indians threatens to embroil us all". He also voiced his apprehension that the Five Nations,

influenced by the French, would fulfill their threat of joining the hostile Tuscarora. In a dispatch to the Board of Trade of Great Britain, Governor Spotswood recorded his encounter with representatives of the Tuskarora Indians at the Nottoway village. The Tuskarora representatives expressed their eagerness to maintain peaceful relations and exhibited concern over any possible involvement by members of their tribe in the massacre. Spotswood put forward an unsettling proposition: for them to wage war against their own kin, promising rewards in return. As a means of affirming the Tuskaroras' reliability, he requested them to surrender two children from the notable families of each community to serve as hostages. These children would then be educated in British institutions. Concurrently, as the hostile Indians and settlers were caught in conflict, the "friendly" Indians, who sided with the English, sent their children to an educational institution situated between the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, known as "Sarum". Here, they were taught to read and write, learned about English customs, and were introduced to Christianity. This strategy aimed to facilitate better understanding and ensure peaceful relations between the colonies and the Indians. Exhibit 31

After being defeated, the Southern Tuscarora remained peaceful with the settlers only briefly. Reports of renewed Indian hostilities and the deaths of several people, including Colonel Boyde, created tension among residents near the Pamlico and Ashley rivers. On July 25, 1712, letters from Giles Rainsford revealed ["Col Boyde was the other day sent out with a party against the Indians but was unfortunately shot through the head."] Exhibit 32 By August, the Southern Tuscarora, Coree, and other small allied Indian tribes began to regain their power. The aggressive Indians had already been involved in two additional massacres by this time. Exhibit 33

In the interim, Graffenried spent six weeks at Hyde's dealing with administrative matters. The primary concern was planning strategies to counter the impending Indian attacks. Graffenried suggested prohibiting the export of provisions and soliciting additional assistance from Virginia and South Carolina. In a letter dated July 26, Governor Spotswood responded: "I thereupon made extraordinary efforts to assist them with 200 white men and Indians as your Lordship will observe in the Journal of the Council the 24th, of April last and accordingly directed the Rendevouze of those forces on the 10th of May." Responding to the assembly's petition, this correspondence places the Parliament date sometime before April 24, likely in March. After a session that lasted six weeks, Graffenried learned about the unfortunate fate of his boat and the loss of his provisions. He then focused his efforts on acquiring more supplies, which he shipped in a larger boat. His intention was to allow any of his settlers who wished to join him in Virginia or Maryland, where he planned to resettle. After completing these tasks, he appears to have traveled directly from Governor Hyde's to the Governor of Virginia, petitioned for the aforementioned help, and scouted along the Potomac for a suitable location. He also attempted to locate the much-rumored silver mines. Consequently, he had to settle in a more frontier-like location than he would have preferred, thereby inadvertently positioning the Palatines as a vanguard against the Indians. Any residual hopes Graffenried had of discovering and exploiting silver ore deposits, and of establishing a new colony in Virginia or Maryland, were dashed by the Palatines' and Swiss' failure to join him in Virginia. Recognizing the futility of initiating a new venture in a more promising location, Graffenried returned to North Carolina, where he spent some time with Governor Hyde. The English harbored distrust for the Indians. To establish their credibility for maintaining peace, the upper Tuskarora, led by Blount, had to take action against

their own people, as indicated in Pollock's letters: ["He (King Blount) seemed to be very earnest for peace, and to have a trade as formerly, which I utterly denied him, unless he would engage to bring in Hancock, and cut off all these that had any hand in killing and robbing the inhabitants here, and bring in their scalps"]. Eventually, Blount agreed, motivated by his desire to safeguard his people from falling into English hands or becoming slaves to rival Indians. Pollock confirmed this in his letter: ["And for his pretending the want of ammunition, I promised him (King Blount) if he would bring in twelve hostages from each town or fort that I would let him have ammunition; only for his own town we would desire no hostages, for the trust that we put in him, of which proposal he seemed pretty well satisfied, and was sure, he said, of four of their towns that would agree with [us], and he believed all would; only he would go home, and conclude with the rest, and be in here again the 17th of this month."] Exhibit 34

By September 1712, North Carolina was once again soliciting aid from Virginia and South Carolina to suppress the Indians. South Carolina responded by dispatching a force of over 340 individuals, primarily whites and Indians. While residing with Hyde, Graffenried and others fell ill. Governor Hyde succumbed to a fever and passed away on September 8. Once again, the governorship was offered to Graffenried, but he had to decline due to his unstable financial status. Thomas Pollock was subsequently elected Governor. Just four days later, war with the Indians broke out, though Bertie county was spared the worst due to Governor Pollock's amicable relations and influence with Tuskarora King Sachem Tom Blount. King Blount negotiated peace with Thomas Pollock, who in return granted Blount the privilege of negotiating peace in exchange for the capture of any aggressive Tuskarora involved in the massacres. After lingering for two more weeks, Graffenried returned to Newbern. Thomas Pollock arrived in this country in 1683 as a representative for Lord Carteret, one of the Lord Proprietors. He settled in Bertie and named his estate Ball Gra, after his Scottish homeland. Thomas Pollock of Bertie owned 22,000 acres of land in addition to ten plantations. When Governor Edward Hyde (Queen Anne's cousin) arrived in Carolina in 1710, he was warmly received by Thomas Pollock. The first assembly summoned by Governor Hyde convened at Pollock's residence. In October, King Tom Blount reported back to Thomas Pollock. Pollock's letter reveals: ["The (hostile) Indians, as we are informed by Tom Blount, who was in here four days last week, are very scarce of provisions, and ammunition, so that they cannot, as he says, stay in their forts."] Exhibit 35

On November 25, 1712, a peace treaty was signed between the whites and a segment of the Tuskarora led by Tom Blount, declared King of the fiercest tribe in North Carolina. The treaty resonates with a harsh tone throughout, although in those times, harshness was often equated with security. The treaty reads as follows:

Preliminary articles in order to a Gen'l peace, had, made, concluded and agreed upon this 25th day of November. Anno Domini 1712 between Tom Blunt, Saroona, Heunthanohnoh, Chountharuntshoe, Newoonttootsere, chief men of several of ye Tuskarora Townes of and on behalf of and ye Townes of Eukurknornet, Rarookshee, Tostohant, Rauroota, Tarhunta, Kenta, Toherooka, Juninits, Consotoba, on ye one part and the Honable Thos. Pollock Esq, Presdt., of and ye rest of ye Councill for and on behalf of themselves and this government of North Carolina on ye other part, Witnesseth;--

·"Imprimis. The afs'd Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree to & with ye said Presdt and Council that they shall and will with utmost Expedition and Diligence make war ag't all ye Indyans belonging to ye Townes or Nations Catachny, Cores, Nuse, Bare River, and Pamlico and that they shall not or will not give any Quarter to any male Indyan of those Townes or Nations above ye age of fourteen yeares and also that they shall and will sell off and dispose of all he makes under that age, and that further after they shall have destroy'd those Townes or soe soon as this Government shall think proper to distroy and cutt off all Matchapungoe Indyans.

·"2dly. The afs'd Great Men doe hereby covenant and agree that if in this Warr they shall take away any armes which shall be proved to have been owned by ye English and taken away in ye late horrid massacre such arms shall be delivered to ye right owner thereof.

·"3dly. It is hereby further agreed by said Great Men that they shall and will well and truly deliver up to ye English all ye white captives and horses that they shall find among ye Indyans.

·"4thly. It is hereby further agreed by ye Great Men asf'd, that these Severall Townes of Tostochant, Rauoota, Torhunta, Kentah, Toherooka, Junitis, Caunookehoe nor any of ye Indyans belonging to them or either of them shall not nor will not hunt nor range among us English plantations or stocks without leave or then above the number of three at one tyme, neither shall they clame any property in ye land on ye southside of Nuse called Chatooka river nor below Catactny creek on Neuse nor below Bare Creek at Not-Sha-Hun-Hau-Rough On ye southside of Pamptico river.

·"5thly. It is mutually agreed by and between all ye said parties to these presents that if any injury shall hereafter be done on either side, upon complaints made to such persons as shall hereafter be appointed for that purpose, full satisfaction shall be made.

·"6thly. The afs'd Great Men doe hereby agreed that from & after ye Ratification of a Gen'l Peace, they shall and will pay into this Government such a yearly Tribute as hereafter shall be agreed upon.

·"7thly. The afs'd Great Men doe hereby further agree that for ye full & true performance of all and every ye above articles on their part to be performed, ye several Townes of Tostehant, Rauoota, Tarhunta, Keuta, Toherooka, Juninita & Caurookehee shall bring in and deliver up to this government at ye Honable Col. Thos Pollock's six of ye chiefest women and children from each Towne, for Hostages, by ye next full moons, provided that they doe not destroy ye Enemy afs'd by that tyme.

·"8thly, The said President and Council doe hereby covenant and agree with ye Great Men afs'd, that upon the just and true performance of these articles, the several hostages afs'd, shall be well and truly delivered up againe and a free and open trade shall be had with said Indyans as existed formerly.

·"Lastly, the afs'd Great Men doe hereby agree that they will endeavor to bring in to some of their Townes alsoe Chauaneckquockenerook, Enuquner called Johetaoin, shrdlusp uapapup

called John Pagett, Ekehorquest called Lawson, Correuiena called Barber, Colsera called Henry, Lyahe Oumskinneree called Suarehooks, Touhquinaneh, Erunvanhyne, Young Yyler, and send two Runners to Mr. Redding's Garrison, give there three Hoops, then show a white cloth for a signale in order to pilott such persons as we shall think proper to send to see the operation done upon ye afs'd murderers.

·"In witness hereof the several parties to these presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

"TOM T. B. BLUNT,
 "I. P. SAROONTA,
 "H. HEUNSHANOHNNAH,
 "I. CHAUNTHARUNTSHOE,
 "I. NEWOONTTOOTSERY,
 "SAROONTHA, HORUNTTOCKEN, absent

·There is also a map of the lands which the whites gave to Tom Blount/Blunt in return for his cooperation with them, these lying in Bertie County, and to this day being known as "Indian woods," also known as Tuskarora woods. Surveyors in those days were generous, and when in later years it was found necessary to re-survey this tract, it was discovered that the area was more than thrice as great as originally stated (Moffitt 127-129).

In November 1712, a military unit led by James Moore, the son of former South Carolina Governor Colonel Moore, marched into North Carolina, reaching Fort Barnwell in Craven County. North Carolina's leadership sought additional support from South Carolina, which was provided in the form of Colonel James Moore and his contingent of 33 white soldiers and over 900 Indian allies. They were further reinforced by recruits from North Carolina. Moore's ultimate target was the fortified town of Catechna, located more than two miles from Hancock's village. By December, King Blount and his men had surrendered Hancock for execution. The opposing Indian forces suffered from the loss of their leaders, weakening their influence and power. James Cohery, or Coharie, one of the instigators of the massacre, was captured. In recognition of King Blount's loyalty, he and his Tuskarora people were granted protection by the English. ["Col. Moore hath promised Tom Blunt, (upon his being true to the English) protection, and to secure him and the people of his Fort from hostile Indians."] Exhibit 36

On February 24, Thomas Pollock wrote to James Moore, assuring him of King Tom Blount's loyalty to the English. Due to the lack of provisions resulting from the prolonged conflict, South Carolinian forces did not confront the Catechna Indians until spring 1713. On March 20, 1713, James Moore launched an attack on Fort Neoheroke, the Catechna stronghold located near today's Snow Hill in Greene County. Graffenried's brigantine was found to be irreparable, and he received no compensation for either of his two boats, which he believed were destroyed in the province's service. Efforts to negotiate with Michel led to proposals to settle in Mexico or along the Mississippi River. Graffenried came to realize his only option was to move to Canavest with his two slaves and slowly attract others. This plan faced obstacles due to the suspicion of his creditors, including Pollock. In fact, when his two slaves attempted to cross the river to join him, they were captured and detained for their master's debts. Burdened by debt and

virtually penniless, his original plan in ruins, and his partner unreliable, Graffenried withdrew to Virginia on September 20, 1712. He stayed there until spring, seeking assistance from his friends who could only advise him to return to England or Bern. They warned him against staying in Virginia or venturing among the Indians due to the risk of his creditors discovering his whereabouts. However, his disheartening circumstances were somewhat alleviated by the news of Colonel Moore's decisive victory over the hostile Indians on March 20, 1713, achieved with the troops Graffenried had helped secure. In a letter dated March 27, 1713, sent to President Pollock of North Carolina, Colonel Moore reported his recent takeover of the fortified town of "Neoheroka" in Greene County, the stronghold of the Catechna Indians. He detailed that the attack commenced on the 20th and by the morning of the 23rd, the fort was razed. He noted the capture of 392 prisoners, 192 scalps taken in the fort, 200 killed and burned within the fort, and an additional 166 casualties "out of ye fort on ye Scout," totaling 950. His forces suffered the loss of 22 white men and 35 Indian allies killed, along with 36 and 58 wounded respectively. The fort "Neoheroka" was not a Tuscarora stronghold, but rather a Catechna Indian fort. This heavy loss significantly intimidated the hostile Indians, leading them to vacate their Tuscarora fort "Cohunche" at King Hancock's town. They then relocated north to the Tuscarora of Moratoc (Roanoke) River, with a gradual migration towards the territory of the Five Nations. Exhibit 37

Following the conflict, the vast majority of Moore's Indian allies departed, leaving only about 180 behind. The defeat of the Catechna at Fort Neoheroka marked the end of the hostile Indians' organized efforts to expel the colonists from their ancestral lands, though sporadic guerilla attacks from safe havens in the Great Alligator Swamp continued for many more years. Faced with the depletion of all his American resources, Graffenried was left with two choices – allow the law to proceed or seek aid from overseas. Choosing the latter, he set off for New York on horseback on Easter day in 1713. After a brief stay, he embarked for England, arriving in Bristol after a six-week journey. In London, he encountered Mr. Eden, who the proprietors were dispatching to succeed Hyde. Graffenried finally arrived back in Bern, Germany, on St. Martin's day in 1713. Despite returning home, he continued his efforts for his colony. The final chapter is succinct. Financially unable to sue his company for their contractual breach, he unsuccessfully sought the establishment of a commission to review and hear his proposal. His attempts to engage others also failed, and he was eventually forced to give up his colony. Graffenried passed away in 1743 and was interred in the choir of the Worb Church, culminating a life whose later years, while undramatic, were not without contentment.

The exact date when the Tuscarora, who had been hostile, were inducted into the Council Board of the Iroquois League via the sponsorship of the Oneida, remains unclear. Various knowledgeable writers have presented different dates, ranging from 1712 to 1715. The northward migration of the Tuscarora was not a sudden mass movement. The more antagonistic Tuscarora, along with their nervous supporters, likely departed first from their ancestral homes in North Carolina. Following the decisive defeat and scattering of the adversarial Tuscarora and their allies in 1713, the fragments of the tribes sought refuge amongst other tribes, occasionally losing their Tuscarora identity in the process. In April 1713, Alexander Spotswood urged Thomas Pollock to strive for peace with King Blount's Tuscarora and any other Indian nations willing to submit to their governance. On April 25, Thomas Pollock penned a letter to Spotswood about King Tom Blount. In it, he details the agreement reached with Blount in the Council. For his loyalty and service, Blount would be recognized as the King and supreme commander of all

Indians on the south side of Pamptico River under their protection. A solid and enduring peace treaty would be established with him and all Indians recognizing him as their sachem. In return, Blount was to hand over twenty chief conspirators involved in the kidnapping of Baron and Mr. Lawson, and in inciting the massacre. Blount was also to return all captives, horses, arms, goods, and cattle taken from the inhabitants, and to confront, kill, and capture enemies of the English, such as the Catchneys and Matamuskeets. He was also required to turn over any of his Indians found to be involved in the massacre. In the same letter, Pollock conveys Blount's report about the other Indians who had not been in the Wahasuke Fort and were instead located at another fort called Cohunke. Following the capture of Nahasuke Fort, they dispersed and abandoned their fort, with most heading up the Moratock (Roanoke) River. Blount also informed Pollock about Conaguanee, a Sachem who had returned from a trip to the Albany Commissioners with a group of his Indians. Conaguanee had attempted to persuade Blount against the English, warning him of their deceitful promises and imminent destruction. However, Blount remained unswayed by his words, asking him to mind his own business. If Blount fulfills his promises and establishes peace, Pollock notes that they will only have to contend with the Matamuskeets, Catechneys, and Cores. [Exhibit 38](#)

On April 30, Pollock sent a message to Spotswood about the Mattamuskeet, who, bolstered by some Coree and Catechna Indians, had attacked Alligator River's inhabitants, killing or capturing 16 to 20 of them, while the others managed to escape. Less than a month later, Pollock confirmed to Charles Craven that "King Blount and all the Tuskarora had concluded a peace with the government and Blount is to deliver up all that had any hand in the massacre." The government was swayed into this decision due to lack of supplies to maintain their forces, and to utilize Blount's Indians on the frontiers for capturing stray Indians or runaway slaves. All in all, King Blount's Tuskarora were to serve as the defensive line against hostile attacks from enemy Indians. [Exhibit 39](#)

On June 2, 1713, King Tom Blount, due to his steadfast loyalty, had his wife, his two children (William and James), and his nephew returned to him after being institutionalized by English-affiliated Indians. Following this, Blount finalized the peace agreement with North Carolina and Thomas Pollock. [Exhibit 40](#)

By June 25, Pollock reported that King Blount had turned over 8 of the enemy Indian men who participated in the massacre. Concurrently, around the end of June, Col. Moore's army was battling the Mattamuskeet, Coree and Catechna Indians, hopeful for the termination of the war. [Exhibit 41](#)

On July 18, Giles Rainsford informed John Chamberlain that King Blount (as they refer to him) has pledged to clear the West Shore of the Chowan River, which had been severely impoverished since the Ashley River Indians decimated their stocks. [Exhibit 42](#)

On August 12, the Board of Virginia's Governor Council examined the peace agreement established with King Blount's Tuskarora and the Carolina colony. Virginia endorsed that a similar agreement should be arranged for the colony and their plantations, stipulating that Tuskarora captives be held until Blount brokers peace with the Virginia colony. In response, Spotswood urged Thomas Pollock to summon King Blount. [Exhibit 43](#)

On September 1, 1713, Thomas Pollock corresponded with Charles Craven, Governor of South Carolina, via Col. Moore, expressing that there was no further need for Yamasee forces, fearing a potential Yamasee uprising that could destabilize the administration and deplete stocks and provisions. Pollock expressed gratitude for Craven's help during the war and relayed the loyalty of Tom Blount, suggesting that, having endured much, Blount would welcome a period of peace and his Tuskarora would provide a strong defense for the colony's frontier. With no further need for Col. Moore's support, Pollock requested Craven to hold back his Yamasee from targeting Blount's Indians until Blount's actions could be assessed. The Yamasee, following Col. Moore's return, were to be compensated and expelled from the territory. Exhibit 44

On September 10, 1713, Governor Hunter of New York communicated to Secretary Pople that it was challenging to deter the Five Nations from providing refuge to the Tuscarora Indians, a situation that threatened to entangle them all. He lamented the lack of funds necessary to secure gifts that might discourage them from aligning with the Tuscarora (McPherson 185). On the same day, during a meeting with Governor Hunter's representatives, an Onondaga chief expressed his desire for a peaceful resolution to the conflict between the English settlers in Carolina and the Tuscarora Indians, asking Hunter to mediate. He affirmed that, following their dispersion and loss of national identity, the Tuscarora would no longer pose a threat to the English (McPherson 185). To obtain the assistance of the Catawba Indians (also known as "Flatheads") against the hostile Tuscarora, the authorities of Carolina assured them of lower prices for goods in case of victory in the war. However, after actively supporting the Carolinians between 1711-1713 by dispersing the antagonistic Tuscarora, the Catawba felt betrayed when the promised price reduction was not implemented. This led to misunderstandings and subsequent conflicts, resulting in the Catawba War of 1714-15 (McPherson 184).

On November 16, Pollock informed Spotswood that nearly 30 scalps had been brought in by King Blount's men, as he [Blount] himself was ill and disabled. They were actively clearing up remnants of antagonistic Indian groups, a task the English had been unable to accomplish. Exhibit 45

On January 23, 1714, a grievance was raised by King Blount and his council that two children from his tribe, whose parents were friendly with the colony, had been abducted by the Meherrin Indians. A directive was also issued to grow corn to sustain King Blount's Indians who were engaged in government service. Exhibit 46

Shortly after the war, the North Carolina leadership established a separate treaty with the friendly Tuskarora from the northern part of the province. Subsequently, all Tuskarora acknowledged King Tom Blount as their supreme leader. The colonial leaders allocated land between the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers as the future residence for Blount's community. It was expected that the Indians would move from the Moratoc River and other regions to this new location once the war concluded. Although no records exist about the hostile Tuscarora seeking refuge with the Five Nations, by September, the Five Nations' Chiefs referred to them as having "sought shelter with the Five Nations". On August 10, Captain Nicholas Crisp petitioned that he had surveyed 620 acres on the Moratoc River, an area known as "Skanwankee," approximately 6 or 7 years ago. This land was traditionally a hunting ground for the Tuskarora residing along the

Moratoc River. Given that the new Tuskarora boundaries were designated between the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, Crisp was granted rights to the land, albeit with the condition that the Tuskarora could still hunt on Skanwankee. At the same time, King John Hoyter, on behalf of himself and the Chowan Indians, asked for land to be laid out for their service in 8 expeditions against the enemy Indians of this province. Leaders of the hostile Mattamuskeet, Coree, and Catechna Indians who had surrendered sought peace, allowing Comeing Pagett and his Indians to confer with Captain William Vaughan and nine white men to discuss potential peace agreements in line with their previous commitments. Concurrently, northern Indian tribes, specifically the Seneca, were inciting disturbances in the Indian Wars in the Carolinas, threatening to side with the hostile Indians and thereby exacerbating tensions among the colonies. Exhibit 47

On September 25, 1714, during a meeting with Governor Hunter in Albany, the Chiefs of the Five Nations informed him that the Tuscarora Indians had sought refuge among the Five Nations. They assured him of the Tuscarora's intentions to live peacefully among them and asked him to consider the Tuscarora living among them as their offspring, who would follow their directives and maintain peace and order. This suggestion, tantamount to a proposal, had not been accepted by the New York government as of 1715 (McPherson 184-185).

In early February 1715, initiatives were undertaken to engage in peaceful negotiations with the Coree and other hostile Indian tribes. This allowed Pagett's men and the others the freedom to establish themselves at Mattamuskeet, provided that a monitor remained with them to report on their conduct and living conditions. It wasn't until around February 11 that North Carolina eventually signed a peace treaty with the survivors of the Coree, Pamlico, and Mattamuskeet tribes, relocating them to a reservation in Hyde County, NC. Exhibit 48

On March 10, 1715, an order was issued to provide King Blount and his men with 100 bushels of corn in acknowledgment of their services. There was also a complaint from the "Porteskyte Indians" about individuals from the Currituck banks preventing them from hunting, damaging their guns, and barring them from hunting on those grounds. Consequently, an order was issued prohibiting anyone from disturbing the Indians during their hunts on any of the Currituck banks. Exhibit 49

On May 23, Charles Craven hinted at the rising threats from the Spaniards and French in his letter. They had promised rewards to the Yamasee and other Indian tribes if they assisted in demolishing the South Carolina colony. They were promised the opportunity to claim all British plantations for themselves. During the war against the Yamasee, Craven's forces lost 11 men and 20 were injured. The enemy Indian tribes, however, lost several of their chief warriors and numerous others were injured, handing victory to Craven's men. Following the conflict, Craven sought to fortify specific regions against French invasion and other allied threats. This began with reestablishing friendly relationships with the Confederated tribes of the Carolinas and enlisting their assistance in suppressing his government's adversaries. In late June it's told by John Urmston of North Carolina, ["The Indians that went to the Cape Fear region were cut off by the enemy Indians."] Exhibit 50 (see Diagram 3, "1715-The Distribution of Indian Tribes in the Southeast")

It was reported that on September 13, the Coree Indians had revolted and injured a certain Robert Shreive, breaching their peace agreement. In response, Carolina dispatched ten troopers under Colonel Brice, accompanied by a contingent of Indians, to guard the frontiers and maintain vigilance. On September 16, there were complaints regarding Virginia traders selling guns and ammunition to "enemy Indians." [Exhibit 51](#)

In a dispatch penned by Caleb Heathcote, he examines the widespread Indian altercations and disasters in Carolina. The correspondence highlights the role of the French in fanning the flames of discord between the Five Nations and the British. By strategically leveraging bribes, the French aimed to secure the alliance of the Indians and orchestrate hostility against the British. Heathcote specifically notes that the French had already erected a fortification in Onondaga territory, an intentional move to disrupt trade and communication channels between the British and the Five Nations. On October 24, 1715, Spotswood, the Governor of Virginia, wrote to the Board of Trade detailing the current state of war. He informed the Board that 700 Indians from the Northwest had wreaked havoc until they were stopped by forces from the Carolina colonies. The conflict had come to a temporary halt with the Northern Indians now seeking peace. The Tuscarora War, which had primarily raged from September 1711 through March 1713, seemed to be winding down by 1715. Many Indians had negotiated peace, while others who had fled the conflict relocated to the Northern Indians, with some joining the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederation. The western and southern regions of the Carolinas, however, were soon to experience a new "Indian War" provoked by further divisions among the whites. [Exhibit 52](#)

Carolina and Virginia had managed to establish peace with most, if not all, of their local Indian tribes. However, as Europeans continued their westward expansion into the interior, conflicts among the Indian tribes west of the Carolinas escalated, primarily due to the British pursuit of "peace and economic growth." On August 3, 1716, during a meeting of the North Carolina Governor's Council, Alexander Spotswood expressed his concerns that the southern tribes of the Enoe, Sawra (Cheraw), and Keyauwee needed to be pacified as they were currently at war with the government. The Governor of Virginia relayed a message to his counterpart in South Carolina that some North Carolina Indians (presumably Tuskarora), along with some white men, were planning to disrupt the Cheraw and the northern Indians who were allied with the enemy. [Exhibit 53](#)

On August 23, Col. William Brice reported that Indians, suspected to be Sawras (Cheraw), had murdered one of his men and an Indian slave owned by him. According to Brice, the Sawra (Cheraw) were heavily armed with ammunition, indicating their potential trade with the Virginia government. He requested the Governor of Virginia to cease trading with the Sawra (Cheraw) and other southern tribes until peace negotiations were successful. [Exhibit 54](#)

On November 3, 1716, a letter from the Virginia Governor's Council mentioned that Col. Charles Eden, the Governor of North Carolina, had declared war against the Saraw (Cheraw) Indians, desiring the assistance of North Carolina to cut off that nation. Virginia countered by accusing the English of being the instigators, attacking the Indians without provocation. Given that the Cheraw were trade partners and at peace with the Virginia government, Virginia expressed its unwillingness to participate in the conflict. [Exhibit 55](#)

From May 1, 1715, to April 21, 1716, a collection of colonial documents titled “Letters from the inhabitants of South Carolina” detailed the Indian War and the prejudice experienced from Virginia. The documents included testimonies from local witnesses concerning the Indians. (see Diagram 3, "1715-The Distribution of Indian Tribes in the Southeast")

·May 15, 1715 [“The Sarraws (Cheraw) give out amongst the Wineaus and Norward Indians that they are ordered by the Virginia Traders to destroy this country and do their utmost Endeavours to draw those Indians with the Waccamaw to their party, they offer them plunder and threaten they will destroy all that will not side with them.”]

·June 19, 1715 [“We have an account per some Indians that are lately taken that the Virginia Traders encouraged our Indians to do what they have done & promised to supply them at a much easier rate than our Indian Traders did and that they would give them much better treatment. We have the names of some of them who encouraged them to commit this barbarous act. I shall not say any more of this matter till we have a further account.”]

·April 23, 1715 [“Two or three days since came an old Indian Man from the Waccamaw Indian y[e]t lives not far from the Wineaus Settlements he desired peace for those people, he declares that the Sarraws [Cheraw] have ammunication from Virginia and that it is those who have done us the Mischief this War on the other side of Santee River.”]

·August 6, 1715 [“We knowing that it was impossible the Waccamaw should be supplied with ammunication from the Spaniards asked them how they came by it Since this war; they answered that what little they had they got from the Sarraws [Cheraw] who constantly used to carry Slaves, Skins and other goods taken from us (of which they had a large share) to Virginia in lieu of which they returned home with Ammunition and what else they wanted, this being a great abuse, we hope you will represent it as such for this means they have been and still are enabled to hold against us.”]

·August 30, 1715 [“Our Negotiation with Virginia you have a Relation of in our public Letter Nevertheless it may not be useless that I give you my thoughts on the designs and management of those Gentlemen. They advise us that our Northern Enemies have courted them for a Trade with them, and that they have laid them under a promise of a cessation of arms against us; and have ordered them to return with a certain Number of ye great men; ye which are to consist of all our Northern Enemies; with whom ye Col Spotswood writes us, yet he thinks if he brings all of them to a Nutralitie it will be very much to our advantage. And I believe he designs no more, because Capt Evans whom he sent hither as commander in chief of all his Forces: Declares that all his Instructions are that he shall not Fight against our Northern Enemies, wherefore I believe that Evans will return for Virginia. Now Sr knowing how they treated the people of No Carolina when they were at war with ye Tuscaroras, together with the fund of money laid out (and by whom) for ye carrying on of ye Indians Trade. I must judge they are willing to have us in a continual war with our Southern Indians that they may have the whole Trade with the Northern; Because it is certain as long as our war continues with any one party we cannot trade with the other. But a far greater mischief attends any of our Enemies being brought to, or allowed to be Nuters, because under that covert they will both supply and assist our

Enemies: then the sweat and blood of our people will center in the coffers of the Indian trading company of Virginia (the which I think they hope for).

You will find in our address to ye King, we pray him to command that a war be proclaimed in Virginia with all our Enemies And I hope you will with all earnestness press it, the which being granted, we have reason to judge would soon end the war: But if the contrary and any of our Enemies stand nuter, the charge will ruin us, and we must leave this our hopeful place.”]

·May 31, 1717, Lord Carteret, (one of the Lord Proprietors) addressed the issues relating to previous letters from the South Carolinians complaints stating that "the Yamasee were the first authors of war and they (South Carolina) had never really had any war with that tribe." Entirely misinformed, Carteret must have not known about the French and how they inspired the Yamasee to invade the British settlements which caused the English to retaliate against the wrong tribes, making enemies with non-hostile Indians. Exhibit 56

Tensions between British settlers and various Indian tribes were escalating in South Carolina. The prospect of peace seemed distant to the Indians; King Blount's tribe lived in constant fear of potential attacks by southern Indians if they continued to reside in the Pamlico-Neuse area. Seeking to return to their ancestral lands along the Moratoc River, King Blount petitioned the leaders of North Carolina. In acknowledgment of the services and assistance King Blount and his tribe had provided to the government, Governor Charles Eden, supported by the governor's council, consented to relocate the Tuskarora to their former settlements and granted them a tract of land on the north side of the Moratoc River, which was later known as the Roanoke River. In 1717, Governor Hunter of New York brought to the attention of the Five Nations that Virginia traders were still conducting commerce with the Tuskarora, indicating that a segment of these Indians remained in Carolina and southern Virginia, contrary to prevailing beliefs (McPherson 185).

On June 5, 1717, Governor Eden, backed by the deputies of the Lords Proprietors, granted a parcel of land on the south side of the Moratoc (now Roanoke) River to King Blount and the Tuskarora. The Governor and the deputies, possessing full authority to do so, transferred the land ownership to the Tuskarora, without any conditions attached. The grant acknowledges that it was made "in recognition of the significant services provided by the said tribe of Indians to the Government, and of their agreement to relinquish all claims to other lands previously allotted to them." Also on June 5, 1717, the council formally bestowed upon King Blount a tract situated between Mr. Jones' land and Quitsney (now Quitsna) Swamp, intended to "better support himself and his Indians". The document did not specify the exact boundaries or acreage of the parcel. The council requested that King Blount commit to relocating all of his followers from other areas to settle on the Moratoc (Roanoke) River tract by Christmas of 1717. The land transfer to King Blount was conditional on the fact that the Indians would not inconvenience or disrupt the English settlers who already possessed land in the area. Blount's people were directed to refrain from hunting beyond the limits of their designated land and were not to lay claim to any other territory on either side of the Moratoc River. Exhibit 57

The English leaders and the amicable Tuskarora Indians settled on the Articles of Peace, mandating an enduring peace between both parties. These articles defined that:

- Conflicts between the English and the Indians were to be addressed through dialogues between their leaders;
- Runaway servants and slaves seeking refuge with the Tuskarora had to be promptly returned to English authorities;
- Any Indian victim of English misconduct could seek legal recourse from government leaders and would be compensated if the maltreatment could be verified;
- Any Indian guilty of theft, harm, or murder of a white resident would be tried under English law;
- Indians were prohibited from building any dwellings within a half-day's journey from any English plantation;
- In the event of the Tuskarora entering a war with another Indian tribe, the English would remain neutral; and
- If the English found themselves at war with another Indian tribe, the Tuskarora were to avoid assisting the rival tribes and were to support the English if the government so requested (Hathaway 218-219). (see Diagram 3A, *Articles of Peace*)

A month later, on July 8, 1717, King Blount's son visited Thomas Pollock, the council's president and a former governor. The young emissary was sent by King Blount to inform Pollock that members of his tribe had spotted approximately "twenty unfamiliar Indians" near Catechna Creek. King Blount suspected that these unidentified Indians were planning an attack on his people still located at the Pamlico-Neuse site (they had not yet had the opportunity to move to the north of the Moratoc River). King Blount appealed to Pollock to safeguard his people. Moreover, King Blount's son queried Pollock about rumors of the Sara (Cheraw) Indians having killed 9 or 10 Virginia traders. He also communicated that his father was in anticipation of an imminent assault from the Sara (Cheraw) or other Indians against the friendly Tuskarora. Reportedly, one of Blount's men had recently been captured by the hostile Indians. Exhibit 58

Pollock remained doubtful about the potential for immediate attacks. However, he shared this information with Governor Eden so that he could implement any necessary actions to prepare the inhabitants until more information was received. While no attack occurred, this situation highlighted King Tom Blount's commitment to the safety of his tribe and his belief that the overall security of the Tuskaroras required protective support from colonial leaders. During this period, the province of North Carolina was still under the overall governance of the Lords Proprietors. From 1663 to 1665, King Charles II gifted eight men who aided in his restoration to the English throne with a vast tract of land in colonial America, which encompassed what is now North Carolina. These two charters allowed the Lords Proprietors to distribute land to colonists via land patents. Two kinds of patents were dispensed: (1) purchase patents, where patentees

paid fees for the land; and (2) headright patents, where patentees were granted specific land acreage for transporting (or covering the transportation costs of) individuals brought to the province. The latter patent type designated a certain number of acres for each person transported to the New World. These land patents were allocated for areas available for settlement. The governor's council issued warrants (orders) to the provincial surveyor to segregate the intended land. The surveyor would then devise a detailed description and plot (map) of the land. Subsequently, the council would issue a land patent, which was documented in the relevant land records of the colony. Throughout the year 1710, North Carolina leaders were actively issuing land patents for settling and farming thousands of acres on the Chowan River's western side. This area, part of the Chowan Precinct, included regions near the Tuskarora's reserved lands. Englishmen soon began acquiring patents and settling on lands adjacent to the future "Indian Woods" reservation, also known as "Tuskarora Woods." One Englishman, William Charleton, maintained a close relationship with King Tom Blount. Acting as an Indian interpreter and messenger for colonial officials as early as 1701, he was frequently dispatched by Thomas Pollock to the Tuskarora to transmit information to and from Blount, especially during the Tuskarora War. [Exhibit 59](#)

On April 1, 1713, Charleton received a patent for 1,900 acres of land on the Moratoc River from colonial authorities. By November 1717, an unknown number of Blount's tribe had settled on the designated lands along the Moratoc River. Eventually, around eight hundred (800) people relocated to these lands. On November 13, Thomas Pollock informed Governor Eden that Charleton, after meeting with King Blount, intended to personally brief Eden about the meeting's outcome. Col. William Maule, the province's Surveyor General, might have also accompanied Charleton during his visit to Blount. Maule told Pollock that the Indians from Blount's "upper town," Uneroy, had left, although he didn't know their destination (Watson 7). [Exhibit 60](#) (see Diagram 3B, *Tuskarora Reservation of 1717*)

Trespassers on Indian land began to surface in disputes involving the Chowan Indians, as substantiated by records dating back to November 22, 1717. On this date, John Hoyter, the ruling authority of the Chowan Indians, voiced grievances concerning Ephraim Blanchard and Aaron Blanchard establishing settlements on their territory. In response to these claims, the Governor's Council summoned the Blanchard's to appear at their subsequent council gathering. [Exhibit 61](#)

In April 1718, Thomas Pollock had apparently heard rumors that North Carolina Indians might be planning to confront settlers. Pollock sent Charleton to King Blount's town under false pretenses to determine if the Tuskarora or Seneca had "any malevolent plans" against the English. Charleton returned to Pollock in late April, reporting that he could neither find nor detect any ill-intentions among Blount's Tuskarora followers towards the white settlers. Charleton relayed that Blount "was very cordial" and even considered dispatching a group of his men "against Enemy Indians at Neuse [River]." [Exhibit 62](#)

Despite maintaining "amicable" relations with provincial leaders, King Blount and the Tuskarora (Moratoc Indians) had an underlying tension with the English. Post the Tuskarora War, several English men forced captured Indians into slavery. Slaves were treated as personal property of their owners, with no equality to humans. In fall 1718, Thomas Worley attempted to reclaim a runaway Indian slave, Pompey, from the Pamlico region. Worley believed Pompey had

committed some unspecified rogue acts deserving punishment. On October 30, a letter was presented to the North Carolina Governor's Council about a large group of Indians in Bath who had kidnapped a daughter, son, and two servants belonging to Mr. Worley. Rangers were sent out and managed to recover only Worley's son. Exhibit 63

On November 11, 1718, the case regarding the escaped slave, "Pompey," was presented before the governor's council. The council demanded that "all possible means be used" to capture the Indian slave — "dead or alive." If Pompey were caught alive, Governor Eden wished for swift justice. The colonial leaders had reportedly obtained information suggesting a member of King Tom Blount's tribe was involved in Pompey's escape. The council instructed William Charleton to immediately visit Blount's Town to relay the "discovery made" that "one of his Indians named Johnny" was implicated in Pompey's evasion. They also urged Blount that, just as the Governor continually informed him of developments, the council expected the same from him. The council also proposed that Blount should motivate any of his Indians to scout out to capture the said Pompey, promising a significant reward. Exhibit 64

Colonial officials in North Carolina made it clear to King Tom Blount that they did not anticipate the "friendly" Tuskarora to shelter runaway Indian slaves. They expected Blount and his followers to cooperate with the English and adhere to English priorities concerning Indian matters. A petition from King Squires and Mackay declared that all entries, surveys, and patents made or granted by the Government and Council on the Lands designated for the Mattamuskeet Indians' settlement should be null and void. Exhibit 65

Despite the colonial leaders setting rules for territory occupancy, encroachments continued, leading to increasing hostility. Less than four years after the Tuskarora were allocated lands, disputes about land ownership and rights emerged between the English settlers and the Indians. By late March 1721, white settlers had expressed grievances to Governor Eden that John Gray, deputy surveyor, had surveyed and registered land along the Moratoc River near Blount's town, Uneroy. Those granted land near and on the northern side of the Moratoc River worried that "conflicts and disturbances" with their Indian neighbors would likely arise. At least, some settlers foresaw that cohabiting near the Tuskarora would inevitably result in issues. The surviving records do not provide any accounts or details of events that triggered the complaints to the governor. Clearly, the white settlers harbored prejudices against the "friendly" Tuskarora, despite their prior contributions to the colony and non-involvement in the Tuskarora War. Governor Eden aimed to mitigate any brewing tension between settlers and the Indians. In reaction, the governor's council summoned King Blount, William Maule, and John Gray to meet Eden on April 12, 1721. Maule and Gray were instructed to bring any warrants and entries they had made for lands near the town of Uneroy. The governor planned to guide the surveyors to forestall any potential disputes between grantees and Blount's Tuskarora. In the interim, Gray was told to cease making further surveys or entries for land within five miles of Uneroy. Additionally, the council would not distribute any more warrants for lands to be granted on the Moratoc (Roanoke) River. Lastly, Col. Frederick Jones, Chief Justice of the Colonial Court, was tasked to "designate" the Tuskarora settlement according to an agreement made with King Blount. Exhibit 66

These preemptive efforts by the leaders appeared to have limited long-lasting effects. A year later (April 1722), King Blount once again informed the council that the Tuskarora Nation was facing challenges due to encroachments on their settlements along the Moratoc River by the English. Blount fervently pleaded with the council to ascertain the boundaries of Indian lands to "prevent future disputes" with settlers. In response, the council instructed William Maule and Col. Robert West to visit Blount's Town at a convenient time and establish the boundaries as per the agreement with Blount in May 1719. The council instructed William Charleton, "the interpreter," to accompany Maule and West and help "settle the matter." [Exhibit 67](#)

By 1723, it was apparent that the issue was unresolved. In late March of that year, William Downing approached the governor's council about a 640-acre plot of land he owned on the Moratoc River, which was occupied by the Tuskarora Indians. He requested that his patent not expire (as he was obligated by colonial law to pay quit rent [i.e., taxes] for the property). Land records show that Downing was granted a patent dated August 10, 1720, for 640 acres on the south side of the Moratoc River, the side opposite the Tuskarora Indians' reservation (Hofman 153).

Conflicts between Tuskarora and white settlers living near the Moratoc lands frequently occurred. In the spring of 1722, Luke Mizell, Indian Commissioner, assaulted a member of King Blount's tribe near Quitsna Swamp. According to a report, Mizell and two other men were in the woods near the swamp when they heard a gunshot. All three rushed toward the sound and found a Tuskarora Indian who had just killed a deer and was reloading his firearm. Mizell ordered the Indian to go hunt on the other side of the swamp. When the Indian responded with "some answer," Mizell snatched away the Indian's gun, used it as a club, and struck him in the head. Mizell's dog, triggered by the altercation, attacked the Indian and bit his leg. On June 14, 1722, Mizell was presented before the governor's council. Hearing the complaint filed by the Indian, the council directed a constable to detain Mizell and escort him to King Blount's town on Tuesday, June 16. There, John Lovick, Thomas Pollock, and Robert West (members of the governor's council) were tasked with evaluating the Indian's grievance and delivering a verdict. Unfortunately, no record of the proceedings of June 16, 1722, seems to exist. Intriguingly, Robert West was later appointed as an Indian commissioner. [Exhibit 68](#)

In less than two months, on the night of Saturday, August 4, John Cope, a member of King Blount's tribe, intruded into Thomas Pollock's room in Edenton while Pollock's son, Cullen, was asleep there. On August 8, Pollock reported the incident to the governor's council, of which he was the president, and the council ordered Christopher Gale, the colony's Chief Justice, to convene a special Court of Oyer and Terminer on Tuesday, the 14th, to judge Cope. On the day of the trial, a grand jury of twenty men was assembled who, after reviewing the facts, formally accused Cope of criminal break-in and burglary. A jury of twelve men was formed, who, after listening to and considering the evidence, declared Cope innocent of the charges. [Exhibit 69](#)

While the Five Nations provided refuge to the fleeing Tuskarora, there is ample evidence suggesting that due to political motivations, perhaps, the Tuskarora were not formally admitted into the Council Board of the League of the Five Nations as a constituent member for many years after their departure from North Carolina. The Tuskarora spent several years moving from

their North Carolina home to more welcoming abodes in the north, and there's no proof that they were officially incorporated into the confederation of the Five Nations, as an equal member, prior to September 1722 (McPherson 187).

On September 6, 1722, Governor Burnet held a meeting with the Five Nations at Albany, which was attended by Governor Spotswood of Virginia. To prevent clashes between the Five Nations and their allies and the Southern Indians, Spotswood persuaded the Five Nations to agree to the drawing of a dividing line along the Potomac and the crest of the Allegany Mountains. This agreement was made in the name of the Five Nations and the Tuscarora, suggesting that the latter had become influential in the councils of the Iroquois League. The conference closed with the Indians giving "six shouts--five for the Five Nations and one for the castle of Tuscaroras, recently settled between the Oneidas and Onondagas." Records show that at the end of this conference on September 13, the Five Nations requested a special meeting with the Governor of Pennsylvania, and on September 14, the governor welcomed "the 10 Chiefs of the Five Nations, two from each, along with two others, identified as Tuscororoos." This seems to be the first official reference to Tuscarora as participating in the administration of the league's public affairs. However, the Tuscarora mentioned here did not include those residing on the Juniata and Susquehanna at Oquaga and its surrounding areas, nor those still in North Carolina (McPherson 187).

By 1722, the population of English settlers living on the western side of the Chowan River in the Chowan Precinct had expanded significantly, leading to the establishment of Bertie Precinct by the colonial assembly. During their October legislative session, the lawmakers enacted a statute demarcating the new precinct's boundaries: the eastern boundary as the Chowan River, the northern as the North Carolina-Virginia border, the southern as Albemarle Sound and the Moratoc River (encompassing both banks of the river and its offshoots), and the western as extending to the government's furthest limits. The territory spanned by Bertie Precinct was vast, either wholly or partially including areas within the modern-day counties of Edgecombe, Halifax, Hertford, Martin, Northampton, and Tyrrell (Corbitt, Formation 25-27, 95, 114, 122, 145, 163, 206). Exhibit 70

The Tuskarora Indians' reserved lands, located north of the Moratoc River, fell within the precinct, where there had been a significant influx of white settlers over the previous decade. On April 1, 1723, Colonel Maule made a petition, declaring that he had allocated 53,000 acres for the Tuskarora and Chowan Indians. Exhibit 71

On August 2-3, King Tom Blount, the Tuskarora's chief leader, made an appeal to the government, indicating that he had concrete information about various Northern Indians planning to visit him in the fall with the intention to lead astray the young men of his tribe (most likely whom had been "huskanawed" to become a warrior) and to cause harm to him and the white populace. (see Diagram 1L, *Map of Huskanaw Swamp*) He pleaded for the government's help, requesting that Englishmen be sent to his town to plan out a fort for them, as a means to avert the potential threats from the Northern Indians. This plea was given serious consideration by the board and considering similar complaints during the tenure of the previous Governor, and in keeping with the treaty with him and his people, they ordered Mr. William Charlton to recruit six fit young men for the said purpose. The men were to assist the Indians in planning and

constructing a fort at Rasewtokee, and Mr. Charlton was to remain with them as an interpreter. Exhibit 72

King Blount, the Tuskarora leader, faced numerous confrontations with colonial authorities over runaway Indian slaves who sought sanctuary on Tuskarora territory within Bertie Precinct. In July 1724, William Maule appealed to the Governor's Council, asking them to persuade Blount to return one of his Indian slaves. The slave, a man, had fled to Blount's town and was "held there by the Indians." The council mandated Blount to return the slave to Maule in line with the agreement Blount had with the government. If Blount failed to adhere to the council's directive, he was summoned to present himself before the council in October to provide an explanation for retaining the slave. Exhibit 73 In a similar incident four months later, John Royal informed the council that one of his Indian slaves, a man named March, was being held by King Blount "at the Tuskarora Town." The council asked the Tuskarora leader to attend its next meeting to respond to Royal's complaint, bringing the slave along. Exhibit 73(a)

King Blount was brought before the council on August 3, 1725, concerning the issue of March, the Indian slave. By this time, the ownership of March had been transferred from John Royal to Francis Pugh. When Blount did not bring March to the meeting, council members inquired why the slave was absent. Blount replied that March had gone far from his town with the Seneca Indians, but he promised to secure March and deliver him to the council as soon as he could. Exhibit 74

The Governor brought forth numerous complaints received from the residents of Roanoke (Moratoc) River to the Board. These grievances centered around the conflicts and fears arising from the Northern Indians, who were reportedly encroaching on their settlements daily and instilling fear through war threats. Notably, it was reported that these Indians were constructing forts within two days' march of the settlement to disrupt the English, which necessitated immediate attention and action. After due consideration, the Board resolved to instruct Col. Robert West to identify a suitable individual, who, along with some white men and two or three reliable Indians, would be entrusted with the task of investigating the Indian activities and the forts. The assigned group was directed to engage in dialogue with these Indians to comprehend the motives behind their fort constructions and to discern their intentions. Upon completion of this exploratory mission, they were to promptly provide a written report detailing their findings and the basis for these insights. Exhibit 75

During the summer of 1725, tensions escalated again between King Blount's Tuskarora and the white settlers living near the low-lying areas of the Moratoc River. The provincial leaders began receiving complaints from residents about the Indians frequently threatening war and allegedly building forts to antagonize the English. The colonial records do not provide information on whether forts were indeed found, but it's evident that a constant state of tension existed between the white settlers and their Tuskarora neighbors. Exhibit 76

While King Blount was navigating issues between his tribe and the white settlers, unrest emerged within his own followers. Around autumn 1725, a group of Tuskarora started to challenge Blount's authority, largely due to instigators from the Five Nations encouraging Tuskarora to leave King Blount and move North. As he had done many times over the past ten

years, Blount sought the aid of the English, his longstanding "allies", to maintain peace and control within the Moratoc Reservation. The council proposed that Governor Sir Richard Everard issue a new commission to Blount, reaffirming his position as the King of the North Carolina Tuskarora Indians. Furthermore, the council suggested that a proclamation be made, mandating that the Indians obey Blount or be regarded as enemies of the North Carolina government. Exhibit 77

It appears highly likely that King Blount may have intentionally allowed March to escape from the Tuskarora lands and find safety in a place outside the reach of the North Carolina colonial authorities and Francis Pugh. The esteemed Governor informed the Board that he had recently received a letter from the President of Virginia. The letter relayed that several Sappony Indians, who were under Virginia's jurisdiction, had been killed by the Tuskarora Indians. The Governor demanded accountability for these actions from the Tuskarora, particularly from Blount, the tribe's Chief. Blount was instructed to attend the council meeting, during which the letter from President Carter was read out to him. With the aid of a sworn interpreter, the contents of the letter were communicated to King Blount. Upon hearing the allegations, Blount categorically denied any involvement in the killings of the Sappony Indians. He declared that neither he nor his people were part of the gruesome act. Instead, he attributed the murders to the Northern Indians who had broken away from his tribe and were now behaving as marauders and pirates. When asked for evidence to support his claims, Blount pointed to an Indian named Yorke, who was currently in his town and was originally from the Tuskarora. According to Blount, Yorke had encountered a group that had been involved in the conflict with the Sappony Indians. This group reportedly told Yorke that they had a Sappony prisoner, and the group consisted of Northern Indians and Tuskaroras who had rebelled. The group, according to Blount, was led by an Indian named Conaughauritzugh. Blount was confident that the Northern Indians would not refute these charges if they were confronted with them. Exhibit 78

Francis Pugh brought up the issue before the council again twenty months later in April 1727, which was passed on to the General Assembly for review. In a report by William Gooch, he details the changing demographics and political conditions of Native American tribes within and near the colony of Virginia in the early 18th century. He mentions that the population of the Indians who paid tribute to the colonial government had considerably decreased. Specifically, the Maherin and Nansemond tribes, once present in Virginia, found their lands falling within the boundaries of North Carolina due to redrawing of colonial lines. The Saponies, along with other smaller allied tribes, were forced to leave Virginia due to troubles caused by the Tuscaruroes tribe. They sought refuge among the Cattawbaws, another Native American tribe, presumably further south or west. Two tribes still resided in Virginia: the Pamunkeys, living on the York River, consisted of around ten families, and the Nottoways, residing on the southern side of the James River, counted around fifty warriors. Interestingly, these tribes were surrounded by English settlements, but had managed to maintain peaceful relations with them. Gooch further states that there were no strong Native American tribes nearby. The Five Nations, also known as the Iroquois Confederacy and located to the north under the jurisdiction of New York, and the Cattawbaws and Cherokees, situated within the borders of Carolina to the south, were the nearest tribes. However, these tribes were located roughly 400 miles away from Virginia's inhabitants, indicating that immediate Native American threats to Virginia were minimal at the time of his writing. Exhibit 79

In April 1731, another Indian slave escaped from his master, Isaac Hill, a Justice of the Peace in Bertie Precinct and a member of the General Assembly, sought protection among Blount's Tuskarora. Once more, the Governor's Council instructed King Blount to return the slave to Justice Hill. William Charleton was assigned to visit Blount and "demand" the return of the Indian, and if Blount refused, Charleton was to summon him before the council. Exhibit 80

The records do not reveal whether King Blount followed through with the council's instructions. In the late winter or early spring of 1731, a group of King Blount's Tuskarora journeyed to South Carolina, where they were accused of killing livestock, stealing the property of white settlers, and inciting slaves to flee. Seeking recompense for the alleged damages, Capt. William Waties, a South Carolina militia officer, traveled to northeastern North Carolina in early May. Governor George Burrington called for William Blount, King Tom Blount's intended successor, Captain George, and several other tribal members to convene in Edenton on Monday, May 10, 1731, for a meeting with him, other colonial authorities, and Capt. Waties. During this encounter, with the help of interpreter William Charleton, Capt. Waties confronted William Blount and his associates about their tribe members' purported participation in the South Carolina raid. The accused Indians resisted most of the questions, maintaining that the raid was executed by Seneca Indians. Waties, confident in his accusation, declared their response to be false, citing witnesses and other evidence attributing the misconduct to the Tuskarora of Bertie County. The Indian representatives frequently gathered to privately discuss before responding to Waties's allegations, persistently attributing the aggressive acts to the Seneca Indians. This obstinance evidently frustrated Waties, who threatened that they would be viewed as adversaries of the South Carolina government, and that Catawba and Cherokee Indians would be dispatched against them. The Tuskarora representatives countered that the Catawba and Cherokee were engaged in their own conflict, and they doubted these tribes would unite against the Tuskarora. Waties retorted that the South Carolina militia would be mobilized to "bring them to reason". Blount and his companions indicated that they did not desire war and would not engage in any belligerent actions. Exhibit 81

The following day, Governor George Burrington expressed his frustration with the Indian representatives in a letter to Robert Johnson, the governor of South Carolina. Burrington labeled the Tuskarora Indians as "great scoundrels" and criticized their adamant denial of the accusations, despite the allegations being convincingly supported. The Governor also noted that the residents of his province strongly disapproved of the Tuskarora's behavior and would favor any action taken against them by South Carolina. He concluded his letter by expressing regret that he was unable to secure any satisfaction for the aggrieved South Carolinians. Exhibit 82

On July 2, 1731, Governor Burrington noted the first issuance of bills, a move spurred by the financial strain caused by a nearly two-decade long conflict with the Indians. These new instructions aimed to discourage the Indian tribes from causing further damage. As cited in the 85th Instruction, the population of the local Indian tribes had significantly reduced in recent years. There were six tribes residing within the English settlements, all having selected areas most secure from potential attacks from other hostile Indian tribes. These tribes included the Hatteras, Maresuskeets, Pottaskites, Chowans, Tuskarora, and Meherrins, none exceeding 20 families, with the exception of the Tuskarora. The Tuskarora who were once a

formidable force, had seen much of its population decimated or displaced due to the recent war. Only King Tom Blount's faction, composed of about 200 fighting men, had managed to secure peace and maintain cordial relations with the English. In response to a complaint from the South Carolina government regarding the Tuskarora's alleged misconduct, Blount was currently seeking to make amends to prevent an escalation into war, which he feared could have significant implications for the country. Exhibit 83

The 50th Act of 1731 was established to restrain Indians from causing harm to the inhabitants of the English settlements and to ensure the Indian tribes' rights to their lands. This regulation proved effective in preventing miscommunication and irregularities with the Tributary Indians living among the English settlers, leading to an era of peaceable coexistence. The 53rd Act was enacted to reconcile the tensions between South Carolina and the remaining Tuskarora, particularly by addressing a large outstanding debt to South Carolina that had accrued due to conflicts with hostile Indian tribes. In the hope of repaying this debt, the English government turned to the now peaceful Tuskarora, expecting them to bear the cost of the previous war. This debt repayment was to be made partly through labor on white-owned plantations and defense against South Carolina's hostile Indian tribes. Small factions of Tuskarora, who were planters, traders, hunters, and warriors, migrated along an old trading route known as "Green's Path," leading from the Roanoke (Moratoc) River past Fayetteville down to what is now Robeson County, North Carolina. These Tuskarora, under the leadership of William Blount, King Tom Blount's son, were soon to relocate to the Drowning Creek area, which connects to the Pee Dee and Santee rivers. Exhibit 84 (see Diagram 1J, Diagram 6B parts 1-2)

On September 4, 1731, George Burrington, the governor of North Carolina, communicated to the Board of Trade concerning the existing state of affairs with the local Indian tribes. He wrote, "We expect our Indians will be attacked by those of South Carolina. The Northern Indians, called the Five Nations, are in Alliance and Amity with ours and have promised to assist them with a Thousand Men, part of which are already come into this Province." Exhibit 85 It's noteworthy to mention that the thousand men Burrington referenced from the Five Nations were aligning themselves with the South Carolina Indians, indicating a misinterpretation of the Northern Indians' true intentions. Disputes continued to brew between the Tuskarora Woods' Indians and the white settlers, predominantly due to unclear and undefined boundaries of the Moratoc lands. Thomas Pollock informed the governor's council on January 20, 1732, that numerous patents had been granted to white settlers for lands situated between Roquist Swamp and Moratoc River, areas claimed by the Tuskarora Nation. Therefore, the patent holders, including Pollock, were hesitant to inhabit and cultivate the lands, given the uncertainty surrounding the Indians' claims to the territory. Bound by law, the patent holders were required to settle and cultivate the lands and pay the corresponding quit rents. If these conditions were not met, the patents could be revoked, and the lands might be claimed by others who would then be eligible to receive their own patents. Pollock proposed to the council that they either grant authorization to the patent-holders to settle on the disputed lands or provide a guarantee that the existing patents would remain valid and that quit rents would not be collected. Although the council stated that they couldn't waive the King's quit rents for any patented lands, they agreed that if the lands were indeed located within the boundaries claimed by the Indians, then these lands should not be seized until the petitioners could peacefully occupy them. The council thereby decreed that no patents would be revoked for the disputed lands. Exhibit 86

During the same session, the Governor's Council assigned five individuals as Commissioners for the Indian Trade. These were Col. Robert West, Francis Pugh, Thomas Bryant, John Spiers, and Thomas Hearney. Exhibit 87 All of them served as Justices of the Peace for Bertie Precinct. This marked the first independent commission for the Indian Trade within this province, established in 1732.

On February 20, 1732, Burrington reported that he had conducted a meeting with the Tuskarora Indians to address certain grievances levied against them by the Governor of Virginia. The matter was resolved to the satisfaction of all parties involved, and as Burrington stated, this left the Tuskarora "in ease and quietness." Exhibit 88

In a letter excerpt received by the Board of Trade on June 21, Burrington shared information about the South Carolina Indians' plans to attack his government's Indian allies. These South Carolina Indians were supposedly backed by a contingent from the Five Nations. Interestingly, this contradicted Burrington's previous statement that the Five Nations would support North Carolina. The Governor of New York was apprised of this situation, with instructions to persuade the Five Nations not to engage in hostilities, which could potentially trigger a broader Indian War. Exhibit 89

On the same day, Alured Popple penned a letter to Burrington in response to his earlier communication dated September 4. Burrington was urged to employ the most effective strategies to avoid any miscommunications among the South Carolina Indians. Col. Johnson and Col. Cosby were also advised to follow suit. Exhibit 90

A petition dated May 16, 1732, recorded further encroachment on Tuskarora land, which encompassed King Blount's "Old Town," Ucohuerunt, situated on the Tar River. The outlined territory, which was to be designated as the "Edgecombe Precinct," extended from the south side of the "Roanoke River," commencing at Fishing Creek, down to the mouth of "Conoconaro," following a straight line down to Blount's "Old Town" on Tar River, then tracing the course of the Neuse River to the northeast branch of the Cape Fear. Exhibit 91

The same antiquated map places "Ooneroy," possibly Blunt's Upper Town or "Uneray," near where Fishing Creek flows into the river, perhaps slightly upstream. King Blunt's Old Town was likely situated on the west bank of the Tar River, in proximity to Penny Hill, possibly on the land that became the Governor Elias Carr plantation or around the Old Sparta area. According to local tradition, an Indian town, possibly Uneray, was situated near Mabry's Bridge, which spans Fishing Creek or slightly upstream. Just across from Penny Hill in Edgecombe, a wooded area dubbed "Indian Ridge" shows signs of Indian presence on both riverbanks. In Bethel Township, numerous traces of Native American settlements are also evident. Local lore recounts the existence of an Indian camp or village on the former James homestead, located near Grindool. A few miles west of Grindool, numerous Native American artifacts, including large pieces of broken pottery and arrowheads, have been discovered. Indian Well Swamp was a preferred water source for Native Americans, with multiple water holes excavated along its banks. A large pond, known as "Indian Well," was filled with water at the swamp's head in earlier times. The name "Indian Well Swamp" derives from this pond and the surrounding water holes. Above the

confluence of Clay Root Swamp and Swift Creek, remnants of an Indian village have been discovered, including pottery, arrowheads, tomahawks, and other artifacts. Further signs suggest that an Indian camp or town once existed on the Arthur Forbes property, approximately three miles upstream from Greenville. More artifacts have been found near the Martin boundary in Carolina township. Throughout the county, signs of former Native American settlements can be found. Following the Tuscarora war, some of the Tuscarora people migrated north to join the Five Nations in New York. Though, Blunt and others, who had remained loyal to the English, stayed behind. He was designated as their king and was granted land situated between the Neuse and Tar rivers, above Bear Creek. With peace reestablished and the absence of Indian threat, settlements began to proliferate along the Tar River and other waterways. In 1732, Governor Burrington established the precinct of Edgecombe. This region was demarcated by boundaries that started at the mouth of Conoconaro Creek on the Roanoke River, extending to King Blunt's old town on the Tar River, continuing to the Neuse River, and then to the northeast branch of the Cape Fear River. Later the same year, in response to a petition from the local population, the boundary was adjusted to run down the Roanoke River to Hoskin's line at Rainbow Banks, and then in a straight line to King Blunt's old town on the Tar River (H. King 17-28).

In November 1732, the inhabitants on the south side of Moratoc River (lands which belonged to the Tuskarora), not currently part of Edgecombe precinct, petitioned for inclusion into the precinct. They requested that the area stretching from Hoskins Line at the Rainbow Banks, in a straight line to King Tom Blount's Old Town, Ucohuerunt, on the Tar River, and up Roanoke River to the Edgecombe boundary, be annexed to Edgecombe. The council, after deliberation, agreed to extend the Edgecombe precinct boundaries to include the proposed areas. Residents on either side of the Cape Fear appealed for a new precinct to be established from Ephraim Vernon's plantation. This tract, set to be called "Bladen Precinct," was outlined from the Northwest and Northeast Rivers, maintaining the same equal distance to the head of the northeast bounds from Ephraim Vernon's to the nearest part of the Waccamaw River, then following that river for the southwest bounds. Part of Bladen, later to be known as Robeson County, became a refuge for King Blount's Tuskarora, who would safeguard North Carolina's southern borders during the Indian wars. [Exhibit 92](#)

King Tom Blount last appears in colonial records on April 3, 1733, when Francis Pugh, a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, referenced him in his correspondence. The passage reads, "This Board, having considered the matter, are agreeable to the Saponi cohabiting with the Tuskarora, provided both parties are in agreement. Additionally, the Chowan Indians are permitted to live among the Tuskarora Indians, given that King Blount agrees to accept them." (see Diagram 4, Moseley's Map 1733) [Exhibit 93](#)

Blount was renowned for his strict, resolute, and autonomous leadership, adamantly refusing to allow his people's militants or the northern Iroquois warriors to draw him into conflict. Even when the English undermined the strength of the hostile Tuscarora, Blount and his Tuskarora did not yield to panic or flight. Those who voiced opposition against the English were directed by him to cease disturbing his people and to focus on their own affairs. He dutifully fulfilled the stipulations of the 1713 treaty, which necessitated an annual ceremonial visit to the Governor to present his tribute of deer skins each spring. As per Dr. Brickell's records, during one visit, Blount, as the most influential of the three kings, donned a suit of English broadcloth,

blue women's stockings with white clocks, a reasonably good shirt, cravat, shoes, and a hat. His entourage included his Queen, children, physician, war captain, and guards. Even though the exact date of Blount's birth and his age are unknown, the appointment of a new Tuskarora King in 1739 suggests the approximate time of his demise. Blount served as the King/Wiroan of the northern branch of the Tuskarora Nation of Moratoc Indians in eastern North Carolina for over twenty years. He witnessed his people subjected to the aggressive incursions of predominantly English European migrants into his ancestral lands. Many Indians lost their lives in battle or were enslaved. Blount and his Tuskarora adapted as necessary to survive in their rapidly transforming world, and their descendants today attest to their resilience and continuity. The Northern and Southern Tuskarora were once formidable forces, but warfare, mortality, and members' migration northward and southward drastically diminished their numbers. Blount and his Tuskarora were expelled from their expansive, undefined territory, with the remaining tribal members relocated to a 53,000-acre reserve along the Moratoc River. Despite Blount's efforts to cooperate with colonial leaders, the Tuskarora's way of life and culture were largely eradicated. Blount and his Tuskarora followers fell victim to the global expansion and imperialistic control of the British Empire, characterized by colonization beginning in the sixteenth century. William Blount, who would have succeeded King Tom Blount in May 1731 if not for accusations of theft from South Carolina, was King Tom's "intended" successor. While William and James were both sons of King Tom, it appears that James ascended to the throne in 1739. Later, William Blount and Chief Billy Pugh acquired land in the Bladen Precinct, marking the onset of the Tuskarora's southern migration into North Carolina under the supervision of Governor Gabriel Johnston. In 1735, tension continued to simmer between the Indians and the neighboring white settlers. Governor Gabriel Johnston of Bladen County made a trip to the Tuskarora's "Indian Town" in March. During his visit, the Indians raised concerns about the local white populace selling rum to tribe members, insinuating that alcohol consumption was hindering the Indians in their daily activities. The tribe further informed Johnston about being denied their hunting rights, an essential practice for their sustenance on their lands. They were also hindered from using white-operated ferries across local waterways as they were charged higher than white passengers, and often outright denied service. Exhibit 94

In October 1736, a claim was lodged stating that the Tuskarora Indians were in debt to Susanna Everard for £203 in dressed deerskin. Consequently, the governor's council renewed the appointments of Robert West and John Spiers as Indian commissioners and appointed two new ones, Thomas Whitmell and John Gray, both justices of peace from Bertie. The council tasked these four commissioners with ensuring that traders refrain from extending credit to the Indians in the future. Exhibit 95

Around the same period, grievances were voiced by residents of Beaufort and Bertie precincts. They reported the Indians burning their lands, hunting around their plantations, and causing harm to their livestock. The residents stated that the Indians were claiming a gubernatorial hunting license as their justification. In response, Governor Johnston rescinded all hunting licenses issued to the Indians and instructed them not to hunt near the white plantations. Exhibit 96

On September 6, 1737, Governor Johnston, living in Bladen County, intended to establish a clergy institution in Bladen. Yet, civil disagreements with the House of Commons stalled his

plans. To help advance his agenda, he summoned mostly impoverished men from the towns of Bath and New Bern. Exhibit 97

Green's Path, a primary route for settlers migrating from Virginia to the inner coastal plains of North Carolina, was heavily utilized during the second and third quarters of the 18th century. This route ran southwest, nestled between the Western and Eastern Tuskarora Trading Paths and paralleling both. As depicted on Collet's 1770 map of the colony (a work primarily attributed to William Churton reflecting information gathered circa 1764), Green's Path was a path beginning from Surrey and Brunswick Counties in Virginia, leading into North Carolina, and crossing the Roanoke River at Eaton's Ferry. From there, it headed south-southwest into present-day western Nash County and then eastern Johnston County. Here, it took a southwestern turn, crossing the Lower Little River at the old Cumberland County Courthouse at Chafferington. The path continued towards Cross Creek, intersecting an east-west path that connected the Western Trading Path at the head of the Rocky River with the Eastern Trading Path near the Tuskarora village, "Nahunta." It then converged with a road leading south-southeast along the western edge of the Cape Fear River towards settlements in Bladen and Robeson County. (see Diagram 1J, 1775 North Carolina Map)

Edgecombe County court documents from the 1730s and 1740s mention individuals using "John Green's Path" to traverse from Contentnea Creek to the Tar River and further upstream to the Western Trading Path. These records also document a family's journey via Green's Path from Edgecombe County to South Carolina and Georgia. These accounts presumably reference the same path, likely named after John Green, who, along with his family, migrated from Virginia to the Roanoke River settlements around 1715. They then moved to the Tar River around 1730 and eventually to Bladen County (now Robeson) around 1740. None of the initial routes of Green's Path seems to have been preserved in the current road network of the state. However, the route heading south-southeast along the western side of the Cape Fear River, from Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville) through Elizabethtown to Wilmington, largely seems to have survived as State Highway 87. (see Diagram 6B part 1-2)

In early March 1739, Tuskarora Nation members requested the colonial authorities to permit them to elect a King Sachem. The governor's council gave them the green light to conduct an election on the third Tuesday of June 1739, instructing the tribe to inform Governor Gabriel Johnston of their choice for his approval. Exhibit 98 It is assumed that tribal members selected James Blount, despite earlier references to William Blount as the anticipated King. Clearly, there was a strong relationship between Governor Johnston and the Tuskarora, enabling the tribe, with Johnston's consent, to navigate their rapidly shifting world and later relocate southwards, using John Green's Path, close to Johnston's residence in Bladen County. The Blount brothers, James and William, grew up during a transformative era for the Moratoc Indians. They learned to operate both traditional bow and arrows and the newer firearms; the buckskin and hemp attire of their grandparents gave way to manufactured clothing; the deer they hunted became more prized for its skin in trade than as a source of food. The introduction of alcohol, domesticated animals, slave labor, and new concepts of property division radically reshaped the cultural environment of the Tuskarora Nation of Moratoc Indians. Amid these changes, the Tuskarora leaders were hoping to secure better lands to maintain their traditional way of life as Indians, and Bladen County appeared to be a promising option.

By the spring of 1741, the Tuskarora had been confined to the lands assigned to them in Bertie County (formerly a Precinct) for nearly twenty-five years. Curiously, the limits of the reservation had never been accurately demarcated. On April 2, 1741, the governor's council instructed the province's surveyor to determine the boundaries of the Tuskarora territory. Precise boundaries were crucial to prevent intrusions and conflicts with the white settlers living in proximity to the reservation. The surveyor was tasked to submit a descriptive plat, or "return", to be officially recorded in the secretary's office and endorsed with the official seal. A copy of this was to be given to the Tuskarora. Exhibit 99 Despite the council's order, the boundaries were not conclusively established. The General Assembly would revisit the issue in legislation seven years later.

In June 1746, a letter from the Indian Commission of New York discovered in colonial archives asked members of the separate state Commission of Indian Affairs to negotiate a treaty with the Six Nations, inviting them to join a war alliance against the French and their allied Indian tribes. The interpreter met with the four main Sachems of each nation at Onondaga, and within four days, he received the following response; ["They said, After they had fought against one another all the last war, they, at last, concluded a peace with their Enemies which they were still resolved to maintain with those in alliance with them, that it was very hard for them to enter into a War, the Indians of the Six nations and the French Indians all spring of our Blood, they had made marriages and Alliances with one another, it was much easier for the white people to go to war than they, the Kings of the white people make war and conclude peace and the subjects must obey but "they had no King" so that if they should enter into war against one another the war would continue forever, whereupon they refused to take up the Hatchet with the English or to have anything to do with the war against the French & French Indians. They desired the Governour would not think this their refusal makes any breach in the Covenant Chain for in their former wars all their Castles had been cut off by the French, and that they had often applied for assistance but had none. The Mohawks only accepted, and they did not look upon that as a breach of the Covenant Chain. The Interpreter represented to them the Conditions of the Covenant Chain and that they had taken up the Hatchet when His Excellency the Governour was last at Albany and promised to make use of it when the Governour ordered them, but notwithstanding this and several other things the Interpreter then mentioned to them, they absolutely refused to have anything to do in the war with the English against the French & French Indians."] Exhibit 100

On March 29, 1743, a group of Palatines led by Jacob Sheets, who were settled at Neuse by Baron de Graffenried, expressed their agreement with the Baron and requested that titles be granted to them. Their request was driven by the desire to secure their landholdings or to ensure their possession was recognized. However, during this session, Cullen Pollock's Council presented a patent belonging to Pollock's late father, Thomas Pollock Esq., for a substantial plot of land at Neuse. When this patent was read, it became clear to the Council that it encompassed the Palatine lands, leading to the dismissal of the suit. A proclamation by the Council on November 6, 1714, revealed that despite the disappointment and extreme hardship caused by the war, the Palatines had managed to survive. Yet, no action seemed to have been taken immediately. In 1747, the Palatines sent another petition, this time to the Lord of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs. Though the justice process was slow, on March 16, 1748, His

Majesty commanded Governor Johnston to provide the settlers with an equivalent of the lands from which they had been evicted, exempt from quit rent for a decade. Two years later, they were resettled in the areas now known as Craven, Jones, Onslow, and Duplin counties. Around September 29-30, 1748, colonial records indicate the decision to form a new county, Anson, out of Bladen. Around this time, William (Blunt) Blount, presumed to be the "son" of King Tom Blount, obtained 200 acres in Bladen County. Exhibit 101

This acquisition initiated the Tuskarora's migration into Bladen County (soon to become Robeson), provoked by encroachments on their reservation and interference with their hunting rights that significantly affected the Indians' economic lifestyle. A debt of gratitude is due to Governor Gabriel Johnston, who perceived the harsh treatment of the Indians and possibly assisted in addressing some of their grievances. These included obstacles to hunting and the misuse of alcohol, often exploited in land sale discussions to coax the Indians into giving up their property at a reduced price. This frequently resulted in disputes as the Indians, often too inebriated, couldn't recall selling their land. On October 1, 1748, King James Blount submitted a petition to the governor's council representing the Tuskarora Nation. Although colonial records do not disclose the specifics of the petition, the council deemed it of sufficient importance to be presented to the General Assembly for deliberation. Exhibit 102 Blount's appeal probably pertained to English inhabitants trespassing on Tuskarora lands, and the urgent need to have the reservation boundaries explicitly delineated to ensure protection, especially when the warriors were aiding the English.

In October 1748, the General Assembly enacted a law to determine the boundaries of the Bertie County reservation while Tuskarora warriors were absent, engaging in missions to assist the English. At the very least, a few Tuskarora remained to occupy the reservation. The law aimed to deter further encroachments by English inhabitants onto the Indians' lands. The act was to remain in force for as long as any of the Indians resided on and inhabited the land. Over three decades of constant complaints and appeals from the Indians to colonial authorities had not curtailed transgressions by the Indians' white neighbors. The legislation confirmed and assured that the lands allotted to the Tuskarora Indians, "by solemn Treaty," situated on the Moratoc River in Bertie County, were granted to James Blount, chief of the Tuskarora Nation. The law outlined the general borders of the plot, beginning at the mouth of Quitsna Swamp, extending up the swamp for 430 poles (1.34 miles) to the head of the swamp by a significant spring, then running north ten degrees east for 850 poles (2.65 miles) to Roquist Swamp, and then following the swamp's and pocosin's main course north fifty-seven degrees west for 2,640 poles (8.25 miles) to the east side of Falling Run or Deep Creek, down the various courses of the run/creek to Moratoc River, and then down the river. George Gould, the Surveyor-General of the province, had recently demarcated and marked these boundaries. The law stated that those who had previously secured land grants within the Indian lands' boundaries could reclaim the lands if the Indians abandoned or vacated them. (This legislation provides the English with an avenue to formulate a plan to expel the Tuskarora from the "Indian woods" reservation). As long as the Indians continued to inhabit the reservation, quit rents would not be applicable to any granted lands within it. Moreover, the law unequivocally specified that no person, for any form of compensation (money or otherwise), was permitted to purchase or lease any land claimed by or in possession of any Indian. All land sales from the Tuskarora to other parties were deemed null and void and without any effect. Furthermore, those who purchased land from the Tuskarora

Indians were mandated to "forfeit" £10 for each one hundred acres bought. Additionally, all non-Indians living within the defined bounds of the Indian lands were to vacate these lands by March 25, 1749. Those failing to comply, or who moved onto Indian lands were to face a fine of twenty shillings for each day of occupation. Lastly, the law declared that non-Indians who had livestock (such as horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs) grazing on Indian lands would be liable to the same penalties and forfeitures as if the animals were on a white person's land. Exhibit 103

On December 24, 1748, a Tuskarora Indian named Thomas Kersey sold 100 acres of land on the south side of the Meherrin River to Thomas Parker. By the 1750s, the Tuskarora Indians living in Bertie County faced significant hardships to sustain their existence, soon to start a gradual migration to the lower part of North Carolina, in Bladen County. (see Diagram 1J, Old Tuskarora Trading Path; Diagram 6B, part 1-2)

The population of the Indians had sharply declined since the 1710s, living in destitution. Their relationship with their English neighbors was strained—the English showed them "great contempt". In the early fall of 1752, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg of the Moravian Church of North Carolina visited the Tuskarora Indians along the Roanoke (Moratoc) River. Accompanying the bishop during the trip was Thomas Whitmell, an interpreter (and Indian commissioner). Spangenberg observed that the Indians had no king, just a captain, chosen by the English from among them. Certain Indians on the reservation were considered as "chiefs." The number of Indians residing on the land was reportedly "small," and Spangenberg described them as "very poor." He pointed out that they were "oppressed by the whites," but they highly respected Thomas Whitmell, their advocate. The bishop also noted that the local white citizens feared the Tuskarora. ["It is difficult when people live alone in the woods about here; they are in danger of getting into unpleasant relations with the Indians."] Spangenberg attributed the tense relations between the English and the Indians to the war forty years prior. He noted, ["North Carolina waged war with the Indians, in time the latter became worsted & in consequence lost their land. This created a bad feeling not only among those tribes immediately concerned but with all the rest. This feeling of animosity will not speedily die out." No efforts had been made to Christianize the Tus[k]arora."] It was also recorded that the Tuskarora allied with the Six Nations against the Catawba, suffering greatly as a result. ["They (Tuskarora) gave us a message to the Catawbas (not knowing that they had made peace with the Six Nations) should we see them, "that there were enough young men among them who knew the way to the Catawba Town. They could come and go there in 20 days; that they had remained very quiet and not molested the Catawbas except to hunt a little, and they should remain quiet as long as the Catawbas did. Should they, however, become troublesome, the way to the Catawba Town could soon be found." "Tis worthy of remark that the conduct of the Indians here is quite different from that in Pennsylvania. There the Indians are not feared at all unless they are drunk. Here they conduct themselves in such a way that the whites are afraid of them."] Exhibit 104

Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg of the Moravian Church, in Volume 5 pages 1-14 of Colonial Records, spoke of the condition of the Native Americans in North Carolina as being "heartrending." He added, ["The tribe of Chowans is reduced to a few families. Their land has been taken away from them. The Tus[k]aroras live about 35 miles from here & are still in possession of a fine tract of land. They are a remnant of that tribe that waged war with N.C.; & then took refuge with the 5 Nations & became incorporated with them. Those that have remained

here are treated with great contempt & will probably soon be entirely exterminated.”] From these details, it can be inferred that the white settlers were universally supportive of systematically displacing the Tuskarora, and other Native tribes, from their lands. They aimed to impoverish the people to leverage their land for their own economic advancement. The lands once occupied by the Indians were seen as fertile grounds for white settlements; perfect for cultivating various crops and constructing mills near springs, given the observed advantage that this water "never freezes". [Exhibit 105](#)

Thomas Whitmell, who purportedly became one of Bertie County's wealthiest men, sustained an intimate relationship with the Tuskarora Indians. His frequent trade interactions with them contributed significantly to his wealth. He was fluent in their language and owned land within the Tuskarora reservation boundaries, even residing on the reservation at one point (Bertie County Deed Book L-208; "Abstract of Bertie County Wills: Will of Thomas Pugh".) On October 26, 1769, he sold a five hundred acre parcel of land "within the Indian line" to John Allen. This tract was located near Quitsna and Chewatock Swamps. Allen paid £50 for the land. Furthermore, a location known as "Whitmell's Island" was situated on the reservation. An indication of Whitmell's respected relationship with the Indians was that the chief and headman of the Bertie County Tuskarora in 1778 was named Whitmell Tuffdick, likely named in honor of Thomas Whitmell. [Exhibit 106](#)

King James Blount, contravening the 1748 law that aimed to prevent English encroachment on Tuskarora lands, secretly leased a portion of the reservation land to John McCaskey Sr. of Martin County sometime between the law's enactment and early 1753. Upon discovering the lease, tribal members appealed to the governor's council on March 29, 1753, seeking resolution. The council tasked Thomas Whitmell, William Taylor, and John Hill to investigate the issue and report their findings back to the council. In May, the three men met with McCaskey and the Indians, during which McCaskey admitted leasing the land from the Indian King. [Exhibit 107](#)

On May 9, 1753, Tuskarora Chief William Billy Pugh, known for signing the Tuskarora woods land leases, received a land grant for 500 acres in the county of Bladen which is now Robeson in the fork of the Saddletree swamp (near Lumberton) in the east side of the drowning creek. This land grant was signed by Matthew Rowan, who was obviously involved with the Tuskaroras that were participating in the wars and migrating to Bladen County. [Exhibit 108](#) This event signifies that numerous Tuskarora were gradually migrating to the southern regions of North Carolina.

Contradicting Elias Johnson's legends that the Seneca were the first to accept the northern-migrating Tuscarora into their alliance, Col. (later Sir) William Johnson, in his address to the Oneida at Mount Johnson on September 8, 1753, referenced older, more accepted traditions among the tribes. He advised, "Brethren of Oneida. * * * My best advice is to have your castles as near together as you conveniently can with the Tuscaroras, who belong to you as children, and the Scanihaderadighroones, lately come into your alliance or families, which makes it necessary for me to fix a new string to the cradle which was hung up by your forefathers when they received the Tuscaroras, * * * to feed and protect" (Hodge 847).

In response to King James Blount's violation, Whitmell, Taylor, and Hill, backed by the authority granted by the governor's council, commanded McCaskey to relinquish his claim to the leased land as it contravened the 1748 law. When McCaskey contested this ruling, he was summoned before the council on September 26, 1753. After considering the report from Whitmell, Taylor, and Hill and hearing McCaskey's appeal, the council instructed him to "remove his possessions" from the Indians' territory. Exhibit 109

In 1753, Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie, alarmed by French encroachment on this area, dispatched Major George Washington on his renowned mission to demand their withdrawal. After their refusal, Dinwiddie directed Washington to seize and fortify the juncture where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers merge to form the Ohio. However, before Washington could accomplish this, a formidable force of French soldiers forced him to retreat and established Fort Duquesne on his chosen site. This event marked the onset of the crucial war that would determine North America's ruling power. The French had a distinct advantage over the English. Their settlements primarily served as military outposts, staffed by well-trained soldiers, fully armed with superior weaponry, and led by seasoned officers. The English colonies, contrastingly, were communities focused on industry and agriculture, fundamentally pacifist and largely unprepared for warfare. North Carolina epitomized this situation. Despite suffering defeat, coastal ravaging, and town looting during the recent Spanish War, both its governor and populace seemed to have forgotten these harsh lessons. Its vast frontier lacked fort protection, and funds allocated for coastal defenses remained largely unused. Notable locations such as Ocracoke, Lookout, or Topsail Inlet had no fortifications. At Cape Fear, Fort Johnston was incomplete and severely undermanned. The state of offensive readiness was similarly dire. On paper, the militia boasted over 15,000 infantry and 400 cavalry. However, due to prolonged neglect, its organization had collapsed. President Rowan lamented in 1753 that the militia had decayed due to Governor Johnston's inertia. One of Governor Dobbs' initial actions upon taking office in 1754 was to demand a militia return, revealing alarming results. Each of the twenty-two counties was expected to maintain a fully organized regiment.

Despite the disdainful, and sometimes retaliatory attitudes displayed towards the Tuskarora by their white neighbors, North Carolina lawmakers tried to persuade the Bertie County Indians to join state troops in aiding Virginia during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). When the French sent Virginia's expedition to the Ohio Valley back in 1754, Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie called upon the governors of the other British colonies for assistance.

While the American colonies were somewhat insulated from the nations of Europe, they were continually exposed to external diplomatic and military influences. Particularly, Spain and France were consistently poised to capitalize on any signs of British vulnerability in America to advance their commercial and territorial ambitions on the North American mainland. The French and Indian War, also known as the Great War for the Empire, was just another chapter in a century of conflict between the major European powers. The wars of King William (1689–97), Queen Anne (1702–13), and King George (1744–48; the American stage of the War of the Austrian Succession) were all marked by English and French competition for Indian allegiances, territorial claims north of the North American colonies, access to trade in the Northwest, and commercial dominance in the West Indies.

France typically received assistance from Spain in most of these confrontations. Given Spain's own territories immediately south and west of the British colonies and in the Caribbean, Spain recognized the advantages of aligning with the French to curb British expansion. The culmination of these enduring conflicts occurred in 1754 with the Great War for the Empire. Contrary to prior North American battles between Great Britain and France, which had largely been regional events with American colonists shouldering much of the combat for the British, the Great War for the Empire saw significant commitments of British troops to America. Under William Pitt's strategy, Britain allowed their ally, Prussia, to bear the majority of the European conflict, thus freeing Britain to focus its troops on America.

William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, (15 November 1708 – 11 May 1778), was a Whig group British statesman who served as the Prime Minister of Great Britain during the mid-18th century. Pitt is renowned as Britain's wartime political leader during the Seven Years' War, particularly for his resolute determination to triumph over France, a victory that ultimately consolidated Britain's global supremacy. Despite being outnumbered 15 to 1 by the British colonial population in America, the French were still well-prepared to defend their interests. Their military organization in America was more substantial than the English's; their troops were better trained; and they had more success in forming military alliances with the Indians.

Another significant faction in this struggle for North American control were the American Indians. Contemporary historians have reimagined the encounters between Native Americans and Europeans, rejecting the dated narrative of 'New World discoverers' finding a 'wilderness' inhabited by 'savages.' Instead, they see a story of cultural interaction, with the better-armed Europeans eventually subduing the local population. This did not occur without each side adopting practices and techniques from the other and certainly did not follow any uniform strategy.

The English approach to colonization in North America differed significantly from the Spanish and French. Spain maintained its expansive Southwest empire by deploying scattered garrisons and missions to control and 'productively' employ the Indians. The French in Canada viewed 'their' Indians primarily as fur gatherers, allowing them to retain de facto possession of extensive forest areas. The English colonies, in what would eventually become their advantage, promoted the immigration of an agricultural population that would necessitate exclusive use of large tracts of land for farming—land that would need to be procured from native populations who were the original inhabitants. English colonial officials initially sought to acquire land through purchases, but such transactions tended to disadvantage the Indians, who had no traditional concept of group or individual 'ownership' of natural resources. After a 'sale' was finalized with Indian representatives (who were not always the 'owners' of what they relinquished), the Indians were astonished to learn they had surrendered their hunting and fishing rights, and settlers assumed an absolute sovereignty unrecognized in Native American culture.

As time passed, conflict was an inevitable outcome. During the early days of colonization, instances of Indian-European collaboration were not uncommon. An example was the aid provided by King Tom Blount and his Tuskarora to Alexander Spotswood and Thomas Pollock to assist the settlers of the Virginia/Carolina Colony. Another instance was the somewhat diplomatic marriage of Virginia's John Rolfe to Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. The

Native Americans taught the newcomers survival techniques suited to their new environment and in turn quickly adopted items like metal utensils, European fabrics, and most notably, firearms. However, they struggled to counteract two European advantages—the possession of a common written language and a modern system of exchange. As a result, most land purchases from the Indians by colonial officials often devolved into thinly veiled seizures of territory.

European colonization drastically reshaped the demographic landscape and distribution of Native Americans from North Carolina to Pennsylvania by 1754. The Delawares (also known as Lenapes) were largely dispossessed from the river valley that once served as their homeland. Despite losing their claim to the Lehigh Valley through the Walking Purchase (1737), some Delawares continued to reside in the area under the care of Moravian missions, while others lived in small towns in central and southern New Jersey. Many Delawares migrated into the Susquehanna Valley and the Ohio-Allegheny region, which colonists referred to as the "Ohio country". Furthermore, Indians from the northern Chesapeake Bay and North Carolina migrated into the Susquehanna Valley during the early eighteenth century. By the 1740s, two Indian towns with diverse populations—Conestoga in Lancaster County and Shamokin at the confluence of the north and west branches of the Susquehanna (present-day Sunbury)—became significant centers in Pennsylvania's Indian relations. Further west, Delawares who settled in the Ohio country were joined by Shawnees and Senecas, who were likewise attracted to the area by its abundant resources. Consequently, on the brink of the Seven Years' War, Pennsylvania's Native American population comprised several groups that had already borne the brunt of colonization. By migrating into the Susquehanna and Ohio regions, where they integrated with one another, these groups established new homelands and forged new alliances to protect them (Shannon).

These newly claimed native homelands were threatened from multiple fronts. Agents acting on behalf of the Penn family and Connecticut's Susquehanna Company secured land purchases with the Iroquois Indians of New York. The Iroquois ceded substantial portions of western Pennsylvania, but they did so without the consent of the Indians who resided there. Land speculators from Virginia and the Penn family were in a race to stake their claim on the Ohio country, both seeking assistance from the Iroquois of New York. Meanwhile, the French sought to reinforce their control over the region by constructing forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. The Pennsylvania frontier was plunged into war in July 1755 when a British army led by General Edward Braddock was defeated by a French and Indian coalition at the Monongahela River. Delawares and Shawnees, aided by the French at Fort Duquesne (modern Pittsburgh), launched raids on frontier communities, extending from northwestern New Jersey through the Lehigh Valley to the Juniata River. They took captives, slaughtered livestock, and killed inadequately defended settlers. In response, the government of Pennsylvania introduced scalp bounties, spurring indiscriminate retaliations against all Indians within the colony's borders (Shannon).

The involvement of Indians in colonial affairs had significant repercussions, particularly in the Franco-British battle for Canada. The French relied on the Huron people, settled around the Great Lakes, for furs. However, the Iroquois Confederacy, located in western New York and southern Ontario, managed to defeat the Hurons and drove their allies, the Susquehannocks and the Delawares, southward into Pennsylvania. This strategic move shifted a portion of the fur trade from French Montreal and Quebec City to British Albany and New York City, thereby indebting the British to the Iroquois. While both Indians and colonists frequently invoked the

memory of William Penn in their treaty negotiations, Penn's Quaker-inspired vision of a peaceful kingdom in Pennsylvania remained unrealized. The deterioration in relations was fueled by the Penn family's unquenchable desire for Indian lands, the militarization of Pennsylvania's frontier post-1754, the relentless influx of settlers encroaching on Indian territories, and the interference of imperial officials and land speculators from other colonies in Pennsylvania's Indian affairs. Most significantly, after 1754, the complex ethnic identities within Pennsylvania coalesced into two distinct and polarized racial categories: white and Indian. Europeans enacted policies that excluded natives from the Pennsylvania commonwealth, while the natives, attempting to withstand the relentless onslaught of colonization, concluded that their best option was to move out of the reach of their European neighbors (Shannon).

Aware of escalating tensions with France in 1754 and their potential to trigger violence, the British government authorized colonial governors to "draw forth the armed force of the Province, and... to repel Force by Force" — but sternly instructed them not to instigate aggression. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, interpreting his instructions liberally, construed the French's refusal to accede to his demands as an act of force. North Carolina was the only one to answer his call for assistance. The state had a militia comprising citizens trained to combat potential attacks on the colony — but the militia was in disarray, incapable of functioning within the colony, let alone outside it. An uprising among the Indian population in 1754 significantly disrupted the normal course of commercial life. When Governor Arthur Dobbs arrived from England, he found the colony embroiled in conflict with the local tribes. Conditions across the colony were dismal. Upon calling for the militia, Edgecombe reported a force of 1,317 men. Around a hundred Tuskarora warriors, along with about two hundred women and children, were still located on the Roanoke (Moratoc) River in Bertie and Edgecombe. In the west, in Granville County, resided the Saponi, with only fourteen men and fourteen women (Turner and Bridgers 34).

Edgecombe, once a vast Tuskarora territory with various settlements, including King Tom Blount's upper town of "Uneroy" and his lower town of "Ucohuerunt" witnessed the enlistment of Tuskarora names such as Thomas Kersey and Randolph Locklear in its militia. In due course, these Tuskarora would serve under the command of a largely forgotten figure in North Carolina's history, General Hugh Waddell. Exhibit 110

In 1754, Hugh Waddell was dispatched to Virginia under the leadership of Colonel James Innes, who was the commander-in-chief of all colonial forces in Virginia, operating under the governor of the state, Robert Dinwiddie. Despite seeing no combat and being promoted to the rank of captain, Waddell returned to North Carolina in late 1754. Here, the early stage of the war that would later shape his career as a commander saw him managing the construction, maintenance, and staffing of Fort Dobbs, located near present-day Statesville, North Carolina. Born circa 1734 in Lisburn, County Down, Ireland, Hugh Waddell was the son of Hugh and Isabella Brown Waddell, who were of Scotch-Irish descent. The exact date of his birth remains unknown. Waddell, having close ties with aristocrat Arthur Dobbs of County Antrim, who was the newly appointed Governor of North Carolina, journeyed to the colonies around 1753 or 1754 and joined the service of acting Governor Matthew Rowan as a lieutenant. Waddell would later represent Rowan County in the North Carolina Legislature at various points, although he mainly resided in Bladen County and Brunswick County. In Rowan's letter to the Board of Trade, one of

the key issues he discusses involves the Indians in the region, particularly the tribes of the Cattaboes and Tuskarora Indians. He criticizes Mr. Johnston for letting the local militia decay due to his indolence then and details his own efforts to restructure the military force by forming a foot regiment in each of the Province's twenty-two counties and creating nine troops of horse with the intention of forming eight more. He also believes these will be beneficial in the event of a sudden attack. Rowan refers to a recent incident involving the Governor of South Carolina, Mr. Glen. Glen had issued orders preventing white men from settling within thirty miles of the town of the Cattaboes, and even asked those already settled within this boundary to relocate. According to Rowan, this decision affects at least five hundred families of white settlers who hold the King's Patents, signifying their right to the land. He suggests that this action by Governor Glen is unfair, particularly when compared to the treatment of the Tuskarora Indians and mentions that the Tuskaroras, who are as numerous as the Cattaboes, are satisfied with the ten thousand acres of land allocated to them. His mention of these tribes indicates that issues of land rights, territorial boundaries, and the interactions between the colonists and Native American tribes are significant concerns currently. While Rowan does not discuss any direct negotiations or conflicts with the Indians in this letter, it is clear that their presence and territorial claims are a central part of colonial considerations and politics. Exhibit 111

Rowan, who served as interim governor until Arthur Dobbs could journey from England, requested the assembly to establish a permanent military regiment of 750 men. The assembly consented, but the colony's resources only permitted the support of 450 men. The North Carolina Regiment, commanded by James Innes, set out for Virginia at a gradual pace. The plan was to join forces with Virginia's troops at Fort Cumberland on the Potomac River. However, they arrived on July 5th, two days after the Virginian troops, led by the youthful 22-year-old George Washington, had already suffered a defeat by the French at Great Meadows. Washington then hastily proceeded to Wills Creek, where he later established Fort Cumberland, a significant 140 miles from Fort Duquesne. Over the summer, both the North Carolina and Virginia forces slowly disintegrated as desertions increased and men returned home. After experiencing no warfare, James Innes finally disbanded the regiment, choosing to stay behind to fortify the position and prepare for a subsequent assault on the French. He waited for General Braddock to initiate an attack on Fort Duquesne, but such an attack never materialized. In October 1754, a meeting took place in Williamsburg between Governor Dinwiddie, Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland, and Governor Dobbs to develop plans for a coordinated assault on Fort Duquesne. Dobbs presented these plans to his Assembly in December, requesting both manpower and funding for their implementation. The Assembly responded by authorizing two companies, one consisting of 100 men for service in Virginia and another of fifty men to serve on the North Carolina frontier. On December 19, 1754, Governor Arthur Dobbs penned a letter to the Board of Trade, discussing the recurring issue of settlers preventing Tuskarora Indians from hunting on their lands. To alleviate the Tuskarora's grievances, presents were given as a gesture indicating the colonists' intent to coexist harmoniously with the Indians. This was also intended to assure the Indians that they could enjoy the same rights as the colonists. The aim was to incorporate more Indians into the governance system, creating a stronghold against potential adversaries. Due to the colony's recent financial hardship, quit rents had to be increased, a move necessary to finance the gifts for the Indians who were aligned with the British. Exhibit 112

North Carolina was in the process of amassing power for their impending confrontation against the French. This power would be drawn from the remaining white settlers and Indians in each of the newly established Counties. A 1754 report, lacking specific dates, detailed the following military and Indian populations in each County:

Beaufort— Colonel Barrow's Regiment: 7 Companies, 587 men. No Indian presence.

Bertie— Colonel Robert West's Regiment: 8 Companies, 720 men, plus 44 Troop Tuskeruro Indians (100 men, 201 women, and children), totaling 301 individuals.

Bladen— Colonel Rutherford's Regiment: 441 foot soldiers, 36 horsemen, and a newly recommended company under James Kerr. No armories, stores or Indian settlements were reported in the county.

Carteret— Colonel Thomas Lovick's Regiment: 2 companies totaling 209 individuals. No arms, ammunition, or Indian presence.

Chowan— Colonel Craven's Regiment: 7 Companies, totaling 652 men. A single Chowan Indian Nation was reported with only 7 members.

Currituck— Colonel Shergold's Regiment: 5 companies, totaling 345 individuals.

Duplin— Captain Frederick Greggs Troop: 39 men. No arms.

Edgecombe— Colonel John Haywood's Regiment: 14 companies, 1317 men. No Indian presence or armories.

Granville— Colonel William Eaton's Regiment: 8 companies, 734 men, and a small Saponi population of around 24-28 individuals.

Hyde— Colonel Sinclair's Regiment: 4 companies, 252 individuals.

Johnston— Colonel De Rosset's Regiment: 10 companies and a Troop of Horses, 893 men. No Indian presence.

New Hanover— Colonel Wm Dry's Regiment: 5 companies, 508 men. No Indian presence or armories.

Northampton— Colonel John Dawson's Regiment: 7 companies, 739 men. The Meherrin Indian tribe had around 708 fighting men.

Onslow— Colonel John Starkey's Regiment: 4 companies, 352 men. No Indian presence or armories.

Orange— Alexander McCullough had resigned his Commission and John Gray was recommended as Colonel.

Pasquotank— Colonel Rt Murdens's Regiment: 590 men. No arms or Indian presence.

Perquimans— Colonel John Russell's Regiment: 3 companies, 379 men. No arms, ammunition, or Indian presence. 150 Quakers were part of the militia.

Tyrrell— Captain Evan Jones' Regiment: 5 companies, 337 men. No arms, ammunition, or Indian presence. Exhibit 113

Unidentified Indian attacks on the North Carolina frontier had heightened settlers' apprehensions. Convinced that the French were encouraging their allies to terrorize and annihilate the settlers, Governor Dobbs called upon North Carolinians to resist. He urged the provincial assembly, emphasizing the importance of proving themselves as loyal British subjects, renowned for defending their treasured faith and freedoms. The assembly voted to not only send troops back to the Ohio Valley but to raise a company to guard the colony's own frontier. Commanding this frontier company was Hugh Waddell, a young man who had arrived in North Carolina just two years prior at the age of 19 and had previously served as a lieutenant in Innes' North Carolina Regiment. Between December 12th and 30th in 1754, the Lower House of the General Assembly started drafting rules concerning the trade with Native American tribes. They intended to enhance British colonial commerce beyond the mountain ranges, focusing on deepening ties with Indian Nations not yet assimilated into colonial culture. The British sought to secure more allies for expanding trade with neighboring Indian communities, thereby strengthening bonds against the French. Meanwhile, the French were steadily erecting forts within certain British colony borders, earning the trust of the local Indian populations who were perceived as a menace to the British settlements. While the General Assembly convened, they were working to ensure the comfort of the Tuskarora, who were aiding the English, during their stay at New Bern. Thomas Whitmell, Francis Pugh, and William Williams agreed to provide resources to the Tuskaroras and other Native American peoples to enhance their support for the British colonies. Exhibit 114

John Armstrong submitted a land petition for a region in Tuscarora Valley, situated on the Juniata River, Pennsylvania, approximately six miles from the Tuscarora Creek mouth. The Native American inhabitants residing there were referred to as Lakens; Armstrong secured this land on February 3, 1755. On the same day, George Armstrong received a warrant for land on the southern side of Tuscarora Creek, "opposite the Laken (or Lacken) Indian settlement." This suggests that, at least locally, this band of Tuscarora was known as Lakens or Lackens (McPherson 187).

Meanwhile, back in North Carolina, a 50-man company led by Hugh Waddell set out towards the newly formed county of Rowan in the summer of 1755. Their initial mission, in coordination with Governor Arthur Dobbs, was to "identify an appropriate and central location for wintering, build a Barrack there, and if suitable, construct a Fort." By July's end, Dobbs and Waddell had selected their site and initiated the building of what would later be known as Fort Dobbs. Fort Dobbs played a significant and distinct role in the French and Indian War. It functioned as a military barracks, a fortified shelter, a provision depot for troops, and a negotiation hub with Indians. The fort had to fill all these roles as it was the lone military facility

between southern Virginia and South Carolina. Fort Dobbs also represented North Carolina's contribution to a chain of fortifications and military outposts that effectively marked the western boundary of British North America ("Fort Dobbs"). On December 13, 1755, Robert Dinwiddie communicated with Dobbs about gifts being dispatched to the Cherokee and Catawba tribes in return for their support against the French and their Indian allies. Dinwiddie mentioned that ["130 Cherokee were sent in August and Dinwiddie added 200 rangers to that number to help defend against the Shawnee."] The Shawnee, who were a formidable tribe at that time, had caused the most damage to the British colonies. The primary aim of the British was to broker peace and win back other Indian nations that had sided with the French. Exhibit 115

In 1756, Virginia's Lieutenant Governor, Robert Dinwiddie, enlisted Hugh Waddell to serve as a "Commissioner of Peace" to the Cherokee and Catawba tribes. Waddell, accompanied by his Tuskarora allies, represented North Carolina exclusively in these negotiations, which obtained the provisional support of these tribes against the French and their Indian partners. After Fort Dobbs was built in 1756, the Frontier Company started constructing a fort for the Catawbas in what is now Fort Mill, South Carolina. However, territorial disputes thwarted the completion of the fort, leading the Catawba tribe to request South Carolina to build it instead. On March 26, 1756, Arthur Dobbs wrote to Henry Fox about the Commissioners, Hugh Waddell and his team, and their mission to negotiate with the Cherokee and Catawba. He stated, ["The Commissioners I sent to join the Virginians who carried presents to the Cherokees and Catawbas are not yet returned but hope they will prevail with them to send a considerable body to join the Virginian forces, unless they should be prevented by Mr. Glen, in case Mr. Littleton don't arrive, as he has hitherto always prevented them. I send by order of General Shirley the 3 new raised companies to New York to serve on Ontario Lake, the most necessary operation to cut off the French from Ohio; and my Son's Company from Fort Cumberland I have ordered to join them, as the Genl desired I should send all I could that way, as I find the Virginians won't raise men enough to attack Fort Duquesne, besides they want to train for that purpose, so can only confine the Garrison and endeavour to destroy the Indians who have deserted us and distressed our Colonies, which with the assistance of our Southern Indians may I hope be accomplished. The Indians have given our Province no Disturbance, our frontier company (whites and Indians) and the neighbourhood of the Catawbas is our best Defense, for our Planters and the lower class here are indolent and inactive."] Exhibit 116

The Nottoway tribe, a smaller group located in southeastern Virginia, lived relatively close to the Tuskarora. A delegation from the Nottoway tribe had likely first arrived in Winchester in the early part of May and proceeded to Fort Cumberland by mid-May. In August 1756, George Washington dispatched "Captain Tom Step," a Nottoway Indian, carrying wampum and a formal address, to extend an invitation to the Tuskarora and other affiliated tribes to enlist in the Virginia ranks. Captain Tom Step managed to recruit around seventy warriors from the Nottoway, Tuskarora, and Meherrin tribes. Both Lt. Governor Robert Dinwiddie and Lt. Colonel Washington persuaded the Cherokee, Catawba, and Tuskarora to ally with Virginia and the Nottoway in their fight against the French. Washington valued their contribution as worth "more than twice their number of white men" in the forest-based combat of the frontier. Prior to their crippling conflict with the white Carolinians in 1711–13, the upper Tuskarora of Moratoc and lower Tuskarora of Mangoak were populous tribes residing in eastern North Carolina. Many survivors of that war migrated as far north as New York, and in 1722, the Tuskarora who had left

North Carolina joined the Iroquois Confederacy as the Sixth Nation. Those who stayed behind in North Carolina were led initially by King Tom Blount, then later by his son, James Blount (Blunt), who succeeded him as King. Captain Jack (John "Jack" Braveboy) was considered second in command to the aging (King James) Blount. It was to this residual group of Tuskarora Indians in Carolina that George Washington addressed his speech (Abbot 308-309).

“George Washington's Speech to the North Carolina Tuskarora Indians”
[Winchester, August 1, 1756]

To King [James] Blunt, Capt. Jack, and the rest of the Tuscorora Chiefs—Brothers, & Friends, This will be Deliverd you by our Brother Tom [Step], a Warrior of the Nottoways, who with others of that Nation, have distinguished themselves in our service this summer, against our Cruel and perfidious Enemys —The intent of this, is, to Assure you of our real Friendship and Love—and to confirm & Strengthen that chain of Friendship, which has subsisted between us for so many ages past, a Chain like ours, founded on Sincere Love, and Friendship, must be strong and lasting, and will I hope endure while Sun & Stars give Light.

Brothers, You can be no strangers to the many Murders & Cruelties, committed on our Country Men & Friends, by that False & Faithless people the French, who are constantly endeavouring to corrupt the minds of our Friendly Indians—and have Stirr'd up the Shawnese & Delawares, with severall other nations to take up the hatchet against us—And at the head of many of these Indians have invaded our Country, laid waste our lands, plunder'd our plantations, Murdered defenceless Women & Children, & Burn't & destroy'd wherever they came—which has enraged (our) Friends the Six Nations, Cherokees, Nottoways, Cattawbas, and all our Indian Alies, and prompted them to take up the Hatchet in our deffence, against these disturbers of the Common peace.

I hope, Brothers, you will likewise take up the Hatchet, against the French & their Indians, as our other Friends have done, and Send us some of your Young Men, to protect, our Frontiers, and go to War with us, against our restless and Ambitious Foes—And to encourage Your brave Warriors, I promise to furnish them wt. Arms, Ammunition, Cloths, provision, and every necessary for War, And the Sooner you Send them to our assistance, the greater mark will you give us of your Friendship—& the better shall we be Enabled to take just Revenge of their Cruelties.

May You Live Long, a happy & prosperous people, and may we act with mutual Love & Friendship—While Rivers run, or Trees grow—is the Sincere Wish, of Your Friend and Brother—

G.

In confirmation of the above, & in hopes of your Compliyance wt. my request, I give you this String of Wampum. Exhibit 117 (see Diagram 5, "Letter from George Washington")

Letter from: George Washington
To: Robert Dinwiddie,
[Winchester August 4, 1756]

I have supplied the Nottoway Indians with some necessaries and have allowed them to take their arms with them; but they have received no pay, and say, they were promised a Bitt per day. Captain Tom (Step) has promised to go to the Tusks (NC Tuskarora) with a Speech and Wampum, which I have given them—He says they have a hundred fighting men to spare—They would be a great assistance to us, if they could be engaged to come.

October 19, 1756, Arthur Dobbs mentions to the lower house that, ["Mr. Dinwiddie the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia having acquainted me that he had sent Commissioners to Treat with the Cherokees and Catawbias and to Confirm the Alliances with them and that it would be of Service to his Majesty and the Colonies that Commissioners should be sent from this Province to join them and to make and confirm our alliance with them, I accordingly sent a Commission to Captain [Hugh] Waddle to join with the Virginia Commissioners and Treat with them which he accordingly did and was out upon the Treaty with the Cherokees and Catawbias above a month for which he has had no allowance and therefore recommend it to you to allow him what is proper for his trouble and attendance."] Exhibit 118

On November 10, 1756, Virginia's Governor, Robert Dinwiddie, corresponded with North Carolina's Governor, Arthur Dobbs. In his letter, Dinwiddie acknowledged the receipt of Dobbs' message and informed him about dispatching additional troops to Philadelphia via Fort Loudoun, funded by raised capital for recruitment. Dinwiddie expressed his hope for further assistance from the Cherokee and Catawba tribes but expressed his dissatisfaction with the Catawba's delay. Dobbs was noted for his efforts in reaching out to the Tuskarora, who reportedly pledged their support to the Nottoway tribe, which would prove beneficial to the governing administration. The positive rapport with the Tuskarora and other associated Indians was a strategic move by the English. Exhibit 119

Fort Dobbs, strategically situated in Statesville, North Carolina, was selected due to its defensibility and frontier location. Dobbs explained that ["if I had placed beyond the Settlements without a fortification they might be exposed, and be no retreat for the Settlers, and the Indians might pass them and murder the Inhabitants and retire before they durst go to give them notice."] The only surviving description of Fort Dobbs dates to December 1756, when a commissioner appointed by the provincial assembly surveyed the western fortifications. Fort Dobbs was a ["good and substantial building of the dimensions following (that is to say). The Oblong Square fifty-three feet by forty, the opposite Angles Twenty four feet and Twenty-Two In height Twenty four and a half feet as by the Plan annexed Appears, The Thickness of the Walls which are made of Oak Logs regularly Diminished from sixteen Inches to Six, it contains three floors and there may be discharged from each floor at one and the same time about one hundred Musketts".] Exhibit 120

For the ensuing three years, the assembly resolved to maintain a military presence at Fort Dobbs to safeguard settlers from bandits, antagonistic Indians, and potential French assaults. The fort also served as a central hub for the defense of western North Carolina. Should the French attempt to invade North Carolina, each county's militia was directed to delegate fifty men and an officer to augment the forces stationed at the fort. On January 10, 1757, Arthur Dobbs addressed the Board of Trade about the white settlers' encroachments on Catawba lands. He hinted at the

quantum of land that would be designated to the Indians, noting ["I find that when the Tus[k]arora Lands were fixed, who were then, more numerous than the Catawbias are now, that they were content with a tract less than 10 miles radius round their towns. I find that in a Circle of Ten miles radius is contained 200,960 acres, and in a Circle of 30 miles radius it contains 1,808,640 acres."] Exhibit 121

[To: George Washington
From: William Fairfax
Williamsburg 31st March 1757]

Yesterday by the Return of Capt. Ouchterlony I had the Pleasure to enquire of Him concerning your State and Welfare, but He said the Uncertainty of his coming hither prevented his acquainting You with it: however, left You well. Lieut. Baker setting off with about Sixty of the Nottoway & Tuskarora Indians equipt with Arms &c. to joyn the Tribes of Cherokees & Catawbias before Sent under the Care & Conduct of Majr Lewis & Lieut. Williams will I hope be a welcome Reinforcement and productive of good Events—Capt. Jack Chief of the Tuskaroras produc'd to Me in Council your Letter of Invitation, wrote by Bryan F[airfa]x, who I wish had not resign'd but continued with You. I will not doubt that You had a kind Reception from Lord Loudoun, and that his Orders for the Destination of your Regiment will be agreeable to the Corps. [The journals of the Virginia Council for 4 April 1757 reported that, "Captain Jack (John "Jack" Braveboy) the Chief of the Tusks next to the King (James Blount) who was old and feeble, produced and delivered to him [William Fairfax] a Letter from Colonel Washington inviting and encouraging them to come and join us against our Enemies." Exhibit 122 Bryan Fairfax ran away from home in the spring of 1757.] Exhibit 123

In this letter dated June 20, 1757, Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia is updating Governor Arthur Dobbs of North Carolina on several matters, including military, financial, and tribal affairs during the French and Indian War. Firstly, Dinwiddie discusses recent decisions made by his Assembly. They have approved the expansion of their regiment to 1,200 soldiers, in addition to creating three Ranger companies with 100 men each. To support these initiatives, they have appropriated £80,000 for sustenance and other needs. He notes, however, that the method they've proposed for raising these men may be uncertain, but he's optimistic because it is supposed to be done within 25 days. Furthermore, he has already sent 200 men from his regiment, along with substantial quantities of munitions (100 barrels of gunpowder and 3 tons of lead balls) to South Carolina, under the escort of Captain Arbuthnott. Secondly, he discusses the interactions with various Native American tribes including the Cherokees, Catawbias, and Tuskaroras. Dinwiddie finds these tribes difficult to govern and notes their unwillingness to provide sustained assistance to the British cause. He mentions that the Catawbias and Tuskaroras have already returned home, while about 150 Cherokees remain at Winchester. These remaining Cherokees are proving to be a discontented group. In an attempt to appease them, Dinwiddie has sent Mr. Atkin to them with around £500 worth of goods to distribute as deemed fit. Lastly, Dinwiddie includes a postscript detailing a recent encounter between their allied forces, including Cherokee Indians, and the French. In this encounter, at Turtle Creek near Fort Du Quesne, their forces managed to kill and scalp five Frenchmen, two of whom were officers, and took one officer as a prisoner. This highlights the ongoing hostilities during the French and Indian War. Throughout the letter, Dinwiddie's tone reflects the challenges of governing and

military management during a volatile period, as well as the difficulties associated with attempting to integrate Native American tribes into their strategic efforts. Exhibit 124

In July, a fresh contender entered the battlefield, poised to seize every inch of France's American territories and cement English-speaking people's dominance over the North American continent. This formidable force was the brilliance of William Pitt, considered the greatest war minister and orchestrator of victories the world has witnessed. While the North Carolina Assembly had conflicts with Dobbs, Pitt's words and spirit breathed new life into their support for the war, pushing them to renewed efforts despite the country's impoverished state. On September 25, King James Blount, a significant figure among the Tuskarora, requested assistance from North Carolina's authorities. He approached the governor's council seeking a more secure title or patent for Tuskarora lands. Blount reported incidents of harassment by white settlers who mocked the Tuskarora, asserting that their documentation asserting ownership of the designated lands was worthless. These settlers continually infringed upon, and began inhabiting, the Native lands, causing damage by felling trees and ranging livestock. Blount concluded his plea with a sincere hope: "We hope Care will be Taken to protect us in Quiet Possession of Our Lands and from the White People Abusing us." Exhibit 125 (see Diagram 6, "Letter from King James Blount/Blunt")

During the Assembly of the Upper/Lower House, convened at Newbern from December 12, 1756, to May 16, 1757, issues related to the compensation of the populace and ongoing military duties amid the ongoing devastating war were deliberated. Upon reading the Order of the day, the House resolved to form a Committee to explore ways to raise funds, up to Four Thousand Pounds, for the defense of this Province's (NC) frontier and aid South Carolina against the French and their Indian Allies.

[Friday 20 May 1757] Mr. Brown, a designated Commissioner for the examination of the Western Settlements, provided a report on their current state, recommended a strategic location for a new fort, and presented an evaluation of Fort Dobbs' condition. He, along with Mr. Richard Caswell, another Commissioner, surveyed the Western Settlements, reporting that they were largely defenseless except for the area surrounding Fort Dobbs. They proposed a site near the Catawba Nation for constructing a new fort. Upon inspecting Fort Dobbs, they found it to be a robust and substantial building. The fort, under Captain Hugh Waddell's command, held "46 effective men, both officers and soldiers, all in good spirits," as verified by a list attached to their report and affirmed by Captain Waddell. The report was signed on December 21, 1756.

[23 May 1757] UH, "Robert Harris has been designated as Commissary for Granville County, tasked with ensuring necessities for our allied Native tribes (NC militia) during their journeys in public service from their respective territories to Virginia or any part of this Province."

[23 May 1757] LH, John Campbell proposed that representatives be designated in Granville, Orange, Rowan, and Anson Counties to ensure necessities for our allied Native tribes (NC militia) during their public service journeys from their territories to Virginia or any part of this Province. This House decided that Robert Harris will serve as Commissary for Granville County, James Watson for Orange County, George Smith for Rowan County, and Martin Phifer

for Anson County for the same purpose. They will each receive eight pence per day for each Native individual they supply with necessities, and we seek your Honors' agreement on this.

[25 May 1757] LH, Mr. Herron encouraged the House to arrange for the sustenance of the families of the Catawba and Tuskarora warriors who are aiding Virginia.

In response, this House resolved to allot Eighty Pounds of proclamation money to the Catawba, managed by Mr. Brown, for purchasing provisions using the tax allocated for covering contingencies. Similarly, Forty Pounds of proclamation money will be provided to Mr. Williams and Mr. Whitmell for the Tuskarora and Meherrin tribes' needs.

[25 May 1757] LH, This House resolved that Eighty Pounds of proclamation money should be allocated from the contingency tax to Mr. Brown for buying provisions for the families of the Catawba warriors assisting Virginia. Likewise, Forty Pounds should be given to Mr. Williams and Mr. Whitmell from the same tax, to be used for purchasing provisions for the families of the Tuskarora and Meherrin warriors who are in similar service. We hope for your Honors' agreement on this.

[26 May 1757] UH, "The House has decided that Eighty pounds of Proclamation Money will be allocated from the contingency tax to Mr. Brown for procuring provisions for the Catawba families whose members are assisting Virginia. Additionally, Forty Pounds of similar funds will be given to Mr. Williams and Mr. Whitmell from the tax, for purchasing provisions for the families of the Tuskarora and Meherrin who are providing similar service."

[Friday 27 May 1757] UH, The House has deliberated on a previous message from His Excellency, the Governor, wherein he advocated for Captain Hugh Waddell's compensation for his role as a Commissioner from this Province alongside Virginia Commissioners in negotiations with the Cherokees and Catawba Indians: The House has decided that Captain Hugh Waddell should be granted thirty pounds Proclamation Money from the Public Treasury, sourced from the tax allocated for covering governmental contingency costs, as a compensation for his efforts in said Treaty.

[Friday 27 May 1757] LH, Upon reflecting on the Governor's message from the previous session, recommending that Captain Waddell be compensated for his services as a Commissioner representing this Province along with the Virginia Commissioners in dialogues with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians, the House has determined that Captain Waddell should receive Thirty Pounds Proclamation Money from the Public Treasury, to be taken from the tax allocated for addressing governmental contingency expenses.

The House has reflected upon the Governor's message from the previous session, advocating for Captain Hugh Waddell's remuneration for his contribution as a Commissioner from this Province alongside the Virginia Commissioners in engagements with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians, and has decided that Hugh Waddell should be granted Thirty pounds proclamation money from the Public Treasury, sourced from the tax allocated for managing governmental contingency costs, to cover his expenses in the said Treaty.

(Received a reply from the Council regarding this House's message dated 25th May 1757 concerning the determined allowances for the Catawba, Tuskarora, and Meherrin Indians. Endorsed on 26th May in the Upper House).

(Received a reply from the Council regarding this House's message sent today with the resolution granting Captain Waddell Thirty pounds Proclamation Money to cover his expenses for the Treaty alongside the Virginia Commissioners with the Cherokee and Catawba Nations. Endorsed on 27th May 1757 in the Upper House). Exhibit 126

[Saturday 10 December 1757] Arthur Dobbs, the Governor of North Carolina, addresses the assembly, "I deem it crucial for His Majesty's service, the future tranquility & security of this Province and its neighbors, that legislation be passed this session empowering the honorable Edmund Atkins to regulate the Indian Trade. This action will align all our Native allies with our interests, in conjunction with the other Provinces wherein the Natives reside. As His Majesty has appointed him the agent and Superintendent of Indian affairs, this will fortify and lend weight to his negotiations with the Natives. Without this support, His Majesty's benevolent intentions could be thwarted, endangering the safety of the colonies by potentially alienating our Native allies."

[13 December 1757] A report from the Lower House was received by Mr. Waddell & Mr. Moore, stating that all outstanding dues to various officers and other parties for their salaries and expenses on account of troops previously paid by this Province, as reported by the Committee of Accounts, should be paid from the one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three pounds thirteen shillings and five pence halfpenny currently in the possession of Richard Spaight Esq. It was also resolved that should there be any outstanding dues for payment and sustenance of the troops formerly under this Province's payroll upon settlement of accounts in New York, this House will ensure adequate measures to settle those dues. This would hold true even if the remaining amount in Mr. Spaight's possession after complying with this Resolution isn't sufficient for the said purpose.

[14 December 1757] Among the 14 new bills to be enacted, "An Act for Preserving Peace and Continuing a Good Correspondence with the Indians" was listed as the eighth item. Exhibit 127

On December 30, 1757, Pitt summoned the Province, along with other southern colonies, to muster a force to capture Fort Duquesne. The troops were requested to report to General John Forbes, whom Pitt had dispatched to Virginia to lead the expedition, "without delay". In response, Governor Dobbs appointed Major Hugh Waddell, an officer who had already made a name for himself serving on the North Carolina frontier, to command this battalion. Waddell efficiently recruited, structured, and armed his battalion and then marched them to join General Forbes' forces. In 1758, when the soldiers stationed at Fort Dobbs were instructed to head north to combat the French, residents implored the provincial government to let the troops remain. The Assembly received a plea from various inhabitants of Rowan County, which highlighted recent murders committed near the Dan River that led to residents of Yadkin Forks abandoning their settlements. They requested the ongoing deployment of Captain Bayley and his company, or a suitable replacement. However, the Assembly, after considering the petition, decided to dispatch

the company to war. The company at Fort Dobbs, now led by Captain Andrew Bailey, expanded to a size of 100 men in anticipation of a significant British offensive. Despite a delayed departure, likely due to Bailey's decision to remain at Fort Dobbs to alleviate local anxieties, they were journeying overland to Pennsylvania by the summer. Here, they united with an additional 200 North Carolina soldiers under the leadership of Major Hugh Waddell. Waddell's forces were a part of an increasingly large army composed of British Regulars from England and Scotland, provincial troops from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, and allied Native Americans. Their objective was to seize Fort Duquesne, located at the junction of the Ohio River, a French stronghold that had troubled the British for four years.

General Edward Braddock's expedition in 1755 boasted about two thousand soldiers, half of whom were provincial troops. North Carolina supplied fewer than a hundred soldiers under the leadership of Edward Brice Dobbs, Governor Dobbs' son. These North Carolinians did not participate in Braddock's battle but were with the reserve corps under Colonel Thomas Dunbar. The remaining portion of Braddock's army consisted of two Irish regiments of British Regulars, the 44th and 48th, each with a strength of five hundred men and led by Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, respectively. These regiments, considered equivalent to any in the British army, were accompanied by artillery and military supplies.

The 1758 expedition under General John Forbes was over three times larger than Braddock's, including 1,200 Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, approximately 2,700 Pennsylvanians, 1,600 Virginians, 250 Marylanders, and three North Carolinian companies, with an indeterminate number of allied Native Americans, including the Tuskarora under Hugh Waddell's command. While Braddock's expedition concluded in a horrific massacre and a humiliating retreat by the British Regulars, Forbes' expedition, despite enduring six months of severe hardship, culminated in the occupation of the burnt remnants of a fort that the enemy had deserted.

Today, the letters of George Washington, written during these two expeditions, are deeply moving. He dealt with a myriad of challenges during the latter expedition, ranging from constructing camp chimneys for the General and overseeing the steelyards of a contractor, to defending his reputation, resisting undignified attempts to demote him, and enduring sleepless nights of worry over his troops' conditions and the expedition's fate. All these struggles culminated in a letter from Loyal Hanna to Governor Fauquier, in which he expresses his concern: ["The General and great part of his troops being yet behind, and the weather growing very inclement, I apprehend our expedition must terminate for this year at this place."] The struggles Washington endured and the emotions they stirred are vividly encapsulated in his letters from that era, preserved and published alongside his other works, nearly fifty years after his death. These letters showcase the composed and noble spirit, the enduring sense of duty, the steadfast courage and wisdom, and the unyielding honesty that defined his entire career, etching George Washington's name into the annals of history.

In 1758's spring, as preparations for Forbes' expedition were underway, Major Waddell was appointed to lead the three North Carolina companies. These troops were authorized for recruitment by an Assembly act supporting the expedition, in response to William Pitt's appeal to the colonies. Waddell swiftly undertook the task of organizing, equipping, and preparing the

troops for their extensive journey, leading them to Virginia once ready. Unlike previous North Carolina forces' sluggishness in the expeditions of 1754 and 1755, which Governor Dinwiddie had frequently criticized, there was no delay under Waddell's command. He immediately led his forces to Virginia and promptly to the frontlines. On May 4, 1758, the General Assembly decided that Governor Dobbs should "endeavor to persuade a group of Tuskarora Indians, led by Hugh Waddell, to march alongside this Province's troops" and join British forces in Virginia. The legislators planned to motivate the Indians to serve in the military by offering each man a forty-shilling bounty. Upon returning from service, the Indian warriors were to be rewarded based on their "merit" during service. Furthermore, the legislators approved the withdrawal of £40 from the state treasury to be given to William Williams and Thomas Whitmell for buying provisions for the families of those Tus[k]arora men who journeyed to Virginia. [Exhibit 128](#)

[Letter From: George Washington
To: Hugh Waddell, June 24, 1758
Fort Loudoun]

To the Officer Commanding a Detachment from No. Carolina.

Last night the Inclosd March Rout came under cover to me for you, with this Paragraph from Sir Jno. St Clair—"I have inclosd you a march Rout for a hundred of the No. Carolina Provincials, that ought to be at Winchester, they will serve for an Escort for Mr Walker's second Convoy of Provisions. You'll please tell the Commanding Officer that any Carriages he wants upon his March shall be paid for upon his giving them a Certificate of their Service. The other two hundred of them that arrivd at Alexandria, are to March up by Fort Frederick."

As your March from hence depends upon the readiness of the Convoy, you are to consult Mr Commissary Walker on that head. I am Sir Yr most Obedt Hble Servt
Go: Washington

[For the "march Rout," see GW to Hugh Waddell, 24 June. For the plan to have the North Carolina troops conduct Commissary Thomas Walker's second wagon train of provisions from Winchester to Fort Cumberland in July, see GW to William Byrd, 24 June.] [Exhibit 129](#); [Exhibit 130](#)

Forbes' letter to St. Clair, 16 June states: "Governour [Arthur] Dobbs without orders has sent 200 of the No. Carolina people by sea to Alexandria and marches 100 more by land to Winchester, so you will give orders for their being taken care of and victualled and order them directly up to Join us". St. Clair responded on 23 June: "I have sent orders for the N. Carolina Provincials to march from Alexa to Fort frederick [Md.], and have sent them a Commissary, those who arrive at Winchester March to fort Cumberld the 8 of July wt. a Convoy from Mr. Walker." [Exhibit 131](#)

The two Carolina companies that arrived at Fort Frederick from Alexandria labored on the road construction from that fort to Fort Cumberland until mid-July. On July 20, under Major Waddell's command, they commenced their march to join Forbes's forces at Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania. Upon reaching Fort Loudoun on July 21, Waddell reported 49 of 73 members present in his company, including officers; Captain John Paine accounted for 55 (of 78) in his

company. A mere ten days later, Col. Henry Bouquet, while writing from Raystown, reported to Forbes that "Two North Carolina companies are reaching the camp, down to 96 men, including numerous invalids; and tomorrow, we shall receive the third from Cumberland, 46 men strong" (Stevens 290-293). The third Carolina company joined from Winchester, where they had arrived on July 5. Starting from August, Bouquet utilized the modest North Carolina forces in constructing his road from Raystown toward Fort Duquesne.

[Letter To: George Washington
From: Christopher Gist
Winchester July the 20th 1758]

Sir, here with you have the agreeable News of taking all the Out works at Lewisburg your Papers will come by the Command & as the Carolina Soldiers had no Arms I Sent Capt[ain] Tom [Step] with 25 Indians as far as South branch who is to come back to this town, from ther[e]; as no doubt you will Send a Guard to South Branch, to take Care of these 50 Waggons with Stores & Provisions & as your waggons will come again the Same Indians will come then with Me.-- [The original plan was for the detachment of North Carolina provincials at Winchester to conduct Thomas Walker's second convoy of wagons up to Fort Cumberland (see GW to Hugh Waddell, 24 June), but evidently the leader Captain Tom [Step] and his little band of Nottoway and allied Tuskarora had to help escort both the unarmed Carolinians and the wagon train as far as the South Branch.]

In colonial records there is an account of legislative proceedings in a colonial assembly, dated May 12, 1759, during the time of the French and Indian War. The speaker commends the assembly for their commitment to King George II and the welfare of the colony, highlighting their zealous defense of religious freedom and civil liberties. The speaker promises to communicate these sentiments to the king. A significant focus of this meeting is the commendation of eighteen Tuskarora Indians who demonstrated bravery and commitment in an expedition against Fort Duquesne under General Forbes. The assembly resolves to reward the Tuskarora Indians with a sum of one hundred and five pounds in proclamation money, to be used for purchasing presents by Mr. John Campbell as a token of gratitude for their service. The assembly further resolves that Mr. John Campbell will be reimbursed this amount from the surplus of an aid granted to the king by an act "for Granting an aid to his Majesty for Augmenting the Troops now in the pay of this province," passed on May 4, 1758. The reimbursement will come via a warrant issued by the Governor to the Treasurer of the Northern District. The assembly drafts a message to the Council detailing these resolutions and their intent to reward the Tuskarora Indians for their service. The message also reiterates the process for reimbursing Mr. John Campbell. The account ends with the message being sent to the Council by Mr. Waddle and Mr. Ashe. The document shows how alliances with Native American tribes were critical to colonial efforts during the French and Indian War, and how colonial legislatures worked to recognize and incentivize such alliances. [Exhibit 132](#)

The number of Tuskarora warriors who trekked with Hugh Waddell, mentioned in colonial records, to participate in action against the French was said to have been "eighteen" and, "who have behaved very well on the expedition." It's not evident in other records, but some certainly participated with British officers in a large-scale campaign led by Gen. John Forbes to

drive the French out of the upper Ohio River Valley. The march was slow and arduous. North Carolina's soldiers built roads and forts in the wilderness and constantly prepared for attacks by their enemy Indians and French soldiers. By the fall they were brigaded with the Virginia and Maryland troops, under the command of Colonel George Washington. British forces, which included Indians, attacked *Fort Duquesne* (near present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) on September 14, 1758. Exhibit 133

In October, they successfully fended off an attack by the French and Indians on the army's forward post. Adam Stephen informed Governor Fauquier on October 8 that Hugh Waddell, a Major of the North Carolina forces, had arrived at Fort Chiswell with approximately three hundred men and several Tuscarora Indians (Hillman 199). A field report was created by Major Waddell during that expedition, written on an eight by five inches sheet in a distinctly legible script. Despite the paper being somewhat worn and discolored, the ink appeared relatively fresh. It was titled: "A Field Return of the North Carolina Detachment under the command of Major Waddell, Loyal Hannon, 25th October 1758. ["Besides the officers, there are but twenty-six men on the return."] Governor Dinwiddie spelled this place name as "Loyal henning." Its actual name is Loyal Hanna. Signed beneath and preceding his signature, "Hugh Waddell Maj: N.C. Troops," is a calculation of 26 and 96, summing up to 122, likely reflecting the total effective force, including the Tuskarora. The date and location of this field return fully substantiate Governor Dobbs' later statement that ["Major Waddell had great honor done him, being employed on all reconnoitering parties "on this expedition."]

By November 1758, the French at Fort Duquesne assumed that the British were progressing too sluggishly to launch a significant attack, leading them to discharge a large portion of their force. However, the British persisted. Among the first troops to reach Fort Duquesne were those from North Carolina. Hugh Waddell and his Carolinians were held in high regard among the colonial troops. As Governor Dobbs penned, Waddell "was accorded great honor, being enlisted in all scouting missions; he dressed and behaved like an Indian; and his Sergeant John Rogers (Tuskarora) captured the only Indian prisoner who provided Mr. Forbes with definitive information about the forces in Fort Duquesne, prompting them to carry on." The reference to Sergeant Rogers relates to the following incident;

[Winter had set in and the British general, with his army in a mountainous region, ill prepared to pass the winter in such a wilderness, or to lay a winter siege to a strongly fortified fort, and without accurate information of his enemy's force, was in a dilemma whether to retire to a more favorable position for the winter, or to push on. He therefore offered a reward of £50 to anyone who would capture an Indian from whom information as to the enemy's situation could be obtained. Sergeant Rogers (Tuskarora), of Waddell's command, won this reward by bringing in an Indian who told Forbes that if he would push resolutely on, the French would evacuate Fort Duquesne. The British commander followed the red man's advice.

Upon his approach, the French garrison fled, and Fort Duquesne, dismantled and partially destroyed, fell without a blow into the hands of the English general who immediately renamed it Fort Pitt, because as he said in a letter to Pitt, "it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirit that now makes me master of the place"] (Connor 276). (see Diagram 7, "Tuskarora Woods land lease-John Rodgers")

The French commander at Fort Duquesne, recognizing his numerical disadvantage and inability to defend the fort, set it ablaze. The fort's location was rechristened Pittsburgh, in tribute to William Pitt, the British Secretary of State, whose strategic planning and support for the war had made victory achievable.

Post 1758, a tentative peace returned to Pennsylvania, but the war had irrevocably altered the dynamics between native and European populations there. Despite their cultural and ethnic diversity, Pennsylvania's colonists began to identify themselves as having a shared, racially defined "white" identity as opposed to the "savage" identity of the Indians. In the Ohio region, a Delaware prophet named Neolin (fl. 1760) propagated the doctrine of "separate paths," encouraging Indians to rejuvenate ancient customs and reject Christianity, alcohol, and other facets of colonial culture which he blamed for contaminating the Indian way of life. This revivalist message catalyzed a pan-Indian opposition to the soldiers and settlers who started migrating into the Ohio and Susquehanna regions post 1758 (Shannon).

One of those seemingly insignificant occurrences that often influence the course of history took place during Major Waddell's command of the Tuskarora on their expedition to Fort Duquesne. Yet, as has often been the case with many more prominent events in North Carolina's history, neither Waddell nor the Tuskarora have received due credit for it. It is undeniable that the North Carolina companies, along with their allied Indians, were at the forefront of Forbes's army, actively scouting, reconnoitering, clearing roads, constructing bridges and boats, and providing invaluable assistance. Credit for this accomplishment also goes to the Tuskarora warrior John Rogers/Rodgers, the Sergeant under Major Waddell's command, who was instrumental in providing General Forbes with the information that prompted an immediate advance and occupation. In August 1765, the New Hanover County Inferior Court, with General Waddell as a Magistrate, appointed John Rogers (Tuskarora) a Constable. They had been part of the advance corps from the outset, before Washington had been assigned to that command at Waddell's own request. This is evidenced by the fact that Major Waddell's field return is dated at Loyal Hanna on 25th October, while Colonel Washington did not reach that advance point until 30th. Despite Washington's previous feat of saving remnants of Braddock's expedition three years earlier and his extensive consultation with General Forbes, he feared that the persistent refusal to act upon his advice could jeopardize the mission's purpose. As seen in his September 1st letter to Speaker Robinson, he remarked, ["Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue."] When delays and obstacles mounted, Washington wrote, "Colonel Stephen gives me some room to apprehend that a body of light troops may soon move on. I pray your interest most sincerely with the General to get my regiment and myself included in the number. If any argument is needed to obtain this favor, I hope, without vanity, I may be allowed to say that from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that will be employed".] The challenges reached their peak in the council of war, where the decision had to be made to either enter winter quarters or abandon the expedition. At that moment, a "mere accident," as historians term it, "turned despair into hope." This mere accident, referred to by Washington as a Providential event without naming any names, was the capture of two Indians by the Tuskarora under Waddell's command. The true state of affairs at Fort Duquesne was revealed through these captures. Despite its critical significance to the successful expedition that confirmed English

supremacy in the South, the individual who made it possible, Sergeant John Rogers, a Tuskarora warrior in the North Carolina forces, has been largely overlooked. It may have seemed a small feat, but Forbes considered the importance of accomplishing it so significant that he offered a reward of fifty guineas, and another officer offered four hundred guineas "to anyone who would capture an Indian prisoner, in order to gather information about enemy movements. Petition of John Rogers to the Assembly. [Exhibit 134](#)

Rogers and his Tuskarora comrades undertook the dangerous mission of capturing prisoners from Fort DuQuesne, a task from which they learned that the garrison would withdraw upon the appearance of the British. This led to the deployment of light troops in a forced march, resulting in the fort being burnt and abandoned by the enemy. Unfortunately, General Forbes passed away without rewarding or making provisions for the reward promised to John Rogers and the Tuskarora. The North Carolina Assembly later recognized his bravery and granted him twenty pounds. During this expedition, Major Hugh Waddell "took on the role and attire of an Indian," according to Governor Dobbs. A family story recounts that Waddell's large dog was the first living being to enter Fort DuQuesne after the French evacuation. Post the fort's capture, all troops, barring those stationed as garrison, returned to their homes, including the North Carolinians. Yet, the French, who had withdrawn from Fort DuQuesne and relocated further south, quickly seized the opportunity to retaliate and forge an alliance with the very Cherokees who had previously cooperated with the English. This was the consequence of an unfortunate, and ultimately ruthless, act committed by a group of Virginians. King James Blount lodged a complaint to the council regarding Humphrey Bates of Bertie County, who had taken up residence on the Indians' land without permission and in violation of the law of 1748. Consequently, on November 29, 1758, the council instructed Robert Jones Jr., the province's attorney general, to prosecute Bates unless he vacated the land. On that same day, John Campbell, a Bertie County representative to the General Assembly, submitted Humphrey Bates's petition to the assembly, claiming that Bates was entitled to a 300-acre parcel of land located on the Tuskarora reservation. As per Bates, this land was part of a 600-acre tract that King Tom Blount and other Tuskarora Indian chieftains had originally "granted" to William Charleton in November 1723. Bates supposedly purchased the 300 acres from George Charleton, William's grandson. On December 19, Thomas Barker of Edenton presented George Charleton's petition to the legislators. In it, Charleton confirmed that his grandfather had received a land warrant with the approval of the governor's council, King Tom Blount, and other Tuskarora chiefs. The warrant, dated November 7, 1723, allowed William Charleton to purchase the land in question from the Indians. However, North Carolina's lawmakers were unconvinced. They sided with the Tuskarora Indians and dismissed the petitions. [Exhibit 135](#)

Bates chose not to leave the Indian lands, prompting the Tuskarora to appeal to Governor Arthur Dobbs in May 1759. The governor subsequently asked the lower house of the General Assembly to investigate the situation, expressing his wish for justice to be served on behalf of the Indians. Within a few days, the lawmakers replied to the governor, explaining that the attorney general had already confronted Bates on the issue. [Exhibit 136](#) No further steps were taken to settle the Bates matter.

Existing documentation indicates that Humphrey Bates had undeniably encroached upon the Tuskarora Indians' land unlawfully. He and George Charleton executed a retroactive deed to

register Bates's "ownership" of the disputed property. On December 27, 1759, more than a year after the Tuskarora Indians expressed their grievances to the governor's council about Bates, George Charleton of Craven County sold three hundred acres to Bates for £290. The parcel was referred to in the deed as Quitsney Meadow, adjacent to Chuotoik [Chewatock] Swamp. According to the deed, the land was initially bought from the Tuskarora Indians and approved by the deputies of the Lords Proprietors on November 7, 1723, as a grant to William Charleton. The deed was witnessed by Ann Bates, Henry Bates, and Joseph Ballard Jr., and validated in Bertie County court in October 1760. By then, Humphrey Bates had passed away. The remaining segment (three hundred acres) of the patented land, also known as "Indian Island," had been sold by William Charlton to Thomas Norcum on June 1, 1748 (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book I:440; Deed Book G:154; North Carolina Estate Files, FamilySearch, Humphrey Bates).

At this stage, the Upper and Lower House convened to address the concerns surrounding the settlement of their debt with the officers, soldiers, and others, including the Tuskarora still residing in North Carolina. These included individuals who had enlisted to support the government during the war.

[Friday 24 November 1758] The lower house expressed its concern that His Excellency had to resort to General Forbes to fund the companies dispatched from this province to Ohio, stating, "we hoped that the sum we had raised would have answered the whole expense of our troops on that Expedition; and still hope that remittances may be made out of that fund to discharge what the General has advanced; But in case it should be deficient, we shall cheerfully grant such other sums as will supply the deficiency, and pay our companies till their return, that we may receive the money granted to the Parliament in specie, and therewith sink an equal sum in our bill money."

[Saturday 25 November 1758] Mr. William Williams informed the House that several Tus[k]arora Indians in town were imposing upon several private citizens known to them. As such, he proposed that individuals be designated to provide necessary provisions for these Indians during their stay in town. Consequently, it was decided that Mr. Whitmell and Mr. Williams would provide the necessary supplies for these Indians while they remained in town and would be reimbursed for these expenses by the Treasurer. Exhibit 137

[Tuesday 28 November 1758] A certification from the Bladen County Court was presented to the House, declaring John Orestine [Oxendine] as incapable of paying taxes. Hence, he was relieved from paying public taxes.

[NOTE]: John Oxendine (Tuskarora) is the forefather of the Oxendine Indian families and most other Indians currently residing in and around Robeson County, formerly Bladen. Post the "Indian Wars," Oxendine acquired substantial land in Bladen and at this point had aged and become infirm, preparing for retirement. Exhibit 138

[Tuesday 5 December 1758] "Mr. Murphree presented a Certificate from the Northampton County Court thereby attesting that John Rogers (Tuskarora) is unable to pay public Taxes and perform Public Duties, recommending him to be relieved from paying Public Taxes and performing Public Duties. He was granted exemption." Exhibit 139

[December 19, 1758] Both Houses of the General Assembly resolved issues relating to public claims and provisions provided to the Tuskarora and other Indians during their service and stay in New Bern. Exhibit 140

[December 22, 1758] Governor Dobbs penned a letter to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, discussing the unpaid money from the Forbes Expeditions that had been due since the spring, and justifying why certain ends were not adequately met due to lack of funds to pay the troops. He also mentioned the French's retreat and the burning of Fort Duquesne to the Mississippi on November 24th, which interrupted their trade, forcing the Indians to side with the English. Exhibit 141

In May 1759, the North Carolina General Assembly decided that £105 should be awarded to the Tuskarora Indians as recognition and reward for their services on the expedition against Fort Duquesne. Exhibit 142 (This exhibit consists of numerous records that show Indians were getting paid for their assistance during the war.)

Upon the troops' return to Carolina, the relationship with the Cherokee had worsened, placing Fort Dobbs at the epicenter of the emerging Cherokee War. Initially allies of the British, the Cherokee harbored mistrust towards both sides, a sentiment shared by many settlers towards all Indian nations. The Cherokee felt their efforts were unacknowledged, leading to sporadic conflicts between frontier settlers and the Cherokee. In 1759, the Cherokee declared war on the British, not as French allies, but as an independent faction. Cherokee raids occurred throughout the frontier, leading to reports that "the back Settlers had... mostly abandoned their residences, seeking refuge in Fort Dobbs." Faced with the impending arrival of a large Indian force, Major Waddell was dispatched from the coast to Fort Dobbs with additional troops, light artillery, and some Tuskarora support.

The Cherokees had been consistent allies to the British, assisting in every campaign against Fort Duquesne, fully adhering to their treaty commitments. However, on their return from the final expedition, a regrettable incident unfolded. As the Cherokee passed through the farthest frontier settlements of Virginia, they discovered several horses roaming wild in the woods, a common sight on the frontier, and used some of them to replace the horses they had lost on their expedition. They were oblivious, as noted by Alexander Hewat, the first historian of South Carolina, to the fact that these horses were owned by residents of the Province. In response, rather than seeking any peaceful form of redress, some Virginians attacked them, killing twelve to fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors and capturing others. The Cherokees were rightfully angered by this callous and ungrateful act from those they had travelled hundreds of miles to defend. Upon returning to their homes, they relayed the incident, sparking outrage, particularly among young warriors related to the victims. French emissaries, exploiting this anger, added to their resentment, falsely telling them that the British planned to kill all their warriors and enslave their women and children.

These emissaries effectively stirred up their wrath, providing them with arms and ammunition. Their initial target was Fort Loudon, on the Tennessee River, home to a 200-man garrison led by Captains Demere and Stuart. Hunting parties and stragglers from the fort were ambushed and killed, while settlements were attacked, and residents were murdered and scalped.

With supplies cut off, Fort Loudon's garrison faced the threat of starvation. The news of the Cherokee uprising quickly spread to Fort Prince George, near the upper Savannah River, and the commanding officer alerted the Governor of South Carolina. Upon receiving the news, Governor Dobbs promptly commissioned Hugh Waddell, who had recently been promoted to Colonel, to gather all the Provincial troops and arm the militia from Orange, Anson, and Rowan Counties. They were to meet at Fort Prince George and join forces with an expedition prepared by Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina, amassing around 1,400 men. The local militia declined to mobilize against the Cherokees, arguing they were not obligated to serve outside the province's boundaries. Colonel Waddell communicated this to Governor Dobbs and forwarded him a letter from Governor Lyttleton. Responding to the situation, Dobbs approached the Assembly in session on November 26th, 1759, urging them to enact a brief law clarifying and enforcing militia duties and obligating them to act in the interest of public safety and provincial defense. On November 29th, the Assembly allocated a thousand pounds to Colonel Waddell for the procurement of wagons and related necessities. It was decided that forces on the province's payroll, not exceeding 500 men, would be maintained until February 10th, if required, backed by an allocation of five thousand pounds.

The considerable show of force subdued the Cherokees, leading them to seek peace. Another treaty was established, including a clause mandating them to leave behind twenty-four hostages to ensure the surrender of twenty-four Indians accused of murdering an equal number of white settlers since the last treaty. This peace, however, was fleeting. Governor Lyttleton imprudently withdrew his forces, leaving only a small guard for the hostages. As a result, the Indians, led by young War Chief Oconostota, endeavored to ambush the garrison and liberate the hostages on January 27th, 1760. Despite their failure, they managed to murder the commanding officer and some traders, subsequently besieging the fort. Warfare promptly erupted across the entire frontier. While Colonel Waddell's troops had been scaled back after the treaty, the renewed Indian aggression led him to re-establish the Fort Dobbs garrison and deploy five hundred militiamen to safeguard the frontiers. In February 1760, the Cherokee focused their attention on Fort Dobbs. On the night of the 27th, an unusual disturbance alerted Colonel Waddell to something amiss. Further inspection revealed the fort to be encircled by Cherokee warriors. The Cherokee launched an attack that night, but Waddell's forces managed to repel them. Waddell, along with nine others, ventured 300 yards out of the fort and faced an attack by 60 to 70 Cherokee warriors. They returned fire, successfully retreating to the fort while inflicting ten to twelve casualties. Their losses were minor: one boy killed, and two men injured, one of whom was scalped, and the other a Tuskarora named Thomas Kersey, who was shot through the torso. After the clash at Fort Dobbs, Waddell braced for another attack the following night, but it never came, as the enemy seemed to have had their fill. Colonial records state, ["And also that Thomas Kersey one of the Volunteers concerned in taking the scalps produced to this Assembly and was then shot through the Body and at present unfit for labour be allowed Ten Pounds to be paid also by Capt. Hugh Waddell and allow'd him on passing his accounts with the public to which desire Your Honors concurrence."] Exhibit 143

Thomas Kersey and John Rogers, along with other Tuskarora individuals who joined Hugh Waddell on multiple expeditions, are ancestors of many Indian families in Robeson County today, who continue to identify as Tuskarora descendants. Thomas Kersey, who was assigned the task of collecting scalps by colonial leaders, was compensated for his services and

acquired substantial land in Bladen/Robeson County. John Rogers was one of the Tuskarora individuals who signed the land lease for the Bertie County Indian Woods reservation. Serving as a Sergeant under Hugh Waddell, Rogers' intelligence gathering facilitated the capture of Fort Duquesne. (see Diagram 7, "John Rogers" Tuskarora Woods Land Lease)

Colonial records dated May 27, 1760, indicate that it was resolved that the expenses of an individual, who had arrived in town bearing express orders from the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia for His Excellency, as well as twenty shillings given to Richard Cogdell for providing necessities for the Tuskarora Indians, would be reimbursed by the Treasurer of the Southern District and accounted for in public records. Exhibit 144

Expedition against the Cherokee in 1760, under Gen. Hugh Waddell.

The offensive against the Cherokee in 1760 was led by General Hugh Waddell. Robert Gardner, born around 1751-52 and living near Salisbury, detailed these events. His account was later published in the North Carolina University Magazine under the title, "Historical Memoranda. By the late Judge Murphy."

General Hugh Waddell was selected to lead the troops. The soldiers gathered at Salisbury in the summer of 1760, with militia drawn from Rowan and surrounding counties. A company of Tuskarora Indians, led by Captain Cogdill, also marched alongside General Waddell. The troops embarked late in the autumn, journeying by Keowee to the Tugalo in South Carolina. South Carolina troops joined Waddell at this location, and they marched together along the base of the Blue Ridge to a gap at the top of the Cowee River (presumed to be the Tennessee River). Crossing the Blue Ridge, they moved to towns on the Cowee, known as the Underhill Towns, and razed them.

The next year, 1761, Fort Dobbs was designated as the meeting point for five provincial companies that were ordered to rendezvous with troops from Virginia to launch a campaign against the Cherokee.

[June 16, 1761]: CAPT. DONALD CAMPBELL TO COL. HENRY BOUQUET

I now send you A Copy of the last Indian Council, by which you'll see the whole-designs of the Six Nations laid open,' this I hope will put it out of their power to deny their bad intentions. The Wiandots assembled the Other Nations of Detroit & brought the Shawanees with them to me and in my presence, delivered them belts of Wampum telling them they were afraid they had listened too much to the bad Councils of the Six Nations and recommended it to them in the strongest Manner to be friends with the English & by no means to disturb the peace of the Country, that if they con-tinued to hear the bad Councils of the Six Nations against the English, they could look upon them no longer as their friends. Exhibit 145

[June 21, 1761]: CAPT. DONALD CAMPBELL TO COL. HENRY BOUQUET

The Wiandots have repealed to Kilbuck all that passed at the Councils, with the Six Nations & given him some strings of Wampum to carry to his Nation, giving them the same advice they gave the Shawanies, Not to listen to the bad Councils of the Six Nations. Exhibit 146

Letter from Alexander Stewart to Philip Bearcroft May 22, 1761, states:

In March last I likewise made a voyage [to] Mattamuskeet in Hyde County [NC] (a place formerly mentioned to the Society as separated by a dismal morass, from the main of this Province) where I preached twice & remained a week & baptized in that time 52 white & 7 Negro children & 4 adult negroes. I likewise with pleasure inform the Society, that the few remains of the Mattamuskeet, Hatteras & Roanoke (Moratoc) Indians (whom I likewise mentioned in a former letter) appeared mostly at the chapel & seemed fond of hearing the Word of the true God & of being admitted into the church of our Lord Jesus Christ. Exhibit 147

It's not clear whether Colonel Waddell and his Tuskarora contingent participated in the campaign led by Colonel Montgomery and Major Grant, which penetrated Cherokee territory and engaged in an unresolved battle in the Etchoe settlement, close to the contemporary town of Franklin, on June 27, 1761. The retreat of Montgomery to Fort Prince George led to the surrender of Fort Loudon, which was then met with deceit and violence by the adversarial Indians. In the autumn of 1761, Colonel Waddell commanded a force of 400 North Carolina troops, including Tuskarora, to ally with Colonel Byrd of Virginia in targeting the upper Cherokees. They established peace and dismissed the troops, concluding North Carolina's conflicts with the Indians (Maass 201-210). Exhibit 148

In his book, "Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast," Daniel J. Tortora refers to these Cherokee conflicts, suggesting that by early September 1761, Colonel Adam Stephen's army of Virginia provincials drew near to Chota. They constructed Fort Robinson on the Great Island (Long Island) of the Holston River, just 130 miles from the key Cherokee town. This placed significant pressure on Overhills leaders, including Standing Turkey, Ostenaco, and Oconostota. These leaders aimed to establish an economic alliance with Virginia without focusing on past transgressions. They strove to uphold Cherokee sovereignty, promising to implement law and order independently by building a Cherokee-operated jail in Chota. In mid-November, Attakullakulla traveled to South Carolina to ratify a controversial peace agreement. Concurrently, Overhill leaders journeyed to Virginia, aiming to negotiate a separate, less degrading peace. En route, they encountered Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Waddell, with his North Carolina provincials and a group of Tuskarora Indians, who were collaborating with the Virginians to expand a road from the Great Island to Chota. A treaty was signed on November 20 on the Great Island of Holston, in which the Cherokee warriors present pledged to establish a firm peace with Virginia, North Carolina, and the North Carolina Tukcaroras.

As noted in "The Papers of Archibald D. Murphy, Volume 2," the first campaign against the Cherokees initiated by North Carolina during this war was in 1761, when General Waddell marched with 2,000 men to the Holstein. There, he met with Chiefs and a truce was declared. A treaty was also established, but its terms were not upheld until the comprehensive peace treaty of 1763 was signed.

In this expedition a Company of Indians of the Tuskarora Tribe under Captain Cogdell, joined Genl. Waddell to fight the Cherokees.

The Prisoners among the Cherokees, the Women and Children were delivered up. (See Joseph Cloud's Acct. of this Campaign)

Report by Arthur Dobbs concerning general conditions in North Carolina 1761:

Quere 13 What is the number of the Indians inhabiting those parts of America lying within or bounding upon your Province? What Contracts or Treaties of Peace have been made with them and are now in force? What Trade is carried on with them and under what Regulations and how have these Regulations been established

Answer: The only Tribes or remains of Tribes of Indians residing in this Province are the Tuskerora, Sapona, Meherin and Maramuskito Indians. The Tuskerora have about 100 fighting men, the Saponas and Meherrin Indians about 20 each and the Maramuskitos about 7 or 8. The first 3 are situated in the Middle of the Colony upon and near Roanoke (Moratoc) and have by Law 10,000 acres of Land allotted to them in Lord Granvilles District where they live chiefly by hunting and are in perfect friendship with the Inhabitants.

There have been no Treaties made between this Province and any Nation of Indians except a late Treaty made between the Virginians and Cherokees in 1755 by Mr. Randolph and Col. Byrd who were joined by a Commissioner from this Province Col. Waddell—There has been a small Trade carried on by a few Indian Traders from this Province with the Catawbas and Cherokees for furs and peltry, but no Regulations by Law ever made in this Province. Exhibit 149

[Letter from Arthur Dobbs to the Board of Trade of Great Britain (April 30, 1762)]

In my last I recommended three gentlemen to your Lordships to be made Councillors upon their being three Vacancies by the death of two of the Members Mr. Swann and Dawson but as George Moore one of those I mentioned declines being appointed I do now add Colo Hugh Waddell who has behaved exceeding well in our Expeditions upon the Ohio and against the Cherokees having had the Command of our Provincials and is settled in this Colony to be added to Colonel William Dry and Robert Palmer Esquire our Surveyor General whom I before recommended.

I am with great respect My Lords &c
ARTHUR DOBBS Exhibit 150

Throughout Governor Dobbs' tenure, Colonel Waddell emerged as the most notable military figure in the Province, earning great respect and trust from both the authorities and the populace. The initial five years following Waddell's arrival in the Province were primarily spent in active service against the French and Indians. From 1761 to 1765, records show no distinctive service by him, apart from his contributions during Assembly sessions where he was a significant and influential member. As the Province's population steadily grew, especially in the Western portion, and Indian incursions gradually decreased until they were completely halted by the peace treaty between Great Britain and France in 1763, it is likely that Waddell was discharged from active duty. He seemingly began to leverage his experience and understanding of the region by wisely investing in land and establishing 'stores' in various locations in the

backcountry, a venture that promised substantial profits. Around this time, Waddell became heavily involved in the merchant firm of John Burgwin & Co., from which he derived substantial earnings. His marriage in 1762 and his business association with Mr. Burgwin were likely since their wives were sisters and co-heirs. In April 1762, a new Commission of Peace for Bladen County was ordered for Hugh Waddell and John Burgwin. Exhibit 151

As documented in Frederick Webb Hodge's book, another group of Indian refugees settled in Tuscarora Valley (named by them) on the Juniata River, Pennsylvania. They were still there at least until 1762. During a conference in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on August 11, 1762, between Lieutenant Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania and representatives from the Ohio Delawares, Oquaga and Lower Tuscarora, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Wea, and Miami tribes, it was reported that six Tuscarora, three of whom were chiefs, presented a letter from their people. In this letter, they requested a pass from the governor and expressed a desire to know the condition and behavior of their brethren in Tuscarora Valley. They were also seeking directions and a written recommendation or pass for their visit to ensure they would be warmly received at the valley and along their journey (Hodge 848).

Report by the Committee of both Houses of the North Carolina General Assembly concerning public claims (December 09, 1762)

Samuel Farguson was allowed his Claim of nineteen pounds ten Shillings for Waggon hire, against the Cherokees, by order of Col. Waddell, as per Acct filed. Col. Robert Harris of Anson County was allowed Two Pounds Ten Shillings in Part of His Claim for going to Pee Dee by Order of Col. Waddell and the rest of his Claim Rejected. Exhibit 152

The Tuskarora had resided on the newly established Bertie County reservation for over four decades. During this period, their population dwindled due to conflicts and migrations, with some heading north and others south, while the land infringements of their white neighbors continued unchecked. By 1754, an estimated three hundred Indians were living on the reservation, a drop of over sixty percent in less than four decades. Governor Dobbs reported in 1761 that only about a hundred "fighting men" were left amongst the Tuskarora. In a report to officials in England in June 1763, Dobbs stated that the Tuskarora population had further "reduced." Issues of encroachment and depletion of natural resources by English settlers remained unresolved. John Allen of Bertie County, for example, encroached on the lands in the 1760s. During the North Carolina colonial court's April 1769 session, the attorney general filed a lawsuit against Allen for illegal occupation of the Indians' lands. The determination of the Tuskarora Indians to coexist and deal with the ever-growing numbers of white inhabitants was waning. Their way of life was being destroyed, and their morale was crumbling (Watson 7). Exhibit 153

By the early 1760s, many of the Indians who still lived on the Bertie County reservation wanted to leave and join the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederation in New York. King Blunt/Blount's Tuskarora had already started migrating to Bladen County, defending the southern and western parts of North Carolina from invading Indians and earning many land grants for their wartime services alongside Hugh Waddell. King James Blunt is listed on the 1763 Bladen County, NC tax list along with a man named Braveboy (Brayboy), likely John

"Jack" Braveboy, also known as "Captain Jack" mentioned in George Washington's letter. This tax list also features other Tuskarora such as David Braveboy (Brayboy), William Cain (presumably an Indian), John Kersey, Peter Kersey, and John Lachelur (Locklear). General Hugh Waddell is also listed in the 1763 tax list, demonstrating his close relationship with the Tuskarora who migrated to Bladen/Robeson County. Exhibit 154 (see Diagram 6A, pages 1-4)

The Tuskarora living in the Indian Woods reservation were in dire financial straits, lacking the resources necessary for the long journeys to the North. They needed to procure wagons, carts, haul animals, supplies, cooking utensils, and other assorted items. To generate the needed funds, the tribe's chiefs decided to lease a significant portion of their lands to four white men: Thomas Whitmell (an Indian commissioner, interpreter, and advocate), Thomas Pugh Sr. (a Bertie County legislator, justice of the peace, and militia officer), William Williams (a Halifax County, later Martin County, legislator, presumed Indian agent, and militia officer), and John Watson (a Bertie County planter). In November 1764, a proposed bill was brought forth in the General Assembly, intending to validate an agreement between the Sachem of the Tuskarora Indians and Whitmell, Pugh, Williams, and Watson. It didn't pass during the legislative session, and consequently, no law came into effect. (Pugh was serving as a representative of Bertie County to the assembly during this session) (Cheney 49). Exhibit 155 Despite this setback, some, not all, Tuskarora proceeded with their intention to lease the land.

The year 1763 witnessed a resurgence of hostilities ignited by military occupation and territorial greed in western Pennsylvania. This period, known as Pontiac's War (1763-65), plunged the Pennsylvania frontier into another cycle of violence. The brutality included an Indian siege at Fort Pitt, the British post built on the former site of Fort Duquesne, during which British officers considered deploying smallpox as a biological weapon against the enemy. In Lancaster County, a band of colonial vigilantes, the Paxton Boys, annihilated the Native population of Conestoga Indian Town, which had been in alliance with the Pennsylvania government since 1701. Threatening to slay Indians who had taken refuge in Philadelphia from the Moravian missions, the Paxton Boys marched on the city, but Benjamin Franklin and other city leaders managed to prevent further violence (Shannon).

By 1765, a decade of conflict had shifted the balance of power in Pennsylvania's dealings with the Indians. The Quakers no longer held moral or political sway in the colony's Indian policy. Frontier settlers now generally regarded all Indians as foes and quietly endorsed their expulsion or killing. Speculators from both inside and outside the colony vied for Indian land, largely ignoring the retrocessions that the natives had negotiated at Easton in 1758. During the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768, the British Crown's Indian agent, Sir William Johnson, negotiated yet another land sale with the Iroquois, resulting in the cession of Delaware and Shawnee homelands without their approval (Shannon).

In May 1766, seventy-five Tuscarora, as George Henry Loskiel recounts, paused during their journey from North Carolina and stayed for several weeks. They were perceived as indolent and unreceptive to religion. The sight of the first snow so alarmed the Tuscarora during their stay that they abandoned their riverfront huts and sought shelter with the missionaries. Some Tuscarora arrived at the mission intending to stay; these individuals had planted their crops during 1766 at the mouth of Tuscarora Creek, Wyoming County, PA (McPherson 188).

On May 17, 1766, under the supervision of the British Crown's Indian agent Sir William Johnson, Indians of the Susquehanna River region, representing the Tuscarora, met with Governor William Tryon to discuss the relocation of Bertie County Indians to New York. The Sachem sought Tryon's assistance in generating funds to support the Indians' northward journey. The governor clarified to the chief that, as the provincial legislature granted the land where the Tuscarora lived in North Carolina, legislative approval was necessary to secure the desired funds. The next assembly was set to convene in New Bern on October 30. At this session, Tryon assured the Sachem that he would do everything in his power to secure legislative approval to lease enough land to cover the travel expenses of the Tuscarora who were willing to leave the province and march to join the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederation. The Northern Sachem was initially hesitant to remain in North Carolina until the General Assembly convened, but he eventually decided to stay and live among fellow Indians on the Bertie County reservation. Governor Tryon communicated the outcomes of his discussion with these Sachem to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Tryon also referenced a recent letter from John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District, in which Stuart mentioned that Johnson had requested Stuart's help in persuading the Bertie County Indians to join the Five Nations. Tryon reassured Johnson that he would support those Indians wishing to depart, noting that approximately 220 to 230 individuals—men, women, and children—desired to continue living on the reservation by the Roanoke (Moratoc) River. [Exhibit 156](#)

The New York Sachem, confident of Governor Tryon's commitment to advocating for the Tuscarora Indians intending to leave for New York, at the General Assembly, likely played a role in negotiating an agreement for the Indians to lease a significant part of their lands. On July 12, 1766, twenty-seven chieftains of the North Carolina Tuscarora Nation entered a contract with Robert Jones Jr. (the North Carolina attorney general), Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams to lease an estimated eight thousand acres. The Indians received £1,500 "proclamation money" from Jones, Pugh, and Williams. Allegedly, both the tribe members planning to stay on the reservation and those intending to leave participated in the "division" of the lands, identifying the portion to be leased. The lease was to last 150 years (until July 12, 1916). The leased area spanned from the mouth of Deep Creek, also known as Falling Run, up the creek to the Indian boundary line, then along a route parallel to the run of Deep Creek to Roanoke (Moratoc) River, and up the river to the mouth of Deep Creek. The contract specified that the lessees had the right to all trees and timber "existing and growing" within the leased territory. It further noted that Jones, Pugh, and Williams had the right to any funds and profits derived from their use of the land. Each year, the trio was required to pay the Tuscarora "one peppercorn if demanded or upon the fear of Saint Michael, the archangel." The contract was validated in Bertie County court in September 1767. It was reported that "a gratuity [was] given to those [individuals] who remained for their consent to the Division" of reservation lands (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: L-56; Powell 323-24). [Exhibit 157](#) The agreement, in which the province's attorney general was a participant, contravened the 1748 law prohibiting the sale of Tuscarora lands.

By early August 1766, around 130 Indians from the Bertie County reservation were reportedly gearing up to join the Five Nations. Jones, Pugh, and Williams had, as per Governor Tryon's account, "advanced" £1,200 to the Indians to allow them to acquire wagons, food

supplies, and other necessities for the impending journey. It's likely that the 155 Indians departed the reservation prior to August 10.

On August 2, Tryon informed the British Board of Trade that the money had been lent to the Indians against the security of some of their lands until they could be reimbursed by the General Assembly for their expenses. The assembly would need to pass a law allowing the sale of Indian lands to generate these funds. Tryon also updated the Board of Trade that only fifty or sixty Tuskarora remained on the reserved lands. A few months later, he reported that 104 individuals—men, women, and children—were still there.

In the sweeping, tumultuous saga of North Carolina's history, the tale of the Tuskarora people weaves a poignant thread of displacement and struggle. The Tuskarora, once dominant inhabitants of the lands spanning the fertile riverbanks of North Carolina, found themselves swept up in the inexorable tide of colonial expansion that characterized the eighteenth century. The architects of their misfortune were many and varied, casting long shadows over the Tuskarora's ancestral lands. Foremost amongst them was the colonial government of North Carolina. Cloaked in the guise of legality, they sanctioned the erasure of Tuskarora territorial rights, legislating away their sovereignty one tract of land at a time. Policies thinly veiled as fair negotiations, such as the Act for confirming the lease made by the Tuskarora Indians to Robert Jones, were nothing more than state-endorsed seizures that paved the way for European settlers. Alongside the government, private colonists played their part in this land theft. Enticed by the promise of wealth and new beginnings, they encroached upon Tuskarora territories, sometimes with the subtle manipulations of power imbalance, other times with blatant disregard for the rights of the inhabitants.

The Crown, perched across the ocean, was not a silent actor in this theatre of displacement. Officials like Governor William Tryon, representatives of British power, orchestrated a grand dance of dispossession, moving populations and redrawing boundaries to suit their imperial designs. The removal of 155 Tuskarora individuals to the Six Nations on the Susquehanna River, carried out at the behest of Sir William Johnson and Mr. Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, exemplified the Crown's hand in the erasure of Tuskarora presence in North Carolina. Thus, the Tuskarora found themselves entrapped in a cruel drama of loss and displacement, their lands slipping away piece by piece. This was not just a local tale, but a chapter in a broader narrative of Indian dispossession that painted the history of North America in tragic hues. It was composed by colonial governments, private colonists, and the British Crown alike, each playing their part in silencing the voice of a once-dominant tribe. The echoes of this history still resonate today, a haunting melody that reminds us of a land and a people forever altered by the relentless march of colonial expansion. Exhibit 158

Nevertheless, most of the Indians left Bertie County for the Five Nations, leaving behind a small portion of the original Tuskarora Nation inhabitants on the Moratoc reservation. Some kept shuttling between Bertie and Bladen County along the old Tuskarora trading route known as Green's Path, but they continued to reside in North Carolina. (see Diagram 1J, Tuskarora trading path, (Green's path); Diagram 6B part 1-2)

Living up to his commitment to the Sachem, the governor appealed to the General Assembly members on November 4, 1766, for support to the Indians. By the time the legislative session started, Robert Jones Jr. had passed away (October 2, 1766).

In the colonial halls of North Carolina, letters fluttered like anxious birds, bearing messages weighty with the echoes of broken promises. One such message from Governor William Tryon was now in the hands of the House of Assembly, beseeching them to consider a plea from the Tuskarora Nation. Enclosed were the plea itself and a patent confirming the Tuskaroras' right to a tract of land in Bertie County. At the heart of this plea was a heart-rending speech delivered by Thomas Basket and the other chief men of the Tuskarora Nation. It was a story of loyalty and longing, of survival in the face of displacement, told with the urgency of a people teetering on the brink of erasure. The Tuskarora elders had come forward, presenting the Governor with deer skins - a symbol of goodwill from a people now unable to hunt, their young men swept away in the tide of change brought on by Tragaweha, the Northern Chief. They sought the confirmation of the lease of part of their land to colonists Jones, Williams, and Pugh, hoping to bypass the restrictive Act of 1748 and called for the appointment of Commissioners, protectors against the encroachment of settlers on their lands and their lives. Legal action was taken against one Sarah Bates, who had rented part of their now circumscribed lands. Back home, they had left behind the most vulnerable - old men and children, at the mercy of the encroaching cold. Time was of the essence, and they implored the Governor to expedite their cause. In response, the House of Assembly assured Governor Tryon that they would duly consider the Tuskarora's plea. Meanwhile, bills were passed and sent to the Council, business continued as usual, with the fate of the Tuskarora hanging in the balance. Exhibit 159

On December 16, 1766, Sir William Johnson, stationed at Mount Johnson, New York, welcomed 160 Indians who had recently migrated from North Carolina. The group reported that they had been victimized by theft at Paxtang, Pennsylvania, during their journey, losing horses and other belongings amounting to around \$300.

Detailing the migration event of 1766, Sir William Johnson reported to the Earl of Shelburne on December 16 that year:

"This moment an interpreter arrived here with several Tuscarora chiefs returned from North Carolina whither they went last spring in order to bring the remainder of their tribe out of danger from that government, which they have now done to the number of 160, and they have produced to me certificates of their quiet behavior and decorum, under the seals of the magistrates of the several districts thro which they passed; notwithstanding which, by the account the interpreter and they give me, as also from the letters I received by them, I find that on their way, their lives were several times attempted by the frontier people, who assembled for that purpose, to prevent which for the future. One of my officers, that way, was necessitated to but the Crown to the charge of an- attendant white man, and that on their return, having sold part of their lands in Carolina and purchased sundry horses, wagons etc. for carrying some effects, they were again used ill at Paxton in Pennsylvania and robbed of several horses, etc., valued at £55; of this the Tuscarora chiefs complained to several of the Six Nations-, and I have just now with difficulty prevented them from making a formal complaint to the whole Confederacy on promising them that it should be inquired into. I am persuaded Governor Penn will do all he can

on receipt of my letter, but these sort of lawless people are not easily detected being screened by one another. There have been several instances of much of the same nature lately in different quarters on the frontiers."

Later, the Tuscarora settled on the Susquehanna, in Oquaga and its surroundings, and were assigned lands by the Oneida, their political mentors. These lands were bordered by the Unadilla River on the east, the Chenango on the west, and the Susquehanna on the south. Several Tuscarora settlements, including Ganasaraga, on the site of what is now Sullivan, Madison County, New York, and Kannehsuntahkeh, were located in the northern part of this allocation. A considerable number of Tuscarora also lived with the Oneida in their main village. They stayed on these lands until the upheaval of the Revolution forced them to move.

The Act opens by introducing legislation for the Tuscarora Indians who desired to relocate and merge with the tribes living along the Susquehannah River. The details of the agreement from July 1756 are then elaborated upon, wherein to meet the costs of their move, the Tuscarora Indians leased a portion of their land - about 8000 acres - to three men: Robert Jones, William Williams, and Thomas Pugh. These men paid the Tuscarora Indians 1500 pounds in return for this lease, which was intended to last for one hundred and fifty years. Further examination of the lease reveals an extremely low annual rent, a mere peppercorn, should it be demanded on the feast of St. Michael the Archangel. The peppercorn rent signifies a formality more than an actual payment - a way of acknowledging the continuing interest of the lessor in the property. However, since the making of this agreement, Robert Jones has passed away, leaving his share of the land to his sons, Allen and Willie Jones. The indenture - a legal contract that reflects or covers a deed, contract, or other document - therefore needs to be ratified and confirmed to include Allen and Willie Jones and protect the rights of all parties involved. The Act further seeks to protect the interests of the leasers by providing them with the right to enter, possess, and enjoy the leased land without any interference or molestation, and without being subjected to any penalties. They are also exempted from the penalties of an earlier Act, passed in October 1748, that protected the Tuscarora lands from being claimed or occupied by other individuals or entities. The Act concludes with two important provisions. First, it clarifies that the Act shall not be construed in a way that invalidates the title of any person who had obtained a grant for any portion of the Tuscarora lands before October 1748. Secondly, it stipulates that the new leaseholders should pay an annual quit rent (a tax or land tax) of four shillings per hundred acres to the Earl of Granville, failing which the Earl, or his successors, may recover the arrears through legal means. Exhibit 160

The Tuscarora Indians who stayed on the reservation found themselves in poverty. It appears that most of the funds derived from leasing the reservation lands were directed to the benefit of those who left to join the Five Nations. According to Sachem Thomas Basket, those who remained were primarily "elderly men and children, incapable of self-sufficiency, especially during harsh weather." Assistance from the colonial government became a necessity for the struggling Indians. Yet, even amid their desperate circumstances, they were taken advantage of, with white settlers encroaching on their lands. This included Sarah Bates, whom Basket asked the colonial authorities to remove. Sarah, the widow of Humphrey Bates, lived within the Indian territory on the "William Charleton" land north of Chewatock Swamp. By April 1802, Sarah was advanced in age, yet she continued to reside on a 150-acre plot within the Indian lands. On April

2, 1802, Sarah's grandsons, Humphrey and Henry Bates, offspring of James Bates, sold 150 acres that had originally belonged to William Charleton (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: S-465, M-481).

In 1767, another partial migration occurred, with many Indians from different tribes, including the previously antagonistic Tuscarora, drawn to the Moravian Mission at Friedenshuetten, on the Susquehanna near Wyalusing.

[Letter from William Tryon to William Petty, January 31, 1767]

The removal of these (Tuskarora) Indians was effected at the request of Sir William Johnson and with the approbation of Mr Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. This lease is advantageous to the proprietor of the soil, Earl Granville, as it lets him into the immediate receipt of the Quit Rents which he had no claim to while the Indians lived on that land. The sum advanced for the removal of these Indians and the contingencies amounted to near two thousand pounds proclamation money. The remnant of this [Moratoc] tribe are one hundred and four, men, women and children (with Bladen not counted), and occupy about half the tract of land allotted them by Act of Assembly passed in 1748, a large proportion for their numbers. Exhibit 161

On February 1, 1767, Allen Jones of Northampton County sold to his brother, Willie Jones (also of Northampton), his share of their father's interest in the leased Tuskarora lands. Willie Jones paid £600 for the undivided one-third part (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: L-94). The transaction yielded an effective monetary profit of £350, a seventy percent gain in less than seven months. (Robert Jones's share of the lease cost was £500 [1/3 of £1,500], and this cost equally divided between Allen and Willie Jones was £250 per person.)

[GOVERNOR TRYON'S CHEROKEE BOUNDARY EXPEDITION IN 1767]

A Copy of His Excellency Governor Tryon's Orders to the Escort, which escorted him to the Western Frontiers of the Province to meet the Cherokee Indians. Officers appointed to the detachment from the Regiments of Rowan and Mecklenburg Counties, ordered by His Excellency to escort him to the Western Frontiers of this Province to wit, Colonel Hugh Waddell to be Colonel Commandant of the Escort, Lieutenant Colonel John Frohock to command the detachment from Rowan Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Moses Alexander to command the detachment from Mecklenburgh Regiment. The Mecklenburgh Detachment discharged and the Governor, Col: Waddell, Col: Fanning & c arrived at Salisbury to dinner from Colonel Alexander's. Exhibit 162

On April 18, 1767, Willie Jones, Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams leased 1,080 acres of the Tuskarora lands to Henry Eustace McCulloh for £100. This sublease agreement was for a term of 150 years, starting from July 12, 1766, and lasting until July 12, 1916. The leased tract, known as Green Pond, was located along the rear boundary of the Indian lands (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: K-482). McCulloh, son of the largest land speculator in North Carolina, Henry McCulloh, was born in England in 1737. Educated as a lawyer, he held several positions since 1761, including collector of the port of Beaufort, council member of the governor, surveyor, and justice of peace in Orange County. By 1766, he became the collector of

the port of Roanoke at Edenton, a role he was serving in when he subleased the Tuskarora land. He left North Carolina in 1770 to return to England and never returned to North Carolina ("Henry Eustace McCulloh").

This subleasing arrangement with McCulloh marked the first of fourteen agreements that Jones, Pugh, and Williams made to lease out the Tuskarora lands over the following seven or more years. The trio sublet over 5,850 acres, which amounted to 73 percent of the roughly eight thousand acres involved in their July 1766 lease. They collected £1,596 from these subleases, surpassing the initial investment of £1,500. Notably, three of the subleases, covering a total of 1,537 acres, were granted by William Williams to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband John Johnston, as well as to his son Samuel Williams, out of "love and affection" and for nominal sums (a total of fifteen shillings for the three transactions) (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: K-482, L-216, L-218, L-221, L-240, L-287, L-292, L-314, M-53, M-110, M-114, M-115, M-119, M-214).

By 1768, it was reported that the "Tuscaroras" in New York had 140 warriors, and likely over twice that number in women and children, in a single village located six miles from the primary Oneida village. Several Tuscarora settlements still existed in the Susquehanna Valley. Those who had settled at Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, in 1713 seem to have been relocated after two years. These individuals were later adopted by the Senecas as their kin.

Account of William Tryon's expenses in
(November 02, 1769)

For presents made the Cherokee Indians:

[Paid John Rogers (Tuskarora), a sergeant under Hugh Waddell, for entertaining them.]

For presents made the Catawba Indians:

[Paid John Rogers (Tuskarora) for entertaining them.] Exhibit 163

[Letter from William Tryon to Wills Hill, Marquis of Downshire (April 12, 1771)]

To forward this business I went myself last week to Wilmington, when I appointed Mr. Waddell General of all the forces raised or to be raised against the insurgents, and expect he will get seven hundred men from the western counties to serve under his immediate command, who will march them into the settlements of the insurgents by the way of Salisbury, while I bring up the forces from the southern and eastern parts and break into their settlements on the east side of Orange County. Exhibit 164

Account of the expense of determining the North Carolina/South Carolina boundary

Rutherford, John, 1724-1782; Dry, William,

June 10, 1772

John Rogers [Tuskarora] Do

8. 12. 0. Exhibit 165

In January 1773, Willie Jones, Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams determined that a partition of their leased lands was necessary, likely to enhance their individual management and oversight. They drafted three distinct agreements (dated January 1, 10, and 15) delineating eighteen specific parcels totaling 11,890 acres — a startling 48.6 percent or 3,890 acres more than the acreage stated in their 1766 lease with the Tuskarora. It seems that the Indians, lacking knowledge in land surveying techniques, unintentionally leased more land to Jones, Pugh, and Williams than they initially recorded. The stark discrepancy in the recorded acreage might suggest that Jones, Pugh, and Williams exploited the chiefs' lack of knowledge.

General Hugh Waddell was a born soldier with an impressive physical stature, strength, and endurance. His military prowess was unmatched in the Province, particularly as an Indian fighter. Besides his physical attributes, Waddell was also known for his intellectual acumen, resourcefulness, and swift decision-making. His reputation remains strong in local traditions. Over seven years, Waddell led the frontlines in all the battles involving Indians, acquiring a thorough knowledge of the land and its people. He was respected and loved by the people who fought under him, which explained his ability to mobilize troops for Governor Tryon's campaign against the Regulators nearly ten years after he stopped living among them. Waddell was equally attentive to civil affairs. He represented the county of Rowan in the Assembly in 1757, the same county where Fort Dobbs was located and where he lived. After achieving peace with the Indians in 1762, he married Mary Haynes and moved to represent the county of Bladen. Waddell passed away on April 9, 1773, at 39 years of age. Exhibit 166 (See Diagram 1J, Map. Note: Hugh Waddell's name is referenced at the bottom of the map showing where it led directly through Tuskarora lands and trails, ending in Bladen County where he resided along with the Moratoc families and Tuskarora warriors that fought alongside him.)

Over time, the bond between Hugh Waddell and the Tuskarora diminished. They no longer had allies to advocate for them among those indifferent to the presence of Indians in North Carolina. The Indian Nations, including the Tuskarora, who had provided valuable assistance to colonial leaders on numerous occasions, were overlooked and forgotten.

In the cold month of December 1773, a conflict arose in the Governor's Council of North Carolina. The Sachem of the Tuskarora Indians had issued a complaint, bringing to light an issue that had been simmering under the surface for some time. It was against a man named William King, accused of trespassing and causing destruction on lands lying on the north side of the Moratoc River. These lands held a history intertwined with power and politics. They were initially granted to Colonel Needham Bryan by the Lords Proprietors upon the failure of the Tuskarora nation. The Lords Proprietors were eight Englishmen to whom King Charles II had given a large tract of land in the New World as a reward for their support in his efforts to regain the throne of England. They held quasi-royal authority over the Province of Carolina and could grant lands as they saw fit. After the lands were granted to Bryan, the Legislature of the Province had later confirmed the grant, solidifying his ownership. Now the said lands were under dispute again. The Sachem of the Tuskarora Indians accused William King of trespassing and causing waste on these lands. The accusation of 'committing waste' suggested a possible violation of the

common law principle forbidding tenants to alter or damage the property they held, reflecting a serious charge in a society where land was both a source of sustenance and a marker of status. In response to the complaint, the Governor's Council took a measured approach. They sought to determine the legitimacy of King's possession and his reasons for being on the land. It was decided that a letter should be drafted and sent to William King, asking him to either remove himself from the land or present a cause defending his possession. The letter, a diplomatic and yet assertive maneuver, was to be written under the authority of the Governor himself, serving as a reminder of the government's active role in the protection of its people's rights and lands.

Exhibition 167

In December 1775, the Tuskarora Indians of Bertie County executed two leases, with one being a subsequent lease to Jones, Pugh, and William Williams. On December 2, twenty-two Sachems leased 1,700 acres to the three men for ninety-nine years. The total area amounted to 2,000 acres, but the agreement explicitly excluded three hundred acres farmed by an Indian named Watking. In return for the lease, which stated that Jones, Pugh, and Williams annually provide "rent" of eighty "oznatrig" (osnaburg) shirts, eighty Duffield blankets, eighty pairs of boots, fifty pounds of black powder and 150 pounds of shot, the Indians received no monetary compensation (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-316). Later, on December 13, fourteen Sachems leased an unspecified area of land to William King for a ninety-nine-year term at an annual rent of £15. Whitmell Tuffdick was recognized as "the King Indian" in the deed (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-317).

The compensation detailed in the Jones-Pugh-Williams lease — clothing, blankets, powder, and shot — unequivocally demonstrates the desperate state of the poverty-stricken Tuskarora who needed clothing for comfort, warmth, and ammunition for hunting (and survival). The annual supply of eighty shirts, pairs of boots, and blankets suggests that about eighty individuals still lived on the Bertie County reservation. The compensation was scant for leasehold rights to such an extensive area of productive land. Jones, Pugh, and Williams were wealthy men, while the Tuskarora were likely the poorest and most oppressed people in Bertie County. The Indians were unfamiliar with the business practices of the white men. Yet they were dealing with educated men whose quest for wealth clearly fueled their transactions with the Tuskarora. Jones, Pugh, Williams, their heirs, and the individuals who received subleases from the original Indian leases accrued significant profits in the years to follow by repeatedly selling leases, alongside considerable income from farming activities and harvesting of natural resources on the "Indian Woods" lands (Hofman 179).

As per The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey, the Cherokees managed to maintain peace with the Whites up until the onset of the Revolution's complications. The year 1774 saw the commencement of their hostilities. In 1776, General Rutherford launched a campaign against them. In this conflict, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia coordinated their efforts. With an army of roughly 1500 to 2000 men, General Rutherford advanced towards the southern towns such as Chota. Here, he was joined by General Williamson and his 1600 men from South Carolina. Colonel Joseph Williams, along with Colonel Christie and his 2000 Virginia men, began their march from Surry. Their route passed by the Long Island on Holstein, leading them to the Overhill Towns, where the Treaty of 1776 was formed.

In a span of five months from February 10, 1777, to July 7, 1777, the Tuskarora Sachem entered into six lease agreements with different parties. On February 10, an understanding was reached with Zedekiah Stone, granting him occupation of a specified portion of their lands for ninety-nine years. The Indians hoped that Stone would clear the land, but without causing any disturbance to Joseph Lloyd, Thomas Smith, and Sarah Hicks (presumed to be Indians). On February 26, a lease for an undisclosed amount of land was granted to John McCaskey Sr. and Thomas Hunter (both from Martin County) at an annual rent of £8 (On January 24, 1786, Hunter transferred his lease rights to McCaskey for £50). On March 18, a two hundred acre tract was leased to John Johnston for ninety-nine years at an annual rent of £10. Ten days later, Thomas Pugh Sr. secured a ninety-nine-year lease on one hundred acres for an annual rent of £8. On April 7, William King was granted a lease for a tract of unknown size. The Indians wished for William King to clear the land, and since they were unable to pay him, it was agreed that he could occupy and enjoy the land. Three months later (July 7), Titus Edwards obtained a similar lease. Edwards was allowed to occupy and manage a sixty-acre tract that the Indians wanted to have cleared (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-314, M-315, M-318, M-319, S-676, S-679).

Through their extended leases in 1766 and the 1770s, the Tuskarora transferred control of the vast majority of the "Indian Woods" reservation to white planters and officials. The financially desperate Indians, easy prey to the machinations of wealthy whites seeking valuable lands, had to resort to these measures to secure money. By the 1780s, the reservation was predominantly occupied by some of the wealthiest men in the Roanoke River valley. The remaining Tuskarora were left to survive on the non-leased land, which was estimated to be less than 5,000 acres. Furthermore, the Tuskarora lacked sufficient understanding of the white men's business practices to adequately monitor and manage leases that spanned several generations.

Struggling to collect rents owed to them and managing their affairs effectively, the Tuskarora Indians sought help from Governor Richard Caswell. During the legislative session of the General Assembly in December 1777, the House of Commons decided to prohibit "all persons...from making entries in the Tuskarora Lands in Bertie County." Additionally, William Williams, Thomas Pugh Sr., Zedekiah Stone, and Simon Turner were named as commissioners for the Tuskarora Indians, with responsibilities to supervise and look after their affairs. It is noteworthy that Williams, Pugh, and Stone were not impartial in Indian affairs as they each had lease agreements with the Indians. Lawmakers were worried about the Indians not receiving their rents in line with the terms of leases they had agreed upon with the whites. To address this, the resolutions of the House allowed the commissioners to demand and collect any current or future rents owed to the Tuskarora. In case of payment defaults, the commissioners were given the power to issue "warrants of distress" against individuals liable for rents and ensure the warrants "to be delivered and applied ... to the proper use and benefit" of the Indians. The commissioners were also given the authority to prevent ill-intentioned persons from selling liquors on Tuskarora lands. The Senate agreed with the House resolutions. Exhibit 168

During the spring session of 1778, the General Assembly enacted a law for the "peaceful and secure" existence of the Tuskarora Indians. The law depicted the Indians as naturally naive and prone to excessive drinking, making them easy targets for unscrupulous individuals seeking to exploit them and their lands. The law required actions to address the various challenges

negatively impacting the Indians on the Bertie County reservation. The law also asserted that Whitmell Tuffdick, the Sachem, and the Tuskarora Indians then living in Bertie County on lands given to them "by solemn Treaty," and reaffirmed to them by the act of Assembly in 1748, were perpetually excused from any poll tax. The law stipulated that no one could buy or lease any land claimed or held by the Tuskarora Indians for any consideration (monetary or otherwise). No one was allowed to settle on or cultivate the Indians' lands without proper authorization, or under the pretense of acting as an overseer for the Indians. Anyone found guilty of buying, leasing, settling on, or cultivating any Indian lands post-enactment of this law would have their transactions declared "null and void." Moreover, each individual would be penalized £300 "current money" for every one hundred acres purchased, leased, settled on, or cultivated. Half of all these fines would be given to the Tuskarora Indians for their benefit.

The legislation also stated that the Tuskarora Indians were only permitted to sell or dispose of their lands, or any portion thereof, with the prior approval of the General Assembly. The law confirmed that all individuals who had valid claims to land under the July 12, 1766, lease to Robert Jones Jr., Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams and the 1766 law ratifying that lease (including legitimate subleases), were entitled to hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy the lands in a "full, free, and absolute" capacity. Such individuals were granted the same legal privileges as Jones, Pugh, and Williams, albeit subject to applicable taxes. Any legitimate leases, devoid of fraudulent components, made by the Indians prior to December 1, 1777, were considered valid and subject to relevant taxes.

The lawmakers noted in the law that the Tuskarora Indians had fallen victim to unjust transactions with white inhabitants who acquired leases. The Indians lacked the means to seek remedy in such situations. As a result, the act stated that Indian commissioners (appointed by the act, namely Willie Jones, Thomas Pugh Sr., William Williams, Simon Turner, and Zedekiah Stone) would have the power to probe into Indian grievances against their lessees. The commissioners were granted the authority to hold court sessions or meetings to determine if any individuals had unfairly or deceitfully obtained leases from the Indians. Any person against whom the Indians had lodged a complaint was to be called to the court to respond to the complaint before a jury of twelve freeholders (landowners) of Bertie County, who neither resided on nor leased any lands of the Tuskarora Indians. The Bertie County sheriff was empowered to enforce the ensuing writs and warrants. The proceedings and verdicts of the courts were to be recorded in the Bertie County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions. The statute recognized that the Indians often experienced damages, such as destruction of fences and crop, due to livestock herded onto their lands by white individuals. In response to this deprivation of property, the law provided for the Indians to demand compensation and rents for the losses incurred. The Indian commissioners were granted the authority to collect the rents and damages suffered by the Tuskarora Indians at the hands of white inhabitants. The justices of Bertie County were given the power to appoint commissioners to replace any who died or resigned. Lastly, the act determined that the lands leased by Robert Jones Jr., Thomas Pugh Sr., William Williams, and others were to revert to, and become the property of the state of North Carolina at the end of the lease terms, if the Tuskarora Nation no longer existed. Lands owned and occupied by the Tuskarora were also to revert to the state when the Nation became extinct, or the Indians fully abandoned the lands or moved away from them. Exhibit 169

In a similar fashion to the French and Indian War twenty years earlier, two Tuskarora Indian brothers served in the military during the Revolutionary War. John and James Hicks enlisted in the Fifth North Carolina Regiment in 1777 for a duration of two and a half years. They served under the command of Captain John Pugh Williams, alongside other men from Bertie County. John Hicks' service history notes that he was "Slain in Battle," although the specific battle and date are not recorded. It appears that John Hicks passed away while in service, as he was removed from the rolls in February 1778. Considering that Captain Williams was the nephew of Colonel Thomas Pugh Sr. (a lessee of Tuskarora Indian lands) and had borne witness to a lease agreement between Pugh and the Indians, including the Hicks brothers, in December 1775, it is likely that he was familiar with the Hicks brothers. Both John and James Hicks acknowledged the agreement with their signatures. Williams also witnessed a 1773 sublease involving Willie Jones, William Williams, and John Johnston (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-53, M-316). Exhibit 170

During the Revolutionary War, several other Tuskarora men, including Michael Revells, Ishmael Chavis, Charles Wineoak Jr., William Lowrey, Berry Hunt, Thomas Jacobs, Richard Bell, Samuel Bell, Primus Jacobs, Thomas Cummings, and John Hammond, also contributed to the fight for the country's independence. These men's participation can be confirmed through Revolutionary War pension records in Raleigh, NC. For their service in the war, these Tuskarora men received land in Bladen/Robeson County, a typical reward at that time for Indians who demonstrated loyalty. Walter Gibson, a Tuskarora chieftain who signed land leases for Indian Woods reservation, received a land grant of 150 acres in Bladen County in close proximity to General Hugh Waddell (who led Tuskarora) on March 14, 1775. (see Diagram 7, Tuskarora Woods Land Lease (Charles Wineoak Jr.); Diagram 7A, Land Deed Walter Gibson) Exhibit 171

When the Revolutionary War began, "William Lowrey/Lowrie," a Tuskarora descendant of the warrior Thomas Kersey and son of Sarah "Kersey" Lowrie, joined the fight for independence. William, then a young adult, joined a courageous and patriotic group led by the esteemed Whig patriot Colonel Thomas Robeson, the namesake of Robeson County. William Lowrie served as a dedicated Whig soldier, fighting alongside the white soldiers in every conflict in which Colonel Robeson was involved. While guiding Colonel Wade and his men across Drowning Creek (now known as Lumber River), following the massacre at Piney Bottom in Cumberland County, William Lowrie was seriously injured by a sword in his left hand. The assailant was a Tory named James McPherson, who lived on the property then owned by Colonel Charles Malloy, currently the site of Laurel Hill Church, in Richmond County, NC. The conflict between Colonel Wade's troops and the Tories occurred near Bettie's bridge, currently known as Gilchrist's bridge, in the upper section of Robeson county adjacent to Drowning Creek, at the location where Montpelier Church would later be established. William Lowrie bore the scar from this incident as a lasting testament to his commitment to the Whig cause. After the Revolutionary War ended, Lowrie received a pension from the government for the same sword wound until his death, as documented in the Pension Office records in Washington City. Following the demise of William's father James Lowrie, William wed (Elizabeth) "Bettie" Locklear, a Tuskarora Indian woman (Norment 6).

On March 23 and 24, 1779, Willie Jones, Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams established five subleases within the Tuskarora Indian Woods Reservation. The 1778 law

allowed these individuals, who held leases to the Tuskarora Indians' lands, to sublet these properties. Almost 850 acres were involved in these five subleases, generating a total of £3,695 for Jones, Pugh, and Williams. The subleases were granted to David Standley, John Allen, James Bates, Simon Turner, and Jeremiah Pearce (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-400, M-402, M-405, M-406, M-407).

Through the subletting of the Tuskarora lands, Jones, Pugh, and Williams easily recovered their original £1,500 lease "investment" made on July 12, 1766. They were not required to provide any upfront payment for their December 1775 agreement (which obligated them to provide annual supplies such as clothing and ammunition to the Indians). Thus, in less than thirteen years, these three affluent men accumulated large profits from the fertile reservation lands of the Indians.

The 1778 statute had a shortcoming in that it did not stipulate a penalty for those who neglected to attend as jurors when summoned. By 1780, this issue became so notable that Tuskarora chiefs, including Whitmell Tuffdick, raised a complaint to state legislators, arguing that "not enough jurors will show up to hear a trial due to cunning persuasion by those in dispute with the Indians." As a result, the General Assembly enacted an amendment to the previous law in its April-May 1780 session. This amendment allowed the commissioners to impose a fine of £100 on anyone who, having been summoned as a juror or witness, did not show up to court. The fines were not applicable to individuals who could provide a "sufficient excuse" for their absence. Exhibit 172

There is no clear record of the total number of complaints processed by the Tuskarora Indian commissioners. Though, it is known that one such complaint led to a trial on February 24, 1781, held at William Blount's residence on the Indian lands. The trial addressed a dispute involving the Indians and William King's executors (his wife, Elizabeth, and son, William Jr.). In 1777, the Indians had lodged a complaint with North Carolina leaders, alleging that King obtained a sizable land lease and deceitfully concocted another lease with William Cain, an Indian chief, intended to defraud the Tuskarora. King allegedly provided alcohol to the Indians, and once they were inebriated, he presented a pre-drafted long-term lease. This document purported to lease one hundred acres, but the tract described was actually at least ten times larger. According to the trial account, King's executors claimed rights to land that King had leased from the Tuskarora. Commissioners Pugh, Turner, and Stone oversaw the proceedings. Upon hearing and deliberating the evidence, a jury of twelve men declared that William King had no rights to the disputed land during his lifetime, nor did his executors after his death. The commissioners ordered that the "verdict" be recorded in the Bertie County court records. King passed away before November 1778, which is when his undated will was validated in Bertie County court (Haun 8; Byrd 44-45; King, "Last Will & Testament" B-126; King, North Carolina Estate Files, Image 12).

Elias Johnson noted that a faction of the Northern Tuskarora established themselves about 2 miles west of Tamaqua, in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. Here, they planted apple trees and resided for several years. It's likely that these Tuskarora later relocated to Oquaga, where they established three other towns by 1778 (Johnson 40).

On March 24, 1779, Willie Jones, Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams distributed among themselves the lands they had leased from the Indians in December 1775. Like their actions in January 1773, concerning their July 1766 leasehold, they divided the total acreage into individual plots. In this instance, they split the land into ten parcels, totaling 7,849 acres. This was roughly 6,150 acres more than the area mentioned in their 1775 agreement with the Indians. The discrepancy between the land area stated in the men's contract with the Tuskarora and the land they allocated amongst themselves six years later is astounding. According to relevant land records, Jones, Pugh, and Williams had leased roughly 9,700 acres of reservation land from the Indians as per the agreements of July 1766 and December 1773. Nonetheless, the men distributed among themselves more than 19,739 acres, nearly twice the area they purportedly leased. Such vast disparities between the quantities of land leased and later divided by Jones, Pugh, and Williams suggest that the Tuskarora inadvertently granted rights to a significantly larger area than they realized. It's likely the Indians agreed to the general boundaries of the leases using notable landmarks, geographical features, swamps, runs, and the like. Clearly, no formal surveys were conducted of the lands under the leases, so there were no definitive descriptions of the area to be documented in the ensuing paperwork.

On February 11, 1782, Zedekiah Stone signed an agreement with Whitmell Tuffdick and seven other Tuskarora chiefs. In this agreement, Stone pledged to pay the Indians £12 in coin annually for the right to cultivate a specific parcel of land within the Indian boundary, known as Coniot. The agreement suggests that Stone had already been renting the land from the Indians. To ensure his compliance with the agreement, Stone's bond was an astonishing £20,000 in coin, an extraordinarily high amount. The reasoning behind such a high bond is unclear. Thomas Pugh Sr. and William Benson endorsed the document as guarantees for Stone (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-509, M-512, M-550).

Prior to August 1782, William Williams passed away. In the wake of his death, the presiding justices of Bertie County court appointed Williams' son, Samuel, to replace his father as a Tuskarora Indian commissioner. Samuel Williams held two subleases for nearly 1,000 acres and was bequeathed leased Tuskarora land in his father's will (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-530; Haun 16). With Williams's passing, only Thomas Pugh Sr. of the original three leaseholders of the Indian lands along the Roanoke (Moratoc) River remained (Haun 24; Bertie County Deed Book M-114, M-115; Williams, Will 1-90).

Williams, who lived in Martin County (established in 1774 from Halifax and Tyrrell Counties), wrote his will on December 22, 1778. He left his "Indian lands" in Bertie County to his sons, William Williams Jr. and Samuel Williams, and his daughter, Elizabeth Johnston, married to John Johnston. Williams' will was proven in Martin County court in August 1782. Exhibit 173

The American Revolution expedited the dispossession of Indians in Pennsylvania. Unrestrained by British imperial authority, the Americans launched assaults, displacing Native populations. In 1779, a Continental Army expedition destroyed Indian towns in the northern Susquehanna and Allegheny Valleys. In March 1782, militiamen from the Pittsburgh region slaughtered nearly 100 Delaware individuals, including men, women, and children, in the Moravian mission town of Gnadenhütten in Ohio. By the close of the war, nearly every Indian

community within Pennsylvania had been either annihilated or abandoned, their survivors forced to seek refuge in Ohio or New York. Pennsylvania did not recognize any federal or state Indian reservations within its borders. By the 1790s, the only remaining Indian community within Pennsylvania was a small group of Seneca Indians residing along the Allegheny River on land privately owned by their leader, Cornplanter (c. 1750-1836). The Cornplanter's Town remained on this property until the construction of the Kinzua Dam in the 1960s forced its inhabitants to move onto Seneca reservation lands in New York.

The treaty of Fort Herkimer in 1785, negotiated with the State of New York and to which the migrating Tuscarora were nominal parties, led to the Oneida (the original owners of the lands then occupied by the Tuscarora) transferring the Tuscarora lands to New York and keeping the sale proceeds; leaving the Tuscarora once again without a home. Subsequently, they became scattered. They later established a village called Junastriyo (Tcunāstri' io') in the Genesee Valley, below Avon, NY; another named Jutaneaga (Tcutānēñ' kiä') at the fork of Chittenango Creek; and another named Kanhato (Kă'n'ha"nū'). A large segment of the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes, in line with existing agreements with the United Colonies, stayed loyal to the American cause during the Revolution. Upon learning that most of the Tuscarora had sided with the Colonies, the British-aligned Indian allies, including some of their kin from the Six Nations, attacked Tuscarora territory, set their dwellings on fire, and destroyed their crops and other belongings. As a result of the war, the Tuscarora once again found themselves displaced and without a home. A large group of them settled at a place named Oyonwayea, or Johnson's Landing, in Niagara County, NY, located about 4 miles east of the Niagara River outlet at Four Mile Creek, to avoid direct contact with the numerous British-friendly Indians camped around Fort Niagara (McPherson 189).

After the war, two Tuscarora families, likely clans, from Oyonwayea traveled to the northeastern limits of their current reservation, where they discovered abundant walnuts and butternuts and a magnificent stream. They chose to spend the winter here. When they were noticed missing from Oyonwayea, scouts were dispatched and discovered them in their newly chosen settlement. The location was so advantageous that after voluntarily leaving their former home among the Oneida, Oyonwayea was vacated, and all the families moved to the new site. Although the Tuscarora only had informal permission from the Seneca to settle at this location, it became the basis for the current Tuscarora reservation in New York. During the treaty negotiations at Genesee on September 15, 1797, between Robert Morris and the Seneca Tribe, Tuscarora chiefs expressed for the first time since their inclusion in the council of the league that the Five Nations had periodically allocated lands to their people. Still, these lands were always included in subsequent transfers to the whites, leaving the Tuscarora with nothing in exchange for their right of occupancy or improvements. Acknowledging the validity and merits of their grievances, Morris reserved, by grant, 2 square miles covering their settlement on the ridge mentioned above for the Tuscarora, and the Seneca granted them an adjoining square mile (McPherson 189-190).

In the 1780s and 1790s, leaseholders and sublease holders of Tuscarora Indian lands in North Carolina concluded at least twenty-one agreements, further subdividing lease rights. The total number of acres covered by these agreements from the two decades remains unknown as many recorded agreements did not mention acreages. Furthermore, during this period, seven men

- Titus Edwards, John Hinton, John Johnston, David Standley, John McCaskey Sr., John Allen, and Thomas Bond - passed away. Through their wills, they passed on various parcels of leased Indian land to their heirs and beneficiaries. In all instances, the wills did not reveal the number of acres included in the bequests (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-733, P-60, P-396, P-402, P-414, Q-30, Q-304, Q-338, Q-447, R-83, R-211, R-356, R-357, R-392, R-514, S-69, S-83, T-294; Bertie County, North Carolina Wills: Titus Edwards D-43, John Hinton D-192, John Johnston D-158, Thomas Bond D-282).

The Indian population that persisted on the lands in North Carolina during the late eighteenth century would undoubtedly have had trouble identifying all the individuals who held lease rights and were legally permitted to enter the reservation to clear lands, build homes, cultivate fields, and utilize natural resources. In addition to the leaseholders, their family members, laborers employed by the leaseholders, and slaves also frequented the reservation. By 1800, the few Tuskarora Indians still residing in Indian Woods had essentially lost dominion over their lands and the continuing activities on them, with most Tuskarora moving years prior to what is now Robeson County, formerly Bladen County, to join the remainder of their Tuskarora brethren. The Indians, who had worked tirelessly to deter white settlers from unlawfully occupying their reserved lands, had succumbed to the ultimate "leased" encroachment of the Indian Woods Reservation. In 1798, the Tuskarora petitioned North Carolina legislators to appoint additional commissioners to aid in managing Indian affairs. During its session from November to December 1798, the General Assembly enacted a law that introduced two additional commissioners to those appointed according to the 1778 law. As per the Tuskarora suggestion, William Williams Jr. (son of William Williams, who had leased land from the Tuskarora Indians in 1766 and 1775) and Samuel Johnston (son of John Johnston and grandson of William Williams) were appointed (N.C. Gen. Assembly, "The Laws of North Carolina" 10).

1800s

In the early nineteenth century, the Tuskarora Indians of Bertie County were on the brink of forfeiting their reservation. In late 1801, a delegation from the Tuskarora Nation in New York journeyed to North Carolina, seeking to negotiate with state authorities for the cessation or sale of the Indian's rights to the "Indian Woods" territory. The intention of the New York Indians was to generate funds from the sale of the Bertie County lands to acquire territories in New York. As a result of this mission, with the support of the North Carolina Legislature, they managed to lease the Carolina territories, amassing a sum of \$13,722. This amount empowered the Secretary of War in 1804, under the sanction of Congress, to procure 4,329 acres of land for the New York Tuskarora from the Holland Land Co. This land was adjacent to the three square miles already inhabited by them. This event marks the beginning of the land ownership of the New York Tuskarora (McPherson 190).

In the autumn of 1802, two chiefs, Sacarusa and Longboard, representatives of the Tuskarora Nation in New York, arrived in North Carolina to aid their Iroquois relatives in Bertie. The New York Tuskarora Nation officially authorized these two leaders, along with Samuel Smith (an Indian who resided on the reservation and who unexpectedly passed away two days

after the meeting), to act on behalf of the North Carolina Tuscarora. The New York Tuscarora were ready to give up their claim to the “Indian Woods” territories at the end of the 150-year lease agreement made in July 1766 with Robert Jones Jr., Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams. Additionally, they wanted the 99-year leases extended to end on July 12, 1916, and advocated for the creation of a law permitting them to lease the “undemised” part of the lands. Lastly, they requested legal aid in collecting overdue lease payments (Byrd 56-57, 60-61). At the time, the leader of the New York Indians, referred to as Segwarusara, Sequareesera, Sagareesa, Sacarese, etc., in English reports, was later known as Sacarusa, meaning "Sword-carrier". This title was not an individual's name but an official designation. (In 1794, Sacarusa visited Philadelphia with Cornplanter to attend a treaty where he requested the sending of appropriate young men as instructors to the New York Tuscarora.)

The New York Indians' predicament was so dire that they sought assistance from the United States government. President Thomas Jefferson appointed William R. Davie, a North Carolina Revolutionary War army officer and the founder of the University of North Carolina, to serve as an Indian commissioner to broker a treaty with the New York Indians. Under Davie's supervision, an agreement was concluded with the Tuscarora Nation of New York on December 4, 1802. This treaty was then presented to President Jefferson, who submitted it on February 21, 1803, to the United States Senate for ratification. This treaty acknowledged that while the Tuscarora Nation of Indians of New York held interest in lands in North Carolina, their distance from these lands made it difficult for them to gain any benefits. The North Carolina legislature had granted them the use of these lands as long as the "Tuscarora Indians" occupied them. However, disputes had arisen over the collection of rents, leading to a call for legislation to:

- Aid in the collection of overdue and future rents;
- Authorize the Tuscarora Nation (New York) to lease the undemised lands in Bertie County until July 12, 1916; and,
- Resolve any disputes or issues regarding the future occupancy of the Indians' lands until July 12, 1916.

Further, the treaty established that:

- Leases enacted under the state legislature's act(s) in alignment with the treaty would be considered the occupancy and possession of the Tuscarora Nation; and,
- After July 12, 1916, all rights, interests, and claims of the Tuscarora Nation to the Bertie County lands would be considered extinguished forever.

This treaty was deemed a conclusive resolution and settlement of all disputes and claims between the state of North Carolina and the Tuscarora Nation of New York, conditioned on the passage of the stipulated act(s) by the North Carolina General Assembly (Kappler 701-704).

In the end, the land lease sales and the newly minted treaty were carried out without the consent or recognition of King Blount's Tuskarora, who by this time, had begun residing in Bladen/Robeson County. These Tuskarora made a clear distinction between themselves and those who had relinquished all their land rights and moved North. Consequently, this sale and treaty regarding the North Carolina Tuskarora lands were deemed illegitimate and fraudulent.

While the New York Indian delegation was in North Carolina, the remaining members of the tribe living there were transported to the north to join other Indians in New York State. The New York Tuscarora, who had aligned with the Five Nations supporting Great Britain during the Revolution, were granted lands in the Grand River Reservation, Ontario.

In its session during November-December 1802, the North Carolina General Assembly officially agreed with the treaty and passed an act titled "for the Relief of the Tuscarora Nation of Indians." The act observed that the Tuscarora Nation of New York, led by Chief Sacarusa and others, had consistently requested the Assembly's support to allow them to lease the "residue" of the Tuscarora allocated lands in Bertie County, such that all existing and future leases would terminate on the same date. Thus, the law granted the three chiefs, Sacarusa, Longboard, and Smith, or any two of them, the authority to lease and farm-let the undemised remaining allocated lands in Bertie County until July 12, 1916. This was the expiration date of the 1766 lease to Robert Jones Jr., Thomas Pugh Sr., and William Williams. The chiefs were also authorized to extend the terms of other leases made for shorter durations (such as ninety-nine years) to expire on the same 1916 date. The law proposed the appointment of three commissioners to oversee the Indians' affairs, including managing and modifying leases and collecting rents. These commissioners were tasked explicitly to "promote the interest and convenience of the Tuscarora Nation of New York." Following this, John M. Binford (a long-serving state senator from Northampton County), William Hawkins (an upcoming legislator and future governor of North Carolina from Granville County), and Jeremiah Slade (a lawyer, militia officer, and state legislator from Martin County) were appointed as commissioners. Additionally, the law declared that post-July 12, 1916, all lands allocated to the Indians by the 1748 law would revert to and become the property of the state of North Carolina, effectively extinguishing all Indian claims to these lands. Once the lands were taken over by the state, no person or persons could enter the vacant lands without explicit approval from the General Assembly (Byrd 65-66; N.C. Gen. Assembly, "The Laws of North Carolina" 6-7).

William Hawkins and Jeremiah Slade arrived at the Indian Woods Reservation on April 6, 1803, immediately starting their legislative duties. They prioritized conducting surveys of the total lands allocated to the Indians and each lease signed between July 12, 1766, and December 1, 1777, with W. H. Boyce executing the surveys. The main goals of Slade and Hawkins were to identify the precise number of acres included in every current lease and the acreage within the total allocated lands (41,113 acres as per the survey) that remained unleased. Upon completing their investigations, the commissioners concluded that all the relevant leases covered

significantly more acres than the terms stated in their respective lease agreements. To be precise, they reported the following discrepancies and irregularities concerning certain leases:

- The 150-year lease of Jones, Pugh, and Williams included 21,753 acres; however, the lease agreement stated 8,000 acres (a discrepancy of 13,753 acres).
- The 99-year lease of Jones, Pugh, and Williams covered 12,534 acres; the lease stipulated only 2,000 acres (a discrepancy of 10,534 acres).
- Johnston's lease included 478 acres; yet, the lease stated only 200 acres (a difference of 278 acres).
- Edwards's lease covered 117 acres, whereas the lease agreed to only 10 acres (a discrepancy of 107 acres).
- Col. Pugh's lease included 547 acres, but the lease specified only 100 acres (a discrepancy of 447 acres).
- Stone's lease contained 670 acres but, the lease agreement specified just 100 acres (a difference of 570 acres).
- McCaskey's lease covered 1,934 acres (the corresponding agreement did not disclose a quantity), and
- David Stone's claim of 151 acres was undemised.

Based on the results of the surveys, the commissioners deduced that only 3,411 acres of the reservation had not been leased (Byrd 90-91; Thomas; Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-509, M-512, M-550).

On May 26, 1803, a Thursday, Commissioners Binford, Hawkins, and Slade convened on the Indian Woods Reservation with chiefs from the New York Tuscarora and leaseholders. The meeting's goal was to verify leases obtained from the Indians between July 12, 1766, and December 1, 1777. Additionally, they aimed to settle rent issues associated with these leases, reconcile discrepancies in acreage, and arrange settlements for outstanding rent dues. The meeting seemed to have been successful in recovering some overdue rents, as evidenced by the \$770.50 given to Chiefs Sacarusa and Longboard, along with their government-assigned agent, Capt. Ezra Lunt of the U.S. Army, on June 17. This amount was considered "part of the money arising from the leasing [of] their lands" (Byrd 85-86).

David Stone, the son of Zedekiah Stone (a previous Indian commissioner), was specifically invited to participate in the May 26 meeting to discuss his lease from February 10,

1777. This 99-year lease, obtained by Zedekiah Stone, required Stone to "clear a certain quantity of land." (Zedekiah Stone passed away in late 1796). The commissioners had identified inconsistencies between David Stone's actual leased lands and the associated paperwork, as revealed by the surveys. Both the Stones were influential figures and esteemed members of Bertie County's upper class. In fact, David Stone was a U.S. Senator in 1803 and was unhappy with the Indian commissioners questioning his transactions with the Bertie County Tuskarora. On December 4, 1803, he wrote to Governor James Turner from Washington, D.C., claiming that Hawkins and Slade had "misrepresented" him, leading him to "correct the impression." Stone stated, "I do not hold or claim one foot of land under a Lease made by the Indians to me." He insisted that his father had rented land from the Indians in 1777, estimated to be five hundred acres, and he had bought the lease from his father in 1793. He clarified that the tract's boundaries were "natural ones" that had remained unchanged and were familiar to residents in the "neighborhood" (Byrd 85, 95-96).

In early June 1804, the "Indian Woods" reservation was a hub of activity. Over several days, the three commissioners administered the public sale of leases for the unleased acreage of the Indians. Those in attendance included New York Chiefs Sacarusa and Longboard, Captain Lunt, Senator Stone, General William R. Davie, Colonel Thomas Pugh Sr., William Williams Jr., current leaseholders, and other individuals interested in bidding for leases. Eight leases were sold and officially finalized: six on June 11, one on June 15, and one on June 16. Seven people, Thomas Pugh Sr., John Hill Pugh, William Williams Johnston, Samuel Williams Johnston, William Williams Jr., Thomas Speller, and John Griffin Jr. purchased the leases for a total of \$20,967. Additionally, Titus Edwards' lease was extended, yielding an extra \$180 for the commissioners. All sales were conducted under the supervision of General Davie, representing the United States government. Chiefs Sacarusa and Longboard ratified the lease documents with their signatures (using their "marks"). Also, on June 13, Sacarusa and Longboard appointed Jeremiah Slade as the legal representative of the New York Tuskarora Indians (Byrd 98-99; Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: S-690, S-697, S-718A, S-721, S-737, S-792, T-68, T-69, T-184).

With the lease sales in June 1803, the Northern Tuskarora effectively handed over full control of the Indian Woods Reservation to wealthy white planters, government officials, and entrepreneurs. The last of the Indians wishing to leave North Carolina departed for New York to join the other tribes of the Iroquois Confederation's Five Nations (Watson 9).

For over thirty-five years, affluent white individuals, who built grand homes and ran plantations with enslaved labor, primarily occupied the Indians' allotted lands. The Tuskarora of the Moratoc (Roanoke), belonging to King James Blunt's faction, never left North Carolina for the north and maintained cordial relations with the whites. Though, King Blunt's Tuskarora of the Moratoc lost their reserved lands to ruthless white land usurpers who, driven by their greed, wealth, and political influence, extinguished the Tuskarora's rights to their ancestral lands.

On August 18, 1804, through their lawyer Jeremiah Slade, Sacarusa and Longboard engaged in two transactions to sell lands that were previously leased. The first agreement was with Samuel Williams Johnston, wherein the chiefs sold a piece of land previously leased by Johnston's father, John Johnston. The younger Johnston agreed to pay \$500 ("secured") for 528

acres that the Indians were legally allowed to sell under the 1802 law. Slade, the New York Indians' attorney, validated the transaction in Bertie County court in February 1805. The second sale was to Colonel Thomas Pugh Sr. for a parcel previously leased by Pugh at the head of Black Gut. Pugh presented a secured bond and consented to pay \$650 to acquire the tract (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: T-201).

As early as 1805, Christian missionaries commenced their proselytizing endeavors among the Tuscarora in western New York, sponsored by the New York Missionary Society. Initially, only six individuals among the Tuscarora were prepared to renounce their traditional beliefs and practices, at least superficially, to participate in the missionary work; the majority strongly resisted the missionaries' efforts.

The conflicts between Christians and the New York Tuscarora were so intense that in the spring of 1820, the non-Christian members succeeded in convincing around 70 individuals to relocate to Canada. There, they established a community amongst the non-Christian tribes of the Six Nations on the Grand River Reservation, Ontario. The church's membership stood at 16 persons at the time. Despite the New York Society maintaining a school amongst them, there seemed to be minimal progress in educating the Tuscarora (McPherson 190).

On January 15, 1805, Sacarusa and Longboard proceeded to lease Indian land to John McCaskey Jr. of Martin County, leasing six hundred acres for \$236. The land parcel neighbored land that McCaskey's father had bequeathed him in his will (registered in Martin County). McCaskey held the lease for less than seven weeks before transferring it to Thomas Speller for \$2,220. This transaction resulted in a "profit" for McCaskey of \$1,984, or a substantial increase of 840 percent (This profit, annualized, equates to nearly a 6,400 percent increase) (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: T-313, W-6).

For the rest of 1805, the New York Tuscarora, through their lawyer Jeremiah Slade, negotiated three more lease agreements. These leases were made with Thomas Pugh Sr. and Willie William Jones and Robert Allen Jones, sons of Willie Jones, who had passed away on June 18, 1801 (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: T-303, T-304, T-413; "Willie Jones").

Thomas Pugh Sr. passed away in Bertie County during the late summer or early autumn of 1806, at the age of eighty. His will, dated January 1, 1804, was validated in Bertie County court in November 1806. In his will, Pugh left his son, William Pugh, "the first tract" and "part of the second tract" that he had leased from the Tuscarora Indians. Pugh also bequeathed a portion of his Indian land to his other son, John Hill Pugh (The North Carolina Historical & Genealogical Register 537; Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: M-315, M-316, S-792).

Throughout the initial three decades of the 19th century, many leaseholders and sublease holders of Tuscarora Indian lands in Bertie County transferred these legal rights to others. Numerous leases changed hands, covering thousands of acres, with profits accruing to leaseholders at the expense of the Tuscarora Indians.

Jeremiah Slade served as the attorney for the New York Tuscaroras until 1816, managing their business dealings in Bertie County, collecting lease rents, and periodically transferring funds to the New York Indians. Before November 10, 1816, John Cain, a Tuskarora Indian who had stayed in North Carolina as a youth in 1803 and lived in Jeremiah Slade's home, was appointed attorney for affairs related to the Indian Woods Reservation. Cain was empowered by the chiefs to collect "back rents due" from original leases granted to William King, John McCaskey, and Zedekiah Stone. On July 11, 1817, Chiefs Sacarusa and Nicholas Cusick, in Niagara County, New York, revoked Cain's power of attorney due to irregularities in rent collection and fund remittance to the New York Tuscarora Nation. On October 22, 1817, the New York Tuscarora Nation's leaders appointed Chiefs Nicholas Cusick and Solomon Longboard as their attorneys for North Carolina affairs (Jeremiah Slade passed away in late summer 1824) (Byrd 102-105, 108-113, 115, 122, 125, 132-133, 135-137; North Carolina Probate Records, Jeremiah Slade, Will 2-100).

James G. Mhoon, a Bertie County justice of the peace and a House of Commons member during the 1824-1825 General Assembly session, inherited a lease for Tuskarora lands through his father's (John Mhoon) estate settlement in 1816. During that legislative session, Mhoon proposed a select committee to consider passing a law to sell the leased Indian lands in Bertie County. It was argued before the General Assembly that long-term leaseholders of Tuskarora Indian lands experienced inconvenience due to their estates being "mere chattel interest." The leaseholders sought a remedy. Consequently, lawmakers passed an act that deemed the lands held by individuals under leases from the Tuskarora Indians as real estate. This real estate could be passed to heirs of persons who died without a will and was subject to the state's laws on dowry and other relevant legal provisions. The same rules applicable to fee simple real estate were to be applied to the leased lands. The law did not extend any rights to leaseholders beyond their lease expiration date (July 12, 1916) and did not confer any rights exclusive to freeholders (i.e., landowners) under the state's constitution (Free Press, "Acts Passed by the General Assembly" 15).

By the beginning of 1827, steps were taken to pass a law for the sale of the Bertie County reservation. On February 2, 1827, Nicholas Cusick, Solomon Longboard, and William Chew, chiefs of the New York Tuscarora Nation, appointed Alfred M. Slade, Jeremiah Slade's son and a Martin County resident, as their authorized attorney. Within two weeks, the General Assembly asked Governor Hutchins G. Burton to evaluate proposals to define the state's reversionary interest in the lands, and to designate commissioners to examine the extent and quality of each land parcel within the reservation (Bertie County, North Carolina, Deed Book: CC-150).

During the legislative session of 1828-1829, the North Carolina legislature approved a law regarding lands previously inhabited by the Tuskarora Indians in Bertie County. The law recognized the Tuskarora Indians as "firm and unwavering friends of the white people" for over a century. The law named three Indian commissioners—William R. Smith of Halifax County, Simmons J. Baker of Martin County, and William Britton of Bertie County—to publicize and sell the Tuskarora Indian lands in Bertie County due to revert to the state at the conclusion of the existing leases. The commissioners were to advertise these upcoming sales in local newspapers and at five of the "most public places" in Bertie, Martin, and Halifax counties, including the courthouses. The land sale was scheduled for Tuesday, March 17, 1829, at the Bertie County

courthouse in Windsor. The commissioners were tasked with conducting the sale, with the highest bidder for each tract securing the land. Every highest bidder was required to provide "good and sufficient security." The law stipulated that if the commissioners felt the lands put up for sale would be sold "significantly below their real value," they could stop the sale. The income from the sale was to be transferred to the North Carolina treasury (North Carolina General Assembly, "Acts Passed by the General Assembly" 11-13).

A total of 42 parcels of the reservation lands, adding up to 17,983 acres, were eventually sold at the Bertie County courthouse. The sales generated \$2,264.44, averaging only 12½ cents per acre. William Hill, the North Carolina Secretary of State, began issuing deeds for the properties on January 6, 1830, and issued the last one on January 5, 1832. Exhibit 174

On November 19, 1831, seven chiefs of the "Tuscarora" Nation in Niagara County, New York, executed a deed that transferred ownership of the Moratoc Indians' Tuskarora Nation lands, located in Bertie County, to the state of North Carolina, without acknowledging the Tuskarora residing in Bladen County/Robeson County. The New York chiefs—William Chew, Nicholas Casie [Cusick], George Warchief, Jonathan Printup, Matthew Jack, William Johnson, and Isaac Miller—accepted \$3,250 for the lands from the State of North Carolina. The deed was registered in the North Carolina Secretary of State's office on November 20, 1832. Exhibit 175

The journey of the Tuskarora Nation of Moratoc Indians to safeguard and dwell on the lands allocated to them in Bertie County, by the Roanoke (Moratoc) River, had come to an end. The reservation, much like the vast stretches of land they once owned, was now beyond their reach. Living on the Indian Woods Reservation, the Native Americans strived to uphold the customs and lifestyles their ancestors had maintained for millennia prior to European arrival. The Tuskarora observed a surge of settlers into the Roanoke (Moratoc) River region during the first half of the eighteenth century, as an increasing number of Europeans were in pursuit of land to possess and farm. The newcomers often disregarded the boundaries of the Indian lands, encroaching on them, which resulted in conflicts, exploitation, and mistreatment of the Indian population. The Tuskarora Nation of Moratoc Indians suffered frequent plundering and devastation by their white counterparts. The inadequate measures undertaken by North Carolina leaders and lawmakers did little to restrain such encroachments and violations. It appeared that the European settlers believed they would face no significant repercussions for seizing the fertile and rich lands of the Native Americans.

In the colonial and early state periods of North Carolina, possession of expansive tracts of land reflected one's wealth and social status. There is ample evidence that the lease agreements officially recorded between the Tuskarora and the non-Indian settlers [post-Revolutionary War], during the latter half of the eighteenth century, seriously underrepresented the actual acreage of the Indian Woods lands. It's highly likely that these leases were crafted by the settlers and presented to the Indians for approval and signatures (or "marks"), often under questionable circumstances. Reason and understanding of human nature suggest that these misleading and erroneous terms were not accidental, but rather the result of deliberate actions by the settlers. Native Americans were at a disadvantage when negotiating with the settlers; they lacked leverage or bargaining power and were in dire need of money and essential goods.

The settlers, particularly of English origin, had a historical reputation as colonizers who had occupied various lands globally for more than a century. The cultures of the English settlers and the Indians stood in stark contrast, especially in their appreciation and usage of land. Indians lived on the land to protect their kin and depended on the crops and natural resources it provided. The English sought to accumulate riches from the land by frequently taking advantage of its resources, depending greatly on the arduous work of slaves, and exploiting large amounts of natural resources which often resulted in unnecessary waste and destruction. The Tuskarora fell prey to the unchecked greed of the prosperous settlers who often disregarded and mocked the Native American population, opting to engage with them only when necessary. Being entirely cut off from their kin who continue to embrace and uphold their ancestral beliefs, rituals, and ceremonies, the Tuskarora of New York retain only a vague memory of their traditional customs and rites. They have limited understanding of the practices still upheld by the self-identified pagan members of related tribes. They identify as Christians, and as a result, have distanced themselves from the old thought patterns and practices of their forebears (McPherson 190-191).

On November 28, 1840, a group of 36 non-Indian residents of Robeson County penned a letter to the General Assembly of North Carolina addressing the issue of alcohol consumption among the Indians and suggesting their origins to be around the Roanoke (Moratoc) river. The letter stated, ["The County of Robeson is cursed with a free-colored population that migrated originally from the districts round about the Roanoke and Neuse rivers."] (see Diagram 8, Part 1-2, Testimony of Tuskarora origin)

On July 23, 1861, the last will and testament of Nathaniel Revels hinted at a connection between Nathaniel Revels and King James Blount/Blunt through land. The will stated, "Item 8 - I grant and bequeath to my son Neill a tract of land amounting to 70 acres, purchased from James Blount, which my son Neill has a [...] for in his...". (see Diagram 8A, Nathaniel Revels Will acquiring land from King James Blount/Blunt)

[Constitution of North Carolina]

(1.) Indians and free persons of color before 1868

The Cherokee, Croatan [Tuskarora], and other Indians living in North Carolina are citizens of the State and amenable to the laws.

State v. Wolf, 145 N. C., 440; State v. Tachanatah, 64 N. C., 614.

Before the constitution of 1868 and the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, free persons of color were citizens of North Carolina; and this was so even after the right to vote was taken from such persons.

State v. Manuel, 20 N. C., 144 (20), where Gaston, J., says: "Upon the Revolution no other change took place in the laws of North Carolina than was consequent upon the transition from a colony, dependent on a European King, to a free and sovereign State. Slaves remained slaves. British subjects in North Carolina became North Carolina free men. Foreigners until made members of the State continued as aliens. Slaves manumitted here became free men and, therefore, if born within North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina--and all free persons born

within the State are born citizens of the State." (This case was cited with approval by Mr. Justice Curtis in his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case, 60 U. S. (19 Howard) 573. --Editors.) (State v. Manuel, supra, was after the convention of 1835, which deprived free negroes of their right to vote. For an interesting debate upon the origin, basis, and history of their right to vote, see "Debates in convention, 1835," pp. 72, 351. --Editors.)

(2.) Civil and political rights

The constitution (of North Carolina) was not intended to enforce social equality, but only civil and political equality.

State v. Hairston, 63 N. C., 452, holding (before the adoption of Art. XLV, sec. 8) that Rev. Code, ch. 68, sec. 7, declaring intermarriages between white persons and persons of color void, is not a discrimination in favor of one race against another, but applies equally to all races and is valid and still in force.

June 8, 1867, John H. Coble, Pastor of Center Church, and Luther McKinnin, Minister of the Gospel, writes to Lt. Birney, head of Lumberton office of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, regarding the ancestors of the Lowries', stating that; "They are said to be descended from the Tuscarora Indians". {(U.S. War Department, Records of the Army Commands (Record Group 393, National Archives)} {(Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen (Lumberton N.C. office) Record Group 105, National Archives)} (see Diagram 9) (This diagram shows proof there was a letter. The actual document was not found.)

On August 1, 1871, in the Tri-Weekly Era located in Raleigh NC, in an article titled, "The Robeson Outlaws-Who They Are-The Truth About Them From An Unprejudiced Source", it states, "There is in this County a district of country about ten or twelve miles square, inhabited almost entirely by mulattos, as we call them here, but really Tuskarora Indians." (see Diagram 9A,"Who They Are")

On March 30, 1872, the "Harper's Weekly," which was located in New York, published an article titled "The North Carolina Bandits." The article mentions Henry Berry Lowrie, the Great Great grandson of Thomas Kersey, a Tuskarora who fought with Hugh Waddell and states as follows: Henry Berry Lowery, the chief—a light mulatto, dubiously said to be intermixed with Tuscarora Indian blood. (see Diagram 10, "Harper's Weekly")

Mrs. Mary C. Norment's book, first published in 1875 titled, "The Lowrie History," detailing the origins of the Indian families in Robeson County, North Carolina, describes Sarah Kearsey/Kersey (p. 5), Bettie (Elizabeth) Locklear (p. 7), Henry Berry Lowry (p. 10) and an Indian woman with the surname Cumbo (p. 28), as being Tuskarora. Sarah Kersey Lowry, as documented in Volume 6 of the North Carolina Colonial Records, is the offspring of Thomas Kersey, a Tuskarora warrior who fought with Hugh Waddell. Today, Sarah is known as the common ancestor of many Indians in Robeson County who continue to assert their Tuskarora heritage. Sarah and her family feature in census records and numerous documents from Robeson County. The lineages of the Kersey, Locklear, Revels, Chavis, Cumbo, and Lowry families can all be traced back to the Tuskarora lands. The historical data compiled in the book was noted by Mary C. Norment of Elrod, N.C. Having lived "through the thick of the fight," Norment's

insights into this complex chapter of Robeson County's history comes from her firsthand experiences (Norment 5, 7, 10, 28).

What is now known as the University of North Carolina at Pembroke (UNCP) originated as a Native American educational institution named the "Croatan Normal School." The North Carolina General Assembly enacted a law in 1885 that provided distinct schools for the Croatan Indians, culminating in the establishment of this school on March 7, 1887. Representative Hamilton McMillan, who represented Robeson County in the North Carolina House of Representatives, introduced this legislation to create and maintain a high-grade institution for educators belonging to the Croatan (Tuskarora) race in North Carolina. Hamilton McMillan, a legal practitioner and writer identified as a "full-blooded Scotchman," was born near Fayetteville, NC, in Cumberland County. He began his education at local schools under the tutelage of Reverend George Benton before attending Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1853. The following year, he enrolled at The University of North Carolina, graduating in 1857. Upon graduation, he moved to Red Springs in Robeson County, where he taught school until the start of the Civil War. McMillan, aged 23, enlisted as a private in Company F, First Regiment of North Carolina Infantry on April 17, 1861, before North Carolina even seceded from the Union. After his six-month enlistment ended in November, during which he participated in the Battle of Bethel, he was discharged. While the company's records suggest that he enlisted in Company G, Sixth Regiment, there is no additional information in the regiment's records about his service beyond this time.

McMillan was granted a legal license in 1868 and commenced his law practice in Wadesboro. He quickly found his way back to Red Springs where he resumed his dual roles as a teacher and lawyer. During this time, he developed an interest in the historical roots of the Native Americans in Robeson County. His natural investigative tendencies led him to probe their ancestry, ultimately leading him to the hypothesis that they were descendants of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" from 1587. In 1885, the tercentenary of Ralph Lane colony's departure from Roanoke Island, McMillan published a pamphlet on the Lost Colony. It outlined his personal findings connecting the Croatan Indians and English settlers to the Indians of Robeson County. His conclusion was founded on what he deemed to be the remnants of old English pronunciations within the Indian community and the recurrence of family names from Roanoke colonists. He reiterated his theory in the 1888 and 1907 editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony. Persisting in his exploration, McMillan wrote *The Lost Colony Found*, which was published circa 1898. The North Carolina Booklet (vol. 10) featured his article, "The Croatans," in 1911. McMillan was elected to represent Robeson County in the General Assembly in 1885, where he successfully introduced legislation that formally recognized these individuals as "Croatan Indians" and established a separate, self-governed school system for them. Upon his return to the House in 1887, he advocated for another act that led to the founding of the Indian Normal School in Pembroke, North Carolina.

.....

Whereas the Indians now living in Robeson County claim to be descendants of a friendly tribe who once resided in eastern North Carolina on the Roanoke River, known as the Croatan Indians; therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That the said Indians and their descendants shall hereafter be designated and known as the Croatan Indians.

Section 2. That said Indians and their descendants shall have separate schools for their children, school committees of their own race and color, and shall be allowed to select teachers of their own choice, subject to the same rules and regulations as are applicable to all teachers in the general school law.

Section 3. It shall be the duty of the county board of education to see that this Act is carried into effect, and shall for that purpose have the census of all the children of said Indians and their descendants between the ages of six and twenty-one taken, and proceed to establish such suitable school districts as shall be necessary for their convenience, and take all such other and further steps as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying this Act into effect without delay.

Section 4. The treasurer and other proper authorities, whose duties it is to collect, keep and apportion the school fund, shall procure from the county board of education the number of children in said county between the ages of six and twenty-one, belonging to said Indian race, and shall set apart and keep separate their pro rata share of said school funds, which shall be paid out upon the same rules in every respect as are provided in general school law: Provided, that where any children, descendants of Indians as aforesaid, shall reside in any district in which there are no schools, as provided in this chapter, the same shall have the right to attend any of the public schools in said county provided for their race, and shall be allowed to draw their share of public school fund upon the certificate of the school committee in the district in which they reside, stating that they have thus removed and are entitled to attend public schools.

Section 5. The general school law shall be applicable in all respects to this chapter, where the same is not repugnant to or inconsistent with this Act. This Act shall only apply to Robeson County. All laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed.

Section 6. That this Act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this the 10th day of February, A.D. 1885.

Alfred M. Scales, Governor

Charles M. Stedman, Lt. Governor and President of the Senate

Thomas M. Holt, Speaker of the House of Representatives

State of North Carolina,
Office of Secretary of State,
Raleigh, May 18th, 1885.

I, William L. Saunders, Secretary of State, hereby certify

that the foregoing (manuscript) are true copies of the original acts and resolutions on file in this office.

William L. Saunders,

Secretary of State (North Carolina General Assembly "Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1885, Chapter 51, Section 3" 92-94).

.....

"Fayetteville Observer" Archives, February 1885

&

"The Lenoir Topic"

Lenoir, North Carolina

18 Feb 1885, Wed

"Now Mr. McMillan says that these Croatan Indians of Robeson County claim to be descendants of the white colony. By intermarriage with the whites. They say that their traditions say that the people we call Croatan Indians (though they do not recognize that name as that of a tribe, but only a village, and that they were Tuscarora), were friendly to the whites..... It's safe to say Hamilton McMillan falsely designated the Tuskarora as "Croatan." (see Diagram 11-11A, Newspaper Articles)

On March 7, 1887, the North Carolina General Assembly approved an Act to facilitate the establishment of the Croatan Normal School in Robeson County. The Act named four trustees and allocated \$500 for teachers' salaries over the next two years, with all property declared tax-exempt.

Hamilton McMillan, a Representative from Robeson County, put forth legislation in the General Assembly in 1887. The intent of this law was "to create and maintain a high-grade school for the teaching of the Croatan race in North Carolina." Trustees were appointed, and an annual sum of \$500 was allocated for the school's upkeep for two years. The legislation distinctly referred to the proposed institution as the "Croatan Normal School." The bill specified that only those above the age of fifteen could be admitted, and anyone who benefited from the school was expected to teach the Croatan youth for a set period. The Act was ratified on March 7, 1887. Since the funds only covered the school's maintenance, not its construction, local residents donated all materials and labor. A small parcel west of Pembroke was procured for the building site. A two-story, unpainted frame building was erected in fall 1887, just in time for the enrollment of the first class of fifteen students. Reverend W. L. Moore served as the inaugural principal and teacher.

.....

An Act to Establish a Normal School in the County of Robeson

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Sec 1. That W. L. Moore, James Oxendine, James Dial, Preston Locklear, and others who may be associated with them, and their successors, are hereby constituted a body politic and

corporate, for educational purposes, in the county of Robeson, under the name and style of the "Trustees of the Croatan Normal School," and by that name may have perpetual succession, may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, contract and be contracted with, to have and to hold school property, including buildings, lands and all appurtenances thereto, situated in the county of Robeson, at any place in said county to be selected by the trustees herein named, provided such place shall be located between Bear Swamp and Lumber River in said county; to acquire by purchase, donation or otherwise, real and personal property for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a school of high grade for teachers of the Croatan race in North Carolina.

Sec. 2. That the trustees at their organization shall elect one of their own number president of the board of trustees, whose duties shall be such as devolve upon such officers in similar cases, or such as shall hereafter be defined by said trustees.

Sec. 3. That said trustees shall have full power to rent, lease, mortgage or sell any real or personal property for the purpose of maintaining said school, discharging indebtedness or reinvesting the proceeds for a like purpose: Provided, that the liabilities of said trustees shall affect only the property owned by said trustees for educational purposes and shall not affect the private credit of said trustees.

Sec. 4. That the trustees whose names are mentioned in the first section of this Act shall have the power to select three additional trustees from the Croatan race in such manner as they may determine.

Sec. 5. That said trustees shall have full power and authority to employ a teacher or teachers in said normal school under such regulations as the said trustees may determine.

Sec. 6. That said board of trustees shall have full power to fill all vacancies by death, removal or otherwise in said board: Provided, a majority vote of all the trustees shall be necessary to a choice.

Sec. 7. That the sum of five hundred dollars is hereby appropriated to the support of said school annually for two years, and no longer, commencing with the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, said sum to be paid out of the general educational fund: Provided, that said sum thus appropriated shall be expended for the payment of services rendered for teaching and for no other purpose; said sum to be paid in semi-annual payments upon warrants drawn by state superintendent of public instruction upon receipt by said superintendent of report of trustees of said school showing the number of teachers employed, the amount paid to each teacher, the number of students in attendance during the term of six months next preceding the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, and first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety.

Sec. 8. That all property real and personal acquired by purchase, donation or otherwise, as long as it is used for educational purposes, shall be exempt from taxation, whether on the part of the state or county.

Sec. 9. That no person shall sell any spirituous liquors within two miles of the location of said school, and any person violating this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than thirty dollars or imprisoned not less than ten days nor more than thirty days or both at the discretion of the court.

Sec. 10. Provided, that no person shall be admitted into said school as a student who has not attained the age of fifteen years; and that all those who shall enjoy the privileges of said school as students shall previously obligate to teach the youth of the Croatan race for a stated period.

Sec. 11. That this Act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this the 7th day of March, A.D. 1887.

Alfred M. Scales, Governor
Charles M. Stedman, Lt. Governor and President of the Senate
Thomas M. Holt, Speaker of the House of Representatives

State of North Carolina,
Office Secretary of State,
Raleigh, May 31st, 1887.

I, William L. Saunders, Secretary of State, hereby certify that the foregoing are true copies of the original (manuscript) acts and resolutions on file in this office.

William L. Saunders,
Secretary of State (North Carolina General Assembly "An Act to Establish a Normal School in the County of Robeson" 699-701).

.....

The 1887 petition submitted to establish the school was signed by 47 Croatans (Tuskarora) named below. [Note: It is stated that there were 54 signers, 5 of whom are white (J.E. Lovit/J.E. Lovet being named twice, bringing the total to 6). Indian signers' names were also named twice, beginning with Marcus Dial and ending with John Lockler, which makes the total 40 instead of 47.] (see Diagram 12, Picture of Croatan (Tuskarora) Indians)

James Oxendine, Ashbury Oxendine, Zackriors Oxendine, J. J. Oxendine, Billey Locklear, Malakiah Locklear, Preston Locklear, John Ballard, Crolly Locklear, G. W. Locklear, Patrick Locklear, Luther Deas, Marcus Dial, Joseph Locklear, Alex Locklear, Frank Locklear, W. W. Locklear, J. E. Lovit, Beni Locklear, John Locklear, Joseph Locklear, jr., Soleomon Oxendine, A. J. Lowrie, John A. Locklear, Soleomon Locklear, Anguish A. Locklear, Silas Deas, Olline Oxendine, Isad Braboy, James Lowrie, John A. Lockler, Marcus Dial, Josep Lockler, Eliach Lockler, Frank Locklar, W. W. Lockler, J. E. Lovet, Buey Lockler, John Lockler, Jorge Brayboy, Pink Lockler, John E. Oxendine, William Sampson, Steven Carter, Evert Sampson, Wues Sampson, John Sampson, Rober Carter, Quin Gordan, Jordan Oxendine,

James R. Sanderson, Peater Dyall, Willey Jacobs, Murdock Chavons (McPherson 36-37).
Exhibit 176

.....

AN ACT To amend section one thousand eight hundred and ten of the code.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That section one thousand eight hundred and ten of the Code of North Carolina be amended by adding thereto the words: "That all marriages between an Indian and a negro or between an Indian and a person of negro descent to the third generation, inclusive, shall be utterly void: Provided, This act shall only apply to the Croatan Indians."

SECTION 2. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.
(In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this 7th day of March, A. D. 1887)

.....

AN ACT To amend chapter fifty-seven, acts of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, in reference to the schools of Croatan Indians in Richmond County.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That the citizens of Richmond County who are Croatan Indians, or the descendants of such who are known as such, or who have a distinct race identity as such, shall be entitled to the same school privileges and benefits as are granted to other Croatan Indians in Robeson County under the provisions of said act of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, chapter fifty-one, and the act or acts subsequent to and amendatory of the act of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

SECTION 2. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.
(Ratified the 11th day of March, A. D. 1889) (North Carolina General Assembly "Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1887, Chapter 254").

.....

In 1889, the North Carolina General Assembly increased the yearly funding for the school to \$1,000, a sum that remained constant for a lengthy period. On February 2, 1889, they passed an Act aimed at enhancing educational opportunities for Croatan Indians in Robeson County, with the school remaining inaccessible to African American children. The age limit for enrollment was lowered from fifteen to ten years old, although this change was reversed on March 6, 1893, returning the minimum age back to fifteen.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That chapter fifty-one, section two, of the laws of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five be amended by adding after the word "law" in the last line of said section the

words, "and there shall be excluded from such separate schools for the said Croatan Indians all children of the negro race to the fourth generation."

Section 2. That section seven, chapter four hundred, of the laws of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven be amended as follows: strike out in lines two and three the words, "for two years and no longer;" strike out in line fifteen all after the words "eighty-eight" and insert "and every six months thereafter."

Section 3. That section ten of said chapter four hundred, laws of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, be amended by striking out in line three the word "fifteen" and inserting the word "ten" in lieu thereof.

Section 4. That this Act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

Ratified the 2d day of February, A.D. 1889.

Daniel G. Fowle, Governor
Thomas M. Holt, Lt. Governor and President of the Senate
Augustus Leazar, Speaker of the House of Representatives

State of North Carolina,
Office Secretary of State,
Raleigh, June 6, 1889.

I, William L. Saunders, Secretary of State, hereby certify that the foregoing are true copies of the original acts and resolutions on file in this office.

William L. Saunders,
Secretary of State (North Carolina General Assembly, "An Act to Amend the Laws of 1885 and 1887 to Provide Additional Educational Facilities for the Croatan Indians, Citizens of Robeson County" Chapter 60).

.....

On March 6, 1893, the North Carolina General Assembly passed an Act to amend the earlier Act of February 2, 1889 (above) pertaining to the Croatan School in Robeson County. This Act repealed, reducing the school age to ten.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That section three, chapter sixty of the laws of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine be and the same is hereby repealed.

Section 2. That persons of the Croatan race of either sex who are not under thirteen years of age may attend the normal school for the Croatans: Provided, that children not under eleven

years of age may be admitted who can stand an approved examination in spelling, reading, writing, primary geography and the fundamental rules of arithmetic.

Section 3. That this Act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

Ratified the 6th day of March, A.D. 1893

Elias Carr, Governor

Rufus A. Doughton, Lt. Governor and President of the Senate

Lee S. Overman, Speaker of the House of Representatives

State of North Carolina,
Office Secretary of State,
Raleigh, June 13, 1893.

I, Octavius Coke, Secretary of State, hereby certify that the foregoing are true copies of the original public acts and resolutions on file in this office.

Octavius Coke,

Secretary of State (North Carolina General Assembly, "An Act to Amend Chapter Sixty, Section Three, of the Laws of Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-Nine" Chapter 515).

.....

1900s

Col. F. A. Olds, of Raleigh, N.C., who visited Robeson County in 1903-09, came in personal contact with the Croatan [Tuskarora] Indians, and has therefore written a series of newspaper articles as a result of his visit from personal observation (Olds 159). This article references to the Indians of Robeson County as the "Tuskarora" from Bertie County of the Roanoke river;

"They have been the prey of designing white men, who have gone in their section for evil purposes these many years. This and their past treatment by the whites have been the chief difficulties in securing their confidence. The lack of relics and tradition among them is most impressive, but what have the Cherokees in western North Carolina to show now of the old days except what the burial mounds contain? In the eastern part of the State the Indians have so faded away that they are not even a memory, the last remnant of them having been in Bertie County" (Olds 165-66). [Bertie County is the original homeland of the Tuskarora.]

"When asked if any of them had ever visited Roanoke island, the reply was made; "none except the Revels family. These went to the island and the site of the old fort a good many years ago before the site was marked. They went to various places in that section, on the banks and on the mainland" (Olds 169).

"The intelligent and leading men among them are very hopeful for the future and the interest the State has manifested in their educational progress lately is arousing general interest, if not enthusiasm, as an illustration of which they have themselves purchased, near Pembroke ten acres of land, upon which to erect a better school building. While many of them own land, none of them are wealthy" (Olds 169-70). (see Diagram 13-Picture of first Croatan School)

"I have no doubt that [their] houses look now as they did say 200 years ago or more. Certainly in no parts of the State except among the Cherokees and a few of the whites in the wilder portions of the mountains, are there so many home-made things" (Olds 171).

"Anderson Locklear two years ago went to Washington, had an audience with the President and was told by the latter of his appreciation of Locklear's invitation to visit North Carolina and Roanoke island, the original home of his people, Indians and whites. The President said that the history of the Croatans greatly interested him" (Olds 171).

"It is strange, but true, that the writer made the first printed suggestion that the Croatan Indians of to-day are the descendants of Governor White's "Lost Colony", this suggestion having been made July 31st, 1885, though the idea had been advanced by Mr. Hamilton McMillan, of Robeson County, North Carolina, who has spent much of his life in the country of the Croatans and who knows more of their history and tradition than any other living man. It was in 1887, while a member of the North Carolina Legislature, that Mr. McMillan advanced the idea, and it was through his personal influence with that body that this tribe was given recognition. In 1888, he embodied his opinions in a brochure which advanced internal evidence and tradition with historical evidence in favor of the survival of the "Lost Colony" in the persons of the Croatans of this day" (Olds 172-73). [NOTE: The author cautions readers that McMillan's narrative of the "Lost Colony," which was purely speculative and romanticized, bears no relation to the actual history of the Robeson County Indians. The author believes that McMillan's misleading claims have generated confusion and misrepresented the history of an ancient people.]

"The colony spent much time in exploration, and it is remarkable how much of the territory of the new world it visited. It went up into what is now Virginia near what is currently known as Norfolk, explored the Roanoke River, which the natives called Moratoke (Moratoc), this indeed being the name for many years" (Olds 173).

"When the first whites arrived, Indians had built excellent roads connecting their most distant settlement with the principal seat of their government. If so it can be called, which was on the Lumbee river, that being the Indian name of what is now termed the Lumber river" (Olds 183). [NOTE: The author then clarifies that the name "Lumbee" was likely a localized pronunciation of "Lumber," rather than a tribal designation. The term "Lumbee" was the name of a local publishing company in Robeson County, not associated with any Indian ownership. The company published Mary Norment's book, "The Lowrie History." Historically, there has never been a "Lumbee" tribe. The author asserts that the renaming of the Indians in Robeson County as "Lumbee" was a manipulation to make the name sound authentic, like the previous misnaming of the community as "Croatan," an invention by Hamilton McMillan.]

"Hamilton McMillan began his investigations in the most critical manner in 1875, when his home was in the centre of the Croatan settlement, where he had the best opportunities of interviewing leading men of the tribe" (Olds 184).

"Their life has been away from crowds of other races and their homes away from the public roads. Some of them now show their Indian traits even more strongly than they did a century ago. Their English love for good roads is shown by the fact that they have been and yet are great road builders and have always had the best public roads in the State. No special census has been taken of them, but the number is said to be not less than 5,000, of which more than half are in Robeson county. There are about 1,500 children of school age, of these the roll having been made. The State has provided a separate normal school for these people; the Governor has addressed them; they are being aroused to fresh pride in their ancestry and in learning, and their development is becoming rapid. The Legislature took every step to safeguard these people and amended the general law by declaring null and void any and all marriages between Croatan Indians and persons of negro descent to the third generation inclusive" (Olds 187).

"The Croatan" [Tuskarora] are almost universally owners of land and in Robeson county thus occupy a territory of more than 60,000 acres, all owned by them" (Olds 188).

In 1909, the Croatan school was relocated from its initial site to the town of Pembroke after purchasing ten acres for the move. (see Diagram 13, Croatan School image)

The 1910s marked a period of struggle for the Indians as they grappled with local whites, members of the North Carolina legislature, U.S. Congress, and the staff at the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) over issues of tribal names and recognition. Distressed by the misuse of the Croatan name by whites, the Indians of Robeson County decided to assert control over their identity. Through appeals to the state legislature, the OIA, and U.S. Congress, they sought to establish their own tribal identity. From 1913 to 1953, the Indians distanced themselves from the Croatan label, divided into two groups, and adopted the new names "Cherokee" and "Cheraw," with many maintaining their historical Tuskarora designation. These name changes were influenced by political strategies, differences in opinion, and historical retellings, with both Indians, white politicians and bureaucrats participating in the renaming process. This political struggle led to the loss of the Tuskarora identity, causing great distress among the future generations raised with Tuskarora teachings.

The improper use of tribal affiliations also led to disputes between the original Tuskarora families, who remained "Indian" and first migrated to Robeson County, and non-Indians intermarried into the tribe making unsupported claims.

.....

JANUARY 24, 1910. --Mr. (Hannibal) Godwin, a North Carolina congressman and a Democrat lawyer from Harnett County, introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed.

A BILL To change the name of the Croatan Indians of the State of North Carolina to their original name, Cherokee.

Whereas the Croatan Indians who now reside in the State of North Carolina are a branch of the Cherokee Tribe of Indians and are desirous of changing their name to the original name, Cherokee: Now, therefore, Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the name of the band of Croatan Indians in said State of North Carolina be, and the same is hereby, changed to Cherokee, by which name they shall be hereafter known and designated.

In 1911, the name "Croatan Schools" was changed to the Indian Normal School of Robeson County (61st Cong. 2nd sess. H.R. 19036 "A Bill to Change the Name of the Croatan Indians of the State of N.C. to their Original Name, Cherokee, "cited in McPherson; Shannon).

.....

AN ACT To empower the trustees of the Indian School of Robeson County to transfer title to property of said school by deed to State board of education, and to provide for the appointment of trustees for said school.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That in accordance with the recent action of the trustees, in meeting assembled, of the Croatan State normal school, known as the Indian Normal School of Robeson County, situated near Pembroke, North Carolina, said school being incorporated under Chapter Four hundred, Public Laws of One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, which action of the trustees of said school has been duly certified to by the president, C. R. Sampson, and the secretary, A. A. Locklear, the said trustees are hereby empowered to convey by deed to the State Board of Education the title to all property of said school, and the State Board of Education is hereby authorized to accept the same.

SECTION 2. That the State Board of Education shall appoint seven members of the Indian race, formally known as Croatans, to be constituted the board of trustees of said school, as follows: Two members for a term of two years, two for a term of four years, and three for a term of six years; and, at the expiration of these terms, their successors shall be appointed by the State Board of Education for a term of six years.

SECTION 3. That the board of trustees of said Indian normal school in Robeson County shall have the power to employ and discharge teachers, to prevent negroes from attending said school, and to exercise the usual functions of control and management of said school, their action being subject to the approval of the State Board of Education.

SECTION 4. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SECTION 5. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified this the 8th day of March, A. D. 1911) (North Carolina General Assembly, "Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1911" Chapter 168).

[Note: In 1911, Indians petitioned the state to change their name to "Indians of Robeson County." The Indians will come to learn how the name left them vulnerable, since the name provided no historical meaning or of any recognizable "tribal" names and affiliations that the federal government required.]

.....

AN ACT To change the name of the Indians in Robeson County and to provide for said Indians separate apartments in the State hospital.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter Fifty-one of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session of eighteen hundred and eighty-five, be, and the same is hereby amended by striking out the words "Croatan Indians" wherever the same occur in said chapter and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Indians of Robeson County."

SECTION 2. That in all laws enacted by the General Assembly of North Carolina relating to said Indians after the enactment of said Chapter Fifty-one of the Laws of Eighteen hundred and eighty-five, the words "Croatan Indians" be, and the same are hereby, stricken out and the words "Indians of Robeson County" inserted in lieu thereof.

SECTION 3. And that the said Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties which have heretofore been known as Croatan Indians, together with their descendants, shall hereafter be known and designated as "Indians of Robeson County," and by that name shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges conferred by any of the laws of North Carolina upon the Indians heretofore known as Croatan Indians.

SECTION 4. That the school situated near the town of Pembroke, in Robeson County, known as Croatan Indian Normal School, shall hereafter be known and designated as "The Indian Normal School of Robeson County," and in that name shall be entitled to all the privileges and powers heretofore conferred by any law of the State of North Carolina or any laws hereafter enacted for the benefit of said school.

SECTION 5. That the board of directors for the State Hospital for the Insane at Raleigh are hereby authorized and directed to provide and set apart at said hospital, as soon after the passage of this act as practicable, suitable apartments and wards for the accommodation of any of said Indians of Robeson County who may be entitled under the laws relating to insane persons to be admitted to said hospital.

SECTION 6. That the sheriff, jailer, or other proper authorities of Robeson County shall provide in the common jail of Robeson County and in the Home for the Aged and Infirm of Robeson County separate cells, wards, or apartments for the said Indians of Robeson County, in

all cases where it shall be necessary under the laws of this State to commit any of said Indians to said jail or County Home for the Aged and Infirm.

SECTION 7. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SECTION 8. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified this 8th day of March, A.D. 1911) (North Carolina General Assembly, "Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1911" Chapter 215).

.....

Between 1910-12, Congressman Hannibal Godwin of North Carolina proposed legislation to recognize the Indians of Robeson County as "Cherokee Indians." This renaming effort aimed to associate the local Indian population with a historically recognized and authentically Indian tribe. Angus McLean, a prominent democrat and future North Carolina governor, gathered and publicized "proof" of the tribe's alleged "Cherokee lineage." Like Hamilton McMillan, a constituent who had been familiar with the Indian community for a long time, McLean had a close relationship with Doctor Fuller Lowry, part of Pembroke's Fourth Street Power Structure. After listening to the tribe's oral traditions relayed by Elders over the years, McLean came to believe that the Indians in Robeson County were of Cherokee descent. The bill requested \$50,000 for building a federal Indian school, \$10,000 for its upkeep, but no funds were specified for salaries or other expenses. Over the subsequent two decades, McLean remained dedicated to aiding the Indians in achieving federal recognition, using his political influence to further this goal (Lowery 87).

A 1912 copyrighted poem by W. Lennon, depicted in a painting owned by Woody Bowen, refers to the Lumber River as the "ole Lumbee," without any reference to Indians. (see Diagram 14, Painting of a poem about the Lumber River, North Carolina)

On January 13, 1913, Director Durand of the Census Bureau reported the following Indian population in specific counties within North Carolina: Robeson County (5,895), Sampson County (213), Cumberland County (48), Scotland County (74); and in South Carolina: Dillon County (77) (United States Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *School for Indians of Robeson County, N.C.: Hearings Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, on S. 3258, to Acquire a Site and Erect Buildings for a School for the Indians of Robeson County, N.C., and Other Purposes* 7-8).

In 1913, Angus McLean presented a case before the House Committee on Indian Affairs on behalf of the Indians in Robeson County. The prevailing segregationists' racial agenda significantly influenced Congress's perception of the Indians' plea. A month after the 1913 House committee hearings, the state legislature rebranded the Indians as the "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County." Despite the opposition from the Eastern Band of Cherokees, McLean's political influence prevailed. According to a reporter, the Eastern Band of Cherokees did not object to the Croatans, but simply believed they had no legitimate claim to the "Cherokee" name (Lowery 89).

[NOTE: The forthcoming statements showcase Senator Furnifold Simmons presenting a distorted version of history, asserting that the Cherokee and the Croatans were "all of the same stock," and positing that the Croatans originated from the Cherokee, when it's evident that the majority of the Indians in Robeson County descend from the Tuskarora. These false assertions mark the inception of the Cherokee theory, which caused significant harm to the Indians in Robeson County due to the spread of misinformation by Hamilton McMillan and Angus W. McLean, past State Legislator and Governor for North Carolina.]

Mr. Burke: What are these Indians that you are speaking for?

Senator Simmons: They are known as the Croatan Indians. As a matter of fact, they were originally Cherokee Indians. They came from the Croatan section of North Carolina, and when they moved to Robeson County, N.C., they carried with them the name of Croatan Indians, but they are really from the Cherokee stock of Indians. Originally there was a settlement of Indians on the coast who were generally spoken of as Croatans; there was a settlement in the center of the State known as Catawbas, and a settlement in the western part of the State, known as the Cherokees. They were all of the same stock. There was what is known as an Indian trail running from the Indian settlement across the mountains down to the Croatan settlement on the sound. That trail was afterwards made a road called the Lowry Road, after one of the Indian chiefs — I do not know that he was a chief, but he was a prominent member of the tribe. That is now a highway of North Carolina. They communicated with each other through that trail, and I suppose they are all of the same stock (United States Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *School for Indians of Robeson County, N.C.: Hearings Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, on S. 3258, to Acquire a Site and Erect Buildings for a School for the Indians of Robeson County, N.C., and Other Purposes* 9). [NOTE: These statements were likely conjectures influenced by information derived from Hamilton McMillan and Angus W. McLean. The road that supposedly "led" to the Cherokee was established and constructed by Hugh Waddell and the Tuskarora, along with other North Carolina soldiers. These individuals served as commissioners of peace to the Upper Cherokee.]

STATEMENT OF HONORABLE A. W. McLEAN: In fact, there has always been the impression that the United States Government has discriminated against these Indians in favor of other Indians (United States Congress, House Committee on Indian Affairs, *School for Indians of Robeson County, N.C.: Hearings Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, on S. 3258, to Acquire a Site and Erect Buildings for a School for the Indians of Robeson County, N.C., and Other Purposes* 17). [NOTE: Just as Hamilton McMillan inaccurately labeled the Indians with the Croatan name, Angus W. McLean advanced the notion that the Indians in Robeson County possessed Cherokee heritage. McLean, a native of Robeson County, was an active Democrat, and a lawyer in Lumberton who later ascended to the Governorship of North Carolina. Like McMillan, McLean was familiar with the Indians in Robeson County, including George Washington Lowry, a leader in the Indian community who shared oral histories of their tribe. Following these brief conversations, Angus W. McLean

became convinced that the true lineage of the Indians in Robeson County was Cherokee. Consequently, he advocated for this name when tribal members expressed dissatisfaction with the protracted and painstaking process that Hamilton McMillan exhibited. McMillan used their Tuskarora identity to endorse his fantastical "Lost Colony" theory and to fashion the "Croatan" identity.]

.....

AN ACT To restore to the Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties their rightful and ancient name.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be, and the same is hereby amended by striking out in the last line of said section one the words "Indians of Robeson County," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SECTION 2. That section two of said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the words "Indians of Robeson County," in the fifth line of said section two, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SECTION 3. That said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be further amended by striking out the words "Indians of Robeson County," in line four of said section three, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SECTION 4. That the Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties who have heretofore been known as "Croatan Indians" or "Indians of Robeson County," together with their descendants, shall hereafter be known and designated as "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," and by that name shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges heretofore or hereafter conferred by any law or laws of the State of North Carolina upon the Indians heretofore known as the "Croatan Indians" or "Indians of Robeson County," including all such rights and privileges as have been conferred upon said Indians by Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven.

SECTION 5. Neither this act nor any other act relating to said "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" shall be construed so as to impose on said Indians any powers, privileges, rights, or immunities or any limitations on their power to contract, heretofore enacted with reference to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians residing in Cherokee, Graham, Swain, Jackson, and other adjoining counties in North Carolina, or any other band or tribe of Cherokee Indians other than those now residing, or who have, since the Revolutionary War, resided in Robeson County, nor shall said "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," as herein designated be subject to the limitations provided in section nine hundred and seventy-five and nine hundred and seventy-six of the revisal of one thousand nine hundred and five of North Carolina.

SECTION 6. That Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be further amended by striking out the words "Indian Normal School of Robeson County," in the third and fourth lines of said section four of said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County."

SECTION 7. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SECTION 8. That this act shall be in force and effect from and after its ratification. (In the General Assembly read three times and ratified this the 11th day of March 1913) (North Carolina General Assembly, Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1913, Chapter 123).

.....

AN ACT To provide for the maintenance and support of the Indian Normal School of Robeson County.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That in addition to the sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars (\$2,250) appropriated by the General Assembly of North Carolina, session of nineteen hundred and thirteen, for the maintenance of the Indian Normal School of Robeson County, the further sum of five hundred dollars is hereby annually appropriated for the year one thousand nine hundred and thirteen and one thousand nine hundred and fourteen for the support and maintenance of said school.

SECTION 2. That the appropriation herein made shall be drawn out by the auditor upon his warrant, and thereupon shall be charged by the State treasurer to the account of said school.

SECTION 3. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification. (In General Assembly read three times and ratified this the 12th day of March 1913) (North Carolina General Assembly, Public Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed in 1913, Chapter 199).

.....

A dispute occurred between southern white politicians and the Indian Office about the Federal recognition of the identity of the Indians in Robeson County. The controversy began in 1913 when North Carolina erroneously recognized these Indians as "Cherokee", a classification earlier included in the census, which the Federal officials were uninformed of. In 1915, the Senate commissioned a report on the "tribal rights and conditions" of these Indians after they advocated for another bill for Federal recognition and educational support as "Cherokee". The

task fell to Indian Commissioner Cato Sells who sent Special Indian Agent Orlando M. McPherson to examine the situation.

McPherson's objective was to determine whether the tribal affiliation of "Cherokee" was appropriate for these Indians, and North Carolina's standpoint did not influence the Office of Indian Affairs' (OIA) investigation. McPherson's report contained an extensive historical section and several documents aimed at ascertaining the tribal affiliation of the Indians in Robeson County. He inferred that the tribe had little, if any, Cherokee heritage; he instead proposed that their ancestors were Hatteras Indians. However, he did not dispute their Indian lineage or their identity as Indians and highlighted their impoverishment and aspiration for education.

McPherson proposed establishing a vocational school for Indians in Robeson County to address the absence of higher educational institutions for Indians in the era of Jim Crow in North Carolina. Following McPherson's report, the Secretary of the Interior suggested that Congress allocate funds for a school. Commissioner Sells declined this proposition (Lowery 92-93).

[1915] GOINS v. INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

Hamilton McMillan's statement, as a witness, for the Indian defendants:

"I am a resident of Robeson County; I am now 78 years of age. I represented Robeson County in the state legislature in 1885 and 1887. I am familiar with the Act of 1885 designating certain Indians of Robeson as Croatan Indians; I introduced the bill myself. I was acquainted with the Indians of Robeson County at the time the Act of 1885 was passed, designating them as Croatan Indians. I had been investigating their history for several years before that. I have them the designation of Croatan Indians in the Act. I wanted to give them some designation. There was a tribe known as Croatan tribe on Croatan Island, it was an honorable name, and it was a complete designation... The Indians designated as Croatan Indians were living in Robeson County...none of them lived in Sumter, SC as far as I know. I had the Act of 1887 passed, to establish a normal school for the Croatan Indians of Robeson County...

"Question by the court to McMillan:
Do these people here call themselves
Croatans?

Answer: No sir, they call themselves malungeans.

Question: Were they never called Croatans until this Act was introduced in here?

Answer: No sir.

Question: Where were they from anyway?

Answer: The traditions all point to the resident west of Pamlico Sound, beyond Cape Hatteras (Goins et al. v. Board of Trustees of Indian Normal Training School at Pembroke, 169 N.C. 736, 86 S.E. 629).

[NOTE: The questions posed to Hamilton McMillan were seen by some to be intentionally misleading, creating a distorted image of the true identity of the Indians in Robeson County. Despite their oral traditions asserting Tuscarora ancestry and links to the Roanoke (Moratoc) river, McMillan played a role in perpetuating misconceptions, purportedly driven by personal ambition and notoriety. His actions contributed to the suffering and marginalization of a disadvantaged group who were largely unaware of the political maneuverings around them.]

An article in the "Copeia" publication (Issue 1-51, October 24, 1916, No.36), dedicated to the study of ectothermic vertebrates, contributes to this misrepresentation. The author, Barton Evermann of San Francisco, California, refers to the renaming of what was once called Drowning Creek to "Lumbee", a corrupted anglicization of "Lumber." Evermann theorizes that "Lumbee" was the original Croatan Indian name for the river, signifying "beautiful water", a claim which lacks accuracy. Interestingly, archived reports from The Fayetteville Observer and The Lenoir Topic in 1885 reveal the people, commonly referred to as "Croatan Indians", self-identified as "Tuscarora". This important historical reference underscores the chasm between self-identity and externally imposed labels. (see Diagram 15, Copeia book article)

The Robesonian published a newspaper article called "History of Lumberton" on January 24, 1921, stating, "Before the railways came through there was a highway dirt road, leading from Fayetteville to Whiteville via Lumberton and Lumberton served as the connecting place between the two towns. There was much lumber consisting of mostly pine trees. These were cut and rafted down the "Drowning Creek" to Georgetown, South Carolina and there made into lumber. This method of industry won for the place the name Lumberton, and "Drowning Creek" took the name Lumbee from the town (Dagenhart).

Throughout the early 20th century, spanning up to the late 1930s, a Native American group known as the "Red Man's Lodge" was formed to uphold the customary practices of their people. The formation was partly sparked by the identity confusion experienced by students at the Indian Normal school, which subsequently led to the creation of various factions. The Red Man's Lodge, with its mandate to maintain societal equilibrium, worked tirelessly to protect the Indian identity, thereby safeguarding the dignity and self-respect of their successive generations. (see Diagram 16, Red Men's Lodge)

As detailed in Christopher Arris Oakley's book, "Keeping the Circle," the identity of North Carolina's population during this period was predominantly shaped by racial factors. A time of prevailing Social Darwinism, identity was largely biological, and societal divisions along racial lines were pronounced. In the face of the biracial segregation underpinning the Jim Crow era, North Carolina's Indians vehemently asserted their distinct racial identity. They identified not as "coloreds" but as Indians, demanding acknowledgment as such. Although their ancestry likely traced back to various colonial-era tribes, including the Tuscarora and Hatteras, these names were no longer used. They also did not fit the prevailing stereotypes associated with Native American identity; they were neither federally recognized, nor did they reside on reservations, wear traditional clothing, or adhere to stereotypical behaviors. Yet, they unequivocally remained Indians (Oakley 38-39).

On Monday, July 13, 1931, The Robesonian newspaper published an article stating, “Legends are often attractive and it is a good old American custom to associate attractive Indian legends with our streams and forests. It is said that the river received its name from the aborigines who hunted and fished along its wooded shores. Maybe the idea first occurred to John Charles McNeill, that sweet singer of poems who so loved this river and naturally found the word “Lumbee” more poetic, for we find him singing “Down on the Lumbee river where the eddies ripple cool”, and again from the pen of that lovable young lawyer and poet of a later day, Woodberry Lennon, “Here’s to Lumberton by the old Lumbee” (Onlooker).

The Indians of Robeson County expressed their identity through various avenues - from shared social circles, communal settlements, churches, and schools, to identifying as members of the newly formed "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County." In the early 1930s, they sought federal recognition under this new tribal name, which the state of North Carolina had assigned to them earlier. Subsequently, a separate faction emerged, identifying as "Cheraw Indians," a designation advocated by John Swanton (Smithsonian) and Joseph Brooks, a local Indian leader. These factions disagreed over strategies to secure recognition - the "Cherokee" faction favored aligning with white supremacy for political gain, whereas the "Cheraw" faction preferred to directly validate their identity to the OIA. The discord extended to the Congress and OIA, with the former viewing recognition as a political tool to appease constituents, while the latter prioritized academic and bureaucratic considerations to ascertain the tribal affiliation and eligibility for federal services (Lowery 86-87).

In 1933, John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, assigned John Swanton, a Southeastern Indians specialist at the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Etymology (BAE), to examine a faction of the Robeson County Indians' claims of Cherokee ancestry. Swanton, who did not visit Robeson County but conducted his investigation from Washington D.C., utilized various sources including genealogical records, oral traditions, colonial archives, census records, and old BAE files. Despite his thorough review, Swanton controversially concluded that the community's ancestors were from the Keyauwee and Cheraw tribes, two Siouan-speaking groups thought to have relocated to the area around Drowning Creek. He dismissed the Cherokee and Croatan theories, suggesting that the Cherokee connection was a misinterpretation of the Cheraw name, and stated that there was insufficient evidence for Croatan lineage. He did acknowledge possible contributions from other Iroquoian or Algonquian groups. Swanton recommended the Cheraw designation for the group, as it was recognized by the white community. Following Swanton's conclusions, Senator Bailey and Representative J. Bayard Clark introduced companion bills in 1933 to recognize the community as Cheraw Indians, not Cherokee. These bills, identical to previous Cherokee proposals, assured that the newly dubbed Cheraw Indians held no rights to other bands' tribal lands or funds (Lowery 107).

Meanwhile, primary families identifying as Cherokee harbored concerns that the Cheraw faction might admit non-Indians claiming Indian ancestry, potentially disrupting their schools and community. T. A. McNeil, a former district attorney in Lumberton, articulated these fears on behalf of the Cherokee group. He stated that these individuals had worked diligently for four decades to secure recognition for their people and had managed to achieve state acknowledgment of their racial identity. Furthermore, they had confronted considerable challenges to prevent individuals from neighboring counties, particularly South Carolina, who falsely claimed Indian

blood from infiltrating their communities and schools. The prospect of association with the alleged Cheraw tribe posed a risk of reopening these past issues and inviting an influx of outsiders (Lowery 111-112).

The years 1932-34 marked a peak in factional discord within the Robeson County Indian community. The Cheraw group, led by Joseph Brooks, focused on appealing to the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) for assistance amidst the challenges of the Great Depression. Simultaneously, the Cherokee group, spearheaded by Doctor Fuller Lowry, prioritized sustaining the tribe's social institutions within the local political landscape. These distinct activities profoundly influenced the ways the Robeson County Indians expressed and maintained their identity in the second half of the twentieth century (Lowery 119).

In 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt, intent on mitigating the impact of the Great Depression, implemented policies across all governmental sectors. Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior Department, appointed John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier's mission was to rectify the detrimental effects of federal assimilation policies, which had resulted in the fragmentation of tribal land ownership and the partial erosion of Indian languages, religions, and traditional lifestyles. As an activist, Collier had spent over a decade opposing these destructive policies. Armed with this experience, he embarked on a mission to reconstruct Indian policy and communities, envisioning them as democratically managed corporations capable of effectively handling economic resources.

In May 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, to halt the cultural and land losses caused by assimilation policies. Initially, Collier suggested that Indians possessing one-quarter or more "Indian blood" would qualify for recognition. Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, revised this provision to require one-half or more "Indian blood". Wheeler aimed to protect the government from any additional burden posed by non-reservation Indians and believed that those with a lower blood quantum were fully assimilated and, therefore, no longer truly Indian. The OIA and Congress operated under the assumption that Indian groups lacked their own political organizations, disregarding the effective social order established by the Indians themselves. This resulted in a preference for a centralized policy that treated all groups uniformly. Collier purposefully promoted the organization of tribes over other pre-existing social structures within Indian communities, such as families or settlements. He anticipated these governments to amalgamate families, villages, or other subgroups, fostering collective pursuit of shared interests. According to his theory, such a unified, centralized political organization would serve as an effective channel for delivering government services to tribes and facilitate economic development (Lowery 125-126).

In the early part of 1935, Robeson County's Indian population began to engage with the new Indian Reorganization Act. Joseph Brooks, a leader within the Cheraw group, queried Commissioner Collier about the procedures for organizing his people under this Act. Concurrently, Brooks sought a meeting with Senator Josiah W. Bailey to advocate for the reintroduction of the 1933 Siouan Bill. Bailey declined to meet with Brooks, potentially influenced by the Cherokee faction's letters to the IRA that questioned Brooks' authority. D.F. Lowry, acting as a Cherokee representative, had previously alerted Bailey to Brooks' recent

actions. To underscore his point, Lowry questioned the legitimacy of Brooks and other Siouan leaders as the tribe's official representatives, while also attempting to undermine the Siouan's credibility to the OIA. Lowry presented an alternate narrative of Indian history, framed within the context of modern policy making that was demanded by the OIA, utilizing data rooted in community kinship knowledge and details suggesting a lack of affiliation between Siouan-speaking communities and Robeson County Indians. Lowry saw kinship as an indicator of Indian identity and strategically used it to counter the influence of Siouan leadership (Lowery 133-134).

Lowry's appeal concerning Siouan recognition went unnoticed by Collier, primarily due to the OIA's ongoing efforts to secure funding sources to assist Robeson County's Indians. In response to the hardship following the Great Depression, "New Deal" programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration were launched. These agencies became instrumental in Collier's plan, helping Indians across America who were in dire straits. Although IRA funds for land purchases for Indian tribes were scarce, Collier sought assistance from other federal agencies, like the Federal Emergency Relief Agency, to aid Indians without reserved lands. The Resettlement Administration, soon to become the Farm Security Administration (FSA), was designated to assist Robeson County's Indians. The FSA introduced initiatives such as work opportunities for the unemployed and resettlement efforts for landless tenant farmers. As the FSA transformed farms with enhancements like electricity, paved roads, and homesteads that included houses, barns, water wells, and livestock pens, it offered the Indians an improved rural landscape (Lowery 135).

In 1935, W. Carson Ryan, Director of Education, proposed that the Robeson County Indians apply for a resettlement project in the Pembroke, N.C. area. Provided the Indians could substantiate their "Indian" eligibility, the FSA and OIA would endorse the project. Collier sought advice from Felix S. Cohen, an attorney from the Interior Department. Cohen proposed that "landless 'Siouan Indians' of one-half or more blood, recommended by the Siouan Council for their agricultural skills and industriousness, and approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, could purchase an appropriate land tract and transfer the title to the United States to be held in trust for the group." This land could also serve as a reservation in the future, entitling members to a full suite of federal services. Collier seemed to take personal responsibility for the project, enthusiastically supporting Cohen's suggestion. Brooks formulated a proposal to enroll Siouans under the IRA and posed a question to Collier about securing a reservation for his followers. The Siouans viewed the prospect of a reservation as a significant opportunity to liberate them from reliance on white landlords. Brooks tried to persuade Collier of the Siouan cause's righteousness and demand a reciprocal response, echoing the sentiments other Siouans had expressed during their congressional campaign with Senator Bailey. Brooks maintained that his people had not been treated fairly, considering their historical role in protecting early colonists from hostile Indian tribes. He invoked their long history and reputation as "friendly Indians," reminding Collier that the Cheraw had sided with the British in the 1711 Tuscarora War (Lowery 135-136).

[NOTE: It is important to note that the group referred to as "Cheraw" by John Swanton, and the history he attributed to them, had no ancestral record of participating in any war as Cheraw (against Tuscarora), given that the actual Cheraw had merged with the Catawba. With this being said, Joseph Brooks' statement is unfounded.]

Brooks articulated an alternative concept of Indian Identity, asserting the Siouan's claim to parity with other Indian tribes rather than equality with whites. He reasoned that the Siouan proposal for a reservation would help overcome the destitution and displacement caused by sharecropping and lack of land. Brooks wrote, "Our Federal Government has abandoned us without its protection, resulting in the loss of nearly all our land." Brooks' goal was to frame the Siouan predicament in terms familiar to Collier, who had collaborated with tribes nationwide that were already beneficiaries of government aid. The circumstances of Robeson County's Indians resembled those of other Indian communities. Instead of losing land through allotment, they lost it through a system steeped in racial discrimination (Lowery 136-137).

To address the challenges faced by the Indians, Brooks proposed that the government acquire a 1,000-acre land tract to resettle landless Indians on farms capable of sustaining agriculture. Brooks shared with the OIA a copy of the Siouan Council's membership list comprising 6,000 Indians from Robeson and neighboring counties. He also provided sample budgets for the provision of farming supplies for Indian families of various sizes. In response, Collier asked Brooks to suggest a procedure to verify that "members of your tribe [are] of half-degree or more Indian blood" as a prerequisite for organization under the IRA. Subsequently, the Indian Office evaluated the economic and social conditions in Robeson County to ascertain land availability and the potential of a rehabilitation project to fulfill the program's objectives. Federally administering the Indians would reduce the state's burden. Indian agent Fred Baker carried out the assessment, meeting with thousands of Indians, but likely did not fully grasp their urgent call for a farm resettlement program. The Siouan Council pressed Collier to implement the project. Collier wrote to James Chavis, the Siouan Council's secretary, "I cannot predict the outcome, but we will strive our best, and I am genuinely hopeful." For the first time, it seemed the OIA might leverage the Indian New Deal to further the aspirations of the Indians in Robeson County (Lowery 137).

From 1935 to 1939, the Indian Office and the Robeson County Indians endeavored to devise a mechanism for federal recognition. In this time frame, challenges regarding tribal unity, racial ancestry, and non-reservation status repeatedly surfaced, accentuating the stark disparity in the OIA's conception of identity and the Indians' perception. The discrepancy underlined the necessity for the Indians to alter their expression of identity to collaborate with the OIA, which advocated for a centralized tribal government structure. The Siouan Council acted as a medium for this assistance, yet the OIA hesitated to acknowledge the council due to the existing fragmentation within the Robeson County Indian community. For instance, in early 1935, J.E. Sawyer, superintendent of the Indian Normal School, sought scholarship assistance for Robeson County Indians from W. Carson Ryan, the OIA's education director. Sawyer was apprehensive about the internal tribal division and wondered if Cherokee and Siouan students could both receive OIA assistance. Ryan communicated to Sawyer that he could not aid the Robeson County Indians unless they achieved consensus. Although the agency did not explicitly intend to withhold recognition from the Robeson County Indians, their indecisiveness resulted in a de facto denial. Government officials' inclination to favor sides underscored the inherent discord between the political and administrative processes involved in federal recognition.

In the long term, such disagreements within government branches influenced Robeson County Indian politics and ultimately contributed to the failure of tribal recognition. Interaction

with the OIA amplified the disparities between Siouans and Cherokees in terms of identity expression. However, it's crucial to recognize that these disparities were most evident when communicating their identity to non-Indians. Among themselves, traditional markers like kinship, geographical association, and social institutions remained crucial components of Indian identity, fueling internal factionalism. Yet, presenting a "tribe" on the national stage in 1930, just as they did statewide in the 1880s, necessitated that the Indians in Robeson County establish more comprehensive criteria that non-Indians could comprehend (Lowery 138-139).

The Pembroke Farms Project enhanced the living standards and expectations of the Indians under the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The government took nearly four years (1935-1939) to plan and execute the project, selecting families for settlement. The FSA invested \$623,474 in acquiring and developing over 9,000 acres of land for Pembroke Farms, purchasing vast tracts from white and Indian landowners in Red Banks, Brooks Settlement, and Hopewell communities located south and west of Pembroke. Pembroke Farms drastically improved the living conditions of the participating Indian sharecroppers. The government constructed three to five-room houses for each family, equipped with electricity, outhouses, pump water, and screened windows. These provisions were a novel experience for many sharecropper families. Families were generally responsible for their own furnishings and were also given a smokehouse, stock barn, poultry house, tobacco barn, and pasture fence. The FSA appointed a community manager to supervise farm operations and a home management specialist to educate Indian women on modern domestic skills, particularly efficient gardening, safe canning, nutrition, basic health, and hygiene. The project included a nurse, the only permanent Indian employee, who was tasked with addressing prevalent health issues such as malaria, tuberculosis, and syphilis through treatment and education. The farm also offered health insurance to residents and hosted a Works Progress Administration school providing adult literacy education. The government established a community building and elementary school for social and educational activities and set up a National Youth Administration center. The FSA's initiatives aimed to equalize economic opportunities in Robeson County and uplift the Indians' social and homestead life (Lowery 159-161).

Indians showcased their customary culture and familial emphasis via the type of settlement plan they opted for. The Farm Security Administration (FSA) proposed two models: a "neighborhood" design, wherein residential plots were adjacent to fields, and a "village" design, where houses were clustered together with fields positioned outside the "village." The Robeson County Indians favored the "neighborhood" blueprint, mirroring their traditional rural settlement patterns outside Pembroke. The Indians envisaged the neighborhood plan, with each family possessing a forty-acre farm, would allow succeeding generations to construct homes near their parents and perpetuate the tradition of collectively working the farm. Indian sharecroppers encountered challenges preserving this subsistence tradition as they struggled to save enough money to acquire land sufficient for settling and supporting their expanding families. Government assistance presented an alternative that could safeguard their identity, deeply intertwined with family. The inability or refusal of both the Indians and the FSA to acknowledge the boundaries of their cultural presuppositions allowed the "Cherokees" to exercise influence over the project and curtailed the Siouan Council's pursuit of economic independence through Pembroke Farms. According to the resettlement planners, both factions expressed deep interest in Pembroke Farms, but their disputes revolved around who should helm the project. Joseph

Brooks positioned himself as the primary advocate for a Resettlement Project in the region, while the Cherokee Lowrys informed investigator A.M. Johnson that they would disengage from the Farm Security Administration if the agency catered to the Siouan Tribe's demands. The Robeson County Cherokees did not oppose the initiation of the Pembroke Farms project by the Siouan Council; their resistance was against the Siouan's claim to leadership within the Indian community. They conveyed to the FSA that unless the agency upheld Cherokee claims and dismissed the Siouans, the project would flounder. The Lowry family, particularly D.F. Lowry, Martin Lowry, and James R. Lowry—all influential figures in Pembroke's Fourth Street Power Structure and urban Indians—asserted that they, rather than the Siouan Council or its rural Indian backers, should be recognized as the rightful leaders of the Indian community. These same Lowrys had previously advocated for the Cherokee name and effectively quashed the Siouan bill in 1934 (Lowery 162-167).

In an effort to establish their legitimacy to the Farm Security Administration (FSA), the "Cherokees" sought to give the impression that they enjoyed the same grassroots backing as the Siouans had secured. In this process, they underscored their ties to the societal structure of the Indian community. These leaders, in fact, had a reputation for being decisive factors in a project's success or failure, and both urban and rural Indians deeply respected their wealth, accomplishments, and contributions to Indian schools and churches. Despite promising impartiality to the Indians, the FSA continually leaned towards the Cherokee leadership. A.M. Johnson reassured the Cherokees that the FSA held no biases and was impartial to any class, race, or faction in their resettlement work. Johnson depended on the Lowrys' counsel to resolve the factional strife within the Indian community, believing them to be a more sophisticated class than the Siouans. The FSA planners placed significant weight on the Cherokees' views and political influence, while excluding the Siouans. Mirroring the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), which demonstrated a consistent inclination towards Siouan leaders while claiming neutrality, the FSA professed to be unbiased yet showed favoritism towards one faction, thereby exacerbating pre-existing factional tensions. For the Cherokees, Pembroke Farms embodied their progressive identity, symbolizing their aspirations to elevate their living standards and strive for self-improvement. This expression of identity both supported local white supremacy and preserved the Indians' position within the racial hierarchy. Conversely, the Siouans championed autonomy and self-governance, characteristics they believed were intrinsic to an Indian tribe, which they hoped would lead to a tribally owned land base and counteract the discrimination and powerlessness endured under the Jim Crow system. Despite their alliance with the FSA, the Siouans found themselves having to concede to Cherokee demands to a degree. However, they remained persistent in their efforts to channel project resources towards Siouan members, many of whom were from the "swamps" and in dire need. Nevertheless, the FSA's failure to culturally differentiate Robeson County Indians from black or white Americans impeded the Siouans' success. As the Pembroke Farms project progressed, compelling Cherokee and Siouan town Indians to cooperate and reconcile their differences, rural Indians found themselves less capable of countering the economic disparities propagated by the Jim Crow system (Lowery 167-169).

Following an attempt by the Siouans to assert control over the project, the FSA suggested Martin Luther Lowry, a "Cherokee" leader and brother to Professor James R. Lowry, for the role of family selection specialist, despite his lack of interest in the position. This was met with resistance from the Siouan Council, who feared that Cherokee influence would undermine their

control over the project. In response, George Mitchell, the regional director of the FSA, proposed that a committee consisting of a white selection specialist and representatives from both the Cherokee and Siouan factions conduct the family selection process. This proposal was accepted by both factions, and H.C. Green, the Community Manager, recommended one representative from each of the Cherokee and Siouan groups. This appeared to momentarily satisfy leaders from both factions, who agreed that white and black tenants previously occupying the land should be immediately evicted to make the project exclusively "Indian." Much like their approach to schools and churches, this exclusion of black and white people bolstered and maintained Indian identity by granting Indians unique access to social, economic, and political opportunities. Rural Indians, however, who were in most need of the project, were unhappy with the family selection process. Instead of directing their frustrations towards Indian leaders of either faction, they objected to H.C. Green's participation in the process, declaring him "incompetent and not satisfactory" for the role of community manager through a signed petition. Among other grievances, they accused Green of promising them consideration for selection as homesteaders but then denying them the opportunity to apply and evicting them. The petitioners notified the FSA of their intention to send a delegation to Washington to meet with officials there. After allegations and claims of racism against certain agency officials (although there was no substantiated evidence of racism), the Indians followed through with their meeting with officials in Washington, where they were further exposed to the FSA's lack of understanding of the unique status of Robeson County Indians (Lowery 170-171).

In Washington, the Indian delegation met with L.I. Hewes, a member of the FSA staff. Despite sharing their experiences, they were informed by Hewes that the FSA would treat them no differently than other citizens, adding that they were dealing with a "dishonest man (H.C. Green)" in Pembroke and were "not getting a fair deal." Hewes dismissed their claims of injustice and assured the delegation that racial discrimination was not part of the government's agenda. After dismissing racism as a basis for the Indians' grievances, Hewes accused them of attributing their own lethargy to the government. Hewes treated the delegation with the same patronizing attitude they had experienced from H.C. Green. He failed to acknowledge the long-standing discrimination faced by Indian tenants at the hands of white landlords and the potential downside of government assistance. Hewes and his FSA colleagues either couldn't or wouldn't understand the distinctive circumstances of the Indians in Robeson County, and they turned a blind eye to the system that denied these individuals justice. Dismissing the farmers' complaints, the FSA allowed four of the petitioning applicants to remain on the farm while mandating the others to relocate (Lowery 172-173).

Siouans revitalized their attempts to exert some influence over the resettlement project by forming a cooperative association. In 1938, the Farm Security Administration (FSA) established the Red Banks Mutual Association (RBMA) to equip fifteen Indian families with their own supply house, farming machinery, and collectively organized outlets for selling their crops. Figures such as Joseph Brooks and James Chavis saw the RBMA as a means of enriching "tribal life" and liberating more Indians from their reliance on merchants, landlords, and credit systems. The RBMA arranged for families to live on a 1,715-acre plot of land leased from the government in exchange for a share of the association's crops. Families were able to live in their homes without paying rent, with their labor serving as their contractual obligation to the association. The FSA extended loans to the association to facilitate improvements on the cooperative farm.

Joseph Brooks, who was appointed as the project's manager by the government, took residence at RBMA as a symbol of triumph over the segregated, white-dominated economy. Brooks resigned as manager for unspecified reasons a few months later, leading to the appointment of Pembroke Farms manager H.C. Green to the position. RBMA families were in control of their labor, set their own crop prices, and operated substantial farming machinery. Each farmer had individual ownership of two acres for a personal garden and cash crops, alongside a shared profit from the cooperative's collective output. Following the selection of the initial families by the selection committee, a board of directors was formed which then appointed a new board responsible for selecting additional families to reside on the farm. Every member held stock in the corporation. The Red Banks was a tangible manifestation of the Indian-led project that the Siouans had envisioned for Pembroke Farms, and it would go on to become the longest-standing New Deal cooperative in America, lasting until 1968. The RBMA signified a triumph over an economic system that had rendered the Indians largely impotent. Its influence extended beyond improving the lives of the families who resided there, as Indians sustained the project through kinship ties, a crucial aspect of their identity. Siouan leaders capitalized on the FSA's focus on racial categories and the OIA's emphasis on blood quantum to underscore their distinctiveness from non-Indians; they leveraged town and rural divisions within the Indian community to establish a representative tribal government and took advantage of New Deal initiatives to carve out separate economic opportunities for themselves and their constituents (Lowery 173-174).

Post the implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934, Indian leaders, along with a group of 209 individuals residing in Robeson County, petitioned the Secretary of the Department of the Interior for recognition as individuals with one-half or more Indian blood. This legislation, enacted by the U.S. Congress, federally supervised, and signed into law by U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, aimed to augment sovereignty and Native American rights, providing federal services to American Indians, tribes, and Indian Affairs Programs, and promoting Indian self-governance. In June 1936, the Department of the Interior dispatched Carl Seltzer, an anthropologist, E.S. McMahan, a lawyer, and D'Arcy McNickle, a novelist, to Robeson County to assess each applicant's quantum of Indian blood. This was done using a rudimentary technique known as "anthropometry," which involved studying the measurements and proportions of the human body. Following thorough examinations, with 108 assessments conducted in 1936 and 101 in 1937, only 22 applications were approved as "Indian" of full blood, in 1938, including that of Tuskarora leader Lawrence Maynor. These applications were acknowledged federally in line with the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. In addition to these, Seltzer categorized eleven individuals as "borderline" and seven more as "near borderline." Exhibit 178

The Indian Reorganization Act granted these recognized Indians certain benefits, such as educational assistance, preferential employment in the Indian service, and land. Members of the Siouan Council, as well as the applicants themselves, began to inquire about the status of their applications with the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). The typical response from the OIA was that decisions had not yet been made. Seven months post Seltzer's second visit to Robeson County in January 1938, the OIA started to dissuade Joseph Brooks from pursuing recognition. D'Arcy McNickle voiced concerns that if the OIA recognized the twenty-two Indians of Robeson County, the state might alter its policy and withhold support from Indian schools. The OIA was also apprehensive that acknowledging only twenty-two out of 200 could incite resentment within

the group, alluding to the past factional tensions that had typified the tribe's recognition efforts. Brooks expressed understanding towards the OIA's stance, but he wanted the OIA to communicate this directly to the Siouan Council. McNickle consented, and a Siouan delegation traveled to Washington, D.C. several months later. McNickle, however, did not receive the response he anticipated from the delegation. Dissatisfied with the outcome, the Siouan delegation then pushed McNickle and Collier to advocate for the Secretary of the Interior to recognize the twenty-two. This triggered an immediate dispute in the Indian Office. Staff members discovered that anthropometry did not yield objective evidence but instead provoked subjective queries. The recognition of the twenty-two also posed a challenge for the OIA's application of anthropological theory to Indian policy. The internal debate within the Indian Office about recognizing the twenty-two Indians, whom Seltzer deemed "one-half or more," exposed the government's deep-seated uncertainty about the safe application of science as a means to establish a connection between race and culture. Even though the Indian Office considered the criteria for identity set by the Indians unreliable, their own methods for determining Indianness were based on flawed assumptions and subjective circumstances (Lowery 198-200).

Upon approving the enrollment of the Indians under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) informed Joseph Brooks and each of the recognized twenty-two individuals. The communication clarified that the IRA entitled these individuals to educational support and preference in Indian Services but clarified that funding for land acquisition, as promised by the IRA, was unavailable to individuals since it had already been allocated to "landless tribal groups". The letters emphasized that individual recognition under the IRA did not guarantee tribal membership or confer "tribal status". It was underscored to the Siouan Council that recognizing the twenty-two did not equate to recognition of the tribe or the Council itself. Collier also notified the recognized individuals that their enrollment did not extend to their descendants unless said descendants were born of a parent who, like them, was deemed to possess a blood quantum of one-half or more by Seltzer. The "Original 22" were considered Indians by Collier but not a "landless tribal group", and thus, they weren't allowed to organize as a tribe under a constitution as per the IRA's provisions. According to Felix Cohen, the Interior Department solicitor, Indian groups could only organize if they resided on a reservation, implying that the OIA had to acquire land for "landless" groups, which would then be declared a reservation by the Secretary of the Interior. In 1938, funds for land acquisition were directed to other tribes, leaving nothing for the Original 22. Collier's apparent lack of enthusiasm likely stemmed from concerns that the Original 22 wouldn't incorporate the rest of Robeson County's Indians but would instead form a politically autonomous group delivering IRA benefits and services to their kin. However, underlying these concerns was an assumption that factionalism was inherently disruptive and potentially detrimental to social organization (Lowery 200-201).

Despite the OIA only recognizing twenty-two Indians, Seltzer's examination revealed an additional eighteen "borderline" cases related to the Original 22. From this base of individuals linked by kinship and settlement, a new Tuskarora Indian government emerged intending to replace the Siouan Council and interact directly with the federal government. The Siouan Council, upon learning of the Original 22's Tuskarora efforts to organize independently, endeavored to undermine their plans. They viewed the Original 22's Council as a threat to the relationship they had cultivated with the OIA. Considering that the OIA acknowledged no Indians other than the Original 22, the Siouans realistically had limited immediate options to

secure recognition for the rest of Robeson County's Indians. Members from both the Siouans and the Original 22 persistently petitioned the Indian Office for assistance. Congressmen had firm views on Indian identity backed by segregationist attitudes and constituents, whereas the OIA upheld ideas supported by anthropological theory. As the OIA executed its policies in collaboration with Congress and the FSA, it increasingly found scientific theory ineffectual in addressing the racial questions raised by southern Indians. Consequently, the only Indians directly affected were the Original 22 and their kin, who leveraged their new federal affiliation to bolster their local political clout. Nevertheless, amid international warfare and a domestic struggle over Indian identity and federal recognition, the federal government remained oblivious to their messages. This intergovernmental dispute once again left the issue of Indian recognition up to Congress (Lowery 202, 212).

On Wednesday, April 28, 1948, Ralph Brooks writes an article in *The Robesonian*, titled "Wants Lumbee Indians To Be Recognized" in which he asked the citizens of North Carolina to consider whether or not the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina are as deserving as any other tribe of Indians in the United States and also asking for unused lands such as government land and swamp land that is not being used at that time (Brooks).

The *Robesonian* newspaper published an article on Thursday, February 26, 1953, titled "Robeson Indians Win First Round", and discusses opposition to the recognition of the name Lumbee Indians. Judge L.R. Varser claimed the proposal to be just a maneuver and stated, "So somebody can get political status among them and control their vote in the primaries." The *Robesonian* stated that Varser said there is no reason to name the people after a non-existent river. "Lumbee is some fancy language used by a beloved poet and schoolmate of mine," said Varser. "There was no 'Lumbee' until the late spring of 1900 when John Charles McNeill was practicing law in Lumberton and writing poetry" ("Robeson Indians").

World War II played a pivotal role in persuading a majority of the Indian population that they could leverage federal recognition to overturn their status as second-tier citizens under the Jim Crow laws. The Indians recognized the need for a new name to present to the federal government as neither Cherokee nor Siouan had offered them the reprieve from segregation that they desired. Their endeavors led to the Lumbee Act of 1956, a legislative solution to the longstanding struggle to affirm their identity. The term 'Lumbee', devoid of historical significance, was derived from the name of the 'Lumber' river where the Indians resided and symbolized a shared land base that could unify this disparate group.

Town Indians, primarily from the former Cherokee faction and Siouan Council, dissatisfied with the Seltzer outcome, established themselves as the Lumbee Brotherhood in the late 1940s and sought recognition through political channels in Congress rather than striving for anthropological validation from the OIA. Their status as individual citizens and voters enabled this approach, and the Lumbee Brotherhood advocated a Lumbee identity premised on assimilationist concepts of citizenship as opposed to the collective historical identity that the Original 22 Council had insisted on (Lowery 215-216).

Before finalizing a new tribal name that could unify the divided factions, Ralph Brooks, representative for the Original 22's council, led multiple delegations to government agencies,

Congress members, and the National Congress of American Indians in Washington, D.C. to discuss a suitable name and recognition process. This delegation did not represent the town Indians or the leadership that had previously engaged with the OIA, but rather advocated for the Original 22, the rural Indians who had been most successful in securing federal recognition. Brooks' strategy in Washington suggested that he had been closely monitoring the government's endeavors to promote unity and cooperation within the group. The new name proposed, much like Cherokee and Cheraw, was 'Lumbee', named after the (Lumber) river where they resided, which served as a generic identifier that encompassed all the Indians in the county while retaining an authentically 'Indian' feel. Brooks also informed these agencies that the group comprised members from both Siouan and Cherokee factions. Despite his efforts, Brooks received minimal encouragement from his meetings. Representative J. Bayard Clark pledged to put forth the bill, an approach that had been attempted multiple times before and had not succeeded. The OIA consistently and outrightly rejected the prospect of recognition under the IRA, attributing this to the lack of treaty agreements with the Indians of Robeson County. OIA officials encouraged the Indians to pursue recognition from the North Carolina legislature under their new name. Brooks expressed to North Carolina Senator Clyde R. Hoey, "We believe we have a right to our own reservation and schools for our children. We aspire to be known as a nation, bearing our own [tribal] name, akin to all the other tribes of America." Recognition was a question of equity and equal treatment; some Robeson County Indians had been acknowledged by the OIA. Why then, should the federal government withhold aid from them? From the OIA's perspective, the answer was evident: acknowledging the Original 22 only meant recognizing individual Indians, and Collier had not permitted the group to organize as a "tribe" under a constitution. The status of acknowledged individuals varied from that of tribes, and OIA officials didn't feel accountable to individuals who had been recognized as "one-half or more Indian" under the IRA (Lowery 233-234).

Despite these rejections, the Original 22's council started hosting large gatherings at the Brooks Settlement Longhouse in the spring of 1949. Turkey Tayac and two of his colleagues from Washington addressed over 2,000 Indians on joining the American Indian Organization, a new group initiated by him and others to encourage Indian unity. The Organization aimed to teach dance, arts and crafts, and hold powwows. Tayac suggested a form of recognition distinct from that of the federal government, emphasizing political and social connections between Indian people. This kind of recognition resonated with the Brooks Settlement's approach to affirming identity, and Ralph Brooks and others supported the plan. The group elected three representatives, including Lindsay Revels, who had been involved in the Siouan movement in the 1930s and was a first cousin to Lawrence Maynor, one of the Original 22 who claimed Tuskarora lineage. In a meeting, the new group adopted the name "Lumbee," a title suggested by government agencies, and instructed its elected representatives "to do everything within their capacity to have the Federal Government accept the name 'Lumbee' and to strive to get the United States to grant them the same benefits given to other Indians." Meanwhile, Ralph and Will Brooks, with Turkey Tayac's assistance, relocated to a farm near Leonardtown, Maryland. They sought help from the OIA to start a farm but were told that the OIA had no funds available and were advised to apply to their local County agent or consult with the Farmers Home Administration, the successor agency to the FSA. With the Brooks' relocation, Lindsay Revels took over the discussions with Washington. The Town Indians, whom the newspaper referred to as "the more educated" Indians, were wary of Tayac's plan and distanced themselves from it and

the rural Indians leading the movement. Seeing scant support from the town Indians, Revels returned to Congress. "All of our people are willing to take the name Lumbee Indians," Revels reported to the Senate; he also attached a list of 4,500 names of Indians they had rallied to join their organization (Lowery 235-236).

Senator Clyde R. Hoey responded favorably and met with Revels and Lawrence Maynor, a member of the Original 22, in August 1950. Hoey instructed Revels and Maynor to collaborate with Congressman Frank Ertel Carlyle, a lawyer and Lumberton inhabitant who was a representative for Robeson County. Revels struggled to get his point across. Hoey and Carlyle appeared to be slow in moving forward with the legislation, and once more, the OIA declined to provide them with direct support. Months after Revels' visit, D'Arcy McNickle sent him a message saying: "I don't advise you to travel to Washington," "as we are unable to assist your people." The group, now self-identifying as "Lumbee," which had been motivated by rural Indians' aspiration for federal recognition, seemed to reach a standstill. Revels' pleas fell on deaf ears; Ralph and Will Brooks had separated themselves from the community; and in 1951, the Brooks Settlement closed the Longhouse, the societal institution that had served as a tangible and spiritual hub for the Indian cause (Lowery 236-237).

D.F. Lowry, the founder of Pembroke's First Methodist Church and a trustee at the Indian Normal School, brought together a group of Indian ministers, including members of the Fourth Street Power Structure, to deliberate over the issue of tribal recognition. Labeling themselves the Lumbee Brotherhood, they recommended leaving behind the Cherokee name in favor of "Lumbee." Lumbee Brotherhood leaders explained to the newspaper, "The primary purpose of the [name change] was to reinstate members of the tribe to the status of fully independent American citizens" - essentially to free them from second-class status. These ideals of liberty echo those championed by Lindsay Revels and the rural Indians, who also wished to end segregation and their marginalization from the southern economy. "Lumbee," unlike Cherokee, symbolized a new range of social, economic, and political opportunities for Indian people and evaded the opposition from the Eastern Band of Cherokees against using their tribal name. Regardless of the potentially unifying power of the name "Lumbee," leaders remained divided. For instance, none of the men who had negotiated with Congress and the OIA in the 1940s allied with the Lumbee Brotherhood, except for Revels. None of the members of the Original 22 did either. Differences in education and "Indian blood" created a divide between town and rural Indians. The Lumbee Brotherhood had perceptions about "Indian blood" that didn't align with the Original 22's acceptance of the OIA's criteria. The Lumbee Brotherhood's deliberate exclusion of rural Indians from their recognition effort, coupled with the glaring differences between the two groups in their representation of their Indian heritage, led to a schism among the tribal members over how their identity should be confirmed, and recognition obtained (Lowery 239-241).

Advocates for Indian recognition persisted in molding their representations of their identity in ways that were meaningful to both group members and outsiders. Assimilation remained a dominant theme, as did uniqueness. This complex interplay of lineage, culture, and Indian identity was displayed in politics when the Lumbee Brotherhood sought recognition in the North Carolina State legislature between 1951 and 1953 and in Congress between 1955 and 1956. The Senate and the House of Representatives passed the "Lumbee" bill in May 1956, and President Eisenhower signed it into law on June 7 that year, bestowing the Indians of Robeson

County with some level of formal, albeit limited, federal recognition. Reaction to the long-awaited victory of recognition was subdued in some areas of Robeson County. Lowry and the Lumbee Brotherhood had previously excluded rural Indians and members of the Original 22 from the state process. This group apparently had no inclination to challenge the federal legislation and did not promptly voice their discontent with the Lumbee Act to outsiders. Instead, internal resistance to the Lumbee Act took an additional fifteen years to develop and eventually took form in the Tuskarora organizations that became active in the 1960s and 1970s (Lowery 241-246).

Wallace "Mad Bear" Anderson, a New York Tuscarora activist and spiritual leader, visited Robeson County Indians in 1959 to garner support for an Indian unity organization he and other Six Nation members had established. The organization was for treaty Indians, and as far as Anderson was aware, Robeson County Indians had not signed treaties with the United States, but he also viewed sovereignty in other terms. Sovereignty was not exclusive to tribes that had a treaty relationship with the U.S. government; tribes that never had such a relationship could also assert sovereignty through their connections to other Indian groups and among themselves. Anderson's relationship with Robeson County Indians stemmed from their shared Tuscarora heritage. Anderson aimed to reconnect with the Tuskarora who remained in the South after the eighteenth-century Tuscarora War and seemingly found some of his relatives in Robeson County. During his visit, he assisted in designing and building a Longhouse and sweat lodge with Indians near the Prospect community, about twelve miles northwest of Pembroke. Ten years later, driven by the local tension of school desegregation and the national activities of the American Indian Movement, this Longhouse community and their supporters emerged as the Eastern Carolina Tuscarora Indian Organization and engaged in a forceful legal struggle for civil rights, control over Indian schools and federal benefits for the Original 22 (Lowery 246-247).

With the passage of time and under pressure from local authorities and the Federal Bureau of Investigations, the Tuskarora also split along ideological lines, but all remained opposed to the "Lumbee" name and to the act that denied them federal assistance. The name "Tuscarora" not only reclaimed a historical and authentic tribal link, but also served as an identity boundary that distinguished the group from the Lumbees, a useful political strategy to achieve Tuskarora objectives in the 1970s. In 1971, the remaining seven members of the Original 22 claiming Tuscarora lineage petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to establish a reservation for them, as promised under the Indian Reorganization Act. The Interior Department ruled that the Lumbee Act had ended any rights that the Original 22 had as Indians, given their residence in Robeson County (Lowery 247).

In *The Robesonian*, Tuesday, May 4, 1971, an article titled, "Was 'Drowning Creek' Archives Show No Record of Early 'Lumbee' River," states "Hamilton McMillan, a former North Carolina legislator and a pamphleteer, interested in the Croatan (now Lumbee) Indians, appears to have been the originator of the claim that 'Lumbee' was the earlier name of the Lumber River. His claim, published in 1888, that the river was called 'Lumbee' in the earlier part of the 18th century, appears to have been made without supporting evidence or documentation. Both the poet John Charles McNeill and the newspaperman Ben Nixon MacNeill popularized the idea and often referred to the river as 'Lumbee River' " ("Drowning Creek' Archives").

Later in the 1970s, there was infighting among several Tuskarora groups in Robeson County for control. One faction, led by Howard Brooks who was elected Chief on December 15, 1972, united to confront the issues faced by the Indians in Robeson County, which included the closure of schools and the lack of attention towards recognition. They garnered some support from the Sioux and representatives from the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.), who were at Wounded Knee at that time. Dennis Banks and Russell Means, representatives of A.I.M., had spent a year in Robeson County rallying local Indians to support their cause. Contentious disputes emerged regarding allegations that the East Carolina Indian Organization (ECIO), led by Rev. Elias Rogers and comprising of other Indians from Robeson County, had formed a private Tuscarora group and was set to receive funds that were initially intended for all descendants of the Tuskarora Indians in North Carolina. Brooks and his supporters categorically denied any association with the East Carolina Indian Organization (ECIO), also known as the East Carolina Tuscarora Indian Organization (ECTIO). Moreover, these united Tuscarora under Brooks also disavowed any affiliation with the Lumbee, stating that the name "Lumbee" bore no cultural or historical significance. (see Exhibit 179 "Tuscaroras Unite" Pages 1-6, The Robesonian (Lumberton, North Carolina) March 8, 1973; March 18, 1973; June 25, 1973)

Lawrence Maynor, a recognized Indian who was not part of the Brooks Settlement, was unable to obtain work or a loan from Pembroke Farms. In late 1939, he wrote to Collier saying, "There are some benefits to which I am entitled in the Indian service... I feel that being ½ or more Indian, I am entitled to some help from the Federal government." There is no evidence that Collier responded to Maynor's request, and none of the Original 22 Tuskarora received any assistance until 1974. That year, Maynor and the other surviving members sued the Department of the Interior for benefits owed to them as recognized Indians - and they won. Maynor and the other Original 22 survivors took the federal government to court, contending that they were not Lumbees in 1938 when the OIA had recognized them and that the Lumbee Act did not apply to Indians whom the government had recognized prior to the act's passage. A judge concurred with the plaintiffs, concluding that Congress was unaware of the Original 22 Tuskarora when it passed the Lumbee Act and did not intend to deprive these recognized Indians of their rights.

The case of Maynor vs Morton represented a significant legal win for the Indians of Robeson County "who claimed Tuskarora" identity. It was especially important to those who rejected the Lumbee label and preferred a tribal history they believed could withstand scrutiny from other Indian tribes and federal law. The early alliance between the Tuskarora and the Original 22 made sense given that many Tuskarora were direct descendants of the Original 22 and shared familial ties with rural Indians (Lowery 247).

Since the 1920s, after the establishment of Croatan schools, the Tuskarora and their ancestors in Robeson County have sought autonomy from southern society. This pursuit was not through the political process of federal recognition, but through ostensibly more permanent legal avenues, cultural awareness was promoted at the Longhouse, and consistent connections with other recognized tribes, such as the Six Nations of New York, with whom some North Carolina Tuskarora continue to associate today.

In the court case Lawrence Maynor, Appellant, vs. Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary, Department of the Interior, heard in the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit - 510 F.2d 1254 (D.C. Cir. 1975) [Argued on November 21, 1974. Decided on April 4, 1975], the following information was presented:

Maynor is one of approximately 40,000 Indians residing in and around Robeson County in North Carolina. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was enacted in 1934, with a significant provision defining the term 'Indian':

The term encompasses all individuals of Indian descent who are part of any recognized Indian tribe currently under Federal jurisdiction, all individuals who are descendants of such members who were living within the current boundaries of any Indian reservation as of June 1, 1934, and all other individuals who are of one-half or more Indian blood. While the IRA was primarily aimed at tribal Indians, and neither Maynor nor his relatives had any tribal designation, organization, or reservation at that time, the language of the statute clearly implied that certain benefits of the Act were also accessible to any non-reservation Indian who could establish that they had at least one-half Indian blood. Among these benefits was the right to petition the Secretary to establish a reservation for such individuals, which, if granted, would provide them access to a broad array of federal Indian services (as members of a recognized Indian group on a reservation). In the aftermath of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, plaintiff Maynor, along with 208 other individuals from Robeson County, requested recognition as individuals of one-half or more Indian blood. To assess each applicant's degree of Indian blood, the Department of the Interior dispatched a team of anthropologists and other experts. After a thorough investigation, only 22 applications, including Maynor's, were accepted in 1938. Maynor and the other 21 [Tuskarora] were informed by the Department that they were 'entitled to the benefits set forth by the Indian Reorganization Act.' However, it was emphasized that no other benefits were entailed, and these individuals did not attain tribal status or any rights or privileges in any Indian tribe.

Unsatisfied with the tedious and sparingly fruitful approach of individual blood and lineage examination to secure Indian status, another group of Robeson County Indians (not including plaintiff Maynor) sought a legislative resolution. The outcome was the "Lumbee Act" of June 7, 1956, which stated that the Indians in Robeson and neighboring counties would be recognized as "Lumbee Indians". On the advice of the Department of the Interior, though, a clause was added to the Act stating:

“Nothing in this Act shall make such Indians eligible for any services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians, and none of the statutes of the United States which affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall be applicable to the Lumbee Indians.” This qualifying clause leads to the sole issue of this lawsuit.

During the Congressional deliberation of the Lumbee Act of 1956, no attention was paid, or reference made to the 22 individuals who had been verified as Indians under the IRA of 1934. These individuals seemed to have been largely overlooked by the Federal Government until 1971 when plaintiff Maynor and others from the group of 22 petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to establish a reservation for them as certified Indians. Judging by the content of several letters sent

by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, their request appeared to have somewhat disoriented the Department. Nevertheless, the Department of the Interior's final verdict was that the 22 individuals were not entitled to benefits under the IRA. This determination was entirely based on a legal opinion given by the Deputy Solicitor on November 28, 1972, suggesting that the clause regarding eligibility for federal Indian services, which the Department had procured as an addition to the Lumbee Act of 1956, had terminated the rights that the petitioners had secured in 1938 due to their certification as Indians of more than fifty percent blood.

Plaintiff Maynor seeks a declaratory judgment recognizing his rights under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, under which he was identified as an Indian by the Department of the Interior after a detailed investigation established that he met the statutory criteria for 'Indian,' regardless of his residence on a reservation or tribal membership. From 1934-38, plaintiff Maynor was not considered a 'Lumbee Indian,' as there was no legally recognized group with that designation. He was simply certified as an 'Indian,' and it is in this capacity that he requests a declaratory judgment of his rights. (see Exhibit 180 Maynor vs Morton; Exhibit 181 Part 2, Certified document of Lawrence Maynor (associated as Tuscarora))

[NOTE: Historically, no "Lumbee tribe" has ever been documented in the annals of North Carolina or in any historical Native American knowledge, maps, wars, or treaties. This is a recently coined name for an organization posing as a "historical tribe," which now bears stronger ties to non-Indian peoples than to Indian communities and has invoked multiple unrelated Native tribes in their historical narrative, promoting a Cheraw amalgamation myth. The actual Cheraw, who merged with the Catawba, has refuted any knowledge of a "Lumbee" tribe. The Cheraw and the Tuscarora have historically been adversaries. Their coexistence would have been highly unlikely, given significant differences in language and customs. (see Exhibit 182 History of the Cheraws to Dispute Lumbee Claims to Cheraw Origin)

United States District Court, District of Columbia.
Roy MAYNOR, Plaintiff,
v.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, et al., Defendants.

No. Civ. 03CV1559(SBC).

July 11, 2005.

Roy Maynor, Pembroke, NC, pro se.

J. Douglas Hill, North Carolina Department of Justice, Raleigh, NC, for Defendants

The following allegations are taken from the complaint. In 1938, Maynor's father [Lawrence Maynor] was among 22 individuals recognized by the United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, as an "Indian of one-half or more degree."

In disregard of the rights accorded to the Tuscarora people by this recognition, the United States and North Carolina governments: (1) forced the "Lumbee" name on all natives regardless of their tribal affiliation in an effort to hide the Tuscarora lineage; (2) obtained and sold land that belonged to the Tuscarora people through fraudulent land leases and unratified treaties; and (3) engaged in cultural genocide and propaganda against the Tuscaroras.

Maynor seeks: (1) the return of Tuscarora ancestral remains and artifacts held by North Carolina; (2) temporary and permanent injunctive relief prohibiting North Carolina from conducting archaeological digs on Tuscarora sites; (3) the return of land set aside for the Tuscarora people or, alternatively, other suitable land; (4) declaratory relief acknowledging the right to live as Tuscarora people; (5) \$500 million to rebuild the Tuscarora infrastructure; and (6) other appropriate relief....(see Exhibit 183, Roy Maynor vs the United States of America)

The narrative of the Tuskarora Nation of Moratoc Indians, originally from the Bertie County reservation, who migrated from their homeland and primarily settled in and around Robeson County, North Carolina, mirrors the story of many other Indian tribes across America.

They transformed into subjugated people who forfeited their native lands, schools, and historical prestige to opportunistic Indians, white supremacy, self-proclaimed historians, political activists, white immigrants, and descendants of immigrants from across the Atlantic Ocean. Exhibit 177

Despite the tumultuous times of war and identity crisis that fragmented the Nation, the Tuskarora managed to endure and surmount the challenges thrown their way. Their resilience and adaptability have left an indelible mark on America and American Indian history in North Carolina, which must not be overlooked. We must always remember the amicable Tuskarora of the Roanoke (Moratoc) River for their contributions to North Carolina, the thirteen colonies, and the birth of America's freedom.