

1963

# THOMAS POLLOCK AND HIS PUBLIC SERVICE DURING CONFLICT AND WAR

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THOMAS POLLOCK AND HIS PUBLIC  
SERVICE DURING CONFLICT AND WAR

by

Grace Bazemore Bond

A thesis submitted to the Graduate  
Council of Longwood College in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts  
in the Department of History

Farmville, Virginia

1963

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THE POLLOCK CREST

The Pollock (Pollok) crest and motto, "Strong and Stout," on the full coat-of-arms was originally conferred by James IV to an ancestor of Thomas Pollock in commemoration of his having saved the life of the old king by slaying a ferocious wild boar which had attacked the royal huntsman.

When Thomas and his wife's remains were removed from Dalgra in Bertie County to St. Paul's church yard in Edenton about 1890, an inverted slab on which his family coat-of-arms had been cut was used on the graves. Unfortunately some vandals removed the stone. Later a new slab was cut but only the crest and motto copied from an engraved bark plate formerly owned by Pollock was cut on this second slab. The Pollock crest is proudly cherished by the descendants. (Mrs. J. W. Hinsdale, p. 219 )

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

When North Carolina was a British dependency, the President of the Council in the colony ranked next to the governor and became governor pro tempore when the chief-magistrate died or absented himself from the colony. It is doubtful if any president of the council exercised so great an influence for so long a period of time on the life of the province as did Thomas Pollock.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Pollock was born May 7, 1654, at Balgray (Balgra), his father's estate in County Renfrew, Scotland. The boy had chosen his parents well, for he had become a member of an ancient and influential family whose heirs had owned their ancestral estate continuously from the reign of James III of Scotland. His grandfather was David Pollock, who graduated M. A. at Glasgow in 1595 and was minister of Glenluce parish in Wigtonshire from 1604 until his death in 1619.<sup>2</sup> His great-grandfather was George Pollock of Balgray. David had married Margaret, a daughter of Rev. Zackery Boyd, an eminent Scotch divine born before 1590 and died in 1653, one year before the birth of his grandson, Thomas.<sup>3</sup>

Zackery Boyd was a man of great education and distinction. He was

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<sup>1</sup>Kemp P. Battle, "The Colonial Laymen of the Church of England in North Carolina," Sketches of Church History in North Carolina (Wilmington: De Russet Publisher), p. 99.

<sup>2</sup>Information taken from a letter to Mrs. J. Nurney Bond, from Elizabeth G. Jacky, Reference Librarian, The University of Glasgow, Scotland. (See Appendix E)

<sup>3</sup>Mrs. J. W. Hinsdale, "Governor Thomas Pollock," North Carolina Booklet V, p. 219.

a professor in the University of Saumur in France until the persecution of the Protestants in France in 1621 forced him to return to Scotland. Certainly, one of the most interesting things we know about this man who was the author of many religious works concerns his Old Testament writings. In his will he bequeathed 20,000 pounds Scots to the University of Glasgow, on the condition that his rhymical version of the Old Testament should be published by the faculty. The bequest was accepted and one volume was printed. This book is now preserved in a glass case in the University, his stone bust surmounts the court gateway, while his portrait hangs in the Divinity Hall at the University of Glasgow.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Hinsdale gives the following example of the rude versification employed by Dr. Boyd:<sup>5</sup>

Pharoah was a great rascal,  
 Because he would not let  
 The Children of Israel  
 With their flocks and herds,  
 Wives and little ones,  
 Go three days' journey  
 Into the wilderness,  
 To keep the Paschal.

Of the childhood of Thomas we know nothing and very little of his

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>5</sup>Mrs. Hinsdale, who is the seventh generation from Governor Pollock, says she is obliged to use the modern spelling, as this couplet has been handed down by word of mouth and was never seen in print.

early life. We do know that he grew up in Glasgow where his father, Thomas, was a wealthy merchant. The elder Pollock believed in education and gave his son the opportunity for a fine education before he came to America. Thomas was one of four children. His brother, who was older than he, died when he was past middle life. His sister Helen married the Rev. Daniel Robe, a minister at Ballantree, who after the accession of King William moved with his family to Ireland. His sister Margaret married her kinsman, George Pollock, minister of Erskin.<sup>6</sup>

From the Pollock Bible record we know Thomas came to North Carolina June 27, 1683.<sup>7</sup> He came in the capacity of Deputy to Lord Carteret, one of the Lords Proprietors, and before he returned to England and Scotland in 1690, for a brief period, he had acquired large holdings of land in the Albemarle and had attained a position of high importance. The return to Scotland in 1690 was, without doubt, at the time of his father's death.<sup>8</sup> Also, in 1690, Pollock married Mistress Martha West, widow to Robert West, Esq., and daughter of Thomas Cullen, Esq., at Dover, England.<sup>9</sup> Martha and Thomas had four children to live to maturity. Thomas Pollock has been

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<sup>6</sup>Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 220.

<sup>7</sup>Appendix E., Pollock Bible record.

<sup>8</sup>Appendix E, Elizabeth Jacky's letter.

<sup>9</sup>After the death of Robert West, his widow, the former Martha Cullen, Daughter of Thomas Cullen (member of the Governor's Council in 1670 in Virginia) married Thomas Pollock in 1690. She had four sons by Robert West Viz. Robert, Thomas, Richard, and John West. By her second marriage to Thomas Pollock, there was issue. /From J. R. B. Hathaway, ed., N. C., Historical and Geneological Register, 3 Vols. (Edenton, 1903), p. 325./

described as a tender and judicious father sending his children to England that they might be educated as "became their birth and station," thus fitting them for the high positions which they were to fill in later life.

Thomas, the eldest son, who married Elizabeth Sanderson, succeeded his father as deputy to two of the Lords Proprietors. He was surveyer-general to the colony and afterwards its chief-justice.<sup>10</sup> His second son, Cullen, entered the English army and served in the Low Countries under the Duke of Cumberland, holding the rank of major at the Battle of Fontenoy. Late in life, he returned to North Carolina and married Frances West and took his place as one of the great land holders of the colonial period. Cullen, too, served as a frequent member of the council after acting as assistant judge in the General Court. George Pollock married Sarah Swann. He, too, held great land holdings and high social position. They left no children. Martha married the Rev. Thomas Bray, who was sent to the colony as a missionary by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Compton, Bishop of London.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Bray was a man of great learning and was the first to found a public library in North Carolina. He is entitled to the honor of having originated the first systematic movement of the Church of England in the work of missions.<sup>12</sup>

Thomas Pollock was generous with his son-in-law giving him a plantation on Chowan Indian Town Creek. With that and other gifts of land

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<sup>10</sup>William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 10 Vols. (Raleigh, 1886-1890), II, 555. (Hereinafter cited as NCCR)

<sup>11</sup>Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>12</sup>Francis Lister Hawks, History of North Carolina, from 1663 to 1729 (Fayetteville: E. J. Hale and Son, 1858), II, 339.



from his father-in-law, Dr. Bray began a fairly large estate.<sup>13</sup>

Martha Cullen West Pollock died in 1701 and was buried at "Balgra." After her death, Thomas remarried to Mistress Esther Wilkinson, whom he survived. There were no children by this marriage. Pollock did not administer on his wife's estate. Her will would indicate that she and Thomas were not residing on the same plantation at the time of her death.<sup>14</sup>

As a deputy for Lord Carteret, Pollock emigrated to Carolina to the Albemarle Precinct. On the beautiful shores of the Albemarle Sound over-

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<sup>13</sup>Thomas Pollock, to Thomas Bray; Mch. 3d, 1715. "Thomas Bray lately intermarried with Martha Pollock, my daughter; with consent and approbation, do hereby give and grant unto him as marriage portion, a plantation lying on Chowan Indian Town Creek, joining on dwelling plantation of James Farlow, with all the stock, cattle, hogs, etc., negro man Dewey and his wife Phillis and her child, negro man Ming, his wife Jenny and her child, Frank and her child, one Indian girl named Nanny, and one white servant girl named Dale, one silver tankard, one silver cup, six silver spoons, bed and furniture, and all horses and mares now under said Martha's mark; Mch. 3d, 1716." Test, Thos. Pollock, Jr., Cullen Pollock, John Thackeray. (Chowan County Court House Records, Edenton, N. C.)

<sup>14</sup>Esther Pollock (her first husband being Jno. Harris, second William Wilkinson, third Thomas Pollock). May 20, 1712. "I make Maj. Thos Luten, and Thos. Luten, Jr., my executors yt my will. I give and bequeath to Right Hon. Edward Hyde, one negro woman named Cutto. I give and bequeath to Mr. C. Stewart 5 £. To my loved cousin Marmaduke Goodhand, my plantation, on Sasopo River, in Sizzle County, Maryland, being given to me by my father-in-law, George Harris, deceased. I give to Major Luten all my lands, and the plantation, in the Government of N. C., given me by my late husband Col. Wm. Wilkinson, in case of his death, to my sons Thomas, Constance, and Henderson Luten. I give unto Thomas Luten, Jr., my plantation where I now live, called Sandy Point. Constance Luten plantation adjoining Col. Edward Moseley, plantation on south side of Chowan River to Henderson Luten. I give Maj. Thos. Luten 100 £ in silver, which my husband, Thos. Pollock has given me the liberty to dispose of at my will and pleasure, also all the residue of my estate, of what kind and species soever the Government of N. C. or in any other parts whatsoever. I appoint my Executors to be the Executors to all wills wherein I am concerned, more especially the will of Col. Wm. Wilkinson, my husband, and Mr. John Harris. Witnesses, Robert Hicks, James Bayboys, Jno. Porter, Jr.,

looking Salmon Creek, in Bertie County, Thomas soon found his place and built his home. Remembering and loving the beautiful ancestral estate that he had left in Scotland, he chose to call his own estate Balgra (Balgray). By the time that Pollock arrived in the Albemarle, the colony consisted of settlements along the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds and extended inward along the tributary rivers for some distance.

Saunders says that the moving causes of immigration to the Albemarle were its delightful climate, magnificent land, and bountiful products.<sup>15</sup> It is admitted that the physical condition of a country largely determines the character, industry, and habits of its people. These factors were contributing ones in the settlement and in the development of the history of this northern colony of Carolina which was confined to the territory between 34 degrees and 36.30 N. latitude. This is the choicest belt of the temperate zone. Sir Walter Raleigh likened it to Paradise, stating that it was "blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer."<sup>16</sup>

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Conrad Eichorn, Sarah Porter.

Thomas Luten. Executed February 16, 1729; son William Luten, son Constance, daughter Christian Luten, son Constant, Martha Holey, daughter Rachel Farlow, son Thomas, daughter Anne Brinn, daughter Sarah Standing, daughter Mary Haugh, son Henderson, wife Mary, wife Mary and son Henderson, Executors; John Lovick, John Randolph, of Williamsburgh, Va., Little, Attorney General of the Province, son Thomas, son-in-law Robert Hicks and son Henderson Luten, Executors of that part of my estate given me by Madame Pollock." Test, Francis Bea--, Henry Bonner; probated March 31st, 1731. (Chowan County Court House Records, Edenton, N. C.)

<sup>15</sup>NCCR, I, Prefatory Notes, p. vii.

<sup>16</sup>A. S. Salley, Jr., ed., Narratives of Early North Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: 1911), p. 7.

Thomas Hariot in 1586 after spending a year in what was then known as Wingandacoa<sup>17</sup> wrote a glowing report of northern Carolina, likening it to Greece, Rome, and Spain. From Hariot's report, a letter was published in 1649 in the Moderate Intelligencer in London concerning Carolina. It stated:

This place is of a temperate climate, not so hot as Barbado's nor so cold as Virginia; the winter much like our March here in England. The northern latitude begins where Virginia ends, at 37, near Cape Henry, . . . This Carolina, besides the temperature of the Climate, hath many native commodities to feed and clothe the body. . . . You also have many pleasant Ascents, Hills and Valleys, Springs of wholesome water, Rivers, and Rivoltes.<sup>18</sup>

Lawson tells us that in 1700 an extensive traveller assured him that Carolina was the best country he could go to.

The inhabitants of Carolina through the richness of the Soil live an easy and pleasant life. . . . The country in general affords pleasant Seats, the Land (except in some places) being dry and high banks, parcell'd out into most convenient Necks, easy to be fenced in for securing their Stocks to more strict bounderies whereby, with a small trouble of fencing, almost every man may enjoy to himself, an entire Plantation, or rather Park. . . . As the land is very fruitful, so are the Planters hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few housekeepers but what live very nobly and give away more provisions to coasters and Guests who come to see them than they expend among their own families.<sup>19</sup>

Brickell observes that the planters along the Roanoke, Little, Chowan, Tar, and other rivers where the agricultural holdings approached the

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<sup>17</sup>Richard Hakluyt, ed., The Principle Navigations, Voyages, and Trafficques and Discoveries of the English Nation (Glasgow and New York: 1904), p. 300.

<sup>18</sup>Moderate Intelligencer, Letters of an Anonymous "Well Willer," (London: April 26-May 2, 1649), Found in the Vanderbilt Library at Biltmore House, Asheville, N. C.

<sup>19</sup>John Lawson, The History of North Carolina (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937), pp. 63-64.

plantation scale "live after the most easie and pleasant manner of any people I ever met with."

In this paper the reference to North Carolina is to that section lying on the seaboard and the Albemarle, and the Pamlico Sounds watered by the various rivers and creeks which comprise the settlements of this early colonial period, which does lie in the same parallel of latitude of the central Mediterranean basin, that rich and climatically favored region of the globe.

In a discussion of the settlers who early came to North Carolina and of their development, Bancroft, the early historian says, "Carolina was settled under the auspices of the wealthiest and most influential nobility, and its fundamental laws were framed with forethought by the most sagacious politicians and by England's most profound philosopher, John Locke."<sup>20</sup> It is true that "these liberty-loving colonists gradually repudiated the fundamental constitution of Carolina" adopting only those parts which suited their needs in this new land.<sup>21</sup>

A study of the early settlers of North Carolina shows that they were English from Virginia, New England, Old England, and Barbadoes; French Huguenots; German Palatines; and Swiss. J. Bryan Grimes says these settlers of the Albemarle were men who had been led to the choice of their residence from a hatred of restraint, and had lost themselves among the woods in

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<sup>20</sup>George Bancroft, A History of the United States (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1837-1875), II, 128.

<sup>21</sup>J. B. Grimes, "Some Notes on Colonial North Carolina, 1700-1750," North Carolina Booklet, V (October, 1905), 100.

search of independence. Many had come from other colonies, particularly Virginia, for the rich lands along the rivers.<sup>22</sup> These early settlers took up the choicest lands on the rivers and amassed great holdings before laws were passed in the early part of the eighteenth century to prevent the entering of too much land on the rivers to the exclusion of other settlers,<sup>23</sup> except by special warrants. It must have been easy to obtain this particular warrant or the law was not strictly observed, as we find many men in the province owning large bodies of land before North Carolina became a royal province in 1729. The land records show that of the many large landed proprietors may be mentioned Thomas Pollock, Frederick Jones, William Maule, Dr. Patrick Maule, Martin Franks, Robert Foster, Seth Sothel, Christopher Gale, John Porter, Edward Moseley, John Bazemore, Sr., Francis Pugh, William Harding Jones, George Burrington, and others.<sup>24</sup>

These planters who occupied the best sites along the Albemarle Sound, Chowan, Roanoke, Little, and the other rivers and creeks could start life with modest beginnings and by the productiveness of this soil and the natural fruitfulness of their slaves, horses, cattle, and hogs die rich men in old age. These river courses offered the best sites for plantations not only because of the fertility of the bottom lands but also because of the

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<sup>22</sup>Bancroft, op. cit., p. 158

<sup>23</sup>In laying out the lands, the enterer was at first allowed to take up 640 acres or a square mile in one tract on the river (Laws 1715), but the act further provided that "the surveyor should not lay out two several tracts of land for any one person within two miles at least of each other, unless by particular warrant from the Lords Proprietors for that person."

<sup>24</sup>Grimes, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

greater ease of transportation. At the planters' wharfs, sloops, schooners, and brigantines were loaded with cargoes of skins, salt, pork, and beef, tallow, staves, naval stores, lumber, tobacco, corn, and other products of the plantations to be carried away to the West Indies and exchanged for rum, molasses, sugar, and coffee; or, to Boston where the proceeds were largely invested in clothing, household goods, books, and negroes.<sup>25</sup>

During the proprietary era (1663-1729), an aristocracy based on extensive landholding and the rise of non-free labor began to emerge. However, the leveling influence of wilderness condition, the ease of acquiring land, political disturbances, and "unregulated liberty" resulted in a social diversity and fluidity. Not all the settlers of North Carolina had been so fortunate as to acquire choice and extensive land holding. Rather the order of social standings of the white population of colonial North Carolina consisted of three broad elements: (1) Gentry or planter aristocracy, (2) farmers, (3) indentured "Christian servants." The gentry, the smallest, most wealthy, best educated, and most influential of these groups, was composed of large land holders, public officials, wealthy merchants, Anglican ministers, and the doctors and lawyers. Only about five per cent belonged to the gentry in this early period. The largest single social group was composed chiefly of small farmers. They, too, had a keen class consciousness and took as much pride in writing after their names such descriptive terms as "farmer," "husbandman" and "yeoman" as

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

did the planters writing after theirs "Esq.," "Gent." or "Planter."<sup>26</sup> Their life was crude. They worked hard, played hard, lived hard. They were a fearless, independent race who possessed the sterling qualities characteristic of English yeomen.

There were not as many indentured servants in these early years of colonial history as most of the colonies had. They represented many classes and conditions and were the lowest stratum among the white population of colonial North Carolina.<sup>27</sup>

From the first, land holdings gave dignity and importance; and the large land holder, then as later, wielded great influence in his community--for land, stock, and slaves were the chief form of wealth. The planter's wealth was generally estimated by the number of his slaves. All planters of any pretention owned slaves--negroes, Indians, mulattoes and mustees. Naturally they were the aristocracy of the country and were the governing classes; their sons inherited prestige and leadership with their estates.<sup>28</sup>

The growth of towns in the province was slow and life in the colony was seen at its best upon the estates of the planters. Their residences generally were more pretentious than the town houses. A few of these houses were of brick, but they were commonly frame houses. Some of them were of considerable dimensions even early in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>26</sup>Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, The History of a Southern State, North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University Press, 1954), p. 107.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>28</sup>R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth (Chicago: American Historical Society, Inc., 1929), I, 170.

There were few brick houses in North Carolina. Even after the planters became wealthy, they apparently did not prefer them, probably because in a humid climate the wood houses did not seem as damp. There are today in the Albemarle section many houses of well-to-do planters that were built prior to 1750.<sup>29</sup>

We know neither the size nor the material of Balgra nor of any other of Thomas Pollock's several plantations. We do know that about this period Boston plank was being imported, and the first bricks burned. In his will, Col. Thomas Pollock left directions in regard to a house with brick chimneys and cellar, which was then in process of being built for

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<sup>29</sup>"Sycamore Plantation," the house built in 1660 by Thomas Norcom, stands on the Edenton-Plymouth, North Carolina, highway 32. It is the oldest house in the state. On the same road stand "Strawberry Hill," pre-Revolution, and "Mulberry Hill," pre-Revolution. "The Cupola House," which tradition says was planned by Mrs. Hyde, ca 1716, stands just off Queen Anne's Creek in Edenton. In Bertie County the oldest known house standing today is a small brick house laid in Flemish bond built in 1713 by Joseph Jordon. Typical of the 17th century Virginia Country house, it is very similar to the Warburton House (ca. 1690) in James City County, Virginia. This house is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Francis Gilliam. "Thunderbolt" (Windsor vicinity) is a representative small country house of the 1700's located on the banks of the Cashie River. It was once owned by the Collins family and is now owned by Mr. Vernon Blade. "Rosefield" located in Windsor was the home of John Gray, who acquired the property from Cullen Pollock, 2,000 acres. Mrs. Moses Gilliam is the present owner. "Avoca" is the site of the earliest settlement in North Carolina for which there is any recorded evidence. The Cumberland Map of 1657 shows this site to have been the home of Nathaniel Batts, who was termed "Gov. of Roanoke." It was earlier known as "Salmon Creek Plantation" and was once the home of Seth Sothel, tyrannical governor of the Albemarle colony in the 1680's. He is supposedly buried somewhere on the plantation. Among others who have owned "Avoca" were the Duckenfield family who, being a knighted family and Tories, left at the outbreak of the Revolution and never returned. Their lands were confiscated after the war.



his son Cullen at Black Rock, on Chowan River.<sup>30</sup> From the various records and from his letters, we can assume that Balgra was the estate suitable for the wealthiest gentleman of the colony. Its size must have been very large, for it accommodated the meetings of the Vestry, and of the government--both council and assembly. On the estate, he was able to house and feed large numbers at one time; for example, it was at Col. Pollock's plantation that the Palatines stopped for help on their way to the settlement on the Neuse-Trent Rivers. Pollock entertained Governor Hyde and all his family for a long period of time.

These planters of the Albemarle were gentry who lived as much like their relatives in England and Scotland as conditions in a sparsely settled country would permit. In their homes they were supplied not only with all the necessities of a pioneer community but also enjoyed many of the luxuries of a long established society.<sup>31</sup> In the homes of the people in Edenton and the surrounding sections, there was a quaint blending of English elegance and colonial thrift. Beside the heavy mahogany table, and sideboard with its tankard of silver, and the slender-legged spinet stood the flax wheel and the reel. These colonial dames of the colony did not think their hands too delicate to set the spinning wheel and reel going merrily.<sup>32</sup>

Some of the early planters came to the colony in official positions

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<sup>30</sup>Original copy of will in Chowan County Court House, Edenton, North Carolina.

<sup>31</sup>Grimes, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>32</sup>John W. Moore, A History of North Carolina: From the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time (Raleigh: Alfred Williams and Company Publishers, 1880), I, 351.

and some as deputies to the Lords Proprietors, bringing with them their friends, retainers, and tenants. With the various governors came their kinsmen, supporters, and adherents. An examination of the wills and inventories in the office of the Secretary of State shows from the signatures with seals bearing imprinted there on crests and coats-of-arms of signers, that many of the leading men of Carolina belonged to the gentry of England and Scotland.<sup>33</sup> Also these records show among their household furniture an ample supply of mahogany tables, sideboards, bedsteads, chairs, desks, etc. of silver, china, glassware; of diamond rings, ear rings, necklaces, and watches and a goodly sprinkling of silver and gold knee buckles, shoe buckles, and other trinkets "which betray the vanity with which the colonial planter displayed his silk-stockinged calf and shapely foot."

Many of this class were highly educated, classical scholars of great learning who sent their sons to England and New England to be educated. The drafts of old laws, state papers, wills, and letters of that day will, in phraseology and elegance of diction, compare most favorably with the production of the best scholars.<sup>34</sup>

What has been written above applies chiefly to the wealthy planters of eastern North Carolina and would require modification in describing life among the other groups. However, there was "plenty" and an easy way of life among all classes of settlers. Robert Horne, writing of North Carolina from England in 1664, said:

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<sup>33</sup>Appendix B, Extracts of early wills.

<sup>34</sup>Grimes, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Such as are here tormented with much care how to gain a comfortable livelihood . . . shall do well to go to this place, where any man whatever, this is but willing to take moderate pains may be assured of a most comfortable subsistence and he in a way to raise his fortunes far beyond what he could ever hope for in England.<sup>35</sup>

Because the plantations embraced great bodies or areas of land, communication between their owners was often difficult; yet a pleasant social intercourse was kept up. As a part of life in the Old Albemarle were many gatherings beneath these hospitable roofs around cheerful firesides where the gentlemen enjoyed their "bumbo" or rum punch, and the ladies sipped their tea or chocolate. Into this charmed circle Thomas Pollock was welcomed on his arrival and soon became prominent both in the social circle and in the government of the colony.<sup>36</sup>

Actually, there is very little record of Thomas Pollock's private life. We do know that he owned a plantation on Salmon Creek (Bertie County) of about 40,000 acres, and that he was the master of about a hundred slaves, that he owned boats, that his home and plantation were opened time and again as a refuge for those seeking help and for those coming to the colony in positions of importance or distinction. It was the place for Vestry meetings and council meetings; it was the seat of government for many years; it was a center of trade and barter.<sup>37</sup>

As one follows the life and career of public service of Thomas Pollock through colonial records, his Letter Book (1708-1722), and the

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<sup>35</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>36</sup>Hinsdale, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

<sup>37</sup>Appendix B, Article 6.

evaluation of his character and career by historians, one is struck by the conformity of opinions as he emerges as one of the most conspicuous men in our early annals. He had his critics and bitter political enemies to be sure. However, it is not the purpose of this paper to evaluate the man and his career of public service but to present the findings of the role he played in colonization in both peaceful and turbulent periods of its history. Thomas Pollock has already been described as a tender, judicious father. In his letter to his kinsman, Sir Robert Pollock in Scotland, he speaks with pardonable pride of his three hopeful sons.<sup>38</sup> He was a stalwart churchman, though one of the missionaries complains that he was luke warm on the subject of receiving the communion. His name appears second in the list of the First Vestry of the Chowan Parish in 1701; Governor Henderson Walker was the first named on this original vestry Roll. Afterward, when there was the second chapel, Thomas Pollock was constantly a member of its Vestry and often one of its wardens. In a list of voluntary subscriptions in 1702 for the support of ministers, the pioneer of an unending line of similar documents, his name is first and opposite to the largest sum £ 5; the only other subscription equalling his was that of Edward Moseley.<sup>39</sup> As an example of his resoluteness and influence in the church affairs, he and Mr. John Blount gave notice to the Rev. Henry Gerrard to "disprove charges of debauched practices or be dismissed." They did not propose to have in their parish one of those

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<sup>38</sup>Appendix A., Letter No. 38.

<sup>39</sup>Battle, op. cit., p. 100.

ecclesiastical nuisances, a church trial. They reversed the common law method and acted on the principle that a clergyman whose right conduct could not be shown by himself, should have no place in the parish.<sup>40</sup> His devoutness and his personal faith and trust in God cannot be questioned when one reads his letters written during those dark days of war. He was loyal to the interests of Anglican church; he disliked Dissenters of whatever profession and was particularly hostile to the Quakers.

In private affairs, Pollock possessed a full share of the thrift of the Scotchman and unusual business acumen. Thousands of acres of the richest lands of the Eastern North Carolina went into his possession; he owned many slaves both negro and Indian.<sup>41</sup> In advancing money to Baron Von de Graffenried, he was careful to take a mortgage on the lands bought by him for the Palatines and the Swiss colonists;<sup>42</sup> and those lands on fore-closure went to his heirs. Pollock by a letter to Graffenried, February 16, 1716, offered to return to him the land, fifteen thousand acres, if he would repay the £800 sterling which was the loan value.<sup>43</sup> He was the pioneer of the town builders and land improvement

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>41</sup>When an overabundance of Indian slaves caused many acts of legislation to be passed in order to regulate the trade, the Board of Trade appointed Thomas Pollock to negotiate for the shipment of these to the West Indies. Records of the Journal of the Board of Trade, II, 344.

<sup>42</sup>Battle, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>43</sup>I. Daniel Rupp, A Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of (German, Swiss, etc.) Immigrants in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: Leary, Stuart Co.), 1927, p. 456.

companies of our day in laying out and selling lots in the town of Edenton, "half an acre for twenty shillings, with the privilege of clearing and cultivating three acres of woodland."<sup>44</sup>

His management in his public offices seems to have been both energetic and prudent. From his letters we get glimpses of the horrors of the times as well as the conflicts of the times. The terrors of the Indian foe paralyzed the labor of the farmers outside the Albemarle. There had to be firm measures to feed all the people. The need for men and supplies had to be met during the war. The bankruptcy left by the war was a problem for only a wise man to handle. Pollock was a man of strong characteristics, educated and self-respecting. To him the enforcement of the laws and preservation of order were cardinal principles.<sup>45</sup> He showed his sincerity of devotion to these principles when he suffered imprisonment for resisting Seth Sothel's violations of the laws<sup>46</sup> and when he would not give countenance to Cary's illegal usurpation by residing in the colony under what he regarded as the perversion of orderly government. His exile while Cary's government was in force meant personal loss and loneliness for him.<sup>47</sup> Through all the period of conflict and war, one follows Pollock the devoted and loyal public servant.

For the want of decision and for the vacillating course of the Lords

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<sup>44</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 42.

<sup>45</sup>Battle, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>46</sup>R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, 1584-1783 (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1919), I, 103.

<sup>47</sup>Appendix A, Letter Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Proprietors, Thomas Pollock expressed a low opinion. When on Hyde's becoming the Governor and he, himself, became the power behind the throne, he pressed his views to their logical conclusion for the welfare of his country which he loved so dearly. He caused all the acts of the government for the two years of Cary's administration to be annulled as illegal and then pushed measures against Cary, Porter, and Moseley to such an extremity that in the ensuing hostile demonstration Cary's forces attacked his premises which were the seat of government.<sup>48</sup>

Moore says in his evaluation of Pollock, "No blame can be imputed to Pollock except in his advocacy of the test oath and hatred of the Quakers."<sup>49</sup> Yet, that Pollock was fair minded, we cannot doubt when we read his statement to Lord Carteret near the close of the Tuscarora war when he says the Quakers have done their part willingly in supplying provisions for the forces.

Pollock was no office-seeker, no demagogue; yet few men have answered the call to duty more frequently or have exerted more salutary influence in our state history than he.

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<sup>48</sup>Battle, op. cit., p. 101

<sup>49</sup>Moore, op. cit., p. 37

## CHAPTER II

### THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT AND THE CARY REBELLION

Just before the turn of the eighteenth century the church party came into power in the colony. From the time of the two charters of 1663 and 1665, there was express provision made for religious establishments in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of England.<sup>1</sup> However, that had been another of the neglected provisions in the colony. Every record indicates that the Proprietors never intended to separate State and Church. Yet, they failed utterly in their provisions for souls; for the act of October 15, 1669, recites "that there is no ministry yet in this country."<sup>2</sup> In 1699, when Henderson Walker assumed his duties as governor, he resolved to devote his energies to the necessary legislation for the support of an established church. By 1701 the church party under his leadership, by "a great deal of care and management," had pushed through the assembly the first Vestry Act in the history of North Carolina.<sup>3</sup> This act provided for the laying out of parishes, for the organization of Vestries, for the erection of churches, and for a poll tax on all

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<sup>1</sup>Edgar Legare Pennington, The Church of England in Colonial North Carolina (Connecticut: Church Mission Publishing Co., 1937), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Stephen B. Weeks: Religious Developments of the Province of North Carolina (Johns Hopkins Studies, series X, Nos. V-VI) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), pp. 255-256.

<sup>3</sup>The documents relating to this controversy are printed in The Colonial Records, Vol. I, also in Weeks, The Religious Developments in the Province of North Carolina, and in Southern Quakers and Slavery, Chapters II, V, VII.



tithables for support of the clergy. The church men were happy when this act was passed and immediately created the Chowan parish, or St. Paul's Parish.

Thomas Pollock being one of the strong church men was appointed one of the twelve Vestry; Governor Walker was also included. They lost no time in planning the erection of a church building. The first meeting of the Vestry was held at the home of Thomas Gilliam on December 12, 1701, and steps were taken at once to build the first church ever erected in North Carolina. It was a wooden building "twenty five feet long, posts in the ground and held to the cellar beams." It stood upon an acre of ground given by Mr. Edward Smithwick,<sup>4</sup> near the present site of Hayes, in "Ye Towne on Queen Anne's Creek" (later Edenton). At this same meeting at the home of Mr. Gilliam, we find the earliest official steps being taken toward organization of the church of England in what is now Bertie County. The inhabitants of the South west shore, the lower end of the Bertie peninsula, were authorized to build a "Chapel of Ease" after the parish church shall be finished. A separate reader was also to be employed for this chapel by either Col. Thomas Pollock or William Duckenfield, Esq.<sup>5</sup> Both were members of that first St. Paul's Vestry and were residents of Bertie County. Thomas Pollock evidently remained a member of St. Paul's Church, for in 1712, we find a record of St. Paul's Vestry meeting at the home of Col. Pollock in Bertie. It is doubtful that the chapel referred to as the "Chapel of Ease" was ever erected, but services were

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<sup>4</sup>NCCR, I, 543.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 544.

conducted by the missionary ministers sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. From the minutes of the St. Paul Vestry for June 1711 is found a schedule of the Rev. John Urmstone for officiating at services. It speaks of "one Sunday on the South Shore then the next two on the Western Shore" (Bertie County).<sup>6</sup>

It was also during Henderson Walker's administration that the first Anglican minister was established in North Carolina; Daniel Brett was an unfortunate choice for the position as far as the church was concerned. He turned out to be "ye monster of ye age" which gave the Dissenters opportunity for many charges even before the passage of the Vestry Acts.

The activities of the churchmen aroused a determined opposition from the Quaker and Dissenter groups, and even some of the Anglicans protested on principle and because the laws had raised taxes. They determined to repeal the Vestry Act of 1701 at the next session of the Assembly which had by this time contained a Quaker majority. They were further encouraged toward this action when the Lords Proprietors rejected this law.<sup>7</sup> When Henderson Walker, who had stepped into a period of peace and progress after the expulsion of Seth Sothel as governor, left the administration in 1703, he left an explosive issue. This religious issue with political overtones divided the people into contending factions, stirred up bitter strife and rebellion, and indirectly brought upon the colony the darkest

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<sup>6</sup>John E. Tyler, The Church of England in Colonial Bertie County, p. 1. /From an unpublished copy in "The North Carolina Room," The University of North Carolina/

<sup>7</sup>Lefler-Newsome, op. cit., p. 54.

chapter in its history.<sup>8</sup>

From 1672, when William Edmundson, a Quaker missionary, visited North Carolina and made a few converts, until 1676 when he returned, the Quakers or Friends had become quite numerous and well-established.<sup>9</sup> Much of the progress can be attributed to George Fox, the early missionary. The Quakers reached the climax of their influence under Governor John Archdale, a convert under Fox, prior to Henderson Walker's administration. Not only had the Quakers gained the governor but also the courts, council, and assembly; thereby they were able to supercede the established law and according to their religious scruples declined to take the oath of allegiance before entering any official duty or sitting as a member of the Assembly. Quaker jubilation was short lived, however, in this conflict. At Walker's death, Major Robert Daniel, a landgrave, was appointed governor and sent to the Albemarle. He was even more jealous for an establishment than Walker had been.<sup>10</sup> Hawks says Daniel was sent with specific instructions to kindle the torch of discord and to destroy the brief repose to which the colony had been brought.<sup>11</sup>

At this point, a look at the growth of population and the settlements of the colony will serve as one explanatory factor in some of the events which began with and followed Daniel's administration. The popu-

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<sup>8</sup>Herbert Richard Paschol, Jr., "Tuscarara Indians in North Carolina," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1953), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup>NCCR, I, 600-603.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>11</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 506.

lation of Albemarle was about ~~six~~ or seven thousand people at the time. The Quakers had gained a strong foothold in the Perquimans and Pasquotank Precincts, a half or more being Quakers with a good organization. The Chowan Precinct was more divided. With the beginning of the new century a great influx of new settlers, holding more orthodox Anglican views, came to live in North Carolina. They opposed the Quakers with religious vehemence and soon began to contest with them for control of the government.<sup>12</sup> The Bertie peninsula in the Chowan precinct was attracting the immigrants of this period because of its remarkable fertility. Early in the eighteenth century, it became a center of considerable wealth and refinement and a peaceful prosperity was everywhere manifest. In this section the Quaker element had little church foothold. It was in the Chowan and the Currituck precincts now that the Church party was in the majority.<sup>13</sup> Other areas of development had commenced earlier when settlers had begun to settle on lands south of Albemarle Sound in the 1690's. The first recorded settlement was on the Pamlico River where "a few French families from Virginia seeking a milder climate, better range for their cattle, and more religious freedom" settled. Bath County was created in 1696, embracing the region from the Albemarle Sound to the Cape Fear River. Settlers now began to move into this region at a more rapid rate. The French Huguenots under the leadership of a minister, C. P. de Richebourg from Mannakin Town from above the Falls of the James River migrated to

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 543.

<sup>13</sup>J. W. Moore, op. cit., p. 49.

the Neuse-Pamlico section. Reports of the salubrious climate and abundant and cheap lands had attracted many of these settlers.<sup>14</sup>

About 1704, on a bluff overlooking the Pamlico River, a town was formally laid off by John Lawson, Surveyor-General of the Province. On March 8, 1704, the Assembly incorporated the town of Bath. It grew slowly but it was a place of considerable political and commercial importance. It was in Bath that the first public library in North Carolina was established, for Dr. Thomas Bray had sent a collection of books. Many of the prominent men such as Christopher Gale and John Lawson resided in Bath. Bath County had grown so by 1706 that the Council divided it into three precincts--Archdale, Wickham, and Pamplecough (Pamlico). Each of these precincts were allowed two representatives in the Assembly. About 1707 a group of Huguenots from Virginia, "considerable in numbers," crossed the Pamlico and took up lands on the Neuse and Trent Rivers.

By 1710, settlements extended from the Virginia border to Albe-  
marle Sound and along the banks of the Roanoke, Pamlico, and Neuse  
Rivers extending inland as far as thirty miles from these rivers in some  
places.<sup>15</sup>

The settlers were now a mixed group in religious beliefs, thus creating problems which began a chain of events of great consequence in the colony's history. Up to the time of Governor Daniel's administration Quakers had not been required to take oaths in Carolina, but soon after

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<sup>14</sup>Lefler-Newsome, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

Daniel's arrival in the colony the act of parliament imposing the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne, who had just come to the throne, was transmitted to him, and he tendered it to members of the council and other officers of the government.<sup>16</sup>

Lord Carteret, later Earl of Granville, was Palatine for the year of 1703. He instructed Daniel to procure the passage of law through the Assembly to establish the church of England in the colony. The great body of people opposed the movement, but Governor Daniel railroaded the Vestry Act of 1704 and other legislation through. He had insisted that all officials and members of the assembly take the oath of allegiance, and when the Quakers refused, he declared the seats vacant. The Assembly thus "purged" not only passed the Vestry Act, but also an act requiring such an oath no Quaker could take. By this time the Quakers, joined by the Presbyterians, went into action and secured Daniel's removal from office.<sup>17</sup>

In 1705, Thomas Cary, who already had a bad reputation in South Carolina, was appointed as Deputy Governor of the Albemarle. Although he had been implicated in a rebellion in that province, Governor Johnson felt that this offense was more than counterbalanced by the fact that he was one of his bondsmen. Cary is described as restless, ambitious, without settled political principles, knowing no rule of action in politics except to support the party which could best advance his own fortunes.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Samuel A. Ashe, History of North Carolina (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 1925), II, 158.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>18</sup>R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 90.

The Lords Proprietors disapproved of this choice mainly because Cary, as collector of their quit rents, had neglected to settle his accounts with them.<sup>19</sup> Since Governor Johnson had so promptly removed Daniel upon complaint of the Quakers, they naturally expected Cary would espouse their cause and would either ignore the oath-taking law, or, not enforce it strictly so far as the Quakers were concerned. This would admit them to seats in the Assembly. Not only did he enforce the oath and deprive the Quakers of their seats, but he also imposed a fine of five pounds on those who should enter an office without taking such an oath. Added to these laws, he secured the passage of an act declaring void the election of any person who should promote his own candidacy.<sup>20</sup>

Step after step had been taken to bind the Assembly hand and foot. Incensed by Cary's proceedings, the opponents of these measures sent John Porter to England in 1706 to seek redress of grievances. When Porter arrived in England, he found public attention largely on the affairs in Carolina. Through the influence of Archdale and Dawson, he was successful in his mission and brought back a commission for settling the government, namely: suspending Cary as governor, vesting the powers of that office in the president of the council to be chosen by the members, and naming five new deputies.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>John W. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1925), p. 35.

<sup>20</sup>Ashe, op. cit., pp. 160, 163.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

John Porter, however, had lingered in England a year after obtaining the commission. Returning in October, 1707, he found that Col. Cary had returned to Charleston months before and William Glover as president of the Council was conducting the administration with the sanction of all parties. Since the Council had chosen Glover, Porter decided to let well enough alone, and through that winter everything went well. By the spring, Cary had returned and seemed to yield to the sway of Glover. Later Glover refused to admit the Quaker deputies unless they would take the oath.<sup>22</sup> By May, discontent again became so prevalent that Cary, Porter, Foster, and Pollock, representing the various factions, united in a proclamation commanding the people's obedience to the existing government.<sup>23</sup>

Soon after this May 13, 1708 proclamation had been issued, a new element entered the picture to cause further disturbance. Mr. Adams and Mr. Gordon, two ministers sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, arrived in the colony. Their arrival set all the Quakers, Presbyterians, and all those opposed to the church law in violent commotion and the whole aspect of affairs changed. In his letter to the Secretary,<sup>24</sup> Mr. Gordon speaks of the hospitality received at the home of Col. Pollock, who had become the recognized political as well as church leader in the colony; the alignments or factions had by now come

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<sup>22</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 92.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 164.

<sup>24</sup>NCCR, I, 678.



into sharp focus.

Porter, sometime between May 13 and July 24, broke with Glover. We have no records of this summer's activities; however before the Council met, Porter with his followers formed an alliance with Cary to turn Glover out.<sup>25</sup> Without waiting for the Assembly to meet, Porter established the authority of the new Council and on July 24 it met and elected Cary as president. Edward Moseley entered the North Carolina province just before this time and began to align himself with the Cary faction becoming a powerful leader thereof.

What took place during that summer is not recorded except in a general way that the colony was the scene of great disturbances and that the church party had lost ground. Perhaps the clearest picture is revealed by Mr. Adam's letter to the Secretary on September 18, 1708, after Mr. Gordon had withdrawn from the commotion. He writes concerning the troubles:

. . . Besides, we shall be engaged in perpetual broils as we now are at present, for our old worthy patriots who have for so many years borne rule in government with great applause cannot without concern and indignation think of their being turned out of the council and places of trust for no other reason but because they are members of the church of England, and that shoemakers and other mechanics should be appointed in their room merely because they are Quakers preachers and notorious blasphemers of the church. . . .<sup>26</sup>

Glover refused to give up his office and the two factions prepared for civil war. The whole colony became involved; both sides were determined to stay in power. Col. Jennings of Virginia wrote to the Lords Proprietors

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<sup>25</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>26</sup>NCCR, I, 678.

on September 20 that the Quakers had the cunning to set the whole country in a flame and all but themselves in arms against one another, and there had already been one man killed in the fray. There was no hope of peace except by submitting the claims of the two rival presidents to an assembly to be elected. Glover and Cary each issued separate writs for an election of an assembly to be held in October 1708. From Pollock's Letter Book, we learn of this as well as of the meeting of the Assembly on October 11, 1708.<sup>27</sup>

When the Assembly convened in October, there were two sets of delegates from each county. Glover's men lost out to the Cary men led by the powerful Edward Moseley, who was elected Speaker of the House. Actually the germ of the two political parties is found in the Glover-Cary dispute for power. This dispute might be called the Pollock-Moseley dispute for they were undoubtedly the powers behind the two factions. Pollock's party is referred to later as the government party while Moseley's party is called the popular party.<sup>28</sup>

This dispute went from bad to worse as expressed by the historian Wheeler, who says concerning this period:

The colony was now a scene of anarchy; the laws were suspended and justice fled. The respectable part of the colony adhered to Glover while Cary possessed the force.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Appendix, Letter No. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Elizabeth G. McPherson, "Edward Moseley: A Study of North Carolina Colonial Politics," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of North Carolina, 1925), p. 19.

<sup>29</sup>Wheeler, op. cit., p. 35.

A General Assembly was called to meet at Captain Heckelfield's at Little River in the Perquimans-Pasquotank precinct to decide this question of governorship. Great confusion prevailed and the partisans, Glover and his adherents, were forced to withdraw the claim to rule. Actually, because of strong feelings involving principles and because of personal danger, Glover and his loyal followers sought refuge in Virginia.<sup>30</sup> Thus was the colony of North Carolina left for awhile under a dominion contrary to the proprietary government.<sup>31</sup>

In Mr. Pollock's letters written from Virginia, April 16, 1710, he advises Glover to make no move to establish his position as Governor but rather to await the appointment of a new governor by the Proprietors for there was little he could do without the deputies and officers to support him; and the same day he writes to Mr. Gordon, minister at Chowan, asking him to endeavor to be helpful in dispelling the dark clouds of quakerism, envy, and ignorance<sup>32</sup> so that the colony could again enjoy the sunshine of religious justice and order. Also, he invites Mr. Gordon to visit him in his exile.<sup>33</sup> Apparently Pollock was a lonely man during these months away.

Another letter of May 27, 1710, to Mr. John Lawson reveals the happenings in the appointment of Glover as Governor. Perhaps the fact that Col. Pollock was ill for a period of about six months during this

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<sup>30</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 3.

<sup>31</sup>Wheeler, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>32</sup>Appendix A., Letter No. 3.

<sup>33</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 4.

particular controversy is significant in the ascendance of the Cary-Moseley-faction.<sup>34</sup>

From the first, the Proprietors had not been happy about these factions in North Carolina's governmental affairs. Added to the factionalism, the Indian affairs were commanding their attention. They proposed in June, 1710, the appointment of Edward Hyde for the governorship of North Carolina.<sup>35</sup> He was approved by order of council the following month<sup>36</sup> and duly appointed governor, "for the better and more regular Government of that part of the Province, that lyes north and west of the Cape Fear by reason of the great Extent of that country and the necessity of corresponding and trafficking with the several nations of the Indians."<sup>37</sup> Governor Hyde, therefore, became the first governor of North Carolina as a "Distinct Government" and, as such, he inherited a complex situation in the colony which came to a head in the year 1711 after the culmination of the Anglican-Quaker quarrel in the Cary Rebellion.

Sir Edward Hyde arrived in Williamsburg in August, 1710, without his official commission from Governor Tynne of South Carolina who had died before issuing it. Affairs in the colony had reached such a point by this time that Cary decided that Hyde's coming was well-timed. However, his coming had been anxiously awaited by the Glover faction. Being the first

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<sup>34</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 5.

<sup>35</sup>Journal for Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Public Records Office (London, 1924), II, 290. / Hereinafter cited Board of Trade Journal/

<sup>36</sup>NCCR, I, 302.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 775, 776.

cousin of Queen Anne, he commanded the "awful respect" due to his family and drew public sentiment toward himself. There being no question that the proprietors had designated him as deputy governor, both factions decided to jump on the band wagon. Cary and the people invited him to come to the colony from Virginia. Col. Pollock returned to his home, Balgra, on Salmon Creek and offered his boats and facilities for Hyde's use.<sup>38</sup> Hyde decided to wait awhile in Williamsburg since his official papers were lacking.

In January, 1711, Hyde came to the colony for the first time. He went to Balgra as Pollock's guest, and remained there for several months until he could arrange for his own home. It was at Pollock's plantation that he set up the seat of government. In March, 1711, the Assembly called by Hyde, met at Colonel Pollock's residence.<sup>39</sup> Of that Assembly, John Urmstone, the missionary, writes:

With much difficulty we had the majority. . . . The Assembly was made up of a strong mixture of men of various opinions and inclinations; a few churchmen, many Presbyterians, Independents, but most Anythingarians--some out of principle, others out of hopes of power and authority in the governments to the end that they might lord it over their neighbors, all conspired to act answerably to the desires of the president and the council. . . .<sup>40</sup>

Even though President Hyde had come in by common consent, the old question, "Should Quakers be allowed to enter office without qualifying themselves by taking an oath?" had to be faced by the new administration, and it demanded an unequivocal answer. Glover, Pollock, and the other

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<sup>38</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 6.

<sup>39</sup>NCCR, I, 731.

<sup>40</sup>NCCR, I, 769.

adherents, who had suffered so keenly because of their fidelity to the cause they represented, prided themselves that it was the "cause of the legitimate, lawful, and regular government no less than the cause of the church and true religion,"<sup>41</sup> sought to impress their views on Hyde. He acquiesced in their views, perhaps more readily, since the prevailing notions in England in regard to the Quakers accorded therewith. At any rate, the Quakers were again excluded from the Assembly. Pollock's letter of September, 1712 says, ". . . and albeit they the Quaker party are not permitted to sit themselves in the Assembly, yet, being the most numerous, they choose such members as are guided and directed by them, and (one) commonly worse than they themselves would be."<sup>42</sup>

This decision opened afresh all the old sores and threw into the opposition a strong party determined to make another stand for the principles they had so ardently maintained before. So, the Cary-Moseley followers withdrew their adherence, and declared that Hyde, having no legal commission, was not a legal governor. The Cary officers retained their seals, records, and other muniments and would not give them to the Hyde appointees.<sup>43</sup> Such was the situation when the Assembly met in May, 1711, at Col. Pollock's plantation.

In this first Assembly of Governor Hyde's, the legislature which has been described by Urmstone as "sufficiently manageable" passed a law for the punishment of "seditious words or speeches" or "scurrilous libels"

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 19.

<sup>43</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 173.

against the government, levied a five pound fine on all officials who refused to qualify "according to the strictness of the laws of Great Britain now in force," provided that "all such laws made for the establishment of the church" were effective, and they nullified all laws of Cary's second administration.<sup>44</sup> This legislation was the fatal blow to the Cary faction.

Whatever were the forces working the change in government in this Assembly, it was quite as severe against the Cary party as the former Assembly, in October 1708, had been against its Glover opponents. It declared that Cary and Porter had failed to attend with Hyde as members of his council, that they had been guilty of sedition, and that they had sought to overturn Hyde's government. Cary and Porter were impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and committed to the custody of the provost-marshal. Further, it petitioned the Lords Proprietors to remove Cary, Porter, and Moseley from any share in the government and it declared void all court proceedings during Cary's second administration.<sup>45</sup> In the flush of victory they added other indictments against Cary and Moseley. Without a doubt these leaders of the conservative party, who had been under a ban and had had to suffer the inconveniences and hardships of exile, overplayed their hand and were too zealous in their enactments, going beyond their power to enforce them.<sup>46</sup> Governor Spotswood of Virginia expressed the belief that they added some clauses too severe to be justified. In their fierce resentment of their injustices, justified as

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<sup>44</sup>Lefler and Newsome, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>45</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

they may have been, they had by their lack of moderation thrown the whole opposition into violent antagonism even to the point of civil war. Cary determined not to submit tamely to these drastic measures. Collecting his followers, he withdrew to his plantation on the Pamlico and fortifying his house "with great guns and other warlike stores," bade defiance to Hyde.

On Sunday, May 26, Hyde collected about 80 men at his home on the Chowan River, and on Monday crossed the Sound and went 12 miles up the river to a point where his forces were increased to one hundred and fifty men. Hastening through the wilderness, they reached Cary's house at Bath on the Pamlico on May 28. Cary got word of the approach of Hyde and his men and made his escape and went to Governor Daniel's house a few miles farther down the river. The next day Hyde pursued but found that his delay had been disastrous, for Cary had gathered about 40 followers and had fortified himself so well that it was hazardous to attack him. On June 1, the forces of Hyde withdrew having only their trouble for their pains. One man, a kinsman of the governor, lost his life by an accident during this expedition. So ended Hyde's fiasco.<sup>47</sup>

Cary has been described as a man not to shun danger in any form. He was "resolute as he was violent and as audacious as implacable." He set about to convince the people of Pamlico of his right to refuse to comply with Hyde's demand for the money belonging to the Lords Proprietors. He had a "Brigantine of Six Guns" and other ships equipped in a war-like manner. Von Graffenreid, a member of the council at the time, wrote that

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 175.



Cary "became an open and declared rebel and brought together a gang of tramps and rioters by means of promises and . . . by means of good liquor rum and brandy, to which he treated the rabble, he scared many adherents and they came to open rebellion against Mr. Hyde." About this time Captain Roach, an agent of Dawson, who was now one of the Lords Proprietors, brought his vessel into Pamlico. He had on board several cannons and a quantity of small arms and ammunition. Roach put his resources of men and arms at Cary's disposal. This boat, along with a brigantine belonging to Emanuel Lowe armed with cannon and a barco-longo, was equipped for active service. In the meantime Hyde and his supporters on the Chowan were preparing to meet the attack of Cary. The people of Pasquotank, Perquimans and Currituck seem not to have involved themselves. The Quakers remained quiet, and the other citizens of those counties responded slowly to Hyde's call for active support. Hyde realized the strength of his adversary and applied to the Governor of Virginia for aid. Spotswood determined to send a mediator to seek to suspend military operations until the Lords Proprietors could know the situation. So he sent letters to both Cary and Hyde by Mr. Clayton. On June 25, Clayton reached Pollock's residence and on the next day delivered the letter to Cary, whose well-manned brigantine and barco-longo were then sailing off some twelve miles from Pollock's landing on the Albemarle Sound. Through a misunderstanding concerning a meeting place for a conference on June 28, Hyde and Cary did not meet.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>NCCR, I, 558-559

Clayton again visited Cary and delivered a second letter from Spotswood, withheld at first, threatening Cary with his own armed interference if he did not come to terms.<sup>49</sup> This letter angered Cary, who declared he would seize Hyde and his council, and he threatened that Hyde might expect the same fate that Colonel Parke had had at Antigua.<sup>50</sup> However, his threats were impotent. On June 30, Cary sailed inward toward Salmon Creek and approaching Pollock's house that lay near the water, he fired two cannon from his brig; and after throwing a full force into two boats, he made a dash for the land. Hyde's forces were ready and returning shot for shot, struck the mast of the brig, for Hyde had sent his men along the shores to be ready for the assault. This action came as a surprise to Cary's men who hastily returned to their vessel and sought to draw off.<sup>51</sup>

Hyde was ready for a fight to the finish, so he manned some boats and set out in pursuit. Cary's men thought only of escape. The brig was run ashore, and the men fled into the woods. Hyde captured the brig, armed with six cannons, and also took its owner, Manuel Lowe, along with

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>This threat produced great commotion among the friends of Governor Hyde. Two years before this threat, Col. Parke, the Governor of the island of Antigua, had after three years of tyranny and despotic oppression been seized by the outraged people, and had been torn from limb to limb; a tragic fate well known in Virginia, where one of Governor Parke's daughters had married Col. Custis, and was thus allied to some of the first people of Virginia.

<sup>51</sup>This sudden flight was probably due to the appearance among Hyde's followers of Baron De Graffenried's servant, in his yellow coat, which led to the impression that some of the queen's troops were present, it being treason to make war on them.

three sailors who composed her crew.<sup>52</sup>

Favored by this good fortune, Hyde issued a proclamation pardoning all who had been led into acts of violence, except the chief movers. This quickly tended to withdraw Cary's support. Roach fortified himself at Pamlico, and it is said that John Porter went among the Indians and endeavored to persuade them to fall upon these people on the western shores of Chowan (Bertie County). However, the Indians did not act. Hyde, flushed with his success in capturing the armed brigantine, hastily got a force of his own on board and sailed off to Pamlico to capture Cary at Roach's house. He found Cary too strongly fortified; thus Hyde returned without result. He found that Governor Spotswood had kept good his promise to him and had sent to his assistance a company of royal marines.<sup>53</sup> The sight of the queen's uniform so "frightened the Rebellious party" that they quickly dispersed. Many of the party went into Indian country. It was from this territory that Cary and some of his most active followers, Porter being one, fled to Virginia to get passage to England. At Governor Hyde's request they were apprehended by Governor Spotswood. On July 31, Cary and Porter were sent to England under charges of rebellion and sedition, leaving behind the seeds of ruin and death which they had so successfully sowed. They arrived in London on September 25, just three days after the Massacre of 1711 had begun. Later they were brought to trial, but there being no evidence produced against them, they were discharged. The irony of this situation was that the very persons who held the con-

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<sup>52</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 177,

<sup>53</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 50.

victing evidence were in the province fighting for its survival and could not appear against those who were a contributing cause to the destruction. Thomas Cary stayed in England a year and then returned to Carolina and took an unobtrusive position. He was never punished. John Porter remained in England and died at Bridge Water during the spring or summer of 1713.<sup>54</sup>

It is obvious from all the religious and political dissension, discord, and strife that in the colonial government there were two quite distinct elements representative of conflicting theories and practices. This situation could easily produce the distinct political parties. Thomas Pollock was among those who sincerely believed that the best interests of the colony would be served by a government as independent of the people as possible. Yet, it was for the welfare and progress of North Carolina that he was ever striving. In his profound loyalty to the Proprietary interest, he had to adopt as a cardinal principle a belief in the necessity for a strong executive.<sup>55</sup>

It was after 1691 that the Grand Assembly, a unicameral legislative body, became the General Assembly, a bi-cameral body. In North Carolina the elaborate and ill-suited Fundamental Constitutions produced discontent and were practically inoperative from the first.<sup>56</sup> The General Assembly met at the call of the governor. The Speaker of the House was the

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<sup>54</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>55</sup>R. D. W. Connor, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, p. 84.

<sup>56</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 193.

highest position in the province in whose selection the people had any voice. From the beginning of its existence, the General Assembly was conscious of, and jealous of its rights and privileges.<sup>57</sup>

By the time of the Cary Rebellion, the Assembly had acquired considerable importance. The interests of the Lords Proprietors no longer overshadowed it. Edward Moseley as the speaker of the House from the very beginning of this period attempted to increase the authority of the body which was first recognized in the Cary-Glover dispute when the rival claimants referred their claim to it for arbitrament.<sup>58</sup> It was at this time that the Assembly came to the front as a regulating body. Later, in the Hyde administration with the government party in control, its exercise of power indicates its supremacy. It assumed to arrest Cary and dared to nullify all laws, judgements, and acts of government made in the preceding two years. It provided for punishments for sedition, made regulations for qualifying officers, fixed the penalty for changing the oath of office, recognized the common law of England in North Carolina Courts, adopted certain statutes of the British Parliament, settled the manner of filling the vacancies in the places of Governor and Lord's Deputy, and in the way of private bills provided for settling claims arising from alleged irregularities in Moseley's administration of the office of Surveyor-General. To this it added an address to the Lords. . . . For the first time the Assembly under the control of the government party appeared in a constructive capacity. It had passed

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<sup>57</sup>Conner, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>58</sup>NCCR, I, 697.

from an almost continual opposition body to what we may call a body of friends to the administration. There was in this change a marked advantage to the colony:

Aside from whatever sentiment we may have for Moseley and the "Popular Party," we cannot fail to notice that the triumph of Pollock and his friends brought with it the confidence of the Proprietors in the Assembly, and, this we know led to many wise laws (1715 Assembly) and withal to a long period of peace, prosperity, and real constitutional growth. Neither Cary nor his followers could have brought about this result. The real interests of the colony both at home and abroad demanded a conservative policy.<sup>59</sup>

That policy is what the dominant party pursued under the wise and untiring leadership of Thomas Pollock.

The Cary quarrel, which rocked the North Carolina colony, led to the Cary Rebellion and was a recognizable factor in the Indian war that followed, was essentially a religious conflict with political overtones.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>John Spencer Bassett, The Constitutional Beginnings of North Carolina (1663 - 1729) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, March 1894), p. 59.

<sup>60</sup>Herbert R. Paschal, The History of Colonial Bath (Raleigh: Edwards Broughton, 1955), p. 17.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TUSCARORA WAR

#### The Causes

Unless the "Lost Colony of Roanoke" of 1587 was taken off by massacre, the boast 124 years later of our first historian, John Lawson in 1711, that North Carolina was the only instance of a nation planted in peace and located without bloodshed was well founded.<sup>1</sup> From March, 1662, when George Durant bought from Kilcocanean, king of the Yeopim, with the consent of his people a tract on Roanoke Sound (later Albemarle Sound) upon a point known as Wikacome (now called Durant's Neck),<sup>2</sup> friendly relations between the natives and whites remained unbroken. There had been occasionally variances or feuds between the Indians and individuals, but these had been settled by the law, and generally speaking the races remained at peace even though with an evident and growing unrest among the Indians. However, many of the colonists, according to all reports, looked upon the Indians as a crude, childlike people who might be cajoled out of their property. The idea of being unfair in ruthlessly crowding the Indians apparently did not occur to the colonist, for in a time when human life and liberty were worth little in Europe, little else could be expected of hardy frontiersmen. Even John Lawson, the surveyor,

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Clarke, "Indian Massacre and Tuscarora War," North Carolina Booklet (July 10, 1902) (Raleigh: Capital Printing Co., 1902), II, 3.

<sup>2</sup>Recorded in Book A, Perquiman's County Records, No. 374.

who believed in giving Indians justice in all land dealings saw no reason why the government should not take the Indian lands and allot them between the Red man and the white.<sup>3</sup> In time of war, they matched cruelty with cruelty; but in time of peaceful relations the settlers went about their business with "friendly Indians" in a manner that would have brought envy to the heart of an orphan boy of eighteenth century England.<sup>4</sup> The Indians were employed by the whites, in many cases as domestics; and all were admitted, without suspicion and at all times, in the white settlements.<sup>5</sup> Slaves were taught household work, and the Indian slaves hunted and fished for their masters and guided them on their journeys.

As in the case of all new projects, North Carolina's early history of Indian relations was haphazard and no direct Indian policy was evolved until the early eighteenth century. However, the records show extreme fair play on the part of the early settlers toward their Indian neighbors; especially was this true in the light of the times when men of their own race were being burned at the stake or drawn and quartered in the name of Christian religion. Even the slave traffic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for which much finger-pointing has been aimed at Carolina, was entirely in accord with the other slave traffics of the period and was in accord with the Indian himself. Lumber sums up the slave situation in a most concise manner, "The need for labor was great; the Indians were on

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<sup>3</sup>NCCR, I, 312.

<sup>4</sup>Martha Chapman, Indian Relations in Colonial North Carolina (1584 - 1754), (Chapel Hill: 1937), p. vii.

<sup>5</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 3.



hand, and the colonist took them in the customary style."<sup>6</sup> With all the accusations of Governor Spotswood<sup>7</sup> as to the unfair treatment of traders with the Indians, there are no proofs to show that North Carolina traders were any less fair in their dealings with the Red man than the Virginians. To be sure, there developed problems in this area of the colonist's relationship with the Red man; however, these particular practices do not seem to be the dominant factors in the dark days of 1711-1713.

Yet, even while John Lawson was writing his boast, the tomahawks were being sharpened and the Indian warriors gay in their war paints and plumage were already stealthily gliding along narrow paths, gathering for the harvest of death and torture so soon to come in the Tuscarora War.<sup>8</sup>

Many reasons have been given for this bloody and remarkable outbreak of Indian warfare in colonial North Carolina. Chief among the reasons attributed have been the steady encroachment of whites upon the Indian lands, inner strife and conflict among the whites which encouraged the Indians to move into war, prevailing trading practices, and the instigation of Cary and his party to stir them to action.

The Tuscarora tribe, which was the dominant Indian power in North

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<sup>6</sup>Almon Wheeler Lauber, Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States (Columbia University Studies, 1913), LIV, 106.

<sup>7</sup>The Virginia Governor wrote many letters to the Board of Trade concerning the state of affairs in Carolina during their Indian unrisings. These may be found in the North Carolina Colonial Records, Vol. II, and also in the Journals of the Board of Trade from 1708-1765.

<sup>8</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 10.

Carolina, had watched the steadily growing settlements with distrust and resentment. They used every means in their power to show their resentment of this encroachment, often times resorting to outbreaks of violence.<sup>9</sup> But through the years, they had been pacified or satisfied by laws or by agreements.

The government of North Carolina since 1699, had had a treaty with the Bay (Bear) River Indians which had been made with Sothell, King of these Indians "with his great men," by Daniel Akehurst, Caleb Calloway, Thomas Blount, and Henry Slade.<sup>10</sup> While this treaty was not a land deal in the strictest sense, it was an act of agreement for the exchange of favors and friendship, and for the privilege of remaining peacefully among each other. It did not take the Indians long, however, to read into the Englishmen's actions their real policy of expansion. The more they read the more disturbed they became. Soon there began a series of Indian differences. A letter from John Lawson from Pamlico, in 1701, to Governor Walker indicates the nature of some of these differences.<sup>11</sup> In 1704, the colonists complained in the court at Pamlico that the Indians were asking too much for their land, demanding not less than £ 7, 13s, and 6p. Evidently some Indians had asked for a second payment, which forced one Charles Smith to produce a receipt for his payment of land.<sup>12</sup> As the Indians

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<sup>9</sup>Herbert Paschal, A History of Colonial Bath, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup>Appendix B, Article 1 (The Original in the Court House at Edenton, N. C.)

<sup>11</sup>Appendix B, Article 2. Letter from John Lawson to Governor Walker relating to the Bay River Indians (From Records of Albemarle County /at Edenton Court House/, North Carolina).

<sup>12</sup>Appendix B, Article 3, Items Relating to Bath County (Original in Court House at Edenton, North Carolina).

became more closely surrounded by whites, they also became more resentful of their presence. One Indian in Bath County actually threatened to kill the Sheriff.<sup>13</sup> William Powell of Edenton complained to the Governor that the Indians had taken all his ammunition and had threatened to come back and burn his house and take his corn.<sup>14</sup>

The whites were encroaching. They were pushing the tribes from their hunting and fishing grounds and threatening their livelihood. They were forcing them to move from the burying grounds where reposed the bones of their ancestors. This was no little consideration to these Red men. So when the tide of civilization moved into the Pamlico-Neuse region the Indians saw the handwriting on the wall.<sup>15</sup> They knew they must make a stand but still hesitated, fearing the power of whites in war. By the early 1700's the very borders of the Tuscarora domains were being invaded. William Hancock took up lands near the Tuscarora town of Heeruta, and Furnifold Green acquired property near the Tuscarora Village of Nonawharitsa.<sup>16</sup>

During the first decade of the eighteenth century, pressures were getting more and more pronounced on these Tuscaroras. Lawson related in his account of his travels that his guide, Eno-Will, told him the English in North Carolina were wicked because they "threatened the Indians for

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Appendix B, Article 4, Items Relating to Indian Troubles out of which came the war of 1711-1712, (Originals in Court House at Edenton, N. C.)

<sup>15</sup>Paschal, A History of Colonial Bath, p. 38.

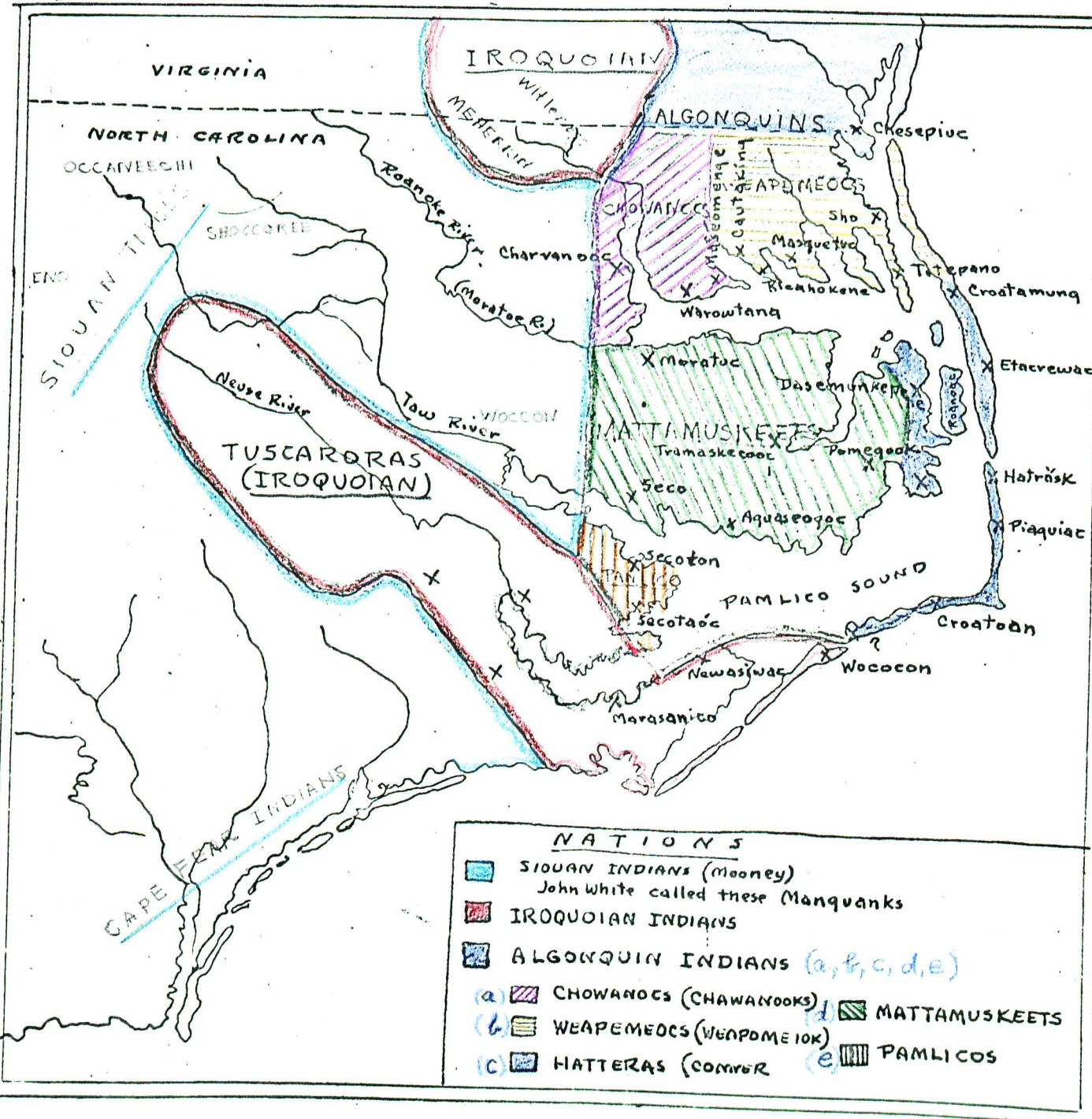
<sup>16</sup>Alonzo Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern, " North Carolina Historical Review, XXII, 301.

# INDIANS OF EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

ALGONQUIN TOWNS - according to John White + Ralph Lane

NATIONS AND TRIBES - according to James Mooney

TUSCARORA TOWNS - according to John Lawson + Baron de Graffenried



hunting near their plantations."<sup>17</sup> Such incidents as these show the general trend and the growing Indian resentment of having his lands taken by the white settlers.

By 1711 the colony of North Carolina, which had consisted of little more than large plantations resting on the southern boundary of the 36 degree parallel, had stretched southwestward continuously since the beginning of the century. These settlements were fringed along the Atlantic coast line and Albemarle Sound. They were defended on the west by a few scattered forts, one on the Tar River called Noharoco near the present site of Washington, and one on Bear Creek.<sup>18</sup> The white settlers were now facing west; behind them were the small tribes of the subdued and peaceful Algonquins, but before them, and barring their way, were encamped the mighty Tuscaroras. Their towns were situated on the lower Neuse and its tributaries, the Contentnea and the Trent, extending up about as far as the Falls of the Neuse between the present towns of Raleigh and Wake Forest.<sup>19</sup> Here these proud Indians had had many years of enjoyment on the North Carolina river banks until the settlers began settling on the Trent and Neuse rivers. In 1708, the Huguenots located in the Archdale Precinct on the Trent and in 1710 the Palatines and the Swiss also located there.

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<sup>17</sup>Lawson, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>18</sup>Grimes, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>19</sup>James Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 8. (See Mooney's map facing p. 48.)

From the time that John Lawson had journeyed through the Tuscarora lands studying its natural history until several years later when he had returned as surveyor-general, the Tuscaroras had become more and more uneasy. Lawson now, in 1711, had as a surveyor been conspicuous in establishing the Palatines. He had come back to America with Graffenried to lay off the 17,500 acres of land purchased from the Proprietors and to survey an additional 100,000 acres for a twelve year option.<sup>20</sup> Lawson himself had a large grant located on the Neuse; thus he became an object of particular resentment. However, when Baron Von de Graffenried's settlers arrived the Indians still were willing to negotiate and move on up the river nursing their grudge--perhaps waiting to strike with one blow when the whites were weakest.

In 1709, Von Graffenried, a Swiss nobleman and Landgrave of Carolina, had arranged to plant 100 of his countrymen in America. While he was in England prior to sailing for America, he met Louis Mitchell, a fellow countryman, who knew the country well, and suggested that the new lands around the Neuse River area were very desirable. England, just at that time, was over flowing with the poor displaced persons who were the victims of religious persecution in Germany. Queen Anne, pitying their condition, by her proclamation in 1708, offered them protection in England, and about twelve thousand of them went to England. From among these displaced persons, many came to Carolina.<sup>21</sup> As a result of a business trans-

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<sup>20</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

action and a negotiation between the queen's commissioners, the Swiss leaders, and the Lords Proprietors, Von de Graffenried and Mitchell were to transport and settle the six-hundred and fifty Palatines and over 400 Swiss. The queen assumed the expense of their transportation, £5 per head, and made an ample donation of £4,000<sup>22</sup> for their benefit and sustenance after they had settled, making it possible for each family to have two hundred and fifty acres of land rent free for five years with tools, stock, etc. The commissioners agreed to give each person, young and old, twenty shillings sterling of the charitable collections made throughout the kingdom. This money was put into the hands of Graffenried to be delivered to them after they arrived in Carolina.

De Graffenried, to whom all the lands were conveyed by the proprietors, never made a title to the Palatines.<sup>23</sup> He came into the colony with official prominence. Apparently, he was a poor manager, for he mortgaged the lands granted to him to Col. Pollock for about £800 sterling and never did pay off the debt.<sup>24</sup>

After the Palatines left England, they had a stormy and a disastrous voyage. As they came into the James River, their ship was attacked by a French privateer which destroyed one ship and left the others "well

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<sup>22</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>23</sup>The evidence on which we base the belief that the German Palatines had no title from Graffenried is to be found in the Council minutes dated November 6, 1714.

<sup>24</sup>In the Pollock-Devereaux collection of manuscripts in the State Archives in Raleigh there are a number of records of loans made to Graffenried by Thomas Pollock.

plucked." By the time they had reached the shores of Virginia, their number was greatly reduced. They soon set out overland and finally reached Chowan River where Col. Pollock received them hospitably at Balgra and provided them "certain necessities, after which he furnished ships to transport them to their final destination." They arrived on December 1710, at the confluence of the Neuse-Trent Rivers and erected temporary shelter until they could be put in possession of their lands.<sup>25</sup> To Colonel Pollock goes much credit for his support of Baron Von Graffenried and his establishment of the colony at New Bern. Graffenried and John Lawson, Surveyor-General of the colony, laid out the town of New Bern at the juncture of the Neuse and Trent Rivers. Their "little city" contained about twenty families or around 100 people in 1711. The Baron's attempts to settle the Swiss-Palatine colony were during the trying times of the Cary regime and the Tuscarora War which followed. Therefore, he encountered numerous and difficult situations even beyond the usual rigors of frontier life.

When Graffenried arrived at his Palatine settlements on the Trent and Neuse bringing with him the one hundred Swiss families, he found that the Indian town of Neusioh was located there. He satisfactorily negotiated with the chief who then moved up the river.<sup>26</sup> Graffenried had paid the Lords Proprietors for this land and naturally he did not feel called upon to pay the Indians also.<sup>27</sup> But judging from the wrath of the Indians, so

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<sup>25</sup>I. Daniel Rupp, op. cit., p. 456.

<sup>26</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 38.

<sup>27</sup>NCCR, I, 717, 718.



soon vented on these poor settlers, they must have considered this new white settlement the "last straw" in encroachments.

Even though there were other recognizable causes which will be mentioned, there can be little doubt that the expansion and movement of the settlers was a prime cause of the Tuscarora War.<sup>28</sup> This complaint lay at the bottom of all grievances of the Indians.

The conditions and practices of Indian trade was a factor in bringing on misunderstandings and ill-feelings between the two races. The attempts of the government to regulate this trade was ineffectual from the standpoint of the Indian. On the other hand, it was the basis of a triangular conflict in the North Carolina-Virginia-South Carolina interests and activities. The Proprietors and even the crown were taking a keen interest in this lucrative trade.<sup>29</sup>

In June 1711, the Proprietors proposed Sir Edward Hyde for Governor of North Carolina ". . . by reason of the necessity of corresponding and trafficking with the several nations of the Indians."<sup>30</sup> Governor Hyde, therefore, inherited a complex situation in the colony. In a letter to Lord Craven, Thomas Pollock says he attributes the actions of some "ill-disposed persons one cause of the war . . . for the Indians were informed by some of the traders, that the people who live here are only a few Vaga-

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<sup>28</sup>Paschal, The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 38.

<sup>29</sup>NCCR, I, 506; 496-543; 542; 548; 657-669. Edward Randolph's report to the Board of Trade, Ibid., 467-469.

<sup>30</sup>Board of Trade Journal, II, 320.

bonds, who had run away from other governments and settled here of their own accord, without any authority; so that if they were cut off, there would be no one to revenge them. . . ." and he further added that Indians had been further led to believe that the two counties were so divided and in arms against each other. that if they attacked in the County of Bath no one in the Albemarle would come to their assistance.<sup>31</sup>

Another reason for the Tuscarora war as presented by Paschal was the indignities and the humiliations to which some of the white settlers subjected the Indians. These proud, dignified and lordly Tuscaroras did not accept the condescending and often times insulting treatment which they received from the hands of many of the settlers.<sup>32</sup>

John Lawson spent much time in the Indian lands from 1700 to 1710 while he was writing his Natural History of North Carolina and while he was surveying lands. He felt that he knew the Indians well and wrote in glowing terms of them. Yet, they accused him of being too severe and selling their lands. Von Graffenried in discussing the causes of the war, states, "Rough treatment of some of the turbulent Carolina frontiersmen in the Pamtego /Pamlico/, Neuse and Trent River areas, who would not allow them to hunt near their plantations and under that pretense took their game, arms, and ammunition, upset the Indians. There was even one Indian killed which most increased (Incensed) them and not unjustly."<sup>33</sup> Governor

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<sup>31</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 32.

<sup>32</sup>Paschal, History of Bath, p. 22.

<sup>33</sup>Vincent H. Todd, ed., Christopher Von de Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Co.), 1920, p. 272, (hereinafter cited as Graffenried).

Archdale wrote that the nature of the Indian is such that he considers personal murder a just cause for a "national quarrel."<sup>34</sup> That the whites who looked upon the Indians with "Scorn and Disdain" eventually felt their wrath is not too surprising. That the innocent suffered with the guilty certainly held true in this event.

Without a doubt, the idea was in the mind of the savage Tuscarora to be on the alert for internal strife among the white "squatters"--and to strike them with one blow when they were weakest. This opportunity arrived in the guise of the Cary Rebellion. It is both directly and indirectly that this event was a factor. The early historian, Martin, says, "The Indians did not always remain idle or unconcerned of the feuds and dissensions that prevailed among the whites."<sup>35</sup> The spectacle of the whites engaged in internal strife and conflicts, divided and weakened as they were, created an opportune moment for them to strike. Pollock in his first message as Governor to the Proprietors attributes the desolated country to "the mechnation of the Quakers."<sup>36</sup> John Porter, although a Quaker, undertook the frightful task of exciting the Indians to make war on the whites who had favored Hyde. Dr. Hawks says, "There were co-temporary assertions that Cary, after his defeat in his rebellion, along with Roach and Porter, instigated and procured the savages to make the assault

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<sup>34</sup>paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 45.

<sup>35</sup>Francois-Xavier Martin, History of North Carolina from the Earliest Period (1512-1776) (New Orleans: A. T. Pennimon and Co., 1829), I, 243.

<sup>36</sup>Appendix A, letter No. 18.

by promising "great reward."<sup>37</sup> Feeling in the colony ran high against these men and accusation by one of the opposing faction was natural. However, prior to the massacre, Governor Spotswood in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated July 25, 1711, says, "There are further discoveries made of the ill designs of Mr. T. Cary and his party." He states further that there have been affidavits sent in to the effect that the Indians would receive great rewards if they would "cut off all the inhabitants of that part of Carolina that adhered to Mr. Hyde." Again in letters of July 30, 1711, and of July 31 he referred to the same accusation.<sup>38</sup>

In October after the September massacre, Governor Spotswood wrote:

. . . I will not affirm that the initiation given those savages sometime ago by Col. Cary and his party, to cut off their fellow subjects (the that heavy charge is proved by divers testimonys and firmly believed in Carolina) has been the only occasion for this tragedy, yet it appears very reasonable to believe that the Indians have been greatly encouraged in this attempt, by the unnatural Divisions and animosities among the Inhabitants, and I very much fear their mutinous and cowardly behavior in some late shirmishes will embolden the Indians to continue their insolencies.<sup>39</sup>

This rather lucid statement by Spotswood highlights the main damage Cary did, which was to expose to the already antagonized Indians the bitter dissensions among the whites. To King Hancock and other Indian leaders, the opportunity must have appeared to have come at last to drive the white man from their territory.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Dr. Hawks, Governor Spotswood and others support this idea.

<sup>38</sup>NCCR, I, 306.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 810-811. Spotswood to the Board of Trade. Letter dated October 15, 1711.

<sup>40</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 50.

The colony was in a poor situation for defense against any determined attack. The bitterness and hatred, which years of strife and the open warfare of Cary's Rebellion had engendered, had left a shattered government and disunited people.<sup>41</sup> During the summer of 1711, the inhabitants of North Carolina were far too plagued with a drought, rebellion, and an epidemic of malaria and yellow fever to pay too much attention to rumors of the unrest of the Indians or to observe their actions closely enough to realize the intentions of the Indians. So under the leadership of the Tuscarora Chief, the Carolina Indians moved ahead with their plans to annihilate the white man within their territory.

#### The Opening Conflict

At the beginning of the Tuscarora War the force of fighting men among the Indians in this colony contiguous to the white settlements in Albemarle and Bath counties was estimated and appeared as follows: Exclusive of the group in Bertie County, the Tuscaroras, who lived in the country south of the Roanoke, and on the Tar and Pamlico, could muster about 1,200 men. North and northwest of Albemarle Sound were the Meherrins, Nottoways, Chowanokes, Pasquotanks, Poleskeets (or Curritucks), Connamox and Yeopims.<sup>42</sup> This group had been much reduced by close contact with civilization and by the white man's "fire water," but it could still furnish 160 warriors. Southwest of Albemarle in addition to the Tuscaroras were the Pamlico, Catechneys and Neusioes, and between them and the ocean

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Clark, op. cit., p. 4.

were remnants of the Maramuskeets, Matchapungos, Hatteras, Cores (Coraines), Woccons, Croatan, and Bear River Indians.<sup>43</sup> Though also reduced in number, they produced 250 fighting men. Farther south were the Saponas of some strength, and a feeble tribe, the Sippahaws. The aggregate of these Indian fighting forces was about 1800.

As we look at the location and strength of the Tuscarora and allied tribes, a comparative study of the white settlements becomes an important factor in a better understanding of the dire situation of the province during the wars. According to Lawson's map made in 1709, the province consisted of two counties: Albemarle County, which was divided into Currituck, Perquimans, Chowan, and Wickam precincts; Bath county encompassed Pampticough and Archdale precincts. It was after Lawson's map of 1709 that the German and Palatines and Swiss settled at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent Rivers. At the outbreak of war, there were actually several distinct groups or streams of population in the province. On the north side of the Albemarle Sound and west of the Chowan River the bulk of the population mostly English, was settled. Some of these Albemarle people had pushed south and were settled on the Roanoke and Tar Rivers and about the town of Bath. The French Huguenots had come from Virginia in two distinct groups and were settled on the Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent Rivers. The Graffenried colony comprised the third distinct element. About half the Albemarle settlers had become Quakers and were not available for fighting purposes. There were probably about 7,000-10,000 whites in the entire

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

province in 1711. Thomas Pollock estimated that there were fewer than 1000 men able to bear arms.<sup>44</sup> Such was the status and strength of the respective races when the Tuscaroras struck the first war blow.

During the summer of 1711, the Tuscaroras were the leaders in the diabolical plan for the complete annihilation of these southern colonists en masse. The dissensions and disease of that summer, among the settlers, seemed to one watchful chief of the Tuscaroras, whom the whites called Hancock, to offer the desired chance to strike the advancing foe down; and he determined to seize this chance. Five hundred warriors assembled at his principal town on Contentnea Creek, near the present town of Snow Hill, and planned carefully. He had with him in his planning all the chief men of the smaller tribes. Tom Blunt, chief of a large part of the Tuscaroras, refused to join in this plan. In complete secrecy and with skill, the leaders carefully outlined every move. The day was set and word passed for the simultaneous action, each tribe being assigned to definite areas. On the day before the new moon in September which would occur on the 23rd, the universal murder was to begin at daybreak. This day, September 22, 1711, was truly a dark day written in blood in the annals of North Carolina.<sup>45</sup>

As these plans were maturing, an incident occurred a few days before the massacre that was the forerunner, and if it had been known by the

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>45</sup>It was a day long thereafter observed by the colony as a day of fasting, prayer, and mourning under an act of the General Assembly of North Carolina.

colonists, it would have been a warning. John Lawson and Christopher Von Graffenried set out about September 12 for an exploring trip up the Neuse. On the second or third day out about dusk they were suddenly seized by about sixty armed Indians who marched them all night to Hancock's town and delivered them to Hancock, who ordered them held until a council could be convened. On the following night the chiefs from other tribes came. The two white men were questioned, acquitted themselves well, and were informed that they were free to leave on the morrow. The next morning other chiefs arrived and demanded the privilege of questioning the two. Unfortunately, Lawson became involved in a violent quarrel with Cor-Tom, a chief of the Coree Town who had long been unfriendly to the whites. As a result of this incident they were re-seized and bound. Graffenried finally convinced the Indians that the queen of England would punish them if harm came to him. They decided to keep him and his negro imprisoned, but would execute Lawson and his negro alive. The favorite story of how Lawson met his death is that his body was stuck full of light wood splinters and that he was burned alive--the splinters being set on fire. Even after Graffenried learned of the plot for the massacre, he could not make his escape to warn the whites.<sup>46</sup>

#### The Massacre

On Friday, September 21, 1711, the 1200 Tuscarora warriors and their 600 allies divided into numerous detachments and began their march to all

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<sup>46</sup>Clarke, op. cit., p. 6.



points. Scouts were sent out to reconnoiter. Every house along the Roanoke, the Pamlico, and the Neuse and Trent rivers was visited by one or two Indians. The settlers, little dreaming of the Trojan horse tactic, received them as friends; as night drew near, small bands came all smiling and friendly. The whites thinking they had come to bargain for provisions received them as they had often done before. On Saturday morning just as the first rays of the rising sun rested on those peaceful homes, the red demons broke loose. The massacre began.<sup>47</sup> No age or sex was spared. For three days and nights the horrible slaughter and destruction continued until the smaller settlements were utterly destroyed.

De Graffenried gives the following account of this horror:

On the morning of September 22<sup>d</sup>, about sunrise, they fell upon the unsuspecting planters in their isolated homes and began a fearful massacre. In two hours one hundred and thirty persons fell beneath their bloody blows. On some plantations, all, men, women and children were ruthlessly and barbarously murdered; at others, the men only were slain, and the women and children were spared to be held, however, as slaves. In savage wrath, they slew and burned and pillaged, and the entire region south of the Albemarle was a horrid scene of brutal murder and desolation. The French settlers on the Pamlico suffered heavily, eighty of De Graffenried's colonists fell victims, and the outlying districts were depopulated.

In those hours of fearful calamity, those who fortunately escaped the first fury of the savages fled in dismay to convenient points of refuge. They collected at Bath and at ten other places, where they hurriedly fortified themselves against attack.

Many incidents of the butchery were heart-rending, and some of the escapes heroic. At the house of John Porter, Jr., his wife, Sarah Lillington, seeing an Indian in the act of dashing her infant's brains out against a tree, rushed upon him and rescued her child from his clutches. Captain Maule being present, he and Colonel Porter seized their guns and covering the flight of the females, successfully beat off the savages until they had reached the landing, where taking a boat

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

they pushed out into the broad river and escaped, beholding in the distance their homes enveloped in flames.

For two days the murderous bands glutted themselves with blood and revelled in spoil, but on the third day, the plantations being deserted, laden with booty and carrying eighty women and children preserved as captives, they returned to their fort on the Cotechney. The dead lay unburied in that hot September sun, food for the vultures, the dogs and the wolves. Many bodies were shockingly mutilated, and others fancifully arranged by the savages in their wild and merry glee. Mr. Nevill, an old gentleman, was laid on his floor with a clean pillow beneath his head, which was ornamented with his wife's head-dress, and his body decently covered with new linen; while Mrs. Nevill was set upon her knees in the chimney corner, her hands lifted up as if in prayer; and a son was laid out in the yard with a pillow under his head and a bunch of rosemary at his nose.

Fugitives from their homes, with their butchered friends unburied, the air polluted from their decomposing remains, the survivors of Bath County kept watch and ward at the asylums they had gained, in momentary dread of the reappearance of the foe, while the other settlements were paralyzed with fear lest the whole colony should be destroyed.<sup>48</sup>

After this carnage terminated at last from the disability produced in the savages by the effect of drunkenness and fatigue, the few colonists who had managed to escape slaughter gathered together as best they could for protection. Stunned by the blow they had received, they attempted little more at first than to collect the women and children and guard them night and day, until time would enable them to concert their efforts.<sup>49</sup>

#### The War Years

After the massacre of 1711, messengers from the stricken Bath went to Albemarle for immediate help. Fortunately for the entire colony, Albemarle had escaped the worst ravages of the massacre mainly because of the

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<sup>48</sup>NCCR, I, 828.

<sup>49</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 532.

neutrality of Tom Blunt's<sup>50</sup> northern Tuscaroras. Blunt, who had had a long friendship with Col. Pollock, refused to join in the conspiracy. Nevertheless, at the news of the outbreak, precautions were at once taken in the Albemarle. Plantations along the south and southwest shores of the Chowan were hastily fortified. Governor Hyde and Col. Pollock, who lived near each other, were the first to turn their homes into forts.<sup>51</sup> The missionary Giles Rainford, in his letter to Jno. Chamberlaine, states that he was most kindly received by Governor Hyde and Col. Pollock and says, "The Governor and others have fortified their homes as they are often threatened by Indians."

When the appeal for help came, Governor Hyde found himself in a position that was both hopeless and awkward. Not only had most of the able-bodied white men in Bath County been slain, thus reducing the already small number of about 1000 possibilities, but also the Quaker element refused to fight. The colony had not had time to recover from the Cary factionalism with its resulting disunity and other ill effects,<sup>52</sup> and Hyde knew that he would get little help from the disaffected persons who had sided with Cary and Roach. He had to recruit what assistance he could from his friends to begin with to undertake the prosecution of the war. He turned to the capable and true friend, Thomas Pollock, for assistance.

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<sup>50</sup>Appendix C, "Tom Blunt and Thomas Pollock."

<sup>51</sup>NCCR, I, 360.

<sup>52</sup>Many men doubtless had gone to Virginia to carry their women and children to safety, and many of Cary's faction had recently gone thither for their own security.

Pollock was made Major-General of the forces and began to formulate plans for a retaliatory campaign against the Indians. It was impossible to raise even half as many men as there were Indian warriors. Where to get an army was the immediate concern. The idea of using the Indians against the Indians was conceived, but Pollock and Hyde knew that the combination was so general that they could not secure any one tribe as an ally to help in conquering the rest. Besides, the Tuscaroras, who were the leaders, had double the number of warriors of the other tribes combined. Yet, without Indian allies the colony could do but little; for this would be a hard fight after the manner of the North American Indians. They saw, therefore, that they must get Indian allies from a distance. Christopher Gale was dispatched as special messenger to Charleston by sea to solicit aid from the South Carolina government. Information was dispatched to Governor Spotswood in Virginia, He, apprehensive that the outbreak of the Indians might extend into his own government if not suppressed, and anxious also to save his countrymen in Carolina, immediately sent out detachments of his militia to prevent Virginia tributary Indians from rising. The council called out the entire militia of Surry, Prince George, and Isle of Wright counties to meet at the Nattoway Indian town on October 17, 1711. The neutral Tuscarora and the tributary Indians were also sent word to meet the Governor there. All trade with the Indians was stopped immediately.<sup>53</sup>

Governor Spotswood heard that some of the Tuscarora towns in the

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<sup>53</sup>Virginia Council, III, 284-285.

province had refused to be concerned in the massacre. He sent a special agent to contact Peter Poythress who had been in one of the neutral villages at the massacre. The Tuscarora chiefs came in with Poythress to the meeting at Nottoway Town. Negotiations with the Indians began and continued through the next day. Spotswood attempted to enlist the upper (neutral) Tuscarora in the suppression of hostile Indians. As an inducement to engage their help, Spotswood offered six blankets for the head of every enemy they would bring him and "the usual price for women and children as slaves."<sup>54</sup> The towns asked for a month to consider Spotswood's offer.

Spotswood called the Virginia Council in session on October 8, 1711, but was unable to get his House of Burgesses to cooperate with him in his efforts toward sending troops into North Carolina. He succeeded, however, by means of funds furnished by wealthy individuals, in keeping the friendly Tuscaroras and some of the smaller tribes quiet, and they remained neutral.<sup>55</sup>

While both Virginia and South Carolina were responding, each in her own way, to Hyde's appeal, Hyde and his council were not idle. The first measure they took was to conscript every man from sixteen to sixty, except those deemed indispensable for war efforts on the plantations. Vessels and boats were impressed, and food was taken from the farms and plantations for the support of the forces.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 535.

<sup>55</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 184.

<sup>56</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 534.

During the last days of de Graffenried's captivity, Pollock had managed to raise 150 men in the Albemarle, and by mid-October he felt it expedient to undertake an attack on the Indians. In the first organized resistance, Pollock and his men went to Bath Town and were to join forces with a group which had been raised on the Neuse and placed under the command of Captain William Brice. Brice under orders from Pollock marched his company of fifty or sixty men up the Neuse River to an Indian Village (probably one of the Neusiok villages) where the forces from Bath were to join him.<sup>57</sup> The troops at Bath Town refused to go out, and Brice found himself in the Indian Country without support.<sup>58</sup> Immediately the movement of forces into this territory aroused the Tuscaroras who evacuated Fort Catechna and moved their women and children to a hidden swamp island. Indians, to the number of 300, gathered and set out against Brice's forces. The overwhelming number of Indians forced Brice to withdraw. For two days and nights, he kept up a running gun battle until he reached the safety of his fort on the Trent River.<sup>59</sup> When he got back to his fort, he found his garrison there had been attacked.<sup>60</sup> From the repulse of Brice's small company until the arrival of relief from South Carolina in December, 1711 (or January, 1712), not a single large scale expedition was put in the field by North Carolina. The surviving settlers stayed in the forts,

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<sup>57</sup>NCCR, IV, 955.

<sup>58</sup>Graffenried, op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 273-274.

<sup>60</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 66.

and the places of fortification in Bath County were guarded by the militia. Food and provisions were brought to them from north of the Albemarle Sound, which was the greatest source of food. Graffenried gives an interesting and detailed account of his having to leave the New Bern settlement by boat to seek food and supplies for the desperate survivors there. He arrived at Balgray after some minor difficulties. At his request, Hyde and Pollock sent two boats with provisions on two different occasions to save the Neuse settlement from starvation.

The cowardice and lack of consideration shown by Pollock's 150 men at Bath Town who failed to come to Captain Brice's assistance is symptomatic of the outlook of the entire colony during the first year of this war. The hatreds among the settlers had grown stronger than the fears. The bitterness stirred up by the Cary faction had created such a break in the colony that not even the devastating massacre and the resulting horrors and suffering caused by warfare could seem to unite the colony. The Quakers refused to bear arms and would not even give up the sorely needed firearms they possessed for the use of anyone who might be willing to fight.<sup>61</sup> Such high handed action was not confined to the Quakers, however. There were other "evil disposed persons," as Pollock terms them, who sought any means within their power to discredit Governor Hyde even to endangering their own life and property. Spotswood, speaking of the Carolina colonists in this period, says that the spirit of disobedience to which they have been accustomed still prevails so much that

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<sup>61</sup>NCCR, I, 877.

he /Hyde/ can hardly persuade them to unite for their common safety.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, the historian Ashe says of the same period, "But factions were hushed and former opponents vied with each other in patriotic efforts for the common weal."<sup>63</sup> Pollock's letter to Lord Carteret places the blame on "some few evil disposed persons who have been a plague to this government these four or five years who easily may be known by Governor Hyde's reiterated complaints and to the Quakers and their continued influence on the common people especially."<sup>64</sup>

Hyde appears to have made an honest effort to conduct an organized war against the Indians, but the dissensions among the people hampered every action he took. In November an assembly was called to make plans for the conduct of the war. This body had no sooner met, however, before it turned into a free-for-all scramble for power. Efforts of the Assembly to restore several opponents of the Hyde government to office met with fierce opposition, and Governor Hyde was forced to dissolve that body with no plans or provisions for waging the war having been made.<sup>65</sup> Faced with this situation, Hyde sought only to hold his disease-wracked and famine-ridden colony together and hope for aid from neighboring colonies.<sup>66</sup>

The Tuscarora Indian delegates who were supposed to come back to

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<sup>62</sup>R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1887), II, 116. (Hereinafter cited Spotswood).

<sup>63</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 184.

<sup>64</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 12.

<sup>65</sup>Spotswood, I, 116.

<sup>66</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 68.



Williamsburg on November 20 according to their agreement at the Nottoway town meeting with Governor Spotswood, failed to come. Finally, on December 2, the delegates made their belated appearance offering excuses for their tardiness. On December 11, the Virginia government and the Tuscarora delegates signed the Articles of the League, thereby agreeing to make war against the Indian enemies. The Indians failed to abide by this agreement. While the Virginia government and Spotswood disagreed about Indian affairs, and the Indians broke their treaty, another neighbor of North Carolina was sending aid.

In October, 1711, Governor Hyde's appeal through Christopher Gale for aid to North Carolina came before Governor Robert Gibbes of South Carolina. He called an assembly at once and submitted Gale's request. The Assembly resolved to raise troops immediately with the proper officer or officers appointed to command them. Captain Thomas Nairne, the famous Indian agent, with the help of a five man committee, was to compute, purchase, and procure the necessary stores for an expedition against the Tuscaroras. The assembly appropriated £ 4,000 for the expedition and on November 3 offered the command to John Barnwell, who accepted the offer.<sup>67</sup> When Major Christopher Gale was informed of the action, he promised on behalf of his government to meet Barnwell and his forces on the Neuse River with an army of white men and to provide fifteen hundred bushels of corn, six barrels of gun powder, and "an equivalent quantity of bullets and Swarm Shott."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Journal of the Common House of Assembly of South Carolina, M. S. 1711, p. 586.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 589.

On November 8, it was suggested by the Assembly that Major Gale return immediately to North Carolina to prepare for the arrival of the South Carolina expedition. Sometime after November 10, Gale, in a sloop loaded with a supply of ammunition, left Charleston. Some where along the way the sloop was captured by a French ship. Major Gale was taken prisoner by the French who held him for several months. The delay of Gale's return to North Carolina was to be the basis for much misunderstanding between Barnwell and the North Carolina government. North Carolina was unaware of Colonel Barnwell's arrival in the province. In this interval of Gale's absence, Governor Hyde, receiving no information concerning his mission, again sent a desperate appeal to South Carolina for aid.

Plans for the expedition having been completed, Colonel Barnwell set out from Charleston with his troops consisting of fifty whites on horses and about four hundred and ninety-five friendly Indians mainly recruited from small tribes. This force left for North Carolina in December 1711 or January 1712. Barnwell followed mainly the usual overland trade route which was a distance of about 300 miles. Along the route he came to the Congaree Indian town where he enlisted some recruits. In other Indian towns he was able to add men to his forces. His officers were Major Mackay; Captain Jack, a Catawba warrior; Captain Steele; and Captain Bull. From the first, Barnwell was plagued by the desertion of his Indian allies. This situation grew worse as the war progressed. He wrote in his journal that only his "brave Yamassees" proved measurably trustworthy."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>"The Tuscarora Expedition--Letters of Col. John Barnwell," Joseph Barnwell, ed., South Carolina Historical and Geneological Magazine, IX, 30-31. (hereinafter cited SCHGM.)

When Colonel Barnwell arrived on the Neuse on January 29, 1712, his arrival was unexpected, in fact, unknown to the North Carolina government; for Gale still remained a prisoner of the French and had been unable to get a message to Hyde. As a result, North Carolina did not have provisions, supplies, and forces ready for the aid of Barnwell as Gale had promised. This failure greatly irritated Colonel Barnwell although he was soon informed of the reason. He was never happy about this. Paschal says it remained a source of trouble and the Barnwell relations with the North Carolina government, not having a good start, grew worse.<sup>70</sup>

In spite of all the difficulties encountered, Barnwell acted with great vigor when he reached the Neuse River area, and immediately fell upon the hostile Indians at Narhantes (Yorhunta) where a chain of nine small forts had been lately built. Barnwell attacked the largest of the nine forts and carried it by storm. This was a hard fought battle, which was over in less than half an hour; it resulted in fifty-two scalps and thirty prisoners to Barnwell's credit with a loss of only seven of Barnwell's men killed. The Tuscarora were so alarmed at the successful attack that they abandoned the other forts and fled the settlement. Many of Barnwell's Indians were wounded, thus making it difficult to move forward. The South Carolina Indians having captured thirty slaves, immediately loaded themselves up with English plunder, of which the Indian towns were full, and ran away.<sup>71</sup> Feeling that he could trust the warriors who

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<sup>70</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 77.

<sup>71</sup>SCHGM, IX, 32.

remained with him, Barnwell set out after a short rest to King Hancock's Town. He was on the way when "ye Tuscarora town of Kenta came to attach us." It was there at Kenta that Barnwell's men took nine scalps and two Indian prisoners whom Barnwell immediately ordered burned alive.<sup>72</sup> From there, Barnwell's forces marched on toward Bath Town. . . . On the way he marched through five towns which the Tuscarora had deserted, destroying 374 houses <sup>and</sup> 2000 bushels of corn. However, he ordered that all their fruit trees be preserved. In all the houses he found a great deal of plunder which the Indians had taken from the homes of the white settlers. By February 6, Barnwell reached the Pamlico River some five miles below Uncouh-He-runt, one of the three Tuscarora towns on that river.<sup>73</sup> During the crossing, Barnwell's rear guard was attacked by fifty or sixty Tuscarora who were soon put to flight. The expedition then marched down the Pamlico. On February 10, before reaching Bath Town, Barnwell had to send out a patrol for help to bring his men in. They were transported by three perognes across Pamlico River. They reached Bath on February 11, bringing relief "to ye incredible wonder and amazement of the poor distressed wretches here, who expressed such extremity of mad joy that it drew tears from most of our men." Barnwell further states that, "This government did not know one word of me until I brought the news myself."<sup>74</sup> Barnwell remained idle at Bath Town until March. He then took his forces to New Bern arriving there by March 12. Upon their arrival, Major Mackay, Captain Bull and several white men became ill. A few of the Indians died

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

with a like illness. So it was late March before Barnwell could move out again to attack Hancock.

The arrival of Barnwell in Bath Town stirred North Carolina into further action. Governor Hyde called the Assembly to meet in February 1712, and, unlike the November Assembly, it made some effort to prosecute the war. One of the first acts of the Council was to pass a resolution thanking Colonel Barnwell and congratulating him on the success he had already had; and another address was ordered sent to the South Carolina government expressing the colony's gratitude for the aid received.<sup>75</sup> The Assembly ordered five hundred bushels of corn to be raised and immediately sent to Bath County for the subsistence of the South Carolina forces.<sup>76</sup> Also, it voted to raise two hundred men for four months to act with the forces of South Carolina. Furthermore, magazines were to be erected on the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers at places to be designated by Barnwell.<sup>77</sup> These actions were taken in good faith, but soon met with many difficulties and some were never carried out.

Colonel Pollock and Governor Hyde were able to augment the nearly depleted forces to ninety-four white men and one hundred and forty-eight Indians. They sent this North Carolina detachment under the command of Captains Brice, Boyd, and Mitchell to join Barnwell. However, most of the men left without ammunition. All the Pamlico garrisons were exhausted

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<sup>75</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 392 (From Chalmers MSS in Mr. Bancroft's Collection, August 11, 1711).

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 393.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 393.

of ammunition in order to provide for the army which was to march on Hancock's Town.

Upon reaching Hancock's Town, Barnwell's forces and the North Carolina detachment found a well constructed fort overlooking Cotechney (Contentnea) Creek, a branch of the Neuse. Here the combined forces made an attack. The Indians marched boldly out to give battle, but they were defeated with a loss of three hundred killed and one hundred taken prisoner. The number of wounded is unknown. Barnwell agreed to withdraw from the fort if the twelve captives being held within were released and two canoes provided for their transportation to New Bern. The Indians further agreed that on March 19, they would deliver up twenty-two more captives and twenty-four negroes who were hidden elsewhere and meet Barnwell at Batchelour's Creek above New Bern to discuss terms for a general peace.<sup>78</sup>

In the days that followed, neither Barnwell nor the Indians kept the terms of their treaty. Barnwell was sick after the attack on Hancock's Fort; consequently, he was unable to meet the Tuscarora chiefs on March 19, according to agreement. In his place, he sent Captain Louis Mitchell. The Indians failed to appear. Angered by this breach of faith, Barnwell ordered out his Yamassee scouts, who soon returned with three scalps.<sup>79</sup>

When the news of the failure to take Hancock's Fort reached the legislature in Albemarle, efforts were made to send Barnwell further aid.

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<sup>78</sup>Lefler, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>79</sup>SCHGM, IX, 47.

De Graffenried suggested that they send the cannons where were lying about the yard where the legislature was meeting.<sup>80</sup> These were carried through the forests bound on long shafts borne by horses.<sup>81</sup> A number of hand grenades were sent along with the cannons. About two hundred North Carolina militia and friendly Chowan Indians were sent to reinforce Barnwell's men. In April, Barnwell proposed, with combined forces to make an attack on the main Tuscarora stronghold held by King Hancock, at Fort Cotechney.<sup>82</sup> The cannons were well placed to bombard the fort. The cannons along with hand grenades which were thrown into the fort whenever a cannon was fired so terrified the Indians that they attempted to flee the fort in canoes, but were repulsed. They begged for a truce. From first to last, the attack lasted for ten days,<sup>83</sup> after which time Barnwell and his officers held a council of war and agreed to a truce in order to save the lives of the large number of white women and children held prisoners in the fort. According to the terms of this truce, the Indians henceforth were "to plant only on Neuse River, the creek the fort is on, quitting all claims to other lands. . . . To quit all pretension to planting, fishing, hunting, or ranging all lands lying between Neuse River and Cape Feare."<sup>84</sup> With the conclusion of the Catechna (Cathechney) treaty, Barnwell's efforts against the Tuscarora came to an end. He abandoned his

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<sup>80</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 79.

<sup>81</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>82</sup>Lefler, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

fort and retired to New Bern where he hoped to obtain supplies and return to South Carolina. He soon learned that his treaty was most unpopular.<sup>85</sup>

Barnwell was subjected to severe criticism by the angry government for not subduing the enemy while he had the advantage with its opportunity to bring the war to a conclusion. Hyde and Pollock both voiced their dissatisfaction. "The supreme command seems to have been invested in the leader of the South Carolina contingent namely, Captain Barnwell, who, it is said, had some private grudge against Hyde."<sup>86</sup> It is very doubtful that there really existed a grudge; however, Governor Spotswood wrote of Barnwell's action, "But instead of following up his advantage and bringing an end, clapped up a peace upon very unaccountable conditions. He should have broken entirely the power of that enemy."<sup>87</sup> Barnwell attempted to justify his decision by saying his troops were not furnished with provisions, and that he had many wounded men and felt it unadvisable to press them further.

Other than his faithful Yamassee Indians, the South Carolina Indians were now showing their disappointment at the truce as they were hoping to take more prisoners and profit by their sale. Barnwell felt his men should not return home without some profits. Barnwell being in a state of utter disgust with the whole situation and especially smarting under the criticisms he had received from the North Carolina government

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<sup>85</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 83.

<sup>86</sup>Hugh Williamson, History of North Carolina (Philadelphia:1812), I, 195.

<sup>87</sup>Lefler, op. cit., p. 60.



decided to placate his men and to get his "reward." Under pretense of peace, he lured a large number of Indians to the Coree Village near New Bern and permitted his own men to fall upon them unawares and to capture many of them. After this, his Indians hurried away to South Carolina to sell their plunder leaving Barnwell and his Albemarle companies to carry on the hostilities aroused by this breach of the truce.<sup>88</sup>

After the Coree incident, Barnwell stayed on at Fort Barnwell, which he had previously constructed on the Neuse.<sup>89</sup> On July 5, 1712, he was out near the Cape Fear and was shot and wounded by a miscreant. This wound was so severe that he was unable to ride a horse; therefore, he took a sloop and returned to Charleston.<sup>90</sup> Barnwell left not only an angry North Carolina government behind, but also left a new Indian war.

The breach of faith of the Catechna Treaty occasioned by the attack on the unsuspecting Indians at the Coree Village incensed the Tuscaroras and destroyed what little confidence they had in the whites. With Barnwell's forces no longer on the Pamlico, the enemy renewed their activities. Again the region south of the Albemarle was the scene of bitter warfare waged by the furious Red men. The people again were driven into the garrisons for protection leaving these savages on the prowl to pillage all that was left. This state of affairs aggravated the desperate

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<sup>88</sup>NCCR, I, 904.

<sup>89</sup>Remains of the old fort are still on this site. The village of Fort Barnwell has developed near it.

<sup>90</sup>Barnwell's expedition has been the subject of controversy among state historians for two centuries.

condition of the colony which once more found itself alone in its struggle.<sup>91</sup> To further intensify the problems another summer had passed with no crops made in the Pamlico.<sup>92</sup> Governor Hyde and Major-General Pollock faced the task of maintaining a colony whose resources were almost completely exhausted and whose people had to be protected from brutal warfare. They appealed to the Lords Proprietors for help. Their appeal again fell on deaf ears.<sup>93</sup> Even the efforts of Governor Spotswood to secure aid for the

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<sup>91</sup>Graffenried, p. 245.

<sup>92</sup>Ashe, op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>93</sup>Throughout the entire Tuscarora War the Lords Proprietors of Carolina did nothing to relieve their province's distress. Rumor of the massacre reached them late in November and at a meeting of the Proprietors on December 4, 1711, a request was sent to the Board of Trade for any further information they might have about the massacre (W. Noel Sainsbury et al., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, Americ and West Indies, 4 vols. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1860-1939), XXVI, 171.) On December 6, the Board of Trade replied to this request by sending the Proprietors portions from Governor Spotswood's letter of October 15, describing the massacre (Ibid., XXVI, 172). The Board of Trade had meanwhile informed the Privy Council of the Massacre and a committee of the Council on January 10, recommended that orders be given for sending a supply of arms and ammunition to the government of Carolina. At a meeting of the whole Council in Marcy, it was decided to table the matter until further information had been received (W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 6 Vols. (Hereford: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1908-1912), II, 657-658). Here the matter rested throughout the war although Virginia was later sent a supply of small arms and ammunition to help repel any attack that the Tuscarora might undertake against that colony (Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers, XXVII, 192). The efforts of the Proprietors to assist their colony in its moment of greatest need were limited to advice that they pass a more effective militia law to guard against further attacks by the Indians (Ibid., XXVI, 228-229). From time to time the Board of Trade sent the Proprietors what information they received on the progress of the Tuscarora War (Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 14 vols. London: (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920-1938), II, 405). The Proprietors offered their thanks to the governors of South Carolina and Virginia for their assistance to North Carolina, and commissioned General Francis Nicholson to investigate conditions in Carolina, which he neglected to do (Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers, XXVII, 130).

colony through the Board of Trade soon bogged down on the Committees.<sup>94</sup>

Thus through the long, hot summer months of 1712, the frontier of North Carolina lay open to attack. Added to the horrors of war, yellow fever broke out in a severe epidemic. Desperate, Hyde called the Assembly in July. A conscription law making all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty subject to impressment for service against the Indians was passed. All those who refused to go were to pay a fine of £ 5.<sup>95</sup> Despite this law, Hyde found it almost impossible to raise an army. Many of the Albemarle settlers fled across the border to Virginia,<sup>96</sup> while the Quakers resolutely refused to serve or to pay the £5 fine.<sup>97</sup> By mid-summer Pollock had managed to assemble on the Neuse and Pamlico a small army of about 150 men under Colonel Mitchell of the New Bern Colony and Colonel Mackey, who had remained behind with about 20 warriors of the Yamassee when Barnwell departed.<sup>98</sup> Discouraged by the half-hearted efforts which had been made, Hyde and Pollock determined to gather the militia of Albemarle County together and march it at the head of these forces into Bath County in a concentrated effort to subdue the foe.<sup>99</sup> Plans for the campaign were begun and recruits were being gathered for the intended

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<sup>94</sup>NCCR, I, 136.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>96</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, p. 387. (From Chalmers MSS in Mr. Bancroft's Collection, August 11, 1711.)

<sup>97</sup>Any Quaker who paid the fine was made subject to discipline by the meeting. (Hawks, I, 324, 326).

<sup>98</sup>NCCR, I, 899.

<sup>99</sup>NCHGR, I, 438.

expeditions when on September 1, Governor Hyde fell ill with fever and died on September 9, 1712.<sup>100</sup> Four days later the council elected its able member, the Honorable Major-General Thomas Pollock, as President and Commander-in-Chief of the colony.<sup>101</sup>

Thomas Pollock on former occasions had refused the office of Acting Governor. At this time, personal motives could not have prompted his acceptance, for there was nothing in the presidency to tempt or reward ambition. The difficulties might well have seemed "insuperable." Large sections of the country had been desolated. According to every written report of this period, every conceivable ill had befallen these colonists. Along the Neuse, the Trent, and the Pamlico all the plantations had been stripped of horses, cattle, hogs, the crops destroyed, and the cabins burned to the ground. This area was almost depopulated and was wasted and ruined. The people of the Albemarle Sound area had no way of recouping their losses as the war had wiped out their trade with the outside world "there being no grain nor little or no pork this two or three years to send out,<sup>102</sup> so that many have not wherewith to pay their debts and but few can supply themselves with clothing necessary for their families."<sup>103</sup> The morale of the people was at a low ebb, and there was more hatred than fear.<sup>104</sup> To their other burdens, the colony had been

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<sup>100</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 12.      <sup>101</sup>NCCR, I, 869.

<sup>102</sup>The Cary Rebellion and the poor crop years had already intensified the shortage.

<sup>103</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, II, 103.

<sup>104</sup>NCCR, I, 877.

compelled to add an enormous war debt and the government was bankrupt. Constantly threatened by their alert and resourceful enemy, the remaining settlers in the stricken region had been compelled to pass the winter and summer in small forts and stockades thus adding a further drain on the scarce food supply of the people of the Albemarle. When to all this, one adds the dissension and disobedience still among the people, he can complete the harrowing picture of the ruin and despair to which the colony had been reduced.

Governor Pollock was acutely aware of the seriousness of the state of affairs in the province as he faced a bleak and difficult situation. He knew these stricken people in their extremity of distress needed some ray of hope and confidence and at the same time to be made to realize the uttermost importance of unity. In an eloquent plea to his officers and people he attempted to infuse hope and courage:

Gentlemen, Friends, and Neighbors:-- October 3, 1712

I have received and with grief of heart considered your address to the council, and shall lay it before them soon as I can get them together, and in the mean time shall use my uttermost endeavors in redressing your wants of men, provisions and ammunition. . . .

Gentlemen and friends, our all lies now at stake,--our country, our wives, our children, our estates, and all that is dear to us. Let us therefore bear with patience some hardships: let us strive against all difficulties. Who can tell but God hath appointed you to be the defenders and deliverers of our country? We have lost one opportunity already of delivering of our country in not taking Cotehney Fort last spring; and now another opportunity is offered, for God's sake let us make use of it, for if we lose it, we can never in reason expect such another. . . .

Wherefore, gentlemen, let us look to God, and implore his assistance and direction; let us lay aside all animosity, differences, and dissensions amongst ourselves; let us shun such, as we would shun the plague, that endeavor to raise mutinies or to sow the seeds of dissensions amongst us. As for my own part, I take God to be my witness

that I have not been wanting, nor shall not to the best of my knowledge and power, in my true endeavors for the country's good; the peace and prosperity whereof shall be still the chief and only aim of him who is in all sincerity. . . .<sup>105</sup>

With the elevation of Pollock to the chief post, a new phase of the war began. With the end of Edward Hyde's stormy career, one of North Carolina's most able sons now held the reins in a firm grip. This great and noble man was ready to continue the war administration, for he had had large experience, and could command the confidence not only of the white and red inhabitants but of the authorities in both Virginia and South Carolina.

One wonders just why Pollock, who was now fifty-eight years of age, accepted such heavy responsibilities. Whatever his reasons were, the council had chosen well and the province was indeed fortunate. For as Hawks says, "We have been struck with the evidence afforded of the sagacity, judgment, firmness, and loyalty to the Proprietors of Pollock in this trying situation."<sup>106</sup> Still another historian describes Pollock at this period as "cool, sagacious, and possessed of knowledge as to every public man of the province he was called upon to rule, whether friend or foe."<sup>107</sup> As he administered the various phases of a government during war time, these named qualities of character and his great ability came into sharper focus.

Immediately to the regions stricken by war, he dispatched food and

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<sup>105</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book (North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina).

<sup>106</sup>Hawks, op. cit., pp. 543, 544.      <sup>107</sup>Moore, op. cit., p. 37.

clothing, arms, and munitions, and sent reinforcements of troops.<sup>108</sup> He acted with admirable skill and with great concern for the welfare of all the groups in the colony in letting them know his concern and what he was trying to do for them.<sup>109</sup> His first military concern was for the small army under Captains Mitchell and Mackey in Bath County. Already word had come that 40 or 50 men had deserted. He instructed his officers to discover the ring leaders in the desertions. Thomas Cook and William Stafford of Currituck were found guilty, courtmartialed, and given the death sentence.<sup>110</sup>

To encourage his ill fed, poorly clothed and underpaid troops in the field, Pollock continued to ransack the already exhausted Albemarle section for supplies. October 3, 1712, he wrote the discouraged inhabitants of Bath County that Captain Norton had sailed from Pasquotank with provisions.<sup>111</sup> To insure Bath County's full cooperation, Pollock appointed Furnifold Green to the office of Commissary-General of Bath County with power to impress and supply the army with anything to be had in Bath County.<sup>112</sup>

Governor Pollock also pacified the Quakers and finally secured their aid in providing some provisions for the forces. By the close of the war, he was able to say, ". . . though very refractory and ungovernable in Mr. Glover's and Governor Hyde's administration, yet since I have

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<sup>108</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, III, 104.

<sup>109</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 20.      <sup>110</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 17.

<sup>111</sup>Appendix A, Letter No. 20.      <sup>112</sup>Ibid.

been concerned, I must need acknowledge they have been as ready (especially in supplying provisions for the forces) as any others in the government." This is one proof that Pollock was able to command the respect and confidence of his people for he in a little time had subdued this factious spirit of the Quakers that had remained a source of disunity during Hyde's administration.

While Pollock continued to work vigorously to supply his meager army of 130 to 140 men in Bath County, the Indians continued to attack and pillage in that region. In late September they burned the houses upon four deserted plantations near the mouth of the Pamlico River and attacked the house of Captain Frederick Jones where they were beaten off by the defenders. About this time they attacked Fort Reading, which had been built on the Pamlico River several months before; there they burned one anchored sloop.<sup>113</sup> Captains Mackey and Mitchell kept the main forces at Fort Barnwell and effectively harassed the Tuscarora by sending out scouting parties until they abandoned Fort Catechena or Hancock's Town which lay only six miles from Fort Barnwell. It was learned that these Indians were setting up new and stronger fortifications up the Contentnea Creek. By this time the Tuscaroras were feeling the want of ammunition and provisions and were having to leave their forts to forage for food.<sup>114</sup> No doubt they left the forts to meet traders. For throughout the war, despite the genuine efforts of the Virginia government and Spotswood to stop the prac-

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<sup>113</sup>Paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 91.

<sup>114</sup>NCCR, I, 879.



tices, Virginia traders would occasionally succeed in supplying the Tuscaroras with ammunition and arms for the inflated prices that could be commanded.<sup>115</sup>

Just after the second outbreak of the war in the summer of 1712, Governor Pollock and the Council sent John Foster to Charleston to ask for a new expedition of 1000 Indians and a few white men under "a good commander of known courage and conduct." Foster was also to request 10 or 12 barrels of powder with a proportional amount of shot and two or three thousands flints from the South Carolina government.<sup>116</sup> On the same trip asking for assistance, Foster was to serve as a diplomat in trying to obviate "any false aspersions" that Barnwell had made against the government. Foster proved to be a good choice for the mission, for the South Carolina Assembly chose Colonel James Moore, a most able commander, to command the new expedition to North Carolina. By late September, he had recruited a force of 33 white men and nearly a thousand Indians. There was some unexpected delay in Moore's starting the expedition; however, Governor Craven used foresight and sent on by boat some barrels of powder and shot and 20 guns.<sup>117</sup>

While Col. Moore and his forces made their slow progress through the Carolina wilderness, Governor Pollock was making every effort to divide and conquer his Tuscarora enemy. By Indian messengers he had kept the

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<sup>115</sup>Spotswood, II, 147; SCHGM, IX, 42; Virginia Council, III, Passim.

<sup>116</sup>NCCR, I, 899.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., pp. 899-901.

Five Nations of New York quiet. As an example of a wise public relations move, Pollock bought a Seneca, who was being held prisoner, treated him kindly and sent him back by boat to his home in New York.<sup>118</sup>

From the beginning of the war there had been a considerable peace party among the Tuscaroras, perhaps including a majority of the tribe. The noted chief Tom Blunt was the leader of the peace group.<sup>119</sup> Pollock wisely decided to negotiate with Blunt.<sup>120</sup> He had an interview with Blunt and some of his chiefs. They came soon after the news was definite that both South Carolina and Virginia were sending assistance in carrying on the war. Without a doubt the Indians knew of this forthcoming aid, so they first proposed to the president the cessation of all hostilities and the restoration of trade. Pollock saw through the plan and knew that if help from the two neighboring states was stopped then, he had no security that the Indians would remain peaceful for a day. He decided to take no such chance. His firmness and sound judgment was shown by his positive refusal to talk of a treaty until Blunt and his men had given some pledge of their honesty by bringing to him Hancock and the scalps of ten notoriously cruel warriors. He guarded against their treachery while he seemed to trust them.<sup>121</sup> When Blunt protested that he had no ammunition for such an undertaking, Pollock agreed to furnish the ammunition to Blunt if he would first bring in twelve hostages from each town which desired

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<sup>118</sup>Pollock's Letter Book, Letter to the Governor of New York.

<sup>119</sup>Appendix C, Article 1, "Tom Blunt, King of the Tuscaroras."

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

<sup>121</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 546.

peace. Blunt's own town was not to be required to send hostages. This plan was acceptable to Blunt, who felt at least four towns would agree to the terms.<sup>122</sup>

Blunt agreed to present this proposition to the towns and return with an answer by October 17. Four days later than he had promised, Blunt returned to Balgra on the Chowan, accompanied by 16 of his own men but without either Hancock or the hostages. By this time Pollock felt that no dependence could be placed in Blunt's promises despite the latter's pledge to take Hancock and bring him in.<sup>123</sup> It was during this period that the old chief was living a dangerous existence, for he had to claim friendship with his own people to escape death. This pretense was the reason Governor Pollock questioned the honor of his allegiance with the whites and had every move he made watched.

By this time the Indian warriors were in want of food, and Pollock was in almost as desperate a situation. In an effort to stall for time until Col. Moore could reach the province, Pollock decided to make a preliminary truce. On November 25, 1712, Chief Blunt, representing the Tuscarora tribes, came in with five sub-chiefs ready to come to terms. An elaborate treaty was drawn up to last until January 1. Pollock had adroitly managed matters in securing terms with the Tuscaroras before any of his allies reached the province.

Whatever Tom Blunt's real motives were for his neutrality throughout the war, he played his hand well. A number of reasons have been advanced, one being that he had a natural affinity for the white man because

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<sup>122</sup>NCCR, II, 5, 6.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid., pp. 6,7.

he had been brought up as an orphan in the home of William Blount of Chowan.<sup>124</sup> Another reason advanced is that he was neutral because of Thomas Pollock's influence and his friendship over a long period. Still another reason, and certainly a logical one, advanced is that it may have been a personal struggle for dominance within the tribe between King Hancock and Tom Blunt.

In his efforts for neutrality Blunt found it easy to keep the older and wiser heads with him, but many of the younger bloods rallied to Hancock. This situation handicapped Blunt in his efforts to secure peace. Since nearly all his towns had young men in Hancock's following, he was unwilling to make war on Hancock which the whites continued to insist upon as the price of peace.

In this whole situation Blunt was forced to play a dangerous game of diplomacy at which he proved to be a master. By means of treaties with Virginia which he had no idea of keeping, he was able to stave off possible attack on that quarter for several months after the massacre. At the same time, he was able to refrain from any hostility toward Hancock which would have weakened his position in the tribe. Blunt realizing that he had nothing to fear from the ineffective North Carolina government, then was free gradually to win over the followers of Hancock to peace and renewed trade relations, after which, as spokesman for a united tribe he could sue for peace with the war weary whites.<sup>125</sup> This plan might have

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<sup>124</sup>Herbert Paschal relates this story as told to him by Mrs. William Blount Rodman, Washington, North Carolina, in an interview in 1951.

<sup>125</sup>paschal, Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina, p. 97.

worked if the forces under Barnwell had not been sent. Blunt was placed in an awkward position. Quickly he dispatched a message to Virginia which was met cold by Spotswood, who now refused to believe they desired peace until they took up arms against Hancock. Distrusted by everyone, even Col. Pollock,<sup>126</sup> Blunt's position, by the spring of 1712 was such that he must soon have chosen between the whites or his fellow Tuscaroras. Barnwell's peace truce in April gave him an unexpected reprieve. With the renewal of hostilities soon after this treaty, Blunt was again in a dilemma. By this time a tight embargo on trade had begun to be felt and the lack of ammunition had become a critical problem. This economic pressure and probably a belief that Hancock would never agree to peace caused Blunt to move toward an understanding with the whites.

Throughout the war, Blunt and his party had declared their desire for peace with the North Carolina government in the same way as they had with Virginia. One entry in the records of the council would seem to indicate that Blunt even returned plunder (horses) to the North Carolina government taken by the hostile Tuscaroras which fell into his hands.<sup>127</sup> So in all probability, Blunt earnestly sought to make peace when he came to Pollock in late September and again in October, 1712. Finally, on November 25, 1712, the Governor of North Carolina and Tom Blunt and other chiefs signed "Preliminary Articles" in Order to a General Peace." This treaty divided the Indian enemy.

On December 1, 1712, a month before the truce expired, Colonel

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<sup>126</sup>NCCR, II, 6, 7.

<sup>127</sup>NCCR, I, 852.

James Moore appeared in the Neuse settlement with his forces. Governor Pollock moved him and his force of thirty-three whites and 1000 Indians to Chowan County for convenience in supplying food and needed provisions and to await the coming of the Indians to surrender their hostages as agreed on through Tom Blunt. During this month of waiting, it took much "address to prevent a collision" between the whites of the Albemarle and the Indian allies under Colonel Moore. At the same time Pollock was attempting to raise provisions, these South Carolina Indians foraged among the settlements for food, killing the settlers' cattle and hogs and helping themselves to any food wherever it could be found. The angry protests of the people kept the Governor and Colonel Moore apprehensive lest some incident might touch off a war between the settlers and these red-skinned, thievish allies. Pollock wrote, "Some of the people have been more ready to rise up against them than march out against the enemy."<sup>128</sup>

Because the Tuscaroras had not kept their November 25 truce and to avoid any possible collision or further difficulty, Pollock deemed it expedient to have Colonel Moore march his troops to Ford Reading on the Pamlico. They left Chowan on January 17, in preparation for the planned attack on Hancock's forces, which was the last major expedition of the war. In the meantime King Hancock retired his forces to a much stronger fort (Nohoroco) and awaited Moore's approach. Extremely bad weather and a deep snow forced Moore to halt at Fort Reading on the Pamlico until February 4,<sup>129</sup> when he once more resumed his advance. Little or nothing is known of Moore's

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<sup>128</sup>NCCR, II, 4.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., pp. 18-20.

movements from this date until the latter part of March. Fort Barnwell appears to have been his headquarters as Pollock sent ten barrels of beef and two barrels of salt, as well as the powder from South Carolina, to that place on February 27.<sup>130</sup> Also Pollock had sent reinforcements to join Colonel Moore. Among these was a company of 70 or 80 whites under Captain Maule from Bertie.

On March 20, 1713, Colonel Moore with the combined forces was able to surround and besiege almost 900 of the Tuscarora in Fort Neshero (Nohoroco). The fort was located in a deep bend on a small branch of the Contentnea Creek, a few miles above Fort Hancock. It was irregular in design and protected by high palisades which were provided with bastions at the corners, thus allowing its defenders to deliver a heavy cross-fire to any attackers. A closed passageway led from the fort to the water and the one and a half acres enclosed by the fort were honeycombed with caves.<sup>131</sup>

Moore erected a battery of artillery and placed a large force of Cherokee and a few whites under the command of Captains Harford and Thurston across the stream from the fort. On the opposite side of the fort he set up another battery manned chiefly by Yamassee Indians and a few whites

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>131</sup>SCHGM, X, Map opposite p. 37.

The site of Fort Neohero is by tradition believed to have been located on Fort Run, a small tributary of Contentnea Creek, which is included within the present day Mewborn farm, a few miles from Snow Hill. The author, in company with Mr. William Powell of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Mr. Henry Eddy, Pennsylvania State Archivist, Mr. John Witthoft, State Archaeologist of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker of the Division of Archaeology of the Smithsonian Institution, explored the supposed site of the fort in October, 1951. The area believed to have been the site of the fort has been intensively

under Colonel Mackay, Captain Pearce, and Captain Maurice Moore. Another battery called the Mulberry Battery was placed somewhat to the left of the Yamassee. Behind the Yamassee Battery was the main camp under the direct command of Colonel Moore. It was composed of eighty-eight white men, including Moore's North Carolinians, and about four hundred Indians of various eastern Siouan tribes.

By means of trenches, the besiegers were able to approach within a few yards of the palisades where they managed to erect a battery which could command the interior of the fort. From their trenches the besiegers were able to mine a portion of the east wall of the fort, and on the morning of March 20, at ten o'clock the general attack was sounded and the mine set off. Unfortunately for Moore's forces the exploding of the mine, "the Powder being dammified," made little or no effect on the wall. Nevertheless, the attack was pressed vigorously along the north and east palisades, and the attackers were soon masters of a portion of the east wall without having suffered many casualties. Meanwhile Captain Maule, contrary to orders, had launched an attack on the south rather than the east wall. Here he met with a devastating cross fire and after suffering heavy losses was forced to retreat.

Realizing that the stout defense of the Tuscarora would make a direct attack extremely costly if continued, Moore then successfully set

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farmed for many years, and the surface finds were rather disappointing. Mrs. Blaker in a letter to the author (December 15, 1952) expresses the belief that the site of Fort Barnwell is a "definitely known point," but says, "I am less sure that the Mewborn site is Neoheroke, but it may be." The whole question can be settled only by thorough and intensive archaeological work in the field.



fire to the fort. By the next morning, Saturday, a good portion of the wall and several houses within the fort had been burned. Moore again pressed the attack and met "very great resistance" from the Tuscarora who "chose rather to perish by Fire within the Bastions than to retreat in the Caves made under Ground from whence some having timely made their Retreat and gott in the Caves did verry much mischief." It was not until Sunday morning, March 23, that the attackers were complete masters of the fort. The last place to fall was "the wattering place, which some of the Enemy had Fortified more strongly" after the fort had been set on fire.<sup>132</sup>

The complete victory, which Col. Moore reported to President Pollock in a terse dispatch of 120 words, sounded the death knell of the Tuscarora nation in North Carolina. Moore wrote to Pollock:

27 March 1713

Sr

Ye 20th of this instant I attack No-ho-ro-co fort, on C \* \* \* \* Creek & ye 23<sup>d</sup> In ye morning took itt, with y<sup>e</sup> Loss of 22 Whit men & 24 more wond'd--35 Indians Kill'd & 58 wond'ed--Most of ye Damage wee Reced after wee had Gott ye fort to ye Ground, which we Did in y<sup>e</sup> firft 3 hours--I have Little else to advice ye Hon<sup>re</sup> but that ye Qu<sup>t</sup> of he Enemies Destroyed is as follows--Prissoners 392, Scolps 192, out of ye sd: fort--& att Leaft 200 Kill'd & Burnt In ye fort-- & 166 Kill'd & taken out of ye fort on ye Scout, which is all; but My Servis to Capt" Jones, from your Honre obdt Servt

JA: MOORE<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>132</sup>"Second Expedition," SCHGM, X. The entire account of this engagement is based on a contemporary map showing the attack on Fort Nocharooka to which is appended an account of the engagement. The original of this map is in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S. C. (Herbert Paschal has written the above account of the attack on Fort Nacheroco based on the "Second Expedition.")

<sup>133</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book.

However, there could easily have been a different ending to this phase of history. Had the Five Nations joined their Tuscarora brethren, as was twice imminent, the total destruction of the colony was in the bounds of probability. From this we were saved first by the skillful and untiring efforts of Governor Pollock and later by the victory at Nohoroco<sup>134</sup> (Naceuke) (Nahucke).

Just before this victory at Nohoroco, Governor Pollock wrote to Governor Craven expressing his great sincerity, devotion to duty, and strong faith.<sup>135</sup> In the same letter one sees Pollock as the war-weary man who had served not only as commander-in-chief but also had carried the executive responsibilities of the colony during this crucial period. In his letter to Governor Craven just a month before Moore's victory at Fort Nohoroco, Pollock wrote:

If you knew the great trouble, vexation, and uneasiness I endure, I am sure you would pity me: all lying on my shoulders, But shall not fail to do my utmost endeavor for the safety of the country, and the good of the poor people, and leave the success to divine providence, being in great hopes that your forces will bring us in a short time peace and quietness, and you the honor of conquering our enemies. . . . 136

From the very first of his governorship, Governor Pollock had taken the most active measures that he could to bring war to an early close. On November 4, 1712, the North Carolina Assembly convened for the fourth time since the massacre.<sup>137</sup> Again it was controlled by the Quaker factions with Edward Moseley the speaker in control. Even though

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<sup>134</sup>Clark, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>135</sup>NCCR, II, 18-20.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid.

<sup>137</sup>NCCR, I, 882.

the feeling between Pollock and Moseley was still bitter, the imminent danger compelled cooperation among all factions. A first measure, a joint petition to the Virginia government describing the deplorable and critical state of the colony and asking aid, was drawn up and signed by Pollock and the Council as well as by the speaker of the house. Even with the improved relationships and cooperation of the Council and Assembly in November, very little was accomplished by the Assembly to meet the immediate and pressing problems of the colony. Governor Pollock was sharp in his criticism of this body and called his Council together to take action which the Assembly had been unwilling to take. The Council placed a levy of £ 5 on every tithable in addition to a tax of six bushels of corn and a fourth of all wheat held by individuals.<sup>139</sup> The government had to resort to every possible source of supply to feed Moore's forces in the Albemarle and to send supplies into Bath County in preparation for an expedition against the enemy. In order to transport these supplies, the Council pressed into service every available boat and canoe for the many duties. Efforts to raise men, guns, and horses were also carried forward with great dispatch, but by this time it was utterly impossible to raise an adequate number of troops. To escape impressment, large numbers of men fled North Carolina to Virginia, hid in the swamps, or professed the Quaker faith and refused to fight for religious reasons.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>139</sup>NCCR, II, 16. From a statement of one of the collectors of the corn levy, Edward Moseley. See NGHGR (July, 1900). Earlier an embargo had been placed on all shipments of grain from the colony (Hawks, II, 397).

<sup>140</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 324-326, 387; NGHGN, III, (April, 1903), 274-275.

It was just at this time that there was the added worry because the South Carolina Indians were at the height of their stealing from the settlers and foraging all over the Albemarle. Also by the winter of 1712, Spotswood's attitude had changed. He had become offended because his efforts were not receiving what he considered proper attention. So added to all the burdens and to the trials of preparation was Pollock's difficult task of attempting to placate Governor Spotswood, who constantly demanded attention.<sup>141</sup>

Virginia, following Barnwell's Catechna treaty the preceding April, had ceased all efforts on behalf of North Carolina and had even opened the Indian trade in June with all the tribes except the Tuscarora and their allies.<sup>142</sup> In August 1712, four chief men of the Tuscarora had appeared in Williamsburg seeking an authorized peace. As a result of this visit a treaty was drawn up. However, the Indians did not keep its terms which caused Governor Spotswood to distrust them. Later Spotswood, as well as Pollock, had reason to regain confidence in Tom Blunt.

In October, 1712, Governor Pollock was very apprehensive lest Tom Blunt join the hostile tribes against the government. He used this problematical situation as an argument in his plea to Virginia for aid by saying that "for having conquered us, it will undoubtedly encourage more nations of Indians to join them, which may likewise engage your government." In the same letter, Pollock asked for about 300 men with four or five weeks provisions to march to the northwestern part of the province

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<sup>141</sup>W. W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large of Virginia (New York: R. & W. & G. Barton, 1825), IV, 554.

<sup>142</sup>NCCR, I, 892-893.

to combat the Tuscarora who were moving in a northerly direction.<sup>143</sup>

In response to the petition of the North Carolina Council and Assembly, which had convened in November 4, 1712, the Virginia Assembly reluctantly agreed to appropriate 1,000 and 900 yards of duffel cloth for the ragged and cold troops who, Pollock said, could not fight through the winter without clothing and blankets. Actually, this action of the Assembly was the extent of Virginia's help. She never did send a soldier or any food to the colony.<sup>144</sup> Concerning the help, Spotswood declared:

This aid, while small, is nevertheless the greatest that any Assembly has raised to be employed out of the country, and is more considerable in regard of the little affection they bear their neighbor of Carolina, who they seem to think have done very little to deserve it, as having drawn the misery on themselves by the continued disorder in their Government; and the General Licentiousness among ye people.<sup>145</sup>

Governor Pollock continued to be unsure of the loyalty of Tom Blunt during the winter of 1712-1713. He was disappointed when the Tuscarora chiefs failed to fulfill the terms of their November treaty. Despite Blunt's protestations of faithfulness in mid January 1713, Pollock had decided the Indian's promises were worthless. He urged Spotswood to march with his troops "to Tom Blunt, and either force him to join his forces with yours /Spotswood's/ against the others or attack him as an enemy."<sup>146</sup> This Spotswood refused to do unless he was supplied with a chain of depots along his route which the North Carolinians were utterly unable to provide.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book.

<sup>144</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 387.

<sup>145</sup>Spotswood, II, 7.

<sup>146</sup>NCCR, II, 6.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid.

While the North Carolina Assembly in November had promised to supply any forces from Virginia with provisions while they were on active duty, Pollock now had to inform Spotswood that this was impossible of fulfillment.<sup>148</sup> Spotswood then offered to pay the cost of the expedition from Virginia quit-rents if the North Carolina government would agree to mortgage the lands north of Roanoke River and Albemarle Sound. Pollock had no intention of being pressed into such a decision, so, politely but firmly, he refused on the grounds that he did not have such authority, such authority being in the hands of the Lords Proprietors.<sup>149</sup> Finally, Spotswood and Pollock agreed that it would be impossible to pay, equip, and feed any large expeditionary force from Virginia; so all plans were dropped.<sup>150</sup>

Such was the state of affairs in the colony when Pollock decided to use all the resources at his command to end the war, and moved Col. Moore to Fort Reading on January 17 in preparation for the attack on Chief Hancock at Noharoco. After Col. Moore's victory at Noharoco and before the flight north of the hostile Indians to join the Iroquoise of the Five Nations in New York became known in the settlements, Pollock had already begun laying plans for a final push against the Indians. It soon became evident to him that there were many almost insurmountable problems to overcome first. Even though Colonel Moore offered to continue his services until the war was actually concluded, his forces were depleted to about 180 Indians. Again according to Indian custom, they had quickly gathered their prisoners and plunder after the fall of Fort Neohocoro and had re-

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<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid.

<sup>150</sup>NCCR, I, 892-893.

turned to South Carolina to sell their spoils of war. At the same time, the supply of food and ammunition for the forces in the field had reached a critical state. After Moore's victory, the Council met on April 15, and on examination, they found that there was in the whole province for distribution only 800 barrels of corn, 32 barrels of meat, and a small quantity of tobacco. Pollock felt that the completely exhausted colony would be able to supply no more than 400 or 500 barrels of corn before harvest time.<sup>151</sup> With the scarcity of provisions, Governor Pollock saw the urgency of pressing the war to its quickest conclusion. As great as the need was for retaining Moore's forces, he hardly saw the possibility or advisability with this food shortage of keeping Moore's men in the colony.

Pollock, realizing that if North Carolina were forced to take another offensive against the Tuscaroras, it would be an impossible task, reluctantly decided that as a last resort he would feel out Spotswood again to see if any help could be expected from Virginia. Governor Spotswood's replies made it clear that only advice could be hoped for from Virginia.<sup>152</sup>

After this final try for help, Pollock saw no way to deliver the final crushing blow to the Tuscaroras which he felt would have been possible with Virginia's help. His only alternative now was to use the demoralizing effect of Moore's victory as the fulcrum to secure a favorable peace treaty. Despite the failure of chief Tom Blunt and his party to fulfill the terms of the November treaty, Pollock turned to him as the

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<sup>151</sup>Lefler, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>152</sup>NCCR, II, 28.

most acceptable Indian for negotiations with the North Carolina government. He said of Tom Blunt, "I have great reason to believe that he is real and hope we will find him so." The governor's belief was apparently well founded at this crucial time, and Blunt proved to be loyal and helpful to the colony in the years to come.<sup>153</sup>

On April 14, 1714, Tom Blunt on behalf of the members of the remaining Tuscarora tribes (almost all of them had fled the country after Colonel Moore's victory) signed a treaty of peace with the North Carolina government. As a reward for his fidelity and good service, "The North Carolina Government agreed to acknowledge him the King and Commander-in-Chief /of/ all the Indians on the south side of the Pamlico River under the protection of this government."<sup>154</sup> Henceforth he was known as King Blunt. When the next Assembly met he was to attend, bringing in three hostages from each of his towns. King Blunt complied with all the terms of the formal treaty of peace embodying the Preliminary Articles, and it was confirmed by the legislature about May 11.

Still there was some Indian hostility in the Neuse-Pamlico area with the smaller tribes. Pollock, hoping to squelch all this restlessness, sent Moore and his forces into the Pamlico area to hunt them down. By April 25, Pollock was able to write that if Blunt kept his peace, North Carolina would have only the Matomuskeets, Catecheney, and Cores to deal with, and that he hoped Colonel Moore would bring them in in a short time. But even then his hopes were to be shattered when five days later a mes-

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<sup>153</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>154</sup>NCCR, II, 29.



senger arrived with the news that the Matchapunga had struck again-- this time in the Alligator River where forty five of the settlers had been butchered by a party of fifty Indians. Pollock immediately ordered all militia officers in that vicinity to gather what forces they could and try to overtake them. He held very little hope that they would be able to penetrate the swampy wilderness in the Alligator River area.<sup>155</sup> Little is known of the effectiveness of Moore's swamp campaign. Certainly, after the expedition, matters quieted down for several months. Whatever its outcome, the "noble and gallant" Colonel Moore took ship for South Carolina about September 1, 1713, taking with him the praises and prayers of the colony of North Carolina.<sup>156</sup>

Despite all efforts to squelch them, these tenacious red devils in small bands were spreading terror even in the spring of 1714. One account says, "They come from place to place, cut off 2 or 3 families today and with in 2 or 3 days, do the like a hundred miles off from the former. They are like deer--there is no finding them."<sup>157</sup> Even after Charles Eden arrived in the colony as Governor, he made futile efforts to combat this menace, but the bands continued to grow as volunteers from supposedly friendly Indians joined their ranks. On the third anniversary of the Massacre of 1711, affairs had reached a trying state in the Pamlico area. A missionary wrote that he expected to hear that the "admirable

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

This swamp region comprised the major portion of present day Hyde, Dare, Tyrell, and Washington Counties and is still a morass in many areas. However, the pursuit of Col. Moore broke them up. (Ashe, I, 191).

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-60.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 138.

collection of Books" sent in by the Rev. Dr. Bray and housed at Bath had served as a bonfire for the Indians.<sup>158</sup> This statement does serve to indicate the turmoil and confusion this small group of perhaps 40 or 50 Indians caused in the colony. It was not until February 11, 1715, that the government finally got these Indians to sign a peace treaty. This final group was given a reservation at Lake Mattamuskeet.<sup>159</sup> Their animosity to the whites did not cease. Even as late as 1718, rangers were used to police the Neuse-Pamlico area against Indian attacks; thus the Mattamuskeet reservation Indians were able to cause very little trouble.<sup>160</sup>

In actuality, the Tuscarora War had ended when Tom Blunt had laboriously printed his initials on the treaty and had directed the awaiting chiefs to do likewise. From that time on, the Tuscaroras ceased to be an important factor in the history of North Carolina. Pollock and his fellow North Carolinians were unaware that they had achieved such a complete victory. The casualties of the Tuscaroras were as much as 25% to 30% of their total population. When Tom Blunt signed his treaty, only a small portion of the Tuscaroras were left in North Carolina. They were centered around his fort in the Pamlico territory. During Colonel Moore's activities, almost all the tribes had moved northward and later migrated to New York and joined the Five Nations to become known as the Sixth Nation.<sup>161</sup> It is known that the tribes in New York and the exiled Tuscarora used their best persuasion to induce Blunt to settle with them. His reply

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<sup>158</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>159</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 554.

<sup>160</sup>Lefler, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

to these beseechments was that he be left to himself to mind his "own concern." He stubbornly refused to leave his native haunts and continued to abide by the terms of his treaty. Through the remaining years of his life, he was the true friend of Thomas Pollock and the undisputed King of the Tuscarora who remained in North Carolina.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>Appendix C, Article 1.

## CHAPTER IV

### RECOVERY AND PROGRESS

When Tom Blunt and his five Chiefs of the Tuscarora tribes finished their laborious task of scratching their mark and the final seal was stamped on the peace treaty of May, 1714, the war-weary colonists who had fought for survival found new hope and courage.

A period of comparative peace and quietness in the devastated colony of North Carolina followed the war. It was not a period of despair, or of sloth and inaction, nor of indifference to public welfare. Cary's defeat in his revolt against Hyde, the separation of the government from South Carolina, the experiences of the Indian war followed by the removal of the Indian menace, the virtual elimination of personal factions under Pollock's effective leadership, and the pressing need for reconstruction all tended to strengthen the government and to prepare the way for an era of growth and progress in the colony.<sup>1</sup>

In North Carolina there followed the inevitable consequence of all wars, a heavy war debt and little specie.<sup>2</sup> Yet, she was face to face with urgent need for funds for the work of reconstruction.<sup>3</sup> Pollock called the Assembly in session and presented his plan for facing this problem. To meet its demands and to supply a circulating medium of exchange, the Assembly ordered the issuing of bills of credit to the amount

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<sup>1</sup>Connor, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 551.

of £ 8000. These promises to pay were not legal tender except in contracts for the delivery of rated commodities and were not based upon the idea of their redemption in gold or silver. The government saw that a circulatory medium was a necessity and this currency as issued was the best in the reach of an undeveloped and impoverished people.<sup>4</sup>

The inhabitants who had survived the war horrors began to return with courage and determination to their desolated lands to begin their work of reconstruction. Soon the plantations and farms indicated the presence of human industry. This wonderfully fertile and fruitful land yielded an abundant harvest. President Pollock continued to administer the affairs of the province and aid it all he could from prostration.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the war he had contributed to the war effort and expense from his own supplies and fortune. He had written to Mr. Hart of South Carolina in September, 1713, in reference to his having sent back Captain Maurice Moore's troops because of food shortage:

If it had been with me as it hath been not many years since I would have supplied them myself. But since the beginning of our troubles I have not been less out than 2500, besides 612 sterling in bills of Baron Graffenried came into protested so that I am not able to do as I would . . . .<sup>6</sup>

All the records indicate that Pollock continued to use his personal resources and to give material aid for the reconstruction of the colony as best he could.

When Thomas Pollock surrendered his administration to Charles Eden,

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<sup>4</sup>Martin, op. cit., I, 265.

<sup>5</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 553.

<sup>6</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book.

Esq., in May 1714, the colony was enjoying for the first time in a decade a period of "peace and quietness." Pollock said war had extinguished "the fires of difference and division among the people" and Giles Rainford, an Anglican missionary, thanked God that "we have no disturbance among ourselves, but all people's hearts unite and every member of the Government is as happy as the times will admit of under the wise and prudent administration of our good President" /Pollock/. Connor says that Pollock "was unfortunately replaced by Charles Eden. . . . The new governor was a man of fair ability. . . ."7

Charles Eden was about forty years old when he arrived in North Carolina. The first record of his service (that appears) is 1713 when the Lords Proprietors appointed him governor of North Carolina. It was a year almost to the day after receiving his appointment that Charles Eden appeared before the Provincial Council "holden at ye house of Jno. Hecklefield in Little River on Friday the 28th of May, 1714."8 After Pollock had administered the oath of office to the new governor, he retired from office, and for the eight ensuing years lived on his plantations, devoting himself to his private interests, to those of Lords Carteret and Beaufort, to whom he had had the position of deputy for forty years, and in assisting the administration in every way in his power.9

Governor Eden's first act was to visit every precinct in the province; he was most respectfully and kindly received in all of them, and was

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<sup>7</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 130.

<sup>8</sup>NCCR, II, 145.

<sup>9</sup>Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 230.

gratified by the evidences of returning prosperity. He did not call the Assembly together until November 15, 1715.<sup>10</sup> In the meantime, he and the Council, which was composed of Thomas Pollock, President; Thomas Boyd; Nathaniel Chevin; Tobias Knight; Christopher Gale; and Willie Reed, discussed the needs of the colony and attended to administrative matters that were urgent. Thomas Pollock's advice and help were sought time and again by Governor Eden as is shown in many of his letters of that time. Pollock's good judgment and careful planning are evidenced in the enactments of that first Assembly as well as in many other administrative facets of those years.<sup>11</sup> However, toward the close of the session of Eden's first Assembly, the spirit of faction began to develop. Edward Moseley, who was speaker of the lower house, was the leader. Eden wisely dissolved the Assembly by proclamation soon after Moseley's actions of factionalism.

From the bitter experiences through which North Carolina had passed, her people had learned some valuable lessons which found expression in the legislation of the time. The principles that Glover and Pollock and Hyde with the Councils had fought for in trying to establish a central authority, in annulling unauthorized laws of the Cary regime, and in trying to identify and change inefficient and often corrupt administration of public affairs finally became apparent to the Assembly as a need for correcting these weaknesses in the government. To remedy these

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<sup>10</sup>Hawks, op. cit., II, 555.

<sup>11</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book.

evils the General Assembly made a revision in the laws. The work of the 1715 Assembly forms a land mark in North Carolina history. Dr. Bassett says when he comes to the "Revisal of 1715,"<sup>12</sup> he experiences a feeling of relief for here he leaves behind all the confusion and difficulties arising from a dubious system and meager data, and stands on solid ground at last.<sup>13</sup> The fifty-seven laws of the Revisal of 1715 were either revisals of former enactments or entirely new measures clearly setting forth the outline of the government.

Certainly progress was apparent on the political front. What had happened ten years before in the Cary usurpation could not find a place in this government. Important issues superseded the ambitions and passions of individual leaders. These issues grew out of the conflicting views of the theories and principles of government and formed the basis for logical and healthy political divisions.<sup>14</sup> The germ of the two political parties evidenced in the Glover-Cary dispute for power and continued in the Pollock-Moseley antithesis had become distinct enough in leadership and divisions by 1715 to be referred to as parties. In the Government Party the administration looked to the Lords Proprietors through the deputies in the Council for instruction and guidance until 1729--then, to the king. During the period when the divisions became pronounced, the governor himself was regarded as its leader; however, Thomas Pollock by

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<sup>12</sup>Revisal of 1715--These laws are preserved in two excellent manuscripts in the State Library at Raleigh, North Carolina.

<sup>13</sup>Bassett, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>14</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 112-113.



reason of his superior abilities and strong character so overshadowed the governors that he was the recognized leader of his party.<sup>15</sup>

Over against this Government Party was the Popular Party. Its fundamental principle was that the will of the people should find expression through their representatives in the General Assembly. The people had no choice in the selection of their governor; the highest office within their power to elect was the speakership of the General Assembly. Therefore, this office became the voice of or the leadership of the Popular Party. During Governor Eden's administration, Edward Moseley was again elected and, with the exception of three years, remained speaker of the house for about forty years.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the colonial political history of the colony revolves around the struggle of the Pollock-Moseley forces for supremacy that began in the Cary years.

Thomas Pollock must have found much satisfaction in these post-war years, for he saw the satisfactory resolution of most of the conflicts which had begun with the turn of the century. In addition to seeing a period of peace and prosperity again on the plantations and farms, he saw established laws which included provisions for an established church and

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>16</sup> McPherson, op. cit., p. 62.

On December 27, 1718, Moseley and Moore had broken into a room where public records were kept expecting to find evidence of Eden's supposed dealings with Edward Thack (Blackbeard). They were arrested, tried, and convicted for trespassing and misdemeanor. As a result Moseley was disbarred from his law practice and from holding public office for three years.

religious freedom, a strong central government, and healthy channels through which political differences could flow; he saw a great surge of population increase with the settlements progressing southward and westward. The Tuscarora War had opened the regions between the Tar-Neuse and the Neuse-Cape Fear Rivers, which now rapidly developed into a prosperous agricultural and commercial and trade area. Between 1715 and 1725, settlers began to push into this area in considerable numbers as far as the White Oak and New Rivers in what is now Onslow County.<sup>17</sup>

Opportunities for service continued to come to Pollock through all his life. Being in a position to answer South Carolina's call for help in her war with the Yamassees by sending the "Governor's Own Regiment" and a detachment under Colonel Maurice Moore was an opportunity Pollock had to repay that state in part for its timely help in the past, and he expressed his satisfaction found in this opportunity.<sup>18</sup> When Tom Blunt appeared before the governor and Council in 1717 asking for a change in location of his reservation, Pollock assumed a lead in that as he had in all Indian matters. A final treaty was entered into by Blunt and the North Carolina government on June 5, 1717, by the terms of which the Tuscaroras were granted a reservation consisting of "all the Land lying between Mr. Jone's Lower land on the Marratock /i. e., Roanoke/ river to Quit mak /Quitsna/ Swamp." The reservation consisted of about 60,000 acres and lay entirely within Bertie County. Pollock appointed Col. Wil-

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<sup>17</sup>Connor, History of North Carolina, I, 129.

<sup>18</sup>MSS, Pollock's Letter Book.

liam Maule, Surveyor and Col. Robert West to lay out the Indians Bounds. A fort was built for their defense and here lived under King Blunt and his son James Blunt the Tuscaroras until 1805.<sup>19</sup>

Along with all the satisfying things of these last years, there were the trying times too. Added to the public office worry of an age of piracy with its complicity, there were personal problems. Pollock in 1715 had a long period of ill health during which time he had to retire from many public duties. The Council Journals show that from June 7, 1715, until August 1716, Pollock did not preside as president, and apparently attended few sessions. In 1719, the burden of grief came when he lost his only daughter, Martha Pollock Bray.

Governor Eden, who had chosen to build his home, Eden House, across the beautiful bay from Edenton on the Salmon Creek adjoining Pollock's lands, spent his last years in close association with his friend and adviser. Upon the death of Governor Eden in March 1722, the Assembly for the second time elected Mr. Pollock to fill the executive chair, and on March 30 he qualified under a commission from the Lords Proprietors. He was the first governor to hold two terms of office. At the time of his appointment, Pollock was sixty-eight years of age, not an old man, but no doubt enfeebled by the harassing cares and anxieties of his arduous life; yet he did not shrink from his renewed responsibility and entered at once upon the duties of his office. His honor was brief, for six months later he was attacked by fever and died in office on August 30,

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<sup>19</sup>NCCR, II, 283, 484, 496.

1722, having given the best years of his life to his adopted country. He was buried by the side of Martha, his first wife, at Balgra on Salmon Creek, Bertie County.<sup>20</sup>

The loss of such a public servant in a community like that of North Carolina in his day could not but be felt; though worthy men survived him, there was not another who could exactly fill his place, for none had passed through so long an experience of the province nor had any other answered so faithfully every call of duty.

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<sup>20</sup>Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 230.

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**APPENDIX**

## APPENDICES

Much of the source material for early North Carolina history is still preserved in manuscript form. Fortunately for the history of the state Thomas Pollock's Letter Book, which he kept from 1708 until his death has been preserved. The book, a bound pigskin volume, contains some 300 sheets of the rough, yellowish paper of that period; and in it are copied some of the most important letters that he wrote. This state has in its custody, in the Department of Archives and History in Raleigh, no more interesting document than this book. There are many kinds of writing in it, some almost equal to engraving, but most of it is in the handwriting of Col. Pollock. Also, among the manuscript collection of Pollock's Papers is the Tom Blunt Treaty for Tuscarora tribes.

The court house records of the counties of The Old Albemarle are another rich source of early colonial history.

APPENDIX A

FROM THOMAS POLLOCK'S LETTER BOOK

LETTER NO. 1

A COPY OF A LETTER TO THE LORDS PROPRIETORS

October 11, 1708

. . . President Glover's writ for choosing Assembly men being read by the Deputy Marshal Daniel Haley, and Col Cary's writ likewise read by one Robt Fendale whom Col Cary had appointed for that end, the people went to electing; and five being chosen, the electors were polled, being ninety four, and those against them being likewise polled were only sixty five, counting several that were but boys and otherwise unqualified. Notwithstanding which fair election, Mr Moseley not approving of the choice, he with those others being in all but sixty five, would needs name other five by themselves, and Mr Moseley and some others of his party making all the confusion they could in the time of election, and endeavouring to stir up strife and quarrels among the people, which if Col Pollock (being on a plantation of his that joined on the election field) had not hindered and persuaded the people to keep the peace, would have ended in blows.

On the eleventh of October the assembly men met at Captain Hecklefields, nine coming for Chowan precinct, five of which were returned by the Deputy Marshall, as chosen by the majority, with the electors' names, being ninety four: and Robert Fendall whom Col Cary had appointed. . . returned both the five chosen by the majority: also the other five chosen by Mr Moseley and his party, being but sixty five, including boys and all, four of this last five only appearing; the other, thinking his election not to be legal stayed at home. all the nine, presently on their meeting, were commanded, by the rest, out of the House, and then immediately the four chosen by Mr Moseley and his party called in again, Mr Moseley himself being one of them; and the other five who were chosen by the majority were forcibly kept out; and could not so much as hear what they had to say; and then chose Mr Moseley speaker, and presented him to Col Cary and his pretended council.

Indeed it could not be expected otherwise, there being but twenty six assembly men in all, so but twenty one, of which 21 eight ----- the Law requires ----- county of Bath whose interest it was to stand by Col Cary, for fear of being called to account for that seditious Petition before mentioned; and two or three of the other seven from Pasquotanke of

the Quaker's choosing them, so that the five from Curetucke could do nothing against all the rest, only some of them left the assembly. Then the instrument of writing, or Commission, from the Lords Proprietors, that Mr Porter brought from England, aforementioned being laid before the pretended assembly, after having heard it read, they carried it by vote, that the Lords Proprietors had not only by that writing suspended the Law made in Col Carys time before mentioned, that laid a fine on any person that should promote (his own) Election, and not qualify himself et cet: but also that the Lords Proprietors, by the said writing had suspended likewise that Law, made in Col Daniels time before mentioned, which requires all person in any place of trust or profit to qualify themselves as the law requires et cet, which Law is not in the least mentioned in the said writing. And they might even as well (have) voted and all this was voted and acted before qualifying themselves, clearly contrary to the statute made the 20th of Charles II<sup>4</sup> cap I But they took little notice of Laws or Statutes.

Now by the articles of agreement the Assembly were to determine who had the most right to the Presidentship: Col Cary and his Council keeping in one room, and President Glover and his Council in another room: and Col. Daniel, by being a Landgrave, having a right to sit in the upper House with the Deputies, used sometimes with Col. Cary in his room, but mostly with President Glover, being fully persuaded of his right to the Government.

President Glover, not to be wanting to himself, put in the following writing or protest to the pretended assembly, delivering it to one of the Assembly men, (it) being as follows.

"In order to the settling this Government in peace, and to put Her Majesty's Laws in execution according to the true intent and meaning of the agreement between the Hon. Thomas Pollock and Col. Thomas Cary, it is absolutely necessary, and I do require, that the Gentlemen returned on the Elections should choose themselves a Speaker, and qualify ----- according to law, and I ----- said members ----- be made to an Assembly not to a number of persons coming together, nobody knows who. Besides it is contrary to all laws, reason, and in a very high degree derogatory to the Queen's Royal Prerogative, and a betraying of the trust reposed in the Lords Proprietors by the Crown, to submit the determinations of the Government to any number of men howsoever chosen and delegated, though by the unanimous voice of the whole countrys Except such persons shall first acknowledge their allegiance to the Queen, which both the Common Law and the Statute Law require to be done by an oath: with which Law the Queen hath not, and the Lords Proprietors can not dispence. For in doing otherwise we may give the Government up to be disposed by persons who are traitors to the Queen, or maintain the right of the pretended Prince of Wales, and then to such an Assembly I undertake to prove three things: First, that I am the lawfull President of Her Majesty's Council, and

that the Execution of their Lordship's commission does belong to me and no other; Secondly; that Col Thomas Cary is not President nor hath been lawfully possessed of, or is invested with any power of Government in this place since his departure to South Carolina; Thirdly: that though the power of proceeding should extinguish in me by death or Command of the Lorde proprietors, the said Col Thomas Cary is not qualified to be Elected President, or to exercise any such power. But if the Gentlemen now met together do assume to themselves an arbitrary power to proceed by any other method, I do, in behalf of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, His Excellency the Palatine, and Lords Proprietors, and of this Province of North Carolina, protest against all such proceedings; and do as President of the Council and Commander in Chief of this Province, by virtue of the Lords Proprietors commission, and with the advice of the council declared by proclamation dated the 13th of May Anno 1708, strictly charge and command all magistrates, commanders, and officers both military and civil, and all other His Majesty's loving subjects, not be aiding or assisting in any such arbitrary power, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Given under my hand and seal 11th day of October in the seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Ann of Great Britain &c anno 1708.

And for as much as by your irregular and unlawfull ----- nation in a matter of such consequence, I do (in the name) of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, His Excellency the palatine, and Lords Proprietors of this Province of North Carolina, and freeman of the same and in my own behalf, protest against all you have done or shall do against me or to my prejudice and against anything acted or done under my administration, and because Col. Thomas Cary both publickly threatened and avowed sureptitiously and without form of law to take away my life, and the lives of others that have in pursuance of their duty been aiding and assisting to me in maintaining the Queen's peace in this Government, I do therefore in behalf of myself and them and every of them, appeal to our Sovereign Lady the Queen in Her Courts at Westminster; and do offer myself as the Queen's prisoner, to be sent in chains if the matter so require, to the Governor Generall of Carolina, and thence to Her Majesty's Courts at Westminster: Provided, that the said Col. Cary and Mr John Porter, who have been the chief instruments of these unhappy troubles, will be obliged with good security in the sum of two thousand pounds personally there to appear and prosecute me.

Dated the day and year above said.  
 To the Gentlemen met and pretending  
 themselves to be the House of Burgesses

Wm GLOVER

This protest was returned to President Glover by same member of the Assembly to whom he delivered it, with the pretended Assembly's answer, that they would not concern themselves in that matter.

Now as for the Counties qualifying themselves, Col. Cary, Mr,

Porter, and Mr. Foster took the Oaths according to Law. But the Quakers would shew themselves singular coming to the table in the Council with their hats on, laid their hand on the book and repeating the words of the Oath, except the word swear, which they would not pronounce but word Declare instead thereof, and then having had their explanation of the sense and meaning in which they took it entered underneath they signed it, without kissing the book, and declaring they would allow that sense and explanation of theirs and no other.

## LETTER NO. 3

A COPY OF A LETTER TO M<sup>r</sup> CHENIN: AND M<sup>r</sup> BOYDS

VIRGINIA April 16, 1710

GENTLEMEN

I should have been glad to have had the happiness of enjoying your good Company with the President and M<sup>r</sup> Knights, and still hope (when your leisure permits) you will come and spend a day or two with us in this Wilderness. I thought it my duty to communicate to you what news I lately had in a letter from Mr Frederick Jones. He writes to me that Mr. Lawson, having been lately at his house, informed him that the Lords Proprietors are desirous of having Col Cary called to a strict account for their dues: and that also (after their ambiguous manner) . . . . .

. . . . .  
What news you have from M<sup>r</sup> Gale or any otherwise of moment, please to acquaint me by the bearer, and of the proceedings of this last (wise) Council at Perquimens, if they had any. And if any news of any moment comes to me, you may be sure to have them from him who really is

Gentlemen your L S

T. P.

Mr Chevin

Having a few skins to send out by the first opportunity, would intreat the favour of your advise whether Mr Porter in carrying out his skins hath not opened their eyes as to the illegality of that Assembly, and whether may not send out some without paying their unreasonable and illegal duty. Also, the above from M<sup>r</sup> Jones have not communicated to any person but yourselves, wherefore would intreat your secrecy therein.

T. P.



## LETTER NO. 4

April, 1710

A Copy of a Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Gordon Minister at Chowan, inclosed in M<sup>r</sup> Glover's Letter, to be sealed and delivered to him at ----- by him

SIR

Since you went from us, confusion and disorder have proceeded in their full course, of which President G(lover) can give you a full account, and I doubt not the justness of the cause. The zeal you have for religion, and the charity you have for the souls of the people of North Carolina, who are now (covered) with the dark clouds of Quakerism, envy and ignorance, will prompt you to use your utmost endeavor to be helpful, what you can, to dispel the aforesaid clouds, that again we may enjoy the sunshine of religion justice and order. With you----- I should then be highly pleased to enjoy the ----- of your company here, and you may assure ----- to command all that lies in my power. I would entreat the favour of you to acquaint me by all of the proceedings in that affair, with ----- infinitely oblige

Yr

T. P.

SIR

Please to direct your letters for me to be left at M<sup>r</sup> Mingo English's, at Queen's Creek, near York River M<sup>r</sup> James Wallace, Minister at Kroaton (?) or Capt Richard Exam's (?) near Nansmond river.

Sir, Yr

T. P.

## LETTER NO. 5

COPY OF A LETTER TO M<sup>r</sup> JOHN LAWSON, BY M<sup>r</sup> MAULE, TO BE LEFT FOR HIM AT PRESIDENT GLOVER'S

M<sup>r</sup> Lawson

May 27th 1710

Almost ever since you left America I have been removed to Virginia, not being willing to live under a government I knew was altogether illegal, and to avoid occasion of difference; and I was glad to understand of your and Major Gale's arrival from England, hoping that you may have brought some order's, or at the least news of the settling of the Government. I doubt not you knew that upon M<sup>r</sup> Porter arrival from England, with the

instruments of writing from the Lords Proprietors superceeding Col. Cary, and giving all the power of Administration of the government to the President, that I was not present nor at the choosing M<sup>r</sup> Glover President, neither at any other of their meetings, until your meeting at my house in may, after being about half a year having been sickly all that time, at which meeting at my house, I, being of opinion that Col. Cary had hard measure in seising his brigantine, endeavoured all I could to bring all matter to agreement, which I effected at that time; when M<sup>r</sup> Glover was allowed of and confirmed President by Col. Cary, M<sup>r</sup> Porter, and all the Council and proclamations issued out to command the obedience of all the people to (the)then established government, So that the consideration of the commission from the Lords Proprietors to the President, their being no other President they could direct to, neither they knowing of any other, and the first chosen by all the Deputys in the government but myself, and then the last confirmation by all the council, with the proclamation aforementioned, fully satisfied me of President Glover's right to the Presidentship. So that I was obliged by the oath of fidelity to the Lords Proprietors to obey President Glover's lawful orders, and maintain the Lords Proprietors Government so far as lay in my power; and acted nothing but by the Presidents order. And I am conscious to myself that I acted for no particular favour on any account from Col. Cary, if he had continued in the government, as from President Glover. But it was altogether on account of what I was obliged to do. And having acted so, I did not think it necessary to trouble the Lords Proprietors with letters from me who acted only under another as a great many others in the government did. Notwithstanding all which precautions it seems some malicious persons, out of particular hatred they had to me, or rather to clear themselves of what they were guilty of, have endeavoured falsily to inform the Lords Proprietors that I was a cause of the late troubles.

Wherefore, Sir, not doubting, but you have some knowledge not only of what M<sup>r</sup> Porter, M<sup>r</sup> Moseley, and that party have writ to the Lords Proprietors, but also of the Lords Proprietors sentiments, and orders to their Governor, or Deputy Governor, thereanent, would earnestly intreat the favour of you to acquaint me with the whole matter, (if you be not obliged no ways to the contrary) and assure yourself, if you think it necessary, it shall be locked up in my breast, not to be divulged untill you please, and also your kindness in it shall be ingraven in my mind in indelible characters.

Also, Sir, I have another favour to beg of you. There being a young gentleman (the bearer hereof) one M<sup>r</sup> Wm Maule on whom fortune hath frowned, having been twice taken by the French and lost very considerably, and being, I believe, very capable of surveying, (if you have not deputed any other in Albemarle county or at least in Chowan precinct) you will find him (if it lie within your conveniency to depute him) capable, diligent, and faithful, and it will be a very great obligation to

Yr St Sr

T. P.

Postscript Sir If you have not an opportunity to send me an answer by Mr Maule, (who, may be, will not have the opportunity of seeing you) send it to Mr. David Henderson's, or to Robert West's at Choan, where I doubt not of having it safe.

## LETTER NO. 6

A COPY OF A LETTER SENT BY MR MAULE FOR ED HYDE ESQ<sup>U</sup> DEPUTY GOVERNOR,  
NEWLY COME OUT OF ENGLAND.

Hond Sir

BLACKWATER August 29th 1710

I humbly congratulate your safe arrival For having removed myself from North Carolina here in the borders of Virginia, because I would not live under a government I knew was altogether illegal, I have therefore earnestly wished for your Honour's arrival, ever since I knew you were designed here, that the government being settled I might remove myself to my habitation, not doubting (by the great and good character you have) that you will settle our religion, lands, and liberties on such sure foundations, that they may never more be in danger to be insulted and trodden down by Quakers, Atheist and Deists, and other evil disposed persons, and healing all our differences, distractions and disorders, encouraging trade, and protecting the people in all their just rights and privileges, you may be happy in performing so great and good a work, and the people happy under so good a Governor. The doubt of the certainty of your Honor's being arrived, and the uncertainty to meet you hath hindered me from waiting on you at this time, but (God willing) intend to wait on you as soon as you arrive in North Carolina.

Hond sir John Ardeon! Esq<sup>r</sup> when last with me was thinking it would be more convenient to transports your goods this way by Choan river than by Curetucke, because of the shoals by the way of Curetucke. Wherefore if your Honor thinks convenient to transport them by Choan river, I have a small sloop at your service. I shall intreat your answer by the bearer, and if any way I can be searviceable to your Honor, you shall need but to command

Your Honor's M: H, and O: St

T. P.

## LETTER NO. 19

Upon assuming the duties of war governor, Thomas Pollock wrote the Lords Proprietors:

May it please your Lordships

September 20, 1713

Amongst the many and great judgements it hath pleased God to inflict on the poor people of the north part of your Province of Carolina, the death of Governor Hyde is none of the least. For thereby we have not only lost the great interest we had with your Lordships, but also with the neighboring Governments; and albeit he and the Council have used their utmost endeavours to unite and reconcile all differences among the people, in order to which (according to the purport of your Lordships' instructions to him) have issued out a proclamation, pardening any that had any hand in the late rebellious practices, excepting only Col Thomas Cary, M<sup>r</sup> John Porter Sen<sup>r</sup>, Edmond Porter, Emanuel Low, M<sup>r</sup> Roach, and two or three more here, who have been chief instruments in stirring up the people. Yet notwithstanding, it hath not produced the desired effects, the people still continuing stubborn & disobedient; some few evil disposed persons still blowing up the coals of dissention amongst them, to the great hindrance of carrying on the wars against the Indian Enemies.

The real desire to serve his Majesty, your Lordships, and the poor people here, with the impertunity of the council here, have forced me to accept the administration at this time when the country seems to labor under insuperable difficulties, when in more peacible times I have refused it. And I assure your Lordships, that I will faithfully and truly serve you to the utmost of my power and knowledge, until you are pleased to appoint some other. In the mean time think it my duty, as briefly as I can, to lay before you the true state of the country.

The people of this country are greatly impoverished: them at News and Pamptico having most of their houses and household goods burnt, their stocks of Cattle, hogs horses, &c, killed, and carried away and their plantations ruined by the Indians: they forced to secure themselves in forts; as we likewise on the south southwest shore of Chowan, where I live, are forced to do, Then, we in Albemarle County are forced to supply those in News and Pamptico with grain, and the forces we send from hence, likewise the Ashley River Indians; whereby our trade is ruined, their being no grain nor little or no pork this two or three years to send out; so that what few vessels comes in can have little or nothing. unless a little pitch or tar: so that many have not wherewith to pay their debts, and but few that can supply themselves with clothing, necessary for their families. Then the public is several thousand pounds in debt for mens wages employed in the country's service, ammunition, provisions, vessel's hire, agents, and messenger's charge to our neighbouring governments, and several other things too tedious to trouble your Lordship with.

The Indian war continuing still, disention and disobedience as much as ever amongst the people, which with the want of ready pay to pay off the people that have been out in the countrys service, is the greatest mischief of all: so that albeit in our last Assembly we had an act made, that every person that would not go out in the country's service against the Indians should forfeit and pay five pounds towards defraying the charges of the war: Notwithstanding which act few or none would go out; albeit

Governor Hyde was just beginning to put the Law in execution, when he died there being now but 130 or 140 men in all at News with Col Mitchell and Col McKey, who are commander for the expedition against the Indians, too few in number to conquer the Tuscaroras; only in hopes of getting some men from this county, and also are in Expectation, (by letters from Governor Craven and our agent) of Indians from South Carolina to assist us. There has been likewise some Tuskarora Indians with the Governor of Virginia and pretend a great willingness to a peace, In order to which, they are to be with him against the 28th of this Instant September, where we send in likewise two agents Mr Tobias Knight, and Major Christopher Gale; not with any expectation of the Governor of Virginia making a peace for us for that would be dishonourable to your Lordships, and a means to render us contemptible to the Indians, but to see what articles they propose. But I believe this pretending to peace is only for delaying of time, until they get their corn gathered in their forts, and until they see if they can have any help from the five nations, Confederate nations of Indians, commonly called Senecas. Your Lordships may see by this brief relation, what inextricable difficulties we are plunged into; our enemies strong, and numerous, well provided with armes and ammunition; our people poor, dispirited, undisciplined, timorous, divided, and generally disobedient, and not only a great want of armes and ammunition----- but likewise the poor men who have been out in the service of the Country for want of their pay are in want of Clothing, so that they are not well able to hold out in the woods in the cold weather after the Indians. And if the Government of South Carolina had not assisted us, with their Indian in probability News and pamptico had been deserted, and I believe a great deal more of the Country by this time. And in all probability, if Col Barnwell had done his part, albeit the most part of his Indians had left him, the war had been ended by this time. For Col. Mitchell a Swiss Gentleman who came in with Baron Graffenried, having continued to draw the trenches within eleven yards of their fort, being only palisades and had raised a battery very near, and had planted two great guns, had got great quantities of lightwood and combustible faggots to fill all up between the end of the trenches and the palisades so that the Indians within the forts (who were in a manner of that had any hand in the massacre) would have surrendered on any terms; yet he made a sham peace with them, and let them all go, which he and they both broke in a very few days after. The taking of this fort (where the most of our Enemy Indians were) would have discouraged the rest so much that they would have either complied on our terms, or left the country, and would have encouraged our people much in taking so many slaves. And albeit Col Barnwells Indians killed 40 or 50 Cores, Bare River, River Neuse and Matamusket Indian men, and took near upon 200 of their women and Children, yet in all the time he was here, not above 30 Tuskarora Indians were killed, that we can hear of: the others being small nations not able of themselves to hurt us. All these things I doubt not Governor Hyde hath given you a large account before this time. I hope your Lordships will consider our distressed condition, being greatly in want of armes and ammunition.

I hope the consideration of the great extremity we are brought to, that we are Christians, Her Majesty's subjects, and your Lordships' tenants, the venturing of our lives and spending our Estates for the preservation of your Lordships' land, will move your Lordships to assist us by such ways and means as your Lordships shall think fit: especially with armes and ammunition, or 20 (Big-guns) and round shot answerable, 200 small, good, with fixed firelocks, ---- ---- ---- ----- ---- or 000 gun flints, which I hope sufficient to carry on and finish the war, and may be a publick magazine to be kept always ready for the defence of the country. Also think it my duty to inform your Lordships, that there is several tracts of land, that people have taken up and surveyed, upon pretence of purchase, some three four and five years since, and some longer, without either settling or (paying for) the same: which hath been a great hindrance to the settling of the (people); and seems to me a great damage to your Lordships, they paying no rents for the same, and we having had several disputes in Council, but could not determine any thing therein, wherefore would earnestly desire your Lordships' instructions thereanent; and whereas your Lordships seem to incline that our laws shall hold in force only two years, I shall lay before you the great inconveniences thereof. First several beneficial laws would (fail) which we could never be able to revive again, as the vestry act, which empowers the vestry to build and keep in repair Churches and Chapels, and to raise stipend for the ministers of the Church of England; which act was great struggling obtained when the (Quaker?) party were not so numerous as they are now; and albeit they are not permitted to sit themselves in the assembly, yet, being the most numerous, they choose such members as are guided and directed by them, and (one) commonly worse than they themselves would be. Then it would give a great opportunity to every Governor or President, every two years to impose on the people by his refusing to give his consent to the passing of the laws, unless his demands were allowed, which hath been (to my knowledge) very prejudicial to the Country, and by it sometimes we have been without any laws at all of our own in force. I leave it to your Lordships' consideration, if it would not be as well to have the body of our laws sent to your Lordships to conform, or disallow, or suspend, which of them you shall think convenient.

I shall add no more, but that peace and prosperity of this year Lordships' country shall be the chief endeavour of him who is

(Signed by Thomas Pollock)

LETTER NO. 18

A TRUE COPY OF A LETTER TO MY LORD CARTERET, DATED SEPT 20th 1712

May it please your Lordship

Having been your Fathers and your Deputy, here about these twenty years last past, which your Lordship hath favourably confirmed, think it therefore my Duty to inform you of all matter of moment relating to the government here. The death of Governor Hyde hath been of fatal consequence to this government, who hath laboured under abundance of difficulty since his arrival here, by the divisions and differences amongst the inhabitants here, and the Indian war, all which I believe I may truly (declare) hath been chiefly occasioned by ----- and some few evil-disposed persons, with the whole body of the Quakers (who) joined them, and

.....

## LETTER NO. 12

Sept 9th 1712

Gentlemen

After mine to you of yesterday's we had the great misfortune to lose our Governor, who deceased yesterday about 12 of the Clock of a violent fever, had held him seven days; and hath left us in a most deplorable condition: a barbarous enemy to deal with; a scarcity of provisions, being scarce able to supply our garrisons and what small forces have out; and, the worst of all, a divided ungovernable people. But hope God in his good time will deliver us from all these afflictions and difficulties-----

## LETTER NO. 20

SENT BY LIEUTENANT WOODHOUSE AND THOMAS JOHNSON

October 3 day 1712

Gentlemen Friends and Neighbours,

I have received and with grief of heart considered your address to the Council, and shall lay it before them as soon as I can get them together, and in the meantime shall use my uttermost endeavours in redressing your wants of men, provisions, and ammunition. Captain Norton as I was informed by M<sup>r</sup> Knight, sailed last Saturday from pasquotanke in Major Reed's sloop with 30 or 40 men, provisions, and two Barrels powder and ten Barrels I think of shot. M<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Tull and George Tomson, who were here last night, informed that last Sunday they left Major Cole in a periago and a shallop, with provisions with him at Croaton. I have sent now this morning by M<sup>r</sup> Tull and M<sup>r</sup> Tomson a barrel of powder and ten new guns, they are likewise impowered to take up and carry back all deserters they can meet with or apprehend. I have likewise appointed M<sup>r</sup> Furnifold

Green, Commissary to impress and supply the army with anything that is to be had in Bath County: and because our corn here will not keep to be carried round to the army, yet the corn there in Bath county, in some places may, and they may be repaid from here, as soon as conveniently can be. As for meat, I have writ to M<sup>r</sup> Jordan, and have his answer, that he hath a Shallop almost ready to sail for the army, with beef, and that all the people in general are very willing to assist the army what they can. You have two proclamations sent you, both of the same tenor, confirming all officers both civil and military. The first was sent by Capt<sup>n</sup> Cleeves about four days after the Governor funeral: the other by Capt<sup>n</sup> Stone.

Gentlemen and Friends, our all lies now at stake, our country, our wives, our children, our estates, and all that is dear to us. Let us therefore bear with patience some hardships; let strive against all difficulties. . . . .

LETTER NO. 32

TO GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD

In a letter of April 20th, 1713, Col. Pollock writes along a new line. He begins by saying:

The Matamaskits, having I believe some of the Cores and Cattecknee Indians joined in with them, being in number of about 50, have fallen on the inhabitants of Alligator River and have killed and taken sixteen or twenty, the rest having escaped. Col Moor had sent orders to have 100 of his Indians to come and clear the woods about Matamoskit, but believe they are not yet come and I have sent out orders to the adjoining military officers to raise what men they can and march after these Indians with all expedition: but fear it may for no purpose, they having advantage of such dismall swamps to fly into, and unless our auxiliary Indians can drive them out of these swamps I can think of no better way than of settling a garrison somewhere near their chiefest range, who may hinder their making of corn and make some discovery where they keep their wives and children, which may be a means to make them remove. Our own divisions (chiefly occasioned by the Quakers and some few other evil-disposed persons) hath been the cause of all our troubles, for the Indians being informed by some of the traders that the people who lived here were only a few vagabond persons that had runaway out of other governments and had settled here of their own head, without any authority, so that if they cut them off there would be none to help them; this, with the seeing our own differences rise to such a height that we (consisting of two counties) were in arms each against the other, encouraged them to fall upon the country (county) of Bath, not expecting they would have any assistance in this county or any other of the English Plantations. This is the chief cause that moved the Indians to rise up against us, so far as I understand. And as the Quakers



with their adherents have been a great occasion to the rise of the warr, so they with two or three persons more (not in such post of profit and trust in the Government as they desired) have been the chief cause that the warr has not been carried on with that vigor it ought, by their disobedience to the Government encouraging others to disobey, and in several precincts they being the most numerous in the elections fields chose such members of assembly as opposed chiefly what was necessary for carrying on the warr so that the generality of the people, seeing that the Quakers for their disobedience and opposition to the Government rise actually in arms and had attacked the Government and Councill, had escaped without any manner of punishment, were emboldened to do the like and seemed to want only one to head them to carry on another insurrection. As for ability in carrying on the warr it is so little that we must, if possibly we can upon honorable terms, conclude peace, the country being more in debt than I doubt they be able to pay in ten or twelve years, our publick bills not possible, and little or no provision to be rayseed in the Government to maintain any forces out against the enemy. At the breaking up of our Assembly shall give Your Honour an account of what conclusions we come to with Tom Blunt, and all other material passages here, and intend then to send them a full representation of your great and hearty endeavor for the good of this poor people, and the safety of their country, and hope when you write home concerning this Government you will do me the justice to represent that I have not been neglected in doing what I possibly could for the safety of this place.

## LETTER NO. 38

Letter to Sir Robt. Pollock (excerpt)

Apr. 3rd, 1717, Sent by Capt. Henderson's Kinsman

In this letter Thos. Pollock asks for information about some of his relatives in Scotland as he has heard of many of them being dead. He had left his business affairs in the hands of his brother, but after his death he had given his power of Attorney to Robt. Hamilton. Apparently Hamilton had sold six or seven hundred pounds (value) of Pollock's property with no accounting to Pollock. Pollock questions Hamilton's integrity asking this friend to see about these matters. He states some of the troubles in the new country and says he would like to return to his native land: quote "I have had intentions these many years past of my returning once more to my native country, but several matters unexpectedly falling out have hindered me: especially some differences here among the peoples of the country, and a long civil and expensive Indian War, and now being old, and not able to endure the fatigues of such a long passage, and being (Praised be to God) indifferent well settled here and having three hopeful sons, Cullen, George, and Thomas, doubt I shall not have the happiness of seeing any more my beloved native country."

## LETTER NO. 42

CHOWAN July 15<sup>th</sup> 1720

Sir

Yours of June 22<sup>d</sup> is now before me: and I believe it will be very convenient to have the cows branded as you advise lest there should be some controversy about them: as for the sale of Lots in town; I had a draught of the town of Mr Lawson's drawing, with most of the river lots laid out, with the account which of them were taken up and since you went from here have been at some pains in looking for it, but can not yet find it. Wherefore have enclosed a power of attorney to sell and dispose of lots, each of half an acre of land, at 20 shillings per lot; to run the same length back from the river as those already laid out, that there may be no encroachment on the streets, and straight with the river lines of the other lots; and none to be taken up between the lots already taken up and the dwelling house where the Doctor dwells, but on the other side of the lots taken up: and provided that if any person, having a lot, deceased without any heirs, or disposing of it in his life time by will, sale, gift or any other ways that then it shall fall come and revert to me, my heirs, or assigns: and also provided, that if they do not build or erect or cause to be builded or erected on each lot of half an acre aforesaid one habitable dwelling house not less than fifteen foot square, within eighteen months of the date of the conveyance; that they shall forfeit their lot, and that it may be free for me, my heirs and assigns to let any other person have it.

Also I am willing that each person that hath a lot may have sufficient estovers for building and fire wood upon any part of the land, until I lay out one hundred acres for a common, which I intend to do as soon as there is twenty lots settled.

Also I am very willing to allow one acre of ground to be laid out for a church or Chapel, and court house in such convenient place as you an the people shall think most convenient, not encroaching upon no street.

Also I shall be willing that any person, that settles a lot within eighteen months from the date hereof, shall have liberty to clear plant and tend three acres of woodland ground for five years next ensuing with this condition, that they shall not clear within a quarter of a mile of the dwelling where the Doctor now lives; and each person that clears to clear in one place adjoining one upon another, and that each shall leave it at the end of five years under good sufficient fence. As for Doctor Thomas; to the best of my memory Col. Brice informed me he was to take care of what orchard was there, and other things, and to leave it under good fence, and the house under good repair, and if he had taken any care to keep it in repair it could not have been in the condition you writ. Howsoever please to give me an account by your next, of the length breadth, and height, of

the house, whether one story only or two stories high, and what you think will repair it and make it a good house; and I shall expect something of the Doctor towards the reparation, but he shall find I shall not be out of reason with him; otherwise, he must expect to be subpoenaed to chancery to answer it, and seeing he is intended to remove, I believe it would do well, if you could let it to some honest man. M<sup>r</sup> Metcalf hath writ to me thereanent; he is willing to take it but being altogether a stranger to me, I leave it to you. I would let them that take it have a third part of the increase of cattle, to be shared at the end of the lease, being five years, and one half of the increase of the hogs to be shared when fitting to kill once in two years. And if you do let it, I would willingly put 10 sows and pigs and a boar, which if there come so much into your hands of mine, please to purchase; if not please to charge a not on me, and I will satisfy it. And if you meet with any honest man to let let the town to you may take the six pound that M<sup>r</sup> Graves owes in stock for them, either in Cows and Calves, or sows and pigs, as also 57 shillings which your father owes me for nineteen quarts of rum your father had of mine from Henry Tyfles in the war times.

As for the table and cupboards, you may make use of them. I believe I shall not differ in the price.

APPENDIX B

ARTICLE NO. 1

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT WITH THE BAY RIVER INDIANS

(Original in the Court House at Edenton, N. C.)

Pamptico, the 23rd 7ber, 1699

Articles of agreement made and concluded on by & between Daniel Akehurst, Caleb Calloway, Thomas Blount & Henry Slade of on parte in behalf of the Government of North Carolina & Sothel King of the Bear River Indians with his Great Men on behalf of the sd Nation of the other Barte as foloweth:

1ly. The Indians shall at all times if they are accused by any Englishmen or Judiciary of murdering any of the King's Subjects they shall send the said Indians soe accused into the English Government or to some Officer to answer the Accusation.

2ly. If any Shipp or Vessel shall be cast away on any shore & any of the men be found that have effects in the load, they shall relieve them with provisions & conduct them to sum English plantation for which they shall have a match coat reward for each man soe conducted & what goods they find on the Seashore they will deliver to the English government & they shall allow them reasonable salvage for ye same.

3rdly. As to the goods they can take any that are ruin, for all they shall bring into the English as alleged \*\*\* \*\*\*, or vessel in which they are \* \*\*\* \*\*\*\* shall have a match coat for each man \*\*\* \*\*.

4thly. The Indians shall at all times assist the English in all trouble with all Indians as shall ofer, are not to fight against the English or any Indians who fight with them.

5thly. The sd King or sum of his great men shall yearly & during year make their appearance at the Genirall Corte to be holden in July & then & their pay to pair of Skins as a tribute to the English Government.

King Sothell,  
Signum.

Matthews,  
Signum.

Edmund Welly, Capt. Gibbs, Lewis Vandermulen,  
Signum. Signum. Signum.

Geo. Fisher,  
Signum.

## ARTICLE NO. 2

LETTER FROM JOHN LAWSON TO GOV. WALKER, RELATING TO THE BAY RIVER INDIANS

(From Records of Albemarle County at Edenton, N. C.)

Pampticough, June ye 23rd, 1701

Hon. Sir:

"Thursday last I was with ye Bay River Indians & acquainted them with ye contents of ye Honbl. Warrt given in by Capt. Daws. Their Kings Southwell & During with their great men Mett & Sent for me to Southwell's Cabin before I mentioned anything of my Message to them: They produced a paper containing five articles concluded from them to ye English & signed by Mr. Akehurst, Mr. Calloway, Capt. Blount & Mr. Slade. I told ym ye Governor demanded 4 Indian men & a boy who had offered Severall Indignities to some English Gentlemen in ye Sand banks as for cocking a gun & setting it to Mr. Amey's breast; they utterly denied; their story to me runs thus: 4 Indian men and one boy mett with some English in a Canoe who belonged to a Vessel yt was castaway & stuck aground as they terme it, ye English asked way to Roanoke ye Indians profered their service to bring ym to ye English there, ye Gentlemen gave them 3 Clay potts full of Rum, (Fisher one of ye Indians said he told ye English if they made ye Indians drunk they would be rude, ye Indians gave ye English Venizen & 20 \* \* \* Drums one of ye Indians got drunk, hearing ym talk of Ashley River made ym afraid of being taken thither, they fled & let fall 3 guns of ye English into ye water in this escape, one of ym was a great gun, all which since they have left with one Anthony the English took forcibly from them 4 rawe Dear Skins, one Otter, one hairy match coat & 4 bushels of corn; they were extraordinary sivil to me although most of ym Drunk; they say the have done no harm to ye English & hope they may not suffer ye English displeasure for a thing they have not acted or Intended: They would make me no positive answer as to delivering up ye Indians but always (told me) they might not \* \* \* any breach of their articles from ye articles. I have no more at present but remain Sr yr Honr.

Most humble, Most Obedient & Most Devoted Svt.,  
JOHN LAWSON

## ARTICLE NO. 3

ITEMS RELATING TO BATH COUNTY

(Originals in Court House at Edenton, N. C.)

"Court held At the house of Robert Molyne in Pamplico Nov. 23d,

1704. Present Will Barrow, Esq., Edmund Pirie, Esq., Lyoniel Reading, Esz., and James, Leigh, Esq.

"Nicholas Dawe Sayes he have paid The Indians for all his land according to contract. Char. Smith sayes he have pd The Indians for his land and have receipts for the same. King Charles told the sd Smith, that Sheriff and Indian would nock him in ye head & kill him, keep his gun allways Ready, the reason was, because he had told Robert Molyne that he had killed two of his hoggs, likewise he found three of his own hoggs kill'd In a swamp nere to the Towne of his work."

John Easter says that two Indians came into his field and seet there hogg on his hoggs & killed one, because he demanded the reason, beate him and had he not been Resqud they had Killd him."

Henry Hoborn says he owes the Indians for his land and would pay them in Reason, but they will not take less than 7 pounds 13 shillings and 6 pence and noe less."

William Lewis says Patrick an Indian designs to kill the Sheriff whenever he sees him in the woods."

The people are all willing to pay the Indians for the lands, but they demand such great prices, that they cannot buy them.

SAMUEL NORTON (Presumably Clerk)

#### ARTICLE NO. 4

#### ITEMS RELATING TO THE INDIAN TROUBLES OUT OF WHICH CAME THE INDIAN WAR OF 1711-12

(Originals in Court House at Edenton, N. C.)

Honourable G'r, October ye 20th, 1704.

These comes to acquaint your honour about the bare river Indians, that come on Thursday last to my house. There was about sixteen; with King Lowther all with their guns; I was at worke in the woods and one Christopher Gold; I made what haste I could, but they ware too quick for me; for my wife and children had left the house, they took away several things that we miss, they have taken all Amunition; King Lowther struck me with a bow. I told him I would tell yr honour off it, he said you might \*\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\* They stood with there guns cocked so yt I cold not gett into my house tell they had Done, what they pleased; I believe itt is through the Instigation of one John Eldredge; for he told the Indians when I brough a letter to your honour from Mr. Lawson; that it was cut

them of; which made them lay wait for me at Sedar Island, as they told me then. They called \*\*\* \*\* \* \*\*\*\*\* & said they would burne my house & when it was Light Moon the would gether my corne & ye Englishmans corne; Englishmans corne' Eldredge told them further yt the Englishmen would not sell them no ammunition because they would cut them of. So we humbly crave that your honour would Take some Corse or other with them or else here will be no living. So no more to trouble yr honour with but yr humble Srvt to Command."

WILLIAM POWELL

"And further John Fulford; has to acquaint yr honour: that they were asleep att the Inlett: in the Night: There where three in Company: They went there a fishing at Drum Inlett: & there came two Indians as they found nex morning by there Track: on the Sand: they took with them one Matt: Two fishing lines: & one blanckett & one broad axe: & one stuff West: & two pr of Linned Drawes:

## ARTICLE 6

July 15, 1701

AN ORDER FOR MERCHANDISE SENT COL. THOS. POLLOCK, IN 1701

"Curnell Pollock. July ye 15th, 1701. My kind love and favors presented unto you! These are to Aquint you that I would desier you to doe me the kindness as to sende me tow gallons of Rumm and three gallons of Molasses and one pare of shoos fore my selfe let them bee the tenes and one pare of shooses fore my wife and the pare of pumps that the shoo markers promised to make fore me, and one halfe Round fille that the bearer will chuse and pray send me A thousand of six penny nealls iff you have any iff not pray send mee a thousand of Eight penny nealls and tow pounds of shugger, pray be soe kinde as to send them by the bearers and in soe doing you will obleage your friend. Yours to Command, THOMAS EVANS.

I have sent you one hide itt is but small but I hopes I shall have fore forr you with in this while."



## APPENDIX C

### ARTICLE 1

#### TOM BLUNT, KING OF THE TUSCARORAS..\*

("That Tom Blunt is King and Chief over a considerable number of Indians, full of sense and much inclined towards the English Nation. He contributed much towards a good peace, and even when the question was only about me, he spoke much in my favor." De Graffenried's Manuscript. Original at Yverdon, Switzerland).

In our early annals certain Indian men, including Sequoyah, Nimrod Jarrett Smith, John Ross, Tsali, and Junaluska are familiar as representing the Cherokee race in the western section. Among the Catawbas, the largest tribe east of the Cherokees, King Hagler and Peter Harris are known to many, while Tom Blunt is not even a name to many Carolinians.

Of his birth and early life I can find nothing. Happening upon his name in the COLONIAL RECORDS OF NORTH CAROLINA, I turned to the index and found more than sixty references to this native American who so faithfully served the white settlers after the Tuscarora uprisings, and continued to live among them after most of his people had fled to New York State.

When the colonists from Europe came to Carolina the territory was occupied by many tribes of Indians. This state was the border line between the northern and southern groups. Among the better known tribes were the Catawbas, the Tuscaroras and the Cherokees. Frequent fighting among each other and the recurrence of epidemics prevented any large increase in numbers.

Previous to 1711 there were two distinct settlements of Colonists, one around Alnemarle Sound numbering fewer than 2,000 persons. The second settlement was between and adjoining the Tar and Neuse rivers, the 1200 people here being Swiss, German and French immigrants. The Indians lived in the forests of the section while the white families occupied clearings.

Generally speaking there was harmony between them, though the Indians were being crowded towards the west, relentlessly, but effectually. As the white man cleared the forests, the wild life on which the Indians depended largely for food, migrated and retreat was necessary.

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\*(Editor's Note: The author's name is omitted, by request)

Suspicion may have been planted by Cary, or by his subordinate, Roach, after the Cary Rebellion. Of course the expansion of the white settlements and the steady loss of lands, mentioned, was accompanied by treatment which we have no reason to believe was better at that time than later. The friendly relations were finally broken and there was general unrest among the tribes.

There were around twenty collected groups of Indians, who could muster a fighting force of about 1800, while among the white men there were only about a thousand able to bear arms.

The Tuscaroras were the strongest of the Indian groups, and occupied the section of what is the central part of the eastern half of North Carolina. They were fierce and warlike, and, naturally, led the movement for the slaughter of the intruders. This was planned to take place in the most thickly settled parts of the Province, and the date decided upon for the outbreak was the 23rd of September, 1711.

A few days previous, Baron de Graffenried and John Lawson went up the Neuse river, intending to spend a night at an Indian village. They were captured and tried by a council on the charge that Lawson had sold their lands. He and the servant accompanying them were executed. De Graffenried was kept a prisoner for five weeks, and released.

On September 21st, the Tuscaroras entered the white settlement, and mingled in a friendly way with their victims. Should any Englishman feel too hardly towards them for this callous and deceitful behaviour, he can remind himself that only nineteen years before this date occurred the Massacre of Glencoe, Scotland. In that instance, 120 soldiers, led by Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, went into the valley, asking of the Chief, a relative of his, for "bed and bite and sup for a week or two," so that he could spy out the passes where escape might be possible, for eleven days they mingled among the people, who had they been warned could have mustered only fifty fighting men. All this time the Captain had on his person the commission from King William, iii, to "extirpate" the clan, and not bother to take any prisoners.

At daybreak on September 22, began the massacre, by the Indians, bitter and stubborn. Getting drunk on whiskey which they found further infuriated the red men, and a three-days' carnival followed. One hundred and thirty white men were murdered on the Roanoke river, and sixty, nearer New Bern. Many homes were burned and the smaller settlements were destroyed.

South Carolina sent a thousand men under Colonel Barnwell to the relief of their neighbors. Three hundred and sixty of these were friendly Indians. These forces, with the local men, advanced upon a fort since called Barnwell, on the Neuse river, twenty miles above New Bern. The war was cruel on both sides. Every Indian captured, together with the women and children was killed or enslaved. This right was not questioned, and the chance to capture slaves was a part of the inducement offered the

South Carolina Indians to come to the aid of the State against the Tuscaroras. Even the Acting Governor bought eight Indian captives at \$50.00 each, and shipped them to the East Indies for sale. Eighty un-baptized infants were reported among the whites killed in the Massacre.

In an attack on the Indians on January 28, 1712, 300 were killed and the remainder allowed to surrender. Yellow fever decimated the survivors. Even Governor Hyde, a close relative of Queen Anne, died of yellow fever, on September 8th, of the same year.

On February 24th, 1712, Governor Pollock mentioned a letter brought from Albany, New York, by one Tom Blunt. This document allayed his fears about the Senecas joining the North Carolina group. Of Blunt, he wrote:

"Tom Blount, the chief man of one of the Tuscaroroe forts which is next to us, who hath pretended all along that he was not concerned with the other Tuscaroroos against the English, and with whom we have had no hostility all this time, came in to me with letters # # # # which he says four of his Indians have brought him from thence, (Albany.)"

Later he wrote: "I have great reason to believe that he is real and hope we shall find him so." On November 25th, he arranged with Blunt and a part of his tribe, a treaty in which he and five lower chiefs pledged their aid to the whites. A part of this agreement was to capture Hancock, the chief of the whole Tuscarora tribe, if possible, and bring him a prisoner, together with the scalps of twenty of the ring-leaders who had taken part in the massacre. From Blunt's own village no hostages were demanded, and he hoped to persuade four other towns to become neutral.

He also entered into a treaty with the Governor of Virginia, which made his a dangerous existence. He had to claim friendship with his own people - "The enemy Indians," among whom he stood in high repute - this in order to escape death at their hands. This pretense made Governor Pollock for a time question the honor of his allegiance with the whites, and every move he made was watched. The Governor of Virginia likewise distrusted Blunt, stating that "The experience I have had of those very Indians hath shown me that they are easily persuaded to promise anything, but there is no dependence upon their performance." Later, however, the suggestion to make him king of all the loyal Indians, came from the Virginia Governor. "This proposal", he wrote: "will stir up his ambition, and no doubt oblige him to be faithful to the English for the future and it seems reasonable to believe that the Tuscaroroos will now very readily embrace such an opportunity of making their peace." All Indians who would submit to him as their ruler were to be counted as friends of the whites.

It is known that the tribes around Albany used their best persuasion to induce Blunt to settle with them. His reply to those beseechments was that he be left to himself to mind his "own concern." His wife, two children and a nephew, were captured by rebelling Indians and were redeemed by Governor Pollock.

How valuable his work proved to be, despite the suspicions of many, is shown by Governor Pollock's statement that Blunt and his men were the "background of our frontiers. # # # # If he go off with the rest we shall lie open to the insults of all of them ##### and by that means know no end of the war." Governor Pollock resented the implied action of the Virginia Indians, evidently with the approval of the Virginia government, "coming in against him." In November, 1713 Blunt brought in thirty scalps, and "He expects that he will soon clear us of these straggling parties, which, without his help, we shall never be able to do ourselves." Sick and lame he was, but his work went on. "As a particular mark of favor from this Government," he and his little tribe were given land on the north side of the Morratock River to which they were enjoined to be removed by Christmas of 1717. At least two towns were established by them. Time and again he warned Governor Pollock of straying bands of foreign Indians, and his scouting service was valuable beyond computation.

By 1722 Blunt complained to the Governor of the encroachments of the English upon the lands assigned to him, and begged that the bounds be established according to the agreement of 1719. One Luke Measel was indicted for assault upon one of Blunt's men, and for setting his dog on him, "which bit the Indian many times."

In 1723 Blunt petitioned for a fort in which to protect his people from predatory Indians from the north, who were annoying the loyal band. Six able-bodied young English went to his assistance.

By 1725 some of Blunt's men became restive under his rule, and disorderly. The State Government, recognizing "the faithfulness and fidelity of the said Blunt," issued a proclamation commanding "all the Tuscaroroos to render due obedience to him as their king, or be counted as enemies to the commonwealth."

Frequently other tribes asked to join his group.

Just when Blunt died is not known. On March 5th, 1739 the tribe asked permission to choose a king, this without any reference to their former leader, who was living in 1731, but the assumption is that he was no longer living.

Tradition says that a member of his family married into the royal line of Hawaii, and that the last sovereign of the Island was a direct descendant of Blunt. These royal traditions, however, mean little.

During the summer of 1763 a leader of the Tuscororas, who had returned to New York State fifty years before, came into the province and persuaded 130 of them to go back with him, leaving, so Captain Ashe states, only 104 of that tribe here. Robert (or Robin) Jones, Attorney-General of the Province (father of Willie Jones,) advanced money for this trek, taking as security a fifty-year lease of the lands they were leaving.

Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, I  
(April, 1935), 15-18

## ARTICLE 2

King Blunt made annual ceremonial visits to the governor each spring to render his tribute of deer skins as provided under the terms of the treaty of 1713. Dr. Brickell was a witness to one of these visits and has left the following description:

King Blunt appeared before the Governor to pay his Tribute, which he, as well as the rest, generally do once or twice every year; and this Tribute is a quantity of Deer-Skins, dressed after the Indian manner.

These three Kings (two other kings paid tribute at the same time) speak English tolerably well, and are wary and cunning in their Discourses, and you would be surpris'd to hear what subtile and witty Answers they made to each Question proposed to them, notwithstanding they are in general Illiterate People, having no Letters or Learning to improve them.

King Blunt being the most powerful of these I have mentioned, had a suit of English Broadcloth on, and a pair of Women's Stockings, of blue Colour, with white Clocks, a tolerable good Shirt, Cravat, Shoes, Hat, etc. . . each of them has his Queen, Children, Physician, Captains of War and Guards.

Scarce any of the whole Retinue, except for the War Captains, had any cloathing, only Tail-Clouts.

These clothes were worn only for the state visit. At the end of the visit they were carefully put away until the next ceremonial occasion.

## APPENDIX D

As illustrative of conditions in the Colonial period the following extracts from wills will prove interesting:

### WILLS

Lionel Reading, Bath County, July 12, 1708, probated February, 1725. Item. I give and bequeath to my well beloved Son Nathaniel Reading the said plantation after his mother's decease \* \* \* and one feather Bed with Furniture, with a hand Mill. \* \* \* The Same not to be paid out of his own Cattle wch are of a different mark from mine which by record appears. Item I give & bequeath to my Daughter Sarah \* \* \* the youngest of my horses now running in the Woods \* \* \* "

THOMAS POLLOCK of Chowan County, 1721. Plantations aggregating about 55,000 acres of land. The names of some of them as follows: "Five hundred and sixty acres in the fork of Raquis called Springfield: \* \* \* Five hundred acres of land lying on the South Side of Moratock River, called Canecarora: \* \* \* six hundred and orty acres of land \* \* \* on Bridges Creek at Weekacanaan A tract of land containing Two thousand eight hundred acres Lying on Cassayah called Rose-field: \* \* \* Nine hundred Acres of Land on Neuse River fork Called New-Bern \* \* \* Where Wilson lived at Weekacon Creek: and where John Mainard lived at Pettishore also two thousand four hundred acres called Crany Island; \* \* \* Seven Hundred and Ten acres Lying on the North side of Trent River Called Ye Halfe-Way House \* \* \* also six hundred and Forty acres on Nuse River Called Wilkerson's Point."

About eighty slaves were bequeathed the names of some of which are as follows: Scipto, Abraham, Diego, Mingo, Venus, Caesar, Carainante Will, Sharper, London, Diana, Tomboy, Pompey.

Land on Salmon Creek is given to son Thomas "Reserving free liberty to my son George to make what Pitch and Tar he sees fitting on the same with his hands for the space of three or four years after My Death." Also, " as to ye crop on ye Ground and what Pitch and Tar ye hands in ye woods makes until ye first of Aprill Next shall be Equally divided, etc."

As to importations from and business dealings with New England: "I give and bequeath to my son Cullen one hundred pound to be paid in Boston and also five thousand foot of plank which I have sent for from Boston. \* \* \* I give and bequeath unto my son George sixty pound to be paid in Boston."

"Also I give and bequeath unto my Son Thomas one Third Part of all the vessels clearances whether it be in money, bills to New England or elsewhere

also I give and Bequeath to my Son Cullen six Pound to be paid him in the first goods from New England af first cost I owing him so much

Also I give and bequeath to my Son George twenty pound to be paid him in the first goods I have come in from Boston I oweing him so much." "New England plank" is mentioned two or three times in the will.

Codicil provides for building houses for sons of testator: "And whereas \* \* \* I have Expended and Laid out for a house at Black Rock (when mr West the Carpentare is paid what he is due to him for his worke ther) for my son Thomas Twoe hundred Pound and also Ten Pound more for New England plank \* \* \* And whereas also I have been out and expended upon a house for my son Cullen on the South Shore (when mr West the Carpentare is paid for what worke he hath done ther (to wit) the covering of the house doeing the Dormant Windoes and makeing upe the Gavell end of the Sd House and when Cullen hath what Glass is in the House that will answer his purposes and what nailles he shall have occasion for said House \* \* \* In my accounting above in this codicill concerning Cullens House standing in Three Hundred Pound I made a mistake in not mentioning that mr Coke the Bricklayer wages for making Laying the Bricks in the chimneys Sellar Underpining and doeing all the other worke agreed for is part of the Three hundred Pound and is to be paid out of my personall estate. Also he is to have what lands are necessary for him for burning the Bricks or what other worke he hath occasion for to finish the worke he hath agreed for wherefore my will is that the Bricklayer aforsed be paid out of my personall estate befor Shared."

#### JOHN HECLEFIELD'S INVENTORY

1721

\* \* \* One Silver Tankard Weighing 1:1b, 1:Z 15:pw 16:gr Eight Good Spoons Two Dram Cups one little Spoon One do broke One do large melted a Seal 9Z Spw Total of the weight 1 lb 10Z 18p w10gr One Silver Hilted Sword one pair of Buckles not weighed four Diamond Rings two plain do.\* \* \*

#### FREDERICK JONES 1722

Chowan Precinct. \* \* \* "I Give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest daughter Jane My Indian Girle named Nanny My Negro Woman named Dinah, together with her three Children and all the increase that shall be borne of any of them Her Mothers Diamond wedding ring and large pair of Diamond ear rings, Gold Watch with the Chain, Seal & other things fixed thereto; her Mothers Wearing Apparell such as is already made up & such things as was designed for her but not made up. All her Mothers Child bedde Linnen with white silk Damask Gown, All the China Ware and Tea furniture with the Dressing table and furniture, Also a Dozen of my finest Damask Napkins and

Table Clothe a Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe. One pair of my finest Holland sheets with Pillow Cases; and one other pair of Holland Sheets with Pillow Cases. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Martha Four young negroes, two male and two female, not under ten years of age to be set apart from the rest of my Estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof: Also the smaller pair of Diamond Ear-rings. One Diamond Ring, her Mothers Gold Shoe Buckles thimble & Bodkin one Dozen of my finest damask Napkins and table clothe, one Dozen of fine Diaper Napkins & Table Clothe One pair of my finest holland Sheets & pillow Cases and one other pair of holland sheets with Pillow cases: Also the Sum of one hundred and fifty pounds Boston Money. Item I give devise and bequeath unto my daughter Rebeckah four young negroes two male & two female, not under ten years of age to be set apart from the rest of my estate for the use of my said daughter together with the increase thereof, One Diamond Ring. One Dozen fine Damask Napkins and Table Clothe. One Dopen fine Diaper Napkins and Table Clothe, Two pair of fine holland Sheets and pillow cases. Also the Sum of Two hundred pounds Boston Money. \* \* \* Item I give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest Son William Harding Jones, all my land on the South side of Moratoke River being part of a large tract of nine Thousand one hundred acres by me taken up. Also all my lands in Hyde precinct. \* \* \* Item I Give devise and bequeath unto my Son Frederick Jones all my Lands in Craven precinct. \* \* \* Item I Give devise and bequeath unto my Son Thomas Jones all my Lands at or near Meherrin Creek in Chowan precinct. Also those Lands belonging to me on the North Side Moratoke River. \* \* \* Item I give unto each of my Sons one Diamond Ring; Item I Give unto my three Sons to be equally divided among them all my Library of Books; Eyccept those books commonly used by my wife, which I have ordered to be put into her closets which books I give unto my Daughter Jane. \* \* \* Lands lying in King William County in Virginia commonly called Horns Quarter. \* \* \* Item I Give unto my Loveing brother Ten pounds Sterling to buy a Suit of Mourning. \* \* \* A Codicil to be annexed to the Will of Frederick Jones Esqr. I Give and bequeath unto my daughter Jane, My Wifes Side Saddle and furniture thereto belonging with the horse called Blaze. To my daughter Martha a Sett of Silver tea spoons double gilded. To my daughter Rebeckah two pair of filigreen gold Shift buckles and all the gold rings and Ear-rings. \* \* \* To my good friend and Neighbour Edward Moseley of Chowan precinct my pair of pistolls mounted with Silver caps etc. \* \* \* with bridle Locks and stocked with English Walnut."

CULLEN POLLOCK. 1740

Tyrrell County Gen. Plantation at Matchapungo River in Hide County, lott of land in Bath town; 710 acres of land on a branch of Trent River called "the halfe way House": 1280 acres lying on Coneto Creek in Tyrrell County called the "deaded Woods"; 640 acres in Bertie County on "ye Roonaroy Meadows"; 4700 acres in Bertie County: aggregating about 8000



acres. 78 negroes. "Item It is my will and desire that my three daughters have as good Education as can be had in this Province & that my two sons when they have got what learning they can have in this province that they be sent to Boston for further education \* \* \* ."

(The original in the Pollock-Devreaux Papers - Archives, Raleigh, N. C.  
about eight pages )

EMANUEL LOW. 1726 Pasquotank precinct. "\* \* \* 3ly I give and bequeath unto my Grandson George Low Son of my beloved Son Nevil Low Dd and now in the kingdom of Great Britain the Plantation where my Cousin Robinson now Lives & the Plantation called New ABBey with four Hundred Acres of land adjoining to it to \* \* \* also my Seal Scutcheon of arms \* \* \* Lands commonly called the Town point Lying on the mouth of the North West side of Newbegun Creek & now in the possession of Jno Conner. It is my Will that my daughter Anna Letitia her heirs or assigns shall keep in possession all ye before mentioned Legacies wth Lande &c &c &c &c."

WILLIAM HARDING JONES 1730

"of ye eastern Parish of Chowan \* \* \* do give \* \* \* Ann Jones my wife \* \* \* One certain piece or parcel of Land containing four thousand Acres on Ronoak river in Bertie Precinct it being that Tractk of Land out of wch I have sold three hundred to Ellis Hodges of the same precinct I also give to her during her natural Life the house and plantation whereon I now live with all & singular the rights, hereditaments appertenances & appendants whatsoever to the said piece or parcel of Land in anywise appertaining with all Cattle, hogs, horses, sheep belonging to the said plantation with one third part of the negroes I now possess, and also all my household goods belonging to the sd house Excepting the family pictures and Court of Arms \* \* \* likewise all my books in ye sd. house I give to my brothers Freddick and Thomas Jones \* \* \* ."

FRANCIS PUGH. 1733

Bertie precinct. Provides for "bringing up my children at School Plantation at Emperor's Fields bought of Christian Hitteburch. "Whereas, \* \* \* I have begun to build a brigantine which is now in the Stocks in Bertie precinct \* \* \* finish and Compleat the said Brigantine with Anchors Masts Cables Sails &c."

"Item it is my will and pleasure that after the said Vessel is finished my executors & my Trustees herein named do \* \* \* purchase a Loading of Tobacco black Walnut or other merchandise fitt for the British market and that they do send the said Vessel to great Britain from thence to return to No. Carolina, \* \* \* ."

"Item It is my will and pleasure that after my Sloop Carolina returns from New England that my Executors & Trustees do \* \* \* purchase a cargo and send the said Sloop to the West Indies \* \* \* ."

"Item It is my will that my dear wife & Execrs do receive from Captn Grainger the Cargo brought in a Schooner into this province which belongs to Mr. Coleman provided the said Grainger allows to my Execrs twelve pounds pr Barrel for good & well pickled pork vizt for so much as is produced from my own stock \* \* \* ."

APPENDIX E

The Library,  
The University,  
Glasgow, W.2.  
Scotland.  
2nd August 1962

Dear Madam,

Thank you for your letter of June 16th regarding the family of Pollock of Balgray.

Your family records are not quite accurate in their details, as the Margaret Boyd whom David Pollock married was not the daughter of Zachary Boyd but of James Boyd of Trochrig, Archbishop of Glasgow.

David Pollock (or Pollok), son of George Pollock, cooper in Glasgow, graduated M.A. at Glasgow in 1595 and was minister of Glenluce parish in Wigtonshire from 1604 until his death in 1619, at the age of 44. His children were James, who became a bailie of Glasgow and the Thomas, in whom you are interested, "a wealthy merchant of the city of Glasgow: who became owner of the estate of Balgray and died in April 1680.

Thomas married Elizabeth Hill, daughter of a Glasgow merchant, and had a large family, several of whom died young, but, of those surviving, Thomas, born 7th May 1654, emigrated to New England, became President of the Colony of North Carolina and major-general of the colonial forces. This Thomas had a son (name unrecorded), who had a daughter Frances, who married John Devereux of the Fens, Co. Wexford, Ireland - after of Roanke, N. Carolina, and their daughter Frances married, in May 1830, Leonidas Polk, descended from John Pollock, Lanarkshire and, later, of Northern Ireland; bishop and general in the American Civil War, he was killed on 14th June 1864 on Pine Tree mountain an outpost of the Tennessee army. Of this marriage there were four children - Hamilton Polk, born 27 January 1831, Elizabeth, married in 1864, Lillie and Sally.

I presume that your interest in Zachary Boyd lies in his supposed connection with the Pollock family, but there are several manuscripts of his writings held by the University Library.

I regret the delay in answering your letter, but the information has taken considerable time to assemble, as sources outside the Library, had to be consulted, but I hope it will meet your needs.

In the course of my investigations I discovered a printed pedigree of the family of Pollock of Balgray, a copy of which has been made for the Library should you, therefore, wish to have a photographic or xerographic copy of this it can be prepared and forwarded to you.

Yours very truly,

Elizabeth G. Jacky  
Reference Librarian.

Mrs. J. Nurney Bond