

## ABSTRACT

Despite constant interactions with potential benefits to both Tuscaroras and colonial cultures, and knowledge of the issues plaguing local tribes, John Lawson, Baron Christopher Von Graffenreid, and other colonial leaders failed to keep an increasingly fragile peace. As a result, the Tuscarora War erupted in 1711. This thesis examines the role of interactions between the Tuscarora Indians and the colonists of North Carolina before, during, and after the assault on New Bern in 1711 - the opening act of the Tuscarora War. These interactions are represented by available, and mostly colonial, records of the men on the ground during this time period. Even though some of the best possible representatives of colonists and Native Americans existed and interacted during early efforts at diplomacy, the war between these two distinct peoples in North Carolina occurred. This is a story of community told through the eyes of specific individuals in the surrounding area of New Bern. Regardless of their high stature, seemingly above the level of the common individual, they stand as men on the ground level of the conflict that developed from rising tensions between the colonists and the Tuscaroras. Even those of note in the periphery, including a Virginia lieutenant governor and a South Carolina colonel, are brought to the conflict through their actions and observations. The end result of this thesis is to present, through specific chapters focusing on these men on the ground, along with a historiography incorporating reflections of relations between the Tuscaroras and the colonists, an image of Tuscarora-colonial relations in this time period building to the beginning of the Tuscarora War in North Carolina.

This thesis is an attempt to contribute and expand the historiography of Tuscarora-colonist relations in Carolina. By avoiding the generalities of previous

histories, and focusing instead primarily on the pre-Tuscarora War period from the perspectives of both the colonists and the Tuscaroras, a fuller view of this important time period in North Carolina history can finally be fully presented.

The primary method of my work will consist of document investigation and examination. Another method will consist of in-person and electronic interviews with people with knowledge of the topic and time period. A historiographical examination of written works on the Tuscaroras will contribute to this examination of attitudes. Finally, I intend to close the thesis with an epilogue concerning my own personal history with my research into the Tuscaroras.

FOR THE MEN ON THE GROUND: AN EXAMINATION OF THE TUSCARORAS-  
COLONIAL RELATIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA BEFORE AND DURING THE  
TUSCARORA WAR

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For the Men on the Ground: An Examination of the Tuscarora-Colonial Relations in  
North Carolina Before and During the Tuscarora War

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Thesis – For the Men on the Ground: An Examination of the Tuscaroras-Colonial  
Relations in North Carolina before and during the Tuscarora War

Introduction

This is a story of conflict. Despite constant interactions, with potential benefits to both Tuscaroras and colonial cultures, and knowledge of the issues plaguing local tribes, John Lawson, Baron Christopher Von Graffenreid, and other colonial leaders failed to keep an increasingly fragile peace. As a result, the Tuscarora War erupted in 1711. This thesis examines the role of interactions between the Tuscarora Indians and the colonists of North Carolina before, during, and after the assault on New Bern in 1711 - the opening act of the Tuscarora War. Available, and mostly colonial, records of the men on the ground during this time period represent these interactions. Even though some of the best possible representatives of colonists and Native Americans existed and interacted during early efforts at diplomacy, the war between these two distinct peoples in North Carolina occurred. This is a story of community told through the eyes of specific individuals in the area surrounding New Bern. Regardless of their high stature, seemingly above the level of the common individual, they stood as men on the ground level of the conflict that developed from rising tensions between the colonists and the Tuscaroras. Even those of note in the periphery, including a Virginia lieutenant governor and a South Carolina colonel, were brought to the conflict through their actions and observations. The end result of this thesis is to present, through specific chapters focusing on these men on the ground along with a historiography incorporating reflections of relations between the Tuscaroras and the colonists, an image of Tuscaroras-colonial relations in this time period building to the beginning of the Tuscarora War in North Carolina.

The result of these failed interactions was the beginning of the Tuscarora War. As the blood touched the ground in New Bern following an assault by the Tuscaroras, the relationship in North Carolina between two different cultures was seemingly dead. The inherent differences between the cultures of the colonists and Native Americans made conflict a possibility, but interactions continued between colonists of different nationalities and the Northern and Southern Tuscaroras. With limited perspectives, these cultures continued individually with internal diplomatic efforts, while moving apart from each other. The ties that defined both the culture of the colonists and the cultures of the Native Americans allowed for a continuation of interactions only within these distinct cultures. The result of years of interactions, then, was a rift between the colonists and the Tuscaroras that could not be reformed.

There are inherent shortcomings that must be addressed with this kind of historical topic. A shortcoming of the existing literature is the unavailability of Tuscaroran sources. With no original documentation from the Tuscaroras, the main source of information on the Tuscaroras and their mindset comes from the observations of colonists such as John Lawson in *A New Voyage to Carolina* and Christoph von Graffenreid's *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*. Both works serve as primary sources concerning interactions with the Tuscarora Indians. At the same time, a document describing the Tuscaroras' effort to seek aid from the Pennsylvania Council in 1710 serves as a primary document of observation by the colonists on the mindset of the Tuscaroras. The result of this lack of written material by or on the Tuscaroras cannot be understated. The resulting secondary sources, written later, including Theda Perdue's *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina*,



suffer from a lack of the Tuscaroras' perspective on the time period leading to the Tuscarora War. This lack of Tuscaroras' perspective, then, drives historical research invariably towards the perspectives that are available concerning Tuscarora-colonist relations.

Beyond the personal accounts of Lawson and Graffenreid, the colonists' primary observations can be discovered and utilized to create a portrait of relations during this time period. The observations of Major Christopher Gale through his personal letters offer insight into the death of John Lawson, the reasons for his death, and the rising tensions between colonists and Native Americans in North Carolina. The writing of Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood also allows for a continuation of the examination of the tensions between colonists and Native Americans. Secondary sources, such as Michael E.C. Gery's "Crushing the Tuscaroras: Colonial Militia Vanquished Eastern North Carolina's Most Powerful Natives 300 Years Ago" and the *Beaufort Observer's* "Bath Visitor's Center Features John Lawson's Carolina: Early Explorer Wrote About What He Saw Here in 1701," offer a glimpse of the past from the present, with a clear foundation of the relations between the colonists and the Tuscaroras during this time period.

The greatest shortcoming of the existing literature is lack of acknowledgement of the shared journey of these cultures. As the secondary sources often indicate, the colonists' path in North Carolina was a path interrupted by the Tuscarora War. What makes this project worth doing is the opportunity to examine this shared journey of the colonists and the Tuscarora Indians that changed over time and ended with a violent eruption that threatened each culture.

East Carolina University has allowed for further comment on the seemingly limited topic of the colonists and Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina. When asked of the importance of the Nooherooka Tercentenary Symposium, Mary Jo Fairchild, Senior Archivist at the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston, stated that primary sources like the Nooherooka map offer a chance to “learn more about the significance and importance of archival manuscripts and maps, which serve to inform our understanding of history and the legacy of events such as the Tuscarora War.”<sup>1</sup> When speaking on the importance of the time period, former ECU Professor and Nooherooka field researcher John E. Byrd felt that knowledge of the Tuscaroras and what they went through would describe the Tuscaroras “in human terms,” that could be related to the interested historian and the average person.<sup>2</sup> Mr. George Mewborn, an English language arts teacher at Spring Creek High School with significant ties to the Nooherooka Monument, stated that what he finds most interesting about the related history is the “emerging story of the causes of the Tuscarora War, the work of scholars...who are re-examining the relatively unresearched period.”<sup>3</sup> These three dedicated opinions suggest that an interest exists in this topic at various levels of professionalization in North Carolina.

Sources and their relative availability are key to this thesis topic. As mentioned, the absence of sources by the Tuscarora Indians is a problem. As a necessary resource, this perspective is addressed through the observations of colonists such as Lawson, Graffenreid, Spotswood, and available primary documents from the Colonial and State

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<sup>1</sup> Interview conducted by Matthew Esterline on February 27, 2013. (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University).

<sup>2</sup> Interview conducted by Matthew Esterline on February 27, 2013. (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University).

<sup>3</sup> Interview conducted by Matthew Esterline on March 6, 2013. (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University).

Records of North Carolina. At the same time, the availability of oral histories from individuals with access to the way of life of the Tuscaroras provides some evidence to address this lack of perspective.

The materials' dominant English voice tends to drown the lesser voices from German and Swiss settlers who settled in the crucial time period leading to the start of the Tuscarora War. A focus on the specific time period, beginning in 1700 and ending with the assault on New Bern on September 21, 1711, allows for a finite area of study on Tuscaroras-colonial relations. The reason for stopping at this point, the assault on New Bern and the short time after the event, is to establish the conflict that existed prior to the Tuscarora War. By focusing on the men on the ground during this time period, a needed picture of the rising tensions is created. Secondary sources on the Tuscaroras tend to pull away from the individual level, describing instead a bigger picture of interactions between colonists and Native Americans that ultimately becomes generalizations. At the same time, works focusing on an individual involved with the Tuscaroras during the time period can lose focus on the scope of rising tensions. This thesis, which brings these individuals together to create a sense of conflict in Carolina, where the rising tensions resulted in a Tuscaroras assault, allows for a balance between the individual history and the greater history of colonial and Tuscaroran relations. This thesis, in the end, is not a sweeping story of colonial and Native American relations. It is not an individual story. It is the story of a community at the heart of tensions between the colonists and the Tuscaroras in North Carolina.

Chapter one serves as a historiographical examination of the issue. The chapter offers historiographical evidence that the Tuscaroras' image has changed over time, from

a “serviceable” people, to bloodthirsty savages, to a political and cultural unit on the same level as the colonists. Chapter two focuses on the man whose execution was the opening statement in the Tuscarora War. A man of creation and destruction, John Lawson made his way from the English seaport of Cowes to America. Like many before him, Lawson sought opportunity in America; hopes of material gain prompted his voyage from England. With adventure and exploration in mind, Lawson came to America. He contributed to the creation of several informative works that traverse a number of social science disciplines. He examined North Carolina in its geographic beauty and painted a distinct picture of the colony’s nature. In addition, Lawson was instrumental in creating new sites of European settlement in a growing North Carolina.

Lawson provided great insight into this New World through English eyes. At the same time, he seems to have abandoned that insight for personal gain. In his capacity as surveyor-general, Lawson assisted in the settlement of New Bern and Bath in the early 1700s. These towns continued European encroachment on Native American land, a fixture in North Carolina since the 1650s. Over this period, interaction between the colonists and Native Americans became more and more common. As surveyor-general, Lawson played an unknowing dual role of both creator and destroyer, which eventually led to his own destruction at the hands of King Hancock’s Tuscarora Indians.

In chapter three, Tuscaroras-colonial relations prove to be the determining factor in Lawson’s eventual capture, trial, and execution. Once a self-sustaining tribe in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras found their way of life in danger. As Europeans made their way to North Carolina, the Tuscaroras initially adapted, gaining a measure of power through interaction with the settlers. The colonists’ continued expansion created tension as the

two groups grew closer in proximity, forcing the Southern Tuscarora closest to the expanding colonists to act.

Incapable of coping with the settlers and their impact, the Tuscaroras were trapped by the very people who had helped them grow in status. Emigration to other colonies was not an option. The people and law moved against them. The Tuscaroras abandoned hope of peace in September 1711 with Lawson's trial and execution.

Chapter four examines Tuscaroras-colonial relations in a rarely reported instance while the Tuscaroras had the upper hand. With Lawson dead, the Tuscaroras struck against encroaching European settlements to preserve their way of life. Lawson had recommended the future site of New Bern to Graffenreid, who founded the town in 1710. New Bern became a haven for many German and Swiss Protestants seeking freedom from religious persecution. New Bern's settlers found themselves the victims of the Tuscaroras on September 22, 1711. Attacking homes and towns along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Trent rivers, the assault killed nearly two hundred colonists. Of course, Baron Graffenreid, a prisoner of the Tuscaroras, did not know this yet. His observations while in captivity, including his treaty efforts, along with earlier observations by Lawson and subsequent views by Virginia Lieutenant Governor Spotswood, offer interesting reasons for the failure of European-Tuscaroran relations.

An important aspect of the chapter also includes a recognition of the Tuscaroras as a political unit. Graffenreid himself came to recognize the Southern Tuscarora as a scattered people organized with neighboring tribes into a political unit through their action against New Bern and surrounding areas. Others, like Spotswood, were forced to recognize and negotiate with this political unit to secure Graffenreid's release. Spotswood

also demonstrated a growing recognition of the Tuscaroras as more than a single political unit, as negotiations with the Northern Tuscaroras as a separate political unit led to a more peaceful resolution during war with the Southern Tuscaroras. For the men on the ground, finally, the Tuscaroras had developed through their actions a recognition from the colonists as a political unit, rather than a previously identified single people in the minds of those like Lawson and Graffenreid, prior to his capture.

Chapter five examines the rise and fall of New Bern in relation to Tuscaroras-colonial relations. Opportunity and rumor impacted New Bern's formation, stabilization, and ultimate destruction. For Graffenreid, opportunity and rumor encouraged him to leave the Old World. Failure in America sent him running home, reeking of excuses despite an understanding of the issues behind the Tuscarora War.

This thesis attempts to contribute and expand the historiography of Tuscarora-colonist relations in Carolina. By avoiding the generalities of previous histories and focusing primarily on the pre-Tuscarora War period from the perspectives of both the colonists and the Tuscaroras, a fuller view of this important time period in North Carolina history can finally be fully presented.

## Chapter 1: Savage Grace – A Historiography of the Tuscaroras

Before, during, and after the Tuscarora War, in the early 1700s, the best representation of cultural shifts in North Carolina were Native Americans, represented in this historiography by the Tuscaroras, and the colonists who interacted with them. Historians who either observed the Tuscaroras in their own time or wrote their interpretations of the Tuscaroras later have contributed to an ever-changing portrait of these cultural shifts. History was a shared experience for the Tuscaroras and the white residents during this time period. As the power structure under Great Britain continued to grow and develop, the colonists found their opportunities expanded as the Tuscaroras found theirs diminished. The Tuscaroras, especially the Southern Tuscaroras before the outbreak of the Tuscarora War, faced a diminished role would be as a weak and subjugated people if colonial expansion continued. For colonists, opportunity existed as a people seeking their place in America, unaware of the cost of this opportunity that would come in the form of an armed assault by the Native Americans. Through this act of retribution, the Tuscaroras defined themselves as separated from the opportunity of the North Carolina colonists, and were forced to defend their way of life. The war, and its conclusion, would impact all involved.

Historians have examined the period before, during, and after the Tuscarora War for hundreds of years. From the men on the ground during the beginning of the Tuscarora War, such as John Lawson and Christoph von Graffenreid, to Noeleen McIlvenna and David La Vere's recent examinations, the Tuscaroras have been the focus of many historians. While this focus has been on several aspects of the Tuscaroras and the Tuscarora War, each and every history has had a similar disconnect from a singular

problem. That significant problem is a lack of voice, a lack of point of view, from the Tuscaroras themselves. Be it the words of Lawson or more modern historians like David La Vere, efforts to get into the Tuscaroras' mind have been made with an understanding that the Tuscaroras' voice comes through the mind of the historian. The Tuscaroras were observed through either the writing of colonists or court-related documents concerning their direct actions and behavior. Today, modern historians are equally limited by the lack of the Tuscaroras' direct writing and documentation. This shortcoming has not deterred many historians, allowing for the creation of several works that have delved into the Tuscaroras' mind, such as the writing of Noeleen McIlvenna. These works have strived to paint a portrait of the Tuscaroras using the observations of others. These works have proven to be invaluable and notable, bringing new light to the Tuscaroras, concerning their way of life, their interactions with Carolina's colonists, and their motivations leading to the Tuscarora War.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Tuscaroras' history is the changing view of the Tuscaroras over time. For a significant portion of the history written about the Tuscaroras Indians, the depiction has ranged from the Tuscaroras who could be made to serve the colonial population in America to the bloodthirsty savage who loved nothing more than to maim and kill innocent colonists. Over time, that history has changed to a more nuanced observation of the Tuscaroras as a political and cultural unit on equal standing with the North Carolina colonists. This change in opinion of the Tuscaroras in the last several decades is significant in relation to previous historic writings, which have painted the Tuscaroras as a lesser people. The historiography's evolution has provided a voice to the Tuscaroras as a recognizable political and cultural unit during their time in



Carolina.

The history written about the Tuscaroras contains severe limitations from a lack of accounts written by the Tuscaroras. The result of these limitations could logically be notions about the Tuscaroras, their way of life, and their mindset. Instead, there has been a significant change in the observations of historians over time concerning the Tuscaroras. The historiography of the Tuscaroras and colonists, then, has been as much a documentation as it has been an observation of judgments and norms placed on the Tuscaroras by society and the historians of their respective societies. While this concept is true of most historical subjects, the Tuscaroras represent a dramatic reversal in historic thought concerning their actions during the Tuscarora War. Early historians and writers saw the Tuscaroras as a lesser people compared with arriving colonists. These views changed because of the Tuscarora War and developing historical thought on the Tuscaroras. Later historians saw the Tuscaroras' actions, such as the assault on explorer John Lawson and their attack on New Bern, as bloodthirsty actions of a savage people. More recent historians have altered the depiction of the Tuscaroras once again through their responses to the colonists' arrival and the danger they represented to the Tuscaroras' way of life. Uses of terms in written histories that were previously considered normal concerning the Tuscaroras' actions, such as massacre, are now frowned upon as loaded words that go against the current trend in the historiography. This trend, this shift in the historiography, is representative of recent historical thought concerning the actions of colonists and the Tuscaroras in Carolina. This view has allowed a nuanced historical depiction that is distinctly separate from earlier observations. This change in the historiography offers multiple opportunities to examine the works that have given voice

to both colonists and the voiceless Tuscaroras.

In *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Lawson described and promoted Carolina through his observations as an explorer, naturalist, and historian. It is significant to start with Lawson, as he was one of the first to write about the Tuscaroras in Carolina. His observations also came before the start of the Tuscarora War. As surveyor-general of Carolina, Lawson was in a prime position to accomplish the subtitle of the work, “Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And a Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel’d Thro’ Several Nations of Indians. Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, &c.”<sup>1</sup> Among the nations of Indians Lawson examined, the Tuscaroras were observed: “In the Afternoon, we met two Tuskeruros, who told us, That there was a Company of Hunters not far of, and if we walk’d stoutly we might reach them that Night.”<sup>2</sup> Lawson described the Tuscaroras as helpful to the colonists, and applied this mindset towards other Native Americans in Carolina. Lawson’s early observations of the Tuscaroras painted the tribe as serviceable to the English and other colonists in North Carolina.

Lawson elaborated on the assistance tribes like the Tuscaroras could provide to colonists in Carolina: “The neighbouring Indians are friendly, and in many Cases serviceable to us, in making us Wares to catch Fish in.”<sup>3</sup> Being “serviceable,” through the making of usable weirs, was a distinct image that Lawson offered concerning the Tuscaroras’ status in relation to the colonists. For Lawson, the image of the Tuscaroras was one where the tribe had not equality, but perhaps a shared destiny with the colonists

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<sup>1</sup>John Lawson. *A New Voyage to Carolina*. Ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

through services that both the Native Americans and the colonists could provide to benefit each other. Lawson noted Native Americans making their own kind “serviceable,” and also complimented them on their abilities, such as their eyesight when trying to see in the dark, that gave them a unique advantage over the colonists.<sup>4</sup> The Indians, for Lawson, always remained “serviceable.” Lawson observed Indian traders, colonists who traded with the Indians, and saw their Indian wives as very “serviceable” in the area of trade and interaction with the Native Americans.<sup>5</sup>

Lawson was not making these observations with sinister motives beyond the promotion of Carolina. Lawson held the helpfulness of the Tuscaroras and other Native American tribes in high regard. The act of making the Indians “serviceable” was not a malicious one. For Lawson, making the Native Americans “serviceable” to the colonists not only helped the colonists, but made the Native Americans better through their servitude.<sup>6</sup> Lawson’s words suggested that their improvement could occur through interaction with the colonists.

Lawson’s ideas and opinions were based on a tried and true method of Christian duty among the colonists:

As we are in Christian Duty bound, so we must act and behave ourselves to these Savages, if we either intend to be serviceable in converting them to the Knowledge of the Gospel, or discharge the Duty which every Man, within the Pale of the Christian Church, is bound to do. Upon this Score, we ought to shew a Tenderness for these Heathens under the weight of Infidelity; let us cherish their good Deeds, and, with Mildness and Clemency, make them sensible and forwarn them of their ill ones; let our Dealings be just to them in every Respect, and shew

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 235.

no ill Example, whereby they may think we advise them to practise that which we will not be conformable to ourselves.<sup>7</sup>

Lawson saw a duty in the example that the colonists, including himself, must set for the Indians to make them rightly “serviceable.” Lawson also noted the Tuscaroras’ generosity after being escorted into the home of a Tuscarora Indian for food.<sup>8</sup> This generosity was contrasted to the treatment the Native Americans received from the colonists, which was considerably worse and unfair in Lawson’s opinion.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps Lawson’s greatest observation of the Tuscaroras was of the Iroquois-descended Tuscaroras’ stance on war:

The Iroquois, or Sinnagars, are the most Warlike Indians that we know of, being always at War, and not to be persuaded from that Way of Living, by any Argument that can be used. If you go to persuade them to live peaceably with the Tuskeruros, and let them be one People, and in case those Indians desire it, and will submit to them, they will answer you, that they cannot live without War, which they have ever been used to; and that if Peace be made with the Indians they now war withal, they must find out some others to wage War against; for, for them to live in Peace, is to live out of their Element, War, Conquest, and Murder, being what they delight in, and value themselves for.<sup>10</sup>

For Lawson, there was no question that the colonists, despite their harsh treatment of the Native Americans, were the light bringers, shining on the darkness that was the Tuscaroras and other tribes.

Christoph von Graffenreid’s view of the Tuscaroras-colonist relations differed from Lawson’s. In part related to the outbreak and conclusion of the Tuscarora War, and in part related to Graffenreid’s personal journey as a captive during the outbreak of the war, the sympathetic aspects of Lawson’s book were not reflected in Graffenreid’s

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

*Account of the Founding of New Bern*. These differences can be seen in Graffenreid's relation of his freedom from the Tuscaroras following his capture and Lawson's execution:

Through the wonderful and gracious providence of the Most High, I have at last escaped out of the barbarous hands of the wild Tuscaroras Nation, and have arrived at my little dwelling at New Bern; but yet half dead, because for two whole days I had to travel afoot, as fast as ever I could, out alone through the forests which lie towards Catechna, compelled to take up my quarters by a frightful wild ditch in which there was deep water, because the night overtook me and I could not go farther from weariness. How I passed this night can well be imagined, in no small fear of being caught by the savage or strange Indians.<sup>11</sup>

Through his religion, Graffenreid found Providence following the ordeal of his capture by the Tuscaroras at Catechna. Much like the religion Lawson saw as beneficial to the Tuscaroras, religion offered illumination to Graffenreid following his release. Graffenreid's capture and knowledge of Lawson's execution colored Graffenreid's opinion of the Tuscaroras. The history that Graffenreid offered, however jaded, is still essential to the historiography. The time period of the writing, following the Tuscarora War, offered a view of reflection that Lawson and *A New Voyage to Carolina* lacked.

Graffenreid focused on the role of the Tuscarora-colonist relations in the Tuscarora War. In an especially descriptive section, he described the Tuscaroras in relation to the war's causes. Graffenreid noted the colonists' treatment of the Tuscaroras. That treatment, which Lawson described as harsh, was not harsh enough according to Graffenreid: "The carelessness of the Carolinians contributed not a little to the audacity and bold actions of these Indians, because they trusted them too much, and for safety

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<sup>11</sup> Christoph von Graffenreid, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, ed. Vincent H. Todd (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Printing, 1920, originally published 1714), Documenting the American South. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2012. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/graffenried/graffenried.html> (accessed February 6, 2013), 261.

there was not a fortified place in the whole province to which one could retire.”<sup>12</sup>

Graffenreid thought this trust allowed the Tuscaroras’ assault to take place. A lack of defense, assaults on the Tuscaroras through slander, accusations of land taking, and unfair trade practices allowed for the Tuscaroras’ reaction in the form of an assault on New Bern.<sup>13</sup>

The New Bern assault shocked Graffenreid, when compared with earlier observations of the kindness he observed in the Tuscaroras:

The Indians kept their design very secret, and they were even then about to take counsel in an appointed place at the time that I happened to travel up the river. I thought I was so much the more in safety, since only ten days before, when I was coming home from surveying and had lost my way in the forest, just as night overtook me I had fallen into the hands of the Indians, who before my coming had lived in Chatalognia, at present New Bern. They had now settled in this place and received me very kindly and in the morning accompanied me as far as the right way. They gave me two Indians who went with me as far as my home, and out of thankfulness I gave them something and sent some rum and brandy to the king.<sup>14</sup>

The Native Americans offered Graffenreid help and kindness when he was lost and defenseless. Following the assault on New Bern, however, Graffenreid continued to define the Tuscaroras and other Native Americans as non-Christian savages. Provoked, the Tuscaroras acted in a savage manner to defend their land and their way of life from the harsh treatment of the encroaching colonists onto their land. Disconnected by the occurrence of the Tuscarora War, Lawson’s book and Graffenreid’s book find similarities and differences in their judgments and assumptions on the Tuscaroras and the Native Americans.

There is a lack of historic research on the Tuscaroras following the works of

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 239.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 234-235.

Lawson and Graffenreid. In 1903, a work of fiction concerning the history of North Carolina ushered the return of the Tuscaroras to writing. Lutie Andrews McCorkle's *Old Time Stories of the Old North State* offered a view of the events surrounding the Tuscaroras that demonstrated a possible view of the general public at the time. McCorkle depicted the beginning of the Tuscarora War and, as seen in the following passage concerning the Tuscaroras' assault on New Bern on September 22, 1711, continued the image of the Tuscaroras as savages in North Carolina: "No one was spared by these cruel savages...After murdering all the people they could find the Indians set fire to the houses, so as to drive from cover any who had been left behind...in two hours one hundred and thirty whites perished in this dreadful massacre."<sup>15</sup> This loaded language offered a vivid portrait of Tuscaroras' actions in New Bern. While McCorkle's book was fiction, the history in the work described the Tuscaroras as savages, no longer able to be made serviceable, and brutal in their slaughter of New Bern's colonists.

The use of language is critical in any work of fiction, especially in McCorkle's stories of North Carolina. In this tale, as with previous histories, the Tuscaroras were provoked into their actions: "The Indians found themselves pushed further and further west. The lands that had once been their own, were now in the hands of others. They began to hate the whites, and to plan for the recovery of their hunting-grounds."<sup>16</sup> Deprived of their possessions in this account, the Tuscaroras resolved to recover their property by violence. McCorkle ensured that necessary violence was depicted with no possible misconception of the Tuscaroras' brutal actions. The Tuscaroras' violent nature

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<sup>15</sup> Lutie Andrews McCorkle, *Old Time Stories of the Old North State* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1903), 38.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

was presented using the words “savages,” “murdering,” and “massacre.”<sup>17</sup>

While serving as a storybook, McCorkle’s work is surprisingly useful in the historiography of the Tuscaroras. In addition to being a rare fictional work that actually depicted a moment in the Tuscaroras’ history, the book also continues the depiction of the Tuscaroras as savages. As previously seen in the works of Lawson and Graffenreid, there was provocation to the Tuscaroras’ actions. That provocation, however, was the work of the savage nature of a people obviously inferior to the civilized colonists. This notion was best expressed in one of McCorkle’s last lines: “It took two years...to restore the colony to the peace and security in which the people had lived before that awful massacre.”<sup>18</sup> In this work, then, the Tuscaroras were the “bloodthirsty enemies” of North Carolina.<sup>19</sup> Less than human, the Tuscaroras singularly stood in the way, preventing the civility of the real people, represented by the colonists, who called Carolina home.

One of the greatest leaps forward in the historiography of Tuscarora-colonist relations was Vincent H. Todd’s 1912 doctoral dissertation, “Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures.” While focusing on Graffenreid’s life and the creation of New Bern, Todd also made one of the first significant efforts to show that the Tuscaroras’ actions were a reasoned response to real threats created by colonists’ encroachment on their land and English traders’ unfair trading practices.<sup>20</sup>

With a significant amount of time having passed from the real events of the Tuscarora War faced by men on the ground, such as Lawson and Graffenreid, Todd relied on original records and documents to examine the Tuscaroras’ reasoned response to the

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Vincent H. Todd, “Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures” (Ph. D. diss. University of Illinois, 1912), 81.



colonists. These documents included the observations of Lawson, Graffenreid, and Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood. Demonstrating that the Tuscaroras had cause for resentment toward the colonists, Todd wrote about Lawson, who, “under Colour of being Surveyor gen’l had encroached too much upon their territories at which they were so much enraged that they waylaid him and cut his throat from ear to ear.”<sup>21</sup> For Todd, the Tuscaroras had cause for executing North Carolina’s surveyor-general. The later assault on New Bern and Bath County was related to a continuation of this reasonable response, in addition to knowledge attained by the Tuscaroras that the colony was weak and unprepared for a surprise attack by the wronged Native Americans.<sup>22</sup>

Todd, however, still criticized the Tuscaroras, not unlike McCorkle in *Old Time Stories of the Old North State*. Using Graffenreid’s observations, Todd labeled the Tuscaroras’ response as an act of savagery: “Notwithstanding their personal friendship for Graffenreid, they were still savages and acted the part by massacring all the whites in Bath County they could reach, whether Swiss, Palatines or English.”<sup>23</sup> This argument, based on Todd’s observations of Graffenreid’s account, recognized the Tuscaroras’ reasoned response, and at the same time offered a subtle analysis of the notion of savagery that was associated with the Tuscaroras in their execution of Lawson and their assault on New Bern.

In confronting the notion of the savage Tuscaroras and their response to encroachment by the colonists in North Carolina, Todd’s dissertation was a notable step forward in the historiography of the Tuscaroras. Though Todd’s work was an improvement over earlier publications from Lawson and Graffenreid, he perpetuated the

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

views that the Tuscaroras were savages.

Douglas L. Rights's 1947 work, *The American Indian in North Carolina*, described Lawson's execution as "the first of the hostilities that marked the outbreak of the Tuscarora War."<sup>24</sup> Based on the writings of Lawson and Graffenreid, Rights depicted the Native Americans and Lawson's cruel torture and execution.<sup>25</sup> While this section reflected much of Todd's work concerning Lawson and his execution, the discussion of the assault on New Bern represented a reversion to previous discussions on the topic, possibly associated with a nationalistic approach to historical writing at the time.

Closer in tone to McCorkle, Rights described the Tuscaroras' assault on New Bern as "aroused" by an ill will towards the newly arrived colonists encroaching on their land.<sup>26</sup> A people separate from the colonists, the Tuscaroras in this work were purely emotional, responding to real assaults on their way of life by colonists in trade and land encroachment with atrocities made with fury and murderous intent, without care or regard for the innocent recipients of their vengeance.<sup>27</sup> Rights often relied on emotional descriptions of the Tuscaroras, who were "quick to an injury and harbored unending resentment against their aggressors."<sup>28</sup> While Rights noted the colonists' actions, Lawson's execution was the first real act of hostility in this period of history.<sup>29</sup> The work continued to depict the Tuscaroras as savages and separate from the colonists.

E. Lawrence Lee's 1963 book, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*, represented a deviation from the trend in the historiography at the time. Written by a

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<sup>24</sup> Douglas L. Rights *The American Indian in North Carolina*. 2nd Ed. (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1988), 51.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 43

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, 46, 51.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

military historian at the height of the Cold War, Lee strived to show both the Tuscaroras and the encroaching colonists as groups with faults that contributed to the outbreak of the Tuscarora War.<sup>30</sup> Lawson's execution and the assault on New Bern, while never fully justified by Lee, were at least suggested as a logical result of the encroaching colonists and the unfair trade practices that the colonists may have perpetrated.<sup>31</sup>

Making war against the colony was not a reaction to the possible threats from the colonists, but a calculated decision. Lee suggested this when discussing Graffenreid's incarceration: "The Indians told Graffenreid that he would not be released for some time, because they had decided to make war on the people of North Carolina."<sup>32</sup> Lee put the actions of the Tuscaroras in a human, reasoned form, resulting in a work that brought the Tuscaroras the closest to the colonists' level in the historiography.

Gary B. Nash also presented the Tuscaroras with a level of humanity that continued the trend in the historiography. Describing the natives' villages and their lifestyle, including gathering hemp, growing crops, and tending orchards, Nash presented the Tuscaroras as a people before presentation as a hostile force.<sup>33</sup> The encroaching colonists provided few options for the Tuscaroras, who defended themselves and their way of life by attacking New Bern.<sup>34</sup> While focusing on other Native American tribes, Nash generalized that that the interaction between colonists and Native Americans resulted in favor of the encroaching colonists at great cost to the Native Americans.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina: 1663-1763* (Raleigh, NC: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 26.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>33</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*, fifth edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006), 116.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

*Red, White, and Black* repeated Nash's interpretation of colonist-Indian relations for the colonial South as a whole. As long as Native Americans posed a viable threat to colonial expansion, the colonists viewed Indians as violent, primitive people. After they were defeated and dispossessed of their land, Indians became noble savages with positive attributes in the southern colonial mind.<sup>36</sup>

Theda Perdue's *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina*, relying heavily on Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina* and later secondary sources, focused on the history of many Native American tribes who called North Carolina home, including the Tuscaroras. Examining the lives of Native Americans in general, Perdue humanized the Native Americans before the events of the Tuscarora War.<sup>37</sup>

By emphasizing Native American reliance on trade as colonists arrived in North Carolina, this commercial dependence made Indians susceptible to the colonists' unfair trade practices.<sup>38</sup> This pressure, along with land encroachment, forced the Southern Tuscaroras to act by executing Lawson and assaulting New Bern. Perdue described this pressure that Chief Hancock of the Southern Tuscaroras faced: "The government of the colony...intent upon pushing the frontier westward ...contributed in Indian anxiety. The Southern Tuscaroras began to fear for their tribal domain. Chief Hancock believed the Indians' only response was war."<sup>39</sup> While exploring the Tuscaroras' reasoning, this passage humanized their actions. No longer mindless savages, the Tuscaroras had good reason to fear the colonists, who were depicted more and more as the aggressors. For

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<sup>36</sup> Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 29 (1972): 230; pp. 197-230.

<sup>37</sup> Theda Perdue, *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 29.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Perdue, *Native*, 30.

Perdue, even the Tuscaroras' assault was made with a reasoned purpose: "He [Chief Hancock] hoped that a swift attack would lead to a peace treaty and create a buffer between the Tuscaroras and the whites."<sup>40</sup> The Tuscaroras were as human as the colonists in their actions and reasoning. The Tuscaroras were reasoning on a level beyond the savage, and this progression of historic thought made Perdue's work a significant part of the historiography.

Thomas C. Parramore contributed to the portrayal of the Tuscaroras as reasonable actors in eighteenth-century North Carolina. "Their tribal conduct," Parramore contended, "was such that they were perceived by the Carolina colonists as a single political unit."<sup>41</sup> Through his writing, Parramore noted that the trend in the historiography of the Tuscaroras was changing, placing the Tuscaroras in the position of a political and cultural unit in a clash of peoples in North Carolina. No longer the savage, Parramore moved away from the observations of historical figures like Major Christopher Gale during the Tuscarora War. Parramore noted Gale's portrayal of the Tuscaroras as "the greatest piece of villainy that...was ever heard of in English America."<sup>42</sup>

Parramore observed that the Tuscaroras, including the Southern Tuscaroras, were not the savages who plagued Carolina during a short time period. These people possessed a culture, with interests in North Carolina on political and human levels. Those interests, threatened by the colonists encroaching on their land, required a response by the Tuscaroras to make a point to the colonists. That point, respect for the Tuscaroras as a political unit, sought a remembrance and affirmation of agreements made between the

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Thomas C. Parramore, "The Tuscaroras Ascendancy," *North Carolina Historical Review* 59 (October 1982): 307.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas C. Parramore "With Tuscaroras Jack on the Back Path to Bath," *North Carolina Historical Review* 64 (April 1987): 115.

Tuscaroras and representatives of the colonists. As Parramore suggested, the Tuscaroras had existed as a political unit since 1672, when the colonists recognized the Tuscaroras as a cultural unit in the area of trade.<sup>43</sup> For Parramore, the rising tensions between the Tuscaroras and the colonists resulted in a reasoned reaction by the Tuscaroras to English colonization.

In 1984, Herbert R. Paschal's "The Tragedy of the North Carolina Indians" further described the Tuscaroras from their perspective, rather than the immediate impact of their assault on New Bern and Lawson's execution. Paschal examined the roles of several Native American tribes in North Carolina, including the Tuscaroras. Using the words of Lawson, Graffenreid, and the North Carolina colonial records, Paschal created a portrait of the Tuscaroras, elevated to a human level through descriptions of their daily and political lives. Placing the organization of Tuscaroras' society at the level of the "white expansionists" seeking land and trade advantages over the Tuscaroras and neighboring tribes, the fear and anxiety forced an assault on settlements, including New Bern.<sup>44</sup> This leap in the historiography represented a liberalized view of diverse origins that was occurring in historical writing.

The greatest strength of Paschal's article was the reliance on society. The Native Americans in North Carolina were a multitude of societies, including the Southern and Northern Tuscarora. The newly arriving colonists were also a society. Each society was different, with its own customs and beliefs that allowed for actions that created an inevitable clash of peoples, resulting in the Tuscarora War. Paschal joined Nash, Perdue,

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<sup>43</sup> Parramore, "Ascendancy," 316.

<sup>44</sup> Herbert R. Paschal, "The Tragedy of the North Carolina Indians." In *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History*, ed. Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 9.

and Parramore in presenting the image of a society that was facing a tragedy from a clash of cultures to preserve the Tuscaroras' way of life.

Alan Gallay wrote about this tragedy of a clash of cultures. He provided the Native American population in the South with a motivation that resulted in not only acts against the colonists, but resulted in making the Native Americans more human. Continuing the trend in the historiography, interaction between the colonists and the Tuscaroras also coincided with a loss in Native American population in the South.<sup>45</sup> The Indian slave trade, which reached 30,000 to 50,000 Native Americans total by the early 1700s, was not only debilitating to the Tuscaroras' population, but also provided economic motivation for those soldiers entering Carolina during the outbreak of the Tuscarora War. For Gallay, the Southern Tuscaroras were all too human, suffering from the inhuman slavery the colonists perpetuated. As the Indian slave trade prevailed in the Southeast, so too did interaction. This interaction led to a familiarity attributed to Lawson's role in the colony.<sup>46</sup> This represented a change in the Tuscaroras' understanding of the once beneficial relationship with the colonists. With all parties having their own defined culture, the Tuscarora War resulted from competition for resources and continuous colonial expansion.

Noeleen McIlvenna continued both the theme of a clash of cultures and further established a concrete timeline of the events leading to the Tuscarora War. Discussing negotiations with the Tuscaroras in 1704 leading to a tenuous peace treaty, McIlvenna described the Tuscaroras as a people of many groups willing to negotiate rather than

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<sup>45</sup> Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 298-299

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

warriors anxious to attack the colonists.<sup>47</sup> The 1704 negotiations were meant to protect the Tuscaroras in the area of trade. Lawson observed this protection, though other colonists did not.<sup>48</sup> The result was a continuation of tension based on encroachment and unfair trade practices. Lawson, neither hero nor villain according to McIlvenna, was in the center of these growing hostilities. His association with the loss of Tuscaroras' land made him a target for capture and execution.<sup>49</sup> While McIlvenna described the Tuscaroras as "decimating" Bath County and leaving a "ravaged" people in their wake, she presented the decision to attack as a reasoned response to an assault on the Tuscaroras' culture.

Eva C. Lantham and Patricia M. Samford further linked the lives of Lawson and the Tuscaroras. Lawson was the misunderstood hero, seeking to connect the Native Americans and the colonists in a manner that created a peaceful servitude by setting examples for the various tribes, including the Tuscaroras. Lawson's desire to link the Tuscaroras and the colonists was unsuccessful because English rulers made him powerless as they actively took land from lesser tribes near the Tuscaroras and expanded into Tuscaroras' territory.<sup>50</sup>

Lantham and Sanford created a similar narrative in the form of the oppressed Tuscaroras, surrounded on all sides by a hostile force, with only one possible reasoned reaction, their assault on New Bern. The lessening of Lawson's responsibility, through his noble intentions and his powerlessness when faced with the English desire for land,

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<sup>47</sup> Noeleen, McIlvenna, *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660-1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 117.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>50</sup> Eva C. Lantham, and Patricia M. Samford. "Naturalist, Explorer, and Town Father - John Lawson and Bath." *North Carolina Historical Review* 88, no. 3 (July 2011): 261.



made for a faceless colonial enemy instead of the enemy as Lawson, executed for his association with the loss of Tuscaroras land.<sup>51</sup> Through this examination, Lawson became as much of a victim of colonial expansion as the Tuscaroras.

Marilyn Mejorado-Livingston made the enemy less than human. This history from the Southern Band Tuscaroras offered a unique view of the outbreak of tensions between the Native Americans and the colonists. Portrayed as a people in fear of colonial hegemony, the Tuscaroras were left with the only choice available in their arsenal, action against their oppressors: “The grievances continued until the Tuscaroras finally rebelled against the settlers September 22, 1711.”<sup>52</sup> Left without choice by the colonists, the Tuscaroras acted in defense of their culture and their way of life. Mejorado-Livingston described the colonists’ retaliation against the Tuscaroras in a way that offered a new perspective on the notion of the savage in the Tuscarora War. The attack resulted in “a three year war to eradicate them [Tuscaroras] from this land.”<sup>53</sup> In this work, the colonists were the savages, and the Tuscaroras were the victims acting in defense of their land. The unfair description of the Tuscaroras as savages, as noted in previous articles by the Southern Band Tuscaroras, made Mejorado-Livingston’s work notable, especially when compared with the depictions of the Tuscaroras in the early historiography.

The Tuscaroras’ self-description of their history through written and oral traditions offered a new perspective in the evolving historiography. This perspective continued at the Neyuheruke 300, a commemoration of the battle of March 21-23, 1713, during the Tuscarora War. The commemoration event, held at and near East Carolina

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Marilyn Mejorado-Livingston, Onkwehonwe-The First People-Tuscaroras (Winton, NC: Southern Band Tuscaroras Tribal Office) <http://southernbandTuscaroras.com/webdoc8.htm> (accessed May 23, 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

University, offered an opportunity to understand Tuscaroras' culture and hear commentary and feedback from the New York Tuscaroras.<sup>54</sup> The Neyuheruke battle was of great importance to Tuscaroran Neil Patterson Jr. "This was a battlefield," said Patterson at the site of Neyuheruke. In describing the Tuscaroras bunker during the battle, Patterson humanized both Tuscaroras and colonists in a bloody event.<sup>55</sup>

The commemoration, complete with map examinations and cultural activities, also continued to humanize the Tuscaroras. The Neyuheruke 300 existed, then, as an element of the historiography that brought closer to light the Tuscaroran way of life during the era of the Tuscarora War. The close association of the New York Tuscaroras also offered a distinction among earlier works in the historiography in the form of a greater sense of the Tuscaroras' point of view.

A participant in the commemoration, and a recent addition to the historiography, David La Vere wrote *The Tuscarora War: Indians, Settlers, and the Fight for the Carolina Colonies*. Focusing on the war, La Vere leaves much of the causes and events leading to the war by the wayside. Still, he portrays the Tuscaroras as a political and cultural unit in crisis with Carolina, especially as the tribe faces troubles in the form of expanding colonist populations and slave traders.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, the work is a testament to the continuing trend in the Tuscaroras' historiography.

In a unique approach to the topic, La Vere also depicts a tribe in conflict not only with the colonists, but also itself. Mentioning the upper and lower Tuscaroras in reference

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<sup>54</sup> "Nooherooka" (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University) [http://blog.ecu.edu/sites/nooherooka/?page\\_id=7](http://blog.ecu.edu/sites/nooherooka/?page_id=7) (accessed May 23, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> "Nooherooka 300" (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BCaVUrdec7k> (accessed May 23, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> David La Vere (2013-10-21), *Tuscarora War: Indians, Settlers, and the Fight for the Carolina Colonies: Indians, Settlers, and the Fight for the Carolina Colonies* (Kindle Locations 314-318). The University of North Carolina Press. Kindle Edition.

to the war, La Vere attempts to describe the mentality of King Hancock of the lower Tuscaroras, concerning the capture and later trial of John Lawson:

At this point, King Hancock had to know two things. First, that the capture of De Graffenried and Lawson was going to cause trouble with the North Carolina government. Lawson and De Graffenried would complain and there would certainly be repercussions. But the North Carolina government was weak and divided at this time, suffering the shocks of Cary's Rebellion. So Hancock and his council could not be sure how severe those repercussions would be. Second, that he was being challenged by his warriors and younger men who advocated war against the English. He had dispatched his warriors merely to turn back De Graffenried and Lawson. Instead, they had gone beyond his directive, captured the four men, and brought them to Catechna. His next moves would be critical to his own political power and to his people as a whole.<sup>57</sup>

This knowledge that King Hancock had to know came from a letter from Alexander Spotswood to William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, months before Lawson's capture. This insight into the Tuscaroras is based on a central notion of La Vere's work, which suggests that the story of the Tuscarora War is, "as much an Indian story as it is a North Carolina colonial story."<sup>58</sup> The suggestion of knowledge for King Hancock, unfortunately, suggests a narrative leap closer to a story than actual historical writing. Rumor is the basis for the challenge of warriors and younger men to La Vere's King Hancock, as the Spotswood letter suggests. La Vere acknowledged this colonial rumor, suggesting a late summer rebellion among colonists in 1711 caused them to visit Indian towns and urge the Tuscaroras to attack the colonists' political enemies.<sup>59</sup> A colonial rumor or story, then, for La Vere becomes a fact when applied to the Tuscaroras as the rumor of dissention from those under King Hancock becomes real to demonstrate La Vere's knowledge of King Hancock's mindset. For La Vere, the story of the Tuscaroras

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Kindle Locations 1183-1189.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, Kindle Locations 4109-4110.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Kindle Locations 282-283.

is indeed an Indian story as well as a North Carolina colonial story, but it is still a story rooted in colonial rumor.

La Vere acknowledges that the Indian story is limited by a lack of sources, but the colonial material runs dangerously close to becoming story as well, as the author again takes narrative leaps to demonstrate the war's impact on North Carolina. This effort often comes at a cost to the discussion of the causes of the war. Lawson, for example, is the only major player in the Tuscarora War who failed to receive a chapter, despite that fact that Lawson was identified by the author as the main visible sign of Indian land loss in Carolina, to the point that he caused Indian anger to cook in the summer of 1711.<sup>60</sup> A lack of writing on Lawson is detrimental to his historical importance to the later war. La Vere, however, does point out that Lawson should have paid closer attention, so that he would have known that all was not well in Indian country.<sup>61</sup> This statement is made after Lawson is noted as having spent considerable time with multiple Indians observing and writing on their unique customs and troubles. Lawson, arguably the only major writer on Carolina Indians at the time, would be difficult to compare with what should have been noted in Carolina, since at the time he was unparalleled in his task. For La Vere's narrative, Lawson was simply another colonist who was all for Indian slavery and was executed by the Tuscaroras. Slavery, for the author, came in the form of what could be offered by the Tuscaroras so they could be made "serviceable" to the colonists, which would hold weight if Lawson himself had not also noted what could be offered by the colonists so they could be made "serviceable" to the Tuscaroras in an effort for mutual

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., Kindle Locations 672-673.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Kindle Locations 622-623.

benefit, with a distinct advantage to the colonists.<sup>62</sup>

Christopher Von Graffenreid, who did receive a chapter in La Vere's work, is affected by the author's opinion. As La Vere notes, "De Graffenried's own writings reveal him as a sour man who did not work well with others."<sup>63</sup> This comment colors much of the writing on De Graffenreid, as he is continuously depicted as refusing to take blame for the misfortunes that befell his colony of New Bern. In chapter three, Graffenreid's colony and his reputation are depicted as being in shambles.<sup>64</sup> La Vere references an article by Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr. The article itself, however, on the same page La Vere references, suggests the possibility of resettling the colony in the face of hopelessness, as Graffenreid still had the support of both public officials and loyal settlers who fortified themselves in New Bern.<sup>65</sup> Also notable in the Graffenreid chapter is a lack of mention of Vincent H. Todd's considerable contributions to describing Graffenreid, his efforts, and his multiple misfortunes in Carolina.

The result of La Vere's work is a story similar in fashion to Lutie Andrews McCorkle's *Old Time Stories of the Old North State*. Both works tell the story of an event that happened, but with a specific narrative framed in the trend in the historiography of their time. The cost of La Vere's narrative is a legitimate discussion of the causes of the war, especially when the author enters the mindset of individual historic players with either a predetermined opinion or the occasional misinterpretation of sources. Still, the

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., Kindle Locations 988-989; John Lawson (2011-03-24), *A New Voyage to Carolina, containing the exact description and natural history of that country; together with the present state thereof; and a journal ... account of their customs, manners, etc.* (Kindle Locations 3718-3719, 3741-3743), Kindle Edition.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., Kindle Locations 4118-4119.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., Kindle Location 1781.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.; Alonzo Thomas Dill, Jr., "Eighteenth Century New Bern: A History of the Town and Craven County, 1700-1800," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, No. 3, 22. (July, 1945), 311.

work is a notable effort to describe the events of the Tuscarora War and many of the people involved.

From a serviceable people to bloodthirsty savages to a political and cultural unit on the same level as the colonists, the historiography of Tuscarora-colonist relations has certainly changed over time with contributions of the weakening of American nationalism, helped by a more liberalized view of diverse origins. Beginning with the image of the Tuscaroras as savage, a more nuanced view came with time and the historical method, allowing later historians to interpret the same limited sources, and provide the Tuscaroras a voice for their culture that was lacking in written form. Recent additions by members of the Tuscaroras added weight to the changing historiography, allowing the humanity of the Tuscaroras to be shown. While the balance between the actions of the Tuscaroras and the colonists are still debated today, the Tuscaroras are the beneficiary of the current trend in the historiography.

With that historiographical trend in mind, this thesis seeks to provide additional insight. Recent scholarship has provided more social analysis of North Carolina's Native Americans. While this is a positive step, these recent works have suffered from a lack of specific analysis of the Tuscaroras.

For example, while McIlvenna offered great insight on Tuscarora-colonist relations, it was only a small part of a more general look at North Carolina's early colonial history. Parramore's articles are not as general or expansive, but prove to be so specific that much of the colonial portion of an examination into Tuscarora-colonist relations has been lost. In examining the Tuscaroras and the colonists, Mejorado-Livingston lost a sense of objectivity needed to exist as a work of scholarship. The

Tuscarora War, by itself, has attracted so much attention that the importance of the original Tuscaroras-colonist relations that preceded and contributed to the war has been lost.

The thesis seeks to address Tuscaroras-colonial relations before the Tuscarora War. By focusing on the men on the ground, including Lawson and Graffenreid, as well as those who came to understand the tenuous relationship between the Tuscaroras and the colonists, this work will avoid the generalities of many recent histories, and will also avoid a loss of objectivity by focusing on specifics of the Tuscarora War.

## Chapter 2: The Man From Cowes: John Lawson's Early Life in Carolina

As a young Englishman, John Lawson made his way from the English seaport of Cowes to America.<sup>1</sup> Like many before him, Lawson sought opportunity in America that had provoked emigration from England.<sup>2</sup> With adventure and exploration in mind, Lawson came to America with the eyes of an Englishman.<sup>3</sup> With those eyes, Lawson contributed to many informative works that encompass a number of modern disciplines in the social sciences. Lawson examined the Carolina colony in its geographic beauty, and he created a distinct picture of the colony's nature. Through these works, Lawson provided great insight into this New World.

Lawson also contributed to the destruction of certain elements that had existed in America before European colonization. The Tuscarora Indians, among other tribes, were subject to increasing pressure from colonization along the colony's coast pushing ever westward into the interior of Carolina. In his capacity as surveyor-general of Carolina, Lawson assisted in the settlement of both New Bern and Bath.<sup>4</sup> The creation of these towns further contributed to European pressures on the colony's Native Americans displacing them from their native lands. Interaction between the colonists and Native Americans became increasingly common.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 1.

<sup>2</sup> James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 251.

<sup>3</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 63-67.

<sup>4</sup> Noeleen McIlvenna, *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660-1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 110, 132-133; also Herbert Richard Paschal Jr., *Papers* (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 1983), <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/special/ead/findingaids/0481/> (accessed February 5, 2013)

<sup>5</sup> E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina: 1663-1763* (Raleigh, NC: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 1.



## The Explorer

Born on December 27, 1674, to John Lawson and Isabella Love, Lawson attended Anglican schools in Yorkshire.<sup>6</sup> He then attended London's Gresham College, which was founded in 1597 and offered public lectures in London.<sup>7</sup> Drawn to these lectures, Lawson's attendance suggests a desire for mobility that reflected his actions later in life. Lawson may have become entranced by the possibility of opportunity in America that had drawn many like him across the Atlantic. While his early motivations are unknown, around the year 1700, Lawson travelled to Carolina, inspired either by Christopher Gale from the northern part of Carolina, or James Moore from Charlestown.<sup>8</sup> Lawson later wrote, "My Intention...being to travel, I accidentally met with a Gentleman, who had been Abroad, and was very well acquainted with the Ways of Living in both Indies; of whom, having made Enquiry concerning them, he assur'd me, that Carolina was the best Country I could go to."<sup>9</sup> Whether this gentleman was Gale, Moore, or someone else entirely, he gave assurances of the quality of Carolina. Leaving from Cowes, Lawson departed for America.<sup>10</sup> He arrived in Charlestown, on August 15, 1700.<sup>11</sup> Charlestown, which Lawson described as the metropolis of South Carolina, was one of his first major points of observation.<sup>12</sup>

The Town has very regular and fair Streets, in which are good Buildings of Brick and Wood, and since my coming thence, has had great Additions of beautiful,

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<sup>6</sup> "Chronology of John Lawson's Life," Greenville: NC: East Carolina University, 2004. <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/main3.html> (accessed February 24, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Chronology, 2004; also, "About Gresham College." Holborn, London, UK: Gresham College, <http://www.gresham.ac.uk/about-us/about-gresham-college> (Accessed February 6, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Chronology, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Chronology, 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 2.

large Brick-buildings, besides a strong Fort, and regular Fortifications made to defend the Town. The Inhabitants, by their wise Management and Industry, have much improv'd the Country, which is in as thriving Circumstances at this Time, as any Colony on the Continent of English America, and is of more Advantage to the Crown of Great Britain, than any of the other more Northerly Plantations, (Virginia and Maryland excepted.)<sup>13</sup>

The town, and its value to the crown, demonstrated an image of this part of America. Lawson describes a vibrant jewel in England's crown, serving as a possible motivation for his later journey into the interior of Carolina. Lawson continued with descriptions of trade, available transportation, order through church and government, relations with other colonizing nations, and, perhaps most importantly, interactions with Native Americans.<sup>14</sup> From December 28, 1700, to February 24, 1701, Lawson made a 550 mile journey through the interior of Carolina.<sup>15</sup> The result, possibly Lawson's greatest creation, was his observations of the colony and its inhabitants in *A New Voyage to Carolina*.

Lawson was motivated, primarily, to write his work by what he considered a significant lack of any reasonable account of observations in the colony.<sup>16</sup> Lawson's picture of Native Americans stands as an important element in his work. "The Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of Carolina, the English enjoying only the Fag-end of that that fine Country."<sup>17</sup> One of Lawson's early observations was the geographic advantage the Native Americans had over the arriving and settled colonists, who were still bound to the colony's coastal areas. While traveling through Carolina, Lawson observed these Native Americans and their customs, much as he had concerning those

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> Chronology, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, Preface.

<sup>17</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 56.

residing in South Carolina. The Tuscaroras caught Lawson's attention. "We met with about 500 Tuskeruros in one Hunting-Quarter. They had made themselves Streets of Houses... For tho' they are expert Hunters, yet they are too populous for one Range, which makes Venison very scarce to what it is amongst other Indians, that are fewer."<sup>18</sup>

Lawson also discussed the Tuscaroras' kindness that he encountered during his journey. "We had a Tuskeruro that came in company with us, from the lower Quarter, who took us to his Cabin, and gave us what it afforded, which was Corn-meat."<sup>19</sup> Lawson also reflected on the nature of their treatment by the colonists.

Really better to us, than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take care we are arm'd against Hunger and Thirst: We not do so by them (generally speaking) but let them walk by our Doors Hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain, and think them little better than Beasts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we possess more Moral Deformities, and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal.<sup>20</sup>

The generosity of the Tuscaroras demonstrated a level of care that made the Native American, in Lawson's eyes, among the kindest people in the world.<sup>21</sup> Interactions with the Tuscaroras continued into other areas of *A New Voyage to Carolina*, as Lawson discussed Carolina's plant life. "Scarlet Root which they get in the hilly Country...they have this Scarlet Root in great Esteem, and sell it for a very great Price... The Tuskeruros and other Indians have often brought this Seed with them from the Mountains; but it would never grow in our Land."<sup>22</sup> Lawson also examined Carolina's animal life. "Craw-Fish, in the Brooks, and small Rivers of Water, amongst the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 235.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 171-172.

Tuskeruro Indians, and up higher, are found very plentifully, and as good as any in the World.”<sup>23</sup> Lawson also described some of the trade with the Tuscaroras, which benefited the colonists, including the selling of mats.<sup>24</sup>

Lawson described Carolina Native Americans in relation to tribes outside of the colony. He provided a general description through his observations of their characteristics and traditions. These observations also offered an opportunity for Lawson to identify the Tuscaroras in relation to the colonists’ characteristics and traditions.

The Indians of North-Carolina are a well-shap'd clean-made People, of different Statures, as the Europeans are, yet chiefly inclin'd to be tall. They are a very streight People, and never bend forwards, or stoop in the Shoulders, unless much overpower'd by old Age. Their Limbs are exceeding well-shap'd. As for their Legs and Feet, they are generally the handsomest in the World. Their Bodies are a little flat... Their Eyes are black, or of a dark Hazle.<sup>25</sup>

Beyond this general description, Lawson also demonstrated great care in describing the funeral traditions of a Tuscarora Indian who was struck by lightning during a day before Lawson’s arrival to a great Indian meeting.<sup>26</sup> When describing the Native Americans, Lawson also tempered his voyage of exploration with an awareness of the need to identify these Indians as people who could be made like or subject to the colonists. “All the Savages...are capable of equalizing, or so much as imitating. And since I hinted at a Regulation of the Savages, and to propose a way to convert them to Christianity...we will see what grounds there are to make these People serviceable to us, and better themselves thereby.”<sup>27</sup> Through his efforts of observation, Lawson identified the Tuscaroras and separated them from the colonists.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 189.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 234-235.

Lawson's life in *A New Voyage to Carolina* was the life of an explorer, a naturalist, an anthropologist, and a historian. Like many historical figures, Lawson was interested in historical and ethnographic writing, especially interactions between Native Americans and colonists in America.<sup>28</sup> Lawson observed that past as lacking in documentation.

Tis a great Misfortune that most of our Travellers, who go to this vast Continent in America, are Persons of the meaner Sort, and generally of a very slender Education; who being hir'd by the Merchants, to trade amongst the Indians, in which Voyages they often spend several Years, are yet, at their Return, incapable of giving any reasonable Account of what they met withal in those remote Parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curiosities worthy a nice Observation.<sup>29</sup>

Lawson compared this lack of ability concerning historical writing with the French, who Lawson deemed superior because their missionaries were capable of proper historical writing.<sup>30</sup> Gentlemen of note accompanied these missionaries, who Lawson observed, “upon their Arrival, are order'd out into the Wilderness, to make Discoveries, and to acquaint themselves with the Savages of America; and are oblig'd to keep a strict Journal of all the Passages they meet withal, in order to present the same not only to their Governors and Fathers, but likewise to their Friends and Relations.”<sup>31</sup> These journals were spread industriously through the country.<sup>32</sup> The monarch in France respected this creation of history through journal writing, according to Lawson, which motivated healthy competition where the result outweighed higher status.<sup>33</sup> Lawson suggested that those chronicling their observations, “gain a good Correspondence with the Indians, and

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

acquaint themselves with their Speech and Customs; and so make considerable Discoveries in a short time...where they have effected great Matters, in a few years.”<sup>34</sup>

Through his observations of France’s diligence and encouragement related to recording observations in America, Lawson demonstrated an awareness of the importance of history. In his own recordings, Lawson specifically related to readers that he sought the level of France in his own historical writing, stating, “I refer 'em to my Journal, and other more particular Description of that Country and its Inhabitants, which they will find after the Natural History thereof, in which I have been very exact.”<sup>35</sup> As part of the natural history depicted in *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Lawson included a map of Carolina.<sup>36</sup> Lawson’s map indicated places and landmarks along with a detailed depiction of the Carolina coast.<sup>37</sup>

*A New Voyage to Carolina* was Lawson’s first major creation in America. The journey from England to Carolina had provided him a rare opportunity for observation and exploration. His journey from the coast of South Carolina to the interior of North Carolina resulted in a book. That book led Lawson back to England for publication.

### The Naturalist

As Lawson journeyed through Carolina, he encountered considerable plant life. In addition to identification, he took great care to describe the uses of these plants, compare them to English plants, and describe the most common locations and peoples from which

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., Preface

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 60.

the plants could be accessed.<sup>38</sup> Lawson had explored Carolina, and in doing so had demonstrated a passion and knowledge of nature.

Lawson's voyage to America led to observations that, as an explorer, offered great opportunity. With the publication of *A New Voyage to Carolina* in process, Lawson found himself at the center of another opportunity that presented itself in England. James Petiver, a wealthy London apothecary and nature collector, met Lawson while visiting London.<sup>39</sup> Petiver sought opportunities to gather specimens from America for display.<sup>40</sup> While these specimens could vary greatly depending on the area of interest in America, Petiver specifically desired plant and animal samples.<sup>41</sup> To further his aspirations for these rare samples, Petiver sent advertisements to America to find willing collectors to send the samples.<sup>42</sup> Nearly eighty people responded to the advertisement, including an eager Lawson.<sup>43</sup> Lawson, who had resided in Carolina for a month, wrote to Petiver in April 1701, to show his interest in collecting and sending animal and vegetable samples: "I shall be very industrious in that Employ I hope to yr. satisfaction & my own, thinking it more than sufficient Reward to have the Conversation of so great a Vertuosi."<sup>44</sup> Lawson's reply to Petiver's advertisement and their 1709 meeting in London provided an opportunity for them to work together.

In colorful prose, Lawson depicted the Carolina plants that could entice someone to travel from England to America. "If a Man be a Botanist, here is a plentiful Field of

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 77-78.

<sup>39</sup> Vincent Bellis, "John Lawson's North Carolina," *Tar Heel Junior Historian* 47, no 1 (2007): 2. <http://www.ncmuseumofhistory.org/collateral/articles/f07.JL.North.Carolina.pdf> (accessed February 10, 2013).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> "John Lawson's Plant Collections," Greenville: NC: East Carolina University, 2004. <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/main3.html> (accessed February 6, 2013).

Plants to divert him in; If he be a Gardner, and delight in that pleasant and happy Life, he will meet with a Climate and Soil that will further promote his Designs, in as great a Measure, as any Man can wish for.”<sup>45</sup> In *A New Voyage to Carolina*, the discussion of plants allowed Lawson to comment on the Native Americans he met along his path. “These Savages, who are too well versed in Vegetables, to be brought to a continual use of any one of them, upon a meer Conceit or Fancy, without some apparent Benefit...they drink the Juices of Plants, to free Nature of her Burdens, and not out of Foppery and Fashion.”<sup>46</sup> Lawson’s observations on the use of plants created a separation between the utility he observed in Native Americans and the foppery of those non-savages abroad.<sup>47</sup> Speaking of the numerous plants, and their available and potential uses, Lawson lamented the loss of a man well-versed in the language of nature when he stated that, “had not the ingenious Mr. Banister...been unfortunately taken out of this World, he would have given the best Account of the Plants of America, of any that ever yet made such an Attempt in these parts.”<sup>48</sup>

Lawson referred to the loss of John Banister, a naturalist who examined plant life in Virginia until his death in May 1692.<sup>49</sup> With an awareness of the importance of plant life in America and the effort needed to secure a stable organization of plant classes, Lawson accepted Petiver’s request to procure and return specimens of dried plants and

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<sup>45</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 166.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-78, 222.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Ewan and Nesta Ewan, “John Banister, Virginia’s First Naturalist,” *Banisteria* 1 (1992) [http://virginianaturalhistorysociety.com/banisteria/pdf-files/ban1/B1\\_Ewan.pdf](http://virginianaturalhistorysociety.com/banisteria/pdf-files/ban1/B1_Ewan.pdf) (accessed February 5, 2013), 4; Robert Cantwell, “America’s Early Naturalists Often Went for a Walk on the Wild Side,” *Sports Illustrated*, November 28, 1977, <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/vault/article/magazine/MAG1093056/index.htm> (accessed February 26, 2013).



animal skins from America following the publication of *A New Voyage to Carolina*.<sup>50</sup> Petiver then provided Lawson with needed apothecary and botanical materials, some of which, like grape vines and stone fruits, Lawson sought to take with him to America to create and distill wine and spirits.<sup>51</sup> In a continuation of English transfer of botanical material and their uses, Lawson also sought to grow cork trees and create medications from the Old World to treat sick immigrants in the New.<sup>52</sup> Even with an awareness of the medicinal uses of New World plants, Lawson sought to transfer the familiar Old World medications to the New.<sup>53</sup>

Upon the publication of *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Lawson returned to Carolina in the spring of 1710.<sup>54</sup> He used his travels to contribute heavily to promote settlement of the town of New Bern.<sup>55</sup> In addition, Lawson began collecting specimens for Petiver. Twice, Lawson is known to have sent specimens to Petiver, following Petiver's detailed instructions in July 1710 and July 1711.<sup>56</sup> Ironically, the last of the two packages arrived in England nearly one month after his death.<sup>57</sup>

Several of these specimens Lawson identified, catalogued, and sent to Petiver are of note. HS242-111, identified as a *Polytrichum* moss, a non-vascular plant, was sent to Petiver mounted upside-down and tagged by Lawson with the description, "moss on little wet boggy hillock Feb 1st 1711 on ye No side Neus."<sup>58</sup> Another sample, HS242-123, was a dogwood inflorescence described by Lawson as, "April 15th 1711 Dogwood pag. 94

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<sup>50</sup> Bellis, "Lawson," 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 105.

<sup>54</sup> Bellis, "Lawson," 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Vincent Bellis, "John Lawson's Plant Collections from North Carolina 1710–1711," *Castanea* 74, no 4 (2009): 379.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 376.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 382.

Vid 29.”<sup>59</sup> Lawson also noted his own previous knowledge of the plant, as identified by page number in *A New Voyage to Carolina*: “Dog-Wood is plentiful on our light Land, inclining to a rich Soil. It flowers the first in the Woods; its white Blossom making the Forest very beautiful. It has a fine Grain, and serves for several Uses within doors; but is not durable. The Bark of this Root infused, is held an infallible Remedy against the Worms.”<sup>60</sup>

The details in these sample descriptions offer a solid glimpse into the colony’s nature. When combined with the detailed depictions of the samples sent to Petiver included in *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Lawson qualifies as a capable naturalist for his time. Dying in 1718, Petiver had amassed nature specimens from over eighty correspondents from many areas in America, including North America and the Caribbean.<sup>61</sup> Through his interactions with Petiver, Lawson contributed to English knowledge of America. While based on the desire of accumulation in England, Lawson’s spirit of discovery provided the drive to take part in this scientific endeavor. In a 1710 letter to Petiver, Lawson stated that, “if God prolongs my dayes my Intention is...make a strict collection of all of the plants...in Carolina”<sup>62</sup> In addition, he wanted to catalogue animals and participate in new developments related to agriculture.<sup>63</sup> Lawson’s death ended that desire and set back the course of naturalist exploration in North Carolina for several years.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 383.

<sup>60</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 94.

<sup>61</sup> Bellis, “Plant Collections,” 377.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 388.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 338.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

## The Surveyor-General

With five thousand persons living in fifteen villages located between the Tar and Neuse rivers, the Tuscaroras interacted with colonists making their way to America.<sup>65</sup> While a system of trade was established, as Lawson previously described, the continuous influx of colonists created tension with the Native Americans, and colonists soon found themselves competing for similar resources. In his capacity as Carolina's surveyor-general, Lawson's involvement with land development strongly contributed to the rapidly approaching war.

Lawson and two other men purchased land, undeveloped by Europeans, from David Perkins in 1705.<sup>66</sup> They wanted to develop a settlement that became the town of Bath.<sup>67</sup> The purchase of lands for the town allowed colonists to occupy the area and prompted the dispersal of the Pamlico Indians on the land.<sup>68</sup> Bath, North Carolina's first incorporated town, also became Lawson's home.<sup>69</sup> Once incorporated by an act of the General Assembly on March 8, 1705, Lawson's new town became officially recognized under English law.<sup>70</sup> Joel Martin and Nicholas Daw, two of the largest landowners in Bath County, established in 1696, became two of Bath's first commissioners, along with Lawson.<sup>71</sup>

Lawson meticulously laid out Bath, creating seventy-one town lots of one acre each, and made them available for purchase. Lawson bought two lots near the peninsula

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<sup>65</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 250-251.

<sup>66</sup> Paschal, Papers.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 114.

<sup>70</sup> "John Lawson: Explorer, Historian, and Co-Founder of Bath" (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2012), <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bath/lawson.htm> (accessed February 11, 2013).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

for himself. The first recorded sale of lots in Bath occurred in September 1706, and Lawson was one of the purchasers.<sup>72</sup> In addition to being a purchaser, Lawson assisted in the overseeing of purchases as a private surveyor, then later a deputy surveyor for the Lords Proprietors of Carolina in 1705, and as the clerk of court and public register for Bath County in January 1707.<sup>73</sup> Through English law in America, Lawson became an integral part of the colonization effort through the sale of land in areas like Bath.

In addition to the purchase price, this example of an early land transaction shows the area of land purchased. “Sept. 27, 1706 - John LAWSON and Joel MARTIN...to Maurice LUELLYN - 20 shillings - lot of quarter half and acre and 4 pole in Bath Town ‘with the front’ joining said LUELLYN’S lot on one side and Otho RUSSELL on other side. Witness: C. GALE, Levi TRUEWHITT Acknowledged: October 1, 1706.”<sup>74</sup> As every purchase was recorded, the legitimacy of the town of Bath, and the colonists calling the area home, became real. That settlement, however, contributed to the loss of land occupied by Native Americans in areas beyond the town of Bath, who attributed the displacement of local tribes to Lawson.

As surveyor-general of Carolina serving the Lords Proprietors, Lawson promoted available lands to arriving colonists. After overseeing the publication of *A New Voyage to Carolina*, Lawson contracted with Baron Christopher von Graffenreid to transport Swiss and German emigrants to Carolina.<sup>75</sup> Baron Graffenreid, a Swiss nobleman, intended to establish a settlement to mine silver and provide a new home for hundreds of Swiss and

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Chronology, 2004.

<sup>74</sup> Janice Tripp Gurganus, “Beaufort County, NC - Land & Deed Records,” <http://files.usgwarchives.net/nc/beaufort/deeds/p51-100.txt> (Accessed February 11, 2013).

<sup>75</sup> Bellis, “Plant Collections,” 379.

German Protestants sought refuge far from persecution in their homeland.<sup>76</sup> Seeking a home in America was nothing new as they had previously fled to England in their attempt to escape persecution.<sup>77</sup>

The journey to America for the Swiss and German Protestants was perilous for those who desired freedom from persecution. The dangers can be seen in colonist Hans Ruegsegger's account of arrival in America.

I will report to you a little how it went with us upon the voyage. Down the Rhine to Rotterdam we passed through the greatest danger. At Rotterdam we lay quietly for six weeks. There two children and one man died. From Rotterdam to Newcastle two women died. At New Castle we lay quietly for four weeks. Then we started away, went out on the sea, lay still for eight days. After this the fleet started. At that time my daughter gave birth to a little son. Then we took six weeks to cross. For six weeks we saw nothing but sky and water. Out of the hundred persons no one died. So we came to land in Virginia. Then we traveled a hundred miles by water and land.<sup>78</sup>

Lawson's role as surveyor-general of Carolina in finding a location for these settlers' freedom was essential. Lawson recommended the future site of New Bern to Graffenreid.<sup>79</sup> New Bern's founding caused injury to the Tuscaroras, who were displaced from lands by white expansionist efforts through land sales and a competition for resources.<sup>80</sup> Baron Graffenreid and nearly 400 Swiss and German Protestants had their home based on the desire of freedom, at the cost of the existing freedom of those Tuscaroras who resided on the land. Lawson's role in New Bern's settlement convinced

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<sup>76</sup> "German & Swiss Refugees in North Carolina, 1700s: Accounts of the first settlers of New Bern, 1711, and Bethabara, 1753-55," <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/growth/text4/germansswissnc.pdf> (accessed February 26, 2013), 1.

<sup>77</sup> "Refugees," 1.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>79</sup> "New Bern Historic Preservation Plan," (New Bern, NC: City of New Bern), <http://www.ci.new-bern.nc.us/documents/HistoricPreservationPlanDraft21July2011.pdf> (accessed February 10, 2013).

<sup>80</sup> Joe A. Mobley, ed., *The Way We Lived in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 55; also Herbert R. Paschal, "The Tragedy of the North Carolina Indians," in *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History*, ed. Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 9.

the Tuscaroras and other tribes that he was their enemy.

The new settlers found access to a world that they could only imagine in Europe. New colonist Jacob Währe discussed these new opportunities: “I will say that for a workman or a poor man it is better there than here. He can get land as much as he needs. He can keep as much stock as he is able. Swine cost nothing to keep. Cattle go the whole year on pasture, become fat and good to butcher by themselves...the land is uncultivated, yet is to be hoped tolerably fruitful.”<sup>81</sup> This world of new freedoms for the Swiss and Germans became a target for those Native Americans who had suffered their encroachment. In discussing the causes of the later Tuscarora War, Graffenreid stated that the Native Americans had been made to believe that he had taken their land and he had “Talked them out of this and it was proven by the friendliness I had shown them, as also by the payment for the land where I settled...I had also made peace with the same Indian inhabitants so that they were entirely satisfied with me.”<sup>82</sup>

Lawson’s attitude toward America was similar to the observations of other colonists. He wrote to the Lord Proprietors in the beginning pages of *A New Voyage to Carolina*:

I here present Your Lordships with a Description of your own Country...a Country, whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the greatest Ease and Satisfaction, and pass away their Hours in solid Contentment...and we a happy People in a Foreign Country; which nothing less than Ingratitude and Baseness can make us disown. As Heaven has been liberal in its Gifts, so are Your

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<sup>81</sup> “Refugees,” 2-3.

<sup>82</sup> “Christoph von Graffenried’s account of the Tuscarora War,” Learn NC (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1962> (accessed February 11, 2013), referencing *Christoph von Graffenried’s Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Printing, 1920).

Lordships favourable Promoters of whatever may make us an easy People; which, I hope, Your Lordships will continue to us and our Posterity.<sup>83</sup>

Lawson's promotion in England for immigrants and colonial development resulted in New Bern's establishment. The Tuscarora War, however, halted this promotion. There are numerous factors involved in determining the causes of the Tuscarora War. English trading practices forced the continued removal of Native Americans from their traditional homes and hunting grounds.<sup>84</sup> The colony was also mismanaged.<sup>85</sup> The Lords Proprietors were keenly aware that the colony's size and the difficulties involved with its management were problems.<sup>86</sup> As the Tuscarora War raged, the Lords Proprietors officially separated their holdings into North and South Carolina in 1712.<sup>87</sup>

### Life After Death

Legal documents provide some of the best observations of Lawson's personal attitudes.<sup>88</sup> His will, for example, presented Lawson at his most personal. By 1708, Lawson had accumulated enough property that he wrote a will to leave his holdings to others upon his passing.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, Lawson brought a sense of continuation of immediate kinship ties, associated with English life, through the leaving of his property to his wife and children, then and in the future.<sup>90</sup> "Dearly beloved' HANNAH SMITH -

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<sup>83</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, iii.

<sup>84</sup> "Graffenreid," Learn NC.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> "A Royal Colony" Learn NC, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1973> (Accessed February 11, 2013).

<sup>87</sup> "Royal," Learn NC

<sup>88</sup> "Will," 2004.

<sup>89</sup> "Will," 2004.

<sup>90</sup> Keith Wrightson, *English Society: 1580-1680*, 3rd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 52, 58.

the house I now live in during her life, 2/3 my personal estate in North Carolina. My daughter ISABELLA of Bath Co., & the brother & sister which her mother HANNAH SMITH is with child & 'then Every Childe of hers by me' - rest of my estate, when they arrive to age 21 or marry."<sup>91</sup>

Through this will, Lawson once again demonstrated that his English mindset persevered through his years in America. Lawson's wife, Hannah Smith, had a suggested relationship with Lawson of husband and wife through this will.<sup>92</sup> The will demonstrated Lawson's desire to ensure the continuation of his holdings within the family unit.<sup>93</sup> The will was created on August 12, 1708, a full three years before Lawson's death.<sup>94</sup> Between 1712 and 1713, Hannah Smith, as executrix, defended her deceased husband's belongings.<sup>95</sup> Smith argued before the General Court that William Kirk of Craven Precinct had attempted to defraud the estate by taking a hair trunk containing multiple writings created by John Lawson.<sup>96</sup> Smith sought to prevent this attempted theft. In addition to battling Kirk, Smith opposed John Hecklefield and Christopher Gale, who also sought claims against the Lawson estate.<sup>97</sup>

Gale had dealt with Lawson in court concerning a debt in 1706.<sup>98</sup> Gale addressed

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<sup>91</sup> "Abstract of John Lawson's Will." (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 2004), <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/htmlFiles/GENT.html>, (accessed February 5, 2013), referencing "Abstract of John Lawson's Will," *Wills, 1633-1722*, Abst. Stephen E. Bradley, Jr. (Keysville, VA: Stephen E. Bradley, Jr., 1993), 54.

<sup>92</sup> "Will," 2004.

<sup>93</sup> Horn, *Adapting*, 225, 228.

<sup>94</sup> "Will," 2004.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> "Contests of John Lawson's Will, 1712-1713," (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 2004) <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/htmlFiles/CASE.html> (Accessed February 5, 2013), referencing "Contests of John Lawson's Will." *Colonial Records—Estate Papers, 1665-1775*, Abst. Stephen E. Bradley, Jr. (Lawrenceville, VA: Stephen E. Bradley, Jr., 2000), 58. Vol. 4 of *Early Records of North Carolina*, 1992.

<sup>97</sup> "Contests," 2004.

<sup>98</sup> "Christopher Gale v. John Lawson, 6 March 1706," (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 2004) <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/htmlFiles/GALE.html> (accessed February 5, 2013), referencing



that debt in his claim against Lawson for not providing him agreed upon buckskins and doe skins to be used in the fur trade.<sup>99</sup> This case suggests that Lawson had access to and sought profit from the environment and Native Americans surrounding them.

Despite their litigious past, Gale relied on Lawson for future economic concerns, including a land transaction that was unable to be completed because of Lawson's death.<sup>100</sup> In an April 1713 case, nearly two years after Lawson's death, Gale once again tried to settle a dispute with Richard Dereham concerning a land transaction involving Lawson.<sup>101</sup> Lawson had purchased close to 640 acres of land near the Neuse River from Dereham and sold the same land to Gale.<sup>102</sup> Because of Lawson's death, an issue arose in the form of the uncompleted title transfer.<sup>103</sup> In the court document, evidence conclusively determined Lawson's sale of the land to Gale. The court concluded that Gale was indeed entitled to the land sale: "Wee doe declare adjudge, order and Decree that the Said Christo. Gale hath as full absolute and just right title and interest unto the Said Lands."<sup>104</sup>

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North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1702-170, Ed. William S. Price, Jr. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2nd ser., 4 (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1974), 245-246.

<sup>99</sup> "Gale," 2004.

<sup>100</sup> "Christopher Gale v. Joseph Dereham, 15 April 1713," (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 2004) <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/htmlFiles/1713.html> (accessed February 5, 2013), referencing "[Gale v. Dereham]." North Carolina Higher Court Minutes, 1709-1723, Ed. William S. Price, Jr. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 2nd ser. (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1974), 5: 472-474.

<sup>101</sup> "Dereham," 2004.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

### A Significant Detour on a Short Trip

When traveling along the Neuse River, Lawson and Graffenreid could not know the fates that awaited each of them, as demonstrated by Graffenreid's account during their trial. "The king asked us why we had not paid our respects to him and communicated our project to him. After this there came into question a general complaint...the Indians, had been very badly treated...a thing which was not to be longer endured. And they named the authors...the Surveyor-General was accused."<sup>105</sup> Lawson's fate resulted from his actions at the expense of Native American tribes in North Carolina.

Discovery, exploration, and new European settlements developed from Lawson's efforts in America. Those results, however, came at a high cost. To the Native Americans, their early interactions with Lawson served his purpose of discovery and exploration, while at the same time providing colonists with a distinct image of the Tuscaroras' way of life. Over time, as Lawson became more involved with settling Europeans in Carolina, his creation of towns came at the cost of the destruction of settled Native American communities. Lawson's towns created conflict with the Native Americans, especially the Tuscaroras. Eventually, the Tuscaroras identified Lawson personally as the cause of their potential destruction.

For Graffenreid, life was not the same after the death of Lawson:

Because I was going to Europe again only unwillingly, much less willingly home, I prayed unceasingly all this time that the almighty God should put into my mind what I should do in such a precarious affair, that he would conduct everything according to His holy will, in order that in the future I might have more blessing in my undertaking, that thus I might take such a resolution as would be most profitable to my soul, for if I had sought barely to pass my own life I should likely have found expedients; but I had scruples about abandoning

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<sup>105</sup> Graffenreid, *Account*, 266.

the colony. When I considered how much I owed to God, especially for such a marvelous rescue, and how disastrously and adversely everything had gone with me, I could well guess that it was not God's will that I should remain longer in this land. And since no good star shone for me I finally took the resolution to go away, comforting myself that my colonists would probably get along better among these Carolinians who could help them better at the time than I. Herewith, and because I had no great hopes in myself, I departed, for what I did was not with the intention of entirely abandoning them, although a greater part had given me cause to, but in case I received favor of an audience with her Royal Majesty the Queen of England, also more assistance at Bern, I could with joy and profit come to them again.<sup>106</sup>

Unable to overcome the continued difficulties created by the Tuscarora War, Graffenreid returned to Switzerland, abandoning the colony that he had created.

In his short life, Lawson had created a great deal. *A New Voyage to Carolina* provided insight into Carolina that had not been previously seen. His work with James Petiver provided an outlet for Lawson's naturalist passions and continued his work in describing the natural wonders he encountered in his journey through the colony. As surveyor-general, Lawson recommended needed lands for incoming colonists, including Graffenreid. Even following his death, Lawson's impact was felt through his will's provisions and his participation in land transactions involving the colonists. Lawson's association with the diminishment of Native American lands ultimately led to his death at the hands of the Tuscaroras in September 1711. Through his unique efforts, Lawson's interactions allowed for potential benefits to colonists and the Tuscaroras. Lawson failed to utilize those efforts to preserve an increasingly fragile peace between them, focusing

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<sup>106</sup> "Christoph von Graffenried, 1661-1743," (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2013), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/graffenried/bio.html> (accessed February 11, 2013), referencing Thomas P. de Graffenreid, *History of the de Graffenreid Family from 1191 A.D. to 1925* (1925); "De Graffenreid Family," *William and Mary Quarterly* 15, no. 3. (1907); Walter Havighurst, *Alexander Spotswood: Portrait of a Governor* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1967); Vincent H. Todd and Julius Goebel, eds., *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Printing, 1920).

instead mostly on himself. His legacy is forever associated with the consequences of his actions during his time in Carolina.

### Chapter 3 - Failed Diplomacy: The Death of John Lawson

The Tuscaroras, once a thriving tribal nation in North Carolina, found their way of life in danger. As Europeans traveled to America, the Tuscaroras adapted in the beginning, gaining a measure of power through interaction with the settlers. The colonists' continued expansion created tension as the two groups became closer in proximity, and the Southern Tuscaroras' way of life became one of dependence to maintain their power as a political unit, leading to an unavoidable clash of cultures. Both John Lawson and the Tuscaroras faced trials during the period after 1700. For Lawson, his literal trial ended with his execution. For the Tuscaroras, their trial began with Lawson's death and the Tuscarora War that followed. These events defined the legacy of both the Tuscaroras and English settlement in Carolina.

As the Tuscaroras found their way of life threatened, Lawson became a significant individual in the colony. Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina* examined various Indian tribes in Carolina, as well as areas previously unexplored by Europeans. Over a short period of time, Lawson became a visible symbol of the change that threatened the Tuscaroras. When Lawson found himself captured with Baron Christoph von Graffenreid, with whom Lawson had been involved in founding New Bern, he learned that the expanding settler population, resulting in part from *A New Voyage to Carolina*, had made him a public figure that the Tuscaroras recognized. Lawson's notoriety, along with the colonial peoples to which he was irrevocably tied, clashed with the Tuscaroras.

Lawson's trial served as a trial of the Tuscaroras as well. Incapable of coping with the settlers and their impact, the Tuscaroras were trapped by the very colonists who had

helped them to grow in status among the other Native Americans through trade and interaction. Refuge in other colonies was not an option, as the Europeans and their law moved against the Tuscaroras in efforts to seek aid from colonies like Pennsylvania. The Tuscaroras spoke, but the new settlers did not hear them. Seemingly without voice, the Tuscaroras let actions speak for them in September 1711 with Lawson's execution and the brutal aftermath that followed. The clash of peoples in this period continued a series of events that ended with the ultimate expulsion of much of the Native American population by the European newcomers.

The path to Lawson's trial at the hand of the Tuscaroras began with his voyage to America. Lawson's vessel arrived in New York City. From there, he sailed to Charleston. Lawson's choice to sail to America and his eventual presence in North Carolina came with responsibilities. Shortly after arriving in Carolina in late December 1700, Lawson prepared to survey the province's interior. On December 28, 1700, Lawson began his expedition, departing Charleston for the interior. Following the Santee and Wateree rivers, Lawson passed through present day Charlotte, then made his way east towards the coast.<sup>1</sup> Lawson traveled with six Englishmen, three Native American men, and a female Native American guide.<sup>2</sup> He wrote about this journey and his experiences in *A New Voyage to Carolina*.

Lawson's observations focused on the potential for settlement, and the advantages that the land offered to colonists: "This will be a most advantageous Settlement, lying so commodiously for Ships coming from the Gulph, and the Richness of the Land, which is

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<sup>1</sup> North Carolina Historic Sites, "John Lawson: Explorer, Historian, and Co-Founder of Bath," <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bath/lawson.htm> (accessed September 20, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina*, 2nd Ed. (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1988), 71.

reported to be there. These more Southerly Parts will afford Oranges, Limons, Limes, and many other Fruits, which the Northerly Plantations yield not.”<sup>3</sup> From the general description and customs of Native American tribes to the smallest details of the Spanish oyster-shell, Lawson’s expedition helped to paint a clearer picture of the interior of what eventually became North and South Carolina. Lawson’s perilous journey through the Carolinas allowed for new observations not experienced by Englishmen. Although writing a book was not his original intent when he arrived in 1700, Lawson’s account of his expedition eventually appeared in *A New Voyage to Carolina*. His book was a success, as it assisted in the English effort to promote settlement of America.

Lawson’s book offered readers an opportunity to observe his many encounters with Native Americans. He commented on the treatment of Native Americans during interactions with colonists in America.<sup>4</sup> Lawson also noted the difficult nature of the relationship between the British government and the Native Americans, and suggested ways to address the situation with a shared dialogue of cultures through religious conversion and inter-marriage. Speaking of the Native Americans and their situation, Lawson also noted that they could be made “serviceable” to the colonists, bettering themselves in the process.<sup>5</sup>

Lawson’s account of the Native American population suggests a recognition of the cultural conflict between the colonists and the Native Americans. This recognition, while tempered with compassion, still reflected a perception of the Native Americans as savages and the ideal role of the Native Americans as acting in service of the crown. Even under Lawson’s view of the cultural conflict, the eventual role of Native Americans

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<sup>3</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

was one of assimilation. Lawson saw this assimilation, however, as having a positive impact on the Native Americans over time. The Native Americans, through their interaction with the colonists, would not only benefit the colonists through their service, but would themselves benefit by adopting the Christian characteristics of the colonists they served. The savages were still savages who could be made better through the religion and education of the colonists seeking to make the Native Americans “serviceable.” While Lawson’s view was not necessarily enlightened, it still represented a method of addressing the cultural conflict that existed between colonists and Native Americans by destroying native cultures.

Lawson’s encounters with the Tuscaroras enabled him to describe Tuscaroras’ post-contact trading practices with other Carolina tribes. The Tuscaroras’ commerce utilized an extensive rum-trade with tribes to the west, which Lawson noted as, “Having brought to them by the Tuskeruros, and other Neighbour Indians, but the Tuskeruros chiefly, who carry it in Rundlets several hundred miles, amongst other Indians. Sometimes they cannot forebear breaking their Cargo, but sit down in the Woods and drink it all up.”<sup>6</sup> Lawson offered the reader a glimpse of not only the Tuscaroras trading practices, but also weaknesses of the trade and the tribes involved.

The Tuscaroras were one of many tribes in Carolina. Unlike the Algonquian speaking peoples located along the coasts, the Tuscaroras lived on the inner coastal plain. Their access to available resources, including fish in the rivers, soil ideal for cultivation, and ample game, allowed the Tuscaroras to control their territory with a measure of authority. In 1654, Francis Yardley of Virginia purchased lands along rivers in what later became Carolina. While constructing a house, Yardley met nearby Tuscarora. Yardley

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<sup>6</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 240.



noted that the Tuscaroras used copper for plates, a common attribute of most Native American tribes. Yardley noticed that another Tuscarora had large gold beads in his ears. Further exploration was impossible because of communication difficulty and a conflict with a neighboring tribe that made continued exploration too dangerous. While Yardley's interactions with the Tuscaroras ended poorly, he later took in a Native American child from a competing tribe to bring up as a Christian and receive God's grace. Yardley's motivations in his dealings with Native Americans demonstrated the notion of improving the Native Americans through English interaction. Lawson continued this motivation in his encounters with the Tuscaroras.<sup>7</sup>

*A New Voyage to Carolina* offered many insights about the colony. The book offered a notion of security, stating that, "On these Heads they [colonists] have settled, and maintain an admirable Constitution of Government, for the lasting Peace, Security, and Well-being of all the Inhabitants."<sup>8</sup> America was just that: new. English unfamiliarity with North America was addressed through Lawson's exposure of Carolina. In addition to commentary concerning the richness of the land and its resources, Lawson continued an English tradition of using humanity's basic needs as a tool to promote the colonies. By showing that a man could travel through the colony's interior and freely interact with a native people who could be made "serviceable," the danger of Carolina was pushed aside in favor of the opportunity the colony offered to new settlers.

As settlement began in the 1600s, Tuscarora Indians were not dispersed in the manner of many coastal Indian tribes. Described as insulated and "derived from the same

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<sup>7</sup> "Letter from Francis Yardley to John Farrar [Extract]." Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, May 08, 1654. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2010. <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0006> (accessed September 20, 2013).

<sup>8</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 256.

Iroquoian linguistic center to the northward as did the Cherokee,” the Tuscaroras had a high level of centralization.<sup>9</sup> The Tuscaroras also had a significant population of 5,000 persons living in fifteen villages located between the Tar and Neuse rivers.<sup>10</sup> Recent scholarship has challenged this interpretation, as the Tuscaroras have been portrayed as a people neither united politically nor containing a central leader.<sup>11</sup> Based on Lawson’s observations, who was referenced for this recent scholarship, the perception of the Tuscaroras at the time suggested that, even without a central leader, the Tuscaroras as a cultural and political unit operated under a common law that was followed by all.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, recent scholarship also suggests that, while the Tuscaroras could be separate and fairly autonomous, as they were in the form of the Southern and Northern Tuscaroras, they could choose to join in alliance quickly if provoked, making them a feared single political unit in the eyes of many colonists and other Native Americans.<sup>13</sup> The Tuscaroras were not savages or hunter/gatherers, but a centralized population with customs and traditions observed by Lawson as different from the colonists. As more colonists settled North Carolina, the competition for such resources as the waterways and the surrounding lands contributed to the cultural conflict between colonists and Native Americans.

Since their arrival, the colonists had changed the Tuscaroras’ role in Carolina.

When English settlement began, the Tuscaroras still thrived through trade with colonists

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<sup>9</sup> Herbert R. Paschal, “The Tragedy of the North Carolina Indians,” in *The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary History*, ed. Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson, 3-27 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> La Vere, *Tuscarora War*, Kindle Locations 830-831.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*; Lawson, *Voyage*, 204.

<sup>13</sup> La Vere, *Tuscarora War*, Kindle Locations 875-877.

and other Native Americans.<sup>14</sup> Like other Native Americans, the Tuscaroras initially benefitted from the Europeans' arrival, as English traders provided metal goods and weapons in return for furs and slaves. The Tuscaroras used their new weapons to dominate trade and other tribes in North Carolina. The effects on the Tuscaroras and neighboring tribes did not remain positive. Rum undermined shared cultural values, and unfair exchanges created debt to English merchants. Initially, the Tuscaroras used their newly acquired weapons to dominate trade among more inland Native Americans.<sup>15</sup> The Tuscaroras also gained through the burgeoning fur trade with Virginia. The profit and power from this commerce allowed the Northern Tuscaroras to become politically powerful and dominate their region over lesser groups of Native Americans, including Algonquians such as the Pamlico. The Southern Tuscaroras' delicate relationship with English settlers was threatened as the colonists continued to arrive in America, encroaching on their lands and separating them from the success of the Northern Tuscaroras.<sup>16</sup>

The colonists' increasing population in the late 1600s changed the relationship that had originally developed between the settlers and the Southern Tuscaroras. While the colonists' presence had initially benefitted the Southern Tuscaroras, the ever encroaching colonists became a growing threat. Expanding colonization increased the intrusion of English law into the Indians' daily lives. Native American leaders increasingly found themselves subject to the English legal system.

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<sup>14</sup> E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina: 1663-1763* (Raleigh, NC: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), 1-3.

<sup>15</sup> Rebecca M. Seaman, "The Tuscarora War: American Indians Fight for Independence," *Tar Heel Junior Historian* Vol. 51, 2 (Spring 2012), <http://www.ncdcr.gov/Portals/7/Collateral/database/s12.tuscarora.pdf>, 2-3.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

By 1709, settlers had made significant advances into Native American territory.<sup>17</sup> These advances included movement onto the hunting area of the Coree Indians, who were closely allied with the Tuscaroras. The creation of Bath and New Bern posed a serious threat to the Tuscaroras' way of life. To establish New Bern, Graffenreid and his associates displaced a nearby Tuscarora town, which increased tensions.<sup>18</sup> A similar displacement had earlier occurred at Bath, where the colonists forced the Pamlicos to withdraw and move south. Bath's role was also tied to Lawson, because he and two other men purchased the land to create the town.<sup>19</sup> The settlers' expansion at the Native Americans' expense prompted the Pamlicos to forge a stronger alliance with the Tuscaroras, which resulted in Chief Hancock's fateful decision to capture and execute Lawson.<sup>20</sup>

According to Graffenreid, the Tuscaroras saw Lawson as the man who recommended New Bern's site and encouraged the sale of their lands.<sup>21</sup> Compassionate though he may have been for the Native Americans' plight, Lawson still represented the new government that created new laws and treaties to benefit the Europeans. While the relationship between Lawson and North Carolina was based on the need to research and discover, that relationship changed as Lawson increasingly personified European expansion and cultural aggression against the Tuscaroras.

Earlier benefits resulting from contact with European settlers became tenuous, as

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<sup>17</sup> "The Indians Retaliate . . ." Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2012. <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bath/Tuscaroras.htm> (accessed February 20, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Joe A. Mobley, ed., *The Way We Lived in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 55.

<sup>19</sup> Herbert Richard Paschal, Jr., *Papers* (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University, 1983), <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/special/ead/findingaids/0481/> (accessed September 20, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Rights, *American Indian*, 51.

<sup>21</sup> Francis L. Hawks, *North Carolina: From 1663 to 1729, vol. 2, Embracing the Period of the Proprietary Government, From 1663 to 1729* (Fayetteville, NC: E. J. Hale & Son, 1858), 529.

traders became increasingly unscrupulous when dealing for land and resources. Depending on trade to maintain their status, the Tuscaroras became increasingly subject to the colonial government's will.<sup>22</sup> Before Lawson's final encounter with Tuscaroras' culture, the tribe faced issues beyond land and resource disputes. Charleston slave traders expanded the Indian slave trade following a devastating disease that reduced the Native American population in North Carolina, utilizing the demon rum that also became associated with Native American troubles. Captured Indians were increasingly transported to South Carolina for sale in the West Indies.<sup>23</sup> The Indian slave trade created further tension between the colonists and the Tuscaroras. The colonial government might suspend trade if the Tuscaroras were not aligned with the colony in the increasing Indian slave trade, which had contributed to much of their success with the colonists.<sup>24</sup> As the slave trade created tensions with the Tuscaroras, who were suffering personal losses from the trade and political pressure from South Carolina Native American political units like the Yamasees participating in the slave trade, there was a sense that revenge had to be taken against the colonists.<sup>25</sup> Unfair dealings in the fur trade prevented many Native Americans from paying increasing debts to Indian traders.<sup>26</sup> Settler expansion also decreased the goods available for the Tuscaroras, which added to Indian-colonial friction. The tension was so palpable that the colonists feared a large-scale Indian war.<sup>27</sup>

Rumor spread among the colonists that Native Americans were building their ammunition supplies in preparation for hunting, with the weaponry possibly being used

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<sup>22</sup> Theda Perdue *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina*. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1985), 29.

<sup>23</sup> Lee, *Indian Wars: 1663-1763*, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Perdue, *Carolinians*, 28-29.

<sup>25</sup> La Vere, *Tuscarora War*, Kindle Locations 998-999, 1436-1437.

<sup>26</sup> Perdue, *Carolinians*, 28-29.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

for war in the future.<sup>28</sup> The fear of war created a real sense of conflict between the two cultures. This tension resulted in some Tuscaroras seeking peaceful assistance from Pennsylvania, despite a seemingly inevitable, violent conflict.

The colonists' continued expansion onto the Tuscaroras' land, the declining benefits of English trade, and the expansion of the Indian slave trade created a tension so powerful that some Tuscaroras wanted to leave Carolina. In one of the only written sessions where the colonists noted, heard, and recorded the Tuscaroras' viewpoint, the tribe petitioned Pennsylvania officials to settle in that colony in June 1710. The Tuscaroras wanted to find a location to reside outside North Carolina where they could live free and hunt without a continuous fear of murder or enslavement by colonists. In reply, the Pennsylvania officials observed of the Tuscaroras that, "they hope we will take them by the hand & lead them, & then they will lift up their heads in the woods without danger or fear."<sup>29</sup> Tuscaroras and colonial fear created a reaction in Pennsylvania that shows the increased tensions between the two peoples in Carolina.

Pennsylvania officials noted the Tuscaroras' tensions, as they stated that the Tuscaroras "signified to us by a Belt of Wampum...sent as an Introduction, & in order to break off hostilities till next Spring, for then their Kings will Come & sue for the peace they so much Desire."<sup>30</sup> This statement suggested significant developments. There was an indication that hostilities were a possibility in the Tuscaroras' minds. The cultural conflict between the colonists and Tuscaroras had escalated to the point of hostilities. At

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<sup>28</sup> Noeleen McIlvanna, *A Very Mutinous People: The Struggle for North Carolina, 1660-1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 117.

<sup>29</sup> North Carolina Digital History, "The Tuscaroras ask Pennsylvania for aid," UNC School of Education Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1960> (accessed February 27, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

the same time, the statement also suggested that the Tuscaroras desired peace. The Tuscaroras' petition to Pennsylvania indicated a willingness to reside with a colonial culture closer to their Iroquoian heritage in New York. The petition suggested a knowledge of potential hostilities with the North Carolina colonists. Ultimately, the Tuscaroras failed because the Carolina government prevented them from obtaining a certificate of past good behavior, which Pennsylvania required before allowing the Tuscaroras to settle in that province. North Carolina's action effectively trapped the Tuscaroras in Carolina. They were unable to depart, but they were also unwilling to stay under current conditions.<sup>31</sup>

The early eighteenth century was a decisive time for the Tuscarora Indians. North Carolina damaged them through settler expansion, trade, and slavery. The role of North Carolina law prevented some Tuscaroras from leaving, and the Tuscaroras soon felt the backlash of the very system that had initially worked in their favor to give them a measure of power. The colony's continued actions attempted to convert the Tuscaroras into a subservient people. Unable to be heard by Carolina and unable to be heard abroad for peace, the Tuscaroras soon found that violent acts were their only recourse against the colonial invaders. With the tension increasing, an opportunity presented itself to the Tuscaroras in the form of Lawson and Graffenreid's expedition. A seemingly uneventful trip ended with an assault against the European invaders.

In September 1711, Lawson and Graffenreid, hoping to locate a faster trade route to Virginia, decided to make a scouting trip along the Neuse River. Two slaves and two Native American guides accompanied Lawson and Graffenreid. The trip was not expected to last a long time, and the group took only basic precautions as it headed to

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Virginia.<sup>32</sup> Near Catechna, a Tuscarora village, the Tuscaroras detained the expedition. The capture was both sudden and unexpected, as Graffenreid stated: "In a moment there came out of all the bushes and swimming through the river such a number of Indians and overpowered us that it was impossible to defend ourselves...we were forthwith taken prisoners, plundered, and led away."<sup>33</sup> Lawson, Graffenreid, and their party were captives, forced to march for the rest of the day and some of the night before arriving at Catechna. Once inside the village, Lawson, Graffenreid, and the party came before King Hancock, the Southern Tuscaroras' ruler.

Many Tuscarora rituals were extensive in detail and preparation. According to Graffenreid, preparations for his and Lawson's trial and possible execution were equally extensive.

In the open space or public square mentioned there was a large fire, near which was the shaman or high priest, a grizzled sorcerer, who made two white rings on the ground, whether of flour or white sand was not stated. In front of the two victims was placed a wolf skin, and a short distance farther there stood an Indian in a terrifying posture, holding in one hand a knife and in the other a tomahawk; he was apparently the executioner. He did not move from the spot. On the farther side of the fire were assembled young men, women, and children, who danced with weird and frightful contortions and attitudes. In the center of the circle of dancers were seated two singers who intoned a dismal song, rather fit to provoke tears and anger than joy. Within the circle of dancers the shaman stood unterrified, uttering his threatenings and adjurations and performing his exorcisms, against the foes of his people and their orenda or medicine, when there would come a pause in the dancing. Finally, with shouts and howls the dancers ran into the neighboring forest. In a short time they returned with their faces painted black, white, and red, in bands, and with their hair loose and flying, oiled and sprinkled with fine down or cotton from the cattail flag and with small white feathers, and some returned arrayed in all kinds of furs. After their return, the dance was renewed.<sup>34</sup>

The ordeal of Lawson and Graffenreid was not a short affair. Multiple councils

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<sup>32</sup> Rights, *American Indian*, 47.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Access Genealogy, "Tuscaroras Indian Ethnology," <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/native/tribes/Tuscaroras/Tuscarorasethnology.htm> (accessed September 20, 2012).



discussed the captured party. The first council, held in the morning, accomplished little, determining only that the prisoners should not to be bound like criminals. A second council, held at night, proceeded against the defendants, questioning Lawson and Graffenreid. A number of chiefs from neighboring tribes, who also attended this night council, heard the answers to those questions.<sup>35</sup>

The trial council consisted of representation for the Indians in attendance, as well as representation for Lawson and Graffenreid through the Indian companion in their party. When asked about the his journey's purpose, Lawson stated that they were searching for wild grapes and a navigable river to establish business and correspondence with Virginia. From that point, several complaints arose concerning the poor treatment of Native Americans. Lawson and his party had willfully travelled into Tuscaroras' territory without paying proper respect for Chief Hancock before beginning their journey. None of the traveling party had requested permission to travel through Tuscaroras territory. Despite this lack of respect, the Tuscaroras decided that the defendants would be released the following day.

Rather than being released, however, Lawson and Graffenreid faced questions again inside Hancock's hut about their motivations for travel. Graffenreid sensed a marked change in attitude among the Native Americans on the second day:

The king of Cartuca was there, who reproached Lawson with something, so that they got into a quarrel on both sides and became rather angry. This spoiled everything for us. However much I tried to keep Lawson from disputing, I could not succeed at all. The examination finally ended, we all rose up, we two walked together and I reproached him very strongly for his unguardedness in such a critical condition. Immediately thereafter there came suddenly three or four of the chiefs very angrily, seized us roughly by the arms, led us back and forcibly set us

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<sup>35</sup> "The Trial of Christoph von Graffenried & John Lawson." Coastal Carolina Indian Center. [http://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/research/lawson\\_graffenried\\_trial.htm](http://www.coastalcarolinaindians.com/research/lawson_graffenried_trial.htm) (accessed February 12, 2013).

down in the old place. There were no mats laid for us, they took our hats and wigs away from us and threw them into the fire...Hereupon a council of war was held and we were both condemned to death, without knowing the cause of it. And so we remained the whole night, sitting in the same position upon the ground till morning.<sup>36</sup>

Graffenreid suggested that Lawson's quarrel with a Coree Indian chief, one of many neighboring tribes invited to this council, contributed to their death sentence.

Despite facing death, Graffenreid made a passionate speech in an attempt to save his life:

I turned myself somewhat around, although bound, knowing that one of them understood the English language rather well, and made a short speech, telling my innocence, and how if they did not spare me the great and mighty Queen of England would avenge my blood, because I had brought the colony to this land at her command, not to do them any harm but to live on good terms with them; and what else seemed to me good to say to engage them to kindness; with the offer of my services and all sorts of favors if I were liberated.<sup>37</sup>

Apparently, Graffenreid's connection to royal power and desire for friendly relations with the Tuscaroras did the trick, because the tribe spared Graffenreid from his previous death sentence. This clemency was not transferred to Lawson, as Graffenreid stated: "The Indian said to me in my ear, in broken English, that I should not fear, they would not kill me, but they would kill General Lawson."<sup>38</sup> Graffenreid's slave, who was never seen or heard from again, was also released from custody. Lawson's fate, however, was sealed:

Back of the two victims stood a double line of armed warriors who kept their posts until everything was over; back of this guard was the council of war, whose members were seated on the ground in a circle, gravely deliberating on the fate of the two noted prisoners. Finally, they acted on the advice of "King" Tom Blunt, the head chief of their neighbors, "the villages of the Tuscaroros," properly so called, that King Hencock should liberate De Graffenried, and could deal with Lawson as he and his council pleased."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Access Genealogy, "Ethnology."

While the trials of the Tuscaroras continued, the trial of Lawson and Graffenreid was over. Following Lawson's execution, the Tuscaroras released Graffenreid from custody, who later commented on Lawson's possible fate:

I had heard before from several savages that the threat had been made that he was to have his throat cut with a razor which was found in his sack. The smaller negro, who was left alive, also testified to this; but some say he was hanged; others that he was burned. The savages kept it very secret how he was killed. May God have mercy on his soul.<sup>40</sup>

On the day after Lawson's death, Graffenreid witnessed the groundwork for a planned war against North Carolina. Graffenreid stated that, "The chief...came to me with the report that they had it in mind to make war on North Carolina. Especially did they wish to surprise the people of Pamtego, Neuse, and Trent Rivers, and Core Sound...they could not let me go until they were through with this expedition."<sup>41</sup>

Lawson's execution was the first act in the case of the Tuscarora Indians. With Graffenreid as their prisoner, the Southern Tuscaroras were free to continue their statement against the effect of the colonists and their law on Indian culture. Their attack came without warning or expectation:

The Indians swarmed from the houses, and joined by those who had been hiding in the forest, with and knife and whirling tomahawk struck down every man, woman, and child within reach. On Saturday Morning, just as the first rays of the rising sun rested upon those peaceful homes, a terrible whoop rang out in the still air from every house, and was followed by the answering yells from the woods...the few whites left outside the towns were now threatened by hostile Indians, who sought every opportunity to slay them.<sup>42</sup>

The Tuscaroras' attack on New Bern on the morning of September 22, 1711, was quick and merciless. The day before was a seemingly normal day for the residents who

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<sup>40</sup> Coastal, "Trial."

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Lutie Andrews McCorkle, *Old Time Stories of the Old North State* (Boston, MA: D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1903), 37.

called the town home. For these settlers, who lived in frontiers close to the costal tribes, dealing with Native Americans was a daily occurrence. Many German and Swiss residents of New Bern traded with Native Americans or even employed them as servants. Several shopkeepers who traded with local Native American tribes, including the Tuscaroras, housed them overnight if significant travel was needed the next day. On this day, seemingly like any other, the Tuscaroras went to New Bern and walked among their adversaries, as a larger attack force lay in wait.<sup>43</sup>

Later that night, the Tuscaroras, Corees, Pamlicos, Machapungos, and Bay River Indians attacked towns along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Trent rivers.<sup>44</sup> With easy access to land and river travel, the Tuscaroras had a distinct advantage during the three day assault. When the attack concluded, nearly two hundred colonists were dead. Sixty of those victims died in the initial attack on New Bern, with twice that many killed in the upriver settlements.<sup>45</sup>

The opening statement of the Tuscarora War, the death of John Lawson, led to the hostilities in New Bern, and did not end until the conclusion of the war in 1715. The New Bern assault was the largest by Native Americans in Carolina to that point.

Graffenreid commented on the Tuscarora War's causes:

The carelessness of the Carolinians contributed not a little to the audacity and bold actions of these Indians, because they trusted them too much, and for safety there was not a fortified place in the whole province to which one could retire; also in case of any eruption or hostility no arrangements were made and much less were there the necessary provisions of food and war supplies. This was carried so far that in these times of unrest, whole shiploads of corn and meat were carried away and exchanged for sugar, molasses, brandy, and other less necessary things. In short, everything was carelessly managed. Instead of drawing together into one

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<sup>43</sup> Powell, William S, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 78.

<sup>44</sup> Perdue, *Carolinians*, 30.

<sup>45</sup> Rights, *American Indian*, 51-52

or two bodies of well ordered soldiery in order to drive the enemy from the boundaries of the settlements, every one wanted to save his own house and defend himself. This was the cause that finally the Indians or savages overpowered one plantation after another, and soon brought the whole province under them. My idea was that in case the savages would not act in accordance with the agreement made with them, and could not be brought to a good treaty, to divert them with the peace I had made, to procure a truce, and meanwhile, with the help of my people to establish myself in some place and, provided with all necessary munitions and food, by this means to make a greater and more vigorous resistance, or else entirely to destroy the savages. But there was nothing to be done with these wrong-headed Carolinians, who, even if some were more courageous than the others, took the matter up so heedlessly and clumsily, got around behind the Indians who were much stronger in numbers, good shots, and well provided with everything, so that this small handful of Christians immediately had to get the worst of it.<sup>46</sup>

Despite his exaltations to the Tuscaroras during his capture, Graffenreid was not in a position to implement his suggestions. Graffenreid's statements of a lack of fortifications and provisions, while true, only offer self-serving statements that divert his own responsibility for New Bern. As a town founder, Graffenreid failed to implement his suggestions for public fortifications against the Tuscaroras even at a local level. It was only following Lawson's execution that Graffenreid attempted to maintain peace with the Tuscaroras.

As the Tuscarora War erupted following Lawson's death, colonial soldiers obtained scattered reports from Native Americans. Major Christopher Gale received a report concerning Lawson's possible fate.<sup>47</sup> Gale learned that Lawson's death may have been more gruesome than Graffenreid suggested. According to Gale, Lawson may have had small cuts made over exposed parts of his body. Small splinters of torchwood were then heated in a small cooking pot, and then inserted into his cuts. Lawson may have suffered a slow and painful death, as the splinters slowly ignited while he was still

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<sup>46</sup> *Graffenreid's Account*.

<sup>47</sup> North Carolina Digital History, "A letter from Major Christopher Gale, November 2, 1711," <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1958> (accessed February 27, 2013).

alive.<sup>48</sup>

Lawson's trial ended with his brutal death. For Lawson, opportunity led him to Carolina, where he enjoyed success as an author, surveyor-general, and as a founder of New Bern and Bath. His association with Graffenreid, the tensions of New Bern's creation, and his fateful trip to Virginia led to his trial. The constant interactions between Tuscaroras and colonists created a new, dangerous result in Lawson's capture, trial, and execution. The fragile peace was broken in Carolina. The Tuscaroras' trial began with expanded settlement in the early 1700s. The tribe's initial benefits from the colonists eventually led to a reduced role in the colony, as the Tuscaroras found themselves being transformed into a dependent people without voice. At a crucial intersection of time, where the paths of Lawson and the Tuscaroras met, the Tuscaroras regained their voice and made their opening statement with Lawson's execution. The Tuscaroras' trial continued well past the conclusion of the Tuscarora War and remains forever connected with John Lawson's life and death.

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<sup>48</sup> Rights, *American Indian*, 51.

#### Chapter 4: Bound Diplomacy – Baron Graffenreid in Captivity

Lawson's death provides an opportunity to examine diplomacy between Europeans and Native Americans in Carolina. Examining the period before, during, and after Lawson's death, this chapter argues that diplomatic efforts between Europeans and Native Americans changed significantly as a result of Lawson's death. This change, however, came with the bottom line understanding that the Europeans considered their society superior in nearly every respect. Three people represent the opportunity to understand European and Native American diplomacy. First, Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina* offered insight into previous, as well as his own, observations of interactions and diplomacy with the Tuscaroras. Lawson's actions, however, were undiplomatic and eventually contributed to his execution. Second, Graffenreid's observations while in captivity following Lawson's execution offered a glimpse of forced diplomacy with the Tuscaroras. For Graffenreid, this diplomacy came in the form of a treaty with the Tuscaroras that he probably made to save his own life. At the same time, the treaty represented a belated understanding between the Tuscaroras and Graffenreid concerning tensions between Native Americans and colonists. Lastly, the observations of Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood offered a portrait of North Carolina as a colony in crisis resulting from rising tensions between colonists and Native Americans caused by an imbalance of power in favor of the English. At the same time, Spotswood's eventual treaty with the Tuscaroras represented an official form of diplomacy that went beyond the self-serving treaty Graffenreid constructed. With Spotswood, as with Lawson and Graffenreid, there was an underlying belief that European society was inherently better than that of the Tuscaroras, an ethnocentrism that tainted all diplomatic efforts with

the Tuscaroras. The resulting conflict, and the ultimate fate of Graffenreid and New Bern, offer a completed image of the result of interactions between Europeans and Native Americans.

As mentioned, the Tuscarora Indians captured Lawson and Graffenreid while they were traveling to Virginia along the Neuse River in North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> The goal of these travels was to search for grapes and find a faster trade route to Virginia by water.

Graffenreid had previously described the colony's wild grapes:

Wild grapes are very abundant and yield especially well. I do not doubt that one could make them tame and plant others, just as has been commenced already... There are many grape-vines and many grapes on them, of which some are good to eat; and it can well be believed, if one had many together (they would do well).<sup>2</sup>

Graffenreid felt these grapes offered a demonstration of abundance in America.

Grapes, however, were not enough to persuade Graffenreid to make the journey along the Neuse with Lawson.<sup>3</sup> When Lawson suggested finding a faster and more profitable waterway to Virginia for trade, Graffenreid decided to accompany Lawson on the journey.<sup>4</sup>

For Graffenreid, surviving during his several weeks in captivity required recognition of the Tuscaroras through an illegal treaty. Graffenreid, who the Tuscaroras felt had power in North Carolina based on his perceived and self-proclaimed connection to the Crown, created this treaty between the non-English settlers of Carolina and the

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<sup>1</sup> Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina*, 2nd Ed. (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1988), 47.

<sup>2</sup> Christoph von Graffenreid, *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern*, The Founding of New Bern Website (2005), [www.carolana.com/Carolina/Settlement/The\\_Founding\\_of\\_New\\_Bern\\_Graffenried](http://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Settlement/The_Founding_of_New_Bern_Graffenried), (accessed February 27, 2013), 47, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Graffenreid, *Account*, 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



Tuscaroras while remaining their captive.<sup>5</sup> This treaty covered nine points as a treaty of nonaggression.

The first part of the treaty examined the parties involved. “In October, 1711, it was agreed...between Baron, Count von Graffenreid, Governor of the German Colony in North Carolina, and the Indians of the Tuscaroras Nation with their neighbors of Core, Wilkinsons Point, King Taylor, those of Pamtego... that both parties shall forget the past and henceforth be good friends.”<sup>6</sup> Unaware of the comings and goings of the world outside of his captivity, Graffenreid saw obvious merit in being good friends with his current captors. With Lawson dead, Graffenreid continued the treaty, stating in the second part that, when the English and Native Americans in North Carolina engaged in periods of strife and war with each other, German colonies, like the recently formed town of New Bern, would remain neutral.<sup>7</sup> As a third part of the treaty, those residing in the German colonies would remain in their homes and in their towns, refusing passage to both the English and the Native Americans through their homes and towns in the name of neutrality.<sup>8</sup> In a fourth part of the treaty, the German colonies would not harm any Native American, and when seeking justice against another party, would do so with authorities among the colonists and Native Americans.<sup>9</sup> In return for this neutrality, the Tuscaroras agreed to meet the same conditions when interacting with the German colonists.<sup>10</sup>

As a prisoner, Graffenreid recognized the difficulty the Tuscaroras faced in this

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<sup>5</sup> “Christoph von Graffenried's account of the Tuscarora War,” Learn NC, UNC School of Education (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1962> (accessed February 12, 2013),

<sup>6</sup> “Treaty,” ed. Jan-Michael Poff, (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Office of Archives & History, 2001), <http://www.ncpublications.com/colonial/Bookshelf/Graff/Treaty.htm>, (accessed February 10, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> “Treaty,” 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

treaty, agreeing in a fifth part that, “the above named Governor of the German colony promises to stay within his boundaries and to take no more territory, up toward them, without the consent of the king and nation.”<sup>11</sup> This portion of the treaty suggested a level of respect regarding the opinions and wishes of the Tuscarora people and their king. Graffenreid later commented on the treatment of the Tuscaroras by the incoming colonists and the role of that treatment in causing rising tensions. “The harsh treatment of certain surly and rough English inhabitants who deceived them in trade, would not let them hunt about their plantations, and under this excuse took away from them their arms, munitions, pelts or hides, yes, even beat an Indian to death. This alarmed them very much and with reason.”<sup>12</sup>

Graffenreid believed he had unknowingly settled Swiss and German Protestants on lands that belonged to the Tuscaroras. Graffenreid observed the English treatment of the Tuscaroras and other tribes, oblivious to his own participation in this harsh treatment when he stated that “neither we nor our colony were the cause of this terrible slaughter and Indian war.”<sup>13</sup> Graffenreid’s observations concerning the harsh treatment of Native Americans were related to the importance of respect to the Tuscaroras. When captured, King Hancock asked Lawson and Graffenreid why they had not paid respect to the Tuscaroras by asking permission to initiate their journey to Virginia.<sup>14</sup> Respect for the Tuscaroras was something that Graffenreid came to recognize and understand only after he became a prisoner.

While incarcerated, Graffenreid engaged in the spirit of negotiation concerning a

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Graffenreid, *Account Website*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

possible peace. The sixth section of the treaty, with its suggestion of peace and Graffenreid's role in securing it, offered the hope of a quick resolution in the event of hostilities. "He promises further, to procure a truce of arms for four days, in order that within this time able persons may be chosen and commissioned to propose salutary plans of peace, which, as far as possible, would have to be acceptable and pleasing to the parties in strife."<sup>15</sup> Lawson's negotiation with the Tuscarora Indians following his capture had been with an awareness of the threat of English retaliation. During his trial alongside Lawson, Graffenreid suggested that his death would result in English retaliation, making the option of negotiation something the Tuscaroras desired.<sup>16</sup> This section of the treaty allowed for at least the possibility of peace in what Graffenreid and the Tuscaroras recognized as a violent conflict with the English colonists.

The treaty's seventh section once again dealt with issues related to the Tuscaroras' land. The treaty allowed the Tuscaroras to hunt where they wished without hindrance.<sup>17</sup> To respect the established colonists, however, the Tuscaroras agreed to a limitation on their hunting rights. If hunting drew Native Americans close enough to a plantation where a fire could be caused, or cattle could be driven away or injured, then the hunting was prohibited.<sup>18</sup> A level of respect existed in this treaty, not only for the Native Americans' property rights, but for the colonists' rights as well. This part of the treaty can be understood through Lawson's early recognition that hunting rights caused tensions. Lawson had written that, "Early, came two Tuskeruro Indians to the other side of the River, but could not get over...in the Afternoon, Will came with the Mare, and had

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<sup>15</sup> "Treaty," 2001.

<sup>16</sup> "Graffenreid," Learn NC.

<sup>17</sup> "Treaty," 2001.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

some Discourse with them; they told him, The English, to whom he was going, were very wicked People; and, That they threatened the Indians for Hunting near their Plantations.”<sup>19</sup>

In the eighth and, perhaps, most hopeful section, Graffenreid and the Tuscaroras agreed to visible indication that would allow those using it to remain unharmed. The treaty stated, “Where the marks written below shall be on the doors of our houses, that there no injury or damage shall be done. So shall, herewith, the conditions and clauses be exactly observed. As a genuine voucher of which we on both sides, subscribe ourselves and there is affixed the ordinary signs.”<sup>20</sup> The mark, in this instance, would be so obvious that both colonists and Tuscaroras would recognize it. The Tuscaroras’ mark on the treaty was the “Tuscaroras’ Sign, ∞∞ Tuscaroras Indians and Neighbors.”<sup>21</sup> This sign not only served as the designation of the Tuscaroras, but also for the Cores, Wilkinsons Point, King Taylor, Pantegos, and other Native American tribes and people allied with the Tuscaroras. For those colonists, the mark needed to be spared from harm was the letter “N.”<sup>22</sup> As listed in the treaty, “the sign of Neuse, N. Graffenreid, Governor of the German Colony,” became the signature for both Graffenreid and those along the Neuse he sought to protect.<sup>23</sup>

The ninth and last element served as an important observation by Graffenreid concerning corrupt trade practices with the Tuscaroras. “To them, the Indians, wares and

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<sup>19</sup> Vincent H. Todd, “Baron Christoph von Graffenried’s New Bern Adventures,” (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois, 1912), 81; John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 58.

<sup>20</sup> “Treaty,” 2001.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

provisions shall be allowed to come at a reasonable and cheap price.”<sup>24</sup> This treaty section recognized unfair trading practices, and Graffenreid demonstrated a knowledge of the imbalance Native Americans faced when interacting with the English.

This treaty between the Tuscaroras and the Germans of Carolina under Graffenreid represented Graffenreid’s effort to save his own life in captivity. The treaty also served as an unofficial expression of the tensions that existed between Europeans and Native Americans at the time of Lawson’s death. Perhaps most importantly, the treaty represented a significant leap forward in diplomatic relations between Europeans and Native Americans.

Lawson had earlier observed the difficulties the Tuscaroras faced with the English and the inherent balance in favor of the English when writing of early Native American interactions in *A New Voyage to Carolina*.<sup>25</sup> Lawson referred to instances before his time of early Native American interaction with colonists. Lawson previously had quoted a report written by Anthony Long, William Hilton, and Peter Fabian, three Europeans who interacted with Native Americans in the Cape Fear area.<sup>26</sup> The report of their travels and early interactions with Native Americans offered Lawson an opportunity to comment on what might have been the greatest diplomatic settlement in the Carolina colony.

Sent from Barbados in 1663, Captain William Hilton examined the Cape Fear area as a possible new settlement.<sup>27</sup> As with many areas of North America, the Cape Fear region provided an abundance of land and a lack of people, making the area ideal for

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Todd, “Graffenreid,” 81; Lawson, *Voyage*, 73-74.

<sup>26</sup> “William Hilton explores the Cape Fear River,” Learn NC (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1899> (accessed February 19, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

planting.<sup>28</sup> This, however, was not the case in Barbados, where land was limited, and the possibility of continuously creating plantations was reduced.<sup>29</sup> Reporting on the sustainability of the land, Hilton had previous experience with Cape Fear, since he had earlier created a report for several Massachusetts Puritans.<sup>30</sup> The difficulty of making New England sustainable through English farming methods offset the great availability of land.<sup>31</sup> Relying on Hilton's report, a group of Puritans sailed to the Cape Fear area and attempted to settle in 1662. Based on Hilton's observations, the Puritans failed in their colonizing attempt. "On Saturday the 17th, we went down to the Cape, to see the English Cattle, but could not find 'em, tho' we rounded the Cape."<sup>32</sup> The "English Cattle" referred to the livestock that the Puritans had brought from Massachusetts. Hilton suggested that these Puritan settlers returned to Massachusetts, leaving their livestock behind.<sup>33</sup> Hilton believed the Puritans had left within months of arriving. It is unknown why the Puritans were unsuccessful in their journey. Hilton retained this knowledge of seemingly difficult conditions in Carolina, as he explored the same area and interacted with Native Americans a year later.<sup>34</sup>

Hilton and his two companions explored the Cape Fear and its tributaries for the colony of Barbados. Hilton found the opportunity for trade with Native Americans along the river: "One League below this Place, came four Indians in a Canoe to us, and sold us

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<sup>28</sup> James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 139.

<sup>29</sup> Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 66-67.

<sup>30</sup> "Hilton," Learn NC.

<sup>31</sup> Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society in the Seventeenth Century*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 149-150.

<sup>32</sup> "Hilton," Learn NC.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

several Baskets of Acorns, which we satisfy'd them for, and so left them."<sup>35</sup> This interaction, while seemingly normal, was not over for Hilton, as "One of them follow'd us on the Shoar some two or three Miles, till he came on the Top of a high Bank, facing on the River; and as we row'd underneath it, the Fellow shot an Arrow at us, which very narrowly miss'd one of our Men, and stuck in the upper edge of the Boat."<sup>36</sup> This act of violence towards the Europeans created complications, as the explorers sought retaliation. "We presently made to the Shoar, and went all up the Bank (except Four to guide the Boat) to look for the Indian, but could not find him."<sup>37</sup>

While peaceably interacting with other Native Americans, finding the Indian who shot at their boat became a short-term priority. Exploring the area along the river, the three Europeans found the canoe of the Native American who fired the arrow. The interaction between the explorers and the Native Americans at this point was less than peaceable: "In the Morning, we went on Shoar, and cut the same in pieces. The Indians perceiving us coming towards them, ran away. Going to his Hutt, we pull'd it down, broke his Pots, Platters, and Spoons, tore the Deer-Skins and Matts in pieces, and took away a Basket of Acorns."<sup>38</sup> The interaction continued peaceably a short time later, as the explorers traveled down the river, meeting and trading with another group of Native Americans.<sup>39</sup>

The destruction of the Native American's hut led to a tense situation. After some discussion, the local chief convinced the explorers to come to shore, to demonstrate their non-aggression towards the armed Europeans:

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

As soon as we landed, several Indians, to the Number of near 40 lusty Men, came to us, all in a great Sweat, and told us Bonny: We shew'd 'em the Arrow- Head in the Boat-Side, and a Piece of the Canoe we had cut in Pieces: Whereupon, the chief Man amongst them made a long Speech, threw Beads into our Boat, which is a Sign of great Love and Friendship, and gave us to understand, that when he heard of the Affront which we had receiv'd, it caus'd him to cry; and that he and his Men were come to make Peace with us, assuring us, by Signs, that they would tye the Arms, and cut off the Head, of the Fellow who had done us that Wrong; And for a farther Testimony of their Love and Good-Will towards us, they presented us with two very handsome, proper, young Indian Women, the tallest that ever we saw in this Country; which we suppos'd to be the King's Daughters, or Persons of Distinction amongst them.<sup>40</sup>

Lawson's passage recollected early negotiations between the English and the Native Americans. Hilton's first-person account, as rendered by Lawson, demonstrated the English notion that Native Americans were inferior to the clearly superior Europeans. This story was a cautionary tale of how not to interact with the Native Americans.<sup>41</sup>

In concluding their exploration, Hilton and his companions noted the observations left by the Massachusetts Puritans who departed Cape Fear: "The Contents whereof tended not only to the Disparagement of the Land about the said River, but also to the great Discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those Parts to settle."<sup>42</sup> Hilton flatly disagreed with the Puritans' poor regard for the Cape Fear, stating that the land was good, timbered, along a profitable river, and in a ready state for thousands of English settlers. Returning to Barbados in February 1664, Long, Hilton, and Fabian had seen much of the Cape Fear area, and represented the beginnings of the worst of English interaction with Native Americans, according to Lawson.<sup>43</sup>

Lawson had the gift of both knowledge, in the form of previous interactions between the English and Native Americans, and ability, in the form of his efforts to

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.



produce *A New Voyage to Carolina*. That knowledge, and the diplomatic relations that should have existed with the Tuscaroras, did not assist Lawson in his interactions with Native Americans. Following the founding of Bath, Lawson's actions relating to Native American displacement continued with the Tuscaroras in New Bern. Of treatment by the Europeans of the Native Americans, Lawson stated that, "we look upon them with Scorn and Disdain, and think them little better than Beasts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we possess more Moral Deformities, and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal."<sup>44</sup> Lawson's actions did not reflect his observations. Following New Bern's founding, Lawson felt the easiest solution to the problem of the Tuscaroras who claimed the land was to simply chase them off.<sup>45</sup> With all of his experience and education, Lawson saw the Tuscaroras as nothing more than objects standing in the way of New Bern's founding. Lawson's actions betrayed his observations, and diplomacy was not an option. These actions made Lawson a target for capture, and eventual execution.

Lawson's execution sparked immediate reaction from both Graffenreid and Virginia Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood. On October 7, 1711, Spotswood, "Governor, Regent, and Commandant of the Colonies and Provinces of Virginia," issued a mandate to Tuscaroras concerning Graffenreid:<sup>46</sup>

In the name of Her Royal Majesty of Great Britain, to the Indian Nation which holds Baron von Graffenried prisoner. Having heard that Baron Von Graffenried, Governor, and the head of the German Colony in North Carolina is captive among you, I request and command you, in the name of the Queen of Great Britain of

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<sup>44</sup> Lawson, *Voyage*, 235.

<sup>45</sup> Todd, "Graffenreid," 61.

<sup>46</sup> "Hilton," Learn NC.

whom he is a subject, that on receipt of this you let him go free and send him to our government.<sup>47</sup>

Graffenreid himself had noted a connection to the Crown of Great Britain during his initial capture by the Tuscaroras, as he pleaded his innocence and asked to be spared.<sup>48</sup> That plea, however, came with a stern warning that, like Lawson's recollection of the earlier Hilton expedition, demonstrated a perceived European dominance over the Native Americans. "If they did not spare me the great and mighty Queen of England would avenge my blood, because I had brought the colony to this land at her command, not to do them any harm but to live on good terms with them."<sup>49</sup> The warning of a terrible vengeance that would result if he were killed was one of several approaches Graffenreid enlisted in his effort to survive. For Graffenreid, survival was accomplished through both warning and "what else seemed to me good to say to engage them to kindness."<sup>50</sup> Spotswood concluded his ultimatum to the Tuscaroras, stating "here you are given to know that if you should have it in mind to kill or willfully inflict any injury upon him, I will revenge his blood, and will spare neither men, women, nor children. Given under my great seal...A. Spotswood."<sup>51</sup>

Spotswood revealed his opinion of the causes of conflict between the colonists and the Native Americans in his April 5, 1717, letter to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations: "The Inhabitants of our frontiers are composed generally of such as have been transported hither as Servants, and being out of their time, and settle themselves where Land is to be taken up and that will produce the necessarys of Life with

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<sup>47</sup> "Treaty," 2001.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> "Treaty," 2001.

little Labor.”<sup>52</sup> This observation began a commentary on the quality of the colonists along the frontier who sought available land with a minimum of effort following the end of their indentured servitude. Spotswood continued this commentary, stating that the inhabitants brought low morals that were unlikely to be mended by the lack of churches along the frontier. The children of these colonists were not baptized until the age of twenty to thirty, suggesting to Spotswood little concern for religion and morality.<sup>53</sup>

Spotswood also suggested a pattern of unfair trade practices between the colonists and the Native Americans of the Carolina frontier: “Those who are nearest Neighbors to the Indians, by whose principles and practices they are not like to be much improved...knowing the Indians to be lovers of strong liquors, make no scruple of first making them drink and then cheating them of their skins, and even of beating them in bargain.”<sup>54</sup> Spotswood recognized the various tensions and conflicts between the colonists and the Native Americans. He emphasized the lack of recourse for the Native Americans when they encountered these unfair trading practices: “The Indians, being unacquainted with the methods of obtaining reparation by Law, frequently revenge themselves by the murder of the persons who thus treated them or...of the next Englishman they could most easily cutt off.”<sup>55</sup> Spotswood recognized both the unfair treatment the Native Americans suffered, and their sense of injustice that resulted from unfair English trading practices.

Spotswood also indicated that, as a general observation, murders and hostile acts

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<sup>52</sup> Todd, “Graffenreid,” 82, also Alexander Spotswood, “Letter from Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade of Great Britain, October 15, 1711.” Colonial and State Records of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0431> (accessed February 12, 2013).

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

committed by Native Americans in Carolina would not have occurred unless provoked by English actions.<sup>56</sup> Specifically, Spotswood warned North Carolina Governor Edward Hyde of the possible results of European farmers occupying the Tuscaroras' hunting grounds. Observing that the English were forcing the Tuscaroras to live on smaller amounts of available land, Spotswood stated that the likely outcome would be war. He also thought that such a war was justified, considering that "your people have been the first aggressors, by seating without Right on the Lands of which the Indians had first possession."<sup>57</sup> Spotswood thought Graffenreid's captivity was a direct result of English action. Whether that action resulted from unfair trading practices, the encroachment of colonists onto the Tuscaroras' lands, or the intrusion of Lawson was unclear, but Spotswood believed the ultimate actions of the Tuscaroras represented a statement of grievance.

It is debatable whether Spotswood's statements can be taken at face value. Spotswood and Virginia had a stake in the Indian trade, affecting the relationship with Carolina. At the same time, however, Spotswood believed that North Carolina was an asset to the crown. On later trade in North Carolina, Spotswood stated that "The ffrench have formed a Settlement at ye Habbamalas, w'ch w'll greatly strengthen the people of Carolina in their Indian Trade, and may in time prove more dangerous to them in case of a Rupture w'th the Crown of France."<sup>58</sup> While no one, especially competitors in the

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> "The Fate of North Carolina's Native Peoples," Learn NC (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1961> (accessed February 20, 2013), also Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 262.

<sup>58</sup> "Letter from Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade of Great Britain Spotswood, Alexander, 1676-1740, May 20, 1720" Colonial and State Records of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010) <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr02-0194> (accessed April 3, 2013).

Indian trade, was unbiased, Spotswood's observations demonstrated the problems the Tuscaroras faced following Lawson's execution and Graffenreid's incarceration.

Spotswood later reported the Tuscaroras' assault against New Bern and surrounding areas along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Trent rivers. "On the 22nd of last month (September) some towns of the Tuscaruro Indians and other nations bordering on Carolina, made an incursion upon the head of the Neuse and Pamlico rivers, in that province."<sup>59</sup> As this report continued, Spotswood's original concern and understanding of the difficult relationship between the colonists and the Native Americans disappeared:

Without any previous declaration of War or show of discontent, and having divided themselves into partys at Sun rise (which was the signal for their bloody design) began a barbarous Massacre, on the inhabitants of the Frontier plantations, killing without distinction of age or sex, 60 English and upwards of that number of Swiss and palatines (Germans), besides a great many left dangerously wounded.<sup>60</sup>

This description of a massacre without mentioning the Europeans' provocation seemingly contradicted his statements before and after the Tuscarora War, but Graffenreid's probable fate likely influenced his description of the assault: "The Baron de Graffenried Chief of the Swiss and Palatine settlement there is also fallen into their hands, and carry'd away prisoner; since which they have continued their ravages, in burning those plantations, and others deserted by the Inhabitants for fear."<sup>61</sup> With Graffenreid as a known prisoner of the Tuscaroras, there was a short term change in attitude in Spotswood's letter to the Board of Trade and his mandate to the Tuscaroras Indians.

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<sup>59</sup> Todd, "Graffenreid," 87-88.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

I was in hopes I should not have had occasion to trouble your Lordships again, with the affairs of that unhappy Country; but a more dismall and unexpected accident happening there lately I think it my duty to give your Lordships the following account of it together with my proceedings thereupon... The Governor Mr Hyde has raised what men he can, to oppose the further invasion of the Heathen and protect the rest of the Country... Upon the first Advice of this unhappy event I sent out Detachments of our Militia to prevent our Tributary Indians from joining with those Savages, and understanding that the greater part of the Tuscaruros had refused to be concerned with the rest of their Nation in this bloody execution, I have sent to them and the other neighbouring Indians to meet me next week on our Frontiers, in order to a Treaty, and as they stand in some awe of this Government, both from the opinion they have of our strength, and their apprehensions of the loss of our Trade upon a Rupture I hope at this Conference to work so far on their fears and interest as at least to preserve their friendship, if not to engage their assistance for the destruction of those Assassins There is very little temptation for any man to enter upon an Indian war, nor much however to be got by encountering a people, more like wild beasts than men: but if war be the only means left us to secure her Majesty's people and Territorys from the Heathen, I don't doubt but our Assembly (which is to meet the 7th of the next month) will take such Resolutions as become them to provide for the effectual prosecution of it. But whatever Air I may give the matter to the Indians, I must not conceal from your Lordships the incapacity of this Country for an offensive or defensive war. Our Militia are in a manner wholly destitute of Ammunition, and as ill provided with arms that are usefull, and unless her Majesty will be pleased to send in a supply of both to be ready against an emergency, I fear I shall not be able to sustain any considerable attack of an Enemy.<sup>62</sup>

Spotswood's observations confirm the difficult nature of war in 1711. Despite recent efforts to increase fortifications, Spotswood mentioned the colonies' unpreparedness for war with Native Americans. While direct confrontation appeared unlikely to be successful, given the lack of arms and ammunition, Spotswood recognized the Native Americans' mistaken appreciation of Virginia's reputation through power and trade. Once again, the governor seemingly recognized and desired to utilize the role of assumed power of the Europeans over the Native Americans. Much like the captured Graffenreid, Spotswood suggested the option of a treaty to the Board of Trade to resolve

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<sup>62</sup> "Letter," October 15, 1711.

the crisis.<sup>63</sup>

Because direct confrontation was not really an option for Spotswood, his actions reflected a diplomatic approach to the crisis.

As soon as I was informed of this fatal accident in Carolina I prohibited all Trade from this Country with the Indians finding they were better provided with ammunition than we ourselves, and had the Government of Carolina made the same step...It is very probable they might have been more cautious of falling upon any of her Majesty's plantations when they found we espoused one another's quarrels.<sup>64</sup>

In reflecting on the what ifs of the Tuscarora War, Spotswood noted the colonies' disjointed nature and their failure, at least on the part of North Carolina, to act with interest and consideration for the empire's other colonies. In this regard, Spotswood believed, once again, that Carolina was responsible for its actions regarding the Tuscaroras:

The constant supplys they received from Carolina of powder, shott and other necessarys, notwithstanding the representations of this Government, made them believe we were under distinct sovereigns as well as Governors and that we would no more assist Carolina than they us.<sup>65</sup>

Spotswood concluded his observations of the outbreak of the Tuscarora War by informing the Board of Trade that he was trying to secure Graffenreid's release: "I have also sent to demand the releasement of the Baron de Graftenried who by our advices was still alive but supposed only reserved for a more solemn execution, to be tomahawked and tortured at their first publick War Dances."<sup>66</sup>

Graffenreid's treaty with the Tuscaroras contained conditions that served both the

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

colonists and the Native Americans. While inherently biased towards his own people, Graffenreid's participation as a captive signaled a respect for the Tuscaroras. This respect recognized the earlier observations of the imbalance between colonists and Native Americans in the writings of Lawson and Spotswood. While Graffenreid negotiated a treaty to try to save his life and his German colony, Spotswood also tried to secure a treaty with the Tuscaroras. Spotswood stated that he had met deputies of the northern Tuscaroras to discuss peace in Virginia and North Carolina.<sup>67</sup> While the southern Tuscaroras had executed Lawson and attacked Carolina, the northern Tuscaroras were "well enough inclined to enter into a war with the Indians concerned in the late Massacre, upon promise of a reward of six blankets for the head of each man of the said Indians killed by the Tuscaruros, and the usual price of slaves for each woman and Child delivered captives."<sup>68</sup> The more peaceful northern Tuscaroras, who had not yet suffered the same difficulties with the incoming colonists as the southern Tuscaroras, agreed to collaborate with the colonists.<sup>69</sup> The northern Tuscaroras' main motivations for collaboration were the meeting with Spotswood and later promises made by North Carolina colonists. Spotswood's diplomatic efforts secured an official measure of relief for both Virginia and Carolina.

Spotswood wrote to the Board of Trade about Graffenreid's treaty while the baron was still a captive of the Tuscaroras:

The Baron de Graffenried being obliged while he was prisoner among the Indians to conclude a neutrality for himself and the Palatines lives as yet

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<sup>67</sup> "Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council Virginia. Council October 24, 1711," Colonial and State Records of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0434> (accessed February 12, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Perdue, *Indians*, 30.



undisturbed, but is sufficiently persecuted by the people of Carolina for not breaking with the Indians tho they will afford him neither provisions of war or victuals nor any assistance from them: he has always declared his readiness to enter into the war as soon as he should be assisted to prosecute it; but it would be madness to expose his handful of people to the fury of the Indians without some better assurance of help than the present Confusions in that Province gives him reason to hope for, since the Indians would soon either entirely destroy that settlement or starve them out.<sup>70</sup>

Spotswood observed that the price of Graffenreid's treaty was the unpopularity that later developed. That cost allowed for a time of neutrality that indicated, according to Governor Spotswood, the Tuscaroras' designs.

The Tuscaroras released Graffenreid, unharmed.<sup>71</sup> After his release, Graffenreid commented on the treaty he had created as a captive: "But although we made our treaty, still these suspicious fellows did not want to let me go without more secure and certain guarantee... I referred it to the Indian with whom I lodged, who gave a sensible decision about our strife so that we were satisfied on both sides."<sup>72</sup> With these words, Graffenreid cast doubt on the treaty shortly after its completion. While the treaty, on the surface, was a recognition of rights between Graffenreid, with his supposed connection to English power, and the Tuscaroras, Graffenreid found that his captors were suspicious of the rights that the treaty provided.

Lawson's execution, and the later coordinated attack on New Bern, represented the Tuscaroras' statement against the colonists' continued encroachment. With Lawson's blood on the ground, North Carolina was in crisis. Lawson's lack of diplomacy led to the very actions that caused his death. In captivity, Graffenreid finally understood the

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<sup>70</sup> "Letter from Alexander Spotswood to the Board of Trade of Great Britain [Extract], February 18, 1712," Colonial and State Records of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0447> (accessed February 12, 2013).

<sup>71</sup> "Christoph von Graffenried, 1661-1743," (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2013), <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/graffenried/bio.html> (accessed February 11, 2013).

<sup>72</sup> Graffenreid, *Account Website*, 37.

elements of conflict between the colonists and Native Americans that Lawson had observed previously. This resulted in Graffenreid's self-serving treaty with the Tuscaroras. Spotswood's treaty efforts represented an official understanding of the results of tensions in Carolina. That understanding, too late in the case of Lawson, Graffenreid, and Spotswood, could not prevent the perceived European superiority each man felt existed over Native Americans and could not stop the Tuscarora War in North Carolina.

## Chapter 5: Bleeding Diplomacy: The Near Destruction of New Bern

In a bid to preserve their way of life, the Tuscaroras executed the surveyor-general and began attacking colonists in New Bern and along the rivers of Carolina. The Tuscarora War had begun. As Colonel John Barnwell of South Carolina entered the war to assist his fellow Carolinians, only one influential witness to the events leading to the war remained alive: Baron Christopher von Graffenreid.

The town of New Bern, the assault by Tuscaroras Indians, and its attempted rescue by John Barnwell followed Lawson's death. Before Lawson's death, he and Graffenreid worked together to make their stake in land to develop a community in Carolina. With initial success in Bath, Lawson encouraged New Bern's development. The town's settlement resulted in the Tuscaroras' resentment, as the town's existence displaced them from a portion of their land. The resentment continued to build, and resulted in Lawson and Graffenreid's capture and Lawson's execution. These events related to the Tuscarora War, according to Graffenreid, were not his fault.

As the only real witness before, during, and after the Tuscarora War, Graffenreid wrote about his exploits and the resulting complications that contributed to his self-proclaimed three misfortunes that occurred during his time in America. Graffenreid's unsuccessful efforts to create a New World colony demonstrated his powerlessness to the will of others, nature, and fate. Because of several self-described missed opportunities and near-continuous misfortunes, Graffenreid failed to succeed in America. He had departed from Europe hoping to find silver and establish a thriving colony in North Carolina in 1710. Graffenreid's initial misfortune resulted from difficulties during his Atlantic voyage. Concerns about his colony's location and the decisions made by Lawson

and specific individuals in New Bern served as Graffenreid's second misfortune. The destruction of New Bern was Graffenreid's last self-described American misfortune. These misfortunes plagued Graffenreid upon his return to Europe. His distinctly American misfortunes defined his opinion of his time in America and the reasons behind New Bern and Lawson's fate.

Through self-serving statements, Graffenreid defended his time and decisions in America by casting blame away from himself. Nature caused the first misfortune. Lawson's decision regarding New Bern's location was the major contributor to the second misfortune. New Bern's destruction, the third misfortune, resulted from political infighting in Carolina not from Graffenreid's actions. In his 1912 doctoral thesis historian Vincent H. Todd assessed Graffenreid's description of these American misfortunes. Using newly discovered sources, Todd argued that Graffenreid was merely trying to justify his actions to his immediate friends following New Bern's destruction. Other than Todd's work, there is hardly any mention or examination of the misfortunes themselves outside of Graffenreid's own work, suggesting further examination is needed.

As the last man standing, Graffenreid had the luxury of reflection that Lawson and those who died in New Bern lacked. Graffenreid witnessed not only the events leading to the war, but also the efforts by North Carolina officials and South Carolina fighters to assist the colony. This chapter examines Graffenreid's assessments of his American misfortunes, and contends that Graffenreid's views were ultimately correct in his statements and his underlying accusations. With available evidence before, during, and after the Tuscarora War, Graffenreid's seeming self-serving statements to defend himself to his immediate friends were, ironically, accurate descriptions of difficulties in

Carolina.

Graffenreid and his followers were defined by their efforts to seek opportunities in America. With varying degrees of success and failure, their efforts helped shape New Bern. For Graffenreid, the journey to New Bern began with one of his three misfortunes:

This took place in the winter - in January - and then, because of the rough winds and storms, this ship was so driven about that it did not arrive in Virginia until after thirteen weeks. This, along with the salt food to which the people were not accustomed, and the fact that they were so closely confined, contributed very much to the sickness and death of many upon the sea. Others could not restrain their desires when they came to land, drank too much fresh water and overloaded themselves with raw fruit, so that they died of fever, and this colony therefore had half died off before it was well settled. 5 N. B. The one ship which was filled with the best goods and on which those in best circumstances were traveling, had the misfortune, at the mouth of the James River, in sight of an English man-of-war, which however lay at anchor, to be attacked by a bold French privateer and plundered. This is the first misfortune.<sup>1</sup>

Graffenreid and his associates had faced considerable effort and loss before they even arrived at New Bern's future site. Graffenreid correctly blamed nature for his first misfortune. The town was very much an Atlantic World creation. New Bern's development began in Germany, then in England, and concluded in Carolina, as Graffenreid sought political and religious refuge for Swiss and German Protestants.<sup>2</sup> Advertisements in pamphlets aimed at those seeking refuge highlighted opportunities awaiting in America.<sup>3</sup> Carolina actively sought people to settle the land. Pamphlets specifically appealed to German Protestants seeking refuge.<sup>4</sup> The need for refuge motivated a potential perilous journey overseas for the settlers, as the opportunity for

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<sup>1</sup> Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern. Ed. Vincent H. Todd. (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1920), 225-226.

<sup>2</sup> "Chronology of John Lawson's Life," John Lawson Digital Exhibit (Greenville: NC: East Carolina University, 2004), <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/main3.html> (accessed February 12, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> "Carolina - The German and Swiss Influence," [http://www.carolana.com/Carolina/External\\_Influences/germans\\_swiss\\_in\\_carolana.html](http://www.carolana.com/Carolina/External_Influences/germans_swiss_in_carolana.html) (accessed September 10, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> "Knittle. Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration," <http://www.threerivershms.com/knittlech4.htm>. (accessed September 20, 2013).

Graffenreid to earn profit and good will motivated him.

Graffenreid's second misfortune was related to a specific individual rather than the journey. Surveyor-general of Carolina and co-founder of Bath and New Bern, Lawson was instrumental, according to Graffenreid, in the colony's ultimate failure:

This surveyor general L. \_\_\_\_\_ by name, who should have located the people immediately upon their allotted land and the plantations assigned to them, claimed that, in order to save time to enable them to clear their land, he had placed them on the south side of this point of land along the Trent River...But he did it for his own advantage, because this was his own land, in order that it might be cleared by these people for his benefit.<sup>5</sup>

According to Graffenreid, Lawson did not place the new colonists on land that was meant for them. Ideally, the Swiss and German settlers should have been placed along the Neuse River. Instead, Lawson placed the settlers toward the south, along the Trent River. Lawson supposedly made this change to save time, allowing the arrivals to clear their land. Graffenreid felt that Lawson chose this location to benefit himself. Well before New Bern's founding, this land, known as Chatooka, provided a home for Lawson and the Tuscaroras.<sup>6</sup> Graffenreid claimed Lawson wanted to preserve that land and ultimately possess it entirely apart from the Tuscaroras. According to Graffenreid, Lawson had "sold that same land and ours and dear enough yes wrongfully, (for he had no right to it), and moreover, since it was inhabited by Indians, (although he sold it to us for unencumbered land) the poor people, had to live in great distress until fall."<sup>7</sup>

The difficulty of living in close proximity to Native Americans quickly became an issue for New Bern's new settlers. Before that tension degenerated into violence, the

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<sup>5</sup> Graffenreid, *Account*, 226.

<sup>6</sup> North Carolina History Project, "John Lawson (1674-1711)," <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/803/entry> (accessed May 25, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Graffenreid's *Account*, 226.

settlers faced a more immediate threat resulting from Lawson's actions. Graffenreid stated that the location along the Neuse River was "in the very hottest and most unhealthy portion."<sup>8</sup> This location introduced the possibility of illness, which many in the new town experienced. Graffenreid noted the settlers' difficulties: "The misery and wretchedness were almost indescribable, for, on my arrival, I saw that almost all were sick, yes, even in extremity, and the well were all very feeble. In what a labyrinth and danger I then found myself, even my life not safe, the good Lord knows."<sup>9</sup> While the baron's claim cannot be proven or disproven, that particular land's impact on healthiness is a dubious argument, as the difference in locations was within similar temperatures. Graffenreid's contention is clearly questionable.

Graffenreid's claim concerning Lawson's land selection is difficult to defend, as there are few if any places in the area that could have avoided the events of September 1711. Any variation in land selection would have resulted in likely tension with the Tuscaroras and issues with illness. The misfortune then, perhaps best lies with Lawson himself rather than his actions, as he became associated with the land displacement of the Tuscaroras.

The destruction of New Bern as a result of this displacement fell within Graffenreid's argument for his second misfortune. Land selection in Carolina, beyond Graffenreid's comments, was a common occurrence according to colonial records. A letter signed by several North Carolina officials, including then Governor Edward Hyde, confirmed the existence of complaints similar to Graffenreid's:

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

The sale and surveys of your Lordships Lands concerning which the complaints are so numerous and greivous... we hope this matter will be reduced into some better order by Mr Lawson who as he has been a very zealous promoter of the settlement of this Country so we doubt not but he will be serviceable to your Lordships in this office, which at this time needs a skillfull and faithful manager, we pray leave further to supplicate your Lordships on behalf of several of the new Inhabitants who have imported themselves and familys at a great charge into this Government.<sup>10</sup>

Even as the complaints regarding land sales increased, this letter suggests Lawson was a solution rather than a further hindrance. This government belief in Lawson resulted in Graffenreid's concerns, and the rumors concerning rising Tuscaroras tensions, being ignored.

This letter was written during a time of great political infighting in Carolina, which Graffenreid noted as a contribution to his misfortunes. In January 1711, months before the letter was written, Edward Hyde had arrived as North Carolina's governor. Hyde supposedly became hostile to Thomas Cary and the Quaker interest that previously came into power in Carolina. Cary refused to recognize Hyde as governor and claimed the governorship for himself.<sup>11</sup> Graffenreid wanted to avoid political conflict: "I have remarked regarding Colonel Cary, that my people were not disposed to go to either party, but were resolved to remain neutral."<sup>12</sup> He recognized the conflict as damaging to Carolina and distracting from the Tuscaroras' tension caused by New Bern's founding. Political infighting in Carolina continued after New Bern's destruction.

The final misfortune resulted from tensions with the Tuscaroras and prevented

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<sup>10</sup> Documenting the American South, "Memorial from the North Carolina Governor's Council and General Assembly concerning the state of the government, including acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, North Carolina. Council; North Carolina. General Assembly, 1711" (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2010) Volume 01, Pages 784-794 <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0418#p1-791> (Accessed September 20, 2013), 786.

<sup>11</sup> North Carolina Historic Sites, "Cary's Rebellion, 1711," <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bath/caryreb.htm> (accessed September 20, 2013).

<sup>12</sup> Graffenreid, *Account*, 230.



unity during a time of great crisis, as Graffenreid stated: “When we were all hoping, after great effort and anxiety, to enjoy the fruits of our labor, aside from the reverses we had endured, and notwithstanding the fine prospect for a good establishment of the colony, there came the genuine storm of misfortune through the wild Indians.”<sup>13</sup> Rumors of new Native American uprisings had persisted since 1700.<sup>14</sup> These rumors began as a slow boil and continued to grow. Lionel Reading lived on a plantation near the south bank of the Pamlico River near Bath.<sup>15</sup> In 1703, he wrote that a Native American told a neighboring settler that several Native American villages were “fully resolved to make trail (trial) of it for to see which is the ardiest,” through war with the colonists.<sup>16</sup> Rumors of Native American tension continued after Reading’s second-hand observations. The following year, rumor spread that the Tuscaroras nearest to the Pamlico area were partnering with the Bear River Indian tribe, who had a single village called Raudauquaquank containing fifty warriors.<sup>17</sup> Lawson’s observations also mentioned the Bear River tribe. He confirmed the tribe’s numbers when he stated, “Bear River, Town 1, Raudauquaquank, Fighting Men 50.”<sup>18</sup> Lawson described the Bear River tribe as a savage neighbor of the

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>14</sup> North Carolina Historic Sites, “The Indians Retaliate . . .,” <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bath/Tuscaroras.htm> (accessed May 25, 2013)

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*; and Central Coastal North Carolina, “North Carolina Forts,” <http://www.northamericanforts.com/East/nc2.html> (accessed May 27, 2013); and Beaufort County Home Page, “Beaufort Co., NC History,” <http://www.ncgenweb.us/beaufort/bohistry.htm> (accessed May 27, 2013), referencing Francis Hodges Cooper, “Some Colonial History of Beaufort County,” in *Studies in History and Political Science* 14, no. 2 (1916), 19.

<sup>16</sup> North Carolina Historic Sites, “Indians.”

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*; *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907), 356.

<sup>18</sup> O. M. McPherson, “Indians of North Carolina: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting, in Response to a Senate Resolution of June 30, 1914, a Report on the Condition and Tribal Rights of the Indians of Robeson and Adjoining Counties of North Carolina,” (Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1915), 118.

new Christian settlers of Carolina.<sup>19</sup> The pairing of the Bear River tribe with the Tuscaroras contributed to the nearly continuous rumors of Native American collaboration and rising tensions in the colony. As the Native Americans harassed and robbed the region's settlers, colonists petitioned the government for assistance.<sup>20</sup> In 1707, North Carolina settler Robert Kingham contributed to second-hand rumors when he stated that the Pamlico settlers had told him that "they expected ye Indians every day to come and cutt their throat."<sup>21</sup>

Graffenreid's misfortunes resulted, in part, from *A New Voyage to Carolina* and the resulting advertisement to transfer people to America allowed the first two misfortunes to occur. The pamphlets advertising Carolina and rumor of silver prompted Graffenreid's decision to travel to Carolina. He made arrangements with Britain's Queen Anne in late 1709 to go to America. Graffenreid's contract with Queen Anne's agents demonstrated his commitment to opportunity in this piece of land:

Whereas the above named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have purchased to themselves and their heirs in fee, and are entitled to a large tract of land in that part of her Majesty's dominions in America called North Carolina, which now lies waste and uncultivated for want of inhabitants; and they the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell have applied themselves to the Commissioners appointed by the letters patent above mentioned for the subsistence and settlement of the poor distressed Palatines, that some number of the said poor Palatines may be disposed of and settled in the said tract of land in North Carolina aforesaid, as well for the benefit of the said Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell as for the relief and support of the said poor Palatines.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> North Carolina Historic Sites, "Indians."

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Documenting the American South, "Contract between Christoph von Graffenried and Lewis Mitchell and agents of Anne, Queen of Great Britain concerning land in North Carolina, Graffenried, Christoph von, Baron, 1661-1743; Mitchell, Lewis October 10, 1709 Volume 01, Pages 986-990," <http://docsouth.unc.edu/csr/index.html/document/csr01-0487> (accessed May 27, 2013).

By contracting with Queen Anne's agents, Graffenreid committed himself to seeking opportunity in America. He was also responsible for the more than 600 Swiss and German Palatines seeking refuge from persecution in their homeland. In taking responsibility for this population, Graffenreid committed himself to the contract, which included specifics on land distribution to the Palatines and provisions necessary for a comfortable life in Carolina. In exchange for doing what was necessary to preserve and expand on land deemed uncultivated, Graffenreid had access to the opportunity he sought in Carolina.<sup>23</sup>

In a letter written following the contract's completion, Graffenreid publically announced his agreement:

We the within named Christopher de Graffenrid and Lewis Mitchell, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby covenant and agree to and with the Commissioners and trustees within written, for and upon the like consideration mentioned, to take and receive fifty other persons in families of the poor Palatines, to be disposed of in like manner as the six hundred poor Palatines within specified, and to have and receive the like grants, privileges, benefits and advantages as the said six hundred Palatines have, may or ought to have, in every article and clause within written, and as if the said fifty Palatines had been comprised therein, or the said articles, clauses and agreements had been here again particularly repeated and recited on to them. Witness our hands and seals, this 21st day of October, A. D. 1709. CHRISTOPHER de GRAFFENRID, LEWIS MITCHELL<sup>24</sup>

The death of Lewis Mitchell, Graffenreid's partner, placed much of the burden of maintaining New Bern on Graffenreid.<sup>25</sup> The Tuscaroras associated Lawson and Graffenreid with New Bern's settlement, so the pair became targets. New Bern also

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> The Raven's Wing, "Futch," <http://www.clemonsfamily.org/futch/> (accessed May 27, 2013).

became a target for destruction.<sup>26</sup> Failing to appreciate the seriousness of the rising tensions between the colonists and the Tuscaroras, Graffenreid and New Bern's residents were unprepared for the coming onslaught. To other notables outside of the area, Graffenreid could only relay second-hand information concerning the Tuscarora War's beginning. The Tuscaroras captured and held Graffenreid before the initial attack on New Bern and surrounding areas. He was absent from the conflict's ground level until the Tuscaroras released him on or near the end of October 1711.<sup>27</sup> Those who were present for the initial attack, however, beginning on September 22, 1711, reported on the assault's immediate impact.

The Tuscarora War's opening act affected many in New Bern including the Koonce family. Originally from the German Palatine, the family was under, as they believed, Graffenreid's leadership. The founder of the Koonce family in Carolina was Johann Christian Kunitzall, a name that was later Anglicized to John Koonce. He lived in New Bern with his wife and six children. The Koonce family survived the trip to America and arrived in Virginia in April 1710. Accompanied by others, they traveled to the Chowan River, stopping at Colonel Thomas Pollock's plantation. They eventually entered Bath County from the Albermarle Sound. By May or June 1710, Lawson had placed the Koonce family and their travelling compatriots on the Tuscarorass land of Chattoka. The Koonce family settled along the Neuse and Trent rivers, and prospered.<sup>28</sup>

Other families and individuals who moved to New Bern slowly shared this

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<sup>26</sup> William A. Link, *North Carolina: Change and Tradition in a Southern State* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Inc., 2009), 37-38.

<sup>27</sup> Vincent H. Todd, "Baron Christoph von Graffenried's New Bern Adventures," Ph. D. diss. University of Illinois, 1912, 89.

<sup>28</sup> "DEGRAFFENREID-L Archives," <http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/DEGRAFFENREID/1998-06/0898726611> (accessed, May 21, 2013).

opportunity. The settlers described their prosperity to their friends and loved ones in Europe. Writing “Out of India or America, in the Island of North Carolina, on the river Neuse, April 8, 1711,” Hans Ruegsegger related this prosperity to his relatives. “We are in a very good and fat land. I am in hopes that within a year I shall have over a hundred head of horses, cattle, swine.”<sup>29</sup> For the hundreds of Swiss and German Protestants who escaped from European war and religious persecution, owning land and raising livestock were significant indicators of their early successes in Carolina. For Ruegsegger, opportunity meant more than economic prosperity: “If one would present me with the whole lowland, in order that I should go back again to Switzerland and take up the former service I would not do it on account of the freedom of conscience.”<sup>30</sup> In North Carolina, Ruegsegger successfully found religious freedom and economic prosperity.

The power of opportunity cannot be overstated. For the Koonce family, opportunity drove them to success in America. Others in New Bern commented on their new property’s realities. Michael Ziorien wrote a Swiss acquaintance in April 1711 that “this country is praised too highly in Europe and condemned too much. I hope also in a few years to have cows and swine as much as I desire.”<sup>31</sup> Both overpraised and undervalued in Europe, America provided just the right amount of opportunity. Christen Engel discussed the reality of New Bern, concerning access to food and livestock previously hinted at by Ruegsegger. Engel suggested a significant departure from Old World difficulties, stating that “no one has any desire to be back in Switzerland, for one can eat but little meat in Switzerland, but here in Carolina I need have no anxiety from

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<sup>29</sup> “German & Swiss Refugees in North Carolina, 1700s: Accounts of the first settlers of New Bern, 1711, and Bethabara, 1753-55,” <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/growth/text4/germansswissnc.pdf> (accessed February 26, 2013).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

this year on, that every year I should not butcher thirty or forty to fifty swine, more if I wish.”<sup>32</sup> North Carolina clearly provided more opportunity than the settlers’ European homeland. Perhaps Engel put it best when he commented on the dangerous Atlantic crossing: “the journey is certainly hard and was hardest for me. But after the rain comes sunshine. And now we are, the Lord be praised, all as well as we have never been before.”<sup>33</sup> After a short time, opportunity that was sought was found. New Bern was created, and the colonists who called the town home prospered.

Opportunity was connected to Graffenreid’s second misfortune, Lawson’s involvement with New Bern’s founding. Lawson’s *A New Voyage to Carolina* was not only an insightful look at Carolina, it also prompted those with significant interests in the new colony to seek opportunity. Graffenreid was quick to label Lawson’s selection of New Bern’s location as a misfortune. This is the one glaring error in Graffenreid’s misfortunes, as the proximity of any location would still have resulted in tensions with the Tuscaroras. Graffenreid’s writing about these events with hindsight gave him knowledge about New Bern’s eventual assault. Because of that knowledge, Graffenreid ignored much of the initial success that occurred following New Bern’s creation. Graffenreid’s intentions with the colonists were noble and designed to bring prosperity to them and himself. It was the third misfortune, New Bern’s destruction, that ended the opportunity that drove so many to Carolina.

The colonists’ comfort and happiness on the lands seemed assured. For a time, as the settlers’ letters suggest, this prosperity exceeded all possibilities in their homeland.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Prosperity in New Bern became tangible and seemed at least likely to continue.<sup>34</sup>

Unfortunately, the Koonce family's early success was shattered. The family prospered until September 23, 1711, when the Tuscaroras killed John and his family. John's son, George, was the only survivor.<sup>35</sup> Following the attack, George lived with Jacob Sheets' family.

New Bern's establishment also led to destruction for the Tuscaroras. Encroaching settlers affected the Southern Tuscaroras' life. Villages in the Southern Tuscaroras' region were loosely clustered homes, and farms spaced outwards from an identifiable center.<sup>36</sup> In this sense, the idea of a village was lost when compared to the Northern Tuscaroras. The southern villages were neither nucleated nor palisaded, features common to northern villages. This lack of definition alone is not enough to suggest that the displacement caused by the influx of new settlers into North Carolina was happening. The displacement of Tuscaroras from Chatooka to allow Swiss and German settlers to form New Bern, however, was an identifiable cause of resentment. Colonial expansion eroded the permanence in the way of life of the Chatooka based Southern Tuscaroras. After the Tuscaroras captured Graffenried and held him captive before their assault on New Bern and surrounding areas, he noted the scattered nature of the Southern Tuscaroras.<sup>37</sup> Specifically, Graffenreid wrote that King Hancock's hut was separated by nearly two miles from the actual Tuscaroras' village. The Southern Tuscaroras, living a scattered and disconnected life, and threatened most recently by the arrival of the Swiss

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<sup>34</sup> State Library of North Carolina, "North Carolina Booklet : Great Events in North Carolina History," 1919, <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p249901coll37/id/14127> (accessed May 24, 2013).

<sup>35</sup> "Archives."

<sup>36</sup> Wayne E. Lee, "Fortify, Fight, or Flee: Tuscaroras and Cherokee Defensive Warfare and Military Culture Adaptation," *Journal of Military History* 68, no. 3 (2004), 725; Thomas C. Parramore, "The Tuscaroras Ascendancy," *North Carolina Historical Review* 59 (1982), 311.

<sup>37</sup> Lee, "Fortify," 725.

and German settlers, felt that reasserting their power in the region was necessary to preserve their way of life in a changing world.<sup>38</sup>

The centralized Northern Tuscaroras were more connected with European citizens arriving in Carolina than the Southern Tuscaroras. Notably, main trading paths for Native Americans and settlers in different regions, such as Virginia, were common near Northern Tuscaroras villages.<sup>39</sup> This connection with Europeans, trade, other Native American tribes, and war made the Northern Tuscaroras prepared. As the white settlers were encroaching more on Southern Tuscaroras' land, the Northern Tuscaroras were motivated to preserve the central lives they had built and opted for neutrality when the opportunity arose at the outbreak of hostilities to preserve their position.<sup>40</sup>

Separated from their northern neighbors and dispersed by encroaching settlement in New Bern, the Chatooka based Southern Tuscaroras seemingly had no choice but to make a statement against the changing world around them. That statement, beginning with the capture of Lawson and Graffenreid and followed by Lawson's execution, coalesced into the assault on New Bern and surrounding areas on September 22, 1711.

Historian Thomas C. Parramore suggests that the English were the focus of the Tuscaroras' assault following an agreement made with Graffenreid while in captivity.<sup>41</sup> Lindley S. Butler agrees, writing that the Tuscaroras were unable to endure encroachment on their lands and the enslavement of their young people. The Tuscaroras were aware that divisions existed among whites from England and mainland Europe. While the agreement with Graffenreid confirmed this division, it did not prevent the assault on New Bern, a

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 730-731, referencing Parramore, "Ascendancy," 319-320.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., referencing Parramore, "Ascendancy," 311.

<sup>40</sup> Historic "Indians."

<sup>41</sup> Lee, "Fortify," 731; Thomas Parramore, "With Tuscaroras Jack on the Back Path to Bath," *North Carolina Historical Review* 64 (1987, 115-138): 122; Parramore, "Tuscaroras," 322-23



town dominated by Swiss and German settlers.<sup>42</sup> This suggests a break from both the writings of Parramore and Butler, as New Bern and its varied citizens were knowingly attacked.

The Tuscaroras' assault on North Carolina was effective in its brutality and powerful in its statement. The Swiss and German settlers, as well as many other colonists along the Neuse, Pamlico, and Trent rivers, were victims of their own encroachment in this New World. After "three days of slaughter" with significant damage to New Bern, Bath, and surrounding areas along nearby rivers, the Tuscaroras had killed nearly 200 people.<sup>43</sup>

In response to the Tuscaroras' assault, Governor Hyde encouraged Carolina to pass a bill drafting men ages sixteen to sixty, resulting in more political infighting as the Quakers refused to raise arms against the Tuscaroras.<sup>44</sup> The Quakers had survived practically unharmed during the Tuscaroras assault in Albemarle County.<sup>45</sup> In addition, a lack of weapons and food made attempts at mobilization difficult, even with agreement among politicians.<sup>46</sup> An unsuccessful counterattack against the Tuscaroras by Captain William Brice and North Carolina forces caused Governor Hyde to seek outside aid.<sup>47</sup> Hyde asked Virginia for help first. Willing to assist, Virginia sought concessions for its aid. In exchange for military help, Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood requested that Hyde provide to Virginia all the land, "between the Albemarle Sound and the line

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.; Lindley S. Butler, "Blackbeard's Terror," *American Heritage* 61, no. 1 (Spring 2011, 29-37), 32.

<sup>43</sup> North Carolina History Project, "Tuscarora War," <http://www.northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/504/entry> (accessed May 25, 2013).

<sup>44</sup> Marjorie Hudson, "Among the Tuscaroras: The Strange and Mysterious Death of John Lawson, Gentleman, Explorer, and Writer," *North Carolina Literary Review* 1, no 1. (1992), 68.

<sup>45</sup> Historic, "Indians."

<sup>46</sup> Hudson, "Tuscaroras," 68.

<sup>47</sup> Historic, "Indians."

established in the 1655 charter (present-day Edenton, Elizabeth City and at least ten present day counties).<sup>48</sup> Unwilling to grant these concessions, Carolina sought aid elsewhere. Virginia and Spotswood did not completely abandon Carolina in its time of need. While Virginia could not persuade Carolina to surrender land along its northern border, aid arrived from Virginia through intervention with the Northern Tuscaroras. Spotswood had estimated the Tuscaroras' fighting force at 2,000 men and was aware of the rising tensions.<sup>49</sup> In response to the Tuscaroras' assault, Spotswood agreed to an official peace treaty with the Northern Tuscaroras and also arranged for small amounts of powder and cloth to be sent.<sup>50</sup> After seeking aid from Virginia, Carolina looked to its southern neighbor. On October 27, 1711, South Carolina finally resolved to raise troops to fight the Tuscaroras.<sup>51</sup> Colonel John Barnwell commanded the soldiers.

Upon his arrival, Barnwell observed the conditions at Bath, an area devastated in the Tuscaroras' assault:

I can't forget to recommend ye miserable condition of 300 widows and orphans that are here without provision or clothing and ill used by the dire effects of the barbarous enemy's rage. I cannot mention this without tears and humbly beg the Assembly & y' Hon' to commiserate their deplorable case, they are willing upon any terms to transport anywhere for Relief. I heartily congratulate yo' Hon' for the continued successes of the prosperous arms of South Carolina. I am yo' Hon' most humble serv't, John Barnwell. May it please your Hon', New Berne, March 12th, 1712.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Project, "Tuscaroras."

<sup>49</sup> Native Heritage Project, "Tuscaroras Populations," <http://nativeheritageproject.com/2012/06/24/Tuscaroras-populations/> (accessed May 27, 2013).

<sup>50</sup> Historic, "Indians."

<sup>51</sup> The Way We Lived in North Carolina, "Map: The Tuscaora War," <http://www.waywelivednc.com/maps/historical/Tuscaroras-war.htm> (accessed May 27, 2013).

<sup>52</sup> John Barnwell, "The Tuscaroras Expedition. Letters of Colonel John Barnwell," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9, no. 1 (Jan., 1908), 41.

The confrontation at Fort Hancock, near the village of Catechna where Lawson was executed, was a major moment in the Tuscarora War and the Barnwell campaign.<sup>53</sup> Beginning on February 27, 1712, the Tuscaroras and the colonists met at this large fort and set in motion a negotiation to end the conflict. The actions of Lawson and Graffenreid, which had contributed to the displacement the Tuscaroras faced, allowed for the circumstances of not only the Tuscarora War, but Barnwell to aid Carolina and end the Tuscarora War temporarily with a peace treaty.

In 1714, a demoralized and destitute Graffenried was forced to return to Europe.<sup>54</sup> Resettlement efforts with still loyal followers were not enough to produce another viable settlement in America. Safely back in Bern, Switzerland, far away from the people in America to whom he owed money related to his endeavors, Graffenreid was quick to label his project's misfortunes as distinctly American.<sup>55</sup> "It appears that my American misfortunes have come to an end."<sup>56</sup> Through his self-serving statements, Graffenreid revealed not only the misfortunes that visited him in Carolina, but also his belief that he lacked any responsibility for those misfortunes. For him, the blame lay with nature, Lawson, and the Tuscaroras. Sadly, his belated treaty with the Tuscaroras, quickly supplanted and forgotten, along with his descriptions of his misfortunes, revealed his firm grasp of the very real diplomatic issues that might have avoided the war if voiced earlier.

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<sup>53</sup> Historic, "Indians."

<sup>54</sup> Learn NC, "Christoph von Graffenried's account of the Tuscarora War," <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1962> (accessed May 27, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Eastern North Carolina Digital History Exhibits, "Christoph von Graffenried," <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/exhibits/lawson/GRAFADD.htm> (accessed May 27, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> Graffenreid, *Account*, 259.

## Conclusion

This thesis examined interactions between the Tuscaroras and the colonists of North Carolina surrounding the time period of the assault on New Bern in 1711. The point of view of the men on the ground during this time period evinced an understanding of the problems of dissimilar cultures, but their attitudes and actions, firmly rooted in feelings of superiority and personal aggrandizement, limited diplomatic efforts and led to war.

The Tuscarora War began with the death of John Lawson. As his blood touched the ground, the culmination of the inherent differences between the cultures of the colonists and Native Americans became violently real. The war, having arrived, continued for several years. That war defined future relations with Native Americans, and became a permanent stain on the notion of colonist and Native American cooperation and cohabitation.

Why is this important? Indian wars in North Carolina were not as simple as the colonists came, encroached on Native American lands, and eventually took over those lands. This happened earlier in North Carolina, and it happened again in later years. This Tuscaroras period, involving both Lawson and Graffenreid, offered a rare opportunity for diplomacy that would not reoccur. The Tuscaroras' growing dependence on European colonists offered a level of interaction that was unparalleled in North Carolina. Lawson, as author and surveyor-general, recognized this interaction and the benefits and problems that it caused for the Tuscaroras. *A New Voyage to Carolina* demonstrated an attempt to understand the Tuscaroras and other Native American tribes. The book also represented an Old World mentality that could not be overcome in the New. Lawson and

Graffenreid's culture and the Tuscaroras' culture proved unable to coexist, despite significant interaction through trade.

The Nooherooka Tercentenary event and symposium, held at East Carolina University in 2013, explored the battle of Fort Nooherooka, a key moment in the Tuscarora War that ravaged North Carolina from 1711-1715.<sup>57</sup> According to the Nooherooka 300 website, "the battle at Fort Nooherooka...led to the killing, scalping, and/or enslavement of the 900 Tuscaroras men, women, and children who built this unique fort and who ensconced themselves there to do final battle with colonial and enemy Indian forces who sought to dislodge them from their historic homeland."<sup>58</sup> Much of this enslavement of Tuscaroras occurred through the efforts of 500 Yamasees from South Carolina, who were paid by Barnwell to assist against the Tuscaroras following the New Bern assault.<sup>59</sup> Previously, the Yamasees had been associated with the slave trade against the Tuscaroras. This event delved into an important part of history during the Tuscarora War period, and offered the opportunity for further exposure for this important time period.

This thesis contributes to understanding the Tuscarora War by addressing Tuscaroras-colonial relations before the war, focusing on Lawson, Graffenreid, and their contemporaries: the men on the ground with the potential for diplomacy. After an examination of relevant historiography, the thesis focused on the early life of John Lawson, who sought opportunity in America with the hope of material gain. Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina* revealed his understanding of the plight of local tribes, yet he

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<sup>57</sup> "Nooherooka," (Greenville, NC: East Carolina University), [http://blog.ecu.edu/sites/nooherooka/?page\\_id=380](http://blog.ecu.edu/sites/nooherooka/?page_id=380) (accessed May 23, 2012).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> North Carolina Digital History "The Tuscarora War," (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2008), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-colonial/1876> (accessed January 14, 2013).

helped the founding of European settlements for those seeking opportunity in America. The encroachment of Bath and New Bern on Tuscaroras' land led to the death of the surveyor-general at the hands of King Hancock and the Tuscaroras.

Lawson's capture and execution by the Tuscaroras marked the failure of any Carolina diplomacy with the Tuscaroras, who found their way of life in danger. The colonists' expansion had created tension and placed the Tuscaroras, who had initially gained power through interaction with colonists, in a defensive position. The Tuscaroras, trapped by their successes, failed in negotiations for a new home in Pennsylvania. Escalating violence failed them as well.

Graffenreid, fearful for his own life, offered unique observations while in captivity. His treaty, along with earlier observations by Lawson and subsequent views by Spotswood, confirmed the potential for diplomatic solutions to cultural conflict in Carolina, but it was too little and too late. Then, in a series of self-serving statements, Graffenreid attempted to shift the blame for the near destruction of New Bern away from himself. While attempting to reduce his own culpability, Graffenreid offers a ground-level view of the difficulties of interactions between the warring cultures.

In the end, diplomacy floundered and war raged, not because of a lack of knowledge but because the desire for personal gain trumped that knowledge. English superiority and Swiss piety alike fell before the bloody knife of the Tuscaroras. Likewise, few years would pass before the bloody victors bowed before English cannon and fled the colony.

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