

THE SECOND MARCH

The Wateree Indians do not seem to have gotten sucked into the Tuscarora War again for more than another seven months: "the way Colonel James Moore marched in the year 1712 with the forces sent for the relief of North Carolina" matches the earlier route of John Barnwell up to the Waxhaw Indian village:¹

from Charleston (whose people expected him to set out from that city on September 15th, 1712, whether he finally actually left on that particular date or not)²

to the middle course of Santee river; and from thence through the single isolated villages, three villages, belonging to the Indians known as the "Congerees .. Waterees" and "Waxaws."

Then his route diverges sharply from the one that Barnwell took; for Moore now goes to the "Suturres"—one of the towns of the Catawba Nation, and lying on Sugar creek.^X Then his route (which had tended pretty much due northwardly through the towns of the Congaree, Wateree, Waxhaw and Catawba Nations), left the river system on which he had travelled ever since first touching on Santee river;¹

and veered very much to the east — though more towards northeast than due east; through two small nations (Tutelo and Keyauwee) of one village each, in the small, isolated mountain range called the Uwharrie Mountains, and on branch-

properly
500 kiree

^X though his brother, Maurice Moore, split off in a different direction at the Waxhaw town, Maurice leading his part of the army down Barnwell's old route to the Saraw town ... Maurice Moore led the THIRD MARCH, but ultimately combined armies with his brother James.

es of Uwharrie river — a small tributary of Yadkin river, and flowing through what we now call Randolph county, North Carolina;

and on to the lower reaches of first Aramanchee river and then Saxapahaw river

The Wateree warriors (surely a comparatively minor fraction of the forty warriors left in their nation's one village possibly even as late as 1711) now found themselves right at 140 miles due northeast of their village; and marching through the neighborhood of their former habitations: the homeland where the Españoles had found them in 1567, and where the lone German explorer had briefly visited them in 1670. They had not lived in this place for about thirty-six years, give or take six years. Or in other words, since sometime between 1670 and 1682.

The army of which the Waterrees made up but a small part, now marched further northeastwardly, crossing Eno river and Flat river (which converge to form Neuse river); finally bending its path southeastwardly into Tuscarora Indian country and thus, the scene of the war.¹

On the 23rd of December 1712 at Chowan county, North Carolina, the Governor of North Carolina (Thomas Pollock) brings us up to date with the first sentence of one of his letters to the Governor of Virginia (Alexander Spotswood):

"Honored Sir

"I want words to express the miserable state of this poor country — for Colonel Moore (who is a gentleman seemingly of great worth), not finding provisions ready at Bath county for his forces, was necessitated with all his Indians (being

about 900) to march into this county; where they must
(eat) "by destroying the place until provision is carried
around, and men raised here to join them."¹

Also: Colonel Moore told Governor Pollock that Moore
"thought it inadvisable to stay longer, being in want of
provisions, tools and some more white men, his Indians not
being very ready in attacking" (Tuscarora) "forts without
English."

And: " .. I hope that Colonel Moore with his (and some
of our) men, will be able to reduce our Enemy Indians to a
low condition by the middle of February next. By which
time it is probable that many of Colonel Moore's Indians,
having got slaves" — Tuscarora prisoners of war — "or
other booty, may desert. Only about two or three hundred
which Colonel Moore doubts not he can keep."¹

In the North Carolina Governor's next letter to Virginia's Governor, the form-
er, writing at Chowan county, N.C. on the 28th of December 1712, says that
" .. knowing the instability of the South Carolina Indians by their leaving Col-
onel Barnwell last year, can have no certain dependence of their finishing the
war at this time."¹ Governor Pollock remembered that all but about 178 of the
approximately 444 Indian warriors led by General Barnwell, deserted on the night
of February 4th, 1712 (New Style); but Pollock figured the New Year the old
way — from March 25th, rather than January 1st.

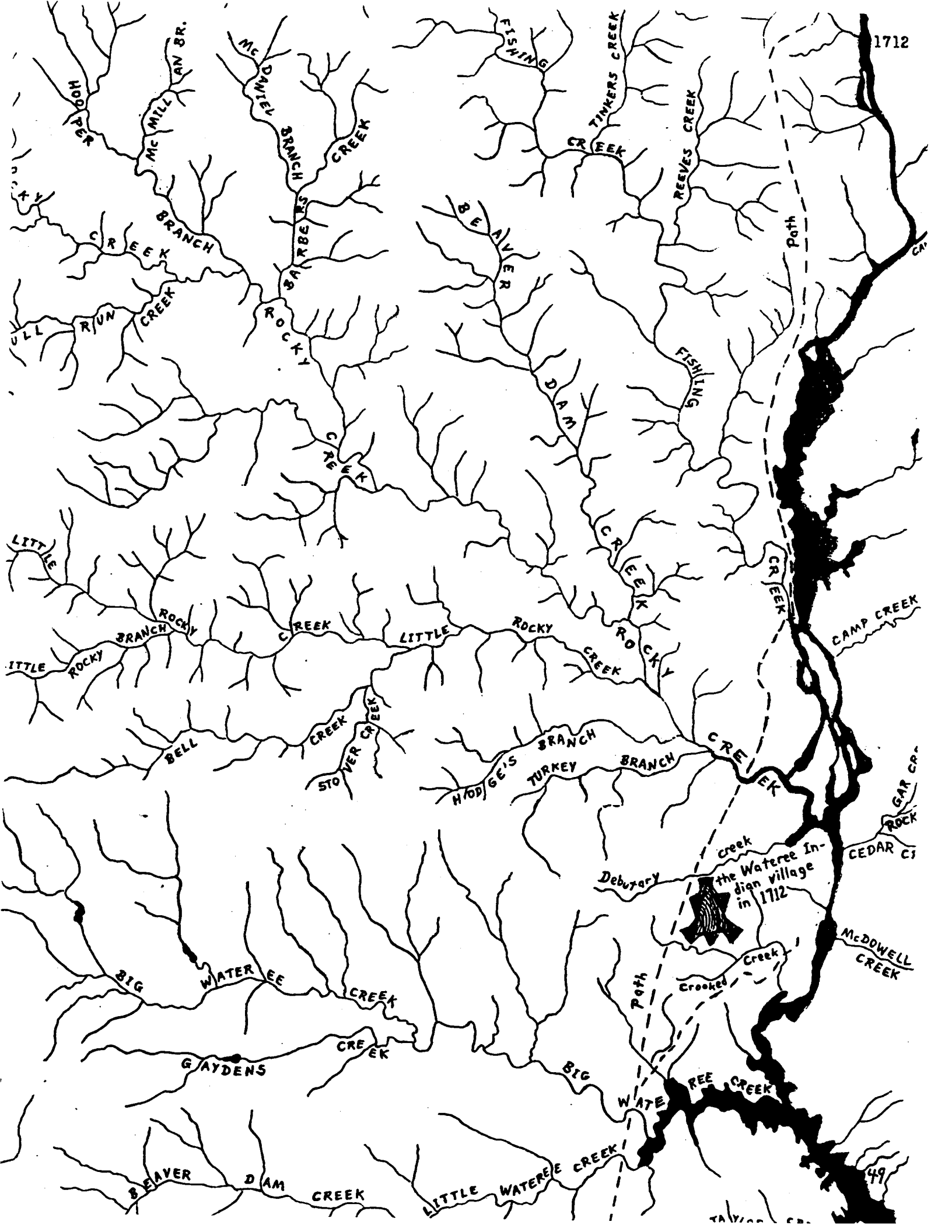
have it from an abstract) " .. 16 men, 17 women, 10 boys, and 21 girl slaves¹ .."

Twenty-three decades after the end of the life of James Moore Sr., a scholar wrote of him that "James Moore had several land grants at Wassamassaw and at Goose Creek" (tributaries of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, respectively, and both named by the Etowan Nation of Indians, who spoke Catawba), "and evidently resided there².." We might expect that "Waterree Jack", a Waterree Indian man, lived there as a slave of Governor Moore sometime after Moore first acquired land there in 1680.³

Even though Moore kept at least two Indian men as slaves in 1703,⁴ he did have some good impulses towards Indians. For one thing, he manumitted one of his Indian man slaves, a Waterree, at some time not later than 1706;⁵ the earliest manumission of an Indian slave in colonial South Carolina, that we know of; though by 1709 other colonists in South Carolina had freed some of their Indian slaves.⁶ A letter date of October 20th, 1709 (to London from the preacher for the parish of St. James Santee — a French Huguenot refugee who had converted to the Anglican church), says of the Etiwan or Ettowan Indians that

"The late Governor Moore and our present Governor have, in a great measure, put a stop to their perpetual murdering one another, which some of them cannot to this day conceive to be evil."⁷

On September 17th, 1708 South Carolina could report to England of the Waterree and other Indians only that "There are several other nations of Indians that inhabit to the northward of us — Our trade as yet with them is not much .."⁸



* Concerning " .. the way Colonel John Barnwell marched from Charleston in the year 1711" (1712 New Style, beginning the year on January 1st instead of March 25th) "with the forces sent from South Carolina to the relief of North Carolina"¹

The route of the army led by Colonel Barnwell led more or less due north from the 22-warrior village making up the entire nation of American Indians called the "Congerees" (on Congaree river in the present Calhoun county, S.C.).² More or less due northwardly from there, across Congaree river to start with, then nearly fifty miles north (bisecting the present Richland county, S.C.) to the next human settlement that one would see — the Indian village inhabited by the Nation called the "Waterrees." This village stood in the fork of Catawba river and the mouth of Wateree creek, in the present Fairfield county, S.C., on the west bank of the river and north bank of the creek.¹

From there, Colonel Barnwell's path continued due north along the same (western) bank of Catawba river another twenty miles or so — mostly through the present Chester county, S.C. — before crossing the Catawba river to get to the next settlement of people in this wilderness, that of the Waxhaw Indians still fixed in the same place as before, in the present Lancaster county, S.C.³

Cutting directly across from the Waxhaw Indian town to the Saraw and Peedee Indian towns on the far bank of Great Pee Dee river, the army left that river at the Peedee Indian town (the site of the present city of Pee Dee, S.C. in the northwestern corner of what is now Marion county).⁴ As General Barnwell reported,

"I had eight days march from Peedee river .. to Cape Feare



(just over half-size)

In Governor Pollock's next letter to Governor Spotswood (January 15th, 1713/
New Style), North Carolina's Governor tells Virginia's, in reference to a cer-
tain important meeting relating to the war and scheduled for the 20th of January,
that — "Colonel Moore would likewise willingly have come in; but, the
destruction his Indians make here, of our cattle and corn, is
intolerable. Having already eat up a great deal of the corn
that was raised by the" (North Carolina colonial) "Assembly to
maintain the war. And also, destroyed all the cattle wherever
they" (the 760 to 900 Cherokee, Yamasee, Catawba, Waxhaw, Tu-
telo, Congaree-Santee, Wateree, Keyauwee and other warriors)
"have come. So that some of the" (white) "people here, have
been seemingly more ready to rise up against them, than" to
"march out against the enemy." ¹ The "enemy" consisting of a
sizable fraction of the three thousand or so Tuscarora men,
women and children, together with their Machapunga, Neusiok,
Connamocksock, and Pamlico allies — entire, small nations
amounting altogether to around 340 men, women and children.
Who had a part of the Waccamaw Indian nation allied also with
them and against the English and German colonists. Not to
mention collaborators in the Maharineck nation of Indians.

Further down in the North Carolina Governor's letter, he
lays out options to the Governor of Virginia: "But if you
think it more fitting when some" of "Colonel Moore's Indians
(having got some" Tuscarora "slaves by taking a" Tuscarora
"fort, or some other blow) have left him, then to send out

your forces to join him, to prosecute the war with vigor and reduce them to a necessity of making peace." ¹

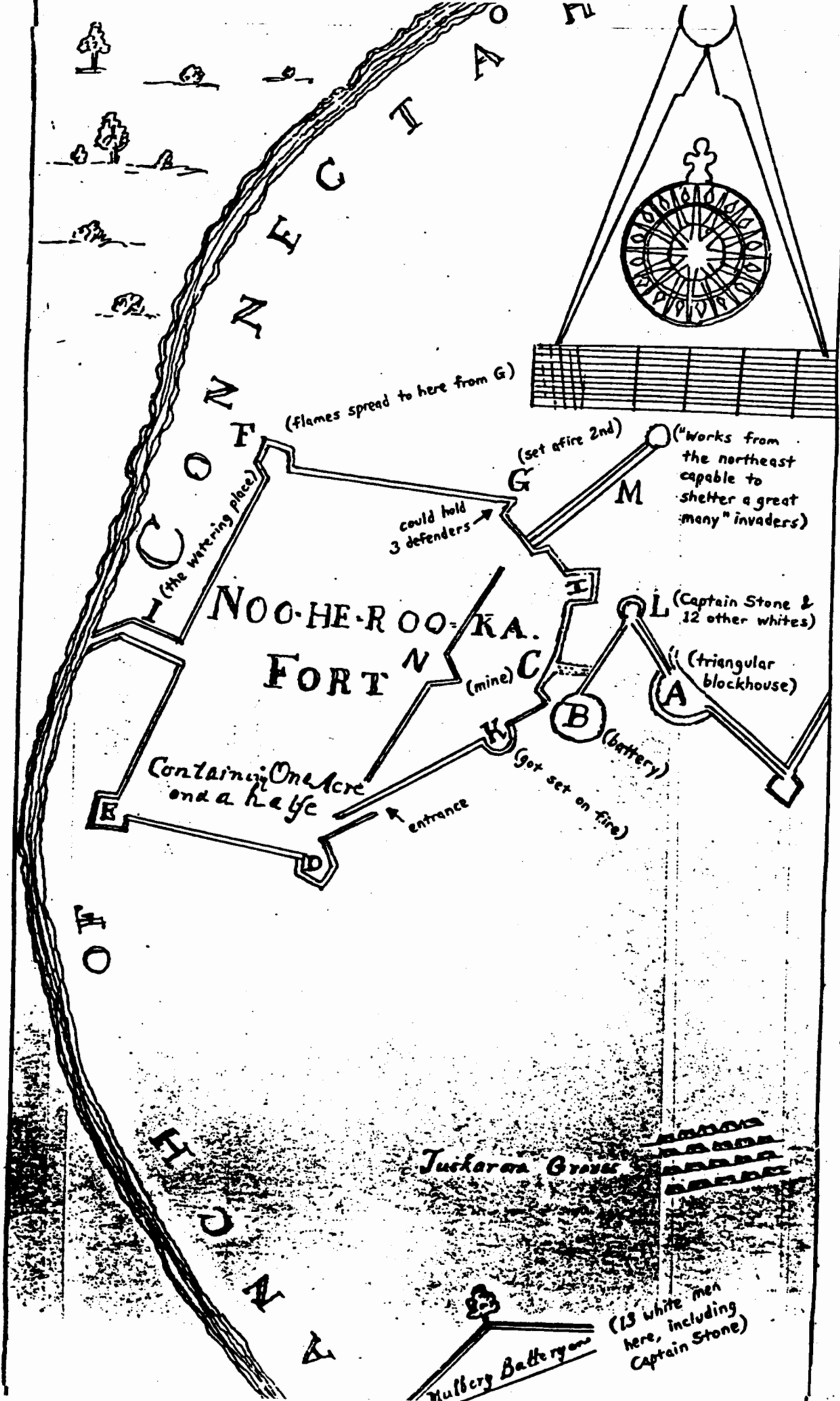
Notice now the map of the Tuscarora town called Nursurooka (variously spelled) on the next page of the present report; and in particular, points A, B and C. Sometime during the latter part of the two full months between January 20th and March 20th, 1713, "The trenches were carried on with good success, and a triangular blockhouse finished at A, and a battery at B — so high that from them, they" (any of the 131 white soldiers and 760 Indian warriors making up the army) "might fire over the enemy's fort. And" (a) "mine carried under the enemy's works to C, and every person ordered to his post ready for a general storm."

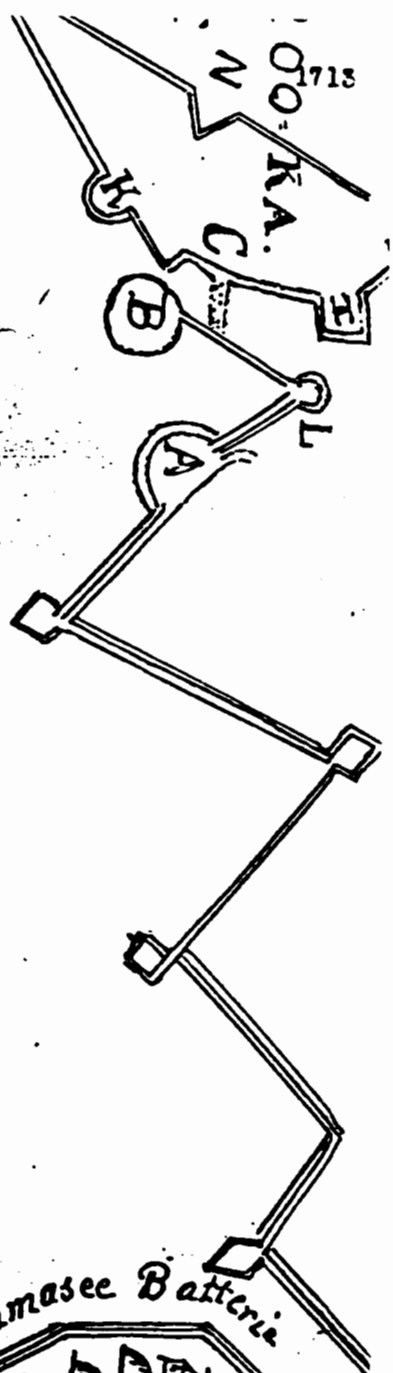
The army consisted of three companies.* For the largest company, see the map entirely taking up the page after next; one might expect that something like 18 of the 400 Indians in it, came from the Wateree tribe. (True IF the 400 warriors came only from nations through which the army had actually marched; and IF each of those nations sent the same proportion — 4/9ths — of their fighting men off with that army.) 93 white men fought in this largest company.

The other two companies consisted, respectfully, of 50 Indians (mostly or entirely Yamasees) along with 13 white men;

and of 310 Indians (mostly or entirely Ani Yun'wiya, "Cherokees") along with a dozen white men. ²

* besides, apparently, a fourth group, consisting of 13 white soldiers only



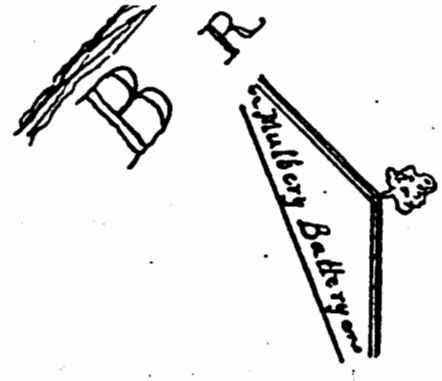


Cap: Maurice Moore Col
 Mackey Tenn white men Fifty
 Indians Cap: Pearce

Tuckarona Graves



Coll: JAMES MOORE Commandr in Chief
 Coll Michel, Cap: Maul, Cap: Canty Cap: Hastings
 with Eighty Eight white Men Four hundred Indians
 of Several Nations.



The day of battle. "On Friday the 20th of March 1712/13, about 10 of the clock in the morning, the mine was sprung ——— but with very little success, the powder being damnified." (Wet gunpowder in the bomb made it fizzle rather than explode, at point C on page 70.) "However, at the sound of the trumpet, assault was made ——— Captain Stone with 12 white men from L, and Captain Moore and his brother, Captain Hastings, Captain Harford, Captain Thurston with other white men and Indians from under cover of the creekside." Harford and Thurston led the Cherokees; Moore's brother led the Yamasees; Moore himself, together with Hastings and others, led Catawba, Waxhaw, Tutelo, Congaree-Santee, Wateree and Keyauwee warriors, as we deduce. "Presently made themselves master of the enemy's works from G to K with very little loss of men, notwithstanding the enemy fired very briskly through the same loopholes that our men attacked them at.

"Captain Maule (who was ordered from the Mulberry Battery to make his attack between D and K), imagining he had some better advantage ——— or mistaking his orders ——— marched between bastions E and D; from which bastions the" Tuscarora "enemy made very great fire. And of which company scarce 30 escaped being killed or wounded, being the greatest loss sustained during the attack." Of his white men alone, Maule had a dozen killed and 15 wounded.

"Captain Cantey from the Yamasee Battery" (he had moved), "was ordered to attack the same place which Captain Maule was ordered to." Cantey, "seeing Captain Maule was gone on the wrong side of the bastion, and that his Indians did not come up as readily; went to the Commander-in-Chief (who was in the Battery B, with Colonel Mitchel), and sent Colonel Mackey to assist (?he)retic
.....) and 'I am with Captain Maule's

mismanagement ve(ry?) (the?) ... was wounded), immediately followed with the same story, and added that unless he was relieved they would all perish. Colonel Moore immediately ordered to make all the fire that could be made from Battery B upon the two bastions E and D.

"And Captain Maule retreated. At the same time, Colonel Moore, observing that the small lodgement made on the enemy's work at G was not sufficient to shelter above 3 men, .. ordered spades to them. With which they finished works to the northeast^{*} capable to shelter a great number from the fire of the enemy made from F. And then" Colonel Moore "commanded the work K to be set on fire.

"From thence, the Commander-in-Chief went to Captain Hastings (who behaved himself very bravely at G). And ordered fire put to that.

March 21st, 1713. "And by the next morning that was burned," along "with the bastion or blockhouse F, and several houses within the fort.

"The" Tuscarora "enemy made very great resistance, and chose rather to perish by fire within the bastions, than to retreat in the caves made underground" — remembering here what had happened that night. "From whence some (having timely made their retreat, and got in the caves) did very much mischief the next day," Saturday the 21st.

March 22nd, 1713. The Tuscaroras in the caves or tunnels did very much mischief on both the 21st "and part of the day following, being Sunday; about 10 of the clock^A we were entirely masters of it. The last place which .. held out being the watering place (which some of the enemy had fortified more strongly after the fort had been set on fire)." That's at I on the map.

"In this action is computed by our enemy's own account their least loss was 270 of their briskest men, besides others aged and young fellows. And with

* at M.
A on Monday,
the 23rd?

what prisoners were taken, their whole loss cannot be less than 800. Loss on our side: 22 white men killed, 36 white men wounded (whereof 12 killed and 15 wounded of Captain Maule's company). 35 Indians killed, 58 wounded." ¹

A letter from Colonel James Moore to Virginia's Governor Alexander Spotswood, date of March 27th, 1713, reads as follows:

"Sir

The 20th of this instant I attack No-ho-ro-co fort, on C(ontentnea) creek, and the 23rd in the morning took it, with the loss of 22 white men and 24" (36?) "more wounded — 35 Indians killed and 58 wounded — Most of the damage we received after we had got the fort to the ground, which we did in the first three hours." Moore may have ordered points G and K set afire within three hours after the initial, 10 A.M. assault, but the part of Nursurooka that burned to the ground didn't finish doing so for, say, nearly another 20 hours.

"I have little else to advise your Honors but that the quota of the enemies destroyed is as follows — prisoners 392, scalps 192 out of the said fort — and at least 200 killed and burnt in the fort — and 166 killed and taken out of the fort, on the scout. Which is all; but my service to Captain Jones, from your Honor's obedient servant,

JAMES MOORE" ²

Virginia's Governor Spotswood heard after that, in a letter from North Carolina's Governor Thomas Pollock, dated April 2nd, 1713, that " It has fallen out as I conjectured: that Colonel Moore's Indians (upon taking the fort and

getting some slaves) would march, the most part of them, home with their booty. So that they have now all gone home, only 180 that stay with him about Neuse river. Where he is now expecting our resolutions .." ^d

Sounds like about 555 Indian warriors had deserted Moore's army, the 555 including, presumably, the Wateree warriors.
