The Lumbee Indians
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NOTES

PREFACE


INTRODUCTION


4. See also Karen I. Blu, “‘Where Do You Stay At?’: Home Place and Community among the Lumbee,” in Senses of Place, ed. Steven Feld and Keith Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), 197–227.


10. See 1 Corinthians 13:12.

CHAPTER ONE


4. Several reports have been commissioned by Lumbee and Tuscarora organizations that seek to clarify this history, and other researchers have shared their conclusions with me. For the discussion of historic tribal ancestors of the Lumbee in this chapter and in chapter 2 I have relied upon the following: Rebecca S. Seib, Settlement Pattern Study of the Indians of Robeson County, NC, 1735–1787 (Pembroke, N.C.: Lumbee Regional Development Association, 1983);


8. John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina; 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. by John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor-General of North-Carolina (London, 1709),

Notes to Pages 19–21


12. Oberg, 12, 32.


15. Oberg, Head in Edward Nugent’s Hand, 57.


19. Oberg, 118.


22. Oberg, 123–26; for a summary of theories on the Lost Colony’s fate, see Helen Rountree, Pocahontas’s People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 21–24.


29. La Vere, Tuscarora War, 40–43; also Theda Perdue, Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), chap. 2.
30. For matrilineal social organization, see Fogelson, *Southeast*, 9, 32, 39, 241–42; some groups with Algonquian affiliations may have practiced patrilineal descent (pp. 420–21); other Siouan-speaking groups in what became piedmont North Carolina may have traced descent from both parents, also known as bilateral descent (p. 291).


37. Parramore, “Tuscarora Indians,” 1141; “wounded savages,” a quote from Baron von Graffenreid, who witnessed the attack, also quoted in Parramore, 1141; see also La Vere, *Tuscarora War*.

38. The Lowry and Kearsey family genealogy is drawn from Norment, *Lowrie History*. The surname “Lowrie” has been spelled differently over time, sometimes as “Lowrie,” “Lowrey,” or “Lowery.” In this book I have used the “Lowry” spelling throughout, unless spelled differently in a specific source, because that is one of the two spellings that is easily recognized in the community today (the other one being the less common “Lowery”). For another common surname “Swett” or “Sweat,” I have used the spelling that seemed appropriate for the context—either as it appears in the historical documents or as the family spells it today. For the long history of whites marrying into Indian communities, see Theda Perdue, “Mixed Blood” Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003).


40. For Thomas Kearsey as a British ally in the Seven Years’ War, see Woods, “Ethnohistory and Southeastern Non-recognized Tribes.”


47. Merrell to Rose, 18 October 1989.


49. For the Carolinas during the French and Indian War, see Daniel J. Tortora, Carolina in Crisis: Cherokees, Colonists, and Slaves in the American Southeast, 1756–1763 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); for the history of reclassification from “Indian” to “mulatto” or other terms that erased Indian identity, see Milteer, “Complications of Liberty,” 33–39.


51. Meyer, Highland Scots, 85–89; for a history of the land patent process, see Margaret M. Hoffman, Colony of North Carolina: Abstracts of Land Patents (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Company, 1982); a comprehensive study of Lumbee ancestors’ land grants is found in Seib, Settlement Pattern Study.
52. Lumbees might be considered “settlement Indians,” like those who lived in South Carolina and in New England, but more research should be done before describing their experience this way. Historians have typically described settlement Indians as those who lived within colonial society and under the authority of colonial governments, and those governments recognized them as distinct groups. For more work on settlement Indians, see Michelle Schohn, “The Pee Dee Indian People of South Carolina,” People of One Fire 3 (May 2008): 9–12; and Jenny Hale Pulsipher, Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Thank you to Wayne Lee for this context.


CHAPTER TWO

1. “A List of the Mob Raitously [sic] Assembled Together in Bladen County, October 13, 1773,” found in folder labeled “Petitions rejected, tabled, or not acted on: December 18, representation of Archibald McKissak re a number of free Negroes and mulattoes annoying the inhabitants of Bladen County (tabled),” General Assembly Record Group, Session Records, Colonial (Upper and Lower Houses), Session of December 1773, Lower House Papers, GASR Colonial, box 7 (hereafter cited as “Colonial Mob List”). McKissak’s petition is missing.


6. Asheville (N.C.) Weekly Pioneer, 2 November 1871, 1; reprints a letter from General John Gorman to Major William Hearne regarding the efforts to capture a band of outlaws led by Henry Berry Lowry during Reconstruction (see chapter 3). Thank you to Forest Hazel for the citation.


9. John’s mother was possibly mixed-race herself; she may have had a Spanish, French, or Italian father (per Figro was his mother’s surname) and a free mother (possibly English, Indian, or African). John’s father was either African or Indian, or both. John was labeled a “mulatto” in later life, but Virginia passed a law in 1705 reclassifying anyone who possessed Indian and African ancestry as a “mulatto,” regardless of the person’s identity.


17. Seib, Settlement Pattern Study, 86, 94–95, 132; J. A. W. Thomas, A History of Marlboro County, with Traditions and Sketches of Numerous Families (Atlanta: Foote and Davies, 1897), 112; Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution (Daughters of the American Revolution, 1932), 325.


19. Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 284.

20. “John Brumfield,” Revolutionary War Pension Files, South Carolina, roll 1589. Thanks to Forest Hazel for this citation.


25. Lowry and Whirligig story and quotes from William C. Harllee, Kinfolks: Genealogical and Biographical Record of Thomas and Elizabeth (Stuart) Harllee, Andrew and Agnes (Cade) Fulmore, Benjamin and Mary Curry, Samuel and Amelia (Russell) Kemp, John and Hannah (Walker) Bethea, Sterling Clack and Frances (King) Robertson, Samuel and Sophia Ann (Parker) Dickey (New Orleans: Searcy and Pfaff, 1934), 1149–50.


31. Smith and Smith, Lumbee Methodists, 13, 22, 62; “New Hope Protestant Church, 1854,” Robeson County Deed Book CC, p. 120, Robeson County Register of Deeds, Lumberton, N.C.; Burnt Swamp Baptist Association, A History of Burnt Swamp Baptist Association and Its Churches (n.p., 2002), 2. New Hope Church was so closely identified with Indians that it may have been known as the “Scuffletown Church” by outsiders; see Forest Hazel, “External Identification of Scuffletown and Its Inhabitants,” unpublished typescript, 31, 64, copy in personal possession of author. Other churches in Prospect, Harper’s Ferry, Hopewell, Ashpole, Saint Annah, and Saddletree are remembered as very old churches, indicating that while their congregations may not have formally organized themselves with ordained ministers before the Civil War, Indian people did hold worship services in those communities. Cemeteries located near those churches also include grave markers from the late nineteenth century, indicating that those places were acknowledged as important by the community well before that. See also Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975), 106–7; Lumber River Conference of the Holiness Methodist Church, The History of the Lumbee Conference (LRCHM, 2003), 93; and Zipf, Labor of Innocents, 30, table 1.


INTERLUDE: FAMILY OUTLAWS AND FAMILY BIBLES


CHAPTER THREE

1. The quotes in the previous two paragraphs are from Petition of William Odom et al., 15 November 1805, General Assembly Session Records Nov.–Dec. 1805, Joint Committee Reports (Propositions and Grievances 1, folder 2), North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.


5. Calhoun, 511–12.


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16. Understanding how many Lumbees were literate at this time is possible only by combing the census household by household, since information about Lumbees was not disaggregated from the general population and no outside observers (such as missionaries) collected such information as they did about other tribes. Further research needs to be done.


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22. Smith and Smith, Lumbee Methodists, 61.


27. As a comparison to Fort Fisher, see a description of Fort Roanoke offered in W. Buck Yearns and John G. Barrett, eds., North Carolina Civil War Documentary (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 253; and Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 284.


29. Evans, To Die Game, 36–39; Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 284, 286; conditions of impoverishment for the white population, especially caused by “impressment officers,” are described in H[enry] Nutt to Governor Vance, 12 December 1864, in Yearns and Barrett, North Carolina Civil War Documentary, 255–56.


35. Evans, *To Die Game*, 43–44.
36. This discussion of Allen and William Lowry’s murder is from Evans, 49–50, 8, 10–15, 18; State v. Roderick McMillan et al., 1867, Criminal Action Papers Concerning Henry Berry Lowry, 1862–1875, County Records, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh; and diary, 1 March 1865, Washington Sandford Chaffin Papers, Special Collections, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.
41. This discussion of the war’s aftermath is taken from Evans, *To Die Game*, 48, 51–52, 54, 58, 60, 62–63, 66–67.
43. Evans, *To Die Game*, 68–70.
44. Evans, 71–73.
45. Evans, 75–76. Quote from diary, Washington Sandford Chaffin Papers; see entries 11 April 1868, 12 April 1868, and 3 September 1868.
46. Evans, *To Die Game*, 81, 84–85, 88, 90, 99; *Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States*, 267.
47. Evans, *To Die Game*, 91–98.
49. Evans, 105–6.
51. Townsend, 27.
52. Evans, *To Die Game*, 109, 121.
53. Evans, 166–72.
54. Evans, 158–60.
55. *Carolina Farmer and Morning Star*, 24 March 1871.
56. Description of Make Sanderson and John Taylor killings from Evans, *To Die Game*, 144–50; quote on 150.
57. Evans, *To Die Game*, 150.
58. *Carolina Era* (Raleigh), 27 July 1871, quoted in *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), 8 August 1871; citation courtesy of Forest Hazel.
59. *New Bern (N.C.) Times*, 14 October 1871; citation courtesy of Forest Hazel.
65. Evans, To Die Game, 244–46; quote on 246.
66. Evans, 247–49.
68. Townsend, Swamp Outlaws, 27; Carolina Farmer and Morning Star, 24 March 1871.
70. “Rhoda Lowrie,” Wilmington (N.C.) Star, 5 November 1897; see also Robesonian, 10 November 1897.

INTERLUDE: WHOLE AND PURE

1. Waltz Maynor and Louise C. Maynor, conversation with the author, 14 March 2010, Durham, N.C.
4. Mary Callahan’s parents were Duncan Callahan and Ann Marie Smith Callahan. The 1870 census has Mary living with Ann M. Callahan, and Duncan is not present in the household. Smith was a common Lumbee surname, and so it seems possible that Mary’s mother was Indian and her father white.

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7. T. J. Morgan to W. L. Moore, 11 August 1890, quoted in McPherson Report, exhibit B8.

9. Anonymous Negro boy, field notes, Johnson Farm, 29 July 1937, Johnson Papers; Blanche, field notes, no date, Johnson Papers.


12. Tenant farming and sharecropping arrangements varied throughout North Carolina and the South; this describes the system prevalent in Robeson County during the Depression. In other places, farmers made a greater distinction between “tenant farmers” and “sharecroppers,” but that does not appear to have been the case at this time in Robeson County. John Pearmain, “Reservation: Siouan Tribe of Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina” (Indian Office Handbook of Information, comp. October 1935), 44, copy in personal possession of the author; Fred A. Baker to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 9 July 1935, in Fred A. Baker, Report on Siouan Tribe of Indians in Robeson County, North Carolina, NARA, RG 75, entry 121, file no. 36208-1935-310 General Services; Waltz Maynor, conversation with the author, 5 September 2015, Durham, N.C. For more on farming in North Carolina during the Great Depression, see Anita Price Davis, comp., North Carolina during the Great Depression: A Documentary Portrait of a Decade (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2003); and Malinda Maynor Lowery, Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Tribe, and the Making of a Nation (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), chap. 2.


19. Other references in newspaper articles, court cases, and family conversations indicated the existence of female bootleggers. See Robesonian, 10 November 1897; David M. Britt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 23 February 1939, NARA, RG 75, entry 121, file no. 45499-1937-066 General Services. Women’s role in selling and making liquor was not exceptional; historian Mary Murphy examines the phenomenon in Montana during Prohibition in “Bootlegging Mothers and Drinking Daughters: Gender and Prohibition in Butte, Montana,” American Quarterly 46 (June 1994): 174–94. See also monologue by Adolph Dial, 14 July 1971, Pembroke, N.C., Lumbee Oral History Collection, http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00008200/00001; and Janie Maynor Locklear, interview by Elizabeth O. Maynor, 27 November 1972, Pembroke, N.C., Lumbee Oral History Collection, http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00007034/00001. For Lizzie Lowry, see “Federal Agents Make Big Raid in This County,” Robesonian, 22 August 1929. My belief that Lizzie Lowry ran a gas station comes from a 1930 federal census entry that listed a Lizzie Lowry as a “Saleswoman” at a “filling station.” Several
of the other bootleggers arrested in the federal raid were also filling station operators; see the following articles in the Robesonian: “Recorder’s Court,” 23 July 1931; “Many Cases Are Disposed of in Superior Court,” 23 December 1931; “Cases for Trial Here Next Week,” 30 January 1936; “Superior Court Calendar Given by C. B. Skipper,” 1 February 1939; “Recorder’s Court,” 17 February 1939; “Robeson and Bladen Prisoners Paroled,” 21 June 1939.

20. Locklear, Oxendine, and Eliades, Hail to UNCP!, 87; for Hammonds’s farming, see the Robesonian, 26 February 1951, 7 May 1923.

21. Locklear, Oxendine, and Eliades, Hail to UNCP!, 37–38; Dr. Fuller Lowry, interview by Peter Brooks, Lumbee Oral History Collection, http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00007110/00001.


26. These observations are based on connections made from my decades of reading in historical sources and on contemporary interactions with my Lumbee peers and relatives. Unlike with the Cherokee and other tribes, scholars have not widely explored gender roles among North Carolina Indians, with the exception of a recent volume: Mary Ann Jacobs, Ulrike Wiethaus, and Cherry Beasley, eds., American Indian Women of Proud Nations: Essays on History, Language, and Education (New York: Peter Lang, 2016).


28. For other legal justice issues, see draft petition, 7 August 1937, Johnson Papers; Mr. Skipper, field notes, no date, Lumberton, N.C., Johnson Papers; General Council of Siouan Indians to Secretary of the Interior, 15 July 1937, NARA, RG 75, entry 121, file no. 45499-1937-066 General Services; Wood, Montgomerie, and Yarnell, Tuscarora Roots, 81–82; “Indians and Negroes Get Call as Jurors,” 18 August 1937, Johnson Papers.


30. For train seating in Red Springs, see W. T. Parler, field notes, 26 July 1937, Red Springs, N.C., Johnson Papers; for train depot in Pembroke, see N. M. McInnis to A. J. Maxwell, 5 June 1913, in North Carolina Utilities Commission Archives Papers, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. Thanks to Jeff Currie for finding this citation.

31. Among the many works that describe federal Indian policy, blood quantum, and race, see Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920 (Lincoln, Neb.: Bison Books, 2001); Circe Sturm, Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity


34. Robesonian, 6 February 1911.

35. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs on S. 3258 to Acquire a Site and Erect Buildings for a School for the Indians of Robeson County, N.C., and for Other Purposes, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess. (14 February 1913); A. W. McLean, “Historical Sketch of the Indians of Robeson County” and accompanying letters, quoted in McPherson Report, 120–32.


37. For more on Carlisle Institute and Indian boarding school education, see D. Adams, Education for Extinction.


40. B. G. Graham, A. B. Locklear, and F. L. Locklear to Senator Lynn J. Frazier, 21 January 1932, Senate Files; B. G. Graham, A. B. Locklear, and F. L. Locklear to A. A. Grorud, 8 July 1932, Senate Files.

41. C. J. Rhoads to Secretary of the Interior, 24 May 1932, Bailey Papers; for a more in-depth analysis of this period, see Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*, chap. 3.


43. James E. Chavis to A. A. Grorud, 10 March 1934, Senate Files.


50. Seltzer Report.


54. Spelling in these quotes conforms to that found in original documents. Quotes found in NARA, RG 75, entry 121, file no. 45499-1937-066 General Services: Lovedy Locklear to
William Zimmerman, 2 May 1938; Lawson Brooks to William Zimmerman, 1 May 1938; Henry Brooks to William Zimmerman, 2 May 1938; Releford [Ralph] Brooks to Fred Darke [Daiker], 3 April 1939.


57. Elisha Locklear and Cecil Hunt, interview by the author and Willie Lowery, tape recording, 23 February 2004, Pembroke, N.C., Lumbee River Fund Collection, Sampson-Livermore Library, UNC-Pembroke; Ella Deloria to Franz Boas, 7 August 1940, Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Wood, Montgomerie, and Yarnell, Tuscarora Roots, 109; Colan Brooks and Rosetta Brooks, interview by Adolph Dial, 2 September 1969. The distinctness of this settlement is widely recognized throughout the larger Indian community, and at least some people thought of the longhouse as “owned” by Pikey, Lawson, and the other Brookses; see Wood, Montgomerie, and Yarnell, Tuscarora Roots, 84; and Willie A. Dial, interview by the author, tape recording, 26 April 2004, Pembroke, N.C., copy in personal possession of the author.


59. “Indian Ex-Convict Is Held for Murder of Camp Prison Guard,” Robesonian, 6 February 1939; Horace Locklear, conversation with the author, 19 December 2015; David M. Britt to John Collier, 23 February 1939, NARA.

60. Quote in David M. Britt to John Collier, 23 February 1939, NARA; General Council of Siouan Indians to Secretary of the Interior, 15 July 1937, NARA; “Indians and Negroes on Jury Here for First Time in Nearly 40 Years,” Robesonian, 18 August 1937.


63. John Collier to Clyde R. Hoey, 6 July 1939, NARA, RG 75, entry 121, Central Classified Files, 1907–1942, file no. 45499-1937-066 General Services.

64. “Funeral Services for Gas Victim Attended by 4000,” Robesonian, 10 July 1939.


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CHAPTER FIVE


3. Jesse Oxendine interview.


6. “People’s Forum—Changed His Views.”


13. “Pembroke Indians Organize to Obtain ‘Special Rights.’”

14. “Robeson Indians Drive toward Vote to Decide Official Name,” Robesonian, 17 August 1951; “Robeson Indians Will Vote On Name Proposal February 3”; “Robeson Indians Plan Vote on Name,” Raleigh News and Observer, 10 January 1952; “Series of Indian Meetings

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29. Jacobs and Jenkins, "Showdown at Hayes Pond."
31. Jacobs and Jenkins, "Showdown at Hayes Pond."
36. Quote from letter on display in an exhibit about the “Battle of Maxton” at the Museum of the Southeastern Indian, UNC-Pembroke.
39. The Maxton and Fairmont school administrative units were not chartered until 1953, after which the county board of education stated that no additional administrative units should be formed because they would further impoverish the educational opportunities of students in the county. V. Ray Thompson, "A History of the Education of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, from 1885 to 1970" (Ph.D. diss., University of Miami, 1973), 13, 78.
41. Sider, Living Indian Histories, 42; Robesonian, 27 July 1933; Thompson, "History of the Education of the Lumbee Indians," 79–80, 13.
44. Jones and Sider interview.
45. Jones and Sider interview.
46. Jones and Sider interview.
49. Sally Locklear, conversation with the author, 2 January 2016.
50. Thompson, 87; Luther Harbert Moore, interview by the author, 16 October 2003, U-0009, Southern Oral History Program #4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC–Chapel Hill.
53. Pierce and Hunt-Locklear, Lumbee Petition, 102.
56. For quote and Schierbeck’s professional affiliation, see “Lumbee Indian Exemption from HEW Order Sought,” Robesonian, 2 September 1970.
57. Quote in “Lumbee Indian Exemption from HEW Order Sought”; see also Robesonian, 4 September and 7 September 1970.
58. Robesonian, 6 September 1970; Jones interview.
61. Robesonian, 30 April 1968; Sider, Living Indian Histories, 95, 103. Community organizer Thadis Oxendine fueled the voter registration effort, supported by the American Friends Service Committee, white New York anthropologist Gerald Sider, and others. Dr. Martin L. Brooks, the only Lumbee medical doctor in the county at the time, founded the Lumbee Citizens’ Council.
62. Sider, Living Indian Histories, 31, 71; Jones and Sider interview.
63. Jones and Sider interview.
67. The previous discussion on powwow history in Robeson County is drawn from Sider, Living Indian Histories, 62; and Clyde Ellis, “Powwow Culture in Southeastern North Carolina,” in Southern Culture on Display: Public Ritual and Ethnic Diversity within Southern Regionalism, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 95–96, 98.
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72. Sider, Living Indian Histories, 116–18; “4 Acquitted in BIA Papers Case,” Akwesasne Notes, Late Spring 1974, 22.


75. Quoted in Locklear, Oxendine, and Eliades, Hail to UNCP!, 150.

76. Locklear, Oxendine, and Eliades, 148–52.


78. Robesonian, 7 March 1973; Barry Nakell, interview by the author, 1 October 1993, U-0012, Southern Oral History Program #4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC–Chapel Hill.

79. Nakell interview.

80. Pierce and Hunt-Locklear, Lumbee Petition, 110–13; Sider, Living Indian Histories, 70, 121–22; Locklear, Oxendine, and Eliades, Hail to UNCP!, 151.

81. Robesonian, 27 March 1973, 2; Sider, Living Indian Histories, 120–21.


CHAPTER SIX


7. These and other details about the criminal justice system in Robeson County is found in Rural Justice Center, “A Report by the Rural Justice Center to the Chief Justice of North Carolina: An Update on Robeson County,” box 4, folder: “Investigator’s Reports,” Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC; Horace Locklear conversation.


9. For the early history of this movement, see box 4, folder: “Investigator’s Reports,” and box 5, folder: “Community Support/Public Actions,” Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC.

(hereafter cited as Stone FBI file); Ian Mance, conversation with the author, 4 November 2015.


13. For greater elaboration on these relationships, see the investigative work done by the attorneys representing Eddie Hatcher and Timothy Jacobs, who gathered information, sometimes through Lumbee and white intermediaries, from incarcerated dealers who had been informants for the sheriff’s department and the State Bureau of Investigation. See select folders in box 2; box 4, folders: “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs,” and “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs 2,” Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC.


16. Select folders in box 2; box 4, folders: “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs,” “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs 2,” “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs 3,” and “Investigator’s Reports,” Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC.


20. Robesonian, 1 November, 6 November, 14 November 1985; Mab Segrest, Memoir of a Race Traitor, 112.

21. Coverage of these incidents was widespread, but for an example of the critique see Raymond Coffey, “President Reagan’s Drug-Test Stunt Is Totally Useless,” Chicago Tribune, 15 August 1986; Stone quoted in “Stone Says Drug-Related Crimes Increasing,” Robesonian, 7 August 1986, 1A, 12A.


24. Details of the theft from the evidence locker described here and in the following paragraphs are from Cathy Stuart, “Sheriff’s Office Missing Drugs,” Robesonian, 12 August 1986, 1A; and the following articles in the Robesonian written by Larry Blue: “Stevens Trial Set to

25. Quoted in Blue, “Stevens Says Fingerprints Don’t Match.”
27. Blue, “Jones Says He Bought Evidence”; Blue, “2 of 4 Charges against Stevens Are Dismissed.”
30. Blue, “Ex-Deputy Acquitted of Charges.”
33. Coronado and Mathis, “Optimistic Cynics.”
35. Quotes and description found in Cummings inquest transcript.
37. Quote and description found in Cummings inquest transcript.
38. Quote and description found in Cummings inquest transcript.
39. Quotes and description found in Cummings inquest transcript; see also “Transcription: Denny Carter, Lewis Pitts,” 12–13.
40. “The Appearance of Whitewash.”
41. Coronado and Mathis, “Optimistic Cynics.”
42. Information in the previous three paragraphs is taken from Cummings inquest transcript; “Appearance of Whitewash”; and “Examiner Says He Wasn’t Told of Inquest.”
43. “Appearance of Whitewash.”
47. Godwin, “So-Called ‘Radicals’ Made Grave Mistake.”
48. “Justice Department Examining Robeson Slaying.”
49. Quotes and discussion of Mount Airy in previous paragraphs are drawn from Carolina Indian Voice, 5 February, 12 February, 12 March 1987; “Sheriff Hubert Stone’s Seeming Arrogance Added Incentive for Recall Effort,” Carolina Indian Voice 5 March 1987; Larry Blue, “Commissioners Won’t Rescind Waiver Letting Stone Employ His Sons,” Robesonian, 1A, 12A; and Mike Cummings, conversation with the author, 31 October 2015.
51. Mike Cummings conversation.
53. Prevatte, 2.
56. “A Name on ‘the Map,’” Fayetteville Observer, 21 October 1988; “Pembroke Officials Dispute Hostage-Trial Map,” Fayetteville Observer, 14 October 1988. The map itself is found in box 18a, Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC. One kind of context for the names on the map comes from box 4, folder: “US v Clark (aka Hatcher) and Jacobs 2,” Subseries 2.1
SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC. Thank you to Dylan Kallenbach and students in AMST/HIST/ANTH 234, Lumbee History, at UNC–Chapel Hill in Maymester 2017 for finding this map, a true needle in a haystack.


59. “Robeson County Schools Merge,” Carolina Indian Voice, 10 May 1988; Mac Legerton, conversation with the author, 26 May 2017; Prevatte quote in box 6, folder: “Prevatte, Eric,” Subseries 2.1 SJI Records #04704, SHC, UNC.


64. SCSJ Report, 15–18. According to his daughter Julia Pierce, Pierce said, “They can kill me but they can’t eat me”; my interpretation of it comes from asking Lumbee men what it means. Julia Pierce, conversation with the author, [date?].


69. “Robeson Man Linked to Killing Pleads a Lesser Charge,” Charlotte Observer, 5 June 1990. Attorneys representing the Pierce family have claimed that the state was uninterested in further investigation; see SCSJ Report, 10, 18–20.


71. Ian Mance, conversation with the author, 27 May 2016; Brenda Cummings, conversation with the author, 18 April 2016.


73. SCSJ Report, 1.


77. All quotes in previous three paragraphs are from Raab, “Reasonable Doubt,” 243, 246, 269.


82. “Interview Transcript of William I. Berryhill, Jr.,” 19 October 1993, Stone FBI file, 58–60


84. Information discussed in the previous two paragraphs is found in Ali Rockett, “Operation Tarnished Badge: Years Later, Tarnish Remains,” Fayetteville Observer, 10 June 2013.

INTERLUDE: CHEROKEE CHAPEL HOLINESS METHODIST CHURCH, WAKULLA, NORTH CAROLINA, JANUARY 2010

1. For more on this subject, see Anna Bailey, “It Is the Center to Which We Should Cling: Indian Schools in Robeson County, North Carolina, 1900–1920,” in The History of

2. Barry Nakell, interview by the author, 1 October 2003, U-0012, Southern Oral History Program #4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC–Chapel Hill; James Holshouser, interview by Lew Barton, 31 October 1972, Pembroke, N.C., Lumbee Oral History Collection, http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00007037/00001. This is actually the recording of Holshouser’s speech at a Save Old Main Rally, prior to his election as governor.


CHAPTER SEVEN


3. The most vivid example of how federal acknowledgment is used as a yardstick for legitimacy is found in Connecticut, where the Mashantucket Pequot people gained recognition and took advantage of gaming. Gaming is a unique economic development opportunity afforded by federal recognition, but it is not available to all citizens and causes controversy; Pequots experienced vitriolic attacks against not only their nationhood but their humanity and their identity, in part because outsiders perceived that gaming (and thus, federal acknowledgment) gave them an unfair advantage. See essays in part 2 of Den Ouden and O’Brien, Recognition, Sovereignty Struggles, and Indigenous Rights in the United States. An extended discussion of the threat that currently recognized tribes feel is found in Mark Edwin Miller, Claiming Tribal Identity: The Five Tribes and the Politics of Federal Acknowledgment (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). For an overview of how inappropriate notions of identity have influenced the federal recognition process, see Eva Marie Garroutte, Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).


11. Roth, “Recognition.”


Notes to Pages 207–12


27. Quoted in Oakley, Keeping the Circle, 135.


30. Arlinda Locklear interview.

31. Arlinda Locklear interview; population number from Blu, “Region and Recognition,” 78.

32. Arlinda Locklear interview.


35. Stinneford, “Lumbee Leader Has ‘Sense of Direction.’”


37. Quote in Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians, et al., v. Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc.

52. Jenkins, “Little Big Man.”
53. Arlinda Locklear interview.
60. Roth, “Comments and Analysis,” 8–9; George Roth conversation.

**EPILOGUE**