area predominantly Lumbee occupied, it was almost totally owned by Lumbee families, who held the land throughout the century. This had important implications for the maintenance of the social and political independence of the tribe. Owning their land made them less subject to the political and economic dominance of whites; living in a homogeneous environment provided security and freedom. Their ties were strengthened with each generation by intra-tribal marriages. The pattern of first cousin marriage prevalent throughout the first three-quarters of the century enhanced tribal solidarity and preserved the land base of the major families. As will be demonstrated in Criterion 83.7(c), most of the tribal leaders of the last quarter of the nineteenth century came from this area.

In view of what is known about the Lumbee community in the 1880s it is possible to construct a general description of the community some thirty years earlier. It was a rural Indian community with small farms scattered and strung along the swamps, and occasionally interspersed with white farms. The Lumbees made their livings on subsistence farms, hiring out for day labor. Members of families tended to live in close proximity to settlements which were identified by the name of the principal family in the area. There is, for example, a reference in the tax books to a "Locklier town" (Robeson County List of Taxables for the Year 1837: 13). The community consisted of large extended families linked together by marriages, each one centering in a given area and headed by the oldest adult, generally a man. Decisions were made by the oldest members of the family who met to discuss matters of concern to their

settlement, a system of decision-making that continues among some families today (Campisi 1985-1987 fieldnotes). As described in the "Historical Narrative," this was a period of intense racism directed against the Lumbees, a factor that led to greater group solidarity and insularity.

During the ante-bellum period few Lumbees had access to schools. Prior to 1850, whites had established a number of private academies in the county (Barnes 1931: 31). Two of these, located at Philadelphus and Raft Swamp, were close to Indian settlements. The tradition among the Indians is that a few Indian individuals were allowed to attend these white schools, primarily on the basis of their light skin color (Mangum September, 1984). An alternative possibility, that concerning religious education, may be more plausible. There is at least one reference to mission schools in the area occupied by the Lumbees. The Presbyterian minister Hector McLean wrote in his diary that on Sunday, July 31, 1836.

> Preached to the poor mulatoes of Robeson. When I reached here, found the Sabbath School going on. This day three months, I was here before, and I clearly perceived that the scholars are rapidly progressing. The progress of the school is such as to speak well of the diligence of the scholars, and of the attention of the teachers - The congregation was very large. The subject the same as last Sabbath. Many felt deeply. The tears were trickling down the furrowed cheeks of many - the Lord gave me utterance and seemed to bless his own truth. O may the Lord bring salvation to this poor neglected people! The prospect now is truly encouraging and may it still brighten, till every soul here shall come to a knowledge of the truth as it in Jesus (MacLean 1831-1879)!

The meaning is plain; not only were there Sunday schools available to the tribal members, but there was at least one congregation, well attended. Because the Lumbee population was

not concentrated in a single location, it is fair to assume that other Protestant congregations existed. It may be that no church buildings existed, and that the meetings were held under brush arbors or in private homes.

NINETEENTH CENTURY -- POST CIVIL WAR

The Civil War had a significant impact on the Lumbee community. As described in the "Historical Narrative," the community members had tended to support the southern cause at the beginning of the conflict, but the refusal to allow the Lumbees to fight in the Confederate Army, combined with brutal conscription methods caused many Lumbee men to desert and hide out. As the war's end approached, the hostility between the Lumbees and the pro-Confederate whites heightened, culminating in the events that led to the murder of the Lowries. From 1865 through 1874 Robeson County was in a virtual state of civil war. Although he and his band were hunted continuously, and rewards were offered for his capture, Henry Berry Lowrie was able not only to escape capture, but to move with relative freedom within the Lumbee community. This was only possible because he had the community's support. Quite clearly, there existed at the end of the Civil War a close-knit Indian community; otherwise the band would not have been able to elude the sheriff, militia, and federal authorities.

Henry Berry Lowrie and his followers gave the Lumbees a pride and a sense of themselves not previously apparent. Evans has described his contribution in the following terms:

> The Lowrys clearly made an impact, as we have seen, on the home territory of the Lumber River Indians. They appeared on the scene at a particularly difficult period in the history of the Indians. At this time the armed resistance of the plains Indians had been smashed, their numbers decimated, while the Indians of the eastern seaboard had known little but defeat and increasing humiliation for a hundred years. With the triumph of a frankly racist party during Reconstruction, it appeared that nothing could stop the winners from putting the Lumber River Indians into the same half-free "place" in which they generally succeeded in putting blacks. But the effort failed. It appears to have failed, furthermore, to a great extent because of the bold deeds of the Lowrys, which filled the Lumber River Indians with a new pride of race, and a new confidence that, despite generations of defeat, revitalized their will to survive as a people (Evans 1971: 259).

It is not that the ruling white political structure did not try to force the Lumbees to accept second class citizenship. The state, in establishing separate school systems, denied them access to the white schools. The Lumbees refused to send their children to those established for blacks, and thereby stymied the state and county. But the price was high. For more than fifty years Lumbees were without educational facilities for their children, except for a few private and church related efforts. It was because of this treatment that education took on such importance in the Lumbee community. In the end, the Lumbees were able to force local and state officials to establish a separate Indian school system through the use of the ballot and the adeptness of community leaders to concentrate the community's votes behind the candidates and party that supported their interests. The result of these efforts was the acts of 1885 and 1887.

Under the 1885 act Indian elementary schools were established in each of the settlement areas. Each local school was operated

by a three member Indian school committee that had the power to both hire and fire teachers, and to determine the eligibility of pupils to attend. By 1900 the county had established schools in eleven areas. These corresponded to the principal Lumbee settlements and schools were located in the townships of Alfordsville, Back Swamp, Burnt Swamp, Lumberton, Raft Swamp, Saddletree, Smiths, St. Pauls, Thompsons, White House, and Wisharts (RCHS 1900: 16-17).

In 1887 the legislature approved the establishment of the Indian Normal School. As previously described, the school had a difficult beginning, and depended entirely on community support for the purchase of land and the construction of buildings. The establishment of elementary and secondary schools was severely hampered by the lack of Indian teachers; it was the normal school's responsibility to remedy this. Its approach was to serve as an elementary school and to provide in-service training for teachers. Ordinarily, those who taught in the one and two-room schools were themselves the graduates of these schools. Many dropped out, but some persisted, taking additional training as it became available. This growing cadre of teachers, as is shown later, formed one of the most important social networks in the community and beyond, creating a regional Indian network that led to social, political, religious, and educational activism.

Lumbee settlements were identified through the names of the most prominent families, their schools and their churches. While the centers or cores of the settlements listed below are relatively easy to define, their outer limits become vague, in large part due to the subsequent draining of the swamps which

removed recognized boundaries and the construction of a complex of town, county, and state roads. As Sider has noted:

> ... the central part of the county is almost entirely Indian. There are not many "deep swamps" in this region now - a few places where the water stands visible all year around, and the moss and the cypress are thickly intertwined. There are many "swamps" which look to the passerby like damp woods - five to fifteen - miles long, and often no more than a few hundred yards, or at their maximum a half-mile wide. Roads cross these thin swamps easily, but skirt the deep swamps. Interlacing this area are the "canals" - drainage canals leading to the Lumbee River or one of the smaller creeks - which are, despite their name, little more than ditches, six or eight feet across, with their banks choked with weeds, brush, and trees. The canals and thin swamps divide central Robeson County into a multitude of named areas - Saddletree, Rennert, Prospect, Mt. Airy, Philadelphus, Back Swamp, Burnt Swamp, Raft Swamp, Moss Neck, Smiths, Union, Alfordsville. Road directions to these places are given in terms of the number of swamps or canals to cross, and place names change across swamps and some canals. From the air, the houses and farms would look uniformly distributed - the locales usually do not have more densely settled centers. But these minor geographic features - hardly noticeable driving at forty miles an hour - mark major communal divisions among the Lumbee (1971: 66-67).

In many instances, the community name is the same as the principal church in that area, or the swamp it was bounded by.

Table 5 - Lumbee Settlements and Churches CA 1920

Settlement	Churches	
Burnt Swamp	Burnt Swamp Baptist	1877
Saddletree	Magnolia Baptist	1894
	Mt Moriah Baptist	ca 1896
	Hammond United Methodist	1792
	Bethel Hill Baptist	1918
	Mt Olive Baptist	1883
Reedy Branch	Reedy Branch Baptist	1881
Bear Swamp	Bear Swamp Baptist	1882
Back Swamp	Deep Branch Baptist	1882
	Pleasant Grove United Methodist	1900
Harper's Ferry	Harper's Ferry Baptist	1887
Black Ankle	Piney Grove Baptist	1889
	Bethel Holiness Methodist	1903
Smyrna	Smyrna Baptist	1888

Antioch		
Ashpole	Antioch Baptist	1897
	Dogwood Baptist	1904
Fairmont	Ashpole United Methodist	1880
Sandy Plains	Pleasant View	1901
Prospect	Sandy Plains United Methodist	1906
	Prospect United Methodist	pre 1871
Hopewell	New Prospect Holiness Methodist	1901
Pembroke	Hopewell Holiness Methodist	1906
Oxendine-Cherokee	Cherokee Holiness Methodist	1919
Union Chapel	Union Chapel Holiness Methodist	1860

(Campisi 1985-1987 fieldnotes).

In some cases the name's origin has long been lost. Since the Indian settlements predate the municipal subdivisions, some settlements are within one town or district, while in other cases the settlements extend beyond these political limits. Pembroke is the one exception. It developed as a result of the intersection of two rail lines. Originally, the two railroads were planned to intersect at Moss Neck, just east of Pembroke, but the opposition of a prominent citizen prevented it. In 1895 the town of Pembroke was incorporated, and it soon became the trading center for the area (Thomas 1982: 177). Thus, with the exception of Pembroke, the settlement pattern cannot be understood either by recourse to contemporary geophysical maps or non-Indian political organization. However, they are understandable in terms of church, school, and family.

THE LUMBEE COMMUNITY AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, 1890 - 1920

The eighteen settlements (Table #5) share in common their identification as Indian. This designation separated them from the whites and blacks, some of whom lived among them. Racial attitudes and behaviors at the turn of the century were made

brutally plain. Indians could not eat in white restaurants, get a drink of water or lemonade in white drug stores, or sit in the "white only" section of a doctor's waiting room. Two white communities in particular were noted for their unrelenting racial attitudes: Red Springs and Lumberton (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes). One man described his first contact with racism in the following way.

> I have an experience that put a scar in my heart and in my life. My first nickel that I attempted to spend for a goodie was in Red Springs, North Carolina. I went to the counter and asked for an ice cream cone and the lady behind the counter looked at my face and said, "I don't have any ice cream." Her friend dashed in from an errand and asked for a cone of cream and she dished her a nice delicious cone of vanilla ice cream. I'd been a young boy and very proud of my nickel and wanted to spend it for an ice cream cone on that hot day. I returned to the counter and said "Lady, please give me a cone of that ice cream." She bent over the counter and almost spit in my face and yelled for me as a croatan to "Get out of that store." I wasn't getting any ice cream. From that day until this my desire and love for Red Springs has never changed. I went away as a thirteen-year-old boy and I had to go to a shanty where there was flies, were poor negroes and unclad, dirty people were served from the back window. That's where I spent my nickel to get an ice cream cone (Dial 1971).

While every Lumbee could recount examples of racism, at the turn of the century, their frequency was low only because Lumbees rarely went to towns. It took the entire day to go by mule from Saddletree to Lumberton. The most frequent contact that Lumbees had with whites was as a sharecropper or day laborer on white-owned farms. In these instances the two kept to themselves, except as the work demanded. At noon, the Indians would take their meal separate, and generally when working, they would be under the supervision of a member of their family. The type of work -- ploughing, planting, cultivating, and harvesting

-- required little direct contact with the white owner. There was seldom contact with the owner's house.

Nor did the Lumbees accept errant racial designations, whether accidental or not. The Robesonian printed a retraction for having referred to Amos Bell of Ten Mile Swamp as a "darky." "That was a mistake and if the reporter had not been too busy to observe when 'Uncle' Amos called he would have known better. 'Uncle' Amos is a highly respected Indian" (Robesonian August 10, 1914: 1). Two years earlier the same paper corrected the identification of J.B. Sweat as a Negro. "The Robesonian tries to be accurate about these things but in a county where there are three separate races [of] people from whom information is gotten [we] are sometimes mistaken as to the race to which some people belong and it is impossible to avoid mistakes" (Ibid. March 14, 1912: 4).

There were four types of land arrangements among the Lumbees. The best of these, from the Lumbee standpoint, was land ownership. The family operated its own farm as a unit; the children were expected to work in the fields along with the adults. Often, boys and girls started working around age eight. The rule of thumb was that a family with one mule could farm thirty acres; two mules sixty acres, and so on. While this was the most secure pattern, it was not without its dangers. In order to secure seed and supplies the farmer had to borrow from white-owned banks and stores. Failure to repay these loans with interest when due resulted in the loss of the farm. There were no extenuating circumstances. Through the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century many Lumbee

farmers found themselves in debt and off the land.

Tenancy was a second type of land holding. The individual rented a house and land, generally from a white landlord, and furnished his own equipment and seed. The land owner might arrange for credit for the tenant, and after the crop was sold, the tenant would settle up. Since the tenant seldom kept (or was incapable of keeping) records, there was usually a feeling that he had been defrauded by the owner (Sider 1971: 74). The third form was sharecropping. There were two variants. In one the sharecropper furnished the labor, mule and half the seed, the crops, generally cotton and tobacco, were divided equally with the landowner. In the other the sharecropper furnished nothing but labor, in which case the land owner took two-thirds of the crop. In the first type the sharecropper could just make it, providing there was a good crop and price. In the second, there was little likelihood of getting by without incurring debt. This had the effect, in some instances of virtually binding the man and his family to the land (Ibid: 75). Finally, many families worked as day laborers. Men worked for fifty cents a day, women for forty cents, and children fifteen to twenty-five cents (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

At the turn of the century, living conditions for most Lumbees were difficult, and poverty a common occurrence. All families farmed, even though they could perform other trades as well. Each family had a garden and canned, or otherwise stored food for the winter. One man in his nineties described his life in rather succinct terms. He worked hard all his life; began ploughing when he was ten years old, and worked in the fields

TABLE 6

PROMINENT FAMILIES IN 1910 IN LUMBEE COMMUNITIES

PROSPECT
Preston and Emmaline Locklear
Jackson and Fine Locklear
Malachai and Serena Bullard
Marcus and Elizabeth (Harris) Dial
Arch and Della Bullard
John and Margaret (Bullard) Harris
John Arch and Margaret Locklear
Peter Bullard and Mary Frances Bullard

HOPEWELL
French and Annabelle Lowrie

BACK SWAMP
Ducary and Callie Brooks
Aaron and Dalcedy Locklear
Robert "Maxim" and Rachel Locklear
John and Lovely (Brooks) Locklear

HARPERS FERRY
Everette and Anor Sampson
Oscar and Susan Sampson
Lottie Lowrie (was married to Peter Dial)
Luther and Fanny Deas
John and Polly Dial

UNION CHAPEL
Angus D. and Susan Locklear
Caggle and Nannie Locklear
King and Della (Dial) Locklear
W.W. and Telethia (Lowry) Locklear
Artemus and Nancy Cummings
Lemmons and Martha Locklear

SANDY PLAINS
Duffie and Sarah Cummins
Colonel and M.J. Johnson

ST. ANNAH
Zimmie and Agnus (Locklear)
Chavis
Thornton and Mary Lowrie

SADDLETREE
Wash Hammons
Angus and Elizabeth Locklear
Daniel and Zenna Locklear
Whitfield and Flora Locklear
Calvin and Mary Locklear

FAIRMONT
Troy and Effie Hunt
Mack Locklear

BEAR SWAMP
Alex and Emily Locklear
Nicolas and Mackie Locklear
Ethan and Narcissus Maynor
Wiley and Bell Oxendine

NEW HOPE
J.W. and Eliza Oxendine
Wash and Catherine Lowrie
Steve and Nola Manor

before then. The house he lived in was not sealed; one could see out through the walls and see the ground through the spaces between the floor boards. The house had two fireplaces plus a kitchen stove where his mother cooked; as a small boy he slept in the kitchen and started the stove in the morning. There was in the house, in addition to his four siblings, a number of his father's children from a previous marriage.

His mother died when he was about thirteen, and his father hired him out to a white farmer for eight dollars a month. "Gave me plenty of hard work and something to eat." That lasted a year, during which his father hired out his brother on the same terms. He continued to work for others with the money going to his father until the age twenty when he went on his own and hired himself out. With a little cash and a credit from another Lumbee farmer he rented some land, and the following year, he married (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes). While descriptions by other individuals vary in detail, they are consistent in presenting a picture of both extreme poverty and deprivation, and mutual aid networks in the Indian community (Sider 1971).

Two factors influenced residence patterns. Families that owned land, and a sizeable number of the Lumbees did, tended to cluster around the holdings working the farm as a cooperative unit. As they achieved some gain individual members either purchased land from the head of the household or bought parcels from others. Certain families were able to maintain a concentration of property and kin in given areas. Some examples are the Lowerys in the Hopewell area, Hunts in Fairmont, Oxendines in New Hope, and the Locklears, Dials and Bullards in

TABLE 7

LAND OWNERSHIP

1900

Townships	Indian Land Holdings Number of Acres	1900 Federal Census Indian Population	Average Acreage
Alfordsville	292	158	1.85
Back Swamp	2,597.41	387	6.71
Blue Springs	0	18	0
Britts	0	18	0
Burnt Swamp	9,742.25	1,274	7.65
Howellsville	89.75	12	7.48
Lumber Bridge	0	99	0
Lumberton	1,214.75	164	7.41
Maxton	526.75	204	2.58
Raft Swamp	855	100	8.55
Red Springs	25	38	.66
Saddletree	2,644.15	371	7.13
St. Pauls	935.75	59	15.86
Smiths	3,641.16	593	6.14
Sterlings	0	0	0
Thompson	1,637	978	1.67
White House	578.75	135	4.29
Wisharts	386.75	81	4.77

(Refer to Land Ownership Map facing page 151)

Source: Seib 1982: 15

prospect (see Table 6). Marriages within the settlements and the family were common and cousin marriage was accepted, at least in the years before 1900. There were, of course, many who married outside the settlements. In the cases where family-owned land was available, the husband commonly brought his wife to his community. To be near one's family was paramount concern and contributed to intra-community marriages as well as marriages into adjacent settlements.

There was considerably more mobility among those who were landless. They located wherever land was available to rent or sharecrop, and moved as economic conditions warranted. In 1900 there were 3,877 Lumbees (U.S. Census 1901: 550-51). The Indian population was concentrated in the central part of the county, with Burnt Swamp Township having nearly a fifth of the total, followed by Thompson and Smith townships (Seib 1982: 11; Table 7). Indian ownership of land followed a similar pattern, concentrated in the central part of the county and with the same three townships ranked in the same order (Ibid: 14; Table 7). Despite the concentration of Indian-owned land in certain townships, the majority of the land in these townships was owned by whites (Ibid: 6; Table 8), although often farmed by Indians. Landless Lumbees moved as necessary from the home communities to other Lumbee communities, but in general they kept in contact with families and kin. In this manner Lumbee families dispersed outward from a core, forming a linkage or network among the Indian communities (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

Many of the settlements were made up of one or more extended families that dominated. As the genealogical charts show, these

TABLE 8

TOTAL ACERAGE PER TWP/RACE

1900

TOWNSHIP	INDIANS	WHITES	BLACKS
Alfordsville	292	37,639	1,978
Back Swamp	2,597.41	18,713.58	2,961.4
Blue Springs	0	33,499.25	2,218.6
Britts	0	38,503.75	1,393.5
Burnt Swamp	9,742.25	13,558.25	961
Howellsville	89.75	36,584.17	1,068.7
Lumber Bridge	0	48,203.15	2,954.8
Lumberton	1,214.75	18,838	1,226
Maxton	526.75	26,384.05	1,592.5
Parkton	0	13,159	1,038
Raft Swamp	855	8,557	752
Red Springs	25	23,906.74	1,525.5
Saddletree	2,644.15	16,047.41	663
St. Pauls	935.75	40,835.03	2,584.1
Smiths	1,912.08	26,257.25	2,403
Sterlings	0	45,484	308
Thompson	1,637	48,619	484
White House	578.75	45,970.33	1,526.1
Wisharts	386.75	20,098	192
TOTAL	23,437.39	560,856.96	27,830.1

Source: Seib 1982: 6

families were interlocked by marriage, so that ties were maintained to each other, and thus, by kinship, to the other settlements.

The communities were further linked together by their churches. Often, the community and the church were synonymous entities. The church represented the principal form of organized social life. Church attendance was nearly obligatory and took up most of Sunday morning with Sunday Schools and prayer services. In addition, there were prayer meetings and revivals, particularly in early August, that brought together families from different settlements and congregations. These would last all day. Families would pack their meals, which they would share with others, while they listened to a variety of preachers and joined in gospel singing.

Ministers often served a number of churches in different settlements, traveling in a circuit and preaching in each church at least once a month. The devotion of these ministers is exemplified by the following:

> An example of a Lumbee who was both sustained and impoverished by his religion was the Reverend Z.R. Chavis, a man who lived to be ninety-nine years old and who, though he never completed the third grade, was viewed as a great spiritual leader. In his entire life Mr. Chavis never owned a horse and buggy nor an automobile. He journeyed by foot. As an itinerant preacher, he walked considerable distances to deliver his sermons, the farthest being a monthly trip of forty miles to Fayetteville, North Carolina, which he made for a period of ten years. Reverend Chavis was so devout that he never acquired many wordly possessions. His son Jim, at the age of eighty years, remarked, "In my young days I was prejudiced against religion because of my father's tough times. I never could understand why he couldn't afford a horse and buggy. Father worked hard and kept his mind on the Lord at all times; he thought of the Lord so much that he could not do a job that required much concentration." Thus, he was never very

> successful as a farmer or railroader. Although Rev. Chavis died poor, he always appeared to be happy, and he frequently said, and obviously believed, "I am rich with the Lord" (Dial and Eliades 1975: 114-115).

In the minister's absence there were lay ministers from the congregation to lead the worship, and an occasional guest minister to preach. In many houses the family prayed both morning and night, with a parent, generally the father, reading passages from the Bible to family members. While women never served as ministers, they were, nonetheless, very active in church affairs. They were, as one elderly man described, "the prayingest women." Church going was a social event, although never secular.

Family and church were not the only abiding and consuming interests of the Lumbee community; there was the need and desire for education. Because the Lumbees could not go to white schools and would not attend schools for blacks, this need was manifested in the application of pressure on the state to provide them a separate system of education. The process by which this was achieved has been described in the "Historical Narrative." However, what is critical to recognize at this point is the relationship which obtains between education and the maintenance of the Lumbee community.

Not every settlement noted on Table 5 had a school. In this sense the areas of the settlements and those served by schools were not identical. But they were nearly so. The schools, which operated for approximately three months during the winter, covered grades one through seven. Teachers were drawn from those who had graduated, and courses taught amounted to a basic skills

curriculum, with emphasis on reading, writing, and mathematics. Discipline was strict and corporal punishment common. One individual recounted how his mother had told his teacher, who was also his aunt, "... to whip me every day and she did just about every day" (LOHP 1982).

While the county provided a small amount of funding for the schools, each settlement had to raise money needed to purchase books and materials. This was done through a variety of activities. For example, there were "shadow socials." A sheet was hung up in a room and a few girls were put behind it. The boys would bid for the girls and the lunch they had prepared. There were also box lunches sold and "cake cuttings." Men would bid on the box lunch and the successful bidder won the lunch, which he shared with the woman or girl who had prepared it. Often, a girl baked a cake and slices of it were sold. The girl who baked the best cake received a small prize. These same methods were used to raise funds for the church as well. At the end of the school year there was a day set aside for the parents. At this event the children received new clothes, generally homemade, and the parents, who had taken the day off, gathered at the school to hear recitations, singing and the like. The pride the community took in the education of their children and the sacrifices they were willing to make, were indicative of the esteem they placed on education. In the words of Karen Blu:

> Of all the accomplishments pointed to with pride, educational improvements are perhaps the most frequently cited and most actively sought after. Indeed, educational goals have produced a great amount of Indian activity from 1885 until the present. Improved education has come to symbolize high status, prestige, "progressiveness," opportunity for improvement, upward

> mobility, and community pride. Better educational opportunities have enabled a segment of the Lumbee to become solidly middle class. By obtaining a separate school system, the Lumbees established themselves visibly and firmly as a separate people and at the same time were able to institute some local controls. Although Indians could not govern how much money was allocated to their educational system (they could only lobby), they could, through local school committees, Normal School and college trustees, and Indian teachers and principals, control much of what went on at individual schools (1980: 138).

It should be borne in mind that it was not simply education that was coveted by the Lumbees, but education as Indians. While it was through the struggle to establish an education system that their identity as Indians was recognized, it was their sense of themselves as an Indian community that made the system an issue in the first place.

Since the school committees in each settlement controlled the schools, deciding who was eligible to attend, and who would be hired as teachers, they, perhaps more than anything else, determined each community's boundary. As described in the Historical Narrative, their power to deny a student admission was absolute. They did not allow non-Lumbees to attend, even though they were of Indian ancestry. The case of the Smilings is illustrative. The members of this group had lived in South Carolina until the turn of the century, when they began moving to Robeson County. They refused to attend black schools, and eventually forced the county to establish a separate system for their children (A.A. Goins et al. v. Trustee Indian Normal School No. 296, 1915).

The Lumbees also maintained close contacts through a number of organizations and events that crossed family, locality and

religious lines. As early as least 1914 the community was holding annual picnics. In that year a picnic was held at Union Chapel. The reporter for the Robesonian wrote a lengthy description of the event, which honoring three deceased friends of the tribe - Hamilton McMillan, Colonel N.A. McLean, and R.W. Livermore - and included speeches by a number of white candidates for public office. The meeting was opened by the Reverend Steve A. Hammond, and the speakers were introduced by D.F. Lowry, who the reporter described as "... a bright young Indian teacher and farmer." He added:

> Prof. Lowery was on the programme for a speech, too, and he made about the best speech of the occasion. He is a pleasing speaker and his speech was full of wit and humor. He started out by thanking God he was not a candidate, though his speech was sandwiched in between the speeches of candidates and told how to interest candidates when they come to see you so they will forget to talk politics. He said it didn't take him but three minutes to outspeak a candidate; and hanged if he didn't prove it (Robesonian July 27, 1914: 1).

The picnic was under the direction of Calvin F. Lowrey, H.P. Lowrey, W. N. Baker, and P. B. Lowrey. The assemblage was entertained by "... a string band of Indian boys - R.M. Lowrey, fiddle; B.F. Chavis, banjo; and F.R. Chavis, guitar - [who] made good music." After the speeches "An excellent dinner was served the white visitors in the school house by Mrs. Calvin Lowrey" (Ibid.).

The picnic described above was apparently but one of several held each year. For example, in 1915 picnics were held at Union Chapel (Ibid. August 5, 1915: 1), and Pembroke (Ibid.; Ibid. August 16, 1915: 1-2). The local congressman gave the principal speech on agriculture and education. According to the reporter:

> Something like two thousand people were at the great annual Indian picnic held at the Indian Normal school building, near Pembroke, Saturday. Early in the morning the folks began to gather from all parts of the county and by the time for the speaking to begin the crowd was so large that it was decided to let the speakers of the occasion, Congressman H.L. Godwin and Mr. J.A. Brown of Chadbourn, speak out in the open where all the people could hear (Ibid. August 30, 1915: 1).

As in the example of the Union Chapel picnic in 1914, "... the speakers and several other white persons present, including this reporter, were invited upstairs by Jim Dial, a prosperous Indian farmer, where he had prepared a sumptuous dinner, one that was most highly enjoyed by all who were so fortunate as to partake thereof" (Ibid.).

These picnics served a number of important purposes in the Lumbee community. They brought together friends and families from different settlements. Families would pack food baskets and leave early in the morning to arrive in time. They would set up their arbors and tents and spend the day with other family members. They offered the opportunity for chidren from different schools and settlements to play together, for young people to court, and adults to visit and gossip. In addition, they provided an excellent opportunity for the tribal leaders to demonstrate their influence to white politicians and for the politicians to solicit support. It is certain that the private dinners held for the white politicians included the Indian leaders; it is equally certain that a good deal of political logrolling went on at these dinners.

There were other meetings in the community. For example, churches held annual thanksgivings. The program for one such meeting is detailed below:

All the people of the Indian race are hereby cordially invited to meet at Bear Swamp church on Thanksgiving Day for sacred worship and thanksgiving. All denominations will worship together there and dinner for the aged citizens will be prepared first. A special call to all the ministers to attend. First sermon to be delivered by Elder H.H. Lowry. Other ministers to serve in succession, is the expectation of the public. The good sisters will bring well-filled baskets. Our wish is to see everybody of Robeson and adjoining counties of the Indian race turn out that day, that can come, to Thanksgiving service. We should give special attention to this as it is appointed a day of thanksgiving by the supreme authority of our country. Don't forget to bring dinner and don't forget that all religious denominations are to be present, especially the ministers.

Come one; come all.

Rev. Z.R. Chavis.

Pembroke, N.C.

(Robesonian November 18, 1915: 6)

Since much of the Lumbee community's efforts and energies were directed toward education, it is not surprising that education provided an important focus for a number of social groupings. There were, first of all, local school activities that involved fundraising, pageants, and school graduations. For example, to raise funds for a new school in Lumberton township J.E. Dial sponsored a picnic that netted $800 (Ibid. July 29, 1907: 6; August 5, 1907: 5). Such rallies, with their prominent speakers, guests, dinners (usually box suppers were sold), and donations were a common occurrence in the community (Campisi fieldnotes 1985-1987).

Beyond the local school activities there were also annual educational rallies.

October 22nd the annual educational rally will be held at the Indian Normal building at Pembroke. Speakers of State-wide reputation will be with us. We urge every Indian to come and hear the speakers. By following great leaders only can we reach a great civilization. Let each one bring a well-filled basket.

A.A. Locklear,

Sec'y.

Pembroke, N.C., Oct. 1st, 1910.
(Robesonian October 6, 1910: 1)

such meetings served the important function of bringing together teachers, parents and tribal leaders from different parts of the Lumbee community. Like the other activities referred to above, these reinforced the Lumbee sense of themselves as a distinct and separate people. It is important to note that in every case the newspapers referred to them as such.

Teachers were brought together on a regular basis for teachers training at the normal school. These were held for a week during the school year (Ibid. October 14, 1907: 4; Ibid. November 7, 1907: 3), or for a two week period during the summer (Ibid. August 10, 1914: 1; February 8, 1915: 8). The workshops included topics such as "The importance of libraries in the public school," "The importance of Reading ," and "How to Identify the Teaching of Arithmetic with Life." Very often the instructors of these sessions were members of the tribe (Ibid. February 26, 1915: 2).

Around 1907 the Lumbees formed a teacher's association. The secretary of this organization was D.F. Lowry; other founding members were P.M. Locklear, and Edmund Lowrey. Apparently the initial meetings did not get a strong response from the other teachers, although they did receive the support of the community. "It seemed that the Indian teachers of Robeson and adjoining counties had lost sight of the day." The local paper reported. "However, the farmers in this district came out and were well delighted at the association and took hold and assisted the teacher's present, stating that 'they wished all the teachers

were present so they could teach them many things'" (Ibid. December 16, 1907: 3). From these somewhat inauspicious beginnings the teacher's association grew rapidly, concentrating its efforts on teaching methods. Beyond this function,the association served as a means to indoctrinate new teachers with the values of the Lumbees, as well as to standardize teaching and reinforce the tribal members' sense of themselves as a separate and unique social group. The school committees had a similar organization that met to discuss common concerns. This group was closely tied to the trustees of the normal school as witness the following announcement:

> The Indian public school committeemen, of Robeson county are hereby notified to meet at the Indian Normal school on Saturday, July 17th, 1915, for the purpose of advising some plan for the good of our public schools in the future.
>
> This meeting is real important. The details of this meeting will be made known on the date of the meeting. Hope all the public school committeemen will be present at this meeting.
>
> By order of the board of trustees of the Indian Normal school.
>
> G.G. Locklear,
> Committeeman.

(Robesonian July 12, 1915: 6).

Finally, sometime around the beginning of the twentieth century the Lumbees formed their own agricultural association, the Croatan branch of the Cotton Grower's Association. From the one report which survives, it is obvious that the association followed the pattern of the other organizations in the community:

> At 12 o'clock, noon, A.A. Locklear, presiding, in a few well chosen remarks, called the meeting to order; prayer was offered by Rev. Gilbert Locklear, after which Mr. R.W. Livermore was introduced and delivered one of the most instructive and pleasing addresses ... (Robesonian August 16, 1906: 3).

These organizations and their meetings, whether religious,

educational, political or economic, were important means for integrating and socializing the various families and settlements of the Lumbee community. They were a vital means for the community to express its interests and values. Bearing in mind the poverty in the community, they functioned as a tangible expression of the community's solidarity. While there existed a strong sense of pride in family and locality which tended to isolate some individuals, sharing religious experiences with others through church associations and inter-denominational meetings and revivals, offset emerging parochial attitudes. The same held true for the other more socially and politically oriented meetings. All of these social networks focused on key individuals and families, a subject that will be discussed in 83.7 (c).

There were more informal occasions and activities that brought Lumbees together. They shared hard times and grief. If fire destroyed a house, members from the settlement would gather to rebuild. They would take up a collection of clothes and furniture; a member of the family would provide temporary housing. In cases of sickness, when a man could not do household chores, prepare the fields, or harvest the crops, neighbors would do the work until the individual was able. People regularly visited the sick, bringing food and offering solace. One elderly man said "My mother never missed a sick person, no matter how much she had to do at home" (Campisi 1985-1887 fieldnotes).

Funerals involved all of the members of the community. Upon an individual's death, the body was washed and dressed by members of the family or close friends, and placed on a "cooling board."

After a period of time the body was placed in a coffin and placed in the deceased's home. Friends and family would gather and have an all-night "sitting up." There would be prayers and singing; coffee, but no food, was served. The next day the body was taken by wagon to the church for a service, then to the gravesite. On some occasions the only service was that given at the gravesite (Ibid.).

Marriages were handled more matter-of-factly. There was no church service, the individuals just "slipped off" to places such as Dillon, South Carolina, paid a small fee, and were married. They returned home, sometimes not announcing their marriage to the families for days or even weeks. Occasionally, when friends and family knew of the impending nuptials they would prepare the "wedding bed," or hold a shivaree. Generally, however, marriages passed without much notice (Ibid.).

Families produced most of the items they needed, but there were a number of things that had to be purchased. There were three types of stores available. The smallest were commissaries, little more than pantries where an individual could buy or barter for a plug of tobacco, coffee, sugar, and the like. Most Lumbee families had commissaries. The second type was a small store that handled a broader range of products, including a few supplies. These too, were Indian-owned. The third type were the large general stores found in places like Moss Neck and Red Banks. They were owned by whites and carried a wide range of products, and were able to provide credit for extended periods of time. The commissaries and small stores were important centers for communication. The white-owned stores also provided sources

of information, bringing together members of different settlements.

Throughout the fall and winter neighbors gathered periodically to help each other. Families joined together to slaughter hogs, raise barns and buildings, saw wood, and shuck corn. Sometimes the women of the household would prepare a meal, but more often the only refreshment offered was coffee, along with peanuts and candy. While secular music and dancing were frowned upon, they apparently occurred with some frequency, as did passing a jug of homemade whiskey. These were occasions marked by plenty of conversation, joking and laughter, and like all the other activities within the community, were restricted to Lumbees.

Women took pride in their houses, spartan as they might be. The floors were kept clean and the porches scrubbed until they "showed yellow." Clothes were boiled in homemade soap, then scrubbed against a wash board, dried, starched, and ironed. Being a good cook and baker was rewarded by having one's box lunch, cakes and pies purchased at the church and school socials.

Social control was maintained in a number of ways. The eldest member of the family had authority over all of the others, even grown children. Children were punished for the smallest infractions and they were expected to contribute to the houeshold by doing their chores and working in the fields. Adults expected those who were younger to address them with repect. A common term was "uncle" or "aunt." However, these were terms limited to the Indian community. One individual told of an elderly woman who was addressed by a white man as auntie. She responded by saying


Red Men's Lodge

that she "wasn't his auntie." Underlying these behaviors was the implied danger of being subjected to gossip if your house was not clean, your children not respectful, and your family's behavior questionable.

The churches exerted strong pressures to conform. Individuals could be censored by the congregation and expelled if they failed to "mend their ways." In matters that were considered serious, such as adultery, the offending man might be visited by a delegation of elders from the church. If that didn't work he might be visited again and "given a beating." Until the guilty parties had mended their ways and begged forgiveness they might be subjected to ostracism by the congregation. Long after repentance, there would still be gossip. While most things could be forgiven, marrying black could not and young people were kept away from any contacts with blacks. Individuals who married blacks were forced to leave the community. There was no similar prohibition against marrying whites within the Indian community, but it did not occur often, particularly toward the end of the century, because whites would drive out the couple.

In the early 1900s a fraternal organization called the Confederation of Red Men's Lodge reached the Lumbee community. It is not clear who introduced it, but by 1914 there were lodges in Prospect, Magnolia, Pembroke, Saddletree, Oxendine, and Union Chapel, called the Tecumseh Lodge (Robesonian September 10, 1914: 2). The last mentioned was headed by Reverend S.A. Hammonds, High Chief. The lodge members met monthly in private homes or school, or in their own buildings, as was the case in Pembroke (Robesonian September 14, 1914: 7), carried out ceremonies,

marched in parades, and conducted funerals. The ceremonies and rituals of the lodges were secret. Members paid dues and some had uniforms. In addition, there was an "Annual Picnic of the Confederation of Red Men." While no membership lists have survived, the few published notices available indicate that the lodges were led by the tribe's more prominent members.

> The annual picnic of the Confederation of Red Men will be held at the Normal school building in the town of Pembroke on Thursday, July 22.
>
> The Grand High Chief summons all Red Men of the order to come and bring well-filled baskets.
>
> Programme
>
> 10:30 a.m. Address of welcome by Mr. A.S. Locklear.
> 11 a.m. Parade on horseback.
> 12 m. Dinner.
> 12:30 p.m. Boat Races.
> 1 p.m. Address by Mr. S.A. Hammonds.
> 2 p.m. Address by Prof. H.A. Neal.
> 2:30 p.m. Parade and march.
>
> Music will be furnished by the Indian band.
> The public is cordially invited.
>
> Committee of Arrangements: J.W. McGirt, J.H. Harris, E.M. Clark, H.L. Locklear, J.O. Brooks, L.W. Jacobs.
>
> Marshalls: R.H. Lowery, J.H. Godwin, Alonzo Hunt, J.A. Locklear, Alex Oxendine.
>
> Abner Chavis, G.H.C.
> W.D. Oxendine, G.H.S.

(Robesonian July 5, 1915: 4).

Beyond this, according to one man in his late seventies, the Lodges maintained social order. "When people got out of order they would go and talk to them at night. If they didn't behave they would go back and whip them" (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes). With so many prominent leaders it is easy to understand how the lodges could maintain order and, at the same time, protect the tribal members from organized violence from whites in the area.

In summary, the Lumbee community at the turn of the century, and for the first two decades of the twentieth century was

isolated socially, and to a lesser extent geographically, from the white and Black communities. The non-Indians tended to be more town oriented, while the Lumbees were rural farming people. The Lumbee community was organized into a number of settlement areas concentrated in the central portion of the county. They were linked together by their extensive kinship ties, church affiliations, their sense of themselves as Indians, and their control of their educational system, all of which served as a mechanism for defining tribal membership and maintaining tribal boundaries.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY - 1900 TO 1970

Beginning in the 1890s, Robeson County underwent significant changes in its economy which affected the Lumbee community. First, there was the development of a lumbering industry which denuded much of the forest area (Sider 1971). At about the same time, tobacco farming began in the county, starting first in the Fairmont area and spreading gradually throughout the rest of the county. These developments were aided by the expansion of the rail system before 1900, and the drainage of the swamps shortly thereafter. In 1910, the U.S. Department of Agriculture conducted a survey of Back Swamp and Jacobs Swamp, the major Lumbee settlement area (Map 22). It found that the Back Swamp watershed was some seventeen miles long, with a width of between one-half to two and one-half miles, and drained some 21,550 acres, two-thirds of which remained uncultivated. Jacob Swamp, which originates in Back Swamp, is nine and one-half miles long

and one to four miles wide. It drains an area of 9,980 acres, one-fourth of which was under cultivation (U.S.D.A. 1912: 8). Both swamps flow into the Lumber River, one above Lumberton and the other below it. Above the point where Back Swamp enters the Lumber River, the watershed, which encompasses Back Swamp, drains some 575 square miles (Ibid.: 10). The report concluded that the draining of the land would increase its value from $10 to $35 an acre to $25 to $100 per acre (Ibid.: 12). As to existing land use the department reported:

> The principal crop in the district is cotton, it being the crop that is sold, corn and hay being used for home consumption. Formerly tobacco was grown extensively, but its low price has made the industry unprofitable, and at the time the survey was made but a small amount of tobacco was being grown in the district. A few fields of wheat and oats are grown. Irish and sweet potatoes for early shipment and home consumption. Strawberries, watermelons, and vegetables do well in the district, as do also peaches, pears, figs, apples, mulberries, and grapes.
>
> Much of the timber is being cut and used for lumber and crossties. Lumbering at the present time is an important industry in the district, and the timber products are valuable (Ibid.).

The draining of the swamps increased the value of the land held by the Lumbees, but the vagaries of the prices for agricultural products and the expense of digging connecting drainage ditches to the main system, placed many Lumbee families in economic jeopardy. There was a rapid land loss to banks and agricultural supply firms. The dominance of cotton was short-lived. By the time of this report the boll weavil infestation was already making significant inroads in curtailing production. By contrast, the demand for tobacco increased, providing an income replacement for those who could make the transition to flue-cured tobacco production.

These changes did not necessarily bring about an improvement in the economic conditions of the Lumbees. Even before 1900 many families had moved into South Carolina and Georgia in search of better land or to work in the turpentine industry. Some returned when this industry collapsed, but others remained dispersed throughout the southern states. Their out-migration had been precipitated by a drop in cotton prices; in 1898 cotton reached a low of five cents a pound, two cents a pound below what a farmer needed to break even (Dial and Eliades 1975: 146). As mentioned above, during the second decade of the twentieth century cotton, which had been the main cash crop of the county, was devastated by the boll weevil and boll worm. Where previously an individual could produce a bale of cotton per acre of land, following the infestation this dropped to one bale per four acres. Some Lumbees planted their fields, only to see the entire crop destroyed (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes). The effect was to further impoverish the Lumbee farmers, to drive them out of land ownership, and to make them more dependent on white landlords. Many switched to the growing of tobacco, a crop, like cotton, which was labor intensive.

Tobacco prices were high during the period from 1912 to 1918, but after World War I, they fell dramatically (North Carolina Department of Agriculture 1960: 4). The agricultural regions of the South never recovered from the depression of 1921. A few Lumbees reacted to the economic and social conditions by moving north, either to Detroit or Baltimore. Some moved to other parts of North Carolina where they were able to avoid some of the more virulent aspects of racism. But most stayed in Robeson County.

The Lumbee population continued to grow faster than either the white or black population in the county. In 1920 there were 8,917 Lumbees in Robeson County; in 1930 they had increased to 12,404. This rate of growth was due to an extraordinary rate of live births. In 1928 there were 407 births in the Indian community (Table 9). Nevertheless, at the same time, the Lumbees had the highest death rate in the county, 11.6 per thousand. They also had the highest rate of death from tuberculosis, 78.4 per 100,000 (Ibid.). This suggests the dire economic conditions under which the Lumbees lived during this period.

Table 9 Robeson County Vital Statistics for 1927

Births	Rate/1000	Deaths	Rate/1000
1,748	25.5	721	10.5

	Deaths	
	Number	Rate
White	308	9.4
Indian	104	11.6
Colored	309	9.0

	Births	
	Attended by Physician	Attended by Midwives
White	706	82
Indian	185	222
Colored	159	393
Total	1748	

	Deaths Due to Pulminary Tuberculosis (per 100,000)	
		Rate
White	4	45.2
Indian	7	78.4
Colored	20	58.7
Total	31	

Note: Birth and death rates are per 1000
Source: North Carolina State Board of Health 1927: 8- 25.

The Lumbee community underwent a number of significant changes during the 1920s and 1930s. The first occurred in

education. Beginning around the first World War, the Lumbees established their first high school, which drew pupils from a number of areas. By 1940 there were high schools in Prospect, Saddletree, Pembroke, and Fairmont. In addition, the number of elementary schools increased. These developments had somewhat opposite effects. The expansion of the elementary schools increased the Lumbee's sense of coming from a particular settlement, while the development of what might be termed regional high schools brought children and parents from various settlements together. Many of the inter-settlement rivalries were manifested as rivalries between high schools, and were acted out by competing sports teams. Beginning in the 1920s the Normal School organized "Indian School Days" that brought together students and parents from the various areas for a day of games, recitations, picnics, and the like (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

The second change that served to integrate the Lumbee community was the increase and spread of the number of churches. As the Lumbee population expanded outward to fill the areas between the existing settlements, both churches and schools were quick to follow. By 1922 there were at least twenty-six Indian churches in Robeson County (Lennon 1922). Not only was there an increase in the number of churches, but there was a concommitant increase in the number of denominations, particularly in non-affiliated churches. A second trend with respect to the proliferation of churches is notable. By and large, churches were formed not because of some doctrinal dispute, but rather, due to conflicts over personalities within the churches. This was

particuarly true after World War II. Thus it is possible to trace the evolution of churches by examining their fission. For example, the White Hill Baptist Church split and Baker's Chapel was formed. Whatever the details of this split and others, the original nineteenth century settlements remained intact, incorporating new arrivals through the schools and, to a lesser extent, the churches. As one Lumbee noted, "Where you'd find a church you'd find a school and a graveyard, and that about sums us up" (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

During the 1920s there was at least one significant attitudinal and behavioral change that had an important impact on the community. As noted previously, marriage between cousins was relatively common in the nineteenth century. Geographical proximity seemed to have been the critical variable. By the twenties, however, there was a shift in values, and first cousin marriage became less common.

With the advent of World War II, many Lumbees entered military service or moved to cities to work in the war industries. Of particular importance were the migrations to the Washington-Baltimore and the Detroit, Michigan, areas. These movements continued after the war, but never seriously affected the core population in Robeson and the adjoining counties. While the period from 1945 through 1980 was marked by significant social and political changes in the Lumbee community (see Historical Narrative and 83.7(c)), in general, the organization of the community and its values remained relatively unchanged. In the remainder of this section of the petition we will describe in detail the patterns and networks of social interaction that

have existed and continue to exist in the Lumbee community.

THE CONTEMPORARY LUMBEE COMMUNITY

This study of the contemporary Lumbee community is based upon the research of Adolph Dial, Karen Blu, Gerald Sider, Rebecca Seib, John Gregory Peck, and Jack Campisi, and covers the period from 1960 to 1986.

According to the 1970 census the Lumbee population in Robeson County was 26,486 (SCHS 1982: Table 1). By 1980 this population had risen to 38,528, an increase of 34.1% (Ibid.). It was an essentially rural population concentrated in the settlements that had been traditionally Lumbee. There are approximately thirty of these settlements located in the townships of Saddletree, Smiths, Pembroke, Back Swamp, Raft Swamp, Thompson, Union, Philadelphus, and Rowland. Other townships that contain settlements are Wisharts, Alfordsville, St. Paul's, and Maxton. In 1980 there were 9,585 separate Lumbee households in Robeson County, of which two-thirds were owner-occupied (SCHS 1982: Table 3).

From approximately 1840 until World War II, the members of the Lumbee tribe had, through time, lost control of much of their land. This trend reversed following the war as Lumbees began buying back land, sometimes paying prices in excess of its agricultural worth in order to recover that which had been lost to whites (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

The draining of the swamps made available more land for agriculture and settlement, and blurred the lines between some of the settlements. Some coalesced, the only visible demarcation

being a road or drainage ditch. While some of these settlement names are still known, they have little contemporary meaning. Such, for example, is the case of Black Ankle. In other instances one name is used to represent a number of areas. Thus, today Saddletree includes the Indian settlements of Magnolia, Mt. Olive, and Antioch, although the last is actually in St. Paul's Township. The same holds true for the area to the south of Pembroke; the settlements of Reedy Branch, Greene Grove, Black Ankle, Ashpole, and Fairmont are generally subsumed under the name of Fairmont (Maps 23 and 24; Seib 1984 Maps 3 and 4). To an extent, the name one is given for a particular location is dependent on the age of the person being asked and the level of specificity sought. Older residents tend to identify the locality in more precise and circumscribed terms, while younger individuals are more willing to generalize. However, if pressed, most can provide the name of the minimal unit.

Individuals commonly identify their place of residence by one of three indices. The first is the sub-community, of which there are four: Pembroke, Prospect, Saddletree, and Fairmont. The church is the second identifier. When individuals refer to Sandy Plains, Green Grove, Burnt Swamp, Harper's Ferry, and a host of others, they are referring to a specific church. The third identifier applied is a school; for example, Union Elementary. Lumbees seldom refer to townships in the context of residency. They reserve that designation for political expression.

Strong inter-settlement rivalries existed prior to World War I and continued well into the 1950s. They were particularly intense between Prospect and Pembroke, although feelings about

pembroke appear to have been shared by other settlements (Blu nd: 4). For the most part, these rivalries took the form of jokes, but occasionally they resulted in fighting. This usually occurred when boys from one settlement tried to visit girls in another, or when groups of males met at "juke joints," the euphemism for illegal bars.

Individual Lumbees maintain that they can tell the place of residence of an individual by his or her accent; that people from Saddletree, Pembroke, Prospect, and other settlements have distinctive speech patterns (Blu nd; Campisi 1985-1987 fieldnotes).

Despite the community's size, Lumbees are held together by the same mechanisms and values that have kept them together for the past one hundred years or more. First and foremost is the sense of kinship. The overwhelming majority of informal social activities center around the family. There is continual and widespread visiting among adults, particularly in the homes of parents and grandparents. Often, children live near their parents on land that was part of the family homestead. Members of families speak and visit each other on an almost daily basis.

KINSHIP

The extended family is by far the most important factor in the maintenance and expression of community values, information, and opinion. It is the nexus of community interaction. The knowledge that the average Lumbee has of who his or her kin is truly astounding. It is very common for individuals to be able to

trace their parents' genealogies back five or more generations. Not only are individuals able to name grandparents, great grandparents, great great grandparents etc., but very often they can name the siblings of their ancestors, the spouses of their ancestors' siblings, relate where they lived in Robeson County, the church they attended, and the names of their offspring. Most individuals can trace their lines back to at least one of a half-dozen core families described on Chart 2. From an anthropological perspective, these are examples of "kindreds," a type of kin organization commonly found among tribes that trace descent bilaterally. Not only can most individuals describe in detail their kindreds, they can describe how present-day members are related to them and to each other.

Charts 3 and 4 illustrate the interconnectedness of the Lumbee community. These charts represent two large families from different parts of the Lumbee community. They identify individual members of the families, their place of residence, religious affiliation, and spouse's name, place of natal residence, and religious afffiliation, if different from spouse. The data is limited to individuals who reside outside their parent's home. Individuals, whether children or adults, who live in someone else's home are not shown.

As the charts demonstrate, the overwhelming majority of Lumbees marry other Lumbees, although the spouses are not necessarily from the same settlements. In fact, there is a high incidents of marrying out of the settlement in which the individual was raised. This has the effect of tying together many Lumbee families throughout the community in an elaborate

communications and social network.

The charts also illustrate the degree of religious diversity that exists within the community. For example, the Crawley Locklear family I has members attending the Shannon Assembly of God Church, Union Methodist Church, Bear Swamp Baptist Church, Philadelphus Church, Deep Branch Baptist Church, Kingdom Hall of Jehovah Witness, and the Church of Latter Day Saints. Other families show a similar diversity. Some families, such as the Hammonds, while attending a number of churches, show a more consistent membership pattern with an emphasis of the Church of God.

Such diversity, instead of representing a divisive force in the community, acts to bring together tribal members. These churches have all Indian congregations and ministries. They are linked together not only by membership in associations, but by strongly held theological beliefs and the family networks of their memberrs. Since church activities take up a major portion of the members' time, there is frequent social interaction among family members and between members of different families.

Finally, the charts show a pattern of residential clustering and mobility. Couples appear to have made their homes near members of one or the other families. Quite often it is near the homes of siblings and outside the settlement of either set of parents. Given the ease of communications, visiting is constant and the need to reside near either set of parents is of less importance. But, as the charts illustrate, living in Robeson County is the preferred choice.

The kinship system recognizes relationships through at least

the third cousin, as well as great-uncles and great-aunts. It is common for individuals, when asked to name the members of their families, to describe their relationship to several hundred people. One individual reported that her family was planning an anniversary party for the grandparents and had decided to limit it to "two hundred of the immediate family." When Mrs. Rockie J. Locklear turned eighty-nine, she "... was honored with a birthday celebration at the home of her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Bill Buck Locklear after church services at Mt. Airy Church their families, the pastor of Mt. Airy Baptist Church, and a number of close friends, who were also members of the church. In July, 1984, Mr. and Mrs. Lonnie B. Locklear were given a sixtieth wedding anniversary by their children and grandchildren. Over 200 attended the celebration, which was held at the Mt. Airy Fellowship Hall (Ibid. July 14, 1983: 4). The same issue of the paper reported the fiftieth wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. Foy Cummings, held at the St. Annah Free Will Baptist Church Fellowship Hall. The paper reported:

> [t]he following sons and daughters (and spouses) hosted the celebration: Mr. and Mrs. Claude (Carolyn) Daniel, Jr. of Pembroke; Mr. and Mrs. Vernon (Amelia) Taft, Jr. of Pasco, Washington; Mr. and Mrs. Waltz (Louise) Maynor of Durham, N.C.; Mr. Jerry Cummings of Pembroke; Mr. and Mrs. Edward (Sally) Locklear of Pembroke; Mr. and Mrs. Michael Cummings of Pembroke; Mr. and Mrs. Henderson Cummings of Sapulpa, Oklahoma; Mr. and Mrs. Timothy Cummings of Clinton, Iowa; Mr. Robert Cummings of Warren-Robbins, Georgia; Mr. and Mrs. Larry (Eunice) Chavis of Pembroke; and the former Mrs. Donald Cummings (Mrs. Annie Pearl Revels Cummings). The two eldest sons, Donald Cummings of Bolivar, Venezuela, and Carlton Cummings of Charlotte, N.C. were unable to attend. Twenty-four of the couple's thirty-four grandchildren and their one great-grandchild attended the gala affair also (Ibid.).

These are not isolated or unique examples. Each year dozens

of families hold anniversary and birthday parties for their parents and grandparents to which are invited the children and the children's children of the couple being honored, as well as a few close friends, usually fellow church members, plus a few other kin with whom they have maintained close ties. In addition, families often hold reunions in the summer, some on an annual basis, to which all members of the extended family are invited, and in which all share in the planning and preparation of the event. An example of this was the Bullard family reunion held in 1977. It was attended by the descendants of John and Cattie (Graham) Bullard. The newspaper reported that this reunion was held annually on Father's Day at the family's homestead (Ibid. June 30, 1977: 4).

To arrange these events requires an intimate, detailed knowledge of family lines. This kind of knowledge is not academic; it reflects an ongoing active participation with the other members of the family.

Marriage rules prohibit marriage closer than a fourth cousin; conversely, there is a strong preference for marrying within the tribe. Thus, an individual, at the minimum, needs to know his or her relationship to a perspective spouse as soon as dating begins. Nearly every individual interviewed reported that when they began dating, the young man was questioned, generally by the girl's parents, to determine if he was a third cousin or closer. People maintain that they still question their children's dates to determine if they are in fact related. One woman told a story of her son who was interested in dating a particular girl. He had come home to report, with some glee, that another boy dating

the girl had discovered that he was distantly related to her, and therefore could not date her any longer. Marriage is possible only if an individuals' kin ties are beyond the collective memories of the families. That appears to be beyond the fourth generation.

Residency is largely determined by the availability of land, one's occupation, and one's income. There is a preference for married couples to live near one of the two sets of parents, but there is no hard and fast rule of post-nuptial residence. During the period since World War II the Lumbee population has increased dramatically and individuals have been forced to live in other sub-communities within Robeson and adjoining counties. As a result, marriages are no longer limited to people within an individual's settlement. Thus, there has been a greater degree of integration of the Lumbee community, which has somewhat diminished the importance of the particular settlements. Regardless of the settlement pattern, individuals maintain extremely close ties to their consanguineous families. They visit their parents and grandparents on an almost daily basis, and their siblings with nearly the same frequency. In addition, there are daily telephone calls. As parents grow older the contacts among siblings seem to increase. This engrossing interaction is fueled by a continual flow of detailed information about family and tribal matters, congruent with events such as anniveraries, marriages, births, accidents, deaths and other family crises. In addition, there is an endless stream of gossip about others in the Lumbee community, its political concerns, and its relations with the black and white communities.

Affinal ties are not as strong as consanguineal; nevertheless, individuals maintain as nearly a complete knowledge of their spouses' relatives as they do their own. Again, there is a range of involvement. While individuals may participate in the other family's social events, they generally do not take an active part in the family's affairs.

The same close interactions are maintained by those Lumbees who have moved away. For example, those living in North Carolina return frequently for visits, while those residing in Washington, Baltimore and Detroit, although their visits are less frequent, keep in close contact by letter and telephone. In contrast, there is little interest expressed in the family of non-Indian spouses, and the effect of marrying out is to limit the interactional patterns to one's family.

Again, although it is acceptable to marry a white, marriage to a black will result in social ostracism, particularly if the couple chooses to live in the Lumbee community. One elderly woman put the matter quite bluntly. " Always remember the unborn. If you married someone who was unacceptable you would be cut off. Who would you go to for help?" (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

CHURCHES

Religion is the second major factor integrating the Lumbee community. This may seem paradoxical given the fact that there are over one hundred Lumbee churches and more being built. At the turn of the century the increase in the number of churches was, to a degree, influenced by doctrinal differences. Later,

churches were established to meet the needs of families settling in previously unoccupied areas. This does not seem to be the case presently. Churches now become established when portions of a congregation fission. The causes of these splits are often disputes within the churches. Usually these manifest themselves as some form of opposition to the minister, with one group wanting to fire him, and the other fighting to keep him. Whichever group wins keeps the church, and the other pulls out, and builds its own church.

The Lumbee Indian churches are grouped into four categories: The Burnt Swamp Baptist Association, the North Carolina Conference of the United Methodist Church, the Lumber River Holiness Methodist Conference, and non-affiliated. There are forty-six churches in the Burnt Swamp Baptist Association, with a total membership of 8,500. The United Methodist Conference consists of twelve churches, of which nine are located in Robeson and the adjoining counties. These nine churches have a total enrollment of 2,000. The Lumber River Holiness Methodist Conference includes nine Lumbee Indian churches with a total enrollment of 1,200. There are fifty-five Protestant churches, generally identified as pentecostal or fundamentalist. The majority of these are joined together in one of three associations or conferences: The Church of God, The Assembly of God, and The Pentecostal Holiness. In addition, there are a small number of churches that are independent. As to their membership, an informed estimate places the total of the last three named associations and the independent churches at 2,300.

Map 25 shows the location of the churches in 1984. Table

10 provides their dates of organization and their denomination, where applicable. As can be seen, the majority of the churches are of recent origin, are located close to each other, but remain in the areas where the Lumbees are almost exclusively resident. The congregations vary in size from a few dozen to several hundred, and the buildings range from rectangular frame structures to impressive two-story buildings of wood or brick with attached meeting and assembly rooms. The largest church, in terms of congregation, is Prospect United Methodist with 684 members. The Baptists have the largest overall membership. Total church membership among the Lumbees is conservatively estimated to be around 14,000 (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

Despite the proliferation of churches, and the occasional acrimony that accompanies a schism, the process is essentially integrative. Lumbee churches share a belief in a fundamentalist Christian outlook. With but a very few exceptions, the ministers are Lumbees. They articulate a relatively consistent theology, although the emphasis may differ. Ministers share more than a common set of beliefs; often they share pulpits. It is common for ministers from different churches and faiths to preach together or to be guest preachers in other churches. Baptists will preach at Methodist churches, and vice versa. Pentecostal ministers often exchange pulpits. Beyond the ministries, members of congregations join together at revivals and gospel sings. Most churches have an annual revival, and many hold gospel sings on a monthly basis. In addition, churches hold homecomings that draw members from all over the state and nation. The significant fact about these churches is that their membership consists of tribal

members. Except for an occasional visitor, or the white spouse of a Lumbee, the congregation is entirely Indian.

For the Lumbees, church is more than a religious experience; it is their most important formal social activity. It involves many of them on a nearly daily basis. The churches have Sunday schools, youth organizations, senior citizen's programs, Bible study programs, and choir practices, to mention a few. Since congregations tend to draw members from several different settlements, these activities serve to integrate. It is not uncommon for members of the same household to attend different churches, and this behavior further acts to bring the tribal membership together.

Most churches have choirs that, in addition to singing on Sunday, occasionally appear at other churches to share in the religious experience. Churches take great pride in their choirs, as Lumbees generally take pride in the singing abilities of their members. In addition to the choirs, there are family groups that sing gospel music. Nearly every week there is a gospel sing somewhere in the community and many churches schedule a sing once a month. These family gospel singers attend sings at different churches without regard for denomination. Thus, members from different congregations and families are brought together on a regular basis. Gospel singers assist each other by joining in sings where funds are raised to support a particular gospel group. The usual form of fundraising is a "plate sale." Here, a group arranges to sell food before the sing, with the funds used to support the group's religious activities.

Along with the sings there are periodic revivals among the

Lumbees. These are generally organized or sponsored by a church congregation and, like the sings, attended by individuals from other churches. They are usually held in the evening and may continue for as long as a week. Ministers from a number of local churches join in as well as evangelical ministers from outside the community. Like other Lumbee religious activities, the attendance is primarily Indian.

Most Lumbee Indian churches hold a "homecoming" during the fall. The event is well advertised and individuals come from great distances to attend. Homecomings are held on Sundays after church service and are open to all Lumbees. Families and friends gather in a church's fellowship hall and share a leisurely meal together. Commonly, several hundred Lumbees attend. Homecoming is an informal gathering which offers an opportunity for members of a family from different congregations to join with other families. Individuals repeatedly commented on the importance of homecoming as an expression of Lumbee identity and fellowship.

SCHOOLS

Until desegregation in the late 1960s, the schools acted as a principal means to define tribal membership and to integrate the members of the settlements they served. The elementary school was a major factor in this definition. Since the state and county never provided sufficient funds to operate the schools, there was a need for a variety of fundraising activities sponsored and supported by the parents and teachers, who were Lumbees, often from the settlements the schools were located in.

The teachers were appointed and paid by the county, but hired by the local school committee. With desegregation the local school committees were replaced with parent advisory associations, but there was no dimunition in local interest and concern for education. As an illustration, the Indian Education Act Parent Committee of Prospect School held a meeting on January 22, 1976, at which time it required every teacher with a class of Lumbee children to submit plans for field trips, allocated $500 to each teacher and set the rules for these trips, purchased a copying machine and a year's supply of paper for the school, allocated $1,000 "... to the library for the purchase of Indian books, films, newspapers, and Indian cultural items," authorized the Board of Education to use Indian Education Act money to buy tickets for Indian children to attend the Robeson Historical Drama, and allocated the remaining funds for supplies (CIV January 22, 1976: 3). Although the schools have been integrated, they remain predominantly Indian in many areas, and are still viewed as the special concern of the Lumbees. The schools continue to be staffed by Lumbee teachers and administrators.

STATIONS

Nearly every crossroads has what Sider refers to as a "station," a small grocery store, often with a lunch counter and gas pumps.

> The most popular places for casual socializing - for men, and to a lesser degree for women also - are the "stations.' These are small grocery stores with a gasoline pump, and there are at least one or two in every locale. Men go down to the station for "a coke

> and a nab" (a small packet of biscuits); women do some shopping. These stations are segregated by ethnic group, as are the churches, the pool halls, the "bootlegger" (particularly those bootleggers who maintain "piccolos" - jukeboxes - all the places where people gather to be with other people. These gathering places are segregated by locale [settlement] as well as ethnic group, although a few of the more popular stations draw Indians from a wide range of locales, who drive over "to see what's happening" (Sider 1971: 69).

If anything, the number of "stations" has more than doubled in the fifteen years since Sider conducted his research, but their function has not changed. At each station there is a continual exchange of news, information and gossip, in addition to joking and kibitzing among the clientele. Being a rural area, there are many individuals who have the flexibility in their schedules to stop by for coffee and conversation. In the late afternoon, those whose jobs are outside of the community stop off to pick up a paper, buy a few groceries, and "catch up on things" on the way home (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

LUMBEE HOMECOMINGS

Since 1940 the Lumbees have held some type of annual event for the benefit of their members. The form of the event has changed over the years and at times it has been suspended, but since 1970 there has been an annual Lumbee Homecoming organized by the Lumbee Regional Development Association (LRDA). The homecoming is held in early July and usually lasts from four to seven days. The 1977 homecoming is typical.

> Lumbee Homecoming, the annual gathering of the Lumbee, has a little something for everyone.
>
> A plethora of activities are planned, according to

Kenneth Maynor, Executive Director of Lumbee Regional Development Association (LRDA), the sponsoring agency for the annual weekend of fun and games beginning today.

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1977

Activities include an appearance by the Golden Knights Parachute Team at Pembroke Senior High School today at 5 p.m. and the crowd pleasing favorite, Little Miss Lumbee Pageant at 5:30 p.m. at PSU's Moore Hall. Tonight at 8 p.m. the Lumbees honor their own. Awards to be presented are The Henry Berry Lowry Memorial Award, the Distinguished Service Award and The Businessman of the Year Award. Banquet speaker will be Helen Maynor Schierbeck, a native of Robeson County and the daughter of the late Lacy Maynor and Mrs. Sallie Revels Maynor of Pembroke.

FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1977

Friday is the day for the Miss Lumbee Pageant. Eight lovely Indian ladies are vying for the coveted crown, Miss Lumbee 1977. Miss Lumbee 1977 will be crowned by Linda Locklear, Miss Lumbee 1976 .... The Miss Lumbee Pageant will be held in the spacious and modern PSU Performing Arts Center.

A coronation ball will follow at the Pembroke Jaycee Hut beginning at 10:30 p.m.

SATURDAY JULY 2, 1977

Saturday is a nice day for a parade and Lumbee Homecoming will showcase a caravan of floats, pretty girls, politicians, clowns, etc. at the Homecoming Parade through downtown Pembroke. The parade begins at 10 a.m. A reception will follow at the LRDA Annex. Later in the afternoon, beginning at 2 p.m. field day activities will take place in the Pembroke Town Park. Also, there will be exhibits of Creative Writing and Art Exhibits at the LRDA Annex Building all afternoon.

Saturday night is Pow Wow night at Pembroke Senior High School. Indian dancing, singing, camaradarie and old fashioned rapping will prevail.

Homecoming winds down Sunday with an Old Fashion Gospel Sing at the Lakeside Amphitheatre at the Riverside Country Club in the Red Banks Community. The Gospel Sing, held on the site of Strike at the Wind will Begin at 7 p.m.

As [Ken] Maynor said, "Homecoming has a little something for everyone" (CIV June 30, 1977: 1).

The parade begins around 10 o'clock in the morning and continues for two hours. The line of march begins at the municipal park, near Pembroke State University, and continues down Main St crossing the railroad tracks, after which the parade loops through some side streets, eventually returning to Main St and the park. In its way the parade captures the diversity and unity of the Lumbee tribe. It includes a procession of vehicles on whose hoods, roofs or open back seats ride the "king, and queens" of a variety of Lumbee elementary schools, volunteer fire organizations, Indian associations, social clubs and pageants. There are antique vehicles, horse drawn carriages, groups representing Lumbee churches, Lumbee politicians, marching bands, a contingent of young people on mopeds, motorcycles, and the like, and a large group on horseback. After the parade there is a fair at the park. The one thing that this diverse collection share in common is, with rare exceptions, they are Lumbee.

The Lumbee Homecoming is important because it incorporates the major aspects of Lumbee culture. First, it is a uniquely Lumbee event. It directs the public's attention to the cohesiveness, distinctiveness, and strength of the tribe, and expresses the tribal member's pride in themselves and their accomplishments. Second, it requires the efforts of a large number of Lumbees to organize the several days of celebration. Preparations for the next homecoming begin a few months after the last. Committees are formed to handle the parade, Miss Lumbee contests, advertising, etc. The organizers of the event must draw from every segment and sector of the Lumbee community, from every church and family to make the event a success. Thus, a

significant cross section of the population is involved directly. Third, the homecoming brings together members of all the families, many from great distances, for a week of fun. It is a family-oriented event. As the program shows, it is also a religious event. Thus it combines the two most important tenets of Lumbee identity.

STRIKE AT THE WIND

Every summer since 1976 the Lumbees have put on an outdoor drama entitled "Strike at the Wind." The play tells the story of the Lumbee people and its culture hero, Henry Berry Lowrie. It is concerned with the conflicts and problems faced by the Lumbee people during and after the Civil War.

The drama was written for the Lumbees by Randolph Umberger, playwright, with help from Paul Green and the leaders of the Lumbee community. In 1968, a group of community members formed the Robeson Historical Drama, Incorporated, with the expressed goal of developing an historical play. They engaged the services of Mr. Umberger to write the play, and Willie Lowery, a tribal member, to compose the music and lyrics. To stage the play, the company built an open-air theatre adjacent to a lake, near the Lumbee River. The site is in the center of the area where the events depicted in the play took place. To bring the events to life requires a staff of seventy-one actors, thirty-four of whom have speaking roles.

OTHER SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

While the churches are the principal formal social organization among the Lumbees, there are other voluntary associations which assist in integrating the community. From time to time there have been chapters of the Jaycees and Jaycettes organized in the sub-communities of Pembroke, Prospect, Wakulla, White Hill, Rex-Rennert, Fairgrove, and Saddletree. Since the 1960s there has been a Kiwanas chapter in Pembroke (Campisi 1985-87, fieldnotes), as well as a chapter of the Lions Club and the Ladies Lions Club (CIV July 28, 1977: 6). In 1972 members of the Lumbee community formed the Lumbee Indian Businessmen's Association (Ibid. 1972: 1). One of the oldest organizations in continuous operation is the Locklear Lowery VFW Post in Pembroke. Beginning in the 1970s a number of settlements organized volunteer fire departments. In 1982 the Prospect Volunteer Fire Department celebrated its tenth anniversary with a banquet. One can gain a sense of the level of community interaction that this and other organizations have provided from the following brief report:

> It was a time for friends to reminisce as the Prospect Volunteer Fire Department and Prospect Auxillary Club gathered for the 2nd Annual Firemen's Banquet on Friday, Nov. 19. Some 75 people converged on Prospect United Methodist Church's fellowship hall to recognize individuals whose efforts have contributed to the continued growth of the fire department over the past 10 years.
>
> Guest speaker, Rev. Nash Locklear, a veteran of 37 years of teaching and presently the pastor of Tabernacle Baptist Church, delivered a brief but enjoyable talk before giving way to Delton Oxendine and Dennis Moore who handed out the awards.

> Receiving plaques were: Charles W. "Bill" Moore, Howard Locklear, Curt Locklear, Sr., James Moore, Dennis Moore - VFD Chief, L.H. Moore, Andrew Locklear, Vernie Bullard, Carl Locklear, Earl Moore, Bobby Oxendine, Newton Cummings, Jr., Anthony Moore, Richard Locklear, Bernard Smith, and the Prospect Auxillary Club.
>
> Receiving certificates were: Daryl Smith - VFD Asst. Chief, Jerry Moore - VDF Captain, James L. Locklear - VFD Lieutenant, Luther Moore - VFD Secretary, Rev. Bruce Locklear - VFD Chaplain, Ander Dial - VFD Asst. Chaplain, Homer Locklear, Johnny S. Locklear, Mitchell Locklear, Lawrence Locklear, Jeff Locklear, Lloyd Barton, Daniel Locklear, Anthony Locklear, John McGirt, and Vaidosta Locklear.
>
> Members of the Prospect High School Future Homemakers' Association prepared a meal that consisted of various meats, and vegetables and beverages. The food was paid for by the fire department. On hand was the Prospect Quartet to provide special music (Ibid. December 2, 1982: 1).

The article quoted above illustrates a general feature of voluntary associations within the Lumbee community. The organizations are almost without exception, Lumbee Indian in their membership. Although they may serve a special interest group, their activities invariably involve and are supported by other groups and segments of the community. For example, in the case above, they made use of the Prospect United Methodist Church's Fellowship Hall to hold the banquet, the minister who spoke was Baptist, the meal was prepared by the Prospect High School Future Homemakers' Association, and the entertainment was provided by a local singing group. This sharing of talents, facilities and activities by members of the community, as well as participating in organizations that transend family, residence, and religious boundaries, is further evidence of the existence of a separate, definable Indian community.

CAROLINA INDIAN VOICE

On January 18, 1973, Bruce Barton, a member of the Lumbee tribe, published the first edition of The Carolina Indian Voice (CIV). The paper's aim was to provide a vehicle for "... articulating the affairs and concerns of the North Carolina Indians -- and all Indians generally" (CIV January 20, 1983). Over the intervening fourteen years the paper has covered every aspect of news affecting the Lumbee tribe, including the Old Main issue, Double Voting, and the desegregation of the Lumbee school system. In addition, the paper has faithfully reflected the social life of the Lumbee community, chronicled the relationship of the community to both black and white communities, offered commentary on the events that affect the Lumbees, and provided a forum for community expression.

The CIV has been, and continues to be, an important vehicle for informing the tribal members of the social and political activities within their community. Like any good hometown newspaper, it faithfully reports on births, marriages, anniversaries and deaths in the community. It provides space for churches, schools, and social and professional groups to announce upcoming events and report on their activities. Equally important, the newspaper publishes articles about the two largest Lumbee communities outside of North Carolina: Baltimore, Maryland, and Detroit, Michigan. Conversely, individuals living in these and other areas are able to keep up-to-date on the events in Robeson County and the activities of tribal members

through the paper. Through its pages Lumbees, though distant, can remain a part of the tribal community. The CIV serves an essential function in integrating the Lumbee community, articulating its values, and delineating the community's boundaries.

LUMBEE IDENTITY

Lumbees in Robeson County learn about their Indian identity in two ways. First, they become aware of it, almost unconsciously, as they are growing up. For many it is not until they leave high school and Robeson County that they have social contacts with non-Indians. Until desegregation they grew up and lived in a universe revolving around family, church, and school, and isolated from other groups. When asked how they became aware of their Indian identity individuals responded by saying "I guess I always knew it." "My family made it clear to me, mostly by who I was with." "That's (Lumbees) all there was ever around us" (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

Lumbees also learned about who they were from outsiders, mainly whites. One individual summed it up in the following manner, "You soon learn as a child to read the signs -- White Only, Black Only, Indian Only" (Ibid.). Racial attitudes were (and are) so pervasive that no Lumbee has been spared. There were two movie theatres in Lumberton -- the Carolina and Riverside -- and both required Lumbees to sit upstairs along with the blacks, but in a separate section. The local drugstore would not serve beverages or food to Lumbees; except for a single hot

dog stand there was no place for a Lumbee to get a meal until a member of the tribe opened a restaurant at the edge of the city in the 1950s. At the local hospital Indians were not allowed to share rooms with whites. Newly-born babies were not permitted in the white nursery. Instead, they were placed in the lower drawer of the dresser in the mother's room. Peck provides the following description of Lumberton in the late 1960s:

> To be an Indian in Lumberton involves learning to walk easy. It means learning to walk the delicate line between white and black, between the segregated and the nonsegregated. Indians learn that there are some barber shops that will not cut their hair, some where they will not have their hair cut. Being Indian means that some restaurants will only serve them take-out orders; and because they are Indian, they don't go to those restaurants. For many it is better to drive the 20 miles to Fayetteville to see a movie rather than sit in a segregated section in Lumberton. Most of all, they learn to treat any man with respect, to look him in the eye when he talks, and not to jump when somebody hollers "Boy" (Peck 1972: 61).

The same attitudes prevailed in the other towns in the area, particularly Red Springs. The one town where the Lumbees could be free from this prejudice was Pembroke. With its overwhelming Lumbee population, and a majority of its merchants members of the tribe, the Lumbees had an urban area free from the usual racial harassment.

The Lumbee community shares values about Christian beliefs and education with whites and blacks in the area. What is unique about the Lumbees is the intensity and commitment with which they pursue these values. As has been demonstrated in the "Historical Narrative" the Lumbees have dedicated an enormous amount of their limited resources to secure adequate education on their terms. V.R. Thompson, a Lumbee educator, has argued that "the survival

of the Lumbee Indians as an ethnic group was linked with education. The educational needs of Lumbee Indian children in Robeson County were neglected well into this century by federal, state, and county authorities. As a result, for many years the Indian community built and maintained with their own resources the school buildings required to educate their children" (Thompson 1973: 78).

For the Lumbees education has meant improved economic conditions, and a better way of life. But above all, it has provided the principal means for tribal identification. This was demonstrated most clearly by Dexter Brooks, a Lumbee attorney, in 1976. Speaking about the impact of desegregation, he wrote:

> ... most Indians feel that they are in a better position than other racial groups to protest racial integration because they stand more of a risk of being submerged in the white-Black society and of losing their cultural identity. It is contended that separating Indian children from their traditional schools would constitute a cultural jolt and destroy their folkways. The problem for the Lumbee Indians is to reconcile the drives toward equity in education and economic opportunity with the need to preserve cultural traditions which are inseparably related to their sense of identity and self-esteem. The solution, as seen by most Indians, is distinctly Lumbee: embrace the more desirable aspects of modern-day culture, blend them with traditional ways, but demand the right to be distinctively different, and, above all, free.
>
> Thus, the Indians do not seek equal educational opportunity by attempting to force their children into alien and hostile environments. Instead, they seek meaningful control over the schools which are attended by their young. This was why the battle of "double-voting" was fought; the Indians want only the right to decide what type of education that their children will receive. The Lumbee feel that the schools not only should prepare their children to compete in modern-day America, but that they should do so in a distinctively Indian way. Over three hundred years of Lumbee history show that these goals are not inconsistent, nor unattainable (Brooks 1976: 11).

For Lumbees, school and community are one and the same. For

a school system to manifest Lumbee values it had to be controlled by the community and staffed by its members. As described previously, the Lumbees defined membership by controlling access to their schools. Desegregation brought this to an end, but it did not diminish Lumbee interest and concern. What resulted was a shift in tactics from a settlement based strategy to community-wide politically oriented efforts.

VALUES

Separate schools offered a means of maintaining a separate identity, the first part of Dexter Brooks' formula. The second part, that of achieving a quality educational system that would allow Lumbees to compete for jobs, resulted in a growing cadre of professionals, many of whom returned to the community to work. Built into the Lumbee belief in improving oneself through education is a value that one should serve one's community. It is not remarkable that many Lumbees have become educated and then moved away to earn a living. However, what is remarkable is the number who have returned when moving would have afforded them many more and better opportunities.

There are other values that link the Lumbees together. Peck has identified four with catch phrases: "home is Robeson county," "sometimes broke, never poor," "a man is a man," and "now is for now" (Peck 1972: 66). The first refers to a strong attachment expressed by Lumbees to live near their kin, in an area where they can share activities with other members of the tribe. The second value relates to the first. Lumbees have the sense that

as long as they have kin to call upon they are not poor. Along with the sense that there are others from whom one can gain support, there is great importance placed on individualism, a sense that one can take care of oneself (and will not allow oneself to be insulted.) Finally, for many Lumbees " [t]here is an action orientation, a preference for the immediacy of a situation ..." (Ibid.: 70). This is not to say that Lumbees do not make long range plans or express goals, but rather, that they share a tolerance and understanding for the individual who takes time off to fish, or spend it with his kin. Since family relations are particularly significant in their value system, and so central to their lifestyle, long range plans reflecting a commitment to a career goal have little importance (Ibid.: 67-70). These are, of course, idealizations and representations of general behavioral reality. There are men who do not strike their wives or children, women who manage a family and hold responsible positions in the community, and young people who do not drink or spoil for fights. They are many. But these people, while they deplore the more negative behaviors of the others, see them as behaviors uniquely Lumbee. Blu, whose research was contemporaneous with Peck, found many of the same values, although she phrased them somewhat differently. First and foremost, is the sense of pride about being Indian, an attitude that Blu traces back to the Henry Berry Lowrie period. She cites an example from Guy Johnson's 1939 study:

> The white farmers, for their part, recognize this independence of the Indian when they say, "If you want a tenant to take care of your land and make money, get an Indian. But don't try to boss him. He wears his pride like a sore thumb" (emphasis in the original; G. Johnson

1939: 522, as quoted in Blu 1980: 143).

Blu cites a number of examples of the manifestation of this pride from her fieldwork, statements like "We're a proud people," and I'm an Indian and proud of it" that suggest the broad acceptance of this value in the Indian and non-Indian communities (Ibid.: 143-144).

A second important behavioral characteristic is "meanness." This is defined as "... a sensitivity to insult coupled with a tendency to react to insults quickly, violently, and implacably. It does not signify, for Indians, 'small' or 'base' but rather 'touchiness' and a willingness to 'stand up for oneself' against others" (Ibid.: 144). It is a particularly admirable quality when turned against whites, as illustrated by Henry Berry Lowrie, but considered destructive when turned against other Lumbees (Ibid.).

A third value that Blu identifies -- one not stressed by Peck -- is cohesiveness, "sticking together."

> This quality is highly valued, if problematic, and Indians often enjoin one another to exhibit this behavior, particularly in political contexts. Such statements as "I'm for my people first - the Lumbees have to stick together" and "If you don't go out of your way to help another Lumbee, you ain't worth nothing" were common. Once, in a gathering of young Indian men, one of them explained to an anthropologist, "If an Indian sees another Indian, they draw together like - to a magnet. Indians won't stay by themselves; it's in their blood not to."
>
> On the other hand, in discussions of "who our real enemies are," Indians often say "ourselves." One Indian maintained, "Our neighbors are sticking us." These comments reflect the tendency of Indians to mobilize mutual support in some circumstances and to fragment into factions in others. The situations in which Indians "stick together" best are the same ones that elicit Indian meanness - those in which Whites are seen as threatening Indian identity (Ibid.: 147-148).

In addition, Blu identifies three other characteristics of

the Lumbee community. They are: 1) The importance of dialect differences in identifying an individual, first as a Lumbee, and second, as a member of a specific settlement; 2) The importance of keeping one's word; and 3) The importance of owning land in Robeson County (Ibid.: 160). A recent study of semantic and phonological features of Lumbee speech lends support to the statement that dialect differences do exist that separate the community from both the neighboring white and Black communities (Brewer and Reising 1982). Certainly, any researcher in the community is informed of the differences by Lumbees.

Breaking one's word is analagous to lying; it carries with it a strong moral connotation. Individuals are careful about making a promise because, once made, it must be kept, regardless of the consequences. Blu provides the following example from McMillan. "They [Lumbees] never forget a kindness, an injury, nor a debt," said an old citizen. "They may not pay you when a debt is due, but they seldom forget an obligation and are sure to pay you after a time" (McMillan 1888: 27, as quoted in Blu 1980: 163).

Finally, there is the concept that there is a relationship between land in Robeson County and being Lumbee. "More than a means of livelihood, for Indians," writes Blu, "landowning is an end in itself. Ownership is more important in many cases than the amount of money to be made from land" (Ibid.: 164). This is essentially the same value expressed by Peck, that Robeson County is home. Land ownership is more than individual possessions; it is widely seen as one of the ways that Lumbees can preserve themselves as a people.

These values, with some modification, continue to define the

Lumbee community. There continues to be a stress placed on a dominant male role, with all its concomitant negative behaviors. Yet there has been a shift in the roles of women, with many of them holding key political and administrative positions.

While there is undoubtedly an existential component to the Lumbees' view of themselves, there are equally strong pressures for success and upward mobility. There is much lauding of the individual who has made it on his or her own. Lumbees frequently attribute their entrepreneurial success to the fact that they are not "reservation Indians," and not encumbered by federal bureaucracy. The amount of esteem a person receives is dependent in part, on the degree of success and, also in part, on how that success is used. There is a view that individuals should use their talents to benefit others less fortunate than themselves in the Indian community. One often hears local leaders criticized for being too concerned with their own political success and not concerned enough with doing what is necessary to advance the interests of the community. This holds especially true for those who are educated. In general, people are expected to conform to the general societal practices in accumulating resources, but not in their expenditure.

A majority of the Lumbees in Robeson County are poor, and many many extremely poor. They are also poorly educated and have had little opportunity to improve their conditions. They live in a county where racism is still a major fact of life and where opportunities are denied to them or only grudgingly granted. What successes they have had in education and politics have come about in spite of the general attitudes of the dominant society. They

focused first on education and later on politics. It should be pointed out that Indian schools were slow to be developed and were never properly funded, and that it was not until the post-World War I period that any appreciable number of Lumbees received high school educations, let alone college degrees.

Over the intervening years since Blu and Peck conducted their research there has been some improvement in the status of women. For example, there is less stigma from divorce, particularly for women, and a small shift toward professional and managerial careers, and greater political activity. Yet the basic values holding the Lumbees together remain virtually unchanged; namely, the strong sense of kin ties, with all of their attendant obligations, strong religious values, the importance of education in improving the lot of community members, and the feeling that Robeson County is home.

One thing that has changed is the parochialism that existed with regard to the settlement where one grew up. Gradually this has shifted to a more generalized attachment to a larger sub-community -- Pembroke, Prospect, Saddletree, and Fairmont. There has been a number of factors that have brought about this change. First, the centralization of the schools after 1940 eliminated many of the smaller elementary school buildings, and brought together Lumbee children from a number of settlements. This was aided by the establishment of the three regional union schools and Pembroke High School. Second, with the increase in available land and funds to purchase it, Lumbees were able to move more easily. While there is still a tendency for individuals to live near their close kin, it is hardly a

necessity. Families moved as housing and jobs were available. A third factor, one which contributed to the mobility mentioned above, was the expansion and improvement of the transportation network within the county. Individuals can live in one area, attend church in another, and have their children in school in a third. Fourth, there were those people who left the community to improve their economic conditions, get an education, or to avoid some problem, and who, after a few years, returned. They brought back with them not only a range of skills and experiences, but also an increased sense of community. All of these factors militate against a narrow definition of community. While within the tribe the differences between the sub-communities are known and exploited, and the specific settlements are recalled, they are not as important as the general sense of community and tribe. To the outsider, and when the outsider is concerned, it is the Lumbee community that alone has meaning and importance.

The factors of education, mobility, common needs and experiences, shared names, history, and ancestry, as well as the pervasive racism, provide the Lumbee community with a set of generally well accepted set of values. They do not, however, provide a generally accepted set of solutions, and it is in this that much of the political controversy lies.

SUMMARY

In summary, the Lumbee community consists of four sub-communities and as many as thirty settlement areas. There are, in addition, community members living in a number of cities

in North Carolina, as well as Washington, Baltimore, and Detroit where they have gone to seek employment. Whether living in Robeson County or elsewhere, the Lumbees are linked together by shared values, and strong ties of kinship. While the overt manifestations of racism have disappeared, there is still ample expression that serves to unite the Lumbees. Despite over one hundred and fifty years of racial prejudice, it is clear that the Lumbees have been continuously recognized as a community of Indians throughout the period by the surrounding white community and by themselves, and that they are the descendants of Indians who inhabited the area from at least the early part of the eighteenth century; they have been continuously viewed as an Indian community by the local, state, and federal governments, and have viewed themselves as an Indian community, separate and distinct from all other groups and communities in the area.

CHART 5

KEY HISTORICAL TRIBAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

DATE	EVIDENCE
1754-1790	Development of major settlement, called "Scuffletown" in early records and "Locklier town"; adoption of English surnames
1790	U.S. Census identifies Indian Community of Robeson County as "free persons of color."
1835	Disenfranchisements of Indians by amendment to State Constitution.
1865	Lowrie War began
1868	Enfranchisements granted to Indians of Robeson County by amendments to State Constitution.
1885	State recognizes Indians of Robeson County as a tribe (Croatan) and establishes a separate school system.
1887	Croatan Petitions state government for educational aid.
1888	Croatan Petitions federal government for educational aid.
1890	N.C. Supreme Court rules that Croatan School Committees (Preston Locklear, et al.) have authority to determine who tribal members are for purposes of attending Croatan Schools.
1899	Bellamy report to Congress
1909	N.C. Gives $3000 for Croatan Indian Normal School
1911	N.C. changes name of Croatan tribe to "Indians of Robeson County"
1913	N.C. changes name of "Indians of Robeson County" to "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County"
1913	U.S. Congressional Hearing on the Indians of Robeson
1914	Senate Resolution 344, McPherson Report to Congress
1919	N.C. law giving Indian school committees exclusive jurisdiction to hear cases brought by individuals denied admission into Indian schools
1921	N.C. gives $75,000 for the Cherokee Indian Normal School
1924	"Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" ask the U.S. for recognition as Cherokees
1930s	Siouan movement
1933	Bill is introduced in Congress to recognize the tribe as "Cheraw"
1936	Attempts to organize under Reorganization Indian Act
1953	N.C. changes names of "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" to Lumbee
1956	Congress enacts the Lumbee Act recognizing tribe as "Lumbee"
1958	Ku Klux Klan Rally
1968	Organization of Lumbee Regional Development Association
1972	Attempts to fight integration of schools and save "Old Main"
1974	Bill introduced to amend Lumbee Act for complete federal recognition
1979	LRDA begins administrative process for federal recognition
1984	Tribe authorizes LRDA to act as interim governing body and seek recognition of the Tribe as Lumbee
1987	Preparation of Petition and Roll, Submission of Petition for Federal Recognition

83.7 (C) A STATEMENT OF FACTS WHICH ESTABLISHES THAT THE PETITIONER HAS MAINTAINED TRIBAL POLITICAL INFLUENCE OR OTHER AUTHORITY OVER ITS MEMBERS AS AN AUTONOMOUS ENTITY THROUGHOUT HISTORY UNTIL THE PRESENT.

As has been demonstrated in the Historical Narrative and Section 83.7 (b) of this petition the ancestors of the present-day Lumbees had established a community along Drowning Creek before the middle of the eighteenth century. The area was known to have been inhabited by a number of Siouan-speaking communities, particularly the Cheraw (Herbert 1725). In 1737, a Cheraw chief by the name of Robert, and fourteen headmen of the tribe sold land along the Pee Dee River (BPRO June 15, 1739). This land extended into the area just south and west of the present Lumbee community.

The existence of a separate community along Drowning Creek is confirmed in the report from Bladen County dated 1754. The author of the report states that there were fifty families holding their land in common who "... shot a Surveyor for coming to view vacant lands being enclosed by great swamps" (NCSA 1754: TR. 1-16; Saunders 1887: 161). Some seventeen years later this community is identified as a "Cherraw Settlement" (South Carolina Gazette October 3, 1771). Two years later, in 1773, some unknown person compiled a list of individuals "Railously Assembled together." This list contains the names of twenty-one persons, including five common Lumbee names. The list also identified three people as leaders (harborers of the others) -- Major Locklear, Recher Groom, and Ester Coursey. Revolutionary War

records show that, in addition to the name Locklear, there were Cummings, Hammonds, Jacobs, Bells, Hunts, and Brooks in the area (Dial and Eliades 1975: 35, fn 3). Similarly, the 1790 and 1800 censuses provide strong evidence of a stable community consisting of the ancestors of the present-day Lumbees.

Given the data summarized above it is fair to conclude that the Lumbee community along Drowning Creek was established in the first half of the eigtheenth century, and remained in continuous operation and relative isolation for the rest of the century. It is certain that most, if not all, of the principal family lines were present in the community by the beginning of the nineteenth century. From these data it is reasonable to assert that the Lumbee community along Drowning Creek had a stable leadership based upon the heads of the extended families. This pattern of leadership most assuredly continued through the first half of the nineteenth century.

From the Civil War on the Lumbee community had leaders who were able to articulate important tribal issues and who could draw upon large constituencies for support (See Chart 6). Foremost among these was Henry Berry Lowrie, whose history has been described in detail by William McKee Evans (1971).

In order to understand Lumbee leadership, several points must be made. As noted above, political influence derives from extended families. During the nineteenth century these families tended to live in specific areas, making kinship and residency generally complementary. By the last quarter of the century the twin institutions of education and religion were of paramount importance to the community and provided the means for

individuals to express their leadership qualities. Both were centered in the neighborhoods, and both offered the opportunities for expression on a community wide basis.

The development of the churches and schools has been described in the "Historical Narrative" and Section 83.7 (b) of this petition. The establishment of separate Lumbee churches preceded the school movement; in fact, many religious leaders were the leaders in the movement to set up an independent school system. The churches were controlled by their congregations, which were primarily drawn from the neighborhood in which the churches were located. The schools, when established, were built by funds raised from the neighborhood and operated by a school committee consisting of three persons drawn from the local settlement. Generally these were the heads of the principal families in the area. These leaders appointed the teachers, raised funds to operate the schools, and decided who was eligible to attend.

When issues and concerns transcended the local settlement, as in the case of education in general, the organization and support of the normal school, and the tribe's official name, individuals were chosen to speak for the tribe. In some instances, individuals saw a need, campaigned for support within the community, and then took the case to the non-Lumbee power structure for resolution. From at least the 1880s on there were individual Lumbees who had close political ties with the white politicians in the county which enabled them to advance tribal interests in exchange for political support. The Lumbees voted in blocs, and that their leaders were able to deliver these votes

TABLE 11

LUMBEE PETITIONERS OF 1887 AND 1888

PETITIONERS	1887	1888
Evander Blue	X	
George Brayboy		X
Henry Brayboy	X	
Issac Brayboy	X	X
James Brayboy	X	
Magilbra Brayboy	X	
Arch Bullard	X	
James Bullard		
John Bullard		X
Peter Bullard	X	
Wesley Bullard	X	
Robert Carter		
Stephen Carter		X
Benjamin J. Chavis		X
Murdoch Chavis	X	
Nelson Chavis	X	X
Robert Collins	X	
Luther Deas		
Silas Deas		X
Thomas Deas		X
James Dial	X	
Marcus Dial	X	
Peter Dial		
Quin Godwin		X
William Goins	X	X
John H. Harris		X
Purvie (James Purdy) Jacobs	X	
Willie (William) Jacobs	X	
Alamander Locklear	X	
Alexander Locklear	X	X
Angus Archie (Pink) Locklear	X	
Billy Locklear		X
Buie Locklear		X
Crawley Locklear		X
Eliach (Elisha) Locklear		X
Frank Locklear		X
Governor Worth Locklear		X
Hector Locklear		X
Isham Locklear		X
Isham (Richmond) Locklear	X	
John Arch Locklear	X	
John Daniel Locklear	X	
John P. Locklear		X
Joseph (Big Joe) Locklear		X
Joseph Locklear, Jr.	X	
Malakiah Locklear	X	
Neill Arch Locklear		X
Nelson Locklear		X
Patrick Locklear	X	X
Preston Locklear	X	
	X	X

to white politicians who supported the tribe. In summary, leadership among the Lumbees derived from the large extended families, to whom members held and continue to hold strong allegiances. It was centered in the neighborhoods, where the ready vehicles for its expression were through the church and the educational system. Thus, leadership was decentralized and issue oriented. Each family and settlement recognized its own leaders who would work in concert with others as issues dictated. As noted in Section 83.7(b), the antebellum Lumbee community was organized around a number of interrelated core families, generally headed by an elder male. The isolation of the area, together with the legislation following the 1835 constitutional changes, has resulted in a severely limited record from which to describe the political structure of the Lumbee tribe during this period.

The nature of that political structure becomes clearer from an analysis of two petitions: the 1887 petition to the North Carolina legislature requesting the establishment of a normal school, and the 1888 petition to the United States Congress asking for assistance in improving the Lumbee tribe's educational system. These petitions were signed by ninety-one tribal members representing every Lumbee family name. The names of the signers appear on Table 11.

Before discussing the political structure of the postbellum Lumbee community it is necessary to speak to the nature of the data. The analysis that follows is based upon information provided by the Enrollment Office of LRDA. It is the product of years of research conducted by the staff. The data were drawn

Table 11 cont'd

Solomon Locklear	X	X
Thomas Locklear	X	
William L. Locklear	X	
William W. Locklear		X
Winslow Locklear	X	
J.E. (Evander) Lovett	X	X
Andrew Lowrie	X	
Brown Lowrie	X	
G.W. (Wash) Lowrie		X
James W. Lowrie	X	
James I. Lowrie	X	
Turner Lowrie	X	
Zion Lowrie	X	
J.C. McEachin, Jr.	X	
J.L. (John) Monroe	X	
W.L. (William Luther) Moore	X	
Alva (Alvin) Oxendine	X	
Archie Oxendine	X	
Asbury Oxendine	X	X
Hugh Oxendine	X	
John J. Oxendine	X	X
Jack Oxendine	X	
James (Big Jim) Oxendine	X	X
J.W. (Big Bud) Oxendine	X	
John E. Oxendine	X	X
Jordan Oxendine	X	X
Neill Oxendine	X	
Solomon Oxendine	X	X
Ollin Oxendine		X
Zachrious Oxendine		X
Harrison Ransom	X	
Andrew Jordan Revels	X	
Israel Rodgers	X	
John Sampson		X
James Sampson		X
Everett Sampson		X
Hector Sanderson	X	
James Sanderson		X
J.P. (Paisly) Sanderson	X	
Thomas Sanderson	X	
J.W. Willis	X	

from interviews with knowledgeable members of the Lumbee community, from census, court and other government documents, and from wills, bibles, correspondence and the like. Despite these painstaking efforts, gaps in the data exist. The information that is presented in the following charts is the best that is available; where questions existed the information was not included. Thus, although there are ninety-one petitioners, some were not included because the staff was not certain as to their genealogical relationships, or because there was a possiblity of confusion with another person of the same or similar name. With these caveats in mind, it is possible to describe with some certainty the political structure following the Civil War. It is reasonable to assume that the system described operated in the community for at least the nineteenth century and probably the second half of the eighteenth century.

The efforts to establish an independent school system was community-based and community wide. It involved family heads from a number of the Lumbee settlements although the majority of the signers of the 1887 and 1888 petitions came from the Prospect settlement. As the data on the 1850 community shows, this was the principal area of Lumbee settlement, so it not surprising that it included the largest number of petitioners.

Many of the petitioners can be clustered into a few intergenerational family units. The family clusters on which there is sufficient data are described below. The individuals marked with astericks signed either or both of the petitions. Also given is their year of birth and place of residency.

Chart 7. The Preston Locklear Family

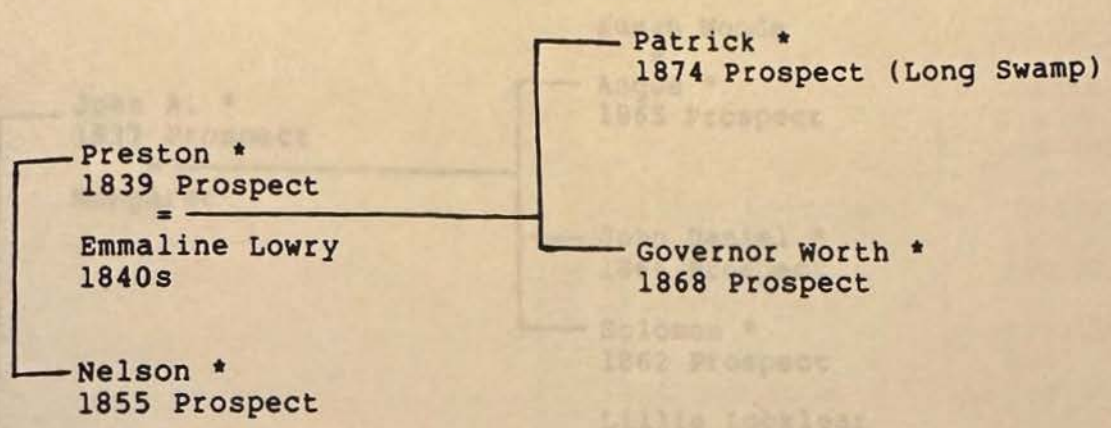


Chart 8. Isham Locklear Family

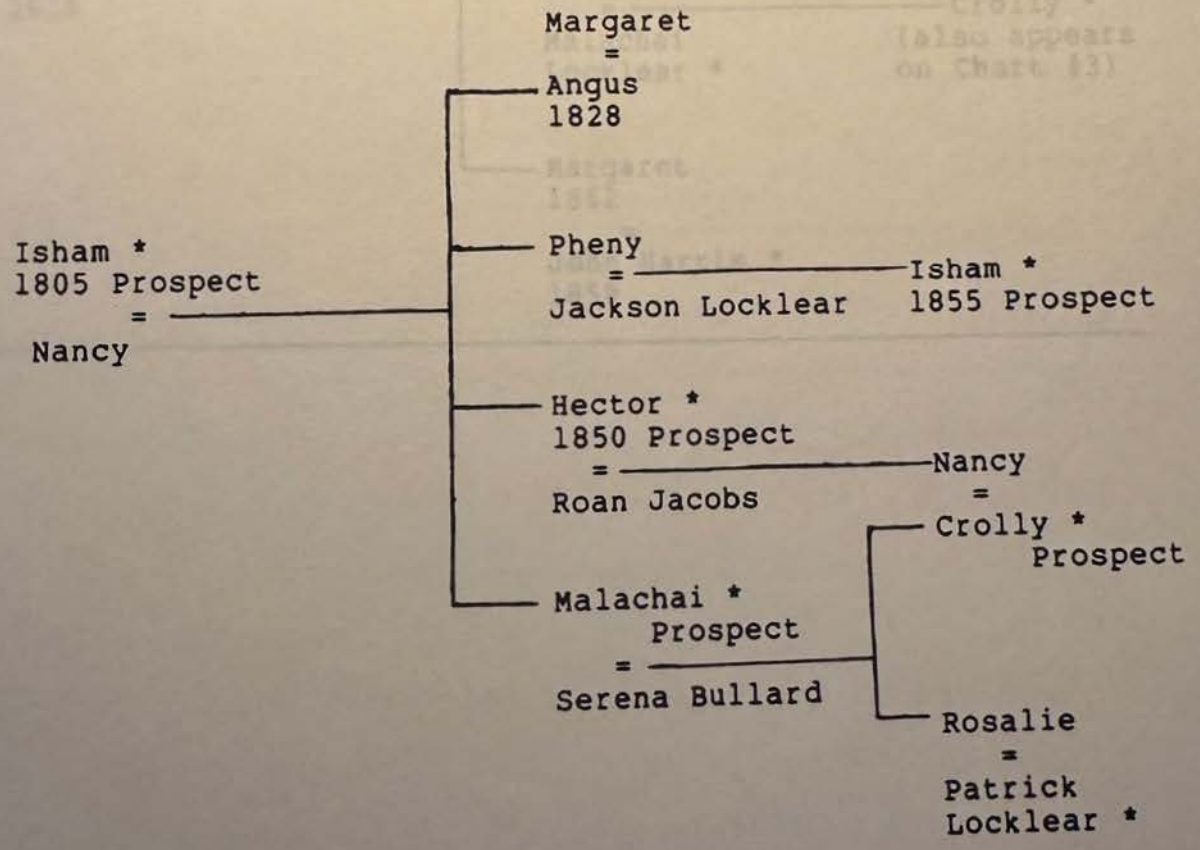


Chart 9. John Archer Locklear Family

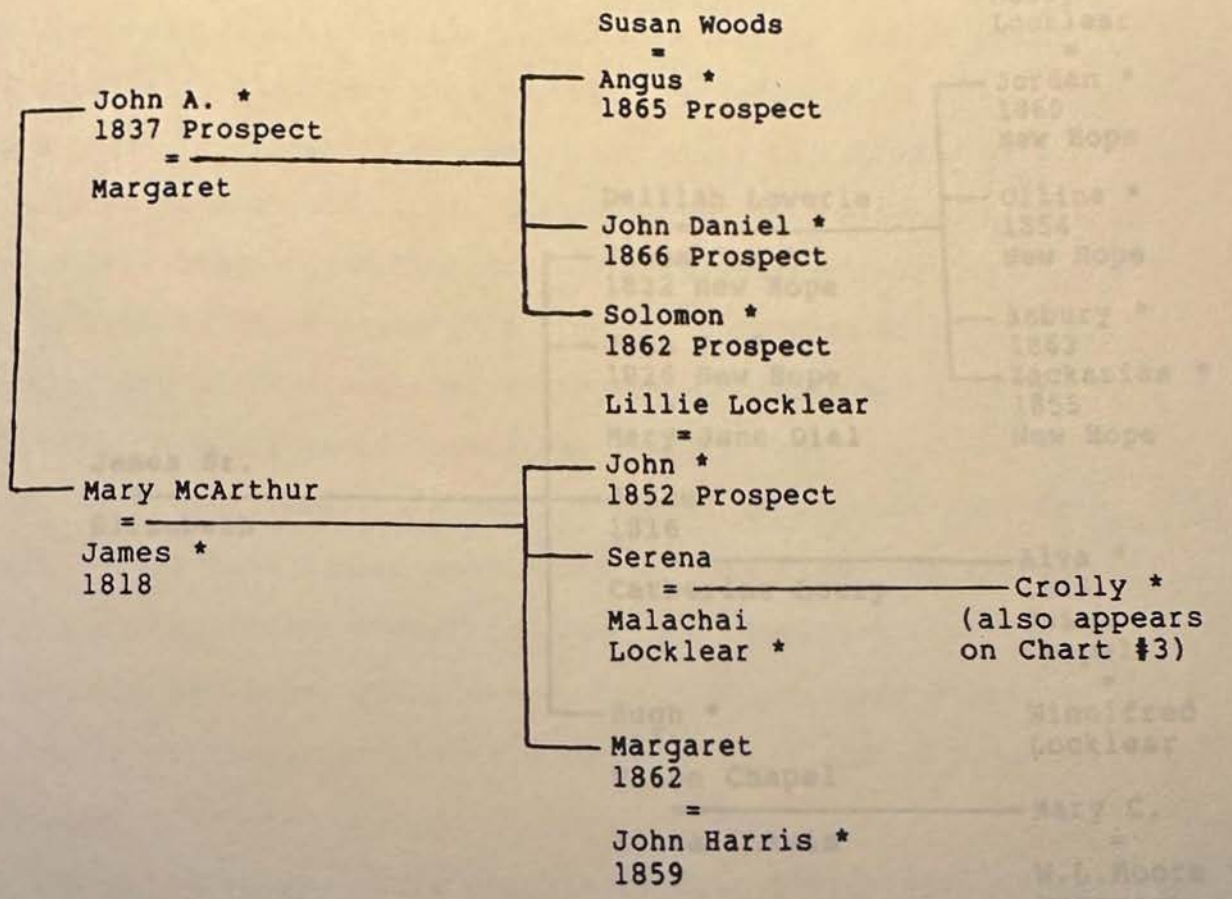
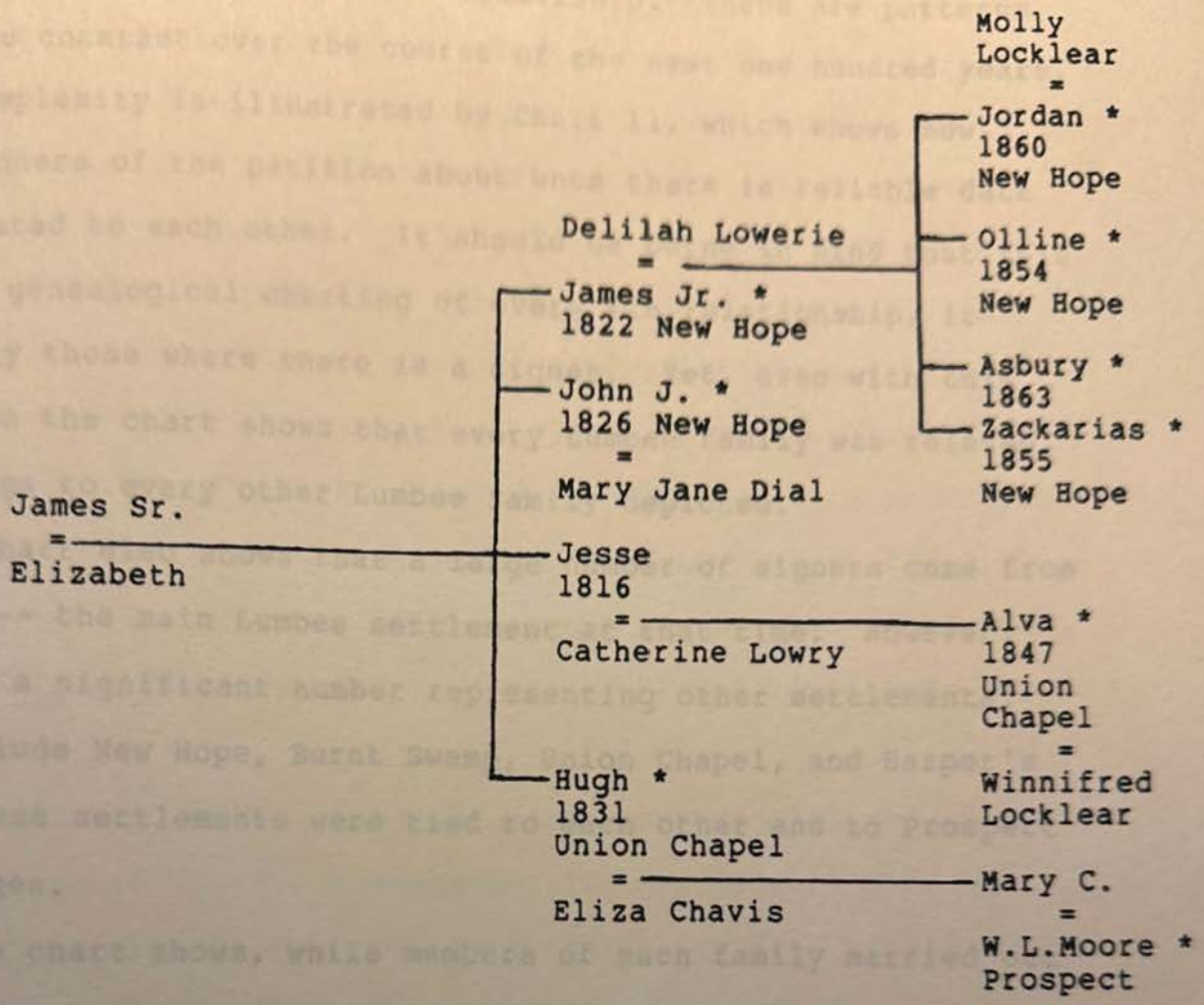


Chart 10. James Oxendine, Sr. Family



These charts show conclusively the inter-relationships between families, residency and leadership. These are patterns that were constant over the course of the next one hundred years. There complexity is illustrated by Chart 11, which shows how those signers of the petition about whom there is reliable data were related to each other. It should be borne in mind that this is not a genealogical charting of every kin relationship, it shows only those where there is a signer. Yet, even with this limitation the chart shows that every Lumbee family was related by marriage to every other Lumbee family depicted.

The chart also shows that a large number of signers came from Prospect -- the main Lumbee settlement at that time. However, there was a significant number representing other settlements. These include New Hope, Burnt Swamp, Union Chapel, and Harper's Ferry. These settlements were tied to each other and to Prospect by marriages.

As the chart shows, while members of each family married out of their settlement, the bulk of the family members remained in their parents settlement. The most common pattern among signers was for a father and several of his sons and his sons-in-law to sign the petitions. The elder men in each family were the settlement leaders; collectively they represented the tribe. The large number of signers argues persuasively that these were actions that reflected a broad tribal consensus representing the concerns of the membership.

The voter registration lists for the early 1900s provide further evidence of the authority of heads of families to influence political activities. The voter registration data from

1902 through 1904 show a pattern of large numbers of people with the same surname registering at the same time. For example, in 1902 thirty-two individuals with the last name Oxendine registered on October 10 (Voter Registration for Burnt Swamp 1902). On October 13, 1902, thirteen Locklears and thirteen Oxendines registered (Ibid.). In 1904 thirty-seven Locklears were recorded on the same day, October 10 (Ibid. 1904). It is highly unlikely that this pattern of registration could have occurred without the intervention of family leaders. When read in the context of the political climate in Robeson County around the turn of the century and the growing role of Lumbees in the local political process, this emphasis on registration must be viewed as a tribal activity designed to further the political aims of the Lumbees.

The state law establishing the normal school that resulted from the petitioning effort names four Lumbee leaders who, with others to be chosen by them, were to form a board of trustees of the normal school. They were W.L. Moore, James Oxendine, James Dial, and Preston Locklear (NC Public Laws, 1887 Ch. 400: 699-701). Pursuant to statutory authority, these four individuals chose three others: J.J. Oxendine, Isaac Brayboy, and Ollin Oxendine (Dial and Eliades 1975: 91). These individuals held meetings designed to convince the Lumbee community that the normal school was not a trick played by the white majority, and to galvanize community support. Led by W.L. Moore, they raised the necessary funds to buy the land, and to build and equip the first school. Moore was at the time pastor of the United Methodist Church of Prospect, a position he held from 1876 to

1920. In 1888, a second petition was sent, this time to the U.S. Congress, asking for assistance in maintaining the tribe's school system. It contained the names of individuals from many of the same families that had petitioned the previous year, and although W.L. Moore did not sign this petition, it is clear that he was involved and in support of the effort (U.S. Senate 1915: 38-39).

For the Lumbee the expansion and improvement of their educational system was the most important concern they faced in the early twentieth century. This involved a determination of the tribe's name, since both the Lumbees and the white political structure sought a means of providing educational opportunities that were restricted to tribal members only. This had been accomplished in some degree by the establishment of an Indian school system by the state. The appeal for federal assistance went to the heart of the problem since the only way the national government could provide such services was through funds for Indian education.

The effort to gain federal assistance was led by D.F. Lowry, and involved extensive lobbying and mass meetings to inform the Lumbee tribal members. In these efforts Lowry was assisted by leaders from various settlements in the community including W.F. Sampson, A.N. Locklear, W.R. Oxendine, E. Sampson, J.J. Bell, James A. Locklear, C.B. Sampson, S.A. Hammond, Irwin Hammond, Steven Hunt, J.O. Brooks, Henderson Lowry, J.W. McGirt, and C.F. Lowry (see HN: 54). In 1913 D.F. Lowry headed a committee consisting of some of the most prominent tribal leaders, including A.B. Locklear, Preston Locklear, A.N. Locklear, James A. Locklear, W.R. Locklear and B.F. Loud, who went to Washington

to lobby for assistance. (U.S. House of Representatives, February 14, 1913). A year later another delegation consisting of W.R. Locklear, W.M. Lowry and A. Chavis returned to Washington to continue the lobbying efforts for educational aid and the acceptance of the name "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" (Robesonian April 30, 1914: 1). That the leadership had the ability to mass support for their position is illustrated by a meeting called by Stephen A. Hammond, J.A. Hunt, Stephen Hunt, Avener Chavis and Troy CumminGs, acting as a Committee on Invitation in 1914 (Ibid. July 30, 1914: 5). In preparing for a visit by Special Indian Agent O.M. McPherson, the committee called for a mass meeting on August 11 at which there were some 3,000 Lumbees in attendance (Ibid. August 13, 1914). A report that appeared in the Robesonian, makes clear that the tribe was well organized on the issue, that each section was represented by leaders, and that the entire organization was chaired by J.A. Locklear, with James Cummings serving as secretary (Ibid. August 17, 1914).

On the local level, leaders frequently called meetings, or sponsored picnics to raise funds. Examples of this include a picnic sponsored by J.E. Dial in 1907 (Ibid. July 29, 1907: 6; August 5, 1907: 5), an educational rally called by A.A. Locklear in 1910 (Ibid. October 6, 1910: 1), and the regular meetings of the teacher's association founded by D.F. Lowry, P.M. Locklear, and Edmund Lowrey (Ibid. December 16, 1907: 3).

While Lumbee leaders demonstrated their ability to bring out large numbers of people for meetings related to education and identity, they were equally as successful where more mundane

political matters were involved. As has been described in section 83.7(b), there was a regular cycle of picnics and rallies during the year, and these afforded the Lumbee leadership the opportunity to maintain political ties with influential whites. Candidates for office were invited to give speeches, and afterwards joined the Lumbee leaders who organized the picnic for dinner. Names that appear in the record include D.F. Lowry, Calvin F. Lowry, H.P. Lowry, W.N. Baker, P.B. Lowry, and Jim Dial (see pages 115-116). This was a common practice among the Lumbees, one that has continued to the present.

Following World War I the Lumbee leaders renewed their efforts to improve the funding of their schools and to assure tribal control. In 1913 a state attorney general's opinion had held that the county board of education had the final say as to who was eligible to attend the Indian schools in Robeson County. This presented a threat to the tribe's autonomy in education, and the leaders pressed the legislature for a change, which was accomplished in 1919. In that year the General Assembly passed legislation establishing a committee consisting of five Lumbee leaders -- Ralph Lowry, James B. Oxendine, J.E. Woodell, W.M. Wilkins, and Calvin Locklear -- who would rule on any challenge to the decisions of the local school committees (N.C. Public Laws, 1919 Chapter 211: 416).

In 1921 A.B. Locklear renewed the effort to get federal aid and the tribe's name recognized by the U.S. Congress. Locklear continued his efforts through 1924, but was not able to get the desired legislation passed (see pages 63-64). However, the issue was raised again in 1932, this time by a group calling itself the

"Southeastern Cherokee Indians of North Carolina." The president of the group was B.G. Graham, vice president A.B. Locklear, secretary-treasurer F.L. Locklear, and corresponding secretary C.B. Brayboy (JSBC March 29, 1932 Petition to Senator Josiah W. Bailey). As described in the Historical Narrative, this petition resulted in a major effort to get a bill through Congress, and as a result of that effort a significant split over the tribe's name developed. Two groups of leaders emerged, one favoring the use of "Siouan" as a name, and the other supporting the continued use of "Cherokee" (HN: 64-85).

The "Siouan" group was led by Joseph Brooks (a Lumbee who had spent a part of the 1920s working in Detroit) B.G. Graham, and James Chavis. They adopted the Siouan name and formed a tribal organization complete with a council that represented eighteen districts within Robeson County. Each district had a councilman representing from six to ninety families (HN: 83). Opposing this group was D.F. Lowery and Clifton Oxendine, who argued for the continuation of the Cherokee name.

Both leaderships launched aggressive campaigns to persuade Congress and their constituencies of the correctness of their positions. Both held meetings attended by hundreds, at times thousands, of Lumbees, but in the end the Lowery-Oxendine group won out and the bill was killed. It was, however, a pyrrhic victory, because in defeating the bill, the Lowery-Oxendine group also prevented the adoption of the name they preferred and had worked for thirty years to see accepted.

Although the Siouan name did not receive congressional endorsement, the Siouan Lodge continued to press for recognition

and economic assistance. Brooks sought to have the members of the tribe acknowledged under the provisions of the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act). He pressed to have land set aside for the Lumbee Indians as part of a land resettlement plan. From 1932 through the early 1940s, Joe Brooks, along with B.G. Graham and James Chavis, were not only recognized as leaders by a sizeable portion of the Lumbee tribe, but also by federal officials such as John Collier (HN: 65-89). By the same token, D.F. Lowry continued as the leader of the tribal segment opposed to the Siouan Lodge movement. He had wide support within the community, as well as support from the white political leadership of the county, which in turn influenced the local congressmen and senators. While in part the dispute between the two related to the name and its implications for the educational autonomy of the tribe, there was also a difference between the two over the role of the national government in tribal affairs. While Joe Brooks and his followers sought the active involvement of the national governmment to alleviate the worst of the poverty that burdened many of the Lumbee families, Lowery looked more to the tradition of self-help through education.

Following World War II, D.F. Lowry renewed his efforts to get some federal recognition of the tribe's name. In 1948 he organized a group called the Lumbee Brotherhood to deal with the social and economic issues facing the tribe. One of these was the question of the tribe's official name. Although there was opposition Lowry and his supporters were able to get the necessary legislation passed by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1953, and by the United States Congress in 1956. The

tribe's name was changed to Lumbee (HN: 92-96). This was perhaps the crowning achievement in Reverend Lowry's long tenure as a tribal leader. He was born in 1881, the son of Calvin Lowry, an older brother of Henry Berry Lowry. During his life he was a teacher for twenty years, being the first graduate of the Indian Normal School, a mailman for thirty years, and a Methodist minister from 1913 on. He died in 1977 at the age of 96. For more than fifty years he was an acknowledged tribal leader.

From the foregoing descriptions it is easy to extrapolate certain generalizations concerning Lumbee leadership at the tribal level. Successful leaders were those persons who could articulate a point of view and convince others of the wisdom and efficacy of their position. The success of a leader depended in large measure upon the size of the following he or she could generate; that often depended upon the perception the tribal members had of the leader; his or her honesty, integrity, and sense of public commitment. It depended also on the individual's ability to get things done, and often that meant the degree to which the individual had contacts with the county and state non-Indian political leaders. Leadership was not institutionalized in the sense that individuals held elective office with prescribed powers. Events often shaped the course of leadership and it was common for individuals to assume leadership roles to meet particular exigencies; following an emergency the individuals involved often returned to their normal activities. This is not to say that they did not continue to be looked upon as leaders and to garner the repect of others for their efforts. As several people put it, in describing a group of individuals

who took the lead in the Old Main and Double Voting issues, "They've paid their dues. They're still leaders we can depend on if something comes up" (Campisi 1985-1987, fieldnotes).

Leaders are persons who express the sentiments of some segment of the tribe. On some issues the tribe has no single point of view, resulting in spokesmen expressing strongly divergent opinions. This was certainly true of the controversy over the tribe's name in the 1930's. However, there is a tendency for the tribe to act in unison when the threat is perceived to come from the outside. Perhaps the best example is the Ku Klux Klan rally in Maxton in 1958.

There was a resurgence of Klan activity in the southern states in the 1950s, particularly in the southeastern part of North Carolina and the adjoining sections of South Carolina. In 1951 and 1952 there were thirteen incidences of flogging in neighboring Columbus County that resulted in the prosecution of sixty-three Klansmen (Raleigh News and Observer April 2, 1952; Robesonian July 24, 1952). These prosecutions and others weakened the Klan for a few years, but by 1957 they were again holding cross-burning rallies in North Carolina. On January 13, 1958, the Klan burned crosses in front of two homes in Robeson County, both occupied by Lumbees. One was within the city limits of Lumberton, in an all-white neighborhood, and the other, located outside Parkton, was occupied by a Lumbee woman who was dating a white man. The Klan made clear that the burnings were warnings to the Lumbees against racial mixing (Raleigh News and Observer January 15, 1958). The Klan then announced its plans to hold a rally at Hayes' Pond near Maxton for Saturday night,

January 18th (Robesonian January 17, 1958).

Indian outrage was immediate and universal. They were joined by the Maxton Town Board, which condemned the planned rally and urged citizens to stay away (Ibid.). The Robesonian speculated that "the K.K.K. has bitten off a bigger hunk than it can chew," and suggested that the Klan "get plenty of police protection if it decides to burn a fiery cross in Pembroke" (Ibid.; Raleigh News and Observer January 17, 1958). Two days before the rally Robeson County Sheriff Malcolm McLeod visited the Klan leader James Cole and told him no members of his department would be present at the rally (Raleigh News and Observer January 17, 1958; Charlotte Observer January 17, 1958); on the day before the rally, the Maxton Town Board passed a resolution condemning the rally (Raleigh News and Observer January 18, 1958).

Between thirty-five and fifty Klansmen gathered around 7 P.M.; Sheriff McLeod arrived shortly thereafter with a small contingent and urged Cole to call off the rally. In the meantime several hundred Lumbees arrived and surrounded the armed Klansmen. Suddenly, the Lumbees started shouting and pushing forward, there was some gun fire and the single light was broken. The Klansmen fled in panic, Cole so hastily that he left his family in the car. In short order the tribal members had routed the Klan taking their flags and robes. Shortly thereafter, the state police arrived and began directing traffic so that the Klansmen could leave (Raleigh News and Observer January 19, 1958).

One of the Lumbee men who achieved some degree of prominence described his role to a Raleigh newspaper.

> "I told the boys to take it easy," remarked [Simeon] Oxendine. "Slap 'em around a little, if you have to, I told them, but don't hurt 'em."
> The Indians had become incensed at the Klan because of two cross-burnings in the county early last week. When the much-advertised KKK rally gathered last night, the Indians moved in concert to break it up.
> "No, it wasn't planned," Oxendine said of the Indians' action. It just happened that way" (Raleigh News and Observer January 20, 1958).

Oxendine described his role in the following terms. "Some of 'em [Lumbees] wanted to kinda designate me as a leader." I just said, 'let's go fellers.' We just walked on off and started taking their meeting apart. That's all they wus to it' (Greensboro Daily News January 17, 1971: 27).

In this incident the Lumbees acted spontaneously. There was support for the Lumbees' action among the public officials in the county. The event demonstrated the willingness of the Lumbees to take direct action when called for; they did not seek court injunctions or the like. The swiftness and certitude with which they reacted to the Klan was a vivid reminder that the tribal members would tolerate no threat from outsiders.

Before proceeding with a review of the other events that took place in the 1960s and 1970s, which have been described in the Historical Narrative (HN: 101-116), it is appropriate to discuss the development of the Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc. since, in many respects, it represents a different approach by the Lumbee tribe to the resolution of its social, economic, and political problems.

LUMBEE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, INC.

In 1968 a small group of Lumbees met with Gerald Sider, who at the time was a part-time consultant with the Mobility Project of the North Carolina Fund and the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation, to discuss ways by which the members of the Lumbee tribe could benefit from the various poverty programs then available. The members of the group held the conviction that although the Lumbees represented a third or more of the population of the county, they were not receiving their fair share of the available services and resources. Out of these informal meetings and conversations came the plan for the Regional Development Associates, Inc., an organization for Lumbees.

Regional Development Associates, Inc. was incorporated by the state of North Carolina early in 1968 to serve the rural population of Robeson County. Article II of the charter reads as follows:

> Regional Development Associates, Inc., is a non-profit corporation for the purpose of analyzing and developing solutions to the health, education, general and economic welfare problems of rural and urban poor people.
>
> Section 1. This Corporation will operate primarily in, but will not be limited to, North Carolina.
>
> Section 2. The Corporation will 1) provide technical assistance and professional staff services to private and public agencies, national, state and or local, seeking solutions to poverty problems: 2) will do research on poverty problems, including but not limited to problem identification, experimental and demonstration projects, and project feasibility and follow-up studies: 3) and the Corporation will itself undertake demonstration and ongoing projects to serve the health, education, general and economic welfare needs of the rural and urban poor. These projects will

be undertaken either by the Corporation itself or with the Corporation as sub-contractor or contractor in conjunction with other agencies, private or public, national, State, or local (LRDA January 31, 1968).

Although it is nowhere mentioned in the corporation's charter it is clear both from interviews with the original incorporators and the subsequent actions of the organization that RDA was a Lumbee Indian organization. One of the founders of the corporation explained that the intent was to help the Lumbees, particularly those living in the rural areas, but there was a fear that to say so in the corporate articles might cause them to be denied funding. In 1974, A. Bruce Jones, responding to questions at a board meeting, explained that the original idea for the organization grew out of meetings with Horace Locklear, Gerald Sider, and Rod Locklear, who were looking into the conditions and needs of the Lumbee Indians. After preliminary meetings Horace Locklear drew up a charter, after which a number of Lumbee community leaders were invited to a meeting at the Old Foundry Restaurant in Lumberton where the charter was read and discussed, and given tacit approval (Ibid. February 24, 1974). As soon as the charter was completed the four directors chose A. Bruce Jones to serve as president.

During its early years the new organization faced three significant problems: developing a community based organization, establishing and funding programs to meet the Lumbee community's needs, and enhancing the identity and acceptance of Lumbees.

DEVELOPING A COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATION

The first task faced by the newly chartered corporation was to organize an infrastructure that reflected its goals of improving the conditions of the tribal members within Robeson and adjoining counties. The corporate charter provided for a board of directors of not less than four members: however, this offered little guidance for developing a community-based organization. To remedy this, the Board of Directors took two steps; it expanded its size to nine members, and it appointed a steering committee of fifteen representing every sector of the Lumbee community.

> Mr. [A. Bruce] Jones appointed Rev. Simeon Cummings as Chairman of the Steering Committee for RDA and asked that he appoint a body of ten (sic) representatives. The following persons were selected to serve as members of the Steering Committee:
>
> 1. Mr. J.W. Thomas (Saddletree)
> 2. Mr. Dennis Maynor (Rex Rennert)
> 3. Mr. Welton Locklear (Ashpole)
> 4. Mr. Harold Deese (Maxton)
> 5. Mr. Edward Sampson (Lumberton)
> 6. Mr. Noah Woods (Wakulla)
> 7. Mr. Milton Hall (Parkton)
> 8. Mr. Howard Oxendine (Back Swamp)
> 9. Mr. Wade Jacobs (Alfordsville)
> 10. Mrs. Vera Lowry (Rowland)
> 11. Mr. Carmel Locklear (Prospect)
> 12. Mr. Lance Hardin (Smyra Allentown)
> 13. Mr. John Albert Locklear (Union Chapel)
> 14. Mr. James B. Locklear (Mt. Airy)
> 15. Mr. W.J. Strickland (Pembroke)
>
> (Ibid. November 7, 1969).

Over the course of the next few months the Steering Committee members were very active holding meetings in their communities. Three weeks after the formation of the Steering Committee, members reported their preliminary findings, which had emerged from four sub-committees, each with a chairperson:

Mrs. Shirley Lowry - Education Committee
Mr. Howard Sampson - Welfare Committee
Mr. Ronald Revels - Unemployment Committee
Mrs. Ruth Roberts - Public Relations

(Ibid. November 28, 1969).

In addition, Chairman Cummings appointed a Housing Committee "... to study housing programs and make recommendations to the membership of RDA for housing projects." This committee consisted of Carlton Oxendine, chairman, Howard Oxendine, Early Maynor, Royce Locklear, Curt Locklear, and Grover Oxendine.

RDA continued its efforts to expand its role in the Lumbee community and to involve larger segments of that community. It appointed individuals from the various settlements to serve on committees, urged individuals to join RDA, and held general membership meetings on a regular basis. Upon the recommendation of Dr. Ray Tanner, U.S. Department of Commerce (Ibid. October 18, 1970), the group's name was changed to Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc. At the same time, Article II of the corporate charter was amended to reflect the group's specific objective of serving the Lumbee Indians. The revised article read, in part, "... and the corporation will itself undertake demonstration and on going projects to serve the health, education, general and economic welfare needs of the Lumbee Indians, in particular, and rural and urban poor in general" (Ibid. December 28, 1970). To broaden its leadership base and to meet the needs of an expanding organization, the Board of Directors increased its membership to nine in 1971. Rod Locklear replaced A. Bruce Jones as the board's chairman. Gerry Sider had left the board shortly after its establishment and had been replaced by Ruth Dial Woods, making the board wholely Lumbee in its membership. Sider was the only non-Lumbee to serve on the board.

The transition from RDA to LRDA brought about not only an expansion of positions within the organization, but also a new organization of these positions. In March, 1971, the Board of Directors approved the following officers:

President - W.J. Strickland
Chairman - A. Bruce Jones
Secretary - Ruth Roberts
Treasurer - James H. Woods
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer - John R. Jones.

All officers of the corporation were required to be members of the Board of Directors (Ibid. March 24, 1971).

Under LRDA's plan of organization the Board of Directors was advised by the Advisory Council headed by W. J. Strickland. There was an executive director under the authority of the Board; under him a deputy director. The executive director received guidance from the Educational Advisory Committee. The remainder of the operation was divided into two categories: projects, and administration and planning, all under the control of the executive director. Although there were subsequent modifications to this plan of organization, they contained the central organizational principle of LRDA; a board of directors assisted by a broad range of community volunteers oriented to resolving a host of community defined concerns.

In 1975, LRDA's charter was changed to permit the election of the Board of Directors by members of the Lumbee tribe. Under the new charter there are seventeen members on the board; fourteen are elected by districts (Map 26; Table 12), and three are elected by the board to represent the Lumbee populations in Hoke County, Raleigh, North Carolina, and Baltimore, Maryland. The

CHART 12

1987 LRDA BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Lineal Descent from the 1887 and 1888 Croatan Petitioners

	1887 Petitioners	1888 Petitioners
Roderick G. Locklear	X	X
Emma Lee Locklear	X	X
Grover Oxendine	X	X
Ella Glois Hunt		
D.W. Lowery	X	X
Adolph Dial	X	X
Harold Deese	X	X
Dorothy Lowery		
Adolph Blue	X	X
Roy Lacy Cummings	X	
James Sampson, Jr.		X
Jimmy McNeill		
Burlie Locklear		
LeRoy Scott		X
A. Bruce Jones	X	
Grady Hunt		
Celia Hammonds	X	X

terms of all board members are for three years and they are elected on a staggered schedule, 5-5-4. Each electoral district has a minimum population of 2,000 Lumbee Indians. Since its inception LRDA has had four executive directors: Tommy Dial, Oscar Blanks, Kenneth Maynor, and James Hardin. As can be seen by Chart 12, the continuity of tribal political influence has continued in that all but two of the current Board members are lineal descendants of the 1887 and 1889 Croatan petitioners.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND FUNDING

RDA received its first grant from the Ford Foundation through the National Congress of American Indians to carry out a literacy project among tribal members. The grant, a modest $4,300, was for a term of one year. Within a year RDA had established, through its directors and steering committee, adult classes in a number of settlements including Union Chapel, Oxendine, and Saddletree. They were staffed by Lumbee teachers on a voluntary basis. To better coordinate the efforts at adult education, the board of directors established a separate program called the Lumbee Outreach Project with Vera M. Lowry as chairperson. A second project, called the Lumbee Talent Search Project, was initiated "... to identify potential drop-outs in junior high levels and to assist in identifying exceptionally talented students in the senior high levels for assistance in scholarships and loan programs for Indian students" (Ibid. April 3, 1970). RDA and its successor LRDA sought and received funding for a wide range of social and economic activities, including senior

citizen, health care, job training, nutrition, and elementary and secondary school programs. A complete list of these is to be found in the appendices to this petition.

In 1981, Ken Maynor, the executive director of LRDA, appeared at a conference on "Public Policy and Native Americans in North Carolina: Issues for the 80s." At that time he presented the following summary of the role LRDA played in the contemporary Lumbee tribal community.

> Lumbee Regional Development Association, which I will call LRDA for short, is a private, nonprofit corporation chartered by the state of North Carolina to improve the social, economic, educational and general welfare of the estimated 40,000 Lumbees in and around Robeson County. The organization is headquartered in Pembroke, North Carolina and has a seventeen member board of directors who represent the Indian communities in Robeson, Hoke, Scotland, and Bladen counties. By the way, these directors are elected by the community. LRDA was formed in 1968 by local Indian people because of the critical need for an Indian organization to serve the Indian people, to be an advocate for their needs and interests, and to provide services and outreach to the Indian communities. Presently LRDA receives federal, state, and private funds to support twelve community service projects designed to meet the various needs of the Lumbee people. The total operating budget for the fiscal year 1980-81 is $4.2 million.
>
> LRDA has directed its efforts toward the areas of greatest need among the Lumbee communities. Needs assessments conducted in the Indian communities indicate that educational disadvantages, lack of employment opportunities, and the resulting low income are major problems causing a high incidence of poverty. Major health problems, a lack of adequate housing, compounded with other problems lead to a high mortality rate for Indians. The thrust of LRDA programs is to help alleviate these problems.
>
> The Lumbees are widely recognized for their farming skills and have traditionally been heavily employed in agriculture- related jobs. The economy of the region has changed dramatically in the past 10 years from predominately agri- business to low-wage industry. Because of intense pressure and competition from large agri-business firms, the Lumbees who were tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or worked small family farms have been forced into employment in other areas where they have little or no training and skills. In 1976,

only 20 percent of the Lumbees were employed in agriculture. In addition, illiteracy has put the Indian adult at an extreme disadvantage when competing with better educated whites and youths for jobs in the job market.

Discrimination and unfair employment practices have also kept the Indian worker in the least desirable jobs. According to the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Civil Rights in its study of private employment in Robeson County in 1972, "the largest number of Indians are relegated to operatives, laborers, and service classifications. These represent the lowest paying jobs in the blue-collar category." In 1970, 33 percent of all Indian people were employed as operatives, with the largest number of Indians in any one salary category earning below $2,000 per capita annually.

Poverty is a stark reality for Indians in Robeson County. In 1967, the median family income for whites was $4,656; for Lumbees, it was $1,324 per capita. The 1970 Census data shows (sic) that 72 percent of all Indian families had annual incomes below $7,000, compared to 20 percent of the white families. The census data indicates (sic) that almost 50 percent of the Indian population lived below the poverty level, compared to 19 percent for whites. In 1976, the median family income for Robeson County was $8,200 annually, compared to $14,405 in the United States. This makes the county one of the poorest in the nation with 35 percent of the total population living at or below the poverty level. For blacks and Indians, the number living at or below the poverty level is about 45 percent. The unequal earning power is especially hard for Lumbee families because of the larger number of dependents (Lumbees average 5.8, blacks 4.4, whites 3.5).

Low educational attainment, illiteracy, profound health problems, and lack of adequate housing are major problems that lower the economic status of the Lumbees. From this one can see that the socioeconomic level of the Lumbees is far below that of the average citizen of North Carolina. In order to address some of these problems, LRDA has been a very active advocate and catalyst for improvement of the social and economic conditions in Indian communities. Its accomplishments are a result of effective planning, community participation, and aggressive pursuit of support for programs and activities. LRDA has been a visible example of what Indians can do to help themselves and their community through concentrated cooperative efforts. LRDA has helped accomplish the following goals for Indian people:

1) Improve services in education and decrease illiteracy;
2) expand job opportunities and promote better employment;
3) expand economic opportunity for Indian business;

4) improve delivery of social services to low-income rural Indian families;
5) provide adequate day care services and enhance pre-school learning for Indian children;
6) increase knowledge and awareness of Lumbee culture and history and stimulate interest in Native American studies by students and teachers;
7) increase Indian enrollment in post-secondary institutions and develop more professionals in technical, health, and human service careers;
8) stimulate increased knowledge and awareness of public issues affecting Indians;
9) promote Indian unity;
10) provide services in housing, health, social services, and nutrition to meet the crisis needs of low-income Indian people.

In 1972, LRDA received its first grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is today CSA (Community Service Administration), to provide a variety of economic development services to the Indian communities. Since its inception, LRDA has utilized aboout $26 million in federal and other funds to provide services to the Indian communities. The funds have been efficiently utilized to provide services and assistance to over 15,000 people annually.

I would like just briefly to go through some of the programs LRDA has, and I want to emphasize the programs that have had a large impact on the community, such as CETA, day-care, and business development. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act project (CETA) operated by LRDA from 1974 until the present has given a tremendous boost to the economy of the Indian communities. Last year the CETA project provided manpower employment and training services that enabled over 1,000 Indian adults and youths who were unemployed or underemployed to obtain and retain employment. The CETA project encourages youth to continue studies in school or training and technical institute systems, and helps adults move into full-time employment through work experience and on-the-job training. The current budget for the CETA project is about $3,171,000 and the goal for this year is to work with about 1,100 participants.

Since it began, the LRDA CETA project has utilized over $18 million in federal funds to serve a total of about 10,000 low-income Indian people of Robeson, Hoke, Scotland, and Bladen counties. With LRDA assistance, many of these people have received training and improved their skills to enter into and remain in permanent jobs. Their income levels have risen significantly and hopefully will continue to rise. Unfortunately, in future years, we anticipate that CETA will be cut back severely. The increase in the number of trained, skilled, and efficient Indian workers has helped the area to attract more and better paying industries. While there has been a large drop in the number of

Indians employed in agriculture, this has been offset to some degree by a large number of Indians employed in manufacturing, transportation and public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, and all kinds of service industries.

The General Community Programming Project is the major tool utilized by LRDA to directly stimulate economic development in Indian communities. Of the project's nine components, two are directly related to the economic growth, productivity, and improvement of the economic levels of Region N (Robeson, Scotland, Hoke, and Bladen counties).

In 1971 the agency began to assist Indian entrepreneurs within its service area in counseling, development analysis, technical assistance and loan packaging. This activity has been successful and continues to help produce independent Indian businesses. Thanks to a grant from the Administration for Native Americans, the office serves more clients in many phases of business development.

With help from the program, 36 new Indian businesses have been developed within the target area in the past year. The total amount of all business loans obtained with the assistance of LRDA was $1,752,500. This activity has enormously impacted the economy of the area. This impact is more significant when one considers and applies the "multiplier effect." Money coming into the economy stimulates the local economy by a factor of four to seven times. These numerous new businesses definitely assist in better meeting the service needs of the Lumbee community and make the community more self-sufficient. This is economic development at its best because it uses local resources as the central focal point.

The most rapidly expanding program at LRDA has been the agency's day-care program. This program began in September, 1977 with the first center located near Pembroke. Today. LRDA operates seven centers serving low-income communities in two counties all licensed by the state of North Carolina to provide services to 315 pre-school children. The goal of the day-care program is to help increase the economic status of families by providing full-time day-care services that relieve parents of children of child care responsibility and enable them to obtain employment. The centers serve children from infancy to age five who live in low-income communities where appropriate day-care services are not available. The centers provide an educational and developmental curriculum, a safe and healthy environment, and nutritious meals and snacks. To enroll their children in the centers, parents pay a weekly fee that is based on a sliding scale determined by family size and yearly income. About 80 percent of the families served have low incomes.

By providing day-care facilities, approximately 210

To continue to upgrade the economy of the Lumbee communities, the LRDA suggests the following programs and policies:

1) To enforce "affirmative action" in hiring, firing, and promotions in large industries and businesses of the area, especially with a clear majority of non-minority employees.
2) To continue to provide special employment and training programs for Indians until some parity has been reached in income levels.
3) To continue to provide special educational services to enable Indians to overcome educational disadvantages that hinder their employment.
4) To continue to recruit better paying industries and businesses into the area to enhance employment opportunities and reduce unemployment among Indians.
5) To provide economic incentives to Indian businessmen to enable them to develop viable and competitive businesses in Indian communities.
6) To ensure that Indian programs receive necessary funding, a portion of the state block grant monies should be set aside for Indian tribes and organizations of the President's proposed block grant program is implemented.
7) To ensure that the Lumbee communities continue to exercise self-determination, we strongly recommend that the U.S. government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs recognize the Lumbee tribe and promote self-government among the Lumbee.

Although the statistics presented earlier clearly indicate that Indians of North Carolina continue to suffer from poor economic conditions, I have attempted to show that over the past decade LRDA has had a positive influence on the socio-economic level of the Lumbee people. However, it is important to stress that progress has just begun and must not stop here (Presti 1981: 70-73).

One can get some idea of the success and impact of LRDA on the Lumbee community by looking at the programs operated by the organization. In 1985 LRDA had a total budget of $3,267,771 and directed nine programs.

Administration for Native Americans	$ 147,687.
Community Services Block Grant	126,181.
Headstart	218,010.
Job Training Partnership Project	1,993,910.
Talent Search	72,800.
Adult Education Project	166,505.
Indian Education Project	206,914.
Center for the Arts	198,473.
Energy	37,291.

$3,267,771.

During the period from 1971 through 1985 LRDA staffed and directed, on behalf of the Lumbee tribe, projects in adult education, Indian education, nutrition, Vista, summer youth recreation, arts and crafts, technical assistance, assistance to small businesses, Lumbee enrollment, and federal recognition. The total value of these projects was nearly $39 million (See Appendix 1 for a listing of the programs operated by LRDA since its inception).

TRIBAL RECOGNITION

The third area of concern, and the one that set LRDA apart from other agencies concerned with rural poverty, had to do with the corporation's efforts to act on behalf of the Lumbee Indians and to enhance the understanding of others concerning the tribe. The charter of RDA prohibited the corporation from becoming involved in partisan political activities (Article 4, Sect. 1-3), but this did not prevent the organization from supporting Lumbee candidates for public office. A policy statement approved on April 3, 1970 makes clear the role to be played by the corporation:

> 1. "RDA will serve a role to promote the hiring of Lumbees into available positions, both local and state, and will secure information regarding these positions as needed, however, it will not be the policy of the organization to go on record as supporting any one individual or one personality for a particular position. The only position which will be taken in this regard will be support for Indian employment if such positions or in writing as a group of recommended persons for

employment."
2. "Since RDA is a bipartisan, non-political entity, the only political activity to be engaged in through the organization is to promote and encourage Indian candidates and that activity which is in the interest of the betterment of the Lumbees" (Ibid. April 3, 1970).

Since its inception LRDA and its predecessor have responded to three principal concerns related to Lumbee tribal identity. They are: 1) activities that express the Lumbees' sense of identity; 2) the tribe's relations with other tribes and Indian organizations; and 3) the tribe's relations with the state and federal governments.

1) Activities

While during the early years of the organization the principal concerns addressed had to do with economic and social improvement of the Lumbee population, RDA from its inception was involved in the organization of the Lumbee Homecoming, initially as a joint venture with the Pembroke Jaycees and other organizations. After 1971 LRDA took over sole responsibility for the planning and execution of the event, which has been describe under Criterion (b). In 1972 LRDA announced the first of a series of awards to be given to outstanding members of the tribe. The Henry Berry Lowery Award is given "... to a person who has been instrumental in the cause of the Lumbee Indians" (Ibid. June 26, 1971). Since its inception the following people have received these prestigious awards:

Henry Berry Lowery Award

1971	Rev. D.F. Lowry
1972	Lew Barton

1973	Rev. Lonnie Jacobs
1974	Dr. M.L. Brooks
1975	Jim Chavis
1976	Adolph Dial
1977	Dr. English Jones
1978	L.H. Moore
1979	A. Bruce Jones
1980	Ruth Dial Woods
1981	Bruce Barton
1982	Clifton Oxendine
1983	Rev. Elias Rogers
1984	William Lonnie Revels
1985	Rev. Simeon Cummings
1986	Dexter Brooks

Distinguished Service Award

1974	Bessie Ransom
1975	Vera Lowery & Janie M. Locklear
1976	John Willie Oxendine
1977	Helen Schierbeck
1978	John R. Jones
1979	Rod Locklear
1980	Herman Dial
1981	Bobby Dean Locklear
1983	Elmer W. Hunt
1984	J.W. Hunt
1985	Rev. Julian Ransom and James Mitchell
1986	Rev. Michael Cummings

Business Person of the Year Award

1972	Rev. Ward Clark, Jr.
1973	Russell Oxendine
1974	Bradie Locklear
1975	Curt Locklear
1976	Lacy Collins
1977	Eugene Gene Locklear
1978	Jerry Cummings
1979	Rabon Lowery
1980	Rev. Jerry Lowery
1981	Herbie Oxendine
1982	Peggy Brewington
1983	Hubert Oxendine
1984	Hartley J. Oxendine
1985	James C. Maynor
1986	Bill James Deese

Advancement of Education Award

1980	Dr. Dalton Brooks
1981	Dr. Gerald D. Maynor
1982	Dr. Waltz Maynor
1983	James H. Hammonds
1984	Elmer T. Lowery, Sr.

1985 Earlie B. Maynor
1986 Janice Jacobs Hunt

In addition, LRDA has sponsored a number of programs of a cultural nature. Until recently, when funding was withdrawn by the federal government due to programmatic cut-backs, LRDA directed the Lumbee River Native American Center, whose objective was to provide gifted students experience and training in the areas of music, dance, visual arts, drama, speech, and creative writing. The program enrolled approximately 150 students during the regular school year, and another 200 for its summer program. The curriculum was based on an Indian course of study and the talents of the students were given exposure through performances at the local high schools, Pembroke State University and other public functions. There were recitals, performances of plays and dance, and art exhibits.

2) Relations With Other Tribes And Indian Organizations

As pointed out, RDA received its first programmatic grant through the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). In 1972 LRDA sent a representative to the NCAI annual convention in Florida (Ibid. October 13, 1972). However, by the mid-1970s a split had developed between the Lumbee leadership and the NCAI over the role of the non-federally recognized tribes and LRDA took the lead in articulating the tribal position. Beginning in 1974 the delegates to the annual NCAI convention passed two resolutions that were anti-Lumbee; one passed in Portland, Oregon, called for the replacement of Adolph Dial as a member of

the American Indian Policy Review Commission, while the other called upon the United States to cease funding nonrecognized tribes. In January, 1976 the Executive Council of the NCAI passed a resolution that included the following section:

> Resolved: That all governmental agencies cease granting of funds that are earmarked for the Indian tribes of our country to those organizations that are not federally recognized (AIPRC 1976: 1693).

The Lumbee leaders of LRDA were quick to respond, sending off letters to the NCAI, newspapers, and governmental officials condemming this attack. Bruce Barton pointed out:

> Whether the NCAI says so or not, the Lumbee Indian (and those who would rather be known as "Tuscarora") is as Indian as you can be. Ask our White Robesonians what we are? Check our blood line if you must. The blood quatum (sic) is there. We have been politically and economically and socially deprived because of our status as "Indian." We know we are "Indian." It will take more than a resolution from the NCAI to change the intent of our hearts (Barton February 6, 1976).

Concerning the NCAI actions and attitudes the AIPRC report noted:

> ... the interrelationship between termination and non-recognition is something which has not caught the eye of Indian tribes throughout the nation. Instead, the policy of termination is viewed as old and benign, something which could not happen again. And, as for non-recognition, a polarization-effect has occurred; "Recognized" and "non-recognized" communities are entrenched in an open battle, and have been for the past several years. As such, the "recognized" communities have easily dominated the so-called battle. The "anti-Lumbee, anti-non-recognized" resolution of NCAI is not an exception to the prevailing rule of the game, instead it only indicates the current "political" atmosphere felt in Indian Country: There's no more room for terminated and non-recognized sell-outs, the "pie" is only so big ("pie" referring to appropriations) (AIPRC: 1693).

The Lumbee tribe was the target of similar discrimination from the United Southeastern Tribes (USET). In this instance USET submitted a proposal to the Department of Health Education

and Welfare in which it specifically excluded the Lumbee tribe. By 1980, these organizations had changed their views and the Lumbee tribe was accepted fully.

The Lumbee tribe through LRDA also belonged to the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans (CENA) until its demise in 1976. CENA grew out of a conference held in Washington in 1972, organized by two Lumbee leaders, Helen Schierbeck and W.J. Strickland. Over 200 delegates from recognized and non-recognized tribes, communities and groups east of the Mississippi River attended. Strickland was chosen to direct the new organization, which at its height, included sixty tribes and associations covering the area from Maine to Louisiana, as members. The organization's decline was the result of a number of factors: the virilent feelings against non-federally recognized tribes that characterized the period, shifts in federal funding priorities, and the very growth of the organization that resulted in administrative problems that could not be easily resolved.

The leaders of LRDA, in addition to their efforts to promote tribal objectives with national Indian organizations, saw the need to establish a relationship with state authority. As has been noted previously, Lumbees have always had some influence in state politics, but this effort was to be on a pan-tribal basis. In 1970 leaders from LRDA approached Governor Robert Scott with the idea of establishing a state commission on Indian affairs. Scott was initially cool to the idea but influential Lumbee leaders like John Willie Oxendine and Ruth Dial Woods contacted the governor and were able to get a planning group organized. In 1971 the state established the Commission of Indian Affairs as an

independent agency, and Early Maynor, a member of LRDA's Board of Directors, was named as the first executive director. In 1977 the commission was changed from an independent agency to a special advocacy agency under the Department of Administration. A. Bruce Jones succeeded Early Maynor as the executive director in 1976. The North Carolina Indian Commission (NCIC) continues to be a major voice in state Indian policy, showing the influence of the Lumbee tribal leaders on regional Indian affairs.

In 1975, LRDA and NCIC held a staff retreat to discuss common concerns. One of the products of that retreat was the establishment of an annual conference, the North Carolina Indian Unity Conference. The conference has been immensely successful, growing from 100 participants in 1975 to over 600 in 1986, and has developed from a one day workshop to a three day event that includes general assemblies, workshops, talent show, powwow, banquet and dance. Featured speakers have included the state's governors, and other state and federal officials including individuals from the U.S. Office of Indian Education, Administration for Native Americans, U.S. Departments of Labor, and Housing and Urban Development. The conference also provides a forum for candidates for state-wide offices. Throughout the period LRDA leadership has been deeply involved not only in the affairs of NCIC, but also in the development of the Unity Conferences.

Until 1983 the Unity Conference was sponsored by NCIC, but in that year a new organization -- United Tribes of North Carolina (UTNC) -- took over the program. This organization consists of the tribes and Indian organizations within the state and was

formed to carry out activities that could not be handled by the state agency. The revenue from the Unity Conference is used to finance the organization's activities. This organization is presently led by James Hardin, who is also the executive director of LRDA.

3) State and Federal Relations

Considerable information has already been presented concerning the relationship of the Lumbee tribe with the state of North Carolina and the federal government under the aegis of LRDA. As has been pointed out, the LRDA leadership was active in the establishment of the North Carolina Indian Commission. Beyond that, it has maintained close ties with the state's governors and legislators. As an example of its relationship with the state government, when LRDA needed funds to continue its enrollment it sought and received help in the form of a grant from the state.

As has been described in the "Historical Narrative," the Lumbees have maintained a close relationship with the national government since at least the 1880s. The development of LRDA continued and augmented that relationship.

LUMBEE POLITICAL PROCESS

Gradually, over the years, LRDA has taken on many of the functions normally performed by tribal councils in other tribes.

For example, in 1984 it held a referendum to get tribal permission to act as an interim tribal council for federal recognition. The referendum passed overwhelming. Yet, the more traditional forms of Lumbee organization have remained, and the community values regarding leadership have continued. Blu, in contrasting Lumbee leadership with that of blacks, has described the motivating values:

> Indian followers, on the other hand, only reluctantly and exceedingly warily "follow" their leaders. Indians do not readily delegate authority or decision-making powers to their leaders, and leadership is constantly contested. An Indian leader can never be entirely sure of his precarious balance between an aura of authority ("big I, little you") and an image of working for his people ("commonness"), for Indians expect their leaders to have both these qualities, even if one of them is considered undesirable. A person must manifest both if he is to be a leader. If he is too "common," he will not set himself apart from his fellows and therefore will not be able to lead; if he is too self-aggrandizing and assertive, he will alienate his followers (Blu 1980:119).

Politics among the Lumbees continues to be the product of the complex interplay of family, religion and settlement. As in the past, each settlement has its individuals who are regarded as leaders, people who can be called upon for assistance and guidance, and who will seek help for others without request. While the local school committees are a thing of the past, the changes in voter registration have enabled more Lumbees to seek and win public office at a variety of levels -- school board, county commissioners, political party and town offices. As Blu has pointed out (Ibid.: 120), ministers no longer play the prominent role in tribal politics they had in the past, but other professionals have taken their place. The Lumbees have a large cadre of lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and other professionals

who take an active part in the tribe's political affairs. Because of the tribe's stress on individualism, there are always many approaches to the solution of any problem.

Historically, much of the visible Lumbee political organization has been problem-oriented. Thus the nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts to improve educational opportunities for Lumbees and to attain federal and state recognition and support have revolved around specific issues and charismatic leaders. This continues to the present day. As previously described, in the 1950s D.F. Lowry led a sustained effort that had widespread community support to get the tribe's name changed and to secure the passage of the Lumbee Bill. Later, in the same decade, Lumbees responded to threats by the Ku Klux Klan by attacking their rally in Maxton.

In the 1960s the tribal members organized to fight the desegregation of their schools and to increase their political power in the county through voter registration. This latter action was led by a number of tribal members including Dr. Martin Brooks, Carnell Locklear, and Thadis Oxendine; the school desegregation battle was led by the parents, particularly those in the Prospect community, and these struggles continued into the 1970s. There were other issues that focused tribal energies. In 1972 the Board of Trustees announced plans to replace the main building on the campus of Pembroke State University. A group led by Janie Maynor Locklear, Danford Dial, Luther M. Moore, and W.J. Strickland successfully fought the proposal, and after the building was destroyed by fire, they were able to get the state to reconstruct it. While the "Old Main" issue was going on many

of the same leaders led the fight to have "double voting" ended. This was a system that permitted whites to vote in both one of the five separate school districts where whites were the majority and in the county-wide school system which their children did not attend, and where the non-whites otherwise had a majority. This fight was successfully led by Janie Maynor Locklear, Dexter Brooks, Harbert Moore, and Robert Mangum. When they were unsuccessful in getting legislative relief, they filed a legal action, which they won in 1975.

In 1974 a group of Lumbees sought to have Congress clarify the meaning of the 1956 act. The Lumbees active in this effort were Brantley Blue, Linda Oxendine, Helen Scheirbeck, Tom Oxendine, Jo Jo Hunt, Purnell Swett, and Rod Locklear. Most of these Lumbees were, at that time, living and working in the Washington, D.C. area, which gave them the opportunity to lobby Congress on behalf of the tribe. Although they made a significant effort, they were unsuccessful, in part due to the opposition of other Lumbees such as Howard Brooks, who objected to the tribe's name. (This and the other cases referred to are described in detail in the Historical Narrative: 98-116). As has been amply demonstrated, Lumbees may disagree sharply over matters that are of an internal nature, but they join together quickly when threatened from the outside.

As in the past, there are leaders who have established strong contacts with the non-Indian politicians in both parties (although Lumbees tend to be Democrats). These individuals are capable of helping Lumbees in trouble with the law, securing state and county positions, and bringing to the public officials

in Lumberton, Raleigh, and Washington the views of the tribe on a variety of concerns. While LRDA has served to focus many of the tribal interests, and has acted as a voice for many tribal concerns, particularly those that have to do with other tribes and Indian associations, it is not the sole mechanism by which tribal members give expression to their needs and opinions. Lumbees have elected leaders to represent their interests in the county government and school boards and they have members who serve on state and federal panels. Table 13 details the names and positions of the present office holders. In addition, there are Lumbees who exert great influence in the county and state. Among this group are John Willie Oxendine (Saddletree), Willie Harris, Sr. (Pembroke), Herman Dial (Prospect), and J.W. Hunt (Fairmont) (Campisi 1985-87 fieldnotes). Another source of potent political influence in the tribe centers around the stores that can be found in every settlement. The storekeepers, particularly those who have been in business for many years, have an intimate knowledge of their clients and readily available contacts to the community's religious, civic, and elected leaders. Thus, there is a complex political matrix operating in the Lumbee tribe involving kinship, religious, and residency ties, a system that allows a wide ranging expression of views on any issue and a number of avenues of remedy, depending on the nature of the issue. Along with this, there are multiple ways to express group action and a variety of ways to demonstrate leadership.

Based upon the data presented in this part, as well as parts (a) and (b), the Lumbee tribe has demonstrated that it has

maintained continuous political influence or authority over its members since aboriginal times. The petitioner further asserts that, since there is unequivocal evidence that the ancestors of the present Lumbee tribe have occupied the same area continuously since the early part of the eighteenth century, that tribal leadership existed continuously throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Based on the evidence, the Lumbee Tribe submits that it has satisfied the requirement under 83.7(c).

83.7 (D) A COPY OF THE GROUP'S PRESENT GOVERNING DOCUMENT, OR IN THE ABSENCE OF A WRITTEN DOCUMENT, A STATEMENT DESCRIBING IN FULL THE MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA AND THE PROCEDURES THROUGH WHICH THE GROUP CURRENTLY GOVERNS ITS AFFAIRS AND ITS MEMBERS.

The petitioner is currently operating and governing its members under bylaws adopted on September 6, 1983. Two sets of by-laws are available for review, however: one dated January 31, 1968; the other, which are the current by-laws was adopted September 6, 1983. The tribal council of the Lumbees is identified, for administrative and legal purposes, under the name of Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc. Eligibility for election to the tribal council (LRDA Board of Directors) is limited to members of the Lumbee who are 18 years of age or older.

The petitioner was incorporated as a non-profit corporation under laws of the State of North Carolina on January 31, 1968. The Tribe was incorporated under the name of Regional Development Associates, Inc., but the name of the tribe was changed to Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc., by amendment to the Corporate charter dated December 28, 1970.

Eligibility for membership in the Lumbee tribe is determined with reference to the Lumbee Membership Criteria. Under these criteria, eligibility for membership is limited to persons who were identified as Indian on the source documents, or whom the Elders' Review committee knows to be Indian, and their direct descendants. The source documents identified are: 1900 and/or

1910 U.S. Special Census of Robeson County, North Carolina; 1900 and or 1910 U.S. Special Indian Census of Bladen County, North Carolina; 1900 and/or 1910 U.S. Special Indian Census of Richmond County, North Carolina; 1900 and/or 1910 U.S. Special Indian Census of Cumberland County, North Carolina; 1900 and or 1910 U.S. Special Indian Census of Scotland County, North Carolina; Indian County Taxable Records from 1890 to 1910 for Robeson County, North Carolina; 1900 and/or 1910 Special Indian Census of Marlboro County, South Carolina; Croatan School Attendance List of O.R. Sampson from 1891 to 1896; Croatan Petitioner's List of 1889; Croatan School Committee List of 1900; and Deep Branch Church Roll of Ladies 1882 and the Male Members as mentioned in the Minutes of the Deep Branch Church Between December 1882-May 23, 1896. For the purpose of computing blood quantum, all persons found on the above documents are declared full-bloods. There is also a provision that all persons who meet the above requirements and who are not enrolled in any other tribe are eligible for membership in the Lumbee tribe.

Conclusion

The Lumbee have provided a current governing document and enrollment criteria which describes its membership criteria and the procedures by which it governs its affairs and its members. The Lumbee meet Section 83.7(d) of the regulations.

LUMBEE TRIBAL MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA

SECTION I: Eligibility for Lumbee Tribal Membership

Tribal membership of the Lumbee shall consist of living lineal or natural descendants of all persons enumerated as Indian on the following documents;

(1) 1900 and/or 1910 Federal Census of Robeson County, North Carolina

(2) 1900 and/or 1910 Federal Census of Bladen County, North Carolina

(3) 1900 and/or 1910 Federal Census of Richmond County, North Carolina

(4) 1900 and/or 1910 Federal Census of Cumberland County, North Carolina

(5) 1900 and/or 1910 Federal Census of Scotland County, North Carolina

(6) 1900 Federal Census of Marion County, South Carolina

(7) 1910 Federal Census of Dillon County, South Carolina

(8) Robeson County, North Carolina Taxable Records from 1890 to 1910

(9) Croatan School Attendance list of O.R. Sampson from 1891 to 1896

(10) Croatan Petitioners List of 1889

(11) Croatan School Committee List of 1900

(12) Deep Branch Church Roll of Ladies 1882 and the Male Members as mentioned in the minutes of the Deep Branch Church between December 1882 - May 23, 1986; and

(13) Minutes of the Lumbee Elders Review Committee 1985 to 1987. The Lumbee Elders Review Committee is appointed by the LRDA Board of Directors with authority to pass/reject tribal membership applicants whose ancestors do not appear on documents listed in item 1 through 12, such ancestors being missed by Census Enumerators in 1900 and/or 1910 or misclassified as to Race.

SECTION II: Adoption

The Lumbee Regional Development Association Board of Directors shall have the power to pass resolutions or ordinances governing adoption until such time a Lumbee Tribal Council is elected by the General Council:

83.7 (E) A LIST OF ALL KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AND A COPY OF EACH AVAILABLE FORMER LIST OF MEMBERS BASED ON THE TRIBE'S OWN DEFINED CRITERIA. THE MEMBERSHIP MUST CONSIST OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED, USING EVIDENCE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SECRETARY DESCENDANCY FROM A TRIBE WHICH EXISTED HISTORICALLY OR FROM HISTORICAL TRIBES WHICH COMBINED AND FUNCTIONED AS A SINGLE AUTONOMOUS ENTITY.

See Volume III.

83.7 (F) THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE PETITIONING GROUP IS COMPOSED PRINCIPALLY OF PERSONS WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF ANY OTHER NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBE.

Under the Lumbee Tribal Enrollment criteria persons who are "enrolled as members of any recognized tribe" are not eligible for enrollment in the Lumbee tribe. Therefore, the Lumbee Tribe is composed principally of persons who are not members of any other North American Indian tribe.

Conclusion

The Lumbee meet Section 83.7(f) of the regulations.

83.7 (G) THE PETITIONER IS NOT, NOR ARE ITS MEMBERS, THE SUBJECT OF CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION WHICH HAS EXPRESSLY TERMINATED OR FORBIDDEN THE FEDERAL RELATIONSHIP.

The Lumbee do not appear on the current list of "Indian Tribes Terminated from Federal Supervision" prepared by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under any of the names by which it may have been known. The Lumbee have not been the subject of Congressional legislation which expressly has terminated or forbidden a previous Federal relationship.

In 1956, a bill regarding the Lumbee was passed by the U.S. Congress. This full context of the bill is set forth below.

> AN ACT Relating to the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina. "Public Law 570 Chapter 375"
> Whereas many Indians now living in Robeson and adjoining counties are descendants of that once large and prosperous tribe which occupied the lands along the Lumbee River at the time of the earliest white settlements in that section; and whereas at the time of their first contacts with the colonists these Indians were a well-established and distinctive people living in European-type houses in settled towns and communities, owning slaves and livestock, tilling the soil, and practicing many of the arts and crafts of European civilization; and whereas by reason of tribal legend, coupled with a distinctive appearance and manner of speech and the frequent recurrence among them of family names such as Oxendine, Locklear, Chavis, Drinkwater, Bullard, Lowery, Sampson and others also found on the roster of the earliest English settlements, these Indians may, with considerable show of reason, trace their origin to an admixture of colonial blood with certain coastal tribes of Indians, and whereas

these people are naturally and understandably proud of their heritage, and desirous of establishing their social status and preserving their racial history: Now therefore,

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, That the Indians now residing in Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, originally found by the first white settlers on the Lumbee River in Robeson County, and claiming joint descent from remnants of early American colonists and certain tribes of Indians originally inhabiting the coastal regions of North Carolina, shall, from and after ratification of this Act, be known and designated as Lumbee Indians of North Carolina and shall continue to enjoy all rights, priviliges, and immunities enjoyed by them as citizens of the State of North Carolina and of the United States as they enjoyed before enactment of this Act, and shall continue to be subject to all obligation and duties of such citizens under the laws of the State of North Carolina and the United States. Nothing in this act shall make such Indians eligible for any services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians, and none of the statutes of the United States which affect Indians because of their status as Indians shall be applicable to the Lumbee Indians.

Sec. 2. All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed.

Approved June 7, 1956.

Although this act was passed during a time when the official policy of the government was one of termination, there was nothing in the Act which has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

Conclusion

The Lumbee meet Section 83.7(g) of the regulations.

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May 13, 1909

May 24, 1909

October 6, 1910

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March 14, 1912

April 15, 1912

May 23, 1912

June 13, 1912

January 27, 1913

February 3, 1913

April 21, 1913

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August 13, 1914

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July 12, 1915

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October 31, 1950

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SECRETARY OF STATE
NORTH CAROLINA

ARTICLES

OF

INCORPORATION OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATES, INC.

INCORPORATED AS

A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION

We, the undersigned, natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more acting as incorporators for the purpose of creating a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of North Carolina as contained in Chapter 55A of the General Statutes of North Carolina entitled Non-profit Corporation Act and the several Amendments thereto; and to that end do hereby set forth:

ARTICLE I

Section 1. The name of the corporation is: Regional Development Associates, Inc., hereinafter referred to as the Corporation.

Section 2. The period of duration of the Corporation shall be perpetual.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The address of the initial registered office of the Corporation is Post Office Box 637, Pembroke, Robeson County, North Carolina, 28372, and the name of the initial registered agent at such address is Gerald M. Sider; and the Secretary of State of the State of North Carolina is authorized to serve service of process on said agent.

ARTICLE III

Regional Development Associates, Inc.,is a non-profit corporation for the purpose of analyzing and developing solutions to the health, education, general and economic welfare problems of rural and urban poor people.

Section 1. This Corporation will operate primarily in, but will not be limited to, North Carolina.

L KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE GROUP AND A COPY OF

LE FORMER LIST OF MEMBERS BASED ON THE

DEFINED CRITERIA. THE MEMBERSHIP MUST

NDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE ESTABLISHED, USING

EPTABLE TO THE SECRETARY DESCENDANCY FROM

EXISTED HISTORICALLY OR FROM HISTORICAL

COMBINED AND FUNCTIONED AS A SINGLE

NTITY.

II.