

The Question of Race in Robeson County, 1864-1885

Honors Project

In fulfillment of the Requirements for

The University Honors College

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

By

Hannah B. Harrell

History Department

April 15, 2005

Hannah B. Harrell

Hannah B. Harrell
Honors College Scholar

Date: 4-9-05

Julie Smith

Julie Smith, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History

Date: 4-12-05

Carolyn R. Thompson

Carolyn R. Thompson, Ph.D.
Director, University Honors College

Date: 5-03-05

ABSTRACT

THE QUESTION OF RACE IN ROBESON COUNTY, 1864-1885

By

Hannah B. Harrell
Bachelor of Arts in History
University of North Carolina at Pembroke
May, 2005

My senior project deals with the unique racial composition of Robeson County, North Carolina. Although the present racial composition of Robeson County is distinctly tri-racial, this has not always been the case. For many years Robeson County was seen as a bi-racial area with an additional marginal group of people that later became known as the Lumbees. The road to recognition as a distinct race of people has been a long one for the Lumbees and one that was not traveled without hardship and oppression. However, through it all the Lumbees have maintained their identity as a people. The time period, 1864 to 1885, is a pivotal time in the racial history of Robeson County and that is why I have decided to focus on this time period.

The main component of my project is to look at the process by which the Lumbees were finally recognized as Native Americans instead of being viewed as simply "persons of color" without their own distinct identity. This struggle is essential to understanding the Lumbee tribe and their culture. The Reconstruction period after the Civil War was integral in bringing about change in the lives of the Lumbees. Usually Reconstruction is only viewed by its effects on either the white population or the African

American population. However, I will shed light on its effects on other groups of people who were oppressed because of their skin color.

One of my main goals with this paper is to examine the ways in which the races were categorized during Reconstruction in the Southeastern United States. In a country that was so obsessed with a bi-polar racial viewpoint, the Lumbees presented a challenge to the traditional black and white landscape. Therefore I plan to research the various ways in which Lumbees were categorized by the local, state and federal governments. My research poses the question of where do Native Americans fit into the bi-racial mainstream? I want to define the status of each of the races and how did each race define itself. I also will examine the forms of discrimination that African Americans, Native Americans, and other persons of color experienced in Robeson County during Reconstruction. I will compare to see if they all experienced discrimination on an equal scale or if there were varying levels of oppression. I will also examine the racial hierarchy of Robeson County and determine where the Lumbees along with African Americans, were placed within that hierarchy.

One of the most important aspects of my project is to compare the situation in Robeson County during Reconstruction to the other events going on throughout the United States during the time period. Because the racial composition of Robeson County is so unique, I want to see if the racial climate of Robeson County is equivalent to other areas. This will include examinations of oppression against both Native Americans and African Americans in the United States during this time.

A final aspect of my project that is important is the relationship between both groups of oppressed peoples in a tri-racial society. I want to examine how the dominant,

elite white population served to pit poor whites, African Americans and Native Americans against one another so that they could remain in power. All of these people were oppressed but none wanted to be on the bottom of the racial hierarchy. The dominant white population knew that they were the minority and therefore avoided these marginalized peoples from banding together and gaining control. However, it served to create a great deal of racial tension and strife.

This topic is important because it helps to explain the persistence of racial tensions in Robeson County and how it is uniquely different from many other areas. It is also important because it examines the effects of Reconstruction on the Native American population. Native American history is often seen as an anomaly that should be studied by itself rather than be included in United States history. However, my project will serve to show that Native American history is distinct but it is essential to understanding the whole of United States history.

Although racial history is usually looked upon from a bi-polar perspective between Whites and African Americans, Native Americans have also experienced years of racial oppression and discrimination. Robeson County provides a wonderful microcosm of a tri-racial society and the conflicts that are unique to such a population. Being home to the Lumbee Indians, the largest tribe east of the Mississippi River, Robeson County has experienced unique racial tensions since it has been in existence. However, the most pivotal time for racial conflict and racial identity was from 1864 to 1885. The period of Reconstruction and the time immediately thereafter is essential to understanding not only the Lumbee tribe but also lingering racial problems in Robeson County today. The ramifications of this time period are still being felt.

In order to understand the importance of Reconstruction in Robeson County, one has to have some historical background of the early nineteenth century in the county. The Lumbees started off the beginning of the nineteenth century in relative tranquility. Legally, the original state constitution of North Carolina of 1776 made no mention of race. In order to vote, it only required that one be a free man and meet certain property qualifications.¹ This is not to say that racial discrimination did not exist but it was not legally defined. There were no laws on the books that made mention of denying one's rights based on their skin color. The idea of the natural rights of man was prevalent at the time and was a factor in the passing of laws in young America.² Therefore, the idea that color automatically denoted a certain social caste had not yet fully developed in America in the early nineteenth century.

¹ Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 40.

² Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 5.

The Lumbees were able to avoid a lot of confrontation that other Native Americans experienced during this time due to their isolated location along the swamps of the Lumber River. This allowed the Lumbees to enjoy a sense of solitude while other Native Americans of the Southeastern United States were dealing firsthand with aggression and greed from the floods of European settlers. Due to their location, they were able to enjoy a certain level of self-sufficiency with the river providing an abundance of fish and game as well as fertility in the surrounding lands.³

Another factor that contributed to the peace and security of the Lumbees was their culture. Culturally they were very similar to the white settlers that began to penetrate their natural boundaries. They spoke English, lived in European-style housing, and farmed in a European manner.⁴ They were also predominantly Christian. This gave the Lumbees an edge in comparison to other Southeastern tribes such as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, or Creek. Because they had an essentially European culture, this allowed more interaction between the races and they were not seen as a cultural threat to European settlers. Tribes such as the Cherokee had a very distinct culture with traditions that seemed very strange to the Europeans. The settlers did not understand the customs of these other tribes and immediately eyed them with suspicion and contempt causing tensions from the beginning. Lumbees, however did not have to deal with such cultural confusion.

³ Dial and Eliades, 27.

⁴ Ibid, 28.

Sadly, the tranquility for the Lumbees of the early nineteenth century did not last for long. The mentality and temperament of the United States began to change concerning the question of race. One reason for this was the rise of slavery in the South. Slavery had existed in the South since the settlement of North America, however it flourished during the nineteenth century. As slavery became a powerful force to be reckoned with in the South, white Southerners became increasingly more color conscious. One event that was pivotal was Nat Turner's slave rebellion in August of 1831. In Virginia, Nat Turner led a band of rebel slaves armed with knives, axes, and crude guns in a revolt against their white counterparts. In the end fifty-seven whites were killed. Those murdered included slaveholders as well as non-slaveholders, along with women and children. The most important factor of all of those killed was that they were all white. Another harrowing characteristic of Turner's rebellion was that it was planned well in advance and actually was met with some measure of success before it was eventually squashed.⁵ This single event helped to forever change the scheme of race relations in the South because it was the fruition of white Southerner's fears. For the first time they realized that slave rebellion in the South was not just a possibility, it was a probability. Because of the manner of the ones that were killed, Turner's rebellion sent the message that when slaves rebelled they would kill all white in their immediate path.⁶ Turner's rebellion helped to make white Southerners more suspicious of non-whites as well as more cautious in their interactions with non-whites.

⁵ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944), 567.

⁶ Williamson, 7.

Relations with Native Americans also began to take on a different tone in the United States. For a while some white Americans advocated intermarriage with Native Americans. They believed that through intermarriage with whites the traditional full-blooded Native Americans would eventually disappear and whites would be rid of the Indian problem forever. One in particular, Return Meigs, a United States agent among the Cherokees from 1801 to 1823, believed in this theory. He stated, "the shades of complexion will be obliterated and not a drop of human blood be lost", and "where the blood is mixed with the whites . . . there is an apparent leaning toward civilization, and this disposition is in proportion to its distance from the original stock."⁷ There was constant pressure to either merge with African Americans or assimilate into White culture.⁸ The government took advantage of the belief that Native Americans would eventually be extinct because they could not survive in the face of the advancing whites.⁹ Charles Darwin even wrote, "Wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal . . . The varieties of man seem to act on each other in the same way as different species of animals-the stronger always extirpating the weaker."¹⁰ However, whites began to realize that Native Americans were not leaving their traditional ways and were not becoming fully Europeanized. This issue came to a head under the administration of Andrew Jackson. In 1830, the United States Congress passed the Indian Removal Act which Jackson was eager to sign. This Act provided for the removal of all tribal Indians

⁷ Return Meigs, quoted in Scott L. Malcolmson, *One Drop of Blood: The American Misadventure of Race* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), 67.

⁸ Karen I. Blue, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 3.

⁹ Brewton Berry, *Almost White* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

east of the Mississippi. It required that they abandon their traditional tribal existence or move west. The idea was that Native Americans were to abandon communal life for individually owned farms, practice Christianity, and lose their traditional dress.¹¹ This resulted in the removal of the traditional eastern tribes of Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, and Chickasaw and their relocation west of the Mississippi.¹² Even with the vehement opposition of New Jersey Senator, Theodore Frelinghuysen, the Indian Removal Act was still enforced. Frelinghuysen stated, "These forests and rivers, these groves of your fathers, these firesides and hunting grounds are ours by the right of power and the force of numbers . . . I ask who is the injured and who is the aggressor? . . . Do the obligations of justice change with the color of the skin."¹³ Although Frelinghuysen's words ring true, they fell on deaf ears and the Indian Removal Act spelled the doom of the Southeastern tribes.

The combination of Nat Turner's rebellion and the Indian Removal Act led to a vote by North Carolinians to call a constitutional convention into session. The North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 was destined to address the issue of racial classification within the state. The Constitution of 1835 ended up reversing the initial idea of equality that the original North Carolina State Constitution proposed. The Constitution of 1835 took away basic civil rights from all non-whites, both free and enslaved. This constitution stated that non-whites could no longer vote, bear arms, testify

¹¹ J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds., *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 241.

¹² Dial and Eliades, 39.

¹³ Theodore Frelinghuysen, *Remarks in the House of Representatives*, quoted in Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 26.

against whites in court, serve on a jury, or run for office. It also made intermarriage between whites and non-whites illegal.¹⁴ The Constitutional Convention of 1835 was a response to the paranoia that resulted from Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. The white population knew that they were surrounded by an oppressed people. They were also aware, thanks to Nat Turner, that oppressed, discontent people have the power to cause an uprising in order to bring about social change. Therefore, out of their fears came the desire to maintain the grasp on their power and enforce a rigid caste system based on race. Whites knew that in order to provide another uprising they had to take away any power that might lie in the hands of all non-whites, not just slaves. One way to do this was to take away all of their basic civil rights and any form of legal recourse. Another important way to insure the submissiveness of the minority groups was to take away their right to bear arms. Without firearms, it was assumed that they would not be able to plan an uprising against the white population. Although this sentiment primarily dealt with African Americans throughout most of the United States, the Lumbees were also disenfranchised in Robeson County because they were not white and were therefore considered a threat.

Legal racial discrimination brought about tension between various minority groups. Native Americans and African Americans were no exception. One would think that oppressed groups of people would find a common bond and would try and join together to fight against their oppressors. However, this is not the case. This type of discrimination served to pit Native Americans and African Americans against one another. Although they were both underneath whites on the social ladder, neither group

¹⁴ Ibid, 40.

wanted to be on the bottom rung. Native Americans occupied a position slightly above African Americans and worked hard to distance themselves in order to maintain their position.

This was also represented by how non-whites would try to distance themselves from their people and possibly try to pass themselves off as white. Various "free persons of color" would attempt to "whiten" themselves through intermarriage with whites. Some would, if possible, relocate to different more liberal states where it was legal to marry a white and they could therefore lighten their ancestry.¹⁵ This was an effort to acquire more rights and a less oppressed lifestyle. Some would even attempt to change their records showing their non-white ancestry. These records included birth certificates as well as certificates of marriage.

Whites took advantage of the tensions between Native Americans and African Americans. They knew that they had to keep the two groups at odds with one another in order to maintain their power. If the two groups decided to join together it could mean trouble for the White establishment. The dominant White minority were frightened because they knew that they were surrounded by two exploited non-white majorities.¹⁶ Therefore, they were particularly adept at keeping the two races apart. Interaction between the two was frowned upon and even at times forbidden.¹⁷

Another result of the disenfranchisement of non-whites was the creation of illusory color lines and identifications. Lumbee is a modern name for the tribe and in the

¹⁵ Carole E. Hill and Patricia D. Beaver, eds., *Cultural Diversity in the U.S. South: Anthropological Contributions to a Region in Transition* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1998), 58.

¹⁶ Charles M. Hudson, ed., *Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 101.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 102

1830's they were simple classified as free persons of color, free persons of mixed blood, or mulattos.¹⁸ This served to blur the line between non-whites in Robeson County and how they were identified by the government. For example, on the List of Taxables in Robeson County in 1857, the Locklear families are listed as "colored".¹⁹ Locklear is a very prevalent modern Lumbee name but on this list they are repeatedly listed as being "colored". However, on the same list, popular Lumbee surnames such as Hunt and Bullard are all classified as "white". Yet another example is the numerous records of various Lumbees applying to the county court for permission to bear arms. This was required because this right was taken away from them due to the Constitution of 1835. This time Hunts and Locklears are listed as "free colored."²⁰ This proves that racial classification really did lie in the eye of the beholder. It seems as if whomever recorded these documents put down whatever they thought was appropriate for one's race. Before being disenfranchised in 1835, the Lumbees voted as "free persons of color."²¹ However, during the Civil War, White Robesonians complained that the "mulattoes" were protecting the Lowry band and giving them information that allowed them to elude their White pursuers.²² Apparently, the Indians were lumped together with free African Americans and mulattoes in the pre-Civil War period. In the period directly following the war they were probably viewed simply as African Americans. However, miscegenation did still occur in some cases which then brought with it a social 'taint' to

¹⁸ Dial and Eliades, 41.

¹⁹ Robeson County, Miscellaneous County Records, 1817-1939 [County Records, North Carolina State Archives].

²⁰ Robeson County, Records Concerning Slaves and Free Person of Color, 1814-1839 [North Carolina State Archives].

²¹ Karen I. Blue, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 73.

²² *Ibid*, 148.

the entire group.²³ However, the most important factor was whether one was white or non-white. When it came to legal rights, being classified as mulatto, mixed, or a free colored was irrelevant. This was during a time period when many Americans were proponents of a belief that "one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro."²⁴

The government did take legal steps in order to prevent miscegenation and the intermixing of the different races. Laws were passed in 1854 that forbade marriages between the Lumbee Indians and either African Americans or Whites. The purpose of this law was to prescribe Indian marriage within the tribe and to maintain the White bloodline so that it would not be tainted. This law did not entirely prevent miscegenation or even intermarriage. However, what is so important is the sentiment of the time that even required the passage of this law. This law also represents the recognition of a completely separate racial status for the Lumbees.²⁵

The Civil War was the boiling point for the discontent among the Native Americans and African Americans of Robeson County. There are several reasons why the Civil War is so important in bringing about action in Robeson County. The first was something called "tied-mule" incidents. These incidents were the result of a law passed where a free person of color who was convicted of an offense and could not pay the fine would be hired out to someone who would pay it in exchange for work.²⁶ What would happen was a white farmer would plant some of his property, such as a mule or a cow, on

²³ J.K. Dane and B. Eugene Griessman, "The Collective Identity of Marginal People: The North Carolina Experience," *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972): 699.

²⁴ Brewton Berry, "Myth of the Vanishing Indian," *Phylon* 21 (1960): 55.

²⁵ Dane and Griessman, 699.

²⁶ Glenn Ellen Starr, *The Lumbee Indians: An Annotated Bibliography, with Chronology and Index* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994), 162.

a Lumbee's property. He would then accuse the Lumbee of stealing his property and would call the authorities. Because Lumbees could not testify against whites due to the Constitution of 1835, the Lumbee would be forced to either give over some of his land or provide free labor for a certain period of time.²⁷

A second factor was oppression by the Home Guard. The Home Guard consisted of upper class white men who were left in order to maintain order on the homefront. These men were leaders within the community who wielded a great deal of influence and power throughout Robeson County. In actuality, the Home Guard consisted of wealthy men because the Conscription Act exempted large slaveholders and men wealthy enough to hire substitutes to go and fight for them.²⁸ The Home Guard actually resembled more of the old county militia because it consisted of a high number of officers and gentlemen that were able to afford substitutes. Rather than maintaining order the Home Guard actually served to spread terror throughout Robeson County. They did not concern themselves with such legal niceties as holding a proper trial or even arresting people if they had a warrant. They simply arrested as they chose, executed prisoners as they chose, and would loot anything that they wanted along the way.²⁹ The leader of the Home Guard, James Brantley Harris, was known for being especially cruel. Harris was a merchant and liquor dealer who was the most hated and feared by the Lumbees. Harris was abusive to the Lumbees and was known to have fathered numerous children with

²⁷ Dial and Eliades, 45.

²⁸ W. McKee Evans, *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerillas of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 11.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 12.

Lumbee women.³⁰ Harris was described as a “bluff, swaggering, cursing, red faced bully . . . He looked like a slave dealer, and was the terror of the poor wretches of Scuffletown, whom he used to flog, unroof and insult at will.”³¹

A final factor was the forced conscription of young, able-bodied Lumbee men to Fort Fisher. Fort Fisher was a confederate fort that was located in Wilmington, North Carolina. Conditions at Fort Fisher were horrible with rampant outbreaks of malaria and yellow fever. There was a scarcity of food as well as clothing for the inhabitants of the fort. The Home Guard would patrol Robeson County and when they found young Lumbee men that they felt would provide useful free labor, they would seize them, bind them, and immediately load them onto trains at Moss Neck and ship them down to Wilmington.³² Once there they would be used to build an elaborate system of forts. This was the greatest work of engineering that the Confederacy ever undertook. It was designed in order to protect Wilmington, which was considered to be the most important Confederate port in the upper South at that time.³³

The Lumbees of Robeson County were at a point of desperation concerning their plight. However, they were able to find help in the form of a young man named Henry Berry Lowry. Henry Berry was a young Lumbee man who decided, after the innocent deaths of his brother and father at the hands of the Home Guard, that he was going to fight back.³⁴ A band of men formed around him that not only included fellow Lumbees,

³⁰ Ibid, 39.

³¹ George Alfred Townsend, *The Swamp Outlaws: or, The North Carolina Bandits. Being a Complete History of the Modern Rob Roys and Robin Hoods* (New York: Robert M. DeWitt, 1872), 49.

³² Ibid, 3.

³³ Ibid, 4.

³⁴ Ibid, 67.

but also former slaves and even poor whites.³⁵ The group was composed of Henry Berry, his brothers Stephen and Thomas, his two brother-in-laws Andrew and Boss Strong, and his first cousins Calvin and Henderson Oxendine. A young, fourteen-year-old apprentice named John Dial also joined the gang. Two former slaves, George Applewhite and Eli Ewin joined up as well. Even a young white boy named Zachariah T. McLaughlin also decided to fight with Henry Berry.³⁶ Of course, McLaughlin was seen as "white trash" for mingling with people of color. He was described as "a native of Scotland, one of a low, sensual, heathenish type of white men who consorted with mulattoes and spent his low energies in seducing mulatto girls and women."³⁷ The tri-racial composition of the Lowry Gang is important to note because this represented the fears of the minority White elite. They wanted to keep the races separate in order to stay in power but they were banding together to fight against their common enemy. The racial composition of the Lowry gang also served as a counterpoint to themes of white tyranny in that it suggested that all whites were not bad and whites and Indians could work together.³⁸ The Lowry Gang, in an effort to help their community, would rob the big houses of the planters and would then distribute the food among the poor. This made them very popular among the community and definitely more well liked than the Home Guard. This contributed to their success in fighting back because the community would help to hide them from the authorities even though they were all declared outlaws in 1868.³⁹

³⁵ Ibid, 74-75.

³⁶ Ibid, 73-74.

³⁷ Townsend, 31.

³⁸ Blue, 155.

³⁹ Ibid, 76.

*"Frequent exhibitions of magnanimity distinguish his bloody course and he has learned to arrogate to himself a protectorate over the interests of the mulattoes, which they return by a sort of hero-worship. There is not, probably, a negro in Scuffletown who would betray him, and his prowess is a household word in every black family in sea-board Carolina."*⁴⁰

However, the fighting began to die down in Robeson County with the disappearance of Henry Berry in 1872. There are several stories concerning the nature of his disappearance but no one is certain of where he disappeared to or what became of him.⁴¹ The fighting officially came to an end in 1874 with the murder of the last member of the Lowry Gang, Steve Lowry.⁴² Regardless of the outcome, Henry Berry and the Lowry Gang were adept at using defensive violence as a tactic in effectively protecting themselves and enlisting the support of the Indian community in doing so.⁴³

*"The most fertile brain never conjured up such deeds of courage, cruelty and skillful military stratagem as have marked the career of these undaunted men, in whose veins the blood of the Indian and Negro is strangely commingled. Indeed, it seems as if the white Frankenstein by his crimes has raised a fearful monster that will not down at the bidding of his affrighted master."*⁴⁴

After the oppression of the Civil War, the Lumbees found themselves in the middle of Republican Reconstruction and were imbued with the hope of a new social order in the South. A Constitutional Convention in 1868 in North Carolina reversed the Constitution of 1835. It allowed everyone who met the legal requirements to vote and hold office regardless of race. It also allowed for a public school term of four months for

⁴⁰ Townsend, 26.

⁴¹ Ibid, 244.

⁴² Ibid, 240.

⁴³ Blue, 70.

⁴⁴ Townsend, 1.

all children regardless of race.⁴⁵ Although this Constitution sounds progressive and sounds like it would bring about sweeping social change, it was never enforced. The same white Southerners that were in power before the Civil War remained in power after the war and were determined to restore race relations to pre-war status. Reconstruction did not last long enough and was not thorough enough to breed a new mentality among southerners concerning race and race relations.⁴⁶ The mentality of southerners of the period, accustomed to the subordination of non-whites simply reacted to reconstruction with the fervent desire for the continued subordination of non-whites to whites. The southern conception of non-whites and their place in society was going to be reconstructed in the South no matter how hard northern Republicans tried to change the social system of the South. Nothing short of the destruction of the middle and upper-class whites could have changed the results of Reconstruction in the South.⁴⁷

With the end of Reconstruction in North Carolina in 1875, Conservative white elites immediately attempted to restore the racial framework that had existed before Reconstruction. They revised the Constitution of 1868 and again put in a racial clause discriminating against non-whites. They also established segregated schools. However, in Robeson County no schools for established for Lumbees. This presented a severe problem because many Indians refused to send their children to African American

⁴⁵ Dial and Eliades, 89.

⁴⁶ Williamson, 37.

⁴⁷ John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1937), 56.

schools and they were not allowed to attend the White schools.⁴⁸ This constitutes the beginning of the "Decade of Despair" for the Native Americans of Robeson County. Not only are they denied schools for their own people but they are also made blatantly aware of the fact that they are not recognized as a group of people. Being classified as non-white but not as Native American caused them to be oppressed but to also be caught in between Whites and African Americans.⁴⁹ For the next decade, the Lumbees continued to be devastated by their lack of tribal recognition from the government and their search for acknowledgement as a group of Native Americans.

*"These folk, whether or not they be Indians as they claim, are indeed America's outcastes. They, more than any other class, might properly be called "forgotten men." They live their lives in a racial limbo-not quite white, not quite Negro, and not quite Indian. They are ignored, derided, rejected, tolerated."*⁵⁰

However, help did come along in the form of Hamilton McMillan. McMillan was a white representative in the North Carolina General Assembly from Robeson County. He had researched the origins of the Natives of Robeson County and thereby named them Croatans believing that they were descendants of the Lost Colony. He sponsored and was successful at passing legislation that gave the Natives of Robeson County a legal name and their own public schools. Thanks to him, the Natives were legally known as the Croatan Indians and their children would finally have their own schools.⁵¹ McMillan also served to put a more positive spin on the culture of the Lumbees. He wrote in 1888,

⁴⁸ Blue, 62.

⁴⁹ Dial and Eliades, 89.

⁵⁰ Berry, "Myth of the Vanishing Indian", 56.

⁵¹ Ibid, 90.

“They are a proud race, boasting alike of their English and Indian blood, hospitable to strangers, and ever ready to do friendly offices for white people.”⁵²

The period of 1864-1885 brought about a great deal of change for the people of Robeson County. After years of oppression and discrimination as being grouped into a category with all non-whites, they were finally able to acquire the legal recognition that was due them. Instead of being seen as “mulattos” or “free persons of color”, the Lumbees were finally recognized as the Native American tribal community that they had always existed as. Although this time period did not end racial discrimination by any means being the beginnings of Jim Crow in the South, it did serve to provide a sense of unity and hope for the Natives of Robeson County. They now knew that the government recognized them for the people that they were and they could progress from that point on. It is amazing how much can change for one group of people in such a short period of time.

⁵² Lew Barton, *The Most Ironic Story in American History; An Authoritative, Documented History of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina* (Charlotte: Associated Printing Corporation, 1967), 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

- A. Robeson County, Miscellaneous County Records, 1817-1939 [County Records, North Carolina State Archives].

These records primarily concerned various Lumbees coming before the county officials in an attempt to gain passes to carry firearms. Due to the Constitution of 1835, all people of color were not allowed to carry firearms and many other their other rights were either restricted or eliminated entirely.

- B. Robeson County, Records Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, 1814-1839 [North Carolina State Archives].

These records primarily dealt with the ownership of slaves and the apprenticeship of other free persons of color. It also talks about the criminal activity of slaves and free persons of color.

- C. Townsend, George Alfred. *The Swamp Outlaws: or, The North Carolina Bandits. Being a Complete History of the Modern Rob Roys and Robin Hoods.* New York: Robert M. De Witt, 1872.

Re-issue of letters sent to the New York Herald in 1872 that is narrated by George Alfred Townsend.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

1. Barton, Lew. *The Most Ironic Story in American History: An Authoritative, Documented History of the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina.* Charlotte: Associated Printing Corporation, 1967.

This is a history of the Lumbee Indians. It covers their origins along with the struggles they have dealt with in the past and that they continue to deal with. These struggles might be with the government, the local population, and also with defining their identity.

2. Beaver, Patricia D., and Carole E. Hill, eds. *Cultural Diversity in the U.S. South: Anthropological Contributions to a Region in Transition.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.

This is an anthropological study of the South. It deals with Indian identity in the South along with the rehistoricizing of race, ethnicity, and class in the southeast of the United States.

3. Berry, Brewton. *Almost White*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963.

This is a book that looks at the issue of miscegenation in the United States. It examines the classifications of the different races.

4. Blue, Karen I. *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

This is an examination of the history of the Lumbee tribe. It looks at the various obstacles they have faced in tribal recognition and the reasons they have been able to maintain their tribal unity in the face of adversity.

5. Dial, It Adolph L. and David K. Eliades. *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975.

This is a standard history of the Lumbee Indian people. Covers the Lumbees through the colonial period, the Revolutionary War, the Lowrie war, the development of the Lumbee educational system and the modern Lumbee.

6. Dollard, John. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, 3rd ed. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957.

This is a book about the racial hierarchy in small towns throughout the South. It examines the social structure that is unspoken but enforced in small towns in the South and how it was created.

7. Evans, William McKee. *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971.

This is a book that looks at the importance of the Lowry Band and the Lowry War to the people of Robeson County. It shows how it was a struggle for racial recognition and ties the Lowry War into the larger framework of Reconstruction throughout the South.

8. Hudson, Charles M., ed. *Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South, Athens, Ga., 1970*. Athens: Southern Anthropological Society, 1971.

This is a collection of paper presented at a symposium in 1970 by the Southern Anthropological Society. One paper in particular is interesting because it examines the prejudice that Native Americans experienced as they tried to

assimilate themselves into the vastly growing white mainstream.

9. Kousser, J. Morgan and James M. McPherson, eds. *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

This is a collection of essays concerning the political and social implications Reconstruction in the United States South. It pays particular attention to the conflicts of race relation during this time.

10. Malcolmson, Scott L. *One Drop of Blood: the American Misadventure of Race*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001.

This book examines the rise of racial separatism, the racial imagination in the Old World, the essence of whiteness, segregation, and the Indian as a slave and as a slaveholder. It has an intriguing chapter on the unique racial history of the Native American.

11. Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1944.

Myrdal's book examined the life of the African American and the struggles that they have dealt with and continue to deal with.

12. Williamson, Joel. *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

This book is a comprehensive history of race relations in the United States. It covers everything from the founding of the nation up until the modern day.

B. ARTICLES IN SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

1. Berry, Brewton. "Myth of the Vanishing Indian." *Phylon* 21 (1960): 51-57.

A look at attempts at cultural assimilation with different Native American groups.

2. Dane, J.K. and B. Eugene Griessman. "The Collective Identity of Marginal Peoples: The North Carolina Experience." *American Anthropologist* 74 (1972): 694-704.

A look by anthropologists at the unique experiences of Native American groups residing in tri-racial isolates.

III. Internet Resources

IV. Indexes/Research Aids Consulted

- A. Starr, Glenn Ellen. *The Lumbee Indians: An Annotated Bibliography, with Chronology and Index*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994.

This is a massive collection of all documents concerning the Lumbee tribe and their history. It covers their history as well as the current problems they face.