

In Stephanie Sellers,
Regards,
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Dec. 2019

TUSCARORA ROOTS

AN HISTORICAL REPORT
REGARDING THE RELATION OF
THE HATTERAS TUSCARORA TRIBE
OF ROBESON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA,
TO THE ORIGINAL TUSCARORA INDIAN TRIBE

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Durham, N.C.

Spring, 1992

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INTRODUCTION

In south central North Carolina, several thousand Native Americans residing in the vicinity of Robeson County still profess descent from the Tuscarora Indians. In the county's large Indian population of more than 35,000 persons,¹ there are probably many others who share this connection in some way, but the links have been lost in the course of a long and complicated history which has given many current residents ties to a variety of traditional Indian populations. One specific group, however, describing themselves as the Hatteras Tuscaroras, numbers nearly one thousand persons and retains explicit evidence of direct connections to the historical Tuscarora Nation of the eighteenth century. This survey explores the history of that group.

Like many other Native American groups still located in the eastern United States, the Hatteras Tuscaroras are of mixed, but predominantly Indian, ancestry. The Indian forebears of current members of this group have lived in what is now North Carolina since long before the first arrival of Europeans, and some of these ancestors can be identified as living in the Robeson County area by the second half of the eighteenth century.

Like many other Indians in the vicinity of Robeson County, they are thought to possess an ancestral connection to the English settlers who lived at Roanoke Island briefly in the sixteenth century and to the coastal **Hatteras** Indians who absorbed some remnants of that so-called "lost colony" in the 1580s, before moving inland to avoid the pressures of English colonization. Aspects of this connection have been discussed locally for more than a century, and the widespread link seems plausible in some form. It can never be proven or disproven definitively, but it remains the source of the Hatteras name among Robesonians.

The term **Tuscarora** is more specific and more significant for those who use it. For their claim to recognition hinges upon more than the vague possible link of many North Carolina inhabitants to some Hatteras ancestry dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, an era of minimal documentation. Their claim rests, first and foremost, upon specific ties to the Tuscarora Indians, once "the most important tribe of North Carolina east of the mountains."² These links date from at least the eighteenth century, when the records of the colony and state of North Carolina begin to become more substantial.

In brief, these persons are the direct descendants of those Tuscaroras, loyal to the English colonies, who elected to remain in North Carolina when most of the tribe moved

north to New York during the eighteenth century. After the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713, most surviving Tuscaroras moved out of the southeast, in an exodus resembling that made several generations later by the majority of Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles. As is well known, most members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" departed from the southeast during the early nineteenth century, when they were "removed" to a designated Indian Territory west of the Mississippi in what later became Oklahoma. Similarly, more than a century earlier, most Tuscaroras had moved north to become the sixth nation of the Iroquois League.

With each of these groups, the institutional center of the traditional southern tribe moved out of the southeast, along with the majority of the people. Those who remained behind had only limited and ambiguous ties to their departed relatives,¹ and these links weakened further as generations passed. Of the six important southern tribes just mentioned, the Tuscaroras were the earliest to be split apart by the pressures of European intrusion, and they left behind the smallest contingent in the South. So it is not surprising that it has been hardest for the descendants of these southern Tuscaroras to retain and reassert their specific Indian tribal identity. It is important to stress at the outset that since these persons claim to be a significant remnant of the Tuscarora tribe, rather than the continuous center of that tribe. Therefore, they have not

felt able, or compelled, to try to maintain a continuous and documented institutionalized self-governance over the past 250 years. Nor would it be appropriate or logical to expect such a record from this largely forgotten remnant of an already recognized and well-known tribal group.

In sum, the term **Hatteras Tuscarora** applies to descendants of the Tuscarora tribe who remained in the South and eventually congregated for the most part in the vicinity of Robeson County, intermarrying occasionally with non-Indians and with members of other tribes who had withdrawn to that area, such as the Hatteras. To be a Hatteras Tuscarora, therefore, is to be a Southern Tuscarora, just as a descendant of those Cherokees who did not move west along the "Trail of Tears" is viewed today as an Eastern Cherokee. Given the long history and complex tri-racial make-up of the American South, it has not been simple for such remnant groups to establish and maintain their respective identities. The 600 Creek descendents living in the vicinity of Atmore, Alabama, for instance, did not incorporate as "The Creek Nation East of the Mississippi" until 1971.³

In Robeson County, North Carolina, there has been an additional complication. From the time of their first encounters with Robeson County Indian communities, the tendency for whites has been to treat local Native Americans

as a homogeneous group. In fact, beginning in the late nineteenth century, various groups have attempted to impose a single collective name on all or most of these Indian people. Inevitably, politics seems to have been as big a motivating factor in some of these endeavors as any quest for historical accuracy. Sometimes the names presented have been drawn from the colonial past of eastern North Carolina (Croatan and Hatteras); sometimes the names have invoked other southeastern Indian groups (Siouan, Cheraw, Cherokee); and sometimes the terms have been drawn from the local geography in the vicinity of the Lumber River (Robeson County Indians, Lumbee Indians).

The most recent of these terms, **Lumbee**, is a twentieth-century word, made popular and then given legislative sanction in the 1950s. It has often been used in recent literature, both popular and scholarly, to refer inclusively to most, if not all, of the Indian descendants of the Robeson County region. Most significantly, this term (derived from the Lumber River) has not only been used to designate current inhabitants; it has also been read back into the historical record in ways that imply, erroneously, that there existed a body of persons known to themselves and others as "Lumbees," living in the area in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

This long-term existence of a specified Lumbee name and Lumbee entity may have a persuasive modern-day appeal to it, but it has no historical validity based upon documentation. The term Lumbee is a modern creation. Nevertheless, it is now possible to read frequent observations, particularly in local and regional publications, such as the following.

"Throughout the 17th century the Lumbee enjoyed a solitude borne of isolation." During the War of 1812, "the Lumbee rallied when the call went out for volunteers." "The Lumbee watched the developments after 1835 with uneasiness...."⁴ Even the recent Encyclopedia of Southern Culture contains observations that absorb the long and complex story of Indians in Robeson County into a supposedly "Lumbee" history, with no indication that this modern term was entirely unknown to contemporaries.⁵

This sweeping usage of the recent term "Lumbee" to apply to past people and events has significant implications that must be underscored at the start. Persons living in Robeson County, whose actual Indian ancestry is primarily Tuscarora or Saponi or Hatteras, or a combination of such groups, may be designated Lumbee. Such persons may well accept this designation as convenient and meaningful. After all, it is more specific than the term "Indian" used by generations of census takers, and it is scarcely less artificial than the designation "Croatan" applied in the late nineteenth century by local leaders of the white

Democratic Party. Moreover, many people believe that the prospects for eventual federal recognition may be improved by drawing diverse people together under the one umbrella name -- Lumbee.

But none of this alters the fact that **known** descent from **actual** historical tribes remains a fact of life in the vicinity of Robeson County. Hence, some of those many persons who call themselves Lumbees today are in fact descended partially from the Tuscaroras, while others are descended from different historical groups in the region. At the same time, some of those persons who call themselves Tuscaroras, are closely related to, and involved with, those who call themselves Lumbees. The complexity of this interaction between Tuscarora descendants and self-designated groups will become more clear in the course of the general historical examination that follows.

Over the generations, the Tuscaroras of Robeson County have been repeatedly identified as "Indian" by federal and state officials, anthropologists, historians, and social scientists. For many decades the government was content to designate these people as "Indian" without systematic or thorough inquiry into their tribal affiliation. Several factors account for this. First of all, the North Carolina Tuscaroras, broken apart from the main body of their ancestral tribe long before the founding of the United



States, had no recognized treaty or fiduciary relationship with the U. S. government. In addition, like other Indians who survived European colonization and remained in the southeastern piedmont, many adopted Christianity and accepted aspects of European material culture long before anthropologists came on the scene. Moreover, occasional intermarriage with non-Indians from colonial times onward has complicated their heritage and made it less interesting or discernable to those studying North Carolina Indian History.

While there is evidence of requests for recognition from Robeson County Indians for over one hundred years, information about the groups making these requests is sketchy until the 1930s. From that decade onward, it is possible to trace activity on behalf of the families which now call themselves Hatteras Tuscarora. A government inquiry in the 1930s resulted in the enrollment of twenty-two Robeson County Indians under the Wheeler-Howard Act. The petitioners are closely related to these individuals. For example, the current Chairman of the Tribe, Mr. Vernon Locklear, has as his paternal grandmother Lovedy Brooks Locklear, a woman who was enrolled in 1937. (See Appendix Two: Pedigree Chart I: Vernon Locklear.)

The enrollment process of the 1930s, identifying only twenty-two Indians on the dubious basis of physical

characteristics, was inconsistent and incomplete in the extreme. These twenty-two persons, and others who were acknowledged as "probable" Native Americans, were never discussed in terms of specific historical designations, but were only referred to as "Indians". as The anomalies of the process meant that many people with the same degree of Indian parentage, in some cases full siblings, were excluded from enrollment. Although some individuals were enrolled, efforts to get group recognition and a tribal land base were unsuccessful.

In the 1970s, following changes in the government policy regarding the recognition of non-Treaty Indians, the Hatteras Tuscarora began another effort to gain federal recognition. The group had been organizing for some time previously, motivated by an interest in their history, concern over school desegregation, and an understandable desire to manage their affairs separately from the recently formed Lumbee people. There is evidence of the name Hatteras Tuscarora being used for organizational purposes from 1972. The name was chosen in an effort to dispense with vague and ahistoric labels in favor of an Indian name with which there were demonstrable historic links. The Hatteras Tuscarora see themselves as distinct from the Lumbee on the basis of residence, kin ties, and a more "traditional" position regarding their Indian heritage.

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What follows, briefly told, is the story of that Tuscarora heritage, stretching over more than ten generations of North Carolina history.

PART ONE: THE DISTANT TRAIL: HOW TUSCARORA INDIANS REACHED
ROBESON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, BEFORE 1800

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PART ONE,, SECTION I:

**NORTH CAROLINA'S TUSCARORA INDIANS FROM EARLY ORIGINS
THROUGH THE TUSCARORA WAR OF 1711-1713**

In traditional treatments of North Carolina history, the Tuscarora Indians are mentioned briefly in the early eighteenth century and then disappear from the story. The so-called Tuscarora War of 1711-1713 was a devastating event both for the English colonists and for the Tuscarora tribe of Eastern North Carolina. According to the usual summary, once the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscaroras were defeated in bitter fighting, most of the tribe withdrew to New York to join their distant relations in the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, virtually disappearing from the further narrative of North Carolina development.

Recent scholarship makes clear that this simple story is incomplete. The interesting history of the Tuscaroras in Carolina, stretching out long before and after 1711, is only gradually becoming more fully understood. "In the historiography of North Carolina," writes historian Thomas C. Parramore, "the tendency has been to represent the Tuscaroras as a significant influence on the colony only in this brief interval of confrontation. What is wanting in this view is a full appreciation of the formidable power and strategic dominance of the Tuscarora, the apparent

persistence of their historical aims over a period of more than a century, and the restrictions imposed by them on white settlement for over half a century prior to 1712."⁶

Scientists now believe that human occupation of the land between Southern Appalachia and the Atlantic coast began more than 10,000 years ago. Exactly when the Tuscaroras arrived in the Southeast remains somewhat uncertain. Archaeological evidence suggests that the cultural sequence of the Virginia and North Carolina Piedmont witnessed a major discontinuity shortly after 500 B.C.⁷ "The discontinuity," according to archaeologist Dean Snow, "probably represents the intrusion of Iroquoian and Siouan speakers into the southern drainages." No identifiable Tuscarora site from this early intrusion has yet been found. But no clear evidence of a subsequent interruption has been found either, and this undermines the argument (once quite common) for a later Tuscarora arrival. To Snow and others, recent findings "suggest 2,000 years of cultural stability in the area occupied by the historic Tuscarora and their Iroquoian relatives, the Meherrin and Nottaway of the upper Chowan drainage" prior to the time of European contact.⁸

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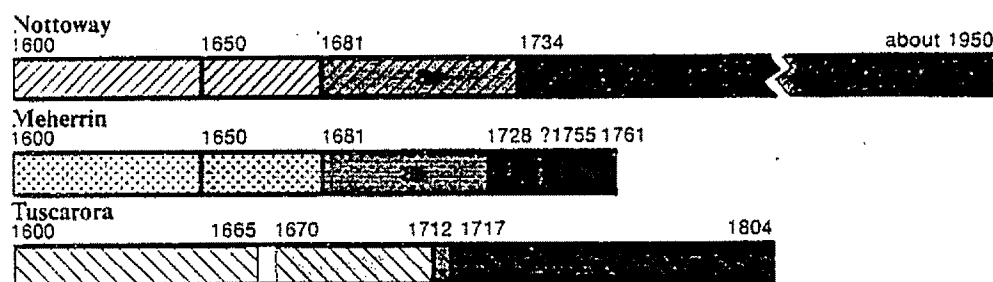
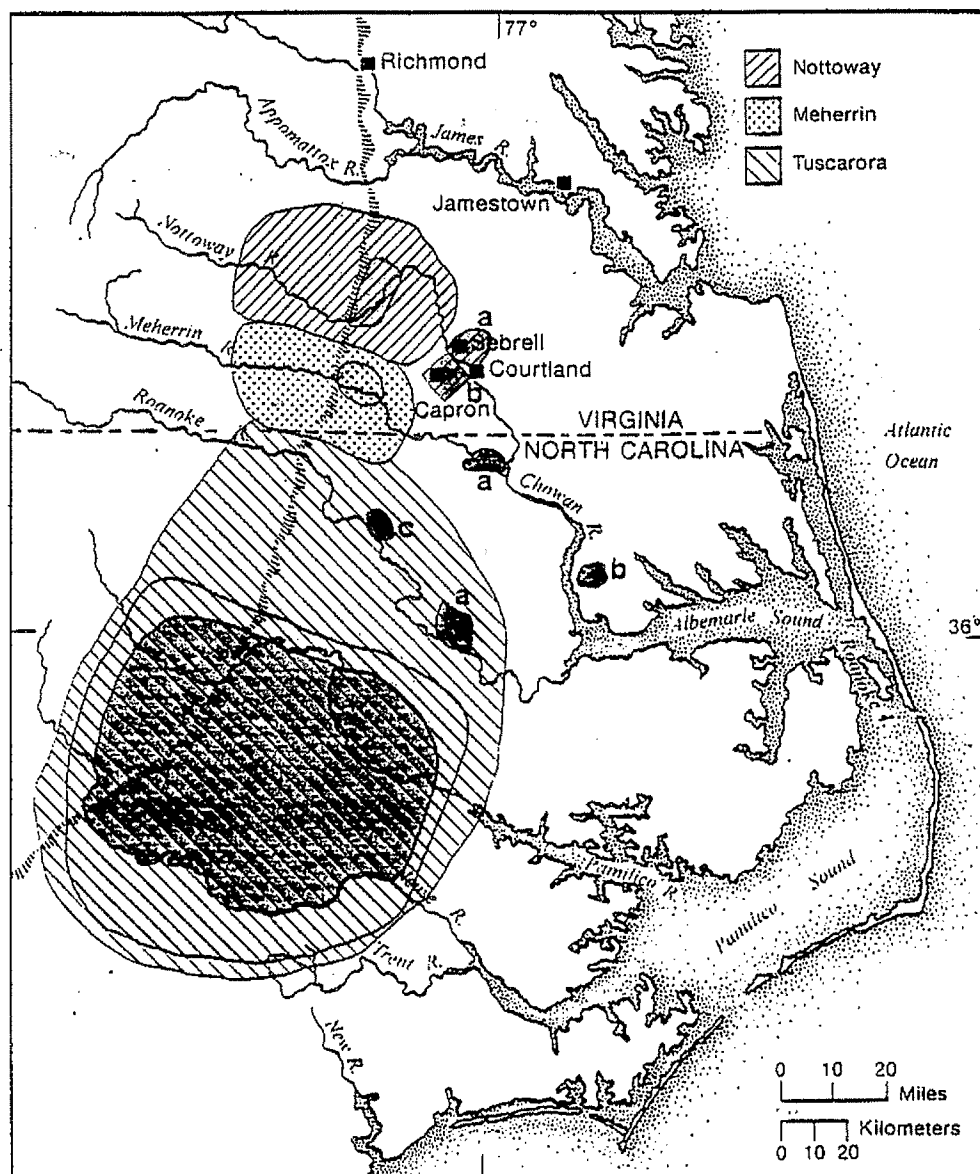


Fig. 1. Territory of the Tuscarora, Meherrin, and Nottoway in Va. and N.C.

SOURCE: Douglas W. Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," Handbook of North American Indians, volume 15, Northeast, Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 282.

The ancestors of the historic Tuscaroras, therefore, seem to have resided in eastern Carolina for nearly twenty centuries before the arrival of Europeans. They occupied the eastern edge of the Piedmont and much of the coastal plain from above the Roanoke River to below the Neuse River, on both sides of the fall line. (See Figure 1.) These people were experienced agriculturalists who lived in decentralized villages and raised large amounts of corn, as well as gourds, squash, and several varieties of beans. They took crayfish, trout and sturgeon from the freshwater streams, and they hunted rabbit, squirrel, turkey and other small game in the woods and swamps. In late fall each village moved to a separate hunting camp where the men concentrated on pursuing deer and bear.

While no one can be certain about the precise nature of early Tuscarora political organization, it appears that the towns were autonymous, each governed by a village chief. The towns shared a common language and ethnic identity, and they sometimes allied with one another or with non-Tuscaroras for reasons of protection or trade. From precolonial times, the Tuscaroras seem to have used their strategic location to serve as middlemen in extensive trading networks that linked the coastal tribes and inland groups. From the Piedmont foothills to the west they gathered bloodroot (Sanguinaria canadensis) for dye, and from the coast they obtained yaupon (Ilex vomitoria) used by

Southern Indians to create the ceremonial "black drink." Copper and salt, furs and baskets, wooden bowls and ladles were also items of trade among the widely-traveled Tuscarora.⁹

The arrival of Europeans in the 16th century upset the balance of power in the region. English settlers at Roanoke in the 1580s found that the Algonquian tribes of the coast referred to the rival Tuscarora as Mangoak ("Rattlesnakes"), claiming that their "name and multitude besides their valor is terrible to all the rest of the provinces." When relations with the English worsened in 1586, the chief of the Roanokes, Wingina, considered an alliance with the Chowanoke and Tuscarora to drive the English out. But when the English captured the Chowanoke Chief Menatonon, he accepted the prospect for an alliance with the English against the Tuscarora, apparently hoping to mount a joint expedition to the western sources of copper controlled by the Tuscarora. By the time the English withdrew from Roanoke the Tuscarora, according to Parramore, "were emerging as the principal arbiters of Indian affairs in the region."¹⁰

Colonists at Jamestown in the next generation found that their powerful neighbors, the Powhatans, were rivals with the Tuscaroras to the South. The English were told by some sources that the Tuscarora leader was "a greater

weroance" (chief) than Powhatan himself, and they heard persistent rumors that rich Spaniards had engaged in trade with the Tuscaroras. "Throughout much of their trading region, the Tuscarora were said to have refused to negotiate in any tongue but their own," Parramore writes, "wherefore towns far distant from them were required to have one or more interpreters available for the purpose." He adds that "the Tuscarora by 1650 were on the verge of a considerable widening of their influence and activity."¹¹

During the second half of the 17th century the Tuscaroras traded increasingly with the Virginians, providing them with furs and Indian slaves in exchange for European goods which they could carry further west and south. According to John R. Swanton, "They are mentioned by Edward Blande and his companions in 1650 under the name Tuscarood as very powerful and addicted to trade. July 14, 1670, John Lederer, on the return journey of his second expedition, visited the town in which the Tuscarora head chief had his favorite seat, which he calls 'Katearas, a place of great Indian trade and Commerce.'¹² In 1691, when William Byrd I tried to obtain the return of several runaway slaves from the Tuscaroras, he discovered they already had such an ample supply of English trade items that he would not be able to bargain with them cheaply.¹³

Beginning in the 1650s, migrants from Virginia seeking to start an English settlement on Albemarle Sound (in what is now northeastern North Carolina), found the Tuscarora eager for enhanced trade. They approached Francis Yearly's 1654 expedition with hopes of sending a chief's son home with the colonists in order to learn English.¹⁴ But when settlers encroached west of the Chowan River, too near to Tuscarora hunting grounds, the Indians forced them back to the east in 1665-66.¹⁵

The local Historical Commission in Edenton, North Carolina, still possesses an undated draft treaty, probably drawn up at this time, between "the inhabitants and people of North Carolina and all the nation and people of the Tuscarora indians," proclaiming "a firm perpetuall and inviolable pease to continue So long as Sun and moon Endure."¹⁶ By 1672 the English had agreed to terms with the Tuscarora, and over the next generation officials in Virginia and Albemarle were careful to prevent acts that might disrupt trade with these Indians or provoke retaliation from them, either alone or in alliance with the Five Nations of the Iroquois in New York. When a Tuscarora man was killed in Virginia in 1689, William Byrd I feared that the victim's kinsmen "might Sett the whole Country in flame" and draw in the Iroquois Nations as allies.¹⁷

In the 1680s, the Tuscarora still outnumbered the several thousand whites and few hundred blacks who had come to reside in the Albemarle area. In 1683 Lord Culpepper estimated the Tuscarora population to be between 6,000 and 8,000 persons. But increased contact with the English was causing a dramatic decline in Native American numbers throughout the Carolina Piedmont throughout the late 17th century. "The Small-Pox and Rum have made such a Destruction amongst them," John Lawson commented in 1709, "that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago." Smallpox had reached the Tuscarora by 1707, if not earlier, and Lawson estimated that the tribe had only 1,200 fighting men in 15 towns. He seems to have missed half a dozen northern towns, and he may have kept numbers low and exaggerated the Native American demise in an effort to encourage English migration to North Carolina. But there can be little doubt that Tuscarora numbers were declining sharply.¹⁸

According to Douglas W. Boyce, an expert on early Tuscarora history, "Relations were fragile between Tuscaroras and North Carolinians. The Tuscarora saw their land taken away without proper compensation and their people captured for slaves, cheated by traders, and plied with liquor."¹⁹ As competition between rival traders increased, the deputy governor of North Carolina complained to Virginia

Boyce

officials in 1704 that three Virginia traders had been "stirring up the Tuscoruros to cutt off the Inhabitants of Pamptico & Newse." Several years later Virginia authorities were protesting North Carolina policies and objecting that some frontier traders were violating colonial laws by continuing to "supply ammunition and other goods" to the Tuscaroras.²⁰ Often the frontiersmen, according to one contemporary, "cheated these Indians in trading, and would not allow them to hunt near their plantations, and under that pretense took away from them their game, arms and ammunition."²¹

By 1710, animosity was widespread. Parramore points out that "Pennsylvania Council Minutes for July, 1710, contain notice of an appeal by two Tuscarora chiefs alleging grievous wrongs done to their tribe in North Carolina and seeking asylum, evidently for the 'entire tribe,' in Pennsylvania." The founding of New Bern in that year may have been the final straw, disrupting the frontier balance and tipping eastern North Carolina into armed conflict. A group of Swiss and German immigrants, led by Baron Christoph von Graffenried, received a colonial grant of 17,500 acres, with an option for 100,000 more, on land purchased from the coastal Neusiok Indians. Since the Tuscaroras had expansionist designs of their own, they were not pleased to see Europeans moving rapidly into the Pamlico-Neuse region. Tuscarora militants in the southern towns, led by Chief

Hancock and joined by allies from neighboring tribes, launched an assault on the Pamlico frontier in September 1711.²²

Though the ensuing conflict remains known as the "Tuscarora War," it is important to note that the Tuscarora towns were divided -- not an uncommon phenomenon in Indian wars with Europeans, where separate villages often had different interests to protect and different leaders to support. Inhabitants of the northern Tuscarora towns, closest to the Roanoke River and most involved in trade with Virginia, refused to join in the conflict. Governor Spotswood of Virginia was quick to realize the strategic importance of preserving their neutrality, and he urged Virginia traders to remain in northern Tuscarora villages at considerable risk. According to Spotswood, "those Indians stand in some awe of this government, both from the imagination of our strength and from the consideration of the Straits they would be putt to by the Loss of our Trade."²³

Though the northern Tuscaroras tried to maintain a neutral position, colonial authorities withheld the trade upon which they had come to depend. When the leader of one town, Tom Blount (or Blunt), requested a resumption of trade in 1712, he was told that his people must demonstrate their loyalty by betraying the Tuscaroras who were fighting the

colonists. They were to deliver up the opposition leader, King Hancock, along with a quota of scalps. "The offer was accepted after consultation with the headmen of the other neutral towns," writes Lawrence Lee, "and King Hancock was delivered and executed." Early in 1713 an army of white Carolinians and Indian allies, commanded by Colonel Maurice Moore of South Carolina, routed Hancock's followers. Professor Lee narrates the immediate consequences of this decisive victory by Moore's forces:

A treaty of peace was finally concluded with King Blount and the upper Tuscarora. By the terms of this treaty, Blount was acknowledged chief of all the Tuscarora and of all other Indians south of the Pamlico River. All who accepted Blount's leadership became tributary Indians under the protection of the government of North Carolina and were assigned a reservation on the Pamlico River. All who rejected him were considered enemies of the government. These included only a small number of the hostile Tuscarora who remained in the colony and a few Coree and Matchapunga, or Mattamuskeet [who] ... proved to be an elusive enemy. Colonel Moore, with more than a hundred of his Indians, remained in North Carolina for some time in a futile effort to seize them. Blount and his Tuscarora finally came to the aid of the colonists and were more successful.... On February 11, 1715, a

treaty of peace was made with the surviving hostiles and they were assigned a reservation on Lake Mattamuskeet in Hyde County. This was the final act of the Tuscarora War.²⁴

An estimated 1,400 Tuscaroras died in the conflict, and nearly 1,000 more were sold into slavery.²⁵ According to Boyce, "about 1,500 Tuscaroras fled north to New York in 1713-1714," and this would remain the largest single contingent of Tuscaroras in future years. In addition, "As many as 1,000 to 1,500 Tuscaroras had fled to Virginia, some of these even accepting tributary status under that colony, but most returned to North Carolina." About 70 Tuscaroras were involved in supporting South Carolina in the Yamassee war against some of the Tuscaroras' traditional Indian rivals. Members of this contingent remained in the area of Port Royal, where they were joined by their wives and children.²⁶ In a few short years, therefore, the inhabitants of the traditional Tuscarora villages had been separated by violent events. They now lived as far apart as New York and South Carolina, but a small remnant remained in eastern North Carolina. It is their story that we must continue to follow.

PART ONE, SECTION II:

"SCATTERED AS THE WIND SCATTERS SMOKE":

TUSCARORA INDIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA

FROM 1713 TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"The collapse of the Tuscarora in 1713 removed the major obstacle to European expansion in North Carolina," explains historian Thomas Parramore. "The sixty-year period that whites spent clinging to the eastern sounds was then followed by a sixty-year dash to the Appalachians and beyond."²⁷ The Tuscaroras had indeed been a formidable "obstacle," but research shows that they did not simply "vanish" from North Carolina history after 1713, as writers have frequently implied. Instead, they struggled to maintain a coherent community on land that was coveted by white settlers. Their difficult options included emigration to join other Iroquoian peoples in the North, assimilating individually into the white society, joining with other remnant groups to offer armed resistance, or removing to a more remote area to live on land that was in less demand.

There is no doubt that some Tuscaroras remained in North Carolina during the generations following the defeat of 1713 at the hands of the English colonists. But this fact has remained obscure over the years, in large part because early professional scholars overlooked the

appropriate evidence. Later generations have often tended to accept those initial appraisals uncritically, and the myth of a total Tuscarora departure to the North, asserted by such pioneers as James Mooney, has been perpetuated in numerous texts.

Mooney was a self-trained anthropologist who joined the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution in 1885 at age 24. He served tirelessly and productively as a researcher there until his death in 1921. In 1894, the young scholar devoted one of his earliest studies to The Siouan Tribes of the East. In surveying the region's Indian population during the eighteenth century, Mooney rightly described the Tuscarora as "the most important tribe of North Carolina east of the mountains." But he then went on to summarize their supposed withdrawal in the following way. Because the author remains so respected and his appraisals have been so influential, it is appropriate to quote the entire passage on the Tuscaroras.

Before they rose against the whites in 1711 they were estimated at 1,200 warriors, or perhaps 5,000 souls, but their terrible losses in the ensuing war, amounting to 400 in one battle and 1,000 in another, completely broke their power. The remnant of the hostiles abandoned their country and fled to their kindred, the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, by whom they were

incorporated as a sixth nation. Those who had kept the peace were removed in 1717 to a reservation on the northern bank of Roanoke river in the present Bertie, county, North Carolina, so that the tribe was completely extirpated from its original territory. From here they gradually removed in small parties to join their kindred in the north, and in 1790 there remained only about 60 souls on their land in Bertie county, and these also finally withdrew a few years later.²⁸

Since the Tuscaroras were Iroquoian rather than Siouan in ancestry, they were not the focus of Mooney's attention in his 1894 study. Indeed, he may have found it convenient to remove them entirely from the stage of his ensuing story. It seems more likely, however, that Mooney was simply swayed by the correct -- but incomplete -- evidence of several contingents of Tuscaroras moving northward over the course of the eighteenth century. He knew that the Tuscaroras had first vacated their ancestral lands near the Neuse and then the reserve in Bertie County. What he did not know was that some of those who migrated moved a short distance to the south and west rather than a long distance to the north and east. What was for Mooney an understandable oversight in a book oriented towards other matters, became an accepted though mistaken bit of history in many subsequent studies of North Carolina Indians.²⁹ The actual story is more complex.

Consider a contemporary analogy familiar to all Americans. In the Vietnam War, different Vietnamese people proved difficult enemies and supportive allies in a conflict fought in their homeland. Afterwards, many who had expressed loyalty to the Americans found themselves caught between two worlds, distrusted by those in Vietnam who had taken a different side in the war and frequently treated with disrespect in the U.S. by a prejudiced culture that no longer needed them as allies and continued to identify them with former enemies. In a very different situation, the Tuscaroras, too were divided by a bitter war in their homeland, and those who sided with the Caucasians found themselves rejected among Tuscaroras but not always fully accepted among the whites for whom they had fought.

The comments of a Tuscarora leader in South Carolina are revealing. When the Yamassee War broke out on the South Carolina frontier in 1715, some Tuscaroras who remained in the South moved to Port Royal and joined the English cause, informed that if they took enemy captives during the war, these prisoners could be exchanged for Tuscaroras who had been captured in the previous war and were now being held as slaves in South Carolina. But once the war concluded, these hopeful allies found themselves poorly treated. In 1718 "Indian Foster, Chief of the Tuscaroras at Port Royall, came & complained" to South Carolina authorities that a white man

"had violently siezed and taken a Canoe from him" and had "threatened him that since the Government had no further service for him or his people that [it] was designed to knock some of y^m on the head and enslave the rest."³⁰

Similarly, Tuscaroras who settled briefly in Virginia found themselves being used callously by authorities as a frontier buffer.³¹ Moreover, the Tuscaroras who remained in North Carolina fared little better under the leadership of Tom Blount, the person who had been set up as their leader by Virginia and North Carolina authorities. Greatly reduced in numbers and strength, this Tuscarora contingent experienced harassment from former Indian enemies, such as the Catawbass, and from increasing numbers of white settlers, many of whom identified them with the hostile Tuscaroras of the recent war. Blount was obliged to ask authorities to set aside a separate reservation for them on the north side of the Roanoke River in what is now Bertie County. On June 5, 1717, colonial authorities responded positively to this request for a reservation by granting more than 41,000 acres of land, "for as much as the said Blount and his Indiyans have been very Servicable to this Government and still Continues so to be."³²

But the group's troubles did not end when they moved to the villages of Ooneroy and Resootskeh on the new reservation. In 1722 Reverend Newnam reported that the

Tuscaroras had about 300 fighting men, which suggests a total population of roughly 800 persons, and he reported that they were living "by themselves very quiet and peaceable."³³ In the following decade Governor George Burrington, in a letter to London, referred to "the Tuscarora Indians who were formerly very powerful." Burrington, who had just arrived in North Carolina, related that, "Most of them were destroyed and drove away in the late war, only this tribe under King Blunt made peace and have ever since lived in amity with us (consisting now of about 2 hundred fighting men)."³⁴ A map of North Carolina published in 1733 by Edward Mosely, a former Surveyor General of the colony, observed of the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora and Meherrin Indians that "in 1730 they were not computed at above 300 in all and their number is now much less."³⁵

The problems of dwindling population were compounded by other ills. According to a leading historian of the Tuscaroras, "As their reservation became surrounded by White settlements they bore the brunt of increasing prejudice. No longer able significantly to protect colonial settlements," states Douglas Boyce, "they were overcharged for or denied the use of ferries, restricted in hunting, and cheated in trade. Their land was encroached on by herders and squatters, and their timber lands illegally logged." Boyce continues his summary as follows:

Internally there were problems for the Tuscarora as well. Many individuals were dissatisfied with Tom Blount's leadership. Some of these left the reservation, but others stayed and created enough trouble so that Blount several times asked the North Carolina government for assistance in maintaining his position. Blount died between 1733 and 1739. He was succeeded by a series of popularly elected chiefs who seemed more responsive to the Tuscarora people. Reservation life was not a good one for the Tuscarora, as population and economic productivity continued to decline.³⁶

In 1748 the Assembly passed a protective act to prevent settler encroachment on the Tuscarora lands, but outside interest in the preserve continued to increase.³⁷ In the fall of 1752, for example, when Bishop August Spangenberg and a party of fellow Moravians toured North Carolina in search of suitable land for a settlement, they paid a visit to the Tuscarora reservation. Joseph Müller, one of those who accompanied Spangenberg, made the following entries in his diary:

Monday, Sept. 18. We left Edenton, all in good health....

that day we journeyed to Mr. Whitemeal, to whom we had

been directed, for he is the mouth of the Tuscaroras.
He received us kindly....

Tuesday, Sept. 19. Mr. Whitemeal went with us to the
Tuscaroras; we reached there about noon; they received
us pleasantly, and Br. Joseph spoke to them as he
desired. Meanwhile a little old mother prepared the
noon meal, and we had a kettle full of corn on the cob,
salt, and afterwards water-melons, they also made punch
for us to drink.³⁸

In his own diary of the journey, Bishop Spangenberg
reported his impressions of the land. "Some of it is very
rich, lies low, and is covered with tall, strong canes, is
frequently flooded by the river." He observed that "the
Indians plant it until the grass grows so freely that they
cannot till their corn, -- for they have neither plough nor
harrow, -- and then they clear and plant a new piece. About
half of the land is barren, but some has trees on it." The
leader of the Moravian Brethren noted candidly that those on
the reservation lived "in great poverty" and were "oppressed
by the whites."

Bishop Spangenberg commented that many of the
Tuscaroras had grown dissatisfied and had gone north to live
"on the Susquehanna." Others, said the Bishop, "are
scattered as the wind scatters smoke." To Spangenberg the

reservation Indians still seemed highly mobile -- "as uncertain as the fowls of the air" -- and he considered attempting to "secure from My Lord Granville a grant of this Tuscarora land, with the understanding that when the Indians leave this land of their own accord, or sell their improvements, or give their consent in consideration of a present, the Brethren shall take possession."³⁹

Clearly, the Tuscaroras were facing increased pressure. One response was to seek to earn acceptance by continuing to serve as loyal mercenary allies in the colonists' wars. Tuscaroras, along with the (Iroquoian) Nottaways and several other Indian groups were among those whom the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina sent to guard the western frontier in 1756.⁴⁰ Four years later, during the Cherokee War, Tuscarora warriors took part in a 1760 expedition against the Cherokees.⁴¹ But as Douglas Boyce points out, other responses were also available:

The North Carolina Tuscarora could leave the reservation to join a group such as the Notowega, a composite of dispersed Indians of various ethnic groups, who vengefully cooperated in raids against White settlers. Or they could remove to the 'pine barrens', as the sandy area extending from south of [present-day] Raleigh into South Carolina along the eastern edge of the piedmont was called. At this time in history, the area had low agricultural potential and

was, therefore, of little importance to the coastal-dwelling Whites.⁴²

"The final option for the North Carolina Tuscaroras," Boyce continues, "was migration to their Northern kinsmen. This escape valve had been kept open by the relatively frequent (considering the distance) interaction with the Six Nations via war parties from the north using the reservation as a southern base of operations."⁴³ In May 1766, a leader of the New York Tuscaroras named Diagawekee (or Tragawehe) and eight other delegates of the Six Nations came to North Carolina with the authorization of Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District. At Brunswick, Diagawekee informed Governor William Tryon that he planned to lead all the Tuscaroras "as are willing to quit this province, and march to join the Six Nations." John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District, had been informed of the plan, and in early August Diagawekee set out for New York with 155 Indians, leaving another 104 behind on the reservation.⁴⁴

In order to buy wagons and provisions for the trip, these Tuscaroras had to part with some of the reservation land. They "leased" valuable property in exchange for an advance of 1500 pounds from several whites, and on November 10, 1766, a bill was introduced before the colonial Assembly "to confirm a lease made by the Tuscarora Indians" for

roughly 8,000 acres.⁴⁵ The next day eleven of the Tuscarora men who had elected to remain on the reservation appeared before Governor Tryon to offer their annual late fall gift of deerskins and to seek further protection of their remaining lands and goods. "Poverty must excuse the smallness of our present," they told the governor, "for we are mostly old men, unable to hunt, our young men having gone to the Northward with the Northern Chief Tragaweha."

We are by education and custom, unable to acquire a livelihood otherwise than by hunting [the elders continued]; and as ill natured persons frequently take away and break our guns, and even ship us for pursuing game on their Land, we beg your Excellency to appoint Commissioners (as heretofore) to hear our complaints, and redress our grievances.... We entreat your Excellency to dispatch our business with all convenient speed; for those Indians whom we have left at home are old men and children, incapable of providing for themselves, if cold weather should come on.⁴⁶

By 1775 the number of Tuscaroras still on reservation land "seems to have dwindled to about eighty."⁴⁷ According to local historian F. Roy Johnson, "As the Revolutionary War opened and the colonists renounced British authority there ensued a grab for the Tuscarora lands, the protective act of 1748 being ignored. Between December 2, 1775, and July 7,

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1777, all but a small portion of the reservation of 1766 had been seized -- virtually stolen, with token payments noted on the records."⁴⁸

By the time of the American Revolution the Tuscaroras had indeed been "scattered as the wind scatters smoke," just as Bishop Spangenberg had observed. Most had moved north to New York, where the center of the Tuscarora Nation would remain in future times. Some who remained had been sold into slavery; others had died serving as auxiliaries in colonial wars; still others had accepted Christianity and passed over into white culture. Those who remained on the assigned reservation in Bertie County had been subjected to increasing pressure, and many eventually moved north. Others, however, sought out land that was less coveted by the advancing European settlers, and they ended up living among other remnant Indian groups and a few Scottish settlers near the South Carolina border in what was then Anson and Bladen Counties. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a final reckoning was attempted with regard to the Tuscaroras' reservation lands, a contingent of Tuscarora descendants had already become established in the region to be known as Robeson County. The following chapter will discuss this attempt of a small Tuscarora remnant to establish fresh roots in North Carolina soil for the third time in less than a century.

PART ONE, SECTION III

THE ARRIVAL OF TUSCARORA INDIANS IN ROBESON COUNTY

According to a Tribal Claims Memorandum prepared more than twenty years ago, "By 1777, most of the friendly Tuscaroras had left North Carolina and joined the tribe in New York."⁴⁹ Other Tuscarora individuals and families, however, had declined opportunities to migrate north. Instead, they gradually moved off the reservation in a different direction, emigrating southwest in stages to the sandhills near the border with South Carolina.⁵⁰ Some of them had already intermarried with whites, and those who had not certainly had every reason to downplay their Tuscarora ancestry in a region where the expanding white population continued to find that name antagonistic. So following the migration of these individuals and families is difficult, but it is possible to recover traces of this movement during the latter part of the eighteenth century that placed Tuscaroras in the area that would become Robeson County.

Every option available to North Carolina's Tuscarora Indians in the second half of the eighteenth century had its costs. Those who fought directly for the colony, or against it, risks their lives. Even those who accepted the prospect of moving north to join the Six Nations undertook considerable risk. When Diagawekee led a group of more than

150 northward in 1766, the exodus took five months. During the journey, the group was robbed of horses and equipment valued at 55 pounds when it passed near Paxton, Pennsylvania, the scene of severe anti-Indian violence among white settlers several years before.⁵¹

In an era when every option held large risks for North Carolina Indians, it is not surprising that many Native Americans seeking to remain in the region chose to remove themselves from the lands that were in greatest demand among Europeans. The earliest white settlements in Carolina had been near Albemarle Sound in the northeast, and the Roanoke River drained directly into that sound, so Tuscaroras located along the Roanoke in Bertie County found themselves on choice land situated directly in the line of English expansion. In response to increasing pressure, some moved slightly west into Northampton, Halifax, Edgecombe, and Granville Counties. But as smaller coastal tribes had discovered at an earlier date, short moves were not enough to avoid relentless colonial expansion. It was necessary not only to continue moving further west, but also to seek out poorer land, further removed from major rivers, that would be less coveted by white immigrants and land speculators.

The western portion of Bladen County -- formed into Robeson County in 1787 -- represented such a potential

shelter. Survivors from different Indian groups in the Carolinas found their way there during the eighteenth century, along with a few European immigrants and runaway slaves. By 1790, the first U.S. census listed the local population at 5,356.⁵² If acidic soil conditions, numerous undrained swamps, and a sandy infertile landscape made much of the area inhospitable to farming, these drawbacks proved assets for persons seeking to avoid the aggressive growth taking place in richer parts of the piedmont. In a recent academic book about the area's Native American residents, Karen I. Blu assesses "the dynamics of the situation in Robeson that fostered the settlement of people of Indian ancestry from other areas." Focusing on the evolution of the Lumbees (see Introduction above, pp. 5-7), she points out that the ancestors of Native Americans in the county apparently

had many different "tribal" affiliations, originally spoke several different Indian languages, and had one common goal -- to find refuge from White-introduced diseases, wars, and the settlers who were sweeping through North and South Carolina. The swamps of what was to be Robeson County combined with the county's uncertain colonial status attracted people of Indian descent with a promise of protection.

There were massive dislocations of Indian populations in areas to the north and south of Robeson County. In 1711, the Tuscarora War to the north could have driven some Indians to seek refuge in the southern swamps on the border between the Carolinas. Later, in the 1730s, a smallpox epidemic raged through South Carolina and may have sent those fleeing it northward into the swamps. That Robeson provided a refuge for people -- Indian, White, and Black -- who sought to avoid highly organized government is also likely.

The county is located in a section of North Carolina that was, between 1712 and 1776, involved in a border dispute between the colonies of North and South Carolina.... Many White colonists would have hesitated to settle there because of the confusion about which colony would be legally responsible for the region, and therefore the area would provide an ideal refuge for those seeking to avoid large all-White settlements. The remnant groups who found safety in Robeson County intermarried, amalgamating into a single people that included some non-Indian neighbors who chose to live like the Indians. That the inclusion of non-Indians occurred very early is likely.

When Whites first began to settle in the county in the 1700s, the Indians already spoke English. If many were

bilingual in an Indian language and English (as they might, well be if they had intermarried with Whites and/or formerly been in contact with them and subsequently fled), then English would have been a good lingua franca, equally acceptable or unacceptable for everyone.... This picture does not exclude the possibility that some ... were lost colonists and their friendly Indian neighbors, nor does it necessarily exclude possible Cherokee, Siouan, or Tuscarora ancestry. Perhaps all these contributed to the population....⁵³

The earliest Indian land grants in what is now Robeson County remain obscure. By the 1870s, whites were beginning to refer to the local Indians as Croatans.⁵⁴ In 1875, Mary C. Norment, tracing the history of the Lowrie family, noted that "The first grant to any of the Croatans is dated in 1732, being to Henry Berry and James Lowrie, two of the leading men, and covered large tracts in Robeson County."⁵⁵ Sixteen years later, historian Stephen B. Weeks noted that "The deeds for these grants are still extant and are in the possession of Hon. D. P. McEachin, of Robeson County, North Carolina."⁵⁶ Weeks may have been relying on his acquaintance, Hamilton McMillan, the local historian and politician, who had published Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony (1888) suggesting a link between Robeson County's Indians and the English Roanoke colony. In a letter of

August 2, 1914, McMillan claimed: "The oldest deed in Robeson County is one made by George II to Henry Berry and James Lowrie in 1732. This deed was lost through the carelessness of a surveyor. I have seen and handled the deed, which called for 100 acres of land in upper Robeson, now Hoke, at present owned by Hon. D. P. McEachern, of Red Springs."⁵⁷

Since these documents are not mentioned in the exhaustive works of Margaret Hofmann on the colonial deeds and land grants of the area, it must be assumed that they have been lost from the public record, though there is no reason to doubt their existence as described by these earlier observers. Another early observer reported similar evidence. John C. Gorman, who had been the Adjutant General of North Carolina (1871-1876) wrote a brief report in the 1890s that was donated to the North Carolina Archives in 1917. On the basis of having spent time in the locality, he reported unequivocally:

A century ago, a few members of the Tuscarora tribe of Indians lived upon the banks of the Roanoke river..., but the encroachments of the planters finally forced them to leave. They removed to Robeson county, and settled on the sandy patches of land situated amongst the slashes and swamps of the PeeDee and Lumber rivers, near the border line between the States of

North and South Carolina, in a section that already contained a number of ... families....

The land on which they lived is poor and sandy being simply dry spots of a few acres scattered about amongst hundreds of acres of low-lying tangled swamps of vines, briars and evergreens, subject to inundation in seasons of wet weather or during freshets in the rivers mentioned. They domiciled in log huts, cultivated the dry patches around their houses, and lived by riving shingles, tending turpentine "orchards", hunting and fishing, and by occasional jobs from planters in the vicinity. The land was originally State property, pre-empted by settlement, and of low valuation, owing to the poverty of the soil of the dry patches, and the cost of draining and ditching the swamps. Here this people lived, without schools or churches, in a sort of savage freedom, though subject to the laws of the State, until the breaking out of the late war.

A few fragments of documentary evidence do exist that help to illustrate this movement of Tuscaroras to the Robeson County area. The pattern is suggested on Map 4 in Appendix One, where the accompanying key suggests the migration, in stages, of families with the important local names of Locklear, Lowry, Chavis and Cumbo. Appendix Two

includes descendant charts for these eighteenth-century persons: (A) William Locklear, (B) Sarah Kearsey and James Lowry, (C) Ishmael Chavis, and (D) Cannon Cumbo. It is a testimony to the close and ongoing interrelationships of these early Tuscarora families that Leola Locklear, the current co-chair of the Hatteras Tuscaroras, appears as a direct descendant in all four of these charts.

In 1767 there is documentary evidence for the presence of James Lowry in Bladen County, for he acquired 100 acres on Drowning Creek near the present Pembroke, N. C., on October 21st, 1767, the first of his numerous land transactions in the area. According to Mary C. Norment, "James Lowrie, from whom all the Lowries of Robeson descended, lived in Franklin county before he emigrated to Robeson.... It was in Franklin county that James Lowrie married. His wife's maiden name was Sarah Kearsey (nicknamed Sally Kearsey) a half ... Tuscarora Indian woman, and from this couple all the Lowries in Robeson trace back their origin."⁵⁸ Among other founding families, Ishmael Chavis is mentioned in the Deed Book of Bladen County as early as 1771,⁵⁹ and William Locklear is listed as property owner in the county in 1784.⁶⁰

The name Cumbo first appears in colonial North Carolina records around the middle of the eighteenth century and is associated with a family living in the northeastern part of

the colony and living in relative proximity to the remnants of the Tuscarora Indians and the Saponi Indians (who had joined the Tuscaroras after a brief sojourn with the Catawbias further south). As references to this family recur in the records, they move gradually to the west and southwest over the next two generations, and the name is identified with Tuscarora descendants. Cannon Cumbo appears in Edgecombe County in 1753, and twenty years later his name is associated with land in Anson County.⁶¹ One of his granddaughters, Mary (Polly) Cumbo, married Allen Lowry, a grandson of James Lowry and Sarah (Sally) Kearsey. (See Appendix Two, Descendants Chart D: Cannon Cumbo.) This couple became the parents of Henry Berry Lowrie, the noted rebel of post-Civil War fame whose Tuscarora heritage was well known in the area. (See Part Two, Section VI below.) A further reference linking the Cumbo name to the Tuscaroras and to Robeson County in the late eighteenth century appears in The Lowrie History of Mrs. Norment (1875) where it is recalled that before 1792 one James Murphey lived on a farm near Shoe Heel (Maxton) with his wife, a Cumbo, who was part Tuscarora.⁶²

While some Tuscaroras had successfully established themselves in Robeson County by 1800, those few remaining on the much depleted reservation lands could no longer retain their hold. F. Roy Johnson narrates the final departure.

With their lands almost gone and their numbers constantly dwindling, it was only a matter of a few years before a weary band of Tuscaroras would forsake the land of their fathers and make the final exodus north. At this time the Tuscaroras to the north were seeking to establish themselves on a reservation near Niagara Falls in northwest New York. Funds were needed with which to purchase land to enlarge lots which had been obtained by two grants. Thus, in 1801 a New York Tuscarora delegation visited Governor Benjamin Williams in Raleigh and advised him that the Indians wished to dispose of their North Carolina lands. Improper credentials delayed the action until 1802 when Chief Sacarusa appeared with proper credentials. The Assembly, complying with the desires of the Indians, passed a bill which allowed the Tuscaroras to lease their undemised land and to extend old leases so that all would expire in 1916, at which time the land would revert to the state.⁶³

The 1802 law established a commission, named by the governor, and their report of the following year, in Johnson's words, "lay bare the great swindle of Tuscarora lands." It revealed that numerous leases taken up by whites since the 1760s actually contained three or four times as much acreage as had been specified. From an original holding of more than 40,000 acres, the few Tuscaroras who

remained on the reservation now controlled fewer than 3,000 acres. "This land was leased at public auction for \$20,966.06, and ... Jeremiah Slade of Martin County was given power of attorney and left to collect the rents." Money was spent to purchase horses and supplies, and the rest of the remaining funds were "reserved for purchase of lands in New York." In June 1803, Sacaruse led this last contingent of reservation Tuscaroras northward to New York.⁶⁴

From now on, the single identifiable nucleus of Tuscarora descendants remaining in the South would be those who had relocated to Robeson County, North Carolina. In the century ahead, this contingent would retain its Tuscarora identity against formidable odds. First of all, they were now thoroughly isolated from their relatives who had removed to New York. Secondly, they were living in a state where the name "Tuscarora" had threatening connotations for the white society and was therefore best not mentioned too often. In addition, they were now residing among, and occasionally intermarrying with, Indians from other southeastern tribes as well as non-Indians living in the area. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, they found themselves residing a land increasingly divided along lines of "race" so that issues of tribal affiliation became secondary to the legal and social battles over who was to be classified as "White" or "Indian" or "Negro". These

struggles would dominate local history for more than a century to come, as Native Americans residing in Robeson County found themselves swept up in the larger currents that were shaping the direction of North Carolina and the South.

PART TWO: ONE REGION, THREE RACES: A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE
IN ROBESON COUNTY, 1800 TO WORLD WAR I

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PART TWO, SECTION IV

THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY: DISCRIMINATION,
CIVIL WAR, AND THE STRUGGLE TO REMAIN FREE

The nineteenth century was a turbulent time for the Robeson County Indian communities, with national events disrupting peaceful development. The early nineteenth century was a period of deepening concern among whites about racial identity and racial purity. The co-operation of some Indian leaders with the British in the War of 1812 and clashes with other Indian groups over white encroachment on Indian lands contributed to the development of a removal policy and overt hostility towards Native Americans. Sectional controversy over the spread of slavery also had an impact. White southerners, faced with abolitionist sentiment from the North, increasingly employed arguments about white superiority to justify slavery. Racial identity was a burning question in the ante-bellum South. It became more and more difficult for free, non-white southerners to defend their rights.

The most visible impact of these changes on the Robeson County Indians was a series of discriminatory laws restricting their freedom to vote, participate in the legal process, carry arms and marry whomever they chose. North Carolina held a constitutional convention in 1835. The immediate business on hand was the question of the balance

of political power between the eastern and western counties of the state, but Nat Turner's recent slave revolt in Virginia had also given a renewed urgency to matters of race relations. The assembly, therefore, addressed the question of whether it was appropriate to allow free non-white North Carolinians to continue to vote in state elections. Although the state constitution of 1776 had required voters to be free, male and propertied, it had not made race a criterion for enfranchisement. With white southerners leaning more heavily on arguments of white superiority, the omission of a racial qualification had become embarrassing. Delegates to the convention worried that black voters might be easily corrupted, that North Carolina would become a haven for free blacks and that whites would be overrun.⁶⁵ Following the 1835 convention the voters of North Carolina ratified an amendment to the state constitution providing that

No free Negro, free mulattoe, or free person of mixed blood, descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation inclusive (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person) shall vote for members of the Senate or House of Commons.⁶⁶

The amendment made no mention of persons of Indian ancestry. In 1835 North Carolina was trying to solve its so-called "Indian problem" by encouraging relocation of tribal groups west of the Mississippi. (Late in the year,

white agents induced a minority of Cherokee leaders to sign the infamous treaty of New Echota, promising removal within two years in exchange for money and a large tract of land in the West.) But little attention was paid to Indian groups who did not fit white stereotypes of "tribal" Indians. Robeson County Indians, unlike the Cherokee and other "tribal" Indians in North Carolina, held their property under individual title and consequently had qualified to vote prior to 1835. Despite the fact that the 1835 amendment did not mention them, Indian voters lost their franchise.

Until the 1830s the Indians in Robeson County were able to maintain their status as non-white free persons, but as racial attitudes in the South became more rigid that status began to appear anomalous to whites.⁶⁷ Disfranchisement in 1835 was a prelude to a fifty-year struggle to resist reclassification as black. Not only was the vote removed in 1835; Robeson County Indians also lost the right to serve on juries, to give evidence against whites in court, and attend white schools.⁶⁸ In 1837, in State v. Oxendine, the North Carolina State Supreme Court upheld a law allowing the hiring out of free, non-whites who were unable to pay court fines. Charles Oxendine, a Robeson County Indian, had pleaded guilty to a charge of assaulting Alfred Lowery, another Robeson County Indian. When Oxendine could not pay the fine, the court ordered him hired out. Oxendine

appealed on the basis that hiring out was unconstitutional and inconsistent with his rights as a free man. Although Oxendine escaped hiring out on a technicality, the State Supreme Court upheld the law itself.⁶⁹ In other cases the threat to the liberty of the Indians was even more direct, as in 1862 when Jacob Goins had to petition the Robeson County Court to stop an attempt to sell him into slavery.⁷⁰

In 1840 the free non-white population of North Carolina lost the right to bear arms. Thereafter, any free non-white wishing to own or carry a gun was required to get a license. In 1853, in The State v. Noel Locklear, the North Carolina Supreme Court created a legal precedent for the enforcement of the law, upholding the conviction of Noel Locklear on the charge of unlawfully possessing and carrying firearms.⁷¹ The year after Locklear's case was heard, the North Carolina legislature restricted the freedom of Indians to marry across racial lines by providing that all marriages since January 8, 1839, and all future marriages between "a white person and a free Negro, or free person of color to the third generation, shall be void."⁷²

Behind the legal clashes lay a series of social and economic conflicts in which white control of the legal system could be used to bring pressure on non-whites without actual recourse to litigation. The Oxendine case was an effort to extract unpaid labor. White encroachment on

Indian land was also a problem. Right up to the 1970s Indians in Robeson County retained bitter memories of 'tied mule' pressure tactics. According to these traditions, white farmers forced Indians to give up land or provide free labor by allowing livestock to stray on to Indian land and then threatening to bring a case for the theft of the animals. Indians, believing there was little justice to be had in a white court, would be forced to agree to the demands so that charges would be dropped.⁷³

The outbreak of the Civil War exacerbated these tensions over Indian rights. Although some Indians were willing to serve in the Confederate army, there was considerable Indian opposition to Confederate efforts to draft Indians into labor camps alongside slaves.⁷⁴ Not only were conditions in the camps poor, the forced labor carried with it the implication that Indians were more like slaves than free citizens.

Passing regulations and enforcing them are two different things. Robeson County Indians routinely avoided conscription, taking advantage of the area's terrain to escape the work camps. The back country swamps also provided a refuge for Union soldiers who escaped from the prison camp in Florence, South Carolina. As the number of refugees increased they exceeded the ability of the community to provide food for them. Raids on neighboring

plantations for food and weapons became a feature of the resistance. Indian efforts to resist forced labor and the association between Indian resisters and Union prisoners of war led to violent confrontation between Confederate officials and the Robeson County Indian community. The result was a full-fledged guerilla war in Robeson County that left its mark on the subsequent history of the area. The conflict is important in the history of the Tuscarora of Robeson County because it provides evidence of contemporary recognition of their Tuscarora heritage, and it illustrates the way kin groups functioned to defend themselves.

As the end of the Civil War loomed on the horizon in the early months of 1865, the local situation deteriorated from one of armed stand-off to one of open defiance toward Confederate authority. The pivotal events in the transformation concerned the violent conflict between the Lowrie family and local officials. Allen Lowrie, the head of the family, was a Robeson County Indian descended from Sarah Kersey, a Tuscarora woman, and her husband James Lowrie.⁷⁵ He was married to Mary (Polly) Cumbo Lowrie, and their ten sons were known to have resisted conscription into Confederate labor gangs. Henry Berry Lowrie, the youngest of Allen Lowrie's sons, was suspected of the murder of James Barnes. (Barnes was a local slaveowner who had accused the Lowries of stealing from him and had helped to enforce conscription.) James Brantley Harris, the local recruiting

officer, was known to have killed Jarman Lowrie, a relative of Henry Berry Lowrie, and he was also suspected of the murder of Jarman's brothers, Allen and Wesley. When Harris was killed in January 1865, Henry Berry Lowrie was widely suspected. A Home Guard search of the property of Allen Lowrie on March 3, 1865 resulted in the discovery of goods and weapons that linked the Lowries to the guerillas. Allen Lowrie, his wife Mary Cumbo Lowrie, their two daughters and three of their sons were arrested, along with Anne Locklear, a visitor to the household. Instead of handing their prisoners over to a civilian authority, the Home Guard hastily convened a court. The male Lowries were tried, and Allen Lowrie and his son William were executed.

Sherman's troops entered Lumberton on the morning of March 9th. Union victory followed quickly, but the end of the Civil War did not end the conflict in Robeson County. Although Reconstruction challenged the power of Robeson's Conservative Democratic establishment, it did not displace it. The county court, the local militia and the sheriff's office continued to be dominated by a few wealthy white families.⁷⁶ In the aftermath of the war, the enduring power of this political and military establishment was reflected in the selective prosecution of people for wartime violence and in the continuing harassment of known Union supporters. In April 1865, the Confederate enrolling officer from Lumberton, Neatham Thompson, took a detachment of the Home

Guard to search for arms on the property of Sinclair Lowry, another of Allen and Mary Lowrie's sons. During the search Mary Lowrie was taken into the woods and placed in front of a mock firing squad to try to extract information from her.⁷⁷ Herbert Oxendine, another Robeson Indian, was killed in May after being arrested by the Home Guard.⁷⁸ In December 1865, officers of the newly constituted Police Guard arrested Henry Berry Lowrie and charged him with the murder of James Barnes.

Henry Berry escaped custody, however, and remained at large for nearly ten years despite repeated efforts to recapture him. Together with a small band of relatives and supporters, Lowrie continued the guerrilla war against the local white establishment.⁷⁹ Described as "five feet eight or nine inches high, heavy built, copper color, long bushy hair, Indian-like, black eyes," Lowrie was a skilled woodsman and a charismatic leader.⁸⁰ The center of Lowrie's operations was an area called Back Swamp, south of the Lumberton-Maxton railway track, running parallel with the Lumber River. This area had the advantages of notoriously difficult terrain and a high concentration of Indian residents.

Between 1864 and 1874 Lowrie and his men killed at least thirty-eight members of the Home Guard and its successor, the Police Guard. Prominent among the list of

straightforward self-assured manner, and in large part take steps to minimize contact with whites.¹⁵³

Sider also suggested that these "country Indians" had been more interested in establishing relations with the federal government than with the state legislature. He also linked the longhouse movement in the county during the 1940s with "country Indians."

Guy Johnson, the University of North Carolina sociologist, observed that there were certain Indian families and certain neighborhoods which had a reputation for "hell-raising". These groups were generally the poorest Indians. Then there was a group of "intermediate" Indians, of the "militant, agitating type." The final group, according to Johnson, "could pass for white almost anywhere. On the whole, they have a better economic status, a better education and higher prestige."¹⁵⁴

The extremely localized school facilities tended to perpetuate these local differences. Most Indian children went to a small school in their own community. In 1930, of the thirty-eight Indian schools in Robeson County, eighteen were one-teacher schools. Eight schools had two teachers. Only two schools had a staff of more than four.¹⁵⁵ Not only was education divided along community lines; it was also of uneven quality. Evalina Beckwith studied the Robeson County

the dead were men believed to have killed Indians in the past, including some of those implicated in the death of Allen Lowrie. Almost all the prominent white families of the area lost someone to Lowrie. Although the band never had more than twenty active members, it was able to evade capture due to the support of a sizable section of the Indian community. During this period Robeson County was also the scene of large numbers of armed robberies, some by Lowrie seeking restitution for Indians victimized by whites, others by "plain" Indians.⁸¹ During the Civil War large numbers of Robeson County Indians had been prosecuted for larceny, assault and battery and carrying weapons.⁸² The five years following the South's surrender saw a continuation of this pattern, with a dramatic increase in the number of Indians who failed to appear before the court to answer charges.⁸³

Lowrie's resistance was effective through the early 1870s when federal troops joined local posses in the search for Lowrie. The election of the Conservative Democrat and ex-Home Guard member, Roderick McMillan, as sheriff in 1870 intensified the hunt but the Lowries retained an upper hand. An earlier attempt at compromise during a period of Republican ascendancy in 1868 had failed. Lowrie, who had given himself up for trial, heard rumors that he was to be handed over to a Conservative lynch mob and escaped from jail in Lumberton. The subsequent shooting of Reuben King,

a wealthy white land-owner and ex-Sheriff believed to have extended arbitrarily the terms of servitude of Indian debtors, set off another round of searches and retaliatory raids.⁸⁴ By 1871 the Governor had declared a state of war in Robeson County and placed a bounty of twelve thousand dollars on Henry Berry's head. This period was one of generalized war against the Indian community, in an effort to cut Lowrie off from his supporters.⁸⁵

Peace negotiations in late 1871 and early 1872 failed. Henry Berry Lowrie disappeared in 1872, following the theft of several thousand dollars from a Lumberton business. There are a number of conflicting stories about Lowrie's disappearance. He is variously said to have escaped from the region, drowned, to have accidentally shot himself, or to have been killed by one of his brothers.⁸⁶ Henderson Oxendine had been captured in February 1871, and was executed a month later. Boss Strong was shot by a bounty hunter in March 1872; Tom Lowry in July of the same year. Andrew Strong and Steve Lowry evaded the bounty hunters until December 1872 and February 1874 respectively. George Applewhite was captured in 1875 in Georgia, and granted amnesty by a Republican judge.⁸⁷

Although "mulatto" remained the official description of the Robeson Indians until 1885, contemporary newspaper accounts repeatedly identify the Lowries as Indian, and many

specifically mention their Tuscarora heritage. In March 1872, Harper's Weekly ran an article on the "North Carolina Bandits" in which Henry Berry Lowrie is described as a chief, "dubiously said to be intermixed with Tuscarora Indian blood," and surpassed by his brother Steve in "Indian ferocity."⁸⁸ John Gorman, the North Carolinian Adjutant General who conducted the abortive peace talks with Henry Berry in 1871, left a reminiscence in which he describes Lowrie as being descended from Tuscaroras.⁸⁹ Mary Norment, who spent much of her life in Robeson County and lost her husband in the Lowrie war, repeatedly mentioned the Tuscarora connection in her history of the outlaw band.⁹⁰

The violence of the Civil War and immediate post-war period served to reinforce longstanding racial divisions in Robeson County. Although Henry Berry Lowrie's band included two ex-slaves and one white man it was known to be led by Indians, and it was perceived by whites as an Indian rebellion against white authority. The Indians of Robeson County were known Republican sympathizers, and this leaning entrenched their conflict with the local white political structure.⁹¹ The resistance movement also received sympathetic consideration from the Freedmen's Bureau, further dividing Indians from the white community. William Birnie, the local Freedmen's Bureau agent, had attempted to investigate the deaths of Allen and William Lowrie and had indicted several members of the Home Guard in connection

with their deaths.⁹² According to Ernest Hancock, who studied the tri-racial political structure of the county in the early 1930s, Indian resistance following the Civil war was deeply resented by local whites.

Following the breaking up of the "Lowrie Gang," the Indians of Robeson County retired to their swamps. They seldom ventured out of their community Instead of fearing them, the white people had come to hate the Indians with an enmity more bitter than was held for the ex-slaves following the Civil War. On the other hand, the Indians responded by keeping themselves well out of reach of the white people as much as possible.⁹³

The Lowrie resistance altered the pattern of white exploitation in Robeson County and encouraged the development of insulated Indian communities. Because whites perceived the Indians as dangerous, they attempted to exploit them at a distance through political and economic pressure rather than through face-to-face interactions.⁹⁴

Racial violence, discriminatory legislation and community separation were hallmarks of ante-bellum and post-bellum Robeson County, but the nature of the problem facing the Indian communities changed. Although color was important to racial definition prior to the war, the existence of slavery meant that there was an even more basic

set of categories defining identity -- the division between the free and the unfree. After 1865, with slavery abolished, the Robeson County Indian communities found themselves fighting battles with authorities over racial definitions in which color and race became more important. Although there is evidence that, prior to the Civil War and the Lowrie resistance, the civil authorities in Robeson County were aware of the existence of an Indian group in the area of Back Swamp, race or "Indianness" was not as central to the struggle between the Indian communities and white authority as the issue of freedom. After the war, as reconstruction gave way to Jim Crow, caste and status were defined much more in terms of race and color than previous condition of servitude.

In response to this hostile racist climate and the continued efforts by whites to define all people of color as a single, inferior caste, Robeson County Indians insisted on a separate racial category for themselves. The sustained resistance of the Robeson County Indians to classification as black is evidence of their strong sense of separate identity, their ability to mobilize against outside pressure and their continuing sense of community. Unlike many other Indians, for whom issues of self-definition involved defining themselves relative to other Indians -- as Sioux rather than Pawnee, Navaho rather than Hopi -- Robeson County Indians had first to struggle to be officially

differentiated from their black neighbors. Moreover, when tribal ancestry was recalled and invoked in an era of conflict, as when members of the Lowrie Band were mentioned as Tuscaroras, it only served to reinforce again the connotations of violence and opposition to white domination that had been widely associated with that name in North Carolina since colonial times. In the nineteenth century, therefore, as in the eighteenth century, there were logical reasons among Robeson County Indians for playing down and even suppressing any evidence of Tuscarora ancestry. Getting along in the post-reconstruction world would hinge upon accepting a series of identities that had more to do with the interests of white politicians than with the actual ancestry of local inhabitants.

PART TWO, SECTION V

FROM "CROATAN" TO "CHEROKEE":

THE SEARCH FOR INDIAN RECOGNITION, 1875-1915

The end of Reconstruction brought a shifting of political alignments in the South, in North Carolina, and in Robeson County. During the generation after 1875, the local struggle over racial definition centered on the issue of schooling. As part of the trade-off for obtaining a rudimentary separate school system of their own, Indians in Robeson County, including the descendants of Tuscaroras, were obliged to accept a new name from whites. Far from reconciling issues of Indian identity in the area, this new term, "Croatan," simply represented the first of half a dozen names that would be applied collectively in the century ahead.

Following the Civil War, North Carolina's conservative elite gave little support to the efforts to establish a public school system. One of the stumbling blocks was fear of racial mixing.⁹⁵ Although an informal system of racial separation operated, the 1868 North Carolina Constitution had not provided a legal means to enforce that separation. Until conservative Democrats were guaranteed that the schools would not be racially mixed, they attempted to block the development of public education. In 1875 the Democrats

succeeded in revising the state constitution, reinstating the power of county gentry over tax assessment, local government, schooling and the judicial system.⁹⁶ Included in the thirteen new amendments were provisions for separate schooling for blacks and whites. No provision was made for Indian schooling in Robeson County.⁹⁷

In the newly free and increasingly segregated South, schooling was a tool through which the white elites asserted their claim to legislate and define racial identity. Under the new laws, Indian children were shut out of white schools and in the process, defined as black. According to one local history:

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The ten years from 1875 to 1885 can aptly be called the "Decade of Despair" for the Indians of Robeson County. Not only were they denied schools of their own, but they were now made brutally aware of their lack of recognition as a people. They were unacceptable to the white community, and resisted being fitted into the mold of segregation which was then being shaped for the Negro. The Robeson Indians responded with determination to improve their situation. They set as their goals the development of educational facilities for their children.⁹⁸

Unwilling to accept an arbitrary definition of their racial status, many Indian families refused to send their children to the "colored" schools. The only other option was to fight for a third set of schools for Robeson County. As Karen Blu has commented, "for the Indians, education came to be entwined with their struggle for recognition as Indians at the very beginning and was to remain closely associated with efforts to establish a nationally recognized identity."⁹⁹

Inevitably, the struggle for recognition and educational facilities proved to be closely tied to party politics. Voting rights were restored in 1868, and until the 1880s the Indian districts of Back Swamp and Burnt Swamp returned Republican majorities.¹⁰⁰ Once Reconstruction had ended and Democratic political control was re-established over the county in the mid-1870s, the Indian alliance with the Republicans became a handicap. As in many other parts of the South, the major turning point came shortly before 1876. Robeson County proved to be a key district in the elections for the North Carolina constitutional convention held in that year. Electoral tampering on the part of the Democratic County Commissioners and the Democratic Sheriff resulted in the county sending Democratic delegates to the convention, and although the credentials of those delegates were repeatedly challenged, they were allowed to take their seats. This gave the Democrats a one vote majority in the

convention and allowed them to revise the state constitution along conservative lines. In the 1880s, as part of a consolidation of Democratic political control over the county, a new alliance was consolidated between the Democrats and the Robeson Indians.¹⁰¹

The price of this alliance for the Democrats was recognition of the Indians and creation of separate schools. The new strategy not only secured Indian votes for the Democrats, it also served to divide the Indians politically from the black community in Robeson County. In a county with one of the highest ratios of non-whites to whites in the state, this was no minor matter. Moreover, the non-white population of Robeson County was increasing at a much faster rate than the white population. In 1830 Robeson County had been 70% white. By 1870, the federal census recorded only 55% of the county's inhabitants as white.¹⁰²

As one local white later put it, the alliance between the Indians and the Democrats literally took the Indians out of the swamp and into the camp of the county's political bosses. After the Civil War, recalled journalist Ben Dixon MacNeill in 1926, "The Indians sulked in their swamps, and their children continued to grow in ignorance. But on election days the Indian came up to the polls and he voted." Moreover, MacNeill summarized, "He came and he voted the straight Republican ticket. Thoughtful Democratic leaders

were not slow to see the significance of events. The Indian voted against them, and no amount of persuasion could change him." Instead, the Indian continued to stress his educational concerns, and therein lay the makings of a pragmatic bargain. After all, "His only reply was a demand for separate recognition for his children in the schools. It took ten years," MacNeill concluded sardonically, "for the dominant interests in the county to see the light."¹⁰³

Memories of Henry Berry Lowrie, who had been known as a Tuscarora, were still fresh among the white elites who had fought against (and paid bounty hunters to track and destroy) the Lowrie Band. So a new and more positive identity was necessary for the local Indians if the alliance was to remain workable. The agent for this transformation was the Honorable Hamilton McMillan of Red Springs, a Democratic representative to the state legislature from Robeson County. This prominent local lawyer was also an amateur historian, and it was in that capacity that he became a key figure in reshaping the identity of local Indians. McMillan later claimed that his interest in the Indians dated from the end of the Civil War. It seems he was present at the inquest of three Lowrie men killed while being transported to work on the Confederate fortifications at Fort Fisher in Eastern North Carolina. Remarks made by an elderly Indian at the inquest aroused McMillan's interest but, "owing to the troubled state of the country at that

time, and for several years afterwards, no investigation could be made till the year 1875."¹⁰⁴ Starting his inquiry at just the time that white Democrats were shaping an alliance with local Indians, McMillan soon came to look upon the Robeson Indians as descendants of Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony and the Hatteras Indians.

Singlehandedly, and with fortuitous political timing, Representative McMillan too Representative McMillan took it popularize the Lost Colony theory for the origins of Robeson County Indians. In a brief pamphlet entitled The Lost Colony Found, McMillan explained that the local Indians were actually "Croatans," -- "a proud race, boasting alike of their English and Indian blood, hospitable to strangers and ever ready to do offices for white people."¹⁰⁵ His tale of the heroic migration of the Indians and the English settlers became the dominant white explanation for the background of the Robeson County Indians, The saga of rescue and intermarriage gained rapid acceptance and has held on tenaciously for more than a century, all but obliterating references to Tuscarora origins and the presence of other groups.

From McMillan's perspective, there is clear evidence that he was aware of the Tuscarora lineage but chose to downplay it. The militant associations of the Tuscarora name or its connection with Henry Berry Lowrie may

have prejudiced McMillan against it. After all, the term Croatan provided an image of welcoming and helping the earliest Europeans, while the name Tuscarora continued to imply hostility and opposition to white settlement.¹⁰⁶

McMillan may have preferred Croatan because of the more romantic facets of the Lost Colony story, one of many sagas of Anglo-American beginnings then gaining rapidly in popularity. In addition, the story gave a positive twist to the obvious evidence of early intermarriage with Europeans by the ancestors of the English-speaking Indians who currently lived in the area.¹⁰⁷

During the second week of February 1885, Jonathan Cameron of the Asheville Citizen interviewed McMillan about his "discovery" of the remnants of the Roanoke colony. As Cameron's report indicated, McMillan was superimposing the Croatan designation over a local tradition of Tuscarora descent.

Mr. McMillan says that these Croatan Indians of Robeson County claim to be the descendants of the white colony, by intermarriage with the whites. They say that their traditions say that the people we call the Croatan Indians (though they do not recognize that name as that of a tribe, but only a village, and that they were Tuscaroras), were friendly to the whites; and finding them destitute and despairing of ever receiving aid

from England, persuaded them to leave the Island, and go to the mainland.¹⁰⁸

McMillan stressed this presumed link to North Carolina's popular Elizabethan heritage, and his efforts had resulted, that same week, in getting a House Bill 206 ratified by the State Legislature. The bill, approved February 10, 1885, asserted that the Indians of Robeson County "and their descendants shall hereafter be designated and known as the Croatan Indians," and "that said Indians and their descendants shall have separate schools for their children, school committees of their own race and color and shall be allowed to select teachers of their own choice."¹⁰⁹

In return for this measure, a significant number of Indian voters switched their party allegiance. As Robeson historians David Eliades and Linda Oxendine express it: "Many Indians appreciated McMillan's action on their behalf and began to vote Democratic in the 1886 election."¹¹⁰ Indian cooperation in this arrangement is not difficult to explain. In the first place, there may well have been a kernel of truth behind the general proposition, in that some of the area's Indians had migrated from the coast shortly after European arrival, and some of these people, presumably Hatteras Indians, may well have intermarried with survivors of Raleigh's failed colony, since such incidents were not uncommon in the early era of colonization. McMillan himself, although he downplayed the Hatteras name, noted in

his pamphlet that when the 1885 Act was read aloud in Robeson County, "an intelligent Indian remarked that he had always heard they were called Hattoras (sic) Indians."¹¹¹

Even those many Indians with no explicit or remembered link to the Hatteras/Croatan/English encounter no doubt saw a positive appeal in such an inclusive story of origin linking their marginal population to a venerated mainstream tradition. Many must have sensed the attractiveness of such a respectable English lineage for a people who had been treated as a motley and mixed crew since first coming to official attention. Local leaders in the Indian community, knowing that they knew they could no longer count upon strong government protection or meaningful Republican support, were no doubt especially attentive to such a possible shift. Comparatively well-off in local terms, they found the strategy of cooperation with local white Democratic politicians to be particularly attractive. Some were substantial landholders with a great deal to lose if hostilities between Whites and Indians continued. According to the respected local Indian historian, Adolph Dial, fear of anti-Indian reprisals for the militant actions of the Henry Berry Lowrie Band was so strong that many of Lowrie's relatives either left the area or changed the spelling of their names to Lowry or Lowrey.¹¹²

Even those who resisted blanket renaming and the denial of diverse local Native American traditions could sense the prospect of practical benefits. Apparently most Robeson County Indians, pragmatic and desperate for change, were willing to defer to McMillan's clout as a legislator and his reputation as a historian. Considering the relative status and power of the participants, this important local figure was making them an offer too good to refuse. According to Cornelia McMillan, the legislator's daughter -- interviewed in 1937 by Guy Johnson, the University of North Carolina sociologist -- her father expected a high degree of deference from Indian leaders in return for his support. Miss McMillan recalled situations where Indian leaders were expected to come to McMillan, literally cap in hand, and were obliged to remain standing in his presence, even for long periods, without being invited into the house.¹¹³

Regardless of their feelings on the naming issue, most Indians sensed in the school provision the pending realization of their desires. In 1885, ten years after the defeat of progressive Republicanism, North Carolina was entering into the Jim Crow era. The priority of the moment was for resisting classification as black, with all the discrimination and prejudice that identity entailed, rather than arguing about tribal history. Recognition as Croatan was vastly preferable to official denial of Robeson County's

Indian legacy, and the promise of separate school facilities provided the vehicle, and the benefit, of such recognition.

If the major benefit of the rapprochement of 1885 was to be in the area of education, at first a lack of funds and a shortage of qualified Indians to teach delayed the establishment of new schools. But in 1887 an Act was passed providing for a normal school for Indians in Robeson County to provide teacher training.¹¹⁴ Five hundred dollars was granted for the establishment of the normal school, and with the aid of donations and volunteer labor, a building was erected and the school opened in the autumn of 1887.¹¹⁵ State funding for Indian education fell short of the requirements of the community. In 1890 the federal government was approached for help, but this request was refused on the grounds that the federal government did not have the resources to educate its Indian wards, let alone "the Croatans or any other civilized tribes."¹¹⁶ The years without schools left their mark in high rates of illiteracy. (In 1930 the illiteracy rate among Robeson Indians aged ten years or more was 30.7%. The comparable figure for blacks was 23.4% and for whites, 8%. Underfunding meant that the school year was appreciably shorter in Indian and black schools, pupil-teacher ratios higher and facilities poorer.¹¹⁷)

The new name did not protect Indians entirely from broad racial slurs aimed primarily at the state's downtrodden black community. Nor did legal commitments to separation, such as the 1887 law forbidding marriages between Indians and Blacks, serve to establish social distance between the two non-white groups.¹¹⁸ Indian school committees attempted to further distinguish Indians from Blacks by rigidly excluding the children of mixed Indian-Black marriages from Indian schools. Indian children were warned that to marry Black was to be ostracized from their community.¹¹⁹

Despite these efforts, by the early 1900s the Croatan label had become a term of derision applied to all Indian remnant populations in eastern North Carolina. Shortened to "Cro" and pronounced with a sneer, it served as a synonym for "mulatto" and as a reminder of "Jim Crow," a reference which Indians found extremely pointed and objectionable.¹²⁰ In 1911 the epithet had become so disliked that the North Carolina legislature was persuaded to change the official designation from "Croatan" to "Indians of Robeson County."¹²¹ This was not considered satisfactory either, and in 1913 further legislation was passed giving the group the name "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."¹²²

The available historical records do not give a clear picture of the background to these changes. Adolph Dial,

who identifies himself as Lumbee, suggests that the "Indians of Robeson County" label caused dissatisfaction because it was not specific enough.¹²³ There is some evidence of an effort to get the name Cherokee in the first place, with "Indians of Robeson County" being accepted as a temporary compromise. An Inspector of Indian Schools who visited Robeson County in 1912 was told that,

Two years ago... some of the leaders of the Croatans appeared before the state legislature with a bill authorizing or allowing them to become a part of the incorporated band of Eastern Cherokees. The Cherokees disclaiming any relation to these people and believing the bill a scheme on the part of the Croatans to obtain a pecuniary interest in their landed possession, very strongly opposed the measure and it failed to become law.¹²⁴

There is a clipping in the North Carolina collection at Chapel Hill, tentatively dated 1909, which supports this account.¹²⁵ It is known that the change was opposed by the Eastern band of Cherokee, and that the Robeson Indians were assisted by a brief from A. W. McLean, a lawyer who went on to become a Democratic State Senator and Governor of North Carolina. Certainly, the name change was the result of the continuing alliance between the Democratic Party and Robeson Indians.¹²⁶ As the North Carolina judge, Dorsey Battle, commented after it became necessary to provide separate hospital facilities for Robeson County Indians, the Indians

"were staunch friends, but implacable foes" and "a great deal had been done to make [them] grateful to the Democratic party."¹²⁷ The changes illustrate a continuing concern for an Indian identity and resistance to assimilation into either the black or the white community.

PART TWO, SECTION VI

**"TOWN" AND "SWAMP": THE COMPLEXITY OF ROBESON COUNTY
INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

Before long, white landowners found ways to reap the benefits of the new political alliance, for during the late nineteenth century a number of changes were taking place which profoundly affected the Robeson Indian communities. Following the Civil War many Indian farmers had become caught in the crop lien system, and as cotton and tobacco prices fluctuated, debt resulted in the loss of land. In the 1890s the Lumber River Company of South Carolina undertook extensive logging in Robeson County, which was now securely under white Democratic control. The cleared land was resold at \$5.00 an acre in blocks of one hundred acres or more. Blacks and Indians had trouble getting credit from banks to purchase the lots for cash as required, and their difficulties contributed to an increase in white landownership.

In the early twentieth century there were several major drainage projects undertaken in the county, including the area around Back Swamp. Farmers were assessed for the initial costs and had to pay for annual upkeep. Those who could not negotiate loans to pay their assessment or could not meet the loan repayments lost their land. There is no

estimate of the amount of land lost by Indian farmers during this period, but by 1930 only 21% of Indian farm families owned land.¹²⁸ Some Indians moved into Pembroke, others became sharecroppers, tenant farmers and farm laborers. Pembroke took over from Moss Neck and Pates as the major Indian town. The beginning of a division between "town" Indians and "swamp" Indians dates from this time.¹²⁹

Economic opportunities for Robeson Indians in the early twentieth century were limited.¹³⁰ The Indian schools provided some employment, but low pay meant that many teachers had to combine teaching with farming or preaching.¹³¹ Per capita income among Indians was considerably lower than among whites, but higher than among blacks. Compared with those categorized as Negroes, Indians were able to retain some independence from white merchants, due to a higher rate of land-owning. In contrast with the paucity of black businesses in the county, Pembroke was able to support a number of Indian stores, although the largest store and the bank remained in the hands of whites.¹³² Despite the economic constraints, most Robeson County Indians chose to remain in the county, or to return to the area after a period spent working elsewhere.¹³³

More than ever, Indian residents lived in separate communities, successfully preserving the distinctions between themselves and the other racial groups in the area.

This was partly a function of state law, which attempted to ensure that Indians, as non-whites, were separated from whites, and which allowed for some degree of separation, at least at the local level, between Indians and Negroes.¹³⁴ Like their black neighbors, the Indians were expected to obey "Jim Crow" laws and were subjected to ongoing white discrimination. But there were some attempts to extend the special provisions for Indians beyond the school system. In 1911 legislation was enacted providing separate sections for Robeson County Indians in state hospitals, jails and homes for the aged and infirm.¹³⁵ All the permanent police officers in the county remained white, but by the mid 1930s Indian officers in Pembroke were being called in and deputized "when necessary."¹³⁶ In 1931 an Indian welfare officer was appointed.¹³⁷

The continuing separation was also partly a matter of choice. There was a legacy of hostility to whites from the nineteenth century, and the hardships of sharecropping and other exploitative tenancy arrangements did nothing to lessen hostility. Sider remarks on the reiteration of atrocity stories about white treatment of Indian sharecroppers to define a "moral boundary" between Indians and whites, both to preserve Indian identity and mitigate against white stigmatization.¹³⁸ The exploits of the Lowrie band also gave Indians a starting point for a popular history of resistance to exploitation by whites. After

visiting Robeson County in the late thirties Guy Johnson, a professor of sociology and anthropology, noticed that Indians tended to avoid contacts with whites. He also remarked on the way in which the history of resistance to white authority had been kept alive among local Indians through the remembrance of Henry Berry Lowrie (whose last name was now being spelled Lowry):

They reject the picture of Lowry as a murderer and outlaw and substitute a picture of a warm-hearted, courageous man who chose to fight in order that his people might not be forever oppressed, and what is more striking, some of the Indians have refused to let Lowry die. They contend that he escaped from Robeson County in 1872 and that he still lives in some faraway secret place. Others admit that he was killed in 1872, but insist that he killed himself accidentally with his own gun.¹³⁹

Political conflict and denial of civil rights were more than just the stuff of history. In the 1890s a new rail connection resulted in the growth of the town of Pembroke in the heart of the Indian district. The Croatan Normal school moved there in 1909 and cemented the status of Pembroke as the county's "Indian town." The history of Pembroke municipal politics provides a classic example of tokenism and second-class citizenship in action. Under legislation passed in 1917, Pembroke was run by a mayor and four

commissioners appointed annually by the Governor of North Carolina. In practice the Governor seems to have relied on the suggestions of Dickson McLean and Horace Stacy, two Lumberton lawyers who acted as the town's attorneys. As the lawyers explained to Governor Gardner in 1929, "a majority of the voters of Pembroke belong to the Indian race and in order to see that the government of the town did not fall wholly into the hands of the Indians, the act in question was passed."¹⁴⁰ The practice continued until the 1930s, when protests led by a dissident Indian group associated with Roy Tyner, a prominent white Republican, eventually managed to force a more open nominating procedure for town government.¹⁴¹

The right of Indians to serve on juries was also abused. As the Clerk of the Lumberton court remarked in 1937, Indian names remained in the box from which juror names were selected, but they had been allowed to settle so far down in the box that they were never drawn.¹⁴² In 1937 Indian pressure on Lumberton finally resulted in the reinstatement of Indian jurors.¹⁴³ Blatant inequities also existed in tax assessment. In 1926 Myron Green's study of Robeson County government noted the large number of extra-legal tax rebates granted by the white county commissioners and commented upon the frequent failure of large landowners to pay tax.¹⁴⁴ In Green's judgement the recorder's courts, set up in 1915 with jurisdiction over town ordinances and

minor criminal offences, were functioning in a distinctly biased manner, giving power to a white elite while reflecting "no sense of justice, no knowledge of law."¹⁴⁵

Implicit in the compromise the Indian community had reached with the white elite was an understanding that being Indian in Robeson County would require proof that one was not black. Disassociation from blacks, therefore, became good politics. Visibly purging the Indian communities of people who intermarried with blacks served to gain white approval and to ensure the continued provision of separate facilities. As one journalist noted approvingly in 1926,

People of doubtful claim to Indian heritage are constantly moving into the territory where they live and claiming admission into their schools.... They are no more than the thing that the Indians have resented for these centuries they have lived in the swamps - people of mixed blood, an unholy amalgamation of white and black. Many times the spectacle is taken into the courts... it is a spectacle of a race not only purifying itself, but at the same time fending off further contact with doubtful blood.¹⁴⁶

Even Indian self-help was interpreted against this backdrop of white prejudice toward blacks. A special lift-out section of the Robesonian, intended to boost investment in the county, contrasted the industry and intelligence of local Indians with the supposed mannerisms of black tenant

farmers who were said to hold the South back with their "crude" agricultural methods.¹⁴⁷ After 1885 Indians who associated with blacks, or who married black, risked exclusion from the community.

Once separate schools were set up they became a formal arena of racial categorization. The act which set up the Croatan schools provided for school committees of the "same races and color," which oversaw enrollment.¹⁴⁸ The process of sorting out who was entitled to attend these schools was a source of ongoing bitterness. The school committee's authority received an early challenge from Nathan McMillan. McMillan was a freedman who had married an Indian woman. When his children were denied admission to an Indian school, he brought a suit against the school committee. The case went as far as the State Supreme Court. Despite the fact that Mrs. McMillan's brother sat on the school committee and the fact that Mr. McMillan claimed to be at least half-white, the children were held to be Negroes and assigned to a "colored" school.¹⁴⁹

The ongoing process of attempting to differentiate Indians from white and black residents was not the only complexity in Robeson County. There is also evidence of longstanding distinctions between Indian communities. Louise Maynor, who considers herself Lumbee, grew up in Robeson County in the 1920s and 1930s. She recalled an

insularity about Indian life, with separate communities marked by different schools, different churches and different dialects. Despite increased drainage and improved roads, geography continued to divide communities. She considered her community, St Anna, to be less "progressive" than those at Mt. Airy and Pembroke. Maynor described a set of divisions between Indian communities which she felt later became a basis for the emergence of a separate group continuing to call themselves Tuscarora.

Once you get past Red Banks then you're over and across the river, which means essentially the Tuscarora. And the church over there is White Hill, and then White Hill is also -- the boundary is there. There is another church there down south, Mt. Hebrew. Within that area, then kind of southwest, is the Tuscarora. But it's interesting how they keep their identity. Prospect especially has a bold sort of identity.... Now two things help here. One is that not many people have infiltrated their community.... And the other thing is that they have a little intonation, a slightly different intonation. And I've thought about that a lot. I've not really studied it, but I think it's a mixture of those early word patterns.¹⁵⁰

We also have accounts of these distinctions from a white perspective. They need to be treated carefully, because they sometimes reflect the nature of the writers'

prejudices as much as the situation being described. Nevertheless, some of these sources are valuable. Among the best accounts are those of Gerald Sider and Karen Blu, a husband-and-wife team who did research in Robeson County in the late sixties. They observed divisions between Indian communities which reflected longstanding separation and the development of distinct community identities. Sider observed that these differences had some basis in the geography of the region, but he noted that they were perpetuated "in attitudes of separation between Pembroke and all the rural communities and between rural communities."¹⁵¹ Thus minor geographic features such as swamps, drainage ditches and rivers marked major community divisions. Socializing occurred primarily within these local communities. Politics was organized at the level of the locale, and shifts in political strategy were marked by intense factional struggles.¹⁵² One of the major points of conflict was the extent to which political alliance with whites was considered to be beneficial.

"Out in the country" -- to use an Indian phrase -- the emphasis in the politics of Indian identity has been different. North and west of Pembroke is an area of unclear boundaries, settled mostly by Indians, which the younger town Indians jokingly call "the Reservation". People on "the Reservation" (along with many of the poorer town Indians) talk about "we Indians" or "we people" (meaning we Indians) in a

school systems in the 1940s. She described the Indians as clannish and politically fragmented, with the family as the major unit of organization. The schools tended to be community schools, and in Beckwith's opinion there were far too many of them for efficient management. While most Indian schools were equipped with only the bare essentials, some were a great deal better off than others. Fairmont, Prospect, Harper's Ferry schools were dilapidated and overcrowded, as were Hopewell, Oxendine, Barker Ten Mile and Piney Grove, which also lacked running water, indoor toilets, libraries, and lunchrooms. The best schools were at Deep Branch, Ashpole Center, Magnolia, Pembroke, Green Grove and Union Chapel.¹⁵⁶

Beckwith also observed political and social divisions between rural Indians and "more educated," or perhaps more assimilated, Indians. School consolidation was a primary concern of Beckwith's, but she recognized that divisions between Indian communities would provide an obstacle, as illustrated by efforts to combine the Piney Grove and Magnolia schools. The two communities were divided by a swamp lying between Lumberton and St Pauls, and the swamp marking a social division as well as a geographic boundary. Both communities opposed consolidation of the schools, and ill will between pupils persisted after the amalgamation took place.¹⁵⁷

Paradoxically, for several generations after 1885 the Indians of Robeson County found themselves both drawn together and pushed apart. They were consolidated into a single community through the imposition of a succession of collective names and the creation of a separate school system. But at the same time, the provision for separate educational facilities contributed to the emergence of a small Indian middle class and to the development of Pembroke as an "Indian" town, set apart somewhat from white towns on the one hand and rural Indians on the other. Religious, educational, and political differences, as well as somewhat separate kin networks, divided different communities of Robeson County Indians from one another. Recent ancestors of the present-day Hatteras Tuscaroras generally found themselves among the more rural contingent, less closely tied with the educational and religious leadership which centered around the town of Pembroke and which had greater interaction with Robeson's white community. As we shall see in the following chapters, the problems of obtaining federal recognition were to be vastly increased by the existence of separatism and factionalism among local Indians.

PART THREE: THE EMERGENCE OF NEW AND OLD INDIAN IDENTITIES
IN ROBESON COUNTY FROM 1915 TO 1992

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PART THREE, SECTION VII

THE QUEST FOR RECOGNITION
AND THE COMING OF THE NEW DEAL, 1915-1935

During the early twentieth century the Robeson County Indian communities repeatedly attempted to obtain federal recognition. Perhaps regrettably, involvement in this process seems to have put a premium on the suppression of actual historical differences between Indian groups. Authorities often proved most concerned with general questions of "Indianness" and with such broad matters as the advisability of federal aid to "civilized" Indians living in the East and long accustomed to the English language and European ways. During these years, the name applied to Indians of Robeson County continued to change, but there was little direct challenge to the appealing idea, put forward in the late nineteenth century by McMillan, that these persons shared an origin with Raleigh's Lost Colony. This idea mattered too much to white sensibilities to be easily questioned or amended. As a result, little attention was given to making room for other historical origins for which there was greater written evidence and oral tradition.

Indeed, in its dealings with Robeson County Indians, the U. S. government showed little concern for the diverse group's precise tribal origins. Census-takers simply listed

people as Indian, without distinguishing between groups. As unrecognized Indians, the Robeson County communities were by definition people for whom the federal government recognized no treaties or fiduciary relationships. Similarly, the North Carolina government felt no need to sponsor the keeping of tribal rolls. Present members of the Hatteras Tuscarora group recall that the community passed down from generation to generation some specific information, but this information infrequently surfaces in the official record.¹⁵⁸

In short, the procedure developed in the nineteenth century continued on after 1900 as well: it remained sufficient to class these Robesonians as non-white, and then as Indian, without further differentiation. When a more precise definition was needed, people were generally identified as Robeson County Indians or as Croatan, based on McMillan's theories. For example, the 1914 investigation by O. M. McPherson into the conditions and tribal rights of the Robeson County Indians relied on McMillan's version of history.¹⁵⁹ McPherson, following McMillan, did not attempt to distinguish between Indian groups in Robeson County, and dismissed the evidence of other Indian migrations into the area.¹⁶⁰ (As we have seen, efforts were already underway at this time on the state level, however, to impose an alternative "Cherokee" designation on local Indian groups.)

Meanwhile, Robeson County Indians were becoming increasingly adept at political lobbying. Various groups had been appealing for educational assistance and federal recognition since 1888.¹⁶¹ In the 1920s and 1930s, a familiar pattern played itself out. Robeson County Indians needed to forge alliances with influential white politicians in order to achieve their goals, but once in place, those alliances also made the Indian movement dependent on white approval of the way goals were framed. For their part, white politicians consistently proved to be intolerant of disagreement between different Indian groups. From the point of view of these politicians, the aim of the exercise was to mobilize political support for their campaigns, not to understand the nuances of Indian politics. In effect, the realities of the political situation created a need to define identity in terms acceptable to politically influential whites and drastically restricted the latitude in which the various factions within the Indian community could retain or define their identities.

Moreover, as time passed, the ability of the Robeson County Indians to adapt to encroaching settlement and become farmers and share-croppers came to be used against them. On the local level, the willingness to participate in European-style education, politics and religion had ensured the groups' survival and allowed them to differentiate themselves from the supposedly more "backward" black

population. On a national level, where definitions of Indianness included vague ideas about primitivism and the survival of traditional culture traits, the "progress" which had served Robeson Indians in local politics became a liability.

During 1924, Congressman L. R. Varser introduced a bill into Congress which would have given recognition to the "Cherokee Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina," thereby bringing the Indians' federal standing into line with their designation at the state level. Although the Secretary of the Interior supported the bill, Charles Burke, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs opposed it, because Robeson County's Indian population was self-supporting and "no longer lived in a tribal state."¹⁶² Burke's objections were consistent with the "progressive" philosophy of the period which saw citizenship and assimilation as the end points of Indian policy.¹⁶³ On Burke's advice, the Secretary of the Interior withdrew his support and the bill lapsed.

Regional differences between whites may also have played a part. During most of the twentieth century there was a tendency for outsiders to attempt to impose a single model of Indianness on all Indians. For many whites, Indianness was defined by images of the American west. Where Robeson County Indians came up against whites whose

primary reference point regarding Indians was Hollywood images of the western states, they had a particularly difficult time establishing themselves as legitimately Native American. Indian Commissioner Charles Burke was from South Dakota, which may have accounted for some of his hostility. His attitude contrasts sharply with that of John Collier, a Southerner. In 1932 Collier met with a group of Robeson County Indians while he was Executive Secretary of the Indian Rights Association. While Collier was more committed to the preservation of "traditional" Indian cultures, he was also open-minded about the situation of other groups who did not fit white stereotypes of Indians. In March Collier wrote to J. W. Bailey, U. S. Senator from North Carolina:

The chief desire of these Indians appears to be that Congress shall do something which will recognize affirmatively that they are Indians. Being myself from Georgia, I am able to appreciate the desire of these Indians for some status by which they would be, at least in their own thinking, clearly distinguished from negroes. As a matter of fact my impression of the group who came here was that they had strong Indian characteristics.¹⁶⁴

With the prompting of his Indian constituents, in 1932 Senator Bailey became the sponsor of another bill for federal recognition. In 1933 a delegation of Robeson County

Indians went to Washington to press their case, and were referred by the BIA to John Swanton at the American Bureau of Ethnology.¹⁶⁵ Senator Bailey's papers show that Swanton intervened at this point and changed the name by which Robeson County Indians were to receive recognition. The bill drafted by Bailey and approved by his Indian political allies designated the Robesonians as Cherokee, with the proviso that they were to have no interest in the tribal estate of other well-established Cherokees. The bill lapsed in 1932 and when it was reintroduced in 1933, the Indians were designated Cheraw, the term which Swanton supported.¹⁶⁶ The change brought to the surface divisions within Robeson County. Hearings by the Senate Committee on Indian affairs produced a third bill which used the broader term "Siouan Indians of Lumber River."¹⁶⁷

One group of Indians, associated with Pembroke Normal School and led by D. F. Lowry and Clifton Oxendine, staunchly defended the Cherokee name. Another group led by Joseph Brooks and B. Y. Graham worked with Senator Bailey on the compromise bill.¹⁶⁸ Lowry and Oxendine challenged Brooks and Graham's leadership, claiming that "they are not leaders of our race," but are "of that class that believes the government owes us something."¹⁶⁹ The Pembroke group led by Lowry prided itself on the achievements of their community and believed that the future for Robeson County Indians lay in European-style education and cooperation with

the county's white elite. Some of these people associated with the Pembroke middle class regarded the independent activities of the county's less educated and more rural Indians as declass   or foolish.¹⁷⁰ Each faction worked to enlist support with mass meetings.¹⁷¹ Bailey, unwilling to risk alienating either group of his constituents, decided not to proceed with the legislation, but the fundamental division remained. One recent author notes specifically: "Ella Deloria, a Dakota Indian and anthropologist, reported in 1940 that there were two factions among the Indians of Robeson County -- those who supported a Cherokee identity and those who tried to have the bill for a Siouan identity passed."¹⁷²

Joseph Brooks continued to work for federal recognition. Of Tuscarora descent and regarded as a leader of the Tuscarora people, Brooks is also remembered as a leader of all the Indians of Robeson County.¹⁷³ During his organizing drive of the 1930s Brooks used the name Siouan, reflecting the prevailing anthropological opinion that Robeson County had been populated by Siouan-speakers such as the Cheraw, Keyauwee, Eno, Waccamaw and Cape Fear.¹⁷⁴ Brooks later rejected the Siouan label in favor of a Tuscarora identification.¹⁷⁵

Joseph Brooks' activities focussed on securing the benefits of the Indian Reorganization Act for his people.

President Roosevelt signed the Indian Reorganization or Wheeler-Howard Act in June 1934. In February 1935 Brooks approached the Bureau of Indian Affairs to find out how the Act affected unrecognized Indian groups. In the words of D'Arcy McNickle:

The question was referred to Mr. Cohen [Assistant Solicitor, Department of the Interior], who replied in a memorandum of April 8, 1935, in which the opinion was expressed that these Indians could "participate in the benefits of the Wheeler-Howard Act only insofar as individual members may be of one-half or more Indian blood. Such members may not only participate in the educational benefits of Section 11 of the Wheeler-Howard Act, in the Indian preference rights for Indian Service employment granted by Section 12 of the Wheeler-Howard Act, but may also organize under Sections 16 and 17 of the Wheeler-Howard Act, if the Secretary of the Interior sees fit to establish for these eligible Indians a reservation."¹⁷⁶

Cohen's answer offered some hope that, finally, the government had provided a means by which recognition could be obtained. Joseph Brooks confirmed the situation with the Secretary of the Interior,¹⁷⁷ and then, in conjunction with officials of the Office for Indian Affairs, began the process of securing a land base and federal recognition.

Brooks clearly understood that, as in the case of other non-white groups in the Jim Crow South, the political and economic problems of the Robeson County Indians were connected. As he wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in April 1935,

Permit me to say, with all due respect to past administrations, that I do not believe that my people have been treated fairly... our Federal government has left us without its protection and under such conditions that we have lost nearly all of our lands. As the years go by we are seeing the land getting slowly out of our hands. That land we still have is nearly all under mortgage which leaves the Indians only one choice to survive, 'the share crop or 1/3 crop system.' We realize that within a short time unless there is some drastic change, we won't own any land at all. We do not propose for the government to do everything for us but we would appreciate you helping us to help ourselves.¹⁷⁸

The Bureau of Indian Affairs appears to have agreed with this analysis. By the 1930s there was a growing willingness to consider possibilities other than tired recitations of the Lost Colony legend. D'Arcy McNickle, a Native American employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, commented in 1936, that the half-century-old reliance on McMillan had clouded the issue of tribal descent and very

probably overstated the extent of white ancestry.¹⁷⁹ It had also fostered an offhand and uninquiring attitude in government.

Whenever a delegation from these people have appeared in the Indian Office it has been put off with a statement, based on McPherson's report, that the so-called Croatan Indians had no treaty relations with the United States. Actually in our present state of knowledge of these people, we can not be absolutely sure that there are no treaties extant. For if they are descendants of certain Siouan and other tribes, there may be treaties which have not herefore been considered in connection with these peoples.¹⁸⁰

McNickle recommended that McMillan be regarded as an unreliable source and that McPherson's report be similarly suspect. The time seemed to have come for a close re-examination of Indian status in Robeson County, and for a brief moment the prospect would emerge for a land base comparable to the Tuscarora Reservation that had been gained and lost -- or granted and taken away -- in the course of the eighteenth century.

PART THREE, SECTION VIII

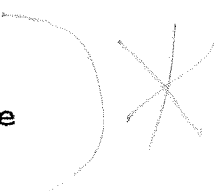
BRIEF HOPES FOR ENROLLMENT AND A RESERVATION
UNDER THE SIOUAN NAME, 1935-1950

In retrospect, it is clear that factionalism continued to plague local Indian politics in Robeson County during the period leading up to World War Two. This factionalism was based on longstanding divisions between the county's Indian communities and exacerbated by emerging class and town/country conflicts. These divisions were deeply felt, and they continued despite pressure from white politicians who wished to deal with a unified Indian movement.

More than once, these persistent divisions became major obstacles in the drive for national recognition. D. F. Lowry and the supporters of the Cherokee name were most closely associated with the white Lumberton elite, with the Normal School in Pembroke, and with the notion of "town" Indians. Joseph Brooks and the "swamp" Indians (or "country Indians") tended to be looked down on by this group. Significantly, Brooks is regarded by the Hatteras Tuscarora as an early leader and is said to have accepted the Tuscarora name later in life. During the 1930s, Brooks organized around the Siouan label, developing a "Siouan Lodge of the National Council of American Indians, Inc." and

working persistently with the BIA and the Farm Settlement Administration.

During the late 1930s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs pursued a two-pronged strategy with regard to the Native Americans in Robeson County, extending federal recognition to some individuals and securing land under the Department of Agriculture's Rural Resettlement Administration. Under the Wheeler-Howard Act, passed in 1934, individuals had to prove 1/2 Indian ancestry in order to be enrolled. D'Arcy McNickle of the BIA (himself a Flathead Indian of mixed ancestry) appears to have had misgivings about the amount of work it would take to trace individual degrees of Indian ancestry through state and county records. As an alternative, he suggested the creation of a commission, and Felix Cohen concurred. A broad set of criteria was contemplated. Specifically, Cohen mentioned oral tradition and evidence of enrollment in Indian schools and other State institutions for Indians as possible criteria.¹⁸¹



Cohen considered it unwise for the government to undertake an examination of all Indians in the county. The commission would begin by establishing the eligibility of select individuals who, once organized under the Indian Reorganization Act, could then extend recognition to others.

My own feeling [Cohen wrote in 1936] is that such a commission should not attempt the task of preparing an

exhaustive roll but should pass only on the cases of persons applying for land or educational privileges under the Indian Reorganization Act; that the group selected for occupancy of land to be acquired should serve as the nucleus which could make additions from time to time to its own body, with the approval of the Secretary if that approval be considered necessary, but on the basis of its own independent investigations. Of course the critical point in this program is the selection of the original nucleus group.¹⁸²

A three-man Siouan Investigating Commission was sent to Robeson County in June 1936. The Commission, consisted of D'Arcy McNickle of the Office of Indian Affairs, Edward S. McMahon, and Carl Seltzer, a physical anthropologist of Harvard University. The surviving documents do not include a copy of the Commission's brief but it seems to have operated under section 19 of the Indian Reorganization Act.¹⁸³ McNickle and McMahon seem to have worked together collecting oral and written evidence from Indians, while Seltzer attempted to determine degrees of Indian ancestry by measuring skin color, bone structure, tooth shape and other physical attributes. McNickle and McMahon were assisted in their work by James Bell, James Chavis and S. M. Bell, representing the Indians of Robeson County. Surviving testimony shows that McNickle and McMahon took evidence

about residence, schooling, family history, Indian language and Indian customs.¹⁸⁴

Seltzer examined 108 individuals during his 1936 visit. His report provided a physical description of each applicant accompanied by photographs and a "racial diagnosis" which attempted to assess the degree of Indian ancestry. In a covering letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Seltzer noted that his diagnosis was based solely on physical characteristics and that no attempt had been made to distinguish tribal affiliations.¹⁸⁵ Seltzer returned in 1937 to measure another 101 subjects, but it is not clear whether the other members of the Commission accompanied him.

Seltzer identified Lawrence Maynor, Jesse Brooks and Vashti Locklear as being definitely of one-half or more Indian blood. The capriciousness and imprecision of his methods is illustrated by the fact that his results do not correlate with the family relationships between his subjects. For instance, the siblings of Jesse Brooks, Lawrence Maynor and Vashti Locklear were not included in the same category of acknowledged Indians. Beadan Brooks, Jesse Brooks' mother, was listed as a "doubtful diagnosis" but probably one-half or more Indian, as were Zion Lowry, Viola Clarke and Dunie Hugh Wilkins. Seltzer's third category comprised other "doubtful diagnoses" whom he considered probably less than one-half Indian. These included Anna

Locklear Jacobs (Beadan Brooks' full sister), Sherman Locklear, and Ada Chavis. The majority of those examined fell into these three categories. The fourth category contained those people Seltzer thought were predominantly white in appearance, though in many of these cases he also detected what he described as "traces" and "strong representations" of Indian ancestry. Boss Locklear (the brother of Beadan Brooks and Anna Locklear Jacobs) was placed in this last category.

The combined efforts of the Commissioners resulted in the enrollment of twenty-two Robeson County Indians under the Indian Reorganization Act. Joseph Brooks was notified by letter of the enrollments.¹⁸⁶ Although the enrolled individuals were informed that they were entitled to educational benefits and preferential employment in the Indian Service, it is not clear whether any assistance was received. Again the absence of recognized tribal status was an obstacle. Individual enrollment under the 1934 Act did not confer tribal rights, and although there were funds available for land purchase under the Act, the Robeson County enrollees were informed that the funds were earmarked for landless tribal groups.¹⁸⁷ Felix Cohen's proposal that the individuals enrolled by the Commissioners could be used as a core group, from which a tribal roll could be built appears to have been dropped. Nor does the enrollment

appear to have been followed by applications for assistance.¹⁸⁸

At the same time as the application process was running its course, plans were being made to establish a cooperative farming venture for Robeson County Indians. The plan was simple: acquire land in trust for the Indians, tax-exempt, and found a reservation.¹⁸⁹ For the "country Indians," rural dwellers with a high rate of tenancy, this was an attractive proposal. John Collier sent Indian Agent Fred Baker to Robeson County, where he held meetings in most of the Indian settlements. Baker was optimistic about the project; white landlords were willing to sell their land and Indian support was widespread. By 1937, around one-half of Robeson County's Indian population was enrolled as Siouan Indians.¹⁹⁰

But in 1936, the process of land acquisition had been shifted from the BIA in the Department of the Interior to the Rural Resettlement Administration in the Department of Agriculture. (Interdepartmental rivalry in the federal government may have played a role. John Collier's policies were controversial, and internal opposition to his plans seems very likely.) Referred to the Department of Agriculture, Brooks was told that it would be possible to set up a co-operative farming project in Robeson County but that the Department could not confine the project only to

Robeson County

Indians who met the criteria for recognition under the Indian Reorganization Act. Brooks wanted to set up "a strictly Indian community, composed of Indians of half blood or more."¹⁹¹ While the Department of Agriculture was willing to stretch the law providing that its resettlement projects not discriminate on the basis of "race, creed or color," it could not guarantee a minimum level of Indian blood. Department officials would not give Brooks anything in writing regarding the selection of Indians of half blood or more, but instead they suggested that he attempt to influence local officials to achieve this goal. It was, however, "clearly understood by everyone concerned that the Pembroke, North Carolina, Resettlement Project was an Indian Project."¹⁹²

The so-called Red Banks project did not become the tribal nucleus that Brooks envisaged. There were problems associated with its set-up, though precisely how this undertaking was derailed is unclear. McNair Investments of Laurinburg, a major landlord in Robeson County, was named as manager for the project. McNair involvement insulted many Indians and shook their confidence in the project. Instead of a reservation, the Red Banks Mutual Association and the Red Banks Resettlement Project were established. The Mutual Association settled Indians on a communal farm, and the Resettlement Project provided land on forty-year loans. Indians complained that they could not get work clearing the

land, surveying or building. They protested that government relief funds were being used as election bribes and that the white manager, Mr. H. C. Green, was so paternalistic that the Red Banks Association should be called "H. C. Green's Association."¹⁹³ There were also complaints that the tobacco and cotton allotments from the Agricultural Administration were manipulated so that "there are very few that have the allotment that was on the land that was bought."¹⁹⁴

Both ventures ultimately failed because Indians felt they were no more independent and little better off than they had been as tenants. Local white politicians assured federal representatives that nothing was wrong, and no steps were taken to change the situation. The tactic of direct contact with the federal government had opened the political arena to Indians who were otherwise excluded from politics. With good reason, many Indians distrusted the local Democratic Party and disliked the custom of delivering Indian votes in return for concessions. But the process of bypassing local politicians, attempted by Brooks and others during the 1930s, tended to undermine the positions of certain Indian leaders closest to the local elite. In addition, it threatened to arouse the opposition of the white community to all Robeson County Indians.

The 1940s were a relatively quiet time for Indian politics in Robeson County. Joe Brooks and D. F. Lowry, along with Walter Smith, W. R. Maynor, C. E. Locklear, S. A. Hammonds, and C. D. Brewington, cooperated in the organization of an Indian pageant, written by Ella Deloria, a Dakota Indian. The pageant was staged in 1940 and 1941 but was discontinued due to World War II.¹⁹⁵ Soon after, Joe Brooks ceased to be a leader when he violated a principle rule of family-oriented Indian politics; he left his wife and married another woman. The Indian community ostracized individuals who divorced and remarried; Joe Brooks left the area and never rejoined the Indian community.¹⁹⁶ In 1945, Indians lost a strong ally in Washington, D. C., when John Collier resigned as head of BIA.

Meanwhile, some of the Indians who belonged to the Siouan organization, including many Tuscarora descendants, also participated in a local Longhouse movement. The Longhouse was stimulated in part by a 1938 visit from a St. Regis Mohawk who taught the Robeson County Indians Iroquois dances and songs. Two leaders of this movement were Will Brooks and Ralph "Pikey" Brooks. Pikey Brooks and his children were some of the twenty-two individuals recognized as Indians by the BIA's Investigating Committee in the late 1930s. (See Appendix Two, Descendants Chart E.) The Longhouse was built on land next to the house of Colen

Brooks, whose family was also among the twenty-two individuals recognized as Indians by the BIA in the 1930s. The Longhouse lasted until the late forties or early fifties. As an organization, it does not seem to have had an active role in external politics, but it kept the core of the Siouan movement together for another decade.¹⁹⁷

PART THREE, SECTION IX

**THE RE-EMERGENCE OF THE TUSCARORA NAME
AND THE CONTINUING SEARCH FOR VALID ROOTS**

Mid-century saw the sudden emergence of the term Lumbee for Indians residing in Robeson County, and it is within that context that the current generation of Tuscarora descendants have worked to reassert their historical identity.

In 1948 D. F. Lowry organized a group of Indian ministers into the Lumbee Brotherhood. The members planned to deal with social and political issues, and they also hoped to change the name of Robeson County Indians once again. The state designation was still Cherokees of Robeson County and the federal term was still Croatans. Instead, the Brotherhood intended to substitute the purely geographical term, Lumbee, which was the poetic name for the Lumber River, which cuts through the center of Robeson County. Supporters of the new Lumbee name hoped that it would come to encompass the varied origins and identities of the Robeson County Indians. The word had first been applied to local Indians in 1926, but it did not take hold until the Lumbee Brotherhood became active.¹⁹⁸

Working with their white political allies, the Lumbee Brotherhood secured approval of the Lumbee name from the state government in Raleigh in 1951, on the condition that the name be accepted by a vote of the Indians of Robeson County. The local referendum was called for in the General Assembly's resolution, not in an actual law, so the vote was unofficial, and there were few guidelines as to who should be allowed to vote and how the process should be publicized. The Lumbee Brotherhood circulated petitions and held meetings urging acceptance of the new name, and a public vote was scheduled for February 2, 1952.¹⁹⁹

The referendum offered a choice between the existing Cherokee name and the proposed Lumbee title; there was no other alternative on the ballot. Whether through opposition to the choices, fear of opposing the power structure, a lack of publicity about the vote, or a long-standing tradition of offering resistance by refusing to "deliver the vote," turnout for the referendum was as light as it was one-sided. Less than ten percent of the County's Indian population voted (2,195 out of approximately 23,000), with all voters except 35 voting for the Lumbee name. Not surprisingly, many questioned the validity of such a vote, but the General Assembly passed the name into law on April 20, 1953.²⁰⁰ Fuller Lowry then extended his effort to Washington, where a bill recognizing the Lumbee was introduced into Congress in 1955 and signed into law on June 7, 1956. The price for

passage was a clause making Lumbees ineligible for any federal services as Indians.²⁰¹

Passage of these bills did not bring unity to the Native American communities of Robeson County, though the continuing divisions were overcome for a short time early in 1958. As Karen Blu relates the incident, "One January night 'hundreds' of whooping, angry, gun-shooting Indians broke up a Ku Klux Klan rally that had been called to intimidate them, and the rest of the country's imagination was captured for a brief moment."²⁰² But if opposition to the Klan momentarily unified Robeson's diverse Indians, the furor over court-ordered desegregation a decade later renewed controversy, for many Indians opposed integration, arguing that the loss of all-Indian schools would deal a sharp blow to their social identity and political standing. Compounding the problem was the issue of "double voting." This discriminatory practice allowed city residents, mostly white, to vote for both city and county school boards. Therefore, though they were outnumbered in rural areas by Blacks and Indians, Whites could control county elections through the addition of town voters.²⁰³

It is in the context of these two issues, desegregation and double voting, that the Tuscaroras in Robeson County again began to assert themselves politically. As Blu relates,

In 1970, a faction calling themselves "Tuscaroras," to distinguish themselves from other Robeson Indians, especially "Lumbees," formed to fight school integration. Theoretically, schools had been integrated under the "freedom of choice" plan for several years. But in 1967-68, schools were still basically segregated because few students "chose" to attend schools with those not of their own race. With true integration, many Indians in country areas argued that their communal integrity was being threatened by an influx of Blacks and Whites, in teaching staff as well as in student body. Fewer country Indians were accustomed to dealing with non-Indians on a regular and cooperative basis, and they resented the "do-nothing" attitude of town Indians, feeling that their schools were slated to become more fully integrated than the town schools.

The Indians most heavily involved in the Tuscarora movement were less well-to-do and, in general, less educated than middle-class town leaders, particularly those from Pembroke. They were also willing to be considerably more adventurous in the kinds of tactics they used. There were sit-ins in local schools, followed by arrests (sometimes even arrests of children). Ultimately, there was a long march from Pembroke to Raleigh to dramatize their cause. At

first, the group confined itself to the school issue, but then it began, as it became more sophisticated and broadly concerned in outlook, to tackle other problems, such as the welfare department, where a rally and demonstration were held. Some middle-class town Indians disliked the new "radical" tactics and felt the Tuscaroras were giving the Indians a bad name by injuring the image of respectability so carefully built up through the years. But a surprising number felt that the Tuscaroras were willing to expose themselves, to take chances that most middle-class town Indians were afraid to take.²⁰⁴

In December 1971, as controversy swirled around the integration of Prospect High School, a number of Indian parents formed a the Eastern Carolina Indian Organization (ECIO), under the leadership of Carnell Locklear, Howard Brooks and others.²⁰⁵ The group "waged an aggressive campaign to achieve two basic objectives" -- national recognition as Tuscarora Indians and Indian control over Indian schools.²⁰⁶ It is significant to note that, according to the Lumberton Robesonian, "When the group first went to Washington, the proposed name was Hatteras Tuscaroras," but BIA officials were ignorant of any historical linkage and urged them to drop this terminology. The paper quoted BIA representative Steve Ferraco as saying, "We were quick to advise the group that efforts to achieve

federal recognition would be affected by this name. There is a Tuscarora tribe in New York and the Hatteras as a tribe have ceased to exist."

The Robesonian article went on to explain that whatever the views of official Washington, the group's leader, a Baptist minister named Hughie Locklear, "considers himself a Tuscarora. So do approximately 1,000 others in the organization, he claims."²⁰⁷ Several of Locklear's relatives and compatriots would soon get encouragement for this traditional position from another source in Washington. The files of Leola Locklear contain the following handwritten note from North Carolina Congressman, Charlie Rose:²⁰⁸

To Howard Brooks

Vernon Locklear

Keever Locklear

From Congressman Charlie Rose

If you people will get together and agree to meet with me I will do everything I can as your Congressman to set the Interior Department to give federal recognition to the Tuscarora Indians of Robeson County.

Signed Saturday April 6, 1974 at 5:30 PM

Charlie Rose

Although the ECIO did not endure in its original form, the Tuscaroras continued to meet. A review of the files of Leola Locklear reveals that there were at least 146 meetings, for which minutes are available, between 1974 and 1981.²⁰⁹ Moreover, in 1980, after overcoming formidable obstacles, the group managed to submit an extensive but somewhat disorderly Petition for Federal Recognition to which the BIA responded in a long letter of June 1985. Since that time Alice Gollan, a researcher from Boyce, Virginia, has pulled together much more of the pertinent information needed to support the Tuscarora claim for recognition.

It is the impression of this historian that the claim is a strong one, if presented properly. There is sound evidence that some of the Tuscarora Indians who remained in North Carolina after the Tuscarora War eventually migrated to Robeson County before 1800. They had every reason to play down their Tuscarora identity, given the hostile atmosphere, yet evidence of these connections still managed to survive. After the Civil War in the era of Henry Berry Lowrie, Robeson's most famous Native American, it was well known in the area that his ancestors had been Tuscaroras. Some of his descendants were among those who were designated as Indians during a survey of the county in the 1930s. Over the past century, generations of Tuscarora descendants have been active in the county's complex local political life,

usually representing the more rural and poorer portion of the Indian community, who have sought to maintained some distance from white and black culture in the area and some control over their own affairs.

The re-emergence of this Tuscarora identity in the early 1970s was seen by many as manufactured pose, when in fact the roots were extremely deep. But they had been hidden by generations of speculation about how all the Indians of Robeson County might best be lumped together under one title. The Congressional recognition of Lumbees in 1956 should not limit or constrain the Tuscarora claim. Nor should the absence of a continuous tribal structure of governance, for, as explained in the introduction, these persons are not seeking recognition as an independent and enduring historical tribe, but rather as a remnant of an existing and recognized tribe that was forced to move out of the southeastern region. In this sense, the Hatteras Tuscaroras are best seen as comparable to the Eastern Cherokees or the Mississippi Choctaws, that is, descendants of people who managed to remain near their ancestral homelands when major upheavals forced most of their kin to migrate elsewhere.

ENDNOTES

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 Thomas Ross, One Land, Three Peoples: An Atlas of Robeson County, North Carolina (Lumberton, N. C.: Printed by Thomas Ross, 1982), p. 67. In 1980, Robeson County's population of 101,577 was divided as follows: White 39,989, Black 25,550, American Indian 35,511, Asian 192, Other 295.
- 2 James Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East, U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 22 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 8.
- 3 Peter H. Wood, "When Old Worlds Meet," Southern Exposure, 20 (1) (Spring 1992): 45.
- 4 Joseph Michael Smith, The Lumbee Methodists, Getting to Know Them: A Folk History (Raleigh: Commission of Archives and History, North Carolina Methodist Conference, 1990), pp. 2, 4, 5.
- 5 Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), p. 436. For example: "The Lumbee, a nonreservation people, were free prior to 1835, when the revised North Carolina constitution disfranchised Negroes and mulattoes. The Lumbee were also deprived of their political and civil rights because they were not white and were regarded as dangerous. A number of Lumbees served in the Continental army during the Revolutionary War and fought in the War of 1812, but during the Civil War the Lumbee were denied the right to fight as soldiers."

NOTES TO PART ONE, SECTION I

- 6 Thomas C. Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," North Carolina Historical Review, 59 (4) (Autumn, 1982): 307.
- 7 Joffre L. Coe, "The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society n.s. 54 (5) (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 121.
- 8 Dean R. Snow, "Late Prehistory of the East Coast," Handbook of North American Indians, volume 15, Northeast, Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 60-61.
- 9 Douglas W. Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," Handbook of North American Indians,

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- volume 15, Northeast, Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 284-285.
- 10 Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," 308-09.
 - 11 Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," 310-12.
 - 12 John R. Swanton, The Indians of the Southeastern United States, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 137 (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 199.
 - 13 Marion Tinling, ed., The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776, two volumes (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), I, 163.
 - 14 Francis Yeardly, "Francis Yeardly's Narrative of Excursions into Carolina, 1654," Alexander S. Salley, Jr. (ed.), Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), pp. 27-28.
 - 15 William G. Stanard, "The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650-1711: Depositions in the Virginia and North Carolina Boundary Case," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 7 (April, 1900): 345-48.
 - 16 Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," 314.
 - 17 Tinling, The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds, I, 107-08.
 - 18 Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (eds.), Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), pp. 44-45; R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr. and H. Trawick Ward, "The Evolution of Siouan Communities in Piedmont North Carolina," Southeastern Archaeology, 10 (1) (Summer, 1991): 40-53.
 - 19 Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," 287.
 - 20 Alan Vance Briceland, Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-North Carolina Frontier, 1650-1710 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), p. 188.
 - 21 E. Lawrence Lee, Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763 (Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), p. 21.
 - 22 Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," 322-23.

- 23 Briceland, Westward from Virginia, p. 189.
- 24 Lee, Indian Wars in North Carolina, pp. 34-38.
- 25 Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South," 45; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South (New York: The Free Press, 1981), p. 143.
- 26 Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," 287.

NOTES TO PART ONE, SECTION II

- 27 Parramore, "The Tuscarora Ascendancy," 326.
- 28 Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 8.
- 29 See, for example, Chapman J. Milling, Red Carolinians, second edition (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p. 134.
- 30 Quoted in Milling, Red Carolinians, pp. 133-34.
- 31 See the letters of July 21, 1714 and Feb. 7, 1715 in R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, new series, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1882-85), vol. II, pp. 70, 196.
- 32 Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," pp. 287-288. The 1717 resolution authorizing the reservation appears in Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, William L. Saunders, ed., 10 vols. (Raleigh: P. M. Hale, 1886-1890), II, p. 283.
- 33 Thomas Newnam, letter to the Secretary of the S.P.G., June 29, 1722, N. C.. Letter no. 9, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Records, British Library, London: Microfilm reel 3, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- 34 Letter of July 2, 1731, Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, III, p. 153. Several years later (January 1, 1733, *ibid*, p. 433) Burrington reported in an overall estimate (not including the Cherokees): "I compute the white men, women and children in North Carolina to be full 30 thousand, and the negroes about 6 thousand. The Indians, men, women and children, less than eight hundred."

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- 35 William P. Cumming, The Southeast in Early Maps (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 202-204.
- 36 Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," 287-288.
- 37 F. Roy Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, 2 vols. (Murfreesboro, North Carolina, 1968), II, 190.
- 38 Adelaide L. Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina 6 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1922): II, 521-522.
- 39 Fries, ed., Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, I, 41-53.
- 40 Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, V, pp. 647, 765.
- 41 Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, I, pp. 233-234.
- 42 Douglas W. Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization, Ethnic Identity, and Sociohistorical Demography, 1711-1825" (Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1973), p. 158.
- 43 Ibid. Southern war parties also travelled north. There is evidence that in 1755 North Carolina's Tuscaroras may have provided "warriors to assist the English against the French at the request of the Tuscaroras who had joined the Five Nations." Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes in the Virginia-North Carolina Coastal Plain," 285.
- 44 Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, VII, pp. 218-220, 244-249, 431.
- 45 Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, VII, p. 354.
- 46 Colonial Records of the State of North Carolina, VI, p. 361.
- 47 Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, II, 184. Johnson cites Bertie County Deeds Book M, 316-317.
- 48 Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, II, 190-191.

49 On 19 August 1971, a memorandum was sent from the Chief of the Tribal Claims Section of the Division of Tribal Operations at the Bureau of Indian Affairs within the U.S. Department of the Interior in Washington D.C. to Area Directors. In response to a petition of the Tuscarora Nation to the Indian Claims Commission (Docket No. 321) concerning the fair payment for land in North Carolina, the memo noted:

On May 14, 1970, the Commission found that about 1713, hostile Tuscarora Indians left North Carolina and went to New York where they resided with various parts of the Five Nations and subsequently (about 1722) became the sixth nation of that confederacy. The friendly Tuscaroras remained in North Carolina and the State [sic] gave them 41,113 acres of land on the Roanoke River in Bertie County. By 1777, most of the friendly Tuscaroras had left North Carolina and joined the tribe in New York.

50 Boyce, "Iroquoian Tribes," 288.

51 Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, II, 189-190. In 1763 in the wake of Pontiac's Rebellion, a violent group of local Pennsylvania frontiersmen known as the Paxton Boys had massacred a small remnant of Susquehannock Indians who were living peacefully at their village of Conestoga.

52 Ross, One Land, Three Peoples, p. 2. "Formed in 1787 from Bladen County, Robeson has seen several boundary changes in the ensuing period. It received additional land from Bladen in 1788 and from Richmond County in 1796. Territory was lost to Cumberland County in 1791 and to Hoke County in 1911."

53 Karen I. Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 43-44.

54 See Part Two, Section V below.

55 Mary C. Norment, The Lowrie History (Wilmington, N. C.: Daily Journal Print, 1875), p. 182.

56 Stephen B. Weeks, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its fate and Survival," Papers of the American Historical Association 5 (4) (1891): 130n.

57 O. M. McPherson, Indians of North Carolina: A Report on the Condition and Tribal Rights of the Indians of Robeson and Adjoining Counties of North Carolina, U.S. Senate Document 677, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 242.

58 Quoted in "Tuscarora Tribe's Petition for Federal Recognition, August 12, 1980," pp. 773-774. Copies of the relevant land deeds from the eighteenth century appear on the adjacent pages of this Petition, in the files of Leola Locklear.

59 "Bladen County Deeds, 1738-1777," pp. 501-502, North Carolina Archives.

60 "A List of the Taxable Property in Bladen County for the Year 1784," p. 34, North Carolina Archives.

61 Edgecombe County Deed Book, N. C. Archives; Anson County Envelope, Book 22, p. 188, N. C. Land Grant Office.

62 Quoted in "Tuscarora Tribe's Petition for Federal Recognition, August 12, 1980," p. 111.

63 Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, II, 193-195.

64 Johnson, The Tuscaroras, History, Traditions, Culture, II, 195.

NOTES ON PART TWO, SECTION IV

65 Adolph Dial and David Eliades, The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians, (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1975), p. 40.

66 North Carolina Constitution (1835), Article I, Section 3, Clause 3.

67 See Joel Williamson, The New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States, (New York: The Free Press, 1980) for a discussion of the extent of prejudice towards people of mixed ancestry in the Upper South.

68 Gerald M. Sider, 'A Political History of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina', Ph.D. thesis, New School for Social Research, New York, 1971, p. 34. Most Indian children had received their schooling at private 'subscription' schools, but a few are said to have attended schools with whites prior to 1835, Clifton Oxendine, 'Pembroke State College for Indians', North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. 22, No. 1, Jan. 1945, p. 23.

69 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 44.

70 Records concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, Robeson County, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

- 71 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 44.
- 72 North Carolina Laws, 1854, Sect. 7, Chapter 68.
- 73 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 45; Sider, "A Political History," p. 36.
- 74 Charlotte Observer, 22 November 1931; Mary C. Norment, The Lowrie History, as acted in part by Henry Berry Lowrie, (Lumberton, N. C.: Lumberton Publishing Co.), 1909.
- 75 The following account is based on the major secondary sources for the Lowrie band, W. McKee Evans, To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971) and Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know. Mary Norment, The Lowrie History, as acted in Part by Henry Berrie Lowrie, (Lumberton, N. C.: Lumberton Publishing Co.), 1909, and George Townsend, (comp.), The Swamp Outlaws, (New York: M. de Witt, 1872) were also consulted.
- 76 Evans, To Die Game, pp. 58-60.
- 77 Evans, To Die Game, p. 50.
- 78 Evans, To Die Game, p. 51.
- 79 Kin ties seem to have been very important in the constitution of Lowrie's band. According to Mary Norment, who lived through the period of the Lowrie band's activity, there were only three members of the band who were not related to Lowrie by blood or marriage. They were Zach McLaughlin, a white man who had grown up on a farm neighboring the Oxendines, a black man, Eli Ewin, also known as "Shoemaker John," and John Dial, an Indian. Besides these the group included three of Henry Berry Lowrie's brothers, Calvin and Henderson Oxendine, Boss Strong and Andrew Strong, all identified by contemporaries as Indians with Lowrie mothers. Henry Berry Lowry married Rhoda Strong, the sister of Boss and Andrew. George Applewhite, a former slave, and William Chavis, were connected to the Lowries by marriage. Norment, The Lowrie History, p. 9; Evans, To Die Game, pp. 73-75.
- 80 R. M. McNair to Governor Worth, 6 December 1866, Governor's Letterbook 53, J. Worth, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.
- 81 Robert C. Lawrence, The State Of Robeson, (New York: Little & Ives, 1939), p. 118.
- 82 For example the Fall 1862 session of the Robeson County Court saw cases against Angus Locklear, larceny; Thomas

Locklear, assault and battery; Purdee Jacobs, larceny; Absalom Brayboy, assault and battery. Alfred Chavis, James Bullard, Wesley Lowrie and Preston Locklear were prosecuted for carrying firearms. Robeson County Superior Court Minutes, North Carolina State Archives.

83 Robeson County Superior Court Minutes, 1865-70.

84 Evans, To Die Game, p. 108 and notes. The accusations against King are substantiated by the Freedmen's Bureau papers.

85 Evans, To Die Game, p. 153.

86 Evans, To Die Game, pp. 242-50, gives an able summary of these competing versions of Lowrie's disappearance.

87 State v. Applewhite, 75 N. C. 206 (1876), cited in Evans, To Die Game, p. 237n.

88 Harper's Weekly, March 30, 1872, p. 252.

89 John C. Gorman, untitled mss., n.d. [c.1894] in Henry Berry Lowry collection, N. C. State Archives, Raleigh North Carolina.

90 Norment, p. 4-5, 7, 10, 28, 34 and passim.

91 Ernest Hancock, "A Sociological Study of the Tri-Racial Community in Robeson County, North Carolina," Master's thesis (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 20.

92 Evans, To Die Game, p. 91-92. Birnie was unable to get the case against the Home Guard members transferred to a military court, and in the North Carolina civil courts the case was blocked by conservative Democratic prosecutors. One of those indicted was Roderick McMillan who became Sheriff in 1870.

93 Hancock, p. 117.

94 Sider, p. 43.

NOTES ON PART TWO, SECTION V

95 Bahnson Barnes, "A History of the Robeson County School System," Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1931, p. 53.

96 Paul Escott, Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 166.

97 "Hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs, Schools for the Indians of Robeson County," 14 Feb. 1913, House Bill No. S3258, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

98 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, pp. 89-90.

99 Karen Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 62.

100 Robeson County Commission Minutes, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

101 The Robeson County Indians had their voting rights restored in 1868 (along with the right to bear arms and to testify in court). Because they had voted prior to 1835 the subsequent "grandfather clause" did not disenfranchise them. Although whites retained control of the electoral process, after the alliance between the Democrats and the Indians was formed it was not in the interests of local Democratic politicians to disenfranchise the Indians. Sider, "Political History," p. 56. Ben Dixon MacNeill, who wrote a series of four articles for the News and Observer in 1926 on the Indians of Robeson County, mentioned the trade-off between recognition and support for the Democrats in several places, News and Observer, 14 February 1926, in North Carolina Indians clipping file, Croatan Indians, p. 18, North Carolina Collection, UNC Chapel Hill.

102 Population Census, 1830, 1870. Because of under-counting the actual number of non-white Robesonians was probably higher than the official figure. In 1890 the Census office estimated that the 1870 census missed 9.5% of the black population, see U.S. Department of the Interior Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, Vol. 1, 'The Statistics of Population', (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 284, 404. The unsettled conditions in Robeson County mean that the under-count there could have been even higher than the national average.

103 News and Observer, 21 February 1926.

104 Hamilton McMillan, The Lost Colony Found: An Historical Sketch of the Discovery of the Croatan Indians, (Lumberton: Robeson Job Print, n.d.), p. 14.

105 Lost Colony Found, p. 18.

106 There is also an oral tradition in Robeson County that McMillan knew of the Tuscarora connection. Susan Yarnell interview with Leola Locklear, Maxton, N. C., 17 August 1990.

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- 107 Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Knopf, 1991), chapters 6 and 7.
- 108 Fayetteville Observer, 12 February 1885, p. 2. There is evidence of McMillan's active suppression of the name Tuscarora in The Lost Colony Found, where he describes James Lowrie's Tuscarora wife, Sarah Kersey, as a Croatan, p. 12.
- 109 Laws of North Carolina, 1885, Chapter 51.
- 110 Eliades and Oxendine, Pembroke State University, p. 17.
- 111 McMillan, Lost Colony Found, p. 17.
- 112 Susan Yarnell interview with Adolph L. Dial, Raleigh, N. C., March 1991.
- 113 Johnson, fieldnotes, Guy B. Johnson papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- 114 Laws of North Carolina, 1887, Chapters 60 & 400.
- 115 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 91.
- 116 Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Principal Croatan Normal School, quoted in Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 93.
- 117 Ernest Morgan, "A Racial Comparison of Education in Robeson County, North Carolina," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1940, pp. 21, 50, 52. In 1932 white schools were open 151 days a year, Indian schools, 128, and black schools, 121. The pupil teacher ratio was 40.5 for white schools, 47.5 for Indians and 45.2 for blacks.
- 118 Sider, "Political History," p. 57; Laws of North Carolina, 1887, Chapter 254.
- 119 Johnson fieldnotes.
- 120 Hancock, pp. 25-6; Guy B. Johnson, "Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community," American Sociological Review, 4 (4) (1939): 520; Blu, The Lumbee Problem, p. 78.
- 121 This was the same piece of legislation that provided for separate hospital facilities. Hancock dates the agitation for the change from 1905, but gives little other information, p. 26.

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- 122 Laws of North Carolina, 1913, Chapter 123.
- 123 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 94.
- 124 Charles Pierce, Supervisor of Indian Schools, Fifth district, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 2 March 1912, p. 4, files of Leola Locklear.
- 125 'Croatans Want Name Cherokees', dated 2/6/9, North Carolina Indians clipping file, Croatan Indians, p. 7.
- 126 Sider, "Political History," p. 59.
- 127 'The Croatans' Argonaut, n.d.. [?1910-11], North Carolina Indians clipping file, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

NOTES ON PART TWO, SECTION VI

- 128 U.S. Farm Census, Department of Agriculture, Washington D.C., 1930. The comparable figure for whites in Robeson County was 43%, for blacks 13%.
- 129 Sider, "Political History," p. 66.
- 130 Although it remained primarily an agricultural region, by the mid 1930s Robeson County could boast nine cotton and yarn mills. Few blacks and Indians were employed by these firms, and during the depression of the 1930s the numbers decreased further, as "the employers feel that they owe the white people first consideration." Ernest Hancock, "A Racial Comparison of Education In Robeson County, North Carolina," M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, p. 59.
- 131 Evalina Beckwith, "A Study of the Physical Equipment and Teaching Personnel of the Indian Schools of Robeson County," M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1950, p. 44.
- 132 Hancock, "A Racial Comparison of Education In Robeson County," p. 61. According to the U.S. Farm census, in 1930, 68.5% of Indian farmers were tenants, compared with 92% of blacks and 53% of whites. Annual per capita income was \$108 for Indians, \$675 for whites and \$63 for blacks.
- 133 A survey conducted in 1937 collected data from 86 Indians about the informants, their siblings and their children. In all the information covered 1178 individuals. Among the 684 members of the older generation only 18% had spent time outside the county. Of these 28% had lived in adjacent counties, while only 70 individuals in this generation had spent time outside the Carolinas.

Interestingly, the figures for out-migration for the children of these people were even lower. Information was obtained about 494 adult children. Only 48, or 9.8% were living away from the county, and if those living in the Carolinas are excluded, the figure drops to 7%. Thirteen (27%) of the younger migrants were absent because they had joined the armed forces. Eleven (23%) were absent studying or teaching. Of the 310 people in this generation who had married, 288 (93%) had married other Indians. The other 22 individuals married whites. Guy Johnson, "Robeson Indian Survey," Johnson papers, Chapel Hill.

134 The difficulties which were existed for Robeson Indians who left the area are illustrated by the experience some of the Indian men who joined the U.S Army during World War One. Indians were initially assigned to white regiments but following protests from white soldiers they were transferred to black units. The Indians protested and in some cases refused to serve in black units. Eventually many were classified as ineligible for duty, Sider, "Political History," p. 62.

135 North Carolina Laws 1911, Section 1, Chapter 215.

136 Hancock, "A Racial Comparison of Education In Robeson County," p. 107.

137 Beckwith, "A Study of the Physical Equipment and Teaching Personnel of the Indian Schools of Robeson County," p. 3.

138 Sider, "Political History," p. 80.

139 Johnson, 'Personality', p. 521.

140 Horace Stacy to Governor Gardner, 1 May 1929, Governor's papers, General Correspondence 1929-33, Box 4.

141 . E. M. Johnson to Governor Gardner, 2 May 1931, Gardner papers, Box 4; Dickson McLean and Horace Stacy to Governor Hoey, Governor Hoey's papers, Box 53, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

142 Johnson fieldnotes.

143 Greensboro Daily News, 18 August 1937.

144 Myron Green, "County Government and County Affairs In Robeson County, North Carolina," (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, 1926), pp. 50-1, 62.

145 Green, "County Government," p. 85.

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- 146 News and Observer, 21 February 1926.
- 147 Robesonian, 19 October 1911, p. 7.
- 148 Laws of North Carolina, 1885, Chapter 51.
- 149 Nathan McMillan v School Committee of District No. 4 (Croatan), N. C. Reports, 109, p. 609. An illustration of how seriously this question of boundaries was taken is provided by the case of the Smilings. According to Dial and Eliades, the Smilings migrated to Robeson County shortly after World War One. The Smilings applied for admission to an Indian school, but were refused, because of doubts about whether they were Indian. The problem became so intractable that a separate school, neither Indian or Black, had to be set up. Dial and Eliades, pp. 98-9.
- 150 Interview with Louise Maynor, Susan Yarnell, 6 November 1990.
- 151 Sider, "Political History," p. 68.
- 152 Sider, "Political History," pp. 2, 61-70.
- 153 Sider, "Political History," p. 61.
- 154 Johnson, "Personality," p. 523.
- 155 Bahnson Barnes, "A History of the Robeson County School System," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1931.
- 156 Beckwith, "A Study of the Physical Equipment and Teaching Personnel of the Indian Schools of Robeson County," p. 28.
- 157 Beckwith, "A Study of the Physical Equipment and Teaching Personnel of the Indian Schools of Robeson County," pp. 21-23.

NOTES ON PART THREE: SECTION VII

- 158 Deborah Montgomerie interview with Leola Locklear, 17 August 1990. Mrs. Locklear commented that the old people knew about the Tuscarora name. Her grandmother, Paulie Lowry's daughter, said that it was through the Tuscarora connection that Henry Berry Lowry got his name.
- 159 O. M. McPherson, Indians of North Carolina, U. S. Senate, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session, Doc. No. 677, Washington, D.C., 1915. McPherson noted an oral tradition

which supported a Hatteras connection over McMillan's term, Croatan, p. 15.

160 McPherson, Indians of North Carolina, pp. 17-8.

161 McNickle provides an able summary of these efforts in his memorandum. Not enough information has survived to define the precise relationship of these petitioning groups to each other or to the current petitioners.

162 C. H. Burke to Secretary of the Interior, 2 Jan. 1925, Josiah Bailey Papers, Duke University Library Special Collections, Durham.

163 Burke's philosophy was that the department should not encourage "tribal characteristics or organization" and that all Indians should be moving towards a situation similar to that of Robeson County Indians, individual land-ownership and "independence". Janet McDonnell, The Dispossession of the American Indian, 1887-1934, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 9.

164 J. Collier to Senator J. W. Bailey, 26 Mar 1932, Bailey papers, Duke University. The following month Bailey heard from Judge Varser, the head of a prominent Lumberton law firm and an ex-Congressman from the district. As this Robeson County Democratic stalwart saw it, recognition by the federal government was not incompatible with U. S. citizenship but would "inspire a spirit, and ambition, to accomplish the best as citizens." L. R. Varser to Senator Bailey, 22 April 1932, Bailey papers.

165 J. R. Swanton to Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, 1933, Calendar No.229, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Report No. 204, p. 3.

166 U. S. House of Representatives, 1 May 1933. For Swanton's views see, J. R. Swanton, "Siouan Indians of the Lumber River," House of Representatives Report No. 1752, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1934.

167 U. S. Senate Reports, 24 Jan. 1933.

168 Charlotte Observer, 4 February 1934.

169 D. F. Lowry and C. Oxendine to J. W. Bailey, 1 February 1934, Bailey papers.

170 See for example and interview in Guy Johnson's files from 1949, "They are going to have another pow-wow soon, whenever the corn turns brown.... They have ribbons tied around their waists and dance around rattling beer cans full of rocks on sticks.(laughs)... If they see you smiling

you're not safe. Anson took us out there just to see them carrying on.... A man from Washington has been down here promising the people land. And you know our folks in some ways are ignorant enough to fall for any scheme to separate them from their money." Interview with Miss Lucy and Miss Mary, 8 July 1949.

171 Robesonian, 16 April 1934, 23 April 1934.

172 Blu, The Lumbee Problem, p. 85. Blu draws on Deloria's correspondence with the famous anthropologist, Franz Boaz. She notes, "Deloria had gone to Pembroke for the Farm Security Administration to devise a pageant for the Robeson Indians. She and the pageant, "The Life Story of a People," were both still recalled with enthusiasm in 1967-68."

173 Alice Gollan, interviews with Nathaniel Locklear, 7/20/89, Izer Locklear, 7/20/89, summarized in Gollan pp. 39-40. This is not to say that Brooks' leadership was unquestioned.

174 J. R. Swanton, "Probable Identity of the Croatans," U. S. Senate Reports, 1934.

175 Interview with Leola Locklear, 17 August 1990, see also Gollan, p. 22.

176 D'Arcy McNickle, "Memorandum Re: Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina," May 1, 1936, pp. 11-12, files of Leola Locklear.

177 Secretary of the Interior to Joseph Brooks, April 25, 1935, quoted in McNickle, p. 13, files of Leola Locklear.

178 Joseph Brooks to John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 11 April 1935, files of Leola Locklear.

179 D'Arcy McNickle, "Memorandum Re: Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, May 1," 1936, files of Leola Locklear.

180 Ibid, p. 3.

NOTES ON PART THREE: SECTION VIII

181 Felix Cohen, "Memorandum for Mr Daiker," 8 April 1936, files of Leola Locklear. McNickle's report has not survived but Cohen summarizes McNickle's views.

182 Ibid.

183 Report on Application for Registration as an Indian, Dock Wynn, files of Leola Locklear.

184 Applications for Registration as an Indian, Hugh Brayboy, Duncan Locklear, Dock Wynn, files of Leola Locklear.

185 Carl C. Seltzer, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.," dated July 30, 1936, files of Leola Locklear.

186 William Zimmerman, Assistant Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs, to Joseph Brooks, December 12, 1938, files of Leola Locklear.

187 John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Vestia Locklear, Jan 28, 1939, files of Leola Locklear.

188 In 1971 when the Tuscarora tribe requested a list of the twenty-two from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau was unable to locate records of the enrollments. On the basis of the application information the Bureau furnished the tribe with an improvised list. In nineteen cases the Bureau was reasonably sure of the identification, in the other three cases a judgement was made "in terms of adding the names of borderline cases to the names of those 19 individuals definitely indicated as one-half or more Indian." Bureau of Indian Affairs to Tuscarora Tribe, North Carolina, November 29, 1971, files of Leola Locklear.

189 Memorandum, April 8, 1935, Felix Cohen to John Collier, reproduced in Pierce and Locklear, et al., Lumbee Petition, pp. 77-78.

190 Pierce and Locklear, et al., Lumbee Petition, pp. 78-81; Sider, "Political History," pp. 190-193.

191 Edwin Groome, Office of Indian Affairs, to Mr. Stewart, May 1, 1936, files of Leola Locklear.

192 Ibid.

193 Anonymous letter, reproduced in Sider, "Political History," pp. 193-96.

194 Ibid.

195 Pierce and Locklear, et al., Lumbee Petition, pp. 88-89.

196 Alice Gollan, interview with Benny Locklear, 7/19/89, I summarized in Gollan p. 41.

197 "Tuscarora Petition for Federal Recognition, 1980," pp. 436-37.

NOTES ON PART THREE, SECTION IX

- 198 Smith, The Lumbee Methodists, p. 75; Raleigh News and Observer, February 21, 1926, May 12, 1953.
- 199 N. C. General Assembly Joint Resolution, No. 36, 1951; Charlotte Observer, April 2, 1951; Lumberton Robesonian, April 5 and August 17, 1971, January 8, 1952.
- 200 Pierce and Locklear, et al., Lumbee Petition, p. 95; Raleigh News and Observer, February 26, 1953; North Carolina Public Laws, 1953, Ch. 874.
- 201 Blu, The Lumbee Problem, pp. 87-88; Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 187.
- 202 Blu, The Lumbee Problem, p. 88; Eliades and Oxendine, Pembroke State University, p. 60; Charles Craven, "The Robeson County Indian Uprising Against the KKK," South Atlantic Quarterly, 57 (Autumn 1958): 433-442.
- 203 Gollan, The Hatteras Tuscarora, pp. 109-132.
- 204 Blu, The Lumbee Problem, pp. 75-76.
- 205 Raleigh News and Observer, January 9, 1972.
- 206 Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, p. 163.
- 207 Lumberton Robesonian, January 13, 1972.
- 208 Reproduced in the "Tuscarora Petition for Federal Recognition, 1980," p. 440.
- 209 Gollan, The Hatteras Tuscarora, pp. 195-201.

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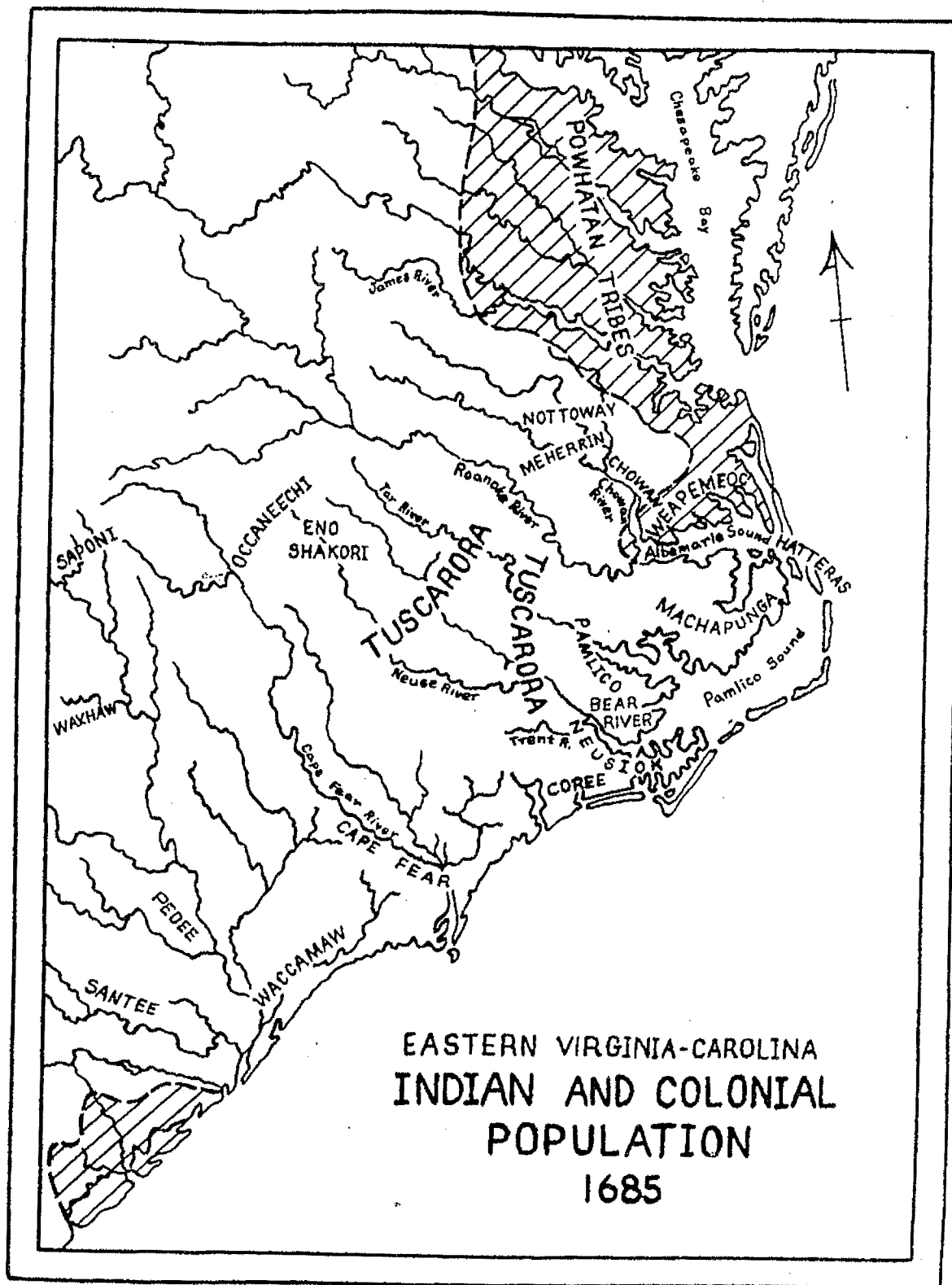
John C. Gorman. Untitled mss., n.d. [c.1894] in Henry Berry Lowry collection, N.C. State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

APPENDIX ONE: HISTORICAL MAPS

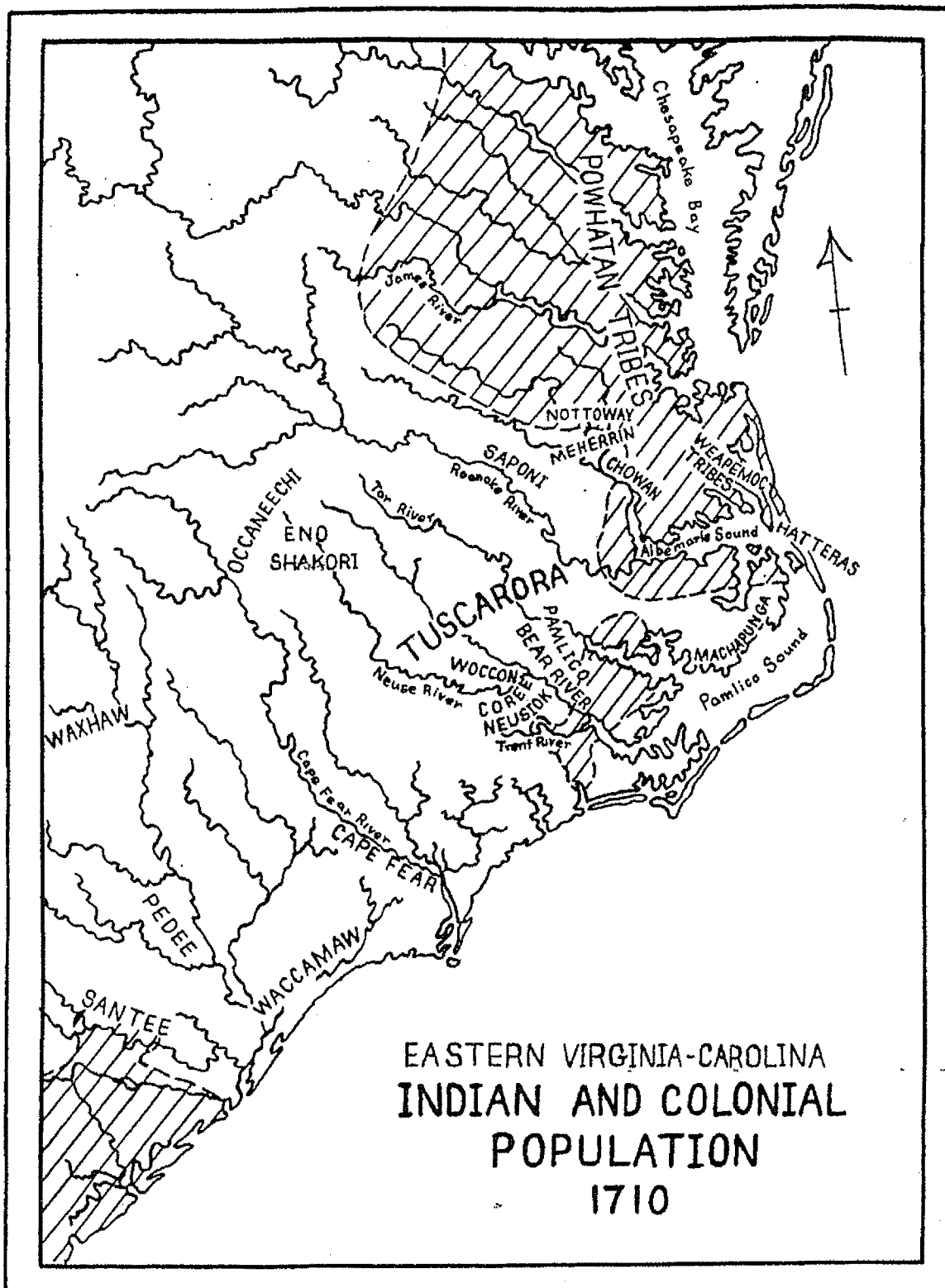
- Map 1 Eastern Virginia-Carolina Indian and Colonial
Population, 1685
- Map 2 Eastern Virginia-Carolina Indian and Colonial
Population, 1710
- Map 3 Extent of Tuscarora Travel, 1663-1710
- Map 4 Eastern North Carolina, Mid-1700s

Key to Map 4

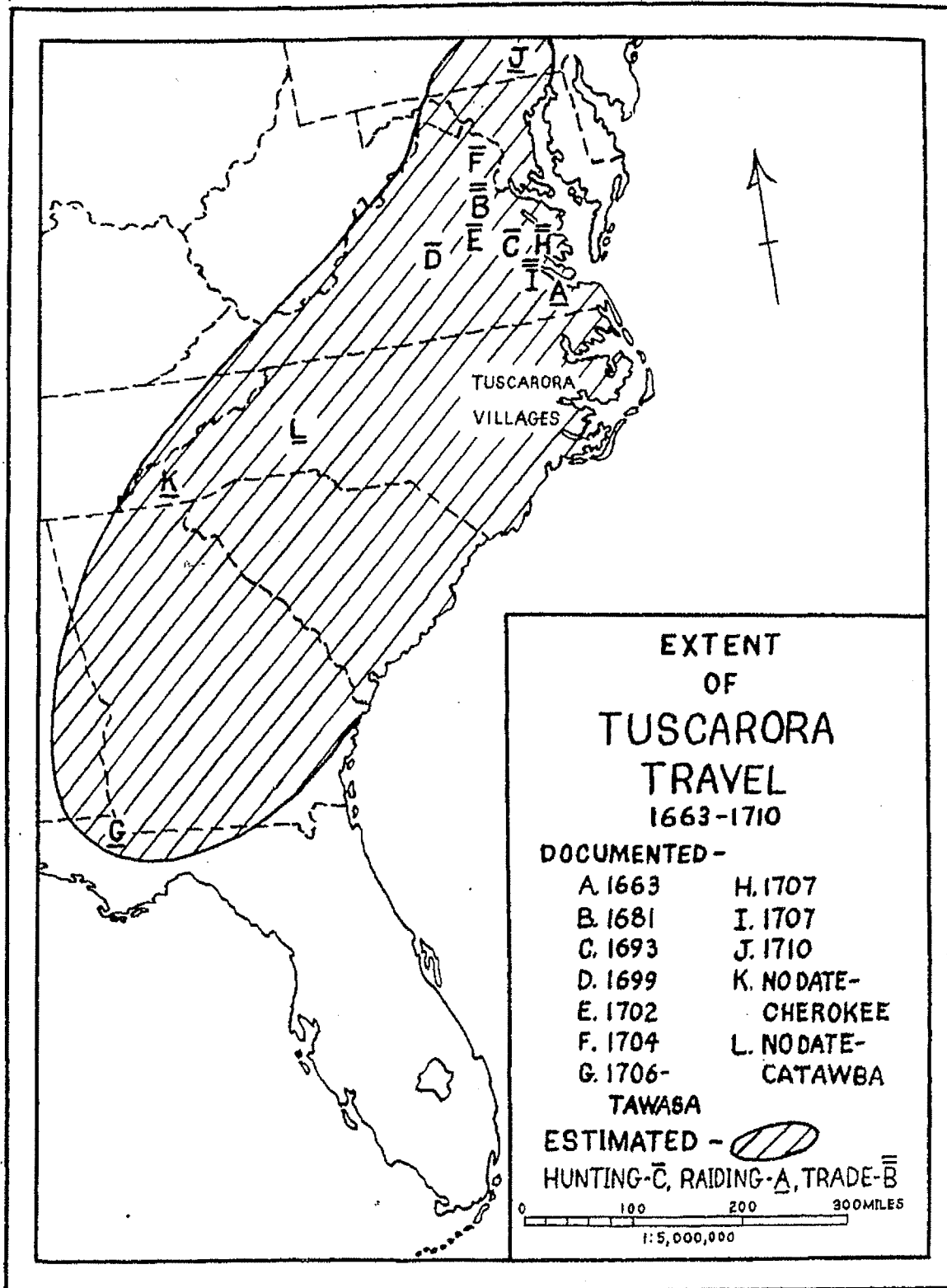
Note: Maps 1-3 from Douglas W. Boyce, "Notes on Tuscarora Political Organization, 1650-1713," Anthropology Masters Thesis, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1971.



Map 1



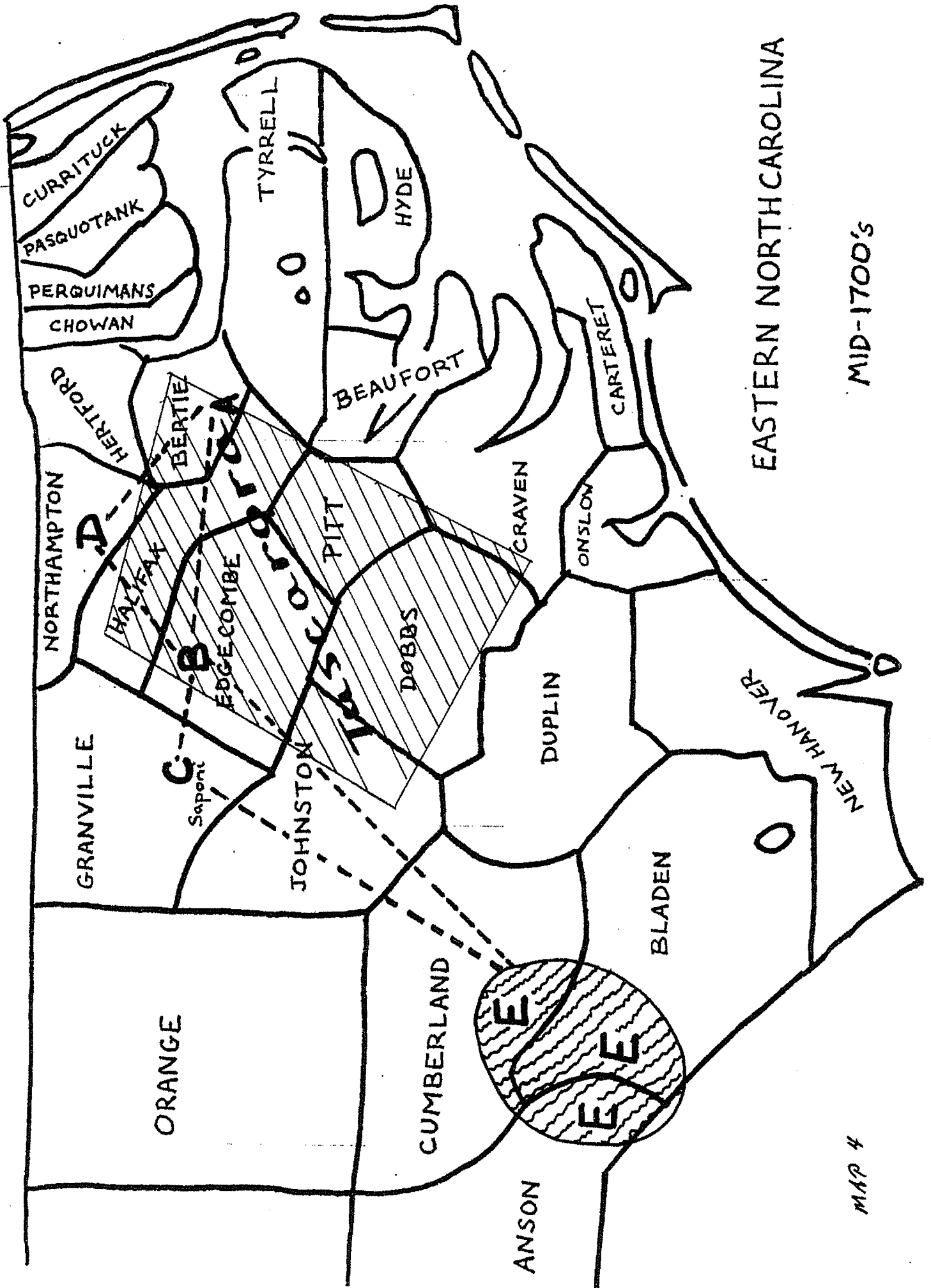
Map 2



Map 3

EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

MID-1700's



MAP 4

KEY TO MAP

A. Bertie County and Martin County:

1717-1803 Tuscarora Reservation.

1713 Bartholomew Chavis (p. 141, vol. 3, Colonial Bertie County Deed Abstracts, 1720-1757, N.C. Archives).

1780's Jacob Brayboy (p. 92, State Census of North Carolina, 1784-1787, second edition, edited by Mrs. Alvaretta Kenan Register [Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.] 1983)

B. Edgecombe County:

1736 Bartholomew Chavis (p.123, Abstracts of Deeds, Edgecombe Precinct, Edgecombe County, N.C. 1732-1758, Margaret M. Hofmann, [Weldon N.C.: Roanoke News Co.] 1987).

1741 John Kearsey, about fourteen miles west of Tuscarora reservation (Edgecombe County Deed Book One, p.402, N.C. Archives).

1743 William Chavis (Colony of North Carolina, 1765-1775, Abstracts of Land Patents Vol.2, Margaret Hofmann [Weldon N.C.: The Roanoke New Co.] 1984.

1749 Robert and John Locklear (p. 105, Abstracts of Deeds, Edgecombe, Hofmann, 1987).

1753 Cannon Cumbo (Edgecombe County Deed Book, N.C. Archives).

1700's, undated Randolph Locklear (Edgecombe County militia list, N.C. Archives).

C. Granville County and Franklin County

1738 Robert Locklear (p. 273, vol. I Franklin County Tax Lists, N.C. Archives).

1749 Thomas Cumbo, chain carrier on survey of Col. William Eaton's land (Book 5, p.201, and Book 10, p.49, N.C. Land Grant Offices).

1753 William and Phillip Chavis (Granville Grants 46-C, no.2, N.C. Archives).

1754 Sarah Kearsy and James Lowry (Mary C. Norment; The Lowrie History [Wilmington, N.C.: Daily Journal Print] 1875).

1761 William Locklear

1769 Thomas Locklear, Gibeon Chavis, and Ann Chavis, listed together (Granville County Tax List, N.C. Archives).

D. Northampton County

1726 Thomas Kearsy (p. 64, Margaret M. Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, North Carolina Public Registry, Deed Book One and Deed Book Two, 1741-1759 [Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.] 1983).

1741 Bartholomew Chavis (p. 8. Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, N.C., 1983).

1746 John Cumbo (p. 41, Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, N.C., 1983).

1748 Thomas Kersey (junior) (p.61, Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, N.C., 1983).

1749 Thomas Cumbo (vol. 2, p. 224, Margaret M. Hofmann; The Granville District of North Carolina, 1748-1763: Abstracts of Land Grants [Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.] 1987).

1752 Phillip Chavis (p.85, Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, N.C., 1983).

E. Cumberland, Bladen, and Anson Counties

1747 First Scottish settlement in Drowning Creek area finds "the ancestors of the Locklears, Revels, Cumbas, and Chavis'" (p.26,

Mary C. Norment; The Lowrie History [Wilmington, N.C.: Daily Journal Print] 1875).

1764 John Locklear (vol. 1, #7099, p.504, Margaret M. Hofmann; Colony of North Carolina 1735-1764: Abstracts of Land Patents [Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.] 1982).

1767 Sarah Kearsey and James Lowry (Bladen County Envelope 0762, N.C. Land Grant Office).

1768 Phillip Chavis (Bladen County, Abstracts of Early Deeds, N.C. Archives).

1771 Ishmael Chavis (pp.501-502, Bladen Deeds, 1738-1777, N.C. Archives).

1773 Cannon Cumbo (Anson County Envelope, Book 22, p.188, N.C. Land Grant Office)

1784 William Locklear (p.34, "A List of the Taxable Property in Bladen County for the Year 1784", N.C. Archives).

APPENDIX TWO: GENEALOGIES

A Note on Genealogical Sources

Genealogical Evidence for Tuscarora Identity

Descendants Charts for Significant Families

- A William L. Locklear
- B Sarah (Sally) Kearsey and James Lowry
- C Ishmael C. Chavis (Chavers)
- D Cannon Cumbo
- E Aaron Brooks

Pedigree Chart I: Vermon Locklear, Showing the Parents and Grandparents of the Current Chairman (including enrolled Indian, Lovedy Brooks Locklear)

Pedigree Charts II-V: Leola Locklear, Showing Direct Descent from Sarah Kearsey in the 18th century, through Henry Berry Lowry (Lowrie) in the 19th century.

A Note on Genealogical Sources

The genealogical charts presented here were compiled by Susan Yarnell using the Personal Ancestral File Family Records Program (Copyright 1986 by the Corporation of the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). Evidence was collected for the charts by Leola Locklear, Carol Oxendine, Wes White, and Susan Yarnell. The principal source of documents was the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, North Carolina. Published sources include:

Margaret M. Hofmann; Abstracts of Deeds, Edgecombe Precinct, Edgecombe County, North Carolina, 1732 through 1758 (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.) 1983.

----; Abstracts of Deeds, Northampton County, North Carolina, Public Registry Deed Book One and Deed Book Two, 1741-1759 (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.) 1983.

----; The Colony of North Carolina, 1735-1764, Abstracts of Land Patents, 2 vol. (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.) 1982.

----; The Granville District of North Carolina, 1748-1763, Abstracts of Land Grants 3 vol. (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.) 1986.

----; Northampton County, North Carolina, 1759-1808, Genealogical Abstracts of Wills (Weldon, N.C.: Roanoke News Co.) 1975.

Brent Holcomb; Anson County, North Carolina Wills and Estates, 1749-1795 (Copyright Brent Holcomb) 1975.

James H. Merrell; The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their

Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal
(Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press) 1989.

Thornton W. Mitchell; North Carolina Wills: A Testator Index
1665-1900 2 vol. (Raleigh) 1987.

Mary C. Norment; The Lowrie History (Wilmington: Daily Journal
Printer) 1875.

Worth S. Ray; The Lost Tribes of North Carolina (Austin, TX:
published by the author) 1947.

GENEALOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR TUSCARORA IDENTITY

Five family names significant in the history and formation of the Robeson county Indian community have been traced to the northeastern section of North Carolina. Kearsey, the name of James Lowry's Tuscarora wife, and Chavis occur in Bertie county, the site of the Tuscarora reservation of 1717 to 1803 (another Indian name of Robeson county, Brayboy, occurs in neighboring Martin county). From 1736 onwards, James Lowry, the Kearseys, the Chavises, Locklears, and Cumbos all appear in the records of Edgecombe county as well, placing them squarely in the pre-war territory of the Tuscarora.¹ These family names are also connected to a small band of Saponi living in what is now southern Vance County (then Granville county) between 1754 and 1761. In addition, Kearseys, Chavises, and Cumbos resided in Northampton county from 1728. Northampton county was variously the territory of the Tuscarora, Saponi, and Meherrin.² Individual names, recorded in the key to the map, recur in the records of these four areas. Several individuals known to be direct ancestors of the Indians in Robeson county are specifically mentioned within Tuscarora and Saponi territory: James Lowry, Sarah Kearsey, Cannon Cumbo, and William Locklear. The family of Phillip Chavis can be traced from Bertie county

¹ Douglas W. Boyce; Notes on Tuscarora Political Organization, 1650-1713 (Master's Thesis in Anthropology, University of North Carolina) 1971, p.6, p.26.

² John R. Swanton; The Indians of the Southeastern United States (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press) 1987 reprint of 1946 edition, map inserts p.1 and p.34.

(the first record of his grandfather, Bartholomew Chavis) through Edgecombe and Northampton counties to Granville county (records of Phillip and his father William). In the 1760's, Phillip Chavis appears in Bladen county, near the present site of the Robeson county Indian community. Around the same time, a known ancestor of the present-day Tuscarora, Ishmael Chavis, appears in the records of Bladen county.

The Saponi connections in the genealogical evidence further support the contention of Tuscarora descent. Although originally enemies of the Tuscarora, the Saponi eventually allied with them. After 1732, some moved in with the North Carolina Tuscarora and others joined the Tuscarora who had moved to the Six Nations in New York.³

The descendants charts for William Locklear (Lazy Will), Sarah Kearsey and James Lowry, Ishmael Chavis, and Cannon Cumbo demonstrate the descent of the Tuscarora as a group from these ancestors. The above mentioned individuals are marked as the first generation. Their children are marked as the second generation and so on down to the ninth and most recent generation. A small "s" indicates the spouses of descendants. The birth date or date of the first record of each individual appears in parentheses at the far right. The numbers to the immediate right of each name are computer identification numbers. Most of the seventh generation shown on these charts are members

³ James H. Merrell; The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press) 1989, p.116.

of the Hatteras-Tuscarora organization. All of the eight and ninth generations are members.

Leola Locklear, co-chairman of the Hatteras-Tuscarora, appears on descendant charts "A," "B," "C," and "D."

Respectively, this shows her descent from William Locklear, one of the earliest recorded Locklears in the Robeson county area, and Sarah Kearsey, the Tuscarora wife of James Lowry. Descendant chart "C" records the family line of Ishmael Chavis, first recorded in the Robeson county vicinity in 1771. Ishmael Chavis appears to be the descendant of Bartholomew Chavis, who is first recorded near the Tuscarora reservation in Bertie county, possibly through William or Phillip Chavis. Both William and Phillip Chavis were migrants from Tuscarora territory to Robeson county. Chart "D" lists the offspring of Cannon Cumbo. Cannon Cumbo first appears in the records of Edgecombe county in 1753, Tuscarora territory from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. By 1773, Cannon Cumbo was a landowner in the Robeson county area.

The descendant chart for Aaron Brooks (chart "E") shows fourteen of the twenty-two individuals enrolled as one-half or more Indian by the Department of the Interior in 1938. They are marked by a small "e" at the end of their names. Included is Ralph "Pikey" Brooks, a former leader of the Tuscarora during the Longhouse movement of the 1940's. His grandchildren and great grandchildren (generations 4 and 5) are members of the Hatteras-Tuscarora. Pedigree chart I for Vermon Locklear, chairman of the

Hatteras-Tuscarora, provides another link; his paternal grandmother was one of the individuals enrolled by the federal government as Indian in the 1930's. Pedigree charts II through V trace the descent of Leola Locklear from Sarah Kearsey, an eighteenth-century Tuscarora Indian from the Bertie county Tuscarora reservation.

These charts show some alternate spellings in parentheses for first and last names, such as "Chavous" and "Chavers" for "Chavis." Other alternate spellings seen in the records include: "Lowrie" and "Lowrey" for "Lowry," "Braveboy" and "Braboy" for "Brayboy," "Lockler" and "Locklere" for "Locklear," "Deas" and "Dees" for "Deese," "Kearsy," "Cairsey," and "Kersey" for "Kearsey," and so on. Nicknames and one alias are also shown in parentheses. The alias appears on pedigree chart II, individual number 6: "Strong," the last name used by John Gorman while he lived in Robeson county.

DESCENDANTS CHART

A

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Page 1

- 1- William L Locklear-40 (1778)
- s- Locklear-41
- 2- Elizabeth B Locklear-34 (1775)
- s- William Lowry-33 (1775)
- 3- Allen Lowry-31 (1796)
- s- Mary (Polly) Cumbo Lowry-32 (1809)
- 4- Patrick Lowry Rev.-215 (1821)
- 4- William Lowry-214 (1833)
- 4- Lowry-216
- 4- Lowry-217
- 4- Sinclair Lowry-218 (1830)
- s- Elizabeth Moore-247
- 4- Orra Lowry-272 (1835)
- 4- James Lowry-219 (1833)
- s- Huldah Ransom-239
- 4- Calvin Lowry-220 (1835)
- s- Maria Sampson-225
- 5- D. F. Lowry Rev.-226
- 5- Nancy Lowrie Revels Mrs.-227 (1878)
- s- Luther Revels-228
- 6- Juddie (senior) Revels-229 (1902)
- 6- Leroy Revels-230 (1902)
- 6- Dora Frances R Emanuel-231 (1902)
- 6- Rosana Revels Boyette M-232 (1902)
- 6- Julia Revels Hammond Mrs.-233 (1902)
- 6- Stella Joyce R Kornasky-234 (1902)
- 6- Beulah Revels Jones Mrs.-235 (1902)
- 6- Estelle Revels Clark Mrs.-236 (1902)
- 6- Bessie Revels-237 (1902)
- 6- Johnnie Lee Revels-238 (1902)
- 4- Thomas (Tom) Lowry-221 (1842)
- s- Francis Wilkins-248
- 4- Stephen Lowry-222 (1843)
- s- Catherine Oxendine-240
- 4- Henry Berry Lowry-11 (1846)
- s- Rhoda (Rhodicy) S Lowry-12 (1849)
- 5- Sally Ann Lowry-241 (1867)
- 5- Henry Delaney Lowry-242 (1869)
- 5- Nellie Ann (Polly) Lowry-13 (1871)
- s- Benjamin (Bennie) Chavis I-10 (1842)
- 6- Calvin Lowry-243 (1900)
- 6- Lowry-244
- 6- Leoleor Lowry-73 (1900)
- 6- Pearl Lowrie Locklear-14 (1900)
- s- Floyd Aulen (Olin) Locklear-5 (1883)
- 7- Bessie Mae Locklear-200 (1918)
- s- Ardell Locklear-459 (1917)
- 8- Odell Locklear-876 (1939)
- s- Johnnie L. Locklear-878 (1945)
- 9- Elvis Ray Locklear-879 (1969)
- 9- Jill Locklear-880 (1975)
- 9- Dell Ray Locklear-881 (1978)
- 9- Scottie Odell Locklear-882 (1981)
- 8- Evelyn Locklear Brooks-1298 (1940)
- s- Donald Ray Brooks-1022 (1942)
- 9- Edward Ray Brooks-1299 (1965)

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P. 3.6. Claims Brancey
was orig. name
(on 1790 census)
which must be the
cause of 1790 shows W. Locklear

Claims (keep see original)
trying to claim his bits
with a
tree only
1800.

See
2nd V.
"Treaties"
p. 91
Congressional
Library

1915 - 1/2 of population in American
"Indians of NC"
P. 124
82 - same as original
1833

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Page 2

- 9- Lars Dane Brooks-1300 (1968)
- 9- Ertle Ray Brooks-1301 (1972)
- 8- Sara F. Locklear-1351 (1942)
- s- C. B. Locklear Jr.-1350 (1941)
 - 9- Stanford Locklear-1352 (1967)
 - 9- Benny R. Locklear-1353 (1970)
 - 9- Cecil Locklear-1354 (1971)
 - 9- Teresa F. Locklear-1355 (1972)
- 8- Ruby Dean Locklear Brooks-775 (1953)
- s- John Brooks-774 (1949)
 - 9- Richard Ray Locklear-776 (1970)
 - 9- Patty Locklear-777 (1970)
 - 9- Greg Locklear-778 (1972)
 - 9- Jonathon Brooks-779 (1974)
 - 9- Charlene Brooks-780 (1976)
- 7- Polly Locklear Brayboy-201 (1923)
- s- John D. Brayboy-606 (1925)
 - 8- Joseph Brayboy-608 (1948)
 - s- Shirley Brayboy-611 (1950)
 - 9- Venissa Ann Brayboy-612 (1970)
 - 9- Joseph Brayboy Jr.-613 (1974)
 - 8- Britton Brayboy-1050 (1946)
 - s- Blondell Brooks-1051 (1944)
 - 9- Charles Brayboy-1052 (1964)
 - s- Krecia Smiling Brayboy-1055 (1966)
 - 10- Kendrick Brayboy-1056 (1985)
 - 10- Kendall Brayboy-1057 (1987)
 - 8- Orland Brayboy-730 (1953)
 - s- Eveline Locklear Brayboy-607 (1948)
 - 9- Jennifer Ann Brayboy-731 (1969)
 - 9- John D. Brayboy-732 (1987)
 - 8- Sanford Brayboy-1136 (1956)
 - s- Sandra Cummings Brayboy-1137 (1957)
 - 9- Sankisa Brayboy-1138 (1980)
 - 9- Sashenna Brayboy-1139 (1983)
 - 8- Maxine Brayboy-734 (1961)
- 7- Josephine L Thompson-81 (1933)
- s- R. D. Thompson-80 (1928)
 - 8- Joann Thompson-829 (1954)
 - 8- Marie Thompson-82
 - s- Tucker-83
 - 8- Ardell Thompson-831 (1955)
 - 8- James Clayton Thompson-1003 (1961)
 - s- Rita Hunt Thompson-1006 (1967)
 - 9- Brandi Lynn Thompson-1007 (1984)
 - 9- Jessica Renee Thompson-1008 (1986)
 - 8- Mark Thompson-830 (1972)
- 7- Floyd Locklear-197 (1925)
- 7- Archie Locklear-198 (1925)
- 7- Leola Locklear-15 (1931)
- s- Vernon Locklear-16 (1929)
 - 8- Mary Lois L Oxendine-192 (1950)
 - 8- Earline Locklear Mrs.-193 (1953)
 - s- James Lester Locklear Jr.-437 (1950)
 - 9- Felicia Locklear-440 (1972)
 - 9- Brian Locklear-441 (1976)

- 8- Prentice Locklear-194 (1954)
- s- Sharon Rose Locklear-432 (1958)
 - 9- Prentice Locklear Jr.-433 (1978)
 - 9- Elisha Locklear-434 (1983)
 - 9- Stevie Locklear-435 (1987)
- 8- Franklin S Locklear-195 (1957)
- s- Laura Ann Locklear-590 (1951)
 - 9- Latessia M Locklear-592 (1977)
 - 9- Spencer Nacoma Locklear-593 (1979)
 - 9- Crystal S Locklear-594 (1982)
 - 9- Angela Nicole Locklear-595 (1984)
- 8- Dennis Locklear-196 (1959)
- 7- Lois Locklear-202 (1935)
 - 8- Billy D. Locklear-1349 (1955)
 - 8- Bobby Dean Locklear-867 (1957)
- 7- Lamon Locklear-199 (1939)
- s- Annie Lois Locklear-605 (1943)
 - 8- Gloria A. L Strickland-1107 (1960)
- s- Ken Strickland-1113 (1960)
 - 9- Andera Strickland-1114 (1980)
 - 9- Ashely Strickland-1115 (1984)
- 8- Patricia Locklear-1108 (1962)
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 - 9- Nececa Breanna Locklear-1117 (1985)
 - 9- Chelsey Locklear-1118 (1986)
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- s- Jackie Chavis Locklear-1119 (1960)
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 - 9- Derick Locklear-1122 (1987)
- 8- Connie Locklear Hood-1110 (1965)
 - 9- Nevea Locklear-1123 (1983)
 - 9- Lucrecia Locklear-1124 (1985)
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- 8- Anita Locklear Hunt-1111 (1968)
- s- Dwayne Hunt-1125 (1965)
 - 9- Angelica Hunt-1126 (1988)
- 8- Quanda Locklear-1112 (1970)
- 6- Willie Lowrie Locklear-245 (1902)
- 6- Reddie Lowry Chavis-246 (1906)
- s- Willie Chavis-828 (1900)
- 7- Ernest Chavis-1323 (1929)
- s- Betty Neary-1324 (1943)
 - 8- Ernest James Chavis-1325 (1958)
- 8- Danny Earl Chavis-1326 (1961)
 - 9- Christopher J Chavis-1330 (1982)
 - 9- Nicole Kathleen Chavis-1331 (1983)
 - 9- Danny Earl Chavis II-1332 (1985)
- 8- Mary Ruth C Ahlfeldt-1327 (1965)
- s- Mark David Ahlfeldt-1328 (1961)
 - 9- Shannon M Ahlfeldt-1329 (1984)
- 7- Retha M. Chavis Brierly-87 (1934)
- s- John H. Brierly-86 (1931)
 - 8- Linda Brierly Ferell-832 (1953)
- s- James H. Ferell-834 (1950)
 - 9- James H. Ferell Jr.-835 (1970)

DESCENDANTS CHART

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Page 4

-
- 8- John H. Brierly Jr.-833 (1976)
 - 4- Purline (Pert) L Ransom-223 (1847)
 - s- Robert Ransom-249
 - 5- George Ransom-250
 - 5- Ransom Hunt-251
 - 5- Ransom Oxendine-252
 - 4- Sally Jane Lowry-224 (1848)
 - 4- Betsy (Locklear) Lowry-321 (1842)
 - 4- Francis (Carter) Lowry-322 (1844)
 - 4- Sandy Lowry-323 (1855)
 - s- Cathrean Locklear-39 (1816)
 - 3- George Lowry-55 (1798)
-

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Page 1

- 1- Sarah (Sally) Kearsley-38 (1741)
- s- James Lowry-37 (1740)
 - 2- William Lowry-33 (1775)
 - s- Elizabeth B Locklear-34 (1775)
 - 3- Allen Lowry-31 (1796)
 - s- Mary (Polly) Cumbo Lowry-32 (1809)
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 - 9- Thomas C. Hood-1128 (1988)
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- s- Willie Chavis-828 (1900)
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 - s- Betty Neary-1324 (1943)
 - 8- Ernest James Chavis-1325 (1958)
 - 8- Danny Earl Chavis-1326 (1961)
 - 9- Christopher J Chavis-1330 (1982)
 - 9- Nicole Kathleen Chavis-1331 (1983)
 - 9- Danny Earl Chavis II-1332 (1985)
 - 8- Mary Ruth C Ahlfeldt-1327 (1965)
 - s- Mark David Ahlfeldt-1328 (1961)
 - 9- Shannon M Ahlfeldt-1329 (1984)
 - 7- Retha M. Chavis Brierly-87 (1934)
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 - 9- James H. Ferell Jr.-835 (1970)

- 8- John H. Brierly Jr.-833 (1976)
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4- Francis (Carter) Lowry-322 (1844)
4- Sandy Lowry-323 (1855)
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2- Mary Lowry-51 (1765)
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3- Daniel Lowry-271 (1782)
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9- Shannon M Ahlfeldt-1329 (1984)
7- Retha M. Chavis Brierly-87 (1934)
s- John H. Brierly-86 (1931)
8- Linda Brierly Ferell-832 (1953)
s- James H. Ferell-834 (1950)
9- James H. Ferell Jr.-835 (1970)

DESCENDANTS CHART

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- 8- John H. Brierly Jr.-833 (1976)
4- Purline (Pert) L Ransom-223 (1847)
s- Robert Ransom-249
5- George Ransom-250
5- Ransom Hunt-251
5- Ransom Oxendine-252
4- Sally Jane Lowry-224 (1848)
4- Betsy (Locklear) Lowry-321 (1842)
4- Francis (Carter) Lowry-322 (1844)
4- Sandy Lowry-323 (1855)
2- Gilbert Cumbo-256 (1784)
2- Elijah Cumbo-259 (1755)
2- Moses Cumbo-258 (1790)
2- Aaron Cumbo-253 (1790)
2- Elisha Cumbo-260 (1790)
2- Mary Cumbo-261 (1790)
s- John Cumbo-262 (1790)
2- Gibson (Giby) Cumbo-270 (1800)

DESCENDANTS CHART

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- 1- Aaron Brooks-75 (1860)
- s- Dalsedia Locklear Brooks-186 (1860)
 - 2- Fannie Brooks Jacobs e-1366 (1880)
 - 2- Lilly Jane B Locklear-1367 (1885)
 - 2- Lawson Brooks e-1365 (1890)
 - s- Beadan Brooks-185 (1900)
 - 3- Henry Brooks e-184 (1903)
 - 3- Jesse Brooks e-183 (1917)
 - 3- Annie Mae Brooks Locklear-182 (1913)
 - 3- Lake Faddy Brooks e-181 (1920)
 - 3- Jim Baker Brooks e-1369 (1923)
 - 3- Ella Lee Brooks e-1370 (1926)
 - 3- Odell Brooks e-1371 (1929)
 - 3- Anna Brooks e-1372 (1930)
 - 2- Mary Lee Brooks Hammond e-1368 (1890)
 - 2- Ralph (Pikey) Brooks e-167 (1920)
 - s- Lovedy Locklear Brooks-1364 (1890)
 - 3- Ralph (junior) Brooks e-187 (1925)
 - s- Naomi Locklear Brooks-985 (1931)
 - 4- David Brooks Jr.-1287 (1955)
 - s- Teresa Locklear-1288
 - 5- Jonathan David Brooks-1289 (1970)
 - 5- Emery Brooks-1290 (1970)
 - 5- Regina Lynn Locklear-1291 (1970)
 - 4- Joe Locklear-1356 (1959)
 - s- Arlene Locklear-1357 (1965)
 - 5- Tracey E Locklear-1359 (1985)
 - 5- Alex Terrel Locklear-1360 (1988)
 - 3- Lovedy Brooks Locklear-188 (1939)
 - 3- Paul Brooks e-189 (1935)
 - 2- Rosetta Brooks Hunt e-61 (1895)
 - 2- Colen Brooks-64 (1897)

PEDIGREE CHART II

Name and Address of Submitter:

PHONE:

Number 1 on this chart
is the same person
as No. _____ on
Chart No. _____

2 Floyd Aulen (Olin) Locklear (Indian)-5----

BORN: 9 AUG 1883
PLACE: Maxton, R, North Carolina
MARR: 1921 --7
PLACE: Dillon, D, South Carolina
DIED: 9 JUN 1965
PLACE: Launenburg, S, North Carolina

1 Leola Locklear-15-----

BORN: 8 MAY 1931
PLACE: Maxton, R, North Carolina
MARR: JAN 1948 --8
PLACE: Dillon, Dillon Co., S.C.
DIED:
PLACE:

Vernon Locklear-16-----
Spouse

3 Pearl Lowrie Locklear-14-----

BORN: 16 AUG 1900
PLACE: Mississippi
DIED: 23 SEP 1945
PLACE: Hamlet, M, North Carolina

4 Allen Lowry-31-----

BORN: ABT 1796
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
MARR: ABT 1827 --18
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
DIED: 3 MAR 1865
PLACE: Maxton, R, North Carolina

5 Nancy Patience Maynor Locklear (I

BORN: 1849
PLACE: South Robeson Co, N
DIED: 1926
PLACE: Maxton, R, North Carolina

6 Benjamin (Bennie) Chavis Indian-1

BORN: MAY 1842
PLACE: North Robeson Co, N
MARR: BEF 1900 --6
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
DIED: AFT 1900
PLACE: Burnt Swamp, R, North Carol

7 Nellie Ann (Polly) Lowry-13-----

BORN: 1871
PLACE: Burnt Swamp, R, North Carol
DIED: 1962
PLACE: Prospect, R, North Carolina

PEDIGREE CHART III

Name and Address of Submitter:

Number 1 on this chart
is the same person

as No. 7 on
Chart No. II

2 Henry Berry Lowry-11-----

BORN: 1846
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N
MARR: 7 DEC 1865 --5
PLACE: Burnt Swamp,R,North Carolina
DIED: 20 FEB 1872
PLACE: Burnt Swamp,R,North Carolina

4 Allen Lowry-31-----

BORN: ABT 1796
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolin
MARR: ABT 1827 --18
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolin
DIED: 3 MAR 1865
PLACE: T,,North Carolina

5 Mary (Polly) Cumbo Lowry-32-----

BORN: ABT 1809
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolin
DIED: 28 AUG 1890
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolin

1 Nellie Ann (Polly) Lowry-13-----

BORN: 1871
PLACE: Burnt Swamp,R,North Carolina
MARR: BEF 1900 --6
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolina
DIED: 1962
PLACE: Prospect,R,North Carolina
Benjamin (Bennie) Chavis Indian-10-----
Spouse

6 John (Strong) Gorman (white)-45--

BORN: BEF 1843
PLACE:
MARR: BEF 1843 --26
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N
DIED: BEF 7 DEC 1865
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N

3 Rhoda (Rhodicy) (Strong) Lowry-12-----

BORN: 1849
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N
DIED: 9 OCT 1909
PLACE: Robeson Co.,North Carolina

7 Celia Ann (Sealy) Lowry-46-----

BORN: ABT 1823
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N
DIED: AFT 1866
PLACE: South Robeson Co,N

Name and Address of Submitter:

PHONE:

Number 1 on this chart
is the same person
as No. 2 on
Chart No. III

2 Allen Lowry-31-----

BORN: ABT 1796
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
MARR: ABT 1827 --18
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
DIED: 3 MAR 1865
PLACE: T., North Carolina

1 Henry Berry Lowry-11-----

BORN: 1846
PLACE: South Robeson Co., N
MARR: 7 DEC 1865 --5
PLACE: Burnt Swamp, R, North Carolina
DIED: 20 FEB 1872
PLACE: Burnt Swamp, R, North Carolina

Rhoda (Rhodicy) (Strong) Lowry-12-----
Spouse

3 Mary (Polly) Cumbo Lowry-32-----

BORN: ABT 1809
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
DIED: 28 AUG 1890
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina

4 William Lowry-33-----

BORN: BEF 1775
PLACE: Franklin Co., North Caroli
MARR: AFT 1810 --19
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolin
DIED: ABT 1840
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolin

5 Elizabeth (Bettie) Locklear-34---

BORN: BEF 1775
PLACE: Tuscarora band, North Caro
DIED: ABT 1820
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolin

6 Stephen Cumbo-35-----

BORN:
PLACE:
MARR: 23 OCT 1799 --20
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolin
DIED: AFT MAR 1817
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolin

7 Sarah Broom-36-----

BORN:
PLACE:
DIED:
PLACE:

PEDIGREE CHART

V

Name and Address of Submitter:

PHONE:

Number 1 on this chart
is the same person
as No. 4 on
Chart No. IV

2 James Lowry-37-----
BORN: BEF 1740
PLACE: ,Virginia
MARR: 1760/1767 --28
PLACE: Franklin Co., North Carolina
DIED: AFT 13 MAR 1810
PLACE: Harper's Ferry,, North Carolina

4 -----
BORN:
PLACE:
MARR: --22
PLACE:
DIED:
PLACE:

1 William Lowry-33-----
BORN: BEF 1775
PLACE: Franklin Co., North Carolina
MARR: AFT 1810 --19
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
DIED: ABT 1840
PLACE: Robeson Co., North Carolina
Elizabeth (Bettie) Locklear-34-----
Spouse

5 -----
BORN:
PLACE:
DIED:
PLACE:

3 Sarah (Sally) Kearsey-38-----
BORN: ABT 1741
PLACE: Tuscarora band
DIED: AFT 13 MAR 1810
PLACE: Harper's Ferry,, North Carolina

6 -----
BORN:
PLACE:
MARR:
PLACE:
DIED:
PLACE:

7 -----
BORN:
PLACE:
DIED:
PLACE: