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INDIANS AND ACADEMIA: HOW THE POST-WORLD WAR TWO REVIVAL OF
INTEREST IN NATIVE AMERICANS INFLUENCED THE TEACHING OF
INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
GRADUATE FACULTY OF MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
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FOR THE DOCTOR OF ARTS DEGREE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

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MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

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INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

INDIANS AND ACADEMIA: HOW THE POST-WORLD WAR TWO REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN NATIVE AMERICANS INFLUENCED THE TEACHING OF INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

Manuel A. Conley

After four hundred and fifty years in the shadows, shortly after the middle of the twentieth century, various events converged to shed new light on Native Americans. During the cultural upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, a dramatic surge of public interest in Native Americans produced what some historians call the Indian Renaissance. This revival of interest prompted far reaching changes in the field of Native American history. These changes were particularly profound in North Carolina, a state with an Indian population of over 80,000.

Utilizing both literary and statistical sources, this dissertation examines the historiography of Indian-white relations with particular emphasis on the second half of the twentieth century in order to evaluate how the Indian Renaissance influenced the teaching of American Indian history in North Carolina's four-year colleges and universities.

The analysis of American Indian historiographical patterns before 1776 reveals that although shifting

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paradigms variously characterized Indians as innocent victims or natural slaves, ignoble or noble savages, and obstacles to progress or models to emulate, Native Americans were persistently depicted as passive props or reactive bit players in the New World's historical pageant. American independence brought little change. Patriotic romanticists, scientific historians, and the followers of Frederick Jackson Turner continued to relegate Indians to inconsequential footnotes as impeters of progress. Although the emergence of ethnohistory in the 1950s fueled some heightened curiosity, it was not until the revival of interest in Native Americans during the Indian Renaissance that anyone in North Carolina higher education gave serious thought to teaching Indian history.

The examination of the development of higher education in North Carolina explains how the nation-wide Indian Renaissance together with local Indian unrest contributed to the establishment of American Indian history courses, first at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke, then later at other institutions in the state.

Finally, data gathered from surveys of history department chairs, instructors teaching Indian history, and students at UNC-Pembroke support this dissertation's conclusion that compared to the years prior to the Indian Renaissance, the teaching of Native American history is alive and well in North Carolina higher education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a work of synthesis and analysis, this dissertation is indebted to every scholar who has contributed to the body of research upon which it is based. To all of them I wish to express my sincere appreciation.

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All my colleagues at Pembroke's History and American Indian Studies departments offered me liberal doses of encouragement, sympathy, and support, but one, Dr. Bruce J. Dehart, gave me considerably more. His unselfish labor proofreading this work was invaluable. Finally, I must mention my friend and mentor, Dr. David K. Eliades, whose inspiration and example prompted me to undertake and complete this endeavor.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation evaluates how the post-World War Two revival of interest in Native Americans has influenced the teaching of American Indian history in North Carolina's four-year colleges and universities.¹ It examines the historiography of Indian-white relations and the changing popular perceptions of Native Americans with particular emphasis on the second half of the twentieth century. It then endeavors to interpret these phenomena and measure their impact on the current state of Indian history in North Carolina higher education.

Background and Significance

Popular interest in Native Americans has waxed and waned throughout this nation's history. It peaked numerous times as Americans moved westward in fulfillment of their perceived manifest destiny, but declined precipitously after the frontier disappeared in the 1890s. During the first half

¹While it is acknowledged that some semantic controversy exists concerning the names used to designate the aborigines of the western hemisphere, for the purpose of this study, the terms "Indian," "Native American," "American Indian," and "American native" are used interchangeably to identify the indigenous people north of Mexico, excluding the Eskimos.

of the twentieth century, non-Indian citizens, if they thought of Indians at all, most often referred to them as "vanishing Americans."²

This attitude began to change dramatically after World War Two. Building slowly during the immediate post-war years, the revived interest in Native Americans underwent a veritable renaissance during the 1960s and 1970s. The essential reasons for this burgeoning interest appear to have been fourfold: the emergence of the ethnohistorical approach to Native American history, mounting discontent with the Vietnam War, heightened concern for ecology, and the civil rights movement.³ While these factors are valid, a complete explanation of this phenomenon should also take into account the techniques of modern commercial culture that seek to mold and merchandize images and the mass media's efforts to profit from fashionable trends. For example, Dee Brown's sympathetic but methodologically flawed Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee ranked second on the 1971

²Arrel Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980), 515.

³See Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership: Historians, Anthropologists and American Indian History," Ethnohistory 29, no. 1 (1982): 21; Francis Paul Prucha, "Books on American Indian Policy: A Half-Decade of Important Work, 1970-1975," Journal of American History 63, no. 3 (1976): 658; and Donald L. Parman and Catherine Price, "A 'Work in Progress': The Emergence of Indian History as a Professional Field," Western Historical Quarterly 20 (May 1989): 187.

nonfiction best seller list.⁴ Also, the 1970 films Soldier Blue, A Man Called Horse, and Little Big Man--all of which painted compassionate, though stereotyped pictures of Indian life--were major box office hits.

The dramatic surge of public interest in Native Americans during the 1960s and 1970s had profound impact on the history profession.⁵ According to a study on the emergence of Indian history as a professional field, dissertations written on Indians rose from eleven during the period 1955-1959 to sixty-three during 1970-1974. Since the late-1960s, historians using both conventional and ethnohistorical approaches have produced an impressive body of new literature on Indians. Both national and leading regional historical journals increasingly published articles on Indian topics during the 1970s. In addition, several history associations--including the Organization of American Historians, the Western History Association, and the American Historical Association--began to present sessions

⁴Paul Prucha, review of Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West, by Dee Brown, American Historical Review 77 (April 1972): 589; and Alice Payne Hackett, "Non-Fiction Bestseller List," in Bowker Annual of Library and Book Trade Information, 17th ed. (New York: Bowker, 1972.): 125.

⁵Francis Jennings, one of the first to proclaim the "renaissance" of American Indian history, predicted it would eventually bring an "enlightenment" in American history generally. Francis Jennings, "The Discovery of Americans," William and Mary Quarterly 41 (July 1984): 440.

on Indian topics, a field heretofore virtually ignored.⁶ Perhaps most significant of all, some of the same forces that sparked public interest in Indians also prompted notable changes on college campuses. Pressures from militant groups and student interest in Indians influenced several schools to establish Indian studies programs⁷ and many more to offer new or additional courses on Indian history, Indian literature, and anthropology.⁸

The restructuring of programs and changes in curricula were greatest in those states with large Indian populations. The five most populous Indian states--Oklahoma, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Washington--are in the West; however, one eastern state--North Carolina--ranks sixth in Indian population. According to the 1990 census, more than

⁶Parman and Price, "A 'Work in Progress'," 188.

⁷In a 1984 examination of Indian studies programs, researchers found a near 50/50 ratio between programs using the term "American Indian" and those using "Native American." The study identified 49 American universities and colleges offering such programs. Nine of these programs were administered by separate Indian studies departments: Pembroke State University (Pembroke, N.C.); Dakota Wesleyan University (Mitchell, S.Dak.); University of North Dakota (Grand Forks, N.Dak.); Dartmouth College (Hanover, N.H.); University of Alaska (Fairbanks, Alaska); University of Washington (Seattle, Wash.); San Diego State University (San Diego, Calif.); Bemidji State University (Bemidji, Minn.); and University of Minnesota (Duluth, Minn.). Susan Guyette and Charlotte Heth, Issues for the Future of American Indian Studies (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1984), 8.

⁸Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present (New York: Random House, 1978), xiii.

80,000 residents of the Tar Heel State identify themselves as Native American.⁹ Most North Carolina Indians are members of two tribes: the federally acknowledged Eastern Band of the Cherokee and the state acknowledged Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians.

Until the end of World War Two, these native peoples went largely unnoticed by the dominant non-Indian majority. But in the decades after mid-century, the Indian Renaissance was particularly powerful in North Carolina. In 1956 the U.S. Congress recognized the Lumbees as a valid Indian tribe (although at the same time it refused to acknowledge them as eligible for Bureau of Indian Affairs services).¹⁰ In 1958 the Lumbees made national headlines when they broke up a Ku Klux Klan meeting near their community.¹¹ In the late 1960s and early 1970s North Carolina acknowledged three additional tribes, chartered four urban Indian organizations, and established a state Commission of Indian Affairs.

⁹Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, American Indian and Alaska Native Areas: 1990 (Washington, D.C., 1991), 117.

¹⁰While this law recognizes the Lumbees, it does not acknowledge them as "eligible for any services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians" Public Law 84-570: An Act Relating to the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina, U.S. Code, Vol. 1, sec. 254 (1956).

¹¹See "North Carolina: Indian Raid," Newsweek, 27 January 1958, 27; "Bad Medicine for the Klan: North Carolina Indians Break Up Kluxers' Anti-Indian Meeting," Life, 27 January 1958, 26-28; and "When Carolina Indians Went on the Warpath," U.S. News and World Report, 31 January 1958, 14.

Meanwhile, in 1969 Pembroke State College for Indians began admitting non-Indian students, became a member of the University of North Carolina system, and changed its name to Pembroke State University. The "college," as Lumbees still call it, was founded in 1887 as the Croatan (Indian) Normal School. In 1940 it became America's first four-year, baccalaureate granting institution for Indians in America. In 1972, recognizing its heritage and responding to student demands for more "relevant" courses, Pembroke State established the first American Indian Studies Department east of the Mississippi River.¹²

There is evidence that during the 1980s student interest in Native Americans declined somewhat;¹³ but in the 1990s, controversies over multiculturalism and political correctness, exacerbated by disputes concerning the Columbus Quincentenary, served to revitalize interest in all minority studies, especially American Indian history. Moreover, recent Hollywood efforts to capitalize on the Native American revival have resulted in the release of such Indian-centered films as Dances With Wolves, Black Robe,

¹²David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, Pembroke State University: A Centennial History (Columbus, Ga.: Brendwood University Press, 1986), 70.

¹³Parman and Price, "Work in Progress," 185, suggests this lagging interest was part of a general decline in minority studies reported in a contemporary study: August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980 (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 307.

Thunderheart, Incident at Oglala, The Last of the Mohicans, Geronimo, Squanto, and Pocahontas. Television too has joined the media blitz. In 1994 entrepreneur Ted Turner launched a two-year-long series of programs dealing with Native Americans that will include six to eight made-for-television movies, a six-hour documentary on American Indian history, and a twenty-part series of reports focusing on contemporary Native American issues.¹⁴

Today in North Carolina interest in American Indians remains high. The state has signed an agreement with the Eastern Band of the Cherokee that will allow construction of a Las Vegas-style gambling casino on their reservation. The tribe, already one of the most visited in the nation, expects their new gaming operations to attract even more tourists, perhaps as many as 14 million annually.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the Lumbee, with a tribal enrollment more than ten times larger than the Eastern Cherokee, continue to capture attention in the state's news media as they move closer to achieving full federal recognition.

All of the foregoing make this research project both timely and significant. Data and insights developed not only gauge the present condition of Indian history in North Carolina higher education, they also help explain how

¹⁴Richard Zoglin, "Ted Turner Goes Native," Time, 6 December 1993, 88.

¹⁵Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer-Times, 15 August 1994.

popular trends coupled with new analytical paradigms and mythologies have influenced the teaching of ethnic studies in general and Indian history in particular.

Limitations of the Study

The historiographical portion of this study surveys the changing interpretations of American Indian history and the popular images of Native Americans since 1492. While it offers a synthesis of the entire period, its primary focus is on developments since World War Two. The investigation of the teaching of American Indian history in higher education is limited to North Carolina. Data were collected exclusively from the state's public and private colleges and universities that offer four-year programs leading to baccalaureate degrees. Two-year community and technical colleges were not included in the study.

Definition of Terms

American Indian--A member of any of the aboriginal peoples in North America (except the Eskimos), South America, and the West Indies, considered to belong to the Mongoloid ethnic division of the human species. However, the term as used in this study, unless otherwise specified, is meant to include only the Indians north of Mexico.

American Indian History--Systematic written accounts comprising the chronological records of events affecting American Indians including explanations of and commentary on

such events. These accounts include the history of American Indians from the white perspective; the history of American Indians from their own tribal perspective; the history of Indian-white relations; and the history of United States Indian policy. Furthermore, it should be noted that American Indian history often plays prominent or minor roles in other scholarly fields such as United States, Canadian, and Latin American history, military history, administrative history, the history of the American West, and frontier history.

American Indian Studies--An interdisciplinary program of instruction in higher education designed to educate students about the rich diversity of American Indian history and culture. Curricula typically include courses in anthropology, archaeology, history, American Indian cultures, health, education, art, literature, religion, federal Indian policy, and contemporary American Indian issues.

Ethnohistory--This term denotes an interdisciplinary approach that yields interpretations by applying anthropological perspectives to historical documentation. American Indian historians who employ this method study Indian communities in terms of their own religions, social organizations, political structures, marriage and family patterns, and other categories of data that contribute to understanding how groups function. Basic tenets implicit in this approach include the beliefs that scholars should

refrain from passing judgment on the worthiness of the group studied, that Indians and non-Indians behaved according to cultural dictates, and that both adapted and changed as a result of their encounters. These postulates reflect two of the ethnohistorian's major goals concerning Native Americans: to present a more complete and balanced picture of Indian-white relations and to remove American Indians from their traditional historical settings as silent props or ignorant savages.

Procedures for Collecting Data

Materials dealing with Native American historiography are abundant and readily obtainable. These include numerous journal articles, monographs, dissertations, theses, and books. Information from such sources was collected from the libraries of Middle Tennessee State University, University of North Carolina at Pembroke, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Lumbee Regional Development Association's Native American Library, and the University of North Carolina at Pembroke's Native American Resource Center.

Data required for evaluating the condition of Indian history in North Carolina higher education were gathered by personal interviews and by mailed questionnaires.¹⁶ This process was conducted in two phases. Phase one was a

¹⁶Questionnaires were modeled after those appearing in Douglas R. Berdie and John F. Anderson, Questionnaires: Design and Use (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

preliminary survey of North Carolina's fifty-four colleges and universities. Using a short, two-page questionnaire mailed to department chairs, the author sought to identify which institutions offered courses in Indian history, opinions as to the importance of such courses, the coverage of Indian history in other courses, and the names and addresses of faculty members who would be willing to participate in a more comprehensive follow-up survey.

Phase two involved both interviews and questionnaires. It sought to identify the types of Indian history courses offered, textbooks used, approaches taken, patterns of course enrollment, and the academic backgrounds of students drawn to Native American history. It also investigated how much and what type of Indian history are included in other history courses. A portion of this phase was devoted to profiling the typical instructor who teaches Indian history. This part was essentially biographical. It inquired into such areas as whether or not respondents considered themselves specialists in Indian history, their training and preparation, and whether their ancestry, birthplace or upbringing influenced their decision to teach in that field. Additionally, the interviews and questionnaires solicited opinions concerning the use and efficacy of the ethnohistorical approach, advantages and disadvantages of various other techniques and methodologies, and suggestions on how to improve the teaching of Indian history.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY: OURS AND THEIRS

This chapter briefly discusses the development of historiography in order to compare and contrast our Western concept of the past with the way in which Indians have traditionally viewed theirs. It explains that although Native Americans have ordered and preserved their pasts differently than we have, their history of themselves is no less important to them, than ours is to us. It also reveals why our version of history has come to dominate theirs, and now this domination has influenced perceptions of our collective pasts. What follows is not meant to be an all-inclusive presentation of world historiography. Instead, it briefly sketches the development of Western history from ancient to modern times in order to introduce and to set the tone for broader discussions in subsequent chapters concerning United States and Native American historiography.

Our History: It's About Time

In everyday English, history means the past. In its more formal sense, the word's meaning narrows to the human past and an investigation into that past. The investigation denoted is directed toward the preparation of authentic

written accounts of one or more facets of prior human events. From this perspective, the authoritative Dictionary of Concepts in History defines history as "a tradition of learning and writing, dating from ancient times, based on rational inquiry into the factual nature of the human past."¹

History occupies a uniquely important position in Western thought. Few other known civilizations have possessed such a profound historical-mindedness. While it is true that no society can completely escape its past, numerous scholars agree that so-called "primitive" peoples as well as some of the world's most highly developed civilizations have not endowed their pasts--nor even time itself--with the kind of value that Western peoples have ascribed to it.

As the distinguished historian of religions Mircea Eliade averred, premodern or "traditional" cultures typically sought "to refuse" history. According to Eliade, traditional peoples may have believed in a "golden age of the past," but they lived in a timeless dimension, "one ritualized around primordial acts in a way that seemed determined to deprive time of any real meaning."²

¹Harry Ritter, Dictionary of Concepts in History (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 193.

²Mircea Eliade, Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), xi.

In Asia, East Indian philosophy and religion have long ascribed no significance or "ontological content" to time. Instead, this tradition posits huge time cycles which always come back to the same place. Creation, destruction, and new creation go on endlessly. There is no progress or goal, only the endless turning of the wheel of time around and around. In their book, The Heritage and Challenge of History, Paul Conkin and Roland Stromberg maintained that "under such conditions history can have no importance." The authors then proceeded to overstate their case by contending that the Chinese "cyclical, non-progressive view of history made them relatively unhistorical by Western standards."³ Herbert Butterfield concluded otherwise. In his book, The Origins of History, Butterfield devoted a full chapter to "The Chinese Tradition of Historical Writing" showing that the Western view of history "was not quite unique," since in China "historiography had acquired a similar importance."⁴

Like the Chinese, some pre-Columbian Meso-Americans seemed to have combined a Western-style historical vision with what appears to have been a more ancient mythic round. The Aztecs, for example, invoked their powerful sense of historical destiny to terrorize and conquer their neighbors

³Paul K. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, The Heritage and Challenge of History (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1975), 4.

⁴Herbert Butterfield, The Origins of History (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 138.

while simultaneously keeping faith with their myths, in particular the myth of Quetzalcoatl. Indeed, it was the tension between these two conflicting concepts of time that led to their downfall. In keeping with the dictum that "those still in the grip of myth are never military matches for those devoted to a historical mission," aggressively expanding Western Civilization, in the person of Hernan Cortes, successfully exploited the Aztec's inability to reconcile rectilinear with cyclical time.⁵ For men like Cortes there was no need to reconcile the two. As a product of Western Civilization the Spanish conquistador's world view was shaped by a uniquely linear historical-mindedness. This abiding faith in the forces of history was a legacy of the dual tradition of Hebraism and Hellenism--of the Judaic-Christian sense of time and the Greek critical spirit.

Western notions about the meaningfulness of time came from the unique religion of the Jews, taken over by Christianity, which saw God's hand in all human events and perceived a final goal of history. Moreover, as it matured, Western history came to be understood as something at least partly determined by man himself, rather than something externally determined by an inscrutable external will or fate. This latter idea came from the uncommon philosophy of the ancient Greeks, the inventors of rational and scientific

⁵Frederick Turner, Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 158.

thought. Thus, just as the amalgamation of Greek and Hebraic elements formed Western Civilization in general, the blending of these two unique traditions produced the Western sense of history in particular: "In origin, the meaningfulness of time was Judaic-Christian; the self-determination of man, Hellenic."⁶

The Greek author Herodotus--called the "father of history" by Cicero--thought of historia in the dual sense of testimony and inquiry.⁷ Since testimony implied statements of truth regarding actual events, Herodotus' inquiry stood apart from popular Greek myth and mythically inspired epic and drama. Yet despite the creation of factual history by Herodotus and his successor Thucydides, ancient thinkers continued to consider history unimportant. They believed that history dealt simply with the merely literal, the particular, the ordinary, the mundane, not with the higher realm of timeless, universal truth. As one scholar of classical antiquity writes, "Acceptance and belief were what counted, and [in myth] the Greeks had all the knowledge of

⁶Conkin, The Heritage and Challenge of History, 4.

⁷The Greek historia came from the root "to see," and histor first meant "eyewitness." From this evolved the meaning: "one who examines witnesses and obtains truth through inquiry." Herodotus (c. 484-c. 425 B.C.) is credited with establishing historia as the standard word for the study of the past. Hannah Arendt, "The Concept of History: Ancient and Modern," in Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought (New York: Viking Press, 1961), 284.

the past they needed without the help of historians."⁸

History survived by appealing to the dramatic tastes of the ancients. With Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War, history's emphasis shifted from the inquirer to his narrative. Thucydides not only strengthened Herodotus' standard of "historical truth,"⁹ he gave history a dramatic unity that presented historical order in aesthetic form. His Hellenistic and Roman successors accepted Thucydides' literary and artistic precepts, and the art of presentation began to overshadow the ideas of investigation and testimony.¹⁰ History became important as a means of both entertainment and edification as well as a source of factual knowledge.

The rhetorical tradition of the Greeks and Romans was eclipsed for a time during the Middle Ages. After the decline of the Roman Empire, early Christian historians reverted to an annalistic chronicling of the past modeled on the Old Testament. For these monkish chroniclers, miracles and portents, persecutions and theological controversies formed the core of history.¹¹ Moreover, unlike the ancient

⁸M.I. Finley, "Myth, Memory, and History," History and Theory 14 (1964-65): 299; quoted in Ritter, Concepts in History, 194.

⁹Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, 2d ed., (New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 30.

¹⁰V. Gordon Childe, What is History? (New York: Schuman's College Paperbacks, 1953), 28.

¹¹Ibid., 29.

historians, medieval Christian chroniclers understood history not as human inquiry, but as the "allegorical contemplation of divine will."¹² Viewing the past as "the theater of divine Providence," devout Christians saw history as "a record of God's incessant supervision of men's affairs."¹³ From this perspective, they believed every event, however trivial, was charged with the highest significance. While this point of view heightened their interest in history, it did not lead to effective historical writing. As E. H. Harbison observed: "It is easier to say that God acts constantly in history than to say when and where."¹⁴

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a new attitude toward the past slowly crystallized. Early modern historians began to acquire a "sense of temporal perspective," and the foremost among them sought to revive the secular models of antiquity. At the same time, an erudite interest in facts of the of the past for their own sake emerged, associated especially with philology, legal scholarship, and the editing of old manuscripts.¹⁵

Near the end of the seventeenth century scholars began

¹²Ritter, Concepts in History, 195.

¹³Conkin, The Heritage and Challenge of History, 21.

¹⁴E. Harris Harbison, Christianity and History (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 118.

¹⁵E. Harris Harbison, The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation (New York: Scribner, 1956), 36.

setting the stage for new kinds of historical writing. As will be discussed in later chapters, these new forms profoundly affected United States and Native American historiography. By the end of the 1600s the ancient tradition of history as narrative was wedded to the antiquarian concern for facts, and around 1800 the modern concept of "scientific history" began taking shape. During the nineteenth century scholars began to understand history as an inquiry into the nature of the past for its own sake, an endeavor undertaken to establish a narrative record of events as they "actually happened."¹⁶

In recent times professional historians have come to "agree that history means scholarly inquiry into the factual nature of the human past," characterized by "a critical sense of evidence, a sense of anachronism, and a sense of secular causation."¹⁷

Their History: It's About Timelessness

In an 1885 U.S. Army field manual, Indian expert Captain William Philo Clark informed his colleagues that "it may very truthfully be said that Indians care very little about time; they seem to have more of it than anything

¹⁶Ritter, Concepts in History, 195.

¹⁷Ibid.

else."¹⁸ More than a century later, Indian activist Russell Means explained why Native Americans still cling to this concept: "When you're . . . conscious of clock-time it flies or crawls, but you never have enough time. If you're unconscious of time, it frees you. You can enjoy it."¹⁹

There is much misunderstanding about the Indians' concept of time. Among Native Americans there is a standing joke when meetings do not start at the appointed hour. "This meeting," they say, "is being run on Indian time." But running on "Indian time" means more than being late. It means the participants are not obsessed with promptness. It has nothing to do with a lack of efficiency. Moreover, this casual attitude toward time is not uniquely Indian. As David Landes pointed out in his book, Revolution in Time, for most of history the vast majority of the world's people had no need for clocks.²⁰ Indeed, until the Industrial Era and

¹⁸William Philo Clark, The Indian Sign Language, with Brief Explanatory Notes of the Gestures Taught Deaf-Mutes in Our Institutions for Their Instruction, and a Description of Some of the Peculiar Laws, Customs, Myths, Superstitions, Ways of Living, Code of Peace and War Signals of Our Aborigines (Philadelphia: L.R. Hamersly and Co., 1885; reprint, Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 378 (page reference is to reprint edition).

¹⁹John Edgar Wideman, "Russell Means," Modern Maturity, September-October 1995, 79.

²⁰According to Landes, "The clock did not create an interest in time measurement; the interest in time measurement led to the invention of the clock." For a discussion of where this demand came from, see David S. Landes, Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 58.

especially the advent of Taylorism, rural Americans of all ethnic and racial groups measured time by natural events-- daybreak, sunrise, high noon, sunset, darkness---not by hours and minutes.

The fundamental difference between the Indians' concept of time and our own can be best understood within the context of contemporary Western society. During the twentieth century we became devoted to chronological accuracy. Today our comings and goings are precisely timed and coordinated. Our social interactions are scheduled to order our present and future. The contemporary Western concept of history is similarly scheduled. Our historical record is a seamless continuum from the distant past to the present, with people, places, and events all interlocked in a series of unique episodes that "actually happened." History's schedule plays out in its infinite complexity, all organized in forward-moving time. Our chronological record of the past is important to us because it verifies our expectation that change--and hopefully progress--is inevitable. It also conforms to the Judaic-Christian belief that sooner or later there will be a judgment at the "end of time."

Traditional Native Americans order their pasts differently. They harbor no expectation that things will change, at least not permanently. For them time is cyclical

and repetitive, not irreversible and linear.²¹

In his introduction to Indians in American History, Frederick Hoxie illustrates this mode of thought. He tells of how anthropologists are continually amazed, on returning to particular reservations after long absences, that they are always treated as if they had never left. Hoxie explains that from the Indian perspective, the time away is of little importance:

What matters is that a friend has returned. The relationship and cyclical passage of time take precedence over a Western sense of linear chronology. Thus, once a person is taken into their cultural frame of reference, the passage of time between encounters does not much matter²²

Western confusion over the meaning of "Indian time" has prompted many non-Indians to conclude that Native Americans are a "people without history."²³ Non-Indians reason that since the Indians' world view prizes stability over change and then, in turn, attributes change to the repetition of ancient themes, Indians must be "primitive" people who seek "to refuse" history.²⁴ Moreover, since nothing about their

²¹For a more complete explanation of this phenomenon, see Paula Gunn Allen, The Sacred Hoop (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 59.

²²Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., Indians in American History (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1988), 11.

²³This term is borrowed from the title of a book by Eric Wolf that documents European mercantilism and colonialism between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Eric Wolf, Europe and the People Without History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

²⁴For more details on this matter see pp. 12-14 above.

pasts was written down until the arrival of Europeans, many have concluded--in accordance with our Western definition of history--that during most of their time on earth, Indians were "prehistoric" people.²⁵

Ethnohistorian James Axtell argued otherwise. "The natives of the Americas," he maintained, "certainly had bona fide histories before Europeans brought their books, writing, and libraries . . . ; there was nothing 'pre' about them."²⁶ The Indians did not put their histories down in print, but they cared enough about their pasts to record them in the oral and visual memories of the people.

In his letters and notes, published collectively in 1841, frontier artist George Catlin observed that some of the tribes in North America kept hieroglyphical histories or charts, a species of picture writing etched in rocks or painted on partially-tanned skins that extend back hundreds of years.²⁷ These were not chronicles to be read, but rather permanent records of sign language, pictographic forms of rebus writing. They served a mnemonic function:

²⁵This remark refers to Indians north of Mexico. In southern Mexico, the Meso-American civilizations of the Olmecs, Mayas, and Zapotecs did develop forms of true writing. Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America, 2d ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 50.

²⁶James Axtell, Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 153.

²⁷George Catlin, North American Indians, ed. Peter Matthiessen, Penguin Nature Library (New York: Viking Penguin, 1986), 477.

The Indians made their drawings in a fashion that brought to mind the idea or thing they wanted to express or tell about.

Notable examples of such "Indian archives" include the Walum Opum pictographs of the Delaware Indians; Sitting Bull's life story painted on buffalo hide; the birch bark scrolls of the Ojibwa Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society; the Northeastern tribes' wampum belts; and the war history robes, lodge paintings, and winter count calendars of the Plains Indians.²⁸

Captain Clark reported seeing the Santee Sioux keeping records of events by tying knots in a long string. "By the peculiar way of tying them, and by other marks, they denoted the different events, fights, etc., and even smaller matters, such as births of children" He also observed another tribe that recorded its past on a long notched pole. The Indians told Clark that "it had been handed down from father to son for many generations, and that [the notches] represented the history of the tribe for over a thousand years."²⁹

²⁸Paul A. W. Wallace, Indians in Pennsylvania, 2d ed., Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission Anthropological Series (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1989), 55; Selwyn Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibwa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 75; Bruce Grant, Concise Encyclopedia of the American Indian (New York: Bonanza Books, 1989), 246; Driver, Indians of North America, 323; Thomas E. Mails, The Mystic Warriors of the Plains (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), 269.

²⁹Clark, Indian Sign Language, 212.

The famous totem poles of the Northwest Coast Indians are yet another example. Contrary to popular perception, these tall, cylindrical wooden carvings have no religious significance. Instead, they are the equivalent of crests or coats-of-arms; and like the poles observed by Clark, they refer to the great events of their owner's past.³⁰

With or without such mnemonic aids, the primary transmitters of tribal histories were actors, orators, and storytellers. The Indians kept their past alive by oral tradition, passed from generation to generation. Indeed, after centuries of contact, during which the white man's pen and paper had proven to be powerful instruments of conquest and dispossession, Native Americas developed a profound suspicion of the written word.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Four Guns, an Oglala Sioux, articulated these feelings. The white man, he said, wrote so much that he "must think paper has some mysterious power" The Indian, however, was

puzzled as to what useful service all this writing served The Indian needs no writing. Words that are true sink deep into his heart where they remain. He never forgets them. On the other hand, if the white man loses his paper, he is helpless.³¹

In a recent book about the Western Apache, Keith Basso

³⁰Ruth M. Underhill, Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 45.

³¹Jerry D. Blanche, ed., Native American Reader: Stories, Speeches and Poems (Juneau, Alaska: Denali Press, 1991), 84.

revealed why these Indians see no power in the white man's written history. "Unspoken and unanimated, it lies silent and inert on the printed English page; it is history without voices to thrust it into the present."³² Basso explained that among the Apaches, tribal historians are place-makers who use a kind of historical theater to take their people to the country of the past:

As conceived by Apaches from Cibecue, the past is a well-worn "path" or "trail" which was traveled first by the people's founding ancestors and which subsequent generations of Apaches have traveled ever since. Beyond the memories of living persons, this path is no longer visible--the past has disappeared--and thus it is unavailable for direct consultation and study. For this reason, the past must be constructed--which is to say, imagined--with the aid of historical materials, sometimes called "footprints" or "tracks," that have survived into the present.³³

These materials come in assorted forms, such as Apache place names, stories and songs, and relics found throughout Apache territory. Since one knows when these tracks were made, fixing past events in time cannot be precisely done. But this is of little concern to the Apaches; what matters most to them is where incidents occurred, not when.

As late as the 1970s, many historians regarded such Indian oral traditions and stories as mere "mythology," giving them little credit as a reliable record of events and

³²Keith H. Basso, Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: University of New Mexico Press), 1996), 33.

³³Ibid., 31.

experiences.³⁴ In our conceit in having established literacy, we disdainfully dismissed the fantastically rich oral literature and history of nonliterate peoples as "quaint" or "interesting but not reliable." But thanks to recent research, such as that which validated the Icelandic saga and many of the ancient Greek oral histories, contemporary scholars have come to better appreciate the potential accuracy of the Indians' own history.

Unfortunately, outside of the academic community, Indian oral traditions are less appreciated. This is especially so in the governmental sector. In Washington and in several state capitals, the absence of written documents has led some elected officials and bureaucrats to dismiss the validity of certain people's history, and, in fact, to deny even their very existence as a people.

A case in point is the process used by the federal government and the state of North Carolina to "recognize" or to "acknowledge" their formal relationships with specific tribes. The primary criterion for such recognition is that tribes document their historical existence through the use of written documents (written by non-Indians) and that the documents show historical continuity in relationships with the government in question through recent history

³⁴Wilcome E. Washburn, The Indian in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 34.

(chronological time).³⁵ Obviously, the control of history is power, and power controls the way the past is constructed. From this perspective, Indian time is time without reality, and history without writing is history without power.

In a recent collection of essays titled The American Indian and the Problem of History, Calvin Martin argues that the "problem" of Indian history is a consequence of the fundamental differences between European and Native American cultures. According to Martin, Indian people are rooted in place rather than time, in nature rather than human society. He argues that scholars must devise a new language of history, "another category by which to render ourselves and our habitat, one that does not disfranchise and disarticulate the latter. The problem [he continues,] lies in our enslaving philosophy of time, enslaving us and Nature to separate spheres."³⁶

³⁵The regulations governing the federal recognition process were published in the Federal Register (5 September 1978) vol. 43, no. 172, p. 39361-4, Microfiche. North Carolina state law requires Indian groups to meet five of eight criteria for recognition: letters from state or federal authorities recognizing them as Indian; letters from other tribes supporting their heritage; having traditional Indian names; kinship with other tribes; birth or school records recognizing them as Indian; historical accounts of their ancestry; documented accounts of their customs and traditions; or grants from federal Indian programs. "State Says No to Ocaneechis Recognition Request," News From Indian Country (Minneapolis, Minn.) Mid September, 1995.

³⁶Calvin Martin, ed., The American Indian and the Problem of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 219.

Frederick Hoxie takes issue with Martin's assertion. Although he agrees, "Martin is correct when he cautions scholars not to assume that Indian behavior is understandable in Western European terms," Hoxie maintains, "it is fatuous to think that historians can or should cast off 'time' and turn their backs on the notion of rational inquiry."³⁷ Nevertheless, Martin's point is well taken. In the coming chapters it will be shown that today's American Indian historians are following the signposts set out by Martin and other ethnohistorians. Meanwhile, it is important to bear in mind that what we currently call Native American history is still our history, not theirs.

³⁷Frederick Hoxie, "The Problems of Indian History," in Major Problems in Indian History, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1994), 39.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM INNOCENT VICTIM TO NOBLE SAVAGE: SHIFTING PATTERNS OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1492-1776

It is a basic premise of this study that historiography is never static or objective. All scholars are influenced by the general ideas of their age. Historians, like everyone else, have always been susceptible to current fashions and contemporary viewpoints. They require a structure of ideas to select, group, and interpret their empirically discovered facts. Therefore, the product of their labors inevitably takes on the coloration of the times in which it is written.

The writing of American history reflects distinct patterns of thought at various periods. The earliest European chroniclers, recounting discovery and conquest, penned polemic tracts to condemn or justify imperialism in the New World. The Puritan fathers, extolling their Godly mission, adhered to a decidedly Christian interpretation of history. The historians of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment stressed the idea that reason and natural law would guide men along the path of progress.

Each of these patterns has influenced the ways Native Americans are portrayed in our past and present histories. Indians have been variously characterized as innocent

victims or natural slaves, ignoble or noble savages, exotic or degraded children of nature, obstacles to progress or models to emulate. Yet, since the days of initial contact, there has been one historiographical constant. Until the middle of this century, Indians have been almost always depicted as passive props or reactive bit players in our grand historical pageant. Whether American historical studies were general in character or specifically concerned with Indians, invariably the resulting accounts of Native Americans have been what Wilcomb Washburn calls "contact history."¹ Each of the repeated contacts was interpreted as a clash of cultures--"an inevitable and usually violent confrontation between 'history' (which arrived from the East on boats), and the static precontact world of the Indians."²

Spain's Black Legend

The Spaniard Bartolome de Las Casas has been called "the Noble Apostle to the First Americans," "the Defender of the Indians," and "the Father of Native American History."³

¹Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy," in The American Indian and the Problem of History, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 92.

²Frederick Hoxie, "The Problems of Indian History," in Major Problems in Indian History, ed. Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1994), 36.

³George Sanderlin, ed., Bartolome de Las Casas: A Selection of His Writings (New York: Knopf, 1971), 3.

After becoming the first Roman Catholic priest ordained in America, this former conquistador joined the Dominican Order and spent the rest of his life challenging the justice of Spain's conduct in the New World. Although some scholars dismiss Las Casas's Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies as mere polemics and find his Apologetic History more anthropological than historical,⁴ distinguished historian Samuel Eliot Morison has called Las Casas's History of the Indies "the one book on the discovery of America that I should wish to preserve if all others were destroyed."⁵

Such mixed reviews for the Father of Native American History is not unusual. Not everyone recognizes Las Casas as an accomplished chronicler of the past. Indeed, he is most often remembered as the unwitting architect of the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty toward America's native people. His graphic histories of the Spanish conquest, written to obtain justice for the Indians under Spanish law, were widely republished in translation by Spain's Protestant enemies for political purposes, often with lurid engravings to illustrate the heinousness of the conquistadors, and by

⁴Lewis Hanke, Bartolome de Las Casas Historian: An Essay in Spanish Historiography (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1952), 51.

⁵Samuel Eliot Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1942), 51.

extension, of the Spanish national character.⁶

For more than four centuries, there has been ongoing debate over the veracity of Las Casas's narratives. Some scholars, noting that the legend was adopted by Englishmen to excuse their own atrocities in Ireland, dismissed the entire story as mere propaganda.⁷ Others have sought to counter the Black Legend with a White Legend of Spanish accomplishment in giving Indians Christianity in place of human sacrifice and cannibalism and in providing beasts of burden and plows to ameliorate or replace the heavy manual labor required in aboriginal times.⁸ Over the years, mainstream historians have largely accepted Las Casas's damning accounts. Because this early period was so formative in the history of white-Indian relations, they have long cast their stories of that time in terms of heroes and villains, allotting praise and blame among the European colonizing powers, in order to explain the different national histories of Indian relations. Over a century ago, Francis Parkman summarized the conventional wisdom concerning the legend with his oft-quoted apothegm:

⁶Charles Gibson, The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New (New York: Knopf, 1971), 17.

⁷Francis Jennings, The Founders of America (New York: Norton and Co., 1993), 146.

⁸Robert F. Berkhofer, White Man's Indian (New York: Knopf, 1978; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1979) 115 (page reference is to reprint edition).

"Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."⁹

Today most American historians still espouse the Black Legend. Typical is Bernard Bailyn who, in his popular college textbook The Great Republic, leaves no doubt that the Spanish story is primarily a "tale of slaughter and conquest."¹⁰ Nevertheless, the debate persists. In fact, the Indian Renaissance in general and the Columbus Quincentenary in particular have caused the smoldering controversy to flame anew. On one side stand the impassioned Columbus detractors, such as Kirkpatrick Sale and David E. Stannard, who rely on the writings of Las Casas to aver the malevolence of the Columbian legacy.¹¹ On the other side are the academic historians who specialize in Native American history. Foremost among these is James Axtell, the former chairman of the American Historical Association's Columbus Quincentenary Committee. Axtell flatly denied that the Black Legend offers an accurate interpretation of

⁹Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1867), 131.

¹⁰Bernard Bailyn and others, The Great Republic: A History of the American People, 3d ed., (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1983), 6.

¹¹See Kirkpatrick Sale, The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy (New York: Knopf, 1990) and David E. Stannard, American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

history; instead, he maintained "under the spell of the legend, truth gives way to fiction."¹²

England's Promoter Historians

In the 1580s England became a serious competitor in the race for territory in the New World. At first English publishers studiously avoided reprintings of or references to Las Casas, or to any other Spaniard with even marginally favorable views of the Indians. Rather, in their descriptions of America, they initially drew almost exclusively on the writings of authors who, as Loren E. Pennington puts it, "presented a nearly unrelieved picture of native savagery."¹³

In these early years, Europeans clamored for and eagerly read accounts of the fascinating new land and the wonders revealed by the adventurers who explored it. Narratives about the New World were not written by desk-bound scholars but--far more exciting--by sea captains and explorers. These adventurers produced mostly travel accounts and promotional tracts that bore little resemblance to contemporary European historical scholarship. In Europe

¹²James Axtell, Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 206.

¹³Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature, 1575-1625," in The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, ed. K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 180.

scholars were moving away from a set plan of history in which individuals had little influence and played subordinate roles. The Renaissance had not only renewed interest in unearthing Greco-Roman antiquities, it had also prompted a return to a humanistic view of world history. This emphasis, while it did not eliminate the Providential interpretation of causation, served to make original sources more important than they had once seemed to early chroniclers.¹⁴

Although many of the men writing about America were aware of this trend, it is important to emphasize that they were, by and large, not trained historians. The foundations of historiography in America were laid by men vitally interested in the immediate effect of their written work. Their goal was not to serve the cause of history, but rather to promote settlement and investment in particular colonies. Their tracts were in no way representative of contemporary European historical writing. Because the authors of these early works offered knowledge of a strange land and of the means by which settlers could survive and prosper there, they dealt with many subjects that the historians of Europe considered unsuitable for scholarly history. As David Van Tassel points out in his survey of early American historiography, whereas European historians wrote of kings

¹⁴Charles Firth, Essays, Historical and Literary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), 57.

and parliaments, "tracts from the New World described small companies of men and how they raised corn, caught fish, governed themselves, and made war or peace with the Indians."¹⁵

The aborigines of the new continent were both feared by and fascinating to prospective colonists in Europe. For the political theorist as well as for the curious reader, the discovery of the Indian was extremely important. Here at last was a creature unspoiled by civilization; here was man in a state of nature. Catering to this curiosity, and perhaps attempting to alleviate the fears of the timorous, William Wood, in New England's Prospect (1634), described what he called the more "ludicrous" of Indian customs and manners, such as their sports, their gaming, and the amount of work done by Indian women.¹⁶ But for the most part seventeenth-century historians carefully recorded the nature and habits of the Indians so that, as one author wrote, "Hee that sees them, may know how men lived whilest the world was under the Law of Nature."¹⁷

While many of the accounts dealing with the Native

¹⁵David D. Van Tassel, Recording America's Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607-1884 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 9.

¹⁶William Wood, New England's Prospect (London, 1634); quoted in Van Tassel, Recording America's Past, 6.

¹⁷Clayton C. Hall, ed., Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684 (New York: Scribner, 1910), 84.

Americans suffered from preconceived ideas of the existence of a state of nature, the most serious inaccuracies were idealizations by Theodore De Bry of John White's original sketches of Southeastern Algonkians. White's sketches were realistic, but De Bry's block prints depicted the Indians as if they were citizens of ancient Greece.¹⁸ Likened to classic statues in pose and garb, these images of noble Indians became standard illustrations for texts about Native Americans for two centuries.¹⁹

The New England Puritans did not look upon Native Americans as noble creatures. They saw the Indians as part of a cosmic drama willed by God to reveal His sovereignty and grace. The central theme of this drama was the eternal conflict between God and Satan, and the plot revolved about the salvation of the elected few, who were born again, and the unregenerate many, who were damned to hell. In this drama the Puritans saw themselves as the chosen of the Lord

¹⁸Thomas Harriot, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (Frankfurt: Theodor de Bry, 1590; reprint, with an Introduction by Paul Hulton, New York: Dover Publications, 1972), xi (page reference is to reprint edition).

¹⁹On the role of the artist in sixteenth-century discovery voyages, see Paul Hulton, America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 3-38. On the early representations of the Indians, see William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in Fredi Chiapelli, Michael J.B. Allen, and Robert L. Benson, eds., First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 335-350.

for the special purpose of bringing forth a New Zion. Those who fled from England to the New World believed they had founded just such a holy commonwealth. Under this premise Native Americans were just another tool of the Lord to help or hinder the future salvation and earthly life of the Puritans. When the Indians helped the Puritans, they became agents of the Lord sent to succor the devout and deserving; when the Indians fought the Puritans, they became instruments of the devil sent to punish the lax and unfaithful.

Before embarking for America, Puritan immigrants gave serious consideration to tales of Indian cruelty and barbarism. Yet few stories of this sort appeared in the histories of the first English settlements. Exploration parties in Virginia did encounter groups of hostile Indians, and Captain John Smith was reportedly held captive by Chief Powhatan. But as the legend goes, the chief's daughter Pocahontas rescued the adventurer and subsequently married colonist John Rolfe, thus assuring peaceful relations between Powhatan and the Jamestown settlers.²⁰ The Pilgrims at Plymouth too had their friendly chief in Massasoit, and though they lived in constant fear of the distant Narragansetts, relations with the surrounding Wampanoags

²⁰While the authenticity of Smith's rescue remains in doubt, the historicity of Pocahontas's relations with Rolfe is well established. Robert S. Tilton, Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5.

were initially peaceful. As the Puritan historian Edward Winslow wrote, the Pilgrims walked "as peaceably and safely in the woods, as in the hie-ways of England."²¹

In laboring to dispel the dread of Native Americans--a deterrent to colonization--Winslow and other historians turned the spiritual condition of the Indians into an argument for immigration to America. Every English Christian had a duty, declared Winslow, to spread "true religion among the Infidles" and to win "many thousands of wandering sheepe, unto Christ's fold . . . to the everlasting renowne" of England.²² Plymouth historian William Bradford was even more adamant, insisting that those men might as well be dead who lived in England "for themselves alone," who sat "still with their talent in a napkin," when they could be serving both God and country by becoming colonists and missionaries to the heathen.²³

Although the mid-1600s have been dubbed the "Golden Age of New England evangelization," many Puritans remained doubtful that Native Americans were truly capable of

²¹Edward Winslow, A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Preceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth in New England, by certaine English Adventurers both Merchants and others (London, 1622), 84; quoted in Van Tassel, Recording America's Past, 7.

²²Winslow, Relation, 6; quoted in Van Tassel, Recording America's Past, 7.

²³William Bradford, History of Plymouth Plantation, ed. Charles Deane (Boston: Massachussetts Historical Society, 1856), 11.

achieving salvation.²⁴ The skeptics' reservations about the Indians' worthiness had been reinforced during the Pequot War in 1637 and finally confirmed by King Philip's War in 1676. It was the latter conflict that doomed the effort to Christianize the Massachusetts Indians. As Arrell Gibson explained it, the Puritan missionaries "saw most of their work annihilated by the Indian Revolt and its aftermath."²⁵

It was not so much the ultimate failure to convert the Indians, as it was New England's growing secularization that explains the Puritans' self-conscious history of King Philip's War. By the latter part of the seventeenth century devout Puritans were eulogizing the faith of their fathers but lamenting the lack of zeal in their descendants. The Indian revolt gave vivid meaning to the jeremiads about the decline of Puritan piety, and New Englanders repeatedly used King Philip's War in sermon, history, and tract to point out the lessons of God's punishment for backsliders, His infinite patience with His chosen people, and His great mercy in the end--at least for the victors.²⁶

The Indian revolt of 1676 also gave birth to the most damaging class of literature to the Native American image:

²⁴Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980), 192.

²⁵Ibid., 193.

²⁶Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 57.

the captivity narrative. Mary Rowlandson, a minister's wife, published the first of this enduring genre in 1682. Its long title reveals the lessons the Puritans drew from it: The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together, with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mary Rowlandson. Commended by Her, to All that Desire to Know the Lords Doings to, and Dealings with Her What made these lessons so vivid was the bringing of larger forces of God and Satan, Puritan and Savage into the microcosm of personal experience. To impress her readers with the horror of her ordeal, Mrs. Rowlandson resorted to the bad image of the Indians. They were, she wrote, "Atheistical, proud, wild, cruel, barbarous, brutish, diabolical Creatures . . . , the worse of heathen."²⁷

Purtian divines quickly picked up this method of illustrating the power of the Lord and the sinfulness of His people. Increase Mather, for example, included a captivity narrative among his Remarkable Providence (1684) and his son Cotton made clear the implications of capture in his Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverance (1697).²⁸ These and other such works taught that Indians were devils incarnate, and that capture by them was the symbolic equivalent of a

²⁷Mary Rowlandson, The Sovereignty and Goodness of God . . . , 2d ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Samuel Green, 1682), 62; quoted in Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, 84.

²⁸Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence, 94.

journey into hell. Thus in the end, the image of the evil savage triumphed over the noble Indian in the Puritan mind.

France's Noble American Savages

About the time Puritan historians committed to an ignoble rendering of Native Americans, French writers, reacting against supernatural causation in favor of using history to achieve social reform, began to espouse an opposite image. Although the Noble American Savage is often thought of as a child of the Enlightenment brought to maturity in the writings of the philosophes, the idea has deeper roots. The concept of the Noble Savage goes back to the beginning of the Renaissance when the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions of Eden and Arcadia, or Paradise and the Golden Age, combined in myths of unknown lands somewhere to the west where people lived in harmony with nature and reason. This primitivist tradition postulated an ideal society which possessed those virtues that many commentators found lacking in their own times: sexual innocence, equality of condition and status, peaceful simplicity, healthful and handsome bodies, and vigorous minds unsullied by the wiles, complexities, and sophistication of modern civilization.²⁹

²⁹Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1969), and A. Bartlett Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), provide a good introduction to the idea and uses of primitivism in this period.

On his first voyage, Columbus described the Taino Indians according to primitivist conventions when he noted the absence of iron and steel, their nakedness, their lack of private property, their timidity in warfare, their handsome physique, sharp wit, and generous hospitality.³⁰ Indeed, on his third voyage, Columbus actually pondered whether he had truly discovered the fabled "site of terrestrial Paradise" and even named a spot Paradise Valley.³¹ Arthur Barlow, on a voyage of reconnaissance for Walter Raleigh, used similar language in his description of North Carolina natives in 1584: "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason and such as lived after the manner of the Golden Age."³²

In his book, The White Man's Indian, Robert Berkhofer explains that the primitivist tradition did not create the favorable version of the Indian; instead, it shaped the vocabulary and the imagery Europeans used to describe their experiences in America and the lifestyles they observed

³⁰Christopher Columbus, The Log of Christopher Columbus, trans. Robert H. Fuson (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing, 1987), 76-137 passim. This translation is based on Las Casas's abstract of the Log with additions from his Historia and Fernando Columbus's Historia (of the Columbus family).

³¹Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, 556.

³²David Beers Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 212.

there.³³ As mentioned earlier, this tendency to characterize Indians as living in a pure state of nature was used to great advantage by the English promoter historians. But these propagandists did not create the cult of the American Noble Savage. Although some British colonial historians like John Lawson, Cadwallader Colden, and James Adair wrote of contented Indians unspoiled by civilization,³⁴ it was mainly French writers who accomplished the transition from description of the Native American as Noble Savage to the use of the Noble American Indian as a critic of European society and culture.

The French Jesuits in Canada unintentionally built the foundation for this transition. In their voluminous Relations, published annually from 1632 to 1674, the Black Robes provided flattering descriptions of Indians and their ways of life in order to gain contributions for missionary work and to prove points against their Jansenist and atheistic opponents. Although the Jesuit missionaries generally found their charges more savage than noble, their commendatory depictions provided the basis for deists and

³³Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, 72.

³⁴For analyses of these colonists' views, see A.L. Diket, "The Noble Savage Convention as Epitomized in John Lawson's A New Voyage to Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review 42 (October 1966): 413-429; Wilber R. Jacobs, "Cadwallader Colden's Noble Iroquois Savages," in Historians of Nature and Man's Nature, the Colonial Legacy, ed. Lawrence H. Leder (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 34-58; and Wilcomb Washburn, "James Adair's 'Noble Savages,'" Ibid., 91-102.

philosophers to prove a beneficent state of nature as lived by the Hurons and other tribesmen of New France.³⁵

Scholars usually credit Michel de Montaigne with presenting the first full-length portrait of the Noble American Savage as critic of contemporary European civilization. In his Essays, first published in 1680, portions of "Apology for Raymond Saybond," "On Cannibals," and "On Coaches" effectively synthesized the Jesuits' favorable accounts and Spain's Black Legend with French skepticism and humanism to advocate social and political reform. In the decades that followed, other French writers echoed Montaigne's theme, so that by the late eighteenth century, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot and other Enlightenment philosophers had only to continue a well established tradition of using the Noble Savage in general and the American Indian in particular for their critical moral and political purposes.³⁶

To the extent that Native Americans served as polemical devices to criticize European institutions, the supporters of these institutions felt compelled to attack the Indians. In defense of the status quo, spokesmen for orthodox religion, established rulers, the contemporary

³⁵George R. Healey, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," William and Mary Quarterly 15 (April 1958): 143.

³⁶Hoxie N. Fairchild, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 15.

social order, and civilized life all highlighted their perceptions of the Native American's brutish existence as proof of the nastiness of man in his natural state. Thus, according to the supporters of existing institutions, the realities of primitive life pointed to conclusions quite the opposite of those drawn by the defenders of America's Noble Savages.³⁷

The American and French revolutions marked the turning point in the use of the Noble Savage as a political device. These revolutions concretely manifested what both sides contended about man's possibilities. Rather than referring to the somewhat hypothetical world of the Noble Savage and the state of nature, now both sides could point to the dramatic real world of the United States and France to document the benefits or tragedy of a new order. Thus the Noble Savage, although he continued to figure in historical and literary works, was displaced by the events of modern history in the arguments and polemics of social philosophers and political reformers.

The events of the late eighteenth century not only changed the function of the Noble Savage, they also changed his form. As will be discussed in the next chapter, with the birth of the United States, American historians and novelists transformed the virtuous Indian from a man of

³⁷Antonello Gerbi, The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), 3.

reason and good sense into a man of emotion and sensibility;
in short, the enlightened savage became the romantic savage.

CHAPTER THREE
IN THE WHITE MAN'S SHADOW:
AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 1776-1900

In the late eighteenth century, enlightened European philosophes wrenched history from the hands of Old World balladeers and chroniclers, while in America, kindred spirits superseded the New World polemicist, promoter, and Puritan historians. Profoundly influenced by such Enlightenment scholars as Voltaire and Gibbon, many Americans who wrote or thought about history embraced the secular notions of rationalism and human progress and the belief that they could comprehend the past through scientific laws. As a result of this intellectual shift, American history became more than just a repository of facts or a record that could be used to justify the "settling" of the continent--it now seemed to contain clues about the present and future of the newly formed United States.

For the young republic, the circulation of popular, consensus-building ideas and values was particularly critical in the absence of a unifying folk culture. Detecting no conflict between their zeal for truth and their love of country, enlightened and romantic writers provided a

history of the new nation that was both patriotic and scientific.

Unfortunately, these scholars largely excluded Native Americans from this created common history. Because the Indians resisted the founding fathers' well-intended efforts to get them to adopt the white man's ways, historians placed them outside the charmed circle of progress. The Indians' indifference to white definitions of individual liberty and productive pursuits disqualified them from the unfolding plan for human improvement that science and history disclosed. In learned circles, as well as in the popular imagination, Indians were still savages, no longer particularly noble, but instead, romantic, tragic figures, pathetic victims of the laws of progress. Although United States historiography evolved and matured during the course of the nineteenth century, the Indians' role in the story of America remained unchanged, overshadowed by the bright progress of advancing white civilization.

Creating the Past: Nineteenth-Century Romantic History

There was no clear break between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical writing. Indeed, it is difficult to identify a work as "Enlightenment" or "Romantic." In an influential essay, noted philosopher of history Arthur O. Lovejoy asserted that no archetypal "romanticism" exists; instead, he argued that the term "refers to little more than a period," generally from 1800

to 1860 in the United States, "along with whatever generalizations one can make about the ideas and culture during that period."¹

Among the range of ideas associated with romanticism, Harry Ritter's Dictionary of Concepts in History lists the following as especially important:

Anti-formalism, in contrast to prevailing eighteenth-century neo-classical styles and attitudes; emphasis on intuition, sympathetic feeling, and emotional expression; fascination with the individual, the unique, and the exotic; and interest in social traditions and organic process.²

In accordance with these criteria, some have suggested that Mason Locke Weems's apocryphal Life of Washington was the first "Romantic history" published in the United States.³ First appearing in 1800, this fanciful narration combined a multitude of literary forms in an unprecedented manner--history, biography, epic, lyric, and sermon. One reviewer called it an outrage, "unique in the annals of literature." Another, torn between outrage and delight, called it "as entertaining and edifying matter as can be

¹Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas," Journal of the History of Ideas, 2 (June 1941): 257.

²Harry Ritter, Dictionary of Concepts in History (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 393.

³George H. Callcott, History in the United States, 1800-1860: Its Practice and Purpose (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), 22.

found in the annals of fanaticism and absurdity."⁴ The critics notwithstanding, Weems's book was an immediate and enduring best-seller.

The author of the famous cherry tree legend may or may not have been America's first romantic historian, but he was certainly at the forefront of those who labored to fulfill a pressing need in the young republic. American independence and the wars of the French Revolution had strengthened the burgeoning theory of nationalism, evoking the very modern concept of people self-consciously banding together into a political union. With nationalism as an engine of political and social reform, citizens looked to their national histories to illuminate the course of human progress that had brought their modern nations into being. The infant United States, however, had to create the sentiments of nationhood that other countries took for granted. Its newly formed polity had no uniform ethnic stock, no binding rituals from an established church, no common fund of stories. Americans had to invent what Europeans inherited--a sense of solidarity, a repertoire of national symbols, a common past.

Weems was only one of many ultranationalists who used history to create the "mystic chords of memory" the nation

⁴Reviews of The Life of Washington, Monthly Anthology, 9 (August 1831): 210 and Panoplist, 5 (April 1810): 525; quoted in Mason Locke Weems, The Life of Washington, ed. Marcus Cunliffe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), xxiv.

lacked. Moved by the momentous events of the Revolution and sensing that the written records of that conflict could correct their nation's historical deficiencies, aging witnesses of the Revolution wrote their country's first histories, filling the "imagined community" of American nationalism with the details of heroism and virtue generated by the war itself.⁵

While they lionized the revolutionary patriots, historians of the era gave short shrift to Native Americans. The budding national mythology accorded Indians a minimal and negative role in the story of the Revolution. After all, they chose the wrong side and lost. Their contribution to the outcome of the struggle was therefore negligible, hardly worth mentioning. Their participation in the war, however, was laden with significance. Because most Indians sided with the British, they were, from the Declaration of Independence onward, portrayed as allies of tyranny and enemies of liberty.⁶

The perception of Native Americans as deadly, skulking, bloodthirsty savages, born in colonial times, came to full flower during the Revolution. The terrible fate of Jane

⁵These themes are developed in Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Knopf, 1991) and Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso, 1991).

⁶Colin G. Calloway, The American Revolution in Indian Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), XV.

McCrea magnified and perpetuated this virulent notion. Widely published accounts of her murder by Indians accompanying Burgoyne's army around Saratoga rallied rebel militia at the time and justified American policies in later years. The point that Miss McCrea was a loyalist betrothed to a British officer, and that her killers were probably converted Christian warriors, was hidden behind the fact that she had been wantonly murdered by Indians allied with Redcoats.⁷ In the last decades of the eighteenth century the beautiful young white woman became a symbol of innocence and virtue much like the infant republic, and as Bernard W. Sheehan wrote, the story of her fate "became one of those important images used by white men to explain the meaning of the Indian in relation to the Americans' struggle to preserve their liberty."⁸

At the close of hostilities in 1783, the British and Tories withdrew to Canada, but the Indians remained in territory that was now within the national domain of the United States. Contention over Indian-held lands was an old story by then, but the Revolution elevated acquisition of

⁷June Namias discusses "Jane McCrea and the American Revolution" in White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), Chap. 4.

⁸Bernard W. Sheehan, "The Problem of the Indian in the American Revolution," in The American Indian Experience, ed. Philip Weeks (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Forum Press, 1988), 71.

Native American territory into a national policy.⁹ The new nation, born of a bloody revolution and committed to expansion, could not tolerate a hostile, alien presence within her boundaries. Increasingly, Americans viewed the future as one without Indians. The Revolution both created a new society and provided justification for excluding Native Americans from it.

The Indian During the Golden Age of American History

While historians relegated the Indians to inconsequential footnotes as temporary impeters of progress, white Americans grandly celebrated their collective past. Never before or since has history occupied such a vital place in the thinking of the American people. From the end of the Revolution to the beginning of the Civil War, architecture, painting, theater, fiction, poetry, and oratory were filled with historical themes. About one-third of the best-selling books were historical, double the proportion it has been ever since. Popular magazines ran huge quantities of material on history and popular historical journals flourished. At least seventy-two historical societies were active by 1860, when there were only fifty-five towns in the country with a population over 15,000. During the first half of the nineteenth century,

⁹Francis Paul Prucha, The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, Abridged ed. (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 17.

national and state governments established archives, supported historical restorations, and subsidized historical publications; history emerged as a prominent discipline in the nation's schools; and historians enjoyed unprecedented eminence among men of letters.¹⁰

These were the years of the gentlemen historians. Compared to their fellow Americans, they were an extremely well-educated group. While less than 1 percent of the population had graduated from secondary school, 70 percent of the historians had attended college. Yet they were not true professionals--almost every one claimed something besides history as his chief occupation. Nevertheless, the young republic's nationalistic chroniclers were not just erudite hobbyists. They sincerely believed they were serving a noble purpose.¹¹

The most successful of these talented amateurs were the romantic literary historians. Several distinguished members of this group--Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, Washington Irving, and William H. Prescott--authored accounts of Indian-white relations. While these men thought of history primarily as literature governed by aesthetics rather than objective reporting, they claimed to be industrious researchers who carefully examined a great number of manuscript sources. As romantics, they dwelt upon the

¹⁰Callcott, History in the United States, 33-55 passim.

¹¹Ibid., 67.

interplay of personality, stirring adventure, and engrossing narrative. Francis Parkman, perhaps the most readable of the lot, is best remembered for his skillful portrayal of the French and Indian War, of Pontiac and the British, and for his account of the adventures of the heroic Jesuits amidst the "savage" Indians.¹²

Bancroft was a romantic idealist who thought of history as the unfolding of divine intention--a rationalistic version of the Christian theory of history. To him the American was the inevitable heir and missionary of modern individualistic and democratic movements. Irving was a delightful narrator, but a superficial researcher. All these nineteenth-century historians, except Bancroft, subscribed to a conservative Whig philosophy: distrustful of the masses, but definitely nationalistic. Their heroes were usually the Protestant Anglo-Saxon peoples who were destined to triumph over the Catholic French and the heathen Indians.¹³

The romantic historians have suffered grievously at the hands of subsequent scholars. They have been accused of dishonesty, of altering quotations, of using each other's

¹²See Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, 2 vols. New Library ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1909); The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada, 2 vols. New Library ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1909; and The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century, New Library ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1909).

¹³Encyclopedia Britannica, 1969 ed., s.v. "History."

words, ideas, and information without acknowledgment. One by one, they have fallen under attack, all branded as plagiarists, and inaccurate ones at that.¹⁴

Francis Jennings, Director Emeritus of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian, was particularly vehement in his criticism of Francis Parkman:

Parkman was a liar. He fabricated documents, misquoted others, pretended to use his great collection of sources when he really relied almost entirely on a small set of nastily biased secondary works, and did it all in order to support an ideology of divisiveness and hate based on racism, bigotry, misogyny, authoritarianism, chauvinism, and upper-class arrogance.¹⁵

Taking a kinder, gentler approach, University of Maryland Professor George Callcott has argued that such charges are unjust. He contended the romantic historians "were never secretive about their practices" and that "it never occurred to [them] that accurate quoting was desirable." While Callcott conceded that the outraged critics might be justified in condemning the methods of early nineteenth-century scholarship, he insisted that the

¹⁴John Spencer Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians (New York: MacMillan, 1917), Chap. 2 and 3 passim.

¹⁵Francis Jennings, Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies, and Tribes in the Seven Years War in America (New York: Norton, 1988), 480. Jennings' charges against Parkman are further demonstrated in two journal articles: "A Vanishing Indian: Francis Parkman Versus His Sources," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 87 (1963): 303-313 and "Francis Parkman: A Brahmin among Untouchables," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 42 (1985): 305-328.

historians of that time "must be judged by their own standards."¹⁶

For the historiography of American Indians, the content of the romanticists' narratives was even more significant than their correctness. In seeking to promote their countrymen's nascent nationalism, the early nineteenth-century historians encouraged America's burgeoning racism. By emphasizing the "essence" of the American people, they prepared the way for evaluation of national traits. In their conscious dramatization and shading of characters, they invited the use of national types as a dominant and recurring historical theme. With their assumptions of inevitable progress, they implied that it was the nation or race that would provide the essential steps forward. And most significant of all, as Callcott observed, "the Americans' conviction of separateness and superiority contributed to the impression that the genes somehow dictated national character."¹⁷

Americans did not invent the idea of national character, but they embraced its principles earlier than most people in western society.¹⁸ Soon after the

¹⁶Callcott, History in the United States, 129.

¹⁷Ibid., 166.

¹⁸David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 4. Chapter One provides an excellent account of the development of the idea of national character in America and its role in historiography. The balance of the

Revolution, the early geography textbooks of Noah Webster and Jedidiah Morse introduced generalizations about national manners and morals that suggested racial traits. At the same time, American scholars were using racial characteristics to explain the Blacks and Indians who lived among them. German education and German Romantic nationalism influenced Bancroft directly, and filtered indirectly into the thinking of Prescott, Parkman, and Irving. By the 1830s, in any case, most of America's best historians assumed the existence of national character as a racial trait.¹⁹

Not surprisingly, in slave-holding America, scholars were cocksure about the negative characteristics of Black men, but they were uncomfortably ambivalent regarding Red men. Although the Indian as Noble Savage--a man of reason and good sense--had died in the Revolution, historians now resurrected him as a Romantic Savage--a man of emotion and sensibility. The nineteenth-century romanticists saw him as both a complete barbarian and an uncorrupted child of nature. As a barbarian, the Indian was a notch above the Black, but still unalterably primitive, a being without any sense of morality. A slave to his impulses rather than their master, he was a sensualist with no concept of propriety--a

book attempts to link the theory of American national character to material affluence.

¹⁹Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of An Idea in America (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), 88.

liar, a thief, and a murderer. American historians emphasized the Indian's "sanguinary character," his bloody raids on unsuspecting families, his notorious treachery, and his legendary tortures. Ultimate proof of Indian depravity appeared in his apparent inability to accept a superior civilization, particularly the concepts of Protestant Christianity. To almost everyone, the Indian stood as a barrier in the way of America's progress.²⁰

At the same time, however, the inevitability of his defeat made the Indian a sympathetic figure. He was a child of nature, in perfect harmony with the forest, simple and unspoiled, but destined to destruction by the march of civilization. His defense of home and freedom was in accordance with natural law, but unhappily it clashed with the higher law of progress. Prescott and Parkman created their major works on this theme of the Indian's tragic fate. And Bancroft, indulging himself in the sweet sadness of the Indians' doom, asked his readers, "Shall we not drop a tear?"²¹ Local historians, especially in the West, generally managed to counter their hatred of the Indian with a melancholy awareness of his fate. By the 1850s however, a few critical historians like Richard Hildreth had rejected

²⁰Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, Telling the Truth About History (New York: Norton, 1994), 114.

²¹George Bancroft, History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent vol. 2 (Boston, 1837), 266; quoted in Callcott, History in the United States, 169.

sentiment to embrace a much harsher racism.²²

Robert Berkhofer has argued that Francis Parkman's work never espoused sympathy for Native Americans. According to Berkhofer, if Parkman ever had compassion for Indians, he shed it after his sojourn among the Oglala Sioux in 1846:

From his Oregon Trail, published in 1847, onward through his many histories, Parkman never wavered from his belief in the superiority of White civilization over Indian savagery. His histories of the great conflict between France and England for the domination of North America, beginning with the History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac in 1851, celebrated the demise of the Indian race in the face of White advance²³

Parkman never romanticized the Indian in a positive way; instead, as one critic observed, "he utilized the Indian to fit the romantic convention of Gothic villainy, of dark, shadowy, diabolical terror."²⁴

History Becomes Scientific

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the patriotic literary romanticists were gradually displaced by various kinds of academic "scientific" historians. Following the dictates of the great German historian Leopold Von Ranke, these American scholars endeavored to "stick to

²²Richard Hammond, "The Maverick and the Red Man: Richard Hildreth Views the American Indian," The History Teacher 7 (November 1973): 37.

²³Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian (New York: Knopf, 1978; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 96 (page reference is to reprint edition).

²⁴David Levin, History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959), 133.

the facts" and to relate the past "as it actually happened."²⁵ In his landmark historiographical study, John Spencer Bassett suggested the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884 as a convenient date to mark the beginning of the dominance of the scientific spirit over the patriotic school. He noted that from 1865 to 1884, history in the United States was written in the afterglow of the Civil War, and it was not very scientific. Bassett believed that although the new spirit existed fundamentally in the minds of American historians about the middle of the century, it was not fully revealed to public view until the clouds of sectional animosity began to dissipate after Reconstruction.²⁶

Whatever the dividing point between these two periods of historical endeavor, the shift from romanticism to scientific method had little effect on American Indian historiography. During the transitional years following the Civil War, historians clung to the premises of Indian inferiority and the inevitability of his disappearance in the face of the westward march of white civilization. When mentioned at all, Indians were depicted as shadowy figures of the colonial past or sinister bit players in the drama unfolding along the Western frontier. Francis Parkman

²⁵Harvey Wish, ed., American Historians (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 6.

²⁶Bassett, The Middle Group of American Historians, ix.

continued his magisterial history of conflict between France and England in America, still portraying Indians as inferior savages. Hubert Howe Bancroft echoed Parkman's prejudices in 1874 when he published his five-volume history of The Native Races of the Pacific States. Although Bancroft expressed obligatory sympathy for the Indians' inevitable fate, his obvious larger purpose was to present their lives as mere prelude to the more interesting white civilizations that were to come.²⁷

The new scientific historians did little better. One reason they failed to shed more light on the Indians' past was their quixotic quest for objectivity which required original sources, rules of evidence, and tests for authenticity. The problem was that original sources dealing with Indians--government records, military reports, religious documents, and economic entries--were invariably generated by Europeans and Americans. Since Indians initially produced no written records of their own, accounts of their history were formulated by whites, using records or accounts written by other whites, many of whom had limited familiarity with the Native American cultures they were describing.

One of the greatest blunders committed by the early

²⁷Christine Bolt, "Return of the Native: Some Reflections on the History of American Indians," Journal of American Studies [Great Britain] 8 (March 1974): 249; and Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, 108.

scientific historians was their failure to collect or use the oral accounts held by contemporary tribal members. Many of these Indians, or their parents or grandparents, had participated in significant events throughout the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, as mentioned in Chapter One, scholars at that time often dismissed tribal oral reports and histories as myths or legends. Thus, during the twentieth century, much of this valuable information was lost.

Besides limiting the scope of research to traditionally verifiable sources, the advent of scientific history also exacerbated the long-standing problems of ethnocentrism and racism. Some historians became convinced that scientific historiography could isolate social laws similar in scope to Darwin's theory of natural selection and thus revolutionize and unify social inquiry. During the 1880s, this notion, called positivism--"the doctrine that the goals and methods of natural science can be transferred to historiography"--and the burgeoning use of comparative history--"an orientation toward the study of the past, based on the use of analogies between two or more societies or periods"--combined to yield what Berkhofer called the "biologization of history."²⁸

This phenomenon, which helped harden the old

²⁸Ritter, Concepts in History, 327 and 55; and Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian, 56.

ethnocentric idea of national character into modern scientific racism, was embodied in one of the most popular hypotheses of the day--the so-called germ theory. Using biological metaphors and evolutionary language, the theory postulated that America's democratic institutions had not originated in the New World, but had instead evolved from the germ of ancient Germanic custom via English culture.²⁹

America's early historians would have been quite comfortable with this new hypothesis. By dressing Providence in the garb of Evolution, germ theory restored the old polemicist, promoter, and Puritan's shared idea that the events of history occurred under providential guidance. The literary patriots would have been untroubled as well. By equating the cultural hierarchy assumed under their idea of progress with the physical and mental difference incorporated in their concept of national character, the germ theory reinforced the romanticists' conviction that Indians were merely pathetic barbarians, unworthy of note, except as temporary obstacles to advancing civilization.

As the end of the century neared, the American civilization finally completed its march across the continent. In 1890, the United States Bureau of the Census reported that the frontier had vanished and that the Indian population had fallen to 248,253. The nation had changed.

²⁹Richard Hofstadter, The Progressive Historians (New York: Knopf, 1969), 39.

In the decades ahead, progress seemed inevitable, and with its coming, many vestiges of the old century would either be abandoned or soon extinguished. Most historians envisioned Native Americans and their history as part of this exclusion of what was past. To them, the Indian people and their role in American history were on the road to oblivion. The 1900 census appeared to confirm the first part of this prognosis. Returns from that year indicated that Indians in the United States numbered no more than 237,196. The Native American population nadir had been reached.³⁰

As to the Indian's role in American history, trends at the turn of the century forecasted an equally bleak future. The germ theory of democracy did not remain formidable for long. Even as it was being preached, scholars were attacking it on several fronts. For example, before the century ended, the study of early American history was taken away from the Teutonists by the so-called "imperial school" of colonial historiography. Under this new paradigm, whose arrival coincided with expanding American imperialism and improving Anglo-American relations, the old patriotic version of the Revolution underwent a thorough and circumspect reconsideration in which the British point of view was given

³⁰The 1890 figures are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (except Alaska) (Washington, D.C., 1894), 24 quoted in R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," The American Historical Review 100 (June 1995): 717. Statistics for 1900 are given in the same source, without attribution, on page 718.

its first sympathetic review.³¹ The role of the Indians, however, remained unchanged.

Amateur historian Theodore Roosevelt was an adherent of the imperial school. After dedicating his The Winning of the West to Francis Parkman, the future president went on to echo his idol's penchant for depicting Indians as "savagely noble opponents of civilization".³² Yet, except for a few "lurid accounts of Indian fighting," The Winning of the West says surprising little about Native Americans.³³ The fact is, except for repeating old stereotypes, Roosevelt and the other imperialist historians were not much interested in American Indians.³⁴

The germ theory was dealt another, even more crushing blow when its teutonic roots were severed by Frederick Jackson Turner. In his famous Frontier Thesis, Turner changed the focus of America's development from European origins to the advancing lines of westward settlement. Yet his hypothesis did not totally reject the germ theorists'

³¹Hofstadter, The Progressive Historians, 29.

³²Terry P. Wilson, "The Historiographical Burden," in Teaching American Indian History (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1993), 7.

³³Frederick Jackson Turner, review of The Winning of the West, by Theodore Roosevelt, American Historical Review 2 (October 1896): 171.

³⁴This stereotyping and lack of interest is the theme of Richard L. Haan, "Another Example of Stereotypes on the Early American Frontier: The Imperialist Historians and the American Indian," Ethnohistory 20 (Spring 1973), 143-152.

ideas of social evolution. In fact, Turner gave a distinct Darwinian twist to the story of American development. Although he was never hostile or deprecatory toward Indians, Turner's thesis assigned them to a pre-evolutionary position in the progression of white American civilization. Thus, as will be explained more fully in the next chapter, Frederick Jackson Turner gave "scientific" respectability to long-held notions about the Indians' marginal role in American history and helped keep them in the shadows for another half century.

CHAPTER FOUR
FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT: THE TRANSFORMATION
OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

After four hundred and fifty years in the shadows, shortly after the middle of the twentieth century, various events converged to shed new light on Native Americans. Ironically, just as the cultural upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s were producing an Indian Renaissance, the study of the Indians' past underwent a significant change in methodology. The new methods, rules, and postulates, called ethnohistory, and the burgeoning interest in Indians, worked together to produce a major transformation in the field of Native American history.

But just as it is always darkest before the dawn, Indians were pushed even deeper into the shadows before the spotlight was turned in their direction. During the first half of the twentieth century, scholarly interest in Native Americans reached its nadir. This academic amnesia was prompted by demographic reports that "confirmed" Indians were indeed "vanishing Americans" and by the dominance of Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis that sanctioned the old idea that they were unimportant in United States history.

The Turner Legacy

During the first half of the twentieth century, Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis was the most widely used and hotly debated interpretive concept in United States historiography. Few American historical theories can claim to have had such a broad impact. Even his sharpest critics conceded that Turner "was a seminal thinker and that his [hypothesis] was the most profound influence in American historical writing in the past century." For several decades, "Reputations were made attacking or defending his work and his methodologies."¹

Turner presented his thesis in a paper entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" to the American Historical Association in 1893. In a celebrated passage, he introduced his central claim: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development."² In Turner's view, the characteristic features of the American psychology and social tradition--especially belief in democracy--originated in a common

¹Martin Ridge, "Frederick Jackson Turner, Ray Allen Billington, and American Frontier History," Western Historical Quarterly 19 (January 1988): 7.

²Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in American Historians: A Selection, ed. Harvey Wish (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 303. Turner's essay was originally published in Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893 (Washington, D.C., 1894), 199-227.

"pioneering experience in which the leveling influence of poverty and the uniqueness of local problems encouraged majority self-rule."³

Yale professor William Cronon explained how Turner thought these uniquely American characteristics developed:

According to Turner, the West was a place where easterners and Europeans experienced a return to a time before civilization when the energies of the race were young. Once the descent to the primitive was complete, frontier communities underwent an evolution which recapitulated the development of civilization itself, tracing the path from hunter to trader to farmer to town. In that process of descent and reevolution . . . a special American character was forged, marked by fierce individualism, pragmatism, and egalitarianism.⁴

Under this hypothesis, the role of Native Americans in United States history remained peripheral. In Turner's view, their function was merely to provide the "savage conditions" for whites to descend "to the primitive" where they could commence their "reevolution" to "civilization."

At the same time Turner relegated Indians to the role of unwitting facilitators of progress, he also suggested an amoral reason for their ultimate disappearance. He began by professing to be at a loss to explain why the Indian trading frontier had yielded so quickly to the advancing columns of pioneers and then handed the topic over to theorists: "In

³Ray Allen Billington, "How the Frontier Shaped the American Character: Turner's Frontier Hypothesis," in The Craft of American History: Selected Essays, ed. A.S. Eisenstadt (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 138.

⁴William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," Western Historical Quarterly 18 (April 1987): 157.

this progress from savage conditions lie topics for the evolutionist." Next the Indian presence was saluted as a consolidating agent; their contribution to America, Turner wrote, was as "a common danger, demanding united action." Still twelve lines further the Indians figure even more obliquely in passages stressing the importance of the frontier as a military training school, "keeping alive the power of resistance to aggression."⁵

Reflecting a kind of Darwinian resignation in the face of processes deemed inexorable, Turner thus attributed the ejection of successive Native American tribes to natural forces. In the space of one page, he used evolutionary theory to explain the eradication of Indians and then evoked their presence to demonstrate the frontier contribution to American unity, only to conclude by reversing the moral stance of settlers and Indians by claiming that the endemic warfare on the frontier prepared Americans to resist aggression.

Other historians during this period took different tacks regarding the role of Indians in America's development. Independently of Turner, Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas sought to demonstrate that each physical region brought forth its own cultural adaptation to circumstances. Webb maintained that while early America

⁵Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," in Wish, American Historians, 312-13.

produced an everyday culture dominated by woodcraft, the later Trans-Mississippi West with its Great Plains developed "plainscraft" instead. He argued that only this adjustment made it possible to build towns in a semi-arid area and to cope with swift Indians on horseback.⁶

Although Webb gave Native Americans a larger role in the story of the West than Turner did, his portrayal of Indians was harsher. For example, in The Great Plains Webb wrote that the blood of the Pueblo Indians, "when compared with that of the Plains Indians, was as ditch water."⁷ Comments such as this evoked charges that Webb relied on "racial explanations of American history."⁸

In the Far West, Herbert E. Bolton of Stanford University went beyond the Anglo-American frontier of Turner to treat the "Borderlands" of New Spain.⁹ Blending anthropological methods with historical research, Bolton produced works that featured Native Americans to an extent

⁶Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 204.

⁷Walter Prescott Webb, The Great Plains (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), 125.

⁸Necah Steward Furman, Walter Prescott Webb: His Life and Impact (Albuquerque, N. Mex.: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 49.

⁹Bolton's chief contribution was in a field of his own making: the "Spanish Borderlands" of Northern New Spain and Florida, which had previously been neglected. Amy Bushnell, "Herbert E. Bolton," in Dictionary of Literary Biography: Twentieth-Century American Historians, ed. Clyde N. Wilson (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Company, 1983), 14.

uncommon for the time. Indians figured prominently in several of Bolton's books and essays, and during his career he wrote more than a hundred articles on Indian tribes of Texas and Louisiana for the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.¹⁰

Although Turner, Webb, and Bolton contributed greatly to the enthusiasm for Western history that swept the United States during the 1930s, except for Bolton, they contributed little to Native American historiography. Frontier historians like Webb and Bolton did question some details of Turner's thesis, but his basic premises and interpretation of Indians were not seriously challenged before the end of World War Two. Until the decay of the postwar consensus school in the late 1960s, the history of Native Americans remained in academic limbo, and the Indians were considered only as impediments to or objects of other actors.

Out of Sight, Out of Mind

In the one hundredth anniversary issue of the American

¹⁰For books and essays that feature Indians, see Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," American Historical Review, 23 (October 1917): 42-61; The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1921); The Padre on Horseback: A Sketch of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., Apostle to the Pimas (San Francisco: Sonora Press, 1932); and "The Black Robes of New Spain," Catholic Historical Review, 21 (October 1935): 257-282. Bolton's articles on Texas and Louisiana Indian tribes are in Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, D.C., 1907-1910).

Historical Review, R. David Edmunds, a historian of Cherokee descent, plumbed the depth of scholarly disinterest in Native Americans since the journal's founding in 1895. Edmunds reported that except for some primary materials in its "Documents" sections, during the first sixty-five years of its existence, the American Historical Review published only eight articles dealing with Indians. With the exception of one classic essay by Herbert E. Bolton on "The Mission as an Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," published in 1917, each of the three other articles appearing in the journal between 1895 and 1920 centered on white institutions and discussed Indians primarily as objects of European or early American actions or policies. "Indians," wrote Edmunds, "were rarely portrayed as initiating any important activity; they participated in or responded to European initiatives but seemed to be incapable of formulating agendas of their own."¹¹

The American Historical Review published no articles on Indians during the 1920s, and the two that appeared during the 1930s continued the pattern established at the beginning

¹¹R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," American Historical Review 100 (June 1995): 720. The articles mentioned are Max Farrand, "The Indian Boundary Line," American Historical Review 10 (July 1905): 782-91; Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," American Historical Review 23 (October 1917): 42-61; and Verner Crane, "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," American Historical Review 24 (April 1919): 379-95.

of the century. The first examined United States Indian policy in the old Northwest during the War of 1812, and the second scrutinized European military tactics during Braddock's defeat. The former concentrated on the Anglo-American fur trade rivalry, largely neglecting the tribes involved in it, while the latter focused on French and British arms, generally ignoring the Indian forces responsible for inflicting the heaviest losses on a white army in American history.¹²

The only essay about Native Americans published in the journal during the 1940s examined John Evans's outlandish attempts to prove that the prairie tribes were of Welsh origin. It dealt more with Welsh and American antiquarianism than it did with Indians. The last article on Indians during this long period of neglect was published in October 1958. A harbinger of the future, this perceptive piece on Indian removal and land allotment discussed the implementation of Jacksonian Indian policy, but it also offered insights on the Indian response, arguing that intra-tribal politics contributed to the progressive diminution of Indian lands.¹³

¹²Julius W. Pratt, "Fur Trade Strategy and the American Left Flank in the War of 1812," American Historical Review 40 (January 1935): 246-73; and Stanley Pargellis, "Braddock's Defeat," American Historical Review 41 (January 1936): 253-69.

¹³David Williams, "John Evans' Strange Journey, Part II," American Historical Review 54 (April 1949): 508-29; and Mary L. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The

The situation in the book publishing field was similar, although things did improve as the decades passed. In the early 1930s, Grant Foreman, a former Dawes Commission attorney who had collected records documenting the history of the Five Civilized Tribes, published several volumes on these Indians during the removal period. In contrast to earlier works, Foreman's writings focused on the experiences of Native Americans, rather than on white political and military figures.¹⁴

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, Angie Debo, known as the "first lady of Oklahoma," dealt with similar themes. Debo earned her Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago in 1933 and later taught at West Texas State and the University of Oklahoma at Stillwater. Her research on the misadministration of the Dawes Allotment Act implicated several prominent Oklahomans in illegal Indian land appropriations. These revelations prompted death threats and

Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice," American Historical Review 64 (October 1958): 31-45.

¹⁴See Grant Foreman, Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); Foreman, The Last Trek of the Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932); Foreman, Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933); and Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes: Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934).

a bar to teaching at the state's universities,¹⁵ but her works brought considerable acclaim at home and across the nation.¹⁶ Her analysis of the subterfuge surrounding the loss of Indian land in Oklahoma and her studies of the Choctaws and Creeks remain standard works on these subjects.¹⁷

Most authors writing about Native Americans during this period concentrated on Indian-white military confrontations. Historians such as George Hunt, Howard Peckham, and Douglas Leach published accounts of conflicts in the East, while popular writers, like Walter S. Campbell and Mari Sandoz focused on warfare in the West. Campbell was a journalism professor at the University of Oklahoma who wrote under the pen name of Stanley Vestal. Both he and Sandoz made

¹⁵Martha Sandlin, Indians, Outlaws, and Angie Debo, produced by Barbara Abrash and Martha Sandlin, 60 min., Institute for Research in History and WGBH/Boston for "The American Experience" series, 1988, videocassette.

¹⁶Debo left full-time teaching in 1933. Except for teaching part-time several summers, she worked as a free-lance writer until her death in 1988. Her estrangement from Oklahoma's politicians was transitory. In 1950 she was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame. In 1983 she was awarded a Distinguished Service Citation from the University of Oklahoma. Today her portrait hangs in the Oklahoma State Capitol. Susan M. Trosky, ed., Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, vol. 40 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research, Inc., 1993), 112.

¹⁷See Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1940); Debo, The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934); and Debo, The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Confederacy (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941).

extensive use of Native American interviews and oral traditions to produce highly readable accounts of the Plains wars.¹⁸

Prior to World War Two, the University of Oklahoma Press formed the vanguard in the publication of Native American history. In addition to publishing many of the works of Foreman, Debo, and Vestal, in 1932 it issued Forgotten Frontiers, the first of its now famous "Civilization of the American Indian" series. The collection, which today numbers over 215, is noted for its tribal histories, but it also includes biographies, volumes of edited documents, oral traditions, and ethnographic accounts.¹⁹

Academic Amnesia

Despite the efforts of the aforementioned authors, at

¹⁸See George Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Relations (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940); Howard Peckham, Pontiac and the Indian Uprising (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1947); Douglas Leach, Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958); Stanley Vestal, Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932); Vestal, Warpath and Council Fire: The Plains Indians' Struggle for Survival in War and Diplomacy, 1851-1891 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948); Vestal, New Sources of Indian History (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934); Mari Sandoz, Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942); and Sandoz, Cheyenne Autumn (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958).

¹⁹Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed., Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Batista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932).

mid-century Indians remained marginalized in American history; most academic historians still considered Native American history to be "popular history" or "cowboys and Indians," not worthy of serious research.

The graduate student careers of three prominent Native American historians--Francis Paul Prucha, Wilcomb E. Washburn, and Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.--illustrate the academic environment of the times. When Francis Paul Prucha entered Harvard University in 1947, progressive historiography, with its stress on the dynamics of change over the older notion of institutional history, was in its twilight years. Most of the important work then was being done by scholars who had been trained during the Great Depression and who were responding to the economic determinism of Charles A. Beard. The revolt against Turner's Frontier Thesis and the new revisionist approach to the Civil War were in full swing.²⁰ The Nazis were defeated, but the Communist threat loomed large. Cultural relativists remained on the defensive as scholars restarted their campaign for ideological mobilization.²¹

Undoubtedly those major intellectual currents impacted the maturing Prucha, but other influences--swirling side

²⁰John Highman, History: Professional Scholarship in America (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1965; John Hopkins Paperbacks, 1990), 212.

²¹Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 282.

eddies, almost imperceptible at the time--were to have an even greater impact on the budding historian. In 1950 Prucha finished his dissertation, "The Scythe of Civilization: A Study of the United States Army as a Civilizing Force on the Northwest Frontier."²² The work's main focus is exactly as its title implies, but much of it also necessarily deals with what would eventually become Prucha's primary specialty, federal Indian policy.

Like most of his colleagues in this field, Prucha did not start out to be a chronicler of American Indian history.²³ Had he done so, he would have surely run into the same roadblocks that frustrated his friend and fellow graduate student Wilcomb E. Washburn. Although by this time some academicians were at least acknowledging the history of American Indians as a minor subset of conventional history, the study of ethnohistory was still in its embryonic stage. Anthropology existed as a separate discipline, and the numerous ethnographies dealing with Native Americans were objects of curiosity to most historians, as was the craft of

²²Later Prucha expanded his dissertation and published it in book form: Francis Paul Prucha, Broadax and Bayonet: The Role of the United States Army in the Development of the Northwest, 1815-1869 (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1953).

²³After earning his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1950, Prucha entered the Jesuit Order and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1957. During this period he did post-graduate work and taught history at St. Louis University and St. Mary's College in Kansas. Susan M. Trosky, ed. Contemporary Authors, New Revision Series, Vol. 38 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research, Inc., 1993), 345.

history to anthropologists. Washburn's efforts to integrate these two fields in his Ph.D. work at Harvard were rebuffed by the History of American Civilization Department even though that department was supposedly encouraging studies of every aspect of the American experience. Washburn was therefore forced to take his anthropology on the sly by auditing ethnographic courses during his free time.²⁴

Things were much the same over at Cornell University. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. has reported that when he tried to enter the field of Native American history as a graduate student there in 1950, he was informed by an unnamed "noted historian" that the Indians' past was not part of American history. He was told that if he persisted in writing his dissertation on Protestant missionaries to the Indians from the 1770s to the 1860s, he would never gain acceptance in his chosen profession of American history. Berkhofer wrote on that subject anyway, but the person who listed his completed work in Dissertation Abstracts doubtlessly agreed with the noted historian. Although Berkhofer requested his dissertation be listed under American religious history, it was placed under the anthropology heading. Years later Berkhofer admitted "the anonymous classifier knew better than I that in those days anthropologists, not historians,

²⁴Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy," in The American Indian and the Problem of History, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 91.

studied Indians."²⁵

Both Washburn and Berkhofer went on to lead the effort to make the study of Native Americans a legitimate concern of the historical profession, and both played their part in drawing Prucha into the field.²⁶

Out of the Shadows

While historians like Prucha, Washburn, and Berkhofer were striving to illuminate the Native Americans' past, events after 1960--the civil rights crusade, the Vietnam War, increasing ecological concerns, and the Red Power movement--helped bring about a major transformation of American Indian historiography. As the consensus interpretation of American experience faded, the African American drive for civil rights markedly increased both the public's and the academy's interest in the history of ethnic minority groups. Many historians initially turned to the study of Black Americans, a field that had been accessible since the 1920s, but by the end of the 1960s, others were

²⁵Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Cultural Pluralism Versus Ethnocentrism in the New Indian History," in The American Indian and the Problem of History, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 35.

²⁶Washburn is cited as a continuing stimulus and particularly encouraging in the preface to Francis Paul Prucha, Indian Peace Medals in American History (Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971, v. Berkhofer's influence on Prucha is discussed in Richard Aquila, "Sights and Sounds: A Total Approach to Teaching American Indian Studies," The History Teacher 4 (August 1988): 418.

also examining the Indians' contribution to the nation's past.

The war in Vietnam unquestionably added impetus to the Native American inquiry. Historians opposed to the conflict noted similarities between interpretations of alleged modern United States imperialism in Southeast Asia and earlier European and American expansion into Indian lands. While some of these similarities may have been overdrawn, the public's uncertainty over involvement in the war gave credence to a newer, more critical evaluation of white America's relations with tribal people.²⁷

The Vietnam War also reinforced old concerns about ecology. As reports of the use of Agent Orange raised awareness of the hazards of herbicides and fungicides, environmentalists publicized the increasing dangers of modern technologies. Noting the resistance to resource development on Indian reservations and the Native Americans' traditional reverence for the interrelatedness of all life on "Mother Earth," organizations like The Sierra Club and the Friends of the Earth resurrected the Indian as a symbol of their cause.²⁸

²⁷Cecil Eibly, "That Disgraceful Affair": The Black Hawk War (New York: Random House, 1973) is an example of an attempt to reinterpret Native American history through a Vietnam War perspective.

²⁸Jerry Mander, In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991), 38.

The Red Power movement was still another force shedding light on Indians and thereby strengthening interest in Native American history. Following the example of African Americans, young militant Native American leaders surfaced in Indian communities across the nation. While members of the American Indian Movement occupied Wounded Knee and the public spotlight,²⁹ other activists in urban areas and on college campuses successfully petitioned university administrators to establish Native American Studies programs.³⁰ These programs naturally included courses in Native American history, but even at institutions that did not start such programs, numerous history departments added new courses in Indian history to their undergraduate curricula. While many established specialists in Western history focused their attention on Native Americans, others eager for employment during a time when job opportunities were declining, jumped on the "buckskin bandwagon" and began marketing themselves as "Indian historians."³¹

²⁹Peter Matthiessen, In the Spirit of Crazy Horse (New York: Viking Press, 1983; Penguin Books, 1992), contains solidly documented accounts the Red Power Movement and the Wounded Knee occupation.

³⁰Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, "The History, Structure And Organization Of The Indian Studies Department At The University of North Dakota," in University of California, Los Angeles Publication Services, American Indian Issues in Higher Education, Contemporary American Indian Issues Series, No. 3 (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles American Indian Studies Center, 1980), 51.

³¹Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices," 724.

At this critical juncture, Native American history underwent a significant change in methodology. While Francis Paul Prucha and others continued to produce excellent studies on the formulation and administration of federal Indian policy, other scholars attempted to develop a Native American perspective.³² For years, historians had complained that although anthropologists possessed a better understanding of tribal cultures, their historical research was inadequate, their prose jargon ridden, and their analysis too narrowly restricted. In rebuttal, anthropologists charged that historians were interested only in military or diplomatic affairs and were so dependent on written documents that they failed to understand the Indian viewpoint. These conflicting perspectives began to converge during the late 1950s, to produce a new hybridized methodology called ethnohistory.³³

The Genesis of Ethnohistory

The interdisciplinary methodology that resulted from the marriage of anthropologists and historians during the

³²See Francis Paul Prucha, "Books on American Indian Policy: A Half-Decade of Important Work, 1970-1975," Journal of American History 63 (March 1976), 658-699.

³³See Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Ethnohistory: History 'In the Round,'" Ethnohistory 8 (Winter 1961): 27-41; James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," William and Mary Quarterly 35 (January 1978): 110-144; and Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership: Anthropologists, and American Indian History," History Teacher 14 (November 1980): 101-134.

postwar period came about in a curious way. It was an unexpected product of the federal government's effort to get out of the "Indian business." At the end of World War Two, unpaid wartime debts led the U.S. Congress to chart an economy-in-government course. As various Congressional committees examined federal expenditures, several legislators challenged costly programs for improvement of Indian welfare and agitated for the end of the federal government's relations with Indian tribes. Their demands evolved into a policy which came to be called Termination.³⁴

In order to terminate its relations with the various tribes, the government decided it was necessary to settle all Indian land claims. To that end, in 1946 the Congress enacted a law establishing the United States Indian Claims Commission. Since virtually every tribal claim turned into a lawsuit, lawyers on both sides scrambled to buttress their cases with the testimony of expert witnesses. These witnesses were required to speak to both the customs and the history of the plaintiff tribes; therefore, collaboration between anthropologists and historians became a requirement of the circumstances.³⁵

³⁴Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980), 547.

³⁵Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "The Indian Claims Commission," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 436 (March 1978): 98.

Because records and testimony were particularly vague on claims in the regions of the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley, in 1953 the Department of Justice granted a ten-year contract to anthropologist Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin to set up an interdisciplinary research center at Indiana University. The enterprise, called the Great Lakes-Ohio Valley Research Project, quickly became the training ground for graduate students in the relatively new field of ethnohistorical research. The project also spawned an interdisciplinary conference group, the Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference, that by stages evolved into the American Society for Ethnohistory. The conference newsletter became the society's journal, Ethnohistory, in 1954.³⁶

Several years later, Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin departed mainline anthropology to become a full professor in Indiana University's Department of History. According to Helen Hornbeck Tanner, Wheeler-Voegelin's two-semester American Indian history course, taught for three successive years beginning in 1957, and again in 1962, "was actually the first formal course on the subject of ethnohistory offered in any history department in the United States."³⁷

Ethnohistory, however, did not grow by happenstance from one act of Congress. Like most complex intellectual

³⁶Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin (1903-1988) Founder of the American Society for Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory 38 (Winter, 1991): 65.

³⁷Ibid., 66.

efforts, it has several progenitors. More than thirty-five years ago, Nancy Lurie observed that ethnohistory "is not a new method or area of investigation . . . it is as old as ethnology itself."³⁸ According to British historian H.C. Porter, the word "ethnology" was coined in 1842, when the American Ethnological Society was founded by proto-anthropologists and museologists interested in studying the characteristics and cultures of various peoples.³⁹

Bruce Trigger disagreed with Nancy Lurie's observation. He has noted that the historical technique employed by nineteenth-century scholars was limited to using documentary evidence to help interpret anthropological and archaeological data. Although their efforts entailed a "self-conscious study of ethnic groups," Trigger argued "they lacked a critical awareness of the problems involved in using historical data for ethnographic purposes." Therefore, he reasoned, "insofar as most ethnohistorians would now classify only the latter as ethnohistory, it [ethnohistory] must be considered a relatively new phenomenon."⁴⁰

While a few historians were attracted to this "new

³⁸Nancy O. Lurie, "Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View," Ethnohistory 8 (Winter 1961): 79.

³⁹H.C. Porter, "Reflections on the Ethnohistory of Early Colonial North America," Journal of American Studies 16 (1982): 234.

⁴⁰Bruce G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects," Ethnohistory 29 (Winter 1982): 1.

phenomenon" by the activities of the Indian Claims Commission and the resultant American Society for Ethnohistory, as noted above, many more became interested in the field because of the popular concerns of the 1960s and 1970s. The widespread sympathy for Indians during that period caused a greatly increased sensitivity among historians to ethnocentric value judgments. Furthermore, scholars following the new ethnohistorical approach began to argue that it was the whites, not Indians, who were the savages and aggressors. They pointed out that government agents, rather than Indians, were the crafty deceivers, that the pioneers and the soldiers were the bloodthirsty villains, that many more peaceful Indian villages came under attack than Westward-moving wagon trains.⁴¹

Ethnohistory has succeeded in bringing the Indians out of the shadows, but it has also sparked vigorous debate and heated controversy. Although it is currently fashionable, its methodology is still not universally accepted. Moreover, as Ian K. Steele wrote in 1993, its followers are "sometimes shrill and sanctimonious," and the field "is developing so quickly that any attempt at accessible synthesis is bound to be premature and incomplete."⁴²

⁴¹Wilcomb Washburn, "The Writing of American Indian History: A Status Report," in The American Indian, ed. Norris Hundley (Crawfordsville, Ind.: R.R. Donnelly and Sons, 1976), 5.

⁴²Ian K. Steele, Warpaths: Invasions of North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), i.

CHAPTER FIVE

AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Virtually all scholars of the American experience agree that the reshaping of Native American history during the Indian Renaissance initiated notable improvements. At the same time, most also acknowledge that advances in the field produced new problems. On the one hand, they concur that some degree of native perspective in the presentation of Indian-white relations is desirable and that more attention should be given to the innerworkings of tribal life, especially with respect to individual and group motivations. On the other hand, some worry that scholarly objectivity is being threatened by popular and professional historians who espouse a moral stance that reverses older savage and civilized dichotomies and seeks to depict Indians as victims of white aggression. Nor is there consensus concerning the utility of ethnohistorical methodology. The debate continues over how well it really illuminates the Indians' past lives and cultures and to what extent it should be subsumed within larger historical questions.

Finally, looming on the horizon of twenty-first century scholarship is the question of who should exercise the appropriate "Indian voice." In the past, Native Americans

have had good reason to distrust non-Indian historians. They have long complained that academic Indian history has not revealed a true Native American perspective. Some Native scholars argue that even the New Indian History reflects only what non-Indian academics think is important in the lives of Indian people. As more Native Americans enter the history profession, some are insisting that Indians are the only people who can properly interpret their history.

The New Indian History

While the sympathetic concerns inspired by the Indian Renaissance steered many historians toward ethnohistory, attempts to write history from an Indian perspective have sparked a vigorous debate about the morality of white attitudes and policies toward Native Americans. The heated controversy in turn led to criticism from those who believed that this particular quarrel was not the decisive question in the writing of American Indian history. Foremost among those who questioned the effectiveness of both old approaches and the new surge of sympathy for the Indians is Robert F. Berkhofer.

In the 1960s, Burkhofer began calling for a new sophistication in American Indian history. Although his strategy urged continued use of ethnohistorical tools and methods, he advocated going beyond the moral goals of ethnohistory and called for a refocusing of American Indian history that would "move it from being primarily a record of

white-Indian relations to become the story of Indians in the United States (or North America) over time."¹

In the preface to Salvation and the Savage, published in 1965, Berkhofer contended that historical understanding is not helped by a "Century of Dishonor" approach that reverses traditional moral judgments and emphasizes white rather than Native American villainy. Such an approach, he argued, "continues to regard American Indian history as merely a history of white-Indian relations."² Later, in a 1973 essay, Berkhofer addressed the weaknesses of histories that try to give increased praise to Indians by stressing their contributions to white society, the accomplishments of Indian military heroes, and the importance of Indian values to contemporary American society. Although Berkhofer acknowledged that these are ways of building cultural and ethnic pride and of redressing the balance of past accounts, he emphasized that histories that consider the Indian past only in this manner are simply allowing the Native American

¹Robert Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," in The American Indian: Essays From Pacific Historical Review, ed. Norris Hundley (Crowfordsville, Ind.: R.R. Donnelley and Sons, 1976), 101.

²Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), ix. "A Century of Dishonor" refers to a polemical, pro-Indian book by Helen Hunt Jackson first published in 1881. For the most recent edition, see Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes, with a Forward by Valerie Sherer Mathes (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

past to be dominated by white concepts, values, and standards. He maintained that while trying to be fair to the Indian, such histories simply increase the belief that Indian acts and beliefs only have value in so much as they contribute to the white framework of history or are judged by white standards.³

Berkhofer's aim was to free Native Americans from the "white straitjacket" by creating a "new Indian-centered history." To achieve this new history, he maintained that historians needed to make more use of the work of anthropologists and anthropological techniques. By concentrating on the internal dynamics of Indian societies, historians would be freed from their emphasis on the collapse of Indian societies under white pressure and would see that Indians, like all other peoples, have changed in time under various pressures and influences. In sum, Berkhofer argued that "political anthropology," with its broader definitions of power, "might well provide the central theme for the reconstruction of the Indian past in its true complexity."⁴

Although Berkhofer's vision has not yet completely materialized, as this century draws to a close, the New

³Robert Berkhofer Jr., "Native Americans and United States History," in The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture, ed. William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr. (New York: Random House, 1973), 37.

⁴Berkhofer, "Political Context of a New Indian History," 101.

Indian History, with its ethnohistorical approach, is decidedly the methodology of choice among American Indian historians. Most accounts of the Indians' past written today are designed to place tribal communities within the broader American perspective in order to illustrate how Native American peoples were motivated by their unique cultural patterns and how those patterns adapted to change. While recognizing that Indian people have been forced to react to European and American policies, the New Indian History attempts to analyze the Native American response and to demonstrate that tribal cultures have been remarkably resilient, maintaining many of their traditions through decades of forced acculturation. In addition, this new scholarship has endeavored to present an Indian-centered perspective: an account of Indian-white relations that analyzes this interaction from the Native American point of view. Indian people are no longer portrayed solely as pawns of federal policy. They are realistically depicted as human beings who strove to develop their own methods of coping with and even manipulating a system designed to control them.⁵

⁵For some recent examples of New Indian History, see Francis Jennings, The Founders of America (New York: W.W. Norton and Sons, 1993); Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, ed., The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Ian K. Steele, Warpaths: Invasion of North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and James J. Rawls, Chief Red Fox is Dead: A History of Native Americans Since 1945 (New York: Harcourt Brace College

In the last quarter century, the New Indian History has expanded in many directions. Its practitioners have widened their investigations beyond federal policy and military affairs to include subjects and periods previously ignored. One example of their influence in the broader field of American history is the inclusion of the pre-Columbian period in United States history survey courses. Long dismissed as irrelevant to mainstream American history, native people of this period have been habitually dehumanized in survey textbooks that customarily interposed pre-Columbian societies with climate, topography, flora, and fauna in introductory discussions. Since most of the data concerning pre-Columbian societies had been gathered by archaeologists, interpretations have centered on describing and classifying artifacts rather than describing the people and societies who used them. Consequently, in a textbook published in 1965, Samuel Eliot Morison reasoned, "when we try to tell the story of man in America . . . , the lack of data brings us to a halt. There are plenty of surviving objects . . . but no written records" He therefore concluded, "[T]he history of the American People is the history in America of immigrants from other countries."⁶

The New Indian History has helped dispel this line of

Publishers, 1996).

⁶Samuel Eliot Morison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: St Martin's Press, 1965), 3.

reasoning. Instead of excluding pre-Columbian people or depicting their world as a cultural backwater, many historians now place New World Native American cultures into a world-wide pattern with manifestations similar to those of Old World societies in Africa and Eurasia. Focusing on such cultures as the Adena, Hopewellian, and Mississippian, scholars now draw parallels to contemporary societies in Europe or Mesopotamia. Although as late as 1986 a survey of American history textbooks indicated that many authors still considered Native America before Columbus prehistory and thus the exclusive province of anthropology and archaeology, textbooks published in the 1990s typically include a chapter or at least an enlarged section on Pre-Columbian America.⁷

Linked to the renewed interest in pre-Columbian societies is the question of New World native demographics. During the middle decades of the twentieth century, history textbooks generally agreed that at the time of contact the future United States was the home to approximately one

⁷James Axtell's survey, "Europeans, Indians, and the Age of Discovery in American Indian Textbooks," American Historical Review, 92 (June 1987): 621-632, focuses mainly on the "Age of Discovery," but it also indicates that textual coverage of the pre-Columbian period was both inadequate and often error ridden. For examples of current texts that cover the pre-Columbian America, see Paul S. Boyer and others, The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1993); John Mack Faragher and others, Out of Many: A History of the American People (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1994); and Carol Berkin and others, Making America: A History of the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995).

million Indians. Today, a burgeoning scholarship in population study has given rise to escalating figures. Current counts for pre-contact North America range from five to fifteen million, with seven to ten million being the more commonly accepted estimates.⁸

These increased population figures have significantly altered how the Indian past is interpreted. The higher tallies give credence to arguments for more sophisticated pre-Columbian North American societies. For instance, Cahokia, the large pre-Columbian Mississippian community that once flourished opposite modern St. Louis, is now recognized as having been a nascent city-state similar to the civilizations of ancient Eurasia. Moreover, Cahokia's population, like that of its overseas counterparts, appears to have risen and fallen before it was abandoned around 1400.⁹

The number jugglings have also fueled controversy. Within the past three decades, scholars such as Alfred W.

⁸Henry F. Dobyns, Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1976), 95; Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 32; and Alvin M. Josephy Jr., ed., America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples before the Arrival of Columbus (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992), 6.

⁹The population of Cahokia is estimated to have been in excess of 30,000 at the height of its influence at about 1250. Alice Beck Kehoe, North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 173.

Crosby, Henry F. Dobyns, and David E. Stannard have offered new interpretations regarding contact populations and subsequent losses. Their investigations demonstrated that because Native American peoples possessed no natural immunities to Old World pathogens, they succumbed to epidemics by the millions.¹⁰ Other scholars, such as Russell Thornton and Kirkpatrick Sale have shown that further losses came as a result of colonization processes--warfare with Euro-Americans, forced removal from traditional sources of food, and increased intertribal conflict as eastern groups were pushed into territories already inhabited.¹¹

At first, such catastrophic losses seemed almost incomprehensible, and some historians were reluctant to accept the magnitude of the new figures. A 75 percent attrition rate--based on the old contact figure of one million and the 1900 census count of a quarter million--was unpleasant to contemplate, but it was far more palatable than one based on a beginning population of ten million or more. Nevertheless, most Indian history specialists accepted

¹⁰See Alfred W. Crosby Jr., The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971); Henry F. Dobyns, Their Numbers Became Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); and David E. Stannard, American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹¹See Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival; and Kirkpatrick Sale, The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990).

the upward revisions, some even finding them sufficiently horrifying to justify use of the terms "holocaust" and "genocide" to describe the fate of Native Americans. Because of the dramatic difference between a loss in millions rather than hundreds of thousands and also because of the controversial nature of the various estimates, David Henige has charged that the "high counters" were indulging in "Native American historical demography as expiation."¹²

Regardless of their stance on the population question, historians have always agreed that Native Americans were overwhelmed, but now they also recognize that they have nevertheless persisted. Unlike historians of the early twentieth century, who portrayed Indian people as "vanishing Americans," recent scholars have emphasized Native American adaptability and perseverance. This is particularly evident in recent accounts dealing with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, it is within this first period of sustained contact between Indians and Europeans that the New Indian History has made the most profound impact. Studies by William Cronon, Neal Salisbury, Richard White, and Daniel Usner have clearly demonstrated that although Indian societies used land, resources, and commodities in different ways from Europeans, Native Americans also adapted

¹²David Henige, "Their Numbers Became Thick: Native American Historical Demography as Expiation" in The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies, ed. James A. Clifton (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 169.

European technology and economic patterns to their own needs.¹³

The New Indian History not only affirms that Native Americans adapted and persevered, it also avers that they have influenced events in ways formerly unappreciated. For instance, in the 1980s, several ethnohistorians began focusing on the Five (later six) Nations of the Iroquois League. Noting the League's sophisticated political system and its network of international alliances, these scholars have revealed the important role the confederacy played as a political power-broker during the colonial period.¹⁴

Other claims of Native American influence are more problematic. For example, Jack Weatherford's best-selling

¹³See William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Richard White, The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Changes among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); and Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

¹⁴See Francis Jennings, The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744 (New York: Norton, 1984); Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, ed., Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800 (Syracuse, N.Y.: University of Syracuse Press, 1987); and Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World, purports to show how practically every aspect of modern life from potatoes to democracy derives from the generosity of Native Americans.¹⁵ The latter claim in particular, which has long been championed by several American Indian writers and their partisans,¹⁶ has recently engendered considerable debate. The controversial assertion is that the political theories of America's founding fathers were heavily influenced by their familiarity with the political structure of the Iroquois League and that the Constitution of the United States was modeled after the Five Nations Confederacy. Although this notion has been effectively challenged by a number of professional historians, the contention continues to attract a growing number of advocates.¹⁷

¹⁵See Jack Weatherford, Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World (New York: Crown Publishers, 1988).

¹⁶Writing in 1940, anthropologist Clark Wissler averted the idea that the Iroquois League provided the model for the U.S. Constitution was "long prevalent among the Iroquois." Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), 3.

¹⁷For arguments supporting this contention, see Donald A. Grinde, Jr., The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977); and Bruce E. Johansen, Forgotten Founders (Ipswich, Mass.: Gambit, 1982). For well-documented articles disputing this notion, see Elisabeth Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League," Ethnohistory 35 (Fall 1988): 305-336; and Diane Ravitch, "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures," American Scholar 59 (Winter 1990): 337-354.

The Objectivity Question

The current debates over pre-Columbian population figures and Indian contributions to modern society are indicative of a problem that has dogged Native American history since the beginning of the Indian Renaissance. Despite Berkhofer's caution against reversing traditional moral judgments, much of what is claimed to be New Indian History is less interested in balanced analysis than in exposing white crimes against Native Americans.

Francis Paul Prucha was one of the first to sound the subjectivity alarm. In 1976 he warned against a prevailing temptation "to look upon the traditional history of Indian-white relations as passe . . . and to turn completely toward the new approach." While he praised the trend toward including Native American perspectives as "a development long overdue," he also urged "parity in future scholarship." He was especially concerned that 1970s hindsight judgments of earlier periods would result in overly harsh portrayals of white society. Prucha argued for judicious approaches and condemned excessive moralizing and "breast beating" over the injustices done to Indians, while a different standard was used to measure the motivations and actions of non-Indians.¹⁸

¹⁸Francis Paul Prucha, "Doing Indian History" in Indian-White Relations: A Persistent Paradox, eds. Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1976), 3-9 passim.

Such concerns were not unique to Indian history. Starting in the late 1950s, similar apprehensions over morality and objectivity swept through the historical profession. While some scholars began giving greater attention to women and racial minorities, others in the field struggled with broader definitions of what should constitute the subject matter of American history and the degree of objectivity possible or desirable in writing about it. Social science methodologies and myriad new themes were bursting beyond the old concept of history as "past politics." Up until then the historical profession had projected an aura of consensus as disagreements of an ideological nature were muted. So long as historical accounts remained within traditional limits, in the words of Peter Novick, "a certain amount of perspectival relativism could be tolerated without abandoning a larger commitment of objectivity." But according to Novick, this comforting consensus began fading in the 1960s, and as the "political culture lurched sharply left, then right; consensus was replaced first by polarization, then by fragmentation; affirmation, by negativity, confusion, apathy, and uncertainty."¹⁹

Writing in 1967, Irwin Unger maintained that much of the confusion and uncertainty of the times centered on a

¹⁹Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 415.

schism between younger, radical historians of the "New Left" and older, consensus-seeking scholars of the "Establishment." To restore harmony in the profession, Unger urged older established historians not to reject out-of-hand their younger colleagues' work. But while he acknowledged that the New Left provided "a useful antidote to the self-congratulatory note that may be found among some of the post-World War II historians," Unger chided the New Left for sometimes confusing "intellectual disagreement with the battle of the generations" and condemned "the tone and rhetoric of the picket line and the handbill" that weakened the professional product.²⁰

Although not normally associated with the youthful New Left, Angie Debo, at age eighty-one, provided an insightful response to questions raised concerning the alleged relativistic nature of the New Indian History. Asked in 1976 to comment on her support for various Indian causes and this activity's effects on her scholarship, she replied:

Although it is fashionable just now to assert that no scholar can be objective, that he slants his findings according to his own bias, I do not admit this. I simply want to dig out the truth and record it. I am not pro-Indian, or pro-anything, unless it is pro-integrity. But sometimes I find all the truth on one side of the issue.²¹

²⁰Irwin Unger, "The 'New Left' and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography," American Historical Review, 72 (July 1967): 1262.

²¹Angie Debo, "To Establish Justice," Western History Quarterly 7 (October 1976): 405.

She went on to explain that once her research was completed and her findings published, "I had the same obligation to correct abuses as any other citizen."²²

Some would say Angie Debo was the exception that proves the rule. During the last quarter century, critics have repeatedly charged that the "obligation to correct abuses" has been the driving force behind much of what is purported to be New Indian History. In 1986, Wilcomb Washburn suggested that many doing Indian history had difficulties "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy."²³ A year later, ethnohistorian James Clifton characterized the Indian history field as "too often . . . highly politicized rhetoric," which he attributed to the turbulent politics predominating in the previous decades. This, he wrote, led to the "pernicious habit" of scholars to attempt to use history "rhetorically" to effect social change. The Indian, he concluded, provided "a nearly irresistible opportunity to express alienation from America's past and present."²⁴

In 1990, Clifton launched a major assault against what

²²Ibid.

²³Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Distinguishing History from Moral Philosophy and Public Advocacy," in The American Indian and the Problem of History, ed. Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 95.

²⁴James A. Clifton, "The Political Rhetoric of Indian History: A Review Essay," The Annals of Iowa 49 (Summer/Fall 1987): 101.

he termed "The Indian Story: A Cultural Fiction." This, he maintained, was the "standard narrative," complete with "preferred, forceful code words . . . such as oppression, force, fraud, resistance, pluralism, colonialism, justice, and heritage." In a six-page "abridgment of the contemporary Indian story" in his book, The Invented Indian, he discounted as "melodramatic" most modern writing about Indians that "generates shame and guilt in the White man, so promoting desires for restitution in and demands for reparations from him." Clifton did not limit his criticism to popular writers. Indeed, he accused many academics of identifying, or being pressed to identify themselves as "Friends of the Indian," characterizing their scholarship as an "intellectual atrocity caused by modern cant."²⁵

In even more strident tones, Clifton posited the existence of a "new Indian Ring," whose machinations were responsible for the popularity of hopelessly subjective works about Native Americans. Without naming names, he alleged there was a vast interlocking network of politicians, academicians, publishers, editors, Indian activists, and others striving to manipulate public opinion in support of "a special interest lobby," that was powerful enough to actually wield censorship powers at some

²⁵James A. Clifton, ed., The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 29-41 passim.

university presses.²⁶

Although these severe attacks provoked numerous critical responses, most notably by Ward Churchill and Vine Deloria, Jr.,²⁷ others continue to voice Clifton's basic complaint. In the July/August 1996 issue of American Heritage, Fergus M. Bordewich repeated the charge by condemning "our essentially mythic approach to the history of Indians and whites," which has entered "into the consciences of journalists, clergy, and others who shape public opinion."²⁸

Bordewich's remarks in American Heritage and further misgivings detailed in his recent book, Killing the White Man's Indian, highlight the fact that the issues of moralizing and the degrees of objectivity proper or possible in writing Indian history are not likely to be resolved anytime soon.²⁹

²⁶Ibid., 13-21 passim.

²⁷See Ward Churchill, "The New Racism: A Critique of James A. Clifton's The Invented Indian," Wicazo Sa Review 6 (Spring 1991): 163-184; and Vine Deloria, Jr., "Comfortable Fictions and the Struggle for Turf: An Essay Review of The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies," American Indian Quarterly 16 (Summer 1992): 397-410.

²⁸Fergus M. Bordewich, "Revolution in Indian Country," American Heritage 47 (July/August 1996): 43.

²⁹Fergus M. Bordewich, Killing the White Man's Indian (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 343.

Who Should Tell Their Story?

Another issue unlikely to be resolved during this century is the question of whose voice is most appropriate for the telling of American Indian history. Renewed Native American pride fostered by the Indian Renaissance, the repatriation controversy, and concerns over the usurpation and commercialization of sacred objects have motivated Indian academics and political leaders to question the content, methodology, and even the purpose of contemporary renditions of Native American history.³⁰

In the American Historical Association's September 1994 newsletter, Donald A. Grinde, Jr., a Yamessee scholar, wrote about this growing concern:

Today, an increasing number of anthropologists and informed historians contend that the image of the American Indian in history, literature, and art has been largely an "invented" tradition external to the American Indian experience.³¹

To set the record straight, he argued, "Native Americans must reclaim their history," because, "a critical and potent Native voice . . . will enrich the multivocality of American

³⁰For arguments on both sides of the repatriation controversy, see Andrew Gulliford, "Curation and Repatriation of Sacred and Tribal Objects," and Clement W. Meighan, "Another View on Repatriation: Lost to the Public, Lost to History," The Public Historian 14 (Summer 1992): 23-50.

³¹Donald A. Grinde, Jr., "Teaching American Indian History: A Native American Voice," Perspectives: American Historical Association Newsletter 32 (September 1994): 11.

history and widen our perspectives."³²

It should be noted that Grinde did not call for an exclusive "essentialism"--the notion that only members of the group can do their history correctly. Instead, he made clear that he and most other Native scholars are more concerned with adding their voices to the historical discourse than dominating the field.³³ This, however, is exactly what has worried some non-Indian historians. In 1976, Francis Paul Prucha inveighed against the call for Native Americans to write their own histories if the presumption was that only they could produce a legitimate scholarship. In an essay on "Doing Indian History," he labeled this kind of "ethnic or racial criteria of validity . . . basically anti-intellectual."³⁴ Five years later, ethnohistorian James Axtell expressed the same concern when he wrote that as more Native Americans entered the history profession, people might begin to accept the "genetic fallacy" that American Indians are the only people who can interpret their history.³⁵

Prucha and Axtell seemingly reversed the "genetic fallacy" when they expressed doubts about the accuracy of

³²Ibid., 15.

³³Ibid., 11.

³⁴Prucha, "Doing Indian History," 7.

³⁵James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 10.

the Indian voice. Prucha claimed that any advantage gained from "insider's" knowledge and viewpoint would be offset because "there are other things that are especially perceptible to 'outsiders' precisely because they are outsiders."³⁶ Axtell concurred. Referring to Indian contributions to American democracy, he stated:

I have a better shot at getting at the truth about this constitutional issue because I'm neither a descendant of a Founding Father, [and] I'm certainly not descended from the Iroquois, although I'm an Iroquoianist and love that as a subject, as I do all people in Eastern America.³⁷

James Clifton carried this reasoning to its extreme by suggesting a remedy for the polemical "narrative structure of Indian history" used by writers afraid of his alleged "new Indian Ring's" condemnation: European anthropologists and historians. He maintained such people "are less prone to . . . deference," presumably because geographical and cultural distance renders their scholarship an objective detachment.³⁸

Few non-Indian historians share Clifton's extremism. For example, writing in 1983, Robert Carriker expressed mixed emotions about the emergence of American Indian

³⁶Prucha, "Doing Indian History," 9.

³⁷James Axtell, radio interview with Catherine Stifter, 14 October 1989; quoted in Jose Barreiro, ed., Indian Roots of American Democracy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 59.

³⁸James A. Clifton, Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 4.

scholars. On the one hand, he criticized Vine Deloria, Jr.'s work as being more political than historical and rebuked a Nez Perce tribal historian for eliminating footnotes and condemning non-Indian scholars whose writings defamed his people. "Such attitudes," Carriker charged, "contribute little to the growth of Indian scholarship."³⁹ On the other hand, he noted:

Accomplished [Indian] scholars like R. David Edmunds, along with Veronica Teller, Terry Paul Wilson, and Clifford Trafzer are quietly making an impact on the writing of Indian history that will soon exceed the protest of Vine Deloria, Jr.⁴⁰

Linked with the controversy over "voices" is the question of "audiences." Many people in tribal communities want a Native American history that focuses on the parts of their life or the lives of their grandparents of interest to them, instead of what non-Indian academics think is important in the lives of Indians people. Addressing this problem in 1995, R. David Edmunds contrasted what historians wrote about Indians on the plains during 1833--intertribal warfare, the fur trade, a cholera epidemic, and floods along the Arkansas River--with the buffalo hide winter counts made by the Plains tribes for that year. The Indians remembered this time as "the winter that the stars fell," and their

³⁹Robert C. Carriker, "The American Indian from the Civil War to the Present," in Historians and the American West, ed. Michael P. Malone (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 193.

⁴⁰Ibid., 194.

pictographic calendars focused primarily on a spectacular shower of meteors that fell to earth during the evening of 12 November.⁴¹

Although Edmunds mentioned historians on the faculties at tribal community colleges and larger institutions with Native American Studies programs who offer histories admirably designed for Indian audiences, he also pointed out that some of their products have been rejected by other academic historians. In this regard, Edmunds suggested that "tribal historians and scholars addressing their studies to particular Native American audiences may share problems similar to those of public historians."⁴²

While the controversy over voices and audiences continues, the gulf separating native people and non-Indian scholars is not as wide as that which once separated the New Left and the Establishment. While most non-Indian historians writing Native American history would not claim to be speaking with an Indian voice, those who produce the New Indian History would argue that they do strive to include a Native American perspective in their work. Moreover, even though these historians still approach their subjects primarily within the framework of traditional European or American methodology, the fruits of their inquiries now

⁴¹R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995," American Historical Review, 100 (June 1995): 737.

⁴²Ibid., 738.

provide a basis for further investigation by a growing number of young, talented Native American historians emerging from tribal communities. Perhaps, during the twenty-first century, as Richard White has envisioned, an innovative method of inquiry will evolve whereby Native American and non-Indian perspectives and methodologies will "melt at the edge and merge," so that it will become unclear "whether a particular practice or way of doing things" is Native American or non-Indian.⁴³

Concluding Thoughts

The perceptive reader will discern from the foregoing that this author has ambivalent feelings about some of the issues raised in this chapter. While I endorse the basic tenets of Berkhofer's *New Indian History*, especially its Indian-centered ethnohistorical approach, I am concerned about how it is categorized and the objectivity of those who purport to write it. The problem is not in what Berkhofer desires to achieve. His new paradigm is a much-needed corrective to long-standing deficiencies. The great diversity of America's native people demands that their histories be separated. The pasts of the Cherokees and the Kiowas are as different as those of the people of Sweden and Turkey. But Berkhofer's particular Indian-centered approach

⁴³Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 50.

cannot be applied equally to all categories of Native American history. Rather, separate Indian histories should be regarded as a subset of a larger field. By the same token, much of what is currently called Native American history is mislabeled. For example, Arrell Gibson's widely-used college textbook, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present, might more properly be titled The History of Indian-White Relations.⁴⁴

But simply changing what we call the component parts of Indian history will not correct the objectivity problem. Although I believe the ethnohistorical approach is applicable to all categories of Native American history, the method should be used with caution. In their attempts to right past wrongs by incorporating the Indians' perspective, many ethnohistorians have over compensated. Thus, as noted above, much of the recently produced Indian history has been disputatious, exaggerated, and polemical rather than illuminating, informative, and useful. Moreover, it matters little whether these writers are Indians or non-Indians. Blood quantum does not qualify one to write Indian history; training does.

Trained historians endeavor to tell stories about the past that are grounded in truth. Although they realize they can never know exactly what "the truth" was in recreating

⁴⁴See Arrell Morgan Gibson, The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1980).

past events, they employ methodologies that yield positivistic accumulations of fact in order to achieve the strongest measures of truth and objectivity in their narratives. Ethnohistorians, on the other hand, employ a methodology that seeks not only to be truthful and objective, but also to show the Indians' long-neglected proper and deserved place in American history. The problem is that in their zeal to achieve the latter, they sometimes fall short with the former.

CHAPTER SIX
PRIDE AND POLITICS:
NATIVE AMERICANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

One of the most important themes in the history of Indian-white relations in North Carolina is that of recognition. In this study recognition is used to mean the circumstance in which a governing body, either state or federal, grants certain rights and privileges to an Indian group. Recognition is the yardstick with which Native Americans are measured in North Carolina. Categories range from those who enjoy full federal recognition to those who are not recognized by any level of government. While this typology oversimplifies a complex situation, it does generally reflect the various levels of public acceptance accorded people in North Carolina who claim to be Native Americans.

In the 1990 census, 80,155 North Carolinians identified themselves as Native Americans.¹ These people belong to four recognition categories.

¹North Carolina's Indian population is the sixth largest among the 50 states and the largest east of the Mississippi River. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, American Indian and Alaska Native Areas: 1990 (Washington, D.C., 1991), 117.

First, there are Indians who live on a federal reservation and who have legal rights to the services and programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Eastern Band of Cherokees is the only representatives of this type in the state.

Second, there are Indians whose existence has been officially noted by the federal government, but who do not receive any of the services or assistance offered by the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians is in this category.

Third, there are Indians who live in named communities and groups or who affiliate with urban Indian associations that have legal recognition from the state of North Carolina. These groups and associations are assisted economically, socially, and politically by the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs. Currently there are five tribes and three associations in the grouping. The tribes are the Coharie, Waccamaw-Siouan, Haliwa-Saponi, Meherrin, and the above mentioned Lumbees, who belong to both this and the previous category. The associations are the Cumberland County Association of Indian People, Metrolina Native American Association, and Guilford Native American Association.

Finally, in the fourth category, there are Indians who live either in communities or groups or are dispersed throughout the general population who have neither federal

nor state recognition. In this category are the Person County Indians, Hoke County Cherokees, Tuscarora, and Eno-Occaneechi.

A brief overview of North Carolina Indians in all four categories is provided in the following section. It outlines their geographic distribution and size and describes their relationship with the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs. The next section focuses on North Carolina's two major tribes--the Cherokee and Lumbee--by presenting a historical case study that explains how these people achieved state and federal recognition.

Although a complete narrative history of the Native Americans in North Carolina is beyond the scope of this dissertation, Appendix A provides a chronology of significant events in North Carolina Indian history. Additionally, Appendices B through D amplify the information in this and the next chapter.

Indians of North Carolina

While many Native Americans in North Carolina are dispersed throughout the general population, most inhabit identifiable communities that are named and known as Indian to the residents and their neighbors. These communities are further organized into named groups such as Coharie, Cherokee, Haliwa-Saponi, Lumbee, Meherrin, and Waccamaw-Siouan. Traditionally, family and kinship, common schools, churches, and political organizations have defined group

boundaries. Nevertheless, some of these same institutions cut across community and group lines, linking individuals to Indian people across the state through intermarriage, religious denomination, and Indian politics.

As indicated in Appendix B, Native Americans live in each of North Carolina's one hundred counties. Almost 80 percent of the Indian population, however, lives in sixteen counties within three major geographical areas: a western five-county cluster, a southeastern eight-county cluster, and a north-central three-county cluster just south of the Virginia state line. A map in Appendix C shows these clusters and identifies the Indian groups residing within them.

The western cluster--comprising the counties of Swain, Jackson, Cherokee, Haywood, and Graham--is the home of the federally-recognized Eastern Band of Cherokees. Although the tribe's 56,621 reservation acres are scattered across all five counties, the bulk of their land is within the Qualla Boundary in Swain, Graham, and Jackson Counties. Of the tribe's 9,590 enrolled members, 2,672 live off the reservation within the five-county cluster.²

The southeastern cluster contains identifiable and distinct communities for three of the five state-recognized Indian groups. The largest, accounting for 51 percent of the

²John R. Finger, Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of the Cherokees in the Twentieth Century (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 226.

state's Indian population, is the Lumbee tribe. Most of the tribe's forty-one thousand enrolled members live in thirty-three separate communities in Robeson County.³ The five major Lumbee communities in the county are Prospect, Fairgrove, Saddle Tree, Magnolia, and the town of Pembroke. In addition, Lumbee people have migrated to the surrounding counties of Scotland, Hoke, and Cumberland. The Coharie tribe, numbering between three and four thousand, lives north of the Lumbees in several small communities sprinkled throughout Sampson and Harnett Counties. West of the Lumbees, fifteen hundred Waccamaw-Siouan are settled in three major communities that straddle the boundary between Bladen and Columbus Counties. The remaining two state-recognized Indians groups are located in the north-central cluster near the Virginia border: The Haliwa-Saponi tribe, with about three thousand members, lives in adjoining Warren and Halifax Counties; to their west, about two hundred or so people of the Meherrin tribe live in Hertford County.⁴

North Carolina's urban Indian population is served by

³Not all Lumbees are enrolled tribal members. In the 1990 census, 48,444 people identified themselves as Lumbees. Using these census figures, Jack Utter ranks the Lumbees the ninth largest Indian tribe in the nation. Jack Utter, American Indians: Answers to Today's Questions (Lake Ann, Mich.: National Woodlands Publishing Company, 1993), 38.

⁴Patricia Barker Lerch, "State-Recognized Indians of North Carolina, Including a History of the Waccamaw Sioux," in Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th Century, ed. J. Anthony Paredes (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 47.

three state-recognized associations. The Cumberland County Association of Indian People reaches over four thousand Native Americans in the Fayetteville area and Cumberland County who formerly lived among the Lumbees and Coharies. The Metrolina Native American Association works with an equal number in the Charlotte metropolitan area of Mecklenberg County, most of which are displaced Lumbees. The Guilford Native American Association offers programs to about three thousand Native Americans in and around Greensboro who came from various Indian groups across the state in the 1970s to seek jobs in the area's furniture markets and textile mills.⁵

The majority of North Carolina's Native Americans are affiliated with one of the above tribes or associations, but some others are in groups unrecognized by the state. These include the Tuscarora of Robeson County, the Eno-Occaneechi of Alamance and Orange Counties, the Hoke County Cherokees, and the Person County Indians.⁶

Indians originally from North Carolina also live

⁵North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs, Information Sheet: North Carolina Indian Population (By County) (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs, 1992); and Ruth Revels, "Economic Status," in Public Policy and Native Americans in North Carolina, ed. Susan M. Presti (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research, 1981), 65.

⁶Although the Person County Indians were designated Native Americans by the state in 1913, they have not yet been officially recognized. Lerch, "State-Recognized Indians," 48.

outside the state. Over the years, Lumbees, Waccamaws, Coharies, Haliwa-Saponis, and other Native Carolinians have left their home communities for such cities as Baltimore, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Richmond. According to anthropologist Abraham Makofsky, by 1982, as many as four thousand Lumbees lived in Baltimore alone. Many Indian veterans, attracted by the prospects of employment, began moving "Up North" shortly after World War Two. Several have gained skills in business, and some have returned to their home communities to establish local Indian-run enterprises.⁷

Although North Carolina is now one of the forty states in the nation with established commissions to address Native American issues, except in the case of the Cherokees, the state was comparatively tardy in acknowledging the existence of its Indian population.⁸ It did not recognize the Lumbees as Native Americans until 1885. In that year the legislature named these people Croatan Indians and established a

⁷Abraham Makofsky, "Struggle to Maintain Identity: Lumbee Indians in Baltimore, Anthropological Quarterly 55 (April 1982), 76.

⁸According to Tim Giago, ed., The American Indian and the Media (Minneapolis, Minn.: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1991), 84, the ten states without Indian commissions are Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and West Virginia.

separate school system for them in Robeson County.⁹

It was not until the second half of the present century that the state's other Indians were formally acknowledged. Official state recognition came to the Haliwa-Saponis in 1965. In 1971, with the creation of the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs, the legislature extended recognition to the Waccamaw-Siouan and Coharie tribes and granted charters to the state's three urban Indian associations.¹⁰

The founding of the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs was largely the result of efforts by the state's Indian people. For years economic problems had plagued all North Carolina Indian communities. In 1970 44 percent of Indian families lived below the poverty level, and unemployment rates in Indian communities ranged between 20 and 45 percent.¹¹ Responding to these problems, in 1971 Indian leaders from the Lumbee, Coharie, Waccamaw, and Haliwa-Saponi groups persuaded state officials to establish a commission of Indian affairs.¹²

⁹North Carolina. An Act to Provide for Separate Schools for Croatan Indians in Robeson County (10 February 1885) sec. 1-2, Laws of North Carolina, 1885, ch. 51.

¹⁰Lerch, "State-Recognized Indians," 53.

¹¹Theda Perdue, Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1984), 56.

¹²Waltz Maynor, "Economic and Personal Growth of Native Americans in North Carolina," in Paths Toward Freedom: A Biographical History of Blacks and Indians in North

The mission of the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs is to act as a liaison between federal and state programs and the state-recognized Indian tribes and associations, to provide aid and protection to all Indians, to assist Indian communities in social and economic development, to promote recognition of Indian groups, and to protect the rights of Indians to pursue cultural and religious traditions considered by them to be sacred and meaningful. The commission includes representatives from the governor's office and the state-recognized Indian tribes and associations. Since the Eastern Band of Cherokees has a similar relationship with the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, its participation in the state commission is optional.¹³

Adopting a wait and see attitude, the Cherokees initially opted not to participate in the affairs of the commission. In the late 1970s, however, they decided to send representatives; but in 1980s, they withdrew them in protest over the Lumbees' bid for full federal acknowledgment. Today, according to the Executive Director of the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs, Greg Richardson, the Eastern Band of Cherokees is once again actively involved in the commission's activities, and the tribe is "fully

Carolina, ed. Center for Urban Affairs (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State University, 1976), 36.

¹³Lerch, "State-Recognized Indians," 53.

committed to the betterment of all Indian people in North Carolina."¹⁴

Case Study

Exceptions That Prove the Rule: The Eastern Band of Cherokees and the Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians

Native American participation in white people's wars has almost always brought them disaster. Hardly ever has it been advantageous for Indians to aid whites in their bellicose causes. But for the Cherokees and Lumbees of North Carolina, participation in the Civil War resulted in positive changes. Their service in the Confederate Army--willing on the one hand and forced on the other--brought long-term advantages that to this day benefit these tribes.

When Europeans first arrived in what is now North Carolina, a variety of Mississippian and Woodland Indians speaking several different languages inhabited the region. The speakers of Algonquian languages lived primarily along the coast, north of the Cape Fear River; Siouan-speaking tribes occupied the Cape Fear River Valley and the Piedmont; and those who spoke Iroquoian lived in areas between the Siouan and Algonquian tribes on the coastal plain and in the western mountains.¹⁵

¹⁴Greg Richardson, Executive Director of the North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs, interview by author, 14 November 1996.

¹⁵Perdue, Native Carolinians, 13.

The Cherokees were mountain people who spoke at least three distinct Iroquoian dialects. They possessed or controlled all of the Appalachian region in southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina, northwestern South Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia.¹⁶ The several thousand Cherokees living in North Carolina formed the core of the Eastern Band during the Removal era in the 1830s. Treaties in 1817 and 1819 had earlier separated them from the main tribe, so they were able to remain in place while the bulk of Cherokees moved to the West.¹⁷ A sprinkling of other Cherokees, fleeing eastward to avoid removal, joined them during these years.¹⁸

The people who formed the Lumbee tribe were descendants of an amalgamation of Algonquian, Iroquoian, and especially Siouan speakers who retreated into the swamps of southeastern North Carolina during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to escape the pressures of advancing whites. Several scholars have speculated that some

¹⁶Charles Hudson, The Southeastern Indians (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 5.

¹⁷According to Finger, The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 10, the pertinent passages, Article 8 of the 1817 treaty and Article 2 of the 1819 treaty, are in Charles J. Kappler, ed., Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1904-1941), II, 143, 178.

¹⁸A tribal census of 1835 showed 3,644 Cherokees in North Carolina out of a total of 16,542 residing east of the Mississippi. John R. Finger, "The Impact of Removal on the North Carolina Cherokees," in Cherokee Removal: Before and After, ed. William L. Anderson (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 97.

disaffected whites and a few runaway black slaves probably joined these Indians before the arrival of permanent European settlers in the 1730s.¹⁹

By the middle of the eighteenth century, war, pestilence, whiskey, slave hunts, and forced migrations had nearly eliminated the aboriginal people from North Carolina. The remaining Native Americans were mostly scattered, largely assimilated mixed-bloods. Only the stay-behind Cherokees in the western mountains and the amalgamated remnant in the swampy southeast maintained their ethnic identities. These isolated Indian communities were demoralized, disunited by factions, and without tribal governments.²⁰ A new state constitution adopted in 1835 had reduced their legal status to "free persons of color." Although the state aimed its constitutional changes primarily at blacks, the revised provisions resulted in the Indians' losing most of their rights as citizens, including

¹⁹Perdue, Native Carolinians, 45; G.R. Daniel, "Runaways and Refuseniks: Triracial Isolates," in Racially Mixed People in America (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publishers, 1992), 98; Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975), 28; and Ruth Y. Wetmore, First on the Land: The North Carolina Indians (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Blair Publishing, 1975), 164.

²⁰The most complete account of the near extermination of North Carolina's aboriginal people can be found in Douglas L. Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1947; reprint, 2d ed., Winston-Salem, N.C.: Blair Publishing, 1988).

the right to vote and bear arms.²¹

The Cherokees in western North Carolina were better off than the mixed Indians in the eastern part of the state. Anthropologist James Mooney maintained that the remoteness of their mountain homeland made them the "purest-blooded and most conservative" people of the Cherokee Nation, allowing them to keep their traditional life-style and values intact.²² Furthermore, the legend of Tsali, a tribal hero who had supposedly given his life so the Eastern Band could avoid the Trail of Tears, served to bolster their collective pride.²³ More than that, the North Carolina Cherokees had a powerful white benefactor, William Holland Thomas, who was their friend, protector, attorney, unofficial agent, and, in the late antebellum years, their de facto chief.²⁴

When the Civil War broke out, Thomas, a confirmed secessionist, organized about two hundred Indians into a militia unit named the Junaluska Zouaves in honor of the

²¹Dial and Eliades, The Only Land I Know, 40.

²²James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," in 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I (Washington, D.C., 1900); quoted in Wetmore, First on the Land, 55.

²³This myth, perpetuated in the Eastern Band's popular tribal pageant, Unto These Hills, has been thoroughly debunked by a host of historians. The most complete account of the facts concerning this fiction are in John R. Finger, "The Saga of Tsali: Legend Versus Reality," North Carolina Historical Review 56 (Winter 1979): 1-18.

²⁴Mattie U. Russell, "William Holland Thomas, White Chief of the North Carolina Cherokees" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1956), 7.

illustrious warrior who led Andrew Jackson's Cherokee allies against the Creeks at the battle of Horseshoe Bend.²⁵ But the Indians' leader had more ambitious plans for the Cherokees. Although some white Tar Heels vehemently opposed serving alongside Indians--one politician said he would "as soon be caught in a voting booth with a free Negro as to associate with [them]"--Thomas managed to get a bill through the North Carolina Senate authorizing the governor to raise a battalion of Cherokees as state troops.²⁶

While lawmakers in the state House of Representatives debated the bill, Thomas wrote President Jefferson Davis offering his Indians for military service. Davis responded affirmatively, noting the Cherokees might be useful defending the coastal and swampy regions of the state (a disease-ridden area that, as will be explained later, claimed the lives of many conscripted Lumbee Indians who labored there). Meanwhile, the state house rejected Thomas's bill, its members fearing it would automatically confer citizenship on the Indians. Nevertheless, on the strength of President Davis's authorization, Thomas began organizing a Cherokee detachment, which included the former Zouaves.²⁷

Because the state Adjutant General refused to muster the Cherokees into state service, Thomas went to Richmond

²⁵Finger, "Impact of Removal," 106.

²⁶Finger, The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 83.

²⁷Ibid.

early in 1862 to plead his case. The Confederate Congress had already ratified a series of treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory, securing their support in exchange for a promise that the Confederacy would continue the annuities formerly paid by the United States. Thomas, who previously insisted on a clear separation between his clients and the Cherokee Nation in the West, now claimed the Cherokee Treaty also applied to the North Carolina Indians.²⁸

The argument worked. Soon after his return from Richmond, Thomas offered his Cherokee troops to the Confederate Army and asked for a captain's commission as their commanding officer. In April 1862, Major George Washington Morgan, himself part-Cherokee, mustered Captain Thomas and his detachment into Confederate service as part of the North Carolina troops supplied to the central government. The Indians agreed to serve for three years or the war's duration. Thomas divided his detachment into two companies, each numbering more than 110 Indian privates and noncommissioned officers. Commissioned officers included whites, mixed-bloods, and fullbloods.²⁹

Thomas's Indians joined Confederate forces gathering to defend Knoxville and camped at Strawberry Plains near the

²⁸Ibid., 84.

²⁹Vernon H. Crow, Storm in the Mountains: Thomas' Confederate Legion of Cherokee Indians and Mountaineers (Cherokee, N.C.: Museum of the Cherokee Indian, 1982), 2.

city. There they became a popular tourist attraction and proved more adept at learning drill than recruits in nearby white regiments. As often happens with new units, an epidemic of measles and mumps ravaged the Cherokee camp. Despite the efforts of their traditional medicine man, several Cherokee soldiers died.³⁰

While his men adjusted to army life, Thomas planned the organization of a larger mountain defense force. The Confederates had authorized him to raise a "legion" or combined arms force of cavalry, infantry and artillery that would include a battalion of Cherokees. As Thomas assembled his command from new recruits and units already in service, he was promoted to major and then elected to the rank of colonel.³¹

The Cherokees already under arms had their first taste of combat in September 1862, when a Union patrol ambushed them at Baptist Gap, Tennessee. Although the Indians drove their attackers from the field, Lieutenant Astoogatogeh, grandson of Junaluska, was killed in the action. Enraged at the popular officer's death, several of his men scalped Union casualties. Unlike the more assimilated trans-Mississippi Cherokees, the Eastern Band had no compunctions about scalping. Indeed, Confederate authorities in the East

³⁰Finger, The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 86.

³¹Crow, Storm in the Mountains, 17.

never officially proscribed the practice.³² Union propagandists made much of this fact, frequently evoking the "bloodthirsty, savage Indian" stereotype, especially after a Raleigh newspaper publicly urged the Cherokees to "lift Yankees' hair."³³

While the Confederate command detached Thomas's white units for service in other theaters of war, the Legion's Cherokee companies remained in place, patrolling the mountains, tracking down deserters, Union guerrillas, and free-lance bushwhackers. Superb hunters, the Cherokees were particularly well suited for this duty. The Indians were excellent policemen; even Union sympathizers appreciated their work against bandits.³⁴

Although the Eastern Cherokees skirmished occasionally with Yankee cavalry and Unionist mountaineers in eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, they saw no heavy combat. Unlike their brothers in the West, the North Carolina Cherokees lost few men during the war. But after the surrender, smallpox ravaged the tribe and feuds broke out between ex-Rebels and those who had supported the

³²According to one of Thomas's officers, scalping was common throughout the war. But another officer insisted it was never done after Baptist Gap and that the behavior of Indian troops was generally better than that of whites. Russell, "William Holland Thomas," 336.

³³Finger, The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 93.

³⁴Crow, Storm in the Mountains, 87.

Union.³⁵ To compound their problems, Colonel Thomas went bankrupt and sold some of the land he had bought on the Indians' behalf. Guilt ridden and racked with periodic insanity, he insisted that he had not wanted to bring the Cherokees into the war, but had succumbed to Confederate government pressure, which, of course, was simply not true.³⁶ At this point it appeared the centuries-old rule was still in force. It seemed that participation in a white people's war had brought disaster to the North Carolina Cherokees, just as it had almost always done to Native Americans. But the Indians were not alone in their misery; the defeated whites around them were also hungry, dispirited, and bedeviled by problems and uncertainties. Moreover, there was now a new sense of affinity between Indians and whites, a feeling of shared suffering and mutual disappointment in a glorious lost cause. Even in defeat the North Carolinians did not forget the loyalty of the Eastern Cherokees.

Within a year, the North Carolina General Assembly--temporarily enjoying home rule under Andrew Johnson's benevolent Presidential Reconstruction--explicitly acknowledged the Indians' right to state residency. Two years later, on 27 July 1868, at North Carolina's urging, the federal government recognized the Eastern Band as a

³⁵Finger, The Eastern Band, 100.

³⁶Russell, "William Holland Thomas," 201.

distinct tribe under its guardianship and began helping the Indians establish a reservation from the lands purchased for them by Thomas. In the meantime, with their white de facto chief and wartime commander incapacitated, the band's factions came together under the leadership of the Quallatown group and made the new town of Cherokee their seat of tribal government.³⁷

There were still rough times ahead, but federal recognition--the Eastern Band's ironic reward for rebelling against the Union--proved key to their future success. In 1889 the tribe obtained a corporate charter similar to those for businesses, and the Eastern Band of Cherokees became a legal corporation. Later North Carolina expanded the charter, enabling the band to act as a bona fide political unit within the state.³⁸

During the 1930s, when the Great Depression brought acute suffering to Indians not recognized by the United States government,³⁹ the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal agencies initiated a number of programs to help the Eastern Band. A new school staffed by federally paid

³⁷John R. Finger, "The North Carolina Cherokees, 1838-1866: Traditionalism, Progressivism, and the Affirmation of State Citizenship," Journal of Cherokee Studies 5 (Spring 1980): 17.

³⁸Perdue, Native Carolinians, 43.

³⁹Graham D. Taylor, "The Divided Heart: The Indian New Deal," in The American Indian Experience, ed. Philip Weeks (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Forum Press, 1988): 247.

teachers offered better education, the construction of modern housing improved lives, and government assistance in organizing a marketing cooperative helped Indian artisans to sell their baskets, pottery, woodcarvings, and other items.⁴⁰

When the Great Smoky Mountains National Park opened in 1934, it brought thousands of sightseers to the tribal capital at Cherokee, conveniently located at the park's eastern entrance. After World War Two the stream of tourists became a flood, and the Eastern Band of Cherokees became one of the most visited tribes in the nation. Today hordes of tourists stroll through the town's numerous Native American stores and attend the tribe's proliferating high-stakes bingo parlors, many no doubt wondering why almost all the Indian businesses proudly fly the Stars and Bars of the old Confederacy.

No Confederate flags fly in Lumbee country. The Indians there never willingly supported the Southern cause. Yet their participation in the Civil War immensely benefited them--in ways even more ironic than it did the Eastern Band of Cherokees.

The origins of the Lumbees are probably the most disputed feature of the tribe, and despite a sizable volume

⁴⁰Perdue, Native Carolinians, 14.

of writings most of it remains speculative.⁴¹ When first "discovered" in the eighteenth century, the ancestors of the Lumbees all spoke English and lived like white frontiersmen in regard to their dress, housing, and farming methods. Only two things made them different from whites. Although some had gray-blue eyes, they all looked distinctly Indian, and in the traditional Indian manner, they held their land in common. On the eve of the French and Indian War, colonial authorities labeled them "a mixt crew, a lawless people, possessing the land without patent or paying any quit rents."⁴²

Some Lumbees claim they are the descendants of coastal Indians and English survivors of Sir Walter Raleigh's "Lost Colony" founded on Roanoke Island by John White in 1578. A short time after planting the colony, White sailed back to England, and when he returned to Roanoke in 1590 he found it abandoned. On a tree he found the word CROATOAN, the Indian name of the place where the nearby Hatteras tribe lived. Exactly what happened to the colonists is not known. Indians and disease may have killed many of them. But some may have thrown in their lot with neighboring Indians and

⁴¹Seventy-seven works written between 1709 and 1992 dealing with the problem of Lumbee origins are listed in Glenn Ellen Starr, The Lumbee Indians: An Annotated Bibliography with Chronology and Index (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1994), 65-75.

⁴² William L. Saunders, ed., The Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: State of North Carolina, 1886); quoted in Dial and Elides, Only Land I Know, 30.

moved with them into the interior.⁴³ Some scholars have doubted the veracity of this explanation of Lumbee origins, but there is no denying that the Lumbees of today bear over twenty of the surnames borne by the Roanoke Island colonists.⁴⁴

Whether the Lost Colony theory is true or not, other elements of the original Lumbee population no doubt came from the Siouan speakers of the Piedmont and Cape Fear River Valley, as well as Algonquian speakers from the coastal plain seeking refuge from marauding frontiersmen. In addition, some Iroquoian-speaking Cherokees and Tuscaroras may have ended up with the early Lumbees after participating in Indian-white conflicts. As mentioned above, it is also probable that the Lumbees's ancestors received some whites and blacks who were escaping the law, indenture, slavery, and other colonial social institutions.⁴⁵

⁴³Works connecting the Lost Colony with the Lumbees abound. Perhaps the best evaluation of these claims is in David Beers Quinn, The Lost Colonists: Their Fortune and Probable Fate (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1984), 49, which states the Lumbee/Lost Colony link "is not wholly without historical foundation, even though it is far from being fully established."

⁴⁴Lumbee Indian, Adolph L. Dial, Resident Consultant and Professor Emeritus, Department of American Indian Studies, Pembroke State University, maintained that his surname is the Indian rendition of Dare, the family name of John White's son-in-law, who fathered the first English child born in America, Virginia Dare. Adolph L. Dial, interview by author, 14 March 1994.

⁴⁵Daniel, "Runaways and Refuseniks," 98.

This gathering of people speaking so many different tongues presumably resulted in the emergence of English as their common language. Moreover, the fact that the English they spoke was distinctly Elizabethan adds credence to the Lost Colony theory of Lumbee origin.⁴⁶

Because these Indians lived in a swampy, undesirable area, they had little contact with whites until the 1730s when Highland Scots began settling the nearby Cape Fear River Valley. Ironically, while the former Lumbees were all English-speakers at this time, many of the Scottish frontiersmen who later drifted into the Indians' territory spoke only Gaelic. At first the Scots and Indians lived side by side in harmony, but after the invention of the cotton gin, the situation changed drastically. As the pressure for more land to cultivate cotton became severe, animosities flared. Since the Indians worked their own lands, they could not produce cotton as cheaply as could the white planters with their black slaves. As elsewhere in the South, in Lumbee country the equality of the frontier soon gave way to class distinctions.⁴⁷

In the early nineteenth century, new attitudes caused

⁴⁶This assertion is supported in A.R. Dunlap, "The Speech of the Croatans," American Speech 21 (October 1945): 231; however, since "Anglo-Saxon" speech is a dialect that was used in many isolated areas of the eastern United States, this contention is questioned in David Stick, Roanoke Island: The Beginnings of English America (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 241.

⁴⁷Hudson, Southeast Indians, 494.

class distinctions to harden into racial discrimination. Reacting to the abolition movement, white people throughout the South went to extraordinary lengths to justify their peculiar institution. In North Carolina the people evidenced this in their new state constitution of 1835, with which they intended to control free blacks and prevent slave insurrections. As mentioned above, legal authorities applied the restrictive provisions of the new constitution to all Indians in North Carolina. But in Robeson County, where the Lumbees lived, they applied them with a vengeance. The reason for this was the Lumbees' mixed origins. The racial paranoia in the South was such that whereas whites would accept a person with an overwhelming white blood quantum as Indian, they refused to do the same with Native Americans who had any trace of black ancestry. As far as the whites in Robeson County were concerned, it took only one drop of black blood to make an Indian a "person of color."⁴⁸

Because the new constitution prohibited "persons of color" from voting, serving on juries, testifying against whites, bearing arms, and learning to read and write, the Indians of Robeson County fell into a period of relentless repression. Unable to exercise basic civil rights, they became targets of unscrupulous whites who defrauded many of them of the small amount of land they held and forced others

⁴⁸William Loren Katz, Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 7.

to provide free labor as punishment for trumped-up criminal charges.⁴⁹

When the Civil War began, the Indians of Robeson County were in no mood to support the rebellion, but this did not matter. Since they were not white, officials there instructed recruiters to refuse them enlistment for military service. Still, the Indians were able to ride out the early years of the war without too much additional harm; but when the Yankee naval blockade of the Confederate coast became effective, their situation changed drastically. Events at Wilmington, North Carolina, at the mouth of the Cape Fear River, caused the change. The city was not only the best port on the Atlantic for blockade runners; by 1863 it had become the primary source of supplies for Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. After the Union closed or captured all other ports, it became crucial to the Southern cause. To keep the vital port open, in 1864 the Confederate government cast its eyes on the Indians of Robeson County.⁵⁰

Earlier in the war, the Confederates had sought to protect Wilmington by constructing a system of forts around the mouth of the Cape Fear estuary using black slave labor. But in 1862-63 a yellow fever epidemic struck the area causing planters to object to the use of their expensive

⁴⁹Dial and Eliades, Only Land I Know, 45.

⁵⁰W. McKee Evans, To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerrillas of Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 34.

property for such unhealthy work. To complete the slaves' unfinished project, authorities decided to use the Indians of Robeson County as replacements.⁵¹

Popular myth has it that the Confederates enslaved the Indians and dragged them off in chains to toil at the Cape Fear River forts.⁵² But paymaster records indicate that the Southerners conscripted the Indians into the Confederate Army in much the same manner as the United States drafted blacks for service in labor units during World War One.⁵³ Moreover, contemporary accounts mention that Confederate commanders granted the Indians furloughs, just as they did for other soldiers, during their periods of service.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, to the Indians sent to the Cape Fear River forts it appeared that they had very nearly reached the destination toward which the whites had pressed their people during a century of degradation. Piecemeal they had lost their lands, their civil rights, and their social status.

⁵¹Dial and Eliades, Only Land I Know, 46.

⁵²Dial, interview by author, 14 March 1994.

⁵³U.S. War Department, Captured Confederate Records, Payrolls, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC; (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1951, text-fiche, p. 87, TF808).

⁵⁴Mary C. Norment, The Lowrie History, as Acted in Part by Henry Berry Lowrie, The Great North Carolina Bandit, with Biographical Sketches of His Associates, Being a Complete History of the Modern Robber Band in the County of Robeson and the State of North Carolina (Wilmington, N.C.: Daily Journal Printer, 1875); reprint, Lumberton, N.C.: Lumbee Publishing Co., 1909), 45 (page reference is to reprint edition).

Now they had hit bottom--the line that separated the brown-skinned Indian conscript from the black-skinned Negro slave was nothing more than a subtle legal distinction.

Many Indians deserted the forts while others left their homes to avoid conscription gangs. The refugees took to "lying out" in the junglelike swamps of Robeson County. There they encountered a number of Union soldiers who had escaped from the Confederate prison at Florence, South Carolina. Gradually, Lumbee country became a militant pro-Union enclave in the Confederate South.⁵⁵

Unable to come out of the swamps to tend their farms, the Indian exiles watched hopelessly as their families suffered increased hardships and deprivation. At the same time, wealthy white planters in Robeson County prospered. Not only did the planters have enslaved blacks to farm for them, they also enjoyed an exemption from military service offered to owners of more than twenty slaves. As the war dragged on and shortages mounted, poor whites and freed blacks joined the Indians in their resentment of the well-to-do's privileges.⁵⁶

In 1864 Henry Berry Lowry, a sixteen-year-old Indian, and two brothers allegedly stole some hogs from a wealthy planter and took them to their father's home where the family shared them with escaped Union soldiers. The planter,

⁵⁵Evans, To Die Game, 38.

⁵⁶Perdue, Native Carolinians, 48.

claiming he had discovered hogs' ears bearing his mark in the Lowry's barn, asked the North Carolina Home Guard, the local Confederate militia, to raid the Indian family's farm. In retaliation, Henry Berry and his brothers ambushed the planter and then fled to the swamps, joining the Indians and Yankees gathered there. A month later, they emerged to kill a Home Guard officer who had murdered two Indian prisoners who had deserted from the Wilmington forts.⁵⁷

From this point on, the Lowry brothers and their followers, led by Henry Berry, waged war against the Confederacy. In a daring assault on the Robeson County Courthouse in Lumberton, they seized guns and ammunition. They then conducted a series of raids on prosperous plantations, carefully sparing small farms and disadvantaged households. The Lowrys' attacks on the privileged and their willingness to share the provisions they acquired generated considerable support for them among the Indians as well as among poor blacks and whites in Robeson County.⁵⁸

In the spring of 1865, with Union forces advancing toward them, the Home Guard of Robeson County conducted a sweep of Indian farms to root out the Lowry insurgents. Their mission failed, but at the home of Henry Berry's father, they found the gold head of a cane that had been stolen from a wealthy planter. The Home Guard arrested the

⁵⁷Dial and Eliades, Only Land I Know, 47.

⁵⁸Evans, To Die Game, 42.

entire household and carried them to a nearby plantation, where they held a drumhead trial. The Confederate militiamen voted to execute Henry Berry's father and uncle, took them into the woods, and shot them. The next day Union forces under General William T. Sherman entered Robeson County, prompting the release of the remaining prisoners.⁵⁹

The Indians had looked forward to the arrival of Union forces, and many of them aided the invading army as it passed through the county. As Union sympathizers, they believed that Sherman would liberate them from the oppression of the Home Guard and the wealthy landowners. Unfortunately, the Union troops did not distinguish clearly between friend and foe in carrying out Sherman's scorched earth policy, and they took food and livestock from rebel planter and loyal Indian alike. When the Union troops moved northward, they left the Indians in more serious economic straits than before. The Lowry guerrillas had no choice but to continue raiding in order to feed themselves and their families. Faced with increased harassment from whites seething with anger over the Lumbees' Unionist sympathies, more and more Indians fled to the swamps to join the Lowry band.⁶⁰

The Indians expected the end of the war to vindicate the loyal Lumbees, secure their civil rights, and elevate

⁵⁹Dial and Eliades, Only Land I Know, 50.

⁶⁰Perdue, Native Carolinians, 47.

their social status. This was not to be. Immediately after the war, Conservatives, as former Confederates came to be called, remained in power under lenient Presidential Reconstruction, and their reorganized militia continued the relentless pursuit of Lowry and his men. By 1868 Radicals in the United States Congress had assumed control of Reconstruction, and the Republican party came to dominate North Carolina.⁶¹ The Lumbees, who were Republicans, looked to the new government to punish the members of the old Confederate Home Guard who had murdered Indians. But the Republicans refused, claiming that legal technicalities prevented their bringing the perpetrators to trial. Actually, they believed such trials were politically inexpedient.⁶²

The Republican officeholders further disappointed the Lumbees by not permitting Henry Berry Lowry and his followers to return to their homes and families. The Indians had expected the new government to regard the Lowry band as Unionist guerrillas who had struggled against the Confederacy. Instead, the politicians decided that the Lowrys were common criminals because they stole for economic rather than political reasons. The Republicans adopted this

⁶¹Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 277.

⁶²W. McKee Evans, Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 97.

view to placate whites and to disassociate themselves from the kind of vigilante violence of which they accused the Conservative Democrats and the Ku Klux Klan. The result of this was a split in the Republican party of Robeson County and the election of Conservative Democrats to county offices. The decision also condemned Henry Berry Lowry to the swamps and to years of exile and violence.⁶³

In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the exploits of Henry Berry Lowry established him as a legendary figure. He stole from the rich and gave to the poor, made daring escapes from jail, and liberated captured members of his band. To many whites, he was the "Great North Carolina Bandit" who robbed plantations and murdered leading citizens openly or from ambush.⁶⁴ To the Indian people, and to many blacks and not a few poor whites, he was a contemporary Robin Hood who avenged wrongs for which there was no other redress.⁶⁵

Thanks to information provided by relatives and friends, Henry Berry Lowry always seemed to know the whereabouts of the pursuing militia--but the authorities could never locate him. Time and again he staged surprise attacks and ambushes and then vanished into the swamps. In its frustration, without legal warrants, the militia rounded

⁶³Evans, To Die Game, 100.

⁶⁴Norment, The Lowrie History, 10.

⁶⁵Wetmore, First on the Land, 165.

up the wives of the Lowry band and held them as hostages to force the Indians' surrender. But when Lowry threatened to kidnap white women and take them to the swamps, panicked citizens demanded the Indian women's release.⁶⁶ Whites in Robeson County took Henry Berry Lowry's threats very seriously indeed.

In February 1872, the Lowry band pulled off its biggest raid ever when it again attacked the Robeson County seat at Lumberton. This time, instead of taking only food and supplies, they absconded with a safe containing twenty-two thousand dollars. This was the last time Henry Berry Lowry appeared in public. During the following spring and summer, other members of the band vanished or met violent deaths, carrying with them to their graves the secret of their leader's disappearance. Did he escape from the county with the money taken from his last raid? Did he drown in the swamps? Did he accidentally shoot himself? Rumors abounded, but despite a twelve thousand dollar reward for him "dead or alive," no one came forward with an explanation.⁶⁷ Indeed, to this day, the mystery of Henry Berry Lowry's fate remains unresolved.

Henry Berry Lowry's mysterious disappearance contributed greatly to his heroic image. Even his enemies admitted he was a remarkable man. Mary Normet, whom the

⁶⁶Dial and Eliades, Only Land I Know, 75.

⁶⁷Ibid., 83.

Lowry band made a widow, had ample reason to hate him. Yet in her history of the Lowrys, written to champion her fallen husband's cause, she was not insensitive to Henry Berry Lowry's chivalrous deference toward white women and to his peculiar integrity. She conceded that even "those most robbed and outraged by this bandit give him credit for complying strictly to his word."⁶⁸

Before Lowry, the Lumbees had been poor and powerless. Whites regarded them as racially inferior and denied them equal protection of the law. But the Indian guerilla leader gave the Lumbees a taste of revenge, and the exploits of his band instilled in them a sense of pride and confidence in their ability to control their lives. Thanks to Henry Berry Lowry, the white people of Robeson County came to realize that the Indians would not readily accept oppression. More than that, the Indian hero's struggle against injustice helped preserve his people's ethnic identity.

The Lowry War posed a peculiar dilemma for the white people of eastern North Carolina. On the one hand, they could not deny the resourcefulness and gallantry displayed by the Lumbees in their battle against repression; on the other hand, the white's racist attitudes forbade them from endowing such attributes to "people of color." In the racially charged atmosphere of the post-Reconstruction South, nothing must be done that would impede the

⁶⁸Norment, The Lowrie History, 12.

institutionalization of segregation. The newly freed black slaves must be "kept in their place."⁶⁹

The way out of this dilemma was to reclassify the Lumbees. If the state of North Carolina recognized the Lumbees as Native Americans, de jure segregation would be maintained, and the Lowry War would be considered an Indian uprising rather than a black insurrection.⁷⁰ The prime mover in this effort was a Robeson County lawyer and North Carolina legislator, Hamilton McMillan. As an amateur historian, McMillan had spent twenty years investigating the origins of the Robeson County Indians. In 1888 he published a book that concluded these people were descendants of the "Lost Colony" and a tribe of coastal Indians he mislabeled the "Croatans."⁷¹

Before he published his book, McMillan circulated it widely in manuscript form; and on the strength of it, he sponsored and successfully supported state legislation giving the Indians of Robeson County a legal designation and

⁶⁹W. McKee Evans, interview by author, 16 March 1994.

⁷⁰This interpretation has been presented by several scholars, most notably in Theda Perdue, "Indians in Southern History," in Indians in American History, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1988): 154.

⁷¹Hamilton McMillan, Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony: An Historical Sketch of the Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh to Establish a Colony in Virginia, with the Traditions of an Indian Tribe in North Carolina. Indicating the Fate of the Colony of Englishmen Left on Roanoke Island in 1587 (Wilson, N.C.: Advance Presses, 1888).

the privilege of having their own public schools.⁷² The two significant provisions of the law were: First, that the Indians and their descendants "shall hereafter be designated and known as the Croatan Indians;" and second, that they "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."⁷³

The need for teachers prompted the state legislature to appropriate five hundred dollars in 1887 for establishing the Croatan Normal School. The lawmakers provided no money to house the institution, but the Indians rallied to the cause of education and erected a two-story building in time for school to open in the fall. Although they experienced the same discrimination in annual educational funding that their black neighbors did, the Indians found that their new segregated school system gave them greater control over many of their important social institutions. The name of the school changed several times as it expanded and evolved. Today it is the University of North Carolina at Pembroke.⁷⁴

⁷²Professor David K. Eliades, Chairman, Department of History, Pembroke State University, interview by author, 17 March 1994.

⁷³North Carolina, An Act to Provide for Separate Schools for Croatan Indians in Robeson County (10 February 1885) sec. 1, Laws of North Carolina, 1885, ch. 51.

⁷⁴For a history of the school's first one hundred years, see David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, Pembroke State University: A Centennial History (Columbus, Ga.: Brendwood University Press, 1986). The institution became the University of North Carolina at Pembroke on 1 July 1996.

The name of the tribe changed several times over the years as well. The new legal status granted in 1885 pleased the Indians, but they soon became disturbed over the designation "Croatan Indians." It was not a tribal name recognized by historians, ethnologists, or bureaucrats in the federal government. It had no historical precedent and was based on the name of a place, not a name for a people. What is more, Robeson County residents began pronouncing Croatan with a sneer or shortening it to "Cro(w)," which at that time was the whites' term for blacks (as in "Jim Crow"). So in 1911, the state legislature altered the name to "Indians of Robeson County." But since this new name did not fulfill federal recognition requirements for a documented tribal history, in 1913 state lawmakers again changed it, this time to "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County." Although the Eastern Band of Cherokees protested vigorously, the name remained unchanged for forty years.⁷⁵

In the 1933 anthropologist John R. Swanton investigated the lineage of the Robeson County Indians for the Bureau of American Ethnology. Rejecting both the Lost Colony and Cherokee origin theories, Swanton concluded that these Indians "are descended mainly from certain Siouan tribes of which the most prominent were Cheraw and Keyauwee." He maintained they ought not be called Cherokees, but instead,

⁷⁵Karen I. Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 80.

"A more accurate designation would be 'Siouan Indians of Lumber River,' or something similar."⁷⁶

The publication of Swanton's report prompted the Indian people of Robeson County to seek congressional recognition as "Siouan Indians of the Lumber River."⁷⁷ Although the federal government rejected this bid in 1934, nineteen years later the state government did redesignated them "something similar." In 1953 the Indians in Robeson County finally got the name they wanted. At their request North Carolina renamed them Lumbees after the Lumber River that flows through their homeland.⁷⁸ Three years later the federal government followed suit when the United States Congress finally passed a law recognizing the Lumbees as a valid Indian Tribe.⁷⁹

The Lumbees did not oppose the rigid racial segregation that emerged in the South during the late nineteenth and

⁷⁶Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Probable Identity of the Croatan Indians," by John R. Swanton (Washington, D.C., 1933), 5.

⁷⁷Gerald M. Sider, Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 145.

⁷⁸North Carolina, An Act Relating to the Lumbee Indians of North Carolina (20 April 1953) North Carolina Session Laws ch. 874.

⁷⁹While this law recognizes the Lumbees, it does not acknowledge them. It states that "nothing in this act" shall make the Lumbees "eligible for any services performed by the United States for Indians because of their status as Indians" U.S. Congress, Public Law 570, 84th Cong., 2nd sess. (7 June 1956).

early twentieth centuries. Instead, they welcomed it as an opportunity to develop an Indian consciousness and to promote an Indian identity that the whites had earlier assailed. Nevertheless, segregation left them second-class citizens. Until 1947, for example, the residents of Pembroke, most of whom were Lumbees, could not elect their own mayor. Instead, the Governor of North Carolina appointed white men to serve as chief executives of this Indian town. Furthermore, many restaurants in Robeson County denied service to the Lumbees as well as to blacks, and some establishments had three water fountains--one for each race--and six rest rooms--one for each race and sex.⁸⁰

In the 1950s, the incipient civil rights movement stimulated the Lumbees to recall their great grandparents' struggle against repression prompting many of them to join the fight against discrimination. The Indians' success in this endeavor and an increasing number of marriages between Lumbees and white soldiers from nearby Fort Bragg prodded the Ku Klux Klan to announce that it intended to move into Robeson County. Remembering that Henry Berry Lowry had killed the local leader of the despised Klan in 1870, the Lumbees were ready when the hate group gathered in a field near their community in 1958. The hundred or so Klansmen who arrived with crosses for burning were greeted by more than three thousand armed Indians. With gunshots and war cries

⁸⁰Perdue, Native Carolinians, 51.

ringing in their ears, the white-sheeted knights fled in panic across the state line into South Carolina never again to be seen publicly in Robeson County.⁸¹

The routing of the Klan in the tradition of Henry Berry Lowry signaled the determination of the Lumbees to achieve full participation in the economic, political, and social life of Robeson County. In the following decades they made considerable progress in asserting their civil rights and strengthening their political power. The resulting wave of confidence and the advent of the Indian Renaissance brought renewed dignity and self-respect to the Lumbee people. This surge of pride reignited their long-held yearning to be fully recognized by the federal government.

For more than a century, the Lumbees have sought full federal acknowledgment with a single-mindedness unmatched by any other Indian group in the United States. Since 1888, they have applied for federal certification nine different times, under almost as many names.⁸² In their current campaign, straining to satisfy bureaucratic rules, the Lumbees have downplayed the Lost Colony connection, claiming primary descendancy from the historically verified Siouan-

⁸¹Charles Craven, "The Robeson County Indian Uprising Against the Ku Klux Klan," South Atlantic Quarterly 57 (Autumn 1958): 433-442 passim.

⁸²Bruce Siceloff, "Identity and Honor: Lumbee Indians and the Quest for Recognition," Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, 20 October 1991, sec. F, p. 1.

speaking Cheraw Indians.⁸³ In anticipation of recognition, they have organized a tribal government, ratified a Bureau of Indian Affairs approved constitution, elected a tribal chairman, and changed their name to the Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians.⁸⁴

At this writing, however, the official acceptance the Lumbees crave is still a chimera lying just beyond a political horizon that seems to continually recede as they struggle toward it. In 1989, under pressure from established tribes unwilling to share dwindling federal dollars, the Bureau of Indian Affairs rejected the Lumbee acknowledgment petition, asserting that the "nothing-in-this-act" portion of the 1956 Lumbee Act prohibited a federal relationship and that "the Lumbees have not documented their descent from a historic tribe."⁸⁵ Undeterred, tribal leaders then began a campaign to gain direct recognition from Congress. In 1994, they managed to get an acknowledgment bill passed in the House of Representatives, but thanks to a filibuster organized by Senator Jesse Helms--an arch-conservative

⁸³Julian T. Pierce and Cynthia Hunt-Locklear, Lumbee Petition for Federal Acknowledgment (Pembroke, N.C.: Lumbee River Legal Services, Inc., 1987), 17.

⁸⁴Scott Mooneyham, "Lumbees Approve a Constitution," Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer-Times, 3 July 1994, sec B, p. 1.

⁸⁵Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, To Provide Federal Recognition for the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina: Hearing before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 101st Cong., 1st sess., 2 September 1989, 235.

opposed to any expansion of federal services--it died in the Senate.⁸⁶

Whether the Lumbees ever receive full federal recognition remains to be seen, but if they do, they will become the country's ninth largest acknowledged Indian tribe, more numerous by far than famous tribes such as the Seminoles, Cheyennes, Comanches, and Kiowas and a power to be reckoned with in national Indian politics.

Like the Eastern Cherokees, the Lumbees' participation in the Civil War was the first step in their march toward equality and acceptance. Unlike other Indian tribes, the Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians and the Eastern Band of Cherokees benefited from their involvement in a white people's war. Together, they stand as exceptions that prove the rule.

⁸⁶Arlinda Locklear, "An Open Letter From Attorney Arlinda Locklear," Pembroke (N.C.) Carolina Indian Voice, 20 October 1994, 2.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TEACHING INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

This chapter examines the development of higher education in North Carolina with particular emphasis on those institutions near Indian communities, most especially the University of North Carolina at Pembroke. It explains how the nation-wide Indian Renaissance together with local Indian unrest contributed to the establishment of American Indian history courses, first at UNC-Pembroke, then later at some of the state's other colleges and universities.

This chapter then evaluates the condition of Indian history in North Carolina higher education by analyzing data collected by the author in questionnaires and interviews. It identifies the institutions that currently offer courses in Indian history and those that did so in the past or plan to do so in the future. It discusses how much and what type of Indian history are included in other history courses; textbooks used; approaches taken; patterns of course enrollment; and the backgrounds of students and faculty drawn to Indian history. Finally it presents questionnaire respondents' opinions concerning the importance of teaching Indian history, judgments regarding the efficacy and use of the ethnohistorical approach, and suggestions on how to

improve the teaching of American Indian history.¹

In order to conform to University of North Carolina research policies and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services guidelines, the author has taken steps to protect the privacy of all survey participants. While colleges and universities are named, questionnaire respondents and individuals interviewed are anonymous. Participation in the department, faculty, and student surveys was strictly voluntary.²

North Carolina Higher Education

North Carolina currently has sixteen public and thirty-seven private four-year colleges and universities. In the state, all the public educational institutions that grant baccalaureate degrees are constituent parts of the multi-campus University of North Carolina. The original University of North Carolina, chartered at Chapel Hill by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1789, was the first public university in the United States to open its doors and the only one to graduate students in the eighteenth century. The first class was admitted in 1795. For the next 136

¹For a discussion concerning the procedures used to collect data for this study see pp. 10-11 above. Samples of the questionnaires used are in Appendix E below.

²For University of North Carolina policies see Pembroke State University, Office for Academic Affairs, Pembroke State University 1995-1996 Faculty Handbook (Pembroke, N.C.: Pembroke State University, 1996), 4-101. For U.S. Department of Health and Human Services guidelines see Code of Federal Regulations 45 CFR 46, subpart A, sec. 46.

years, the only campus of the University of North Carolina was at Chapel Hill.³

In 1877 the North Carolina General Assembly began sponsoring additional institutions of higher education. Five were established as black institutions, and another was founded to educate Native Americans. Most of these colleges were created to prepare teachers for the public schools; a few, however, had a technological emphasis.⁴

In 1931 the state redefined the University of North Carolina to include three state-supported institutions: the original campus at Chapel Hill (now the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), North Carolina College (now North Carolina State University), and Greensboro Woman's College (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro). By 1969, three more campuses had joined the University through legislative action: the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, the University of North Carolina at Asheville, and the University of North Carolina at Wilmington.⁵

In 1971 the General Assembly passed legislation bringing into the system the state's ten remaining public senior institutions, each of which until then having been legally separate: Appalachian State University, East

³Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 262.

⁴Ibid., 533.

⁵Ibid., 703.

Carolina University, Elizabeth City State University, Fayetteville State University, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, North Carolina Central University, North Carolina School of the Arts, Pembroke State University (now the University of North Carolina at Pembroke), Western Carolina University, and Winston-Salem State University. This action created the current sixteen-campus University of North Carolina.⁶

North Carolina's thirty-seven private colleges and universities range from large, prestigious, doctoral-granting institutions such as Duke University to small, little-known, baccalaureate-granting theological schools such as Roanoke Bible College.

Several of the state's universities and colleges are located in or near the Indian communities discussed in the previous chapter. Bennett College, Eton College, Guilford College, Greensboro College, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro are in the counties served by the Guilford Native American Association. Fayetteville State University and Methodist College are in the area covered by the Cumberland County Association of Indian People. Johnson C. Smith University and the University of North Carolina at Charlotte are in Mecklenburg County, the home of the Metrolina Native American Association. Campbell University

⁶David E. Brown, North Carolina: New Directions for an Old Land (North Ridge, Calif.: Windsor Publications, 1985), 118.

is in Harnett County where about half of the Coharie Tribe resides. Western Carolina University in Jackson County is located in close proximity to the reservations occupied by the Eastern Band of Cherokees. The institution with the largest Indian student population, the University of North Carolina at Pembroke, is located in Robeson County, the heart of Lumbee country.

The University of North Carolina at Pembroke

The North Carolina General Assembly provided for the founding of what would become UNC-Pembroke in March 1887 when it enacted legislation sponsored by Representative Hamilton McMillan creating the Croatan Normal School.⁷ The law, which was in response to a petition from the Indian people of Robeson County, established a Board of Trustees and appropriated five hundred dollars to be "expended for the payment of services rendered for teaching and for no other purpose."⁸ After raising money for materials, the Indians constructed a two-story wooden school building at a site about one mile from the town of Pembroke. In the fall of 1877, the school began operations with one teacher and fifteen students. At first the institution offered no instruction beyond the eighth-grade level, and its

⁷For a discussion of why Hamilton McMillan sponsored this legislation, see pp. 150-151 above.

⁸North Carolina. An Act to Establish a Normal School in the County of Robeson (7 March 1887) sec. 7, Laws of North Carolina, 1887, ch. 400.

curriculum was decidedly "non-standard" and "non-traditional." It was not until 1906 that the school awarded its first diploma for completion of its "Scientific Course."⁹

In 1909 the Board of Trustees moved the school to its present location in Pembroke, the center of the Indian community. The General Assembly changed the name of the institution in 1911 to the Indian Normal School of Robeson County, and again in 1913 to the Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County. In 1926 the Board of Trustees added a two-year normal school program beyond high school and phased out elementary instruction. The state accredited the institution as a "standard normal school" in 1928, and in that year the school issued its first ten teacher diplomas.¹⁰

In 1931 the school began offering additional college classes, and in 1939 it added a fourth year of higher education to its curriculum. In the spring of 1940, the school awarded its first four-year baccalaureate degrees in education. In recognition of this new status, the General Assembly changed the name of the school in 1941 to Pembroke

⁹The recipient of this diploma, D.F. Lowry, has stated that students were allowed to study "anything they could handle." David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, Pembroke State University: A Centennial History (Columbus, Ga.: Brendwood University Press, 1986), 22.

¹⁰Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1975), 94.

State College for Indians. Until 1953 the institution was the only state-supported four-year college for Indians in the nation. The college widened its scope in 1942 by offering non-teaching baccalaureate degrees, and in 1945 it opened its enrollment, previously limited to Indians of Robeson County, to all Indian people belonging to federally-recognized tribes. A few years later, in 1949, the General Assembly shortened the name to Pembroke State College.¹¹

In 1953 the Board of Trustees approved the admission of white students up to 40 percent of the total enrollment. In 1954, following the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, the state opened the College to all qualified applicants without regard to race. According to the school's official history, Pembroke State was one of the first southern colleges to take this step. During the next eight years enrollment increased more than 500 percent. In 1969 the General Assembly designated Pembroke State a regional university, and three years later, in 1972, it established the sixteen-campus University of North Carolina system with Pembroke State University as one of the constituent institutions. Finally, on 1 July 1996, the General Assembly gave the institution its present name--the University of North Carolina at Pembroke.¹²

¹¹Eliades and Oxendine, Centennial History, chap. 4 passim.

¹²Ibid., chap. 5 passim.

Although UNC-Pembroke was opened to all races in 1954, its Indian population remained substantial. In the fall of 1995, 723 or 24.4 percent of the university's three thousand students were Native Americans. During the same semester, nine or 6.3 percent of the 144 faculty members and 177 or 42.2 percent of the 419 university employees (full-time faculty and staff) were Native Americans.¹³

American Indian History Comes to UNC-Pembroke

Considering its Indian heritage, it is not surprising that the teaching of American Indian history in North Carolina higher education began at UNC-Pembroke. What may be surprising, however, is that the institution did not begin offering courses in Indian history until the establishment of its American Indian Studies Department in the fall of 1972.¹⁴

Pembroke's American Indian Studies Department was established during a period of unprecedented state-wide growth and development. The late 1960s and early 1970s were very progressive years for higher education in North Carolina. During this time there was vast expansion of enrollments, facilities, faculties, and programs. As a

¹³Pembroke State University, Office of Institutional Research, Fact Book: 1995-1996 (Pembroke, N.C.: Pembroke State University, 1996), 13-40 passim.

¹⁴Professor David K. Eliades, Chairman, Department of History, Pembroke State University, interview by author, 17 March 1994.

result of this phenomenal growth and generous state funding, Pembroke State College experienced a virtual transformation. As noted above, in 1969 it became a "regional university," and in 1972 it became one of the sixteen constituent units of the University of North Carolina.

But all was not peace and progress at the institution Lumbees persistently called the "College." With the influx of students came many unsettling changes in campus life. This was partly a product of sheer numbers, but it also reflected the radicalization of American society occurring during these troubled years. Although there were many forces responsible for this development, none was more potent than the Vietnam War. The conflict caused some student and faculty unrest at Pembroke State, but the university experienced no violent demonstrations or student takeovers. Some anti-war activists did, however, organize an off-campus "coffee-house" where students gathered to discuss political issues, listen to folk music, and socialize.¹⁵

On campus, like-minded students, disenchanted with the official student newspaper The Pine Needle, started their own unauthorized publication called The Pine Noodle. This underground newspaper was, in part, an anti-war protest; but it also sought to stimulate student interest in campus issues such as the bookstore, the cafeteria, freedom of

¹⁵Eliades and Oxendine, Centennial History, 71.

speech, the role of student government, and curriculum reform.¹⁶

It was during this period of turbulence that the term "De-Indianization" was first heard on the Pembroke campus.¹⁷ The term reflected the Lumbees' concern that they were losing control of the institution originally created for their benefit. While this had been a nagging worry since the school was integrated in 1954, white domination of the former Indian College now appeared to be a distinct probability. Alarmed by this prospect, local Indian leaders voiced anxiety over the university's refusal to sponsor an Upward Bound program; white preponderance in faculty, administration, and students; and a lack of curriculum and services aimed at Indian students.¹⁸

The "De-Indianization" issue was brought to a head by the changes in the state's system of higher education. Prior to 1955, the addition of new programs and facilities was a prerogative of the state's individual institutions, provided they could get funding from the legislature or elsewhere. While this meant there was a strong tie between politics and higher education, it also meant that small

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Lew Barton, "'De-Indianization' Trend Observed at Pembroke U," Robesonian (Lumberton, N.C.), 18 November 1971, 27.

¹⁸Randall Ackley, "Discussion: Pembroke State University," Indian Historian 5 (Summer 1972): 43.

colleges like Pembroke State remained essentially under local control. In 1955 the State Board of Higher Education was established and given responsibility for allotting the "functions and activities" of all public institutions. As it turned out, however, the board was not given authority equal to its responsibilities, and the legislature continued its direct involvement in higher education. This meant that there were few restraints on institutional growth and program proliferation from 1955 to 1969, and local boards of trustees were able to retain considerable control over their institutions.¹⁹

But the creation of regional universities in 1969 sparked a great debate over who should control North Carolina's public schools of higher education. Taxpayers were concerned about rising costs as each institution expanded virtually unchecked, and academicians were disturbed over legislative involvement in educational decisions. As a result of this debate, in October 1971, the General Assembly enacted the law that made all public senior institutions part of the University of North Carolina. The new system was to be under a General Administration headed by a President and ultimately under the overall authority of a Board of Governors. When the board began to function on 1 July 1972, higher education in North Carolina came under centralized control, and local autonomy at Pembroke State

¹⁹Eliades and Oxendine, Centennial History, 73.

and elsewhere ended.²⁰

While the "De-Indianization" process was occurring, another issue arose that greatly exacerbated the difficulties between Pembroke State and the surrounding Indian community. In January 1970, the University's administration announced plans to demolish the oldest and most revered building on campus and build a new auditorium in its place. At that time the building, known as Old Main, was vacant and deteriorating, but it was also a half-century old landmark. From 1923 to 1949 it had been the only brick structure on campus and the proud centerpiece of the Indian College.²¹

The realization that Old Main was about to be razed led to a growing number of protests. At first the Lumbees simply wanted to preserve the structure as a symbol of the years when the institution served only Indians. But as opposition to the destruction gained momentum, a more ambitious "Save-Old-Main" movement began. Movement leaders not only wanted Old Main spared, they demanded it be restored and turned into an Indian cultural center. The movement originated with the Lumbee Regional Development Association, a community action organization, but quickly came to include a majority

²⁰Ibid., 75.

²¹According to newspaper reporter J.L. Pate, Old Main was the "only structure in the United States formerly used for an all-Indian college." J.L. Pate, "PSU Cheers Rededication of Old Main," Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer, 17 February 1980, 1A.

of the Lumbees, as well as other Native Americans and many non-Indians. As movement organizers sought to marshal wider support for their goals, Old Main became an emotional and political issue of local, state, and national importance.²²

It is significant that the "De-Indianization" issue and "Old Main" controversy occurred during the period of nationwide Indian militancy and the dramatic surge of public interest in Native Americans that prompted the Indian Renaissance.²³ These local issues and national trends coalesced to produce a heightened sense of Indianness among the Native Americans in Robeson County. While most of these people were content to be known as Lumbees, a small faction, claiming they were "more Indian" than the rest, insisted that they were not Lumbees, but Tuscaroras.²⁴

In December 1971, this faction organized themselves into the Eastern Carolina Indian Organization (ECIO) and began waging an aggressive campaign to achieve two basic

²²After a fire of unknown origin gutted Old Main in March 1973, state officials yielded to public pressure. The University acquired additional acreage for its new auditorium, and the state provided funds for the renovation and restoration of Old Main. For an historical overview of the Old Main controversy, see North Carolina State University, School of Design, Community Development Group, Old Main Study (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State University, 1974), 5.

²³For a detailed discussion of the development of the Indian Renaissance see pp. 2-7 and 84-87 above.

²⁴Rick Nichols, "Are They Indians? Are They Lumbees?" News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.), 9 January 1972, sec. 4, p. 3.

goals: national recognition as Tuscaroras and Indian control of local schools.²⁵ The most radical Native American organization in the nation, the American Indian Movement (AIM), sent several representatives--including its national director, Vernon Bellecourt, and one of its founders, Dennis Banks--to Robeson County to support the Tuscaroras.

Although most Lumbees were ambivalent about the justice and logic of the AIM and ECIO positions, these organizations did introduce a degree of militancy among the Indian people of Robeson County. As a result, there were confrontations, marches, caravans, and support for the 1972 Indian takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. and AIM's 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee in South Dakota.²⁶

It was during this turbulent period that Indian activists established a "college without walls" in the town of Pembroke. They named it the Henry Berry Lowry College in honor of the nineteenth century folk hero of the Lumbees.²⁷ Through mini-courses, night classes, and a bi-monthly

²⁵"Lumbee Unit Forms Plan For State Organization" News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.), 31 December 1971, sec. 1, p. 5.

²⁶For reports of these activities see Bill Price, "Chief of Tuscaroras Calls for Unity in Support of Wounded Knee Indians," Robesonian (Lumberton, N.C.), 8 March 1973, 1; John Coit, "Robeson Indians Arrested," News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.), 25 March 1973, sec. 1, p. 1; and Doug Hall, "100 Tuscaroras Rally in Raleigh," News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.), 9 April 1973, sec. 1, p. 21.

²⁷For an account of Henry Berry Lowry's exploits see pp. 144-150 above.

publication called The Carolina Indian Voice, the college sought to teach the Lumbees about Indian belief systems, dance, art, and Native American history. Although the college had only limited success and a short life, its journal survived as a weekly newspaper that still serves the Indian community.²⁸

According to Professor Adolph Dial, student demands for more "relevant" courses, the "De-Indianization" of the university, the "Old Main" issue, local Indian militancy, and the nation-wide Indian Renaissance all contributed to the establishment of UNC-Pembroke's American Indian Studies Department. Dial, a Lumbee Indian and the department's first chairman, maintained that because of these events, university officials came to believe that a strong academic program in Native American studies would "soothe some ruffled feathers and strengthen ties with the Indian community."²⁹

In January 1972, under Dial's leadership, a committee of ten, along with consultant Roger Buffalohead from the University of Minnesota, began planning for the new American Indian Studies Department. After considerable effort, and in the face of the university administration's alleged

²⁸Lew Barton, "A Decade of Service; Progress," The Carolina Indian Voice (Pembroke, N.C.), 20 January 1980, 1.

²⁹Adolph L. Dial, Professor Emeritus, Pembroke State University, interview by author, 14 March 1994.

"insensitivity" toward its work,³⁰ the committee developed an initial program of six courses, two of which were in the field of Indian history. During the summer, the program was evaluated and approved, and in the fall semester, the department began offering courses.³¹

Since that first semester in 1972, the department has increased its course offerings to twenty-one. Five of these are listed as history courses, and five others, listed as departmental courses, focus wholly or partially on historical issues. The history courses are History of the American Indian, Indians of Latin America, Indians of the Southeast, Colloquium on American Indian History, and Federal Policy and the American Indian. The departmental courses that include a history component are American Indian Education, Workshop in American Indian Studies, History and Culture of the Lumbee, American Indian Historical Sites, and Independent Study in American Indian Studies.³²

In interviews conducted for this study, several professors teaching Indian history at various institutions

³⁰These charges of insensitivity were leveled by local community leaders in connection with the "De-Indianization" issue discussed on pp. 168-170 above. For reports concerning them see Randall Ackley, "Discussion: Pembroke State University," 44.

³¹"Pembroke State University Plans American Indian Studies Department," Red Springs (N.C.) Citizen, 26 January 1972, 6; and Eliades and Oxendine, Centennial History, 81.

³²Pembroke State University, Office of Public Information, Pembroke State University 1995-1997 Catalog (Lumberton, N.C.: Custom Printing, 1995), 139.

expressed the belief that UNC-Pembroke's establishment of an American Indian Studies Department encouraged their institutions to begin offering courses in Indian history. While the impact of UNC-Pembroke's action on other schools cannot be precisely measured, it is clear from information gathered for this study that no college or university in the state offered courses in American Indian history before it was taught at Pembroke.

Department Chairs' Perspectives
on Teaching American Indian History

In the spring of 1995, the author mailed questionnaires to history department chairs at each of North Carolina's fifty-three institutions of higher education. This initial survey sought to determine which schools currently offered courses in Indian history, which had done so in the past, and which were planning to do so in the future. It also sought opinions as to the importance of teaching American Indian history and the coverage of Native Americans in other history courses taught at these institutions.

Forty-eight colleges and universities returned completed questionnaires. The five that did not respond supplied information in follow-up telephone interviews. The survey indicated that nine institutions regularly offer courses in Indian history: Davidson College, Duke University, Elon College, Guilford College, Meredith College, UNC-Pembroke, UNC-Chapel Hill, UNC-Wilmington, and

Western Carolina University. Another three--Fayetteville State University, Methodist College, and the North Carolina School of the Arts--had offered such courses in the past and were planning to resume doing so in the future. Two more, that have never offered Indian history courses--Montreat College, and Elizabeth City State University--also plan to do so in the near future. In other words, approximately 26 percent or a little over a quarter of North Carolina's senior institutions now offer, or plan to offer, courses in American Indian history.

In answering the question, "How important is it for your department to offer a course in American Indian History?" seven respondents checked "Very Important," twenty-three checked "Important," and eighteen checked "Not Important." Five respondents made no checks after this question, presumably to indicate they had no opinion. Thus, judgments regarding the importance of Indian history were nearly equally divided between those who felt it is important (slightly over 43 percent) and those who felt it is not important or have no opinion (42 percent). It is interesting to note that of the seven chairs who checked that Indian history was "Very Important," all but one were from schools located in or near Native American communities.

When asked to estimate the coverage of Indian history in other history courses taught by their departments, roughly half (twenty-six or 49 percent) of the chairs

indicated that compared to other colleges and universities their coverage was "About average." Eleven chairs (20.75 percent) checked "I don't know," while seven (13.20 percent) felt their coverage was "Less than average." Nine chairs believed that their departments' coverage was "More than average." Eight of these nine were from schools that regularly offer Indian history courses, and the ninth was from one that planned to offer an Indian history course in the future.

At the end of the questionnaire, chairs were invited to offer comments concerning the teaching of Indian history in North Carolina higher education. Many offered remarks concerning their own institutions. Typical among these from chairs that deemed Indian history "Important," but whose departments were not teaching such courses, were comments like "not possible on account of staffing," "unable to afford hiring an American Indianist," and "Given other pressing needs, it is unlikely that we will offer such a course in the near future." Among institutions that considered Indian history "Not Important," the chair at one private college wrote, "At a very small institution like ours, specialty courses are rare. Since we do not have a sizable Native American population in our student body, African-American and Women's history are given a higher priority." The remarks of one chair illustrate the difficulties in making this kind of survey. In answering the

question concerning the importance of Indian history, the chair checked "Not Important;" but in the comments section he wrote, "Thank you for your interest in an important topic, one that is too little studied. Perhaps we will do better in the future."

Faculty Perspectives
on Teaching American Indian History

In the department chair's preliminary survey, chairs were asked to identify faculty members who taught Indian history who would be willing to respond to a more comprehensive questionnaire and be interviewed. Eleven individuals from the nine institutions offering Indian history courses were named. Questionnaires were mailed to these faculty members during the fall 1995 semester, and follow-up interviews were conducted during the spring 1996 semester. The author of this dissertation participated as the twelfth respondent in this survey.

The faculty questionnaires were designed to discover what Indian history courses were being taught, textbooks used, and the specialties, training, and backgrounds of the respondents. Follow-up interviews sought to expand and clarify information gathered in the questionnaires, to solicit opinions concerning the use and efficacy of various techniques and methodologies, and to obtain suggestions on how to improve the teaching of Indian history.

The faculty survey revealed that the most widely taught

Indian history courses are lower-division surveys spanning the pre-Columbian period to the present. Five schools teach these courses on a regular basis--UNC-Pembroke offers at least two sections every semester; UNC-Wilmington, Guilford College, and Elon College offer them once a year; and Meredith College every other year. Duke University also teaches Indian history survey courses, but it breaks them into two courses, one covering the period before 1840, the other covering the period since 1840. These are taught yearly, during spring and fall semesters, on a rotating basis.

Other course offerings vary considerably, ranging from the history of Indian-white relations to the evolution of federal Indian policy. Also common are regional studies such as the Plains Indians and Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands. Understandably, most regional studies deal with Indians of the Southeast. The majority are upper-division courses offered every one or two years. Western Carolina University and UNC-Wilmington each offer a graduate course on an aperiodic basis. The former conducts a reading course on Cherokee history, while the latter offers a course on the history of U.S.-Indian warfare.

More than half of the instructors interviewed said that in surveys and other courses they tended to emphasize the period from colonial times to World War Two. Most of these instructors lamented that they were not devoting more time

to the extremes of the chronological spectrum--the pre-Columbian age and the post-World War Two era. They cited the end of course crunch for neglecting recent times and their lack of expertise for slighting the pre-Columbian age. While all agreed that recent times should be covered, a few contended that instruction on the pre-Columbian age should be left to archaeologists.

Given the wide range of course offerings, it is difficult to make a meaningful assessment of textbooks used. Instructors tended to use standard works by established scholars. Required reading in several Southeast Indian courses include James H. Merrill, The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors From European Contact Through the Era of Removal (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989), John Ehle, Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation, (New York, 1988), and John R. Finger's two books, The Eastern Band of Cherokees, 1819-1900 (Knoxville, Tenn., 1984), and Cherokee Americans: The Eastern Band of Cherokees in the Twentieth Century (Lincoln, Nebr., 1991). Two instructors teaching federal Indian policy rely on Francis Paul Prucha's single volume abridgment of The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians (Lincoln, Nebr. 1991), and two more covering the Indian wars use Alvin M. Josephy's long-in-print The Patriot Chiefs: A Chronicle of American Indian Resistance (New York, 1958). The hands down favorite general survey textbook for Indian

history courses is Arrell Morgan Gibson's The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present (Lexington, Mass., 1980). Although all but one of those interviewed who teach Indian history survey courses use Gibson, several using the book expressed the wish that something more current was available.

A major portion of the faculty survey was devoted to ascertaining the specialties, training, and backgrounds of participants. One objective was to learn whether instructors teaching Indian history considered themselves specialists in that field. Although only five of the eleven participants considered Native American history to be their primary specialty, the other six claimed specialties in fields related to various aspects of Indian history: four in American colonial history, one in American Indian studies, and one in museum studies and oral history. Moreover, all but two of the participants said they wrote their master's theses or doctoral dissertations on topics that included some facet of American Indian history.

Although six of the nine professors surveyed claimed specialties in fields other than Indian history, only three answered no when asked whether they considered themselves to be ethnohistorians. These three--all colonial history specialists--said that while they agreed with the goals of ethnohistory, they preferred to use the more traditional methods and techniques of historical inquiry. As one

participant put it: "I applaud my colleagues who utilize ethnohistoric methodologies, but because of my training and experience, I do not feel adequately equipped to properly apply anthropological perspectives to my teaching and research."

On the questionnaires, all but two of the respondents indicated that their formal training had helped prepare them to teach Indian history. Follow-up interviews revealed that most of this preparation came from anthropology, archeology, and American history courses that only tangentially dealt with Native Americans. Only five--those identified as Indian history specialists--had taken Native Indian history courses as undergraduate or graduate students.

Another goal of this survey was to determine what factors influenced the respondents to teach Indian history. The individual's racial affiliation and ancestry did not seem to be particularly significant. Only one person surveyed is a Native American, another is part Native American, and a third is married to a Native American. Being raised in close proximity to Native Americans does not seem very important either. Only three of the participants said they grew up in a region with a large Indian population. In the interviews, most said their interest in Indian history was initially piqued while studying some other area of American history. It is notable that all of the participants undertook these studies during the height of

the Indian Renaissance.

Student Perspectives
on Teaching Indian History

During fall semester 1996, 258 UNC-Pembroke students in various history and American Indian studies classes completed a questionnaire that sought their opinions on the teaching of Indian history in North Carolina higher education. The first part of the questionnaire was essentially biographical. It solicited information concerning birthplace, racial affiliation, and academic background to learn whether these factors affected student opinions. The second part of the questionnaire was designed to measure the extent to which students agreed or disagreed with statements regarding the need for Indian history courses, whether such courses should be required, and how adequately Indian history was covered in American history courses.

The students participating in the survey were fairly representative of the larger UNC-Pembroke student population. About 30 percent of the respondents identified themselves as American Indians, 11 percent as part-Indians, and 59 percent as non-Indians. A little over half of the non-Indian students grew up in a region with a significant Indian population. Only about 2 percent of the non-Indian students had Indian or part-Indian spouses.

One of the purposes of the survey was to ascertain why

students enrolled in Indian history courses. In this regard, the survey revealed a strong correlation between race and enrollment. Whereas only about 20 percent of the non-Indians had taken Indian history courses, almost 80 percent of the Indians and part-Indians had done so. When asked why they enrolled in Indian history courses, typical responses from Indian and part-Indian students included such remarks as "I want to know more about my people's history," and "I want to learn how my ancestors lived."

It was more difficult to assess why non-Indian students were drawn to Indian history. The academic backgrounds of non-Indians who had taken Indian history courses did not seem to be an important factor. Over half of these students were majoring in subjects as diverse as criminal justice, political science, literature, mathematics, business, and education. Only 20 percent were history or anthropology majors. Where students were raised, however, may have influenced their decision to sign up for Indian history. Almost half (47 percent) of the non-Indian students who grew up in a region with a significant Indian population indicated they had taken Indian history to satisfy their intellectual curiosity, while almost all (92 percent) non-Indians not raised near Indians answered that they had taken such courses to fulfill a humanities requirement.

Regardless of the category of the participants, there was strong consensus concerning the importance of Indian

history. Eighty-seven percent of all students agreed with the statement, "All colleges and universities in North Carolina should offer courses in American Indian history." Almost half strongly agreed with the statement. Although there a was smattering of students with no opinion, only seven or about 3 percent (all non-Indians) disagreed. Among Indians, part-Indians, and non-Indians who grew up with Indians or had Indian spouses, the responses were overwhelmingly affirmative, with approximately 97 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing. Agreement among all students was even higher with the statement, "The institution I attend should offer courses in American Indian history." Only about 9 percent had no opinion, and a mere 1.5 percent (four non-Indian students) disagreed.

When asked whether they agreed that Indian history should be a requirement for a baccalaureate degree in North Carolina, 44 percent of all students answered affirmatively, 28 percent had no opinion, and 28 percent disagreed. The percentage of those in agreement rose in accordance with racial affiliation: Non-Indians, 28 percent; non-Indians raised near Indians, 31 percent; part-Indians, 43 percent; and Indians, 75 percent. A similar ordering of agreement along racial lines was revealed concerning Indian history being a requirement for teacher education programs and history majors. In agreement that future teachers should be required to take Indian history were: Non-Indians, 55

percent; non-Indians raised near Indians, 61 percent; part-Indians, 65 percent; and Indians, 91 percent. The gaps in agreement between racial categories were narrowed somewhat when students responded to the proposition that Indian history should be a requirement for history majors. Agreeing were: Non-Indians, 69 percent; non-Indians raised near Indians, 73 percent; part-Indians, 80 percent; and Indians 91 percent. When the data from all categories is combined, it is clear that most students (about 79 percent) think that history majors in North Carolina should be required to take Indian history.

Given the above statistics, it was expected that opinions about the coverage of Indian history would be similarly divergent, but the disparity between racial categories was less than anticipated. For the statement, "In order to adequately cover American Indian history, two three-credit hour survey courses are needed," agreement rates were: Non-Indians, 29 percent; non-Indians raised near Indians, 33 percent; part-Indians, 33 percent; and Indians, 39 percent. Nineteen percent of all students disagreed and 46 percent had no opinion.

There was also an unexpected similarity of responses to the statement, "At the institution I attend, American Indian history is appropriately and adequately covered in most U.S. history courses." Those agreeing were: Non-Indians, 45 percent; non-Indians raised near Indians, 44 percent; part-

Indians, 43 percent; and Indians, 45 percent. Twenty-two percent of all students disagreed and 34 percent had no opinion.

The responses to these last two statements suggest that although many students are uncertain as to how much time should be devoted to Indian history, almost half in all categories appear satisfied that the subject is being appropriately and adequately covered at UNC-Pembroke.

CONCLUSION

When the original University of North Carolina opened its doors at Chapel Hill in 1795, scholars in the United States were launching their nation's golden age of history. But as white Americans grandly set out to celebrate their collective past, the state of American Indian historiography remained stuck its dark ages of neglect. Since the arrival of Europeans, Native Americans had been depicted as passive props or reactive bit players in the New World's historical pageant. Despite the young nation's need for a unifying national history, or perhaps because of it, American historians continued to relegate Indians to inconsequential footnotes as temporary impeters of progress.

Even after Cherokee participation in the Civil War and Lumbee rebellion during Reconstruction brought federal recognition to the former and state acknowledgment to the latter, North Carolina's schools continued to disregard Native American history. Tar Heel educators had witnessed the patriotic literary romanticists giving way to the academic scientific historians, but the germ theorist's biologization of history only reinforced their assumption that the story of the Indian's past was unimportant. Later, that assumption would harden into firm conviction when

Frederick Jackson Turner shifted the focus of the nation's development from Germanic roots to the westward advancing America frontier. Although the emergence of ethnohistory following World War Two aroused some scholarly interest in Native Americans, it was not until the nation-wide Indian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s that anyone gave serious thought to teaching Native American history in North Carolina.

While the heightened national interest in Indians did stimulate attitudinal changes in the North Carolina academy, it was largely local events that brought Indian history into UNC-Pembroke's classrooms. One can only speculate as to whether the Indian Renaissance alone would have been sufficient to induce any of the state's institutions to initiate such courses. It is also difficult to discern what would have happened at Pembroke during its turbulent "De-Indianization" period had the Indian Renaissance not been occurring simultaneously. In order to avoid the fallacy of false cause (post hoc ergo propter hoc), about all that can be said with certainty is that an American Indian studies program was established at that university while these two occurrences were underway. Nevertheless, documented evidence strongly suggests that the convergence of these national and local events had a synergistic effect that precipitated the adoption of Indian history courses at UNC-Pembroke.

Why other universities and colleges in the state

followed Pembroke's led is less clear. Comments from several survey participants confirm that the proximity of Native American communities was an important factor in setting up Indian history courses at Western Carolina University, Eton College, and Guilford College. At Methodist College and Fayetteville State University, respondents mentioned their institution's efforts to attract local Indian students as a consideration in their plans to offer such courses in the future. Yet several schools with long-standing Indian history programs are situated in areas with only minuscule Indian populations. At these institutions a different factor was at work.

Questionnaire responses suggest that while demographics influenced some colleges and universities to adopt Indian history courses; at others, faculty expertise appears to have been the primary determinant. Comments from respondents at UNC-Wilmington, Duke University, and Davidson College verified that instructor specialization was the driving force in bringing Indian history to those institutions. The supposition that faculty expertise is critical was further strengthened by the fact that although most department chairs acknowledged the importance of Indian history courses, many professed an inability to offer such courses because of a lack of qualified instructors. Given these perceptions, it seems reasonable to assume that more institutions in North Carolina would offer Indian history

course if they possessed the personnel to do so.

Although the author was unable to contact every instructor of Native America history in North Carolina higher education, the eleven that were surveyed comprised nearly all of those in the state currently teaching the subject. The level of expertise in Indian history among these instructors varies considerably. While five are trained specialists in the field, the other six had never taken courses in Native American history before teaching the subject. The latter's proficiency in the field was acquired indirectly from anthropology, archaeology, or American history courses and from self-directed research and study. This is not to say that the Indian history specialists are better teachers of Indian history than those specializing in other fields. Indeed, the author was favorably impressed with the competence displayed by all of the faculty members who participated in this study.

The respondents' near unanimous endorsement of ethnohistoric methods and goals suggests that regardless of specialty, most teachers of Indian history in North Carolina higher education subscribe to the basic tenets of ethohistory: That scholars should refrain from passing judgment on the worthiness of Native American groups, that Indians and non-Indians behaved according to cultural dictates, and that both adapted and changed as a result of their encounters. Moreover, by identifying themselves as

ethnohistorians, it can be assumed that the majority of these instructors are committed to presenting a complete and balanced picture of Indian-white relations and to removing American Indians from their traditional historical roles as silent props or ignorant savages.

While most of the instructors interviewed strive to render complete and balanced presentations of Indian history, more than half admitted that time constraints made it difficult to adequately cover the subject in one semester. Two solutions to this problem were recommended. Several preferred omitting coverage of the pre-Columbian era. They argued that by leaving these pre-historic times to archaeologists, more class periods could be devoted to recent events. Most instructors, however, favored a two-semester approach. They maintained that Native American history cannot be sufficiently covered in a single-semester survey course. Nevertheless, those having this opinion also acknowledged that because of conflicting priorities, it was unlikely that such curriculum changes would occur at their institutions any time soon.

Since only two of the eleven instructors participating in this study are of Indian ancestry, racial bias does not appear to have been a very important element in overall faculty responses. Racial affiliation, however, does seem somewhat more consequential when it comes to student responses. This is particularly the case in the analysis of

why students are drawn to Indian history. Clearly, students of Indian ancestry or with Indian affiliation are more apt to enroll in Indian history courses than those not in this grouping. Similarly, while there was a strong affirmative consensus on the importance of teaching Indian history in North Carolina higher education, the majority of students strongly agreeing with this proposition were Indians or Indian affiliated students.

When it came to opinions on requiring Indian history as a prerequisite for certain types of baccalaureate degrees, the gaps between racial categories narrowed considerably, with a strong consensus in all groups that it should be required for history and education majors. On the questions concerning coverage of Indian history, the differences between student categories not only almost completely disappeared, the student responses were very much in line with opinions given by department chairs. Thus, nearly half of the students surveyed at UNC-Pembroke and fully half of the history department chairs in the state are of the opinion that the coverage of Indian history is adequate at their institutions.

The author recognizes that the questionnaires used in this study suffer the same weaknesses that plague most surveys of this type. On the one hand, they often simply confirm the obvious; but on the other, questionnaire responses may reflect what respondents think is occurring,

while the reality may indeed be quite different. Despite these shortcomings, data drawn from these surveys together with information gathered from documented sources indicates that compared to the years prior to the Indian Renaissance, the teaching of Native American history is alive and well in North Carolina higher education.

APPENDIX A
CHRONOLOGY OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
IN NORTH CAROLINA INDIAN HISTORY

circa 50,000-8000 B.C.

People migrate to North America by way of the Bering Land Bridge (Beringia). Paleo-Indian tradition.

circa 8000-1200 B.C.

Archaic Indian tradition.

circa 1200 B.C.-A.D. 500

Woodland Indian tradition.

circa A.D. 500-1250

Mississippi Indian tradition.

circa 1250-1500

Indians develop into tribes encountered by Europeans.

1524

Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano is the first European explorer to visit the Indians of North Carolina. He lands at Cape Fear and the Outer Banks.

1540

Hernando de Soto's expedition visits Indian communities in western North Carolina while marching through the South.

1566

A Spanish expedition led by Juan Pardo visits the Catawba, Wateree, and Saxapahaw tribes of Carolina.

1584

An expedition dispatched by Sir Walter Raleigh visits the Indians of Roanoke Island.

Sources: David K. Eliades and Linda E. Oxendine, Pembroke State University: A Centennial History (Columbus, Ga.: Brendwood University Press, 1986), 6; Theda Perdue, Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1984), 61-68; and Glenn Ellen Starr, The Lumbee Indians: An Annotated Bibliography with Chronology and Index (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1994), 178-186.

1585

English colony is established at Roanoke Island under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh. Colony fails the following year.

1587

John White's colony is established on Roanoke Island.

1590

Disappearance of John White's colony is discovered. Henceforth this colony is called the "Lost Colony."

1650

A steady stream of white settlers from Virginia begins moving into Indian lands along the coastal sounds and rivers of North Carolina.

1664

English from Barbados establish the Clarendon County Colony in the Cape Fear region. Several years of Indian-white conflict ends the colony.

1670

German physician John Lederer visits the tribes of coastal North Carolina.

Colonists from England and Barbados begin Carolina Colonies with founding of Charles Town. White traders and their Yamasees allies raid Indian settlements, including Cherokees, Eucheas, and Tuscaroras, for slaves.

1675

War erupts between the Chowan tribe of North Carolina and white settlers from Virginia.

1700-1701

Surveyor John Lawson makes his fifty-nine-day trip from Charleston through the Piedmont to eastern North Carolina. Near the coast he encounters the Hatteras Indians, many of whom had gray eyes. They report having white ancestors.

1711

Tuscarora War begins.

1713

Tuscarora War ends. The majority of the defeated Tuscaroras seek refuge with the Five Nations of the Iroquois in the Colony of New York.

1715

Peace treaty with remaining North Carolina Tuscaroras is signed. Tuscaroras, Corees, and Machapungas are placed on a reservation established in Hyde County near Lake Mattamuskeet. By 1761 the reservation has ceased to exist.

1729

North Carolina and South Carolina become separate colonies.

1730

Cherokee leaders visit London, confer with the king of England, and pledge eternal friendship to the British.

1732

Lumbee ancestors Henry Berry Lowry and James Lowry are granted land in a swampy area east of the Lumber River in present-day Robeson County.

1738-1739

Smallpox epidemic ravages Indian population in North Carolina.

1755

French and Indian War begins. Cherokees side with the British.

1755

Proposal to establish an Indian academy in present-day Sampson County is approved by the colonial governor. The academy is never established.

1760

Cherokees rebel against British and attempt to throw off imperial rule and recover their independence.

1761

British defeat Cherokees. The tribe submits to British dominion and as war reparations gives up a huge tract of their eastern territory for use by white settlers.

1775

Cherokees cede large tracts of land in central and western Kentucky, southwestern Virginia, and parts of north and northwestern Tennessee in the "Henderson Purchase."

1776

Cherokees side with the British in the American Revolution. Coharie ancestors in Sampson Country and Lumbee ancestors in Robeson Country side with the Americans.

1785

Cherokees sign the Treaty of Hopewell, which delineates the boundaries of their territory.

1791

Cherokees sign the Treaty of Holston and are forced to cede a hundred-mile tract of land in exchange for goods and an annuity of \$1,000 per year.

1802

Cherokee National Council is established.

1808

Cherokees establish a law code and the "Light Horse Guards" to maintain law and order.

1810

Cherokees abolish clan revenge as a mechanism for social control.

1812-1814

Cherokees side with Americans against Tecumseh in the Old Northwest and the Red Stick Creeks in the Old Southwest.

Several Lumbee ancestors serve in American forces during the War of 1812.

1817

In a treaty with the federal government, Cherokees cede part of their territory in exchange for land along the Arkansas River, and two thousand Cherokees move West.

1819

A new treaty supplements the one of 1817. It allows Cherokee heads of families to remain on ceded lands by applying for 640-acre "reservations" and becoming U.S. citizens. Several North Carolina Indian families (known as Qualla Cherokees) accept this offer and become the nucleus of the future Eastern Band of Cherokees.

1830

U.S. Congress passes Indian Removal Act.

1835

Cherokee Removal Treaty is signed.

A new North Carolina constitution disfranchises free Negroes, free mulattoes, and free persons of mixed blood. Indians in Robeson County are treated as persons of the latter category.

1838-1839

Cherokees are removed to Oklahoma on the "Trail of Tears." North Carolina Qualla Cherokees claim U.S. citizenship and are allowed to remain in their homeland.

1840

North Carolina General Assembly passes law prohibiting Indians from owning or carrying weapons without first obtaining a license.

1848

Catawba Indians living with Qualla Cherokees request Bureau of Indian Affairs to appoint an official to organize their removal to the West.

1862

North Carolina Cherokee troops mustered into Confederate service under command of William Holland Thomas.

1864-1874

Indian Henry Berry Lowry and his triracial band wage war against the white establishment in Robeson County for injustices to Indians.

1868

The federal government recognizes the North Carolina Cherokees as a distinct tribe under its guardianship.

1875

Revised North Carolina constitution restores voting to free persons of color, including Indians.

1885

Indians in Robeson, Richmond, and Sampson Counties are recognized as Croatan Indians by the North Carolina General Assembly. Legislation also provides them a separate school system.

1887

Croatan Normal School for the Indians of Robeson County is established one mile west of future site of the town of Pembroke and is given an appropriation of \$500 by the North Carolina General Assembly.

1888

A petition with fifty-four signatures, asserting Croatan Indian identity and requesting funds for the Croatan Normal School is sent to the U.S. Congress. This marks the first attempt by Robeson County Indians to gain federal recognition and assistance. Request is denied.

1889

Eastern Band of the Cherokees is incorporated under North Carolina law.

1895

Settlement at railroad crossroad in Robeson County incorporated as the town of Pembroke, future unofficial capital of the Lumbees.

1905

Croatan Normal School awards its first diploma.

1907

North Carolina General Assembly mandates separate schools for the "Croatan Indians and Creoles of Cumberland County."

1909

Croatan Normal School relocated to town of Pembroke.

1910

Coharies in Sampson County hold their first recorded community meeting and elect a tribal chief. Shiloh Indian School is constructed in Sampson County. Operating funds for the school are secured from a monthly fee charged each student. School closes in 1938.

1911

North Carolina General Assembly changes name of Croatans to Indians of Robeson County.

Croatan Normal School is renamed Indian Normal School of Robeson County.

High Plains Indian School for the Indians of Person County is established. School closes in 1962.

New Bethel Indian School is established for Indians in Sampson County. School closes in 1941.

1912

U.S. Indian Service recommends against federal funding of a boarding school for Indians of Robeson County.

1913

Indians of Robeson County are renamed Cherokee Indians of Robeson County by the North Carolina General Assembly.

Indian Normal School of Robeson County renamed The Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County.

1913 (Contd.)

Indians living in Person County (formerly called "Cubans") are officially designated Indians of Person County by the North Carolina General Assembly.

1925

Cherokee lands in North Carolina are placed in trust status with the federal government.

1933

The Wide-Awake School for Waccamaw-Siouan Indians is established in Columbus County. School closes in 1966.

Publication of anthropologist John R. Swanton's paper, "Probable Identity of the 'Croatan' Indians," prompts movement by Robeson Country Indians for federal recognition as Siouans.

1935

North Carolina General Assembly passes act to provide for the preservation of Indian antiquities in North Carolina. Citizens are "urged" to comply. No criminal penalties are set.

1937

North Carolina General Assembly empowers governor to set aside "some day" as "Indian Day."

1940

Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County graduates its first four-year students (four men and one woman).

1941

Name of Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County is changed by General Assembly to Pembroke State College for Indians.

1942

East Carolina Indian School is established in Sampson County to serve Indians in seven surrounding counties. School closes in 1965.

1945

Members of any federally-recognized Indian group are authorized to attend Pembroke State College for Indians. Since its founding in 1887, enrollment at the institution had been legally limited to Indians from Robeson County.

1947

First Indian mayor of town of Pembroke is elected. Prior to this date, the governor of North Carolina appointed the mayors of Pembroke, all of whom were non-Indians.

1949

Name of Pembroke State College for Indians changed by General Assembly to Pembroke State College.

1950

First performance of the Eastern Band of Cherokees' outdoor drama Unto These Hills.

1952

Hawkeye Indian School for the Indians living in Hoke County is established. School closes in 1968.

1953

North Carolina General Assembly changes name of Cherokee Indians of Robeson County to Lumbee Indians of North Carolina.

General Assembly gives Pembroke State College Board of Trustees authority to admit "any other persons of the Indian or white races." Board of Trustees approves admission of whites up to a maximum of 40 percent of the school's enrollment.

1954

Les Maxwell School for the Indians of Cumberland County is established. School closes in 1967.

U.S. Supreme Court decision Brown v. the Board of Education prompts Pembroke State College to be one of the first southern institutions of higher learning to admit all applicants without regard to race, religion, or national origin.

1956

U.S. Congress passes the "Lumbee Bill" (Public Law 84-570), recognizing the Lumbees as an Indian tribe but denying them services from the BIA.

1957

Haliwa Elementary and Secondary School is established Halifax County. School closes in 1968.

1958

Lumbees successfully thwart attempt by Ku Klux Klan to establish itself in Robeson County.

1965

Haliwa-Saponis receive state recognition as an Indian tribe.

1968

Lumbee Regional Development Association (LRDA) is chartered by the state of North Carolina. The LRDA was created to coordinate funding activities for the federal government's "War on Poverty." It became the de facto Lumbee tribal government.

1969

Pembroke State College designated a regional institution and renamed Pembroke State University.

1970

East Carolina Tuscarora Indian Association is established in Robeson County.

Waccamaw-Siouan Development Association is chartered.

1971

North Carolina Commission of Indian Affairs is established by the North Carolina General Assembly.

Coharie and Waccamaw-Siouan tribes are recognized by the state of North Carolina.

First Indian-owned bank--Lumbee Bank--is chartered.

1972

The 1971 North Carolina "Higher Education Reorganization Act" takes effect and Pembroke State University becomes a constituent unit of the University of North Carolina system.

Establishment of American Indian Studies Department at Pembroke State University.

One hundred and fifty Robeson County Tuscaroras go to Washington to support the Trail of Broken Treaties rally. They help occupy BIA headquarters and steal 7,200 pounds of records that are later recovered in a Robeson County barn.

1973

The Carolina Indian Voice, an Indian-owned newspaper, begins operations in Robeson County.

Cumberland County Association for Indian People is chartered.

1973 (Contd.)

Henry Ward Oxendine, a Lumbee from Robeson County, becomes the first North Carolina-born Indian to serve in the North Carolina House of Representatives.

1974

Federal funds authorized in the Indian Education Act are granted to Robeson County schools and to the LRDA due to the Lumbees' status as federally recognized Indians.

1975

Lumbee Indian Adolph Dial is appointed to the federal government's American Indian Policy Review Commission.

Guilford Native American Association is chartered.

New multi-million dollar Cherokee High School is opened.

1976

Metrolina Native American Association is chartered.

The outdoor drama Strike at the Wind!, the story of Lumbee Henry Berry Lowry, opens in Robeson County.

1980

"Indian Heritage Week" is proclaimed by governor of North Carolina.

Lumbees and Haliwa-Saponis voted into membership of the National Congress of American Indians.

The "Unmarked Human Burial and Human Skeletal Remains Protection Act" and the "Archaeological Resources Protection Act" are unanimously passed by the North Carolina General Assembly. Criminal penalties are set for violations, and involvement of Indian communities is mandated in decisions concerning treatment, analysis, and disposition of Native American remains.

1984

The Tuscarora Tribe of North Carolina is chartered by North Carolina.

1985

A corporation to manage planning for the North Carolina Indian Cultural Center in Robeson County is established.

1987

Submission of Lumbee Petition to the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

1988

Introduction of first of a series of Congressional bills seeking true federal recognition for Lumbee Indians.

1989

Bureau of Indian Affairs rejects Lumbee Petition.

Tuscarora Tribe of North Carolina submits petition for federal recognition to the BIA.

1994

Lumbee Indians of North Carolina approve a constitution, elect a tribal council and chairman, and rename themselves the Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians.

Lumbee Acknowledgment bill passes in U.S. House of Representative, but fails in Senate.

1996

Pembroke State University renamed University of North Carolina at Pembroke.

APPENDIX B

NORTH CAROLINA INDIAN POPULATION BY COUNTY

Alamance	303	Cherokee	405	Granville	99
Alexander	52	Chowan	24	Greene	16
Alleghany	8	Clay	39	Guilford	1,637
Anson	69	Cleveland	114	Halifax	1,711
Ashe	21	Columbus	1,370	Harnett	601
Avery	23	Craven	319	Haywood	108
Beaufort	28	Cumberland	4,425	Henderson	197
Bertie	46	Currituck	66	Hertford	228
Bladen	464	Dare	37	Hoke	3,176
Brunswick	242	Davidson	395	Hyde	4
Buncombe	486	Davie	86	Iredell	193
Burke	133	Duplin	104	Jackson	2,667
Cabarrus	313	Durham	425	Johnston	178
Caldwell	105	Edgecombe	73	Jones	8
Camden	21	Forsyth	551	Lee	169
Carteret	269	Franklin	74	Lenoir	70
Caswell	26	Gaston	395	Lincoln	120
Catawba	232	Gates	8	McDowell	72
Chatham	125	Graham	454	Macon	76

Source: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs. Public Document: North Carolina Indian Population (By County). [Raleigh, N.C.]: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs, 1992.

Madison	19	Perquimans	18	Surry	66
Martin	20	Person	181	Swain	3,075
Mecklenburg	1,936	Pitt	214	Transylvania	79
Mitchell	19	Polk	17	Tyrrell	4
Montgomery	92	Randolph	453	Union	294
Moore	309	Richmond	502	Vance	69
Nash	218	Robeson	40,511	Wake	1,148
New Hanover	435	Rockingham	149	Warren	763
Northhampton	42	Rowan	262	Washington	13
Onslow	939	Rutherford	95	Watauga	59
Orange	286	Sampson	897	Wayne	265
Pamlico	33	Scotland	2,430	Wilkes	69
Pasquotank	59	Stanly	155	Wilson	70
Pender	76	Stokes	52	Yadkin	22
				Yancey	27
				Total:	80,155

APPENDIX C

STATE RECOGNIZED NORTH CAROLINA

INDIAN TRIBES AND URBAN INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS

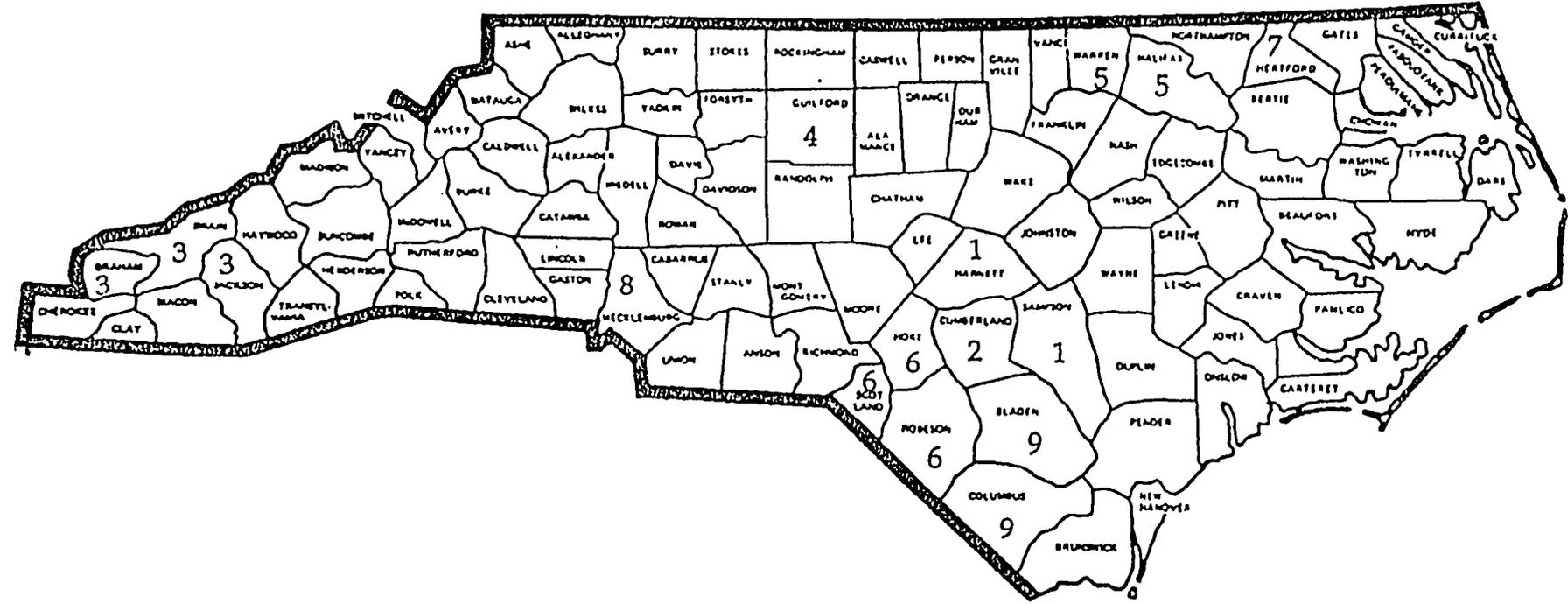
North Carolina recognizes the following six Indian tribes and three urban Indian associations. The counties and cities indicated are those in which the majority of the members of the respective tribe or association live. Groups and their locations are keyed to the map on the following page.

KEY

1. Coharie Tribe (Sampson and Harnett Counties)
2. Cumberland County Association for Indian People (Cumberland County and Fayetteville)
3. Eastern Band of the Cherokees (Swain, Graham, Jackson Counties)
4. Guilford Native American Association (Guilford County and Greensboro)
5. Haliwa-Saponi Tribe (Halifax and Warren Counties)
6. Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians (Robeson, Hoke, and Scotland Counties)
7. Meherrin Tribe (Hertford County)
8. Metrolina Native American Association (Mecklenburg County and Charlotte)
9. Waccamaw-Siouan (Bladen and Columbus Counties)

Note: The Eastern Band of the Cherokees is also federally recognized.

Source: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs. Public Document: North Carolina Indians. [Raleigh, N.C.]: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs, 1992.



State Recognized North Carolina
Indian Tribes and Urban Indian Associations

APPENDIX D
NORTH CAROLINA INDIAN AND
NON-INDIAN DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISONS

AGE

Thirty-nine percent of the American Indian population in the state is 20 years of age and under, compared with 29 percent of the state's total population.

Nine percent of all North Carolina American Indians are 60 years old and older, compared with approximately 17 percent of the state's total population.

The median age of the state's American Indian population is 27.7 years, compared with the North Carolina median age of 33.2 years.

EDUCATION

Seventy-six percent of American Indians in North Carolina have educational levels of high school or less, compared with 56 percent of North Carolina whites.

Only 6 percent of North Carolina American Indians have completed four or more years of college, compared with 7 percent of blacks and 13 percent of whites.

Source: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs. Public Document: North Carolina Indians. [Raleigh, N.C.]: North Carolina Department of Administration, N.C. Commission of Indian Affairs, 1992

Only 2 percent of North Carolina American Indians possess a master's or professional degree, while 6 percent of whites have such degrees.

INCOME

The median family income of North Carolina American Indians is \$24,900, compared with \$33,242 for the total population.

Twenty percent of American Indian families are headed by females with no husband present. Fifty-four percent of these families live below the federally-established poverty line, compared with 27 percent of white female-headed families.

Approximately 25 percent of American Indians in the state live in poverty, compared with 8.6 percent of whites.

APPENDIX E
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES

This appendix contains samples of the three questionnaires used in this study to solicit opinions concerning the state of teaching American Indian history in North Carolina higher education:

- (1) DEPARTMENT CHAIR PRELIMINARY SURVEY

- (2) FACULTY SURVEY

- (3) STUDENT SURVEY

The questionnaires were modeled after those appearing in Douglas R. Berdie and John F. Anderson, Questionnaires: Design and Use (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974). The survey was administered in accordance with University of North Carolina research policies and U.S. Department of Health and Human Services guidelines. Respondents are anonymous, and their participation was voluntary. For a discussion concerning the procedures used to collect data for this survey, see pages 10-11 above. An analysis and interpretation of the opinions obtained can found on pages 171-183 above.

DEPARTMENT CHAIR PRELIMINARY SURVEY
AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

Please write "X" after the appropriate alternative.

1. Does your department currently offer
a course in American Indian history? Yes _____ No _____

2. Prior to this semester, has your
department ever offered a course
in American Indian history? Yes _____ No _____
I don't know _____

3. Is your department planning to
offer an American Indian history
course in the future? Yes _____ No _____
It is being
considered _____

4. How important is it for your
department to offer a course in
American Indian history? Very important _____
Important _____
Not Important _____

5. Compared to other institutions,
how do you rate the coverage of
Indian history in courses taught
by your department, (e.g., survey
courses, courses in social history,
military history, history of the
West, frontier history, etc.)? More than average _____
About average _____
Less than average _____
I don't know _____

6. Can you give the name and address of a faculty member at your institution who teaches American Indian history, or who is interested in the subject, who would be willing to be interviewed or respond to a more comprehensive questionnaire during the fall semester?

No _____

Yes _____ The faculty member's name and address is:

7. Do you have any comments concerning the above questions or about the teaching of American Indian history in North Carolina higher education?

No _____

Yes _____ My comments are below:

Thank you. Please use the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope to return this form to:

Manuel A. Conley
Department of History
Pembroke State University
Pembroke, NC 28372

FACULTY SURVEY
AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

List courses dealing with Indian history taught by you:

Course Title	Textbook(s)	How often offered
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

List Indian history courses taught by others:

Course Title	Textbook(s)	How often offered
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

What is your primary specialty (e.g., American Indian history, American history, Colonial history)?

Was any part of your undergraduate and graduate training in disciplines that complement American Indian history (e.g., frontier history, anthropology, archeology)?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please explain: _____

Did any part of your master's thesis or doctoral dissertation deal with Indians? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please explain: _____

Please mark with a check any of the following statements that pertain to you:

- I am an Indian. I am part Indian.
- My spouse is Indian. My spouse is part Indian.
- I grew up in a region with a significant Indian population.
- My formal training prepared me to teach Indian history.
- I am self-trained in Indian history.
- I consider myself to be an ethnohistorian.
- I am willing to be interviewed over the telephone.

Telephone Number

Best days and times to call during the 1996 spring semester

I am preparing a questionnaire for students who are taking American Indian history courses. It will be short and take only a few minutes of class time to complete. Would you be willing to administer this survey to your students during the 1996 spring semester?

Yes No

Do you have any comments concerning the above questions or about the teaching of American Indian history in North Carolina higher education?

Thank you. Please use the enclosed stamped, self-addressed envelope to return this form to:

Manuel A. Conley
 Department of History
 Pembroke State University
 Pembroke, NC 28372

STUDENT SURVEY
AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA HIGHER EDUCATION

Do NOT put your name or student number on this form.

1. Check the following statements that pertain to you.

- ___ I am an Indian. ___ I am part Indian.
 ___ I am non-Indian, but my spouse is an Indian.
 ___ I am non-Indian, but my spouse is part Indian.
 ___ I am non-Indian, but I grew up in a region with a
 significant Indian population.

2. What is your grade level?

Freshmen___ Sophomore___ Junior___ Senior___ Graduate___

Special _____
 (Teacher Certification, Second Degree, Enrichment, etc.)

3. What is, or will be your major? (If you have not yet
 decided, write "undecided.")

4. Are you now taking, or have you ever taken a college-
 level course in American Indian history?

Yes _____ No _____

5. If yes, why did you take the course(s)?

6. Indicate the extent in which you agree with the following statements by checking the appropriate line to the right of the statement.

SA=Strongly Agree A=Agree N=No Opinion
D=Disagree SD=Strongly Disagree

	SA	A	N	D	SD
All colleges and universities in North Carolina should offer courses in Indian history.	—	—	—	—	—
The institution I attend should offer courses in Indian history.	—	—	—	—	—
In North Carolina, a course in Indian history should be required for all baccalaureate degrees.	—	—	—	—	—
In North Carolina, a course in Indian history should be required for all BA history majors.	—	—	—	—	—
In North Carolina, a course in Indian history should be required for all teacher education programs.	—	—	—	—	—
At the institution I attend, Indian history is appropriately and adequately covered in most U.S. history courses.	—	—	—	—	—
In order to adequately cover Indian history, two three-credit hour survey courses are needed.	—	—	—	—	—

Do you have any comments on this topic? _____

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