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People and Place: Croatan Indians in Jim Crow Georgia, 1890–1920

MALINDA MAYNOR

In 1890 a group of Croatan Indians, now called Lumbees, migrated from their home in Robeson County, North Carolina, to Bulloch County, Georgia. These families left voluntarily, walking the railroad lines, following the turpentine industry from North Carolina to southeast Georgia, where this community of approximately one hundred established a new home and built a school and church to solidify their place. In this period Georgia, and the South as a whole, legally encoded racial segregation and threatened to force Bulloch County Croatans into a black or white identity. But rather than assimilate into the larger black or white communities of Bulloch County, Croatans maintained an identity as Indians and eventually returned home to Robeson County in 1920. The story of their sojourn in Georgia raises questions about how Croatans perpetuated a sense of themselves as a distinct “Indian” people.¹ That distinctiveness depended on markers we ordinarily do not associate with Indian communities. How did they maintain a distinctive identity, away from their homeland, in a region that countenanced only two racial categories, “white” and “colored”? Rather than claiming that an unbroken connection to a place sustained their Indian identity, Croatans used the segregation of the Jim Crow South to build social institutions—a school and a church—to distinguish themselves from non-Indians and reinforce their community ties.

SOUTHERN INDIAN IDENTITY AFTER REMOVAL

After Indian Removal relocated the large southern tribes west of the Mississippi, remaining Indian populations received little attention from white southerners. Most simply believed that Indians were gone or that traces of

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Indian blood existed in the free “mulatto” communities sprinkled throughout the South.² But the remaining Indians suffered a different kind of removal, one that sought to obliterate their identity and curtail their legal rights.

Although census records beginning in 1790 label Indians as “free persons not white,” local whites in Robeson County, North Carolina, recognized Natives’ identity as Indians, evidenced by the local custom of allowing Indians in the county to vote prior to 1835. The 1776 state constitution did not specifically prohibit nonwhite free persons from voting, and in some counties, including Robeson, nonwhites apparently voted. This local custom stopped in 1835, however, after North Carolina passed a new constitution, which declared that “free Negroes, free mulattos, and free persons of mixed blood” could not vote.³ It is difficult to establish the constitutional convention’s intent toward Indians in Robeson County—perhaps it believed the Indian population had mixed racial ancestry, or perhaps the convention decided to erase the possibility of a third racial category in the state. In either case the effect was devastating. Designation as “free Negroes, free mulattos, and free persons of mixed blood” may be a reflection of Robeson County Indians’ mixed racial ancestry, but such a designation did not make Indian people somehow *less* Indian. Rather, the 1835 constitution wiped away the custom of white acknowledgment of Indians’ separate identity and gave local whites a reason to discriminate against them based on their status as nonwhites.⁴ The 1835 constitution also encouraged Indians, in resistance to this racial classification, to distance themselves from their mixed-race ancestry (both black and white) and any social or economic association with blacks, whose mutual association as “free persons of color” they came to fear and denigrate.⁵

Given the delicate way that white North Carolinians erased Indian identity and the coincident timing of Removal, it is perhaps not surprising that many scholars have seized on Lumbees’ mixed racial ancestry and uncertain political status to characterize them as “mixed-bloods,” devoid of any “real” Indian identity.⁶ These scholars emphasize how Lumbees’ racial composition influences their identity, and they often conclude that Lumbees have invented their cultural distinctiveness. Other factors also seem to make Lumbees resemble their neighbors and cloud their claim on Indian identity—they share their homeland with non-Indians, and they practice the religions, foodways, and political strategies of many other southern communities. Much of the historical and anthropological literature on Indian ethnicity has defined an “Indian” as an individual who is racially different from American immigrant groups, who has a historical, continuous attachment to a particular place, and who belongs to a community that shares a common political organization and set of rituals different from those of his or her neighbors. For scholars who define tribal Indian identity by “blood,” “land,” and “community,” the Lumbee are not “real” Indians. Indeed, none of the Southeastern Indian peoples who were expelled from their lands in the nineteenth century would qualify as “real” Indians under these criteria, but scholars have continued to employ them in their discussions of Indian identity.⁷

Although on the surface these criteria seem like “natural” extensions of Indian groups’ characteristics, such measures are social constructions

responding more to particular historical circumstances and non-Indian concerns than to anything “true” or “natural” about Indian communities, even those outside the South.⁸ Indeed, supposedly “true” or “natural” criteria are often the product of one group’s attempt to dominate another, as seen in Georgia’s Removal-era effort to shape Cherokees’ racial status to justify their exile from their traditional lands.⁹ If we can discuss identity apart from these manipulations, we see that identity is a process of negotiation, marked according to a mix of factors, only some of which are recognizable to outsiders. Racial ancestry and phenotype, for example, can be linked to ethnic identity but do not wholly constitute it, as seen in the numerous examples of American communities that are multiethnic but take on the identity of one particular ethnic group (African Americans and Chicanos are two prominent examples).¹⁰ Racial ancestry can become something that is claimed and negotiated by the group forming its identity, but it is not necessarily intrinsic to that identity. Historical memories, cultural expressions, lived experience, a shared place, or religious belief can be just as prominent as racial ancestry, if not more so, in forming an ethnic group’s identity.¹¹ Similarly, Indian communities mark their own identities according to a mix of factors that exist independently of European American constructions of race or culture; thus, contested identities and visible change within communities do not represent a loss of identity but rather demonstrate that identity, like culture, is subject to constant renegotiation.¹² This renegotiation takes the form of a conversation between the group’s internal ways of recognizing one another and outsiders’ recognition of their distinctiveness as a group.¹³ Lumbees and their Croatan forebears have negotiated identity in the same manner as other Indian groups. Outsiders’ understandings of “race” and “place” have been significant to Lumbee identity formation, though Lumbees have consistently determined *how* those perceptions factored into their sense of themselves as an Indian people.

Race is an important lens through which scholars have discussed Lumbee identity. The legacy of Removal, North Carolina’s 1835 constitution, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow required such discussions; the one-drop rule made race the determining factor in identity and circumscribed social opportunity for whites and nonwhites.¹⁴ Racial constructions in the segregation era led some scholars to argue that because Lumbees lack conventional markers of “Indianness,” they are not Indians at all and only claimed to be Indian to avoid being categorized as “black” in a biracial society. In particular, Brewton Berry and Guy Benton Johnson claimed that Lumbees wanted to be white but that whites refused to accept them because they were not racially pure.¹⁵ Lumbees then resisted classification as “black,” a rational decision in the South’s racially oppressive society and one that extended back to their classifications as “free persons of mixed blood” after 1835. For these scholars, then, being “Indian” was an escape from being “black.” This logic assumes that Indian identity was more imposed than voluntary and that given the opportunity, Indians would try to pass for “white,” and their phenotype or whites’ knowledge of their racial background prevented them from doing so.

But these scholars failed to see that although racial ancestry and cultural identity may be related, the two are not identical. Lumbees recognized the

racial predicament of segregation—society did not allow for an identity other than “black” or “white”—and they used racial constructions to assert an Indian identity when dealing with outsiders. Distinguishing oneself based on racial ancestry was only one expression of Indian identity and “one particularly likely to occur in the presence of whites,” since whites wielded racial power.¹⁶ Avoiding association with blacks was not the only manifestation of Indian identity; it was simply one that visibly occurred in the context of a racial hierarchy.

Prior to the period of racial segregation, however, Lumbee ancestors shaped their identities around different markers. While the Indian people of southeastern North Carolina “are among the most poorly documented peoples in American history” and their tribal ancestry is foggy, historians have uncovered enough evidence to come to some conclusions. In the eighteenth century, Indians of various communities—Cheraw, Tuscarora, Waccamaw, Pedee, Keyauwee, and others—coalesced in the area now known as Robeson County and formed the community we now call “Lumbee.”¹⁷ During this time few people—even Europeans—would have assumed that identity was linked to racial ancestry, and Indians in the Southeast based their identity on kinship. In other words, one was an Indian if one was born into or adopted by a clan—race had little to do with Indian identity until the Removal era, when European Americans began to declare Indians racially inferior in order to justify settler expansion.¹⁸ Voluntarily retaining kinship as a marker of identity allowed for the persistence of an Indian community even in a multiracial, multiethnic group like the one that coalesced in Robeson County. Over time, this multiethnic community continued to maintain kinship as an important marker of identity.¹⁹ This period, in which ethnic mixing occurred relatively freely among all American groups, is critical to understand that racial ancestry is only one of many markers of identity, and one that serves specific purposes.

If Lumbees perpetuated “Indianness” only out of concern for the racial hierarchy, as some scholars have asserted, it follows that they would want to pass for white when they left Robeson County.²⁰ The story of Bulloch County Croatans demonstrates that they did not attempt to become white when they left. Instead, they chose to remain Indians and chose to do so by embracing segregated institutions—a school, church, and cemetery—and determining how race would be used in the maintenance of their identity. Although it is difficult to draw unassailable conclusions about whether their identity as Indians was voluntarily claimed or imposed by dominant society, we do know that within the context of segregation, they maintained an Indian identity in Bulloch County by adopting models of behavior that they practiced in Robeson County. Croatans embraced race and racial segregation as part of their cultural identity in both Robeson and Bulloch counties; their tactics reveal that racism was a strategy to maintain identity, and their actions ask us to consider not racial ancestry but *racism*—an accommodation to white values—as a marker of Lumbee identity.

Ties to a particular place have also been fundamental to discussions of Indian identity. The Georgia migrants demonstrated that aboriginal connection to place was perhaps not so important to Croatan identity prior to the

twentieth century. The significance to Lumbee identity of unbroken ties to Robeson County emerged after 1900 as swamp drainage brought about a dramatic loss in Indian-owned land. When Indians lost land to non-Indians, claiming unbroken aboriginal ties to Robeson County became an important way to unite Indians and recover land in economically deprived circumstances. For Indians fearing displacement, landownership in Robeson County came to represent ancestral ties as well as a certain independence from the federal government, the racial hierarchy, and market capitalism. A sense of “home” became increasingly identified with an unbroken relationship to Robeson County.²¹

If place alone had made Croatans distinct, they would have lost their identity as Indians when they left Robeson County. But previously, ancient ties to a specific place made little difference in how Croatans perpetuated a sense of themselves as a people. Rather, “home” was a living community where Indian people resided, farmed, and owned land, a definition that had served Indians well in the eighteenth-century period of migration and continued to have relevance as Indians bought land in the nineteenth century and their community grew. Although Bulloch County Croatans certainly attempted to define a community for themselves, they typically did not own land in Bulloch County, so Robeson County continued to be thought of as “home,” as a place of common origin and shared experience.²²

The relationship between the Croatan communities in Bulloch County and Robeson County demonstrates that Croatans’ sense of group identity lay not in their claim to a particular place but in the process of inclusion and exclusion that occurs in any place; this process was necessary to create Indian community in a landscape shared with non-Indians. This process took place in the Indian-only institutions that they built in Georgia, modeled on the ones in Robeson County that had helped them successfully maintain an identity as Indians. In the shared landscape of both Robeson and Bulloch counties, exclusion was necessary to distinguish Indian places from non-Indian places.

Conventional definitions of racial ancestry and attachment to a place were only of limited usefulness for Georgia Croatans trying to perpetuate a sense of themselves as a distinct, Indian people. Their story reveals other markers of Indian identity: (1) kinship identification,²³ (2) control of labor,²⁴ and (3) the construction of social institutions independent of place that facilitated exchange between dispersed Croatan communities.²⁵ Kin relations have been significant markers of Indian identity for many scholars, but economics and the development of Indian-only social institutions have emerged fairly recently as ways for Indian groups to assert and sustain group identity.²⁶

MIGRATING TO GEORGIA AND FINDING A PLACE IN THE “JIM CROW” SOUTH

Croatans followed non-Indian North Carolinians to southeastern Georgia to work in the naval stores industry.²⁷ Indian men and women had learned turpentine skills in Robeson County, and they held nearly every occupation in Bulloch County’s naval stores industry. Prior to the Civil War North Carolina

produced the highest quality and quantity of naval stores, but in the 1880s manufacturers began leaving the state to search for virgin pine and higher profits. In 1880–81 North Carolina produced 62 percent of the United States' gum naval stores, and Georgia produced 24 percent. Within ten years, however, output reversed: North Carolina produced 40 percent, and Georgia became the leading producer in the South, with 52 percent.²⁸ Bulloch County's newspapers reported the leading turpentine manufacturers' connections to North Carolina—the society pages detailed when these elite men and their wives returned to North Carolina for family reunions and when North Carolina relatives visited them. Georgia naval stores manufacturers were particularly well connected to southeastern North Carolina, the home of the Croatans; many hailed from Cumberland, New Hanover, Bladen, and Robeson counties.²⁹

Bulloch County's earliest reference to its new Indian immigrants described Croatan families. In 1890 the local paper identified a group of Croatans working for Graham McKinnon and Sion A. Alford. McKinnon and Alford may have been from Robeson County and brought Croatan laborers with them to Bulloch County.³⁰ The article described the Croatans as "about the color of Indians, and the women and children who are not exposed much to the sun are real bright in color. The men and women have straight hair, and are intelligent people." Croatans, the author wrote, "are said to be honest and industrious. They stick to each other, and don't mix much with the negroes. . . . They are a distinct race in North Carolina, where their homes are, and are supposed to be a mixture of Indian and Portuguese."³¹

Whereas whites distinguished Indians from blacks according to skin color and ethnic lineage, Croatans separated themselves from both whites and blacks based on kinship.³² Since apparently Croatans did not appear black, whites had little reason to label them as black and thus force them into the racial hierarchy. This left room for Indians to claim their Indian identity voluntarily by perpetuating their kinship networks rather than relying on demonstrating their "Indianness" by avoiding association with blacks. The presence of families at McKinnon and Alford's operation was not a common characteristic of turpentine camps as historians have described them or as the 1900 census data demonstrate.³³ In 1900 children made up 33 percent of the Indian population, compared to 26 percent for both the white and black populations.³⁴ In 1900 a higher proportion of Indian than black turpentine workers were married, and, in fact, most Indians had at least three children.³⁵

Croatan families in turpentine camps contrasted sharply with the experience of black turpentiners. Previous scholarship has described turpentine laborers as primarily single black men who migrated with the industry. While some black families resided in the turpentine camps, the overwhelming majority of Bulloch County's black turpentine laborers were single and lived in independent households or households headed by one male and three or four male boarders.³⁶ Black turpentiners who chose to settle in southeast Georgia often married local Georgians, but both spouses in Indian households were typically from North Carolina: 64 percent of Indian females and

males with no occupation were born in North Carolina.³⁷ Indians married other Indians, suggesting that they wanted to stay connected to North Carolina and to their Indian identity.

Marriage to other Indians was important in the Croatan community because of what it signified for kinship relations and the maintenance of community. Each Croatan spouse was obligated to a host of Robeson County kin. Croatan marriage represented an alliance of families that ensured the continuance of inherited first and last names, an important marker of Indian identity to outsiders, as well as occupations, talents, and community roles. Croatans' large, fluid families with strong bonds between grandparents and grandchildren offered social stability and economic flexibility. Migrating families refused to relinquish their attachments to extended family in Robeson County because such a loss threatened a family facing an uncertain economic future in a new place. By contrast, young single men dominated the black turpentine labor force. Croatans moved in families in order to better maintain Indian identity in the new place; staying connected to home through family was a way to replicate the social landscape they had known in Robeson County.³⁸

Some Indians brought their spouses and families with them to Georgia, but others maintained connections by moving back and forth seasonally. They used turpentine labor as temporary employment to improve their economic situation at home. Steve Maynor, an Indian from Robeson County, is one example. He married Magnolia Bullard in Bulloch County in 1893.³⁹ In 1894 Steve owned no property and paid one dollar in poll tax in the Sinkhole District in Bulloch County, where several other Indians lived.⁴⁰ After 1894 Steve disappeared from the documentary record, suggesting that Steve and Magnolia met in Bulloch County and left after 1894. In fact, Steve and Magnolia were both Indians and met in Robeson County, where Steve worked for Magnolia's father as a plowboy. Steve left Robeson County about 1892, hoping to escape a threat from Magnolia's father. Magnolia loved Steve and followed him to Georgia, where they married. She then returned home and set up house in Robeson County, a newly married and pregnant woman. Steve, meanwhile, worked in Georgia another year and then returned to North Carolina with money to support his family.⁴¹

This story illustrates the significance of Croatans' connection to their Robeson County home for their identity, and it adds a dimension to Croatan migration—not only did Steve's connection to home preserve his Indian identity in the new place, but it also strengthened identity in the old place. For Steve and Magnolia, Bulloch County was a refuge from trouble, where they salvaged their relationship and amassed a nest egg with which to build a home in North Carolina. Other Indians already residing in the Sinkhole District probably recruited Steve. This social network made Sinkhole a comfortable place for Magnolia to come to beyond the reach of her father, where she and Steve could marry among friends. Money that Steve made in Bulloch County ensured a more comfortable life in Robeson County. Robeson County was the couple's constant reference point, and their social network allowed them to perpetuate their Indian identity in Georgia.

In 1897 Sarah Oxendine wrote her brother, Daniel Webster Oxendine, a plaintive letter. He was in Bulloch County working in turpentine.⁴² She told him that the whole family was sick and that some of their Robeson County neighbors had died. “[Y]ou cum home,” she wrote. “You can get work to do here and we will be together in our trubels and that will be a cumfret to us.” She asked him, as well as “Edy” and “Exey Ann,” perhaps other relatives, to send money and to do it “rite at once.” If he did not return, “som of us you will never see in this world and I am sorry you went to GA.”⁴³ Sarah sounded desperate. Her detailed report of the family’s sickness, the news of the neighbors’ deaths, her repeated appeals to her brother to return home, and her requests for money, not only from him but from others, indicated her fear that her own life and that of her whole community were falling apart. Her survival depended on her brother’s connection to his home.

Polie Lowery wrote a spirited letter to her father in Robeson County that offered a wholly different view but reinforced Croatans’ reliance on their Robeson County connections. Whereas Sarah Oxendine suggested that the home place was falling apart, Polie Lowery regarded her new home—Powell Turpentine camp—as full of possibilities. After she arrived in Georgia in 1900, she wrote cheerfully, “I got hear Safe. . . . Send Me word if mamma is got Satisfide yet[.] Send me word How all of the folks is[.]” She continued, “Eliz[abeth?] Sayed To tell Fletcher that He can Git a plenty of Boxes Puling or chiping. . . . Theair is Plenty of Hausen [housing].”⁴⁴ Her strong connection to her family led her to recruit another neighbor or relation—Fletcher—to join her and Elizabeth in Georgia. There were plenty of turpentine “boxes,” she wrote, referring to the receptacles that collected the pine tree gum that they distilled into turpentine. Fletcher could “pull” or “chip,” two low-skill occupations on turpentine farms, and the plentiful camp housing made Georgia’s longleaf pine forests a potentially attractive escape from a household where “Mamma” was never “Satisfide.” Polie ended by asking her father to “write soon and fail not to.” Polie’s survival perhaps depended on her ability to leave home, but it also rested on her connections to home. Both letters reveal reasons that people from Robeson County migrated to Georgia—hard economic times, a difficult relationship—but both writers wanted to keep the bonds with family and home strong.⁴⁵

The families of Steve Maynor, Daniel Webster Oxendine, and Polie Lowery found various ways to keep their connections to Robeson County, whether through sending money home that they earned, recruiting family and friends to join them, or physically moving with spouses and children to their new place. Kinship bound these individuals to a larger community that they desired to recreate in their new place.

ECONOMIC TRANSITIONS AND RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

At first, many Indians did not move to Bulloch County and settle together in one place because lumber camps were dispersed and Indians could not always choose where to live.⁴⁶ Within the county, mobility appeared quite high in the early years of migration. During the 1890s a few Indians paid taxes year after

year in the same district, but the vast majority moved from district to district, or their names only appeared once and not again for several years.⁴⁷ Moreover, few blacks and no identifiable Indians owned more than five or ten dollars' worth of household furniture during the 1890s. Low property ownership tended to characterize both Indians and blacks, whereas only a relatively small proportion of whites owned no property in this period.⁴⁸ Turpentine laborers moved so frequently, and most of them were paid so little, that acquiring property must have been virtually impossible. Between 1900 and 1910, however, the critical years of economic change in Bulloch County, Indians seemed to have a choice about where to settle, and they began to coalesce in one area, the Sinkhole. There they formed a community expressed in their occupations and social institutions.

Bulloch County's economic climate shifted about this time. Georgia's naval stores production peaked in the 1890s, and manufacturers began to search for virgin pine elsewhere in the Southeast. In 1899 manufacturers were elated by "what they saw in the way of turpentine and timber prospects" in Florida and reported that they "may invest some money down that way."⁴⁹ One company moved to Alabama, taking with it black laborers who were in debt to their employer "in various amounts aggregating about \$200, and attachments were taken out on the negroes' furniture to collect these amounts."⁵⁰ For black turpentiners, unlike many of their Indian counterparts, their status and their futures were defined by the fortunes of the turpentine industry.⁵¹

Economic activities contributed to racial designations in the minds of non-Indians, and the disassociation of Croatans from the turpentine industry made race appear a less-rigid category and more fluid. For example, E. J. Emanuel, a Croatan, worked as a woods rider, a skilled and high-status occupation usually reserved for whites.⁵² Between 1898 and 1905 the tax returns listed this Croatan man as "Colored." From 1898 to 1900 he owned no property. The 1900 census listed him as white. In 1901 he acquired \$7 worth of furniture and \$8 worth of livestock. In 1904 he moved to the Sinkhole District and bought more property: \$15 in furniture, \$3 in livestock, \$10 in tools, and \$4 in other property. In 1905 he apparently sold everything except his furniture, which had increased to \$50 in value. In 1909 Emanuel, listed as a white taxpayer, owned \$45 worth of furniture and \$150 in livestock. In 1910 the census listed him as a mulatto farmer.⁵³ On tax records Emanuel was "Colored" when he worked in turpentine and owned little or no property; in the census his occupation may have encouraged the enumerator to list him as white. But by 1910 a "mulatto" racial category had emerged for Croatans, and the enumerator described him as a mulatto as he moved up the economic ladder to farming.

Emanuel's various designations reveal that the relationship of the Croatans to other races in the county was an important element in their community development and that racial identity fluctuated according to economic and social status. Like other Croatans, E. J. Emanuel, a skilled turpentine worker, did not use his potential ability to "pass" as white to migrate with the industry when it left Bulloch County. He likely believed that Bulloch County promised other economic opportunities and that the racial

climate did not present impediments to his continued identity as an Indian. If the economic climate provided him with an opportunity to live in an Indian community as an Indian, Emanuel chose that life rather than life as a white man apart from his community. Croatans sustained identity by exploiting more than their racial ambiguity—the county’s transition from turpentine to cotton gave them an opportunity to control their own economic resources and build their community.

Between 1898 and 1905 agriculture began to shape the county’s social, economic, and political life. The transition from naval stores to agriculture was slow and uneven. Both turpentine and cotton flourished in the first years of the twentieth century, but by 1905 cotton had absorbed the attention of most Bulloch County residents. Croatans resisted migrating with the turpentine industry and stayed to become tenant farmers with the Adabelle Trading Company, a prominent merchandising, cotton, and naval stores operation. Tenancy with this company gave Croatans an opportunity to maintain their internal social networks and control their own labor, their main economic resource.

The Adabelle Trading Company began as the Foy & Williams Company. Foy & Williams exemplified Bulloch County’s economic transition and provided Croatans with a place to take advantage of economic change and racial ambiguity to assert a community identity. McKinnon and Alford’s 1890 Croatan laborers perhaps joined Foy & Williams’s workforce as early as 1895, when Graham McKinnon apparently sold his turpentine still and livestock and returned to Robeson County.⁵⁴ Croatans found relatively stable employment with Foy & Williams.⁵⁵ Between 1900 and 1910 large numbers of Indians settled in the Sinkhole District near Foy & Williams’s property; in fact, whereas only 22 percent of the Indian population lived in Sinkhole in 1900, 80 percent lived there in 1910.⁵⁶ The high number of Indians in these districts contrasts with the pattern in the 1890s, when Indians who were engaged in turpentine production lived in various parts of the county. Croatans used Foy & Williams’s prosperity to begin developing a separate community.

Foy & Williams represented the kind of “New South” enterprise that fostered an economy in which both whites and nonwhites could participate. As outsiders to Bulloch County’s black and white world, Croatans found a stable existence possible in this racially mixed social and economic place.⁵⁷ Foy & Williams not only produced naval stores from the remaining pine forest, but they also rented land to tenants and operated a general store, post office, cotton gin, sawmill, grist mill, and livestock business.⁵⁸ A 1901 advertisement read as follows:

Right Goods, At Right Prices, is what everybody wants.
We Have Them.

On account of running a mercantile business in connection with our naval stores firm, we are enabled to buy goods in large quantities, thereby securing better prices. A large force in the way of teams, salesmen, etc., is necessary in the carrying on of the turpentine

business. Therefore we are enabled to handle the stock of merchandise at little or no additional expense, and we have decided to give our customers the benefit of this saving. We now have an experienced business man in charge of our store who is in a position to handle your business in a manner which we will assure you to be satisfactory.

Call on us and be convinced that we can save you money on any goods usually kept in a general store.

Foy & Williams,
Adabelle, GA.⁵⁹

Foy & Williams employed a simple strategy to draw customers—the “right goods” available to “everybody,” with a progressive, commonsense explanation of company business practices. Throughout the South general stores depended on white and nonwhite customers; although whites excluded them from politics, nonwhites could participate in the economy by taking advantage of the conveniences that the general store offered. Croatans, misfits in Bulloch County in so many ways, found a relatively comfortable place in an economy driven by large companies like Foy & Williams. As the county’s dominant industry changed from turpentine to cotton and merchandising, Croatans used the racially mixed marketplace to begin developing their own community. Rather than move with the turpentine industry, they stayed to develop a “people” in a new place and to create social institutions that marked a distinctive Indian community. Sometime between 1900 and 1909 Croatans literally planted their community by establishing a cemetery on Foy & Williams’s property.⁶⁰

Male and female occupational roles mirrored the changes in Bulloch County’s economic life. Whereas black and white women increasingly went to work after 1900, the percentage of Croatan women who worked remained stable. Further, Croatans had the lowest percentage of female workers of any race in the county in both years. Indian women chose to fulfill more domestic, community-building roles after turpentine left the county in contrast to their black and white neighbors, who used cotton’s prosperity as an opportunity to gain more income for their families by working outside the home as farm laborers or semiskilled domestic help. Correspondingly, the numbers of Croatan children born in Georgia increased dramatically after 1900, whereas the white and black native-born population stayed roughly the same. Croatan women had more children and increased the number of kin perhaps because of their desire to construct a community based on the county’s new economy, which made a settled existence possible. In any event Croatan women made a distinctly different choice from white and black women.⁶¹

Croatan men also changed occupations according to the county’s economic transition. In 1900, just prior to the departure of turpentine from the county, turpentine labor occupied the vast majority of both Croatan and black men. By 1910, however, most Croatan and black men worked in

farming, either as tenant farmers or sharecroppers; only a few remained in the county's small turpentine industry, probably working for the Adabelle Trading Company.⁶² The growth of Croatian farmers compared to black farmers does not appear significant on the surface, but tax data show an important difference. After turpentine left, much of the county's black male population left with it. Bulloch County's nonwhite adult male population dropped 35 percent between 1902 and 1903 because of the exodus of turpentine laborers.⁶³ These data suggest that by 1910 comparatively more blacks than Indians worked in turpentine; perhaps Indian men chose to switch to farming because of their wives' desire to develop a settled community. Indian women understood the cotton boom's potential prosperity and may have encouraged their Indian husbands and brothers to get out of turpentine.

Men and women of all races found alternative means of subsistence after turpentine's departure, but the Croatians' transition to farming did not translate into an increase in land purchases as it did with whites and blacks. Tax data show "Colored" landownership to be on the rise throughout the first decade of the 1900s. Between 1895 and 1905, however, only a few Indians acquired furniture and livestock, the vast majority owning no property at all.⁶⁴ Although there were one or two Indian landowners in the region, Indians by 1910 farmed rented land or worked as farm laborers, possibly for the Adabelle Trading Company.⁶⁵ Renting, rather than owning, indicates that the Bulloch County Croatians were not intent on establishing firm roots in the county, but neither did they want to move on with the turpentine industry, as many blacks did. Instead, they saw renting land and farming cotton as a way to provide their increasing numbers of children with a kin-based, agricultural community similar to what they had known in Robeson County.

Blacks did not always simply "choose" to move on with turpentine or stay to farm cotton; wider social forces had an important impact on their economic choices, just as they impacted Croatian choices. In parts of southern Georgia, local white racial attitudes "could limit or enhance blacks' opportunity to buy property," according to sociologist Peggy Hargis.⁶⁶ The intervention of the local white community in the form of antiblack violence, debt peonage, disfranchisement, and competition affected black landownership. Southeast Georgia residents excluded blacks from economic opportunity, hoping to open the cotton economy to white yeoman farmers.⁶⁷ In 1899 the *Bulloch Herald* reported an unwelcome presence of black laborers in Statesboro: "There are too many negro quarters in this town," one reporter wrote, "and they continue to spring up. There are now not less than ten, and there is talk of establishing others right in among the white residents of the town."⁶⁸

While white hostility did not apparently limit Indians' opportunity, Indians did not choose to invest their earnings in Bulloch County soil.⁶⁹ Rather, they invested in their connections to Robeson County and in the growing Indian community around the Adabelle Trading Company. Renting prevented them from planting roots in Bulloch County and kept their connection to Robeson County possible. Landownership was not necessary for community, as it had been in Robeson County. Furthermore, if identity rested in part in a Robeson County connection, as it had in the 1890s,

landownership implied severance with that community and jeopardized their identity as Indians in their new place.⁷⁰

Croatans could perpetuate a group identity in Bulloch County because their white neighbors were ambivalent about them and demonstrated little interest in them. Racial status and racism emerged as an important factor in Croatans' ability to negotiate their identity. The prosperity of cotton agriculture and companies like Foy & Williams also opened up an economic space within which Croatans could find a sense of community. Gradually, Indian strategies to enhance and protect their community identity began to center on social institutions that the cotton economy and their employment at the Adabelle Trading Company made possible. Croatans did not express their relationship to place through landownership but rather through the construction of educational and religious institutions that facilitated the social inclusion and exclusion necessary to create a distinctly Indian community. Under Jim Crow, Croatans embraced race and racial categories to include and exclude community members. Croatans' use of these institutions helped mediate social change when their economic livelihood changed from longleaf pine forests to cotton fields.

ENGAGING SEGREGATION

Building religious and educational institutions led Croatans into an engagement with the racism that began to dominate Bulloch County in the early twentieth century. During these early years of legal segregation, whites were not the only group assigning racial and social status—Croatans' own process of racial categorization produced a separate school and church in Adabelle and led them to embrace racism as a part of their cultural identity. Croatans adopted segregationist ideology to protect their ethnic community identity. While a Croatan-only church and school looked like a black or white institution from the outside, from the perspective of those who constructed them, these institutions marked their section of Bulloch County as a distinctively Indian area and served to perpetuate a sense of Indian community. The church and school also helped maintain ties to Robeson County—preachers and teachers visited back and forth, and they established a regular correspondence to keep Robeson Croatans informed. As social institutions independent of place, the Indian school and church linked Croatans' old and new homes and made it possible for them to maintain an Indian identity.

In 1909 an Indian preacher from Robeson County visited the Adabelle community. "The pine forests of Georgia," he reminded his readers, "induced many citizens to leave Robeson County several years ago, [and] among these were many of the Indian race. While some have returned to their native country, large numbers remain abroad in various states. An occasional home-comer brings glorious reports of the absent ones." The preacher articulated the sense of place and attachment to community that Indians in Robeson felt—Indian people traveled from "their native country . . . abroad," beyond the community's borders and into foreign territory. He observed that the Bulloch County Croatans perpetuated this group cohesion. They had a small

Indian church with eighteen members when he had held an eight-day revival and baptized fourteen new people.⁷¹ The preacher's visit brought the total number of church "members"—that is, baptized Christians—up to thirty-two. In addition to these thirty-two baptized church members, the congregation included family members that had not been baptized. Actual church attendance and participation was between fifty and seventy people, a healthy number for an unaffiliated church. Religious activities were similar to those in Robeson County and Protestant churches throughout the South. Croatan ministers preached every other week, baptized congregational members, organized a Sunday school, and held revivals.⁷² The strength of this Indian institution reflected the community's cohesion.

By 1910 Croatans had opened a school on Adabelle Trading Company property. One Indian resident of Bulloch County wrote to the *Robesonian*, Robeson County's newspaper, that the school and church were fully segregated and that "they have from 6 to 7 months . . . of school during the year and I find the children seem to take a great interest in their school work."⁷³ The school offered a classical education, with debating societies, patriotic music, dialogues, and recitations, all supervised by Indian teachers from Robeson County. The school's principal, C. L. Oxendine, was also an Indian, and closing ceremonies regularly featured Indian speakers, perhaps from North Carolina.⁷⁴ Other letters commented on the excellent attendance at the school and anticipated an increase in population, "which will afford more and better schools."⁷⁵ Letters to the *Robesonian* interspersed news of school and church events with obituaries and reports of relatives visiting from Robeson County.⁷⁶ They announced Sunday fish fries and celebrations at the end of the school year.⁷⁷ Indian social life revolved around the school and the church in Adabelle.

The social ramifications of Indian-only education, however, went much deeper than get-togethers among Indian people. Indian-only education marked the community's social boundary. Bulloch County appropriated no financial support for the school in its early years; Indians had to provide their own teacher salaries, materials, and building facilities.⁷⁸ In Robeson County Indian schools, which received minimal state funding, the need to raise funds brought the community together and instituted local control. Croatans' active construction of their own schools in Robeson County suggests that Bulloch County Croatans employed a similar approach to education and social cohesion, but they relied more on local whites to facilitate their community.

Whites were not a daily presence, but they had an impact on the school. The Adabelle school occasionally welcomed non-Indians to attend its activities, and the white county school superintendent spoke at closing exercises on at least two occasions. Another letter writer reported "white people present" at closing exercises, where the featured speaker was S. A. Hammonds, a Croatan.⁷⁹ On the whole, whites seemed uninvolved in the school's operations and were present only on public occasions, but they eventually made the school viable financially. The county appropriated funds for a separate Indian school in 1914, and W. M. Foy's heirs apparently donated the land to the Adabelle Indian community for their church/school and cemetery.⁸⁰

Influential whites clearly saw the value and purpose of an Indian-only school and allowed it rather than forcing Indian children to attend black schools, as local whites attempted to do in Robeson County until the mid-1880s.

Croatans did not just want education; they wanted Indian-*only* education. Indians' sense of themselves as a people made their own school a necessity, in both Bulloch and Robeson counties.⁸¹ Indian-only education served the same purposes in both places—it allowed Indians to maintain control over their children's education and over those accepted as Indian. One Bulloch correspondent wrote: "While days of sunshine seem to flow we Indian people of Bulloch County, Ga., are trying to do a better work and a greater work, especially for the education of our children and bringing them up to a higher standard of life."⁸² By invoking "we Indian people," the writer articulated the group's conscious community identification and intense focus on transmitting that identity to Indian children who, if they were born in Georgia (as many increasingly were), knew nothing about the home place of Robeson County. In the absence of their children's knowledge of the home place and in a county where their racial identity was ambiguous, Bulloch County Croatans found another way to make sure that children understood who they were. They created institutions that reinforced Indian social networks. Furthermore, maintaining an Indian-only school required the community to decide who was Indian and who was not; these decisions differentiated Indians from non-Indians in a shared geographical space.⁸³ Segregationist ideology assisted them in this effort.

Croatans sustained their own school by recognizing the racial hierarchy and assuring whites of their perceived superiority. They employed a time-tested social strategy that anthropologist Karen Blu identifies as "making white friends."⁸⁴ By gaining white friends, such as the school superintendent or local white ministers who occasionally addressed students, Croatans established an identity as "not black" in the minds of local whites and secured their school's continued existence. A publicly printed letter from C. L. Oxendine, the Adabelle Indian school's principal, to the county school board revealed this strategy. He "highly appreciate[ed]" the county's "kindness" in appropriating \$25 per month and complimented the school board as a "most kindly set of gentlemen" who gave the Croatans "every consideration." He described his people as believing in "agriculture, education, and all enterprises that tend to lift a people to a higher standard of progressiveness, intelligence and Christian character."⁸⁵ Oxendine appears to be an assimilationist, not an uncommon strategy for any American minority group in this period. He appealed to the qualities espoused by the mainstream at this time—"progressiveness, intelligence and Christian character"—reassuring readers that Croatans aspired to the same things that whites had already achieved, and by virtue of their slowness in achieving them, they were still inferior to whites. At the same time, Oxendine demonstrated that Croatans were superior to blacks, as Bulloch County whites debated the benefit of educating blacks at all.⁸⁶ His compliments to the school board affirmed whites' perception of their superiority. Oxendine's assimilationist veil, however, served a larger purpose by ensuring that Indians had a separate school and a sense of

themselves as a people. Racism did not force Croatans to abandon their cultural identity. Instead, they manipulated racism to serve their own community agenda.

Croatans found their own social place in a new geographic area by taking advantage of Bulloch County's economic transition and its racial dynamics. Rather than simply being victimized by these ideologies, Croatans took an active role in establishing their place in the racial hierarchy. Given the economic and political circumstances of the time, that hierarchy must have seemed like a social fact, in spite of its dissimilarity from their own approach to identity. In order to preserve that approach in a shared environment, where they could not physically isolate themselves from foreign cultural influences, they embraced hierarchy and manipulated race to their own ends.

RETURNING HOME

As World War I came to a close, Croatans' "in-between" status in Bulloch County changed. C. L. Oxendine's strategy of accepting the racial hierarchy worked to sustain an Indian-only place, but an Indian named Warren Dial challenged that hierarchy and consequently affected the entire community. Sometime between 1917 and 1920, Warren Dial went into the town of Statesboro to get a haircut. He walked into a white barbershop around 1:00 p.m. "He was sort of dark skinned," recalled James C. Dial, a Lumbee and distant relative of Warren Dial. When the barbershop closed around 6:00 and Warren Dial still had not had a haircut, "he just tore the place up." James Dial continued, "Back then the whites they had something like the Ku Klux Klan and . . . they came out to [Adabelle] trying to find him. And that generated some hard feelings between the races, then, and it sort of put the Indians at some disadvantage." James Dial remembered other stories about visits the Klan made to Adabelle: "Some of the white Ku Klux Klan . . . would come out at night . . . and search the place. And some of the Indians fought back, you know, with the guns."⁸⁷

Dial's violent challenge to segregation and the Klan's vigilante response demonstrated that Croatans' negotiated identity was about to come to an end. Before his outburst the county's white power structure had acquiesced to the Croatans' insistence that they were "not black," but afterward, the Klan attempted to send Warren Dial—and the whole Croatan community of Adabelle—the message that they would be treated like blacks if they challenged the racial hierarchy. If whites could so easily redefine an anomalous group as black—especially one that, according to the 1890 newspaper reporter, did not even "look" black—the biracial dichotomy seemed hardly authentic or "natural." Warren Dial not only threatened segregation, but he also endangered the fiction of the immutable biological characteristics that made racial segregation necessary. Rather than accommodate segregationist attitudes further, the Croatan community implemented another strategy to maintain their sense of distinctiveness.

That strategy was to move home to Robeson County. The comfortable racial ambiguity that Croatans had found in Bulloch County was over.

Whereas the racial hierarchy had assisted Indians in maintaining their distinct community, without having to claim racial purity or aboriginal connection to the land, the racial hierarchy actively began to threaten their community's survival.⁸⁸ Rather than accept a racial category that did not acknowledge their identity, Croatans abandoned their economic prosperity and returned to Robeson County.

Warren Dial's explosion, however, may have been simply coincidental with other social developments. Even as early as 1911 the community was looking toward home: "They have not forgotten their old home," one correspondent wrote of the Croatan community; "they are preparing themselves to move back."⁸⁹ The Adabelle Trading Company closed its doors in 1917.⁹⁰ Perhaps their assurance of stable work had disappeared; perhaps the rumors of the boll weevil, which finally hit Bulloch County in 1919, drove them north, back to Carolina. Perhaps the population growth that had supported the school began to decline. Regardless of the motivation, Indians such as E. J. Emanuel, Christianne Oxendine, Ashley Jacobs, and his brother Will, all of whom had arrived in Bulloch County twenty years earlier as Indians, returned to Robeson County, where their descendants live today as Indians.⁹¹ The sojourn in Bulloch County had not destroyed their community identification. Indians' connections to home, their ability to make economic choices that secured those connections, and their creation of social institutions that reinforced ethnicity enabled them to preserve a community identity that led them back to Robeson County by 1920.

CONCLUSION

In a landscape that they shared with non-Indians, Croatans did not take their community's identity for granted, nor did they blend in with one or another dominant ethnic identity. They continually reinforced their distinctiveness as a community by employing strategies as diverse as maintaining long-distance kin ties and accommodating racial segregation. Even as place seemed unimportant to these migrants, their focus on maintaining a relationship between the old place and the new place and their ultimate return home testifies to the centrality of place in their sense of distinctiveness.

Almost seventy years after the last Croatan families left Bulloch County, Georgia, Lumbee descendants of this community demonstrated their connection to this distant place by visiting the cemetery that their ancestors established on Adabelle Trading Company property prior to 1910. They cleaned the graves and offered prayers to honor their dead kin. This pilgrimage encapsulates one of the Bulloch County Croatans' strategies for maintaining identity—reinforcing and strengthening kinship connections—but it also reflects the role of place in Croatan identity. To maintain the kinship connections, Lumbee descendants believed that it was critical to reconnect to the place where their ancestors rested. The cemetery's founders used the place to mark their community's separateness in foreign territory and to reinforce their kinship ties; they then used the economic and social changes brought by cotton agriculture and Jim Crow to preserve those connections. By resisting

turpentine migration and simultaneously refusing to buy land, Croatans asserted their control over their economic resources and demonstrated a willingness to adjust to available opportunities rather than allow their community to dissolve. The Adabelle Indian school and church further fostered Indian identity by marking community in a physical way so that community members could recognize where they belonged, as well as to whom they belonged. Croatans' response to economic and social circumstances reveals that their ability to perpetuate their distinct community had as much to do with their status relative to other races as it did with internal cultural values. While their Robeson County homeland was constantly present in their lives, Croatans in Bulloch County used the homeland's social networks to perpetuate and strengthen a group identity in a new place.

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NOTES

1. Throughout this article I use *Croatan* when referring to historic individuals or the historic experience of the people as a whole; I use *Lumbee* when referring to the contemporary group and when referencing scholars who have written about them. Robeson County Indians acquired the name "Croatan" in the 1880s, just prior to the Georgia migration. The name reflects a tribal origin theory that is popular with many Lumbees today. The theory suggests that Robeson County Indians are descendants of Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, which landed on North Carolina's Roanoke Island in the 1580s. According to legend the English colonists were taken in by a group of friendly Indians at a place called "Croatoan." This theory is found in Hamilton 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, NC: Advance Press, 1888).

2. See N. Brent Kennedy and Robyn Vaughan Kennedy, *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1994); William H. Gilbert Jr., "The Wesorts of Maryland: An Outcasted Group," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 35 (15 August 1945): 237-46; Dave D. Davis, "A Case of Identity: Ethnogenesis of the New Houma Indians," *Ethnohistory* 48 (summer 2001): 473-94; Virginia Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Victoria E. Bynum, "'White Negroes' in Segregated Mississippi: Miscegenation, Racial Identity, and the Law," *Journal of Southern History* 64 (May 1998): 247-76.

3. Voting records from Robeson County are scarce from the antebellum period; the main evidence of Indian voting comes from testimony following the Civil War. See House Committee on Indian Affairs, *Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs on S 3258 to Acquire a Site and Erect Buildings for a School for the Indians of Robeson County, N.C., and for Other Purposes*, 62nd Cong., 2nd sess., 14 February 1913, 9, 23. The restrictions on voting are found in art. I, sec. 3, par. 3 of the 1835 constitution. Both Robeson County delegates voted against this resolution when it was brought before the convention, and it only passed by a narrow margin—sixty-six to sixty-one. North Carolina Constitutional Convention, *Journal of the Convention, Called by the Freemen of North-Carolina, to Amend the Constitution of the State, Which Assembled in the City of Raleigh, on the 4th of June, 1835, and Continued in Session until the 11th Day of July Thereafter* [Electronic Edition] (Raleigh, NC: J. Gales and Son, 1835), 98, 22 (hereafter cited as *Constitutional Convention* [1835]).

4. See art. I, sec. 1, par. 2 of the 1835 constitution, in *Constitutional Convention* (1835), 96.

5. For the role of the 1835 constitution in Lumbee racial identity see William McKee Evans, *To Die Game: The Story of the Lowry Band, Indian Guerillas of Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 32–33; Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 46–50; Julian T. Pierce et al., *The Lumbee Petition*, 3 vols. (Pembroke, NC: Lumbee River Legal Services, 1987), 1:23; McMillan, *Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony*, 17.

6. Brewton Berry, *Almost White* (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Virginia DeMarce, “Looking at Legends—Lumbee and Melungeon: Applied Genealogy and the Origins of Tri-Racial Isolate Settlements,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 81 (March 1993): 24–45; Virginia DeMarce, “‘Verry Slitly Mixt’: Tri-Racial Isolate Families of the Upper South—A Genealogical Study,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 80 (March 1992): 5–35; Guy B. Johnson, “Personality in a White-Indian-Negro Community,” *American Sociological Review* 4 (1939): 516–23.

7. These criteria of Indian identity are derived from Raymond D. Fogelson, “Perspectives on Native American Identity,” in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Joane Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity,” *American Sociological Review* 60 (December 1995): 947–65.

8. Sociologists and legal historians have identified the ways in which conventional markers of Indian identity rely on non-Indian concerns. See Angela Gonzales, “The (Re)Articulation of American Indian Identity: Maintaining Boundaries and Regulating Access to Ethnically Tied Resources,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22 (1998): 199–225; Anne Merline McCulloch and David E. Wilkins, “‘Constructing’ Nations within States: The Quest for Federal Recognition by the Catawba and Lumbee Tribes,” *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (summer 1995): 361–87; M. Annette Jaimes, “Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America,” in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), 123–38; C. Matthew Snipp, *American Indians: First of This Land* (New York: Russell Sage, 1989), chap. 2; James A. Clifton, “Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers,” in *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers*, ed. James A. Clifton (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), 11, 21–22.

9. Sharon P. Flanagan, "The Georgia Cherokees Who Remained: Race, Status, and Property in the Chattahoochee Community," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73 (fall 1989): 584–609; Tim Alan Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002).

10. See Bynum, "White Negroes"; Dominguez, *White by Definition*.

11. This phenomenon is well documented in the history of American immigrants' ethnic identities. See Russell A. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History," *American Historical Review* (April 1995): 437–71.

12. Morris Foster and Loretta Fowler document identity negotiation among the Comanche and Gros Ventre. See Morris W. Foster, *Being Comanche: A Social History of an American Indian Community* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); and Loretta Fowler, *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings: Gros Ventre Culture and History, 1778–1984* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).

13. Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969); Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers"; Foster, *Being Comanche*.

14. For how Jim Crow affected Indian and mixed-race identities in the South see Davis, "A Case of Identity"; Bynum, "White Negroes"; and Laura L. Lovett, "'African and Cherokee by Choice': Race and Resistance under Legalized Segregation," *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (winter/spring 1998): 203–29.

15. See Berry, *Almost White*; and Johnson, "Personality"; see also J. K. Dane and B. Eugene Griessman, "The Collective Identity of Marginal Peoples: The North Carolina Experience," *American Anthropologist* 74 (February–April 1972): 694–704; Fergus M. Bordewich, *Killing the White Man's Indian: Reinventing Native Americans at the End of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

16. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 233. In labeling the Lumbees a "tri-racial isolate" and situating their identity between "white" and "black," these scholars assume that race is a fixed, measurable fact and that racial purity is implicit in "white" and "black" identities; cf. David Wilkins, "Racial Identity and the Federal Recognition Process: A Case Study of the Lumbee Indians" (paper presented at "Eating Out of the Same Pot": Relating Black and Indian [Hi]stories, Dartmouth College, April 2000, Hanover, NH).

17. James Merrell to Charlie Rose, 18 October 1989, in House Committee on Natural Resources, *Report Together with Dissenting Views to Accompany HR 334*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 14 October 1993.

18. Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 4, 71, 80–81, 95. For the development of the racial hierarchy see also Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975), 316–19.

19. Pierce et al., *The Lumbee Petition*, 1:3–22.

20. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 184.

21. Gerald M. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southeastern United States* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 147–49, 151–53, 251; Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 163–67; Blu, "'Where Do You Stay At?' Home Place and Community among the Lumbee," in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith Basso (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 216–17, 219, 222.

22. For a description of the role of Lumbee places and landownership see Blu, “Where Do You Stay At?” 202–3, 214, 233.

23. Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal*, 21, refers to this as “sub-tribal identification (kin, clan, traditional),” one level of identification among several for American Indian groups.

24. Anthony Paredes describes the maintenance of Indian identity in the Southeast as a function of how well an Indian community’s social life can be congruent with its economy—Indian ownership of economic resources such as labor, then, contributes to social cohesion and the perpetuation of a distinctive “Indianness.” See J. Anthony Paredes, “Paradoxes of Modernism and Indianness in the Southeast,” *American Indian Quarterly* 19 (summer 1995): 342.

25. This is described by Lucy R. Lippard as “multicenteredness,” where a community develops a reciprocal relationship between a home community and another place that is significant to that community. See Lucy R. Lippard, *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society* (New York: New Press, 1997), 20.

26. See, for example, Larry Nesper, “Remembering the Miami Indian Village Schoolhouse,” *American Indian Quarterly* 25 (winter 2001): 135–51.

27. Naval stores, the materials used to construct wooden sailing vessels, included products such as turpentine, pitch, tar, and rosin, all manufactured from the gum of longleaf and slash pine trees. See Carol B. Butler, *Treasures of the Longleaf Pines: Naval Stores* (Shalimar, FL: Tarkel Publishing, 1998), 12.

28. Kenneth H. Thomas Jr., *McCranie’s Turpentine Still, Atkinson County, GA* (Athens, GA: Institute of Community and Area Development, 1975), F-5; Butler, *Treasures of the Longleaf Pines*, 72. See also Robert B. Outland III, “Slavery, Work, and the Geography of the North Carolina Naval Stores Industry, 1835–1860,” *Journal of Southern History* 62 (1996): 27–56; Percival Perry, “The Naval Stores Industry in the Old South, 1790–1860,” *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968): 509–26; Thomas Armstrong, “The Transformation of Work: Turpentine Workers in Coastal Georgia, 1865–1901,” *Labor History* 25 (1984): 522; Robert B. Outland III, “Another New South: Patterns of Continuity in the Southern Naval Stores Industry” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 1999), chaps. 4 and 5.

29. *Bulloch Herald*, 22 June 1899, 19 January 1900, 25 July 1902; *Bulloch Times*, 19 August 1908; *Statesboro Eagle*, 18 and 25 December 1890; *Memoirs of Georgia* (Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 1895), 362; Robert Scott Davis, *A History of Montgomery County, Georgia, to 1918* (Roswell, GA: W. H. Wolfe, 1992), 375–76. The 1900 census also lists several naval stores manufacturers, including one that Croatians apparently worked for, as being from North Carolina. See F. P. Register and W. W. McDougald, US Bureau of the Census, Bulloch County, Georgia, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (unpublished), 1900 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900).

30. McKinnon’s home place was Ashpole, North Carolina, a town in Robeson County. See Virginia W. Russell, *A Century of Presbyterianism in Bulloch County* (Statesboro, GA: First Presbyterian Church, 1991), 202. Sion A. Alford’s connection to Robeson County is less certain, but there is a township in Robeson called “Alfordsville,” and the 1880 Robeson County Census lists a seventeen-year-old Sion A. Alford living in that district. See US Bureau of the Census, Robeson County, NC, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (unpublished), 1880 (hereafter referred to

as Robeson County, North Carolina, Census, Burnt Swamp Township, 1880). Several turpentine operations existed in the Moss Neck and Red Banks areas of Robeson County, sections that were also heavily populated by Indians. Census records in these areas also list “turpentine laborer” as the occupation of numerous Indians. See D. P. McEachern, ed., *All about Robeson County* (Lumberton, NC: W. W. McDiarmid, 1884), 7; and Robeson County, North Carolina, Census, Burnt Swamp Township, 1880.

31. *Statesboro Eagle*, 25 December 1890.

32. See Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*; Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*; and Pierce et al., *The Lumbee Petition*. These scholars do not explicitly address the difference between race and kinship for the Lumbee, but they describe how it is Lumbee kin networks, which are not circumscribed by race, that define the Lumbee community. Other studies of southeastern Indians have reached similar conclusions about the way that tribes have approached race and kinship. See James Taylor Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979); and Perdue, “Mixed Blood” Indians.

33. Unfortunately, the 1890 census was destroyed by fire. I am thus making some assumptions about Indian families in the 1890s based on these figures, but the differences between Indian and white and black families are large enough that it seems plausible that the development of Indian families would have begun in the 1890s.

34. I derived percentages here and throughout by examining the entire Indian population in Bulloch County for the years 1900 and 1910, as recorded in the censuses for those years. I then compared this population to a random sample of the rest of the Bulloch County population. The sampled population totaled 110 individuals for the 1900 census and 94 individuals for the 1910; the total Indian population enumerated in those two years was 98 and 55 individuals, respectively. At a 95 percent confidence rate the sampling error is about 8 percent, larger than some of the differences I find between the Indian and non-Indian populations. I am not making claims for the statistical significance of these figures; rather, I include them because they are consistent with other evidence that indicates the differences between the county’s Indian and non-Indian populations. I define *children* as males and females whom the census taker listed as having no occupation and who were clearly not spouses; I do not include those listed as “At School” because the age range of students seems too great to definitively call them children. See Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900; and US Bureau of the Census, Bulloch County, Georgia, Manuscript Census Population Schedule (unpublished), 1910 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1910).

35. Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900.

36. Thomas F. Armstrong, “Georgia Lumber Laborers, 1880–1917: The Social Implications of Work,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 67 (1983): 439, 445; Armstrong, “Transformation,” 529, 531; Outland, “Slavery, Work, and the Geography,” 46; Mark V. Wetherington, *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia, 1860–1910* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), 119; Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900.

37. State of Georgia, Bulloch County, Georgia, Marriages, Colored and White (unpublished), 1892–98, 38, 349, 411, 529 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, Marriages). Thomas Armstrong indicates that toward 1900, migration of black turpentine laborers decreased in Georgia overall; these laborers settled down by

marrying Georgia women; Croatan laborers continued to marry Croatan women, not Georgians. See Armstrong, “Transformation,” 525.

38. After 1887, Croatans were legally prohibited from marrying members of other races in North Carolina; because Georgia had no separate laws dealing with the Croatan community, we can presume that it was legally possible to marry outside the group. The fact that they did not typically make this choice, however, reveals their conscious insistence on maintaining their kinship connections. See Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories*, 83. For a description of Lumbee family patterns, see Blu, “Where Do You Stay At?” 206–7; and Pierce et al., *The Lumbee Petition*, 1:159–65. These observations are echoed about Croatan ancestors in John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London: n.p., 1709).

39. Bulloch County, Georgia, Marriages, 38.

40. State of Georgia, Bulloch County, White and Colored Tax Digests (unpublished), 1894 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests [date]).

41. Waltz Maynor, conversation with the author, Durham, NC, 23 March 2001.

42. Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900.

43. Sarah C. Oxendine to D. W. Oxendine, Buies, NC, 15 February 1897, in Bruce Barton, “The Migration of NC Indians to Claxton/Adabelle, Ga., Area,” typescript, Indian Education Resource Center, Pembroke, NC, 88–89. In this and the following letter I leave the writer’s spelling and grammatical errors except where corrections need to be made to clarify meaning. Punctuation is added where indicated, and capitalization changes follow punctuation marks.

44. Polie Lowery to Alvie Oxendine, Rayes Mills, GA, 27 January 1900, in Barton, “Migration of NC Indians,” 82.

45. Anthropologist Abraham Makofsky indicates that these motivations may have been the same for Indians after World War II, when an even larger migration to Baltimore, Maryland, occurred. See Abraham Makofsky, “Tradition and Change in the Lumbee Indian Community of Baltimore” (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 1971), 44, 47.

46. Connections to home and the uniqueness of some surnames provide clues to the identity of Indians in Bulloch County, but public records did not identify Indians as such. Instead, official observers grouped them either with whites or blacks. Combining surnames and state of origin with tax, census, and court records helps identify Indians. While these factors do not add up to “Indian identity,” patterns do emerge to indicate that Indians exhibited similar economic or social behaviors during this period and behaved unlike whites and blacks. These patterns may not be evidence of how Indians were “unique” or “distinct,” but to search for such uniqueness in the data would deny the important ways in which Indian people made the same human choices as any other group. Rather, the data simply show that Indians were not fully assimilating into Bulloch County society. Comparing “Indian” data to “black” data is particularly useful because these two groups shared certain economic and social conditions. The census bureau did not allow racial self-identification until 1960; prior to that the enumerator classed individuals according to locally determined racial categories. See Nagel, “American Indian Ethnic Renewal,” 950. Indian surnames included in this article’s census and tax analysis were the following: Bell, Blue, Brayboy, Bullard, Cummings, Emanuel, Goins, Hammonds (Hammons), Jacobs (Jacob), Jones, Locklear (Locklea, Lockley, Lockly,

Lockleah, Lochlea, Lochliar, Lachley), Maynor (Manor), Oxendine, Ransom, Revels, and Strickland. Individuals with these surnames were variously identified as “Black” or “White” in the 1900 census, and “Black,” “White,” “Mulatto,” or “Indian” in the 1910 census. All heads of household and spouses identified North Carolina as their state of origin. In 1900 census enumerators were explicitly directed to label everyone as “black,” “white,” or “Indian.” In 1910 enumerators were once again allowed to use the “mulatto” label. See “1900 Census: Instructions to Enumerators” and “1910 Census: Instructions to Enumerators,” in Steven Ruggles et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* (Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 2003), <http://www.ipums.umn.edu/usa/voliii/inst1900.html> (accessed 22 July 2003).

47. Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1891–1901.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Bulloch Herald*, 27 July 1899.

50. *Bulloch Herald*, 7 September 1899, 10 November 1899 (quote); *Statesboro Star*, 13 December 1899.

51. For black out-migration see Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1900–1902; and Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900.

52. It is possible to identify Emanuel as an Indian, despite his census and tax designation, because his descendants returned to Robeson County in 1920, resided in the Indian community of Saddletree, and continued to identify themselves as Indians. See “Whatever Happened to . . . Lottie Emanuel Chavis,” *Carolina Indian Voice*, 31 January 1991.

53. Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900; Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1898–1909; Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1910. In 1916 E. J. Emanuel owed rent to the Adabelle Trading Company. See Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912–19 (unpublished), 270, 272, 273, 430, 546 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912–19).

54. *Bulloch Times*, 30 January 1895, 22 June 1899; Dorothy Durrence Simmons, *A History of Evans County* (privately published, 1999), 217; Dorothy Brannen, *Life in Old Bulloch: The Story of a Wiregrass County in Georgia, 1796-1940* (Statesboro, GA: Statesboro Regional Library, 1992), 99; Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1891–1900.

55. Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes (unpublished), 1901–4, 50–51 (hereafter cited as Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1901–4); *Bulloch Herald*, 31 August 1900; *Statesboro News*, 29 August 1902; Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Inventories, Appraisements and Sales (unpublished), 1889–1918, 551.

56. Tax records lend more support to the developing Croatan community. Few Indians appear year after year in the same districts in the 1890s, but Indians seemed to settle down after 1900. E. J. Emanuel, I. D. Emanuel, Ashley Jacobs, S. A. Hammonds, Daniel Brayboy, A. T. Taylor, S. M. Manor (or Maynor), Beasley Bullard, and others reliably appeared in the records in the Sinkhole District, where Adabelle was located. The 1900 census listed some of these men with wives and children in Sinkhole as well. See Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1900–1905; Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900.

57. Various interpretations of the “New South” environment support the contention that nonwhites had some measure of social and economic stability.

Although general storekeepers reinforced racial segregation by controlling credit and service to African Americans, Grace Hale writes, “In many parts of the rural South, the fact that whites and blacks purchased many of the same items in the same stores subverted an ideology of absolute white supremacy.” Racial segregation was maintained by store owners who exerted variable control over both white and black customers’ purchasing, depending on local circumstances. Given the diverse ways in which racial segregation was maintained in the region, it is not difficult to imagine Croatians—who had already been acknowledged by whites as something other than black—learning the “rules” and perhaps even prospering in an economy that in some ways was so locally particular. See Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 173, 176.

58. Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1901–4, 50–51; Application for United States Post Office at Foy, GA (later to become Adabelle), 1899 (Dorothy Durrence Simmons papers, private collection). At W. M. Foy’s death, in 1903, his lands in Bulloch and Tattnall counties contained “forty plows under some seventeen different managements” (see Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1901–4, 383). We do not know the names of these tenants, but a decade later Foy’s former lands were being farmed by blacks, whites, and Indians (see Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912–19, 273).

59. *Statesboro News*, 22 March 1901.

60. See Barton, “Migration of NC Indians,” 7–9; Bruce Barton, interview by the author, Pembroke, NC, 9 February 2001; Barbara Braveboy-Locklear, telephone conversation with the author, 23 January 2001; Dorothy Durrence Simmons, interview by the author, Adabelle, GA, 14 March 2001. Also see Map of Adabelle Trading Company lands, 1909 (Dorothy Durrence Simmons papers).

61. Bulloch County, Georgia, Census, 1900 and 1910.

62. While the only evidence for Indians being employed by the Adabelle Trading Company between 1900 and 1910 is found in Indians’ large presence in the Sinkhole District, court records concerning the receivership of the company document rent and other debts owed by Indians to the company. From this we can infer that Indians were tenants or employees after 1910. See Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912–19, 270, 272–73, 430, 546. There is also a reference to North Carolina–born turpentine workers at Foy’s still in the Manassas, Georgia, area as early as 1898, but it is unclear whether these workers were Croatians. See Gail Whalen, “Draft Historical Narrative for the Manassas National Register Historic District Nomination, 1995” (Altamaha Georgia Southern Regional Development Commission, Baxley, Georgia, photocopy), 9.

63. Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1895–1905. Colored poll-tax payers in 1902 numbered 1,855. Colored poll-tax payers in 1903 numbered 1,202.

64. Bulloch County, Georgia, White and Colored Tax Digests, 1895–1901, 1903–5. One landowning Indian was W. R. Lockley, who paid taxes in the Sinkhole District in 1903 on three hundred acres of land; by 1904, however, he was listed as owning no land at all. Ashley Jacobs, another Indian, owned land closer to Claxton, Georgia, about eight miles south of Adabelle, in an adjoining county. See Barton, “Migration of NC Indians,” 158–74. Current research in the Bulloch County Deed and Mortgage indexes shows no evidence of Indian landownership. See Bulloch County, Georgia,

General Index to Mortgages, 1895–1911; Bulloch County, Georgia, Deed Index, Books 4–5, 1895–1911.

65. See note 62.

66. Peggy Hargis, “Beyond the Marginality Thesis: The Acquisition and Loss of Land by African Americans in Georgia, 1880–1930,” *Agricultural History* 72 (spring 1998): 243.

67. Wetherington, *New South*, 119, 163–65. In neighboring Tattnall County “nightriders” threatened to burn black-owned cotton gins if “a bale of cotton be ginned before the cotton has reached 12 cents” (*Tattnall Journal*, 24 September 1908). A month later, the *Tattnall Journal* reported that thirteen black schools and churches had been burned in Calhoun, Miller, and Baker counties. See Whalen, “Draft Historical Narrative,” 23.

68. *Bulloch Herald*, 9 March 1899.

69. One revealing instance of violence was reported at Foy & Williams in 1901: “A Negro man killed a Negro boy out at Foy and Williams still last week. The boy was about sixteen years old, and it is said was a part Indian. And like other good Indians, he is now dead” (*Statesboro News*, 24 May 1901). There is no evidence that the boy was a Croatan, and given the migratory nature of the turpentine industry, the boy could have been from anywhere. However, it seems likely that Croatans were identified as Indians by local whites in this period, and this report reflects some racial assumptions that may have limited Croatan opportunity.

70. For a study that reaches a similar conclusion see John Scott Strickland, “Traditional Culture and Moral Economy: Social and Economic Change in the South Carolina Low Country, 1865–1910,” in *From Slavery to Sharecropping: White Land and Black Labor in the Rural South, 1865–1900*, ed. Donald G. Nieman (New York: Garland, 1994).

71. *Robesonian*, 9 September 1909.

72. *Ibid.*; *Robesonian*, 26 August 1912, 4 June 1914, 30 July 1914, 5 June 1916.

73. *Robesonian*, 3 October 1910.

74. *Robesonian*, 5 and 15 June 1911, 4 May 1914, 4 and 25 June 1914, 6 July 1914.

75. *Robesonian*, 17 April 1913, 4 May 1914.

76. *Robesonian*, 25 and 30 June 1914, 22 March 1915, 13 May 1915, 27 June 1918.

77. *Robesonian*, 26 August 1912, 6 July 1914.

78. *Bulloch Times*, 16 April 1914. The county school board appropriated \$25 per month for the Adabelle Indian school, starting in 1914, but other support may have been provided earlier. In 1911 a letter writer commented that “the county superintendent made arrangements for these people to have a public school” (*Robesonian*, 15 June 1911).

79. *Robesonian*, 5 and 15 June 1911, 4 June 1914. Hammonds was a member of the Board of Trustees at the Croatan Normal School in Robeson County, suggesting that his trip to Adabelle may have been more than a casual visit—he may have been there to promote Indian-only education in Bulloch County. His trip further illuminates the intentional ways in which Indians pursued their education. See David K. Eliades and Linda Ellen Oxendine, *Pembroke State University: A Centennial History* (Columbus, GA: Brentwood University Press, 1986), 104.

80. I have not found evidence of a deed of property from Foy or the Adabelle Trading Company to any church or school during this period.

81. Pierce et al., *The Lumbee Petition*, 1:140. One could argue that whites made it impossible for an “in-between” group such as the Croatans to attend either a white or

black school and would have forced an Indian-only school on them. Officials in North Carolina did not do this, however, and apparently, neither did officials in Georgia. The Lower Muskogee Creeks near Whigham, Georgia, for example, were sent to either white or black schools, depending on the individual student's skin color (Marian S. McCormick, Principal Chief of the Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe, personal communication, 14 April 2003).

82. *Robesonian*, 25 June 1914.

83. There is some evidence that Croatan children attended school in the Manassas District of nearby Tattall County as early as 1900. It is unclear whether or not they attended "colored" schools; one researcher says that many "Colored" children on school "enumeration" forms listed their home as North Carolina. "Some of these students were Lumbee," she concludes, without further detail. Manassas is the district in which W. M. Foy originally launched his naval stores business; Indian parents may have sent their children there because of their association with his company in Adabelle. See Whalen, "Draft Historical Narrative," 10–11. Alternatively, there are indications of a second Croatan community south of Adabelle, closer to Claxton, Georgia (formerly in Tattall County, presently in Evans County). These students may have been part of that community, which also seems to have established its own school. See Barton, "Migration of NC Indians," 40.

84. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem*, 63, 71.

85. *Bulloch Times*, 16 April 1914.

86. By 1902 some whites in Bulloch County believed that blacks were not worth educating, given what they contributed to the economy. The *Statesboro News* reported that "the taxes [the Negro] pays is about 1–10 what he gets out of the school fund. . . . The average negro is not only a burden to his white friends in life but he has to [be] buried by charity when he dies" (*Statesboro News*, 1 August 1902). This was a question debated throughout the South. See Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000* (New York: Viking, 2001), 47–53.

87. James C. Dial, interview by the author, Pembroke, NC, 19 November 2001. This incident is also reported in Barton, "Migration of NC Indians," 30, 40.

88. James Dial also said that Indians left Bulloch County because "the [whites] cut the Indians off . . . [and] they couldn't buy the supplies they needed" (Dial interview). The relationship between racial intimidation and limited economic opportunities is well documented in the literature on sharecropping. See William Cohen, *At Freedom's Edge: Black Mobility and the Southern White Conquest for Racial Control, 1861–1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991).

89. *Robesonian*, 22 June 1911.

90. Bulloch County, Georgia, Superior Court Minutes, 1912–19, 489.

91. Barton, "Migration of NC Indians," 19–20; "North Carolina Indian Returns for Last Look at Burial Site," *Claxton Enterprise*, 18 September 1975; "Annual Pilgrimage to Indian Cemetery Held," *Statesboro Georgian*, 22 November 1990; "Whatever Happened to . . . Lottie Emanuel Chavis" (see note 52).

