

Reinterpreting a Native American Identity: Examining the Lumbee through the Peoplehood Model. By Eric Hannel. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015. 168 pages. \$80.00 cloth; \$76.00 electronic.

The Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina, numbering about 55,000 citizens, the largest Native tribe east of the Mississippi River, is also the largest tribe that the federal government partially acknowledges, yet does not appear on the Bureau of Indian Affairs' List of recognized tribes. For more than one hundred years the Lumbee Tribe has struggled to attain full federal acknowledgment, solidify its sovereignty, and gain services from the BIA. Lumbees have been denied these services because of the potential impact the tribe's large size might have on the total funding available to federally acknowledged nations. Most importantly, Lumbees have endured negative perceptions of indigenous authenticity perpetrated by federal officials, as well as by other Native nations, especially the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Without full federal acknowledgment, however, the Lumbee Indians remain a resilient people, with a strong community, tribal government, and strong sense of what Tom Holm and others call peoplehood.

In *Reinterpreting a Native American Identity: Examining the Lumbee through the Peoplehood Model*, independent scholar Eric Hannel communicates a clear purpose: to push back against those who question Lumbee authenticity as an Indian nation and demonstrate through the Peoplehood Model that Lumbees are indeed a sovereign Indian nation. In order to tackle the complex political, social, cultural, and identity issues that cloud Lumbee recognition, Hannel examines the Lumbees through the four interrelated aspects of the Peoplehood Model: language, sacred history, territory/place, and ceremonial cycle. The author proposes that because the Peoplehood Model takes colonialism into account, its criteria should be used when evaluating the authenticity of indigenous groups, following other scholars of Lumbee history and politics, mainly Malinda Maynor Lowery, who argue that public narratives of Lumbee history within the federal acknowledgment process do not account for historic change over time. Hannel's analysis uses the Central Western Colonial Model, which is the antithesis of Peoplehood because it worked towards "the eradication of indigenous culture and language" (12–13). The volume's major goal, then, is to describe how the tenets of the Peoplehood Model are practiced by Lumbees as a sign of their authenticity, while at the same time demonstrating how colonialism effected change over time.

In the chapter "Language," for example, Hannel discusses indigenous language both as a component of peoplehood and as a Western Colonial Model target in order to eradicate Native sovereignty and identity. From the beginning of contact and colonization, dominant European languages have threatened Native languages, and the number of languages and Native speakers has steadily dwindled. Yet opponents of Lumbee federal acknowledgment have argued that Lumbees are not real Indians because they have no Indian language, although indigenous language loss is a burden for all Native peoples, including federally acknowledged tribes. Not only does a language requirement introduce a double standard in assessing indigeneity, as Hannel points out, scholars who have researched elements of an indigenous language among

Lumbees have found that the unique Lumbee dialect of English promotes peoplehood and is integral to Lumbee language identity.

Examining and comparing the sacred history or origin and migration stories of the Lumbee to similar stories among other Native nations, Hannel asserts that outsiders have implemented an ambiguous set of standards in defining the Lumbee. Among Native peoples, sacred history “contributes to an indigenous identity through social mores, kinship structures and roles within a community” (49). Lumbee origins lie in abducted and indentured Native peoples, amalgamated tribes of various linguistic stocks, and an indigenous population that occupied the swamps of Robeson County continuously for 20,000 years. Hannel argues that other well-known and recognized Indian groups have similar histories and origins, but have not endured the same scrutiny as Lumbees.

Countering those who have argued that Lumbees are not authentic because of blood quantum, Hannel traces the colonial origins of blood quantum and describes how blood quantum was used in states and the federal government to define Indian identity. For Lumbees, the most traumatic use of blood quantum came in the era of the Indian Reorganization Act, when federal officials employed Carl Seltzer, a physical anthropologist, to determine if Lumbees contained one-half or more Indian blood in order to receive federal services. In Hannel’s estimation, “Seltzer’s classifications not only stymied Lumbee federal recognition, but also created a rift between some full-blood and mixed-blood Lumbee, as well as rural or “traditional” Indians and “progressive” or urban Indians” (56).

The chapter “Territory/Place” describes the importance of place to Lumbee Indians and how their territory facilitates their worldview. Hannel recounts how and why Lumbees came to possess land and how they have defended it from the colonial period to more recent times. Like other Natives throughout North America, Lumbees have held lands in common or in fee, but have also lost their lands to non-Indians, corporations, and industry. Hannel also describes the Lumbee routing of the Ku Klux Klan at Hayes Pond in 1958 as an example of “lived experience” within Lumbee territory which “constitute[d] a web of shared memories.” In a recent example, as late as the 1990s Lumbees successfully fought against the location of a low-level nuclear waste treatment plant (93).

Hannel discusses traditional Native religious practices and Lumbee adoption of Christianity in the final chapter, “Ceremonial Cycle.” Lumbee ancestors encountered Christianity at first contact and have been heavily influenced by it ever since, but also held onto indigenous spiritual beliefs, and conjurers and root workers still practice traditional medicine. Hannel considers traditional practices in the Lumbee community at length. He does not give equal time to Christianity, claiming “the adoption of Christianity, whether in part or in full, has brought many problems for the tribe, especially in achieving federal recognition” (118). Hannel does not engage with the views of Malinda Maynor Lowery, Christopher Arris Oakley, and other scholars that Lumbee Christian churches are the lifeblood of the community, serve as the social and political center, and have facilitated peoplehood in the manner of kinship, tribalness, and spiritual strength.

The book's purpose and use of the analytical lens of peoplehood are much needed. The organization and shortage of Lumbee voices and stories, however, obscures the analysis so that *Reinterpreting a Native American Identity* does not fully reach its academic and political goals. The Peoplehood Model was designed to demonstrate how Native peoples have changed over time and adapted socially and culturally, but still remain Native peoples. Further key questions would include: how have Lumbees changed over time and how have they adapted to colonialism in order to remain an indigenous people? What does language, sacred history, territory/place, and a ceremonial cycle mean to Lumbees? In order to answer these questions, the stories of Lumbees and other Natives must be heard.

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The Saltwater Frontier: Indians and the Contest for the American Coast. By Andrew Lipman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 360 pages. \$38.00 cloth.

Andrew Lipman's examination of northeastern Algonquian peoples' maritime presence and history in the seventeenth century argues that the coastal waters of America were a common space of encounter between American Indians and Europeans: a "saltwater frontier." Algonquians brought deep maritime traditions to this frontier, shaping its evolution and the form encounters took. Shifts in the economy and dominance of the saltwater frontier were integral to the significant demographic, economic, diplomatic, and political changes that New England underwent during the seventeenth century. Lipman provides a useful synthesis of these changes and a corrective to countless works which present American Indians as a largely landlocked people whom seafaring Europeans wrenched from their parochial villages into a global world.

One of Lipman's central points is that the saltwater frontier underwent significant changes during the late 1600s. Some of the first major shifts that took place after European arrival resulted from the Pequot War and Kieft's War. Waged on waterways and around coastal villages, these wars were characterized by Algonquian superiority on the water. Despite these maritime setbacks, the Dutch and English won these wars through scorched-earth tactics. Lipman argues that in the fallout of these wars, English and Dutch "villages started rising across the shoreline, in some places exactly where Indian towns had been recently destroyed" (165). This brought the Dutch and English into increasing contact with each other, often on the sea. These encounters created a new saltwater frontier, in which surviving coastal communities, such as that of the Narragansett, occupied key roles as allies or enemies.

The expulsion of the Dutch from the region after the Anglo-Dutch Wars again transformed the saltwater frontier. No longer was there a balance between three powers. Lipman links this development, and the specter of Dutch return, to the tensions preceding King Philip's War. This war revived the saltwater frontier as a realm of conflict, during which the English destroyed Algonquian watercraft and strategically