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Lumbee Hearing by North Carolina Civil Rights Committee

September 29, 1972

Judge and Witnesses are identified but members of the committee can not be identified.

(Narrator) N: . . . June '72 in the ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County Superior Court Room in Lumberton, North Carolina. The following will be an open hearing conducted by the North Carolina Civil Rights Committee as part of our oral history.

(Judge) J: This hearing of the North Carolina State Committee will now come to order.

My name is W. W. Finley, and I'm from Raleigh. And I'm chairman of the North Carolina State Committee for the U. S. ^{Commission} ~~Committee~~ on Civil Rights in Washington. I have the honor now of calling the names of the other members of the North Carolina Committee and as I call the names of these people, they will identify themselves by raising their hand. Reverend Cecil Bishop of Greensboro, N. C. Thank you. Jean ()

of North Carolina ^{State} University in Durham. Thank you. Mr. Adolf Dial of ^{Mr. Dial, where are you.} Pembroke State University in Pembroke. Thank you. Mrs. Sarah (

) of Durham. Mr. William Bowser of Fayetteville. The

Reverend Robert (Marjunn) of Lumberton. Mrs. (Harbert) Brooks

of Pembroke. Mr. Wilbur Hobby of AFL-CIO in Raleigh. Professor (Clayton ^{Stalnaker}) of Raleigh, North Carolina State University. And Professor

Bruce Payne of Duke University in Durham. Thank you. Also appearing with us today are Mr. Paul Alexander, to my right, of the Commission's office of general counsel, Miss Edith (Burden), where are you, Miss Edith?

Yes, of the Commission's Southern Regional Office. Mr. Jacob (Schlitz) of the Commission's Mid-Atlantic Regional Office. Thank you. This hearing

is being held pursuant to rules available to the state committees and other requirements promulgated by the Commission on Civil Rights. Now, the

Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency of the U. S. Government. It was established by Congress in 1957 and authorized by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, 1960 and 1964 to do four things, or five: Number One,

the Commission investigates complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion or national origin; Number Two, to study and collect information concerning legal developments which constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; Number Three, to appraise federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws; Number Four, to serve as a national clearing house for civil rights information; and finally, Number Five, to investigate allegations of vote fraud. Now, I would like to emphasize, at this time, that this is an informal hearing, and not an adversary type of proceeding. We ~~are~~^{are} meeting in a courtroom but we ~~are~~^{are} not holding a public trial. Individuals have been invited to come and share with the committee information relating to the subject of today's inquiry, and that subject is this: The extent to which ~~Robertson~~^{Robeson} County's Indian population has achieved full political participation and full equality in employment opportunities. Each person who will participate has voluntarily agreed to meet with the committee. Every effort has been made to invite persons who are knowledgeable about the problems and progress in the areas to be dealt with here today. Any individual may offer information which points to ^{up} differentials in the treatment of Indians or other minority group persons. In an effort to get a well-balanced picture of the situation in this community we have invited employers, community leaders, private citizens and officials from the federal, state, county and municipal governments. Now, listen to me, since this is a public hearing the press, the radio, ~~the~~ television stations as well as individuals are ^{all} welcome. Any person discussing a matter with the committee hereafter may specifically request that he shall not be televised. In ~~that~~^{this} case, it will be necessary for me to comply with ~~this witness~~^{wishes}. We are very concerned that we get all the information relating to the matter under investigation. We are, however, concerned that no individual be the victim of slander or libelous

statement. We are going to safeguard that situation. As a precaution against such happenings, each person making a statement here today or answering questions has been interviewed prior to the meeting. However, in the unlikely event that such a situation should develop, it will be necessary ^{for me} to call this to the attention of the person ^{making} the statement and request that he desist in this action. If the testimony the person is offering, however, is of sufficient importance, it may be necessary for the committee to hear the information in a closed session. The person against whom the allegations are being made will have ample opportunity to make a statement in closed sessions before the committee if he so desires. In any event prior to the time that the committee submits its report to the commission, every effort will be extended to get a complete picture of the situation as it exists in your community today. At the conclusion of the scheduled meeting should any one of you or anyone else wish to appear in open session before the committee, he or she should ^{notify} Mrs. (Burden) or Mr. Schilt, the staff representatives before the meeting adjourns. Written statements will also be welcome for inclusion in the record and should be sent to the North Carolina State Committee, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in Washington. Now, as we begin, we are honored, very honored today to have with us a distinguished citizen of North Carolina, a scholar who has served as chairman of the Department of Political Science at Duke University more than fifteen years. He's an author of many outstanding books on state and federal government. He's a former member of the Durham City Council and now a member of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, one of the six commissioners. We have to say ^{he's a} ~~the~~ North Carolingian, and we are delighted that Professor Robert S. Rankin is here, and Dr. Rankin, we would ^{love} ~~like~~ to hear from you.

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R: Thank you ^{Mr. Finley.} ~~very much.~~ Mr. Chairman, and members of the North Carolina State Advisory Committee. I would like to express my pleasure in having (Pankin) the opportunity to make a few comments, and I'll make them very few. I will be extremely brief for I know you have very important business to do here this afternoon. But first, let me thank you for serving on this body. Over the years the commission has grown deeply indebted to persons like yourself throughout the country for ^{their} ~~the~~ services ^{for} ~~to~~ the cause of civil rights. The information which is come out of open meetings such as this has proven to be ^{of} ~~an~~ invaluable assistance to the commission and to its programs. This happens, however, only because you, as concerned citizens, make it happen through your commitments of effort and of time. The commission, and I personally, find such dedication to be hopeful evidence that progress will continue in the field of civil rights and human liberty. It is particularly appropriate that the North Carolina Committee has chosen this time to examine issues affecting the Lumbee tribe of Indians. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights of which I am a member is engaged in ^{the} comprehensive study of conditions among American Indians. The information which this committee gathers will certainly be incorporated into this larger study. Previous hearings which concerned Indians in Montana, in North Dakota, Oklahoma and South Dakota will also be made a part of this study. In addition to hearings by the State Advisory Committee, the U. S. Committee on Civil Rights will conduct a nationwide study in every section of the country, North, South, East and West. The special problems attending the legal status of reservation Indians, off-reservation Indians, federally recognized tribes, state recognized tribes, unrecognized tribes, terminated tribes, urban Indians, Alaskan natives, Eskimos and (), all will be examined. Each of these situations poses ~~its own~~ unique legal problems, its own difficulty determines what law or jurisdiction applies

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in a particular case, but we'll do our best. The all-too-frequent outcome of the resulting confusion is that the Indians are denied justice and fair treatment under law. What are these problems? What can be done about them? These are the questions which the Civil Rights Committee hopes to answer in this *(project)* and others *(on the rights of Indians)*. Speaking for the other five committee members and myself, this committee can be certain *that* the report coming out of this hearing will receive our close attention and that it will be ~~proved~~ *included* as a part of the nation-wide study of the rights of American Indians. I thank you.

J: ~~Arthur~~ *Dr.* Rankin, we thank you, too, very much. We are very grateful that the chairman of the ~~Robertson~~ *Robeson* County Board of Commissioners accepted our invitation to come here today also and make a statement at the opening of this hearing. At this time I have the pleasure to present Mr. Howard *(Cooper)*. Mr. *(Cooper)*.

K: (~~_____~~ *ladies and gentlemen,*), on behalf of ~~Robertson~~ *Robeson* County, I would like to welcome you to ~~this~~ *our* great county. I sincerely hope that your hearings will be of great interest and great benefit to all concerned. *(Anything _____)* anything if we can be of service to you, (*in*) the county *(or myself personally)*, please feel free to call. Thank you.

J: Mr. *(Cooper)*, thank you so much. *How much do we have until the Reverend connects to town?* We now want to recognize the Reverend *Ms.* Eugene Turner of Lumberton, North Carolina. *Ms.* Turner, are you here? Thank you for coming, Mr. Turner.

Mr. Turner,
You are one of the leading citizens of our community here in Lumberton and you are also a councilman, are you not? Fine, we'll be happy to have a statement from you.

T:(?): Mr. Chairman, members of the North Carolina State Committee, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, and fellow citizens. I am pleased for this moment to send

greetings to you, and to join my fellow ^{Robertsonians} ~~Robertsonians~~ in welcoming you to
^{Robertson} ~~Robertson~~ County. ^{Robertson} ~~Robertson~~ County is unique in its history, (^{exceptional})
in its culture, and, as you know, tri-racial in its (^{territory}). I
am advised that you have assembled to hold an open hearing to examine
equal opportunities for Lumbee Indians in ^{Robertson} ~~Robertson~~ County. With respect
to political participation and employment, let me express my many, many
thanks for your listening ears and while we are long overdue, the fact
that you have ^{now} brought them, I hope ^{it} is and will be a clear expression of
your personal interest and your committee's concern. ^{As so, with the} ~~As so, with the~~
language of my father, and I visited him this week, ^{he's eighty-four years} ~~the day before yesterday~~
^{old} ~~day~~, in the language of my father with his children at meal time, I say,
"O, Lord, we thank you for what this committee is about to receive." I
feel this, gentlemen, that this hearing is not only timely, it is needed,
it is desired, it is justifiable, it is your constituted responsibility.
It is the best way to know, and it is one way to bring into clear focus
facts and conditions that across the years have molded themselves as the
accepted and ^{the} expected ways of life. This hearing in ~~its~~ ^{its} great possibilities,
Mr. Chairman, will not be welcomed by all of our citizens. It is a fact,
however, that we are all Americans and our way of life is democracy. In
a democracy, as I understand it, all should have an equal opportunity at
the jobs, at housing, at education, at political participation, and common
benefits of our society. Someone said to me the other day on the street
when I was informing them that I had been invited to make an opening state-
ment here, that in America, few people believe in democracy. At least,
the Jefferson style. Now if this is true, Mr. Chairman and members of ^{this} ~~the~~
committee, I () you ~~congratulate~~. I believe so deeply
that America's greatest need at this hour and in this decade of the
seventies is to lead her own family to a knowledge of and a belief in and

a practice of the democracy of our land and the democratic way of life and living. You and each of you must ^{be} aware that the conditions you have come here to hear about are deeply rooted in pride and prejudice. You will ^Ihear, I'm sure of plain and pure discrimination as you learn of Indian life and living in ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County. Let me say clearly to you that while the blacks of this county thank you for this hearing on Indian life and living in ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County, that the black man in this county is below the Indian, and I ~~IN~~ raise some question about why you changed your priorities. He is below the Indian, and I want that clearly heard by all of you if you want ^{the} (status). He is below in job opportunities in this county, if you don't believe that, you just walk around this courthouse ^{where} ~~where~~ you in now, and you'll find it. Now you going to get ^(the statistics) here, I understand, that will indicate that the blacks' employment at the county level ^{is} ~~is~~ 14% black and 12% Indian. Now you will also note that all of that involves janitorial services, truck driving and all that stuff that we're not concerned about. That's a normal black job. But I tell you again that job opportunity, black job ^{be-} ~~opportunities are~~ low, that's what I want ^{you} to get clear. We ^{re} ~~re~~ below in county-wide position in this county. We are below in participation in the power structure. If you forget all else, I hope you remember that. Now, if you doubt the statistical proof of this when you return for your hearing in this area as I know, ^{true} to your mission, you wouldn't want to come down here and ^{hold} just one, you surely ^{(plan to do} ~~say~~), I ^{tell} ~~say~~ to you, to him and to her who will have ears left to hear, ^{(be willing}) to hear. Now, there ^{are} some who say that minorities should be denied inclusion in our () society. There are others who say that it is better for each minority group to go its own way up the ladder. I subscribe to neither of these for those who try to divide us have always, ultimately failed. Those who build castles ^{of} prejudice have

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seen them come crumbling down. Those who have whispered the counsel of despair and the council of separatism are being ignored, and I'm grateful that they are. While beautiful America is not in planetary system with many atmospheres, many calendars and many temperatures, it is one large island of earth inhabited by mortal men of many races, ~~and~~ many faiths and colors of skin. They all cry the same way and the very same way. They all love the same way. If they are to build just and fruitful lives for themselves and their children, then they must do it here. I'm talking about on this physical earth. They must do it here, and I earnestly believe that we must do it together. Now I'd like for you to get that. That's my belief. Everybody doesn't agree with me on that, blacks and whites, *and* Indians, but I believe it if that's all that's (*left*) for me. I earnestly believe that if we are to move in this world and on this earth, we must do it together. This does not require that righteous anger ever be silenced. This does not require that harmony be purchased at the price of individuals' freedom. What it does require is a recognition that the (*needs*) of events that separates men from one another runs the thread of a common destiny. We shall either be moved, we shall either move this nation towards civil peace and toward *a* social justice for all of its citizens ~~and~~ *or* we, *in* my opinion, shall not be able to provide it for any. We shall either find the means to open cities of America, and I'm disappointed, Mr. Chairman, that you have not had a representative from the city of Lumberton here. Why, I don't know. I'm just disappointed, but we shall either find the means to open city, county, state and national employment to all of our citizens regardless *to* race, find decent housing for all of our families and provide a good education for all of our American children or we shall see this American promise spoiled for every one of us. I'd like to *on* swallow that *the* Men of reason who are honest with each other know

that there is much to be done here in this county, and I would say here
 (~~off record that~~) we hope that you've come here to help us, to do
 good. We've got enough people here. We've got enough devil here. Don't
 you bring us no more. Come and help us be good. Much has been done, I
 do admit. Much has been done in this county, but the (~~offerings~~) of
 the constitution of the United States remains an (~~offering~~) on paper.
 These (~~offerings~~) must come alive in our county for survival, for pro-
 gress and for stability. These must come alive in and for people. Yes,
 the people of this county, this great state of ~~Robertson~~, ^{Robertson} this county's
 greatest asset is people. We must think about people. We must feel for
 people. We must plan for people, and we must become concerned about the
 health, the welfare, and the progress of people. In closing, Mr. Chair-
 man, let me say to you that I have many friends among the Indian ~~reds~~ ^{race} and
 on their behalf ^{since} you've come to look at their situation, on their be-
 half, let me urge you, and each one of you, to listen attentively to what
 you will hear, to hear that clearly, to discover ~~thoroughly~~ ^{personally} the facts and in-
 quire deeply so that you will know the facts. Don't just take the sur-
 face. ^{Meditate patiently upon} ~~from~~ what you hear and then believe
 faithfully, I don't believe these people are going to come here to lie to
 you, ~~there are~~ too many other things, enough lies going on without coming
 up here to lie to you all, and then I hope you will express your findings
 courageously. The gentlemen from the U. S. Commission said that they would
 hear what you all ~~said~~ ^{say} if you ~~said~~ ^{say} it, so we don't want it left in ~~Robert~~ ^{Robertson}
~~son~~ County or in North Carolina, (~~state it~~ ^{state it}) ~~off~~ ^{on} where it ~~is~~ ^{also}
^{going to} do some good. After this hearing now, hurry back. There's a whole lot more
 about (~~goodies~~ ^{another}) that ~~I'd~~ ^{we'd} like to tell you ^{about}. And the Lord bless each one
 of you.

? ~~Mr.~~ Mr. Turner Lee, thank you very much. You know, ~~they say~~ ^{it says}, ~~there's~~ an old

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expression, it takes one to catch one, ^{so} ~~and~~ as a minister it didn't take me ~~very~~ long to find out you were a preacher.

T: ~~Yes~~ *Ha!*

: We would like to say but we mustn't (*keep you*) any longer that we have had a number of hearings in North Carolina before ^{now} ~~then~~, and this is the first time and the only time we have ^{dealt} ~~not~~ with the Indians. Always it's been with the blacks. Thank you.

J: To give us a demographic overview of our situation, we have Mr. Bruce Mr. Jones, Jones of Durham, North Carolina. ~~We~~ ^{we} have got you down here ⁱⁿ fifteen minutes including any questions that may be asked. We're happy to have you here. Where are you?

B: Mr. Chairman, members of the Civil Rights Commission, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great deal of pleasure that I appear before this open hearing to present ~~demographic~~ ^{demographic} overview of the Lumbee Indians of ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County, North Carolina. I appear before this hearing as a staff member of the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation based in Chapel Hill, also being a Lumbee Indian and having lived many years in ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County, I have become increasingly concerned about the conditions of the Lumbees. In both these passages, my comments will be based on the facts as I see them. For the statistical analysis of the population of ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County we note that there are 84,842 people residing in ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County of which 42.7% are white, 25.8% are Negro, 31.2% are Indian and .3% ~~are~~ others. As a point of reference in North Carolina, the Indian population is comprised of 44,406. ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County has 60% of the total state's Indian population. Of the individuals residing in ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County 34.8% ^{reside} in rural areas, 24.7% Negro, 40.3% Indians and .3% others. If you take these figures and look at the percentage of each ethnic group living in the rural area, you ~~will~~ find that of the white race 59.2% is white, 69.6% Negro and

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the important aspect 93.7 . . .

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Side Two

(Bruce Jones)

B: . . .this means that people for various reasons are leaving ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County. The birth rate is somewhat outdated not by the 1970 census but by a report given by ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County Health Department in December 1967 shows that for the state of North Carolina the birth rate was 23.5%, for ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County 28.7%. So we have more than the state's average birth rate and still we're losing population. When it comes to the income of ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County and the income, more particularly, of the Lumbee Indian, I am somewhat at a loss to provide specific data in this area but will attempt to give my findings as it might relate to the total economic status of the county. In ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County, we have a per capita income of \$1,637 (small). We have a medium family income of \$5,675 (small). The mean income of four families, \$2,111. It has been reported in the source that I gathered data with these statistics from the ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County Health Department again, December 1967, they reported that a bank president estimated that there are thirty to forty millionaires in the county. ~~in~~ ^{of} this same report they reported the income under \$3,000 per year, thirty to thirty-five percent are white, sixty-five percent Indian, ninety percent Negroes. And a ranking as to how ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County ranks with other counties in North Carolina, it ranked eightieth in ^{the} one hundred counties. Again, getting something concrete because it (lacks) evidence in the 1970 published census, I would like to provide the Commission with some out-dated again figures taken from a survey conducted by ^{the} North Carolina (Financial) in June of 1967. According to this survey the median 1964 earned family income is the following breakdown: \$4,656 white, \$1,618 Negro, \$1,324 Indian. The total median family group income: \$2,663. As you can

tell, my remarks are rather sketchy and the only thing that I have available to present to you is outdated (*data*), and we need some way of getting statistics in this area on American Indians of ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County.

Looking at the employment

J: Let me interrupt you a ~~minute~~ ^{moment}, Mr. Jones, you're giving ~~out~~ ^{us} some very, very interesting statistics. We've allotted fifteen minutes for this ~~and~~ ^{and} you've gotten through about two pages and about eight or ten more to come, is there any way you can compress this and give us a chance to ask you a few questions?

B: Yes, I can.

J: Please.

B: Then I will have to just restrict my remarks rather than totally (*come*) as to just what I've been able, the total figures for the Lumbee Indians as to that and the other data pertaining to the county . . .

J: If you will, ^{that} please.

B: We'll put ^{the} whole statement in the record however.

B: ^{Okay} Thank you. That's ^{one} ~~what~~ ^{is} problem I have, ~~that's~~ being able to make my point ^{with} in a short length of time. Checking the employment situation, ^{for} again for the Lumbee Indians, I am at loss according to the time, I can just say that there is ^{no} employment data available to me to present to this hearing but I could report to the hearing ^{me} minority data which I will and of which the Lumbees are a part. In 1971 the annual average as recorded by the Employment Security Commission of Raleigh, North Carolina for the ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County we have a figure of a civilian work force, 38,670, 51% is minority. Employed for this period of time we have 35,930, 50% minority. ~~Unemployment~~ ^{Unemployed} for this period, 2,740, a percentage for minorities, 65%. The rate of unemployment, the total, 7.1%, the minority percentage, 9.1%. I can direct *some* attention to also to the study of the North Carolina (*Fund*) in the fall

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of 1965 which showed that in ^{Robeson}~~Robertson~~ County 12.8% white, 11.7% Negro, 22.8% Indian were all 16.0%. Also in the same report for comparison of the North Carolina and the Employment Security Commission Estimate Rate for unemployment for one rural area, Lumberton, the ESC Reporting 7.8, the North Carolina ^{fund} 16.0%, and the ratio of North Carolina to ESC rate 2.42.

: Mr. Brooks, ^{could} ~~can~~ I just get a few clarifications in right now?

B: Yes.

: You mentioned that data was unavailable concerning employment status of Lumbees and other specific demographic characteristics. Is this because the census bureau hasn't provided them as yet, or did they not count them?

B: ^{next} I would assume ~~they~~ counted them or the investigation of the questionnaire indicated a place for the American Indian but if you look at the published report for North Carolina you will only find data according to sex and race.

: So, you're just . . .

B: . . . which ^{gives} the Indians, but all of the other demographic data is not done.

: What about state unemployment data? Is that provided as white, black and Indian? Just white and minority?

B: The (^{list} ~~black~~) ~~just~~ was minority and white.

: The only special census, I gather, is the one that's been done by the North Carolina Fund. ^(B: Yes) Could you briefly explain whether that's a public or a private census. Has this been done by the government, or has this been done privately?

B: It was done by a private, non-profit organization.

: Thank you.

J: Any other question to be directed to Mr. Jones? Yes, sir. (Dear, Mr. Jones)

: ()

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can you tell me if your (*classification*)
included ~~the~~ ^{both} underemployed () underemployed ()
unemployed, the group ().

B: From my analysis of the data, I would say that it referred to the unemployed
and not the underemployed or those that are discouraged and are no longer
seeking employment because of previous experiences.

: If these things were included. . .

B: If they were included, then the rate would be much higher, *much higher.*
: *Thank you.*

J: Thank you, Dr. Jones. Any other member of the committee who wishes to
direct a question to Dr. Jones?

*B: Mr. Chairman. It's not a question . . .

J: Mr. Cecil (*Bishop*).

*B: . . . of civil rights to speak up, it might help because the sound is not
too good.

J: He's saying, Mr. Bishop is saying, that we're not hearing everything so
anyone who speaks, that is, speak loud and clear. Is that what you mean?

*B: You read me correct, sir.

J: Now, Mr. Jones, we're probably going to ask you to let us enter the rest
of your statement into the records and, unless there are other questions,

unless if you have a final summation to make, or do you?

B: I guess my concern is that the organization that I'm with now recognizes
this, that they're presently engaged in doing a household survey of the
Indians of North Carolina to provide this data and as soon as this study
is completed, I will be glad to make it available to the committee.

: Which organization is this?

B: The North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation.

: Is that state or . . .

B: ^{state,} It's a state private, non-profit organization.

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This is not,
: ~~A~~ This again is not the state or the federal government doing these compilations?

B: No.

: Again, it's private.

B: Right.

: Has there ever been a special census of ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County, intensive census like's been done in some poverty areas in the urban centers of the East and West?

B: There's been one ^{of} the low income areas of rural eastern North Carolina by the census but an inspection of that data does not break anything ^{out} ~~up~~ by county ~~or~~ by race.

: What date was that?

B: Recently, like '69 or '70.

: Thank you.

J: On behalf of the committee, I want to thank you again, ^{you coming} Mr. Jones, for this very helpful presentation. Our next invitee is a citizen from Pembroke, North Carolina, a teacher who has a special interest in reading. This is Mrs. Janie Locklear. Miss Jane, will you come, please? Mrs. Locklear, you're going to talk to us, make a statement and give us a chance to question ^{you} on an overview of the current ^{the present} conditions of the Indian citizens in ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} County, And listen, while we're talking, some people are saying ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson} and some are saying ~~Robinson~~ ^{Robeson}, what do you say?

L: ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson}.

J: ~~Robertson~~ ^{Robeson}, ~~OK~~ okay.

L: Commissioner, committee members and other citizens, I am here before you today with great pride, pride in the fact that I have been asked to speak for my people, a spokesman for my people. No greater honor could ever be bestowed upon me than this for this opportunity I say to you, thank you.

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I am indeed honored. Proud to be a spokesman but distressed about what I must say for oh so long too many things have gone unsaid.

J: What you're saying is most important. I want everybody to hear it. On the back seat back there, can you hear Mrs. Locklear?

L: Can we put this mike and use my tape? Both of them; it still doesn't work? (_____ this one). This one does.

J: Wait just a moment. I apologize.

L: I have a tape recorder to tape record

J: *Thank you for coming*
move Put a chair over there for her. Put it so she'll be facing halfway to the audience as well as to us, *if you will.* (Janice), thank you very much.

L: Can you hear me? Can you hear me now?

J: Yeah. *It's on, go ahead now,* Talk louder.

L: Proud to be a spokesman but distressed about what I must say. For oh so long too many things have gone unsaid. So like the innocent man condemned to die, I beg you to listen to what I must say. Will the day ever come when we will not be afraid to use one of the most basic rights an American has, freedom of speech? Many people knew if they came and spoke, it might mean their jobs and the security of their families. You will not hear any public school teachers in this hearing today but we all understand this fear, don't we? We all are aware of the stupid, petty racism that pervades this country and is ever more prevalent in *Robeson* ~~Robertson~~ County because it has long been involved in this type of (*Jim Crow*). Oh, this is indeed an inflexible racism. It's never (*beaten*). Oh sure, a few tokens have been given out in recent years and especially in the past few months but don't be fooled. *These* ~~This~~ are mere pacifiers. The Lumbees are Indians. They are Lumbees because they have chosen to be so. The state of North Carolina has tried for years and years to homogenize

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them, to make them blend in, ^{into} ~~and to~~ (^{see with}) the other races. But
the Indians of ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County stay together. ^{And} They remain together.
And since the days of Henry (Berry) Lowry who was the Robin Hood of the
Indian people and an outlaw who terrified the whites in North Carolina,
the Indian people have been a passive people, not really rocking the
boat. Only twice since then have the Indians bucked the system to any
degree. The first being when the Ku Klux Klan were threatening to in-
vade their homelands. Their outing was broken up quite abruptly, and
they've never returned. Most recently, the state of North Carolina and
the Board of Trustees at Pembroke State University issued the order for
the demolition of the old main building on (P- SU's) campus. At
one time Old Main was the only place in the state an Indian could get a
college degree. Old Main is the last symbol of the first and only four
year college in this country for Indians. The Indian people hold her
very dearly. She is a part of our heritage. The Indian people began to
protest the demolition. This terrified many politicians because their
dictates were being questioned. Old Main is a vital part of the Indian
people and she must be spared. You know, it is a sad, sad day when
people must endure the agony that was forced upon the Indian people in
our desperate attempt to save Old Main. And as Tom Edwards put it in a
recent National Congress of American Indians Journal, "Raleigh's deadening
silence is a form of Chinese water ~~water~~ torture sapping the vitality of
the small Indian community." In both cases, the way the Indian people
of ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County ^{arose} ~~rose~~ together was beautiful, and I tell you here,
and I tell you now, in the words that Tom Edwards used, "You must kill
the people who kill the spirit and this is not as politically expedient
today as it was one hundred years ago." The Ku Klux Klan are gone and
Old Main has been spared, and I agree a few changes have been made but now

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we must move on and seek to dent the racism that still exists. Many of the people that you will hear in the next two days will tell you that there is no racism and if there is racism, they are totally unaware that it exists. But if it does not exist, then I ask you why, in a recent article ^{of} (Akwasasne) Notes, there appeared a statement that Pembroke State University last April had received \$150,000 from HEW because of the high number of Indian students. The news of this grant was never released to the press and no one in ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County knew it prior to last week. But only recently, there was an article in all the local newspapers about some \$4,000 science grant. Makes you wonder if Pembroke State University has ^{come to the day where they} ~~is~~ no longer feel any pride in the Indian students that crosses its campus when the Indians whose forefathers founded the school, and I ask you is there not something wrong when Indian people are not told about the money that is granted in their interest. Then ^{does it} not make you wonder who's receiving the benefits and it makes you ask a question: does PSU have any pride ^{or any support} ~~in its~~ (for) Indian students? And I ask you why does a deep-seated, widespread feeling that there's more ^(of a divorcement) than a marriage between the university and the community. The community should be a training ground for students and the university a service to the community. But ^{is it?} ~~it isn't~~. And I ask you, why there has been no sizeable growth in Indian students at PSU since the late 1940s but the white enrollment has grown by leaps and bounds? And I ask you why there are no Upward Bound programs at Pembroke State University? And I ask you why there's a feeling among the Indian people that if their homes are robbed they do not ^{really} receive the same kind of treatment as the whites in town? And I ask you why there's always been problems, suspicions about ~~our~~ local hospitals and local emergency rooms and the stories are numerous about

Indian people who feel, ^{that} they have not received the same service as the whites in the county. You know it makes you wonder if your life is really in jeopardy, what the situation would be. ^{And if so would} ~~if~~ there ~~would~~ be any hesitation. Oh yes, hundreds of the Indians are admitted to Southeastern General Hospital yearly but by an all-white secretarial ^{staff}, and I ask you why you are told ^{that} you can register to vote at the registrar's home and if you happen to be in a precinct that has a white registrar, I ask you how many Indian people will feel comfortable to go to their homes to register to vote because that is a place that they're not usually welcome, ~~and~~ ^{and} it is a good way to discourage registration, I would say. And I ask you why it always seems that the white landowners seem to have plenty of work for the Indian tenants to do on election day? Could it be they didn't want them to vote? And I again ask you why very, very few Indians, if any, are employed as clerks and cashiers in this great all-American city stores, and I ask you, why, and I ask you what can be done to bring about change so that the Indian people can once again walk with pride and the feelings of inferiority that have been pushed down their throats will be removed so that there will be a new Indian, one who is treated just and equal, one that ~~will~~ holds his head high because he is an Indian and ^{(I will close by} ~~will~~ ^{reading you} ^{a few of} these well-meant words ~~will~~ ^{and} ^(fear of thought). Is there no hope for me? Must I always be alone, alone, alone . . . ^I Thank you.

J: Thank you. Stay where you are, if you will. Mr. Alexander, do you have a statement or question?

A: Mrs. Locklear, you mentioned several things in your statement that I'd like to expand on a bit in discussion. You mentioned ^a substantial fear among st the Indians of ^{Robertson} ~~Robertson~~ County for coming here to give statements and ^a ~~the~~ general fear, fear to go to ^{the} white registrar. You also mentioned a feeling of inferiority. How does this system operate to create feelings of inferiority? ~~Is~~ Institutionalized in any way?

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Where does it start? What Lumbee history is taught in the public schools or Indian history ^{at all,} in general?

L: There is no Lumbee history or Indian history in general taught ^{at} ~~in~~ our public schools. I think it all begins with the little ones who watch TV and they see things on it, like the National Committee's thing on Drug Abuse where they're singing ten little Indians and ~~one~~ ^{one's} overdosed and that made nine and nine little Indians and the other one popped heroin and the pictures above ~~it~~ (*say*) you are the people who do ~~it~~ look like Indians and these are the impressions that are instilled in the Indian children's mind and also in the white person's mind and cowboys and the Indians always (_____)

and so forth). So these are the impressions that are impressed ^{upon} ~~on~~ our young and (*our course*) is to change these feelings of inferiority.

A: Now, you're a teacher in the school system (*or have been*).

L: Yes, ~~it~~ *I have*.

A: Do most of the Indian students go through school with white students and black students or do they go to school by themselves?

L: Most of the, there is some on a graduate level (*but none who graduate stay there*).

A: (*Who did you graduate with*)?

L: Most of the schools that were predominantly Indian still ~~have~~ ^{make} predominantly Indian with some whites and ~~quite~~ ^{very} a few blacks.

A: What impact does the essentially segregated education have towards creating a self-image or the creation of fear or the breakdown of fear?

L: Well, many of the schools today, a few of the schools I've found out, are using ability grouping kinds of situations in the classroom and this again (*reverts back to the same old*) segregation where the Indian students and black students are put together (^{according} *to*) the whites / *themselves*

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A: Do you have any children in school?

L: Yes. No, none in school.

A: You have children?

L: Yes, two.

A: Do you want them to go to an all-Indian school?

L: Now, I can only speak for my personal feelings ^{that} ~~and~~ I would not like the committee to think that this ^{would be} ~~the~~ feelings of all ^{the} people in ^{Robeson} ~~Robertson~~ County or all Indian people. I have taught two years and ^{we} lived two years in the (^{state of} Maryland where) ~~and~~ I did teach in a well-integrated school, (^{the one that I} taught in). My feelings are that I would like my children to be able to meet with people of all races to learn to be friends with ^{people} all races because in a segregated school system, it's difficult ~~to~~ (^{when viewing} all their life,) when they get out into the world, they're going to come into contact with people of other races and I ^{hope that} ~~like for~~ my children, ^{will} ~~to~~ be able to appreciate people for what they are and not the color of their skin because this is a prejudice that has (^{been pushed} so long forth) Indian people for so many years and I do not want my children to grow up with this same kind of prejudice.

A: Thank you.

J: Stay where you are, Miss Janie. Yes, sir. Mr. Bowser.

B: I have three questions, (^{I'll start with one}). Do you know what percentage of the teaching staff at Pembroke is Indian?

L: Are you speaking of Pembroke State University?

B: Yes.

L: As far as instructors, the last figures I saw was six instructors to 111 whites.

B: Do you know approximately how many Indians attend the college in proportion to the number of whites?

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L: Last spring the University released the figure at some 200 Indian students out of ~~4~~ 2,000 student total enrollment, and I think about eighty black.

B: Two hundred Indians.