

# The Tuscarora Migration in 1713 and 2013: Re-enactment and Revitalization

By

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(Under the Direction of Don Nelson)

## Abstract

The focus of this study is the development of the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project, a three-hundred mile backpacking trip from the Tuscarora's precontact territory in North Carolina all the way to their home in New York. Tuscarora history has often been expressed in terms of defeat and cultural decline. To the contrary, the 2013 Migration Project not only serves to celebrate the Tuscarora's survival, but it also has the potential to decolonize Tuscarora history in a way that affirms the present and the future of the community. My study considers how the Migration Project is both an agent and reflection of revitalization for the Tuscarora Nation. My objective is to contribute to the community's ongoing historical research with an extensive annotated bibliography of primary sources, while also documenting the prevailing attitudes and opinions about life in a Nation undergoing change.

INDEX WORDS: Tuscarora, Revitalization, Decolonization, Migration, Historical narratives

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## 1) INTRODUCTION

The legacy of the Tuscarora Migration begins in the Carolina piedmont at the turn of the eighteenth century. At this time tensions between European settlers and the Native population developed into warfare which eventually embroiled the colonies of South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, as well as numerous Native groups allied with Tuscarora and Europeans alike. In 1713 Colonel James Moore of South Carolina mounted his final assault against the Tuscarora fortress at Neoheroke and ultimately breached the defenses, killing and capturing many of the defenders within. While some Tuscarora people soon removed northwards to shelter in Pennsylvania's Susquehanna Valley under the guardianship of the Five Nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, many Tuscaroras chose to remain in North Carolina under a new form of leadership. For the next eighty years, groups of Tuscarora people would gradually decide to follow others who had established new homes in New York. Three hundred years later, in the summer of 2013, a group of Tuscarora hikers will begin a 1,300-mile journey on foot and canoe from the Neoheroke historical landmark in Snow Hill, North Carolina back to their homes on the Tuscarora Nation in New York.

I first came to the Tuscarora Nation in the summer of 2011 for an internship opportunity with the Tuscarora Environment Program (TEP). The Tuscarora are the sixth nation of the Haudenosaunee (also known as Iroquois) Confederacy. Their reservation territory is home to a community of around 1,200 people, located in Western New York, only a few miles from Niagara Falls. Established in 1997 by program director Neil Patterson, Jr., the TEP's focus is identifying and prioritizing environmental concerns on the Tuscarora Nation territory. Through

its publication, *Skaru:re? Monthly*, the TEP educates and spreads awareness about environmental issues facing the community, the Nation, and the Confederacy. Though the office has since been relocated to the newly constructed Tuscarora community center, at the time of my internship the entire program was being run out of a residential basement. The cramped quarters made the diverse accomplishments and responsibilities of the TEP even more impressive. These include ongoing projects such as community supported agriculture, soil survey, roadside cleanups, and water quality monitoring. In addition to the TEP's community initiatives, the office coordinates its efforts with other agencies, including the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, and the Environmental Protection Agency. My own work with the TEP involved coordinating the management of a Native archeological site on land controlled by the New York Power Authority.

Next summer the TEP is planning to complete one of their most formidable projects yet: the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project (henceforth Migration 2013). The TEP has outlined several objectives for the project, including building youth leadership skills (GPS, geocaching, backpacking, food preparation, safety and first aid, orienteering, fire building, etc.), compiling and interpreting historical resources and knowledge, celebrating indigenous survival and identity, and understanding climate change impacts. This final objective is one of the most significant for the TEP, although not necessarily for the rest of the Tuscarora community. Most scenarios for future climate change on the east coast predict a northward migration of plant and animal species. As the hikers from Tuscarora re-enact the migration of their ancestors, they will also be foreshadowing the movement of other species in the not-too-distant future. Re-establishing connections that Tuscarora people of North Carolina once shared with other southern species might be a necessary adaptation for the future as these species begin to extend their ranges northwards.



In addition to the objectives stated by the TEP, Migration 2013 is a collaborative community research effort to gain a greater understanding of the Tuscarora's own history, particularly during the period of migration and relocation after the Tuscarora War. This avenue of research is particularly interesting because of a conspicuous dearth of resources on this transitional period of American Indian history in which the Tuscarora survived migration, incessant warfare, and cultural change, sometimes through adaptation, and at other times through forcible assimilation. While the lack of records combined with the pervasive myth of the vanishing Indian has contributed to a historical blind spot concerning the Tuscarora Indians in the Southeast after 1713, their newcomer status in the Northeast has contributed to their persistent marginalization. Additionally, the renewed interest in discussing Tuscarora history signals start of a new era for the Tuscarora. While an ideological system which denigrated indigenous perspectives on the past has long been the norm, turning traditional knowledge, language, and identity into liabilities instead of assets, biases against Native culture are no longer holding as much sway.

Through the course of my fieldwork on the Tuscarora Nation I encountered overwhelming enthusiasm for discussing the migration project. As I talked with community members, I learned that everyone was anticipating positive impacts to result from Migration 2013. I began to learn more about why Migration 2013 was such a significant event for the community; as one informant exclaimed, after I asked her about the purpose of the project, "It's all about the migration project...it's everything" (inf. #7). Many of the themes which arose in discussions about the project led me to consider how Migration 2013 engages with the theoretical framework of decolonization and revitalization. My research began with the question: What is the significance of the Migration 2013 project to the Tuscarora community? The

optimism and ever-present buzz of activity around the migration project indicated to me that this was an event of great import. The objective of this thesis is to explain how Migration 2013 fits into a greater project of Tuscarora cultural revitalization through the decolonization of the migration narrative as it has been told by non-Native historians, as well as the decolonization of historical ideology in the Native community, which has taught that Native history is unimportant, or only important insofar as it propels the history of the United States.

In chapter two, I put the concept of revitalization into a conversation with theory concerning decolonization, I also discuss the proliferation of negative master narratives: histories written by colonizers and their descendants that create a narrative of indigenous history that emphasizes defeat and cultural decline in a way that serves the imagination and the agenda of the colonial state. In chapter three, I discuss how I began my own historical research, at the request of the TEP, and what sources I was able to draw upon in my own reconstruction of the poorly understood portions of Tuscarora history. I also discuss my interview methods in chapter three, and how I began exploring the ideas of revitalization and decolonization in the Tuscarora community. In chapter four, I recount everything I have learned about Tuscarora history from primary and secondary sources, and discuss how these records have contributed to a popular understanding of Tuscarora history through negative master narratives. In chapter five, I discuss the interviews I collected from the Tuscarora Nation and explain the significance of Migration 2013 from various perspectives within the community and how the concept of revitalization threads through all of the major expectations and goals for the project. In the sixth chapter, my conclusion, I will tie together the historical and ethnographic analyses from chapters four and five to explain how Migration 2013 has the ability to drive a cultural revitalization movement through the decolonization of Tuscarora's negative master narrative. By re-walking the migration

route, the Tuscarora literally reclaim the agency to tell their own story, one that does not end in tragedy, but in celebration of the Tuscarora's survival and achievement.

### **Note on Terminology**

Throughout this thesis I will use various terms to describe people and populations who have historically struggled against definitions imposed upon them. The Tuscarora Nation is the subject of this research and this is the term I will use most frequently to refer to the cultural identity of the people with whom I lived and worked with on their reservation territory near Sanborn, New York. The Tuscarora are known to themselves in their native language as *Skaru:ręz*, which can be translated to English as either People of the Shirt or People of the Hemp, a reference to their traditional usage of the dogbane plant, also known as Indian hemp. Nevertheless, in my experience Tuscarora is the term most frequently used in day to day conversation, and so for ease of understanding I will use the more common term. I also use the term Tuscarora to refer to the North Carolina ancestors of this modern group, but as I will discuss in the subsequent chapters, the Tuscarora of precontact and colonial-era North Carolina probably did not use this term for themselves.

The Tuscarora are the sixth nation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, familiarly known as the Iroquois. Haudenosaunee means, 'people of the long house.' Before 1722, the Haudenosaunee are referred to as the Five Nations. These are the Seneca, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga. After the adoption of the Tuscarora, they are referred to as the Six Nations.

In reference to cultural and ethnic differences of populations and communities, I will somewhat interchangeably use the terms Native, Indian, or Indigenous. *Native* is a term which

refers to ancestral and cultural distinctiveness in individuals and communities, distinguishing them from the general U.S. population that could be referred to as Western, Euro-American, or non-Native. *Indian* is used in the common vernacular, and it is also a recognized status used frequently in legal terminology. *Indigenous* is a term more broadly applicable to people who have been colonized and yet retain traditional characteristics within the context of globalization around the world.

Rather than refer to the Tuscarora as a tribe or reservation community, I will use the term ‘Nation’ to describe the political status of the tribe in the United States. When I refer to the Tuscarora community, I am indicating the population that lives on the Tuscarora Reservation in Niagara County, New York, which includes some members who are enrolled in other Haudenosaunee Nations but nevertheless are bound to the Tuscarora community by kin and kindred. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term “tribe” was preferred to refer to native groups large or small, but “tribe” has always been and continues to be an unclear reference, and modern anthropology has redefined this term to a small-scale social organization based on kinship and locality. For this reason, “nation” has persisted as the preferred term when referring to Native polities in the past as they treated and competed with the representatives of European nations establishing themselves in America (Ethridge and Hudson 1998). Contemporary Native groups also prefer being referred to as nations as this connotes their sovereign status and equal relationship with the United States.

## 2) THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This research explains how the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project promotes the objectives of decolonization in the Tuscarora community, and in so doing engages with a broader project of local revitalization for Native North Americans. Revitalization is the conscious and direct effort to “construct a more satisfying culture” (Wallace 1956). In the 1970s, the Indigenism movement brought new academic interest to the revitalization of Native culture in urban and reservation communities. Indigenism, not to be confused with *Indigenous*, is an ideological outlook that transcends and opposes the mindset of colonialism—the ideology, social processes and embedded hierarchies that compose daily life in contemporary settler societies such as the United States (Alfred 2005; Churchill 1996). The Indigenist model for cultural revitalization involves decolonization, a process that undermines the ideological foundations of the colonizer’s society. Indigenist scholars argue that past initiatives to revitalize Native communities failed because they did not originate within Native ideological frameworks, and therefore merely perpetuated colonial ideology (Alfred 2005; Churchill 1996; McKenzie-Jones 2010; Wilson 2004b).

This chapter builds a theoretical framework for cultural revitalization and decolonization and their relationship to three conceptual problems relating to colonization: the loss and recovery of indigenous knowledge, distortion and assertion of Native identity, and reclaiming negative master narratives. It does not discuss the pressing and sorely felt inequalities that are also part of the colonial experience. Rather, this thesis is concerned with how knowledge is lost and regained, how colonization affects the representation of cultural identity, and how both of those questions are reflected within historical narratives. My argument is that Tuscarora history is

embedded in a negative master narrative, a way of telling history that privileges the agency of the settler and ubiquitously describes Indigenous people as the losers of history. Through the recovery of traditional knowledge, the assertion of cultural identity, and reclaiming the historical narrative, the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project confronts these negative associations of colonization in order to build a stronger future for the community.

### **Revitalization**

In the 1950s, Anthony Wallace described the concept of cultural revitalization to explain how cultural systems can rapidly innovate in response to stressors. Wallace's understanding was that revitalization events are anomalies in the otherwise routinized daily life brought on by extreme circumstances of cultural distortion, chronic social and cultural stress, leading to destructive coping mechanisms including substance abuse, relationship dependency, intragroup violence, depression, etc. (Wallace 1956). However, Wallace's theory was based on an understanding of a natural state of culture that is generally stable and only occasionally punctuated by transformative changes. Contemporary anthropologists accept that culture is continuously reinvented and always undergoing change (Sahlins 1985). The modern use of the cultural revitalization concept describes the maintenance and celebration of cultural identities that are distinct from the externally assigned identities which have been imposed by the surrounding settler society (Green 1995; Willow 2010).

Indigenous revitalization movements have been occurring since the onset of the colonial encounter (Green 1995). In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, these movements have taken on a number of names—resurgence, renewal, regeneration—that all suggest not only the reclamation of something that has been missed, but also the empowerment of Native groups to assert cultural

awareness and the political self-determination to carry traditions into the future. Waziyatawin Angela Wilson writes on the process of Indigenous revitalization becoming increasingly widespread, “A significant and powerful realization is that we are not alone. As Indigenous Peoples throughout the world continue to shake off the bindings of colonialism, efforts to reclaim our ways of life, worldviews, and values are a crucial priority, and these efforts are gaining momentum” (Wilson 2004b:370). The impetus of revitalization is often an inconspicuous action originating within a small group of individuals dissatisfied with the way things are. As Kanawake Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred has pointed out, “all of the world’s big problems are in reality very small and local problems. They are brought into force as realities only in the choices made every day and in many ways by people who are enticed by certain incentives and disciplined by their fears. So, confronting huge forces like colonialism is a personal and, in some ways, a mundane process” (2005:25). Revitalization, therefore, as it is motivated by decolonization, is birthed by groups of individuals who join together, agree that the levels of stress and cultural distortion have reached intolerable levels, and decide to effect change. There have been and still are pan-Indian movements that seek to address injustice against Native people on a national and international level, such as the American Indian Movement, the National Indian Youth Council, and the recently manifested Idle No More movement. Many Native nations are engaging in community or tribal projects directed towards addressing specific local issues. What all of the revitalization projects have in common is that they acknowledge the holistic nature of Indigenous knowledge relating to law, governance, social work, health and medicine, philosophy, education and the environment and that restoration of a holistic understanding of human relationships will ultimately promote the causes of Native peoples (Lee 2008; McGregor 2004:389; Robertson et al. 2004). Although

revitalization often focuses on the revival of traditions that are perceived to be lost, dormant, or endangered, these should not be interpreted as backward-facing movements. Native revitalization movements are not aimed at preserving the same forms by which their ancestors lived their lives. Their goals are to create new forms that protect the essential functions of their ancestor's traditions, the basic spiritual beliefs, values, and worldviews that will be inherited by future generations (Manuel and Posluns 1974:4).

Migration 2013 is a 1,300 mile trek retracing the path of the Tuscarora people taken in the early 1700s when the Nation decided to relocate from their territory in North Carolina to join the Haudenosaunee in New York. Although revitalization is not explicitly stated in the objectives of Migration 2013, those who are involved nevertheless have hopeful expectations for this project creating positive change for the entire Tuscarora community. The project aims to have more far-reaching consequences than just the completion of a 1,300-mile walk. Members of the community hope that the project will promote relationships between community members, promote involvement in cultural activities, and bring awareness to the challenges that the community faces as they progress into the future.

## **Decolonization**

Decolonization is a concept used by Indigenist theorists to advocate for the deconstruction of the social and political foundations of the colonial state in order to reimagine a society that provides space for cultural pluralism and an equitable relationship between Native and settler peoples. The challenge for revitalization projects aimed at ameliorating conditions in Native communities is to recognize and address the impacts of contemporary and ongoing colonial assault (Wilson 2004a). Decolonization means the repatriation of Indigenous land and



life, the political and cultural renewal of Indigenous communities, “remembering ceremony, returning to homelands, and liberation from the myths of colonialism” (Alfred 2005:601). The process of decolonization necessitates the development of a critical consciousness of the causes of oppression, how colonialism distorts history and becomes internalized until Native people themselves become collaborators in the process. It also calls for the recovery of traditional knowledge that has long been disparaged by colonial oppressors, and the renewal of ways, beliefs and values that once formed the basis of strong and healthy nations (Wilson 2004a)

For example, Taiaiake Alfred’s interpretation of decolonization takes the form of a spiritual revolution that rejects the internalized Eurocentric notions of Native culture, governance, and identity. Alfred calls for a return to traditional forms of Indigenous governance and the upheaval of “sovereignty” as it has been defined for Indigenous nations by colonial governments. He argues that decolonization cannot be achieved through increasing political and bureaucratic entanglement with the State, as these strategies only reproduce the same relationships of oppression that have existed in the past and deepen the entrenchment of cultural distortion (Alfred 2005:51). Alfred and other Indigenist theorists have increasingly advocated for Native projects that promote meaningful relationships between Native nations and the State, recover Indigenous knowledge and are able organize revitalization in a way that honestly reflects Native values, worldviews, and intellectual independence in all of their diversity (Alfred 1999, 2005; Iverson 1998). Critical to this strategy is maximizing the power of communities to assert the kinds of rights that only make sense in collective terms, such as the right to maintain a language, to occupy a territory, and to operate community projects (Bowen 2000).

The dialogue of decolonization asserts that if revitalization movements are to be effective, they must originate within Native communities and take a form that distinctively

reflects Native understandings of their own cultures and identities. The opposite strategy, when human and civil rights initiatives attempt to repair Indigenous communities from the outside, has met limited success in the past because the problems Native communities are facing today—poverty, substance abuse, depression, violence, and disease—are the consequences of colonialism (Wilson 2004a). Revitalization alone cannot repair the damages of colonialism, because colonialism is still occurring. Numerous Indigenist scholars have noted that national-level settler guilt and anxiety still persist because indigeneity continues to provide a constant reminder that the colonial project is incomplete, that Native people still exist as inconvenient exceptions to the colonial rule (Bruyneel 2007; Deloria 1988; Fanon 1963; Grande 2004). Projects to revitalize communities which are operating within a colonial framework are torn between conflicting desires, “the desire to reconcile is just as relentless as the desire to disappear the native; it is a desire to not have to deal with this (Indian) problem anymore” (Tuck and Yang 2012:9). Decolonization is “unsettling,” both literally and figuratively, because it does not neatly fit into the framework that seeks to make Indigenous communities more coherent within the structure of settler society (Tuck and Yang 2012). Instead, decolonization tends to emphasize cultural plurality and particularism, building frameworks with each different cultural groups can be self-deterministic (Green 1995).

### **Defining the Problem**

The literature on decolonization often returns to three related themes that are the consequences of a perpetuated colonial ideology, and the manner in which they must be remediated. These are the loss of traditional knowledge, distortion of Native identity, and negative master narratives. The framework of decolonization provides an explanation for the

interrelatedness of these concepts as perpetuated acts of colonialism designed to oppress and control Native people. The decolonization framework also explains how each of these processes can be addressed through strategies that originate within communities and build upon Indigenous intellectual traditions in order to promote traditional knowledge, assert identities, and reclaim historical narratives.

### *Loss and Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge*

The recovery and promotion of traditional indigenous knowledge is a decolonizing process advocated by Indigenist thinkers as a strategy applicable to Native politics, law, governance, health and wellness, education, and environmental management (Alfred 1999; Churchill 1996; Simpson 2004; Smith 2002). Remembering traditional knowledge is the first step of the process of decolonization (McGregor 2004). Not only the recovery of Indigenous worldviews, philosophy, and ways of knowing, but applying these concepts to a contemporary context is the strategic framework advocated by Indigenists in order to disentangle Native peoples from the oppressive control of colonizing state governments. Current and past U.S. government policies continue to be a source of instability in Native communities. In 1915, Seneca anthropologist Arthur C. Parker, editor of the Society of American Indians' *Quarterly Journal*, published an indictment against the U.S. government that remains salient today. Parker's primary argument was a rejection of the conventional view that the greatest problem inhibiting American Indians was their own backwardness. Instead, Parker accused American civilization of robbing Native peoples of their intellectual life, social organization, economic independence, moral standards, and civic status, resulting in depressed conditions that marked reservation life in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and, in some places, persist today (Parker 1915). Today,

Indigenist scholars continue to reprise Parker's complaints, adding inequalities of education, healthcare, and environmental health to the list of wrongs against native communities (Simpson 2002). The colonial process is directly accountable for these conditions through a direct attack on Indigenous knowledge systems. This was accomplished by "rendering our spirituality and ceremonial life illegal, attempting to assimilate our children and destroy our languages through the residential school system, outlawing traditional governance, and destroying the lands and waters to which we are intrinsically tied" (Simpson 2004).

The particular effects of the residential school system have made a lasting mark on the Tuscarora community. In the late 1800s and on into the mid-1900s, the U.S. federal government undertook an initiative to bring civilization and equality to Native Americans through the education of Native children. Thousands of children were removed from their families and distributed among Christian and U.S. government-run schools scattered across the U.S. Many Tuscarora children of the past century were required by law to attend boarding schools such as the Thomas Indian School, on the Cattaraugus Reservation in Erie County, New York, that was operated from 1855 until 1957 (Burich 2007). It was the explicit objective of these schools to interrupt the transmission of Native culture to younger generations by removing children from their families (Fitzgerald 2007), and so while children experienced a traumatic loss of culture, identity, and language, they were simultaneously exposed to physical, sexual, mental, emotional, and spiritual abuse (Barton et al. 2005). As a result of educational indoctrination that taught that Native cultures were inferior and uncivilized, boarding school students suffered long term emotional and psychological effects (Barton et al. 2005; BraveHeart and DeBruyn 1998). Native communities still cite the systemic maltreatment of children during this era for the prevalent psycho-social ills that persist in Native communities. The children who attended such institutions

were frequently traumatized for life, exhibiting symptoms that would later be analogized to the post-traumatic stress disorders suffered by prisoners of war (Brasfield 2001). The legacy of residential schooling manifests itself through the widespread impairment of social cohesion and the intergenerational transmission of language and culture, and less directly to symptoms of low-self-esteem and depression such as alcoholism, unemployment, and domestic violence in subsequent generations (Ball 2004; Simpson 2004).

Knowledge recovery is fundamentally an anticolonial project not only because it exposes the colonial process that systematically devalued and destroyed Indigenous knowledge and culture, but also because it actively works to reverse the damage (Wilson 2004b). The increasing development of revitalization movements in indigenous communities throughout the world demonstrates a paradigm shift in which earlier agendas for assimilating Indigenous peoples into the Western worldview are being overthrown, and Indigenous knowledge in different forms are recognized as complex and adaptive systems (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005). Consequently, Indigenous peoples are facing less resistance in the assertion of their traditional knowledge systems. Contributing to the revitalization of Indigenous knowledge is the popular interest in local and indigenous knowledge, overriding the past notions that indigenous knowledge was inferior and holding back indigenous communities from joining American culture. While very few academics outside of anthropology were interested in indigenous knowledge in the 1950s, now we can see contributions to research in fields as diverse as health, wildlife management, agriculture and forestry (Agrawal 1995). However, while Non-Native researchers have increasingly looked to Indigenous knowledge as a valuable resource, they have primarily focused on documenting and digitizing the knowledge held by elders with the assumption that Indigenous knowledge will inevitably disappear from Native populations (Simpson 2004). While

documenting indigenous knowledge has ostensibly been performed in order to promote the empowerment of Native communities, such projects, for the most part, have assessed indigenous knowledge only insofar as it is relevant to the canon of Western science, and overlooked the traditions, values, and worldviews that also compose knowledge in Indigenous communities (Grenier 1998; Nadasdy 1999). Such an assumption is based upon a problematic understanding that “traditional” knowledge is an aspect of past societies and is no longer generated in contemporary Native communities. As long as researchers continue to believe that Indigenous knowledge is historical and not contemporary, the disappearance of Indigenous knowledge will continue to appear inevitable, and so emphasis will remain upon the harvest of knowledge rather than on assisting Native communities to prevent this disappearance (McGregor 2004:399-400).

The strategy of decolonization is to develop initiatives within Native communities in order to promote values that are representative of the culture, the practices and ideology of Indigenous knowledge; to look at the recovery of knowledge from a Native perspective and not a colonial perspective. Indigenous knowledge is a phenomenon that is continually produced within Native communities and is not relegated only to ancient history. While the colonial narrative holds that traditional knowledge decays and disappears over time, the decolonized narrative must express how the structure, if not always the content, of Indigenous knowledge continues to be reproduced within Native communities (Cajete 2000; McGregor 2004). Anticolonial forms of knowledge recovery focus on how Indigenous knowledge is learned instead of just accounting for facts. Indigenist scholars describe Indigenous knowledge systems as epistemological frameworks that are both adaptive and adaptable, iterative processes of generating knowledge within a framework that is different from that of Western science yet equally pertinent to contemporary society (Cajete 2000). Recovery occurs within Native communities through

protection of the methods of transmission to younger generations: strengthening the oral tradition and building educational programs that provide the opportunity for youth to interact with knowledge-holders and engaging with culture-specific conceptual frameworks (Simpson 2004).

A significant aspect of the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project is the recovery of Indigenous knowledge in the form of Tuscarora history. The legacy of colonialism has led to the loss of traditions and oral histories that would have provided a firsthand Tuscarora account of this significant episode in their history. Consequently, members of the Tuscarora community are turning to both academic literature and their own knowledge and interpretations of the past to learn about the experiences of their ancestors. At the same time, applying traditional knowledge frameworks to the research process assists in developing a conscious and critical assessment of how the master narratives have shaped a biased portrait of Tuscarora identity and how the historical process of colonization systemically devalued Indigenous knowledge in the past (Wilson 2004b).

#### *Distortion and Assertion of Native Identity*

Vine Deloria, Jr. suggested that “the conflict between Indians and anthropologists in the last two decades has been, at its core, a dead struggle over the control of definitions. Who is to define what an Indian *really* is?” (Deloria 1997:215). The prerogative of colonization is to dehumanize the colonial subject. This is accomplished by determining what the colonized people are and what they have the potential to become. In the words of the critical postcolonial theorist Frantz Fanon, “it is the colonist who *fabricated* and *continues to fabricate* the colonized subject” (Fanon 1963:2, emphasis in original). Our understanding of the Tuscarora, as non-Natives and as academics, has been shaped largely by the identity politics embroiled within the historical

process of colonization. In the act of colonization, the West reconceived the Native population in fixed and essentialized identities that were then subjected to intervention, power, and control (Said 1978; Van Meijl 2008). This is the critical difference between identities which are externally imposed upon Native people and groups, and internal identities which are asserted by Native people themselves.

When Euro-Americans commoditize, fetishize, exoticize, and romanticize Native people, they are engaging in the colonial process of essentializing cultural identity, removing Native people from historical context, denying them inclusion in the broader community of U.S. culture and denying them the voice and agency to declare who they are and what they wish to become. Consequently, as Native groups have increasingly used their identity as grounds for political action and discourse, they have also suffered disproportionately amongst ethnic groups from questions of legitimacy, for a large part due to the conflation of Native people with narratives of cultural decline (Dombrowski 2002). External expectations for the appearances and actions of Native groups are problematic, especially when the most pervasive representations of Native people in popular media, such as athletic mascots or the ubiquitous image and metaphor of James Earle Frazer's "End of the Trail" statue, create a portrayal of Indigeneity that is at best naïve and at worst alarmingly racist. The youth are especially vulnerable to the defeatism and alienation imbedded within the colonial rhetoric. The symptoms of this distress are internalized in a mindset of "self-termination" that manifests through higher rates of suicide, substance abuse, violence, depression, and other deleterious responses to social inequality and the relentless attack upon identity and culture (Alfred 2005:36-7). As we discuss the history and culture of the Tuscarora people, it is important to note how our understanding of these concepts, and our understanding of Indigenous peoples in general, is imbedded in colonial ideology, as



demonstrated by the politics of representation and the employment of ‘negative master narratives’ in the discussion of Native history and culture. These are propagandas that serve to undermine the agency of native people to assert internally constituted identities in opposition to the identities that have been externally assigned (Alfred 2005; Green 1995).

When psychologist Erik Erikson’s originally articulated the identity concept, he noted that “we begin to conceptualize matters of identity at the very time in history when they become a problem” (Erikson 1950:282). The endeavor to reclaim the personhood of the colonized subject that was effaced through the fabrication of a new, colonized identity is the heart of decolonization. The Tuscarora’s current interest in their own history comes at a time when they are also struggling to reestablish other crucial tenets of their cultural identity, including restoring traditional corn varieties and recovering the Tuscarora language. When cultural identity is constructed from shared ethnic origins, especially for diasporic groups and groups that have experienced upheaval and instability, a shared sense ancestral and geographical origin as well as collective history contributes heavily to the robustness of cultural identity (Edward 1979; Ram 2004).

When one’s sense of self is intertwined with one’s sense of ancestry, it translates into a responsibility to remember and celebrate the shared traditions. Taiaiake Alfred has suggested that identity is constantly reinvented through individual understandings of lived experience and what it means to be a Native person. He declares that the definition of Native identities as something inherent to the person is a myth that needs to be shucked off. “In fighting for our future, we have been misled into thinking that ‘Indigenous,’ or ‘First Nations,’ ‘Carrier,’ ‘Cree’ or ‘Mohawk’ (even if we use Kanien’kehaka, or Innu, or Wet’suwet’en), is something that is attached to us inherently and not a description of what we actually do with our lives” (Alfred

2005:32). To address the challenges of understanding identity in the midst of so many competing definitions, Cherokee sociologist Eva Marie Garrouette proposed a new strategic approach to identity called Radical Indigenism. Her argument is that eurocentric definitions of Indigeneity imposed by outsiders do not serve the best interests of Native nations. Instead, Garrouette suggests that Native groups look inward to their own intellectual traditions and values and rebuild self-definitions from the foundations up, throwing away practices like blood quantum calculation that have been used as a tool by the state to control the definition of a Native person by calculating his or her fraction of Native ancestry (Garrouette 2003). As Alfred declares, Native people “need to rebel against what they want us to become, start remembering the qualities of our ancestors, and act on those remembrances. This is the kind of spiritual revolution that will ensure our survival” (Alfred 2005:32). Both Alfred and Garrouette argue that through self-recognition, Native people are empowered to free their minds from the internalized colonial ideology that taught them that they were sub-human, and consequently strengthen and revitalize their own communities. The unity of Indigenous communities is one of their most important strengths and is constantly under attack by colonial powers erasing Native histories (Fanon 1963:306-7). Decolonizing interpretations of the past is one way of rejecting eurocentric historical narratives and reclaiming what it means to be Native in the past, present, and future.

### *Reclaiming Negative Master Narratives*

In postcolonial studies, it is important to realize how our current understanding of Indigenous groups is shaped by historical processes. The political, economic, and social process of shaping identities into fixed and naturalized forms is called identity politics (Hill and Wilson 2004). For Indigenous peoples, identity politics has always been embroiled with colonization

because the process of colonization includes redefining “others” so that they may become subjects of control (Said 1978). Frantz Fanon writes that the manipulation of the past is yet another tool in the colonist’s arsenal to deny personhood to the colonized population. He declares that, “colonialism is not satisfied with snaring the people in its net or of draining the colonized brain of any form or substance. With a kind of perverted logic, it turns its attention to the past of the colonized people and distorts it, disfigures it, and destroys it” (Fanon 1963:149). In the United States, for example, students of Native history are taught to conceptualize the discipline in almost entirely negative terms, such as the “allotment and assimilation” era from the 1880s through the 1920s and the “relocation and termination” era from 1945 through the 1960s (Iverson 1998). This framework provides little space for the existence of contemporary Native identities that are thoroughly distanced from the popular fiction of what an Indian is supposed to be. Consequently, modern Native people are subjected to a distorted representation of their own identities, are perceived as “less Indian” than their ancient ancestors and their future appears predetermined as a route to either assimilation or extinction.

At the close of the nineteenth century, most Americans believed that Native people were at the verge of extinction (Iverson 1998). Even today, the familiar definition of Indigenous culture in the Americas is the social order that existed before European contact. It is described using documents dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup> century and demonstrated with artifacts and archaeological sites that are maintained and preserved for a non-Native audience (Friedman 1992). Schema that attempt to create a continuous narrative of the history of Indigenous groups often resort to themes of cultural decline that rely on the settler as the referent for historical change, and in so doing they transform the present into an epilogue that privileges existing power relationships (Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Weaver 2007). When Native history

is perceived through these “negative master narratives,” culture change is problematically defined as increasing degrees of acculturation and dependency (Ferris 2009:11). This kind of settler storytelling is part of a set of tacit strategies in which those who benefit directly and indirectly from colonization separate themselves from the guilt and anxiety entailed in that process. By engaging a fantasy in which “the Native (understanding that he is becoming extinct) hands over his land, his claim to the land, his very Indian-ness to the settler for safe-keeping,” non-Natives are able to alleviate both their guilt in being complicit in the oppression of Indigenous people, and their responsibility to act in a way to rectify it (Tuck and Yang 2012:14).

## **Summary**

In this chapter I have presented an analytical framework for understanding the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project as it relates to the decolonization of the Tuscarora historical narrative. Part of cultural revitalization is finding ways to adapt traditional cultural practices and beliefs to the present context so that their essential functions retain continuity even as the form of culture naturally evolves (Willow 2010). This means refusing to adhere to a strict definition of the way things *should be*, as defined by a colonial perspective of “authentic” culture, and making an effort to adapt to the way things are *going to be* by embracing a Native perspective. The more recent movement of decolonization as a method for achieving revitalization promises to efface the underlying ideologies that have contributed to creating the conditions that are in need of revitalization today. The decolonization aspect of these revitalization movements is aimed at the recovery of indigenous knowledge and the reclamation of unrepresentative and politically imbedded definitions of Native culture and identity invented by colonial society and perpetuated through negative master narratives.

Colonization is not the only story of Native life, as is demonstrated by the participants of the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project, who understand their migration not as the end of their culture or even as a defeat, but a necessary challenge in their past which brought them to their present home. The colonial assumption that is taken on by the Migration 2013 project is the historical narrative that says the Tuscarora migration was symbolic of their defeat as a people. Through the act of recreating their migration, the Tuscarora are not only rallying the community together through a common initiative, but they are also reclaiming autonomy within a historical narrative that has classically presented them as victims and as secondary characters in their own history. One of the key challenges of decolonization is to “end passivity and natural human inertia and get people to activate and engage in organization and direct action in the social, cultural, and political spheres of society” (Alfred 2005:62-63). While the ubiquity of negative master narratives makes it difficult to explain how cultural continuity and modernity can go hand-in-hand, for self-identifying cultural groups, there may be no sense of inconsistency, because the memory of history is less concerned with relating to populations of the past than it is about relating to a shared identity in the present and “the transition from today to tomorrow” (Friedman 1992:846). Instead of remaining frozen in the past, reclaiming the historical narratives empowers Native people to create a framework to build upon their historical traditions, and overcome the deleterious effects of negative master narratives and misrepresentation.

### **3) METHODS**

The initial objective for this thesis was to understand the significance of the 2013 Tuscarora migration project as well as to understand the history of the original Tuscarora migration in order to contribute materials to the completion of the 2013 project. Ultimately, my objective is to explain how Migration 2013 fits into a project of cultural revitalization for the Tuscarora community through the decolonization of the migration's historical narrative, which has been traditionally viewed through the lens of the negative master narrative.

In order to learn about how the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project originated and is currently understood in the Tuscarora community, I relied on both formal and informal ethnographic data collection methods between June 2011 and July 2012. While this thesis draws explicitly from a series of semi-structured interviews (approved by the Institutional Review Board's Office of Human Subjects) conducted during June and July of 2012, my work with the Tuscarora Environment Program (TEP) during the previous year informed both the structure of the project and my familiarity with the research participants and their work. The methods presented in this chapter were used to investigate the opinions and perceptions of the community, the history, and the migration project of the Tuscarora Nation. As an additional aspect of my objective to understand Tuscarora history, I completed my own historical analysis of primary and secondary sources. By drawing comparisons between the primary sources, the secondary sources, and the interviews with Tuscarora people, I discovered that there are many ways to interpret the historical narrative in order to construct a version that complements one's own understanding of the present.

## **Prior Relevant Experience**

My prior and continued engagement with the Tuscarora community greatly informed the present research. My first introduction to the Tuscarora Nation occurred in my senior year at Cornell University's College of Arts and Sciences. As an independent study through the history department, I completed a research study on the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, the first international environmental treaty agreed upon by the United States and Canada. This topic was requested by the director of the TEP, who was interested in why the Tuscarora, or any Native group, was not considered or included in the treaty negotiations. In 2011, I sought out an internship with the TEP in order to gain experience in an environmental organization. From June to August in the summer of 2011, I assisted the TEP with a number of diverse projects as part of my internship. This included participation in the community garden, writing a summary report of the historic properties management plan designed by the New York Power Authority in regard to an archaeological site discovered on the Niagara River, and beginning research on the route taken by the Tuscarora people in the 1700s during their migration from North Carolina.

When I began fieldwork in 2012 it was with a familiarity of the community and a number of friends who were encouraging and interested in my thesis project. Personal contacts which I had acquired prior to my field work in 2012 facilitated my entry into the field site and eased my transition into community life. As a former employee of TEP, I had already established a small degree of legitimacy as a visitor in the community and was able to build upon my experiences. My previous summer spent "hanging out" greatly assisted in the establishment of rapport with my informants, both old friends and new (Bernard 2006).

## Sampling Techniques: Purposive and Snowball Sampling

Research participants were recruited and selected through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was useful in this research because the participants of the Migration 2013 project are a small, easily identified group with a direct connection to the organization and outcome of the project. Using purposive and snowball sampling in conjunction with one another ensured that informants from all aspects of the Migration 2013 project would be able to contribute to this study.

I initiated both sampling methods with my contacts in the TEP office; firstly because these contacts were already familiar to me and secondly because at the beginning of my research I was unaware of the extent of the rest of community's involvement. Scheduling the interviews so that key informants, such as the director of the Tuscarora Environment Program and other project coordinators, were early informants provided an opportunity for them to suggest other potential informants in the community, either because of their involvement in the project or because of their knowledge of community issues. Key informants recommended to me a list of names of those who had participated in hiking trips in the past as part of the Haudenosaunee Environmental Youth Corps, some of whom had already confirmed their participation in the 2013 Migration trek, as well as those who were involved in planning the route, those who were involved in historical research, as well as well-informed members of the community with valuable insight to contribute to my interviews (see table 2-1).

|                    | Interviews secured | Total population |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Hikers             | 6                  | ~13              |
| Project planners   | 3                  | 3                |
| History group      | 6                  | ~20              |
| Other contributors | 1                  | <u>unk.</u>      |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>16</b>          | <b>~36</b>       |



Interviews were secured with 16 Tuscarora community members that represented a range of ages, genders, and levels of participation in the Migration project. Hikers were typically the youngest informants, primarily in their early 20s, with the youngest hiker being 19 and the oldest in mid-30s. The project planners included the director of the TEP and two other employees at the TEP office. The director and one other project planner also plan to complete the migration trek as hikers. The history group is comprised of adults and seniors who meet weekly to discuss readings on Tuscarora history and other materials. Three of these five informants are teachers at the Tuscarora elementary school. Since TEP began organizing the 2013 migration project, the history group has directed its efforts towards uncovering the history of the migration and related issues. Four of the five informants from the history group expressed interest in participating in part of the migration trek, but primarily view their participation in a supportive role. The other contributor who acted as an informant was a Tuscarora council member who had limited engagement with the history group and the TEP, but contributed to the project in an indirect capacity and was otherwise heavily involved in community affairs.

### **Research Methods: Observation and Semi-Structured Interviews**

Field research for this project consisted of a combination of participant observation and semi-structured interviews, conducted either in participants' homes, at the Tuscarora Environment office, or at the Tuscarora school. Observation included participation in a number of social activities, including a five-day canoe trip with the Tuscarora Environmental Youth Corps on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania, the Tuscarora Annual Picnic, and the Temperance Society Strawberry Social, among others. During June and July of 2012, I stayed as a guest in the home of a Tuscarora family. My relationship with my hosts as well as with friendships developed throughout my time working with the Tuscarora community put me in the

unsettling position of a researcher engaged in a study of her friends. Although increased involvement with the lives of informants risks a concurrent loss of objectivity, Bernard (2006) reminds us that total objectivity has always been a myth. Although I became aware of my own bias towards favoring only the positive and celebratory aspects of the community that I have been fortunate enough to investigate, if only for a short time, I hope that by acknowledging this tendency early on, I have been able to responsibly correct for it by consciously analyzing the data objectively and as straightforward as possible.

In June and July of 2012, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 16 members of the Tuscarora community who were involved directly and indirectly with the 2013 Migration project. I divided interviews into three sections that covered (1) participation in the project, (2) Tuscarora history, and (3) the Tuscarora community (see Appendix A). Before each interview, I explained to all of the informants my own background as a researcher and the nature of my project on the 2013 Tuscarora Migration. At the time of the interview, each interviewee read and signed a consent form that explained the nature and purpose of the study, the value of his or her participation, and how all of the recorded data would be analyzed and stored.

All of my interviews began with an opportunity for the informant to speak freely about his or her role in the Tuscarora community and understanding of the Tuscarora Migration project. This free form enabled me to glean from the start what issues were most important to the particular person. I then adapted the order and wording of the question to suit the flow of the conversation. This method assured that I received the required information in a manner that felt natural and non-intrusive to the informant (Bernard 2006).

## **Data Analysis**

I analyzed the interviews using a heuristic framework which emerged directly from the interviews themselves. In chapter two, I identified three areas of concern that emerged from the literature on decolonization, (1) the loss of traditional knowledge, (2) the distortion of cultural identity, and (3) negative master narratives. While analyzing the interviews, I paid particular attention to these three themes in order to determine the relevance of a decolonization framework for the Migration 2013 project. The content and results of that analysis are presented in chapter five.

My analytical process used a grounded theory approach as described in Bernard (2006). My first step was to produce transcripts of the interview recordings. Informed by the literature of decolonization and revitalization described in chapter two, I identified potential analytic categories within the text. These categories, or themes, were coded in vivo using MaxQDA software. Using an inductive coding strategy to continue identifying categories and concepts as they emerged from the interviews, I pulled together the data for each theme and established a theoretical framework by drawing connections between these concepts. The function and purpose of the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project will be considered and compared across eight analytical themes. Table 2-2 provides a description of these themes, which will be explained in depth in chapter five.

## **Secondary Data Collection**

An additional aspect of this research is the analysis of secondary data derived from the available literature on Tuscarora history. This period of time in from the mid-1700s to the early

|   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. To relate to the ancestors   | Establish connectivity of one's predecessors by understanding their struggle and life histories   |
| 2. To gain new experiences and personal challenges                      | Emphasized by informants in the Hiker subgroup, expressed as a desire for individual achievement  |
| 3. To learn and educate about Tuscarora history and culture             | Combined with a frustration that Tuscarora history is not better understood already. This was the most strongly emphasized theme across all interviews  |
| 4. To learn and educate about the environment along the migration route | Environmental change is one aspect of the project's mission statement. This objective was strongly emphasized by members of the TEP, but was not expressed by other members of the community. |
| 5. To promote community solidarity                                      | Encouraging the types of activities which are described as the essence of cultural identity. By promoting solidarity, the project promotes a strong sense of identity as well                 |
| 6. To celebrate the tricentennial of the Tuscarora migration            | The renewal of cultural and historical knowledge, as well as a focus on celebration in lieu of defeat.  |
| 7. To set an example for future generations                             | Expressions of the forward-facing nature of the project, not merely a focus on the past.  |
| 8. To demonstrate the survival of Tuscarora identity and culture        | Heavily linked to the "We are still here" concept, this objective most closely addresses the challenge of negative master narratives  |

1800s in the southeast is often overlooked by archaeologists and historians because it is part of the post-contact colonial era, which is outside the interest of most archaeologists. Historical documentation from this era is also limited and so historians shy away from this period as well. Much of my research involved collecting information on the Tuscarora path, which is a trail system that goes through New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina. However, the Tuscarora path predates the Tuscarora's migration; it was a frequently used trail between the north and the south. When it was used by the Tuscarora people leaving North Carolina, they traveled in groups, they moved at different times and at different speeds and they used different routes. They established settlements along the way, often only to pick up again and move after a few years. The records of these settlements are rare and fairly vague. This makes researching the Tuscarora challenging, but also very interesting.

My research used both primary and secondary sources on Tuscarora history. For primary documents, I began with the writings of the Tuscarora historians David Cusick, Elias Johnson, and J.N.B. Hewitt. Moving on to European accounts of the Tuscarora, I referenced the colonial records of North Carolina and Pennsylvania, as well as the documents of prominent colonial-era gentlemen such as John Lawson, Baron von Graffenreid, William Byrd, William Tryon and Conrad Weiser. The secondary sources I accessed generally drew upon these sources, varying only in the depth of their analysis. However, these sources are limited as anthropologists and historians studying Iroquoians have largely overlooked the Tuscarora, preferring instead to explore the more thorough colonial and Revolutionary War-era documentation that exists for the Mohawk, Seneca, and other Native peoples of the northeast. While many of these primary and secondary sources find their way in the analysis of chapter four, I also annotated an additional bibliography to make the entirety of my research into Tuscarora history available to the Tuscarora themselves, as well as others wishing to pursue further study. The additional bibliography, included in Appendix B, includes every archaeological report, archival and manuscript document, and published account of Tuscarora life in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century which I was able to uncover through the course of this research.

The challenge of this aspect of the research was first to create a clear and detailed history of the Tuscarora migration, which is a timely and useful avenue of research to contribute to the 2013 Migration project. The second challenge was to avoid the pitfalls of historical storytelling that I have explained in depth as negative master narratives. In chapter four, I describe the results of my historical research in a critical analysis, paying particular attention to beginnings and endings, and the assignment of agency and particular attitudes in historical narratives of the migration.

#### **4) HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

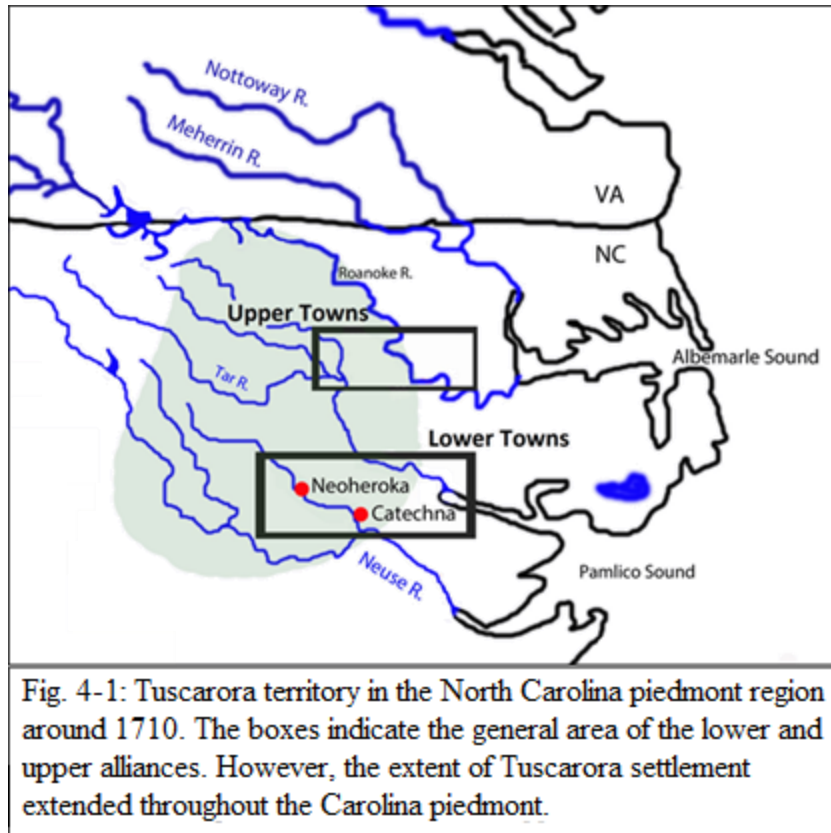
The objective of this chapter is to analyze the way that the history of the Tuscarora War and migration has been portrayed. The analysis challenges perspectives that overwrite the Tuscarora's agency in undertaking the migration to New York. The argument will show that the common understanding of the Tuscarora migration is embedded in a negative master narrative based upon Eurocentric assumptions that ultimately disservice the Tuscarora people today. First, I will articulate several of the prevailing settler myths which persist within the study of Tuscarora history, as well as indigenous history in general. Specifically, I consider the effacement of the motivations and grievances behind the Tuscarora's decision to attack North Carolina settlements, the different cultures of violence that both colonists and Natives were operating within, the depiction of the war as a decisive and inevitable English victory, and the depiction of the migration itself as desperate flight into the wilderness. My research has shown that the conflict between the Tuscarora and the Euro-Carolinians was the consequence of tensions that accumulated over a great period of time. Cultural misunderstandings of the purposes and intents of violence caused the conflict to escalate into a war embroiling multiple colonies and tribes, each operating within their own incommensurable agenda. When Tuscarora people decided to relocate to Haudenosaunee territory in the north, individual family groups weighed the costs and benefits of such a move and planned accordingly. Finally, I will describe my own experiences with the Tuscarora history group and how they have come to know and understand their own history. The history group has committed themselves to an informal research project to learn everything they can about their past, combining primary and secondary

sources with their own knowledge in order to understand history on their terms. My objective in this section is not only to explain the historical context of the Tuscarora and of the Tuscarora Migration project, but also to explain how this historical narrative is embedded in a negative master narrative and the role of decolonization in rounding out the narrative and producing a new narrative of history.

### **Background: The Tuscarora of the Seventeenth Century**

In the history of North Carolina, the portrayal of the Tuscarora frequently focuses on the 1711-1713 Tuscarora War, often to the exclusion of any other contributions the Tuscarora made to the colonial world. However, the Tuscarora people were a significant influence on the American colonies both before and after this three year confrontation. At the time of their first European contact, the Tuscarora were the foremost power in the North Carolina Coastal Plain. Their territory extended from the Roanoke River on the present boundary of Virginia-North Carolina to the southern limit of the Cape Fear River (Barnwell 1908). The western boundary abutted the ranges of various Siouian tribes along the piedmont fall line, and the heartland of their territory lay between the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers (Lawson and Lefler 1967, see Fig. 4-1).

Tuscarora ethnologist J.N.B Hewitt writes that the Tuscarora of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century were actually a league “composed of at least three tribal constituent members.” Hewitt identifies these as the Katenuaka, Akawenteaka, and Skaruren (Hewitt 1910:842). While many colonial documents treat the Tuscarora as if they were a single centralized nation, they are better described as a loose confederation of autonomous towns bound together by alliance, kinship, shared culture and trading networks (Feeley 2003). Population estimates from John Lawson, Colonel John Barnwell, VA Governor Alexander Spotswood, Colonel William Byrd, and Elias



Johnson are all in agreement that there were approximately 1,200-2,000 warriors fighting with the Tuscarora (Lawson and Lefler 1967:255; Barnwell 1908:34; Spotswood 1885:136; Byrd and Boyd 1929:290).

Like the Five Nations to the north, the Tuscarora monopolized the fur trade in Virginia and the Carolinas by acting as middlemen between the white settlers and the Siouian tribes of the interior (Byrd 1997; Paschal 1953). Over time, however, the economy of North Carolina as well as South Carolina shifted from trade goods acquired from Native people into a system that relied on the bodies of Native people for the slave trade. Even as the Tuscarora were facing challenges from the economic policies of colonial governments, they had to confront the challenges of a settler population that was rapidly reaching unmanageable levels. By 1710 settlers expanded their range along the Neuse and Trent Rivers and over 400 Swiss and Palantine colonists, led by



Baron Christoph Von Graffenreid with assistance from surveyor-general John Lawson, arrived at the site of New Bern (Todd 1920). The establishment of New Bern, together with the expansion of other settlements in the same region, presented a direct affront to Tuscarora authority in the heart of their territory. The unease between the resident Tuscarora and the new interlopers is evident in the tension expressed by settlers in the colonial records. In 1707, Robert Kingham reported of concerned settlers living around the Pamlico river that, “they expected ye Indians every day to come & cut their throat” (Paschal 1955:20). Within this context, in 1711, the Tuscarora War began with an attack upon outlying white settlements, and over the course of several years drew the attention of colonial and Native governments from New York to South Carolina.

### **Characteristics of the Negative Master Narrative**

In chapter two I argued that our understanding of history is predicated upon power relationships in the present. In societies where colonizers remain in power, the history is entwined in a master narrative within which the colonized person has little agency. The formations of historical discourse are culture specific rather than universal. A long line of thinkers, including Sartre, Levi-Strauss, and Foucault, have written about their doubts of the claims to objective historical consciousness and instead posited that the nature of historical reconstruction is fictive at its core. The objective of this narrative strategy, though often implicit rather than intended consciously, is to justify the conquest and subsequent rule of the colonial population (Bhabha 1984). Thus the history of colonized peoples is transformed into a negative master narrative, a story that portrays Native cultures in a perpetual state of decline, and by effacing the agency of Native people in the past, the negative master narrative also justifies and

perpetuates the denial of agency and sovereignty to Native people in the present and future. In this section I will begin with the more common missteps and misconceptions that I have encountered in my research of the Tuscarora.

While it is appropriate to precede the explanation of the Tuscarora migration with an account of the Tuscarora War, many historical accounts sensationalize Native violence and the brutality of warfare while overlooking the factors that precipitated the Tuscarora's aggression against North Carolina settlers, perpetuating a stereotypical image of the Tuscaroras as a "mysterious warlike people" (Johnson 1968:5). The Tuscarora War, like many other European-Native conflicts of this era, arose from economic and territorial tension and was exacerbated by a misunderstanding of appropriate rules of combat and conflict resolution. In many ways much of the misunderstanding of the Tuscarora, and the perpetuation of negative warrior stereotypes in general, comes from a poor understanding of fundamentally different "cultures of violence," ways of interpreting and coming to terms with violent acts (Jennings 2007). The early colonists based their accounts of Native people on a European's biased understanding of how battles were fought and won. Consequently, modern historical analyses reproduce many of the same pejorative views that mark the colonial records. For this reason many Indigenist scholars have argued against the objectivity of non-Native researchers of American Indian history who eschew any responsibility to learn about languages, cultures, and values of the people they are studying (Grinde 1995). Without the Native perspective, we can only reproduce the impressions of frightened and confused settlers seeing Native warriors as "savages committing brigandage, and that Native warfare was characteristically ineffective, barbaric, and uncivilized" (Dye and Keel 2012). Take, for example, F. Roy Johnson's portrayal of Tuscarora battle tactics,

The Indian's addiction to rum is said to have saved the lives of many whites. An abundance of the beverage was stocked in the homes of the traders. Some of the savages

could not resist consuming their spoils and making themselves quite drunk. Thus, it was said, the momentum of the attack was slowed down... Eventually, after two or three days, most of the Indians tired of battle. They quit the warpath, loaded themselves with plunder, and silently withdrew to their towns. (Johnson 1968:90)

Basing his analysis upon the testimony of white colonists who survived the attack, Johnson's study depicts the Tuscarora warriors as a haphazard group who easily forget their political and military strategies when rum and plunder become part of the equation. However, the Tuscarora military ideology was profoundly different than that of the white colonists and so must be evaluated from a different perspective. To this effect, there are two major explanations for the outbreak of the Tuscarora War in 1710. The first is that a growing population of white settlers began to chafe the Tuscaroras, especially through enslavement of Indian captives and land encroachment. After the North Carolina governor refused to recommend Tuscarora resettlement in Pennsylvania, the Tuscaroras retaliated with force (Lee 2004). The second theory is that the Tuscarora were operating from a position of power to assert their territoriality over settlers (Parramore 1982). Stephen Feeley (2007) concurs with Parramore's hypothesis, suggesting that the Tuscarora War was the last of a series of conflicts in which locally powerful Native groups reasserted their influence against growing numbers of interloping settlers. An appropriate account of how the Tuscarora were brought to a state of war reveals that not only were the Tuscarora justified in their grievances against the white population of North Carolina, but that they also explored other options that may have eliminated the need for violence altogether.

On September 22, 1711, Chief Hancock led Tuscarora warriors and allies from other tribes in an attack against white settlements in the Core sound and along the Neuse, Trent, and Pamlico Rivers (Spotswood 1885; NCCR I). Many settlers fled their homes and took shelter in Bath Town and New Bern as their plantations, homes, and livestock were burned to the ground. The attacks were focused on individuals and isolated farms, while larger settlements were

bypassed. Estimates of the number of settlers killed in the attack range from 100-200, although no accurate count appears to have been taken at the time. In addition, some 20-30 prisoners, primarily women and children, were taken captive (Parramore 1982; Paschal 1956:60). However, many accounts begin this story even earlier, with the capture and execution of New Bern's surveyor-general John Lawson, frequently cited as the first act of hostility in the Tuscarora War. John Lawson's death is a popular starting point for narratives concerning the Tuscarora War (Severance 1918; Parramore 1987), perhaps because of the macabre rumors surrounding the manner of his execution. F. Roy Johnson's comprehensive 1968 study of the Tuscarora, for example, devotes an entire chapter to Lawson and Graffenreid's captivity. Seven to ten days before the initial attack of what would become the Tuscarora War was carried out, Graffenreid, Lawson, two black slaves and two Indian guides from the town of New Bern, traveled past the town of Catechna as they were exploring that portion of the Neuse River. The entire group was taken captive, and while Graffenreid was ultimately released, Lawson was sentenced to death (Todd 1920). Lawson's colleague, receiver-general Christopher Gale, would later report to the South Carolina Legislature that Lawson had been stuck "full of splinters of torchwood, like hogs' bristles, and so set...gradually on fire" (NCCR I:825-829). Gale's story mirrors a manner of execution described by Lawson himself in *History of North Carolina* (Harriss 1937). Although fellow-captive Graffenreid did not actually witness Lawson's execution, his version of events fails to corroborate Gale's story: "To be sure I had heard before from several savages that the threat had been made that he [Lawson] was to have his throat cut with a razor which was found in his sack. The smaller negro, who was left alive, also testified to this; but some say he was hanged; others that he was burned. The savages keep it very secret how he was killed" (Todd 1920:270). A likely scenario would be that Gale drew upon Lawson's earlier writing to

sensationalize his death and appeal to the South Carolina legislators' sense of horror and outrage in order to successfully request reinforcements to be sent to North Carolina. Nevertheless, Gale's story continues to be confused today as fact rather than theory, being reproduced far more often than Graffenreid's less macabre, vaguer account (Hudson 1992; NCMH 2005). On the other hand, beginning the narrative with Lawson's execution undermines all of the legitimate concerns the Tuscaroras held against the settlers and particularly the administrators of New Bern. Furthermore, suggesting that Lawson's execution somehow incited the Tuscaroras to warfare paints a portrait of savages motivated by bloodlust rather than thoughtful strategists who deliberated multiple options before resorting to aggression. This perspective portrays the Tuscarora as the unequivocal "bad guys" in the story of the Tuscarora War and vindicates their marginalization at later points in the narrative.

Prominent variations on the history of the Tuscarora War depict the conflict as if victory was assured for the colonists, as if a Native victory was never even a possibility. For example, there is Boyce's concise description of the combat,

In January 1712, John Barnwell led an army of Indians and colonists from South Carolina on a rampage through the region, plundering and burning both Lower and Upper Tuscarora villages. A year later James Moore followed in his path. Together the two expeditions killed or enslaved over one thousand Tuscaroras, and the rest fled to isolated piedmont areas of North Carolina and Virginia. (Boyce 2003:154)

Similarly, without even mentioning the cause of the war, Landy (1958:264) states, "Between 1711 and 1713 the fierce Tuscarora War decimated the tribes and emasculated their economic and political power in relation to Whites as well as other Indian tribes." Another account by Frederick Houghton (1909:290) summarizes, "After several campaigns [*sic*], the main body of the Tuscarora warriors fortified themselves in their principal town, No-ho-ro-co. The militia under James Moore surrounded the town, breached the palisades and carried the fort by assault."

Although these are by no means examples of serious analysis into the causes and constituent

battles of the Tuscarora War, these are the types of summaries that are inserted into larger narratives of Tuscarora history and the history of the eastern United States. Apart from their initial surprise attack, the Tuscarora are almost always referred to as the objects of European actions, and rarely as actors in their own right. In this depiction, a colonial victory appears to be all but certain from the outset of the narrative, and occurs quite rapidly and decisively. At which point, the Tuscarora have no recourse but to flee North Carolina, “scattered and defeated” (Landy 1958:264). Douglas Boyce also makes a point of expressing the pathetic character of the Tuscarora migrants, citing a Moravian record from 1752 describing the nation as “scattered as the wind scatters the smoke” (*NYHS* 1812, cited in Boyce 2003). In that vein, the Tuscarora are rarely mentioned as a subject of importance after 1713, despite the fact that portions of the Tuscarora population remained in North Carolina until 1804, and that the alliances and movements of the Tuscarora would continue to be a cause of great concern in the correspondences of Colonial governors for years following the end of the war (Feeley 2007). These simplified versions of Tuscarora history reiterate common misconceptions, which although refuted in more thorough works, are nevertheless the most pervasive depictions of Native history: the savage warrior is ultimately defeated by the superior culture of white settlers who become the inheritors of the continent.

That the research on Tuscarora people falls by the wayside after 1713 is no oversight. It is a symptom of the belief that Native peoples are somehow less authentic in the post-colonial era, vanished via acculturation. For example, In 1958, David Landy was able to comprehend only two possible realities for Indigenous cultures, either a slow erosion of traditional culture through intermarriage and loss of territorial sovereignty, or else an intentional relinquishment of identity, “by replacing tribalism with more complete integration and assimilation” (Landy

1958:272). In his own conclusion, Landy remains perplexed with Tuscarora culture's "synthesis of old and new forms, its continuity in time, and its valuation in part of character and morality" (Landy 1958:278), because they do not adhere to his diametric understanding of Native American culture as either assimilative or very traditionally nativistic. The challenge to Landy's analysis, and to others like it, is the idea of an adaptive Native culture that is able to retain key characteristics while modifying others. A narrative of indigenous culture which erases the agency and adaptability of Native peoples is the foundation of this erroneous assumption.

### **Reinterpreting the Narrative**

To counter the easy assumptions of the negative master narrative, my research into Tuscarora history looked for accounts that problematized arguments of historical inevitability and focused on Tuscarora decision-making and agency through the course of the war in North Carolina and the migration. A common theme in the master narrative is the characterization of the Tuscarora, as well as other Native groups, as always *reacting* to the actions of white settlers. However, colonists were frequently adjusting their own agendas and strategies in response to the actions of Native groups. A closer look at the historical episode reveals that rather than a simple dichotomy between Natives and Europeans, colonizers and colonized people, the Tuscarora War was complicated with the interconnected agendas and prerogatives of many agents. The Tuscarora's movement north sparked a cascade of reactions from every colonial government between South Carolina and New York. As the colonies of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York were independent polities, Native groups were also driven by competing loyalties and enmities. This analysis will show that the Tuscarora have always been an adaptive, strategic, and forward-facing people.

While many accounts begin the story of the Tuscarora War with Lawson's death and compound the negative image of the Native as bloodthirsty savage by depicting their war tactics as uncoordinated and aimless, a more accurate depiction of the Tuscarora War reflects that the attack on North Carolina settlements was not a random outbreak of violence, but the consequence of a long-simmering tension that finally reached its boiling point. At the time of the attacks, even Baron von Graffenreid understood that the Tuscarora's grievances against the colonists were not unjustified.

What caused the Indian war was firstly, the slanders and instigations of certain plotters against Governor Hyde, and secondly, against me, in that they talked the Indians into believing that I had come to take their land, and that then the Indians would have to go back towards the mountains... Thirdly, it was the great carelessness of the colony. Fourthly, the harsh treatment of certain surly and rough English inhabitants who deceived them in trade, would not let them hunt about their plantations, and under this excuse took away from them their arms, munitions, pelts or hides, yes, even beat an Indian to death. This alarmed them very much and with reason. (Todd 1920:234)

While the recent settling of New Bern in 1710 was a source of considerable concern, the root of the problem began much earlier as English settlers expanded their territory by seizing the land of Native groups on the coastal plain. As English settlers moved closer to Tuscarora Towns, incidences of violence and the capture of Tuscarora individuals, especially children, for enslavement grew more frequent. With the accelerated English movement in the area of New Bern, the Tuscarora knew that they were next in line to be strong-armed out of their land and resources (Latham and Sanford 2011). They had already explored other options. In 1710, three Tuscarora chiefs, Iwaagenst, Terrutawanaren, and Teonottein, met with the Susquehannocks in Conestoga, PA, along with representatives from the Pennsylvania colonial government in order to ask for permission to settle in that colony (Hanna 1972). Through the presentation of eight wampum belts, the Tuscarora chiefs expressed their hopes for relocation in Pennsylvania.

They signified to us by a Belt of Wampum, which was sent from their old Women, that those Implored their friendship of the Christians & Indians of this Govmt., that without



danger or trouble they might fetch wood & Water. The second Belt was sent from their children born, & those yet in the womb, Requesting that Room to sport & Play without danger of Slavery, might be allowed them. The third Belt was sent from their young men fitt to Hunt, that privilege to leave their Towns, & seek Provision for their aged, might be granted to them without fear of Death or Slavery. The fourth was sent from the men of age, Requesting that the Wood, by a happy peace, might be as safe for them as their forts. The sixth was sent from their Kings & Chiefs, Desiring a lasting peace with the Christians and Indians of this Govmt., that thereby they might be secured against those fearful apprehensions they have these several years felt. The seventh was sent in order to intreat a Cessation from murdering & taking them, that by the allowance thereof, they may not be affraid of a mouse, or any other thing that Ruffles the Leaves. The Eight was sent to declare, that as being hitherto Strangers to this Place, they now Came as People blind, no path nor Communicacon being betwixt us & them; but now they hope we will take them by the hand & lead them, & then they will lift up their heads in the woods without danger or fear. (PACR II:533-534).

In the records of that meeting, the Tuscarora representatives make it clear that their homes in North Carolina are simply no longer safe. They stressed that the threat of violence and enslavement creates an intolerable environment. In the meeting they also allude to their desire to avoid conflict with the Carolina settlers, indicating that through relocation, the Tuscaroras were hoping to avoid exactly the kind of violence that would break out the following year. Although the meeting at Conestoga strengthened the alliance between the Tuscarora and the Five Nations, the Pennsylvania government thwarted the plan for relocation by insisting upon a letter of good conduct from the North Carolina governor. As that documentation was not forthcoming, the Tuscaroras were forced to remain in North Carolina even as tensions with the white settlers were reaching intolerable levels. In 1711, a yellow fever outbreak amongst white colonists and existing religious and political dissention within the colony made North Carolina's military prospects particularly weak (Latham and Sanford 2011). The initial attack was neither unplanned nor uncoordinated. Lawson's account of Tuscarora culture provides a description of the amount of deliberation that typically went into military strategy,

They are very politic in waging and carrying on their War: first, by advising with all the ancient Men of Conduct and Reason, that belong to their Nation; such as superannuated War Captains, and those that have been Counsellors for many years, and whose Advice

has commonly succeeded very well. They have likewise their Field Counsellors, who are accustomed to Ambuscades and Surprises, which Methods are commonly used by the Savages, for I scarce heard of a Field-Battle amongst them. (NCCR I:873-874)

Graffenreid, in turn, reveals that the Tuscarora were already preparing their battle plans as they encountered his and Lawson's party, "The Indians kept their design very secret, and they were even then about to take counsel in an appointed place at the time that I happened to travel up the river (Todd 1920:234). The time was ripe for an assault that would hopefully communicate to the colonists that the Tuscarora were not to be discounted or underestimated.

Instead of succumbing to arguments of historical inevitability, the Tuscarora War can also be described as a protracted push and pull between the Tuscarora and North Carolina and their allies. However, on the whole, North Carolina's role in the Tuscarora War was minimal. Weakened by fissions both political and religious, the North Carolina government was forced to appeal neighbors to the north and south for assistance (Feeley 2007). The great majority of the English military force came from South Carolina, which came to North Carolina's aid after impassioned pleas from receiver-general Christopher Gale. South Carolina's colonial militia, in turn, was composed in large part by several hundred Native warriors from various tribes, but primarily Yamassee and Cherokee. The South Carolina Indians were primarily motivated by the potential of capturing slaves for sale to the colonial government, and had little interest in colonial politics (Feeley 2007). Without aid from South Carolina's militia and Native allies, Tuscarora authority in the piedmont region would have remained unchallenged for quite some time.

The Tuscarora population of North Carolina was not of one mind in the course of the war. Their strategies reflected the different stressors that existed for the upper and lower Tuscarora. While culturally and linguistically interconnected, the Tuscarora were not a self-identifying single entity at this time. Instead, each town operated as a political unit which, although sharing interests with other Tuscarora towns, was not empowered to act on any other

town's behalf. Through the course of the Tuscarora War, the chiefs would never meet together nor present a unified front against the European settlers because the Tuscarora towns were responding to different stressors and priorities (Sider 2003). While the southern towns were experiencing much worse pressure from the expansion of colonial settlement emanating from New Bern, the upper towns stood to lose their good relationships with Virginia traders if they rallied to the cause of their southern allies (Boyce 2003). The southern Tuscarora responded to the European settlers with force, joining with the Native villages of Core, Neusiok, Woccon, Pamlico, Bear River, and Machapunga. However, the northern Tuscarora maintained a neutral stance with their allies from the Shakori, Chichomini, Meherrin, and Nottoway. Often represented in the colonial records by Chief Tom Blount, the northern groups would neither condone nor decry their fellow Tuscaroras to the south (Sider 2003).

The first military expedition against the Tuscarora, led by Colonel John Barnwell, did not arrive in the Contentnea Creek region until the spring of 1712 (Parramore 1987). From the Tuscarora point of view the conflict so far had conformed to their traditional view of warfare, back and forth raiding designed to surprise and cut off a group of victims (Lee 2004). The Tuscarora may have expected a retaliatory attack in the same vein as their own preliminary strike, and then a subsequent treaty that would redefine their relationship with the white colonists and broaden the buffer area between European settlements and Tuscarora territory. This had been the case in 1665 when the Tuscarora began and quickly resolved a conflict against Albemarle (Parramore 1982). Tuscarora historian Elias Johnson points out that the Tuscarora population intended to stymie the expansion of English settlement, but had no intention of completely driving out the colonists.

The Tuscaroras never had the inclination of cutting off the inhabitation of the pale faces. Nevertheless, they did not always remain idle or unconcerned spectators of the feuds and

dissensions that so long prevailed among the white people, toward the red men. The successive and regular encroachments, on their hunting grounds and plantations, which the increase of the European population occasioned, had not always been submitted to without murmur. (Johnson 2006: 29)

However, the English/German colonists were unfamiliar with the Native style of warfare. English warfare against Native people in the colonies operated under a different set of goals, to conquer and obliterate (Lee 2004). The Tuscarora leaders quickly ascertained that Barnwell's military tactics were different from their own, and that Barnwell meant to destroy whatever homes, towns, and people he encountered in an effort to secure Tuscarora subjugation (Lee 2004). To protect their population, the Tuscarora constructed palisaded fortifications in all of their towns, while many of the elders, women, and children hid from Barnwell's forces in the back country of Virginia. The main body of warriors concentrated at Hancock's Fort near Catechna, also called King Hancock's Town (Lee 2004). At Hancock's Fort, the Tuscarora managed a successful siege that ultimately led to a perceived victory on both sides (Parramore 1987). Although Barnwell negotiated the terms of the treaty, including a ceremonial entrance into Fort Hancock to represent taking the grounds, the Tuscarora felt their own victory in terms of their ability to stand their ground and resist an English attack and to secure the new terms of peace they had desired from the outset of the conflict (Lee 2004). However, Barnwell's peace treaty was short-lived. Barnwell quickly broke the terms of his treaty by capturing several Core Indians and taking them as slaves back to South Carolina (Todd 1920; Spotswood, I, 173; Co. Rec. NC I:900). In retaliation, further attacks were instigated against the settlement in the Neuse and Pamlico region.

At this point, the military resources of North Carolina were all but spent (Todd 1920:251). Unable to respond to the Tuscarora threat and unwilling to address the factors provoking the Tuscarora population, violent encounters between the Tuscarora and the white

settler population waged on for another year with little resolution. The North Carolina colony was unsatisfied with the terms of the agreement Barnwell had made, and so they again requested military aid from South Carolina. In spring 1713, Colonel James Moore arrived with a joint English-Indian force and attacked Fort Neoheroke. Like the Barnwell expedition, Moore besieged the Tuscarora's palisaded stronghold near the town of Neoheroke. However, while Barnwell's siege was given up due to lack of supplies, Moore's forces were able to stand their ground and, using a European-style of siege warfare involving approach trenches, bombardment, and entrenched artillery batteries, they were ultimately able to overcome the fort (Lee 2004). Nevertheless, even after Fort Neoheroke fell, fighting continued to drag on for several more years and groups of Tuscaroras and local allies resisted colonial control. The colonial government would probably have continued to seek retribution against the Tuscarora for much longer but for persistent rumors that Iroquois warriors from the north were traveling to the Tuscarora's aid. Thus encouraged, the colonial administrators began peace negotiations almost immediately (Feeley 2007). Many Tuscaroras at this time joined together under the leadership of the northern Tuscarora chief Tom Blount, who negotiated a peace treaty with North Carolina that acknowledged himself as the central leader of all the Tuscarora. Around this time groups of Tuscarora people made the decision to begin moving north.

Native American history has been marked by relocation prior to and after colonization. Some of these relocation events have been forcibly coerced, others simply predicated by colonial violence, as in the Tuscarora case, but in every case the decision to move has been the consequence of deciding what is best for the group. Perhaps the most significantly overlooked aspect of the Tuscarora migration is that the Tuscarora attempted to relocate to Pennsylvania before the war even started. J.N.B. Hewitt wrote that the 1710 meeting at Conestoga reflected the

“statement of a tribe at bay, that in view of the large numbers of their people who were being kidnapped to be sold into slavery or who were being killed while seeking to defend their offspring and their friends and kindred they desired to remove to a more just and friendly government than that whence they came” (1910:844). However, the Tuscarora were not merely pushed out of North Carolina by expanding white settlement. As with other Native groups of this era, movement was also driven by incentives which *pulled* groups of people to more desirable territories. These “pull factors” included better trading opportunities for groups who relocated closer to an English settlement, as well as the opportunity to enter recently vacated territories in desirable environmental areas, especially in the Carolina piedmont and the coastal plain. As the Siouian- and Iroquoian-speaking peoples of the Carolinas fissioned and coalesced through the early contact period and the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we also see that many groups are following the “pull of cultural similarities” and coming together with other groups speaking similar languages (Smith 2002). The Tuscarora were most definitely drawn north by a shared ancestral bond with the Haudenosaunee. Oral tradition, archaeological investigation, and linguistic analyses all confirm that the Tuscarora and the Iroquois share ancestry (Byrd 1997; Johnson 2006; Rudes and Crouse 1987; Snow 1995). As one Iroquois speaker explained when migrants arrived after the Tuscarora War, “they were of us and went from us long ago and are now returned” (Hewitt 1910:845).

In addition to sheltering the relocated Tuscaroras, the Five Nations of the Haudenosaunee confederacy were benefitting from the addition to their population. By the end of the 1600s, warfare and disease had depleted the population of Western Pennsylvania and created a power vacuum at the southern threshold of Five Nations territory. Five Nations leaders were actively encouraging the settlement of refugee or otherwise displaced and remnant peoples along existing

trade routes. These settlements included relocated people from all across the east coast and great lakes area (Jennings 2003; Wallace 1970). Part of this initiative was the intentional establishment of Native communities along key travel and trade routes throughout Pennsylvania. Some of these towns included: Conestoga, Conoy Town, Paxtang, Shamokin, Wyoming, Wyalusing, Sheshequin, Tioga, and Great Bend. This practice is referred to as “strategic hospitality” because it combined the prerogative of the Great Law of Peace to offer shelter to all people, but it was also a tactical decision that created a southern barrier of allied settlements (Wallace 1970). By 1714 the Five Nations considered the Tuscaroras to be under their protection, although their role as guests, allies, or kin would remain ambiguous until 1722. Stephen Feeley argues that during the first years of the migration the Five Nations most likely assumed that in calling the Tuscarora to join them in the North they were merely repeating a successful practice that had also been used with the Hurons, Neutrals, Susquehannocks, and other groups of Native people who had joined the Iroquois and gradually and quietly diffused into greater Iroquois society. However, unlike the captives and refugees from past Iroquois wars, the Tuscarora represented a Nation that had never been defeated by the Iroquois. The 1,500 to 2,000 migrants moving north was a population comparable to the Oneidas or Mohawks, and they tended to cluster in their own communities and maintain cultural traditions and a distinct identity from the other Iroquoian groups (Feeley 2007). The Tuscarora’s strength, both in numbers and in cultural distinctiveness, led to their eventual acknowledgement as the sixth member of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.

Tom Blount’s treaty with North Carolina officially ended hostilities, and Tuscarora territory was limited to an area on the Roanoke River called the Indian Woods reservation. In some ways the Tuscarora followed the model of a chain migration, a term that describes the way that migrants are pulled to certain locations where preceding migrants have already gathered

(Feeley 2007). The first parties to lead the migration would have been those most dissatisfied with the colonial government, but many others left due to their unease at Blount's centralized authority, preferring to make a new start in Iroquoia rather than adapting to the new political dynamics in North Carolina (Feeley 2007). They had the knowledge of which routes to take, diplomatic agreements with the colonies (and later states) that they passed through, and most importantly homes, friends, and kin to mark the end of their journey. The negative master narratives discussed earlier focused on push factors driving the Tuscarora out of North Carolina: war, disruption, encroachment. However, the fact that a secondary set of migrations occurred the mid-century reflects the strength of pull factors that made New York a more desirable home than North Carolina.

Figure 4-2 shows the general extent of the Tuscarora Migration. Although no single route was taken by all of the groups of Tuscarora people who resettled in the North, the most heavily used routes taken by Native people at this time followed major river valleys. At multiple points in time, Tuscarora people settled en route, built homes and planted orchards, only to pick and move on after a few years. The trekkers of Migration 2013 will begin their journey northwards from the site of Fort Neoheroka, in Snow Hill, North Carolina. However, most 18<sup>th</sup> century Tuscaroras would have started from Indian Woods, hoping to escape the confines of the reservation and gain greater control over their lives by moving north. In moving they also helped the groups who were already settled in the north, increasing their population and contributing to the maintenance of language, customs, and distinct cultural identity.



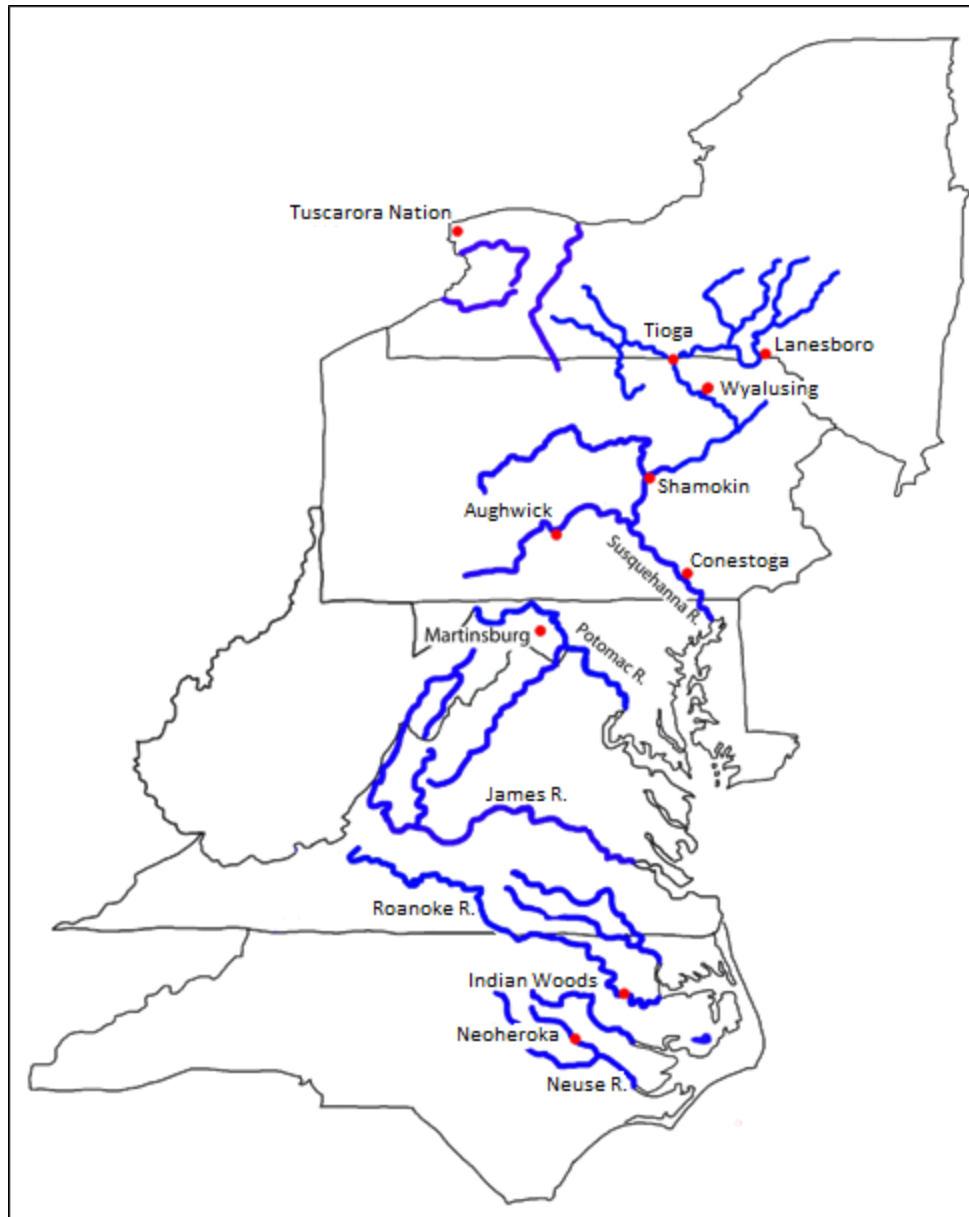


Fig. 4-2: The extent of the Tuscarora migration route. The most heavily used paths followed the major river valleys of the Roanoke, Shenandoah, Potomac, and Susquehanna. The labeled towns are sites of known occupation.

### The History Group

During my stay with the Tuscarora I learned that for the past several years a group of people had been gathering to discuss, learn, and share about Tuscarora history, and study the literature of Tuscarora history. Some of these works included David Cusick's *Sketches of the*

*Ancient History of the Six Nations* (c. 1827 [2006]); John Lawson's *New Voyage to Carolina* (1709 [1967]); Elias Johnson's *Legends, Traditions, and Laws of the Iroquois* (1881 [2006]); Clinton Rickard's *Fighting Tuscarora* (1973) (Wallace 2012). The objective of this research, so I was told, was to "sort through [the historical record] and reconcile [it] with our own understanding of who we are" (inf. #12).

When I arrived at Tuscarora in June 2012, the history group had already begun applying its energy to the Migration 2013 project, refocusing their studies on the Tuscarora War, the migration route, and associated issues. For example, a meeting that I attended discussed the design of a monument at the Neoheroka archaeological site, how the group felt about the artist's design and what they wanted to be represented at the site. At other times, the diverse sets of personal knowledge within the group were able to re-interpret and clarify documentary knowledge. For example, one of the group members explained their reading of John Lawson's account of the Tuscarora. At one point Lawson describes a funerary ceremony. However, the informant recognized Lawson's description as a ritual called "the giveaway game."

It's one of the games they play when there's a person laid out and they'll bring their most prized possession and...what they're doing is trying to give it to someone else. [Lawson] says, I can't believe that the people just give it away. To him, it was thinking that they had no thinking of monetary value, but it's not that at all...he didn't know what he was describing. He didn't know what he was seeing, but we as Indian know the ceremonies. We know what he was describing. (inf. #6)

The decolonization of history occurs in local groups, independent from Western academic methodologies and government systems that do not share an indigenous agenda (Simpson 2004). The history group's objective is not only to uncover Tuscarora history and present it in an accessible way to the community, but also to reinterpret what has previously been the exclusive purview of outsiders. Without stating it explicitly, the history group engages in the decolonizing process in which "received history is tampered with, rewritten, and realigned from the point of

view of the victims of its destructive progress” (Ashcroft 2002:33). In multiple interviews, respondents shared a distrust of received history from non-Native researchers, in regard to Tuscarora history as well as other well-known historical episodes such as Custer’s last stand or the achievements of Christopher Columbus. Many pointed out that it would be better to get a Tuscarora’s perspective of the past than to take every book at face value.

## **Summary**

In this chapter I described a few of the ways a single series of events can be skewed in order to tell very different stories about the past. In the negative master narrative, accounts that are constructed by members of settler culture serve to promote the historical ideology of settler culture, and not ideologies of indigenous cultures. The stakes of maintaining these narratives are high, threatening the social identity of the nation itself. Donald A. Grinde, Jr. argues,

To admit to native power and influence three hundred years ago would mean that the historical narrative and consequent [United States] social identity would have to explain how Indians lost their power (genocide and ethnocide); this process of explanation allegedly lowers the self-esteem of the dominant group in power and attacks the historical ideological invention that brings the nation together. (Grinde 1995:203)

While the maintenance of the mythology of the Indigenous other as pure and unchanging, “always surviving, always dying” (Clifford 1988:15), is a critical aspect of U.S. national identity today, to attack the “historical ideological invention” and undermine that mythology is an explicit purpose of decolonization.

As I expressed in chapter two, decolonization undermines the myths of colonialism and uses Native ideological frameworks to promote the revitalization of cultural identities and communities. The history group is an informal gathering of Tuscarora community members who want to reclaim knowledge of their people’s history. While the group explores all of the available literature, they also share their own knowledge as they construct interpretations of the past that

reflect their values and their contemporary social identity. Their contributions to the Tuscarora Migration project will culminate in a powerful visual juxtaposition of the adaptiveness and the continuity of Tuscarora culture.

## **5) DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS**

When I asked interview participants about the perceived goals of Migration 2013, I received a variety of answers. Discussions about Migration 2013 inevitably touched upon issues of education, social cohesion and dissention, but people also wanted to talk about their families and their friends and their experiences, truly reflecting the sentiment expressed by one of my informants, “it's all about the migration project that way. It represents - it's everything” (inf. #7). The variety of opinions expressed about Migration 2013 is distilled into eight themes that reflect the diversity of project objectives understood in the community. These are;

- 1) To learn and educate about Tuscarora history and culture
- 2) To relate to the ancestors
- 3) To gain new experiences and personal challenges
- 4) To promote community solidarity
- 5) To celebrate the tricentennial of the Tuscarora migration
- 6) To set an example for future generations
- 7) To demonstrate the survival of Tuscarora identity and culture
- 8) To learn and educate about the environment along the migration route

All of the informants touched upon multiple themes in their interviews, although no single person explicitly expressed all eight. Of these responses, the most common themes related to the development of a greater understanding of Tuscarora history, repeating the experiences of Tuscarora ancestors, and demonstrating the survival of the Tuscarora people and the persistence of Tuscarora identity in spite of overwhelming odds. It is clear from my discussion of the themes

that there is considerable interrelatedness between all of these concepts. I hope that this reflects the holistic nature of the 2013 Migration project itself. I break down these objectives, how they were described and the greater issues they touch upon, one at a time in the first section of this chapter. In the second section, I divide the themes into four groups based on their relatedness to the issues of decolonization raised in the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. These groups are 1) The loss and recovery of traditional knowledge, 2) The distortion of identity and the assertion of identity, 3) Reclaiming negative master narratives, and 4) Looking to the future. The objective of this organization is to outline the broad objectives of the project as imagined by participants and community members and to examine how these objectives fall in line with the broader projects of decolonization and revitalization.

### **Perceived Goals of the Migration 2013 Project**

#### *1) To Learn and Educate about Tuscarora History and Culture*

By far, the most common subject of discussion when I asked my informants about the purpose of Migration 2013 was the desire that each respondent would learn more about his or her own history, that the community as a whole would learn more, as well as educating non-Native people unaware of the Tuscarora culture.

The history of the Tuscarora is, in general, poorly understood. This is largely due to the scarce availability of information on Tuscarora history, an issue that is discussed in chapter four, but it is also due to a broader trend of the U.S. history curriculum that rarely considers the roles of Native groups in the narrative of American history. In the course of my interviews, nearly every respondent expressed a desire to learn more about their language, culture, and history, but many were unsure of where to look or how to begin. A few respondents suggested that the lack

of general knowledge about Tuscarora history beyond a few generations and general facts was a community-wide problem. Every respondent I asked told me that they learned about history primarily from their elders, their parents and grandparents. However, the participants also frequently commented that these were subjects rarely discussed. When I asked one young woman's perspective on learning about the migration of her ancestors, she casually reminded me, "It's not something that comes up at breakfast, you know" (inf. #4). Another individual offered, "Our history in the Carolinas and the migration...and obviously even before North Carolina...We never really talked about that as a family or as a community growing up. I think because it's fairly fragmented. I don't think people really have kept a lot of that history alive, or passed it on" (inf. #12). Older respondents offered greater insight into how information becomes lost between generations, and were more consciously aware of the repercussions of the penal-style education system of Indian residential schools. Two interview respondents reported that as children they had been sent out of the room whenever elders began speaking in the Tuscarora language. Likewise, they were not encouraged to learn about their history. They attributed this to their grandparent's boarding-school education. One interviewee explained how certain negative behaviors learned in boarding-school become reproduced in subsequent generations,

Grandma went 1904 to 1919. She went in the old times when it was still under the penal system. They educated them like they did prisoners. ...Like I said, [our mother] never hugged or kissed us. She always checked us for head lice. Like she did whatever happened to her as a child [to] my sister and I. My mother got it worse...I imagine my mother never got hugged or kissed by her mother, either. They didn't do that to them [at school]. They treated them like little soldiers. My grandmother never knew her brothers or sisters. She had nine of them, but they were all housed in separate buildings. So grandma never got to be family to her sisters, because they were separated constantly. Maybe they did it on purpose. I don't know. I'm sure they did. (inf. #16)

Another respondent became tearful when she recalled her grandmother's reticence to talk about the past. When I asked her about the purpose of Migration 2013, she told me,

It's a piece of us. It's like your ancestry. I don't know if you want to call it your culture or something like that. I don't want to say it was missing. Maybe it was missing, because nobody ever talked about it...It was just something that wasn't really discussed a lot, and I don't know if it was because it was that horrible of a time so that you just didn't want to talk about it. The whole thing was just kind of never ever mentioned. I hate when I get like this. I get too sentimental. But it's just, you know, I used to talk to my grandma and never would they ever talk about any of this stuff. So I guess a part of it is just wondering. It's like a mystery, I guess. You want to know what happened, what was the cause? I don't know. (inf. #2)

However, the absence of a public conversation about history does not mean that the Tuscarora lack cohesion or traditions; "We'll get together and have our socials," I was told, "we'll stay together as a community, but history is not exactly a popular subject which is taught, unless it's talked about in school. It should be talked about more, I think" (inf. #15). Others concurred that the public conversation about Tuscarora history had been fairly uncommon in their experience, and older respondents shared the opinion that the Migration 2013 project had stimulated a largely unprecedented discussion of Tuscarora history. A significant aspect of the project is a historical reading group that has been growing for the past five years. The history group discusses Tuscarora oral tradition, as well as primary documents such as the writings of eighteenth century naturalists like John Lawson, as well as secondary documents such as those I discussed in chapter four.

Younger respondents also manifested burgeoning interest in historical knowledge. Respondents who had attended the Tuscarora elementary school pointed out their history, culture, and language classes as one of their key sources for learning about their history and culture. These courses had not been available resources to older informants, as they have only been established relatively recently. Not every child attends the Tuscarora school, however. Participants who attended grade school off the reservation expressed a degree of regret at knowing less about language, culture, and history than their friends and family members who attended the Tuscarora school. One interview subject was a teacher at the Tuscarora school who



told me that when she started working there were only two Native teachers at the reservation school, and that she was the only teacher from the Tuscarora community. Since then, I learned, the number of Native educators has increased, and a greater effort has been to incorporate Tuscarora and Indigenous history, culture, and worldviews into the standard New York State curriculum at Tuscarora school (inf. #7). The expectation for Migration 2013 is to build upon these trends and continue to promote community-wide interest in learning and educating about Tuscarora history and culture.

## *2) To Relate to the Ancestors*

Ten out of sixteen informants discussed the significance of Tuscarora ancestors during their interviews, despite the fact that there were no questions prompting this subject. The significance of this objective was so important that individuals broached the subject without prompting. For the individuals who were planning on retracing the migration route, there was a shared expectation that the Migration 2013 project would help them personally relate to the tribulations experienced by the Tuscaroras who traveled out of their territory in North Carolina after 1713. Achieving a stronger relationship with Tuscarora ancestors was articulated as a responsibility to maintain their memory, the memory of the migration, and the memory of the values that the ancestors represent. Most informants thought it worth remarking that while the migration project will allow them to gain insight into the struggle of their ancestors, the present-day efforts will still pale in comparison to the achievement of the original Tuscarora migrants.

I find it all very interesting to get in touch with my ancestors and all that, you know, walk the same trails. I think next year it's going to really put it in perspective...I mean, we're going to be just a few of us at a healthy young age traveling with everything on our back, while they had to defend for themselves. They had to get their food every day. They had to take care of elders. I really can't see elders on the trail. I mean, there's a lot of rough terrain out there, but [they were] strong people. So this is only giving me a small peek

into how strong they actually were. It will be a nice comparison. If I could I'd go back to...see them compared to us now. You know what I mean? Even though we can be prepared and we can have our technology and all that stuff today...I honestly think that, as hard as we try, they will always be the more prepared ones. (inf. #15)

This type of reflection shows a desire to relate personally to the experiences of Tuscarora ancestors. The idea of “going back” was a recurrent theme expressed in the interviews, that is, multiple informants made the point that the only way to be sure of what happened in the past was being there to see it. Several informants went on to express frustration at the limitations for learning about this historical period from the available literature. Another young hiker commented that “You can only see so much in the books that they have to offer. You know, if I could time travel, I would. If it were possible, it would be cool even just to sit and watch” (inf. #10).

In a broader sense the theme of relating to the ancestors was also connected to the concept of promoting community identity, a concept which will be discussed more thoroughly in later sections. Identifying with a shared sense of origin and history encourages participation in cultural events and interest in issues affecting the entire group, strengthening the solidarity of the community overall. The interview participants intuitively understood this as well. Speaking of her past experiences with the Haudenosaunee Environmental Youth Corps (HEYC) backpacking trips, as well as her expectations for the 2013 Migration, one young woman commented, “It just makes me feel closer to the people that I never knew, that *are* me, you know?” She went on to add, “I just think that the more you know, the better off you are and the better you can live the way that your ancestors wanted you to live, with those values” (inf. #4). Another informant pointed a shared responsibility towards resisting the “daily life grind...that just gets in the way of everyone's culture.” He pointed out that “all that work and all that strife and trouble our ancestors

did three hundred years ago might all be for nothing...No one's here driving us at gunpoint anymore. It's our own doing if we let it fade away" (inf. #14).

For some community members, the celebration of the Tuscarora people who died at Fort Neoheroka in 1713 and those who died on the northward journey is long overdue, and the Migration Project represents the manifestation of deeply held tenets of Haudenosaunee philosophy. In one interview, an informant explained to me that the necessity of honoring the ancestors who died in North Carolina as well as those who were able to move north is reflected in the Haudenosaunee Thanksgiving Address, a prayer repeated at the opening of all significant Tuscarora ceremonies and events, which is a litany of the beings and resources on earth that sustain the lives of the Haudenosaunee. The first line translates to, "we are thankful for the people," and so Migration 2013 is one way of demonstrating that thankfulness.

Our duty is to honor and respect all that we were given. Including life, and they took our lives, our ancestors lives, and we're to pay respect and honor to them. And that hasn't been done. They were bombed with those mortar shells in bunkers and everyone was fleeing for their life and we weren't able to do the honor to them and we're supposed to. And it's now three-hundred years later, and it's time. It's time that we do that because we didn't forget. We always know we're not to forget, and we don't. We always try to carry through, even if it takes three-hundred years. It's our responsibility and our duty to do that [for] them. It's like giving thanks for their life, and that needs to be done. I guess that's our duty. Just like our Thanksgiving Address, we give thanks for all things from the beginning to the end. So, it starts with *Yekwarihuwatathe ekwehewe*, 'we the people,' so we're starting with our people. (inf. #16)

Although the Great Law of the Haudenosaunee and the Thanksgiving Address were adopted by the Tuscarora after the migration (although we cannot exclude the possibility that the North Carolina Tuscarora had their own version of the Address, and certainly they would have had familiarity with the Great Law prior to their relocation), this philosophy remains an important reflection of what it means to be Tuscarora today. That these values are projected backwards to establish connectivity with earlier Tuscarora people speaks to the importance of the continuity of cultural identity, that people today can perceive themselves to be connected to the people of the

past. The Migration 2013 Project allows participants to establish a tangible connection to their ancestors, to literally walk hundreds of miles in their footsteps. For the rest of the Tuscarora community, honoring the ancestors who migrated north supports a shared sense of origin and maintains values that are perceived as threatened, such as traditional knowledge, community solidarity, and an appreciation for environmental resources.

### *3) To Gain New Experiences and Personal Challenges*

Just as the aspiration to learn more about Tuscarora ancestors took on the language of actions and experiences, the expectations of participants and project leaders closely linked the idea of physical accomplishment with tangential achievements that will manifest throughout the community. This aspect of Migration 2013 was particularly emphasized by the members of the Tuscarora Youth Corps who have already participated in backpacking trips in the past and are planning on participating in the entire 1200-mile journey. These individuals were more likely to express their individual motivations for participating in the project, besides the community-based motivations shared by other respondents. In their interviews, these participants particularly emphasized mastery of the challenges they have personally overcome and take explicit pride in those accomplishments. One hiker described her experience hiking a portion of the Tuscarora trail in Pennsylvania, and then finally admitted, “I didn’t realize the toll it took on you, to do something like that...exhaustion, frustration, you wanted to give up. I wanted to give up so many times...but I was like, you know what? You can do this. I just—I had to. I had to do it for myself.” She went on to add that she hoped to complete the much longer hike from North Carolina back to the Tuscarora Nation in New York. “Why would I want to?” She asked herself,

“It’s just something that I’d have to battle within myself. Just to come through, get through it, say I did it” (inf. #10).

Her opinion was shared by the other hikers, all of whom hoped to come out of the 2013 Migration stronger, prouder, and more confident in their abilities. The older generation, parents and teachers, were less likely to comment on this objective of the project, but several expressed the hope that the people who complete the challenges of Migration 2013 hike will only be better fit to confront the challenges that will inevitably face them in the future. One teacher and mother attested that her hopes for the project matched her own hopes as a teacher of Tuscarora culture,

I want them to understand who we are, who we have been, appreciate what it is our ancestors have given us, and to have a consciousness of wanting to make this a better community than what we gave them, and I say that to them often. Now that is on you, now this is on your shoulders, you have the power to make a choice to make this a better place than what we’ve given you. (inf. #7)

This lesson has been taken to heart by the younger generation, one of whom avowed his dedication to the project and to become a figurehead in the community, “By the end of this year...I plan to know, I want to say, next to everything, as much as I possibly can. Because...I hold myself as somewhat of a leader...I would really like to be able to learn all the history and if anyone asks me a question on Tuscarora history I'd like to be able to answer fairly quickly, and elaborately” (inf. #15). Indigenist scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred and Vine Deloria, Jr. have advocated the importance of re-rooting young people in traditional values and wisdom in order to bring up a new generation of Native leadership dedicated to healing and rebuilding Native communities as movements to revitalize Native societies have grown and multiplied. The affirmation of tradition raises self-esteem and promotes awareness of cultural issues, both of which are critically important to healing and rebuilding in Native communities (Alfred 1999; Deloria 1984). Education, along with a focus on traditional teachings and how they can be applied to contemporary issues, provides the tools necessary to make young leaders aware of the

inconsistencies between the world as it is and the world as it should be, inconsistencies that might be otherwise taken for granted (Alfred 1999). The Tuscarora Youth Corps and the 2013 Migration project promote young Tuscarora people to feel strong, proud, and empowered and to help their community. As one young man explained to me, this is a process of learning that the whole community needs to achieve. He said that the Youth Corps did not particularly refer to the age of the individuals involved, but that it referred to "...us now in existence here, compared to three-hundred years ago. As a tribe as we exist today in our Nations, we are extremely young compared to the experiences that our people had three-hundred years ago. We are just a Youth Corps. We're in training, and we're doing what we can" (inf. #15).

#### *4) To Promote Community Solidarity*

The informants discussed the importance of community solidarity in regard to Migration 2013, often expressing the desire that ever larger numbers of Tuscarora community members would become interested and involved in the project. Community solidarity is an important element of the Tuscarora community because this is the level on which shared values and traditions are affirmed and reproduced. When I asked interview subjects "How is culture a part of your community?" I was attempting to draw apart the flashy traits which are often deemed "cultural" and the daily practices which constitute daily life in the Tuscarora community. The respondents were already familiar with this distinction.

I want to say there's two types of culture out here in our community. I'm going to say type A and type B. Type A would be the culture everyone stereotypes, the singing, the dancing, the drums, the feathers, the *gustowehs* and ribbon shirts. Type B culture would be the fun day to day stuff that you don't really know exists until you live out here. It's the way we react and interact with each other as a people. That's more of a—I guess you'd call it more of how we play, I suppose. It's definitely different than anywhere else you'd be. (inf. #15)

The “day to day stuff” mentioned by this informant was expounded upon by other individuals who described all of the events and activities that comprise Tuscarora culture. Every informant told me about the Indian Picnic, an annual event on the Tuscarora Nation, featuring vendors, food, smoke dancing and hand drum competitions, as well as the Tuscarora Princess Contest, and musical performances. One informant went so far as to say, “[Picnic]’s like the ultimate time to be Tuscarora at Tuscarora... Just hanging out with your friends, running around, having fun, eating, watching and listening to the dances and songs onstage” (inf. #14). Informants also spoke about *Nu Yah*, the Tuscarora’s New Year’s celebration that involves visiting neighbors and sharing food. Others told me about the clan Basketball tournament, as well as their lacrosse teams, the Strawberry Social organized by the Temperance League, and several informants told me that their idea of culture was just the time spent with their friends and families.

Informants also touched upon aspects of their community in need of improvement. Many informants mentioned the presence of political disagreements within the community as a cause of disunity, others commented on a general sense of apathy, suggesting that too many people did not care about the community. Surprisingly, some of the younger informants had the most dismal perspectives on this issue. One informant (inf. #11) suggested that apathy, rooted in a lack of pride and respect for the community and other community members, was what created the undesirable element of the Tuscarora community, eliciting abusive and self-destructive behaviors in some individuals. Older informants were generally more optimistic about the upswing in community interest in Migration 2013 and other social activities. By creating a focal point for community-wide activity and conversation, Migration 2013 has the potential to create a strengthened sense of solidarity. Migration 2013 is designed to promote social interaction not only between the participants on the trail route, but also across the entire community. One of my

informants summed up this objective nicely, "...I know that everyone can't do it but maybe they can come down for part of it. Who knows what's going to happen, but maybe that could be the spark, the renewed interest in who we are as opposed to the daily life grind of going to work and raising the kids and whatever, you know, that just gets in the way of everyone's culture" (inf. #14). For an example, when I asked about the formation of the Tuscarora history research group, one informant proudly claimed, "for the first time in my lifetime we have this group that comes together and we have people who are interested" (inf. #7).

#### *5) To Celebrate the Tricentennial of the Tuscarora Migration*

Throughout my interviews, *celebration* was a word that frequently sprang up when I discussed Migration 2013 with Tuscarora people. Many people expressed to me that the migration was a particularly important event in Tuscarora history because this is how the Tuscarora came to their home. This celebration is not for the benefit of the Tuscarora community alone. Some informants also expressed the desire to demonstrate to non-Tuscaroras the scope of the Tuscarora's achievements as a people. In this sense, Migration 2013 is not only the commemoration of a departure from one place, but also of the arrival at another, a necessary transition that made the Tuscarora what they are today.

Most informants referred to the migration of 1713 in terms that emphasized their ancestors' agency, as a decision to relocate and abandon an undesirable living situation. Even the informants who mentioned the Tuscarora's flight from Fort Neoheroka did not express any terms of regret or nostalgia for the North Carolina territory. As we have seen in many of the secondary historical accounts of the Tuscarora migration, this event is frequently depicted as a closing chapter of the Tuscarora story, their defeat signaled by their flight from North Carolina.



However, from the opinions expressed by the Tuscarora informants, it is clear that the migration marks the consideration of their ancestors for the welfare of subsequent generations, as well as the transition to their new home, from some perspectives, their *original* home. When discussing this theme, many informants invoked the philosophy of the seventh generation. This concept comes from the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace, *Kaianerekowa*, which states that leaders must consider the long-term impacts of their decisions, how the choices they make today will affect people in the seven generations yet to come (Lyons 1992). This concept is neatly summed up in the words of one of my informants, who told me what he believed Migration 2013 would accomplish: “It will make you feel thankful, too, I think. Thankful for the decisions our ancestors made to move up here. Because it was a big decision. They lost so many people that they finally had to— *decided* to come back. Here we are going to be celebrating that decision. I’m still thankful for that decision today, three hundred years later” (inf. #15). Another informant suggested that the project would show that, “...we care, that it was important to us. It’s still important to us, that we learned from what went on and that we’re still here and still alive and we’re still able to walk it if we need to” (inf. #16).

Kim D. Butler’s (2001) definition of diaspora, groups that have experienced dispersal from a homeland, explains that the critical elements for understanding such groups are the manner of their dispersal as well as their relationships with the landscape. It is clear that while the circumstances that necessitated migration were tragic and deplorable, the Tuscarora community of today emphasizes that their 18<sup>th</sup> century migration was a return to their original home and not a flight away from it. They do not see themselves as a diaspora: a fractured, displaced people. In that sense, re-enacting the migration demonstrates agency in the present as

well as in the past. It shows that the Tuscarora are proud of this event and that it is something worth repeating. One of my informants expressed this sentiment very eloquently,

Just to remember, it's just to keep in your mind what our ancestors went through for us to have a good life like we have today. They went through a lot and we have an easy life compared to what they went through. And it's important for us to honor them by showing others that we didn't forget. We need to honor their memory always. I think all people should do that. That's why we have history courses, to honor those things and to learn. You know, we can learn a lot from walking, too. We can see how people have changed. How you're not hiding behind trees just to get a pail of water. Our people had to hide just to get water to drink. They hated our people so much that you couldn't even show your face. It was sad. Now we can walk through these towns with respect and show them, you know, we're not afraid and we're not here to hurt you, either. We're here to be in peace, and together. (inf. #16)

#### *6) To Set an Example for Future Generations*

Ultimately the project is about setting a course of action that sets the tone for the future of the Tuscarora Nation. While some informants chose to emphasize environmental objectives and others were more comfortable discussing the historical objectives of the Migration project, all of the informants agreed that all the objectives of the 2013 Migration Project were intended to benefit the future of the community, and all of these perspectives were forward-facing and complimentary. The objectives, 5) To celebrate the tricentennial of the Tuscarora migration; 6) To set an example for future generations; and 7) To demonstrate the survival of Tuscarora identity, are all closely related in this respect.

Early on in my fieldwork I asked one informant why learning about Tuscarora history was important for the community. To my surprise, he answered, "I'm not really sure it's that important, actually." He went on to explain,

I think it's just as important as understanding the current status of your community, or understanding what underlying factors exist in your community, or burdens, or what opportunities there are for your community... This is the first step, to figure out what our history is. That's good, but, I think it's just one piece, an equal piece in the larger picture of how we go about living, and living with each other in a fairly finite world. (inf. #12)

It was clear from what the informant explained that studying history as part of the 2013 Migration Project was less about honoring the past and more about figuring out how the Tuscarora are going to move forward in the future. Another informant summarized her own future-oriented expectation for the project:

I think as long as we have a common theme in our history, to [be able to] say, ‘this is where we come from, and this is what we did, and this is why we're here now, and this is where we can go’...If we really know our history, then I think we can look better into the future to say this is where we want the Tuscarora Nation, as a community, to go, because we've done this, and this is where we've been. (inf. #8)

The Migration project, therefore, has the potential to set an impressive precedent for the community’s potential. One of the younger informants suggested that, “It gives a sense of unity within the community. It gives others hope that there is a future besides falling into the downward spiral” he went on to add, “This is reconnecting with my past and hopefully carrying the torch into the future, for future generations to look upon...[to] show that we're still alive and thriving and still strong.” I asked who he was showing his strength and survival to, and he told me, “the seventh generation” (inf. #11). As one informant pointed out, this was the philosophy held by the Tuscarora people who began the migration. She explained that, “our ancestors were very intelligent, very responsible, were hard-working, thinking people and were really practicing that idea that seven generations from now, their decision [was] going to [have an] impact. We’re that seventh generation” (inf. #7). In this case, the invocation of history is less concerned with relating to populations of the past than it is about relating to a shared identity in the present.

### *7) To Demonstrate the Survival of Tuscarora Identity*

Although I did not initiate the subject of identity in the course of my interviews, nevertheless the topic came up. Tuscarora people know that there is a large discrepancy between how Native people are represented and how they actually are. Asserting the “internal” definition

of identity is a very real challenge. Throughout the course of my fieldwork the concept of identity was closely tied to all of my conversations about Tuscarora community, history, and culture. Migration 2013 has the potential to strengthen all of these things. In this comment, one of the interview participants hoped that a greater understanding of Tuscarora history, along with taking pride in one's community, would give Tuscarora children something firmer upon which to hang their sense of self;

I think it [history] has the most importance in an individual's identity. Because if you identify with the reservation a lot of times people are identifying with poverty or they're identifying with this place that they grew up with that they don't know about. So if you have a stronger knowledge base, then the sense of identity also strengthens and it gives you more pride. I think that's what people need in order to live good lives: a sense of pride in where they came from and who they are, not thinking that the Tuscarora are a poor people or that they're less than the people around us, because I see that especially in younger kids. A lot of times they have this negative attitude towards where they come from. (inf. #4)

Another interviewee told me an anecdote that demonstrated her concern about this issue. During my fieldwork at Tuscarora, Fort Niagara celebrated the bicentennial of the War of 1812 with a week-long re-enactment. Among the re-enactors were men and women dressed as Americans, French, and also Haudenosaunee soldiers. The informant explained her chagrin at the reaction of her six-year-old nephew to the costumed re-enactors; "...There was this guy dressed up and [my nephew] was like, "There's an Indian there!" I felt like saying, "You see Indians all the time!" It's funny because a lot of kids do that. They see somebody dressed up and they're like, "Oh my gosh, an Indian!"... You should say, "Oh, there's somebody dressed up" (inf. #8). This reaction to a young boy's response to a performer dressed in a nineteenth-century representation of his own people reflects a broader concern for how young children are internalizing different forms of Native representation.

Asserting the survival of Tuscarora identity is important to the community because, as multiple informants pointed out to me, "it's quite miraculous that we're still here, and that we

returned back up here and, even on top of that, we kept our identity. Because there were so many others who became absorbed and became a part of the [Haudenosaunee] Confederacy but lost their identity” (inf. #7). While the Tuscarora’s survival is quite evident within the community itself, Tuscarora people are well aware of their relative invisibility to the rest of the world. Even in Buffalo, the closest major city to the Tuscarora reservation, many people have never heard of the Tuscarora and are oblivious to the reservation community only a thirty-minute drive away. The same informant told me that she felt the Tuscarora were discounted even within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and that perhaps Migration 2013 could change that;

I think that in the confederacy the Tuscaroras are forgotten, or pushed aside, or discounted...but also that in our community there's a lot of strife and disconnect, within our own community. I think those are huge obstacles that really prevent more progress...I think that we're proving it to both our community. To say, "Listen, this is what we did, this is what we can do from now on." You know, keep moving ahead. But I think we also need to prove it to the Confederacy. To say, "listen, we have really good things going on at our rez," and that we shouldn't be discounted or pushed aside. (inf. #8)

Cultural identity is an aspect of self-recognition, but a strong identity also requires that others see you as you see yourself. Informants expressed the hope that the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project would spread awareness about the Tuscarora community, to the mainstream settler society of the United States, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and also to the Tuscarora community itself.

#### *8) To Learn and Educate about the Environment on the Migration Route*

The official objective of Migration 2013, as stated by the Tuscarora Environment Program, is

...to examine climate shift through a historical lens as we celebrate indigenous survival. We aim to equip our Native youth with traditional Haudenosaunee environmental philosophy and the leadership skills necessary to share and extend our knowledge to all, as we examine a two-fold migration northward; first of our people and later of our traditional climate. (TEP office, personal communication)

While this objective of the Migration 2013 Project is heavily emphasized by the TEP, at the time of my field research the intention was still poorly understood by most members of the community, but the TEP was in the process of community outreach on this subject. As it was explained to me, Migration 2013 is simultaneously a re-enactment of the migration of Tuscaroras in the past, as well as a prelude to the expected migration of species and ecosystems due to climate change. Extensive research exists recording the northward range shifts of plant and animal species (Hickling et al. 2005; Hill et al. 2011; Iverson and Prasad 1998). The TEP's project brings focus to how this issue will impact the Tuscarora community. The director of TEP informed me that Migration 2013 is connected to the hope that the Tuscarora will be able to adapt to the imminent environmental shift.

...having these systems now follow us, essentially, northward and the potential for plants and animals in North Carolina to essentially migrate to New York State, to our current homeland, is not something that I'm not sure we can ever be prepared for but it would be nice for us to learn about and try to restore those relationships we once had with those species that are in the Carolinas. So, ideally we would be able to know how to use long leaf pine and cypress trees here at the Nation and re-establish our relationship with those species. Not only because it's a historic one and it may even help us with some of our— it just may help us in general. It may be necessary in the future, that those species will be up here and we'll have to be dealing with them, knowing what to look for and how to have a proper relationship with them. (inf. #12)

Ultimately, developing a greater understanding of changing environmental relationships is just another aspect of developing a greater understanding of traditional knowledge and promoting relationships within the community. The Migration Project also brings the Tuscarora into a larger national conversation about how climate change will impact local communities. The director went on to explain,

I think that's the whole point, to create frames of reference for people so that they can see what this reservation could be and they can also see what some places shouldn't be, and to appreciate what we have and what is the function of their life in this place... It's trying to understand form and function and how they relate to the restoration of our society, but of our families, or our nations, of our systems. (inf. #12)

While this aspect of the migration project is one of the most important, according to the official mission statement, it was rarely mentioned in interviews outside of the TEP staff. However, One informant (inf. #3), one of the of project planners, anticipated that with the completion of the project's mission statement, official logo, and website, the word would soon be spread about the importance of understanding climate change and the significance of this objective to the project and the community as a whole. Time will tell whether or not this objective will inspire the community as much as the other aspects of the project. However, the concern for environmental change is also entailed with an outlook that emphasizes preparation for the future, as well as problem-solving based upon traditional knowledge, concepts reflected in other objectives expressed by the community.

### **Analysis**

I have discussed eight objectives for the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project which emerged from the sixteen interviews. In the descriptions above, I have already touched upon how these objectives intersect with the conceptual issues that affect the well-being of Native communities discussed in chapter two. These were the loss of traditional knowledge, distortion of cultural identity, and negative master narratives. Although there were many overlapping themes discussed throughout the interview process, in my discussion of the community's perception of the Migration 2013 project, these three themes served as recurring counterpoints for the projects objectives, as well as a fourth theme, emphasizing the future-oriented focus of the project. In order to represent how the interview participants were connecting all of these concepts, Table 5-1 shows exactly how many times each of the objectives was discussed in association with the four themes of decolonization across all sixteen interviews. This was completed by coding interview statements according to the eight objectives and the four themes,

and calculating the proximity of coded values using MaxQDA. Objectives 1 and 2 were most commonly associated with gaining or educating others about historical knowledge. Objectives 3 and 4 were most commonly associated with cultural distortion, perceived sources of strife within the community, as well as descriptions of personal and community identity. Objectives 5 and 7 were associated with reclaiming narratives of history, taking pride in the past and protestations of “We are still here.” Objectives 6 and 8 were associated with preparing the community for the future. In this section I will discuss these four themes of decolonization one at a time, emphasizing the objectives which correlated most closely. In each section, a pie chart represents each column in Table 5-1, reemphasizing the relationship between each theme and the eight objectives.

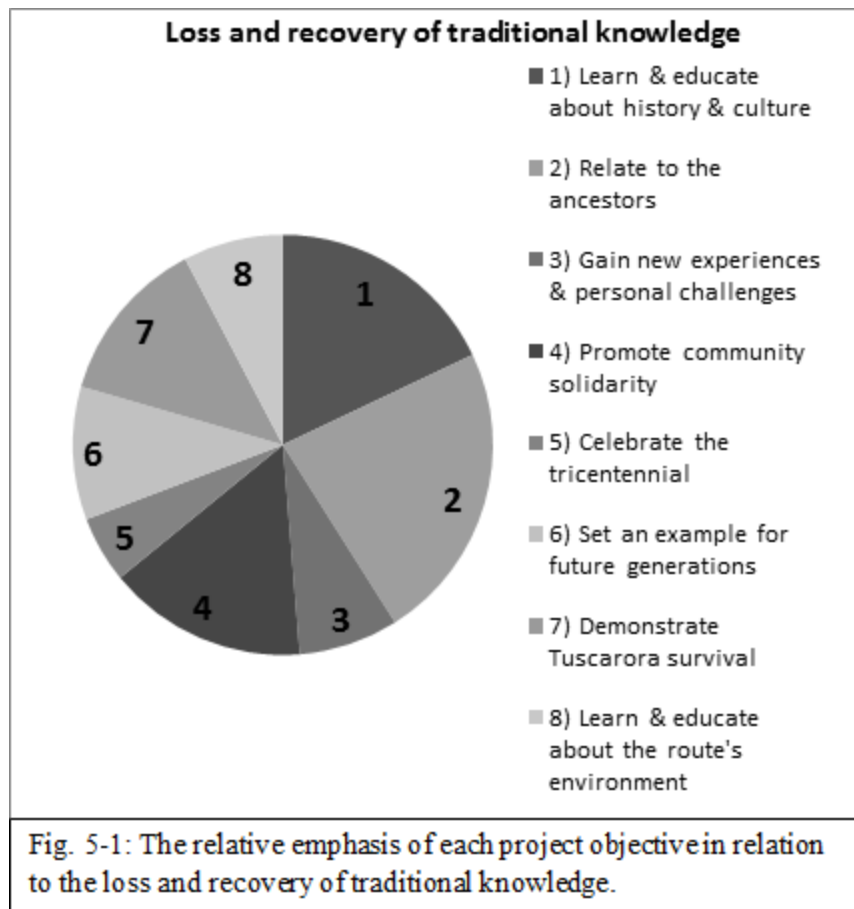
| Table 5-1: Incidences of thematic intersection. Largest values for each row in bold. |   |   |  |                              |              |
|--|---|---|--|------------------------------|--------------|
|  | <b>Loss &amp; recovery of knowledge</b> | <b>Distortion &amp; assertion of identity</b> | <b>Reclaiming neg. master narratives</b> | <b>Looking to the future</b> | <b>Total</b> |
| 1) To learn and educate about Tuscarora history & culture                            | <b>7</b>                                | 4   | 4  | 2                            | 17           |
| 2) To relate to the ancestors  | <b>9</b>                                | 6   | 5  | 4                            | 24           |
| 3) To gain new experiences and personal challenges                                   | 3                                       | <b>5</b>                                      | 1  | 0                            | 9            |
| 4) To promote community solidarity   | 6                                       | <b>8</b>                                      | 3  | 4                            | 21           |
| 5) To celebrate the tricentennial of the Tuscarora Migration                         | 2                                       | 2   | <b>9</b>                                 | 2                            | 15           |
| 6) To set an example for future generations  | 4                                       | 5   | 4  | <b>6</b>                     | 19           |
| 7) To demonstrate the survival of Tuscarora identity and culture                     | 5                                       | 7   | <b>11</b>                                | 6                            | 29           |
| 8) To learn and educate about the environment along the migration route              | 3                                       | 3   | 2  | <b>5</b>                     | 13           |



### *Loss and Recovery of Traditional Knowledge*

In chapter two, I explained that the loss of traditional knowledge in Native communities was primarily the result of a systematic campaign to obliterate such knowledge through the assimilative education program managed through the residential boarding school system in the United States and Canada. In the past, Native parents have consciously chosen to keep their children ignorant of languages and practices that could threaten their ability to achieve a higher class status in Euro-American society. Only recently has Native identity become safer to assert, as Native Nations has been able to claim more power to protect their rights and resources from state governments (Garrouette 2003). As a result, many Native communities in the U.S. and Canada are actively moving to improve their community health, social and economic development through revitalization of their cultures, asserting the legitimacy of their culturally-

based values and practices, and accumulated knowledge with the intent to foster positive identities in younger generations (Ball 2004). Figure 5-1 demonstrates how the desire to learn more about Tuscarora history and the ancestors of the Tuscarora community are closely tied to the maintenance and



recovery of traditional knowledge. Other objectives of the project, especially community solidarity and the demonstration of Tuscarora survival were also strongly associated with this theme. Migration 2013 demonstrates an effort within the Tuscarora community to stimulate a conversation about historical knowledge that has been largely forgotten, and in so doing to strengthen the community as a whole.

In questioning members of the Tuscarora community about their knowledge and understanding of their history, I found that every person I spoke to wished that he or she knew more about the Tuscarora's past. They also wished that there were more sources to learn about the Tuscarora-version of historical events, as opposed to the history books written by non-Natives. One informant went so far as to claim that understanding her ancestors would translate to a better understanding of herself (inf. #4). Others joined her in the belief that repeating the migration is meant to promote a better understanding of the ancestor's struggle, approximating the challenges they faced while simultaneously upholding the values that the ancestors represent. These values continue to be important facets of Tuscarora society, including the values encoded in the Great Law of Peace, which despite having been adopted after the migration, is a critical aspect of modern Tuscarora culture. Some of my interview subjects voiced their frustration when they realized that I knew more about this period of history than they did, having completed the research presented in chapter four. Besides the expected loss of knowledge that naturally occurs with the passage of time, a predominant explanation that I received for the lack of historical knowledge within the community, as well as the lack of conversation on history in general, is the enduring legacy of U.S. Indian boarding schools, which intentionally disrupted the transfer of knowledge. Many informants also commented on an absence of community structures that might facilitate conversations about history and other forms of traditional knowledge. However, other

informants pointed out a reversal of this trend, especially the culture, language, and history teachers at the Tuscarora school, all lifelong community members who were involved in Migration 2013 and excited for the potential overlaps between the project and their classroom work. The development of new electives to curriculum at the Tuscarora school, as well as the history research group associated with Migration 2013 are programs that promise to facilitate knowledge recovery in the Tuscarora community.

Revitalization movements directed explicitly towards improving the quality and content of education are increasingly being used as a means of reinforcing cultural identity and values in many Native communities in the United States and Canada's First Nations (Ball 2004).

Migration 2013 began during a time when Tuscarora community members were already aware that traditional knowledge, culturally-based values and practices were at risk of becoming permanently lost. While teachers at the Tuscarora school developed programs to incorporate the cultural education into the curriculum, the history group began to accumulate research on the Tuscarora and place their own perspectives and accumulated knowledge of history and culture into conversation with texts written by non-Natives. From this movement Migration 2013 was born, first to commemorate a historical event and then to serve as a guiding light for the continued revitalization and recovery of traditional knowledge in the Tuscarora community.

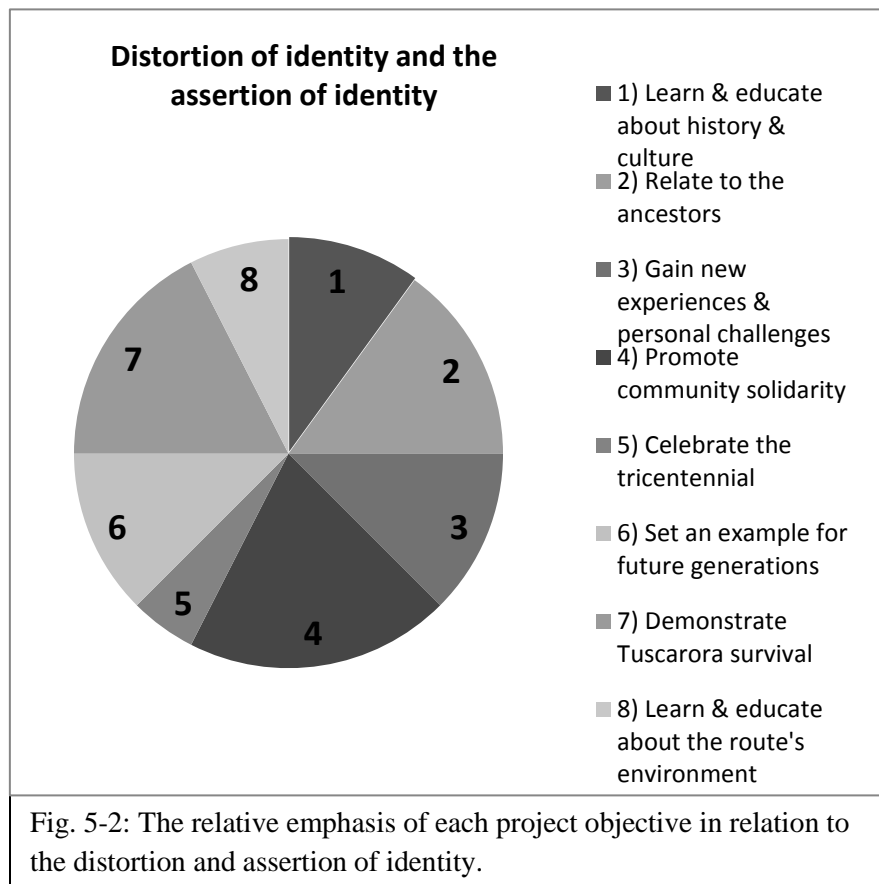
### *Distortion of Identity and the Assertion of Identity*

Identity manifests itself through the conversation between how we see ourselves and how others perceive us. The conflict between these perspectives frequently has detrimental consequences. Colonization imposed an invented definition of Native culture upon its subjects. This definition is reproduced through the maintenance of stereotypes and identity politics that

shape the way that Native communities and individuals are able to interact with the rest of society in the United States. The Indigenist approach to identity, described in chapter two, advocates that tribes, Native Nations, and individuals reject the constructions of identity created by Western culture and instead reclaim the power to define themselves based on traditional values and culturally-based intellectualism. This strategy reflects the core tenets of decolonization: the liberation of colonized identities, the rebellion against the definitions imposed by colonizers, and the assertion of the autonomy to choose one's own future (Alfred 2005).

In the interviews, identity was discussed in a number of contexts, in reference to how people described themselves and their community. Figure 5-2 demonstrates that the issue of identity was strongly associated with the survival of the Tuscarora culture, community solidarity, and personal achievement.

The concern for a personal challenge was the least emphasized of all the objectives (see table 5-1), only expressed by those who were actually planning on participating in the Migration trek itself. However, the hiker group described their desire to overcome the mental the



physical challenge presented by the project as an opportunity to accomplish something they could be proud of. In this way, Migration 2013 promotes a positive affirmation of cultural identity on the individual level, as well as on the community level.

Discussions concerning the fourth objective, to promote community involvement, demonstrated that Tuscarora people are thinking about their community in terms of the traditions and practices that bring individuals together, whether this be through Smoke Dance performances, Reservation Clean-Up day, or just hanging out together with some cool drinks and good music. These are the activities, including Migration 2013, which reify Tuscarora identity on the community level.

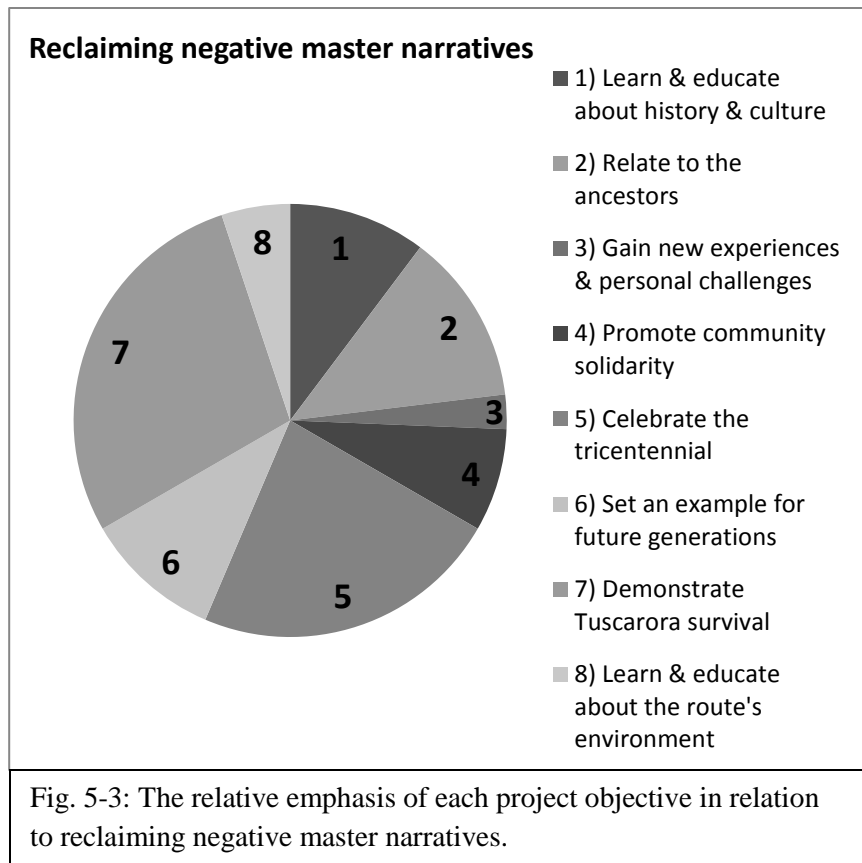
Among their aspirations for the Migration 2013 project, informants pointed out that they wanted to promote the awareness, pride, and robusticity of Tuscarora community, as expressed by objective seven. Research shows that negative effects of cultural distortion are most sorely felt by the younger generations, as demonstrated by the anecdote about the child's reaction to the Native re-enactors at Fort Niagara. However, the aspiration to gain self-respect through the physical and mental challenge of Migration 2013 proves that this trend is reversible and is in fact in the process of reversal in the Tuscarora community. Franz Fanon argued that part of the violence of colonization is that community history is erased and then replaced with doctrines of individualism. By turning the colonized against each other, the colonial society eliminates the greatest strength that Indigenous communities have in their toolbox of resistance: their unity (Fanon 1963). Therefore decolonization must foster community solidarity through the reconstitution of relationships. This is also an objective of Migration 2013, and one which is already underway.

*Reclaiming Negative Master Narratives*

Recall that I have already defined negative master narratives as those proliferated versions of history that privilege the settler as the agent and define the Native as a victim of inevitable decline. Negative master narratives suggest that Indigenous history, after a certain point, stops being relevant to the rest of American history. Education that is conceptualized, vetted, and delivered predominately by professionals of European descent and incorporates these master narratives of decline can have potentially colonizing and acculturative effects detrimental to the Indigenous students who receive no affirmation of their prior cultural knowledge (Ball 2004). Consequently, there is a persistent attitude of distrust towards non-Native experts who claim the authority to define what it is to be Native. Decolonization, therefore, must repossess these narratives and reclaim mastery on behalf of Indigenous peoples. In Figure 5-3, we can see that objectives 5 and 7 are

closely correlated with this theme as they aim to present the ongoing survival of the Tuscarora and to celebrate, instead of lament, the migration.

From the interviews, we learned that Tuscarora people do not conceptualize their history as a narrative of decline. The most



important aspect of the migration, in fact, is that Tuscarora ancestor's considered the needs of today's generation in their own decision-making process and made the choice that best protected the survival of future generations. In celebrating the migration, the Tuscarora community hopes to present a more authentic and modern representation of themselves to the rest of the world. Unsurprisingly, they tend to think that the Tuscarora's migration from North Carolina was a pretty impressive feat, but all the more so because the Tuscarora are still here to talk about it. "We are still here" was a common phrase throughout my time spent in the Tuscarora Nation, and it is a common phrase throughout Native America as well, representing the continual outcry for equitable treatment and justice in Indigenous communities everywhere.

The Tuscarora Migration project denies the conclusion of the negative master narrative that says that leaving North Carolina signaled their defeat. By returning to North Carolina, to the site of Neoheroke, the Tuscarora are rejecting the illusion that they have disappeared. They are rejecting the official story and the officials who grant themselves the authority to construct a monument that defines what the Tuscarora have been and who the Tuscarora are now. The people of the Tuscarora Nation do not describe their identity in terms of pre-migration and post-migration, but they recognize that change has always been an ongoing aspect of their traditional culture. Tuscarora people continue to hold a deeply-seated distrust of non-native historians largely because they feel that the Native side of story has not been properly told in a way that affirms the community as it is today. Migration 2013 is about retelling a story, and it is about proving that their story is ongoing.

*Looking to the Future: the Tuscarora and Environmental Change*

Revitalization projects such as Migration 2013 often incorporate elements of traditional values, celebrating the past, and regaining historical knowledge, however, they are also forward-facing movements that intend to address challenges yet to pass. We can find a trend in Indigenous groups throughout the world that are “seeking ways to use education, training, and other capacity-building tools in order to maintain, revitalize, and re-envision cultural knowledge and ways of life” in order to stay adaptive in an ever-changing world (Ball 2004). The recovery of traditional knowledge, for example, is not intended to restrain Native people to an archaic lifeway. Jonathan Friedman wrote that “the authentically constituted past is always about the transition from today to tomorrow” (1992: 846). To this effect, celebrating and recovering the past is not about reviving a bygone era, but it is about providing the maximum number of tools for building a sustainable future. Figure 5-4 displays how this theme of decolonization is strongly associated with

objectives 6, 7, and 8, which are all concerned with bringing awareness to the Tuscarora community’s future, rather than its past.

The eighth objective described above, to learn and educate about the environment on the migration route, represents

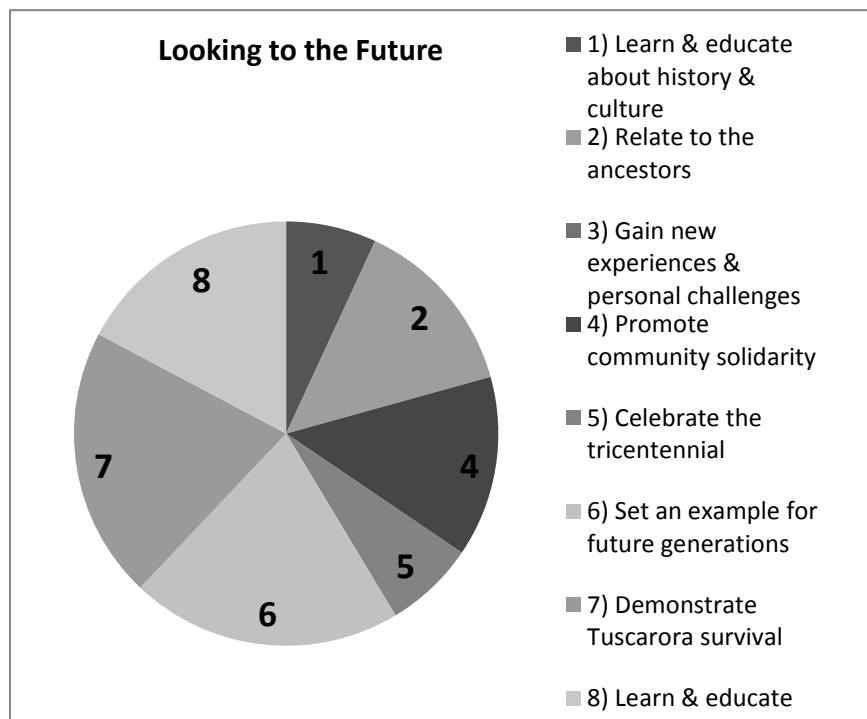


Fig. 5-4: The relative emphasis of each project objective in relation to anticipation for the future.



a truly innovative aspect of Tuscarora Migration project that is intended to set an example for the entire world, as well as the Tuscarora Nation. In my interview with the director of the Tuscarora Environment Program, I learned that, at least for him, the historical aspect of the project is secondary; it is a way to frame the more immediate objective and to establish connectivity between two ecological landscapes that represent the Tuscarora past and the Tuscarora future. The director explained to me that he was well aware that the academic world was hungry for TEK – traditional environmental knowledge. The Tuscarora and other groups of Native people have been adapting to change for a long time, at first because there was no other option in response to the “mess that came here and encroached on our people,” and now they continue to adapt because “we’re all in a situation together with the non-Native people in a mess that is consuming us all and we need to work together to address that” (inf. #12). He told me that soon the whole world would be requiring adaptation strategies for a changing environment, and perhaps they would then be able to look at the Tuscarora, how the Tuscarora have adapted to survive, and then be able to follow that example. The project itself serves to familiarize the members of the Tuscarora Youth Corps with environments to the south, emphasizing the reliance of the hiking party on their immediate surroundings on the trail as an analogy for the Tuscarora community’s, any community’s, reliance on its environment as well.

The objectives of the Migration 2013 project, as provided by the informants, are all complementary to a revitalization movement. Through my interviews, I learned that Tuscarora community members hoped that the project would be able to revitalize interest in Tuscarora history, community solidarity, ancestral pride, and much more. Informants told me about *aspects* of the community that they thought needed revitalization, but no one suggested that that the Tuscarora community *itself* had ever lost vitality. No one suggested that the community itself

was in danger of extinction. Along with the objectives I have already discussed, the Tuscarora Environment Program is using the tricentennial of the Tuscarora's migration from North Carolina to bring awareness to the imminent climate change problem. The Tuscarora's trek northwards foreshadows the northward movement of species as climate zones gradually shift. In years to come, the Tuscarora, as well as everyone else, will need to be able to adapt to a very different environmental system. Perhaps traditional relationships with North Carolinian species, such as Cypress or Long-leaf pine trees, will one day need to be re-established in New York. Through Migration 2013, the TEP hopes to bring awareness to the Tuscarora's adaptive capacity to survive overwhelming adversity, and promote and create the cultural knowledge that will help them adapt to the impending climate shift.

## 6) CONCLUSIONS

When I began this project, I asked the director of the TEP for his recommendations for a subject for my research. With the organization of the 2013 Tuscarora Migration underway, he told me that the most timely and interesting research subject was the story of Tuscarora survival, the balance between cultural continuity and dynamic change, and a history to support the re-enactment of the migration trip. This thesis begins to answer these questions. Upon completion, a copy of this thesis will be sent to the Tuscarora Environment Office, including the annotated bibliography in Appendix B, to encourage and facilitate continued study for anyone who wishes to pursue it.

This thesis covers a select period of Tuscarora history. I have talked about the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713, but I did not talk about the Tuscarora's role in the American Revolution as allies of the United States, nor the Sullivan-Clinton campaign that indiscriminately decimated Iroquoian communities. I talked about the Tuscarora's relocation from North Carolina, which continued until they gained a reservation in Niagara County in 1803, but I did not discuss how a portion of the reservation was taken away in 1960 for the construction of the Lewiston Reservoir and the resistance and community mobilization that followed. My point in addressing these additional factors now is to emphasize that despite this history of hardship, the Tuscarora retain their status as a sovereign nation with a council of chiefs, a distinct set of laws, and political and cultural autonomy that differentiates the Tuscarora as a distinct indigenous culture. In March of 2013 a group of community members from the Tuscarora Nation of Niagara County, New York will travel to the site of Fort Neoheroke in Snow Hill, North Carolina, to participate in East Carolina University's commemoration of the Neoheroke archaeological site. The

commemoration consists of a three day event concluding with the dedication of a monument to the Tuscarora fort and the start of a 1,300 mile trek back to the Tuscarora Nation in honor of the original migration. While the official mission statement for the project emphasizes environmental awareness and youth leadership, the project has taken on even greater purpose as more community members have volunteered their interest and involvement, contributing to a growth in community participation and solidarity. The objective of this thesis has been to demonstrate how the 2013 Tuscarora Migration project is congruent with a model of decolonization that seeks to revitalize the community by undermining the colonial ideology that has maintained a negative master narrative of Tuscarora history, devalued and suppressed traditional knowledge, and contributed to a depressed sense of cultural identity.

## **The Research**

In the exploration of this question, I set up a theoretical framework for understanding how decolonization relates to revitalization in three key areas: traditional knowledge, cultural identity, and narratives of history. In each area, a longstanding colonial ideology has maintained dominance. The role of decolonization in Indigenous cultural revitalization is the deconstruction of the foundations of colonial ideology in order to reestablish knowledge, identity, and history within ideological frameworks that originate within and affirm Native cultures. I pursued my interest in decolonization along two routes. First, I completed an in-depth analysis of the history of the Tuscarora migration, rejecting the easy assumptions and conclusions of sources that drew upon the negative master narrative of Native history in the United States in favor of the handful of historical accounts that considered the Tuscarora people as diverse, adaptive, and having agency. Secondly, I visited the Tuscarora Nation Community in Niagara County, New York, and

conducted ethnographic interviews with key players involved in the development and execution of the 2013 Migration Project. From these interviews I learned from Tuscarora community members how the project is expected to affect the Nation and how people see themselves in their history, their culture, and their community.

## **The Findings**

Anthony Wallace's defined cultural revitalization as a conscious movement from members of a society to "construct a more satisfying culture" in response to an intense dissatisfaction with present conditions. In 1958, David Landy considered Wallace's revitalization concept and yet lacked a framework to understand how the Tuscarora could maintain distinct traditional elements within what he saw as an otherwise assimilated society. However, revitalization does not mean a return to traditional ways in the sense that traditional is the opposite of modern. Indigenist scholars have written that revitalization, the achievement of political and territorial sovereignty and community goals for health, welfare, and prosperity, cannot be achieved unless true decolonization occurs, the erasure of colonial ideology that renders Native Americans invisible in the broader U.S. culture. The invisibility of Native groups is fueled by stereotypes that portray Native peoples as relics of the past who have no role in contemporary society. This stereotype reproduces itself through media representations of Native people as primitive and through negative master narratives: versions of history told by non-Natives that focus heavily on the decline of Native people and culture. The negative master narrative can render modern indigenous communities largely invisible, inhibiting recognition in public and political spheres. Interviewees lamented that Tuscarora people were virtually unheard of in the country, as well as within the state of New York, and even occasionally overlooked

within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy itself. The consequences of the lack of recognition are the denigration of traditional knowledge and history, which promote a strong cultural and ethnic identity for a community. The employment of negative master narratives supports the identity of settler culture as the inheritor of the continent, and the invisibility of contemporary Indigenous people eliminates the need for contemporary colonizers to address a discomfiting and problematic past.

The negative master narrative is thoroughly entangled with both the loss of traditional knowledge, as well as the distortion of cultural identity. It is the popular version of the history of Indigenous people that is tacitly reproduced in media, in daily conversations, and even in our academic texts. Culture and culturally-based knowledge have been historically devalued and eradicated in Native communities and portrayed as a relic of the past instead of something that is constantly reproduced and reinterpreted. The persistent devaluation of cultural values and traditions leads to the internalization of negative stereotypes and accusations of inauthenticity. Native people are inundated with media representations of themselves in a form that symbolically resonates with members of settler culture, but are not based upon traditional worldviews or cultural identity. By favoring certain details over others, and maintaining a perspective in which the settler is the central focus, the Tuscarora War can be described as a sudden, unprovoked massacre of white settlers by Tuscarora warriors, who were easily conquered by the superior colonial military forces. The migration, therefore, was the inevitable flight into the wilderness of defeated Tuscarora people who were never heard from again. However, the interviews conducted in this study demonstrated that Tuscarora community members did not share this belief in a negative master narrative and historical analysis demonstrates that the reality was a much more complicated story, in which the Tuscarora people

acted strategically within constraints and made rational choices to ensure their best interests. The descriptions of the migration taken from the interviews emphasized resourcefulness and adaptability in their ancestors. Several individuals described the migration as a journey towards home, rather than a flight away from it. Nevertheless given the pervasiveness of the negative master narrative, it is easy to fit the history of the Tuscarora into the framework of decline and assimilation, exacerbating the invisibility of the community and community issues to outsiders.

While many of the older respondents expressed concerns about the cultural education of Tuscarora youth, the 20-somethings involved with the Tuscarora Migration project all share a great interest in learning more about being Tuscarora, if also some hesitancy about how to begin. Some interviewees intimated that the available historical literature was insufficient in providing the information they wanted to know about their ancestors and their past because it was inaccurate or incomplete. Research that revitalizes an historical narrative based on Tuscarora identity and traditional cultural beliefs is required to unseat the apparent authority of negative master narratives in the community. The history group provides a space for critical historical analysis as community members come together and share their sources and interpretations of a broad range of historical materials. Although the group began as a small reading group gathered around a kitchen table some years ago, the meeting I attended in the summer of 2012 was in the Tuscarora community center and included around twenty individuals sharing ideas for the Migration 2013 project and discussing ways their research could benefit the community as a whole. By knowing their own history, and more importantly, by putting that history into a culturally-relevant framework, the Tuscarora community is able to see the bias and falsehood that is embedded in the master narrative of the Tuscarora migration and then present their narrative of history to the rest of the world. The most prevalent expectation for the migration

2013 project expressed throughout the interviews was to learn more about Tuscarora history and culture. This was true both for individuals aspiring to self-improvement and a general shared expectation that the whole community would join the effort. The history group and the culture, language, and history classes at the Tuscarora school are all part of this initiative to proliferate traditional knowledge and perhaps it was the fairly recent development of these programs that provided a space for the Migration 2013 project to occur. Members of the history group were particularly vocal about the implications of Migration 2013 for the entire Nation community.

The prevalence of understanding Tuscarora history in these negative terms is problematic for the community. An important part of having a strong social identity is being recognized by others the way you recognize yourself. Colonization disparages the identities of indigenous groups and redefines them in ways that support the colonial project and reflect the values of settlers. When concepts of cultural decline and warped identities are internalized by members of Native communities, a mindset of “self-termination” sets in, manifested as symptoms that are detrimental to individuals and to the community as a whole. The negative master narrative focuses on the social ills present in many modern Native communities, compounding the belief that cultural change for Native communities is synonymous with cultural decline. Amongst the respondents there was a shared concern for threats to community solidarity such as abuse of drugs and alcohol, a lack of respect for the community, as well as concerns that the younger generation was uninterested in learning about their culture and history. Knowledge, specially cultural and historical knowledge, was posited as a source of strength and pride to offset these social ills.

The 2013 Tuscarora Migration project has created a space for people to engage not only with their history, but with their community as well. It was Frederik Barth (1969) who suggested



that self-definition of an ethnic group is more about social action than about cultural content, because the most commonly defined cultural traits—language, religion, styles of dress and cuisine—are all subject to change over time and across space. Community relationships and interactions, whether people are aware of it or not, serve to build and reinforce a shared sense of identity and a deeply internalized sense of what it means to be a member of a culture (Jackson 2002). The project provides a space that allows individuals to rally behind a group initiative and in so doing build a movement for change. Alfred and Corntassel’s description of resurgent Indigenous movements champions the mantra,

Change happens one warrior at a time – our people must reconstitute the mentoring and learning-teaching relationships that foster real and meaningful human development and community solidarity. The movement toward decolonization and regeneration will emanate from transformations achieved by direct-guided experience in small, personal, groups and one-on-one mentoring towards a new path. (Alfred and Corntassel 2005:613)

In this way even relatively small projects can become mechanisms for community revitalization. The Tuscarora Migration project, in part, reclaims history through a physical performance, a re-walking of the migration route. The project also has facilitated open conversations about traditional historical and cultural knowledge and promoted community engagement and solidarity. The Tuscarora accomplish this by asserting their right to own and articulate the story of their migration and by demonstrating the reality of their survival in the present and the assuredness of their survival in the future. In the process of decolonizing the historical narrative, the Tuscarora are able to untangle the implicit defeatist and degrading themes which are encoded in the popular understanding of the Tuscarora’s journey, presenting a version of history to challenge the negative master narrative. Not only has the Tuscarora Nation survived, but it is stronger than ever. Although their ancestors may have lost the battle at Fort Neoheroke, the Tuscarora are by no means a defeated people.

The objectives of Tuscarora Migration 2013 represent a mixture of values and a holistic perspective of the intersection of history and contemporary cultural values, first to celebrate indigenous survival through education, and then to ensure its continued survival by applying traditional knowledge to a distinctly untraditional environmental shift. The stated goal of the project is to promote leadership skills and environmental knowledge in Tuscarora youth. Yet, the project also engages the whole community to support and learn from the project, while simultaneously presenting an alternative to the narrative that describes the Tuscarora's departure from North Carolina as the end of a people by recasting the story as one which more accurately portrays the persistence and survival of the Tuscarora as a distinct people. The mission statement reflects the importance of knowing and understanding the past in order to protect the future.

Through the act of recreating their migration, the Tuscarora are also reclaiming agency within a narrative that has long presented them as victims of colonial violence and secondary characters whose chapter ended with the colonial period. The 2013 Migration Project is an assertion of the right to tell the story of their migration. A recurring phrase throughout my term of fieldwork was, "We are still here," a statement reflecting the conviction that not only do Native communities need to fight ignorance of their ever-changing cultures, but they must continue to fight to be recognized as political agents deserving the fair acknowledgement of their sovereign status as Nations as well as equal rights as citizens of the United States. The recovery of traditional historical knowledge provides for the decolonization of the negative master narrative which dominates popular understanding of Tuscarora history. As mentioned in some interviews, many non-Natives overlook the Tuscarora altogether, even in nearby cities like Buffalo. When the master narrative is decolonized and the narrative of Tuscarora history is reoriented to suit the perspective and self-recognition of the Tuscarora themselves, it promotes a

healthier and stronger sense of community. Identity is strengthened both on the personal and communal level, because it is reconnected with an internal cultural ideology, not something that is imposed from outside.

The 2013 Tuscarora migration project fits into a greater project of cultural revitalization within the Tuscarora community. This is demonstrated by the suite of other positive changes in the community that have been occurring for the past several years, including changes in the school curriculum and the development of the history group. These changes include a rising interest and resurgence of cultural knowledge in the community, and greater autonomy in choosing how this knowledge is taught to the next generation. Trends favoring a culturally-based ideology in education mark a reversal from the reigning ideology of Euro-American culture: that Native history is unimportant or only important insofar as it propelled the history of the United States. Revitalization is not a return to the past, nor is it a rejection of traditions, but the exercise of the capacity to adapt traditions to new environments and still maintain a continuous identity. This is evident through the 2013 Migration because even through all of our discussions about history and knowledge and traditions, the conversations inescapably turned to the future, what would be coming next for the community and for the next seven generations. The migration project contributes to the future-oriented outlook through the decolonization of the migration's negative master narrative, advocating the message that by understanding the accomplishments of the past and the challenges of the present, the community prepares itself for the future. By including themselves in East Carolina University's commemoration of the Fort Neoheroka archaeological site, the 2013 Migration project proudly delivers the message "We are still here," and simultaneously asserts that traditional knowledge matters, cultural identity matters, and that the Tuscarora community will continue to thrive in the future.

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## **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

What is your relationship to the Tuscarora community?

What is your involvement with the 2013 Tuscarora Migration Project?

Can you describe what the project is all about?

Is it a re-enactment, vacation, etc.?

What makes this trip different from any other backpacking trip?

Why did you decide to participate?

What is the importance of this project to you?

Are you planning on participating in the 2013 trip?

What are you hoping to get out of the experience?

How are you preparing for the trip?

How much do you already know about the original Tuscarora Migration?

What can you tell me about it?

Do you plan on learning more about the history of the migration before the trip?

During the trip?

What about the original migration do you wish you knew more about?

Are there other parts of Tuscarora history that you would like to know more about?

If you were to draw a timeline of Tuscarora history, where you start?

Why would you choose that as a starting point?

What are the other milestones of Tuscarora history?

Can you tell me a little bit about [A, B...]

Why does [this milestone] stand out to you? To the entire community?

How did you learn about Tuscarora history?

*(where, when, who, how)*

Why is it important for people to know about their community's history?

What is the relationship between your history and community?

What are your favorite community events and activities?

How do you participate in [A, B...]?

How is culture a part of your community?

What is the relationship between history and culture?

## APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTAL ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

Alvord, Clarence Walworth, and Lee Bidgood

1912 The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark.

Excerpts from the 1650 Expedition of Edward Bland, Captain Abraham Wood, Sackford Brewster and Elias Pennant to a Tuscarora village for trade. Also includes excerpts from John Lederer's 1672 visit to the Tuscarora town of Kateraras, and the chief Kaskufara/Kaskous.

Barnwell, John

1908 The Tuscarora Expedition. Letters of Colonel John Barnwell. The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 9(1):28-54.

A publication of the letters written by Col. Barnwell between Feb 4, 1711 and May, 1712. His accounts include the attack on Fort Hancock as well as attacks on other Tuscarora towns, including Kenta, and itemized lists of the fatalities incurred and delivered. The letters express anxiety towards the North Carolina government, and difficulty managing the Native allies that formed the substantial portion of his forces.

Barnwell, Joseph W.

1909 The Second Tuscarora Expedition. The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 10(1):33-48.

Published extracts from the journal of the Commons House Assembly of South Carolina between 23 December, 1712 and 8 June, 1714. Including letters written by North Carolina President Pollock, Colonel Moore, as well as documents from the Assembly

proceedings. Topics discussed the planning of the second Tuscarora expedition. Also included is a map showing Colonel Moore's route.

Byrd, John E.

1997 Tuscarora Subsistence Practices in the Late Woodland Period: The Zooarchaeology of the Jordan's Landing Site. Asheboro, NC, North Carolina Archaeological Council.

This study examines faunal remains from the Jordan's Landing site, near Williamston, NC, and makes inferences concerning subsistence practices of the Cashie phase occupants of the site as well as of Cashie peoples in general. The report concludes with a hypothesis that Cashie subsistence practices were dual-oriented, with a focus on corn and beans agriculture as well as the use of diverse aquatic prey species.

Byrd, John E. and Charles L. Heath

1997 The rediscovery of the Tuscarora Homeland: A Final report of the Archaeological Survey of the Contentnea Creek Drainage 1995-1997, David S. Phelps Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University.

A survey of the Contentnea creek drainage area looks at the dispersal of Cashie-style Tuscarora artifacts to confirm the locations of six of the historical-era Tuscarora towns: Toisnot, Torhunta, Kenta, Neoheroka, Caunookehoe, and Catechna. The distribution of artifacts is cross-referenced with the accounts of Col. Barnwell and early mapmakers.

Byrd, William, and William Kenneth Boyd

1929 William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina. Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission. Available online at <http://digital.ncdcr.gov>

An account of the expedition to survey the North Carolina-Virginia border in 1728. Includes descriptions of the Native people as well as pioneers encountered, and also descriptions of the local ecology. Byrd describes the Tuscarora communities as he observes them in Virginia of November, 1729 located on the North side of the Roanoke River (Moratuck River) between the falls and Abemarle Sound (p. 290). Byrd suggests



that the Tuscarora in Virginia are threatened by violence from the Catawba people and repeats a legend in which a holy person sent by God is tied to a tree and shot through the heart with an arrow by the young men of Cotechna.

Coombs, Elizabeth Lockwood

1968 *Tales of the Tuscaroras; a Compilation of Anecdotes*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

1980 *Some Addenda to Tales of the Tuscaroras*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

Despite extensive searching, I was unable to locate *Tales of the Tuscaroras*. It seems that Coombs published her own work and few copies are available. Should it be located, I am confident it would be an interesting piece.

Coombs, Elizabeth Lockwood

1978 *The Tuscaroras: Early Settlers of Lanesboro, Pennsylvania*. Hallstead, PA.

A small book based upon information gathered from interviews from Tuscarora descendants living in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Maryland. Coombs focuses particularly on information concerning Lanesboro, PA, a site on the PA-NY border, near where the Susquehanna meets the Chenango and Unadilla rivers.

Cornwell, William S.

1959 An artificially deformed skull from the Dan site. *New York State Archeological Association Bulletin* 17:1012.

The report suggests that a set of human remains with cranial modification found in Seneca territory is likely an adoptee from a southeastern tribe, possibly the Tuscarora, as the Iroquois are not known to have practiced deformation of the skull.

Cusick, David, and Paul Royster

2006 *David Cusick's sketches of ancient history of the Six Nations (1828)*. Lincoln, NE: Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

This is probably the first account of Native American history and myth to be written and published in English by a Native American. Cusick recounts the history of the Six

Nations, beginning with Creation, and including the history of the Tuscaroras as they split from the Six Nations in ancient history only to return many years later.

Dearborn, Henry Alexander S.

1848 Papers 1802-1848. Durham, NC: Archival material.

Correspondence relating to national and state politics, nullification, and internal improvements, especially canals and railroads in the Boston area and in Pennsylvania.

Correspondents include Henry Dearborn, Joseph Gardner Swift, and Gerard Ralston.. On July 30, 1802, Henry Dearborn sent instructions to Captain Callender Irvine concerning negotiations for a treaty with the Tuscarora Indians of North Carolina.

Devereux, John.

1883 Papers 1712-1883. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Private Collections.

Petition to Congress protesting the seizure of Cotton by Federal troops in 1865, the

Original treaty of 1712 between Gov. Pollock and the Friendly Tuscaroras of Tom Blunt.

Deeds, grants, and plats for land in Bertie County.

Dinwiddie, Robert.

1756 Letter to George Washington, December 27, 1756. *In* Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers, vol. 2. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed. Published by the Society of the Colonial Dames of America. Retrieved from USGenWeb Archives: <http://files.usgwarchives.net/nc/bertie/history/indian/dinwiddie.txt>

In this letter from the French and Indian War, Robert Dinwiddie says that he expects the Tuscarora and the Nottoway allies to arrive at Fort Cumberland in early spring. The rest of the letter concerns the availability of supplies to Fort Cumberland and Fort Loudon.

Fries, Adelaide L.

1922 Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Volume 1. Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Print Co.

In volume 1, Br. Joseph (a.k.a. Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg), visits North Carolina in 1752. He visits the Tuscarora Indian in Bertie county and they gave him a

threatening message for the Catawbas, “we should tell them that there were plenty of young men among the Tuscarora who knew the way to Catawba town, and that they could do and return in about twenty days” (p. 41). This volume also accounts for the purchase of remaining Tuscarora land. Spangenberg noted, “t is said that the Indians are tired of living there” (p. 53).

Harriot, Thomas, and Paul Royster

2007 A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (1588). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries.

Harriot’s *Virginia*, from 1588, is the first book published by an English colonist in America. His report focuses mainly on the Native people he encountered and learned about during his expeditions into the Virginia colony. He doesn’t talk about the Tuscarora, but this is a good background for understanding the ecological and social conditions of early Virginia.

Hawks, Francis Lister

1851 Papers 1850-1851. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Private Collections.

13 items. Undated letter to John H. Bryan containing transcript of letter and memorial from Christopher Gale describing Tuscarora War (Nov. 2, 1711).

Heckewelder, John Gottlieb Ernestus

1881 History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Available online: [archive.org](http://archive.org).

Written between 1762 and 1800; contains references to Indian town throughout Pennsylvania, including Shamokin, Shenango, and Wyoming, and cultural notes on the groups that inhabited them. The Tuscarora are not explicitly mentioned, however, there are other sources which suggest that Tuscaroras traveled some of the same routes that Heckewelder took in this document.

Johnson, Elias

2006 Legends, Traditions, & Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, & History of the Tuscarora Indians. Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation. Original publication: 1881.

In his introduction Johnson writes that the purpose of this book is to correct the prevalent misconceptions about Native people. Johnson has a unique take on the Tuscarora perspective on the Tuscarora War, which is rarely described elsewhere. Johnson also takes on the much more contemporary (nineteenth century) Tuscarora history, which he accumulated from his elders and other relations.

Johnson, Tim

1993 Tuscarora Homestead: An Interview with Norton Rickard. *Akwe:kon Journal* 10(1):4-22.

A Tuscarora farmer reminisces about growing up on the farm and discusses agricultural practices and food preservation then and now, the central place of corn in Indian culture, community gatherings to accomplish large farm tasks, and teaching his children both agriculture and traditions through hands-on experience.

Johnson, William

1756 An Account of Conferences Held, and Treaties Made, between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart., and the Chief Sachems and Warriours of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onandagos, Cayugas, Senekas, Tuskaroras, Aughquageys, Skaniadaradighronos, Chugnuts, Mahickanders, Shawanese, Kanuskagos, Toderigbronos, and Oghquagoes. London: Printed for A. Millar. Available online: [archive.org](http://archive.org).

The complete title continues, “Indian Nations in North America at their Meetings on Different Occasions at Fort Johnson, in the Colony of New York, in the Years 1755 and 1756, with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Hawley to Sir William Johnson, written at the desire of the Delaware Indians, and a preface giving a short account of the Six Nations, some anecdotes of the life of Sir William, and notes illustrating the whole; also an appendix containing an account of conferences between several Quakers in Philadelphia and some of the heads of the Six Nations, in April 1756.”

Klingberg, Frank J. (ed.)

1956 *The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis LeJau*. Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press.

Includes LeJau's response to Tuscarora slaves in Charlestown after the Tuscarora War.

Lawson, John, and Hugh Talmage Lefler

1967 *New Voyage to Carolina, 1674-1711 [1709]*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Lawson's account of his adventures in Carolina begins in 1700, when Lawson led a small expedition out of Charleston and up the Santee River by canoe and on foot through the Carolina backcountry. Along the way he took careful note of the vegetation, wildlife and, in particular, the many Indian tribes he encountered. He traveled nearly 600 miles through the wilderness, ending his journey near the mouth of the Pamlico River. In an introductory chapter on Lawson's life, Hugh Lefler comments on the Tuscarora War, opining that the Tuscarora seized upon the particularly poor economic and social situation of the North Carolina colony in 1711 to launch their attack.

Livingston, Robert, and Lawrence H. Leder

1956 *The Livingston Indian records, 1666-1723*, edited by Lawrence H. Leder: Gettysburg, Pennsylvania Historical Association.

Robert Livingston was the secretary of the Albany Indian Commission. These records include correspondences between the governor of New York and the governors of North Carolina and Virginia, as well as 5 Nations councils, attempting to smooth over conflicts between the 5 Nations and the southern colonies. Many of these concern the Tuscarora War directly.

McGrath, John C.

1925 *Reminiscences*, 1925 Mar. 21-28. Buffalo, NY: Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society Archives.

Hand written reminiscences of the Tuscarora Indians of Niagara County, New York during the late 1800s.

McIlwaine, Henry Read, Wilmer Lee Hall, and Benjamin J. Hillman (eds.)  
1680 Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 2 volumes. Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library.

Volume 1 covers the period from 1680 to 1699, volume 2 from 1699 to 1705. In these volumes we can see the developing resentment between the Tuscarora and the Virginia colony. Many of the Tuscarora references in these executive journals concern the incident involving Daniel Pugh, who illegally captured four Tuscarora and sold them as slaves.

McIlwaine, Henry Read (ed.)  
1915 Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. 13 volumes. Richmond, VA: Virginia Historical Society.

Vol. 3, containing information about the relationship between the Tuscarora Indians and the Virginia Colony and encouraging trade inland. Vol. 10, containing information about the relationship between the Tuscarora Indians and the Virginia Colony, including evidence of the Tuscarora and Nottoway Indians' inducement to take up arms in defense of the colony.

NCCR

1996a The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. VII: Records of the Executive Council, 1664-1734.

The 1664-1734 section of the colonial records concerns the most volatile time between the Tuscarora and the North Carolina Colony. These records pertain not only to the prosecution of the Tuscarora War, but also the aftermath in which the followers of Chief Hancock were punished and the struggle of Chief Tom Blount to maintain stability between his people and the colonial government in the face of settler encroachments on Tuscarora territory and continued struggles against the capturing of Tuscaroras for enslavement.

NCCR

1996b The Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. VIII: Records of the Executive Council, 1735-1754 [1996].

This volume of the colonial records of North Carolina relates to a much smaller Tuscarora population than previous volumes. However, the Tuscarora continued to be a formidable presence in North Carolina politics through the 1750s. In the documents contained herein, we gain a little insight into the negotiating tactics of Tuscarora leadership, particularly of Chief James Blount, and the ever-present territorial tension between the Tuscarora and neighboring white settlers.

#### NCHS

1929 Proceedings and addresses, vol. XI - XIII. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society.

The papers included in these volumes relate to the early history of Pennsylvania and are especially relevant to early roads and trade routes, as well as historically significant individuals such as Colonel Matthew Smith, the leader of the Paxton boys, and Madame Montour, who was closely involved with Native-colonial affairs in the colony and functioned as a way-station to many travelers through the region.

#### PACR

1838 Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Minutes of the Provincial Council, vol. 2 1700-1717. Harrisburg: Theophilus Fenn.

Several other historians have commented on the surprisingly few mentions of the Tuscarora in this volume. There are quite a few mentions of the tension between the Five Nations and the Virginia colony, alluding to conflicts with “southern Indians”

#### Pennsylvania Treaties

1758 Minutes of the Conference held at Easton, in October 1758. Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall.

Minutes of Conferences held at Easton, with the Chief Shaman and Warriors of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Tuteloes, Skaniadaradigronos, consisting of the Nanticokes and Coneys, who now make one

Nation, Chugnutts, Delawares, Unamies, Mahickanders, or Mohicans, Minifinks and Wapingers, or Pumptions.

Pollock, Thomas

1850 Papers, 1708-1859. 2 volumes. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Private Collections.

Papers of Governor Pollock including descriptions of the aftermath of the Tuscarora War and dealings with the new Tuscarora "King" Tom Blount.

Rochefoucauld, Francois duc de La

1799 Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797; with an Authentic Account of Lower Canada. London: R. Phillips. Available online: [openlibrary.org](http://openlibrary.org).

The account of Rochefoucauld's travels through Pennsylvania and New York 1795-97.

Rochefoucauld describes the places and towns he encounters, including his observations of the Six Nations. A scanned copy of the document is available online, although it is slightly difficult to read due to the old style of type. This also inhibits searching the document for keywords, and the index is only completed up to the letter M. Farming practices pgs. 156, 175-77, customs pgs. 180-83 (incl. marriage, trade, warfare), a Tuscarora town located near Queenston, ON, pgs. 265-66.

Slade, William

1929 Papers, 1751-1929. 31 volumes. Durham, NC: Special Collections Department, Perkins Library, Duke University.

The early Slade Papers contain the correspondence of General Jeremiah Slade, one of the U. S. Commissioners for the Tuscarora Indians. The Indian chiefs signed some of the documents. There are accounts and notes on business transactions, and General Slade's paper from 1800-1825 contain guardianship accounts and land deeds.

Snow, Dean R.

1995 Migration in Prehistory: The Northern Iroquoian Case. *American Antiquity* 60(1):59-79.



This paper considers the social structure of Northern Iroquoian society (maize based agriculture, matrilocality, etc.) and challenges the hypothesis that this cultural form developed gradually in situ. Snow's alternative hypothesis is that Iroquoian speakers migrated into the Northeast and brought their culture with them, congruent with the rapid appearance of this culture style in the archaeological record.

#### Society of Friends

1983 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Indian Committee Records. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Various records, particularly letters from the Tuscarora Nation 1791-1953, addresses to Tuscarora 1803-1892, leasing of Indian land, temperance among the Tuscarora, Annual reports of Indian Aid Society of Philadelphia, materials from yearly Indian Committee of Philadelphia, and the Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures and its work from 1756 to 1764.

#### Spotswood, Alexander

1712 Papers, 1710-1712. Raleigh, NC: Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

35 items. Letters concerning Cary's Rebellion, and the Tuscarora War.

#### Stone, David

1942 Papers. Raleigh, NC: Private Collections, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

76 items. Letters and legal Papers from 1801-1806 concerning leased Tuscarora Indian lands in Bertie County. Also listing of taxable slaves and land in Bertie County (1813), and notebooks containing slave births and deaths from 1741-1837.

#### Todd, Vincent H.

1920 Christoph von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co. Available online: <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/graffenried/graffenried.html>

The electronic version is an English translation of the original German. The founding of New Bern is frequently held as one of the precipitating causes of the Tuscarora War. This

account includes con Graffenreid's perceptions of the Barnwell and Moore campaigns, as well as his own eyewitness account of his and John Lawson's captivity by the Tuscarora at Catechna.

Tryon, William

1980 The Correspondence of William Tryon and other selected papers. 2 vols. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources.

Many of Tryon's correspondences concern the arrival of a Tuscarora sachem named Diagaweejee, who arrived in Brunswick in 1766 to secure the sale of the remaining Tuscarora lands on the Roanoke River, and to use the proceeds from the sale to fund the relocation of the remaining Tuscaroras to New York.

Wallace, Anthony F.C.

1952 The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians: As Revealed by the Rorschach Test. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Drawing upon theories originating from Freudian psychology, the basic idea is that key personality traits are innately cultural. The objective of this study is to identify a characteristic psychological structure within a cultural group. What's interesting about this study is that the majority of participants fell outside the modal personality type.

Wallace, Paul A. W., ed.

1985 The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. Available online via Digital Research Library: <http://digital.library.pitt.edu>

John Heckewelder, born 1743, was an active and observant American traveler in the eighteenth century. This account of his travels focuses mostly on the Pennsylvania area. Heckewelder does mention Tuscaroras a few times through the course of his book, mentioning their presence in Wyalusing and a conversation with a Tuscarora chief (in 1793).

Washington, George

1756 Speech to Tuscarora Indians, August 1, 1756. *In* The Papers of George Washington, Colonial Series. Volume 3. W. W. Abbot, ed. Pp. 56-57. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984. Available online: <http://files.usgarchives.net/nc/bertie/history/indian/washing.txt>

In this letter, George Washington declares his friendship to the Tuscarora and identifies the French, Shawnee, and Delaware as enemies of the English colonists, allied with the Six Nations, Cherokee, Catawba, and Nottoways. Washington expresses the desire that the Tuscarora join him in alliance against the French and provides a string of wampum “In confirmation of the above & in hopes of your Compliance”

Williams, Ted C.

1976 The Reservation. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Both of Ted Williams’ books are probably familiar to you already. *The Reservation* is a collection of vignettes about life on the reservation during Williams’ childhood.

Tuscarora words are interspersed throughout the book.

Williams, Ted

2007 Big Medicine from Six Nations. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Reminiscences and essays on the themes of medicine, physical, spiritual, and psychic healing. Williams recounts his Tuscarora upbringing, illustrating the dynamic encounter of tradition and innovation at the heart of contemporary Haudenosaunee culture. It offers a fascinating view not only of herbal medicine but also of prayers, omens, feasts, vision quests, sweat lodges, spirits, and the teachings of the Great Law of the Great Peace.

## Secondary Sources

Boyce, Douglas W.

1975 Did a Tuscarora Confederacy Exist? *In* Four Centuries of Southern Indians. C.M. Hudson, ed. Pp. 28-45. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.

Boyce concerns himself with the political structure of the early Tuscaroras, drawing upon the work of J.N.B. Hewitt, Anthony F.C. Wallace, and David Landy. Boyce cites many of

the same colonial records as these other historians, concluding that the Tuscarora prior to 1713 were not organized into a confederacy, but each village functioned as an autonomous political unit, represented by either a single chief or a council.

Boyce, Douglas W.

2003 'As the wind scatters the smoke': the Tuscaroras in the eighteenth century. *In* *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. D.K. Richter and J.H. Merrell, eds. Pp. 151-163. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Focuses on the evolution of the Tuscarora-Five Nations political relationship, and puts great detail into explaining the competing interests of different Native Nations as well as the rivaling French and English colonies. Boyce portrays Chief Tom Blount, of the Upper Tuscarora alliance, as somewhat of a puppet-leader used by the colonial government to control the Tuscarora, however, other sources refute this perspective (Feeley 2007).

Brewster, William

1954 *The Pennsylvania and New York frontier: history of from 1720 to the close of the Revolution*. G. S. MacManus Co.: Philadelphia.

This history is largely an account of the Haudenosaunee and their evolving relationship with colonists in New York and Pennsylvania. Includes several topics related to the Tuscarora migration, including entire chapters devoted to Shamokin and Friedenshuetten, key stopping points for Tuscarora migrants, and the Albany Congress, in which the Tuscarora were admitted as the sixth nation of the Haudenosaunee.

Binford, Lewis R.

1967 An Ethnohistory of the Nottoway, Meherrin and Weanock Indians of Southeastern Virginia. *Ethnohistory* 14(3-4):106-218.

The Nottoway and Meherrin groups are Iroquoian-language speakers inhabiting southern Virginia. The author covers the geographical setting, social setting, and historical record relating to these groups. The Tuscarora are mentioned throughout due to their proximity and cultural similarity.

Bennet, Katharine W.

1943 Madame Montour. Proceedings of the Northumberland County Historical Society, vol. XII: 29-46.

An account of the life of Madame Montour, a woman of mixed heritage who worked as an interpreter and diplomat between the Iroquois and the PA colonists. Madame Montour's home is frequently mentioned as a resting place on the Indian paths between Iroquois country and the West branch of the Susquehanna., although this essay does not mention Tuscarora travelers.

Campbell, Lyle, and Marianne Mithun, eds.

1979 The Languages of Native America: Historical and Comparative Assessment. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Contains information on the relatedness of Native languages. Tuscaroras are mentioned in the chapter on Iroquoian language groups, pp.133-212 and the chapter on Southeastern languages, pp. 299-326.

Carter, John H.

1932 Indian Tribes of Shamokin. Proceedings and addresses, Northumberland County Historical Society 5.

This history of Shamokin characterizes the city as the "melting pot of Indian civilization." Mentions many different Native groups and their specific relationships to Shamokin and the Haudenosaunee, but does not mention the Tuscarora at all.

Cummings, W.P.

1958 The Southeast in Early Maps. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Includes a map drawn by Col. John Barnwell in 1725, but it is reduced in size and faded.

A clear plate of the eastern North Carolina portion of the map is shown in Jones (1983).

Also includes a 1733 map drawn by Edward Mosely depicting Torhunta, Hancock's Town (Catechna), Nooherooka (Neoheroka), and Conneghta (Kenta).

Donehoo, George Patterson

1977 Indian villages and place names in Pennsylvania. Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press.

This book contains an alphabetical listing of place-names in Pennsylvania which are either derived from Indigenous languages or referencing a Native occupation site. It is difficult to use as a reference unless you already know the name you're looking up. For the Tuscarora, there are numerous towns and features named, but Donehoo doesn't go into much history, preferring to keep his description etymological.

Ellis, Franklin, and Austin N. Hungerford

1886 History of that part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys embraced in the counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union and Snyder, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards.

The authors begin with the initial objective of determining how the name Tuscarora became attached to the valley, mountain, and creek in that area. This may be one of the earliest historical reports concerned with the activities of the Tuscarora between North Carolina and New York, and the tight focus on the Juniata River Valley makes this a thorough and detailed piece (pp. 34-45).

Ethridge, R. and C. Hudson, eds

2002 The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760. Jackson, University Press of Mississippi.

Chapters 1, 4, 5, and 7 in this edited text directly discuss Tuscarora history.

Subjects include the Southern slave trade in Native people, the early stages of the English-Tuscarora relationship, the Tuscarora War, the Yamasee War, and the cultural landscape of the Carolina piedmont. Marvin T. Smith's chapter, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast," (pp. 3-20) provides an informative analysis of population movements, why and how people relocated, and the push and pull factors which influenced them.

Feeley, Stephen Delbert

2007 Tuscarora Trails: Indian Migrations, War, and Constructions of Colonial Frontiers, The College of William and Mary.

A dissertation for the History department at W&M. Feeley's interest lies in the movement of Tuscarora and the new political relationships that arose from their dispersal. Incredibly detailed, Feeley's dissertation spans two volumes which scrupulously consider every angle from every independent party which had a stake in the Tuscarora War and migration. His conclusion asserts that Tuscarora and European people were mutually influential, as opposed to the classic perception of Native groups being peripheral characters to American history.

Haas, Marilyn L.

1994 The Seneca and Tuscarora Indians: an annotated bibliography. Scarecrow Press: Metuchen, N.J.

Many of the sources available in this volume which are relevant to the Tuscarora migration have already been accounted for in this bibliography. However, for further study Haas's bibliography is wonderful jumping-off point. The bibliography is arranged in alphabetically in sub-sections by topics including, 'art and artifact', 'battles and wars,' 'Folklore, legends, myths, and tales,' 'biographies,' etc.

Hanna, Charles A.

1972 The Wilderness Trail or The Venture and Adventures of the Pennsylvania traders on the Allegheny Path with some new annals of the old west, and the records of some strong men and some bad ones. 2 vols. New York: AMS Press.

Contains some of the same information as Wallace (1971), but contains greater historical context and more complete bibliographic information. Also contains photographs of sites along the trails, as well as reproductions of archival maps. However, it does not contain clear maps of the trail routes as are available in Wallace's book.

Hewitt, J.N.B.

1910 Tuscarora. Handbook of American Indians, *BAE Bull.* 30, II: 844-853.

The Bureau of American Ethnology's bulletin 30 is the generally the first source for anyone beginning research concerning Native Americans. In Hewitt's chapter on the

Tuscarora, he covers the early history in North Carolina, and explains the Tuscarora wars in good detail. However, he restricts himself to what is known about the early Tuscarora and does not discuss the Tuscarora of New York.

Holloman, C.R.

1966a Expeditionary Forces in the Tuscarora War. *We the People* XXIII(10):15-30.

Map by an unknown cartographer showing the routes taken by expeditionary forces during the Tuscarora War and the Yamasee Wars. Shows Hancock's Town (Catechna), Torhunta, and Fort Barnwell.

Holloman, C.R.

1966b Tuscarora Towns in Bath County. *We the People* XXIII(9):27-30.

Using an old handmade map, ca. 1710 or 1711, of eastern North Carolina, Holloman identifies and provides a brief description of Tuscarora Indian towns. Includes a readable copy of a map drawn by Baron Christoph von Graffenried c.1711 showing the locations of Toisnot, Turhunta, Kenta, and Catechna.

Houghton, Frederick

1909 The Indian Occupancy of the Niagara Frontier. *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 9(3):263-374.

Includes concise but detailed histories of the several tribes who have lived in the Niagara Frontier including the Seneca (279-89) and the Tuscarora (289-93). Indian names of Niagara Frontier localities are also listed with the meanings given. Foldout map. Article is preceded by introduction (261-62), titled "Indian village, camp, and burial sites on the Niagara Frontier."

Jennings, Francis

2003 Pennsylvania Indians and the Iroquois. *In Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*. D.K. Richter and J.H. Merrell, eds. Pp. 75-92. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

This chapter concerns the political environment of western Pennsylvania in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, specifically the relationship between the Delaware, Iroquois, and



Susquehannocks with English, French, and Dutch settlers, as well as the rise of Iroquois authority in Pennsylvania. This provides context for understanding the Tuscarora's role as they moved into Pennsylvania and settled, only to continue northwards to New York.

Johnson, F. Roy

1967 The Tuscaroras, vol.1: Mythology, Medicine, Culture. Murfreesboro, N.C.: Johnson Publishing Company.

1968 The Tuscaroras, vol. 2: History, Traditions, Culture. Murfreesboro, N.C.: Johnson Publishing Company.

Johnson's 2 volume set on the Tuscarora is broken up in a curious way. The mythology section in volume one overlaps in part with the history section in volume 2, with the primary difference being the reliance on Native authors for references to mythology, while colonial records are the primary references to history. Thus, the discussion of the Tuscarora War in volume 2 is heavily biased in favor of the colonial combatants.

Jones, H.G.

1983 North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Includes a map drawn by Col. John Barnwell in 1725 showing the route of the 1712 Barnwell expedition along with Tuscarora communities and forts that were encountered along the way. Only Neoheroke Fort and Hancock's Fort (Catechna) are clearly labeled. Other text on the map is obscured.

Kercheval, Samuel, Charles James Faulkner, and John J. Jacob

1833 A history of the valley of Virginia, by Samuel Kercheval: Winchester, VA: S.H. Davis. Available online via <http://galenet.galegroup.com>.

A significant paragraph is related on pages 58-59, in which a farmer (Mr. John Shobe) tells the author that fragments of human bones were occasionally plowed up in his fields and were remnants of a Tuscarora graveyard. The farmer comments specifically on a jawbone of enormous size, with perfectly preserved teeth. This was in Martinsburg, WV, in Berkeley County, on Tuscarora Creek.

Landy, David

1958 Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity. *Ethnohistory* 5(3):250-284.

Landy considers Anthony Wallace's model of cultural revitalization against the Tuscarora community in 1958. Despite the author's ethnocentric perspective, this is an interesting snapshot of the Tuscarora in the '50s and an unintentional study in cultural adaptation.

Latham, E. C. and P. M. Samford

2011 Naturalist, Explorer, and Town Father-John Lawson and Bath. *North Carolina Historical Review* 88(3): 250-264.

Here we have another account of John Lawson's death. This version provides a more extensive background on Lawson's prior dealings with Tuscaroras, and also has a paragraph explaining the context of the Tuscarora War from with consideration to the Tuscarora's perspective.

Lee, E. Lawrence

1968 *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History.

Chapters 4 and 5 are yet another account of the Tuscarora War, this one less favorable to the Tuscarora than many of the others. Chapter 7, "The Decline of the Coastal Plain Indians," takes a fatalistic view of the Tuscarora and their neighbors and concludes that these groups are largely vanished. Chapter 13, "The End of a Century," compounds this argument, stating that the decline of the Carolina Indians was due to their dependence on European culture, their susceptibility to European disease, and their inability to combine their collective forces against a common enemy.

Lee, Wayne E.

2004 Fortify, Fight, or Flee: Tuscarora and Cherokee Defensive Warfare and Military Culture Adaptation. *The Journal of Military History* 68:713-770.

This paper compares the fortification styles of Tuscarora and Cherokee sites. Using archaeological evidence at fort Neoheroka as an example, it covers settlement patterns and fortification styles in order to describe adaptive military styles and tactics. Lee also comments on the divergent military philosophies of Native and non-native combatants.

Map of Tuscarora settlement on p. 725.

LeMaster, M.

2006 In the "Scolding Houses": Indians and the Law in Eastern North Carolina, 1684-1760. *North Carolina Historical Review* 83(2): 193-232.

Explaining the myth of the vanishing Indian as her jumping off point, LeMaster's article aims to fill in the gap for the coastal Carolinian native groups after the Tuscarora War.

She notes that even decades after the Tuscarora war, the Tuscarora remained the strongest Native group in the region. She also discusses the Meherrin, the Chowanoc, and other groups. LeMaster makes a good point that more often than not the "disappearances" of Native groups have been largely the result of the naïveté and ignorance of historians, rather the defeat or assimilation of a population.

Midtrød, Tom Arne

2011 Strange and Disturbing News: Rumor and Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley. *Ethnohistory* 58(1):91-112.

The subject of this paper is the rumors of Indian conspiracies against the Europeans in 1712 which arose throughout the Hudson valley subsequent to the outbreak of the Tuscarora War. This article holds that the spread of rumors and tales from one group of people to the next represents indirect evidence of a vast native social and political world largely hidden from modern eyes.

Milling, C.J.

1940 *Red Carolinians*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.

Chapter 8, “The Tuscarora War,” (pp. 113-134) covers much the same material as other sources but relies most heavily on the journals of Barnwell and Moore. For this reason, this particular version of events goes into greater detail concerning the challenges faced by the soldiers on the ground, and their experience of the Tuscarora fighters. Other chapters relate to the activities on Indian trading routes.

Parramore, Thomas C.

1982 The Tuscarora Ascendancy. *The North Carolina Historical Review* 59(4):307-326.

The objective of this paper is to create a full appreciation of the formidable power and strategic dominance of the Tuscarora in opposition to the tendency to represent the Tuscarora as a significant entity only during the period of the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713. The discussion is focused on the Tuscarora’s role in colonial Carolina and their contributions to political life and society.

Parramore, Thomas C.

1987 With Tuscarora Jack on the Back Path to Bath. *The North Carolina Historical Review* 64(2):115-138.

This paper concerns the deployment of Colonel John Barnwell’s expedition into North Carolina against the Tuscaroras. Parramore argues that Barnwell’s victory at Torhunta was less than he made it out to be, as the Tuscarora of this town were noncombatants in the war thus far.

Paschal, H. R. J.

1953 The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina. Department of History. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. Master of Arts: 166 pgs.

A detailed history thesis on the Tuscarora in North Carolina. Although Paschal details the process and stages of groups which left to migrate to New York, this essay does not relate to the migration route itself.

Paschal, Herbert Richard

1955 A History of Colonial Bath. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Company. Available online: <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu>.

Begins with the story of the Roanoke colony and goes into the Pamlico and Machapunga tribes which inhabited the era prior to European settlement. Goes into the founding of Bath Town by Lawson and Graffenreid and the Tuscarora War. Extends to about 1775.

Phelps, David Sutton, Mark A. Mathias, and Jeffrey J. Crow

1983 The Prehistory of North Carolina: an Archaeological Symposium. Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Dept. of Cultural Resources.

The expanded symposium papers. Relevant papers include "Archaeology of the North Carolina coast and coastal plain" by David Sutton Phelps, "A review of archaeology in the North Carolina Piedmont" by H. Trawick Ward, and "Ancient mountaineers" by Burton L. Purrington.

Pomeroy, Hon. A.N.

1898 Path Valley Before the Revolution. Kottochtinny Historical Society Papers 1:22-35. Online: [Tuscaroras.com](http://Tuscaroras.com)

Covers a period of time beginning with the arrival of Samuel Champlain in 1609. Discusses Indian settlements in the Valley and directly references Tuscarora history. However, the primary focus of the piece is to highlight the triumphs of Scotch-Irish settlers in carving homesteads out of the wilderness.

Ramsey, William L.

2002 A Coat for 'Indian Cuffy': Mapping the Boundary between Freedom and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina. The South Carolina Historical Magazine 103(1):48-66.

This paper discusses the rarely-discussed topic of slavery of Indigenous people in South Carolina. Specifically, Ramsey discusses the political challenges which beset this social system. On pages 56-57, the role of the slave in the Iroquois/Tuscarora relationship with the colonies is considered. The second half of the article considers the Yamasee War, and the legal ambiguity which defined slave status in this era.

Reichel, W.C.

1871 Wyalusing and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshuetten. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 1(5):179-224.

This is a history of Wyalusing from 1765 to 1772. On page 198, there is an account of the party of Tuscaroras which stopped at Friedenshuetten in 1767. It is a good example of how later parties of Tuscarora migrants had an established network helping them to relocate in the North.

Rhoades, Matthew L.

2010 Long Knives and the Longhouse: Anglo-Iroquois Politics and the Expansion of Colonial Virginia. Plymouth, UK: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

This book concerns the politics between the colony of Virginia and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The Tuscarora War was a major source of tension between both political entities. Virginia remained interested in the goings of the Tuscarora for quite some time, even though the colony was not actually involved in the conflict.

Richter, Daniel K., and James H. Merrell, eds.

2003 Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

This collection includes chapters relating to the Iroquois and their relationships with the Catawba, the Cherokee, the English, the colony of Pennsylvania, and also includes Boyce's essay, "As the Wind Scatters the Smoke." The book includes a map titled, "The Iroquois and their neighbors in the early 1760s," showing the entire east coast.

Tuscaroras are shown in New York on the Delaware River, in North Carolina on the Roanoke River, and small groups are shown on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania.

Rudes, B. A. and D. Crouse

1987 The Tuscarora Legacy of J.N.B. Hewitt: Materials for the Study of the Tuscarora Language and Culture. Ottawa, Canada, National Museums of Canada. Vol. 1-2.

J.N.B. Hewitt's collection of Tuscarora texts collected during the 1880s, dealing principally with cosmological and traditional religious beliefs, medical practices, and mythic traditions. All the texts are printed in both Tuscarora and English versions.

Runkle, Stephen A.

2003 Native American Waterbody and Place Names within the Susquehanna River Basin and Surrounding Subbasins: Susquehanna River Basin Commission.

A report of the bodies of water and other places bearing names of Native linguistic origin in the Susquehanna river system, recorded by the Susquehanna River basin commission. Many of these places are simply named 'Tuscarora' (e.g. Tuscarora Creek), but some are correlated with Tuscarora village sites (e.g. Conihunto, Ingaren, Aughwick).

Severance, Frank H.

1918 Our neighbors the Tuscaroras. Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society. Available online: <http://archive.org>.

A speech by the historian Frank Severance given at the Tuscarora Annual Picnic in 1915 based on documents from the Buffalo Historical Society. Severance tells the history of the Tuscarora people from North Carolina. "Here is a true American odyssey, for the wanderings of Ulysses are surpassed by the experiences of these people..."

Sander, Dorothea W.

1991 The Indian Presence in the Shenandoah Valley. Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University Library.

This book describes various Indian groups that inhabited the Shenandoah Valley. Sander discusses the impact of white settlement, the French and Indian war, etc. She mentions Indian trails/paths; lists historical markers, towns and forts.

Uhler, Sherman P.

1951 Pennsylvania's Indian relations to 1754. Allentown, PA: Donacker Print Co.

An account of Pennsylvania's colonial history until 1754. There are references to the Tuscarora at the 1710 meeting at Conestoga between the Tuscarora and in the content of

Virginia Governor Spotswood's written complaint that the Tuscarora were being sheltered in the Susquehanna Valley.

Wallace, Anthony F. C., and William D. Reyburn

1951 Crossing the Ice: A Migration Legend of the Tuscarora Indians. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 17(1):42-47.

This paper discusses the origin of the Crossing the Ice story in Tuscarora culture. The paper addresses a similar story told by the Delaware, and also some significant congruencies between practices mentioned in the story and observational data made by John Lawson in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Wallace, Anthony F.C.

2012 *Tuscarora: A History*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Wallace's recent book is one of few accounts of contemporary Tuscarora life, but he also places the Tuscarora within a historical context beginning with the earliest sources available.

Wallace, Paul A. W.

1970 *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission: Harrisburg.

In chapter 14 (pp.104-113) the author covers the history of Indian refugees in Pennsylvania, and the role of the Iroquois in organizing and mobilizing these groups. In addition to the Tuscarora, the Nanticokes, Conoys, and Tutelos are covered in this chapter.

Wallace, Paul A. W.

1971 *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

Thorough descriptions of the most heavily used routes by native people. Although Wallace says that the Tuscarora Path (p. 168-170) travels from North Carolina through Path Valley to Sunbury, PA, his description only covers that territory north of the



Maryland border. Other paths of particular relevance to the Tuscarora route are the Raystown Path (142-147), Great Warriors Path (72-74), Lackawanna Path (83-84).

Weiser, C. Z.

1876 The life of (John) Conrad Weiser, the German Pioneer, Patriot, and Patron of Two Races. Reading, PA: D. Miller.

A thorough biography based on the Conrad Weiser papers. Conrad Weiser was a diplomat and interpreter between the Pennsylvania colony and the Haudenosaunee between 1731-1760. Weiser became an adopted son of the Mohawks and was greatly relied upon by the council and governor of Pennsylvania. Includes excerpts from his correspondences.

Whyte, Thomas R.

2007 Proto-Iroquoian Divergence in the Late Archaic-Early Woodland Period Transition of the Appalachian Highlands. *Southeastern Archaeology* 26(1):134-144.

The proto-Iroquoian divergence refers to the separation of the Iroquoian linguistic group into Southern and Northern variations. This paper hypothesizes why and how this divergence occurred. Using archaeological and ecological evidence, Whyte supposes that the divergence began when people began to gradually shift their subsistence patterns from hunting and gathering to horticulture.