

autonomy in Zapatista communities. Mora's refusal to be only an objective observer combines with her use of Indigenous ways of knowing to create a compelling argument for Indigenous activist anthropology to be implemented in other cultural studies.

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The Lumbee Indians: An American Struggle. By Malinda Maynor Lowery. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. 328 pages. \$30.00 cloth; \$22.99 electronic.

A state-recognized tribal nation whose home borders South and North Carolina, the Lumbee Indians have a relationship to this land that the author of *The Lumbee Indians: An American Struggle* describes as “imagined through layers, as something to be remembered and felt, rather than as a map of places that can only be seen” (4). Malinda Maynor Lowery traces Lumbee history from first contact in 1524 through a number of historical periods into the modern day, including the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, the assimilation and removal era, the civil rights movement, the war on drugs, and Lumbee efforts to articulate and enact a tribal constitution. In a brief, but packed historical analysis, the author utilizes a variety of sources to present a more diverse picture of US history, including newspapers, government documents, and the oral histories of Lumbee families. This review will focus on her exploration of family and kinship, race relations, and tribal self-determination.

The text traces history through family names, underscoring the importance of Lowery's emphasis on family and kinship over tribal affiliation. In order to demonstrate that kinship ties should define Lumbee history and their struggle for self-determination—not tribal affiliation determined by documented proof of historical existence—Lowery lists dozens of diverse, little-known tribal nations that are all intimately tied to Lumbee ancestral history. Lowery's book refers to specific family names, rather than tribal affiliation, providing for Lumbee agency over telling their history and also to best reflect the complex history of the tribe, still rooted and present in the land they call home.

Framing the author's endeavor to relate the history of her tribe in highly personal terms, each chapter opens with a short interlude which recounts personal anecdotes of her own family and experiences, including her struggle to articulate herself as Indian in her youth and tracing her family history, especially that of strong female role models. In that this chapter structure drives home the history of the tribe as told through family and kinship ties, it speaks to an audience who may ascribe historical legitimacy to communities with established tribal affiliations. This is most evident in Lowery's discussion of what tribal name the community should employ as an extension of tribal, state, and federal government relationships. The community revisits this debate at various points in its history, reflecting “a political strategy to achieve autonomy, a difference of opinion, a retelling of history, and a deference to white views on race” (111).

The inclusion of this debate in the text articulates the tribe not as a static, monolithic culture, but a group of people with a myriad of voices and opinions working together to advance their common community.

During the period preceding and following the Civil War, a white/black binary governed racial distinctions. An individual Lumbee's Indian identity was completely erased when they were considered on the black/white continuum, depending upon how race operated in specific instances. For example, the term *mulatto*, which was often applied to Lumbee community members, affected their ability to vote, which was denied to people of color in 1835. Race articulations often referenced arbitrary physical markers, including facial shapes, hair, and body structure. This put the varied community of Lumbee families at a disadvantage as they had intermarried with other tribal communities, white settlers, and former slaves and freemen. Physical markers also affected some of the attempts the communities made at federal recognition. In 1936, the federal government utilized a physical anthropologist to measure physical attributes such as the shade of their skin color, the shape of teeth, earlobes, nose, width of chests, and the coarseness of their hair to determine inclusion as federally recognized Indians.

Lowery does not shy away from describing the range of racial attitudes held by Lumbees themselves, which were articulated in the multiracial communities' struggle for local, state, and federal recognition. Lumbees operated within the white supremacist structure of Robeson County, North Carolina while simultaneously supporting multiracial kinship ties within the community. In one instance, Lumbees attempted to remove black teachers who had been placed in their school for the purpose of state-sponsored integration. This stance against integration reflected the struggle for control over Lumbee Indian education as an expression of self-determination, a struggle they had dominated up until that point. In another instance in the late 1960s, Lumbee and black activists banded together to increase voter registration, resulting in a combined number of votes that outnumbered those cast by white voters.

Lowery relates her tribe's efforts to articulate their community as a self-governing, sovereign state to the struggles of other tribes with land loss and control over education, tying the Lumbee experience within the broader context of Native American tribal citizenship. In the end, Lowery's unique approach to an extremely complex history—using specific families that ground the narrative in her particular community—achieves her aim of showing how the Lumbees' attachment to their land is consistently present through kinship connection and how the Lumbee tribe enacted their own form of self-determination without federal recognition.

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