ROAD TO RECOGNITION, A STUDY OF LOUISIANA INDIANS 1880-PRESENT

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

JEAN LAFITTE NATIONAL PARK

by

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INTRODUCTION

Non-Indians usually like Indians. They sympathize with the underdog, and cast the Indian as the losers! In the South Indians are spoken of in the past tense. They are "dead," "removed," or otherwise out of the present, relegated to some historical framework. There they lose life, lose the power for good or evil and somehow become either evil villains or subservient, romantic figures. Academically, they become the subject matter of archaeologists. In Louisiana, the Indian people quietly drifted away from contact with non-Indians. They had white, and black friends, but they were selective in their connections, and, as communities, kept to themselves. The Sioux activist, Vine Deloria, Jr., once said that Indians in the United States needed a "leave us alone" law.[1] In Louisiana, they also choose to be "left alone". Subsequent to about 1840, little was heard from the tribes. The considerable involvement with government typical of Indians in the colonial and Territorial Periods of Louisiana history dissipated. Decline in the population, and over a century of chaotic relations with non-Indians, took their toll. By the time of the Civil War, the tribes had "taken to the back" in the state. Since the 1960's the tribes and communities have gained strength, and have ostensibly "come back." It is one of the more interesting aspects of Louisiana Indian history that only non-Indians have ever considered Indians as "gone."

This may not be what anthropologists or historians said or heard; that really does not matter. It is a matter of conscience that the record

be kept straight. If this paper never sees the light of day, gathers dust in some filing cabinet, as the basis for part of it did for forty years, it will be alright with the Indian people. They know who and what they are. Children are still learning their languages. Girls and boys learn to do basketry and other traditional arts. Old men pass on the stories on late winter nights while grandchildren curl at their feet. The cultures, and there are several, survive. On starlit nights at Binger in far off Oklahoma even the Caddo still raise their voices and the children hear the songs from the pre-1840 days in Louisiana.[2] A pair of tired Choctaw and Coushatta men sit late into the night talking about the government and its ways. Federal and state bureaucracy stories are replacing older deer chase and bear hunting stories. Perhaps someday even the powerful witches will also have to vie with bureaucrats, but the telling will always be Indian, something private. Something they share with one another, a veil drawn to protect their culture from outsiders.

As has been the case for generations this is written to interpret Indian people to non-Indians. It should be noted that the Indian people in Louisiana have always been surprised that they are such curiosities to non-Indians. They feel no urge to be "studied." In some cases, in fact, they have requested that they not be studied.

It is by appreciation of Indians as people, recognizing their contributions to regional development, that cultural understanding is achieved. Hopefully, this work will be a start in that direction.

In a grant proposal, written in 1943, Alice Marriot noted that the Deep South was virgin territory for American Indian studies.[3] She

clearly noted all the contemporary problems; what seems most lamentable is that the situation has lingered for nearly forty years. Indian distrust of whites, social and geographic isolation, non-Indian community suspicion of students of Indian culture, and anthropological naivete are as rampant now as they were in the 1940's.

THE BACKGROUND

There are several different ways of discussing continuity and change in American Indian communities: socio-political change, religion, legal rights, material cultural shifts and maintenance, language loss or retention. All these seem to demand a base-line or datum against which contemporary Indian life is measured. So one thing can be seen as a "change" or another set of behavior seen as a "continuity." In the first place this kind of historical orientation grows out of a crassly colonial worldview, that of "dominant" industrialized western Europe rendering other cultures subordinant to that system if not exploiting or assimilating them totally. American Indians, Africans, Asians, even people like the Celtic and Ural-Altaic groups of Europe, have been victimized by such an approach. Certainly the American Indian has been victimized by this model of history from the onset. At first continuity was used as an example of inferiority, Indians were racially (race and learning were linked) incapable of losing the negative values ascribed to them by a dominant European culture. Later, change was seen as tantamount to loss of identity, making the communities somehow less Indian, and the people were denied their sovereign rights.[4]

This particular cultural catch twenty-two has only affected the Indians of Louisiana since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Earlier, the French and Spanish colonials developed policies regarding Indians as though they were sovereign, even if unequal, cultures. Indians had adaptive knowledge, land and resources, and military

strengths of value to the colonials. The French made major concessions to such Indian adaptive strategies, and even promoted inter-racial mixture from time to time. The Spanish were more formal, less threatened or ambivalent than their French predecessors had been, and recognized sovereign rights of Indian communities in a much more consistent manner. It was the Spanish who abolished Indian slavery, formally empowered chiefs and guaranteed Indian communal lands.

The Spanish Recopilaciones guaranteed Indian land rights, and reserved a square league around their villages to them.[5] The villages that developed in Louisiana consisted of more a political and religious center with a wide ranging dispersed population connected to it. The historian Giraud points out that the Natchez settlement covered over thirty-five miles of territory.[6] The Choctaw were even more widely dispersed than that.[7] So the Indian settlements occupied much land, land keenly desired by the Europeans who followed them. Nevertheless the Spanish saw the wisdom in protecting Indian lands. Efforts to move the Indians about were made, but gifts, cajoling and other political efforts were resorted to.[8] The idea that Indians did not exist politically or that land was a commodity to which they had no title never developed. Looking at the reports by the first American Indian agent, Dr. John Sibley, one is struck by the distribution of the Indian settlements.[9] The aboriginal tribes: Houma, Chitimacha, Washa, and Attakapa all lost lands, but were all noted in the places they had occupied since at least 1700. The later immigrant groups who moved to Spanish Louisiana from adjacent parts of the Gulf Coast were settled around those groups, usually on "vacant" lands where a threat of

Anglo-American settlement could be noted. Such was the case in the upper Calcasieu drainage, the central portion of the Red River in Louisiana, at Pointe Coupee just across from West Florida (the Florida Parishes which continued as a British possession). These tribes offered a glaring contrast to the older tribal groups, and they were often clustered into groups that were adjacent to each other. For example, the Alabama and Pacana were settled south of Baton Rouge in villages immediately adjacent to each other. The Biloxi were settled below and immediately across from the Tunica, next to the Ofo, The Pascagoula, Biloxi, and Appalache were clustered at the junction of the Rigolet du Bon Dieu and the Red River just above the Chatot. The Alabama, Coushatta and Houma had crossed the river by 1790 to join Tunica, Ofo, and Biloxi who preceded them west. They settled in an area between Bayou Chicot and the Oppelousas prairie. The Pacana went to the headwaters of the Calcasieu, settling north of the Attakapas.[10]

Once these locations had been settled upon, the Spanish authorities tended to protect the Indians from white incursions, even to the point of placing military units near them for their protection from advancing white settlement.[11]

However, the condition of tribal sovereignty implied by the recognition of right to land and polity was not compatible with Anglo-American concepts. In the first place the Americans considered land as a commodity, to be bought and sold for personal gain. Neither the Indian, who did not impart any economic value to land per se but held it communally for use according to need, nor the French and Spanish who held the Indian and land as prebendal domain, felt it existed as a

commodity. In a prebendal domain the state, the ruler, draws income from the use of land, not the land per se.[12] It was therefore much easier for the Spanish and French to handle land in ways that did not impress, under normal conditions, upon them that Indians were a problem. The French, at their worst, attempted to dislodge the Natchez from their village on the Mississippi.[13] They also, like their Indian neighbors, took slaves as a by-product of warfare and as punishment from crimes. On occasion they actually manuevered attacks upon the Indians by blacks to keep the two races from contemplating white destruction, and they used Indians to track runaway slaves or as a threat to keep slaves from running away.[14] Still, with the possible exception of the Natchez incident and the enslavement of enemies like the Chitimacha, the French did not attempt to systematically displace Indian populations from their lands, but rather to co-exist with them on the same land bases. They especially sought to establish ties with tribes they could deal with in friendly ways; as trade or military allies.[15] Such relationships led to the development of a mixed-blood population near each French settlement.[16] It was these mixed populations who became the cultural brokers of the region. They frequently spoke two or more Indian languages as well as French. The Mobilian jargon flourished as a trade language. It is spoken across linguistic boundaries. Originally, the French had placed young boys in the Indian villages to learn the Indian languages, and the mixed-bloods continued that tradition.[17] The French, via their part-Indian relations, effected over the years, a basically good working relationship. Many Metis became traders, or translators, and worked well. The Spanish maintained the French practice of licensed traders

living with the tribes for at least part of the year[18], and the Indians continued preferring French goods.[19] The Spanish even ordered their first gifts to tribes from France!

All this was to change with the coming of the Americans. They had great disdain for racial mixture, and found the French and Spanish mestizo or metís less than acceptable. Even when the Indian agents used such people's services as translators, they were always suspect.[20] With the Americans came the concept of all white or all non-white, a prelude to the narrow biracial (black-white) view of the plantation south.

Some of the mixed-blood translators were extremely valuable to the early Americans. So much so that some were given cash awards for services. However, they were suspected of being sympathetic towards Indians. In some cases the same people rewarded by the United States were soon terminated for having advised Indians of the dangers and implications of the American factory system.[21] So not only did the racial and cultural Indians feel the impact of American policy, but so did the bicultural mixed-bloods.

The trade system of licensed traders was less desirable than having the Indians come to the factory, or trading post, to trade.[22] Agents were formally instructed to get the Indians to trade regularly with the government, rather than independent, traders. This, in a real way, altered the white-Indian contact situation.

Gradually, then, the Indian lost his independence and sovereignty. Americans also wanted land, especially the arable lands along the streams. Anywhere and everywhere Indians lived on such lands there

were immediate protests and requests for their removals.[23] Lands were "deeded" by the signatures of "chiefs" everywhere. In fact, by 1840, many tribes had had some legal encounter in the American courts. The Choctaw on the Ouachita, the Tunica-Biloxi, the Houma, all can be seen approaching the American legal system.

Juneau has documented the legal extinguishment, over the years and in the American courts, of sovereign rights of the Tunica tribe.[24] Downs has discussed such abuses for the whole Louisiana purchase.[25] Lands were lost. Marriages made by chiefs were not recognized and offspring were illegitimate, therefore all Indian inheritance could be questioned: rights to property were severely affected.

The chiefs, formerly recognized by the Spanish to the point of vesting them with official governmental capacity were no longer allowed control over their people.[26] Some tribes, like the Tunica, had refused to allow Europeans to tell them what to do. Lattanache, the Tunica chief, had crossed the Mississippi in defiance of British authority.[27] In the south, the Houma chief, Calabe, had advised the Spanish commandant that the laws of the whites were not Houma laws, yet the chiefs were somewhat respected. At least the Spanish commandants faced the dilema of asking for governmental sanctions.

The Americans tended to politic Indians in a different fashion. John Sibley requested the Choctaw bands come to Natchitoches and elect a chief and sub-chief. They did. The chief they elected was not to Sibley's liking; then that chief was accused of attacking the agent while drunk. Sibley had him jailed, and another Choctaw, chosen by Sibley, elected to replace him.[28] Chiefs had traditionally been linked to the social structure of the tribes, once the Americans came it became

a more legal matter, especially for the manipulation of tribal populations. Judging from Sibley's actions, it was for the advantage of non-Indians not from within the Indian communities.

The problem of polity was linked to the problem of the land. As plantations and sawmills extended - down the Mississippi, up the Red, Black and Ouachita, along Bayou Boeuf, and down Bayou Teche or Lafourche, the tribes were severely affected. They lost, most often, their best lands. At least they lost "legal tenure" rights to most of their lands.

In 1835 the Caddo ceded northwestern Louisiana to the United States.[29] The Houma had already moved into the marshes along the coast. The Choctaw had shifted to swamp or pine barren lands.[30]

Diseases had seriously decimated the tribes by the time of American control, but few had totally disappeared. Even the Natchez had survived French attempts at extirpation by fleeing to the Creek and Cherokee[31], and some survived slavery in Louisiana.[32] Nobody knows how many were left, but some survived in the Spanish Period.

A number of tribes, throughout the nineteenth-century, continued losing land to white traders to satisfy credit claims against the tribes. Some, like the Yowani Choctaw, Biloxi, and Pascagoula, moved about.[33]

Some tribes: Washa, Acolapisa, and Yaknechito were apparently absorbed by the Houma. The Tensas and some Houma were absorbed by the Chitimacha, too.[34] All these groups scattered across the Mississippi.

The once powerful Chitimacha had been widely dispersed in the vast swamps of the Atchafalaya Basin - a partial response to their war against the French - but held tenuously to two "villages" one on Bayou Teche and another on Plaquemine Canal.[35]

Migrant Choctaw had moved about, especially in northern and southeastern Louisiana, since the Spanish Period. Bands of Choctaw, far from the influence of their chiefs, were problems for Europeans and Indians alike.[36] By the first decade of the nineteenth century American agents had attempted control of the Choctaw in both areas. In northern Louisiana John Sibley had attempted the manipulation of locally elected "chiefs."[37] In southeastern Louisiana the territorial governor attempted sending agents to the Mississippi Territory chiefs in hopes groups there were under their control.[38]

In northwestern Louisiana, where the United States government was more concerned with territorial limits than Indian affairs, the first "agency" was established. It functioned, in various locations, until the Caddoan-speaking tribes ceded their lands to the United States in 1835.[39] In that area pressure built up for tribal control and manipulation well on into the 1840's.

The expansion of the plantation system, a large land-holding system devoted to cash crop production, was revolutionized in the late Territorial and early statehood periods. Cotton and cane production expanded. Moreover, by the 1840's water-powered sawmills or stream-powered sawmills were moving west.[40]

Lands, like the cypress swamps of southeastern Louisiana and the vast longleaf pine forests, which held little appeal during the colonial period, began to acquire new value to the Anglo-Americans. They soon dominated the alluvial lands, especially the better drained more productive natural levees. The Indian communities found themselves surrounded, and on ever-diminishing land bases, by white settlements;

examples are the Tunica-Biloxi and Chitimacha. They retreated to the "back" to swamps and forest lands so remote that timber was too expensive to log until the appearance of the railroad in the 1880-1890 period. Acculturation, or cultural exchanges, intensified near the towns, but both the Tunica-Biloxi and Chitimacha held their own. In the more rural areas the communities tended to develop as pockets on unclaimed or backlands attached to plantation areas. Such was the case on the lower Mississippi and the upper Red River. In both places a white patron-protector "allowed" the tribes to live on those areas. They larded the plantation storehouses with meat, hides, honey, herbs and cane basketry.[41] They also provided sources of entertainment through their dances and ballgames at which their French and Anglo-Saxon neighbors were welcome.[42]

In at least some instances their French neighbors boasted of using the women as prostitutes.[43]

In some cases part-Negro descendants of whites and their slaves were sent to Indian communities to live, but in general whites used Indians to intimidate and track down runaway slaves. Since slavery was abberrent to them, Indians withdrew from Negro contact.[44] Indian slavery was abolished in the Spanish Period, so by American domination Indians had the special status of Free People, non-taxed.

More mixed-blood populations were developed nearer the old colonial posts: Pointe Coupee, Avoyelles, Natchitoches, Rapides, Chitimachas (Franklin), Oppelousas and Attakapas (St. Martinville).[45] In many cases these people were merely part of the French-speaking population and considered as part of the Euro-American population, but

most formed their own endogamous communities or joined their more Indian relatives. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, their social position - Free Men of Color - became more obscure. Some were censured as whites, others Indian, and still others as mulatto (an Anglo-Saxon catchall for part-Negro people). Confusion about legal status (inheritance, land rights, marriage rights, etc.) became entangled in the "new" society of post-bellum Louisiana. Negroes had the least civil rights, the lowest socio-economic status, and any close contact with blacks suggested miscegeny. Indians, and their part-Indian relatives, avoided such contact strenously. The development of several kinds endogamous communities in Louisiana dates to the 1830-40 period. These consist of Negro-white descendants (manumitted slaves) who married Indian slave women in many cases[46]; the so-called Redbone communities consisting of migrant Indian mixed-bloods from Virginia, North and South Carolina[47]; and a variety of mixed Indian-white groups. Indian identity, as racial groups, was strong in most such groups. Some have suggested that many of these groups were tri-racial and that the Indian identity was maintained as an escape route from socio-economic discrimination. In Louisiana Anglo-Americans frequently confused these groups with "mulatto" or former "free black" communities.[48] So, they did not, after the Anglo-Americans arrived, have any real advantage in the larger society. Any "drop" of black blood rendered one black, it took a "full-blood" to be an Indian. The situation was complicated by the removals of Indians from the southeast in the Jacksonian era. Choctaw, Chickasaw and others passed across Louisiana to reach Oklahoma.

The widespread decimation of Indian population in Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia led non-Indians to generally feel that the "real" Indians were gone. The Caddo Cession saw the full-bloods move, leaving land set aside for a few of their mixed-blood cousins, but had the same overall effect.[49]

Other than obscure accounts by local people or travelers, little attention was paid the tribes once they found their niches. The Tunica became virtually surrounded by non-Indians in the town of Marksville. Similarly, the Chitimacha became a part of the little town of Charenton. Most others, however, moved away from contact with whites, and, for that matter, blacks.

The mixed bloods either formed communities of their own or moved into closer contact with their Indian kinsmen. Some became identifiable as tribal Indians and remain so. The Civil War and Reconstruction brought new problems, the worst of which was the disappearance of the special status, Free Person of Color; a status extended by the Americans to Indians as well as blacks, mulattos, and mixtures of two or all three races.

Confusion, the threat of being discriminated against by a society that came to see only black-white, master-slave, relations as linked to its survival, led to even more avoidance by the tribes.

So, after a century and a half of close relations, the Louisiana Indians began to withdraw. It was almost as if they had decided that the best way to deal with whites was to avoid them, and also to avoid blacks, a more prolific race scorned by the white power structure.

In the 1820-40 period steamboats hauled Choctaw up the rivers from Mississippi to Oklahoma or they walked across the swamps of northwest Louisiana. The Louisiana tribes, except for the Caddo who eventually fled to Mexico, were not affected, except to reify their opinions of whites as dangerous people.

By the 1870's and '80's the tribes were hard to find. The first ethnologists came from the Bureau of American Ethnology in the 1880's. The Swiss linguist, Albert Gatschet; George Dorsey, and eventually John R. Swanton had visited by 1910. These people made the first real assessment of tribal conditions since those of John Sibley in the early American period (1805, 1807). Creole friends of the Indians, like L'Abbe Rouquette - known as Chata Ima by the Choctaw, warned the people not to talk to Gatschet, fearful that removals would take the tribes to Oklahoma.[50] Perhaps Father Rouquette was more correct than might be thought. By 1900, new efforts were being made to census Indians and to fill the Indian Territory with Indians. Prior to statehood (1914) for Oklahoma, the tribes were paying agents to go to Mississippi and Louisiana and find more people. Once the word was out, tribal migrations did result.

This second removal effort severely impacted Choctaw communities in Mississippi:

> "Many of the Choctaws who went to Oklahoma did not receive land, or were cheated of the land they received, and filtered back to Mississippi, only to find their school system abolished, many of their churches disbanded, and the accomplishments of the preceding decades destroyed."[51]

Gregory documented this same story for the Choctaw in Grant and LaSalle Parishes.[52] Other Louisiana Choctaw also went to Oklahoma only to come back to their old Louisiana homes completely destitute. Some

Choctaw, possibly mixed with Biloxi and Appalache, on Bayou Rapides, came back to the more isolated families on Sieper Creek.[53] Others went, but only a few Louisiana Choctaw stayed. Some Choctaw from Father Rouquettes mission north of Lake Ponchartrain left only to drown when the boat carrying them away sank.[54]

All the tribes had, by this time, pulled back to the hills and swamps or marshes. Peterson has pointed out that in Mississippi the Choctaw did a similar thing, especially after the Removal of the 1820's.[55] In a manuscript left by an anonymous author in the 1840's there is a description of a Tunica woman who hanged herself rather than be considered as a slave.[56] Indians were desperate, after the Americans came, to create some status for themselves. Not citizens, their sovereign treaty rights ignored - worse, forgotten - the tribes soon found themselves living on land for which they could not establish legal title.

A good case to point is the situation along Bayou Boeuf in central Louisiana. In 1805 or so two American factors, Fulton and Miller, "purchased" some 39,538 acres on Bayou Boeuf from the Choctaw, Biloxi and Pascagoula plus claiming 9,488 acres to the south of the Appalache and Tensas in satisfaction of a debt and an additional credit balance at their store. They claimed the purchase was ratified by the Spanish governor, but the claims commission denied that. Nevertheless, they obtained a league square on Bayou Boeuf plus 2,898 acres of Tensas land.[57]

These were the "front" lands, the high natural levees along Bayou Boeuf, the sites of village locations or the centers of a dispersed population. The heirs of these two factors became the most powerful landlords in the state and the plantations that developed on these

lands some of the state's most productive. The Indians, then, were "allowed" to live in the pinewoods behind the plantations. They were, then, considered squatters with no rights extended them except by leave of the land "owners."[58]

During the War of 1812, the whites in the Florida parishes were threatened by the Choctaw and the militia fell upon their settlements. Little is known of how this process worked in other areas, but by 1900 it had happened numerous times in Louisiana.

As late as 1900 one Chitimacha was, in Charenton, attacked by a Negro. A fight ensued. Later, the deputy came to the Chief's house and shot three Chitimacha to death in the yard. No trial ensued, and except for a sad letter written for the Chief by a visiting anthropologist, there was no effort to deliver justice to the Indians.[59] Such violent outbrusts were common; the Tunica chief had been murdered in the 1840's.

Violence and debt seizures gradually eroded the sovereign status of tribe. Debts were often the by-product of credit buying at the stores developing in towns. Chiefs were then demanded to deed parcels of land in payment for debts owed by the tribe. The Miller and Fulton case is the best documented. When the Americans took over, people all over Louisiana claimed land: the Tunica lands on Bayou Rouge, the Appalache-Tensas village, the Houma village, the villages of the Biloxi, Yowani Choctaw, and Pascagoula, the Attakapas villages on Bayou Queque du Tortue and near Carencro, among others. In spite of the fact that most claims were denied, the Indians usually lost sizable tracts of land in the settlements.[60] Worse, the situation allowed whites

to question the legitimacy of Indian lands. If not taken for debt, purchased from the tribe (Spanish law allowed that, but it seldom seems to have happened) or alienated by long term possession, the Indians remained in place. Justice, no matter how well-intended, was slack when it applied to Indians. Technically, the tribal people only had the legal status of sovereigns - something the American government was never comfortable in acknowledging - to protect them.

By 1830 they had been squeezed out into the swamps and hills - the most marginal lands. Backwater swamps, marshes, and the pinewoods had little or no use to cotton or cane plantation agricultural developers. Planters had found Indians useful before the Civil War: they larded the stores by hunting, the women made baskets, the games and dances were entertaining for the planters and their families. Occasionally Indians were used to track runaway slaves for the white planters furthering the practice of segregating Indians and blacks, further alienating the races oppressed by whites.[61]

After the 1870's, little else remained to the tribal people but to be squatters on their own land, able to tenuously hold on to that which was their own by permission of people who did not really own it.[62]

It was better to do that than to confront a more powerful people and be destroyed. In the backlands Indians kept their languages and traditional practices alive. Indians also formed an intricate set of inter-tribal relationships.

These seem to have begun in the 1760's, were fostered by the widespread use of the Mobilian trade language, and the isolation from whites and blacks. Pan-tribal communities developed near the Tunica

land (Ofo, Biloxi and Avoyels were eventually merged), the Houmas (Acolapisa, Washa, Biloxi fused there), and even the Chitimacha received some of the dispossessed Tensas and Yaknechito. At Indian Creek in Rapides Parish, Biloxi, Chatot, Yowani Choctaw and likely some Pascagoula fused.

The east Texas migrants, those who fled in the Spanish Period, were frequent visitors and the ties kept alive. In southeastern Louisiana Choctaw kept contact, closer than in the rest of Louisiana, with their kinsmen in Mississippi.[63]

A situation developed where Indians knew other Indians, who people were, where they lived and how to find them. Indian interaction with non-Indians was typified by the use of the Mobilian term for "yes", the hyper-polite term Yama borrowed from Choctaw. This term translates more like "Yes, Sir," or "Agree" and was used only in circumspect relations. Mobilian became a linguistic buffer, like geographic and social isolation, for survival. Indians only used it dealing with whites and blacks - so much so that many non-Indians came to believe it the Indian language. In some parts of French Louisiana Yama became a perjorative term meaning "Indian." One old Choctaw lady recalled, "One has to be careful how one talks to whites."[64]

It was as though Indian people were encapsulated by silence. Whites could live only a few miles from their communities and barely know them, or not know of them at all.

Relations, where these existed at all, were limited. As Peterson has noted for the Choctaw near Pearl River Indians eventually came to prefer jobs that freed them from much white contact, kept them in the

woods and maximized their dignity. Such jobs were forthcoming.[65] By 1900 sawmills were "cutting out and getting out" all across the Gulf Coastal Plain. The marginal lands became the focus of a new economy. Indian men went to work at the mills, some even lived in the mill towns that spr ng up in the areas of long leaf pine and cypress production.

The sawmills likely introduced more white contact than most of the Louisiana Indians ever had. While the jobs allowed men to work in the woods they did also stimulate a new set of social relations. Indian skills were developed in the environment, they knew its gifts and its dangers. They were skilled woodsmen. Axe and saw were not new to them. The degree to which the early logging impacted the poor whites, as alienated from the plantation-dominated society as Indians, fiercely proud of their independence and equally opposed to the cheap labor of Negroes in the mills, exposed Indians to whites who were different from those of the colonial period. They associated with Indians, not as equals, but certainly as preferable to blacks. In the mill quarters Indians were told to send their children to school and the lumber companies donated lumber to build schools for Indians that the biracial, segregated, system of Louisiana failed to provide.[66]

As suddenly as the sawmills came, in a brief twenty to thirty year span, they were gone. Indians found themselves in a new environment. The vast forest of Long Leaf Pine, cathedral-like, with thin rays of sunlight penetrating to the floor, was gone. In its place was acre and acre of stumps, eroded hillsides and silted-up streams and springs.

A few Indians, especially those in southwestern Louisiana, followed the mills into East Texas. A similar example can be cited

at Woodworth in central Louisiana. The sawmill closed and the young men from the Indian Creek community moved. For a decade or so, old men ,women and girls lived almost alone there. The drain pulled the young men, with kinsmen in Texas, west. By 1935, the whole community - a pan-tribal community of at least a century duration- and a well-spring of Indian traditional behavior was scattered.

The poverty that followed in the wake of the brief affluence offered by the mills was deeply rooted. At the same time, the plantations were having their difficulties and cotton began to fail. The blacks were displaced and competition between blacks, poor whites and Indians for the few good wage jobs created social barriers, but brought them into closer contact and into sharp competition.

A few Indians maintained their "villages." The Tunica-Biloxi held onto their Spanish grant, a reward for helping defeat the Natchez in their war against the French.[67] The Chitimacha held desperately to about 250 acres at Charenton, a small portion of their original lands.[68]

The Houma moved further and further into the marshlands, founding kin-based communities on the natural levees of the bayous and on the rare islands of high ground.

Most tribes began to scatter. The Tunica dispersed briefly, then re-organized. The Choctaw and Biloxi at Indian Creek dispersed - moving with the sawmill to eastern Texas or moving up and down Bayou Boeuf as sharecroppers, a much hated necessity, on the plantations that stood on their original Spanish grants.[69]

The Attakapa formed a settlement - widely dispersed - near Lake Charles. A few appeared near Vidor in eastern Texas, too.[70]

Flu epidemics, tuberculosis, and other problems seriously impacted the tribes throughout the 19th-century. The flu epidemics of 1914 were more disastrous, and Indian populations decreased after that. Every tribe, except the Houma, had a dwindling population. Adult men lamented the lack of Indian women to marry and feared their tribes might be absorbed by Negro populations.[71]

Negroes did marry into some of the communities in Rapides Parish and in the area settled by the Pacana, near modern Elizabeth, a tri-racial population emerged. Houma, Tunica, Choctaw and Biloxi mingled with blacks. Sharecropping increased proximity to negroes and the rigors of poverty and disease decreased Indians. The fear of absorption was, at that point, justifiable. The greatest problem resulting from this racial mixture was the reaction of the white community. Indian leaders were painfully aware of that fact, and Indians who mated with blacks or mulattos were excluded from tribal life. It was a practice much like "shunning" among the Amish. Even today most tribal roles are not open to mixed-blood Indian-blacks or tri-racial descendants.[72] In most cases those descendants live, and identify culturally, with the Negro community.

A large population of people, still termed "Red Bones" locally, developed in southwestern Louisiana. Many whites dealt with them as part-Negro people, and though some were, many others were not. Names like Willis, Chavis, Oxedine, Dial or Doyal, and others can clearly be traced to populations of Indian descent, often mixed-bloods, who migrated west

from Virginia and the Carolinas in the 1830-40 period, part of the "Lumbee" Indian diaspora. These people apparently settled near the Choctaw-Biloxi, Pacana, or "Seminole," populations near Elizabeth and Glenmora. Today they are not tribally organized and Indians, blacks and whites are somewhat isolated socially and geographically from them. "Red Bone" is considered a perjorative, in South Louisiana it is replaced by "Sabine." "Sabine", from the Spanish term for cypress tree, suggests a tri-racial mixture in the Houma area and Indians there resent it.[73] Nevertheless, it is applied to the Houma. "Red Bone" or "Sabine" refers to almost any Indian-looking people, with certain traits normally attributed to blacks - usually tightly curled hair and occasionally other Negro physical traits. The problem of tri-racial mixtures, usually with an Indian self-identity, extends all across the South. Some have attributed the Indian identity to fear of a negative attitude towards blacks by local whites. Rather than be identified as blacks, these hybrid populations identified as Indians.[74] This does not seem the Louisiana case. All these people have definable Indian "roots".

In Louisiana where Indian mixture is a high probability for large groups, white and black, there are other problems. Small "ethnic islands" have developed into endogamous situations.[75] This situation is intensified by racial antagonisms. Any dark-skinned people were suspect of having Negro "blood". By the twentieth century Indians were forced to use Jim Crow cars on trains, which they often refused to do. Even some ethnologists feared Indian reactions to that.[76]

Schools were handled in different ways. Indians, fearful of absorption and more intensive discrimination, steadfastly refused to send children to segregated black schools. In Terrebone and Lafourche Parishes, where most of the Houma resided, a tri-racial public school system developed. That third school system was maintained until the integration suits of the 1960's. Fischer has pointed out the complexities of the problem.[77] The Houma left public schools, integrated by them, when Negroes entered! In the western Houma area (Bayou Dulac) the Indian school became an escape valve for the school board, they integrated the Indian schools with blacks before all white school populations were disturbed (Personal Communication, Bruce Duthu , 1978).[78] This was a point of some tension.

Efforts to provide any schooling for the Louisiana Indians were severely retarded, compared to other states. Part of this reflects the total inadequacy of public schools for all races. Until the 1930's, educational facilities were predominately private or parochial and limited to children of upper and upper-middle class whites.

In the 1930's anthropologists were attracted to Louisiana again. The early visits of Byington, Gatschet, Dorsey and Harrington left few, if any real impressions on the academic community.[79] Swanton, on the other hand, had continued his interest and made new field trips in the 1920-1940 period, though his first publication on the Indians of the Lower Mississippi Valley and adjacent Gulf Coast remains the standard reference on the tribes. He had visited the Houma, Ofo, Chitimacha, Coushatta (Koasati) - Alabama, Chitimacha, Tunica and Biloxi. Unlike his predecessors and contemporaries, Swanton managed to publish his material,

along with some of their manuscripts which he edited to his own taste![80]

In the 1930's a naturalist, Caroline Dormon, who lived in northwest Louisiana became interested in the surviving Louisiana Indians. A frequent visitor to the tribes, she began a long correspondence with John R. Swanton. Swanton, then asked her to arrange for visits and she did. An activist, Miss Dormon finagled Swanton, Colonel Fordyce of Hot Springs, Arkansas, Walter B. Jones of Tampa, Florida and herself positions on the presidential DeSoto Commission.[81] This group, with funding from the U.S. Congress, managed a pan-southeastern study of the DeSoto route. At Swanton and Dormon's insistence the Smithsonian dispatched archaeologists to Louisiana and they began prehistoric Indian research that has continued to the present.[82]

More important, for the tribes, was John R. Swanton's connection with Franz Boas at Columbia University. Boas, under Swanton's influence, and with Miss Dormon's tribal connections, sent a number of students to Louisiana. Virtually all these people were linguists and became, in fact, the deans of that academic discipline in the United States: Morris Swadesh, Mary Haas, Vic Riste, and Gene Weltfish all passed through the Louisiana tribal areas.[83]

At the same time Frank Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, was attracted to Louisiana. Little is known about his initial contact with the Louisiana tribes, but it seems likely that one of his student associates, Robert S. Neitzel, played a crucial role in it. Neitzel was working as a field supervisor on early excavations at the mound group at Marksville. Frank Setzler of the Smithsonian was director.

At that point Speck had Neitzel collect a number of artifacts, songs and dances and other data on the Tunica and Biloxi there.[84] Speck came to Louisiana in the late 1930's and visited the "remnants" at Marksville, and the Houma areas in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes.

It was Speck's style to visit tribes with an identity problem. He was raised by Indians in the northeast and had worked extensively with "marginal" or obscure, supposedly assimilated, groups. He always managed to find strong evidences of Indian material and non-material behavior among them.[85] In Louisiana, as elsewhere, Speck went beyond field description and actively advised the tribal people of available government aid. Further, he contacted the Office of Education, and other Federal agencies, and sought aid for the communities. His efforts opened new vistas to the tribal leadership. Both Swanton and Miss Dormon had encouraged craft sales, and had tried in other ways to obtain local aid for the tribes. Speck, it seems, realized that local and state agencies were more apt to respond if the Federal agencies were involved. Houma leaders began correspondence with him regarding their schools, and Speck, agitated in Washington whenever he could.

The Tunica-Biloxi and Houmas, shortly after Speck's visit, began seeking Federal aid. Miss Dormon, their old friend, helped also. In 1938 Elijah Barbry, his son, Sam Barbry, Jr., Clarence Jackson and Horace Pierite, Sr. managed to get their old Model-T car to Washington. They presented themselves to the officials at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[86] These efforts brought few results, but were a catylyst for increased pan-tribal interaction. To strengthen his political position, Eli Barbry had visited the Choctaw, Coushatta, Biloxi and others. In those three communities he had the people sign (or mark) a petition

naming him "chief." His son, Sam Barbry, Jr., stated he visited the Chitimacha and that their chief, Benjamin Paul, had refused to join the allied tribes.[87]

Apparently, Barbry did not include the Houma, Attakapa, or any of the "Red Bone" populations in his efforts.

Part of the Jena Band and the Indian Creek Choctaw signed for Barbry to represent them. Apparently he did not know of the others, or was not able to contact them. His choice of tribes clearly reflected the older pan-tribal alliances of the Tunica-Biloxi, his own people.[88]

This effort is interesting for several reasons. First, it clearly marks the beginning of tribal leaders to approach the Bureau of Indian Affairs directly, without the use of cultural brokers like Swanton, Dorman or Speck!

Secondly, it was made by Tunica leaders, men from a tribe with a long history of pan-tribal activity. They had united with Ofo and Choctaw to attack the British in the Spanish Period; they had pan-tribal villages in Avoyelles Parish (Tunica, Ofo, Avoyel, and Biloxi), and had continued to interact with their neighbors. Barbry's efforts led directly to confrontation between Chief Barbry, tribal elders and Frank Setzler. In 1935, an armed contingent of Tunica-Biloxi men had refused to let excavations in the burial mounds near Marksville continue. Setzler, through a complicated series of negotiations managed to obtain tribal cooperation, but the Tunica-Biloxi still continue to protest such activities in the area.[89] This may have been one of the first Indian protests in the eastern United States. It likely was the first time such activism directed at archaeologists.

All these activities stimulated interest on the part of the Washington bureaucracy. In 1938, Ruth Underhill was dispatched by the Office of Education to make determinations concerning Indian education.[90] Her activities centered on the Tunica-Biloxi community at Marksville. Eli Barbry's efforts had at least gotten a response. Unfortunately, Underhill could only suggest night school for the adults, something the men rejected on the basis that they worked all day in the fields. Regarding the children, Underhill had been informed that some had been entered in school in Texas and recommended the tribal families do that. Barbry attempted to follow that advice, urged the sale of tribal land and migration - or was accused of that move - and the tribe ousted him as chief in 1947 and elected a more conservative leader, Horace Pierite, Sr.[91] Tribal children went without schooling until the 1950's when they were begrudgingly allowed in public schools.

> "We had to walk in the mud just to catch the school bus. They let us in, but we were not wanted."[92]

Although the Tunica-Biloxi were the first Louisiana Indians to actively protest, even to the point of going to Washington, their socio-economic conditions, their efforts followed efforts by two Coushatta chiefs, Jackson Langley and Ben Robinson. Both these men had written to Washington asking for both school and economic support. Eventually, in response to their efforts, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had dispatched a journalist, Roy Nash, to Louisiana. He reported that though conditions were lamentable, the tribes were no worse off than their non-Indian neighbors and did not suggest further attention. In fact, his conclusion that there were too few Tunica-Biloxi to merit the Bureau's attention severely retarded their efforts to obtain the Federal relationship.[93]

The Houma eventually contacted Frank Speck and in the late 1930's and early 1940's began a barrage of letters seeking school and legal services for their people.[94] By the 1940's the oil industry was spreading into the Houma area and concern over alienated lands was of primary interest. Without the Federal relationship, with low literacy and few English-speakers, the Houma were especially vulnerable to land and mineral rights sharks.

It was still, most often, their school situation that led them to their activism. Classed by local whites as "Sabines" the Houma suffered from severe segregation. There a tripartite school system existed until the 1960's. Movies and other public facilities, even Catholic churches, had tripartite divisions separating Indians, blacks and whites.[95]

The Chitimacha, too, apparently suffered from some segregation. Their chief, Benjamin Paul, desperately, had asked the ethnologist, M.R. Harrington in 1900, to write the Justice Department for him after several of his family members were shot by the local sheriff's deputies.[96] As late as the 1960's many Chitimacha were hesitant to identify as Indians. Schools, other than their own "Indian" school were not open, race relations were at an all time low ebb.[97]

The 1880's had seen a break in the almost complete geographic and social isolation of Louisiana's Indian communities. The passage of the Dawes Act had drawn many of them into the bureaucratic net of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a legal firm with offices in Shreveport actually sent out "agents" to find remnant groups to fill empty allotments in Oklahoma. Reaction to this "second Indian removal" was mixed.[98]

Some groups, like the band of Choctaw near Jena, Louisiana, abandoned their farmsteads and moved to Idabel, Oklahoma, only to find no land. They walked back down the railroad tracks to Louisiana. A life of sharecropping and sawmilling awaited them.[99]

The Bayou Lacombe bands of Choctaw saw numbers of their people drowned when they loaded them on a boat bound for Oklahoma.[100]

Near Catahoula Lake, in central Louisiana, the "agents" were physically evicted by mixed-blood families.[101] Further north on the Boeuf River in Franklin Parish, isolated mixed-blood families went, received land and stayed on in the Indian Nations.[102] Similarly, mixed-blood Creeks from Winn and Natchitoches Parishes, people who had lived in the communities of Wheeling and Vowell's Mill since the end of the Redstick War, left in Oklahoma, their heirs became oil rich when the great Tulsa oilfields developed.[103]

Even the most isolated Houma, Tunica, Biloxi, Chitimacha and others had fleeting contact with outsiders in this period. In fact, in nearly every Indian community in the state, at least a few individuals went to Oklahoma. Most came back, if not to stay, then for frequent visits. It was a hard time. There were many disappointments and hurts. Families "kept track" of their relatives in Oklahoma, but in every elligible community only a handful of people making the journey opted to stay. By 1900 the tribes had become what one anthropologist called "knots" of people.[104] Isolated and poor, the communities had "toughened up" to take care of themselves, and contact with non-Indians again diminished. The elders and chiefs warned of white manipulation, and the

people began to rely on them, and only a few trusted non-Indians as their "brokers."

So after nearly three centuries of socio-political pressure, the Indian communities survived intact. However, most were located on marginal lands in swamps, pine barrens, or the ridges (cheniers) extending out into the coastal marshes. They were easy to miss. In these areas few outsiders had appeared for nearly half a century. It was the coming of the sawmill and railroad that really opened up these backlands to non-Indians. Then, however, many of the people who came found Indian life-styles compatible with their own. Some preferred them. Poverty became a greater equalizer. While the mills brought together the members of three racial and several ethnic groups at work, the home life remained separate. Indians seldom lived in the mill quarters where whites and blacks lived in segregated housing. Generally, they continued to live on the areas remaining them at the end of the Spanish rule, "poor areas," held back from plantation development. As the Anglos spilled over into East Texas, the Indian people found themselves, like the words of the old hymn, "with no hiding place down here."[105]

In the 1880's, too, the Indian communities had been established where they are today, and two basic eco-strategies had evolved. First, some Indian families persisted on lands linked to their older holdings in the riverine areas, lands they had lost, legally or illegally, to whites. Secondly, others became involved with work in the sawmills busily "cutting out" and moving across the Gulf Coastal Plain.

In many cases the Indian people managed to participate in both these adaptations simultaneously. That is, some of the men worked in the sawmills or the woods while the women cropped a little corn; older people tanned hides and made cane baskets. Then women and children marketed their produce in nearby towns, even carrying baskets and herbs to street corners or the French market in New Orleans.[106] Plantation owners left the tribal communities in place, even refused to tell outsiders where they were in many cases. The Indians in turn hunted for them, entertained them with their ballgames and dances, and assumed a quiet, unobtrusive connection to lands that they and their chiefs knew belonged to them. It was a waiting game - one that would never be abandoned or forgotten.[107]

Nevertheless, the tribes and communities were linked to their neighbors, and what affected one had consequences for the other.

It seems best to discuss the later nineteenth century developments, then, in the light of what was happening in the whole state. First, lumbering was beginning to impact the forests, just as cotton plantations and cane plantations had cleared and exploited the broad alluvial bottoms of the major streams at the beginning of the century. The "pine woods" of the uplands and the vast cypress and Tupelo Gum bottomland swamps were all being logged over. Bursts of prosperity, new towns and stores, the coming of the railroad and strong links with national developments made their first appearances in the 1880-1900 period.

As Peterson has pointed out, many of the Choctaw in the Florida parishes (southeastern Louisiana) preferred to work in the deep woods, away from constant white contact. These developments followed the bitter experience of the Dawes Act Removal.[108] In central Louisiana,

the Indian Creek community chose to follow the mills into East Texas, leaving only a few old women and girls behind.[109] There, however, the men had worked as sawyers in the mill. They chose to walk seven miles to and from work rather than to avail themselves of company housing. They, like their counterparts in the Florida parishes, had maintained their communities and tenure of their land. By 1925, sawmills had developed near a number of such Indian communities: Indian Creek in Rapides Parish (Choctaw, Chatot and Biloxi), Zimmerman at the towns of Kinder and Indian Village near the Koasati or Coushatta settlement, the Zwolle mills near the Ebarb Choctaw and Apache, Trout and Tullos near the Jena Choctaw, Baldwin near the Chitimacha, and Morgan City near the Houma. Even the handful of Attakapa were near sawmills on Prian Lake and Moss Bluff.[110] The Tunica-Biloxi and Chitimacha resided on tribal land at the edge of developing towns: Marksville and Charenton respectively. While there were no sawmills right there, these tribes were also linked to regional developments in the hills and swamps near them. Virtually everyone over fifty years of age can remember some involvement with some aspect of logging.[111]

This new industry brought a strong interest in the marginal lands, the old refuge for Indian communities. Soon the forests were gone - some never to be seen again - and the Indian communities either abandoned, like the Indian Creek Choctaw-Biloxi settlement and Indian Village - the Coushatta settlement-or left behind in a sea of stumps and eroded hills as at Bayou LaCombe and Clifton Choctaw.

Such was the situation at the turn of the nineteenth century. By the 1880-90 period, stress had built up all time levels in the

Indian communities. Change must have seemed inevitable. Some Tunica and Biloxi described their conditions to Albert Gatschet, the linguist.[112] Population was declining, even to the point of sexual imbalance. Men feared having to take non-Indian spouses. Doom seems to have been approaching. Disease, especially tuberculosis, was rampant. Infant mortality was so that it was not uncommon for a woman to bear a dozen children only to raise two or three of them. In spite of the availability of jobs in the lumber industry, Indians had to compete for them against equally poor whites and blacks, and pay scales were still low. The jobs were hard and dangerous. Men lost hands and fingers in the mills and loading logs. Others were crushed by falling timber, there was no compensation plan to protect the workers and their families. Injuries were absorbed by the Indian community. Old Coushattas, disdainful of amputation, went to tribal curers to save their limbs.[113]

At about this time the traditional religious leaders began to organize "Indian" churches, various Christian sects were involved - mostly Protestant. The former medicine men walked circuits, preaching wherever they could raise a church and congregation. Eventually they would be replaced by non-Indian, white, ministers, but the move towards accomodation was essentially set by traditional leaders. One good example was Mark Robinson, a Coushatta medicine man. Lindquist quoting the white minister to the Coushatta Paul Leeds describes the condition of such preaching very well,

> "One of the first of the Indian converts was Mark Robinson. He was about twenty years of age, bright, devoted and a

> natural leader. He carried a New Testament about with him and questioned everybody who appeared to be friendly; in fact making every possible meeting an educational opportunity. In 1920 he was licensed to preach and not content with ministering to established organizations only, he found a group of Indians belonging to a different tribe, and ministers to them, walking fifteen miles of the fifty he is obliged to cover and defraying the expense of the entire journey himself."[114]

Apparently the Reverend Leeds never knew what the Coushatta and the other Indians (in this case Choctaw near Indian Creek) knew about the "natural leadership" of Mark Robinson, namely, that it was "supernatural" leadership in an Indian sense. Paul Leeds began his ministry with the Coushatta near Indian Village and moved with them to Bayou Blue, north of there. He started in 1893, but it was in 1921- a year after Mark Robinson began to preach - that the church really flourished there.[115] Mr. Leeds characterized their traditional religion with the zeal of his day:

> "Their only religion was a vague and unproductive reverence for 'Mink-co Chitto,' the Great Spirit of their fathers. Stories told by the older settlers show how near to barbarism these people lived, even fifty years ago. Idleness, drunkeness, aimlessness and poverty marked their daily lives. The prospective mother swam the river and went alone to the forest, not to be seen again until she recrossed the river with her little one on her back."[116]

Nevertheless, the traditional religion continued. One contemporary Coushatta put it this way,

> "We had the white man's religion for Sunday, for church. In the backyard, at home, we always kept our Indian ways."[117]

Songs, prayers, rituals of passage and counters for witchcraft were kept. In the woods, away from outsiders, people continued to busk, hold their posketa or the traditional Green Corn Dance.

In most Indian communities the traditional religion continued, sub rosa, and contributed strong feelings even into the present day.

Without the support of the traditional religionists there can be but little doubt that few people would have converted to the New Christian sects. So it was with Paul Williams, the first Christian convert, and Mark Robinson. Both men were respected in traditional roles within the community and offered the people a good example. They could have both the old and new ways. Mark Robinson continued his role as curer until well into the 1930's, using only the "old ways". Robinson's "medicine" passed to his son, Luke, who later developed a reputation as a curer among the Choctaw in eastern Oklahoma.[117]

The "medicine" (really a philosophically complex religious and magical system) was passed on and virtually every community possesses a wise person who is still consulted about such serious matters, both physical and psychological. Some, like burial customs and witchcraft, date back hundreds of years. In nearly every tribe traditional practices went underground, and continued all around the non-Indians. Outsiders sometimes witnessed such behavior never knowing what went on.[118]

At this point the Indian communities were developing a dual cultural system, one for Indians, and another for dealing with the non-Indian world. It was a compromise without loss, or at least with minimal loss, of traditional behavior.

Religion was not the only area of culture the people protected. The Mobilian jargon, sometimes called Yama by Louisiana Indians, apparently became more common in relations with whites and blacks. Outsiders were taught this language if they attempted to become intimate with tribal languages. Many people came to believe that

all the tribes spoke the same language, and tribal languages were kept for use within the tribe, within the family. Whites and blacks mastered Mobilian, used in trade, heard at pan-tribal dances and ball-games, the public language of the Indians. They seldom learned the proper languages of the tribe. Aline Rothe points out an instance where a minister's child had actually learned Alabama and Coushatta and a knowledgeable speaker of Mobilian thought it the "wrong" language.[118] The Indians soon pointed out that there were two dialects and only people with intimate relations to families of native speakers learned those "private languages."

Mobilian apparently spread to the Houma, Chitimacha, Choctaw, Biloxi, Alabama, Coushatta and Tunica. A few scattered Pascagoula and Pacana, living among these other tribes, also used it.[119] In pan-tribal communities like the Tunica settlement near Marksville on Coulee des Grues (Ofo, Avoyel, Biloxi, and Choctaw lived there among the Tunica) and at Indian Creek near Woodworth (Choctaw, Biloxi, Chatot, and Tunica lived there together) Mobilian sometimes replaced the native languages; at times it was a medium for linguistic confusion. At Marksville Yama, the Mobilian affirmative which was borrowed from the hyper-polite Choctaw usage, became a lower status language among Indians. Sometimes called yoka anompa, slave talk or servant language, among the Choctaw-Alabama families scattered near Oakdale, Louisiana,[120] Yama, the equivalent to "alright," "amen," or "Yes, sir" in English certainly suggests it was used with non-Indians in an attempt to be circumspect and hyper-polite.

Whites apparently never picked up on the nature of this linguistic pattern. Both they, and some blacks, learned Mobilian quite well. In fact, it became so functional that clerks in stores at Natchitoches were required to learn it.[121]

Meanwhile the tribes were gradually developing a veneer of European culture to protect themselves from the constant European pressure from non-Indian culture. While most whites felt the tribes were being rapidly assimilated, Indians were carefully reserving the native culture for Indian people. The use of Mobilian and the overt conversion to Christianity seemed to have disarmed whites.

Naturally, Indian populations were diminishing, and the nation's response was typical; benign neglect. In Louisiana there was no programatic development for Indians. Indians were forbidden entry to white schools and refused to attend black schools. At the turn of the century Indian civil rights were often violated, often by the local sheriffs and deputies. Their situation was, at that point, more awkward than that of southern black populations. It would be, afterall, 1924 before American Indians were considered citizens of the nation, much less the state.[122] Schools, an avenue opened for blacks, and the Federal courts were not made available to Indians even after 1924.

Their complicated racial and legal status hampered efforts to help them, even when the help came from politically affluent white friends.[123] Generally, the assumption that Indians were becoming extinct and that Indians who survived would have to "come into" white cultural patterns was widespread. Periodically, Indians asserted their rights and demanded that the majority deal with them in terms of their real identity. The

114. Lindquist, G.E.E. 1931. The Quesadis on Bayou Blue, The Southern Workman LX(II), pp. 475-479. The Coushatta church today embodies parts of an older church, once located on the western edge of the community and administered by Rev. Leeds.

115. Lindquist, Ibid., p. 476.

116. Johnson, Kathryn S. and Paul Leeds. 1964. Pattern the Life and Works of Paul Leeds. San Antonio: Naylor Co.

117. Interview: Several Coushatta have expressed this same position. For obvious reasons, these informants wish to remain anonymous.

118. Dr. Fred B. Kniffen recalled that Mark Robinson was having his young son write down the old cures in a "Blue Horse" notebook in 1935. Kniffen talked about that with the author and Ernest Sickey, Coushatta tribal chairman in 1978 at a meeting held at the Coushatta Tribal Office. Dr. Dale Nicklas, an anthropological linguist, did fieldwork with Luke Robinson at Tallihina, Oklahoma and stated many thought him a medicine person. Mr. Robinson died in 1979.
See Drechsel, 1979. Op. cit.

119. Swanton fieldnotes, 1931-1934, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

120. Drechsel, Op. cit. 1979, Also from field interviews with Mrs. Lessie Simon at Beaver, Louisiana, 1980.

121. Cosgrove, Op. cit.

122. Josephy, Alvin. 1969. The Indian Heritage of America. New York, Alfred Knopf, pp. 350-351. See also, p. 345-366 for a broad overview of contemporary problems.

123. Any number of whites in Louisiana were sympathetic and helpful to the tribes. Before the Civil War a number of white planters allowed the tribes to live unmolested on their own lands. After the Civil War many continued in a helpful role. W.W. Martin, on Bayou Boeuf, Rapides Parish, acquired that reputation; see letter to Cammie Henry 1901, Northwestern State University Archives. Manuel Martinez hid the Choctaw on lands behind his home in Sabine Parish; a man named Palant, called in Choctaw Falantshe, or Frenchman, "protected" the Choctaw near Madisonville on

clearest examples of such examples in Louisiana came from the Tunica tribal litigation.[124] The Tunica had, at least from earliest French contact, a serious functional problem. In the colonial period they had made a major concession to the Europeans, in that they used the courts and legal system of the colonials to reinforce their chief and council of elders.

In 1896, an Indian of the tribe (one Fulgence Chiki) stabbed another Indian. The local courts and lawyers argued over jurisdiction. It was an Indian against an Indian and committed on Indian land - so it was referred to the United States Department of Interior. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs responded flatly, " ... the Federal government does not have jurisdiction over any Indians in Louisiana."[125]

Downs has summarized the Tunica situation well, not only for the Tunica but for many others of Indian descent in Louisiana:

> "From that point (1902 - when Fulgence Chiki's nephew, then chief, sued the railroad) on, attainment of formal federal recognition of the Tunica's Indian identity became the major goal of every twentieth-century Tunica chief."[126]

The Federal government simply refused to intercede in Louisiana courts on behalf of the Indian - much as it had consistly neglected southern black populations. Like Negroes, Indians did not vote, nor was there any effort to help them improve their socio-economic status. Negroes had, however, during Reconstruction and before, as freedmen, had access to separate schools and were legally capable of owning land. Indians, of whatever tribe, were without such rights.

When the Tunica chief sued a railroad for damages, his rights were denied as he was declared illegitimate because his parents were

married in an Indian ceremony. At that time illegitimate children could not sue in Louisiana.[127] So the basic avenues to socio-cultural integration slammed shut on Indian people in Louisiana. The only alternative to total loss of civil rights was to leave the community, abandon the culture and become a white or a Negro. The really remarkable thing about that is that not many Indians took that track. Individually Indians were not racially as identifiable as were blacks. They could "spin-out" into white society and be accepted. Still, the religions, kinship systems, and languages were tenacious, and Indians fought desperately for them.

With virtually no civil rights, no right to vote, no schools, no clear cut land rights, and a confusion of legal status whereby the state of Louisiana referred Indian-related matters to the Department of Interior, which denied jurisdiction, Indians had few chances for progress, assimilative or otherwise. Nevertheless, the elders clung desperately to their identity: land, language, religion, and even material culture; and they survived.

While the southern Negro had, during slavery, acculturated heavily to the ways of the masters, the Louisiana Indian communities consistently rejected a master-slave relationship. The single best modus operandi, or at least the most widespread response, was introversion and more self-imposed social isolation.

In spite of all these problems and racial discrimination non-Indians - especially anthropologists and missionaries - became interested in Indian communities. In 1925 the powerful McIlhenny-Bradford family, wealthy from the exploitation of salt mines and their large plantation,

stepped in to protect the land rights of the Chitimacha. As a response, the United States Congress reimbursed the white family for land purchase and placed the Chitimacha's 250 acres of land in trust.[128] This, of course, gave the Chitimacha Federal "recognition" and the services that went along with that, namely, access to schools and health services.

The impetus for that whole situation was the interest in Chitimacha basketry, reinforced by the interest of "outsiders" like John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The Bradfords correctly reasoned that the tribe produced it, nobody else. Save the tribe and save the baskets. The traditional sale, or swap, of basketry flourished briefly and has provided Chitimacha weavers with a supplemental income for generations! However, it was as in most Louisiana Indian communities, sold to non-Indians in nearby Charenton. Lots of local "collections" existed, and the tribal weavers kept very old "pattern" baskets. It rapidly became art for white collectors, and baskets were functioning in a different setting.[129] Even here, though, the Chitimacha refused to reveal their dye processes to non-Indians. They have not taught their basketry to any other than Chitimacha or immediate family members. One other aspect of the culture was preserved, shared only in its final form with outsiders.

So, over a fifty year period, the Louisiana Indians adjusted their lives to the poverty and neglect forced upon them by "white" or American domination. For years the older people remembered the better times of the French and Spanish periods. There the tribes had a special place in the social order. Like the free people of color,

many themselves planters and slave owners, the Indians soon felt Americans could only see two colors: black and white. Any intermediate social or racial status confused the issue.

It was in this complicated welter of accomodation, avoidance and selective acculturation that the tribes were to become the "lost" tribes.[130]

By the 1920-1940 period the tribes had begun to emerge, but the real emergence would take two more decades.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION (1960-1981)

Until the late 1960's, early 1970's, most of the Louisiana Indian tribes were without recognized organizational structure. Two tribes, the Coushatta and Tunica-Biloxi, held traditional chiefs much as they always had. The Chitimacha alone, had a Federal relationship as a "recognized" tribe. The Coushatta had such a relationship briefly in the 1950's, but it had been "terminated" by the Federal government under the Eisenhower administration.[131]

The various groups of Choctaw, scattered about the state: Bayou LaCombe, Jena, Glenmora-Oakdale, and on the Sabine near Ebarb and Many had no formal structures. The elder man at Jena acted more or less as ex-officio chief. Bill Lewis, their last chief, had died and his son refused the formal position, but continued to act as a cultural broker for the tribe. At Bayou LaCombe leadership shifted, but no chiefs were apparent and, again, the elders seemed to run the tribal community. The other Choctaw were, except in individual extended families, without formal organization. Obe Blue-eye and Elois Blue-eye were among the last chiefs in the Woodworth, Glenmora-Oakdale area.[132]

Near Clifton, in Rapides Parish, King Brandy was the last chief and he apparently moved nearer the related groups at Oakdale in the 1930's or 1940's.[133] Scattered families were located from Anacoco Prairie down the Whiskey Chitto Creek to the upper Calcasieu River drainage. Many became obscured by intermarriages with white with/or blacks in the nineteenth century. No formal structure or leadership developed after the demise of the traditional chiefs in the 1940's. The Houma

apparently were without formal organization, though local communities had their own leaders, mostly men, after their traditional chiefs ceased. There is no real information as to when that happened. Likely sometimes in the 1830's as Houma chiefs functioned well into the American Territorial Period.[134]

Even with Federal involvement, the Chitimacha retained the office of "chief." Their last traditional chief was Emile Stouff - "chief emeritus" as some called him. He abdicated in favor of the organization of the tribal council in the 1960-70 period.[135] This is similar to the Coushatta chief, Martin Abbey, who is still recognized as "chief," but has little official power.

Only a handful of these people knew anything about the Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934. Efforts on the part of the Department of Interior to find, or help, the Louisiana Indians had ceased with the extension of school aid efforts in the late 1930's and 40's. The reports by Roy Nash and Ruth Underhill (Office of Indian Education) were the last organized efforts to deal with any tribes except for the Chitimacha and Coushatta.[136] Apparently the low population number was a deterrent. Also the lack of published ethnographic data after the 1930's did not furnish much information on tribal identity and continuity.

World War II had a powerful impact on the Indian communities. The Tunica-Biloxi objected to the draft, their tribal leaders were jailed for non-compliance.[137] They refused to serve in the black units, insisted on Indian identity. Further, they did not feel it was "their war." A fleeting last effort at tribal sovereignty, their protest was heard only at the local level.

In most communities the young men went to war. The Coushatta were taught English, many were not fluent enough though they knew some. The Jena Choctaw joined in large numbers. All the tribes: Chitimacha, Choctaw, Coushatta, Houma, Tunica-Biloxi (although angry some still volunteered) and others, had good military records.

The most important impact, though, was the lure of urban areas. Shipbuilding in New Orleans and Houston drew many Indians to the cities. Their communities had offered precious little in the way of jobs since the sawmills had "cut out and got out" in the 1930's. Military involvement and shifts of younger family heads to the industrial centers led to new orientations, and also found an urban component for most the tribes.[138]

The development of the urban element in the tribes, and the development of the oil industry in the late 1930's and 1940's in south Louisiana led to more contact with non-Indians, and also with Indians from other regions.

These influences began to effect local, more rural, Indian life. By the 1950's some tribal leaders, like the late Chief Joseph Alcide Pierite, were attempting to find other Indians.[139] Chief Joe had visited the Jena Choctaw, knew the families at Elton (Coushatta and others), the Chitimacha and Bayou LaCombe leaders. Further, he was well acquainted with the Houma, too. He seems to have followed in the footsteps of the earlier Tunica-Biloxi leaders who tried, almost in vain, to re-interest the Bureau of Indian Affairs in articulating programs for Louisiana tribal communities. He had grown up both in the Tunica community at Marksville and the pan-tribal community (mainly

Choctaw and Biloxi) at Woodworth (Indian Creek). He spoke Choctaw, the Mobilian jargon, and some Tunica-Biloxi. He was also fluent in French and English. More important, he had been an excellent stickball player and had participated in the ballgames which tied the pan-tribal interaction of the 1930's together. His son and daughters had all lived in the New Orleans and Houston areas. His son had married a fullblood Choctaw woman from Mississippi and that tie was fostered for his tribe.

In the 1960's a group of Indians drawn together by the industrial developments (petro-chemical plants) in the state capitol, Baton Rouge, began to organize a pan-tribal group, the Indian Angels. Similar to Indian pan-tribal activities in other portions of the United States, the group became active. Chief Joe Pierite and his family, Chief Emile Stouff and his family and several Houma leaders became rural extensions of the group.

Sarah Peralta, a part-Apache woman, and her daughters organized the group. Attracted by the activism at Alcatraz, she and her families among the Louisiana Indians were rapidly exposed to that action by national media coverage. Even on the most isolated oak ridges in the marshes of the Houma country, rural electrification had tied the communities to the rest of the nation. Radio and television provided even those people with some awareness of Wounded Knee and Alcatraz. Indian sympathies went out.[140]

The new pan-tribal organization began to stress involvement in national Indian affairs. Sioux, Cherokee, Creek, and an urban agglomerate of Choctaw (of various blood quantum) made up most of its membership.

The Tunica-Biloxi community was the site of a major "pow-wow" in the mid-sixties. It was held at a local cattle auction barn, the Cow

Palace, which became the major tribal meeting place for the Tunica for the next decade.

Annual pan-tribal "pow-wows" held by the Angels in Baton Rouge focused media attention on the group. An annual parade, with the Mayor as guest speaker helped gain attention. Press relations were maintained and influences from national Indian organizations were soon apparent. These were held in the Teamster's Union Hall, the Istrouma High School Gymnasium and finally at the City Police Youth Facility Park.

The Coushatta, Chitimacha and Jena Choctaw were not ammenable to involvement in the Indian Angels. First, the Coushatta and Jena group had retained more blood quantum and strong language tradition. The Jena people were isolated and less interested in urban contact, and the involvement of the Chitimacha and Coushatta with the Bureau of Indian Affairs made them hyper-conscious of the problems of recognized Indian groups. Stung by termination, the Coushatta leaders recognized immediately the complexity of national Indian politics.

By the 1970's strong conflicts between the Indian Angels and those tribes (Choctaw at Jena, Coushatta and, to a lesser extent, Chitimacha) were apparent.[141]

Nevertheless, there was an incipient network of pan-tribal relations in the state. The Indian Angels began to articulate, before the press, Indian presence and identity. The Tunica-Biloxi had began earlier to articulate with Indians outside Louisiana that there were tribes present. With the help of a part-Choctaw, Claude Medford, Jr., Chief Pierite had contacted the National Congress of American Indians ant the tribe had affiliated with them.[142] As long as Chief Pierite could,

he paid tribal dues to that organization. By 1970 Vine Deloria, Jr., one of the most respected spokesmen for Indians on the national level began to acknowledge the Tunica-Biloxi presence in the state. Together with Chief Pierite, Deloria began gathering support for Federal Recognition for the Tunica-Biloxi.[143]

In the 1970's, there was widespread interest in the eastern United States in some articulation of Indian needs and presence. In 1972, after the Native American Rights Fund sponsored, and the Institute for the Development of Indian Law coordinated, the first Eastern Indian Conference (Dec. 7-9, 1972) a coalition of some 60 tribes, communities and organizations formed.[144] This became the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, better known by the acronym, CENA. Its goals were to seek a reaffirmation of tribal or community identity for the eastern tribes and acknowledgment by the Federal government that Eastern Indians were entitled to the same legal and consitutional protection and services accorded to other Indians in the United States. Its first co-directors were Louis Bruce (Mohawk-Sioux) ex-director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and W. J. Strickland (Lumbee from North Carolina).[145]

In Louisiana the Tunica-Biloxi, acting with Vine Deloria's advice, became part of the Coalition. Almost immediately the Indian Angels joined. A faction of Houma also had a representative, as did the East Baton Rouge Choctaw, an urban aggregate centered about the Baton Rouge suburb of Baker, Louisiana.

The early 1970's also saw two other events pertinent to the development of Indian affairs in the state. A French Catholic power base began to organize within the state Democratic Party. Edwin Edwards, a French-

speaking lawyer, from southwestern Louisiana became candidate for governor. One of his pre-election promises was the formation of a State Office of Indian Affairs and a statewide Indian Commission. In 1972 Edwin Edwards was elected, and almost immediately set up the Commission and the Office of Indian Affairs. The first Commissioner, David Garrison, was a lawyer from Lake Charles and a non-Indian. The first director of the Office of Indian Affairs was an Indian, a Coushatta, Ernest Sickey.[146]

Almost immediately Coushatta-Indian Angels factionalism surfaced, and the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans began to be involved in antagonisms between the tribal communities and the State Office of Indian Affairs. The State Office was not receptive to outside intervention, a clear reflection of the skepticism of the almost totally full-blood Coushatta towards the more mixed tribal groups. To some extent, the Coushatta, Chitimacha, Jena Choctaw and the Houma at Dulac became alligned with the State Office and the Commission. These were the more racially intact communities. The other groups became part of the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans and/or the Indian Angels.

In spite of internal differences, the Indian communities were able to gradually articulate their conditions and to organize in such a fashion that they could obtain state and Federal services and grants.

The Tunica-Biloxi elected a chairman, Joseph Pierite, Jr., their active chief's son, and a council. With advice from W. J. Strickland of CENA, they filed a legal corporation with the State of Louisiana.[147]

Similarly, with the help of Ernest Sickey and M. D. Regions, a member of the state commission, the Jena Choctaw organized.[148] An

organizational grant from the Association for American Indian Affairs helped the tribe with that. They elected a council, and Jerry Don Allen was their first chairperson. Later, he was replaced by Clyde Jackson and Jesse Lewis as chairman and vice-chairman.[149]

The Chitimacha had organized themselves earlier, leaving Chief Stouff as "emeritus" and making Leroy Burgess chairman and Larry Burgess, his nephew, vice-chairman.

The Houma communities, long separated by geography, were soon politically separated as well. Those on Bayou Lafourche, near Golden Meadow, elected leaders; a woman, Helen Gindrat, was especially active there. On Bayou Dulac, Tom Dion, became the community leader. Not until 1977-78 did the Houma fuse their two parent organizations, the Houma Alliance and the Houma Tribe, to form a single tribal government, the United Houma Tribe.[150]

In 1974, under sponsorship of the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans, a statewide meeting with Vine Deloria, Jr., W. J. Strickland, and Louis Bruce was held at the Alexandria, Louisiana, community center. It was arranged by Jean Boese, State Republican chairlady, the Tunica and H. F. Gregory, anthropologist, from Natchitoches, Louisiana. The meeting was held so that Indian leaders could articulate community needs to the anthropologists in the state. It was the first time such a face-to-face conference had been held in the eastern states. Ostensibly, it was hoped, anthropologists could be recruited, or their students could, to work on projects related to tribal continuities, and therefore, help with Federal Recognition. Representatives of all the state and private colleges and universities with anthropology and archaeology

offerings, from each tribe (except for the Chitimacha who could not come), and from the Louisiana State Department of Education were in attendance. Indian leaders spent the day explaining their needs, and appealing to the anthropologists for help. They also pointed out the problems with traditional anthropology, i.e. that most material (verbal and artifactual) is alienated from the Indian community and is very hard to retrieve. Also the data base was spotty, sometimes easily misinterpreted by the people in Washington and actually an impediment to achieving Federal recognition.

The anthropologists then began to ask the tribes to help with funding and the tribes began to suggest the anthropologists apply for grants. Cooperative programs were agreed upon and several people volunteered their help. Eventually, Vine Deloria, Jr. was able to fund Ernest Downs of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law and H. F. Gregory with a grant from the Sachem Fund of the Mellon Foundation. Downs was working on a Federal recognition petition for the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, and Gregory was gathering data on all the tribes left in the state.

Bibliographical data was compiled by graduate students at NSU, Tulane University, and by Jon Gibson, professor of anthropology, at the University of Southwestern Louisiana. These data were then supplied to the concerned tribes.[151]

By 1977 a number of other developments had taken place. Paul Leatherman, of the Mennonite Central Volunteers committee had met with the Tunica-Biloxi council and H. F. Gregory. Later, Mennonite Central Committee began a program of Indian community-based volunteer programs.

At the Houma the Mennonites began immediately to work on the cultural and historical documentation of tribal history and conditions. Jan Curry and Greg Bowman were the first researchers there.

A married team, Steve and Ann Egli, began a service-oriented program at the Tunica-Biloxi.[152]

Housing and Urban Development grants were funded for the Jena Choctaw and the Tunica-Biloxi. These provided community centers and housing improvement grants.

In 1972, almost immediately after Ernest Sickey's appointment to State Office, the Coushatta Tribe regained the Federal status taken from it only a few years earlier.[153]

Sickey, then undertook a series of need assessments for the tribes: housing, programs for the aged, etc. He also helped steer state recognition bills through the legislative maze in Baton Rouge. The Houma, Jena Choctaw, and Tunica-Biloxi gained state recognition with his help.[154]

In 1976, Sickey resigned to assume chairmanship of the Coushatta Tribe - a point complicated by his involvement on state level. He was replaced by M. D. Regions, but Regions never took any active steps towards operationalizing either the office or the commission. David Garrison had also resigned previously because of health problems.[155]

In 1977 the Federally supported American Indian Policy Review Commission sent its Task Force on terminated and unrecognized tribes to Louisiana. Invited to offer testimony in Washington, H. F. Gregory together with Ernest Downs and the local tribal leaders, declined and insisted on a team visit to Louisiana. A hearing was sponsored at

Jena Choctaw, Tunica-Biloxi and the Houma communities. An open hearing was held at the State Capitol in Baton Rouge. Finally, the Congress had opened the path to Federal recognition for all tribes via a petition route.[156]

Finally, after a lapse of over a year, the Indian desk in the State Office was filled by Pete Mora, a Coushatta. A trained social worker, Mora began work on community development, especially housing and/or Federal relations.[157]

New communities began, upon hearing of the material success of the other tribes, to contact the State Office of Indian Affairs.

Lester Sepulvado, one of H. F. Gregory's students, and a local school teacher and rancher, Raymond Ebarb, began organizing a community council at Ebarb, Louisiana. A mixed Spanish-Lipan-Choctaw community isolated until the 1960's, this group began collecting oral history, and using documentation becoming available from research on Presidio Los Adaes, a frontier settlement and capitol of Spanish Texas in the eighteenth century. Sepulvado contacted Ernest Sickey and H. F. Gregory. Sickey then visited the community in 1978 when inquiries concerning Federal Recognition policies arose.[158]

In 1977-78 Rose Pierite White, a member of the Tunica-Biloxi council, and an anthropological linguist, Emanuel Drechsel, visited the isolated Clifton community in northwestern Rapides Parish. Formerly the community had been designated as simply a "Redbone" settlement. Drechsel contacted Ernest Sickey, and H. F. Gregory and Rose White advised Pete Mora of the fact that an Indian identity persisted there.[159]

By 1978 H. F. Gregory, Lester Sepulvado, and Pete Mora had visited the community. Shortly thereafter Pete Mora helped the tribe organize

a tribal council, with Norris Tyler as chairperson. The Clifton community had a strong Choctaw identity, though most families were mixed with non-Indians, and applied for state recognition. Further, the community obtained the services of a local professional planner and grantsman, Douglas Cheatam. Through his services, and with the help of the State Office of Indian Affairs, a number of community-based service programs were articulated.[160]

A year after Ernest Sickey left the State Office of Indian Affairs he, along with the Chitimacha and Jena Choctaw, organized the Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana. Its office, under the direction of Mrs. Jeanette Campos, a Ute, began a series of program developments for the tribes; these included an Indian component of the Comprehensive Education Training Act (CETA). Eventually the Tunica-Biloxi and Houma were invited to participate in that program and to become members of the Council.[161]

Tribal CETA offices were maintained for all the tribes, and tribal administrators were usually involved with the CETA program. Other activities included cultural programs, adult education classes, and, at Jena, an initial attempt at a Choctaw language retention program sponsored by the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington.[162] Contact with two Federally Recognized Tribes, Chitimacha and Coushatta, helped gain contact with the National Park Service, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and other agencies concerned with Indian rights and welfare.

In 1980, Helen Gindrat, a Houma leader since the early 1970's long before there were any formal agencies to voice Indian concerns

and needs, became State Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Her appointment had strong opposition from the unrecognized tribes most closely affiliated with the State Office of Indian Affairs, the Indian Angels especially were vociferous in their opposition.[162] They recalled the early antagonism of recognized tribes and seemed to have forgotten Gindrat's early involvement in their efforts. For the first time since the early 1970's, the Angels marched on the Capitol dressed in paint and feathers, the pan-tribal trademark of their identity. Their drumming went unheard in the Governor's Office, the political efforts of the tribes in the later-Tribal Council and their track record in tribal program development won out. The new Republican governor of Louisiana, David Treen, and his advisors were more impressed by business acumen than ethnic zeal.[163]

Shortly after the Gindrat appointment she made contact with the Ebarb community and it seemed definite that her efforts to serve all the communities in the state, all of which she knew, would have far-reaching consequences for Louisiana Indians.

Further, the decade of efforts to obtain Federal recognition for the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe had come to fruition. Their petition submitted by the Native American Rights Fund on their behalf, was received and the Bureau of Indian Affairs found they met the requirements for the Federal relationship.[164]

The Association for American Indian Affairs was compiling a petition for the Jena Choctaw, the Mennonite volunteers were researching the Houma petition, and the Ebarb and Clifton communities assessing their positions as regards Federal recognition. The new decade opened in a

totally new arena. Republican party politics generally had helped the tribes gain national involvement while the Democratic party had backed local efforts at organization and program development. The tribes had become increasingly committed to self-determination and sovereignty in the two decades since 1960. The "road to disappearance" closed, the future held new hope for tribal maintenance and pan-tribal cooperation.

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6. Giraud, Marcel. 1974. A History of French Louisiana. Vol. 1, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, LA, pp. 67, 76-77.

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10. Kniffen, Fred B. and H. F. Gregory. Ms. in preparation 1981.

11. See: Spencer's Heirs vs. Grimball, Western District, United States Court, 1827, Washington, pp. 189-192. and Recopilaciones de las Indias, libro 6, titulo 3, Legajo 14.

> "Spain appears to have felt earlier on the original inhabitants of this continent, and her legislation bears repeated and anxious marks of her desire to repair the injuries her ambition and cupidity had imposed."

in Spencer's Heirs vs. Grimball, 1827, p. 191.

> "The seats on which the villages of Indians shall be placed, shall be such as are well provided with water, arable land, and woods, and to which there may be easy access, and they shall have a common of one league in extent, where their cattle may graze without being mixed with those of the Spaniards." Maes vs. Gillards Heirs et al. 1828. Western District United States Court, Vol. VII, n.s., Washington, p. 549.

12. Wolf, Eric. 1966. Sons of the Shaking Earth, Chicago, p. 51.

13. Martin, Francois Xavier. 1882. The History of Louisiana, Gresham, New Orleans, pp. 157-158.

14. Rowland, Dunbar and A. G. Sanders. 1927. Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1729-1740, French Dominion. Jackson, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, p. 71.

15. This is documentable in a wide variety of ways, and in literally dozens of sources. See Martin, Op. cit. 1882 or Giraud, Op. cit. 1974.

16. Giraud, Op. Cit. 1974. Also personal communication with the geneologist, Elizabeth Mills, points out that over half the population of Natchitoches was a fourth or more Indian in 1803!

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19. Gregory, 1974. Ibid.

20. John Sibley used the part-Caddo Grappe family as translators and cultural brokers. However, their influence on the tribes made them suspect and Sibley eventually was forced to terminate Francois Grappe's services. See: Purser, Mary Joyce. 1961. The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana, 1803-1820. Unpublished M.A. Thesis Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

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33. These small tribes had migrated west in the 1764-1780 period and were constantly being manipulated by colonial authorities. See the court cases referred to earlier.

34. Swanton, John R. 1911. Op. cit.

35. Swanton, John R. 1911. and Personal Communication with the late Caroline Dormon, friend and confidante to the Chitimacha, 1925-1940. Miss Dormon knew Chitimacha who spoke Tensas in the 1930's. Unfortunately, she did not leave any vocabulary.

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39. Letters of the Caddo Agency 1805-1840, Library of Congress, Washington. Microfilm copies available at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, and Northwestern State University, Natchitoches.

40. Shugg, Roger W. 1939. The Origin of Class Struggle in Louisiana. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

41. There is an excellent description of the situation in late nineteenth-century Natchitoches Parish - even to listing the products and services exchanged - see Cosgrove, J. H., n.d. The Texas Magazine, Vol. 3(1), pp. 72-75.

Further, the French traveler, Tixier, has described Choctaw from Red River wintering on the German Coast - living on the "back" of plantations, McDermott, 1940.

A Choctaw-Alabama, Mrs. Lessie Simon, of Beaver, Louisiana, described her childhood (early 1900's) near Baptiste Creek in this same fashion:

A local white landowner was photographed with her whole community. "Mr. _____, took care of us. When he died we scattered."

42. In the Cammie Henry Collection at Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana are a number of letters describing early twentieth century ball play by the Indians along Bayou Boeuf near LaCompte, Louisiana. See: Jeanette Dent Calvert, March 1, 1900, to Cammie Henry. Mrs. Calvert noted that these people (Biloxi and Choctaw) left her area in 1895. Another source on Indian ball games is Saucer, Corinne. 1941. A History of Avoyelles Parish, Baton Rouge, Pelican Press. She quotes an early settler's reminiscences about the LaCompte games. In 1978, Merlan Pierite, one of the last surviving Tunica Indians to have actively played stickball, took me to the Tunica ballground on Coulee des Grues near Marksville, Louisiana:

> "We played well up into the 1930's. I remember that well. We had red, white and blue uniforms, and wore our 'tennies' (tennis shoes) to play in. We played on Sunday evenings and people would come from town to see us play."

In another interview (1975), Mrs. Clementine Broussard, a Tunica-Biloxi elder, recalled young Frenchmen coming from nearby settlements and how her people loved to get them dancing at the end of a line of dancers in the Snake Dance so they could swing them into the bushes near the dance ground. Such social interaction was the rule, rather than the exception between 1900 and 1940.

43. McDermott, John Francis, ed. 1940. Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, p. 82. This is the only instance where there is a clear mention of women and money that has appeared to date.

44. Anonymous. 1862. Essai Sur Quelques Usages et Sur l'idiome des Indies de La Basse Louisiana. Opelousas. Manuscript on file in the Louisiana Collection, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

There are numbers of references about 19th-century slave-tracking by Indians. The best is Northrop, Solomon. 1853. Twelve Years a Slave. (reprint, L.S.U. Press, Baton Rouge, 1963).

45. See Giraud, Op. cit. for a discussion of métis populations. Little has been done to research this matter, but geneological research on the colonial records at Natchitoches clearly shows the high degree of Indian blood in nearly all the "French" families by the 19th century, Personal Communication Gary and Elizabeth Mills, 1981.

Exactly when "quarter blood" or less blood quantum became common status in Indian communities is unclear. It obviously varies even today. At Jena Choctaw it is in this generation (1970-80's), at the Coushatta it is still rare; among the Houma, Tunica, and Chitimacha it is the rule in the 1900's. Intermarriage there had already become common by the 1930's. It was a matter of individual identity and not race. Genetic markers of "Indianess" could (and can) be found among all three races in Louisiana. It remains a cultural matter.

46. Mills, Elizabeth. 1977. Natchitoches 1729-1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers, Vol. II, Polyanthos Press, New Orleans. See, especially, p. XV, on metif, mestizo, mulattrosse as identities for a Caddo Indian.
Deville, Winston. 1961. Marriage Contracts of Natchitoches, 1739-1803. New Orleans, Polyanthos Press.

47. Robert Thomas (Personal Communication 1981) points out that in the 1820-30 period there was a diaspora of these mixed families and that they moved west. Many seem to have lost their identity as Indians or, even non-whites, as they crossed various state boundaries. Apparently this did not happen in Louisiana. Joey Dillard has hypothesized that the prejorative, "Red Bone," is ultimately derived from a Jamaican phrase, "Red Ibo," applied to any racially mixed people - see Gregory, H.F., Hugh Curry and James McCorkle. 1979. Natchitoches Parish Cultural and Historical Resources: Historic Period. Natchitoches, Natchitoches Parish Planning Commission, pp. 24-28.

48. Gregory, Curry and McCorkle. 1979. Ibid., pp. 24-26.

49. Webb, Clarence H. and Hiram F. Gregory. 1978. The Caddo Indians of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, The Louisiana Archaeological Survey, pp. 1-50.

50. LeBreton, Dagmar. 1947. Chata Ima: The Life of Adrien-Emannuel Rouquette. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, pp. 202.

According to Tom Colvin, a local basketmaker and friend to the Choctaw, the last Choctaw-speaker in this community, Sanville Johnson, categorically denied that the Bayou LaCombe people ever used the phrase, Chata Ima, but that L'Abbe Rouquette merely called himself that. Gatschet's notes, unpublished, in the Smithsonian Anthropological Archives, 1889, clearly note the priest - in fact he purchased a Choctaw word list and several artifacts from him. There was no mention of using him as a guide to any other tribes. Rouquette had a mission to the Choctaw in 1859, see Baudier, Roger. 1935. The Catholic Church in Louisiana, New Orleans, p. 391. Verdun Daste. 1939. Six Choctaws Remain of Proud Bayou LaCombe Tribes, Times Picayune, July 12. notes that the Reverend Francis Balay, O.S.B. was at the bayou from 1915-1925.

51. Peterson, John. 1978. An Outline of Choctaw History. Mississippi Choctaw, Philadelphia.

52. Gregory, Hiram F. 1977. The Jena Band of Louisiana Choctaw, American Indian Journal, Vol. 3(2), Washington, pp. 2-16.

53. One man, named Thomas, came back according to Clifton community elders, to find his mother, Mary Batiste (spelled Bates), living there. Another came and lived with a white family named Neal.

54. LeBreton, 1974. Op. cit.

55. Peterson, John. 1979.

56. Anonymous. 1862. Op. cit.

57. Purser, 1961. Op. cit. p. 117.

58. Ibid. 1961, pp. 117-118.

59. M. R. Harrington, 1909, to the Justice Department, Washington, D.C. Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C. This ethnologist, at the request of the Chitimacha chief, wrote requesting investigation of the shooting of Chitimacha men by a local sheriff's deputies. The Tunica chief, Melacon, had been killed by a local white in the 1840's - resulting in a local trial. The man went free.

60. Purser, 1961. Op. cit., p. 55. See also 1835. The American State Papers: Indian Claims, Vol. V, Washington, Seaton and Gales.

61. See Northrop, 1865. Op. cit.

62. This was documented earlier and is repeated here for emphasis. Clementine Broussard, a Tunica-Biloxi, once put it most eloquently (interview 1979):

> "I live here in this house and pay rent. I pay rent on land I know they [whites] took from us. It makes me mad."

63. See Dagmar LeBreton. 1947. Op. cit. and Peterson, 1975., Op. cit.

64. Interview 1979 with Mrs. Lessie Bill Simon of Beaver, Louisiana.

65. Peterson, John. 1975. Op. cit.
Peterson, John. 1975. Louisiana Choctaw Life at the End of the Nineteenth Century, Four Centuries of Southern Indians (Charles Hudson, ed.) Athens, University of Georgia Press.

66. The classic example of this was the Penick Choctaw School built for the Jena Band of Choctaw near White Sulphur Springs (Eden, Louisiana), See Gregory, Op. cit.

67. The Tunica-Biloxi have held onto this grant from Governor de Galvez until the present. See Downs, Op. cit. and Juneau, Op. cit. for more elaborate discussions of this piece of land.

68. See Gatschet, Albert. 1889. Unpublished fieldnotes, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian.

69. Interview, 1972, Mrs. Rosa Jackson Pierite - Choctaw raised at Indian Creek and married to the late Tunica-Biloxi chief, Joseph Pierite:

"When the mill closed at Woodworth circa 1925 my brothers had to leave home. They moved us all to Texas; they went to work in the sawmill there at Bessmay."

According to oral tradition, many Tunica-Biloxi scattered, but Volsin Chiki, their old chief, encouraged them all to return to their land grant by reinstating their corn feast, the Fete du Ble'.

70. Miss Caroline Dormon visited a family of Attakapa speakers at Vidor in the 1930's - unpublished fieldnotes, Dormon Collection, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

71. A set of unpublished Gatschet fieldnotes in possession of Dr. Mary Haas, University of California, Berkeley. These cannot be quoted in full here. They will be edited and published by Haas.

72. This statement is based on surveys of tribal roles at Jena, Tunica-Biloxi and Coushatta tribal areas. A few Attakapas, Choctaw and Opelousas have been located, isolated, in black communities. None of their children have Indian identities.

73. Sabinas is the local term used by Spanish-speaking Louisianians for cypress trees which have red and white wood. See also Curry, Op. cit.

74. Berry, Brewton. 1963. Almost White. New York. Macmillian.

75. Bertrand, Alvin. Class notes, Louisiana State University, 1958.

76. John R. Swanton, 1937, to Miss Caroline Dormon - Letter in the Dormon Collection, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana: Swanton commented on his fear that the Tunica-speaker, Sesostrie Yuchigant, would react negatively to a Jim Crow situation on trains bound for Washington.

77. Fischer, Ann. 1970. History and Current Status of the Houma Indians, in The American Indian Today (Stuart Levine and Nancy Lurie, eds.) Baltimore, Penquin Books.

78. Personal Communication 1980: Bruce Duthu, first Houma graduate from an integrated school. Duthu later graduated from the American Indian Studies Program at Dartmouth University.

79. Most of their fieldnotes remain unpublished. These cover crucial years: 1880-1904. The majority of this material is linguistic, but some socio-economic data is included. Smithsonian Anthropological Archives, Washington.

80. There are a whole series of Swanton papers - in the archives, but also in the Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, see works cited previously. Swanton's letters to Caroline Dormon evidence some charity - he sent money to the Tunica throughout the Great Depression - but little effort at activism, none in fact. 1928. Sun Worship in the Southeast. American Anthropologist 30: 206-213. 1929. Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 88, Washington. 1931. Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 103, Washington. 1940. The First Description of An Indian Tribe in the Territory of the United States in Studies for William A. Read (edited by N. Coffee and Thomas Kirby). Baton Rouge, L.S.U. Press. 1941. Source Material on the History and Ethnology of the Caddo Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 132, Washington. 1946. The Indians of the Southeastern United States. Bulletin of The Bureau of American Ethnology No. 137, Washington.
Also see: Gatschet, Albert S. and John R. Swanton. 1932. A Dictionary of the Attakapa Language. Bulletin of American Ethnology No. 108, Washington.
1911. Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 43, Washington.
1922. Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 73, Washington.
1928. Social Organization and Social Uses of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy, Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, pp. 25-472.

81. Duke, John. 1978. The DeSoto Commission. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

82. A number of letters on file in the Dormon Collection at Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana, document this, as do the Dormon fieldnotes. At Dormon and Swanton's instigation, Winslow Walker was dispatched to Louisiana in 1934-1935. He was followed shortly by Frank Setzler of the Smithsonian. Oral tradition among Louisiana archaeologists hold that Setzler's joie de vivre was necessary to make archaeology compatible with the French lifestyle at Marksville where he was to begin the W.P.A. program for the state. Walker's more staid, academic style did not leave good impressions.

83. Vic Riste went to Oklahoma to the Natchez, but he apparently was one of the first linguists to be rumored on his way to Louisiana - Swanton to Dorman 1933 - Dorman Collection, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches. Mary Haas began her work Sesosterie Yuchigant on the Tunica language. Her husband, Morris Swadesh, began his work with Benjamin Paul on Chitimacha. Gene Weltfish visited the Chitimacha with them. Weltfish alone, diverged from language studies. She was interested in material culture, her work on Chitimacha basketry was an early start.
Haas' work led her to return to visit Biloxi at the Glenmora and Indian Creek communities. Eventually her work led directly to the investigation of younger linguists: James Crawford and Emanuel Drechsel in the 1980's.

Haas, Mary 1939. Natchez and Chitimacha Clans and Terminology. American Anthropologist, Vol. 41, pp. 597-610.
_____ 1940. Tunica, Handbook of North American Indian Languages, Vol. 4(1), pp. 1-143, New York, Augustin.
_____ 1943. The Solar Diety of the Tunica. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, Vol. 28, pp. 531-535.
_____ 1944. Men and Women's Speech in Koasati Language, Vol. 20, pp. 142-149.
_____ 1947. Some French Loan Words in Tunica. Romance Philology, Vol. 1, pp. 145-148.
_____ 1950. Tunica Texts. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 6, pp. 1-174.
_____ 1953. Tunica Dictionary. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 6, pp. 175-332.
_____ 1968. The Last Words of Biloxi. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 34, pp. 77-84.
_____ 1969. Swanton and the Ofo and Biloxi Dictionaries, International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 35, pp. 286-290.
_____ 1971. Southeastern Indian Linguistics, Red White and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South. (Charles Hudson, ed.), Athens, University of Georgia Press.
_____ 1973. The Southeast. Linguistics in North America: Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 10 (Thomas Sebeok, ed.), The Hague, Mouton.
_____ 1975. What is Mobilian? Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages, (James Crawford, ed.) Athens, University of Georgia, pp. 257-264.
See also: Trager, George L. 1941. Review of Tunica by Mary Haas. Language, Vol. 17, pp. 353-357.
Crawford, James. 1975. Southeastern Indian Languages, Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages, (James Crawford, ed.) Athens, University of Georgia Press, pp. 1-120.
Swadesh, Morris, 1933. Chitimacha Verbs of Derogatory or Abusive Connotation with Paralells from European Languages, Language, Vol. 9, pp. 192-201.
_____ 1934. The Phonetics of Chitimacha, Language, Vol. 10, pp. 345-362.
_____ 1946. Chitimacha. Linguistic Structures of Native American, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 6, pp. 312-366.
_____ 1946. Phonologic Formulas for Attakapa-Chitimacha. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 12, pp. 112-132.
Weltfish's work remains abscure. Hopefully it will be made available soon.

84. Frank G. Speck came to Louisiana in the late 1930's. His arrival was likely encouraged later by the presence of the late Robert S. Neitzel, a close friend of Loren Eisley and a student at the University of Chicago. Neitzel was crew chief for excavations at the Marksville mounds, working for Frank Setzler. He began a series of correspondences with Speck regarding Tunica and Biloxi culture. Shortly thereafter Speck began visits there. Their correspondence is stored at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See also: Freeman, John and Murray Smith. 1966. A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society.

85. In 1940 Speck wrote a report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the educational conditions of the Houma - this was one of the first activist efforts of an anthropologist in the behalf of a Louisiana tribe, see Speck, Frank G. 1976. The Houma Indians in 1940, American Indian Journal, Vol. 2, pp. 4-15.
Speck's work was preceded by M.R. Harrington's visit in 1907-1908, also a sympathetic view of the south Louisiana tribes - See Harrington, M.R. 1908. Among Louisiana Indians, The Southern Workman, Vol. 37, pp. 656-661. It was the result of Harrington's trip that the Chitimacha found a friend who could recommend their cause to the Justice Department of the United States - although no official action ever developed.

86. Downs, Ernest C. 1979. The Struggle of the Louisiana Tunica Indians for Recognition. Southeastern Indians (Walter Williams, ed.), Athens, University of Georgia Press, pp. 72-89. On September 12, 1938 Eli, Sam Barbry and Horace Pierite, Sr. visited the office of John Collier - and spoke for themselves - an important first event for Louisiana Indians.

87. Personal Communication: Sam Barbry, Sr., Tunica-Biloxi councilman, 1977. The Barbry family had carefully conserved the correspondence between Elijah Barbry and the Office of Indian Affairs. Upon the death of Sam Barbry, Sr. these letters were passed on to Mike Barbry, a grandson, who made them available to H. F. Gregory and Ernest C. Downs. Downs, 1979, Ibid. has summarized these documents. Elijah Barbry had contacted Benjamin Paul, but was told the Chitimacha had their own chief.

88. The Indian Creek - Avoyelles Prairie - Coushatta and Jena Choctaw communities had long been in contact. Intermarriage was common and inter-tribal ball games and dances common. Jackson Langley, one of John R. Swanton's Coushatta informants, had attempted a sort of personal activism for his people and Mark Robinson, a Coushatta medicine man turned preacher, ministered to the Indian Creek people also. Langley had married Alice Picote, an Ofo woman who lived with the Tunica at Marksville. The climate was set for a complicated tribal body politic.

The Houma and Chitimacha knew each other, and had contact with Sesostine Yuchigant, a Tunica chief. The Swadeshes had taken Yuchigant to live with them at Clarenton. That likely led to Barbary's contact.

89. Personal Communication, Frank Setzler, Archaeologist for the Smithsonian Institution, 1959. Barbry, accompanied by the Tunica menfolks - all armed - had closed the excavations. Setzler, said he convinced them they were not disturbing Tunica graves and they allowed him to finish his work.
In 1971 the late Tunica-Biloxi chief, Joseph Pierite, Sr., explained that there was no satisfaction agreed upon. He maintained vehemently that the Marksville Prehistoric Park was built on Tunica sacred lands. A legend had explained a large gulley there as a wash caused by the regurgitation of buzzards after a battle between the Tunica and an enemy tribe. Chief Joe pointed out that the park had a zoo on their graves!
It was several years after Chief Joe's protests that a local amateur archaeologist, Brian Duhe of Reserve, Louisiana, showed H. F. Gregory a collection of historic materials - Indian and European - exhumed during the construction of a swimming pool adjacent to the area. Apparently, the Tunica-Biloxi had been quite correct in their identification of old burial grounds.
In November of 1981, Donald Juneau, attorney for the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, wrote to the Louisiana Archaeological Commission requesting all further excavation of Tunica burials at the Trudeau Site in East Feliciana Parish cease. Harvard archaeologists, under contract from the Office of State Parks, ceased their excavations. Eli Barbry's grandson, Earl Barbry - chairman of the tribe - initated that action!

90. See Downs. 1979. Op. cit.

91. Interview: Mrs. Clementine Broussard, Tunica-Ciloxi elder, 1975. Apparently the elders objected strenuously enough to recall their most activist chief. Graves and the protection of cemeteries on Tunica-Biloxi lands were again important factors.

92. Earl Barbry, in an address to the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe in 1978. Barbry was urging the tribe not to lease their land to the encroaching city of Marksville. The mayor had attempted the location of a landfill dump on the land. Barbry's request of his tribe was bitter, but the tribe declined the lease.

93. Nash, Roy. 1925. Report on the Alabama and Coushatta Indians to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Copy on file in Office of Polk County Superintendent of Schools, Livingston, Texas. Also copies available at Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.

Underhill, Ruth. 1938. Report on A Visit to Indian Groups in Louisiana, October 15-25, 1938. National Archives Record Group 73, 68776-1931-800.
Both these official visits resulted in sympathetic statements about Louisiana Indians. However, Roy recommended only that local people be involved and, for the Coushatta, no Federal aid. Underhill recommended to the Tunica-Biloxi that they move to Texas so they could educate their children, inadvertently starting a deep-seated factionalism inside the tribe.

94. Roy, Ediston Peter. 1959. The Indians of Dulac: A Descriptive Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. MA thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Downs, Ernest C. and Jenna Whitehead, eds. 1976. The Houma Indians: Two Decades in a History of Struggle, American Indian Journal 2(3), pp. 2-18.

95. Curry, Janelle. 1978. Unpublished Ms. in Gregory Collection, The Forgotten Tribe: The History and Culture of the Houma Tribe of Southern Louisiana. Report to Mennonite Central Volunteers, Akron, Pennsylvania.

96. Letter, M.R. Harrington to United States Justice Department, 1909. Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

97. Personal Communications, James Pharris. 1977. These observations were based on a series of taped interviews stored at the Natural History Museum and Planetarium at Lafayette, Louisiana. Pharris conducted the interviews for the museum.

98. Letters were exchanged between the tribes and various lawyers. Indian "hunters" went into the Louisiana hinterlands in search of people who would fill allotment lands, especially in the Choctaw Nation. The late Emeric Sanson, a mixed Choctaw-French descendant who lived at Catahoula Lake in Rapides Parish recalled the "lawyer" offering to fill out their papers for them. They declined. He remembered the fullbloods at Jena and Trout leaving and having to return home destitute, Interviews 1979. Mr. Sanson was 90 years old at the time of this interview. In the Hebert or Boeuf River region some people went to Oklahoma, others refused. The Hampton family split, some went to Oklahoma as Choctaw, the rest stayed, as mixed-blood whites, in Franklin and Richland Parishes, Personal Communication, 1963, Mr. W.W. Hampton (deceased), Ferriday, Louisiana.

99. Gregory, Hiram F. 1977. Op. cit.

100. LeBreton, Dagmar, Op. cit.

101. Interview, the late Emeric Sanson, 1969. "There was a tall old fellow, he was big, too. We were all in a barroom and this agent was asking us who was an Indian. 'I'm an Indian, by gan,' he said. 'By Gan' was his by-word. 'By-gan' he says, 'I'm Powhattan!' The agent was at the door by then and everybody was laughing at him."

102. Interview, the late W.W. Hampton, 1963. Mr. Hampton noted that his mixed-blood relative had taken the allotment under his mother's maiden name, Hampton. Further, afraid mixed-bloods would be excluded later, he purposively married a fullblood woman.

103. Personal Communication, Gregroy Perino, 1965. Mr. Perino left this information when he was visiting Louisiana collecting information on the Vowells and Gilcrease families for the Gilcrease Foundation in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Mr. Perino now works at the Museum of Red River in Idabel, Oklahoma.

104. John R. Swanton to Caroline Dormon 1937. Dorman Collection, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches, Louisiana.

105. A number of Indian communities survived into the 1880-90 period: scattered Choctaw near Madisonville, Mandeville and along the Amite River in the Florida parishes,
1) Coulee de Gris (Tunica-Biloxi-Ofo-Avoyel) in Avoyelles Parish,
2) Choctaw scattered along Trout Creek and Bear Creek in LaSalle and Winn Parishes,
3) Coushatta on the Calcasieu and Bayou Blue in Allen Parish,
4) Choctaw-Alabama near the Pawnee railroad siding (Batiste Creek) near Oakdale in Allen Parish,
5) Scattered families of Choctaw near Bayou Cocodrie in Evangeline Parish,
6) Choctaw, with a few Alabamas, on Bayou Nez Pique in St. Landry Parish,
7) Choctaw and Biloxi at Indian Creek in Rapides Parish,
8) Families of Biloxi with some Tunica on Bayou Boeuf near LaCompte and Avoyelles Prairie in Avoyelles Parish,
9) A number of Choctaw families at Cotile, near Boyce, on Bayou Rapides in Rapides Parish,
10) A few Attakapa were located near Lake Charles,
11) The Chitimacha were living two locations, the bulk of them near Charenton in St. Mary's Parish and another, smaller, number near Plaquemines Lock in West Baton Rouge Parish,

12) A number of Choctaw (Yowani) were scattered about on Choctaw and Beech Creeks in Sabine Parish,
13) Many Apache and Coahuiltecan families composed a Spanish-speaking agglomerate in Sabine Parish around the Choctaws,
14) There were a few families of Indian descent - some Apachean and others from tribes as scattered as Opelousas and Yaknechito living near Natchitoches. A small community had developed near Black Lake in Natchitoches Parish - some Osage women had been absorbed there according to local oral tradition.
All these communities found themselves relegated to marginal lands suddenly much in demand by lumber companies. Logged over, left without jobs as sawmills "cut out and got out" these became fragile, stressful places. Many, like Indian Creek, would be totally abandoned by the 1930's. Others, like the southeast Choctaw communities, would soon be adversely impacted by constant white contact.

106. Albert Gatschet collected a series of Choctaw texts from these groups in 1881-1882. Unpublished fieldnotes, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Collections, Washington, 65pp.

> "N.B. The Cha'ta Inds. seen by me were so little acquainted with English, French or Spanish, that frequent errors occurred, which I had great trouble to eliminate. I therefore tried to obtain only terms for concrete objects and actions. . . These Indians have almost entirely forgotten their ancient customs, folklore and traditions."

Although these remarks are somewhat contradictory, one has to consider that Gatschet met them selling herbs and baskets across the lake in New Orleans' French market. Such almost daily contact had not resulted in their assimilation - their linguistic situation precluded that, making Gatschet's contradictory remarks indicative of the kinds of values commonly held by anthropologists at the turn of the century.
Dominique Rouquette, a Creole newspaperman, wrote a description of the Choctaws near New Orleans in 1850. At that time he was in Fort Smith, Indian Territory, where he daily saw Choctaw who reminded him of home.
See: Stanley, Arthur C. 1937. Translation by Olivia Blanchard of Manuscript 508-A Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana. Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.
Rouquette described Choctaw loss of land rights and civil rights and civil rights after the coming of the Americans. In spite of the low esteem he held for the Anglo-Americans, his interpretation seems to fit all over the state (pp. 30):

> "A few years ago, an American of St. Tammany, a parish in Louisiana, having killed an Indian, his (the Indians) brothers prepared to avenge his death; but an old inhabitant, Major Gentil, a respectable old man true type of Creole, frank, loyal, upright, and hospitable, advised them to remain quiet. 'The Americans are the strongest,' he told them. 'They will trail you as they do the fox. They will burn your villages, they will drive you from the land where your fathers sleep. Remain quiet.' The Indians, regretfully followed this wise

advice, so that, the Anglo-Americans, sure of impurity, shamefully slay the poor Indians whom our laws do not protect. A rascal, a real outlaw, of the same parish, beat to death a poor Indian with a fence picket because the unfortunate man claimed a small sum of money. The poor Indian died of his wounds a few days later and no one paid any attention to the matter."
"If some industrious Indians cultivate a field of corn or potatoes, when harvest time comes, an Amere' (American) comes, no one knows from where, and says: 'This field belongs to me, I have bought it. Go away.'"

107. There are any number of references to these events: Rouquette, 1850. Op. cit. described attending ballgames near Lake Pontchartrain. Solomon Northrup left descriptions of Indian dances on Bayou Boeuf (1850's). That these relationships persisted well into the 19th-century is attested by even more references. Gatschet's (1880's) informants constantly told him of whites who "allowed" Indians to live on their lands. The practice continued well into the 1930's in central Louisiana and many tribal elders speak of whites who "hid their people" during the second removal. It seems sufficient to note that there were exceedingly close relationships, but these were not close enough to integrate Indians with whites in most cases. White patrons were one thing, but Indians quietly used these friends all the while being cautious not to abandon tribal identities, lands, and, in many cases, language. The Mobilian jargon came to be "the Indian language" to whites and blacks, and many were taught it, while acculturated Choctaw, Koasati, Tunica, etc. were not used with whites.

108. Peterson, John. 1979. Op. cit.

109. Interview, Mrs. Rosa Jackson Pierite, the oldest surviving Choctaw-Biloxi from the Indian Creek community, 1975. See also the letters from Mary Jackson to Caroline Dormon in the 1930's - Dormon Collection, Northwestern State University Library.

110. Swanton, John R. 1911. Op. cit.

111. Unpublished interviews: 1961-1965, 1970-1980 with individuals in the Coushatta, Alabama, Chitimacha, Choctaw-Apache, Clifton Choctaw, Jena Choctaw and Osage-French communities in Louisiana. Major informants will be listed here by tribe. Deceased interviewees are marked by an asterisk:
Tunica-Biloxi: Chief Joseph Pierite*, Harry Broussard, Horace Pierite, Jr., Mrs. Carrie Barbry*, Mrs. Nick Vercher, Earl Barbry, Sr.,

Cap Barbry, Mrs. Florence Jackson*, Herman Pierite*, Mrs. Clementine Broussard, Mrs. Rosa Pierite, Mrs. Norma Kwahajo, Mrs. Anamae Juneau, Sam Barbry, Sr.*;

Koasati (Coushatta): Bel Abbey, Ernest Sickey, Mrs. Nora Abbey, Mrs. Ruth Poncho, Curtis Sylestine, Wilfred Wilson, Claude Medford, Jr. (non-tribal);

Jena Choctaw: Anderson Lewis, Mrs. Lilly Lewis, Clyde Jackson, Mrs. Dorothy Nugent, Mrs. Cheryl Smith;

Choctaw-Apache: Beto Castillo*, Frank Martinez*, Wesley Martinez, Martin Ebarb, Ed Procell*, Mrs. Callie Procell, Joe Remedies, Mrs. Catarina Meshell, Mrs. Asuncion Manshack, Tommy Parrie, Don Lester Sepulvado, Danny Ebarb, Raymond Ebarb, Frank Garcie, Mickey Crnkowicz, Jim Toby, Roy Procell;

Osage: Mrs. Josephine Pardee*, Wilbert Pardee, Mrs. Ruth Pardee, Mrs. Glenn Pardee, Mrs. Onnie Brown;

Houma: Mrs. Marie Dean, Roy Parfait, Helen Gindrat, Chief William Lovince Billiot*, Bruce Duthu, Greg Bowman (non-Indian), Jonathan Beachy (non-Indian), Ms. Janelle Curry (non-Indian);

Chitimacha: Chief Emeritus Emile Stouff*, Mrs. Faye Stouff, Larry Burgess, LeRoy Burgess, Ms. Phyllis Simoneaux, Mrs. Ada Thomas;

Clifton Choctaw: Paul Thomas, Mrs. Pearl Tylor, Mrs. Joe Thomas, Norris Tylor, Mrs. Emma Tylor, Carrol Tylor, Luther Clifton, Amos Tylor, Mrs. Amos Tylor, Steve Weeks (non-Indian), Douglas Cheatham (non-Indian), Miriam Rich (non-Indian), Shari Miller (non-Indian).

A number of people of mixed or Indian descent were also interviewed extensively over these years:

Mr. W.W. Hampton*, Ferriday, Louisiana
Mrs. Arrila Lewis*, Ferriday, Louisiana
Mr. Emeric Sanson*, Deville, Louisiana
Mr. Steve Sanson, Deville, Louisiana
Mr. Delson Chevalier*, Deville, Louisiana

Non-Indians with close associations confirmed these basic data in numbers of communications: Dr. Fred B. Kniffen, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Miss Caroline Dormon*, Briarwood, Saline, Louisiana; Mrs. U.B. Evans, Haphazard Plantation, Ferriday, Louisiana; Mr. M.D. Regions, Beaumont, Texas.

112. The Gatschet fieldnotes are in the possession of Dr. Mary Haas, University of California, Berkeley. Dr. Haas has limited access inasmuch as she plans to publish these materials at a future date.

113. These observations are based upon about fifty hours of tape made by Ernest C. Downs and H. F. Gregory 1973-1978. Older members of the Coushatta, Tunica, Biloxi and Choctaw communities were interviewed.

114. Lindquist, G.E.E. 1931. The Quesadis on Bayou Blue, The Southern Workman LX(II), pp. 475-479. The Coushatta church today embodies parts of an older church, once located on the western edge of the community and administered by Rev. Leeds.

115. Lindquist, Ibid., p. 476.

116. Johnson, Kathryn S. and Paul Leeds. 1964. Pattern the Life and Works of Paul Leeds. San Antonio: Naylor Co.

117. Interview: Several Coushatta have expressed this same position. For obvious reasons, these informants wish to remain anonymous.

118. Dr. Fred B. Kniffen recalled that Mark Robinson was having his young son write down the old cures in a "Blue Horse" notebook in 1935. Kniffen talked about that with the author and Ernest Sickey, Coushatta tribal chairman in 1978 at a meeting held at the Coushatta Tribal Office. Dr. Dale Nicklas, an anthropological linguist, did fieldwork with Luke Robinson at Tallihina, Oklahoma and stated many thought him a medicine person. Mr. Robinson died in 1979.
See Drechsel, 1979. Op. cit.

119. Swanton fieldnotes, 1931-1934, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

120. Drechsel, Op. cit. 1979, Also from field interviews with Mrs. Lessie Simon at Beaver, Louisiana, 1980.

121. Cosgrove, Op. cit.

122. Josephy, Alvin. 1969. The Indian Heritage of America. New York, Alfred Knopf, pp. 350-351. See also, p. 345-366 for a broad overview of contemporary problems.

123. Any number of whites in Louisiana were sympathetic and helpful to the tribes. Before the Civil War a number of white planters allowed the tribes to live unmolested on their own lands. After the Civil War many continued in a helpful role. W.W. Martin, on Bayou Boeuf, Rapides Parish, acquired that reputation; see letter to Cammie Henry 1901, Northwestern State University Archives. Manuel Martinez hid the Choctaw on lands behind his home in Sabine Parish; a man named Palant, called in Choctaw Falantshe, or Frenchman, "protected" the Choctaw near Madisonville on

Lake Pontchartrain, see Gatschet's lexicon collected in 1881-82 near New Orleans. A lawyer took up early legal cases for the Tunica. The Bradford family eventually protected the Chitimacha lands by purchasing them and establishing a congressional trust for that tribe. James Coles, a white man, helped the Coushatta move to "safer" lands in the 1880's. As late as the 1930's, Caroline Dormon actively worked for Indian rights. She helped find jobs, sold crafts, and worked dilligently for the tribes. Two white school teachers opened a school for the Choctaw at Jena: Mrs. Charles Pennick and J.L. Pipes. Mrs. Wilhelmina Hooper opened a school for the Houma near Dulac. These people continued a long tradition of selected white friendship. Indian groups frequently had to rely on such cultural brokers for obtaining services, even when they were due them as citizens of the state and nation. It would be well into the 1960's before the Louisiana Indians could communicate their own statewide self-determined needs by way of an Indian group or person. Charles Billiot, Mark Robinson, Jackson Langley, Eli Barbry had all attempted to speak for their people and actually managed to find ways and means to do that, but these frequently involved non-Indian "friends," like Frank Speck and M.R. Harrington - out of state people with Federal connections.
Even so, these people had little or no real impact, and in some cases their patronage was bad for the tribes. If, and usually, and when these white men died or moved away, the tribes were left with no person to intervene.

124. Juneau, Donald. 1980. Op. cit., Downs, 1979. Op. cit.

125. State v. Chiqui, 40 La. Ann. 131, 132, 21 50.513, 1897.

126. Downs, Op. cit.

127. Juneau, Donald. 1980. Op. cit.

128. Dormon collection letters re: Chitimacha tribal recognition, 1935. Miss Dormon wrote to the Bureau of Indian Affairs requesting information on tribal status, and why there was no one actively working to represent the tribe in Louisiana. The reply explained tribal status and volunteered to hire a local person if Dormon could find one. Nonetheless tribal services continued to be articulated through the distant offices of the Mississippi Choctaw offices until the 1960's. Some services must be articulated there still.

129. Webb, Clarence H. and H. F. Gregory. 1975. Chitimacha Basketry, Louisiana Archaeology 2, pp. 23-38.

130. The contemporary Coushatta tribal organization frequently alludes to the Louisiana Indians as "lost tribes." This analogue has used in recent years by the Louisiana Inter-tribal Council in a number of their descriptions of the tribes. It is interesting that it is an old play on words, many of the early Anglo-Americans thought the Indians of the Southeast to be the "lost tribe" of Israel, see Adair, John. The American Indian. New york, Crown Books (reprint, 1974).

131. Johnson, Bobby H. 1976. The Coushatta People. Phoenix, Indian Tribal Series, pp. 90-94. The Federal Government had, in 1889, taken in trust lands patented to Sissy Alabama Robinson and the Bureau of Indian Affairs offered some education and health services until 1953.

132. Unpublished Caroline Dormon fieldnotes - interview with Milly Brandy, a Choctaw, near Alexandria, Louisiana, 1930's. John R. Swanton's unpublished fieldnotes from his interviews with Jackson Langley corraborate this same information. Mrs. Lessie Simon, Choctaw, from Beaver, Louisiana, sat up all night the night Obe Blue-eye died. The Simon family keeps up his grave site.

133. Personal Communication: Paul Thomas, Norris Tylor, Carrol Tylor at Clifton Settlement, Louisiana 1980.

134. Carter, Clarence Edwin, ed. 1940. Territorial Papers of the United States, Territory of Orleans, 1803-1813. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, pp. 62-65, 421-422.

135. Wagner, Phyllis. 1978. The Death of an Indian Chief, The Observer, Zachary Sentinel, pp. 3-4.

136. Nash, Roy. 1931. Louisiana's Three Thousand Indian Outcasts: Report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Houma Indians: Two Decades in a History of Struggle (Ernest C. Downs and Jenna Whitehead, eds.) American Indian Journal Vol. 2(3), pp. 2-22.

137. Juneau, Donald. 1979. The Judicial Extinguishment of the Tunica Indian Tribe, Appendix 1, Book I, Litigation Request Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, Washington, D.C., Native American Rights Fund.
The ultimate attack on tribalism came from the 1978 Louisiana Legislature. The wording of the 1978 Concurrent Legislation concerning the Louisiana Band of Choctaw (East Baton Rouge Choctaw) did not recommend the tribe for Federal Recognition as the legislature had done for the Tunica, but affixed a number of further resolutions onto the bill. To wit:

"Be it further resolved, that the Government of the United States of American and particularly the Bureau of Indian Affairs is hereby memorialized, requested and urged, as follows:

1) No provision of this Concurent Resolution shall be construed as attempting to make any finding on historic fact in respect to identification and recognition of Indian tribes within the State of Louisiana as defined by any federal or state law or regulation.
2) Every Concurrent Resolution adopted in the current or prior Session of the Louisiana Legislature which purports to make a finding of historic fact in respect to peoples of Indian descent or heritage, specifically House Concurrent Resolution No. 60 of 1974, as respects the findings of historic fact declared therein are hereby conformed in accordance with the findings of historic facts herein declared."

These measures were made retroactive and it was further ammended that no legislation was:

"intended to declare the policy of the State of Louisiana as recognizing persons of Indian descent and constituting as "Indian Tribe" within the meaning of any state or federal law or regulation, in that the Legislature of Louisiana has caused no investigation to be made of the historic facts and conclusions. . . "

This wording clearly followed Attorney General Guste's suggestion that Federal recognition would strengthen land claims and these should be avoided. How: By denying Indian sovereignty. Fortunately, the State of Louisiana refrained from its threat of opposition to the Federal Recognition of the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe. Fear of land claims apparently was a double-edged sword.

139. By Chief Pierite's own accounts, corroborated by subsequent interviews at Jena, Elton, and with the Chitimacha (1971-80), he would hear of Indian groups, catch a bus, and when he reached the nearest community hire a cab or catch a ride to see them. He would then visit, often buying groceries for a family which put him up for several days while he did a brief count.

140. Tapes from the pan-tribal meeting with Louisiana based anthropologists, Alexandria Community Center, Alexandria, Louisiana, 1974. Coordinators: Vine DeLoria, Jr. and H. F. Gregory. Mrs. Peralta detailed her active involvement in Indian affairs, often much to the chagrin of less activist Indian leaders and anthropologists.

141. Booker, Dennis A. 1973. Indian Identity in Louisiana: Two Contrasting Approaches to Ethnic Identity. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University.

142. Claude Medford, Jr. served Chief Joseph in the capacity of secretary while he lived with the Pierite family. In the correspondence files of the National Congress of American Indians are several letters from Chief Joseph which were formally typed out by Claude Medford, his initials are present on them.
Medford's involvement with the Louisiana tribal communities likely needs some clarification here, too. Part- Choctaw, he grew up in Lufkin, Texas near the Big Thicket, a refuge for many Louisiana Indian groups in the 1800-1820 period. He frequently accompanied his Choctaw grandfather on visits to the Alabama and Coushatta community between Woodville and Livingston, Texas. In 1961 he heard about the Tunica from a Coushatta friend, Joe Langley, and wrote a letter to Chief Joseph. He was invited by the Pierites for a visit. He went by bus and was given quarters with Percy "Bob" Pierite, Chief Joseph's brother. He stayed for an extended period, working nights at a local cannery, so he could help the Tunica with various things during the daytime. He organized a tribal outlet, wrote letters, and provided Chief Jospeh with a sort of chauffer service on his tribal visits. It was during this period that Chief Joseph learned of the NCAI, and eventually, along with Medford, went to Alberquerque to meet with Vine DeLoria, Jr. seeking help for his tribe.
Claude Medford, Jr. had, while studying anthropology with Dr. James Howard at Oklahoma State University, known a Ponca activist, Clyde Warrior. Warrior was one of the national activist leaders for younger Indians in the 1960's. He was highly respected by Vine DeLoria, Jr., one of the driving forces behind the National Congress of American Indians.
Medford eventually married a Coushatta, Rosaline Langley, and moved to the Coushatta community at Elton, Louisiana. Together with his wife and her family, he helped organize a tribal crafts business there, and, for several years, was in contact with virtually every Indian community in Louisiana. His positive efforts to create an environment of awareness, both within and without, Louisiana Indian communities cannot be ignored.
While Chief Pierite and Medford were working together, NCAI began attempting some statewide organization. In 1961 Chief Joseph organized a statewide meeting at Marksville - held at the local Cattle Auction Barn, this meeting marked the beginning of real pan-tribal activism that continues well into the 1980's. Medford's connections pan-tribally and outside Louisiana in both New Mexico and Oklahoma have continued to help the tribes in the eastern United States gain national recognition. Chief Joseph was one of the leading forces in the tribal push for re-examination of the conditions of Native American communities in the eastern United States. His efforts led the small tribes into pan-tribal, Indian dominated, activism <u>via</u> CENA and NCAI, rather than along the path of government cooperation and traditional "help" such as AAIA, the trajectory followed by the Coushatta Tribe.

145. This meeting was organized in the living room of Chief Joseph Pierite's small"shotgun" frame house in Marksville, Louisiana. DeLoria had come to Louisiana to keep an old promise to Chief Joseph that he would help the Tunica-Biloxi. For details of DeLoria's visit to Marksville see: Grant, Ron. 1973. Youngsters Meet 'Real' Indians. Daily Town Talk Section C, December 9, 1973. Tunicas-Indian Author are TV Subject, Daily Town Talk, December 4, 1973, p. 1. While there he, W.J. Strickland and H. F. Gregory began a discussion of Federal Recognition - an outgrowth of a growing movement in Washington, D.C., to articulate the American Indian Policy Review Commission, a review of American Indian policies, on the Federal level, with guaranteed Indian input. See: Anderson, A.T. 1976. Summary: Task Force Reports to the American Indian Policy Review Commission. Washington, Government Printing Office. Especially important was the series of hearings held in Louisiana. The Coalition of Eastern Native Americans and the Institute for the Development of Indian Law eventually articulated most of the staff on the Federal Task Force on Terminated and Un-Recognized Tribes: Jo Jo Hunt Task Force chairperson and Adolph Dial, commissioner, Louis Bruce, commissioner, and Kirk Kickingbird, general counsel. Ernest C. Downs, researcher for the Institute for the Development of Indian Law and H. F. Gregory also had direct input on the Louisiana Tribes. Hunt invited Gregory and others to Washington to give input - those invitations were declined and Gregory eventually accompanied the Task Force members and Adolph Dial on visits to the Jena Choctaw and Tunica-Biloxi communities. Helen Gindrat and Ernest C. Downs then accompanied them on visits to the Houma communities.

146. The Coushatta led the struggle for Federal recognition. Their Federal connections had been terminated in 1953, and the tribe turned elsewhere for help. Contact with the Association of American Indian Affairs brought a seed grant in the early 1970's and, after a visit by William Bylor of A.A.I.A., the Association purchased ten acres for $2,000 from the Bel Estate and re-established the trust land relationship for the tribe. Subsequently the J.A. Bel Estate donated twenty more acres for tribal development, see Johnson, 1976. Op. cit. pp. 90-94. Subsequently the tribe, under leadership of Ernest Sickey, a Coushatta, has used these lands to build an administrative-recreational-health facility complex for the tribal area. The additional acreage has been used to provide housing for low income families. Construction equipment and training were made available to the tribal membership. Adult education programs and health programs have expanded since the mid-1970's. The tribe had had a number of grants, including cooperative grants with Northwestern State University for training mental health service liason personnel and an extensive education - reading program with Louisiana State University in Eunice. In 1973 Federal Recognition was granted the tribe, due to the joint efforts of the State of Louisiana, the Tribe and the Association of American Indian Affairs. This effort took an entirely different path from the efforts of other groups in the state. One must consider, that it was channeled through established government channels and had local and state level political support.

Prior to the American Indian Policy Review Commission, these long efforts - rooted in the attempts of Jackson Langley and Mark Robinson, chiefs of the Coushatta in the 1930's - began to yield constructive results in the mid-1970's. It took almost forty years for the Coushatta to attain full services from the Bureau, with some twenty years of neglect before the 1973 recognition was received. Nevertheless the tribe was able to articulate its needs through traditional political channels. Not only did this reflect the tribe's traditional approach to Federal relationship, but the higher blood quantum, language retention and strong cultural identity of the Coushatta. Although conditions had been bad economically they nevertheless did not result in weakened tribal antonomy. So the tribla leaders had all attempted articulation with government and through whatever local channels they could open. Another important by-product of these Task Force 10 hearings was that Peter Mora, a Chitimacha, became statewide commissioner of Indian Affairs, replacing M.D. Regions who never really served in that office. Both were announcements totally unexpected by the tribal memberships.

147. Fieldnotes 1971, H. F. Gregory attended the initial tribal organizational meeting.

148. Fieldnotes 1972, H. F. Gregory was invited to the organizational meeting by Clyde Jackson and M.D. Regions.

149. A long series of internal problems resulted in a new election, supervised by Ernest Sickey's office. Two traditional residents, both Choctaw-speaking, replaced Jerry Don Allen, an urbanite and non-Choctaw speaker.

150. Curry, Janell, personal communication, 1977. Ms. Curry pointed out that the two separate organizations were in the process of resolving their differences. Many of which grew out of conflict with the Indian Angels connection. That eventually disappeared.

151. Tapes, 1974, in possession of H. F. Gregory.

152. Ernest C. Downs of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law contacted H. F. Gregory who then met Paul Leatherman at the Tunica-Biloxi tribal area. They visited all the families on Indian land and, together with the tribal leaders, conferred about a statewide community-based Mennonite program. Within two years Mennonite volunteers had been placed at the Tunica-Biloxi, Houma and others. The Ebarb community Choctaw-Apache also have invited the volunteers! They have written recognition proposals, collected oral history, organized craft outlets, tutored grade school children and performed a wide range of school projects.

153. Johnson, 1976. Op. cit.

154. All these tribal recognition petitions to the State of Louisiana were piloted by Ernest Sickey in the State Office of Indian Affairs, most emanated from tribal areas, although some were cooperatively drafted by Sickey and Ernest C. Downs.

155. The succession of Indian commissioners for Louisiana ran as follows: David Garrison 1972, resigned for health reasons, and Ernest Sickey (a Coushatta or Koasati Indian) resigned in 1975 to become tribal chairperson for the Koasati tribe, almost immediately after Sickey's resignation, M.D. Regions - a non-tribal Indian - member of the Governor's original seventeen man commission - became commissioner. Regions really served less than a few months - he left Louisiana, and the office fell into limbo. A former education department bureaucrat, Jim Rentz, held the "Indian desk" after losing a statewide election, but no action was initiated until Peter Mora took office. Mora held office until the incoming Republican governor, David Treen, appointed Mrs. Helen Gindrat, a Houma, to the post.

158. Two students, Lester Sepulvado and Danny Ebarb, first cousins, enrolled in a class on the anthropology of the North American Indians, approached H. F. Gregory and enquired as to the source of their community's Indian identity. Gregory suggested they talk to their community elders and volunteered no guesses. Two days later, he accompanied Lester Sepulvado and they taped one Beto Castie (Castillo), an octogenarian, who remembered his Apache roots. Subsequently Sepulvado and Gregory researched the Spanish padrones de almas in the Bexar Archives and in Special Collections at Stephen F. Austin University, Nacogdoches, Texas. Raymond Ebarb, Rheet Paddie, Tootsie Roll Meshell, Edna Sepulvado and Manshack were eventually elected as the tribal council. Work on community development and background research began at that point. This council resigned and was replaced by a new council in 1981, Roy Procell became the new (second) chairman.

159. Personal Communication: Manny Drechsel. 1978, with copy to Ernest Sickey of the Louisiana Inter-Tribal Council. Later, Rose White - of the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe - contacted Peter Mora. In 1978 Mora then, along with H. F. Gregory and Lester Sepulvado, visited the family of Norris Tylor. Tylor, and his brother - Amos, then articulated a tribal board-type organization.

160. Skeeter, Andrew and Associates. 1978. Summary Analysis of Clifton Choctaw Community. The assessment of community needs was conducted by the Clifton Community prior to community development grant applications. It is an excellent profile of that community.

161. I.T.C. official history.

162. 1980. Angry Indians March on Treen Residence, Town Talk, December 13, D-10.

163. 1981. Indian Affairs Commission Named by Treen, Natchitoches Times, August 27, 9-A. This commission consisted of only Indian members. Helen Gindrat was State Director. Members consisted of: Earl Barbry (Tunica-Biloxi), Steve Cheramie (Houma), Daniel Darden (Charenton), Norris Tylor (Clifton-Choctaw), Ernest Sickey (Coushatta), Clyde Jackson (Jena Choctaw), and Odis Sanders (East Baton Rouge Choctaw). Through Gindrat's actions all organized groups were included and the commission moved from white control to an all Indian organization.
In 1975 M.D. Regions was sworn in by Governor Edwards as State Commissioner of Indian Affairs, following David Garrison's resignation due to illness. One of his "planks" was to reduce the 17 member commission to seven members, one representative from each group, Daily Town Talk, September 15, 1975, 5-A. Prior to the Gindrat appointment, Ernest Sickey and Clyde Jackson had also labored to that end. Self-determination was an oft-stated goal of the Louisiana Indian communities.

164. Federal Register, Vol. 46(143), July 1981, page 38411. Secretary of the Interior to the Asst. Secretary of Indian Affairs pursuant 25 CFR 54-7:
"Secretary acknolwedges that the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, c/o Mr. Earl Barbry, Sr., P.O. Box 2128, Mansura, Louisiana, exists as an Indian tribe. This notice is based on a determination that the group satisfies the criteria set forth in 25 CFR 54-7."