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RENATE BARTL

## American Tri-Racials

African-Native Contact, Multi-Ethnic Native American Nations, and the Ethnogenesis of Tri-Racial Groups in North America

*We People:*  
Multi-Ethnic Indigenous Nations and Multi-  
Ethnic Groups Claiming Indian Ancestry in  
the Eastern United States

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Renate Bartl  
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by  
Renate Bartl

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# Contents

List of Maps.....	X
List of Figures.....	XI
Abbreviations.....	XII
Foreword.....	XIII
1 Introduction.....	1
2 Theoretical Frame.....	21
2.1 Theory of Ethnicity and Race.....	22
2.2 Racial and Ethnic Categories.....	27
2.3 State and Federal Recognition/Acknowledgement of Native American Tribes.....	43
2.3.1 Federal Recognition and Acknowledgement.....	45
2.3.2 State Recognition.....	50
2.4 Maroon Societies.....	52
2.5 Theoretical and Ideological Scientific Preconditions.....	53
3 Basic Theories on Tri-Racial Groups.....	63
3.1 Racial Categorizations.....	64
4 Oral Tradition as Source of Information.....	67
4.1 Oral Tradition in Literature.....	67
4.2 Oral Tradition as Ethnohistorical Source.....	69
5 Tri-Racial Groups – A General Introduction.....	75
5.1 Traditions of Origin.....	78
5.2 Historical Traditions.....	79
5.3 Genealogies.....	80
5.4 Ideological Use of Traditions.....	81
5.5 Feedback.....	83

6	Settlement Areas, Early Borderland, Frontier and Migration Routes .....	85
6.1	Migration Routes .....	86
7	African-Native Contact in North America .....	89
7.1	History of Research .....	89
7.2	History of Contact .....	92
8	African-Native Contact in Canada .....	95
8.1	Eastern Canada .....	97
8.1.1	Nova Scotia .....	98
8.1.2	Ontario .....	98
8.2	Western Canada .....	100
8.2.1	Saskatchewan .....	100
8.2.2	Alberta .....	100
8.2.3	British Columbia .....	101
9	African-Native Contact in the USA .....	103
9.1	New England .....	105
9.1.1	Maine .....	107
9.1.2	New Hampshire .....	108
9.1.3	Vermont .....	109
9.1.4	Massachusetts .....	109
9.1.5	Rhode Island .....	115
9.1.6	Connecticut .....	116
9.2	Mid-Atlantic/Northeastern States .....	118
9.2.1	New York State .....	119
9.2.2	New Jersey .....	121
9.2.3	Pennsylvania .....	123
9.2.4	Delaware .....	125
9.2.5	Maryland .....	126
9.2.6	District of Columbia .....	128
9.3	Midwest .....	129
9.3.1	Ohio .....	130
9.3.2	Indiana .....	132
9.3.3	Illinois .....	133

9.3.4 Michigan.....	135
9.3.5 Wisconsin.....	136
9.3.6 Minnesota.....	137
9.4 Southeast.....	139
9.4.1 Virginia.....	148
9.4.2 West Virginia.....	157
9.4.3 Kentucky.....	157
9.4.4 Tennessee.....	159
9.4.5 Province of Carolina.....	161
9.4.5.1 North Carolina.....	162
9.4.5.2 South Carolina.....	167
9.4.6 Georgia.....	172
9.4.7 Florida.....	174
9.4.8 Alabama.....	182
9.4.9 Mississippi.....	185
9.5 Western States.....	188
9.5.1 Arkansas.....	193
9.5.2 Missouri.....	194
9.5.3 Indian Territory.....	196
9.5.4 Kansas.....	200
9.5.5 Oklahoma.....	202
9.5.6 Colorado.....	205
9.5.7 Nebraska.....	207
9.5.8 South Dakota.....	208
9.5.9 North Dakota.....	209
9.5.10 Montana.....	210
9.5.11 Idaho.....	213
9.5.12 Oregon.....	214
9.5.13 California.....	216
9.5.14 Arizona.....	218
9.5.15 New Mexico.....	219

10 Louisiana.....	223
10.1 Atakapa/Ishak.....	237
10.2 Caddo.....	240
10.3 Cane River Creoles of Color.....	242
10.3.1 Mézières Clan.....	249
10.4 Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana.....	250
10.4.1 Chawasha.....	256
10.5 Choctaw/Chahta.....	257
10.5.1 Clifton Choctaw.....	263
10.5.2 Jena Band of Choctaw.....	272
10.6 Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana/Koasati.....	277
10.6.1 Red Shoe Tribe.....	279
10.7 Creoles.....	281
10.8 Freejacks & (Freejack) Creoles.....	288
10.8.1 (Freejack) Creoles.....	290
10.8.2 Freejacks.....	292
10.9 Houma.....	295
10.9.1 Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation.....	309
10.10 Rapides Indians.....	310
10.11 Redbones/Red Bones.....	311
10.11.1 Redbone Nation/Redbones.....	313
10.11.1.1 Ten Milers/Six Milers.....	320
10.11.2 Red Bones/Sabines.....	327
10.11.3 Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee.....	328
10.11.4 Redbones – Avoyelles Parish.....	329
10.11.5 Red Bones – St. Tammany Parish.....	330
10.11.6 Redbones – Rapides Parish.....	330
10.11.7 Redbones/Red Bones – Natchitoches Parish.....	331
10.11.8 Redbones – Livingston and Tangipahoa Parishes.....	333
10.11.9 Red Bones – West Carroll Parish.....	333
10.12 St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods.....	334
10.12.1 People of Frilot Cove.....	336
10.12.2 Mulattos of Washington.....	338
10.13 Tunica/Biloxi/Ofo/Pascagoula/Avoyel.....	339
10.14 Miscellaneous Louisiana Groups.....	344

11 Texas.....	347
11.1 Atakapa/Ishak.....	352
11.2 Cane River Creoles of Color.....	353
11.3 Cherokee.....	354
11.4 Redbone Nation/Redbones.....	357
11.4.1 Texas Lumbee/United Lumbee Nation – Cougar Band....	358
11.4.2 Goins Clan.....	361
11.5 Seminole Blacks/Seminole Maroons.....	362
11.6 Tunica-Biloxi.....	366
12 Conclusion.....	367
Appendix.....	379
Bibliography.....	439



# List of Maps

Map 1	Culture areas of North America (Bailey 2008, ix). Reprinted by courtesy of © Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History .....	56
Map 2	Canada .....	95
Map 3	Tri-racial groups in the USA. Map by Renate Bartl .....	103
Map 4	Indian trails and migration routes out of Virginia–Carolina area. Map by Helen C. Rountree. Reprinted by courtesy of Helen C. Rountree .....	147
Map 5	Communications Network of the southeast. Map by Annerose Wahl. <i>Source:</i> P.H. Wood, Waselkov, and Hatley 1989, frontispiece.....	147
Map 6	Louisiana.....	228
Map 7	Louisiana federal and state Native American Nations. Map by Renate Bartl .....	231
Map 8	Tri-racial groups in Louisiana. Map by Renate Bartl.....	241
Map 9	Chitimacha Indian Reservation near Charenton, St. Mary Parish, LA. Map by Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, 1991.....	251
Map 10	Choctaw settlements in Louisiana with connection to tri-racial groups. Map by Renate Bartl .....	258
Map 11	Tri-racial groups in Texas. Map by Renate Bartl .....	353

# List of Figures

Fig. 1	Estimates of population reduction for culture areas. <i>Source:</i> Data from Ubelaker 2006, 699, Table 4 .....	57
Fig. 2	Sign in front of Bayouland Bingo Hall, Chitimacha Reservation, St. Mary Parish, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl.....	250
Fig. 3	Chitimacha Tribal Center & Museum/Park Ranger Office, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl.....	255
Fig. 4	Chitimacha Tribal Office [left] and Chitimacha Trading Post [right], Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl .....	255
Fig. 5	Chitimacha Tribal School, Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl.....	256
Fig. 6	Choctaw woman, carrying basket on back, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, 1909. Photograph by David Ives Bushnell, Jr. [BAE GN01102B22 06227100]. Reprinted by courtesy of © National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution .....	261
Fig. 7	Choctaw man removing hair from animal skin in tanning process, Bayou LaCombe, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, 1909. Photograph by David Ives Bushnell, Jr. [BAE GN 01102B15 06226400]. Reprinted by courtesy of © National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution .....	262
Fig. 8	Houma group on Lower Bayou Lafourche, Lafourche Parish, Louisiana, 1907. Photograph by John A. Swanton. [NMNH-76_109, Photo Lot 76]. Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution .....	300
Fig. 9	Houma group at Little Barataria Bayou, Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, 1907. Photograph by John A. Swanton. [NMNH-76_107, Photo Lot 76] Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution .....	300
Fig. 10	Rosa Leseur Pierite/Pierrette ( <i>Ofo</i> ) and unidentified girl, Marksville, Avoyelle Parish, Louisiana, 1908. Photograph by John R Swanton [NAA INV 01754700, Photo Lot 76] Reprinted by courtesy of © National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.....	342
Fig. 11	St. Peter's Congregational Church, Coushatta Reservation, Allen Parish, LA, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl .....	377

# Abbreviations

AL	Alabama	ND	North Dakota
AK	Alaska	NE	Nebraska
AR	Arkansas	NH	New Hampshire
AZ	Arizona	NJ	New Jersey
BAR	Bureau of Acknowledgement and Research	NM	New Mexico
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs	NV	Nevada
CA	California	NY	New York
CFR	Code of Federal Regulations	OFA	Office of Federal Acknowledgment
CO	Colorado	OH	Ohio
CT	Connecticut	OK	Oklahoma
DE	Delaware	OR	Oregon
DC	District of Columbia	PA	Pennsylvania
DOI	Department of the Interior	RI	Rhode Island
FL	Florida	SC	South Carolina
GA	Georgia	SD	South Dakota
HI	Hawaii	TN	Tennessee
IA	Iowa	TX	Texas
ID	Idaho	UHN	United Houma Nation
IL	Illinois	UT	Utah
IN	Indiana	VA	Virginia
KS	Kansas	VT	Vermont
KY	Kentucky	WA	Washington
LA	Louisiana	WI	Wisconsin
MA	Massachusetts	WV	West Virginia
MD	Maryland	WY	Wyoming
ME	Maine		
MI	Michigan		
MN	Minnesota		
MO	Missouri		
MS	Mississippi		
MT	Montana		
NC	North Carolina		

# Foreword

The project of my dissertation started in the 1980s. After I had finished my master's thesis on the relations between African Americans and Native Americans in the USA (Bartl 1986), I decided to intensify my research on the so-called "tri-racial" groups in the United States.

As this field of research has not been of great interest to the scientific world, I had tremendous problems getting financial support for research on the interactions and relations Native Americans had with African Americans, not to mention the research of "tri-racial" persons and groups. Only recently have topics like Native Americans in the Eastern USA, Native American – African American relations, Black Indians, the history of Free Persons of Color, indigenous enslavement, and tri-racial groups become prominent in the academic world. Back in the 1980s only few people were researching these topics – none of them in Europe\* – and no one was interested in funding such research.

An exception was the *German Marshall Fund of the United States*, who funded part of my 1991 research trip to the eastern USA (Grant No. RG 8-90588-07), but as in 1990 Germany was reunified and the Iron Curtain fell in 1991, the *German Marshall Fund* and other institutions providing grants and funding for research here in Germany had developed a new directive: to bestow their money primarily on East-German and Eastern European researchers and research projects.

After my research trip to the USA in 1991 I had ended up with large debts, could not get any further funding for my research and therefore had to start working and put my dissertation on hold. Nonetheless, I never stopped to proceed with my research, but I had to finance it on my own from that time onward.

\* One example, which shows how rare research on this topic still is, is the fact that when Syracuse University Press wanted to publish a new Encyclopedia of New York State in 2005 (Eisenstadt 2005), they were not satisfied with the entries they had gotten on "tri-racial groups," but they could not find anyone in the USA to write such an entry. They finally asked me, whether I could write this entry and I did (Bartl 2005).

In 2002 the *Salzburg Seminar* provided a scholarship to me and I could take part in a one-week American Studies Center Session (no. 29) entitled “The Continuing Challenge of America’s Ethnic Pluralism.”

Apart from this I have to say that without the tremendous help from my family – my parents Georg Bartl and Waltraud Bartl (1937–2019), and my sisters Edith and Petra Bartl – I would not have been able to proceed with my research. They enabled my further research trips to the USA in 1997 and 2007.

Another factor, which kept me on my research trail, were all the wonderful people I got to know through my research, who constantly encouraged me not to give up and proceed with it. These people also provided me with invaluable information and contacts for field and archival research.

I want to thank the following persons for their help and encouragement – and some of them even housing, wining and dining me during my field trips to the USA: Helen C. Rountree, John A. Strong and his wife Jane, Charles T. Gehring and his wife Jean, Herbert C. Kraft, Calvin L. Beale, N. Bruce Duthu (*Houma*), Larry E. Tise, Delores C. Huff (*Cherokee*), J. Anthony Paredes, Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel (*Mohegan*), Clinton A. Weslager, Darrell A. Posey, Naila Clerici, my advisor Berndt Ostendorf, and the advisors on my defense board: Eveline Dürr and Klaus Benesch.

I also want to thank Robert K. Collins (*Choctaw/African American*), Helen C Rountree, John A. Strong, Jasim Falk, and Amanda K. Wixon (*Chickasaw*) for (proof-)reading my dissertation and providing invaluable tips for this publication. Additionally, I want to thank Claudia Höhn and Annerose Wahl of the University Library Publication Service, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, for their assistance in designing and publishing of this book.

Last but not least, I want to thank Daisy Njoku of the Anthropology Archives, Smithsonian Museum Support Center, and Laurie Burgess of the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, for helping me to obtain reprint permissions for photographs and maps protected by copyright of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Nonetheless, my dissertation and this publication express solely my view.

Of further help was that I became a member of the American Indian Workshop ([www.american-indian-workshop.org](http://www.american-indian-workshop.org)) in 1992. During the annual meetings of this workshop I had and still have excellent opportunities to exchange with other researchers in the field of Native American Studies. In the meantime, I have informally taken charge of this association.

Then, in 2010, my life totally changed. Due to a viral infection, I lost my sense of balance, which basically causes tremendous vertigo and nausea, plus I got an eye disease, during which I developed double vision – among other health problems.

From one day to the other I was a handicapped person and could not work any longer. It took me another four years of exhausting quarrels with German institutions until I got a disablement pension and ID Card for handicapped persons.

After all that was settled, I dug out my dissertation again. As there were many new publications on my topic, I had to read a lot and add this information to the text originally started in the 1980s. Unfortunately, my eye disease keeps me from reading and working on the computer for more than 2–3 hours a day. Sometimes I need to pause for a few days because my eyes are stressed too much.

Nonetheless, I was finally able to finish my dissertation and submit it in October 2017. My defense was in February 2018. My advisors Berndt Ostendorf and Eveline Dürr were dissatisfied with certain parts of the dissertation – especially the theoretical part and the missing description of historical Afro-Native contact in North America I had discussed in my master's thesis (Bartl 1986, written in German), but not in my dissertation. The discussion of the tri-racial groups in Louisiana and Texas was too specialized and it needed a more general frame describing the ethnogenesis and history of tri-racial groups in the rest of the USA. For this reason, I added information from my master's thesis on these topics to my dissertation before publication.

While finalizing this publication in 2020, the corona pandemic hit the world and made my work more complicated again. I wish to thank my sisters once again for taking care of me during all these hard times. I also want to thank all the doctors who treated me during my illnesses and helped with my handicap.

Finally, one fact that still hits me really hard is, that I cannot fly anymore – travelling overall has become a big problem for me, because of my vertigo. This means, that I will not be able to go on research trips to the USA any longer. 2007 was my last field trip.

This is the situation under which this publication was completed. So, enjoy reading it now!

# 1 Introduction

This publication mainly discusses the contact and interaction of Native Americans with African Americans and the ethnogenesis, ethnohistory, and ethnicity of tri-racial persons and groups in the USA.

A scientific dilemma has surfaced for researchers in recent years: too many persons living in the USA are claiming Native American ancestry and identity. In growing numbers persons of ethnically mixed background tend to identify as Indians, as well as many multi-ethnic groups – especially tri-racial ones – tend to identify as Indian tribes.

This publication will discuss the reasons for this – focusing especially on the southeastern United States by concentrating on the situation in Louisiana and Texas more elaborately.

## **Terminology**

The terms “American Indian” and “Native American” are used interchangeably here. There are discussions going on about which term is more appropriate, but basically all terms have the same meaning, although some persons prefer the one, and others the other term. In political and legal context, both terms are commonly used, and they are regularly defined by the institutions using them, e.g. in the introductory part of a law or court ruling.

The special term “Ethnic Indians” has been created for “persons who have an Indian identity and lineage but are not members of a tribal community” (Champagne 2014).

Tribal and ethnic designations will be written in *italics*. For Native American Nations emic self-designations will be used preferably. The term Native American “nation” is preferred to the term “tribe,” as many tribes in North America prefer to be addresses as “nation” (e.g. “First Nations” in Canada).

The terms “Black” and “African American” are also used interchangeably here, although I prefer African American as “black” reduces persons to their skin color. The same is true for the term “colored.”

The terms “European” and “European-American” are preferred to the terms “Caucasian” and “White” for the same reason. If terms refer-



ring to skin color and race are used it is within the framework of their function as terms of social and legal racial categorization.

The situation is different for the term “Indian” used as a racial category. This term basically means “colored,” a European-American racial category incorporating Native Americans, but not automatically implying Native American ancestry.

The term “tri-racial” is historically applied to racially mixed persons and groups of European – Native American – African American descent. This term is still used in publications, oral tradition, and self-identification, but it is criticized as being politically and scientifically incorrect.

Scientific researchers often accuse persons who speak about racial identities, or who use the term “tri-racial”, of being racist. Consequently, every person who states he or she is a “tri-racial” person, and every person who uses the term, is labeled racist. This labeling had included me as well. Many times, I have been attacked for doing racist or “Nazi” and “Third Reich” studies. From my side I see it somewhat differently (of course). The term “tri-racial” is a standing term used by people, who adhere to the concept that “European,” “Native American,” and “African American” are in fact races. It is also used for people and groups claiming mixed Native American, European, and African ancestry. It has become part of United States folk taxonomy to a degree that tri-racial people identify themselves as “tri-racial” nowadays. A message on the internet from the “Black Indian Culture Forum” of the *Native Peoples Magazine* demonstrates this:

I am a tri-racial of Black/indian&English [*sic*] ancestry. My oral history is Cherokee/Mohawk. I recently found documentation of Brothertown/Narragansett heritage. (“Natives Peoples Magazine Forum” 1999)

In 2019, a discussion was started by a user of the Facebook group “Multi-Ethnic Virginia and Carolina History” about the term “tri-racial.” The woman self-identified as “tri-racial” and opened the discussion with the question “What is wrong with the term triracial? Especially when referring to oneself?” (Ewing 2019). The answers ranged from acceptance of the term to rejection and many of those who accepted the term were already self-identifying as “tri-racial” or “multi-racial.”

Therefore, I have decided to use the term “tri-racial” for persons and groups (tribes, nations) of European – Native American – African American descent, or multi-ethnic persons and groups claiming Indian ancestry.

The term “indigenous” is used here in a wider sense. As the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations 2007) does not provide a definition of this term, it is used by different groups in different ways. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has released a fact sheet providing a definition of “Indigenous Peoples”:

Practicing unique traditions, they retain social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Spread across the world from the Arctic to the South Pacific, they are the descendants - according to a common definition - of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means. (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2006, [1])

According to this definition, indigenous peoples are the original or first inhabitants of an area, before other ethnic groups arrive, who dominate them thenceforth.

In recent years, persons and groups ranging outside this definition have started to self-identify as “indigenous.” These groups originated later and were not first inhabitants of their country. They claim to be “indigenous,” because they only could have formed under the conditions and circumstances of their new living space, e.g. Maroons in America, or groups that have intermixed with the original population of an area, like Métis, African Americans, multi-ethnic Native American tribes, and tri-racial groups of North America.

The question arises whether these groups and their members can be seen as “indigenous” or not? As I am convinced that everyone is indigenous to somewhere, and as I basically accept and respect the self-identification of persons and groups, I will accept their self-categorization

as “indigenous.” In this publication, the term “indigenous” will be used in its meaning of being (part-)“Native American” or (part-)“American Indian,” unless it is indicated otherwise.

On the other side, the identification of Native Americans as “indigenous” is not usual everywhere in the USA. Robert K. Collins told me that from his own research and that he found the usage of the term “indigenous” not very common in Louisiana and Texas (R. K. Collins, pers. comm.).

The term “tribe” is used here to describe indigenous ethnic communities, but Native American tribes usually prefer to be addressed as “nation” in connection with their tribal identity to emphasize their status as a sovereign nation vis-à-vis Canada or the United States. Many tribes emphasize genetics in defining tribal membership, but DNA testing is a rather unsuitable method for identifying a specific tribal ancestry, as TallBear (2013) shows in her book:

The tribe is not, strictly speaking, a genetic population. It is at once a social, legal, and biological formation (...). (TallBear 2013, 83–84)

The formation of the tri-racial<sup>1</sup> groups as described here can be compared to the formation of new American Indian tribes:

Anthropologists have long dealt with the analytical and typological concept of “tribe” in their studies of American Indians. We have learned, among other things, that what are called tribes often divide, forming new autonomous units, or conversely, consolidate, drawing together ethnologically distinct sociocultural groups into single entity. (Starna and Campisi 2000, 39)

## Methodology

Information on the interaction of Europeans, Native Americans, and African Americans, as well as the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups will be organized by state, because the unique geographical, historical, legal,

<sup>1</sup> As the term “tri-racial” is a standing term in American folk taxonomy and in ethnic self-identification, I will omit the quotation marks from here on.

sociological, and demographical context of each state played an important role in the formation and transformation processes of Afro-Native contact and the multi-ethnic groups living within each state.

A short historical sketch will be given at the beginning of each state chapter before Afro-Native contact and the multi-ethnic groups living in this respective state are discussed. In this historical sketch, the main interest will be on the history of interaction between Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans/African Americans, and the historical, legal, political, and social background of these relations. This aspect can only be reconstructed in many cases from European sources and through the eyes of European historical writings. A theoretical discussion of historical writing will be omitted because the focus of this publication is more on the discussion of empirical data and less on theory.

The main points of this historical sketch per state will be:

- Location and history of the state's Native Americans
- Early European explorations and immigrations to the state
- History of Africans, (Free) African Americans, and (Free) Persons of Color
- Compact state history with emphasis on the early contact situation of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans, and the formation period of the tri-racial groups
- State's legal frame for racial interactions, including laws permitting or banning the enslavement of Native Americans and African Americans
- Enslavement of Native Americans, Africans, African Americans, and Persons of Color
- Maroon settlements as places of interaction

For the research on Native American and African American contact in the USA, Collins (2018) suggests organizing the data according to the following paradigms: archaeological research, culture, language, and history. The paradigms will be summarized under the headings in the description of each tri-racial group:

- Location and Archaeology
- Language and Ethnonyms
- Ethnohistory and Culture

The information for each single group was collected – as far as sources permitted – according to the following aspects:

- Ethnonym(s)
- Language
- Location
- Identity (emic and etic)
- Ethnohistory
- Culture
- Present situation
- Sources of information

In regard to archaeological research on Native Americans in the USA the situation is extremely poor. It is even worse when it comes to the research of interactions Native Americans had with African Americans. Archaeology on tri-racial groups is almost non-existent. Therefore, this paradigm will rarely be mentioned in this publication. The other paradigms listed here will be discussed to the extent literature and information was available on them.

Reconstructing the location (settlement area) and ethnohistory of Native Americans in the eastern states was very difficult, because for a long time American Indians of this region were not interesting to scholars, and many people thought – and still think(!) – that all Eastern Indians have been removed to the Indian Territory in the nineteenth century or have vanished. Serious research on Eastern Indians is rare – although the situation is getting better recently. Obtaining information for the reconstruction of their history was difficult, very time-consuming, and required 25 years of background reading, archival and field research on my side.

To write a compact history for each state also turned out to be difficult, because no publication was available that would give a compact overview. Not to speak of the many historical schools which emphasize different aspects of history, which cannot be discussed here.

The same is true for the history of Africans, (Free) African Americans, and (Free) Persons of Color. The reconstruction of their history – and especially the reconstruction of their immigration into specific states – turned out to be quite difficult to reconstruct, as publications on Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color are still very limited.

Finally, there is no publication with an overview of the contact situation of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans. This information had to be composed from hundreds of individual sources, which often lacked a satisfying description (see also: Foster 1935, 5). Here the research for my master's thesis (Bartl 1986) turned out to be very helpful. Basically, information had to be drawn from many sources, because background information had to be provided on four fields of research: Native Americans, Europeans/Euro-Americans, Africans/African Americans, and Free Persons of Color.

### **Sources of Information**

For this publication, information on tri-racial groups was drawn from a variety of written sources: books, articles, internet, emails, manuscripts, and oral sources (interviews, phone calls, audio- and videotapes). The sources were initially organized in an Access databank, in which all of them were listed with keywords referring to Native American and tri-racial group designations, settlement areas, surnames, and much more. By now, this databank has been transferred to a Citavi databank with more than 6,000 entries. This was the only way to organize the huge number of sources and retrieve information on specific groups.

In my experience, many of the sources on tri-racial groups are often non-specific, of poor quality, unreliable, few in number, by unidentified authors, and of limited availability and accessibility – especially for a researcher living outside of the USA.

To obtain written sources, I visited the following museums, libraries, and archives (including manuscript, genealogical, and rare book divisions) in the USA during three field research trips in 1991, 1997, and 2007:<sup>2</sup>

2 The first field research in 1991 was partly made possible by a postgraduate research fellowship of the German Marshall Fund of the USA (Grant No. RG 8-90588-07). I wish to thank all librarians, archivists, information desk persons, and many other people at these institutions. Without their help, I wouldn't have been able to gather so much information in such a short time. They helped me with computer research, locating books and manuscripts, made copies for me, or let me use their Xerox machines, and made their filed information accessible to me. They even kept on mailing information to me when I was back in Germany!

Connecticut:

- Tantaquidgeon Museum, Mohegan Nation, Uncasville
- Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, Mashantucket

Delaware:

- Delaware State Archives, Dover;
- University of Delaware, Morris Library, Newark
- Historical Society, Wilmington

Louisiana:

- Tulane University, Howard Tilton Library, New Orleans
- Tulane University, Amistad Research Center, New Orleans
- Jefferson Davis Parish Library, Jennings

Massachusetts:

- Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
- Harvard University, Tozzer Library, Boston
- Duke's County Historical Society, Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard

New Jersey:

- Glassboro State College, Library, Glassboro
- New Jersey State Archive and Library, Trenton
- Rutgers University, Library, New Brunswick

New York State:

- Long Island University, Southampton College Library, Southampton
- Hallockville Museum Farm, Riverhead
- New York State Library and Archives/New Netherlands Project, Albany
- New York Public Library, New York
- Iroquois Indian Museum, Howes Cave
- Museum of the American Indian (MAI), Heye Foundation, New York

Washington, DC:

- Library of Congress
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Calvin Beale Archive
- National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
- Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, Senate Hart Building

### Primary Sources

In many cases, the availability and accessibility of primary sources was especially difficult. I had some problems getting admission to archives or specific manuscripts that would have been interesting to me. Some manuscripts (including master's theses and dissertations) I needed were not available, or I was not allowed to read or copy them.

Genealogical source material was often stolen or destroyed. Pages from manuscripts such as deed books, church records, genealogy lists, etc., were manipulated or missing. Holes were burnt into micro-fiches and micro-films, or they were mechanically manipulated and destroyed in other ways. Employees of many archives I visited confirmed to me that this practice is quite widespread and usual.<sup>3</sup> The reasons for this will be discussed later.

In some cases, genealogical information was classified as “confidential” and therefore not accessible. This is especially true for genealogical information on American Indian tribes who are in, or have gone through, the federal acknowledgement process. All genealogies handed in to the U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (OFA) [since 2003; 1978–2003: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Acknowledgement and Research (BIA-BAR)], are rated “secret” and are not published and accessible.

The paucity of primary sources for single groups is another problem. As tri-racial groups proved relatively uninteresting to people writing historical sources, and most of these groups lived in remote areas, primary sources written on them are relatively rare, as mentioned on the situation in Louisiana, for example:

(...) a paucity of pertinent genealogical records from the colonial period that enshrouds much early history of the Creoles of Color in the prairie parishes. (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 14)

<sup>3</sup> For example, an employee of the Manuscript Division, Public Library, New York City, told me during my visit on June 26, 1991, that genealogy and census data on microfilm and microfiche indicating African American ancestry are destroyed systematically, as well as surname indices.



The area of investigation because of its historic isolation from larger society, has gone relatively unnoticed by writers. (Jenkins 1965, 6)

Moreover, many primary sources in the archives of the eastern United States were destroyed during the Civil War – as the following example from Louisiana shows:

All documents relative to land sales and transfers were destroyed when Rapides Parish courthouse at Alexandria was burnt by Union forces in 1864. (R. I. Everett 1958, 9)

The same is true for Virginia and many other states that were battlefields of the Civil War.<sup>4</sup>

### **Secondary Sources**

The availability and accessibility of secondary sources was sometimes limited, or they were not available to me at all. Some books, newspapers, and magazines I needed were mis-shelved or lost at libraries. Sometimes I was not allowed to copy literature, or the admission and copy fees were so high that I could simply not afford the expense. Unfortunately, the practice of charging admission fees and relatively high prices for copies unfortunately has worsened the situation during the last years.

To get literature and copies mailed from the USA to Germany was sometimes impossible or too expensive.<sup>5</sup> In many cases I was not able to access literature and manuscripts through interlibrary loans to Germany.

Fortunately, the situation has changed dramatically with the availability of the internet since the late 1990s. More and more manuscripts and literary sources are accessible now in their original, scanned, or reprinted form on the web.

The secondary sources I use were authored by people from a great variety of backgrounds – scientific and non-scientific. They were written by anthropologists, folklorists, ethnologists, genealogists, historians, jour-

4 Personal communication with Helen C. Rountree.

5 As an example: the Historical Society of Pennsylvania charged me \$20 for an 11-pages copy of an article and its shipment to Germany.

nalists, physicians, demographers, geographers, missionaries, librarians, members of tri-racial groups, and all kind of hobby-anthropologists, -genealogists, and -historians.

It is difficult to analyze and compare these sources of different methodological (and non-methodological) backgrounds with one another and draw conclusions from it. The discussion of the single groups will reflect this problem.

The quality of a big part of the literature on tri-racial groups is usually bad. Sources of information are cited poorly, incorrectly, or they are not cited at all. The following example was taken from the reprint of an article on the *Melungeons* (Tennessee, Kentucky) in *Littell's Living Age*:

[We are sorry to have lost the name of the southern paper from which this is taken.] ("The Melungens" 1849)

Many written sources in my files are cited as "Anonymous" or "Anonymous, n.d.," because the author is not named, and the source is not dated. In some cases, even the information on where they were published is missing. Unfortunately, this is also true for many publications on the internet which lack basic bibliographical information.

Moreover, different authors – and even the same author in his diverse publications – give different and contradicting information on the same source they used. For example, one author uses the Louisiana census of 1726, but provides different counts for the Native American slave population of Louisiana in his other publications. Divergent versions of an information given in a source, provided by one and the same author or by different authors, are quite usual. In cases where the original source was not available to me, this kind of information was left out.

Additionally, a big part of the literature does not rely on sound data, but on oral tradition as well as rumors and hearsay. In many cases, tri-racial groups have not been visited personally and group members have not been interviewed by the authors. Instead, many authors reproduce what they have heard from surrounding populations and people not belonging to the group. Thus, a big part of the literature is from oral tradition written down by outsiders.

Another deficiency of literature – especially the older literature – is its extreme racism, both overt and more subtle. Many authors have spread their racial ideologies through books and articles on racially mixed and tri-racial people. This point was more elaborately discussed in my master's thesis (Bartl 1986, 19–37). The following main racial ideologies can be found in these sources:

1. Native Americans, African Americans, and Persons of Color are inferior to the European Americans:

Europeans/European Americans are mostly described and characterized as civilized. Opposed to Native Americans, who are usually characterized as half- or uncivilized, primitive, lazy, immoral, wild, rebellious, cruel, greedy, of weak character and addicted to alcohol:

(...) for even the half-civilised Indians have a rooted aversion from manual labor. (W. Kennedy [1841] 1974, 337)

The Americas (...) were inhabited by a undomesticated, and as time has proved, undomesticable race, less vigorous of body than the African, and of an indomitable nature. (Shaler 1890b, 663)

African Americans are characterized in similar ways to Native Americans:

Not only were there sincere doubts in the minds of many Englishmen as to whether the place of the negro in the general system of life was higher than that of the horse or the ox, but there was a belief that if he were indeed a member of the human family, he belonged to the race of men who, as the descendants of Ham, have been cursed by God himself, and so branded for all time as servants of the superior races, (...) (Bruce [1896] 1966, 65 [Vol. 2])

As late as the end of the seventeenth century, the belief was held by many, even in England, that the negro was not a man but a wild beast, marked by an intelligence hardly superior to that of a monkey, and with instincts and habits far more debased. He was considered to be stupid in mind, savage in manners, and brutal in his impulses (...) (Bruce [1896] 1966, 64 [Vol.2])

2. Native Americans are inferior to African Americans and Persons of Color:

According to the survey made in 1861 the moral condition of the Indians was rather low and it was a regret, that the people of color exhibiting generally more moral stamina should be degraded by living among them. (Woodson [1920] 2018, 51)

(...) if our Government, instead of wasting millions of dollars in the vain attempt to civilize wild and poverty stricken savages, would purchase a few thousand slaves and divide them among the different Indian tribes, they would have taken one sensible and practical step towards the civilization of the red man. (C.[1859] 1965, 335)

I believe if every family of the wild roving tribes were to own a negro man or woman who would teach them to cultivate the soil (...) it would tend more to civilize them than any other plan that could be adopted. (George M. Butler, Cherokee Indian Agent, 1859, quoted in McLoughlin 1974, 375, footnote 11)

3. African Americans are inferior to Native Americans.  
4. Racially mixed persons are superior to their ancestral races:

It is certainly true of the mixed bloods in the United States, who have achieved real distinction, that they have often displayed a degree of intelligence of which their parents were apparently quite incapable. (Park 1931, 549)

The finest specimen of manhood I have ever gazed upon in my life are half-breed Indians crossed with negroes. It is a fact (...) that while amalgamation with the white man deteriorates both races, the amalgamation of the Indian and the black man advances both races; (...) (Senator Lane of Kansas, 1865, quoted in Abel 1925, 253)

5. Racially mixed persons are inferior to their ancestral races:

It is conceded by all ethnologists, that the mongrel race is inferior to the races contributing to the mixture or equal only to the more primitive one of the two. (...) the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. (Abel 1925, 254)

There is a widely accepted theory that the result of a union between white and black, or indeed between white and any colored and backward people, is a breed which seems to combine all the weakness and vices of both parent stocks and none of the virtues of either. (Park 1931, 554)

Paucity of sources is another problem. For some groups, only one source, or sources from only one author are available. Although efforts have been made in these cases to get a diversity of information, it was impossible for many reasons. Usually, a limited interest in a group reduces the number of related publications. Information could also be hidden in some remote place or archive of which I do not have knowledge of.

### **Internet**

Although the availability and accessibility of internet information on multi-ethnic indigenous and tri-racial groups is relatively high, this kind of information was avoided as much as possible, because of its unreliability. Many groups operate their own web pages and information on groups is provided by all kind of persons. Most of this information is biased and often includes contrasting ideas. Moreover, the website addresses change constantly, or the pages are removed from the net after some time. To mention the addresses of such web pages here would mean to give information that will eventually be inaccessible. Only in cases where websites were rated as reliable (e.g. government sites, university sites, library sites, newspaper and magazine sites, etc.), or as being illustrative on a group's representation of its emic view on itself, internet addresses are given. Information from Wikipedia ([www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)) was used for background information.

To get up-to-date information on the groups discussed, the best way is to use search engines and browse the net for the ethnonyms, surnames and locations given, or search for libraries, archives, and historical societies in the corresponding settlement area.

### **Surname Databank**

As these multi-ethnic groups practice extensive endogamy, typical family/clan surnames for each group and interrelated groups have evolved. To be able to identify group members and related family clans by sur-

name I have generated a surname databank based on the program *Family Tree Maker* (by ancestry.com). This databank enables me to identify related families in different groups by surname. The surnames in this databank are collected from primary and secondary sources, the internet, and personal communications.

Additional surname information is taken from Heinegg ([1992] 2005, 2015b), Woodson (1924, 1925), and Selig (1984, 1989).

### Oral Sources

Oral sources used are, interviews, audio- and video recordings. The following areas, groups and individuals have been personally visited and/or interviewed (including phone calls and emails).<sup>6</sup>

Germany (during visits to Munich):

- Denise Bates (*Cherokee/Creek*, on American Indians in Louisiana and Alabama)
- Delores Huff (*Oklahoma Cherokee*, on diverse topics)
- Herbert C. Kraft (on American Indians of Delaware and New Jersey)
- Darrell A. Posey (on *Freejacks* of Louisiana)
- Helen C. Rountree (on American Indians of Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland)
- Larry E. Tise (on American Indians and African Americans in North Carolina)

Connecticut:

- *Mohegan* Reservation / Tantaquidgeon Museum/ Mohegan Sun Casino, Uncasville
- *Mashantucket Pequot* Reservation / Foxwoods Casino / Mashantucket Pequot Museum & Research Center, Mashantucket

<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank all persons and groups listed here for sharing their information with me, for their patience in answering my questions, for donating books, articles, photos, audio- and video-tapes to me, and for helping me to get into contact with members of tri-racial groups and Native American Nations for interviews. Without their help and information this dissertation couldn't have been written.

## Delaware:

- Clinton A. Weslager (on *Delaware/Lenni Lenape Indians*), Hockessin
- *Nanticoke Cultural and Tribal Center / Nanticoke Museum*, Millsboro

## Louisiana:

- *Chitimacha* Reservation, Charenton
- *Coushatta* Reservation, Elton
- *Freejack* settlement area, St. Tammany Parish and Tangipahoa Parish
- Bruce Duthu, tribal member of *United Houma Nation*

## Massachusetts:

- *Hassanamisco Nipmuck* Reservation, Grafton / *Hassanamisco Nipmuck* Chief Walter Vickers
- *Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head*, Aquinnah, Martha's Vineyard

## New Jersey:

- *Powhatan Renape* Reservation, Rancocas
- *Nanticoke Lenni Lenape* Indian Cultural Center, Bridgeton
- *Gouldtown* settlement area, Gouldtown
- *Pineys* settlement area, Pine Barrens

## New York State:

- *Shinnecock* Reservation, Southampton, Long Island
- *Unkechaug/Poosepatuck* Reservation, Mastic, Long Island
- Hallockville Homestead Farm Museum (on *Bonackers*), Long Island
- John A Strong (on *Long Island Indians*), University of Long Island, Southampton Campus
- Charles T. Gehring (on *Schoharie County Mixed-Bloods* and the Dutch in New York State), New Netherlands Project, New York State Library, Albany
- Harold Vroman and Jack Daniels (on *Schoharie County Mixed-Bloods*), Schoharie County Historical Society, Middleburgh
- *Slughter* settlement area, Schoharie County
- *Iroquois Indian* Museum, Howes Cave

## Virginia:

- Helen C. Rountree, Norfolk
- American Indian Intertribal Cultural Festival, Hampton, July 21–22, 2007, (participating tribes: *Chickahominy*, *Eastern Chickahominy*, *Mattaponi*, *Monacan*, *Nansemond*, *Pamunkey*, *Upper Mattaponi*, *Lumbee*, *Seminole*)

## Washington, DC:

- Calvin L. Beale (Senior Demographer), U.S. Census Bureau (on tri-racial groups)
- William C. Sturtevant, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
- U.S. Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, Senate Hart Building; Peter Taylor (Counsel)
- National Center for Indian Political Development, George Washington University; Alan Parker

All interviews, field notes, photos, audio, and video recordings are filed in my personal archive.

My visits to group settlement areas and Indian reservations usually lasted from a few hours up to one day. In many cases I was introduced to group or tribal members by somebody who knew the group or tribe for many years, or I had had contact to group members for years by mail before I visited them. In all these cases, the people I talked to were very communicative and informative, which is unusual in a field research situation like mine. Usually women were more communicative and informative than men. All these persons were very friendly and helpful to me, which I appreciate very much.

In cases where persons did not know me and I had not informed them in advance of my visit, there was nearly no information given to me, or I received information that was manipulated.

All interviews I made were unstructured and not recorded – except for one interview recorded on the *Chitimacha* Reservation in Louisiana. Notes were not made during the interviews, only afterwards. The interviews were unstructured, because I was interested in what people had to tell me, what was important to them, or what they thought was important for me to know about them. Experience has taught me that



when interviews were recorded, structured, or notes were taken during the interview, people were not as communicative and open as during unstructured and unrecorded interviews.

All interviewed persons were told before the interview that I might use the information provided in my dissertation and any subsequent publications. Before we started a conversation, all my communication partners understood that I am European, a cultural anthropologist, and ethno-historian from Germany, who wants to obtain information about them and their ethnic group. During the conversation they were always able to control the information they were disclosing to me, and they could indicate, whether or not I could use the information for my publications. I have never published any information given to me confidentially. Actually, I have a lot more information on tri-racial groups than I will ever publish, because conversations were either confidential, or the primary sources in my possession are classified as secret and not for publication.

All scholars, local historians, and field researchers I talked to were highly enlightening and helpful, and they gave me a lot of insider information, shared their knowledge with me, and even donated their field research material to me.

On the other side, there were occasions when I was not able to collect first-hand information from members of tri-racial groups, although I was visiting their settlement area. In 1997, a local historian took me to the *Sloughter* settlement area on a ridge in Schoharie County, New York State. He did not want to stop to let me exit the car, saying it was too dangerous to ask questions. He told me that twenty years ago the people on the ridge shot at everybody who approached the settlement and even the police did not dare to go up there. Nowadays it seems to have become much better, as we were not shot at and we survived the trip. Overall, my field research was far away from the ideal field research situation:

Recording traditions as well as collecting the necessary information for their critical appraisal presumes a long stay in the area studied and a true familiarity with the language and the culture involved. Local scholars are best equipped to undertake this task, as they are steeped in language and

culture, but they also need to be thoroughly conversant with the techniques and critical requirements of history. A case can be made for the special usefulness of foreign researchers who may well take a long time to become more attuned to their task, but who also may more rapidly discover some fundamental assumption that underlie that particular culture and society. (Vansina 1985, 200)

Maybe the circumstance that I was a researcher from far away Europe has helped me to discover more rapidly “some fundamental assumption.”<sup>7</sup>

### Summary

I have tried to be very precise with quotations because some of the theories developed in this text are contradicting established theories, therefore it is necessary to identify exactly where the empirical data can be found.

As already mentioned, in this publication all persons and groups categorized as “tri-racial” in literature, or described as descending from Europeans, Native Americans, and African Americans, or self-identifying as such will be discussed here.

The publication consists of two parts: a theoretical one and a part with ethnohistorical data for groups in the single states. This will be followed by a more elaborate discussion of the tri-racial groups living in the area comprising present-day U.S. states Louisiana and Texas.

The first part is an introduction to the theoretical framework I have developed for tri-racial groups, the evaluation of oral tradition, the theories of ethnicity used in connection with tri-racial groups, and an evaluation of racial ideologies and categorizations in the USA.

The second part will provide empirical data on Afro-Native contact, multi-ethnic indigenous tribes, and tri-racial groups, as well as patterns of ethnic identification and how their multi-ethnic identities are constructed. To exemplify these patterns the tri-racial groups in Louisiana and Texas will be discussed more extensively.

7 This is the main reason why I have chosen this form of discourse for my dissertation – mainly relying on secondary sources and giving an overview rather than researching a specific group or area, because I was aware of the fact that I would never be able to conduct a scientifically sound and fruitful field research among one of these groups.



## 2 Theoretical Frame

Tri-racial groups have somehow fallen out of time and empirical theory. There is no theory that can be applied to them in general. One reason is that the groups are so diverse that they cannot be pressed into one theoretical frame. Another reason is that tri-racial groups are not scientifically researched to an extent that could function as a data basis for an inductive development of any general theory.

The paradox is that there are recent ethnic theories developed for modern societies and nation-states, which can be applied to a certain degree to tri-racial groups who have formed in a colonial environment starting in the seventeenth century. Tri-racial groups in colonial times show features of ethnogenesis that usually are described as modern and recent.

On the whole, tri-racial groups exist outside of the rules and theories of European-American society and science – this should be kept in mind. To a lesser degree this is true for Native Americans as well:

(...) American Indians in New York State (...) have existed in scattered and obscure references in academic literature, and in all but forgotten community and family histories.

(...) to bring back into the discussion of indigenous people in New York those communities that for so many years have existed outside of mainstream discourse and outside of the existing colonial legal structure and its processes of recognition (and thus in our view exist “outside the rules”). (S.W. Rose and R.A. Rose 2015, 57)

Native Americans still live outside of the U.S. mainstream discourse, still existing under colonial conditions or in a colonial relationship with the United States of America.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Dunbar-Ortiz (2014, 14); Rindfleisch (2017). I was asked by one of my advisors why I did not discuss post-colonial theory in my dissertation, but Native Americans of the eastern U.S. do not see themselves in a postcolonial framework nor are they discussed by others in this way.

(...) decolonization (...) has become central – if not fundamental – to how we frame and understand the Native past and present, for there is nothing post-colonial about the Native experience in the United States today; Indigenous peoples still live in a colonial world. (Rindfleisch 2018)

The same is true for tri-racial groups. Of course, single groups can be discussed within a theoretical frame, if enough reliable data on the group are available, but this is not the case in many instances.

What I can offer are certain common features most tri-racial groups share, that could evolve into a theoretical frame someday, but there is much more research needed, before we can start with that.

The first aspect to be discussed is the theory of ethnicity and race as I have used it. What concepts of race, ethnicity, ethnic identity, and ethnic group formation are encountered in publications on tri-racial groups? What theoretical frame can be developed for these groups?

## 2.1 Theory of Ethnicity and Race

Basically, ethnic groups and the concepts of “ethnicity” and “race” are defined here as socio-cultural concepts and constructs, having nothing to do with human biology and genetics. Both concepts have an overlapping nature and are sometimes used interchangeably.

### **The Definition of Ethnicity, Ethnic Group and Race**

There exists no general definition of the terms “ethnicity” and “ethnic group.” Each author defines the terms according to his/her own ends. As these terms are used in many realms of science (ethnology, anthropology, sociology, political science, etc.) we have ended up with countless definitions of these terms, which have led to countless theories of ethnicity. Therefore, it is necessary to define initially, how ethnicity will be defined here.

Basically, there are two approaches to the theory of ethnicity:

- ethnicity as **primordial**
- ethnicity as **circumstantial** (interest-oriented, instrumental, etc.)

Ethnicity as primordial is defined as something given by birth into an ethnic group:

(...) *basic group identity*. This is the identity derived from belonging to what is generally and loosely called an “ethnic group.” It is composed of what have been called “primordial affinities and attachments.” It is the identity made up of what a person is born with or acquires at birth. (Isaacs 1976, 29–30)

Edward Shils, Max Weber, and Clifford Geertz have argued in the same primordial direction (Heinz 1993, 272–78; Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 8, 32).

Ethnicity as circumstantial is defined as interest-oriented, as a chosen or constructed form of identity:

One of the striking characteristics (...) is indeed the extent to which we find the ethnic group defined in terms of interest, *as* an interest group. (Glazer and Moynihan 1976b, 7)

The fact that ethnicity is a chosen form of identification cannot be over-emphasized. An ethnic group only exists where members consider themselves to belong to such a group; a conscious sense of belonging is critical. (Patterson 1976, 309)

Different authors use different terms for this approach: instrumental, interest-oriented, constructive, etc., and define them in different ways (see Hutchinson and Smith 1996). For our purpose, we will use the terms “primordial” and “circumstantial.” The term “circumstantial” is preferred, because it is best suited to the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups, who were formed as a reaction to societal and environmental circumstances.

One of the first publications on modern ethnicity in the USA – the book by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* – sums up the two approaches:

The two poles of analysis by which we try to explain the persistence or revival or creation of ethnic identities seem to waver between what we may call “primordialists”: “Men are divided thus and so, the reason for their division are deep in history and experience, and they must in some way be taken into account by those who govern societies”; and what we may call “circumstantialists”: “We are doubtful of such basic division and look to specific and immediate circumstances to explain why groups maintain their identity, why ethnicity becomes a basis of mobilization, why some situations are peaceful and others filled with conflict.” (Glazer and Moynihan 1976b, 19–20)

To sum up, the term “primordial” is used here in the meaning of ethnicity as acquired by being born into a specific (multi-)ethnic group with historical traditions. The term “circumstantial” is used here in the meaning of ethnicity as being constructed according to circumstances, interests and needs of a (multi-)ethnic group that come along with the formation of a group and the construction of its ethnohistory and family genealogies.

There are also discussions among theorists, as to whether “ethnic identity” is identical to “ethnicity” or only “part of ethnicity.” The latter see ethnic identity as the psychological, cognitive, or individual part of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is defined as “a sense of a common ethnicity” and “the individual level of identification with a culturally defined community” (Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 3, 5). For our purpose, ethnic identity is interpreted as the cognitive part of ethnicity.

In the post-1964 era, when discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin was outlawed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and multi-culturalism has become the predominant political agenda, scholars in the United States were drawn into a major dilemma. They had to become “color-blind” and to deny that concepts like “race” and “racism” exists while claiming that U.S. society is “post-racial.” When the concept of “race” – assuming an inequality of human beings based on biological and genetic predispositions – and racism did not disappear in American society, they had to find another term to be able to avoid the term “race” in scientific discussion. This term was “ethnic group” and it was used as a substitute term for “race” henceforward:

(...) race is similar to assumed kinship, in that it involves an ethnobiological theory. But it is not quite the same thing. Here, the reference is to phenotypical physical features – especially, of course, skin color, but also facial forms, stature, hair type, and so on – rather than any definite sense of common descent as such. (Geertz 1996, 43–44)

In Europe, *nation* is ordinarily understood literally, as a community based on common descent. Many American scholars, on the contrary, seem reluctant to use the very terms of genetic differentiation: they are likely to interpret nation as meaning “state,” to eschew race altogether and substitute the presumably less sullied “ethnic group” (...). (Petersen 1976, 177)

(...) some would identify race as an ethnic group, while for others the latter is a smaller subdivision of races; (...). (Petersen 1976, 181)

(...) the problem of ethnicity is a problem of the so-called “post-racist societies.” (Bourricaud 1976, 357)

Because of this liberal expectancy – as it was called – of a “post-racial” era, racial groups like “Blacks,” “African Americans,” “American Indians,” and others were transformed and defined as “(minority) ethnic groups.”<sup>9</sup>

Americans with European ancestry, the so-called hyphenate Americans like Italian-Americans, Irish-Americans, etc., were also defined as ethnic groups or “neo-ethnic groups” (Kilson 1976, 236).

This is important to keep in mind, when American authors speak of “ethnic groups,” as it can have the meaning or annotation of “race.” A term designed recently, which shall obviously emphasize the race character of an ethnic group, is “ethno-race.”

For analyzing the ethnological and ethnohistorical aspect of groups discussed here, ethnicity is defined as composed of several factors, features, and ethnic markers. I have developed a model for a better understanding in that ethnicity is composed of four categories of ethnic features or markers, two of them visible, two of them invisible:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Glazer and Moynihan (1976b, 10); Parsons (1976, 73–76); Patterson (1976, 307); (Hutchinson and Smith 1996, V).

<sup>10</sup> Ethnic markers extracted from Barth ([1969] 1998); Glazer and Moynihan (1976a); Heinz (1993); and Hutchinson and Smith (1996).



Visible Features / Markers		Invisible Features / Markers	
<i>Physiognomy/ Biology/Genetics</i>	<i>Material Culture</i>	<i>Cognitive Culture</i>	<i>Emotional Culture</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• skin color</li> <li>• race</li> <li>• descent</li> <li>• birth and death rates</li> <li>• hereditary diseases</li> <li>• etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• territory</li> <li>• clothing</li> <li>• hair style</li> <li>• housing style</li> <li>• settlement</li> <li>• forms of subsistence</li> <li>• symbols</li> <li>• etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• language</li> <li>• religion</li> <li>• (sur)names</li> <li>• codes</li> <li>• group consciousness (“Wirbewusstsein”)</li> <li>• kinship system</li> <li>• genealogy</li> <li>• (ethno-)history</li> <li>• etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sense of belonging</li> <li>• sense of a common ethnicity/ kinship</li> <li>• group solidarity</li> <li>• values</li> <li>• “Heimatliebe”</li> <li>• etc.</li> </ul>

An ethnic group can choose from any column as many features or markers as it wants – with the option of giving them up again, if no longer needed. Moreover, all features and makers do not have the same value and importance. Each ethnic group can ascribe a certain value and importance to each feature/marker it has chosen. For example, religion or language can be the most important marker in cases where a group differentiates itself from other groups as a religious ethnic group, or an ethnic group speaking a different language or dialect.

Ideally, in an ethnic group, members see each other as belonging to the group – it consists of persons who identify themselves as members of the group and are identified by other group members as members of the group. Additionally, in an ideal case, non-members identify the persons as members of the group. Of course, there are incongruent cases of ethnic identification that deviate from this ideal, which will be discussed later.

For modern societies, Hutchinson and Smith (1996, 6–7) have developed six main features of *ethnies*:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> They use the French term “ethnies,” as the English language has no concrete noun for the Greek term “ethnos,” or the French term “ethnie.” The term “ethnie” here denotes “ethnic community” or “ethnic group” (Hutchinson and Smith 1996, 6).

1. a common *proper name*, to identify and express the ‘essence’ of the community;
2. a myth of *common ancestry*, a myth rather than a fact, a myth that includes the idea of common origin in time and place and that gives an *ethnie* a sense of fictive kinship, (...);
3. shared *historical memories*, or better, shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration;
4. one or more *elements of common culture*, which need not to be specified but normally include religion, customs, or language;
5. a link to a *homeland*, not necessarily its physical occupation by the *ethnie*, only its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples;
6. a *sense of solidarity* on the part of at least some sections of the *ethnie’s* population (...).

Tri-racial groups can be discussed within this theoretical frame for modern societies, as mentioned already. Although formed in colonial times in North America in the seventeenth and subsequent centuries, tri-racial groups display features of ethnic groups in modern societies and their ethnogenesis.

We now proceed to the system of racial and ethnic categorization within the USA.

## 2.2 Racial and Ethnic Categories

Multi-ethnic Native American persons usually were classified as (Free) Persons of Color from the early colonial period onward. It must be clarified here that the term “Person of Color” is not only applied to persons of part African-American ancestry but is also applied to all kind of non-European persons. A Person of Color is basically any person that is not identified as a white person. No matter whether the person was an intermixture of two or all three races: European, African American, and/or Native American, the person was categorized as “Person of Color.”<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For example, Silverman in his book on the *Wampanoag Indians* of Martha’s Vineyard (Massachusetts) lists a comparison of 1823 census data with racial categorizations of ship crew members, in which some *Wampanoag* were also classified as “colored” since 1826 (Silverman [2005] 2007, 288–90).

Since late nineteenth century law classified both people of mixed African and Caucasian ancestry and persons of mixed Amerind and Caucasian as “colored,” census reports sometimes labeled as “mulattos” persons of both African and Native American mixed ancestry. (Prejean 1999, 30–31)

Additionally, the meaning of racial terms changed over time and with geographical region:

(...) there is hardly a racial term which has a clear and consistent meaning over time (and space). (Forbes 1993, 2)

(...) many modern writers, whether popular or scholarly, have simply assumed that they could transfer sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or eighteenth-century racial terms to contemporary usage without any critical examination of meaning. (Forbes 1993, 3)

Special terms for persons of Native American – African American ancestry used in the Americas were: “Zambo,” “Zambaigo,” “Grifo,” “Chino,” “Lobo,” “Cafuso,” “Cabra,” and “Caboré” – most of them of local use in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America. The term “Zambo/Sambo” was adopted in the English-speaking colonies, the term “Grifo/Griffe” in the French-speaking colonies of North America.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, the use of the category Free Person of Color and other racial terms like American Indian, White, European, African American, Black, Negro, Mulatto, etc., in the U.S. Census is varying from census to census and leaves us with much confusion.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Forbes (1993, 90, 234, 238). Forbes (1993) provides many data for racial terms in his book. Unfortunately, the conclusion he draws are scientifically questionable. On one side, because he transfers terms from Spanish and Portuguese colonies of South and Middle America one-to-one into English, French, and other European colonies of North America. On the other side, his conclusion is scientifically not supportable, namely that all racial terms mentioned in one sentence of a (legal) text together with – or in context of – the term “Indian,” imply that all these racial terms indicate admixture with American Indians.

<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the single colonies and states had their own definitions of racial categories which will be discussed in the chapters on the respective states. An extensive discussion on the legal definition of terms is given in the chapter on Virginia (chapter 9.4.1.), for example.

Census takers have often identified Indian people as white, black, or mulatto, so the census and other official records kept by whites have proved to be of marginal use (...). (Klopotek 2011, 159)

For a summary of the U.S. Census Bureau racial and ethnic categories in the U.S. censuses from 1790 to 2010 referring to persons of (mixed) Native American, African American, colored, and European ancestry see Appendix A.

In all U.S. censuses up to the year 1960, people were categorized by the census takers, and thus were not allowed to categorize themselves. In many instances, the enumerators did not question the people personally, but estimated the numbers and race by counting the houses. This was especially true for Black or colored communities, where they were afraid to enter the area or houses, allegedly.

Before 1860 there was no category for “Indian” in the U.S. census, therefore Native Americans had to be enumerated in other racial categories. The categorization as “(Free) Person of Color,” “Black,” or “Mulatto” and the equal ranking with “Slaves” in the same category caused many Native Americans and tri-racial persons to withdraw themselves from Euro-American society. They not only feared the restriction of their social, economic, and legal status in the European colonies and American states, they also wanted to evade the danger of being enslaved or forced into indenture. Native Americans were additionally counted by Indian Agents and the Bureau of Indians Affairs, but usually only those who were members of federal or state Native American nations or were identifiable as a separate American Indian community or tribe. In colonial, state, regional and local censuses, and documents “Indian” could be used earlier than 1860.

In respect to European ancestry of tri-racial groups, national and ethnic origin (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, etc.) is often explicitly specified. Although some of these European ethnic identities – especially Mediterranean ones – are used to obscure their ethnic identity: “The use of the term ‘Portuguese’ may have been a euphemism for ‘African’ (...)” (Forbes 1993, 206).

Historically, European, African, and Native American ethnicity was altered in the colonial experience of North America:

To divide the peoples in three, into racial and cultural categories of European, African and Indian, only begins to reveal the human diversity of the colonial encounter. For each embraced an enormous variety of cultures and languages. For example, of Welsh, Scots, Irish, Scots-Irish, Germans, Swedes, Finns, Dutch, and French Huguenots – as well as the usual English suspects. (...) Until lumped together in colonial slavery, the African conscripts varied even more widely in their ethnic identities, languages, and cultures. (...) Most diverse of all were the so-called Indians. Divided into hundreds of linguistically distinct peoples, the natives did not know that they were a common category until named and treated so by the colonial invaders. All three clusters were in flux when they encountered one another in the colonies; in the process of these encounters they defined an array of new identities as Americans. (Taylor 2002, xi–xii)

Gradually a system of more and more elaborate ethnic and racial differences emerged:

(...) during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, colonizing elites thought of their superiority primarily as cultural – as the fruit of their European mastery of civility and Christianity. On those scores, the elites thought of their own peasants, laborers, sailors, and soldiers as only a little better than Indians and Africans. Therefore, the leaders left open the possibility that Indians and Africans could, through cultural indoctrination, become equals of the lower European orders. Such elites did not yet ascribe status and limit potential primarily on the basis of pigmentation. (Taylor 2002, xiii)

Later, a system of racial categories and their evaluation emerged – the hour of the birth of racism, segregation, and eugenics studies in the USA.

Since the 1860s, Social Darwinists and later hereditarian eugenicists had sought to explain racial differences in terms of the value of innate biological traits possessed by what were considered to be separate and distinct races. Indeed, the perception that all characteristics were biologically determined and maintained in bloodlines, which were then regulated by “blood quantum” standards, formed an important part of how family identity was constructed. (Lovett 2002, 192)

### **Indian as a Racial Category**

Here we must differ between several concepts of “Indian.”

The first concept is that of “Ethnic Indians,” who are defined as follows:

Ethnic Indians are those persons who have an Indian identity and lineage, but are not members of a tribal community. There are hundreds of non-federally recognized Indian nations, but their members tend to retain strong commitments [to] tribal identity and life. Ethnic Indians are those who have not retained a commitment to tribal relations or tribal membership, although they may know their tribal nation, they have not taken membership or do not qualify for membership. Ethnic Indians have an identity like Americans, who have multiple ancestral lineages such as English, Dutch, American Indian, or other nations, but do not participate in those cultures, and are contemporary Americans in terms of identity while recognizing their numerous historical heritages. (Champagne 2014)

Champagne (2014) sees Ethnic Indians as “a potential threat to Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous right”, because the “ethnic Indian population is increasing and, according to recent Census reports are more numerous than tribal members.”

Another concept can be observed in the ethnic identification of tri-racial groups. Quite a lot of them are not able to refer to any Native American ancestral tribe(s) or any affiliations of their ancestors with a Native American Nation. Instead they identify themselves as “Indian.”

This is problematic, as “Indian” is not a Native American identification, but a post-1492 racial category based on the misconception of Columbus that he had landed in India when he reached the shores of America and misidentified the indigenous population as “Indians.”

In the U.S. Census the term “Indian” was used as a racial category since 1860 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau 2016).

Non-Indian (etic) persons and institutions frequently used “Indian” as a racial designation or a surname for “Indian” persons, e.g. Sally Indian, Chris Indian (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994d, 121, 125).

Persons self-identifying as “Indian” often argue that they are “Indian” because they live like Indians, or they live the “Indian” way, based on their imagination of how Native Americans live.

The question is why persons claiming Native American descent identify as “Indians”? Why do they use a racial category for self-identification instead of an ethnic, tribal, or Native American Nation identity?

One reason is to evade being classified as “black” or “colored” by changing one’s race into “Indian” or adding “Indian” to one’s racial classification.

(...) Indian communities with African ancestry, in addition to being accused of being financial opportunists, are also accused of trying to “pass” for Indian because that is “better” than being designated as black. (Klopotek 2011, 203)

Throughout North American history, non-white persons were always classified as inferior to white people. During early colonization, before the invention of the concept of race, they were already categorized as “not Christian,” “heathen,” or “infidel,” put into a non-European or non-White category by this, and thus marked as being different from Europeans/Whites.<sup>15</sup> Later non-European categories were more specific, as the slave codes of the Colony of Virginia show:

[1682, Act I.] (...) Negroes, Moors, Mollattoes or Indians, who or whose parentage and native country are not Christian at the time of their first purchase of such servant by some Christian, although afterwards, and before such their importation and bringing into this country, they shall be converted to the Christian faith; and all Indians which shall hereafter be sold by our neighboring Indians, or any other trafiqueing with us for slaves are hereby adjudged, deemed and taken, and shall be adjudged, deemed and taken to be slaves (...). (Hening [1819–1823] 1969, Vol. II, 491)

[1705, Chapter XLIX., Act XI.] (...) negro, mulatto, or Indian, Jew, Moor, Mahometan, or other infidel (...). (Hening [1819–1823] 1969, 3)

<sup>15</sup> As the Puritan Missionary Father John Eliot wrote in 1673 on praying town Indians in New England: “(...) they have a deep sense of their own darkness and ignorance, and a reverent esteem of the light and goodness of the English (...)” (Eliot 1809, 127).

These texts demonstrate that in addition to Africans and persons of mixed African American descent, American Indians could also be enslaved in the American colonies and that Native Americans were participating in the slave trade.

What makes the identification of Native American slaves even more complicated is that they were not always identified as Native Americans:

The rapid increase in the number of negro slaves during the colonial period resulted in the general use of such terms as “slaves,” “negroes and other slaves” and “negroes,” without specification of Indian slaves as such. (Lauber 1913, 7)

The enslavement of Native Americans was practiced in all North American colonies. Spain abolished the enslavement of indigenous people in its American colonies in 1542 but continued to allow the enslavement of Africans. Moreover, Spain had problems to enforce this law in its colonies, especially in areas where it could not exercise full control of local authorities, for example in Spanish Louisiana (Webre 1984, 117).

In 1794 France abolished slavery in all its possessions, but again the question remains as to how far the country was able to enforce abolishment in its North American colonies.

In the British colonies, enslavement of Africans and Native Americans was regulated by the legislation of each single colony or dominion. Usually, the enslavement of American Indians was banned earlier than the enslavement of African Americans and colored persons.

In the United States the importation of slaves was outlawed in 1808 and the institution of slavery ended with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment on December 18, 1865 (Shearer 2004, 17; U.S. Congress 1807; Drexler 2018).

Nonetheless U.S. society continued to treat non-white persons as not equal, by using racial and eugenic research and laws to classify them as inferior to Euro-American society, with the aim to segregate them. An *American Eugenics Society* existed in the USA from 1926 to 1972, and published a journal named *Eugenics Quarterly* from 1954 to 1968. In Virginia eugenic ideologies, developed by physician Walter Plecker (see Plecker 1924), led to the passing of the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 with the basic intention to prevent inter-racial relationships:



5. It shall hereafter be unlawful for any white person in this State to marry any save a white person, or a person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian. For the purpose of this act, the term "white person" shall apply only to the person who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-Caucasic blood shall be deemed to be white persons. All laws heretofore passed and now in effect regarding the intermarriage of white and colored persons shall apply to marriages prohibited by this act. (Wiki-source 2014)

This act shows how persons claiming Indian descent could evade being categorized as colored or Black and falling under segregation laws.

The United States Supreme Court declared the banning of interracial marriage in this act illegal in 1967 (*Loving Et Ux. V. Virginia* 1967). But this act shows that identifying as part-Indian could be of advantage in the bi-racial system of the U.S. up to the 1960s.

Native American ancestry, identities, and histories provided African Americans, Native Americans, and peoples of mixed descent with ways to address and question an imposed system of segregation and its effects. (Lovett 2002, 193)<sup>16</sup>

(...) reasserting Native American identity denied the universal applicability of the biracial categories of "white" and "colored." (Lovett 2002, 194)

Claiming Native American identity, Native American ancestry, or simply borrowing Native American costume was a way of defying a demeaning biracial code that imposed its own system of identity. Articulating African American and Native American interrelations thus was not merely a matter of defiance but a matter of reclaiming one's identity. (Lovett 2002, 214)

<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, Lovett has replaced the term and category "Indian" with "Native American" in her publication. In the sources she used, the term "Indian" is prevailing.

To sum up, from colonial times, identifying as “Indian” or person of partly “Indian” descent could have been to escape enslavement and the application of slave codes. In the twentieth century – when a self-identification as “Indian” could mean to evade segregation and illegal intermarriage – this racial identification as “Indian” came with great advantages for persons otherwise racially categorized as “Black,” “African American,” or “colored.”

Therefore, up into present times it makes sense for non-Whites/Persons of Color to claim “Indian” ancestry. When tri-racial groups became aware that the term “Indian” was not a traditional and preferred term for self-identification as an indigenous person in North America, they started to look for options to switch their “Indian” identity into a traditional tribal identity.

Consequently, state and federal acknowledgment as a Native American tribal entity is sought after by many tri-racial groups who identify as “Indian.” Federal acknowledgment is often accompanied by the possibility to reclaim ancestral land, and in some states by the opportunity to open gaming enterprises on tribal lands.

One strategy used by tri-racial groups is to check old sources and maps for Native American tribes that once lived in their area of origin, along their migration routes, or in their present settlement area. This way they select their relationship to pre-contact tribes and draw their tribal identity from them. Many groups lack any genealogical and kinship relations to the claimed tribe(s) of origin. As a *Redbone* from Louisiana put it:

We don't know our tribes, we just guess from the area we ended up in.  
(Prejean 1999, 98)

Another strategy of claiming “Indian” identity is to choose a well-known Native American identity, which many people, Indian and non-Indian, would immediately identify as indigenous. The most popular one is *Cherokee* (including synonyms like *Tsalagi*). Dozens of Indian groups throughout the USA identify as *Cherokee* nowadays, many of them peti-

tioning for state or for federal acknowledgment.<sup>17</sup> Other popular identities are *Choctaw*, *Creek*, or *Lenape*. An example for this pattern would be the *Ramapough Munsee Lunaape Nation* of New Jersey and New York State (Cohen 2012c, 1974).

A further strategy is to combine several indigenous identities or add further indigenous identities to a tribe's identity in order to cover descent from more than one tribe (such as *Nanticoke-Lenni Lenape*, *Powhatan-Lenape*, *Munsee-Lenape*, *Cherokee-Powhatan-Saponi*, etc.). These multi-tribal identities can either represent a multi-tribal origin or point to an ethnogenesis which includes as many ancestral tribes as possible. The possibility that group members have a percentage of Indian ancestry raises with the incorporation of huge tribes like the *Cherokee*, and with multiplying the number of ancestral tribes (see Appendix H for examples).

Persons were often mis-identified as "Indian," because they were speaking a trade language like Mobilian Jargon, Creek or Mitchif. Mobilian Jargon speakers were likewise mis-identified as "Choctaw" or "Chickasaw."

Finally, tribal identities were often used as synonyms for "Indian." For example, in Louisiana the term "Choctaw" was used as a synonym for "Indian" (Ray 2007, 174) with the effect that persons claiming to be "Indian" were called "Choctaw."

A further reason for self-identifying as "Indian" might have been to create an ethnic identity relating to the stereotype that was frequently associated with Native American people – the Noble Savage.

17 U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (2013b); Takatoka (2009). Sturm calls this behavior "racial shifting." She was able to identify more than 250 self-identified and state-recognized *Cherokee* tribes and close to half a million persons claiming *Cherokee* identity in the United States, apart from the federally recognized *Cherokee Nations* (Sturm 2011, 15, 18). Her approach is different from mine, as she analyses racial shifters, who identified as white before shifting into *Cherokee* identity, and she analyses this phenomenon as a rather recent one, happening in the last forty years (Sturm 2011, 6, 8,10). A similar concept was developed by Hallowell ([1963] 2018), who introduced the concept of *transculturalization*, meaning that a person enters another society as a member temporarily or permanently. *Transculturalization* of persons living with Native American tribes is called *Indianization*. This concept is also different from mine, as it describes persons in the first generation who still retain a remembrance of the society and culture they left.

Based on her survey of 2,193 narratives by former African American slaves from the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Lovett produced the following results:

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the stereotypical racial characteristics most commonly associated with Native American ancestry by African Americans were those of the "noble savage." To many people at the turn of the century, then, any claim to Native American ancestry could be construed as a claim to the possession of some of the features of the "noble savage," including a heroic (sometimes savage) commitment to liberty, connection to the land, or an aristocratic if doomed opposition to "progress." Persons making such claims often saw themselves as the inheritors of those traits they found distinctively Native American and desirable because of this. (Lovett 2002, 195)

Black interviewees remembered Indian kin who preferred living in the woods or who possessed remarkable naturalist skills as well as attributes like innate fierce. (Lovett 2002, 198)

Consequently, Lovett draws several conclusions from her research:

Claiming kinship with Native Americans provided African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with a way of rebelling against a system of segregation, discrimination, and "civilization" imposed on them by white society. This can be considered a route of resistance because white and Black Americans with the aid of cultural images, science and governmental policy defined Indians as living outside of white society. (...) Native American ancestors could thus be empowering insofar as the Native American embodied the potential in Blacks themselves to disrupt social order and white civilization. (Lovett 2002, 198-99)

African Americans propagated the image of the rebellious Native American in their families as an expression of their own resistance to both slavery and legalized segregation. They also used the image of the savage Indian to resist indirectly ordinances and situations that would have been dangerous for them to oppose openly. (Lovett 2002, 199)

### **Native American Identity**

Native American identity is usually expressed by tribal affiliation and membership in a specific Native American Nation. I dare to say that the last thing Native American persons would forget is their tribal identity. It is even more unlikely that whole American Indian family clans, or groups consisting of American Indian family clans, “forget” their tribal identity. Tribal identity is memorized by oral tradition over long periods of time and did not get lost when indigenous people were enslaved, deported, or migrated, and intermarried. There are many examples which show that this type of cultural memory is not lost after such experiences; see, for example, all the Native American Indian Nations deported to the Indian Territory (Appendix H), or see the *Jena Band of Choctaw*, *Houma*, or *Cane River Creoles of Color* of Louisiana. In all of these cases Native American family clans still remember their tribal identity and ancestral tribes after migration, deportation, or enslavement.

Nonetheless, in the Southeast and in other places as well, there are many who claim that American Indian identity is often blurred by intermixture and loss of memory. Therefore, it is difficult for researchers to trace the Native American ancestry of single persons and groups:

(...) there are many white Southerners who have Indians in their ancestry. Some of them are explicit about their Indian ancestry, while others speak of a vague family tradition of an Indian ancestor; some carefully conceal it, and still others may be unaware of it altogether. It is difficult to estimate the number of Southern whites and blacks with Indian ancestry, but it is probably large. (Hudson 1992, 497)

As discussed already, the “Indian ancestor” might be an African American or Person of Color who added, or switched to, Indian identity for reasons mentioned before.

It gets even more complicated when it comes to the question of who a full-blood is and who is of mixed ancestry:

But even Southeastern Indians who have an unimpeachable claim to Indian identity are not all the same. Some are more “Indian” than others, and this applies to groups as well as to individuals. One familiar, though erroneous, way of conceptualizing this difference is to distinguish between “full bloods,” whose genetic ancestry is presumably all Indian, and “half bloods” or “mixed bloods,” whose ancestry is part Indian, the implication being that full bloods are necessarily more Indian in their identity than half bloods or mixed bloods. This way of thinking ignores the fact that a person can be Indian in at least three ways, and each is more or less independent of the others: A person may be an Indian in a *genetic* sense, meaning that he is noticeably Indian in his physical appearance. A person may be an Indian in a *cultural* sense, meaning that he sees the world from a point of view whose premises are historically derived from an aboriginal belief system, and he probably also speaks an Indian language. And, finally, a person may be an Indian in a *social* sense, meaning that he occupies the status of Indian in a social system, usually as distinguished from whites and blacks.

A few people in the Southeast are Indian in all three of these senses – they look like Indians, they think like Indians, and they are socially Indians. These are the people who among the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles are called full bloods, but who might more properly be called “conservatives.” It can easily be demonstrated that there is no necessary connection between being a genetic Indian, on the one hand, and a cultural or social Indian on the other. (Hudson 1992, 478–79)

Finger reports similar observations of Native American identity construction from the *Eastern Band of Cherokees* on their reservation in North Carolina:

In discussing varying degrees of Cherokee ancestry, (...) I frequently refer to mixed-bloods, white Indians, and full-bloods. (...) I use these as the Cherokee themselves do, without scientific definition. A “mixed-blood” might have any degree of Indian-white (or Indian-black) ancestry, but in this book the term almost always refers to individuals who are not predominantly of Cherokee lineage. Contrary to its literal meaning, a “full-blood” is almost never entirely Cherokee and might more accu-

rately be called a “fuller-blood,” defined by one scholar as a person with at least three-fourths Cherokee ancestry. (...) full-bloods, by Cherokee definition, might include individuals with considerably less Cherokee blood, depending on their behavior. Obviously, there is a cultural as well as genetic component involved in describing people in these terms. Similarly, “white Indian” is a term that is partly culturally defined, and it is possible (though unlikely) that a full-blood might be called a white Indian if highly acculturated. (Finger 1991, XIV)

I have discussed extensively the incongruity of genetic blood test among Native Americans and the construction of their American Indian identity in a previous publication (Bartl 2012).

Race, ethnicity, and tribal identity cannot be defined biologically or genetically, as many American Indian tribes and tri-racial groups try to do. The main problem in finding genetic markers for a specific “race” is to find “pure-blood” samples with which the results can be compared to classify a person or population racially, and “pure-bloods” may not actually be, genetically, what they are called, or claim to be (Bartl 2012, 83).

A “pure-blood” ancestral population is a random scientific assumption for an ethnic group at a certain time in a certain geographical area. Geneticists need blood and genetic data from this ancestral population to be able to compare with their modern data. These biological reference data are rarely available for indigenous Americans, and if so, they only show one moment in an ongoing process. No one can be sure of how intermixed the population already was at the time when they were classified as “pure-blood” by geneticists. Therefore, genetic reference data of “original populations” are highly unreliable.

TallBear discusses this basic problem for Native American DNA testing:

Native American DNA as an object could not exist without, and yet functions as a specific data point to support the ideas of, once pure, original populations. Notions of ancestral populations, the ordering and calculating of genetic markers and their associations, and the representation of living groups of individuals as reference populations all require the

assumption that there was a moment, a human body, a marker, a population back there in space and time that was a biogeographical pinpoint of originality. The faith in originality would seem to be at odds with the doctrine of evolution, of change over time, of becoming. (TallBear 2013, 6)

Overall, we must be careful in cases where a person or a group identifies as “full-blood” Indian, as this does not automatically imply being genetically pure-blooded “Indian” but can imply any ethnic admixture. Eligibility to tribal enrollment usually is defined in terms of blood-quantum and kinship relations.

Among American Indians, one of the more potent idioms of racial and cultural difference is that of blood. More than just a metaphor for lineage, descent, or kinship, blood is often imagined as a shared biogenetic substance that links all the people of a tribe to one another. Relatives and, by extension, tribal members share common blood in both the past and present, and it is believed that tribal descendents [*sic*] literally have some of the same blood substance as their forebears. Moreover, blood is also commonly described as the bearer of indigenous cultural and racial difference, because race and culture are seen as being carried in the blood. This conflation of blood with race, culture, and kinship is common among American Indians because blood – the stuff of life and death – is a rich part of our human imaginary, but also because blood has been enshrined as a measure of Indian identity for well over a century in the laws and policies of tribal, state, and federal governments (...). (Sturm 2011, 7)

Among the *Cherokee Nation* of Oklahoma, for example, *Cherokee* ancestry of enrolled members varies from full blood to 1/4096 (Sturm 2011, 16).

Racial prejudices among Native Americans occur based on mixed descent and skin color:

A number of Indian people without African ancestry have admitted both confidentially and publicly that they have much more trouble accepting as Indians people with African ancestry than people with only Indian and white ancestry, even when they know that those with African ances-



try are members of federally recognized tribes. Even people who are “white as a sheet,” which comes with its own set of problems, have typically been more readily accepted as Indians than those with significant African heritage have been. (Klopotek 2011, 215)

This conforms to my personal experience in researching tri-racial groups in the USA for more than 30 years. Native American, as well as non-Native American (including European) people, tell me over and over again that I am not researching “real Indians,” and that multi-ethnic indigenous tribes, even with federal or state acknowledgment, are not “real Indian tribes.”

So, what is a “real Indian”? Basically, it is a Euro-American stereotype<sup>18</sup> that is hard to eradicate:

Euro-Americans expect Indians to remain in a primordial state if they are to remain authentically “Indian.” Native Americans, and especially non-recognized groups, are a rare ethnicity that must maintain premodern attributes to be accepted as authentic. (M. E. Miller 2004d, 6)

One basic problem is that there are currently too many people identifying as (part-)Native American persons in the USA. The population numbers do not fit into the historical and genealogical context. There were not enough Native Americans at the time of first contact – additionally their population numbers were heavily reduced in the period of early contact – to be ancestral to all the persons claiming “Indian” identity nowadays. Moreover, most surviving indigenous groups had chosen to live in isolation, which also lowered the chance of intermarriage with non-Indians. I agree with Helen Rountree who has stated several times:

I don’t think there were ever enough Indians to produce as many claimants (millions) to Indian ancestry as there are today. (H. C. Rountree, pers. comm.)

18 For an overview on stereotyping Native Americans see Berkhofer, Jr. (1988).

Newer theories claim millions of Indians were enslaved together with Black slaves and intermixed this way, but these are pure speculations. There are no sources proving this, because the numbers of Indian slaves were always much too low in the eastern states to create such a big population of colored persons with Indian ancestry. The enslavement of Indians in each state of the USA will be discussed later under the single states.

## 2.3 State and Federal Recognition/ Acknowledgement of Native American Tribes

With the intention of escaping this biracial (White/non-White) system many tri-racial groups started to go for state and federal recognition as Indian tribes.

For many unrecognized Native American groups in the Southeast, petitioning for recognition as American Indians was a way of both building community and identity as well as resisting the “white” and “colored” categories of segregation by insisting on the creation of a third legal category, “Indian.” (Lovett 2002, 211)

But in doing so, the groups had to enforce standards for segregation from African Americans, to be able to establish this legal racial and social category as an “Indian” tribe.

In many Native American communities, legalized segregation reinforced the search for differences between Native Americans and African Americans. In fact, between 1880 and 1920 many of the recognized Native American tribes in the Southeast United States established separate schools to avoid sending their children to Black schools. (Lovett 2002, 211)

(...) under legalized segregation many Native Americans took steps to distance themselves from African Americans. (Lovett 2002, 213)

The same is true for many non-recognized Indian tribes in the eastern USA who had integrated segregation laws in their tribal legislation.

The *Pamunkey Indian Tribe* of Virginia, for example, had to delete the first section of its “Ordinances” in order to get federal recognition (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015b, 39145). Their tribal laws had excluded African Americans from membership, as the Office of Federal Acknowledgement states:

The information in the record indicates that the expulsion or exclusion of members who married “African Americans” had been the group’s accustomed practice, and that members who remained in Indian Town did not challenge or protest it, even if it affected their own children. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2014, 48)

Only after deleting all laws in violation of the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA), e.g. ban African Americans from their tribal rolls, they were federally acknowledged in 2016 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2016).

Initiated by a state and federal recognition process, many Native American groups in the eastern USA started to organize as formal Indian tribes with tribal organizations and regulations in the 1970s (Alcon 2016, 180).

It is observed, that especially among multi-ethnic American Indian groups, this intention caused a need to display their Indianess and forced them to establish “boundary markers that more clearly coincide with American and Indian expectations of tribal people.” (Klopotek 2011, 231).

Before we continue, we must take a closer look at the process of tribal recognition and acknowledgement, because many Native American tribes in the eastern USA – not recognized by their respective state or by the U.S. Government – and several tri-racial groups, who have switched identity to a Native American one, seek state and federal recognition.

### 2.3.1 Federal Recognition and Acknowledgement

The legal basis for the requirement that American Indian tribes must be acknowledged formally by the USA as a federal Indian tribe<sup>19</sup> is written down in the Constitution of the United States of America (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs 2015; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration n.d.):

Article I. Section. 8. The Congress shall have Power (...) To regulate Commerce with Foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

The Constitution gives the U.S. Congress the power to regulate Native American affairs. Legally, only Native American tribes that had formal contact to U.S. institutions since 1776 are recognized as American Indian tribes. All American Indian tribes that had formal contact solely to colonial governments or to single states and signed treaties with them, are not recognized as federal American Indian tribes.

One legal basis for Native American Nations to get the status of a U.S. Federal American Indian Tribe was to sign a treaty with the USA on a government-to-government basis in the period from 1778 to 1871. During this period 379 treaties were signed.

After the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1788, official acknowledgement as a federal Indian tribe could be granted by the federal legislative, executive, or judicial branch:

<sup>19</sup> The terms “recognition” and “acknowledgement” are usually used interchangeably in literature, although generally there is a difference in meaning and use of both terms:

To be precise, “recognition” of tribal status usually denotes congressional/legislative authority while “acknowledgement” of tribal status usually refers to secretarial/executive designation. (Duthu 1997, 409):

A discussion of state and federal recognition and the acknowledgement process is given in Klopotek (2011, 1–40); M. E. Miller (2004b, 2004c, 2004d); and Cohen (2012a). A general overview on colonial and state policies towards Native Americans is given in the following articles: British colonial policy (Jacobs 1988); French colonial policy (Wade 1988); Dutch and Swedish colonial policy (F. Jennings 1988); Spanish colonial policy (Gibson 1988); U.S. policy (Horsman 1988; Prucha 1988; Hagan 1988; Kelly 1988); Mexican policy (Spicer 1988).

- Legislative: Act of Congress
- Executive: Presidential Executive Order, or other federal administrative action
- Judicial: Federal Court Decision

As the number of petitioners for federal recognition grew, the Department of the Interior started a “Federal Acknowledgment” Project in the 1970s.

On September 5, 1978, the *Code of Federal Regulation Title 25, Part 54 (25 CFR Part 54) – Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe* was passed. In 1982 this code was re-named *Code of Federal Regulation Title 25, Part 83 (25 CFR Part 83) – Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe*.

In 1994, a revised version of 25 CFR Part 83 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 1994) was enacted, and in 2015 the regulations were revised again for more transparency and efficiency (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015a).

The responsible authority for 25 CFR Part 83 is the U.S. Department of The Interior (DOI), Indian Affairs. The responsibility for the process was switched under the Bush administration from the DOI subdivision Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) directly to the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs. The office handling the process was also switched and renamed in 2003:

before July 27, 2003: U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI) –  
Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) – Branch of Acknowledgement  
and Research (BAR)

since July 27, 2003: U.S. Department of the Interior (DOI) – Office  
of Federal Acknowledgement (OFA)

The staff of the Office of Federal Acknowledgement is comprised of anthropologists, genealogists, historians, etc., and was reduced severely in personnel during the restructuring of the office in 2003.

Although acknowledgement/recognition by the federal branches Legislative, Executive, and Judicial is still possible, tribes seeking federal acknowledgement are expected to go through the acknowledgement process of 25 CFR Part 83.

The most important section of 25 CFR *Part 83* is *Part 83.7 (a)–(g)* in which the seven mandatory criteria for federal acknowledgement are listed. These are in abbreviated form:<sup>20</sup>

- a. The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900.
- b. A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.
- c. The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.
- d. A copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.
- e. The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
- f. The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe.
- g. Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

The process usually starts with a *Letter of Intent* from a petitioning group. Then the group must submit a documented petition. At a point, the Office of Federal Acknowledgement puts this petition under active status and starts to evaluate it by testing it according to the seven mandatory criteria of 25 CFR *Part 83.7 (a)–(g)*.

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (1994). The process was revised again and the final rule of the revision published in 2015 (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015a). As there are no tribes acknowledged according to this revised version of 25 CFR *Part 83* up to now, the 1994 version will be discussed here.

At the end of evaluation, the OFA publishes a *Proposed Finding* for or against federal acknowledgement of the group. After a period of possible public comment and response by the petitioner, the OFA publishes a *Final Determination* in favor or against federal acknowledgement of the petitioning group. This decision can be requested for reconsideration by the Interior Board of Indian Appeals (IBIA): an appeals court within the Department of the Interior (DOI) to which, under 25 CFR 83, petitioners or interested parties may appeal decisions by the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs. After reconsideration, the IBIA either sends back the petition for a reconsidered determination or suggests a *Final Decision* by the Assistant Secretary – Indian Affairs. This decision is final and cannot be reversed.<sup>21</sup>

The OFA frequently publishes updated information on the petitioning groups in the process, on the status of petitions, on cases active or resolved, and statistical data regarding the letters of intent and petitions handed in.<sup>22</sup> It also publishes all its findings and final determinations.

After recognition, a Federal American Indian Nation obtains limited sovereignty over its tribe and territory. As a Federal Indian Nation, they have the right to regulate their tribal membership by putting or removing persons from their tribal rolls. They can file land claims, ask for their land to be put under federal trust and to be established as a federal reservation, get access to federal funding reserved for Indian tribes, and – in some states – get the right to establish Indian gaming enterprises.<sup>23</sup>

21 A description of this process and the corresponding time schedule is given on the OFA webpage (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994b)

22 U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (2015c); U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (2013b)

23 Native American Nations can establish gaming enterprises on their reservation or trust land in states, where gaming is permitted. It is an often-repeated belief that American Indian Nations who went through the federal acknowledgement process successfully and established a casino, had filed the petition only for this reason. It is alleged that they were not so much interested in becoming an American Indian tribe and asserting their Native American identity, but being solely interested in money and the establishment of tax exempted American Indian gaming facilities. These statements ignore the fact that the federal acknowledgement process usually takes decades until it is finally decided. Many casino tribes had filed their Letter of Intent or Petition long before the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) has been passed in 1988, or were acknowledged before.

It must be mentioned here that this federal acknowledgement process has its deficits. It is influenced by political and economic actors and interest groups. It offers a model of tribalism, not all tribes fit in:

Most people in Europe and the Americas have particular views of Indians as “tribal” peoples that often have little to do with living Indian communities yet certainly influence whether groups ultimately secure recognition. (M. E. Miller 2004d, 7)

(...) most Indian groups saw themselves more as nations or peoples than organized political entities Europeans called tribes. (M. E. Miller 2004d, 9)

It relies primarily on “Euro-American records when dealing with pre-literate, Native societies” (M. E. Miller 2004a, 157). Oral tradition of the tribes usually plays a minor role, although oral tradition was the major means of passing down history, genealogy, and culture from one generation to the next.

Members of petitioning groups have told me, that one of the consequences for the petitioning groups is that they start to behave according to Native American stereotypes:

The political realities of federal acknowledgement often have forced groups to project stereotypically Indian traits to gain recognition, especially to overcome popular misconceptions that most groups petitioning for recognition are assimilated pretenders with tenuous claims to Indianness. (M. E. Miller 2004d, 7)

The general process of acknowledging tribes has always been based in part on legal fictions and cultural stereotypes about Native Americans. (M. E. Miller 2004d, 8)

Some case studies of petitions for federal acknowledgment will be discussed later.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs changes the web addresses with the information on the federal acknowledgement of American Indian tribes every few months on its webpage ([www.bia.gov](http://www.bia.gov)), which makes it difficult to keep track of the acknowledgement process of a specific tribe, and to quote information and doc-



uments from these webpages. Therefore some U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement webpage links might already be out-of-date after printing this book.

### 2.3.2 State Recognition

As mentioned in the last chapter, there are American Indian tribes in the eastern USA that never had formal contact to U.S. Federal Agencies and therefore have never been acknowledged as a U.S. federal Indian tribe. Although these tribes had formal contact to, and signed treaties with, colonial governments or local authorities before 1776, they were never acknowledged as Native American nations by the USA.

To compensate for this, single states have created state councils, commissions, or offices of Indian Affairs<sup>24</sup> and some have recognized the American Indian tribes within their border as state tribes.

This recognition on a state level has a more symbolic character and cannot be compared to federal recognition. In most states, recognition does not install any sovereignty or land rights to the tribes. Several state tribes have state reservations and get some funding by the state, but this is not comparable to sovereign federal reservations and federal funding.

State recognition remains a critical component of tribal well-being for many tribes in the petitioning process, because states have the flexibility to recognize tribes that are not perfectly documented, allowing something like a probationary or intermediate form of recognition. (Klopotek 2011, 69)

<sup>24</sup> For example: Alabama (State of Alabama n.d.), Georgia (Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Council on American Indian Concerns 2015), Florida (Florida Governor's Council on Indian Affairs, Inc. 2015), Louisiana (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019), and Texas (Wunder 2016). There are further state councils, commissions, or offices of Indian Affairs listed by the National Conference of State Legislatures (2017), who are not relevant for the discussion here, who have no webpage, whose webpages are not accessible, or who have dissolved: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, Nevada, New Mexico, New York State, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming. The state institutions responsible for Native American affairs in these states are listed in the Appendix H. under the respective state.

The criteria for state recognition are remarkably diverse. Some states, like New York State, are very restrictive and have very stringent criteria, while others, like New Jersey, are less restrictive and have quite lax criteria. This is the reason why a tribe can have state recognition in one state, but not in others: e.g. the *Ramapough Luunape Nation*, who have state recognition in New Jersey, but were denied state recognition in New York State. In some states tribes got state recognition, because the governor and state legislators thought they have a better chance to get re-elected with the votes from the members of the tribe(s) they recognized.

On the other side, states are not allowed to interfere with federal tribes within their border. The *Worcester vs. Georgia Decision* (1832) holds that federal Indian tribes are entitled to federal protection from the actions of state governments which would infringe on the tribe's sovereignty. Only U.S. legislative, executive, and judicial institutions have the right to interfere.

State recognition does not automatically guarantee federal acknowledgment. Many state tribes have been denied federal acknowledgment (e.g. *Nipmuc Nation-Hassanamisco Band* and *Chaubunagungamaug Band of the Nipmuck Nation* of Massachusetts, *Schaghticoke Tribal Nation* of Connecticut, *United Houma Nation* of Louisiana, etc.).

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One major error among tribes and groups going for state and federal acknowledgment is that they think the more members they have the higher their chance is to be acknowledged. As there usually exist typical surnames for a group or old tribal rolls with surnames, petitioning groups try to put on their tribal rolls everyone with one of these typical group surnames – often with the help of (internet) telephone books of their residential area. This leads to problems when their genealogies are checked under criterion 83.7(e) of the federal acknowledgement procedure, or comparable criterions of state recognition. They are denied acknowledgement or must rework their tribal membership rolls for a revised petition.

As already mentioned, both federal and state acknowledgement/recognition processes are not independent from political currents and influences:

Tribes have to worry about who is in Congress, the president's office, and the governor's office, who will support them and who will fight them.

(...) under the administration of George W. Bush, the proportion of petitions for recognition decided favorably dropped from roughly half to two out of fifteen. Political pressure weighs heavily in this process, which is supposed to be about evaluating objectively whether a community exists as an Indian tribe, and with the advent of gaming the influence of politics has grown exponentially. (Klopotek 2011, 164)

There are lobbying firms and institutions in Washington, DC, that lobby for or against the federal acknowledgment/recognition of a tribe. On one side, tribes going for federal recognition can hire a lobbying firm to support their petition, on the other side, Federal American Indian Nations lobby against the acknowledgment of further tribes. Existing federal tribes are usually not favorable of the recognition/acknowledgement of further tribes, as this means federal funds have to be distributed among a greater number of tribes, the amount being reduced by this for each tribe.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.4 Maroon Societies

Maroon societies have to be discussed here, because close interactions occurred in some areas between Maroons and Native Americans. The *Seminole Blacks* migrating from Florida via Indian Territory to Texas and Mexico are usually called "Seminole Maroons" (see Florida and Texas chapters).

<sup>25</sup> I had this experience at the *National Center for Indian Political Development* in Washington, D.C., on August 15, 1991, where I talked to Alan Parker (a member of the *Chippewa Cree Tribe* from Rocky Boy's Reservation in Montana) who was not very much in favor of the petitions for federal acknowledgement from all the tribes east of the Mississippi, that I was researching.

The English term “maroon” and the French term “marron” both originate in the Spanish term “cimarrón” for “fugitive.” In America it was first applied by the Spanish to escaped Indian slaves. By the end of the 1530s it started to be used primarily for African American runaways (Mulroy 2004, 475; R. Price [1979] 1996, 1–2, footnote 1).

Mulroy describes several characteristics of Maroon societies in America by summarizing the introduction of R. Price ([1979] 1996, 1–19):

(...) building settlements in remote areas for concealment and defense; skill in guerilla warfare; impressive adaption to new environments; substantial interaction with Native Americans; existence in a state of almost continuous war, which strongly influenced their political and social organization; the emergence of leaders skilled at understanding whites and an inability to disengage fully from enemies. Most important, they shared with other maroon societies the internal dynamism that characterized Central and West African cultural systems. (Mulroy 2004, 465)

The respective Maroon societies will be described when the single states are discussed later.

Let us come back to the discussion of the theoretical approaches for now.

## 2.5 Theoretical and Ideological Scientific Preconditions

Before we start, it is important to free ourselves from several theories and ideologies, mostly based on the assumptions that research results can be transferred from one Native American tribe to the other, or from one region/colony/state to the other. This idea that they are all the same, unfortunately, still prevails among researchers of tri-racial groups in the USA. Many of their theoretical presumptions are misleading and not verified by data, although they are, what is even worse, regularly (re-) published. One could call this “post-truth” literature, full of “alternative facts,” which seems to be en vogue in the United States nowadays. Let us confront this with an analysis of empirical data.

### The Five Civilized Tribes Lore

The first assumption we have to deal with is that the ethnohistory of the so-called *Five Civilized Tribes* (i.e. *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Chickasaw*, *Creek*, *Seminole*) can be equalized to the ethnohistory of all other indigenous tribes in the eastern USA. This cannot be supported.

These five tribes were unique in copying the southern plantation system with a Creole or colored American Indian slave owner society and Black or colored slaves and servants. They even went as far as to purposely intermarry with Whites and adopt Whites into their tribes (e.g. the *Cherokee*) in order to be accepted as part of colonial plantation society of the Southeast. This way they wanted to avoid being terminated and removed from their land, but all this did not help.

After the passing of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 they were deported – together with their Black and colored slaves – from their traditional homelands in the southeastern USA to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi (present-day Oklahoma and Kansas). As they have signed treaties with the USA shortly after its foundation in 1776, they were recognized as federal Indian tribes which most of the other tribes in the eastern United States were not.<sup>26</sup>

Most of their tribal factions fought on the side of the Confederate States in the Civil War after their deportation to the Indian Territory to protect their economic and social system, which other tribes did not do. After the Civil War they had to manumit their slaves, who were called “freedmen” then, and had to sign treaties with the USA that included the provision to enroll their *Freedmen* into their tribes – with the exception of the *Chickasaw*, who never agreed to do so (Abel [1915] 1992; James 1967). The *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Creek*, and *Seminole* never fulfilled this provision until 2017, when a court decision forced the *Cherokee* to enroll their *Freedmen*.

<sup>26</sup> The enslavement of African Americans by American Indian tribes – including the *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Chickasaw*, *Creek* and *Seminole* – is discussed extensively in Bartl (1995). A compilation of literature on this topic is provided by Bier (2004, 87–183).

As the ethnohistory of these five tribes – mostly residing in Oklahoma nowadays – differs from all other eastern Native American tribes, they are not discussed here, except in cases where they have left behind remnant tri-racial groups in the eastern part of the United States.

For these reasons, the ethnohistory of the *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Chickasaw*, *Creek*, and *Seminole* cannot be transferred to any other tribes of the United States. The ethnohistory of eastern United States American Indian Nations must be analyzed independently of the ethnohistory of these five tribes.

### **The Slave Lore**

Linked to this first assumption is the claim, that the African American element in tri-racial persons and groups originated in intermarriage of Native American slaves with African (American) slaves (see e.g. Berry 1978).

As recent as 2004, the Handbook of North American Indians writes about the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups:

African slave and former slave populations in the Southeast also provided sources of marriage mates. As a result, unique, isolated groups developed, typically in mid-Atlantic and Southern states. (Thornton 2004, 52)

This general assumption cannot be supported by empirical data, although it is hard to evict it from scientific literature. I have the feeling that this lore is based on the racist projection of white Americans that the traditional role of all non-white persons in American society is that of a subordinate, servant, and slave. As this assumption of intermixture among slave societies was never questioned, researchers rarely looked for an alternative explanation. Accurate archival, genealogical, and field research would have provided alternative information, as it would reveal that the tri-racial groups were formed predominantly by free African Americans and Persons of Color, claiming American Indian ancestry.

Another presumption prevailing in literature is, that runaway African American slaves were looking for refuge on Native American reservations and intermixed with the tribal people there. Statements like this are targeted on criminalizing Native American tribes by accusing them of illegal actions with the aim to remove their land base from them as a punishment. This accusation of hiding runaway slaves and intermarrying with them is not supported by my data, except to a certain degree in the case of the Florida *Seminole*.

As an example of modern publications on the enslavement of Native Americans, Bossy (2016) shall be discussed here. She grossly overstates the numbers in her account of the Indian slave trade:

(...) Indian slave trade that swept across the south like an infection between 1670 and 1715 (...). (Bossy 2016, 28)

Not just in New England and South Carolina but across the Americas, Indians were enslaved by the millions. (Bossy 2016, 27)



Map 1 Culture areas of North America (Bailey 2008, ix). Reprinted by courtesy of ©Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History

These high numbers of Native Americans enslaved by Europeans can be found in many modern publications on American Indian slavery. To get to these high numbers of slaves, the authors include population numbers for “Native American” slaves from the whole American continent (North, Middle, South America, and the Caribbean), although the term “Native American” is usually not applied to Indios and indigenous people outside of North America. By branding indigenous slaves from Latin America and the Caribbean as “Native American” the impression is given that the higher numbers of indigenous slaves resulting from this refers to North America only.<sup>27</sup>

Given an estimated population number of 2,359,350 Native Americans in North America at the time of first contact with Europeans (see Fig. 1), all these numbers are much too high, because Native Americans were not enslaved by Europeans in all of the culture areas (see Map 1) of North America.

#### Estimates of Population Reduction for Culture Areas

Area	Number at Contact	Number at Nadir	Approximate Dates of Nadir	Population Reduction	% Population Reduction
Arctic	71.630	34.020	1900	37.610	52,5
Subarctic	73.410	51.370	1900	22.040	30,0
Northwest Coast	143.600	23.740	1910	119.860	83,5
California	216.360	9.300	1940	207.060	95,7
Southwest	494.560	138.280	1900	356.280	72,0
Great Basin	37.500	12.200	1930	25.300	67,5
Plateau	87.000	18.750	1890	68.250	78,4
Plains	233.730	72.350	1900	161.380	69,0
Northeast	414.930	94.500	1900	320.430	77,2
Southeast	586.630	60.000	1800	526.630	89,8
Total	2.359.350	514.510		1.844.840	71,6

Fig. 1 Estimates of population reduction for culture areas.

Source: Data from Ubelaker 2006, 699, Table 4

27 The same way, publications speaking of tens, or hundreds of millions of Indians killed in slavery have to be evaluated. Their main topic is North America, but when it comes to numbers they provide estimated population numbers for all the Americas.



Bossy provides one estimate of enslaved Native Americans in North America – in this case for the Native South: “the enslavement of fifty-one thousand or more Indians” (Bossy 2016, 29), without providing a date for her data.

Again, given an estimated population number of 586,630 Native Americans in the Southeast the time of first contact and 60,000 Native Americans at the approximate date of nadir, this number of enslaved American Indians is too high. The first question we have to ask ourselves is, whether there was such a high demand for Native American slaves within southern Euro-American society between the time of first contact and 1800? Or between 1670 and 1715, taking her time span from above, when Indian slave trade “swept” the South? It also seems rather unrealistic that by 1800, when the Native American population number in the South was estimated at 60,000 persons, 51,000 or more of them were enslaved.<sup>28</sup>

One reason for the misinterpretation of the number of enslaved Native Americans in the eastern colonies and states can be the fact that slaves from western tribes have been imported and enslaved in the east and were counted as local American Indians. The chapter on Louisiana will show that Native American slaves from Texas were deported to Louisiana and enslaved there. Also, the habit to gather indigenous slaves from the west and ship them out of east coast ports might lead to a miscount of local indigenous slaves.

Another reason for the high estimates of Native American slaves might be the relatively high numbers of Native Americans enslaved in the Carolinas, numbers that authors have extrapolated for other eastern colonies. This is not acceptable, because in the Carolinas Native Americans were taken as prisoners of war during the Tuscarora War (1711–1715) and Yamasee War (1715–1717) in great numbers and then enslaved, which is not true for other colonies. Within the remaining eastern colonies, there were not such extensive wars and when Indian wars did occur, the number of prisoners of war was never that high.

28 Some authors create these high numbers of indigenous slaves by including Texas, New Mexico, and even New Spain into the “Southeast,” thus including the high numbers of indigenous people enslaved in colonial Mexico into their estimations.

One theory based on this assumption of a widespread enslavement of Native Americans by Europeans, is the theory that the rise of epidemics among Native Americans is linked to the expanding Indian slave trade.<sup>29</sup> In many regions of North America, the diffusion of epidemics can be linked to trade – and must not necessarily be linked to the enslavement of Native Americans. In North America existed a widespread network of Indian trails since pre-Columbian times and many Indians got infected with epidemic diseases before they even had direct contact to Europeans. Native hunters, traders, and travelers covered distances up to 2,000 miles (= 3,219 km) by using Indian trails and rivers<sup>30</sup> – and thus spread epidemic diseases.

Another argument against the spread of epidemics by indigenous slave trade is that under these conditions the slave traders would have to hold captive, transport over long distances, and sell persons infected or sick with different epidemic diseases. They would have had to keep these infections under control and not get infected themselves or infect other slaves. Apart from endangering the health of the slaves and slave traders, this also would have made no sense economically. How and why should they keep sick persons? How would they be able to sell Native Americans infected with an epidemic disease as slaves? For these reasons, the diffusion of epidemic diseases among Native Americans cannot be seen as a consequence of Indian slave trade.

The effect of all these assumptions and theories is that researchers – by claiming that all these multi-ethnic indigenous persons and groups are descending from Native American slaves – are forced into a kind of vicious circle: the more persons and groups claiming ancestry to Native Americans, the higher the number of Native American slaves they have to create – including a “growing expansion of commercial trade in Indian slaves” and “the rise of ‘militaristic Native slaving societies’” (Bossy 2016, 29). Additionally, they have to increase the number of Native Americans living in North America at the time of Euro-

29 Bossy (2016, 29). See for example Kelton (2007). Epidemics linked to the Columbian exchange are: smallpox, bubonic plague, chickenpox, cholera, common cold, diphtheria, influenza, malaria, measles, scarlet fever, typhoid, typhus, tuberculosis, and pertussis.

30 Myer (1928, 735ff.); Tanner (1989, 6); for distances covered see also Grumet (2011, 159, Map 5)

pean contact and later, to re-adjust the ratio of free to enslaved Native Americans.<sup>31</sup>

These high numbers of enslaved Native Americans and the accounts of extensive trade in these slaves is not supported by my data, nor by majority literature on Native Americans in the eastern United States. One main factor speaking against it is the lack of slave lore among Native Americans in the east. Historical tradition within tribes was, and still is, based on oral tradition. As a result, there should be a high number and a widespread occurrence of oral history relating to the enslavement of tribal or family members, as is in African American oral and written tradition, but this is not the case.

What is also lacking in these publications are concrete examples and numbers of American Indians enslaved. Instead, authors extrapolate from slave lists, where they have found a few Indians, or Persons of Color they identify as “Indians,” that all Persons of Color on this list were “Indians.” Most of these authors are not aware of the fact that the term “Indian” does not automatically stand for “Native American,” but was also used as an alternative racial category for and by Black and colored persons.

From my personal experience, I can state that Native American slaves can be identified on slave lists, but this is time consuming for a lot of genealogical work has to be done. (Sur)names of slaves can be checked as to whether they are indigenous, belong to Native American family clans, or are associated with a specific tribe. The history of a slave and his family can be researched as to where the family lived, whether they had associated with a certain tribe, and where enslaved family members went after manumission. Court cases can be checked as to whether an enslaved person was suing for manumission on the grounds of being Native American. There are many methods available to identify a slave as Native American, but this is not done in many cases, because it takes too much time. Publications based on presumptions and transferred or extrapolated data are much faster to compile and publish, sadly enough.

31 This kind of publications seem to have one intention – the higher the numbers of enslaved American Indians, the more dramatic the situation is seen – and the better the publications seem to sell.

### **The Lore of Poverty and Low Social Status**

A further consequence of the assumption that the tri-racial groups discussed here descended from slaves is, that group members and groups are stigmatized as poor and belonging to the lowest social class. This is also not supported by my data. Most of them were not enslaved, or freed, but living as Free Persons of Color in American society, and neither were they poor. They could afford to buy land for farming, ranching, settlements, and plantations, and *Redbone* clans from the Carolinas brought cattle with them when they migrated to Louisiana and Texas, where they established ranches (see chapters on Louisiana and Texas).

### **The Lore of European Early Borderland and Frontier**

Although some historical accounts assert that colonial governments and early state governments exerted control over their territories, newer research projects use a different approach:

In most (but not all) circumstances, the European colonizers possessed tremendous ecological, technological, and organizational advantages, which demanded disproportionate adjustments by the Indians in their way and the Africans in their grasp. But the colonial elites never had complete power. Instead, they constantly had to adjust to the cultural resistance, however subtle, of those they meant to dominate. (Taylor 2002, xii)

In many colonies, there were vast areas where the colonial powers were not able to exert law enforcement and military and political control. Colonial powers usually controlled the area around settlements, missions, and military forts, but the hinterland was often controlled by militias, colonial elites such as land and plantation owners, or Native American Nations. This was also true for the early era of the United States.

Recently, researchers studying the southeastern United States and the Native American South have introduced the concept of “shatter zone” for this region, defining it as “a large region of instability” (Bossy 2016, 29).

The data presented here will show, that mainly non-White or Free Persons of Color started to open the early borderland and frontier of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in order to escape enforcement of racial laws against them. They migrated constantly from areas where

the colonial and federal powers were able to establish control and military authority to areas where racial laws could not be enforced. Thus, one of the theories presented here is that the early borderland and frontier was opened by Persons of Color for settlement.

### 3 Basic Theories on Tri-Racial Groups

There are some basic theories presented now, that I have derived from my empirical data and developed especially for the analysis of tri-racial groups.

First, the concepts of “race” and “ethnicity” are seen as socio-cultural concepts and constructs, that do not have to do anything with genetics.

Then, the African (American) element in multi-ethnic Native American and tri-racial persons, groups, and tribes discussed here, mainly comes from intermixture within the population of Non-Whites, Free Blacks or Free Persons of Color, not from the intermixture of slave populations.

Some of the (Free) Persons of Color were manumitted African (American), colored, or Indian slaves, but the intermixture with Native American tribes and the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups took place after they had reached the status as “free” in most cases.

The data presented here will demonstrate that tri-racial groups represented a distinct racial category in the basic binary racial system of “white” and “non-white.” Native Americans, African Americans, and tri-racial persons were classified as “non-white” or “colored” within this system. Usually they were denied a “white” status, therefore they were eager to organize themselves as a distinct ethnic group within the “non-white” category.

In cases where tri-racial groups have developed an independent, non-Native tribal identity, they often define themselves as a fourth race, apart from the races Native American, African American, and European.

Historically, most of the groups have isolated themselves over a long period of time and show a high degree of endogamy and inbreeding, to keep their distinct racial and social category alive.

A further theory presented here is that Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color switched to the “Indian” racial category in order to evade the effects of racial laws, black codes, slave codes, and eugenic laws.

Consequently, racial and ethnic terms often are used by a person according to the intention of the user. There are official legal definitions for these terms, but as will be shown, they are not always used as defined, but to what seems appropriate to the user.

### 3.1 Racial Categorizations

One important fact is that the category of “(Free) Person of Color” also included “Native Americans.” Many sources show the basic assumption that (Free) Persons of Color only includes persons with any degree of African American ancestry. The possibility that a (Free) Person of Color could also be a person with any degree of Native American ancestry is usually neglected, resulting in the definition of groups classified as (free) colored or intermarrying with (Free) Persons of Color as being solely of European and African American ancestry.

How misleading such classifications in sources can be is seen in the work of Woodson (1924, 1925). In his publications, he lists “Free Negro Heads of Families” and “Free Negro Owners of Slaves” of the 1830 U.S. census by surnames. He classified all persons as “Free Negro,” although he writes in the introduction to his 1925 publication:

Some enumerators made no distinction as to race in recording the names, but merely indicated the status of the head of the family under free persons of color. Other enumerators wrote *Negro*, *C.*, *Co.*, *Cold.* or *Colored*, or used *F.N.* for free Negro, *F. of C.* for free person of color, *F.M.C.* for free man of color, *F.W.C.* for free woman of color, or *fb.* and *fbk.* For free black, directly after the name. (Woodson 1925, lviii)

Here all (Free) Persons of Color are included in the category of “Free Negro” with the respective consequences: all persons listed are interpreted as being full-blood African Americans, or of some degree of African American – European ancestry. Authors citing these sources do not realize that the category of “(Free) Persons of Color” could also include Native Americans and persons of Native American ancestry. In fact, Woodson’s publications list quite a number of persons with some degree of Native American ancestry, without indicating so.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The same is true for persons classified as “Black” or “Negro” slaves in original sources and publications. This classification can also include Native American slaves without indicating so. It is urgently needed to re-evaluate sources and publication in this aspect.

As stated, one of my basic premises is that intermixture between Native Americans and African Americans was permissible in North America, because they all were racially classified as “(Free) Person of Color” or “non-white.”

On the other side, tri-racial groups who claim “Indian” ancestry without specifying any tribal identity will be discussed here. In these cases, it has to be determined whether these groups are of indigenous ancestry or whether they switched to a racial “Indian” identity to escape being categorized as “Black” or “African American.”

European ancestry in all tri-racial groups originated on one side from African Americans, who were no longer Africans, but were the descendants of free Atlantic Creoles (Berlin 1998), or from intermixture of Africans with Europeans in the Americas during the earliest colonial period. On the other side, Europeans intermixed with and married into these Indian or colored groups from earliest contact period. The groups are also categorized as “multi-ethnic,” because of their different European ancestral groups: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, Dutch, German, etc.

To sum up: the theory presented here, that tri-racial groups are the result of intermixture and intermarriage within the social class and racial category of “(Free) Persons of Color”, shall be proven later when the single groups are discussed, and group relevant data presented. The isolation, extended endogamy and inbreeding within tri-racial groups, and an extended intermarriage among these groups had its origin in constructing and maintaining the group or tribe as a distinct racial, ethnic, and social unit with a colored or indigenous identity.





## 4 Oral Tradition as Source of Information

### 4.1 Oral Tradition in Literature

What many authors write on the problems they had with getting orally transmitted information from tri-racial groups is also true for me. First of all, members of these groups are usually very reluctant to give information to outsiders – especially when they do not know them. The situation equals the situation of the *Creoles of Color* society in Louisiana as described by the following statement:

(...) a highly insular society whose written and oral traditions remain largely inaccessible to non-Creole researchers. Justifiably proud of their ancestors' notable achievements, many modern Creoles of Color are equally ashamed of their forefathers' slaveholdings and elitism – hence their great reluctance either to discuss the early history of the community with outsiders or to grant them access to historical documents and memorabilia. (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, XIV)

A member of the *Cane River Creoles of Color* (see Louisiana chapter) wrote to me:

We are also reluctant to discuss how we feel for fear of being labeled racist ourselves. (...)

We were and are always reluctant to be pigeonholed as black since we feel that we would lose our own identity. We are part black with our own culture that is very different from the African American culture. (K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.)

This fear of being label “racist” or “Black” is a very widespread one among tri-racial groups.

One major focus of my research is on the self-identification of the groups discussed here, I will always accept the self-identification of a group as part of their identity and therefore have to work with terms

like “tri-racial” for scientific analysis. It does not help research on these groups – and on American society as a whole – to avoid a discussion of racial identification. The result is not – as obviously intended – a ban of racism from landscape, but to make members of these groups feel insecure to a degree that they are not willing to talk about their identity anymore, and – in worst case – won’t talk to anybody at all in the end.

Racial identification and categorization are two of the central features of self-identification among tri-racial groups. Researchers are often seen as a threat to this self-identification and are treated respectively, as the experience of Darrell A. Posey among the *Freejacks* of Louisiana shows:

It is difficult for an outsider to imagine the seriousness or volatility of mixed-racial groups over their place in society. The Freejacks have worked very hard for many years to maintain the delicate balance establishing their position of “dignity” in the larger society, and they are not about to let anyone upset this balance. There are no measures too extreme that can be taken to insure [*sic*] the security of the community. Three times the life of this researcher was threatened by three different individuals (...).

(...) it seemed appropriate to visit the house of one of the most trusted Settlement informants, and a well respected leader in the area to discuss these threats. “Son,” he said, “there are some folks around here who’d like to kill you -- and you don’t know how close you’ve come. You ask too many questions and folks don’t like it -- you got to be real careful the kind of questions you ask. (...)”. (Posey 1974, 14–15)

There have been three attempts to study the Freejacks. The first two were prior to 1960: both resulted in the researcher being literally run out of the Settlement. Both researchers had begun their studies by making the serious mistake (a nearly fatal mistake in one case) of inquiring about background, race, and family ties. (Posey 1974, X)

These experiences surely limit research on oral tradition and racial and ethnic self-identification of a tri-racial group. Other authors mentioned similar experiences. This limitation in research and information is a

constant factor in many publications resulting from field research on tri-racial groups. I myself did not dare to ask anybody about the *Free-jacks* when I was visiting their settlement area in 1991, because I was warned not to do so.

This should be kept in mind when primary information and oral tradition is cited.

## 4.2 Oral Tradition as Ethnohistorical Source

Since oral tradition is used by tri-racial groups to construct and manipulate the group's ethnohistory, genealogy, and descent, it must be discussed here. Personal communications and literature based on oral tradition, were used in my research to reconstruct the ethnohistory of tri-racial groups. Therefore, the reliability of these sources, and to what degree they are acceptable as a source of information on tri-racial groups must be evaluated first.

My discussion of oral tradition is mainly based on the book by Jan Vansina (1985): *Oral Tradition as History*. Although his theory is based on a wide range of anthropological data gathered mainly among non-literate societies of Africa, his conclusions can be applied to the oral tradition of American tri-racial groups on an ethnohistorical basis. When his African data are compared to the oral tradition of tri-racial groups in the USA, astonishing parallels occur in respect to the formation of self-identities, genealogies, and ethnohistories.

As Vansina's main research is on oral tradition, it is important to first note his definition of culture to illustrate his theoretical basis. Vansina's definition of culture is a cognitive one:

Culture can be defined as what is in common in the minds of a given group of people; it refers to a community of society. (Vansina 1985, 124)

The first step is to define what is oral tradition. Vansina provides the following definitions of oral tradition:

(...) to define oral traditions as verbal messages which are reported statements from past beyond the present generation. (...) all oral sources are not oral traditions. There must be transmission by word of mouth over at least a generation. (Vansina 1985, 27–28)

As opposed to all other sources, oral tradition consist of information existing in memory. (Vansina 1985, 147)

Traditions are memories of memories. (Vansina 1985, 160)

(...) there is a corpus of information in memory wholly different from a corpus of written documents. (Vansina 1985, 148)

(...) oral traditions are not just a source about the past, but a historiology (...) of the past, an account of how people have interpreted it. (Vansina 1985, 196)

According to Vansina's definition, an oral source transfers into an oral tradition when transmitted over at least one generation. Otherwise we have to speak of oral messages.

Oral information is always influenced by the person(s) interviewed and filtered by the interviewer(s). Hearsay, rumor, and gossip may be often part oral tradition and create a collective interpretation of the ethnohistory of a group:

Rumor is the process by which a collective historical consciousness is built. The collective interpretations resulting from massive rumors lead to commonly accepted interpretations of events, nonevents, or sets of events. (Vansina 1985, 6)

It is particularly important for the research on tri-racial groups, that all oral sources by group members and outsiders have an interpretative character. This is the major aspect of all the oral information – the ones recorded by me and the ones recorded and written down by others (Vansina 1985, 61, 191, 197).

Any informant can be selective in choosing which to share and which to omit. Interviewees often design their answers according to what they think the interviewer wants to hear or what they want the

interviewer to know. On the other side the interviewer can influence the answers of the persons interviewed (Vansina 1985, 61–65, 111). This way information published on a group can be manipulated by the informants as well as by the researchers:

The interviewee wonders what the interviewer wants, how to please him, and perhaps what advantages can be gained from the situation. (Vansina 1985, 61)

My own experience is that in more than one case I got selective and individually interpreted information from persons I interviewed during my field research. For example, I interviewed Chief Roy Crazy Horse of the *Powhatan Renape Tribe*,<sup>33</sup> who gave me an inflated population number for his tribe. When I told him that I had the feeling the number is too high, he freely admitted that by giving me a high number of members he wanted to impress me and to demonstrate that his tribe is an important one.

On another occasion, I was visiting the *Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head* where I was welcomed by their Public Relations and Education Manager Mr. Vanderhoop.<sup>34</sup> In this case I got standardized information by a person that was trained in communication and public relations.

When visiting the *Coushatta Tribe* of Louisiana, the only person I could talk to was Linda Parker, an anthropologist doing research on the reservation.<sup>35</sup> She told me that the Coushatta will not speak to foreigners like me, but she can give me information on what I wanted to know. There were several further occasions where I got selective and filtered information which will be mentioned as each group is discussed.

A further phenomenon one can encounter in groups is the encyclopedic informant, a person who seems to know everything about the group (e.g. local or tribal historians). Their information usually has to be analyzed very carefully, as it can be a summary of traditions or a

33 Interview on Rancocas Reservation, NJ, August 23, 1991.

34 Interview on *Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head* Reservation, Aquinnah, Martha's Vineyard, MA, September 12, 1997.

35 Interview on *Coushatta* Reservation, Elton, LA, July 24, 1991.

generalization and interpretation of information heard and collected (Vansina 1985, 56, 65, 152).

As my field research did not allow me to countercheck the information I got from encyclopedic informants, their information will be summarized as it was given to me, even if it is anachronistic or contradicts to other sources of information. This will be seen in the discussion of some groups, where oral information has been gathered and documented and is anachronistic and contradicting when compared to other sources (e.g. see *Clifton Choctaw Indians* of Louisiana).

The solution to these anachronisms and inconsistencies has to be left to further research, as I was not able to solve all problems and questions that originate in non-existing or inadequate scientific research on the groups mentioned. My intention is to encourage further research on tri-racial groups and to emphasize the need for it.

The next aspect is that there is a tendency among readers and scientists to believe that oral tradition becomes the historical truth as soon as it is written down. This becomes problematic within groups, who interpret texts and reproduce what is written as their oral tradition and as a historical source, and then use this source as a testimony for their group history. Moreover, feedback from these written texts can occur and then re-enter oral tradition after some time. Feedback with a similar effect can occur from written sources that do not originate in the group's oral tradition, but from outsiders and from archaeological research (Vansina 1985, 156–57).

Generally speaking, one can state that tri-racial groups have access to all kinds of sources that can be (and often are) used extensively for feedback. Examples of this practice will be shown later.

Our next point is that there seems to be certain mechanism at work in the oral tradition of tri-racial communities that create a common reality or "historical truth" (Vansina 1985, 124, 129, 171). This is true for many tri-racial groups who regularly base their ethnohistory and genealogies on oral tradition. The methods used here are selection, interpretation, construction, ordering, and sequencing, which can alter, falsify, or delete the historical information contained (Vansina 1985, 172, 176, 178, 190):

Selectivity implies discarding certain information one has about the past and from that pool of information keeping only what is still significant in the present. (...)

Interpretation means to alter information from the past to give it new meaning (...) interpretation is more creative than selection (...). (Vansina 1985, 191)

To summarize, oral tradition is used by tri-racial groups to create, modify, and switch ethnicity according to the mechanisms described here. Selective memory and partial amnesia, especially in the context of genealogies, is a constant feature. How this works is explained in the following chapter.





## 5 Tri-Racial Groups – A General Introduction

Up to now I was able to identify 260 tri-racial groups in 33 U.S. states. The tri-racial groups counted are all groups categorized in literature as “tri-racial,” or self-identifying as “tri-racial.” Furthermore, all groups are included in this count, that are described in literature, or claim, to be of multi-ethnic Native American (“Indian”), African American, and European descent. I have collected and analyzed information on all these 260 tri-racial groups living in the USA.

Many tri-racial groups show a high diversity in appearance. Phenotypes can range from what is categorized as being typical for European American to Native American to African American.

According to ethnic theory, we have to differ between two types of tri-racial groups:

- 1 Type one are **primordial** multi-ethnic Native American Nations with a varying degree of in-mixture of African Americans and Europeans.
- 2 Type two are **circumstantial** multi-ethnic groups claiming Indian ancestry, most of them originating in the Free Black and free colored population of the Mid-Atlantic colonies and later states of the USA. Some have created an autonomous ethnic identity (like the *Melungeons* of Tennessee/Kentucky), while others had switched to an American Indian identity. What they have in common is that immediately after formation of the ethnic group they transformed themselves into a primordial group by creating a group ethno-history.

These two types do not have fixed borders. As an example of type two the *Ramapough Lunaape Nation* may be mentioned. They are living on the border of New Jersey and New York State, and were once called *Jackson Whites* by outsiders, calling themselves *The Mountain People*. An ethnohistoric and genealogical research published in 1974 switched their ethnonym to a more neutral one: *Ramapo Mountain People* (Cohen 1974).

Starting to categorize themselves as “Indian” in 1760, they claimed to be of *Tuscarora* (*Iroquois*) descent shortly after. In 1980, when they were acknowledged by the State of New Jersey as the *Ramapough Lenape Nation*, they had switched to a *Lenape* identity.

Before petitioning for acknowledged as a federal Indian tribe in the 1990s, they had added a *Wappinger* (*Lenape*) descent. Their federal acknowledgement was denied in 1998, and they are denied New York State recognition up to the present.

In the meantime, they have altered and amended their “Indian” identity to a *Munsee-Lenape/Lunaape* one and now call themselves the *Ramapough Lunaape Nation*, or *Ramapough Munsee Lunaape Nation*. It must be mentioned here that there is no documented evidence for a spelling of “Lunaape” for “Lenape”, this seems to be their own linguistic creation. *Munsee* (a *Lenape* subgroup) identity was added by them, because the research by Cohen had revealed that they descended from Afro-Dutch ancestors living in New Amsterdam (New York City), which was inhabited by *Munsee* Indians at the time of the arrival of the Dutch colonists.

To sum up, in the course of time they had claimed diverse ancestries, some of which they abandoned: *Lenape* (incl. subgroups: *Munsee*, *Hackensack*, *Tappan*, *Ramapo*, *Wappinger*, *Minisink*, *Rumachenanck*, *Haverstro*), *Iroquois* (*Tuscarora*, *Seneca*, *Mohawk*), *Stockbridge Munsee*, *Brothertown Indian*, *Creek*, Dutch, and other European, and African American.<sup>36</sup>

Another example would be the *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina*. They had claimed, or had been ascribed to, the following Native American identities and descents: *Croatan*, *Cheraw*, *Cherokee* (*Indians of Robeson County*), (*Eastern Carolina*) *Tuscarora/Tuscarora* (*of Robeson County*), *Robeson County Indians*, *Siouan Indians* (*of Robeson County*)/*Siouan*

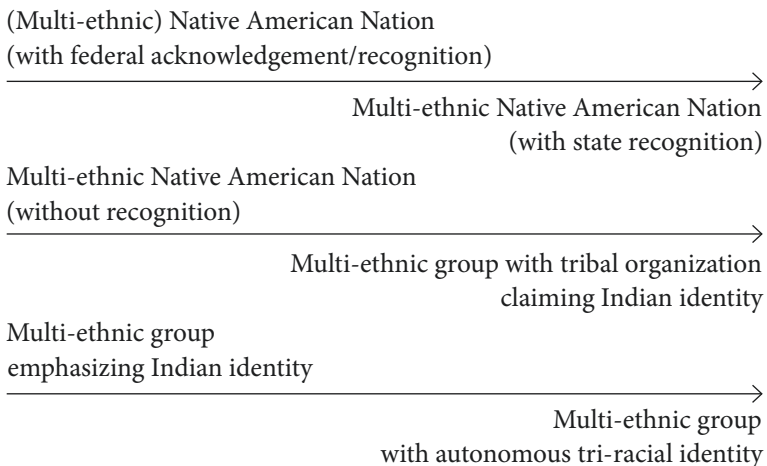
<sup>36</sup> Cohen (1974, 2012c); U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (1998); Ramapough Lunaape Nation (2013); (“Ramapough Munsee Lunaape Nation” 2012). The TV series “The Red Road” was produced about the *Ramapough Lunaape Nation*, which was broadcasted in the USA by Sundance TV in 2014–2016 (Guzikowski 2014; 2016). In 2015 the documentary film “American Native” was compiled on the *Ramapough Lenape Nation* (Cohen 2012c; Oritt 2015; “Ramapough Munsee Lunaape Nation” 2012).

*Indians (of Lumber River)*, before they adopted their fictitious tribal identity as *Lumbee Tribe*, as there never existed a historically documented Lumbee tribe in the USA (Cohen 2012b).<sup>37</sup>

Many researchers of tri-racial groups leave out type one (primordial multi-ethnic Native American Nations) from their analysis, for it makes research much easier when not all of these groups have to be included in one's research. Moreover, many of these multi-ethnic Native American tribes do not like to be compared to tri-racial groups or mentioned in a publication together with them. Multi-ethnic Native American Nations often feel offended by being categorized as tri-racial and being equalized to tri-racial groups.

On the other side, multi-ethnic Native American Nations (of type one) had to be included, because in many cases intermarriage took place between them and tri-racial groups.

To summarize, there is a wide spectrum of groups identified as tri-racial, from a multi-ethnic Native American Nation to a multi-ethnic group with an autonomous, non-Native identity. The range can be described as follows:



<sup>37</sup> Suggested literature on the *Lumbee Tribe*: Sider (2003); Blu (1980, 2004); J. M. Locklear and Oxendine (1974); Lowery (2010); Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (2016); Maynor (1999); Starr (1994).

When researching tri-racial groups of type two (circumstantial groups) certain mechanisms relating to oral tradition can be observed.

## 5.1 Traditions of Origin

Tri-racial groups were formed by persons of different ethnical and geographical origin. As they had no common origin, a common origin had to be constructed shortly after the formation of the ethnic group by creating a common ethnohistory and common clan genealogies (see also: Vansina 1985, 11, 20, 22).

A common tradition of origin, genealogy, and ethnohistory is especially important to tri-racial groups, as it creates an ethnic group immediately:

Historical tradition established a group consciousness (*Wirbewusstsein*). The typical feature of the historical accounts (...) is the recurrent stress in characteristics of any sort – from costumes to rules of descent – which made them different from their neighbors. (Vansina 1985, 105)

One of the most extreme cases Vansina got to know, as he tells us, are the *Lumbee* of North Carolina – a tri-racial group mentioned above. It seems that he has never heard of the other tri-racial groups living in the eastern USA, otherwise this group would not be that unique to him:

They [the Lumbee] claim to be Indians who intermarried with the earliest white settlers of a colony that separated from the Roanoke and was later lost. They used this story first to identify themselves and, then, to claim a separate status – neither white nor black – and that from at least the 1880s. By their claim they were the first in the land and indeed the first settlers as well. Lumbee do not, however, differ in any way at all from other “white” people in the area. They have no visible Indian heritage whatsoever. Only their claim of origin distinguished them as a group, yet they managed to be recognized as Indians in a state where otherwise only black and white races were recognized and separated. They were Indians merely because they believed themselves to be, and their account of origin convinced the ruling whites as well. Historical consciousness of this

sort is served in all societies by tradition of origin. The feeling may be rather muted in normal circumstances, but when the account of origin is the only remaining evidence for it or when the groups feel threatened by complete absorption the stress in the accounts does stand out to the extent it does among (...) Lumbee. (Vansina 1985, 105)

By not differing from the surrounding population (i.e. white people) “in any way at all” he means culturally. He is not aware of their origin as Free Persons of Color. Therefore, one has to be careful in evaluating his statement. In many cases tri-racial groups have not been researched carefully enough to detect differences. In the *Lumbee* case, they might not have differed in culture from the surrounding population at the time of their formation, but this has changed totally during the last decades, at least since they have been recognized as an American Indian tribe by the USA in 1956. They categorize and display themselves as Native Americans nowadays. This can be seen, for example, when the *Lumbee* participated in the presidential inaugural parade in 2017, representing the Native American Nations of the USA.

## 5.2 Historical Traditions

As there was no common historical tradition among many tri-racial groups, common traditions had to be constructed, altered, and changed in the course of time to meet the groups’ needs. A selective amnesia took place:

Events and situations are forgotten when irrelevant or inconvenient. Others are retained and reordered, reshaped or correctly remembered according to the part they play in the creation of this mental self-portrait. (Vansina 1985, 8)

Most official traditions are accounts dealing with the history of the corporate group that keeps them. (...) Hence facts which do not help to maintain the institution or the group transmitting these accounts were often omitted and falsified. (Vansina 1985, 98)

Vansina further speaks of a dynamic homeostasis between society and tradition:

At any given time traditions are perfectly congruent with the society. Any alteration in social organization or practice is immediately accompanied by a correspondingly alteration in traditions. Therefore, the corpus of traditions constantly changes and cannot correspond to a past reality. (Vansina 1985, 120)

A situation like this usually takes place when Free African Americans or Free Persons of Color switch to “Indian” identity. Traditions – like genealogies – are altered and adapted to the new situation immediately.

### 5.3 Genealogies

Genealogies underlie the same rules as traditions, and they function as the “ideological backbone of the social framework” (Vansina 1985, 148)

As tri-racial groups are formed by family clans that were not related to each other, the genealogical tradition of several families had to be composed into one group ethnohistory. Like historical traditions, genealogical traditions had to be constructed, manipulated, and altered according to the groups’ needs. This is the reason why many of the primary sources on genealogy in the archives are stolen or destroyed (as mention in the introduction). This way primary written sources are brought in congruency (or homeostasis) with family and group traditions, including genealogies, and from an ethnological perspective: circumstantial groups are turned into primordial ones.

What makes the identification by family names and genealogy even more complicated is the fact that members of tri-racial groups tend to change surnames or adopt surnames of persons they were working for. Therefore, it becomes exceedingly difficult to trace their ancestry and genealogy.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Klopotek (2011, 209) gives examples for changes of surnames. Members of the *Coushatta Nation* and the *Red Shoe Tribe* of Louisiana, for example, share surnames which they had adopted from white landowners they worked for as sharecroppers.

A common pattern of these groups is their selective marriage practices. This practice involves the selection of spouses according to racial criteria with a tendency to avoid intermarriage with persons categorized as African American. In families with known African American descent a selective genealogical amnesia can be observed, and genealogies are often manipulated according to the racial ideal of one's family genealogy.

Another pattern is their traditional in-marriage, with paired-sibling marriage (i.e. brothers and sister of one family intermarry with brothers and sister of another family) and first cousin marriages being preferred. This leads to the effect that surnames and family clans typical for the group evolve, but also has the negative effect of a high occurrence of hereditary diseases: albinism and polydactylism being the most common ones. Cohen (1974, 126) lists albinism, polydactylism, and syndactylism for the *Ramapo Mountain People (Ramapough Lunaape Nation)* of New York/New Jersey. Polydactylism is a widespread hereditary disease among the *Melungeons* of the Tennessee-Kentucky area and Hereditary Benign Intraepithelial Dyskeratosis (HBID) was first described in 1959 by physicians studying the *Haliwa-Saponi Indians (Haliwa Saponi Indian Tribe)* of North Carolina as specifically occurring in this group only. One can conclude that specific surnames and hereditary diseases are typical ethnic markers for all tri-racial groups.

## 5.4 Ideological Use of Traditions

In many tri-racial groups, ideal models are developed around the origin and history of the group. These models are altered when situations change, or when they do not fulfill the needs of the group any longer. This can take place, for example, when a group wants to go for federal acknowledgement as an Indian tribe and has to switch its identity to a Native American one. Consequently, traditions of origin and religious traditions, genealogies, ethnohistory, and even geographical designations have to be altered, re-designed, and re-adjusted, in order to match the new "indigenous" traditions of the groups.

These new traditions are used "as a justification for existing conditions" (Vansina 1985, 103), and are ideals along which members of the group rearrange their life and family history.



The next step is that people with an ascribed scientific reputation in American history, Native American history, and anthropology, or the like, are recruited to testify for the validity of these traditions and their historical truth. From communications with several scholars I know that members of tri-racial groups have sent manuscripts and books to them and asked them to testify for the truth of its contents.

Status and truth are sometimes related. (...) the higher the rank of the speaker the truer what he says, even if he speaks about the past. (Vansina 1985, 130)

Even I myself was addressed several times by members of tri-racial groups to testify for or find proofs of their origin. In most cases the people wanted me to prove that they are of German or Viking origin, or are the descendants of European royal families or medieval kings. In all these cases I refused to testify, because the claims had no historical basis and, more important, I did not want to interfere in the formation of a group's ethnic identity.

There are also cases where members of a tri-racial group with a university degree design a tradition and history for their own group. Many people believe that these constructs represent a historical reality, because the author has a university degree. This way some dubious theories and ethnohistorical constructs are created, and all is proven by scientifically questionable methods. The reason for this is, that an African American descent shall be obscured, and a descent from Native Americans or some darker skinned Europeans shall be proven instead. Publications like these can gain biblical status, with texts the group members "believe in," and their authors can become sort of "culture heroes" or "prophets."<sup>39</sup>

An example can be found in N. Brent Kennedy's publications on the *Melungeons* of Tennessee (N. B. Kennedy 2003; N. B. Kennedy and R. V. Kennedy 1994). Another example is an article by a *Lumbee* scholar, in which he tries to prove that the term "Lumbee" was already used before

<sup>39</sup> In the way Vansina describes them: "Culture heroes are credited with the creation of whole social systems or cultures." (Vansina 1985, 106)

it was officially used by the tribe in 1952, claiming that Lumber River – a river running through their settlement area – was always known as “Lumbee” River (L.T. Locklear 2010).

If these groups do not get a “scientific” confirmation or result, the groups intimidate researchers. They hire lawyers to discredit scholars, question their reputation, and attack them publicly. Field research is only permitted to those researchers that publish findings in conformity with the groups’ (constructed) history, genealogy, and ethnicity.

The effect of this is that researchers withdraw from the groups, are reluctant to publish their findings, and are afraid to give talks on the groups, or to testify in public hearings (e.g. when a group applies for state or federal acknowledgement), because they fear attacks by lawyers, members of the group, and the media. A person’s health and life can even be threatened. Unfortunately, some media continue to publish unscientific statements by groups and lawyers without critically revising them, making matters even worse.

The result of all this is, that a scientific discourse on tri-racial groups has become impossible. The whole discussion turned into a polemic, unscientific, and “post-truth” one, full of “alternative facts” and threats to researchers. It is buried under the deception of lawyers, unverified and constructed pseudo-scientific publications, especially in the media, and is nearly non-existent today.

## 5.5 Feedback

There seems to be a wide range of feedback from written sources into the tradition of tri-racial groups. It is known that Native American tribes use historical documents and scholarly publications to reconstruct their history, religion, language, material culture (dresses, ornamentation, ceremonial objects, etc.), ceremonies, and so on. Tri-racial groups do the same. Usually, they search historical sources for Europeans, who have travelled through, or settled in their area and claim ancestry to them. Sometimes they even turn to legends, such as the case of the *Lumbee* of North Carolina discussed above, who turned to the legend of Raleigh’s Lost Colony as a proof of their European ancestry.

In cases where tri-racial groups want to switch to a Native American identity, they invent group traditions of Native American ancestors and look up written sources to identify tribes that once lived in their original or current settlement area to claim descent from these tribes.

On the other side, some Native American tribes are able to pay for the reconstruction of their history and the proof of their traditions. The *Mashantucket Pequot Tribe* of Connecticut have financed impressive programs for archaeological excavations, language and culture reconstruction, and have founded the Mashantucket Pequot Museum & Research Center after they were recognized as a federal Indian tribe in 1983,<sup>40</sup> an act which allowed them to build a casino from which they earn millions of dollars each year, part of which they reinvest in this kind of research and programs.

<sup>40</sup> The *Mashantucket Pequot Tribe* was federally recognized on October 18, 1983 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 17). For more information on this see the tribe's internet page: [www.mashantucket.com](http://www.mashantucket.com).

## 6 Settlement Areas, Early Borderland, Frontier and Migration Routes

The usual cliché one can encounter when working on tri-racial groups is that they originated and live in a geographically isolated “island” situation.

Another cliché is that they originated on the frontier or early borderland which is seen as a refuge area for “lawless elements” that include runaway slaves, army deserters, common criminals, freebooters, and pirates (Jenkins 1965, 39).

Joseph Willis did not migrate down the Great Wagon Road as the Scotch-Irish, but moved from east to west, a route often assigned to criminals and debtors by earlier historians. (Withrow 2013, 184–85)

This image of the frontier and early borderland must be re-evaluated and changed as this publication will show.

Tri-racial families settled early borderland areas by migrating first to the borders of the respective colonies and states they were living in. Later they migrated from the core area of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas to the West, Northwest, South, and Southwest. Many of these people are called *Redbones* in literature, a term they also use for self-designation as *Redbone Nation*.

The reasons for this exodus at the end of the eighteenth century are many folded, but it typically has to do with racial categorization, an increase of restrictive racial laws in the colonies and states, or an increase in enforcement of these laws since the seventeenth century. As push-pull factors demographics, religion, geography, agriculture, slavery, race, class, and gender can be observed (Withrow 2013, 182).

No doubt the increase of restrictive laws played a pivotal role in the growth of the Free Black population into the Carolinas’ border region. (Webb 2013, 15)

In response to the increased restrictions, the mixed-ancestry population, already pushed to the fringes of colonial north American civilization, began their exodus. (Webb 2013, 18)

As “racial” laws hardened, many mixed people migrated west “in search of whiteness as well as fresh lands.” (Withrow 2013, 182, quoting Bynum 2001)

Some groups settled down in hardly accessible areas that were uninteresting to white settlers – such as swamps, hidden valleys, or mountain ridges.

Free Persons of Color, not always getting the best land, settled swamps, pine forests, and borderland areas (...). Borderlands and remote areas served in this way as place of refuge, albeit temporary for some. (Withrow 2013, 173)

Some sought to migrate and separate them selves from their past and regional perceptions of “race.” (Withrow 2013, 174)

During the research for this project it turned out that there are many incidences where tri-racial families are mentioned as the first settlers in early borderland areas.

Therefore, another thesis is that the population forming the Early Borderland and opening up the American Frontier were primarily Persons of Color and members of tri-racial groups.

## 6.1 Migration Routes

There were several migration routes into the west, northwest, and southwest of North America following old Indian trails, trading routes, and historic roads (see Map 4 and Map 5).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Extensive descriptions and mapping of the Indian trails of the Southeast are provided by Myer (1928). Tanner (1989) describes the Native communication and transportation system by way of trails and waterways in eastern North America. Webb (2013, 2016b) lists the colonial trail system of the East. Wikipedia (2016) shows a list of historic trails and roads, and provides maps for the routes, as well as many genealogical research webpages do.

The main migration started by the end of the eighteenth century and usually was directed towards areas with less- or non-restrictive racial laws and little to no law enforcement. The direction of migration went mainly towards areas, territories, and states where the enslavement of Blacks and Person of Color was abolished by law.

The Spanish and French territories of Florida, the Southwest, and the neutral lands in Louisiana Territory offered new areas for settlement. Later the United States opened up new land for settlement in the Mississippi Territory (created in 1798), by the Georgia land lotteries (starting in 1805), and the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 (Webb 2013, 19).

It is difficult to know exactly what route they took, but likely they travelled in groups of related families and other multiracial people in similar situation. (Webb 2013, 19)

These migration routes were named *Redbone* migration routes, because most of the persons and groups using these routes are identified as *Redbones* in the areas they finally settled down.

Other migration routes were towards the north and northwest, where slavery was abolished earlier than in the southern states, such as the Northwest Territory (later states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin), where the northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery.

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The theoretical part ends here. We now come to the discussion of African-Native contact, the formation of multi-ethnic Native American Nations and the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups in North America.



## 7 African-Native Contact in North America

In my master's thesis of 1986 (Bartl 1986), I analyzed the contact of Native Americans and African Americans in the United States and Canada as described in historical written sources. During this research I came across the so-called "tri-racial" groups. I decided to continue to collect material on them and concentrate on the research of tri-racial groups.

As already mentioned, I could identify 260 tri-racial groups in 33 U.S. states up to now. I was able to collect information, both written and oral, on all of them and I have researched all of them. In my dissertation (Bartl 2017) I had presented an excerpt of this research but discussed only the tri-racial groups in Louisiana and Texas, because writing up my research on tri-racial groups in all U.S. states they live in would have gone beyond the scope of a dissertation.

As my dissertation is very specialized, readers had problems understanding the wider frame of the discussion around tri-racial groups, so my advisor Professor Ostendorf and I decided to integrate my master's thesis of 1986 into this publication of my dissertation. This will make it easier for the reader to understand the historical frame of Native American and African American contact and the preconditions for the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups.

The following two chapters on the Afro-Native contact in Canada and the USA are based on the analysis of written historical sources only, unlike the chapters on Louisiana and Texas, in which the situation is discussed more elaborately and based on additional sources of information, like oral tradition and field research.

### 7.1 History of Research

The first persons writing about the contact situation of Native Americans and African Americans were explorers, missionaries, soldiers, settlers, travelers, local historians, colonial officers, government officials, journalists, and other persons who were not professionally trained academic researchers.



By the end of the eighteenth century, we can observe an increasing interest in American Indians by professionally trained scholars, like anthropologists, historians, linguists, etc.<sup>42</sup>

Nonetheless, the interest in Native Americans, especially those who had lost their tribal status, (Free) African Americans and tri-racial groups remained low.

In 1935, Foster bemoaned in his dissertation on “Negro-Indian Relationships in the southeast”:

No history of the New World can be recognized as complete without the consideration of Negro-Indian relationships. Indeed, Negro-Indian relationships, so very conspicuous by neglect, form a very important part of North, Central and South American history. To date, there has not appeared any attempt at an adequate consideration of these relationships. It is due to the difficulties involved in the problem of obtaining adequate and reliable data for the complete presentation of the facts. There are consequently no documents known to date which treat this subject in an adequate manner. In works of widely different types, however, there are to be found statements of both primary and secondary character on the Negro-Indian relationships. The disseminators of these statements range between extremes from prejudiced travelers and petty preachers to competent generals and trained observers. A large number of the available references are both indirect and secondary, while many of those which are primary have come from persons who appear unreliable from the point of view of historical criticism, as well as in their manner of treating the field of social science. It seems rather evident, then, that there are reasons why even masters of methodology have hesitated to attempt to reconstruct Negro-Indian relationships from such heterogeneous and non-technical sources of information. (Foster 1935, 5)

Foster’s statement is still true today, as I have already mentioned in previous chapters. In recent years, this has changed a bit. The interest in

42 Adair (1775); Jefferson (1787); Morse (1822); C. ([1859] 1965); Brinton (1887, [1887] 2018). See also the publications of James Mooney, John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, Frank C. Speck, and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

the contact situation of Native Americans and African Americans and in Black Indians has increased. Not only written publications, but also exhibitions and documentary films have evolved around this topic.<sup>43</sup>

The first written report about contact between Native Americans and African Americans I came across is from New England and dates back to 1634. When Native Americans saw an African American, they thought “he was Abamacho or the Devill [*sic*], deeming al Devils that are blacker than themselves” (William Wood 1634, 77).

A few pages further an “Abamacho” is mentioned who had married a Native American woman (William Wood 1634, 81).

On the other side, the history of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color still suffers from scientific indifference.

The oldest publications on tri-racial groups I could find was on the *Melungeons* of the Tennessee-Kentucky area (“The Melungens” 1849; Burnett 1889) and the *Jukes* of New York State (Dugdale 1888).

The first comprehensive research on tri-racial groups was the dissertation of Price from 1950 (E. T. Price 1950).

In literature, people of tri-racial descent are categorized as “racial hybrids,” “raceless people,” “racial orphans,” “mystery people,” “mixed-bloods,” “mongrels,” “half-castes,” “(half-)breeds,” “mestizos,” “quasi-Indians,” “colored,” “metis,” or “Aframerindians” (Berry 1972, 193; 1978, 290; Griessman 1972, 693).

Tri-racial groups are designated in literature as “hybrid racial communities,” “(tri-)racial isolates,” “racial islands,” “marginal groups,” “submerged races,” “micro-races,” “middle peoples,” “little races,” or “tri-ethnic communities”<sup>44</sup>.

43 Bier (2004) has published a comprehensive annotated bibliography on sources about Native American and African American interactions and communities. Further modern publications are, for example: Collins (2018); Miles and Holland (2006); Tayac (2009); and Heape (2000).

44 Jones and Parenton (1951, 145); Berry (1972, 193, 1978, 290); Griessman (1972, 693); E. T. Thompson (1972); and Crowe (1974, 138).

## 7.2 History of Contact

Contact between Native Americans and African Americans is as old as the contact between Native Americans and Europeans, because the first Europeans entering the Americas brought Africans and (Atlantic) Creoles of Color with them, free or bonded, as sailors, seamen, workers, indentured servants, and slaves.

In the following two chapters on Canada and the United States, a short overview on the African-Native contact situation will be given.

### **Language**

Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans usually communicated in Pidgin English or French, which they might have used for communication in Europe and Africa already. The first mentioning of Pidgin English among American Indians dates from 1641 in Massachusetts. They also used trade languages like Mobilian Jargon, a pidgin language based on the Choctaw and Chickasaw language, and African Americans and Europeans learned Native American languages fast (Dillard 1972; Drechsel 1986; 1996).

### **Legal Framework**

The legal framework under which Native Americans, African Americans, and Europeans lived in North America had a strong influence on their interactions and intermarriages. Legal frameworks for racial interactions were set up by the colonial powers (United Kingdom, France, Spain, The Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal, etc.), by the American colonies, by the provinces of Canada, the states of the USA, and by the federal governments of Canada and the United States.

These legal frameworks, regulating racial interactions and intermarriage, as well as enslavement, were diverse and changed over time. As the example of Louisiana will show, the area has been under legal control of four different powers at different times: France, Spain, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Additionally, Native American Nations had their own legal frameworks regarding racial interactions and intermarriage.

An extensive discussion of these frameworks cannot be realized here. There will be given only short overviews in the introductory paragraph of each state discussed, except for Louisiana and Texas, the two states discussed in my dissertation.

There are some general features of racial laws applied in North America that can be summed up here.

First, terms for persons of different races and racial intermixture were developed. Different racial categories of people were defined – usually along skin color and degree of intermixture. Then a legal framework for enslaving persons was elaborated, the so-called slave codes. To give a few examples:

In 1542 the Spanish “New Laws” declared the enslavement of Native Americans illegal, but the enslavement of Africans remained legal.

In 1685 the French “Code Noir” set the framework for the enslavement of persons, restricting the rights of Free Blacks and religious freedom, and outlawing intermarriage between Whites and non-Whites.

The British and Americans had also established slave codes, racial laws against intermarriage, and successively reduced the rights of non-Whites (Free Blacks, Free Persons of Color, Native Americans). Free non-Whites always were at risk to be enslaved or sentenced to indenture during that time. In these cases, when they were kidnapped and sold into slavery or sentenced to indenture, it was exceedingly difficult for them to regain their freedom. Usually they had to file a lawsuit and proof of their free status, which was difficult in regions where colonial, state or federal legal institutions were failing or missing.

After 1865 the Black Codes were passed in several states of the USA reducing the rights of non-Whites – like Freedmen, Free Blacks, and Free Persons of Color – again. U.S. state laws against racial intermarriage were effective until 1967 (*Loving Et Ux. V. Virginia* 1967).

Interracial marriages had become impossible according to civil and ecclesiastical right during that time. Such marriages were classified as illegal and the offspring from such marriages were categorized as illegitimate under the Slave Codes.

Up to 1865, intermarriages between slaves and non-slaves could transfer slave status on the children of such unions. In most cases the status of the mother was applied to the children, in some states the slave status of the father could be inherited.

To escape the legal consequences of this legislation, these people tended to withdraw from Euro-American society and sought refuge in areas where these laws could not be executed.

What can be observed in recent years is that the legal status of slaves and indentured servants is often confused in literature. Black, colored, and Native American indentured servants are identified as slaves, white indentured servants are not. It has to be made clear that the legal framework for slavery and indenture are dissimilar and that there is a difference in legal status of a slave and an indentured servant.

The legal situation in the single states will be discussed more elaborately in the next chapters when the respective states are discussed.

Before we start with the listing of Afro-Native contact in Canada and the USA based on historical sources, it has to be mentioned that an American Indian reservation is officially designated as “reserve” in Canada and “reservation” in the United States.

## 8 African-Native Contact in Canada

Both the British and French acted as early colonial powers in Canada. Between 1534 and 1763 France had occupied parts of North America. From 1608, this colony was officially designated *New France*.

In 1713, France had to cede part of its territory to the United Kingdom and in 1763, it lost almost all its territory in North America to the British.

From the earliest colonial period there are reports of interactions between Native Americans and African Americans in Canada (Bier 2004, 223–28), although the interactions were by far not as numerous as in the USA.



Map 2 Canada

### First Nations

In Canada, Indian Affairs are under the authority of the federal government. The American Indian status of a person and membership in a band is regulated on an individual level by the Federal Government of Canada.

The official legal designation for a Native American tribe in Canada is “First Nation,” and the sub-tribe of a First Nation is a “Band.” The land assigned to them is called “reserve.” All this is regulated in an act of the Federal Government of Canada, the “Indian Act” (Government of Canada 2020).

Recently the Federal Government of Canada has started to transfer its responsibility for Indian Affairs to the provinces and to give more rights to its First Nations. The provinces are now in charge of negotiating new treaties and agreements with the First Nations living within their borders, and the First Nations obtain more sovereignty by these new treaties and agreements.

The new treaties and agreements between the federal government or provinces and the First Nations suspend the regulations of the Indian Act and give them back more control over their tribal membership and reserves. First Nations now can regulate, whom they put on their tribal membership list, granting “Indian Status” by this, and have more rights in managing their land base.

### Slavery

The enslavement of Blacks<sup>45</sup> was legalized by the French in 1688. After Canada came under British control, legal enslavement of people continued until slavery was abolished by the British in 1834. At that time, many slaves were already freed and lived as Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color there (Hamilton 1889/90; D.G. Baker 1974, 19–20).

In the time before slave emancipation in the USA in 1865, Canada was extremely popular as a sanctuary for escaped slaves. It is estimated that up to 1861 around 30,000 slaves fled from the USA to Canada, where they were safe from slave hunters and rendition (McDougall 1891, 8; K.W. Porter 1932, 364; 1933, 289).

Part of the runaway slaves in Canada lived among the First Nations and there are existing reports about a First Nation slave trade (Hamilton 1889/90, 108; K.W. Porter 1932, 304; 1933, 228).

45 Modern publications on Native American slavery in Canada, that were not discussed in my master's thesis, are: Demers (2009) and Rushforth (2003a, 2003b, [2003] 2009, 2012)

## 8.1 Eastern Canada

Contact between Native Americans and African Americans is reported from several First Nations in Eastern Canada.

### Slavery

In 1793, the importation of slaves was banned by Upper Canada (Wikipedia 2020). The Province of Upper Canada included parts of Quebec and Ontario at that time.

### Cree

The *Cree* language group whose settlement area reaches from the Atlantic Coast to Alberta, uses the designation “kaskite wiyas” for Blacks, meaning “black flesh” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 232; Helm 1981, 3–4).

### Huron

The *Huron* living in Ontario and Quebec were reported to have welcomed and housed runaway slaves. Although they had treaties with the USA to return refugee slaves, they rarely did so (K.W. Porter 1932, 308, 1933, 290; Trigger 1978, 368–93).

### Pawnee (Panis)

There are reports that “Pawnees” were enslaved side by side with Africans in Canada (Hamilton 1889/90). As the *Pawnee* were settling in what is Nebraska (USA) today, they were Prairie and Plains Indians, but not Algonquins. There are no reports that *Pawnee Indians* ever were settling or enslaved in Canada.

“Pawnee” in this case is possibly a misidentification, for the Algonquian word “Panis” was used as a term for enslaved Indians:

Though the word Panis (...) seems to have special reference to Indian slaves, it is sometimes used by old Canadian writers to signify all persons in servitude without regard to color. It is of Algonquian origin. (Hamilton 1889/90, 107)



### 8.1.1 Nova Scotia

Interactions between African Americans and Native Americans are documented for Nova Scotia.

#### **Maroons**

Between 1796 and 1800, a settlement of 600 Maroon was reported from nearby Halifax (Hamilton 1888/89, 1889/90, 106; Chamberlain 1891, 85, [1891] 2018, 58).

Maroons from the “Negro Fort” in Florida have been shipped to Nova Scotia after 1814 (Anderson 1963, 41).

#### **Mi'kmaq**

The relations between Africans and *Mi'kmaq* Indians have been analyzed in several publications (Madden 2008; 2009).

### 8.1.2 Ontario

This province was one of the most desired places for refuge in Canada among escaped slaves from the territory of the USA (Hamilton 1889). Consequently, the contact and intermixture of Native Americans and African Americans was more extensive here than in other provinces:

There is also a considerable intermixture of such blood [Native American and African American] in Ontario on certain reserves. (Hamilton 1889/90, 107)

Before 1754, an Indian Agent reported that he had encountered an African American refugee from Virginia among a First Nation on the north shore of Lake Ontario, but the identity of the First Nation was not revealed (K. W. Porter 1933, 289, footnote 19).

#### **Iroquois Confederacy**

A few *Nanticoke Indians*, members of the tri-racial *Nanticoke Tribe* from Delaware, USA, had migrated north and settled down on the Six Nations

of the Grand River Reserve of the *Iroquois Confederacy*, established 1784 (Weaver 1978; F. W. Porter 1987, 48).<sup>46</sup>

### **Mohawk**

There are reports that runaway Black slaves lived among the *Mohawk*, a tribe of the *Iroquois Confederacy*. For this reason, the *Mohawk* are sometimes classified as slaveholders. A report about *Mohawk* Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendenaga, 1743–1807) on the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve tells us:

He had large estates at Burlington bay and on the Grand River. Here many runaway negroes from the States had come, were treated hospitably, and remained working and living with the Indians, often adopting their customs and mode of living. Several descendants of such fugitives are now living on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford. (Hamilton 1889/90, 7)

Other reports settle these runaway slaves on the *Tuscarora* part of the Six Nations Reserve, but as Chief Brant was *Mohawk* it is more likely that they lived on the *Mohawk* part of the reserve (Chamberlain 1891, 85; [1891] 2018, 58–59; Bier 2004, 223–25).

### **Tuscarora**

There are reports about intermixture of *Tuscarora* and African Americans on the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve. The *Tuscarora* originally came from North Carolina where they had already housed a great number of Black slaves among them. After the Tuscarora War (1711–1713) they left North Carolina, migrated north, and joined the *Iroquois Confederacy* in New York State and Ontario (Nash 1974, 228; Landy 1978).

It still must be verified, whether the African Americans living among the *Tuscarora* in North Carolina and migrating north with them, were really slaves, or whether they were Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color who had joined them.

<sup>46</sup> I want to thank Amanda K. Wixon for providing this information.

### **Nipissing**

The *Nipissing*, living around Lake Nipissing and further east of it, had a designation for African Americans in their language: “makatewinini,” which can be translated as “black man” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352; Trigger 1978, 787–91).

### **Croatan**

Part of the *Croatan* Indians from North Carolina, to whom the tri-racial *Lumbee Tribe* (North Carolina) claims ancestry, are reported to have migrated to an area west of Lake Ontario (Weeks 1891, 464).

### **Chickahominy and Ojibway**

There are reports about intermarriages of *Ojibway* and African Americans. After the Civil War (post–1865) in the United States part of the tri-racial *Chickahominy* from Virginia migrated to Ontario and joined the *Ojibway* living there. When most of the *Chickahominy* returned to Virginia, some members of the tribe stayed among the *Ojibway* and intermarried (Stern 1952, 205; Bier 2004, 226).

## **8.2 Western Canada**

### **8.2.1 Saskatchewan**

African American interactions and intermixture with Native Americans are documented for Saskatchewan (Bier 2004, 227).

### **8.2.2 Alberta**

African-Native interactions and intermixtures are documented for Alberta (Bier 2004, 227).

### **Blackfoot/Siksika**

The contact of *Blackfoot Indians* and their subgroup the *Peigan Indians* with African Americans are discussed later in the chapter “Western States” of the USA section.

The *Siksika*, members of the Canadian *Blackfoot Confederacy*, called Blacks by the term “siksapikwan napikwan,” meaning “white man” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352).

### 8.2.3 British Columbia

Native American intermarriages with African Americans are reported predominantly from the southeast of the province (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52; K.W. Porter 1933, 314).

#### **Haida**

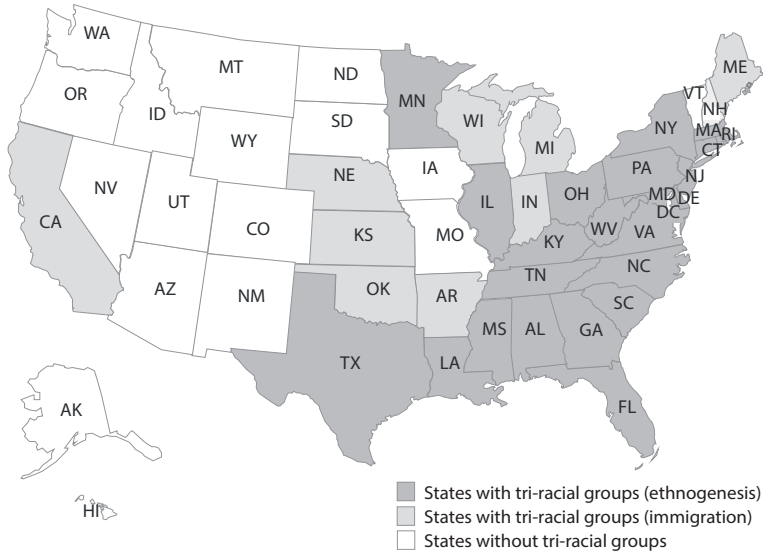
The *Haida* had interactions with African Americans and the richest man among the *Haida* of Skidegate once was an African American (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 53; K.W. Porter 1933, 314; Bier 2004, 223). It is not mentioned in literature when this was.

#### **Kootenay/Ktunaxa**

In 1891, a certain dislike of African Americans was observed among the Kootenay, and African Americans were depicted at a disadvantage in *Ktunaxa* myths and legends. They have a designation for Blacks in their language, “kamkokokotl aktsemakinek,” meaning literally “Black Indian,” although sometimes only “kamkokokotl” is used for “black” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52, 352; K.W. Porter 1932, 314).



## 9 African-Native Contact in the USA



Map 3 Tri-racial groups in the USA. Map by Renate Bartl

As mentioned before, I was able to identify 260 tri-racial groups in 33 U.S. states up to now.<sup>47</sup> To re-emphasize, the criteria for the tri-racial groups listed here is not whether they are really tri-racial. The criteria are whether they are categorized as “tri-racial,” or being of Native American – African American – European ancestry, by outsiders and in literature – or whether or not they self-identify as tri-racial!

<sup>47</sup> Alabama (6), Arkansas (2), California (6), Connecticut (6), Delaware (5), District of Columbia (3), Florida (7), Georgia (4), Illinois (7), Indiana (5), Kansas (2), Kentucky (7), Louisiana (14), Maine (1), Maryland (8), Massachusetts (18), Michigan (4), Minnesota (1), Mississippi (8), Nebraska (2), New Jersey (8), New York (16), North Carolina (23), Ohio (10), Oklahoma (2), Pennsylvania (7), Rhode Island (2), South Carolina (24), Tennessee (7), Texas (6), Virginia (36), West Virginia (2), Wisconsin (1). Groups residing in more than one state have been counted for each state they are living in, therefore multiple counts of one group occur. *Redbone* groups in a state were counted as one group, unless they were identified as distinct ethnic group in literature.

Interactions of Native Americans and African Americans and the existence of tri-racial groups will be discussed in the following chapters. States and tribes are discussed as far as literary references were available to me. The fact that Native American – African American interactions are not discussed for a state or tribe does not mean that they do not exist, it only means that there was no literature available to me on these subject areas. For an overview on the literary sources up to 2004 see Bier (2004).

Native American Nations and multi-ethnic groups claiming indigenous ancestry are listed for each state discussed here in the Appendix H.

### Slavery

There is extensive literature on the importation of Africans to North America and the enslavement of these people.

Native American slaves were usually persons either kidnapped, punished for crime, or captured as prisoners of war. The tendency was not to enslave them locally, but to deport them outside of the colony or state, sometimes as far as the Caribbean and Bermuda. Many Native American slaves were deported from areas west of the Mississippi River to the eastern states and enslaved there or shipped out from Atlantic or Gulf of Mexico ports. Other forms of bounded labor for Native Americans were indenture and apprenticeship, both temporarily limited.

Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color could also be enslaved by kidnapping or as punishment for crime.<sup>48</sup>

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 required the return of escaped slaves to their owners regardless of the state they were in. A court decided in 1857 that black slaves and their descendants could not gain American citizenship and were not entitled to freedom even if they live in a free state.

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 changed the status of all slaves in the USA and the Confederate States to “free.” In consequence, slaves escaping from the Confederacy to the Union were free as soon as they crossed the border. In 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment of the U.S.

**48** An excellent and reliable source for the enslavement of Native Americans in the United States is provided by Lauber (1913). Information on Native American slaves and Free Persons of Color is provided by Heinegg (2009).

Constitution abolished slavery and all slaves obtained their freedom. This amendment had to be ratified by the U.S. states before it could be enforced in a state (Wikipedia 2020).

All these forms of unfree labor will be discussed in the following chapters under the single states, as the legal framework for the enslavement of persons was different in every colony and state.

## 9.1 New England

As already mentioned, one of the first written reports about contact between Native Americans and African Americans dates from 1634 when Native Americans from New England saw an African American identified as “Abamacho” (translated: Devil) and when another “Abamacho” was reported to have married an American Indian woman (William Wood 1634, 77, 81). Bibliographical data on literature describing Afro-Native contacts in New England are compiled by Bier (2004, 13–36).

Generally speaking, Native Americans of New England have extensively intermixed with both Europeans and African Americans. On the other side the Black and colored population of this area is reported to have a relatively high degree of Native American ancestry (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52; K.W. Porter 1932, 313).

In 1822 Jedediah Morse wrote to the U.S. Secretary of War on the American Indians living in New England:

(...) very few of them are of unmixed blood. The others having intermarried with the lowest classes of white people and negroes, and feeling no sympathy with the Indians of pure blood, (...). (Morse 1822, 24)

Shaler (1890a, 40), on the contrary, saw some intermixture of Native Americans with African Americans, but not to the extent other authors did. This discrepancies in observation can be explained by the fact that Native Americans were more or less intermixed, depending in which area they lived. Tribes close to the border to Canada were usually less intermixed than tribes to the south. Historically they were needed as a buffer between the British and French in Canada and for that reason were left more intact by European colonial powers.



This is the reason why there are no tri-racial groups mentioned in New Hampshire and Vermont, whereas in Maine, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the only groups categorized as tri-racial are groups with a multi-ethnic Native American tribal identity. The only New England state where we can find tri-racial groups with autonomous (= non-Indian) identities is Massachusetts.

There are several publications that adhere to the aforementioned slave lore and the theory claiming that the reason for the intermixture of Native Americans with African Americans was their collective enslavement, working side by side as slaves. Some authors even claimed that American Indian slaves were absorbed by African American society:

They [American Indian slaves] were thrown closely with the negroes, and the fact that they eventually disappeared indicated that they intermarried with, and were absorbed by, the large body of blacks. (Bassett 1896, 72)

There are reports that Native Americans from British colonies in America were enslaved and deported to the New England states (Bassett 1896, 72–73).

### **Slavery<sup>49</sup>**

In New England, many American Indian slaves were imported together with Black slaves from the Spanish West Indies. Sometimes New Englanders also kidnapped Native Americans, or bought Native prisoners of war from American Indian tribes and enslaved them. Only some of the bound Native Americans were slaves, the larger amount were indentured servants (Kawashima 1988, 404–5).

Between 1777 and 1804, slavery was banned in all northern states, and slaveholding finally had vanished in all northeastern states by 1846 (Martin and Gelber 1965, 568; Wikipedia 2020).

<sup>49</sup> Modern publications on Native American slavery in New England, not discussed in my master's thesis, are by Newell (2009, 2015).

## 9.1.1 Maine

Maine was settled by the colonial powers of France and Britain. In 1652, Maine became part of the British colony of Massachusetts and in 1820 joined the USA as a separate state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 44–45; Arndt 2004).

Maine has five Federal Native American Nations and no state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Maine, see Appendix H.

The 1790 census of Massachusetts – including Maine – counted 6,001 “persons other than white” as residents, of whom 2,000 were supposed to be Indians intermixed with Blacks (Chamberlain 1891, 86, [1891] 2018, 61).<sup>50</sup>

Courts of Appeal were addressed by persons who wanted to prove their Indian identity:

In Maine and in all of the Southern States are to be found, in the records of the courts of appeal, cases in which the litigant attempts to prove that he is an Indian and not a Negro. These cases are further evidence of the extension of mixed blood in these States, and they also manifest the difficulty that faced the courts in their efforts to determine the pedigree of such persons. (Johnston 1929, 33)

### Slavery

The Missouri Compromise (1820) admitted Maine as a free state to the union, which outlawed slavery in consequence (Arndt 2004, 529–32).

Up to that date, Maine had very few slaves listed in its records; therefore, it can be assumed that persons categorized as “other than white” were predominantly Free Persons of Color.

### Tri-Racial Groups

*Nanticoke* from Delaware have moved to Maine, but it is not specified where they live today (Babcock 1899, 278).

The circumstance that there were no tri-racial groups originating locally in Maine is an indication for the fact, that Native American

<sup>50</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for Maine, extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census, is provided by Woodson (1925, 39–40).

tribes on the Canadian border were left undisturbed in order to be able to protect the border against the French and British and their Indian allies.

## 9.1.2 New Hampshire

New Hampshire was explored and settled by British and French colonists. In 1679, it was established as a separate province and in 1686, it became part of the Dominion of New England. By 1776 the state declared independence and joined the USA in 1788 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 64–65; Carr 2004).

New Hampshire has no federal and no state Native American Nations. For groups claiming indigenous ancestry in New Hampshire, see Appendix H.<sup>51</sup>

There are no tri-racial groups reported from this state, which again is an indication that Native American tribes were left undisturbed by Europeans in order to function as a protective shield against the British and French and their Indian allies in Canada.

### Slavery

Near Dover (Stafford County) 400 *Abenaki* were captured by the English in 1676, and half of them sent to Boston and sold into slavery (Kawashima 1988, 404).

New Hampshire outlawed the enslavement of persons in 1783 (Martin and Gelber 1965, 567f.).

### Penacook (Western Wabanaki)

In 1702, a *Penacook* Indian who was a member of a delegation to the Governor of New York, was killed in a fight with four Blacks. *Penacook* Indians settled near Concorde (Merrimack County) at that time (K.W. Porter 1933, 286; Day 1978).

<sup>51</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color based on the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for New Hampshire by Woodson (1925, 74).

### 9.1.3 Vermont

Vermont was first settled by the French in 1666. In 1724, the first permanent British settlement was founded. In 1777, Vermont area was formed as part of the independent Republic of New Connecticut and by 1791, Vermont joined the USA as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 96–97; Hand and Muller, III 2004).

Vermont has no federal, but one state Native American Nation. For groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Vermont, see Appendix H.

There are no tri-racial groups mentioned in this state. This is an indication that the Native American tribes on the Vermont border to Canada were left intact to protect the border against the French and British and their Indian allies in the north.<sup>52</sup>

#### Slavery

Vermont partially banned slavery in 1777 when it declared its independence, but the ban was not strongly enforced (Wikipedia 2020).

### 9.1.4 Massachusetts

Massachusetts was founded as a British colony in 1620. It declared its independence in 1776 and became part of the USA in 1788 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 48–49; Marden 2004).

Although inter-racial marriages were outlawed in Massachusetts since 1705 (Nash 1974, 282), there was a tendency observed among Black slaves to marry Native American women:

(...) while slavery was supposed to be maintainable by law in Massachusetts, there was a particular temptation for taking Indian wives, the children of Indian women being acknowledged to be free. (Kendall, Edward August (1809) cited in K. W. Porter 1932, 310)

<sup>52</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Vermont by Woodson (1925, 163–64).

As the status of a child was inherited through the mother in Massachusetts, the children of such relationships were free.

Extensive intermixture of Native Americans with African Americans in Massachusetts started by the middle of the seventeenth century. Some Black families claim descent from Native Americans who lived here (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52; Woodson 1920, [1920] 2018; K.W. Porter 1932, 313).

Between 1685 and 1690, Puritan missionary John Eliot taught mixed classes of Native Americans and African Americans to read (Dillard 1972, 146).

Although forbidden by law, intermarriages between Native Americans and African Americans are reported from Dukes County since 1764. In 1792, of the 440 persons of American Indian descent living here only 1/3 were not intermixed (Chamberlain 1891, 86, [1891] 2018, 60).

A document of 1847 recites about the American Indians in Massachusetts:

(...) the whole number of Indians and people of colour connected with them, not including [*sic*] Natick, is 847. There are about six of eight Indians, of pure blood, in the state, ...all the rest are of mixed blood; mostly Indian and African. (Johnston 1929, 26)

Examples of the lore of escaped African slaves on American Indian reservations can be found in literature, as well as information on Free Persons of Color lived with Native Americans in this state:

When (...) the Negroes became conscious of the wrongs they suffered in slavery, a few early learned to take refuge among the Indians and even after they were freed in Massachusetts their social proscription was such among the whites that some free people of color preferred the hard life among the Indians to the whiffs and scorns of race prejudice in the seat of Christian civilization. (Woodson 1920, 47, [1920] 2018, 180)

We can also find examples for the theory that racial intermixture leads to deterioration, as a report from 1795 tells us about the Blacks of Massachusetts:

They have generally (...) left the country and resorted to the maritime towns. Some are incorporated, and their breed is mixed with the Indians of Cape-Cod and Martha's Vineyard; and the Indians are said to be meliorated by the mixture. (K.W. Porter 1932, 311)

A Massachusetts Senate Report of 1861 mentions the widespread intermixture of American Indians of this state with African Americans (Johnston 1929, 27).<sup>53</sup>

But the mixture in most of the tribes has been more with the Negro race than with the white until that blood probably predominates though there are still a considerable number who have the predominant characteristics of the Indians (...). (Woodson 1920, 47, [1920] 2018, 181)

In 1869, all reservations in Massachusetts lost their reservation status, although some could maintain the status of a state reservation. This “dereservationizing” legislature imposed U.S. citizenship on the reservation Indians (Woodson 1920, 53ff., [1920] 2018, 184–85; Speck 1928; Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard 1978, 181).

Gilbert (1949, 409) claims that only 2.5% of the Indians in Massachusetts were pure-blooded in 1930. The rest had intermixed with Blacks, Whites, and Portuguese.<sup>54</sup>

Mixed persons of Native American – African American descent, who have become prominent in Massachusetts, are mentioned by K.W. Porter (1932, 318).

Massachusetts has two Federal Native American Nations and five state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Massachusetts, see Appendix H.

53 A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Massachusetts by Woodson (1925, 67–73).

54 Portuguese-Americans are mainly living on Cape Cod (Barnstable County), on the islands Martha's Vineyard (Dukes County), and Nantucket (Nantucket County) as descendants of Portuguese whalers. Gilbert usually is not very specific about the intermixture of American Indians with other races. He uses the obscure term “some other dark races”, or names supposedly dark skinned Europeans as ancestors to avoid mentioning the intermixture of these Indians with African Americans.

### Slavery

During the Pequot War (1637), forty-eight captive *Pequot* women and children were enslaved in Massachusetts, while captured *Pequot* warriors were deported to the West Indies in exchange for Black slaves. Through this exchange, the first Black slaves entered Massachusetts in 1638.

By 1641 the state gave statutory recognition to slavery. In colonial times Native Americans were sold into slavery inside and outside Massachusetts freely, until 1712 when the import of American Indian slaves was interdicted by law. In 1781 and 1783 state courts decided that slavery was incompatible with the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 and all slaves were freed soon after (Martin and Gelber 1965, 567; Marden 2004, 581–84; Kawashima 1988, 404).

Massachusetts had the largest American Indian slave population in the north, but their number was never remarkably high. The 1790 census of Massachusetts counted 200 half-breed Indians within a total slave population of 6,000 slaves (Kawashima 1988, 404).

### Language

In 1621, a Native American Pidgin English was reported from Massachusetts. This is the first account of Pidgin English spoken by American Indians in the USA (Bassett 1896, 73; Dillard 1972, 143–46).

### Algonquin

According to Woodson (1920, 57, [1920] 2018, 187), the *Algonquin* women Rebecca C. Hammond and Sarah P. Pocknett are categorized as “Negro” or “person of color” in a list of persons descending from Native American tribes and receiving pensions from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1920. The term “Algonquin” is applied to American Indians belonging to Algonquian language group and inhabiting north-eastern North America.

### Nipmuck

Angela M. Leach, identified as “Pegon and Dudley,” was categorized as “Negro” or “person of color” on the same list (Woodson 1920, 57; [1920] 2018, 187). The tribal identification as “Pegon” and “Dudley” refers to the *Webster/Dudley Band of the Chaubunagungamaug Nipmuck Indians*,

also known as *Pegan or Dudley Indians*. They are recognized by the state of Massachusetts as a state tribe and have a state reservation near Webster/Dudley (Worcester County). Their petition for federal acknowledgement was declined January 28, 2008 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2008b; Salwen 1978; Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard 1978).

Members of the Cisco and Gigger families were also categorized as “Negro” or “person of color” (Woodson 1920, 57, [1920] 2018, 187). They were members of the *Nipmuc Nation (Hassanamisco Band)*, a state recognized tribe with a state reservation in Grafton (Worcester County). They were denied federal acknowledgment on January 28, 2008 by the Office of Federal Acknowledgment.<sup>55</sup>

### **Oneida**

Two *Oneida* living in Massachusetts, Delia L. Daley and Samantha Talbot, are listed as “Negro” or “person of color” on this list (Woodson 1920, 57; [1920] 2018, 187). The *Oneida Indian Nation* is a federally recognized tribe in New York State and is a member of the *Iroquois Confederacy* (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Ponkapoag**

Members of the Burr family living in *Punkapoag* were categorized as “Negro” or “person of color” in 1920 (Woodson 1920, 57, [1920] 2018, 187). *Punkapoag/Punkapog/Ponkapoag* was an Indian praying town, established in 1657 in the settlement area of the *Massachusetts Indians*. It was situated in what is Canton (Norfolk County) today (Salwen 1978; Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard 1978).

There is a *Neponsett/Ponkapoag Tribal Council* residing in Brockton (Plymouth County) claiming descent from the *Ponkapoag Indians* but they have neither state nor federal recognition.

<sup>55</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (2008a); Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard (1978). The Hassanamisco Nipmuc State Reservation near Grafton has been visited by Renate Bartl on September 07, 1997 together with their Chief Walter Vickers.



## Wampanoag

Members of the Butler, Mitchell, and Robinson families were listed as “Negro” or “person of color” in 1920. The *Wampanoag* were a confederacy of several tribes, historically living in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In Massachusetts they settle in the following counties today: Barnstable County, Bristol County, Dukes County, and Nantucket County (Salwen 1978; Conkey, Boissevain, and Goddard 1978).

Two *Wampanoag* tribes of Massachusetts have federal acknowledgement: the *Aquinnah Wampanoag/Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head* with their reservation in Aquinnah on Martha’s Vineyard (Dukes County), who got acknowledged on April 11, 1987 by the Office of Federal Acknowledgment.<sup>56</sup>

The *Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe* was federally acknowledged on February 15, 2007 and its reservation is in Mashpee (Barnstable County) on the site of the former praying town of Mashpee (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2007a).

Three *Wampanoag* tribes are recognized by the state of Massachusetts: the *Chappaquiddick Tribe of the Wampanoag Indian Nation* (Essex County), the *Herring Pond Wampanoag Tribe* (Barnstable County), and the *Pocasset Wampanoag Indian Tribe* (Worcester County).

Four further groups are claiming *Wampanoag* identity, but are not recognized as Indian tribes: the *Assonet Band of Wampanoags* (Bristol County), the *Namasket/Nemasket Wampanoag Band* (Plymouth County), the *Pokanoket Tribe/Wampanoag Nation/Council of Seven/Royal House of Pokanoket* (Worcester County), and the *Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe* (Bristol County).

## Tri-Racial Groups

The following groups are described as tri-racial in literature and all of them originated locally:

*Black Portuguese*

*Herring Pond Indians*

<sup>56</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (1987). The *Aquinnah Wampanoag* Reservation on Martha’s Vineyard was visited by Renate Bartl on September 12, 1997.

*Middleboro Indians*

*Nashuakemmiuk*

*Nipmuc* (2 subgroups):

- *Chaubunagungamaug Band of the Nipmuck Nation*
- *Hassanamisco Nipmuc*

*Pequot*

*Punkapog (Massachusetts)*

*Sengekontakit*

*Tisbury Indians*

*Wampanoag/Pokanoket/Pocasset* (8 subgroups):

- *Aquinnah/Gay Head Indians*
- *Chappaquiddick*
- *Chilmack Indians*
- *Christiantown Indians*
- *Dartmouth Indians*
- *Edgartown Indians*
- *Fall River Indians*
- *Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe*

### 9.1.5 Rhode Island

In 1636 the city of Providence was founded and in 1644 the Providence Plantation was established. In 1663 a royal charter was granted by the British Crown to Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in 1776 Rhode Island declared its independence and became a state of the USA in 1790 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 84–85; Ferraro 2004).

A report from 1948 tells us that Rhode Island Indians had intermixed with Europeans and African Americans<sup>57</sup> and that racial segregation could be observed among them:

There is said to be considerable mixture with both white and Negro blood, the lighter-skinned holding aloof from the darker group. (...) most of the traditions and customs are lost, including the native speech. (Gilbert 1949, 410)

<sup>57</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for Rhode Island, extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census, is provided by Woodson (1925, 153–55).

Rhode Island has one federal Native American Nation and no state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Rhode Island, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

A census for South Kingstown (Washington County) of 1730 counted 333 Black slaves and 223 Indian slaves, the census of 1748 counted 380 Black slaves and 193 Indian slaves (Nash 1974, 285; Kawashima 1988, 405).

In 1676 the colony passed an anti-slavery legislation, but it was not effective, and the enslavement of Native Americans continued and became legally acceptable. In 1784, slavery was finally abolished by law in Rhode Island (Martin and Gelber 1965, 567; Kawashima 1988, 404).

### Tri-Racial Groups

There are two tri-racial groups with Native American identity mentioned in Rhode Island:

*Narragansett*

*Hassanamisco Nipmuc*

## 9.1.6 Connecticut

Connecticut was first settled by the British in 1634. It obtained a royal charter from the British Crown in 1662. The colony declared its independence from Britain in 1776, which was formally recognized by Great Britain in 1783. In 1788, Connecticut became a state of the USA (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 20–21; Pearson 2004).

African-Native intermixture had also been observed among Native Americans in Connecticut:

(...) there has been intermixture with both white and Negro blood, and Indian traditions and speech have been almost entirely lost. (Gilbert 1949, 410)

As there was a relatively large population of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color, Native Americans could intermix with them on a legal basis.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Connecticut by Woodson (1925, 2–5).

Connecticut has two Native American Nations acknowledged by the federal government and six tribes recognized by the state. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Connecticut, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Both Native Americans and African Americans were enslaved in Connecticut. As early as 1658, a combined upheaval of Indian and Black slaves is reported from that state (Dillard 1972, 143). Cloth had been promised as reward to Native Americans who captured and brought back runaway slaves (McDougall 1891, 95).

Since 1716, the import of Indian slaves to Connecticut was forbidden. By 1730, a total of 700 slaves (Black and Indian) was counted in this state (K. W. Porter 1932, 295; Bassett 1896, 73).

Slavery was prohibited in Connecticut in 1784 (Martin and Gelber 1965, 568).

### Pequot

The *Pequot* were living in Connecticut in colonial times and remnant *Pequot* tribes still can be found there. During the Pequot War (1636–1638) many of them were killed or captured. The captured *Pequot* were enslaved and sold. Some of the slaves were deported as far as Bermuda (Salwen 1978, 173; Newell 2009).<sup>59</sup>

A *Mohegan-Pequot* Vocabulary of 1904 lists the term “Sugatuck” for “Negro” (Prince and Speck [1999, 1904] 2005, 48).

As of 2020 there is one *Pequot* tribe living in Connecticut, the *Mashantucket Pequot Tribe*, which has been federally recognized in 1983. The *Eastern Pequot Indians* have state recognition, but their federal acknowledgement was declined on October 14, 2005. Two further groups claim *Pequot* identity: the *Southern Pequot Tribe* and the *Western Pequot Tribal Nation of New Haven*, both non-recognized (see Appendix H.).

59 Further information on the *Pequot* slaves is provided by Mason (1938) and Dunn (2000).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Several tri-racial groups are reported from Connecticut. Most of them originated locally and claim descent from Connecticut American Indian tribes:

*Hassanamisco-Nipmuc* [immigration from Massachusetts]

*Mohegan Tribe*

*Paugussett* (2 subgroups):

- *Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe*
- *Turkey Hill Paugussett*

*Pequot* (2 subgroups):

- *Mashantucket Pequot Tribe*
- *Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation*

## 9.2 Mid-Atlantic/Northeastern States

Here, intermixture of Native Americans with African Americans started in the early colonial period, especially in the coastal area:

A large portion of negro blood exists in many tribes, particularly in those formerly residing in the Gulf coast states, and among the remnants scattered along the Atlantic coast from Massachusetts southward. (Hodge 1907-1910, 1: 914)

An overview on literature describing these contacts is compiled by Bier (2004, 13-36).

### Slavery

During colonial times both African Americans and Native Americans were enslaved in the Mid-Atlantic states, but their numbers were never as high as in New England. In the whole Northeast, the greatest amount of Indian labor came from Native American indentured servants (Kawashima 1988, 404-5).

Basically, Native American labor was not attractive for both Whites and American Indians in all of the northeastern colonies (including New England):

From the points of view from both Indian and White, Indian servitude was neither successful nor attractive. The native population was too small to make any substantial contribution to the colonists' labor shortage. (...) For the natives, the colonial system of labor provided no opportunities for advancement. (Kawashima 1988, 405–6)

The framing conditions for the enslavement of persons are discussed under the respective northeastern states.

### 9.2.1 New York State

The state of New York was claimed by the Dutch in 1609, who established the colony known as New Netherland there in 1614. The Dutch permanently settled the colony in 1623. In 1664, the British seized the area, renaming the colony New York. In 1776, the colony declared its independence from Britain and in 1788, joined the USA as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 70–71; Holst 2004).

A large population of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color have lived in New York State in the eighteenth century, with whom local Native Americans could intermix legally.<sup>60</sup>

In New York State, there are seven Native American Nations. Six are recognized by the federal government or federal courts, and one tribe is recognized by the state. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in New York, see Appendix H.

#### Slavery

Both the Dutch and the British practiced the enslavement of people extensively, but the ratio of Native Americans among the slave population was always low, even with New York having the largest American Indian slave population in the Mid-Atlantic states. During the 1640s, New Netherland was selling American Indian war captives to the West Indies. Only a few of the captives were kept as slaves within the colony.

<sup>60</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color compiled from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for New York State by Woodson (1925, 84–110).

Most of the Native American slaves in this colony were imported from the West Indies. Members of border tribes, like the *Iroquois/Haudenosaunee Confederacy* (*Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca*), have never been enslaved (Kawashima 1988, 404).

In 1785, about 19,000 slaves in total were living in this state. The enslavement of people was declared illegal in 1799 (Holst 2004, 892; Martin and Gelber 1965, 568). All slaves and indentured servants were finally set free in 1827 (Wikipedia 2020).

In 1712, a combined Native American and African American uprising was reported in New York City. Runaway slaves were said to have withdrawn to Native American tribes on Long Island and in the Hudson River Valley, which caused an extensive intermixture of these tribes with African Americans, according to some authors (K.W. Porter 1932, 296; Nash 1974, 150f, 285f.).

This assumption has to be handled with care and as part of the slave lore (as discussed in chapter 2.5.). Data show that the Hudson River Valley Indians had intermixed with Free(!) Blacks and Persons of Color.

### **Tuscarora**

The *Tuscarora* originally inhabited North Carolina. After the Tuscarora War (1711–1713), some 1,500 *Tuscarora* left North Carolina and fled to New York State in 1713–1714, to join the *Iroquois Confederacy*. Another band went to South Carolina in 1715 and settled there. In 1766, further *Tuscarora* bands migrated north to New York State. Finally, the North Carolina *Tuscarora* reservation was sold in 1804 and the last band of *Tuscarora* moved to New York State (Nash 1974, 228; Landy 1978; Boyce 1978, 287–88). In all these migration movements they were joined by the Blacks living among them.

### **Cayuga**

Members of the tri-racial *Nanticoke* had migrated from Delaware via Maryland and Pennsylvania to New York State and applied to join the *Iroquois Confederacy*. In 1753, they were admitted to the confederacy in custody of the Cayuga, forming the “Wolf Clan” of this tribe (C. F. Feest 1978a, 246; F. W. Porter 1987, 48).

### Tri-Racial Groups

New York State groups described as tri-racial in literature – and originating locally – are:<sup>61</sup>

*Bonackers* (2 subgroups):

- *Bonackers/Swampers*
- *Bonackers/Banckers*

*Bushwhackers*

*Jukes*

*Matinecock*

*Montauk/Montaukett*

*Schoharie County Mixed-Bloods* (4 subgroups):

- *Arabs*
- *Clappers*
- *Honies*
- *Slughters/Slaughters*

*Ramapough Lunaape Nation/Ramapough Lenape Nation/Ramapough Mountain Indians/Ramapo Mountain People/ Jackson Whites /Tuscarora/Wappinger*

*Shinnecock Indian Nation*

*Ulster County Indians*

*Unkequaug Indian Nation/Unkechaug/Poosepatuck*

*Van Guilders*

*Yanses*

## 9.2.2 New Jersey

Like New York State, New Jersey was part of the New Netherland colony claimed by the Dutch in 1609 and established in 1614.

<sup>61</sup> I wish to thank John A. Strong, who enabled me to visit several reservations and to interview members of Native American Nations and tri-racial groups on Long Island in 1991. He also provided information and donated literature to me since that time. He has published extensively on Long Island Indians (Strong 1997, 1998, 2001, 2018). I also want to thank Charles T. Gering of the New Netherland Institute in Albany for enabling me to speak to local historians and visiting the settlement area of the *Schoharie County Mixed-Bloods* and the Iroquois Museum in Howes Cave in 1997. He also provided invaluable literature from the New Netherland Archive to me.



In the southwestern part of New Jersey, the Swedish established their colony New Sweden from 1638 to 1655. It then was conquered by the Dutch and incorporated into the New Netherland Colony.

The New Netherland colony was surrendered to the British in 1664, but the Dutch regained control again in the years 1673–1674. New Jersey finally came under British control in 1674 and was transformed into a royal province in 1702. The colony declared its independence from Britain in 1776 and was formally recognized by Great Britain in 1783. It joined the USA as a state in 1787 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 66–67; Lurie 2004).

There are reports about the intermixture of African Americans<sup>62</sup> with Native Americans in this state:

(...) throughout the colonial history of the State there were few marriages of white men and Indian women, and those that were contracted were looked upon in the light of miscegenations [*sic*]. For this reason the unions between Indians and Negroes were commonly so frequent, indeed, as to have left permanent impress upon the features of many of the families of Negroes of the present day. (Lee 1902–1903, 1: 65–66; quoted in Johnston 1929, 27)

Examples of the slave lore can also be found in literature claiming that Indian slaves intermixed with Black slaves:

It is interesting to note that the New Jersey Negroes are said to have been noticeable modified in physical appearance by an unusually extensive intermingling with Indian slaves. (K.W. Porter 1932, 296)

Statements like this have to be evaluated carefully, because many groups in New Jersey claiming an American Indian identity are composed of family clans originally categorized as Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color, with some of these clans having switched to an “Indian” identity.

<sup>62</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color compiled from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for New Jersey by Woodson (1925, 74–83).

New Jersey has no federal Native American Nations, but three state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in New Jersey, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Native Americans were enslaved in New Jersey in colonial times, as a report from 1682 shows, but their number was always very low. The sale of Black-Indian slaves was advertised in newspapers of that time (Cooley 1896, 11f; Kawashima 1988, 404).

Slaveholding in New Jersey was outlawed in 1804 (Martin and Gelber 1965, 568).

### Tri-Racial Groups

The following groups living in New Jersey are described as tri-racial in literature:

*Amherst County Issues* [immigration from Virginia]

*Moors* [immigration from Delaware]

*Monacan Indian Nation, Inc./Amherst County Issues/Win Tribe*

*Nanticoke* [immigration from Delaware]

*Nanticoke-Lenni Lenape Indians/Gouldtown Group/Goulds/*

*Gouldtowners/Piercetown*

*Ramapough Lunaape Nation/Ramapough Lenape Nation/Ramapough Mountain Indians/Ramapo Mountain People/Jackson*

*Whites /Tuscarora/Wappinger*

*Pineys*

*Sand Hill Indians*

## 9.2.3 Pennsylvania

In the southeastern part of Pennsylvania, the colony New Sweden was established by the Swedish from 1638 to 1655. In 1655, it was conquered by the Dutch and incorporated into their colony New Netherland. The British seized the New Netherland colony in 1664.

In 1681, a royal land grant was handed out for a big part of Pennsylvania and by 1760 the British had gained control of all of Pennsylvania.

The state declared independence in 1776 and joined the USA in 1787 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 82–83; Rausch, Jr. 2004).

After 1715, interracial marriages were forbidden in Pennsylvania (Nash 1974, 282), but Native Americans categorized as Free Persons of Color could continue to legally intermarry with other Free Persons of Color.<sup>63</sup>

In the eighteenth century a Black man confirmed that he was a preacher among the Indians of Pennsylvania (K.W. Porter 1933, 292).

As Native Americans were removed from Pennsylvania at an early stage in colonial history, the state has no federal and no state Native American Nations. For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry there, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

African Americans and Native Americans were enslaved in Pennsylvania, but the ratio of Native American slaves always stayed below 1% of the total slave population. Most of the American Indian slaves were imported from other colonies or the Spanish Indies (Kawashima 1988, 404).

Slavery was abolished in this state in 1780 and future children of slaves freed. Slaves born prior to 1780 remained enslaved. The census of 1840 counted less than 100 slaves in Pennsylvania. These last slaves were freed in 1847 (Martin and Gelber 1965, 567; Wikipedia 2020).

### Tri-Racial Groups

There are several tri-racial groups mentioned in Pennsylvania:

*Cherokees*

*Clinton County Group*

*Piscataway/Brandywine People/Wesorts* [immigration from Maryland]

*Keating Mountain Group*

*Minard-Clan/Guineas*

*Nanticokes* [immigration from Delaware]

*Poole Tribe/Pooles*

<sup>63</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Pennsylvania by Woodson (1925, 130–53).

## 9.2.4 Delaware

Originally Delaware was divided between the colonies of New Netherland (1614–1664) and New Sweden (1638–1655). It was first settled by the Dutch in 1631, but there were also Swedish forts in the north. In 1655, the English conquered these Swedish forts and in 1664, gained the area from the Dutch. The area was granted to William Penn in 1682, who had been granted Pennsylvania the year before. In 1776 Delaware separated from Pennsylvania, declared its independence from the British, and became state of the USA in 1787 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 22–23; Russ 2004).

After 1715, the colony banned interracial marriages (Nash 1974, 282), but as Native Americans were usually categorized as Free Persons of Color, they could intermarry legally with other Free Persons of Color.<sup>64</sup>

Delaware has no federal Native American Nations, but one state tribe. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in this state, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Only a few Native Americans were ever enslaved in Delaware (Kawashima 1988, 404).

The first African slave was brought to the state in 1639 by the Dutch, who continued to import slaves until the end of their rule in 1664. After that the British continued to import African slaves into the colony. The 1777 Constitution of Delaware banned the importation and exportation of slaves, but slave trade within and out of the state was still permitted for slaveholders. Delaware was a slave state until 1865 (Russ 2004).

The slave status was inherited through the mother. This created a population of Free Persons of Color, whose mothers were white and whose fathers were African slaves, until this kind of intermarriage was outlawed after 1715.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Delaware by Woodson (1925, 7–16).

<sup>65</sup> Surnames and family genealogies of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color in Delaware were collected by Heinegg (2000, 2015b).

### Tri-Racial Groups:

The tri-racial groups in Delaware originated locally and therefore all claim *Nanticoke* or *Lenni Lenape/Delaware* descent.

*Lenape* (2 subgroups):

- *Lenape Tribe of Delaware*
- *Moors*

*Nanticoke* (2 subgroups):

- *Harmony Group/Nanticoke Moors*
- *Nanticoke Indian Association*

## 9.2.5 Maryland

Maryland was explored by the British who established their first settlement here in 1634. The Mason-Dixon-Line (1767) set the borders between Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. In 1788 Maryland joined the USA as a state. The state ceded land to the U.S. federal government in 1791 for the creation of the District of Columbia (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 46–47; Heyrman 2004).

Cross-racial unions were declared illegal by several laws. A law of 1704 stated the punishment for “Offenses of Adultery and Fornication.” In 1715, the intermarriage of Black and Mulatto slaves with white persons was banned and penalized. An Act of 1728 prosecuted all free Mulatto of Black women who had illegitimate children with white men and punished them with indenture. Regardless of this, interracial mixture and marriages happened, as court cases show. For mothers of intermixed children, it was more reasonable to declare a child as illegitimate, than to be convicted of an interracial marriage, because in the latter case the punishment would have been more severe (Harte 1963, 370ff.)

A source of 1871 asserts that all Native Americans on the eastern coast of Maryland were intermixed and many free Blacks of that area would show Indian features.<sup>66</sup>

Some of the Free Blacks claimed shared ancestry with local Native American tribes including the *Nanticoke*, *Piscataway*, and *Wicocomoco*

<sup>66</sup> Townsend quoted in Chamberlain (1891, 87). Surnames and family genealogies of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color in Maryland were published by Heinegg (2000, 2015b).

[*Wicomico*], or *Gingaskin* and *Acohanock* [*Accohannock*] from Virginia (Mooney 1907, 144).<sup>67</sup>

Maryland has no federal Native American Nations, but two state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Native Americans were employed as indentured servants or enslaved in Maryland before the first Africans arrived around 1634. These Africans were treated as indentured servants in the beginning and released after seven years. It seems that Maryland was a preferred area for runaway slaves and servants (Bruce [1896] 1966, 2: 113; Dillard 1972, 143).

A law was passed in 1663 permitting the holding of Africans as indentured servants for lifetime (Lincoln 1967, 540, footnote 5). Another law, passed in 1664, established that children inherited their status of their father (Jordan 1962, 184, footnote 2; Heyrman 2004, 562).

The reward for a Native American who returned a runaway slave was a match coat or the value of it, according to a decree from 1669 (McDougall 1891, 7).

By the time of the American Revolution (1765–1783) there were almost 70,000 African American slaves in Maryland, making up 1/3 of the population, and living mostly in rural areas (Heyrman 2004, 562–63). Slavery in this state ended with the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 (Drexler 2018).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Many of the tri-racial groups in Maryland originated from local Native American tribes. Those who immigrated crossed the border from their settlement area in neighboring states or migrated into metropolitan areas like Baltimore.

*Blue Ridge Group*

*Guineas/Male Clan* [immigration from West Virginia]

*Lumbee* [immigration from North Carolina]

<sup>67</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Maryland by Woodson (1925, 40–67).

*Melungeon* [immigration from Tennessee/Kentucky]

*Nanticoke*

*Piscataway/Conoy/Brandywine People/Wesorts* (3 subgroups):<sup>68</sup>

- *Cedarville Band of Piscataway Indians*
- *Piscataway-Conoy Confederacy and Sub-Tribes, Inc.*
- *Piscataway Indian Nation, Inc.*

## 9.2.6 District of Columbia

The District of Columbia was formed in 1791, when Maryland ceded land to the federal government for the founding of the city of Washington (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 47).

No federal Native American Nations or state tribes are registered in the District of Columbia. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry living in this district, see Appendix H.<sup>69</sup>

### Slavery

As the District of Columbia was part of Maryland until 1791, the enslavement of African Americans and Native Americans was practiced here. The Compromise of 1850 ended slave trade in Washington, DC, but slavery was still permitted until 1863 (Drexler 2019; Wikipedia 2020).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Members of tri-racial groups immigrated from neighboring states and settled down in Washington, predominantly in the Anacostia neighborhood.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Personal communication Renate Bartl with Helen C. Rountree in Munich on April 07, 2010 and April 06, 2015.

<sup>69</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color living in the District of Columbia in 1830, compiled from the 1830 U.S. Census, is provided by Woodson (1925, 16–21).

<sup>70</sup> I want to thank the late Calvin L. Beale, who was senior demographer at the U.S. Bureau of the Census, for the conversations about tri-racial groups we had in Washington, DC, in 1991. He provided invaluable information to me and let me xeroxcopy his field notes from visits to tri-racial groups. He also let me copy manuscripts on tri-racial groups from William Harlen Gilbert, Jr., who was head librarian at the Library of Congress.

*Cherokee-Tuscarora* [immigration from North Carolina]

*Moors* [immigration from Delaware]

*Piscataway/Brandywine People/Wesorts* [immigration from Maryland]

## 9.3 Midwest

Reports about contact between Native Americans and African Americans exist for this region too. Bibliographical data on literature describing these interactions in the Midwest and Great Lakes area are compiled by Bier (2004, 215–21).

### Slavery

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery and indenture in the Northwest Territory, which was created by this act and incorporated the areas that would become the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin:

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid. (United States 1787)

### Illinois

At the times of European contact, *Illinois Indians* were living in the states of Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. After 1832, they sold their land and moved to Kansas (Indian Territory) and then to Oklahoma (Indian Territory) after 1867 (Callender 1978a).

Lieutenant Alexander Frazer reports about the enslavement of Blacks by *Illinois Indians* in 1765:



They [the Illinois Indians] have a great many Negroes who are obliged to labor very hard to support their masters in their extravagant debauchery. (Alexander Frazer quoted in Dillard 1972, 170, 183, footnote 41) [addition by Dillard]

This report must be evaluated with care, as Lieutenant Frazer obviously displays a racist attitude towards Indians.

### **Potawatomi**

The *Potawatomi* were living in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin from 1600 to 1800. Remnant bands of this tribe are still settled there, but the majority has moved to Kansas and Oklahoma (Indian Territory) and to Canada (Clifton 1987).

According to Dundes (1965, 212), the *Potawatomi* know versions of folk tales that could be of African origin.

## **9.3.1 Ohio**

Ohio was explored by the French and the British. With the Treaty of 1763 France had to cede control of the territory to Britain. The first village was founded by the Moravians in 1772, and the first permanent settlement in 1788.

By 1774, Ohio became part of the British Province of Quebec. The Treaty of Paris (1783) forced the British to render control to the United States. The U.S. Northwest Ordinance created the Northwest Territory, including Ohio in 1787. Ohio finally joined the USA as a state in 1803 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 76–77; M. Mangus and S. Mangus 2004).

Since the nineteenth century, the frontier in this area was a place of refuge for Free Blacks (Berry 1972, 200).<sup>71</sup>

Runaway slaves came in contact with local American Indians during their flight to Canada. There is a story about Josiah Henson, who inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), and his

<sup>71</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Ohio by Woodson (1925, 123–30).

family, which tells us that they were given shelter in an Indian camp in Ohio on their way to Canada in 1830 (K. W. Porter 1932, 309, 1933, 308f.).

Ohio has no federal Native American Nations, but three state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry there, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 did not permit slavery in the Northwest Territory, and it was outlawed in the Ohio Constitution of 1802 (M. Mangus and S. Mangus 2004, 963).

### Odawa/Ottawa

The *Odawa* of Ohio displayed a friendly welcome towards runaway slaves:

The Ottawa Indians of the village of Chief Kinjeino, were among the earliest friends of fugitives in the [north] western part of Ohio. (Siebert quoted in K. W. Porter 1932, 309, footnote 57) [addition by Porter]

The Ohio bands of the *Odawa Nation* had to cede their reservations between 1831 and 1833. They were removed to Kansas (Indian Territory) or moved to Canada. Some individuals remained in Ohio but did not reorganize as a tribe (J. E. Feest and C. F. Feest 1978).

### Wyandot

Interactions between *Wyandot* and African Americans are mentioned in literature. In 1782, *Wyandot Indians*, who had reservations in Ohio and Michigan at that time, killed a white man and captured an African American south of the Kentucky River, Kentucky (K. W. Porter 1933, 288, footnote 18; Tooker 1978).

In 1790 two Blacks killed five *Wyandots* near Sundusky, where the *Wyandot Indians* had their Grand Reserve until 1842, when they were forced to cede all their land in Ohio to the USA and were removed to the Indian Territory the following year (Chamberlain 1891, 88, [1891] 2018, 65; K. W. Porter 1932, 359). William Walker, who became head chief of the *Wyandot* of Grand Reserve in 1835, was described as an ardent pro-slavery advocate, especially after his removal to Kansas (Abel [1915] 1992, 22, footnote10).

A report of 1819 mentions a colored preacher among the *Wyandot*:

For three years past, the Wyandots have had a Methodist preacher, a man of color, among them. (Morse 1822, Appendix: 90f.)

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

The following tri-racial groups are mentioned in Ohio – part of them have immigrated from other states:

*Ben Ishmael Tribe*

*Carmel Indians* [immigration of family clans from Kentucky]

*Catawba Indian of Carrs Run*

*Coe Clan* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Darke County Group* [immigration of family clans of the *Indian Mound Community* from Tennessee]

*Guineas*

*Lumbee* [immigration from North Carolina]

*Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Melungeons* [immigration from Kentucky and Tennessee]

*Vinton County Group* [immigration from Virginia]

## 9.3.2 Indiana

Indiana was first explored by the French who established a permanent settlement there in 1732. After 1763, the French had to cede the territory to the British who integrated it into their Province of Quebec in 1774. After the Treaty of Paris (1783), the British ceded the land to the USA, and it became part of the Northwest Territory in 1787. In 1800, it was transformed into Indiana Territory. It was admitted into the USA as the state of Indiana in 1816.

A new constitution was adopted in 1851, which prohibited Blacks from settling in Indiana, but this law was rarely enforced. Therefore, between 1816 and the Civil War (1861–1865), African Americans settled down in Indiana, mostly in all-black settlements or city neighborhoods.<sup>72</sup> Almost all Native American Nations in Indiana lost the title to their land by 1795 and were deported to the Indian Territory (Wilson, Jr.

<sup>72</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for Indiana, extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided by Woodson (1925, 24–26).

1986, 34–35; Hundley 2004). This might be the reason why only few reports for interaction between Native Americans and African Americans could be found in literature.

Today, Indiana has one federal Native American Nation, but no state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Indiana, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Slavery in Indiana was practiced until the 1840s, whereas the imposition of new indentures was forbidden after Indiana became a U.S. state in 1816 (Hundley 2004, 407).

There is an incidence reported from the middle of the eighteenth century, that near Fort Vincennes (Knox County), *Piankashaw Indians* had killed slaves (K. W. Porter 1933, 287). The *Piankashaw* were living in western Indiana about 1725–1814 and were seen as part of the *Miami Tribe*. After 1814, they moved southwest via Illinois and Missouri to Oklahoma where they became part of the *Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma*, a federally recognized tribe (Callender 1978b; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1945).

### Tri-Racial Groups

The tri-racial groups reported from Indiana almost all have immigrated from other states:

*Ben Ishmael Tribe* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Coe-Clan* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Laster Tribe* [immigration of family clans from North Carolina]

*Melungeons* [immigration from Kentucky and Tennessee]

*Randolph County Mixed-Bloods* [immigration of family clans from Ohio]

### 9.3.3 Illinois

The first explorers of Illinois were French, who founded the first forts there in 1720. After 1763, the French had to cede the territory to the British, who incorporated it into their Province of Quebec in 1774. After the Treaty of Paris (1783), the British had to cede the land to the United

States. In 1787, it became part of the Northwest Territory and in 1809, it was reorganized as Illinois Territory. In 1818, Illinois was admitted as a state to the USA (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 32–33; Meagher 2004).

There are several reports from the colonial period about African Americans living and intermarrying with local American Indians (see below).<sup>73</sup>

Illinois has no federal or state Native American Nations. For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Illinois, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

The French brought African slaves with them after their settlement of Illinois in 1720. When the area became part of the Northwest Territory in 1787, the territory should have accepted the anti-slavery restrictions of the Northwest Ordinance. The Constitution of 1818 declared Illinois as a free state, even though that year the state had the most slaves of all the areas of the Northwest and continued to hold slaves as “indentured servants.” In 1845 a court decision freed the last indentured ex-slaves (Meagher 2004; Wikipedia 2020).

### Potawatomi

As already mentioned, the *Potawatomi* were living in Illinois from 1600 to 1800. They were removed to Kansas and Oklahoma in Indian Territory or migrated to Canada (Clifton 1987).

Jean Baptiste Point du Sable (Point-au-Sable), an African-American from San Domingo (i.e. Hispaniola), was the first non-Native person to settle in Illinois. He was married to a *Potawatomi* woman, immigrated around 1796, and lived among Native Americans there. Reports call him the “founder” and the “first non-Indian settler” of Chicago, claiming he had a trading house on the site of Chicago as early as 1779, but this seems to be a misinterpretation of sources. Another story tells that he was a slave from Kentucky, who had run away, married an Indian woman, and settled down on the site of Chicago (K. W. Porter 1933, 309–310, footnote 62).

73 A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color compiled from the 1830 U.S. Census for Illinois is provided by Woodson (1925, 23–24).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Most of the tri-racial groups mentioned in literature have immigrated from other states and have clustered in metropolitan neighborhoods in Illinois, predominantly in Chicago.

*Cairo*

*Cane River Creoles of Color* [immigration from Louisiana]

*Clifton Choctaw* [immigration from Louisiana]

*Coe Clan* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Creeks* [immigration from Alabama]

*Indian Mound Community* [immigration from Tennessee]

*Tunica-Biloxi* [immigration from Louisiana]

### 9.3.4 Michigan

Michigan had been explored by the French since 1618, who founded the first permanent settlement there in 1668. The British seized Michigan in 1760 and incorporated it into their Province of Quebec in 1774 but had to cede the area to the USA in 1783. In 1787, it became part of the Northwest Territory. By 1800, it was reorganized as part of the Indiana Territory and became Michigan Territory in 1805. Finally, it joined the USA as the state of Michigan in 1837 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 50–51; Schwartz 2004).

No reports of interactions between Native Americans and African Americans could be found in literature for Michigan, but the state functioned as a refuge area for tri-racial groups.<sup>74</sup>

There are twelve federal Native American Nations in Michigan and five state recognized tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

As the area became part of the Northwest Territory in 1787, the anti-slavery restrictions of the Northwest Ordinance were in effect (Schwartz 2004).

<sup>74</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for the Michigan Territory extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided by Woodson (1925, 73).

### Tri-Racial Groups

None of the tri-racial groups in Michigan originated locally, all immigrated from other states and settled down mainly in urban neighborhoods.

*Altamaha* [immigration from Georgia]

*Guineas* [immigration from West Virginia]

*Nanticoke* [immigration from Delaware]

*People of Frilot Cove* [immigration from Louisiana]

### 9.3.5 Wisconsin

From 1634 onward, Wisconsin was explored by the French, who established a first permanent mission there in 1665 and claimed the area for France in 1689. In 1763, the French had to cede the area to the British, who incorporated it into their Province of Quebec in 1774. Subsequently in 1783 the British had to transfer the land to the United States, who made it part of the Northwest Territory in 1787.

It was then reorganized consecutively as part of Indiana Territory (1800–1805), Michigan Territory (1805–1809), Illinois Territory (1809–1818), Michigan Territory (1818–1836), and finally as Wisconsin Territory in 1836. The territory joined the USA as state of Wisconsin in 1848 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 104–5; Kasperek 2004b).

Eleven federal Native American Nations live in Wisconsin, but there are no state recognized tribes. For further information Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Wisconsin was always a free territory and when it became part of the Northwest Territory in 1787, the anti-slavery restrictions of the Northwest Ordinance became law (Schwartz 2004).

### Menominee

The *Menominee* had a word for “negro” in their language, “apésen wameqtokosui,” which can be translated literally as “black Frenchman” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352).

The *Menominee* once settled in Wisconsin and Michigan but had to cede all of their lands in Michigan and much of their Wisconsin land until 1852. They were federally recognized as *Menominee Indian Tribe* and were removed to the federal Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin in 1854 (Spindler 1978).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

One tri-racial group with an Indian identity and immigration background is mentioned in Wisconsin:

*Creek* [immigration from Alabama]

## **9.3.6 Minnesota**

Beginning in 1659, Minnesota was explored by the French, who claimed the land for France in 1679. In 1763, the French ceded the area to the British, who incorporated it into their Province of Quebec in 1774. In 1783 the USA obtained the area from the British and incorporated it into their Northwest Territory in 1787. Sections of Minnesota were part of the French District of Louisiana and British North America at that time. When the USA purchased the Louisiana District in 1803, one section of what was to become Minnesota became part of the U.S. Louisiana Territory in 1804. It was reorganized as part of the Indiana Territory the same year, became part of New Orleans Territory from 1805 to 1812, and part of Missouri Territory from 1812 to 1821.

A treaty with the British added another section to later Minnesota in 1818. From 1821 to 1834, it became an unorganized territory, before it was reorganized as part of the Michigan Territory from 1834 to 1836 and part of the Wisconsin Territory from 1836 to 1849.

In 1849, it was reorganized as Minnesota Territory and finally joined the USA as state of Minnesota in 1858 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 52–53; Kasparek 2004a).

A report about the contact of Native Americans to African Americans tells us:



The Indians at that time had no prejudice against those of African descent, and welcomed them in their lodges with the same courtesy as the white person. The wooly head they looked upon as ‘wakan,’ [strange or mysterious] and designated them as ‘black Frenchmen.’ Some would put their hands on the coarse curly hair and then laugh. (K.W. Porter 1932, 362) [addition by Porter]

For a long time, the only contact Native Americans of Minnesota had with African Americans was with the *Bonga Clan*, who lived among the *Chippewa-Ojibwa* (see below). For the Indians, the people of the *Bonga Clan* were surely the only Black persons they had encountered – and as they spoke French, the Indians assumed that all African Americans spoke that language, therefore they generally used the designation “black Frenchmen” for Black persons (K. W. Porter 1933, 362f.).

In Minnesota, there are eleven federal Native American Nations and bands, but no state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

From 1679 to 1763, the Minnesota area was part of New France and subject to French slave laws. From 1763 to 1783, it was under the control of the British and their slave codes. When Minnesota was incorporated in the Northwest Territory in 1787, it became a free territory in which slavery was prohibited.

In the section that was part of the Louisiana District and later Territory of New Orleans until 1812, slavery was permitted. The same is true for the section under British control until 1818. Slavery was finally forbidden in the Constitution of Minnesota, when it became part of the USA in 1858.

### Chippewa-Ojibwa

As already mentioned, the *Bonga* family clan was living among the *Chippewa-Ojibwa* of Minnesota. They were categorized as “freedmen” and had settled down in an *Ojibwa* village in 1819, as mentioned in a travel account:

Three miles above the mouth of the St. Louis River they came to an Ojibwa village of 14 lodges. Among the residents were the children of an African by the name of Bungo, the servant of a British officer who once had commanded at Mackinaw. Their hair was curled and skin glossy, and their features altogether African. (E.D. Neill cited in Chamberlain 1891, 89, [1891] 2018, 68)

When Henry R. Schoolcraft made his journey through the Great Lakes country to the source of the Mississippi River, he discovered a Negro living in an Ojibwa village of sixty people near the mouth of the St. Louis River. This Negro, a freedman, had been in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company for many years and had married an Ojibwa woman by whom he had four children. (Hallowell 1963, 522, [1963] 2018, 95–96)

The four children of Joas (Jean) Bonga(s) had a Native mother and therefore can be identified as tri-racial. There are reports about further male members of the *Bonga Clan* who had intermarried with Native women or were categorized as tri-racial.

The *Bongas* were working mainly as fur traders and translators among the American Indians of Minnesota and thus had contact to Native Americans in other parts of the state, including the Red River area (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52; K. W. Porter 1932, 360–62; 1933, 310f.).

In Chippewa language the term for Blacks was “ma’kadāwīyas” having the meaning of “black flesh” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352).

### Tri-Racial Groups

As already mentioned, the *Bonga Clan* can be categorized as tri-racial.

*Bongas/Bungas/Bonga Clan*

## 9.4 Southeast

The most extensive contact and intermixture between Native Americans and African Americans took place in the southeastern USA.<sup>75</sup> Most

<sup>75</sup> An early extensive discussion of the interactions between African Americans and Native Americans in the Southeast provides the dissertation of Foster (1935). A compilation of the literature describing these interactions and tri-racial groups in this area is published by Bier (2004, 41–86).

of the literary sources attribute this to the great numbers of African slaves imported to this area and to a widespread contact and intermixture of these African slaves with American Indian slaves.

My research does not support this assumption. The widespread contact and intermixture of African Americans and Native Americans in the Southeast was within the class of Free Persons of Color, established by the European and Euro-American society. Europeans and Americans had classified African Americans as Black or colored and Native Americans as colored within their system of racial categorization (see Appendix A. Racial and Ethnic Categories in the U.S. Census).

As Native Americans were usually categorized as “Indian” or “Free Persons of Color,” they could freely associate and intermix with other Free Persons of Color and Free Blacks, without any legal consequences from racial laws. This is the reason why we can find the highest number of tri-racial groups today in the southeastern USA.

There are several reports about early contacts of Africans with Native Americans.

The first Africans in the Southeast were the enslaved persons brought by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, a Spanish explorer, who had colonized South Carolina and founded a settlement on Peedee River (Georgetown County) in 1526. It is reported that the same year around 100 of these Africans fled to the Indians (Wright 1902, 220f.; R. Price [1979] 1996, 149).

The next African in the Southeast that we know of, is the slave Esteban (also Estevan, Estevanico, or Estevanillo) from Azamor, Morocco, who was probably a Moroccan Moor. He had accompanied the Spanish expedition under Pánfilo de Narváez and Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca that landed in Florida in 1528 and proceeded along the Gulf Coast to Mexico. Only four survivors of this expedition arrived in Mexico in 1536 – among them Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Esteban. According to contemporary reports, Esteban had functioned as an intermediary and translator between the Native Americans of the Gulf Coast and the participants of this expedition.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Literature on Esteban: Winship (1896, 347–78); Wright (1902, 223–27); Hodge (1907–1910, 2: 52); K. W. Porter (1932, 289f., 1933, 282f.); Riley (1972, 247–52); Simmons (1979–1983, 178); Schroeder (1979–1983, 251); Garcia-Mason (1979–1983, 455); Woodbury (1979–1983, 469); Terrell (1968).

The next Spanish explorer accompanied by Africans in the Southwest was Hernando de Soto. In 1539, his expedition landed in Florida and explored the area up to North Carolina, entered Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, crossed the Mississippi River and advanced as far as Oklahoma and Arkansas, where he died. It is reported that several Africans accompanying this expedition escaped and had contact to *Yuchi* and *Coosa* Indians in Tennessee and Georgia (K.W. Porter 1933, 283f.).

One of the most extensive interactions and intermixture of Native Americans and African Americans took place in the Virginia-Carolina area. Native American tribes, especially on the Atlantic Coast, had suffered devastating losses in the early colonial period due to the immigration of Europeans and as a result, were decimated, or totally extinct, within the first decades of European contact (see Fig. 1; Thornton 2004).

This dramatic population loss led to an extensive intermarriage with non-Indians, creating multi-ethnic tribes and tri-racial groups. Many authors assume that the local American Indians had passed into the African American society:

(...), as the coast tribes dwindled they compelled to associate and intermarry with the negroes until they finally lost their identity and were classed with that race, so that a considerable portion of the blood of the southern negroes is unquestionably Indian. (Mooney 1900, 233, 1995, 233)

Many of the broken tribes of coast Indians disappeared entirely into the Negro people. The amount of Indian admixture may of course not be known but was certainly very considerable. (Reuter 1927, 123)

(...) there is undoubtably a considerable infusion of Indian blood among the negroes of the whole south Atlantic tidewater region. (Mooney 1907, 144)

(...) it is probable that many of the negroes of the whole lower Atlantic and Gulf region have much Indian blood. (Hodge 1907–1910, 52f.)

On the other hand, there was a relatively large population of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color living in the Southeast since the earliest colonial period with which Native Americans could intermix without

breaking racial laws. The history of these Free Black and colored persons is very poorly documented up to now and needs much further research<sup>77</sup>.

Conversely, we can also find hostile Afro-Native encounters in the Southeast. From the beginning of colonization, American Indians and African Americans were dragged into the conflicts between the colonial powers France, Britain, and Spain and their conflicts with the USA, and they had mostly sided with the European powers. Additionally, African Americans were captured and returned by Native American slave hunters or were enslaved by Native Americans.

For this reason, one cannot speak of basically good or bad relationships between Native Americans and African Americans in the Southeast (Willis 1963), although there are authors who argue that African Americans preferred being enslaved by Native Americans to being enslaved by Whites (McLoughlin 1974, 368).

After 1830, in implementation of the Indian Removal Act, the *Cherokee*, *Chickasaw*, *Choctaw*, *Creek*, and *Seminole Tribes* were removed from the Southeast to the Indian Territory (Kansas and Oklahoma), although some remnant groups of these tribes were able to stay in the Southeast. All remaining tribes of the Southeast were ignored by federal institutions as they were not seen as federal Indian tribes. They were either too small, regarded as extinct, or lived on unfertile land uninteresting to white settlers, to be of any interest to the USA. On the other hand, this lack of interest prevented them from being removed to the Indian Territory.

Left behind were many detribalized American Indians, whose tribes had been removed, had broken up, or were extinct. Categorized as Free Persons of Color, they had only limited opportunities:

(...) they were left free but landless in an agricultural society in which one social group was primarily composed of white landowners and a second social group was primarily composed of non-landowning Negro

77 Heinegg (2000, [1992] 2005, 2009, 2015a, 2015b) has extensively documented the genealogies of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color of the Southeast. The *Redbone Nation* also is starting to research the history of the Free Black and colored families (Redbone Heritage Foundation [2007] 2016, 2005–2017). The history of the Free People of Color and their descendants in the U.S. South is discussed in a closed Facebook group (Milteer, Jr. 2019).

slaves. (...) there was no social role in agriculture in the Old South for a free, non-white, no-landowning Indian. The only solution (...) was to become squatters on marginal agricultural land, isolated from both negroes and whites. The existence of large numbers of Indian and mixed-blood Indian populations along the eastern seaboard and the Southern Appalachians in isolated areas with marginal soil indicates (...) that this was probably the only manner in which the Indian could continue to exist in a society based on slavery. (Peterson, Jr. 1971, 125)

These groups and their family clans often became the nucleus of tri-racial groups.

As a result of extensive contact and interactions between African Americans and Native Americans several authors report to have found African cultural elements in southeastern Native American culture – like in music and storytelling:

(...) stylistic features and melodies undoubtedly of African origin have survived among the Indians in the Southeastern states of this country, owing to contacts and even to a certain amount of intermixture between Indians and Negroes. (Herzog 1944, 131)

In Native American oral traditions and storytelling, African motifs were discovered. Dundes (1965, 218) claimed that the Indian trickster figure Rabbit is of African origin, an opinion not shared by other authors (Chamberlain 1891, 89; Gerber 1893, 247).

The interaction of Native Americans and African Americans will be described more explicitly in the subsequent chapters on the southeastern states.

Information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in the Southeast is provided in Appendix H.

## **Slavery**

In early colonial period, up to the American Revolution (1775–1783), Native Americans were enslaved in every colony. In the sixteenth century Spain deported thousands of southeastern Indians to the West Indies, but beginning in the 1540s, they tried to substitute Native American slaves with African slaves (P. H. Wood 1988, 407).

Court cases of Native American slaves trying to gain freedom on the grounds of illegal enslavement confirm that the enslavement of Indians was practiced in the southeast.

To what extent the Indians enslaved in the Southeast were actually Native Americans or were in fact Black and colored persons who had switched to an Indian identity, or were local Native Americans, or imported from other states, requires further research. The number and ratios given in contemporary literature on southeastern Native Americans who were enslaved are typically too high.

One sure reason for this is that too many persons in the Southeast claim to have Native American ancestry. It can be assumed that many of them were African Americans or Persons of Color who switched to an Indian identity to escape enslavement.

In addition, it cannot be assumed that American Indians that were enslaved in the Southeast, or shipped out from southeastern ports, were local indigenous people. Often Indian slaves were imported from other colonies and states to satisfy the demand for slave labor of the southeastern plantation economy. Many of them were deported from areas in the west, after being caught there as prisoners of war or insurrections and then punished with deportation and enslavement in other states. Examples for such practice are described in the chapters on Texas and Louisiana, where Native Americans from Texas were deported to Louisiana and sold as slaves into the plantation economy there (P. H. Wood 1988).

Although colonial powers had established laws against the enslavement of Native Americans and many U.S. territories and states did the same, the enslavement of American Indians continued in the Southeast due to the lack of governmental and institutional power and the lack of courts. Therefore, the enslavement of American Indians in the Southeast nominally ended with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865 (Crowe 1975, 161f.; Drexler 2018).

Early in the colonial period African slaves were imported as substitutes for American Indian slaves. This led to the assumption – described as slave lore in the introduction – that intermixture between Native Americans and African Americans took place between enslaved persons on the plantations or between runaway African American slaves who found refuge among Indian tribes on their reservations (Bruce [1896] 1966, 2: 57ff.).

We have been prone to underestimate the genetic contribution of the Indian to the American Negro population. This crossing took place both in the plantations of the South, where Negroes and Indians worked side by side in the fields, and in the West Indies whence came many of those who later formed part of the American Negro community. (Bloom 1940, 271)

How highly disputable this theory is, has already been discussed.

As mentioned before, African Americans were enslaved by Native Americans of the Southeast – mainly by the so-called *Five Civilized Tribes* (*Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole*) – until 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment was enacted (Bartl 1995; Bier 2004, 87–183).

All the states discussed in this chapter were slave states, into which Africans were imported as slaves. Additionally, Free African Americans and Free Persons of Color always were at risk of being kidnapped by slave traders or slave owners and then enslaved.<sup>78</sup> It was exceedingly difficult for persons enslaved this way to gain their freedom again, because they had to document their former free status in front of a judge and courts and judges were not available everywhere in the rural south.

Legal punishment was also one reason, why Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color were enslaved. As a result, these persons tried to become somehow invisible and retreated to areas uninteresting to, or hardly accessible to Euro-American society. This is also the reason why they migrated towards the borderlands of colonies and states, and into newly opened territories for settlement, either towards or beyond the frontier.

Each colonial power and each state in the Southeast had its own slave codes. Therefore, the framing conditions of slavery will be discussed more elaborately under the respective state in the following chapters.

All the slave states sided – to a more or less degree – with the Confederate States of America during the Civil War (1861–1865). Slavery and involuntary servitude finally ended in these states with the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865 (Drexler 2018).

<sup>78</sup> As described for example in the autobiography *Twelve Years a Slave: A Memoir of Kidnap, Slavery and Liberation* by Solomon Northup ([1853] 2013). Two films are based on this book: *Solomon Northup's Odyssey* (1984) and *12 Years a Slave* (2013).



### **Maroons**

Between 1672 and 1864 more than fifty Maroon settlements existed in the Southeast. These camps were usually in marginal and barely accessible areas and the Maroon families were able to build settlements where they could live a relatively undisturbed life, working in agriculture and raising cattle to practice a fully subsistent lifestyle (Aptheker 1939, 167f., [1939] 1996, 151f.).

Individual Maroon settlements will be mentioned in the following chapters on the southeastern states.

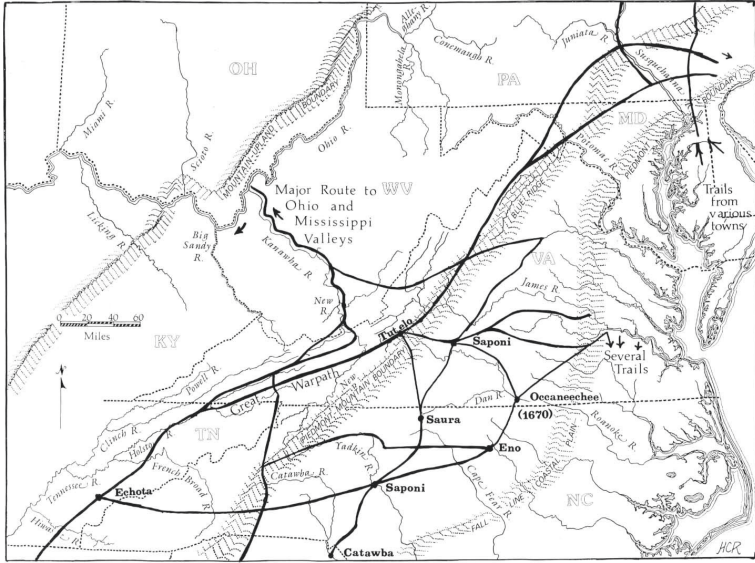
### **Tri-Racial Groups**

The constellation of remnant Native American tribes, detribalized Indians, Free Blacks, and Free Persons of Color, who coexisted in relatively high population numbers in the Southeast, created a framework for the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups:

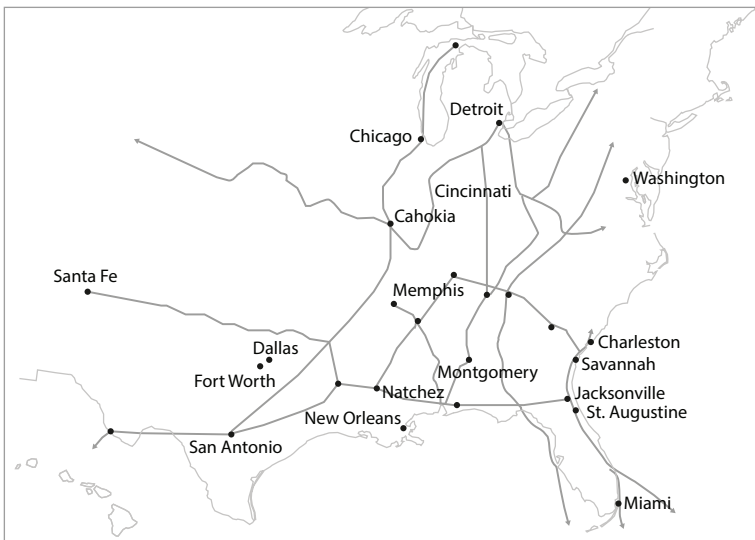
These communities are found principally in the South, because here the caste and racial lines were most strictly drawn. A half-breed of mingled Indian, Negro, and white blood, who had no tribal affiliations to give him prestige, was nevertheless inclined to regard himself as superior to the negro, but at the same time realized that he would not be welcomed by the whites. The Negroes, on the other hand, especially if the slaves of a prominent planter, looked down in their turn on the mand with no master and no definite race. (K. W. Porter 1932, 315)

Many tri-racial family clans and groups had their origin in the coastal lowland area of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. From there they migrated to the west, north, and south, predominantly into areas where slavery was abolished, or where racial laws and slave codes could not be enforced (as we have seen in states already discussed).

Their migration routes out of the Virginia-Carolina area often followed old Indian trails as previously discussed.



Map 4 Indian trails and migration routes out of Virginia–Carolina area. Map by Helen C. Rountree. Reprinted by courtesy of Helen C. Rountree



Map 5 Communications Network of the southeast. Map by Annerose Wahl. Source: P.H. Wood, Waselkov, and Hatley 1989, frontispiece

Tri-racial family clans were usually the first to migrate and cross the frontier in search of new settlement areas, to escape the limitations of racial laws and white racism. They were described as pioneers who settled the area on the borderlands and beyond (E.T. Price 1951, 271, 1953, 150; Beale 1957, 187f.).

The biggest and most prominent tribes in the Southeast were Native American Nations like the *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, and *Creek*. As such, many tri-racial groups claim descent from these tribes and we can find hundreds of multi-ethnic Indian groups claiming *Cherokee*, or *Choctaw*, or *Creek* identity in the Southeast. Generally, they assert that they are local remnants of these nations who were able to escape deportation to the Indian Territory.

Regarding the colonial and post-colonial population numbers of these nations, it is impossible that all these groups descended from these tribes. It has become a source of great frustration for these Native American Nations as so many multi-ethnic groups claim common ancestry, attempt state recognition and federal acknowledgement, and if successful compete for federal funding.

Tri-racial groups of the Southeast will be listed in the following chapters under the respective state they are living in.

### 9.4.1 Virginia

The British founded their first permanent settlement of North America, Jamestown, in the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1607. The Province of Carolina was separated from the Commonwealth of Virginia by a British royal grant in 1663. The Virginia colony declared its independence from Britain in 1776, which was formally recognized by Great Britain in 1783. In 1788, Virginia became a state of the USA. It seceded from the United States to become a member of the Confederate States in 1861 and rejoined the USA in 1870 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 98–99; Hornbuckle 2004).

The first Africans were imported to Virginia in 1619. While the number of imported Africans increased since that time, the Virginia *Algonquin* population declined dramatically. From estimated 14,000–21,000 persons in the early seventeenth century, to 1,850 persons in 1669 and 347+ persons in 1705 (C.F. Feest 1978c, 256–58; Wilson, Jr. 1986, 99).

Peter Kalm, a German explorer, travelled through Virginia in 1748–1751 and reported the first contacts between Native Americans and African Americans in that area:

(...) they sought they were a true breed of Devils, and therefore they called them Manitto for a great while: this word in their language signifies not only God, but likewise the devil.

(...) since that time, they have entertained less disagreeable notions of the Negroes, for at present many live among them, and they even sometimes intermarry, as I myself have seen. (Kalm quoted in K.W. Porter 1932, 300, 314)

Contact between persons of different races was legally banned subject to punishment in Virginia since 1662. Intermarriage between Whites and free or bonded Blacks and American Indians was interdicted in 1691 and was punished by way of expulsion from the colony, and children of intermarriages were subject to indentured servitude. From 1705 onward the Church of England was interdicted to bless interracial marriages while racial laws and slave codes restricted the rights of non-White persons ever more in the years following. In 1723, Free Blacks, colored and Native persons were deprived of their right to vote (Hening 1819-23, 3: 86–88, 452–454; 4: 133–134).

The term “mulatto” first was used in Virginia in 1666 (Jordan 1962, 184) and legally defined there in 1705:

Be it enacted and declared and, it is hereby enacted and declared, That the child of an Indian and the child, grand child, or great grand child, of a Negro shall be deemed, accounted, held and taken to be a mulatto. (Hening 1819-23, 3: 252)

This legal definition was valid until 1910. Up to that year each person with 1/4 or more American Indian ancestry was categorized as American Indian. Since 1910, every person having 1/16 or more African American ancestry was defined as a colored person (Stern 1952, 207, footnote 150a). In 1930 these provisions were further restricted, and these new definitions were still valid in 1950:

Every person in whom there is ascertainable any Negro blood shall be deemed and taken to be a colored person, and every person not a colored person having one-fourth or more of American Indian blood shall be deemed American Indian; except that members of Indian tribes living on reservations allotted to them by the Commonwealth having one-fourth or more of Indian blood and less than one sixteenth of Negro blood shall be deemed tribal Indians so long as they are domiciled on such reservation. (Stern 1952, 207, footnote 150a)

Another Virginia law of 1936 defines who is a “white person”:

(...) the term “white person” shall apply only to such person as has no trace whatever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of American Indian and have no other non-Caucasian blood shall be deemed to be white persons. (Stern 1952, 207, footnote 150a)

To summarize, the criterium for being categorized as “American Indian” stayed at 1/4 of American Indian ancestry, while an increasing number of persons of African American ancestry, who had been accepted as “white” or “Indian” in earlier times, were removed into the categories “Black” or “Colored.” Persons of Native American and African American ancestry were accepted as “American Indian” as long as they lived on a reservation. When they left the reservation, or the reservation was dissolved, many lost their American Indian status and were switched into the category of “Persons of Color” or “tri-racial.”

On the other side, Native American Nations had adopted segregation laws in their tribal constitutions, like the *Pamunkey Indian Tribe* of Virginia. Their tribal laws had prohibited African Americans from membership in their tribe, excluding tribal members who married African Americans, and removing them from the reservation. As already mentioned, they deleted the racist first section of their “Ordinances” in order to get federal recognition (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2014, 48; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015b, 39145).

Before 1724, persons of Native American and African American descent were called “mustees” or “mestizos” in Virginia (Russell 1913, 128). By 1930–1931, Virginia tried to prevent racially mixed Native Americans from being counted as “Indian” in the U.S. Census, which the Bureau of Census declined, but it was footnoted that the classification of these persons as “Indian” had been questioned (Beale 1972, 706).

The dramatic population loss among Virginia *Algonquin*<sup>79</sup> had led to the extinction of many tribes and had caused those who survived to intermix with non-Native persons. Legal intermixture and intermarriage were only possible within the racial category of “free non-white.” This is the reason why many Virginia Indian tribes intermixed with Blacks and Persons of Color. The same is true for detribalized Indians whose tribes had vanished.

The detribalized Indians thus entered a larger society, but at an inferior level and with racial barriers to upward mobility.

(...) Wherever he went he became absorbed into that submerged and increasingly disenfranchised segment of society made up of a floating population of free Negroes, mulattoes, and other Indians. Within this group, in intimate contact with rural and lower-class Whites, cultural fusion went on apace, attended by racial blending. (Stern 1952, 189)

In the nineteenth century, all of this has ended up in a bi-racial system: White and non-White, with Native Americans, African Americans, and Persons of Color grouped together in the non-white segment of society.<sup>80</sup>

Churches and schools were segregated according to the same rules. After the end of the Civil War, freedmen founded the “Hampton Nor-

<sup>79</sup> An overview on the Native American Nations in Virginia is provided by C.F. Feest (1978c). Detailed discussions of the Virginia Nations can be found in the many publications by Rountree (1972, 1979, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1992); Rountree and Davidson (1997); Rountree and Turner, III (2002).

<sup>80</sup> Russell (1913, 127f.); Gilbert (1949, 417); Stern (1952, 191, 200); Berry (1972, 192, 196); C.F. Feest (1976, 279). Surnames and family genealogies of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color were collected by Heinegg ([1992] 2005, 2015a, 2015b). A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Virginia by Woodson (1925, 164–92). A closed Facebook group discusses the history and genealogies of multi-ethnic persons in Virginia (Rowe 2019).

mal and Agricultural Institute” in 1868. Beginning in 1878, Native Americans were also permitted to attend this institute. American Indians forming the non-slaveholding nations of the Indian Territory, like *Sauks* and *Fox*, *Lakota*, as well as *Seminole* and *Creek Freedmen* (i.e. manumitted Black slaves of the *Seminole* and *Creek*), visited the institute (K.W. Porter 1933, 318f.). Virginia school segregation was declared illegal in 1954.

Contacts between Native Americans and African Americans were both friendly and hostile. There are reports of African Americans killed by Virginia Indians (for examples see K.W. Porter 1933, 287), as well as friendly post-war trade contacts (Stern 1952, 198).

In the 1930s Virginia Blacks claimed to be of *Cherokee* or *Nottoway* ancestry (Mooney 1907, 132; K.W. Porter 1932, 314).

Interracial marriages, including marriages between Native Americans and African Americans, were declared legal by the Supreme Court of the USA in 1967, based on a court case from Virginia (*Loving Et Ux. V. Virginia* 1967).

Virginia has seven federal Native American Nations and four state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see Appendix H.

## Slavery

The first African slaves were imported to Virginia in 1619. In the early colonial period, it was usual to employ Blacks – like Whites – as indentured servants who were freed after the end of their indenture. This explains the relatively high number of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color living in Virginia since its earliest period of colonization.<sup>81</sup>

When the request for labor force was increased by an expanding plantation economy, African American servants could be converted into indentured servants for lifetime. This was a form of legalized slavery as opposed to chattel slavery as it was practiced in the southern states. It is reported that since 1627, Black slaves escaped to Virginia Indian tribes, but it is difficult to estimate how many (C.F. Feest 1978c, 257). A

<sup>81</sup> Wilson, Jr. (1986, 99); K.W. Porter (1932, 298–300); C.F. Feest (1976, 276); Franklin (1983, 67).

law was established in 1672 that offered a reward to American Indians who returned runaway indentured servants and slaves (Hening 1819-23, 2: 300).

Native Americans were bound as indentured servants since 1654–1655. At that time all indentured servants, independently from their racial categorization, had the same status. The enslavement of Native Americans was legitimized in 1676, but there are reports that they had already been enslaved since 1672. A law of 1723 still mentions American Indian slaves (Hening 1819-23, 1: 410; 2: 300, 404, 440; 4: 132).

Native American slaves were depersonalized as were Black slaves:

Slavery (...) had resulted in a complete alienation of persons from the Indian community, and their total incorporation within the lowest ranks of the White-Negro structure. (Stern 1952, 182)

There are reports about European, African American, and Native American indentured servants and slaves, who escaped to Indian tribes or remote places, where they formed tri-racial groups.<sup>82</sup>

According to a law of 1662 the status of a slave was inherited from the mother (Hening 1819-23, 2: 170). For this reason, Native Americans in Virginia have accused slaveowners of forcing Native American men to have relations with Black slave women:

Notwithstanding the large percentage of negro blood, the Indian race feeling is strong. This is due largely, according to their own statement, to the fact that intermixture was frequently forced upon them in the old days, with the deliberate purpose of claiming their children for slavery. Their one great dread is that their wasted numbers may lose their identity by absorption in the black race, and against this they have struggled for a full century. (Mooney 1907, 145)

To what extent the enslaved Indians in Virginia were Native Americans, or Black and colored persons who had switched into an Indian identity, or were local Native Americans, or imported from other states, still requires research.

<sup>82</sup> Bruce ([1896] 1966); Mooney (1907, 141); Stern (1952, 181ff.); Dillard (1972, 143); C.F. Feest (1976, 277f.).



I agree with Helen C. Rountree that there are too many persons claiming Native American ancestry in Virginia and neighboring states, and not all persons claiming Indian identity could be of Native American decent. Existing data indicate that many of the Virginia “Indians” were African Americans or Persons of Color who had switched to an “Indian” identity to escape enslavement.

On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all Indians enslaved in Virginia, or shipped out from Virginia ports, were local Indians.<sup>83</sup>

Of the slaveholding tribes, *Cherokee* Indians have lived in Virginia since before removal and some tribes claiming *Cherokee* identity still exist there. As the *Cherokee* predominantly had settled the Piedmont area of Virginia, which was less suitable for plantation economy, the enslavement of African Americans by Virginia *Cherokee* was not very customary.

### **Maroons**

A group of Maroons was reported from Rappahannock County prior to 1700 (Bruce [1896] 1966, 116). Maroon settlements are mentioned in Chesterfield County and Charles City County in 1792, in Princess Anne County in 1818, and a camp of approximately 100 Maroons was reported in Surry County in 1862. Other reports tell of Maroon raids in Norfolk County in 1823. One of the biggest Maroon settlements was known as the *Dismal Swamp Settlement* and was located on the border of Virginia and North Carolina (Aptheker 1939, [1939] 1996).

### **Algonquin/Powhatan**

Almost all Virginia *Algonquin* tribes have intermixed with African Americans. Some of them are described as racially mixed in literature, for example the *Wicocomoco* (*Wicomico*) and *Werowocomoco*, both belonging to the *Powhatan Confederacy*, without mentioning the nature of intermixture (Mooney 1907, 151; Speck 1924, 188, footnote 6).

Virginia *Algonquin* oral tradition documents the interaction with Europeans and African Americans:

<sup>83</sup> Further publications on the enslavement of Native Americans in Virginia, that have not been used, are: C. S. Everett (2009a, 2009b); Shefveld (2014); Lauber (1913).

Animal tales and some personal narratives of European and negro extraction, locally adapted to the condition of recent Indian life in the region, are all that we have to represent the oral tradition of this area. (Stern 1952, 194)

In addition to oral tradition, other Virginia *Algonquin* cultural elements, like material culture and behavior, had been adopted from African Americans, as claimed by some authors (Stern 1952, 197f.).

### Tri-Racial Groups

A high number of the tri-racial groups mentioned in literature are living in Virginia. The reason for this is diverse. First, there were many Native American Nations in Virginia who were exposed to an immense depopulation stress within a short time after European colonization, causing dysfunction and extinction of tribes, extensive intermarriage of tribal members with non-Indians, and a population of detribalized Indians. On the other hand, there existed a relatively large population of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color, with whom Virginia Indians could legally intermix. Most of the Virginia tri-racial groups descend from local Native American tribes or claim descent from these tribes. All of these groups originated locally, and several groups and family clans mentioned here had their origin in Virginia but have migrated to other states – in whole, or in part.

*Accohannock/Miles Clan*<sup>84</sup>

*Allmondsville*<sup>84</sup>

*Brown People*

*Chavis-Clan*

*Cubans*

*Chickahominy* (2 subgroups):<sup>84</sup>

– *Chickahominy Indian Tribe*

– *Chickahominy Indians, Eastern Division, Inc./Eastern Chickahominy Tribe*

*Drummondtown*<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Personal communication Renate Bartl with Helen C. Rountree in Munich on April 07, 2010 and April 06, 2015.

*Gingaskin/Accomac*<sup>84</sup>

*Guineas*

*Goins-Clan*

*Hanover County Indians*

*Indian Mound Community*

*Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods*

*Mattaponi (2 subgroups):*<sup>84</sup>

- *Mattaponi Indian Nation/Lower Mattaponi*
- *Upper Mattaponi Tribe/Upper Mattaponi Indian Tribe/  
Adamstown Indians*

*Monacan Indian Nation, Inc./Amherst County Issues/Win Tribe*<sup>84</sup>

*Melungeon/Ramps*

*Blue Ridge Cherokee, Inc.*

*Nansatico/Nantaughtacund*

*Nansemond Indian Tribe*<sup>84</sup>

*Nottoway (2 subgroups):*<sup>84</sup>

- *Cheroenhaka (Nottoway) Indian Tribe of Southampton  
County*
- *Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia (NITV)*

*Pamunkey Indian Tribe*<sup>84</sup>

*Patawomeck Indian Tribe*<sup>84</sup>

*Poquoson Group/Wise-Clan*

*Potomack*

*Rappahannock County Issues*

*Rappahannock (2 subgroups):*

- *Rappahannock Tribe/Rappahannock Indian Tribe, Inc.*<sup>84</sup>
- *Rappahannock/Portobacco-Rappahannock*

*Rockbridge County Issues*

*Sampsons*

*Shiffletts*

*Skeetertown Indians*<sup>84</sup>

*United Cherokee Tribe/United Cherokee Indian Tribe of Virginia,  
Inc./Buffalo Ridge Cherokee*<sup>84</sup>

*Vinton County Group*

## 9.4.2 West Virginia

The area of West Virginia was first explored by the British in 1671. The first settlers came from Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1719. West Virginia was part of Virginia until 1861, when Virginia seceded from the United States and joined the Confederacy, while West Virginia remained in the Union and was organized as a separate state. In 1863 it joined the USA as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 102–3; Hutton 2004).

As West Virginia was part of Virginia until 1861, the Afro-Native contact situation was described under the previous chapter on Virginia.

West Virginia has no federal and state tribes. For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry in West Virginia, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

West Virginia had the same slave laws as Virginia until 1861. After this time, West Virginia prepared slowly for a total abolition of slavery. Because of its topography West Virginia was not as suited as Virginia for plantation economy, therefore the slave population was not as numerous as in Virginia (Hutton 2004).

### Tri-Racial Groups

The tri-racial groups of West Virginia have a separate, non-Native identity and originated locally. They have spread their settlement area to neighboring states.

*Guineas*

*Melungeons*

## 9.4.3 Kentucky

In 1750, the Cumberland Gap was discovered, an important gateway through the Appalachian Mountains to the west. The first settlement was established in 1774. Kentucky was part of the Commonwealth of Virginia until 1776, when Kentucky County was created. From 1783 to 1790 Kentucky County was part of the Indiana Territory and became part of the Southwest Territory in 1790. Kentucky joined the USA as a state in 1792 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 40–41; Asperheim 2004)

There were few free Blacks living in Kentucky in the eighteenth century (Asperheim 2004, 477), but their population number increased in the nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

Kentucky has no federal Indian tribes but does have two state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Kentucky, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

In 1792, some 23% of Kentucky households owned slaves. A law was passed in 1833 that prohibited the sale of slaves (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 41).

*Cherokee* and *Chickasaw*, both of whom were slaveholding tribes, were living in Kentucky, but it is uncertain whether the Kentucky bands had enslaved African Americans.

In 1792, an attack by *Cherokee* on Whites and Blacks was reported from near Frankfort, during which some of the Whites and Blacks were killed and others captured as prisoners (K.W. Porter 1933, 287). War captives could usually be enslaved in Kentucky.

### Tri-Racial Groups

The tri-racial groups in Kentucky originated locally or descended from tri-racial family clans who had immigrated from the Virginia-Carolina-Tennessee area. It can be assumed that many of the groups claiming *Cherokee* identity in Kentucky are of multi-ethnic origin and might have to be included in the tri-racial category.

*Ben Ishmael Tribe*

*Coe Clan/Coe Ridge Group*

*Eastern Kentucky Mixed-Bloods*

*Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods/Melungeon* [immigration from  
Virginia and Tennessee]

*Melungeon*

*Pea Ridge Group*

*Scuffletown*

<sup>85</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Kentucky by Woodson (1925, 26–30).

### 9.4.4 Tennessee

The first European exploration of this area was in 1540 by the Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans. Since 1663, Tennessee was part of the Province of Carolina created by a British royal grant. It was settled first in 1768 and declared independence from the British by 1772. In 1777, the area became the Washington District of North Carolina after land was purchased from the *Cherokee* in 1775. The land was officially ceded from the British to the USA in 1783. In 1790, it became part of the Southwest Territory until Tennessee joined the USA as a state in 1796.

From 1861 to 1865, Tennessee joined the Confederate States of America, before it rejoined the USA in 1866 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 90–91; Cheatham 2004).

Persons of Color were deprived of their right to vote in 1834 (Berry 1972, 207).<sup>86</sup>

Tennessee has no federal Native American Nations, but had six state tribes until 2010, when their state recognition was declared void by a chancery court (Mark Greene Vs. Tennessee Commission of Indian Affairs 2010). The Tennessee Commission on Indian Affairs, which had decided and declared the state recognition of tribes, was consequently dissolved in the same year (National Conference of State Legislatures 2017). For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Tennessee, see Appendix H.

#### Slavery

The first African slaves were brought to Tennessee by the De Soto Expedition in 1540.

Slavery was practiced in the area of Tennessee, when it was part of North Carolina and the Southwest Territory, both permitting the enslavement of non-white persons. In 1796, Tennessee joined the USA as a slave state and then joined the Confederate States from 1861 to 1865, until the Civil War concluded and slavery was abolished in 1865.

<sup>86</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for Tennessee, extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is compiled by Woodson (1925, 160–63).

Of the slaveholding tribes, *Cherokee*, *Chickasaw*, *Creek*, and *Choctaw* had lived in the Tennessee area (Cheatham 2004). The *Cherokee* had plantations with Black slaves here (Foreman 1932, 250; Halliburton, Jr. 1974/75).

There are still living many tribes in Tennessee claiming ancestry to the *Cherokee* (see Appendix H), many of whom are categorized as tri-racial.

No reports about the enslavement of Native Americans in Tennessee have come to my knowledge.

### **Yuchi/Euchee**

One of the African slaves of the De Soto Expedition (1539–1542) ran away with a “queen” of the *Yuchi*. The *Yuchi* must have had contact to Africans, because they have a word for Africans in their language: “kúispi,” which can be translated as “black man” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52, 352; K. W. Porter 1933, 283). The *Yuchi* lived in Tennessee and northern Alabama in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, migrated to South Carolina, Georgia, and southern Alabama in the eighteenth century and a part of them finally settled down in Florida in the nineteenth century (Jackson 2004). Native American tribes and groups claiming *Yuchi/Euchee* identity still can be found in Tennessee, South Carolina, Florida, and Oklahoma (see Appendix H).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

Part of the tri-racial groups in Tennessee originated locally, others were formed by tri-racial family clans from the Virginia-Carolina area. There are many groups claiming Indian identity – mostly *Cherokee* identity – while others have developed a non-Indian, tri-racial identity:

*Cherokee*

*Chickasaw*

*Indian Mound Community*

*Melungeon/Portuguese* (3 subgroups):

– *Collins Clan*

– *Goins Clan*

– *Mullins Clan*

*Portuguese*

### 9.4.5 Province of Carolina

The Carolina Jcoast was first explored by Giovanni da Verrazano for the French Crown in 1524. The Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542) was the first European exploration of the area by land and was accompanied by Africans. Until 1711, North and South Carolina were part of the Province of Carolina, which was separated in 1663 from the Commonwealth of Virginia and was established by a British royal grant. In 1712, North Carolina and South Carolina were created as two separate provinces (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 72–73, 86–87)

The first Africans came with the Spaniards to the Province of Carolina in 1526 and 1539 (R. Price [1979] 1996, 149; K.W. Porter 1933, 283).

Although some authors state that Carolinians had tried to keep Native Americans and Africans Americans separate in the province (Nash 1974, 286f; Willis 1963, 170), Carolina was predestined for multi-ethnic intermixture by the mid-seventeenth century:<sup>87</sup>

The Carolina backcountry at that time was a mish-mash of ethnic, nationality, and culture groups – Indian, Negro, German, Scotch-Irish, Scotch-Highlanders, and a sampling from England. (Montell 1972, 711)

The history of the states of North and South Carolina will be discussed in the following two chapters.

#### Slavery

The Province of Carolina permitted the enslavement of African Americans since 1670 and the enslavement of Native Americans since 1671.

Native American slaves were hunted for as far down as South Florida, deported to Carolina, and sold there. This way *Apalachee*, *Timucua*, *Yamasee*, *Lower Creek*, and *Cherokee* from areas south of Carolina were enslaved in the Carolinas. In general, there were numerous Native American slaves and indentured servants in the province.

<sup>87</sup> An overview on the Native American tribes in the Carolinas after 1900 is provided by Lerch (2004).



Since 1707, the rights of the American Indians in Carolina were protected much better and they could no longer be enslaved at random. After 1717, the enslavement of Native Americans gradually stopped.

The slave codes of Carolina are rated as one of the most restrictive codes in all of the British colonies, and many slaves tried to escape from this region. Some runaway slaves founded Maroon settlements or escaped the British colonies to Spanish Florida and settled with the Native American Nations there.<sup>88</sup>

The history of slavery is discussed more elaborately under the following chapters on North and South Carolina.

#### 9.4.5.1 North Carolina

The first colony in North Carolina was established by the British on Roanoke Island in 1585. When the British returned in 1590 the settlement was abandoned, which caused much speculation as to where the settlers had gone. Several tri-racial groups claiming “Indian” identity in North Carolina, claim to be the descendants of this colony, known as Raleigh’s Lost Colony (e.g. *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina*, a federally recognized Indian tribe).

In 1712 North Carolina was created as a separate province out of the Province of Carolina and in 1729, it became a royal colony. North Carolina declared independence from Britain in 1776 and joined the USA as a state in 1789.

As a slave state, it seceded from the USA in 1861 and joined the Confederate States of America. In 1868 it was readmitted to the United States as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 72–73; Morgan 2004).

In 1715, one law forced manumitted slaves to leave the province within six months. The manumission of slaves was made more diffi-

<sup>88</sup> McDougall (1891, 8); Bassett (1896); Mooney (1900, 233); Bloom (1940, 269); Willis (1963); Covington (1967); Nash (1974, 276, 289f.); Halliburton, Jr. (1974/75, 485). Further sources on the enslavement of Native Americans in the Province of Carolina, that have not been used, are: Winston (1934); Olexer (1982); Gallay (2009); and Lauber (1913).

cult by a law passed in 1741, but the freedmen were no longer forced to leave the province.<sup>89</sup>

Since 1715, further laws were enacted that taxed individuals, who were racially intermixed, or who had intermarried (Bassett 1896, 65–69). From 1715 to 1737 and from 1835 to 1865 non-white persons were disenfranchised in North Carolina (Bassett 1896, 67; Berry 1972, 196).

In the years 1741, 1854, and 1887, laws were passed that prohibited the intermarriage of persons with persons of Indian or Black descent up to the third generation (i.e. 1/16 quota). In consequence, intermarriages between members of the tri-racial *Lumbee* and persons of 1/16 or more African American descent were declared illegal (Woodson 1918, 345; Johnson 1939, 519; Dane and Griessman 1972, 699). Occasionally persons of 1/16 African American descent could be categorized as “mulatto” (Jordan 1962, 185).

James Mooney, an American ethnographer, speculated in a quite racist manner about the Native Americans of North Carolina<sup>90</sup> in 1915:

(...) they may be a people who “combined in themselves the blood of the wasted native tribes, the early colonists or forest rovers, the runaway or other Negroes and probably also of stray seaman of the Latin races from coasting vessels in the West Indies or Brazilian trade.” [Mooney cited in Dane and Griessman (1972, 695)]

The relationship between Native Americans and African Americans was considered neither good, nor bad, however, one report speaks of a natural aversion that local Native Americans expressed towards African Americans (K.W. Porter 1933, 291).

<sup>89</sup> Genealogies for Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color in North Carolina are provided by Heinegg ([1992] 2005, 2015a, 2015b). A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is compiled for North Carolina by Woodson (1925, 110–23). Milteer, Jr. (2013, 2020) has researched and published about the Free Persons of Color in this state. A closed Facebook group discusses the history and genealogies of multi-ethnic persons in North Carolina (Rowe 2019).

<sup>90</sup> An overview on the Native American Nations of North Carolina is given by C.F. Feest (1978b).

North Carolina has two federal Indian tribes and ten state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in North Carolina, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

As a slave state, North Carolina had permitted enslavement of African Americans since 1670 and of Native Americans since 1671 (Covington 1967; Willis 1963, 158). Slavery in this state was terminated with the end of the Civil War in 1865.

The first African slaves entered North Carolina with the Spanish De Soto Expedition in 1539 (K.W. Porter 1933, 283).

One report tells us about the treatment of runaway Black slaves by Native Americans, whom they caught and returned, and sometimes tortured (K.W. Porter 1933, 290–91).

The *Cherokee*, a slaveholding tribe, inhabited a large part of North Carolina until they were deported with their Black slaves to the Indian Territory in 1835. Part of the tribe managed to escape deportation and is now living as the *Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians*, a federally recognized Native American Nation, on a reservation named Qualla Boundary (Pollitzer 1971, 37f.; Fogelson 2004a). They are usually categorized as tri-racial.

As already mentioned, Native Americans were enslaved in North Carolina, especially *Tuscarora*, in great numbers (see below).<sup>91</sup> After 1717, the enslavement of Native Americans gradually decreased, which might also be connected to the end of the Tuscarora War (1711–1715).

### Maroons

A number of Maroon settlements and activities are reported from North Carolina. Maroon raids took place in Wilmington (New Hanover County) in 1795, in Wake County and Johnston County in 1818, and in Onslow County, Carteret County, and Bladen County in 1821.

<sup>91</sup> Sources on the enslavement of Native Americans in North Carolina, that have not been used, are: C.S. Everett (2009b); Ethridge (2009); Olexer (1982); Winston (1934); Lauber (1913).

The existence of Maroon camps is mentioned near Elizabeth City (Pasquotank County) in 1802, in a swamp in Cabarrus County in 1811, in the Dover Swamp (Craven County), on Gastons Island (location uncertain: possibly in Lake Gaston or in Gaston County), in Prince's Creek (location uncertain), several on Newport River (Carteret County), and several near Wilmington (New Hanover County) in 1830/1831. Other camps were located on the border between Bladen County and Robeson County in 1856 and in Nash County in 1859.

Maroons are also mentioned in Gates County in 1820, nearby New Bern (Craven County) in 1830 and the counties Bladen, Currituck, Duplin, Jones, Onslow, and Sampson (Aptheker 1939, [1939] 1996).

### **Tuscarora**

The *Tuscarora* settlement area covered a big part of North Carolina when the first European settlers arrived. It is reported that *Tuscarora* people sheltered many Black slaves before 1711, who fought on their side in the Tuscarora War of 1711–1713 (Nash 1974, 288). Whether the African Americans living among the *Tuscarora* really were slaves, or whether they were Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color who had joined them has yet to be verified.<sup>92</sup>

During the Tuscarora War approximately 1,000 to 1,500 *Tuscarora* fled to Virginia. After the war (1713–1714), some 1,500 *Tuscarora* left North Carolina and fled to New York State to join the *Iroquois Confederacy* there, or retreated to Ontario, Canada. Another band went to South Carolina in 1715 and settled there. The rest stayed in North Carolina, where a reservation was established. In 1763 and 1766, further *Tuscarora* bands migrated north to Pennsylvania and New York State. Finally, the North Carolina reservation was sold in 1804 and the last band of *Tuscarora* moved north to New York State (Nash 1974, 228; Landy 1978; Boyce 1978, 287–88). In all of these migrations, they were joined by the African Americans living among them.

<sup>92</sup> I want to thank Larry E. Tise for discussing with me the situation of the *Tuscarora* and the African Americans living with them in North Carolina during his visit to Munich in 2015. I am also thankful of his remarks concerning the categorization of “Free Persons of Color” in historical context.

Long before the war, *Tuscarora* were already enslaved by Whites, but after they lost the war, hundreds of them were captured as prisoners of war and were punished with enslavement (Mooney 1900, 233; Roller and Twyman 1979, 1115). Originally, this was one of the main reasons for their flight to other colonies.

Several tri-racial groups claim ancestry to *Tuscarora* Indians, among them local *Lumbee* and *Haliwa*, the *Ramapough Lenape Nation* (New York State/New Jersey), and many other groups (Berry 1972, 194; Boyce 1978, 288). Today there are at least six groups in North Carolina claiming to be remnant *Tuscarora Indian* bands (see Appendix H).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Tri-racial groups and family clans in North Carolina mostly originated locally, but some tri-racial family clans immigrated from neighboring states and added to the genealogies of the groups. North Carolina tri-racial groups either claim Indian identity from local Native American Nations, even though they might be extinct or deported, or have developed an independent identity:

*Black Andersons*

*Chavis Clan*

*Cherokee*

*Coe Clan* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Coharie*

*Cubans/Person County Indians*

*Goins Clan*

*Halifax and Warren County Indians* (2 subgroups):

– *Haliwa*

– *Hollister Negroes*

*Indian Mound Community*

*Laster Tribe*

*Lumbee/Cheraw/Cherokee Indians of Robeson County/Croatans/*

*Robeson County Indians/Redbones/Scuffletown/Siouan Indians*

*of Robeson County/Tuscarora*

*Machapunga*

*Melungeon/Portuguese*

*Nash County Indians*

*Old Free Issues*

*Pell Mellers*

*Portuguese*

*Redbones*

*Rockingham County Indians*

*Smilings* [immigration from South Carolina]

*Tuscarora*

*Waccamaw Sioux*

#### 9.4.5.2 South Carolina

Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, a Spanish explorer, founded the first settlement in South Carolina in 1526. Like North Carolina, South Carolina was created as a separate province out of the Province of Carolina in 1712 and in 1729 became a royal colony. By 1776, it declared its independence from the British and joined the USA as a separate state in 1788. In 1860 South Carolina was the first state to secede from the United States to form the Confederate States of America with the other southern states. After the Civil War it rejoined the USA in 1868 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 86–87; M. H. Jennings 2004).

The first Africans in South Carolina were slaves that Vázquez de Ayllón had brought with him when he colonized the area and founded a settlement on Peedee River (Georgetown County) in 1526. It is reported that in the same year some 100 of these Africans fled to the Indians (Wright 1902, 220f.; R. Price [1979] 1996, 149).

Up until 1680, race relations in South Carolina were relatively peaceful. Later, South Carolina started to practice a very restrictive policy of racial segregation meant to keep Native Americans and African Americans apart. The reason for this was the constant fear that both “races” would join forces and attack the white minority.

A law from the eighteenth century interdicted African Americans to enter Native American land or the frontier area. Native Americans who wanted to enter South Carolina needed an official permit.

Interracial marriages became illegal in 1715. South Carolina created a system of social classes in which Native Americans were classified higher than Mulattoes and both were classified higher than Blacks. This system kept the non-white classes apart and prevented interactions and intermarriages.

This might be the reason for the paucity of reports about interactions and intermarriages of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color with Native Americans, however, these states of union were legally acceptable where Native Americans were categorized as Free Persons of Color.<sup>93</sup> That Native Americans intermixed with African Americans is supported by the fact that there was an official racial term for African-Native persons in South Carolina, “mustizos,” which also distinguished them from intermixed Native American-European persons (Johnston 1929, 34).

The interactions of Euro-Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans were extremely complicated in South Carolina and often ended in hostile encounters. Several wars against local Native Americans, specifically the Westo War (1680), the Tuscarora War (1711–1715), and the Yamasee War (1715–1717) prove this.

In the years 1702–1708, British settlers joined by *Creek Indians* of the province sent expeditions down south to Florida against the *Yamasee*, *Apalachee*, *Timucua*, and the African Americans living among them. Some 1,400 persons were caught, deported to Charleston (Charleston County, SC), and sold into slavery – amongst others – to the *Creek*.

Local Native Americans – mostly “settlement Indians” who lived around European settlements – together with local *Eastern Sioux Indians* helped the colonists to strike down the Stono Rebellion in 1739, and further Black slave rebellions in 1744 and 1765. In 1715, however, South Carolina Blacks participated in colonial militia attacks on local *Cherokee* and *Creek*, and *Yamasee*.

All of these hostilities caused a tremendous decline in Native American population numbers of South Carolina east of the Appalachian Mountains from 10,000 in 1685, to 5,100 in 1715, and to less than 500 in 1790. In the same year (1790) 107,094 slaves were counted in South Carolina and 141,979 white persons lived there.<sup>94</sup>

93 Genealogies for Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color in South Carolina are compiled by Heinegg ([1992] 2005, 2015b). A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for South Carolina by Woodson (1925, 155–60). A closed Facebook group discusses the history and genealogies of multi-ethnic persons in South Carolina (Rowe 2019).

94 Hodge (1907–1910, 2: 600); Johnston (1929, 34); K.W. Porter (1932, 306); Foreman (1932, 315); Willis (1963, 158ff.); Nash (1974, 288f.); M.H. Jennings (2004, 1077–1078, 1089); Worth (2004).

Interactions between Native Americans and African Americans were not consistently amicable or hostile, they were both, even within the same tribe as the *Creek*.

South Carolina has one federal Native American Nation and thirteen state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in South Carolina, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

As already mentioned, the first African slaves were imported into South Carolina by 1526. Like in North Carolina, the enslavement of African Americans was officially permitted in South Carolina since 1670, and the enslavement of Native Americans since 1671 (Covington 1967; Willis 1963, 158). Slavery in this state was terminated with the end of the Civil War in 1865.

Reports mention that since the earliest colonial period, local Native Americans kidnapped Black slaves from plantations and sheltered them on their reservations. Black slaves escaped to the *Cherokee* and *Creek* to live among them, resulting in hundreds of Black slaves finding refuge on South Carolina reservations. Consequently, South Carolina introduced one of the most restrictive slave codes of the South and *Creek* Indians were prohibited from entering colonial settlements (Nash 1974, 288f.).

As both *Cherokee* and *Creeks* were slaveholding tribes, these reports must be evaluated with care (Fogelson 2004a; W. B. Walker 2004). There are authors who deny that Blacks were enslaved by South Carolina tribes (Furman 1890, 77), but others state that Blacks were enslaved by local Native American Nations since at least 1748 (K. W. Porter 1932, 321).

After 1717, the enslavement of Native Americans gradually stopped, which surely was connected to the end of the Yamasee War (1715–1717).<sup>95</sup>

### Maroons

Quite a number of Maroon camps and activities existed in South Carolina. Maroon attacks were reported since 1711 and occurred in the southern part of the state in 1717 and around Charleston (Charleston County) in the 1770s.

<sup>95</sup> Sources on the enslavement of Native Americans in South Carolina, that have not been used, are: Snell (1972); Friedlander (1975); Menard (1987); Gally (2009).



In the year 1765 the number of escaped slaves was remarkably high which provoked the colonial government to hire Native Americans as slave hunters. *Creek* slave hunters attacked a Maroon camp on Tybee Island on the border to Georgia in 1776, another border settlement on the Savannah River was attacked by colonists and Native Americans in 1786. Further Maroon camps were reported from the Ashepoo River and Combahee River (Colleton County) in 1816, in Williamsburg County in 1819, near Georgetown (Georgetown County) in 1821, in Jacksonboro (Colleton County) in 1822, near Pineville (Berkeley County) in 1823, and near Marion (Marion County) in 1861 (Aptheker 1939, [1939] 1996; Willis 1963, 164, 170).

Maroon rides took place in 1829 in the Christ Church and St. James Parishes (Charleston County).

### **Catawba**

According to a report of 1748, an African American who had come from the *Peedee* lived among the *Catawba* for a while (Furman 1890, 177).

The *Catawba* are characterized as having an aversion against African Americans. A report tells us that they showed great anger and bitter resentment when a Black trader came to visit them in 1752 (Willis 1963, 157).

One reason for this aversion against African Americans is that the *Catawba* wanted to be accepted into the racial category “White” since earliest colonial times and therefore intermixed with Whites as far as possible but objected to intermixture with African Americans.

Legally they were categorized as Free Persons of Color and grouped together by South Carolina society with Free Blacks into one non-white racial category and social class. As there was no significant social and economic distance between them and African Americans, they tried to widen the distance in physiognomy. Gradually, they took over the racial ideology the Whites had towards Blacks, abandoned their traditional culture, and assimilated to Euro-American society. They converted to Mormonism and adopted the racial ideology of the Mormons. This resulted in an acceptance by the white population as “racially equal” since around 1930. They were permitted to intermarry with Whites and became integrated into white society.

They were terminated as an Indian tribe in the 1950s and lost their federal reservation in Lancaster County and York County, which they possessed since 1763.

According to genetic blood testing in 1962, the *Catawba* showed no significant intermixture with Blacks, but an extensive intermixture with Whites (Hicks 1964; Pollitzer 1971, 39, 1972, 727f.). The results of genetic blood testing have to be evaluated with care as previously discussed.

In 1993, the *Catawba Indian Nation* was reorganized as a federal Indian tribe and their reservation in York County was restored (Rudes, Blumer, and J. A. May 2004). Today, they are the only federal Native American Nation in South Carolina.

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

The number of tri-racial persons in South Carolina is estimated at 5,000 to possibly 10,000 in 1945 (Berry 1945). The high number of tri-racial persons and groups in South Carolina suggest that there was a relatively extensive number of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color living there who have intermixed with local Indians.

Most of the tri-racial groups in South Carolina originated locally, with family clans from other states who joined them over the years. Only few of the groups have developed an American Indian identity:

*Bones*

*Brass Ankles*

*Buckheads*

*Catawba*

*Chavis-Clan*

*Cherokee*

*Clay Eaters*

*Creeks*

*Creels*

*Free Moors*

*Gibson Clan*

*Goins Clan*

*Greeks*

*Lumbee/Croatans/Redbones* [immigration from North Carolina]

*Marlboro Blues*

*Portuguese*  
*Red Bones/Redbones*  
*Red Legs*  
*Sandhillers*  
*Smilings*  
*Summerville Indians*  
*Turks*  
*Yellow Hammers*  
*Yellow People*

### 9.4.6 Georgia

The Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans, was the first European expedition to explore the area of Georgia in 1540. In 1566, the coastal area was claimed by Spain. The first British settlement was established in 1733, after a royal grant was issued for the colony in 1732. When the British defeated the Spaniards in 1742, the area became a British province in 1753. Georgia declared its independence from the British in 1776 and joined the USA in 1788 as a slave state. In 1861, it seceded from the USA and joined the Confederate States. It rejoined the USA as a state in 1870 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 26–27; Mitchell 2004).

Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color were living in Georgia, but there is little documentation of them.<sup>96</sup>

Interracial marriages were prohibited in Georgia after 1715 (Nash 1974, 282).

Georgia has no federal Indian tribes, but four state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Georgia, see Appendix H.

#### **Slavery**

The first African slaves came to the area of Georgia with the De Soto Expedition in 1540.

<sup>96</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Georgia by Woodson (1925, 21–23).

In 1736, the British tried to forbid slavery and the importation of slaves into their colony but gave up that plan after fierce opposition from the colonists. Georgia stayed a slave state in which the enslavement of both African Americans and Native Americans was permitted. Many slave rebellions took place in Georgia, and Native American and African American slaves permanently escaped to Florida until it was annexed by the USA in 1819.

In Florida, the escaped slaves from Georgia found refuge among the *Seminole* and Georgians organized numerous expeditions to retrieve escaped slaves from Florida. These raids surely contributed to the outbreak of the Seminole Wars in Florida.

*Cherokee* and *Creek* Indians, who were both slaveholding tribes, had their settlement area in Georgia before they were deported together with their slaves to the Indian Territory in 1836 and 1838. *Cherokee* plantations on which Blacks were enslaved, existed in Georgia since the late eighteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

### Maroons

Several Maroon camps are mentioned in literature, but only few are localized. In 1771, local American Indians were employed by the state to trace and kill Maroons. *Creek* slave hunters attacked a Maroon camp on Tybee Island (Chatham County) in 1776 (Aptheker 1939, 167–70, [1939] 1996, 151–54).

### Creek

Since 1738, reports mentioned runaway Black slaves from South Carolina who escaped to the *Creek Indians* in Georgia (K.W. Porter 1932, 323). An additional 92 Black slaves escaped within the state between 1775 and 1802 (Foreman 1932, 318). Georgia residents held the *Creek* responsible for the runaway slaves. As a result, the *Creek* were forced by the USA to either bring back the stolen and escaped slaves or to provide compensation.

97 McDougall (1891, 8); Foreman (1932, 316); K.W. Porter (1951b, 253f.); Nash (1974, 282); McLoughlin (1974, 370); W.B. Walker (2004); Fogelson (2004a); Mitchell (2004, 280).

Consequently, they ceded five million acres of their land, valued 200,000 USD and paid Georgia the amount of 250,000 USD in compensation for the slaves (W. Kennedy [1841] 1974, 337, footnote; Foreman 1932, 317). This surely is one of the reasons why the *Creek* joined Whites in slave hunts. They went down as far as Florida to recover escaped slaves and collected reward money for bringing back escaped slaves.

As documented in one case of 1839, *Creek Indians* allied with Black slaves to fight and escape deportation to the Indian Territory starting in 1836 (K. W. Porter 1943, 410, 1964, 445; W. B. Walker 2004).

Today the *Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe – East of the Mississippi* still lives in Georgia. They are recognized by the state of Georgia, but their acknowledgement as a federal Indian tribe was declined February 02, 1981 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1981b).

### Tri-Racial Groups

In Georgia we can find relatively few tri-racial groups, all of them claiming an Indian identity. Many further groups listed in Appendix H claim to be remnants of the deported *Cherokee* and *Creek Nations*:

*Altamaha*

*Cherokee*

*Creeks*

*Lumbee* [immigration from North Carolina]

## 9.4.7 Florida

In 1513, the Spanish explorer Juan Ponce de León sailed along the coast of Florida and claimed the area for Spain. The Spanish Narvaéz Expedition (1527–1536) was the first European expedition to explore the area of Florida by land in 1528. The De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans, followed in 1539.

The French built Fort Caroline (Duval County) on the northeastern coast of Florida in 1564. A year later, in 1565, the French were defeated by the Spaniards, who founded St. Augustine (St. Johns County) the same year, the oldest permanently inhabited European city in North

America. In 1763, Spain ceded Florida to England and in 1812 England traded Florida back to Spain for the Bahamas.

From 1763 to 1812, Florida was divided in two parts: East Florida and West Florida. East Florida was almost identical to the present state of Florida, but with its western border along the Chattahoochi and Appalachian Rivers.

West Florida was comprised of the western part of present-day Florida, plus the southern parts of the present states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Its eastern border was along the Chattahoochi and Appalachian Rivers, its southern border was the Gulf Coast and Lake Pontchartrain, its northern border was the latitude 38 degrees and 28 minutes, and its western border was the Mississippi River. In 1810, West Florida declared its independence from Spain and became part of the U.S. Louisiana Territory. The eastern part of West Florida was incorporated into the Mississippi Territory in 1812.

In 1819, the USA purchased East Florida from Spain and it was organized as a U.S. territory in 1821. In 1845, Florida joined the USA as a slave state. It seceded from the Union to join the Confederate States in 1861. After the Civil War it was readmitted to the United States in 1868 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 24–25; Frank 2004; Jenkins 1965, 26).

The first African to enter Florida was a slave named Esteban, who accompanied the Spanish expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez and Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and who was probably a Moroccan Moor from Azamor/Morocco (Riley 1972, 247–48). In 1528, this expedition landed in the Tampa Bay area and explored the area along the Gulf Coast up to Apalachee Bay overland.

Africans and Moors accompanied all Spanish expeditions as shipmates, free persons, or slaves and most likely settled down in St. Augustine with them after it was founded in 1565. Under Spanish law, a slave could be freed by paying the amount of 300 USD, or could be set free as a reward for fighting on the side of the Spaniards in their war against the USA. By 1835 the population number of Free Blacks in Florida Territory was estimated at 300–400 persons.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>98</sup> K.W. Porter (1943, 390, 1964, 429, 433). A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color for Florida, extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census has been compiled by Woodson (1925, 21).

Soon after first contact, local Native Americans had developed close relations with African Americans and intermixed with them. Among the Florida tribes, who had intermixed with African Americans, were the *Timucua*, the *Calusa*, the *Apalachee*, and other local tribes, who lived there before the arrival of the first Europeans.

Around 1750, several Indian tribes from the area north of Florida (Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama), tried to escape warfare, retaliation, enslavement, and displacement in their original colonies and immigrated to Florida. Most of them had already intermixed with African Americans before they entered Florida and there they continued to intermix with African Americans. These tribes were *Creek*, *Chiaha*, *Hitchiti*, *Miccosukee*, *Oconee*, *Yamasee*, *Yuchi*, *Eufaula*, and some smaller tribes, who conglomerated and reorganized in Florida as the *Seminole Nation* in the nineteenth century. The term “Seminole” emerged from the Spanish term “cimarrón” for “fugitive” – the same term from which the word “maroon” originated from.<sup>99</sup>

Florida was one of the states where extensive contact and intermixture between Native Americans and African Americans took place. The reason for this was the acceptance and legality of racial intermixture during the era of Spanish colonialism. The Spaniards also had a more elaborate system of social classification of Whites and non-Whites, compared to the British bi-racial system, which was more permeable. In this social system, racially mixed persons could achieve relatively high social positions.<sup>100</sup>

In Florida live two federal Native American Nations and two state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in this state, see Appendix H.

<sup>99</sup> Morse (1822, Appendix: 147–151); Pollitzer (1971, 38); Selig (1984, 75ff.); Sturtevant and Cattelino (2004); Marquardt (2004); Milanich (2004); Worth (2004); Jackson (2004).

<sup>100</sup> Sources discussing the interactions of African Americans and Native Americans in Florida are: K. W. Porter (1932, 306, 1951a); Jordan (1962, 183); Anderson (1963); McLoughlin (1974, 379f.); Nash (1974, 284); C. F. Feest (1976, 276).

## Slavery

As already mentioned, the first African slaves came to Florida with the Narváez Expedition in 1528 and the De Soto Expedition in 1539. By 1835, around 4,000 Black slaves to white slaveowners were counted in Florida.

The first written Spanish document about runaway Black slaves taking refuge in Spanish Florida is from 1687, granting fugitive slaves and indentured servants from the British colonies their freedom in return for conversion to Catholicism and four years of military service. Since 1699, runaway slaves and indentured servants were under the protection of the Spanish Crown and could not be returned to the British (Anderson 1963, 35–38; Nash 1974, 288). This was the reason why many Black slaves from Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama escaped to Florida.

Until 1812, when the USA started to try to annex East Florida, slaves and indentured servants continued to escape to this colony and hide there. It is estimated that in 1814 around 1,000 runaway slaves were living in Florida. Up to 1849 – four years after East Florida had become a state of the USA – slaves from the North still took refuge in the forests and swamps of the state.<sup>101</sup>

Besides Africans, Native Americans were also enslaved in Florida since 1565. As already mentioned in the chapter on the Province of Carolina, Native Americans were caught in Florida by Carolinians, deported to their province, and sold as slaves there. Between 1680 and 1728, Spanish Mission Indians, *Timucua*, *Apalachee*, and many other Native Americans from Florida were sold into slavery in the Carolinas.<sup>102</sup>

The *Seminole* in Florida were one of the slaveholding tribes of the Southeast. Around 1830 they adopted the southern plantation system. Their African slaves usually lived in separate settlements and were bonded into a tributary system, where they could farm their own plots,

<sup>101</sup> McDougall (1891, 8); Johnston (1929, 38); Foster (1935); K.W. Porter (1932, 323, 330, 1951a, 250ff., 260, 1964, 429f.); Foreman (1932, 318f.); Aptheker (1939, 172, [1939] 1996, 155); Anderson (1963, 35f.); McLoughlin (1974, 370); Nash (1974, 288f.).

<sup>102</sup> Mooney (1900, 233, 1995, 233); Covington (1967); Roller and Twyman (1979, 1115) Further sources on the enslavement of Native Americans from or in Florida, that have not been used are: Baszile (2009); Hall, Jr. (2009); Dubcovsky (2018). The *Timucua* word used for African Americans “atemimachu” can be translated as “his black slave” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 353).



but had to deliver part of their crops to their *Seminole* masters. Statements about the *Seminole* slaves indicate that they were runaway slaves from British colonies and U.S. states in the north.

The British and Spanish colonial powers, like the USA later, antagonistically used the American Indian tribes and African Americans on the northern border of Florida as a buffer against mutual expansionist efforts by supplying them with weapons (McLoughlin 1974, 370).

The settlers of the colonies and states north of Florida were significantly angered that the Spanish and British colonial powers occupying Florida were not able to protect them against combined raids by Florida Indians and Blacks, who abducted their slaves. Spanish and British Florida were made responsible by the northern states for slave riots, for not preventing slaves from escaping to Florida, and for offering slaves a safe refuge.

Slaves hunters and punitive expeditions from the northern area entered Florida, kidnapped African Americans, and destroyed the villages of the Indians and Blacks. Most devastating to Florida Indians was that the children they had fathered with African American women were kidnapped and deported to the north. Many slaveholders from the North considered these children of Black slave women their own, as in most of these states the status was inherited through the mother.

This eventually led to the invasion of West and East Florida by the U.S military under Andrew Jackson and the outbreak of three Seminole Wars (1816–1818, 1835–1842, 1856–1858).

During these wars not only the Seminole slaves fought on the side of the *Seminole*, but also Free Blacks, Maroons, and plantation slaves, many of them related to the *Seminole* and their Blacks by kinship. Communication between Florida Indians and Blacks was possible since early contact, because the Black slaves of the *Seminole* had learned their language while Native Americans had learned Black Pidgin and Creole languages from their slaves and the African Americans living around them.<sup>103</sup>

After the First Seminole War (1817–1818) in Florida and the transfer of Spanish East Florida from Spain to the USA in 1821, part of the *Semi-*

103 Morse (1822, Appendix: 150, 309); Johnston (1929, 38ff.); Foreman (1932, 320); K. W. Porter (1943, 1964, 433f.); Anderson (1963); Dillard (1972, 149ff.); Pollitzer (1972, 728).

*nole Blacks*, or *Seminole Maroons* as they were called, started to leave Florida for Andros Island, Bahamas. The federal government then decided to deport all *Seminole Indians* and their slaves to the Indian Territory on the basis of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. They began the deportation after 1830, but the *Seminole* and their Blacks did not want to leave. This forced removal under the control of the U.S. military caused the Second Seminole War (1835–1842). By the end of this war most of the *Seminole* and their African American allies had died in battles, from starvation or diseases. An estimated 4,420 persons, including some 500 Maroons, were deported to the Indian Territory, while some 500–600 *Seminole Indians* and *Seminole Blacks* remained in Florida. This remnant group moved to the south and went hiding into the Everglades and Bid Cypress Swamp.

Several treaties were signed between the USA and the *Seminole* to relocate the rest of them to the Indian Territory. One treaty of 1852 enabled runaway slaves, who could persuade a *Seminole* to claim possession of them, to be deported to the Indian Territory under the status of a *Seminole* slave.

In the years following, further *Seminole Maroons* and *Indians* made their way to the Indian Territory. There, the danger of being enslaved by Whites from Arkansas or being captured by *Creek* Indians and sold into slavery, remained for the *Seminole Maroons*. Therefore, in 1849–1850, a group of about 300 *Seminole Maroons* and *Seminole Indians* decided to migrate from Indian Territory to Coahuila/Mexico, as Mexico had abolished legal servitude in 1829. From there some of them migrated back to Texas and settled down there around 1870. This group will be discussed later in the chapter on *Seminole Blacks* of Texas.

Further attempts to remove the remaining *Seminole* and their Blacks to the Indian Territory caused the outbreak of the Third Seminole War (1856–1858). After the war, many of the remaining *Seminole* and Blacks were deported, but some 300 persons remained in the Everglades (K.W. Porter 1943, 418–20; 1964; Sturtevant and Cattelino 2004; Mulroy 1993; 2004).

Today they still live there as *Seminole Tribes of Florida*. They received their federal recognition in 1957 and possess six reservations in the southern part of Florida (see Appendix H.; Seminole Tribe of Florida 2019).

There are huge discrepancies in the literature regarding the classification of the Blacks living among the *Seminole*. Some authors classify them as slaves, others as dependents who were granted protection in return for a small tribute, while still others state they had equal rights to the Indians and were incorporated in the tribes. In recent years, the term “Seminole Maroons” has been developed for them. This term encompasses runaway slaves, *Seminole* slaves and captives. It is still difficult to reconstruct the status African Americans had in *Seminole* society and other Native American tribes in Florida. All terms and concepts are still employed. Additionally, terms like “Black Indians,” *Seminole* Negroes,” and “Indian Negroes” were in usage (Dillard 1972, 150; K. W. Porter 1964, 439; Opala 1981).

To summarize, in Florida the concept of “Maroon Societies” also incorporates *Seminole Blacks* in part of the literature (e.g. Mulroy 1993, 6–34, 2004).

### **Maroons**

Around 1700, Maroons started to construct their first settlements in Florida. These camps are described as politically independent and equal to the *Seminole* camps, forming an interdependent network. Some Maroon camps formed military alliances with the *Seminole* during the *Seminole Wars*.

In 1736, three of the Maroon camps were known by name: Mulatto Girl, King Heja, and Big Hammock. Several Maroon settlements existed along the Suwanee and Appalachicola Rivers, and in 1738 around St. Augustine (St. Johns County).

From 1739 to 1763, in a camp named Mosé (Fort Moosa/Moosa Old Fort, St. Johns County) lived slaves manumitted by the Spaniards. This camp was dissolved when Spain ceded East Florida to Great Britain in 1763.

The Maroon camp Negro Town on Withlacoochee River, where Maroons, runaway slaves, and *Seminole Indians* lived together, was burnt by U.S. citizens in 1836. Further Maroon camps are mentioned in 1862 in the counties Nassau, Duvar, Clay, Putnam, St. Johns, and Volusia, and in 1864 in the counties Taylor, LaFayette, and Levy.

Generally, all over Florida where swamps and woods provided a place to hide from slave hunters, existed camps of runaway slaves. As the Spaniards had no interest in returning the runaway slaves to the British and Americans, they could live, move around, and settle down rather freely wherever they wanted.

When British and U.S. slave hunters started to invade Florida and later, when West Florida became a U.S. Territory in 1810 and East Florida in 1819, the pressure on the Maroon settlements increased. The slave hunters destroyed many camps, forced the inhabitants back into slavery, and provoked the remaining Maroons to hide deeper in inaccessible areas like swamps.<sup>104</sup>

From 1814 to 1816, Maroons in Florida had a fortified place of refuge: the Negro Fort near Prospect Bluff (Franklin County) on Appalachicola River. The fort was built by the British in Spanish East Florida in 1814 as a military base for their fight against the USA. The British recruited local runaway slaves and American Indians, like *Seminole*, *Choctaw*, and *Creek*. The *Creek Indians* and their Blacks were mostly *Red Sticks*, a traditionalist faction within the *Upper Creek* of Alabama, from where they had to flee in 1814 after the Red Stick War (Creek War/Creek Civil War, 1813–1814) was lost.

After the British had abandoned the fort and moved off with part of the Indians in 1815, the remaining Blacks (approximately 300) invited a group of 100 or so runaway slaves from Pensacola (Escambia County) to join them and settle down in the fort. This fort soon became known to African American slaves north of Florida as a fortified and safe place of refuge. It also functioned as a base for raids against the settlers in the surrounding areas. U.S. plantation owners were so angered by the fact that their slaves continued to run away to the fort that eventually the U.S. military attacked and destroyed the fort in 1816. The few survivors of this military action fled to the *Seminole Indians* and settled down on the western bank of Suwanee River.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Hodge (1907–1910, 2: 53, 600); Foster (1935, 20); Aptheker (1939, 172f. 183, [1939] 1996, 155f., 164); Anderson (1963); Willis (1963, 163f.); Nash (1974, 288); Opala (1981).

<sup>105</sup> K. W. Porter (1932, 33of., 1951a, 259–64); Foreman (1932, 316f.); Anderson (1963, 40–46); Mulroy (2004, 465–66); W. B. Walker (2004); Sturtevant and Cattelino (2004, 430–32).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Several tri-racial groups of Florida have either immigrated from neighboring states, because they had to flee from the Native American wars in the north, or they wanted to escape the restrictive Slave Codes and Black Codes of the British colonies and U.S. states. Other tri-racial groups originated locally, developing a Native American or independent, non-Indian identity.

*Brass Ankles* [immigration from South Carolina]

*Creeks* [immigration from Alabama]

*Creoles* [immigration from Alabama]

*Dead Lake Group/Melungeon* [immigration from Kentucky/  
Tennessee]

*Dominickers*

*Minorcans*

*Seminole Indians/Seminole Blacks*

### 9.4.8 Alabama

The Spanish Narvaéz Expedition (1527–1536) sailed along the coast of Alabama in 1528 but did not land, as did a further exploration of Mobile Bay by the Spaniards in 1519. The De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans, was the first European exploration into the interior of Alabama in 1540. The first settlement, Fort Louis de La Louisiane (Mobile County), was built by the French in 1702.

From 1702 to 1798, the southern part of Alabama was part of the Louisiana Territory. France ceded it to Britain in 1763 and it became part of West Florida until 1783, when it was ceded to the USA and incorporated into Georgia Territory. In 1798, Alabama was made part of the newfound Mississippi Territory. It stayed part of this territory until 1817, when it became Alabama Territory. Alabama joined the USA as a state in 1819.

In 1861, it seceded from the USA and formed the Confederate States of American together with other southern states. It rejoined the USA in 1868. In the twentieth century, Alabama was one of the hot spots of the Black Civil Rights Movement, with the civil rights protest in Montgomery of 1955 and the forced school desegregation of 1963 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 8–9, 43, 55; Doss 2004).

The first African to enter Alabama might have been the slave named Esteban (also Estevan, Estevanico, or Estevanillo), who accompanied the Spanish expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca exploring the Gulf Coast from Florida to Mexico in 1528 (Riley 1972, 247–48). There is no evidence whether the expedition landed in Alabama or not.

Alabama was the main settlement area of the *Muscogee Creek Confederacy* until their deportation to the Indian Territory in 1834. As a slaveholding tribe, their ethnohistory will not be discussed here in full length, but, as it has been already mentioned, the *Creek* fled into Florida and formed – together with other local American Indians tribes – the *Seminole Indians* there.

Since the 1680s, the *Creek* in the Southeast became involved in all kinds of battles and wars between the European colonial powers, the wars with the United States, and with neighboring tribes. This caused the *Creek* to flee from their settlement area to the south and the west – a migration pattern which persisted well into the nineteenth century.

The *Creek Indians* and their Blacks, who fled to Florida, were mostly *Red Sticks*, a traditionalist faction within the *Upper Creek* of Alabama. The initial reason for their flight was their involvement in the local Creek (Civil) War, the so-called Red Stick War (1813–1814), which broke out when U.S. militia and local settlers attacked the *Red Sticks* in a military action during the War of 1812 (between the British and the USA). The *Red Sticks* fled to Florida in 1814 where they joined Maroons and Indians at Negro Fort and the *Seminole Tribe of Florida*.

Other groups of *Creek Indians* were able to stay in Alabama after the removal of the *Muscogee Creek Nation* to the Indian Territory. There are reports of both friendly and hostile encounters between Native Americans and African Americans in Alabama from the time after the removal. In 1836, *Creek Indians* killed two Blacks on a plantation, on the other side white slave hunters kidnapped Free Blacks in 1837, who lived among the *Creek*.<sup>106</sup>

106 K. W. Porter (1933, 296); Foreman (1932, 180); W. B. Walker (2004); Dowd (2004). A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Alabama by Woodson (1925, 1).

Alabama today has one federally acknowledged Native American Nation and ten state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in this state, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

The first African slaves were brought to Alabama with the De Soto Expedition in 1540. Additional black slaves were imported into the Louisiana Territory by the French in 1713, in that part which is the state of Mississippi today (Dunbar-Nelson 1916, 362). With its large plantations, Alabama stayed a slave state under French and British rule and a member state of the USA and the Confederate States until 1865.

The first enslaved Native Americans are reported from Fort Louis de La Louisiane (Mobile County) in 1704. Native war captives (*Natchez*, *Fox*, *Chickasaw*) were either exported from the port of Mobile (Mobile County) or enslaved locally. *Creek Indians* had been enslaved by Whites in 1848 (Foreman 1932, 190; P.H. Wood 1988, 407).

African Americans were also enslaved by the slaveholding Native American tribes in Alabama: *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Choctaw*. Although all of these tribes were removed to the Indian Territory after 1830, remnant groups with their tribal identity still can be found in Alabama.

### Maroons

In 1827 a Maroon settlement in Mobile County was destroyed by white settlers. A further Maroon camp was suspected north of Mobile (Mobile County) in 1841 and one was discovered in 1860 in Talladega County. Another camp is reported from southeastern Alabama in 1863 (Aptheker 1939, 177, 180, 183; [1939] 1996, 159, 162, 164).

### Alabama

One of the motifs in the *Alabama* version of “Orphan and the Origin of Corn” story is of African origin (Dundes 1965, 214). *Alabama Indians* were part of the *Muscogee Creek Confederacy* and originally lived in Alabama and Mississippi. They migrated southward to Florida and westward through Louisiana, where they allied with *Coushatta Indians*, and

finally settled down in Texas, where they had restored their federal recognition as the *Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas* in 1987 (S. A. May 2004).

### Coosa

It is reported that one of the African slaves of the De Soto Expedition (1539–1542) deserted to the *Coosa* and lived in their village for several years (K.W. Porter 1933, 284). The *Coosa* were a band of the *Upper Creek* and part of the *Muskogee Creek Confederacy* (W. B. Walker 2004). After the passing of the Indian Removal Act (1830), most of the *Creeks* were removed to the Indian Territory. There is no tribe in the USA today identifying as *Coosa*, meaning that the *Coosa* have merged into the *Creek*.

### Tri-Racial Groups

Many tri-racial groups in Alabama are remnants or have adopted the identity of former local Indian tribes – predominantly *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Choctaw*. Other tri-racial groups have originated locally and developed a non-Native identity:

*Cajans/Cajuns*

*Cherokee*

*Choctaw*

*Creek*

*Creoles*

*Melungeon* [immigration from Tennessee]

## 9.4.9 Mississippi

The Spanish Narvaéz Expedition (1527–1536) sailed along the coast in 1528 but did not disembark. The Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans, was the first European expedition to explore the area of Mississippi by land and discovered the Mississippi River in 1541. In 1542 Hernando de Soto died and was buried in that river.

In 1682, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, a French explorer and fur trader, canoed the Mississippi River and claimed the land for France, naming it “La Louisiane” (Louisiana) as part of New France. From this time until 1798, the present state of Mississippi was part of the colony of Louisiana. In 1699, Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville established the first settlement near present day Biloxi (Harrison County).



In 1763, France ceded all its territory east of the Mississippi River to Great Britain, who then ceded it to the United States in 1783. The area became the Mississippi Territory in 1798 (including the present state of Alabama).

The southern part of the present state of Mississippi, up to latitude 38 degrees and 28 minutes, was given to Spain in 1763 and was named West Florida. In 1810 West Florida declared its independence from Spain and was annexed to the U.S. Mississippi Territory in 1812. In 1817, when the Mississippi Territory became a state of the USA, the Alabama area was split off and was reorganized as Alabama Territory.

As a slave state, Mississippi seceded from the United States in 1861 and joined the Confederate States of America and in 1869 the state rejoined the USA (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 8, 43, 54–55; Nuwer 2004).

The history of Mississippi during the Louisiana Territory (1682–1789) era is described in the chapter on Louisiana.

Reports on interactions between Native Americans and African Americans are rare for Mississippi.<sup>107</sup> The territory was mainly settled by *Choctaw* and *Chickasaw Indians*, who were slaveholding tribes and were deported to the Indian Territory with their Black slaves between 1831–1837. Nonetheless, remnant *Choctaw* tribes have survived in Mississippi. Mississippi has one federally recognized Native American Nation and no state tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Mississippi, see Appendix H.

## Slavery

The first African slaves entered the area as members of the De Soto Expedition in 1541. In 1713, 20 black slaves from Africa were recorded in a census of that part of the Louisiana colony which is now Mississippi (Dunbar-Nelson 1916, 362). In the Natchez District of Spanish West Florida (which encompassed several counties in Mississippi and parishes in Louisiana east of the Mississippi River), 619 persons, including 498 Black slaves, were counted in 1784. As the Spanish Government encouraged settlers from other regions to move with their slaves to the

<sup>107</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color compiled from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided for Mississippi by Woodson (1925, 73).

Natchez District, their numbers had grown to 4,500 Whites and 2,400 Blacks in 1798 (Nuwer 2004, 655).

Information on the enslavement of Native Americans by white settlers is rare although there are reports, that the enslavement of Native Americans in Mississippi began with the foundation of the Louisiana colony in 1682, of which Mississippi was part of until 1789 (Lauber 1913, 90).

The history of slavery in Mississippi during the era when the state was part of Louisiana Territory (1682–1789) will be described extensively in the chapter on Louisiana.

As already mentioned, the area was inhabited by the slaveholding tribes of the *Choctaw* and *Chickasaw* until they were deported together with their Black slaves to the Indiana Territory in the years 1831–1837 in execution of the Indians Removal Act.

### **Maroons**

Maroons were ambushed by Mississippi planters near Hainesville [settlement cannot be localized] in 1844 and one was killed. In 1857, a Maroon camp near Bovina (Warren County) was destroyed (Aptheker 1939, 181–82; [1939] 1996, 162–63).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

Tri-racial groups with Native American identity were either of local origin or immigrated from Alabama, as did some of the tri-racial groups with a non-Native identity who had settled down on both sides of the Alabama-Mississippi border:

*Cajans* [immigration from Alabama]

*Choctaw*

*Creeks* [immigration from Alabama]

*Creoles* [immigration from Alabama]

*Free State of Jones*

*Redbones*

*Houma*

*Van Cleave Creoles*

The states of Louisiana and Texas and especially the tri-racial groups living in these states will be discussed more elaborately later. The discussion of both states was part of my dissertation and will be appended after the description of the Afro-Native interactions in the western states of the USA.

## 9.5 Western States

In the southwest, the first African to enter this region was Esteban (also Estevan, Estevanico, or Estevanillo), who was already mentioned several times and had accompanied the Spanish expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca along the Gulf Coast. They landed near Galveston, Texas, in 1528, from where they proceeded by land back to Mexico and arrived there in 1536 (Riley 1972, 247–48). In 1539, the same African Esteban joined another Spanish expedition lead by Fray Marcos de Niza from Mexico into Arizona and New Mexico.

The Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542) was the next European expedition to explore the area after they crossed the Mississippi River in 1541. They were accompanied by Africans and travelled through Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. In 1540, the Alarcón Expedition (1540), accompanied by at least one African man, explored the Colorado River in Southern California.

The Spanish Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján explored the area of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and maybe Colorado and Nebraska, but this route is still disputed. This expedition was accompanied by Africans, some of whom deserted or were left behind and probably established contact with Native American tribes of the area.

Since 1540, African slaves from Mexico escaped their bondage by fleeing to the north into what is today southwestern USA. It can be assumed that they intermixed with southwestern American Indians (Winship 1896, 564; K.W. Porter 1932, 291; Riley 1972, 253–254, 258). Bibliographical data from literature describing these interactions in the West was compiled by Bier (2004, 185–214).

Africans who were raised and trained by Native Americans, seem to have constituted a special and recognized class in the Southwest (K.W. Porter 1956b, 196).

In the northwest, the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806) explored the area. The expedition started in Pennsylvania, crossed the Louisiana Territory, and reached the Pacific Coast in what is today Oregon. They had contact to numerous Native Americans and were accompanied by at least two Black men, one of whom was named York and had verifiable contact to American Indian tribes.

The Pacific Fur Company (owned by John Jacob Astor) sent out expeditions by land and sea to the Pacific Northwest in the years 1810–1813. The operation base of this company, Fort Astoria (Oregon), was constructed in 1811. Led by Wilson Hunt, the Astor Overland Expedition travelled from St. Louis to Astoria in 1810–1812 and had two men of African ancestry with them.<sup>108</sup>

Up to 1803, the area west of the Mississippi was roughly divided among the colonial powers France, Spain, and Great Britain. It was comprised of the Louisiana Territory, Spanish Mexico, and Oregon Country. In 1803, the United States acquired a big portion of that land, the Louisiana District, by the Louisiana Purchase.

As there are no tri-racial groups originating – only immigrating – in the west, the historical background and social preconditions for the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups will not be discussed under the following chapters. There will only be a historical analysis of literary sources on Afro-Native interactions in these western states. For this reason, topics like slavery and the listing of Indian tribes in Appendix H are omitted from the discussion of several states discussed here.

### **Prairie and Plains Tribes**

Prairie and Plains tribes live in the area between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. As they were predominantly hunters, most of them were migratory tribes (see DeMallie 2001a). It is somewhat difficult to locate them in the related literature.

<sup>108</sup> A more elaborate discussion of Blacks in the west of the USA, which has not been used for this publication, provides Savage (1976).

There are reports about intermarriages between Native American men and Black female captives among the southern *Plains Indians*, as there are reports of African-Native intermarriages among the northern *Prairie Tribes* (K.W. Porter 1933, 315; 1956b, 213).

A statement about the Native American Nations in the west tells us:

Living with every Indian tribe are numbers of men, Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Mexicans, Negroes, who, having purchased wives, are regarded as belonging to the tribe. (Dodge 1883, 600)

African Americans are often depicted negatively in the legends and myths of the Native Americans of the Plains and the west (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52), but one cannot conclude that the interactions of Native Americans and African Americans were fundamentally bad or good.

Many *Plains Indians* were sold as slaves to plantation owners in the southern slave states (Roller and Twyman 1979, 1115). Examples for this will be given in the chapters on Louisiana and Texas.

### **Comanche, Kiowa, and Plains Apache**

The *Comanche*, *Kiowa*, and *Plains Apache* (also called *Kiowa Apache*) have terms for African Americans in their language. The *Comanche* “duqtaivo,” which can be translated as “black white man” or “black foreigner,” the *Kiowa* “koñkyäoñ-kía,” having the meaning of “man with black on, or incorporated into, him” and the *Kiowa Apache* “izhena,” meaning “buffalo-black-haired” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352–352).

*Comanche* and *Kiowa* had numerous contacts to African Americans. This might be the reason why in Kansas sometimes African Americans could be met with the first name “Kiowa” (K.W. Porter 1932, 336). Hostile interactions of *Comanche* with African Americans are reported from the years 1852 and earlier, when *Comanche* killed Seminole runaway slaves. Their justification was “because they were slaves to the Whites; they [the *Comanche*] were sorry for them” (Marcy 1853, 101).

The *Comanche*, *Kiowa*, and *Plains Apache* once occupied a big part of the Plains in the present states of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Montana, Kansas, Oklahoma, and in northern Mexico. In 1867, they were forced by the USA to remove to Oklahoma, where they reside today as

federally recognized tribes: *Comanche Nation*, *Kiowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma*, and *Apache Tribe of Oklahoma* (see Appendix H).<sup>109</sup>

### **Osage**

In 1861, the *Osage* signed a treaty with the Confederate States of America in which they transferred their allegiance from the United States to the Confederacy. In this treaty the institution of slavery was acknowledged and evaluated positively. After the Civil War (1861–1865), the *Osage* had to sign a treaty with the USA, which demanded the abolition of slavery and emancipation of slaves (Abel [1915] 1992, 157, 166; 1925, 188f.). It cannot be extracted from the literature used, whether the *Osage* owned Black slaves themselves, or whether they traded slaves. What is known is that at least up to the 1760s they were involved in the trading of Native American slaves.

The *Osage* once occupied the area of Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, but had lost most of their land after the Civil War and were forcefully resettled to Oklahoma in 1871. Today they live as the federally recognized *Osage Tribe* in Oklahoma (Bailey 2001).

### **Arapaho**

At least one *Arapaho* family is known to have intermixed with African Americans (K.W. Porter 1933, 315). The *Arapaho* once lived in the area of Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas. The tribe separated into two tribes during the mid-nineteenth century: the *Northern Arapaho* and the *Southern Arapaho*.

The *Northern Arapaho* were assigned by the USA to the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming in 1878, where they live today as a federally recognized tribe, the *Northern Arapaho Tribe*.

The *Southern Arapaho* became part of the federally recognized *Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal Nation* in Oklahoma (Fowler 2001).

### **Lakota/Sioux**

The *Lakota* once occupied areas in the present states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Minnesota Wisconsin,

109 Kavanagh (2001); Levy (2001); Foster Morris W. and McCollough (2001).

and Iowa. There were several divisions, sub-tribes, and bands of the *Lakota*, all known by separate tribal designations. The three divisions were: *Teton*, *Santee*, and *Yankton-Yanktonai*.

Intermarriage between *Lakota Indians* and African Americans was rare, as sources tell us, but at least one intermarriage of an African American, who was a member of the *Santee* tribe, with a *Santee* woman is documented. This African American *Santee* lived among the tribe during the winter of 1868, maybe longer.

A European-African American mixed person is reported to have lived among the *Sioux* for four years, was married to a *Sioux* woman, and took part in the Lakota War of 1862.

Two *Sioux* brothers, who were 1/2 African American descent, were registered as student at the Hampton Institute in Virginia in the 1880s (K.W. Porter 1932, 365f.; 1933, 315, footnote 71, 316f.; Hallowell 1963, 522).

Today, the *Lakota Nation* is dispersed over sixteen reservations in five U.S. states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Minnesota, Nebraska) and twelve reserves in two Canadian provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan). Their U.S. tribes are federally recognized by the USA and their Canadian First Nations recognized by Canada (DeMallie 2001b; 2001d, 2001c; Albers 2001; Christafferson 2001).

### **Blackfoot/Blackfeet**

The *Blackfoot* are divided into three bands: the *Blackfoot*, *Blood*, and *Piegian/Peigan*. The *Blackfoot* once lived on the border of the U.S. state Montana and the Canadian Province Alberta. In the USA, the tribes are usually called *Blackfeet* and *Piegian*, in Canada *Blackfoot* and *Peigan*.

Of the *Blackfoot*, *Blood*, and *Piegian* it is reported that several African Americans lived among them.

As some *Blackfeet* had killed an African American in Fort McKenzie (Sheridan County, Wyoming) in 1843, it cannot be evaluated from literature, whether *Blackfoot*-African American relations were friendly or hostile (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 52; K.W. Porter 1932, 364; 1933, 313, 315; Bier 2004, 225–28).

The *Blackfoot/Blackfeet* and their bands the *Piegian/Peigan* and *Blood* live on several reservations and reserves in the USA and Canada today. The *Blackfeet* in the USA are federally recognized and were relocated

to the *Blackfeet* Reservation in Montana. The *Blackfoot*, *Blood*, and *Pei-gan* are recognized by the state of Canada as First Nations and were assigned reserves in Alberta: *Blackfoot* Reserve, *Blood* Reserve, and *Pei-gan* Reserve (Dempsey 2001).

### 9.5.1 Arkansas

In 1542, the Hernando De Soto Expedition, accompanied by Africans, allegedly moved down the Mississippi River into Arkansas and had encounters with local Indian groups. In 1682, La Salle claimed the area for France as part of the Louisiana Territory. The first permanent settlement in Arkansas was established in 1686. France ceded the territory to Spain in 1763, who returned it to France in 1801. In 1803, the USA acquired the future territory of Arkansas by the Louisiana Purchase. In 1812, the territory was organized as part of Mississippi Territory. By 1819, it was transformed into Arkansas Territory and joined the USA as a slave state in 1836.

In 1861, Arkansas seceded from the United States and joined the Confederate States of America. After the end of the Civil War, Arkansas rejoined the USA in 1868.

In the twentieth century, Arkansas was one of the hot spots of the Black Civil Rights Movement and the forced school desegregation of 1957 (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 3–5; Wilson, Jr. 1986, 14–15; W. D. Baker 2004).

Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color were documented in Arkansas since the nineteenth century.<sup>110</sup>

Arkansas has no federal Native American Nations and no state Indian tribes. For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Arkansas, see Appendix H.

#### Slavery

The first African slaves entered the area as members of the De Soto Expedition in 1542.

<sup>110</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted for Arkansas from the 1830 U.S. Census is provided by Woodson (1925, 2).



Several slaveholding Indian tribes settled in Arkansas and owned Black slaves. The *Choctaw* and *Chickasaw* were living there to the 1830s, when they were removed to the Indian Territory along with many members of their tribes from more eastern regions, who crossed Arkansas Territory during their removal to the west.

In 1845, *Creek* slave traders brought Black slaves into this state, reselling them to New Orleans in Louisiana (K.W. Porter 1932, 349).

### Tri-Racial Groups

In Arkansas live many persons and groups claiming *Cherokee* or *Choctaw* identity, which still require further research on their tri-racial background.

*Altamaha* [immigration from Tennessee/Kentucky]

*Melungeon* [immigration from Georgia]

## 9.5.2 Missouri

In 1682, La Salle claimed the area for France as part of Louisiana Territory. The first permanent settlement was established by the French in 1735. In 1763, France ceded the territory to Spain, who returned it to France in 1802. In 1803, the USA acquired the future territory of Missouri in the Louisiana Purchase and organized it as part of the Louisiana Territory. In 1812, the territory was organized as Missouri Territory. After the passing of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, which admitted Missouri as a slave state to the union, Missouri joined the USA as a state in 1821. Although a slave state, Missouri never seceded from the USA (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 56–57; Olbrich, Jr. 2004).

One of the Black servants of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806) named York had returned to Missouri and was granted his freedom after the expedition. He settled down there among Native American tribes in 1820. From 1832 to 1834, he is reported to have lived in a *Crow* village with his “four Indian wives, and possessed much reputation and influence among the Crows” (K.W. Porter 1932, 364).<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> A list of Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color extracted from the 1830 U.S. Census is compiled for Missouri by Woodson (1925, 73–74).

Missouri has no federal Native American Nations and no state Indian tribes. For further information on groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Missouri, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Missouri as a slave state had enslaved African Americans as well as Native Americans, the latter being enslaved as late as in the 1830s (Crowe 1975, 161).

Moreover, there are reports about escaped Black slaves who found refuge among local Indian tribes (K. W. Porter 1932, 364f.).

Before their deportation to the west around the 1830s, *Shawnee* and *Delaware Indians*, who had enslaved African Americans in small numbers, had settled in Missouri (C. [1859] 1965, 333; Callender 1978c; Goddard 1978).

The *Shawnee* had started to migrate west from their original homeland Ohio in the eighteenth century and were widely dispersed before they finally settled down in Oklahoma. Several Oklahoma *Shawnee Tribes* have federal recognition today, but there is also a remnant tribe in Missouri claiming *Shawnee* identity (see Appendix H).

The original homeland of the *Delaware (Lenape)* is the area of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Starting in the eighteenth century, the *Lenape* were relocated to the West (Indiana, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma) and to Ontario in Canada. Today there are remnant tribes and tri-racial groups in Delaware, New York State, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania who claim *Lenape* identity. *Delaware Tribes*, who have federal or state recognition, have eventually settled in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Ohio. The *Delaware Indians* in Canada are recognized as First Nations and live on three reserves (see Appendix H).

In 1854, the provisions of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 were repealed by the Supreme Court and slavery was prohibited (Roller and Twyman 1979, 1115; Olbrich, Jr. 2004, 697).

### Tri-Racial Groups

There are no tri-racial groups mentioned in Missouri, but there are numerous groups living there who claim *Cherokee* or *Saponi* ancestry.

Both identities are preferred American Indian identities among tri-racial groups, therefore these groups still require further research.

### 9.5.3 Indian Territory

The area of the present states of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska was designated as “Indian Country” by the U.S. Government in the 1820s. The idea behind this was to relocate Native American Nations from within U.S. states and territories to the area west of the Mississippi and annex their traditional homelands for settlement. Under the Andrew Jackson presidency (1829–1837), this removal policy was rigidly enforced. With the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the deportation of Native American Nations from the east to the “Indian Territory” became manifested.

During the 1830s and after, this area of Native American settlement came to be known as Indian Territory. The Indian Territory was never an organized territory of the United States in the same manner as other territories that passed through the territorial stage before statehood. The Indian Territory, in all phases of its existence was ruled by independent Indian nations, not by a territorial government elected by U.S. citizens. Before Oklahoma’s statehood, more than sixty Native American groups had been resettled on the lands that eventually comprised the state. (Wynn 2004, 971)

With the Kansas-Nebraska-Act of 1854, the Indian Territory was reduced to the area of the present state of Oklahoma, which was called “Territory of Oklahoma” or “Indian Territory” until Oklahoma transformed into a state of the USA in 1907 (Wynn 2004, 970–80).

After the passing of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, many African Americans were deported to the Indian Territory together with the Native American Nations who had enslaved them, or with whom they were living. In this manner, Black and colored slaves, Maroons, Free Blacks, and Free Persons of Color resettled in the Indian Territory.

Bloom pointed out that there was a “considerable amount of Negro blood to be found among the Indians, especially those from Indian

territory” (Bloom 1940, 271). As he is a representative of the theory of a widespread intermixture of African and Native American slaves, his statements must be read with care. Nonetheless with the growing number of African Americans – including Black scouts and traders – in Indian Territory, more and more tribes came into contact and inter-mixed (K.W. Porter 1933, 32of.).

In 1865, all Black and colored slaves were emancipated. Together with the Maroons, Free Blacks, and Free Persons of Color who came with the *Seminole Nation* from Florida, they formed a class of free non-Whites.

After the Civil War, Black and colored persons were employed as members of the Indian Police and the U.S. Marshall’s Office of the Indian Territory (Littlefield, Jr. and Underhill 1971).

From this era, former Native American slaveholder aggression against their former slaves was reported. They served as scapegoats and were blamed for the negative effects of the Civil War and the reconstruction policies in the Indian Territory (Andrews 1965, 370; C. F. Feest 1976, 289).

The further history of African American and Native American contact is discussed under the states that once comprised the Indian Territory. For information on federal and state Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry, see the states discussed in the following chapters.

### Slavery

After 1830, approximately 74,000 Native Americans were removed from the east to the Indian Territory. Among them were the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes,” the *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Creek*, *Chickasaw*, and *Seminole Indians*, who were all slaveholding tribes and who were deported together with their Black slaves from their original settlement areas in Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida (Abel [1915] 1992, 19–21).

The *Cherokee Nation*, the *Chickasaw Nation*, the *Choctaw Nation*, the *Muscogee Creek Nation*, and the *Seminole Nation* live in Oklahoma today and are federally recognized. Their former African slaves were

emancipated after the Civil War and are now living as so-called *Freedmen* among them (see Appendix H: Oklahoma).

The *Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma*, member tribes of the *Iroquois Confederacy*, who had migrated from their original *Iroquois* settlement area in New York State via Ohio and Ontario, Canada, to the Indian Territory beginning in 1831, were forced to sign a treaty with the Confederate States of America after their arrival. In this treaty, they recognized slavery as legal and guaranteed property rights in slaves. After the Civil War they signed another treaty with the U.S. Federal Government acknowledging the abolishment of slavery and the emancipation of the Black slaves (Abel [1915] 1992, 166; 1925, 188f.; Sturtevant 1978). The *Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma* are federally recognized and live in Oklahoma today (see Appendix H: Oklahoma).

Other slaveholding tribes in Indian Territory were the *Delaware* and *Shawnee*. The *Delaware Indians* were originally living in the area of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Friction with the Dutch and Swedish in the seventeenth century caused them to move westward in piecemeal. The *Shawnee* had started to migrate west from their original homeland in Ohio in the eighteenth century and were widely dispersed before they all gathered and settled down in Indian Territory.

Since 1694, *Delaware* and *Shawnee* bands had common settlements in Pennsylvania and migrated westward together. Before their deportation to Indian Territory around the 1830s, *Shawnee* and *Delaware* Indians had settled in Missouri, where they had already enslaved African Americans in small numbers (C.[1859] 1965, 333; Callender 1978c; Goddard 1978).

Several *Delaware* and *Shawnee* Tribes have federal recognition and live in Oklahoma today (see Appendix H: Oklahoma).

The first slave riots in Indian Territory took place in the 1840s. In the 1850s, it was reported that the Native Americans in Indian Territory tortured and killed their slaves. This contradicts the widespread assumption the African American slaves were treated better by Native American slaveowners than by white slaveholders, which motivated them to escape to Native American tribes, even if they were slaveholding (McLoughlin 1974, 368; Halliburton, Jr. 1975, 27f.; Littlefield, Jr. 1977, 128).

African American slaves in Indian Territory escaped their American Indian owners as well as their white owners. Many were kidnapped by Southerners who claimed them as their property. During the Civil War, they were helped by Abolitionists to escape from Indian Territory (K. W. Porter 1932, 351).

Accounts report factions within the slaveholding tribes disagreeing over the enslavement of African Americans. Several authors state that only mixed-blood Indian-White and adopted white members of slaveholding tribes wanted to imitate the southern plantation system with its Black slaves, whereas the full-blood tribal members were against the enslavement of African Americans. Moreover, they claim that only the mixed-blood faction wanted to side with the Confederate States of America in the Civil War.<sup>112</sup>

When these terms are put into a Native American perspective, these factions are not so clearly cut any longer. As is shown in the example of the *Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians* from North Carolina (for full quote see chapter 2.2.):

A “mixed-blood” might have any degree of Indian-white (or Indian-black) ancestry, (...) a “full-blood” is almost never entirely Cherokee and might more accurately be called a “fuller-blood,” (...) full-bloods, by Cherokee definition, might include individuals with considerably less Cherokee blood, depending on their behavior. Obviously, there is a cultural as well as genetic component involved in describing people in these terms. Similarly, “white Indian” is a term that is partly culturally defined, and it is possible (though unlikely) that a full-blood might be called a white Indian if highly acculturated. (Finger 1991, XIV)

Slavery was officially abolished in Indian Territory after the Civil War in 1865. All tribes had to sign treaties with the USA forcing them to abolish slavery, emancipate their slaves, and enroll them into their tribes as full members. Additionally, Southerners tried to get rid of their emancipated slaves by relocating them in the Indian Territory.<sup>113</sup>

112 Examples are: Abel (1915–1925); C.F. Feest (1976, 288); Littlefield, Jr. (1977, 1978, 1979, 1980); Perdue (1979).

113 Hodge (1907–1910, 914); K. W. Porter (1932, 353–354, 393f.); Andrews (1965, 372f.); C.F. Feest (1976, 289).

The emancipated slaves were called *Freedmen* but the enrollment in their respective tribes is still pending. The only tribe fulfilling its treaty obligations in this respect is the *Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* after being forced so by a court decision of 2017.

### Tri-Racial Groups

The tri-racial groups who had settled down in Indian Territory are mentioned in the following discussion on the states that emerged from the territory.

#### 9.5.4 Kansas

The area of Kansas was first entered by the Spaniards when Francisco Vázquez de Coronado explored the western part of it in 1541. His expedition was accompanied by Africans, some of whom deserted or were left behind and probably got into contact with local Native American tribes (Winship 1896, 564; Riley 1972, 253).

In 1719, the French explorer Claude de Tisne crossed the southwestern part of Kansas. In 1803 the area was sold by France to the USA as part the Louisiana Purchase. The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), accompanied by at least two African Americans, crossed the region in 1804. The same year, the area was transformed into an unorganized territory and from 1830 to 1854, it was part of the Indian Territory. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 turned it into a U.S. territory. The Constitution of the Territory of Kansas (1859) established it as a free state. In 1861, Kansas joined the USA as a free state, where slavery was illegal (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 38–39; Hoeflich 2004; Wikipedia 2020).

The African American population of this state is said to have intermixed with Native Americans after the Civil War, when Black soldiers were resettled there, and numerous Native Americans were still living in Kansas. Since the 1930s, local Black women have reportedly intermixed with mixed-blood Indians from Mexico who came here in search of employment (K.W. Porter 1932, 291, 364ff.).

Kansas has four federal Native American Nations, but no state Indian tribes. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Kansas, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

Slaveholding tribes in Kansas, when it was part of the Indian Territory, were the *Delaware* and *Shawnee*. As already mentioned, the *Delaware Indians* were originally living in the area of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware and the *Shawnee Indians* had their original homelands in Ohio. Before their deportation to Indian Territory around the 1830s, *Shawnee* and *Delaware Indians* had settled in Missouri where they had already enslaved African Americans in small numbers. All the time they had close contact to African Americans and intermarried with them (C. [1859] 1965, 333; Callender 1978c; Goddard 1978).

Several *Delaware* and *Shawnee* tribes have federal recognition and live in Oklahoma today (see Appendix H: Oklahoma).

Slavery became illegal, when Kansas joined the USA as a free state in 1861 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 38–39).

### Plains Apache

Among the *Plains Apache* of western Kansas, called “El Cuartelejos” by the Spaniards, lived a member of the Naranjo family, who was of African American descent (Chávez, Fray 1967, 107). The Naranjo Clan immigrated to New Mexico around 1600 and settled down in Santa Clara Pueblo, and from there their family members spread across the southwest. The *Cuartelejo Apache* were *Plains Apache*, who had lived in western Kansas up to the early nineteenth century. They were later removed to the Indian Territory, where they still live as the federally recognized *Apache Tribe of Oklahoma* (Foster Morris W. and McCollough 2001).

### Tri-Racial Groups

Kansas has no tri-racial groups that formed locally, only groups that immigrated.

*Coe Clan* [immigration from Kentucky]

*Lumbee* [immigration from North Carolina]



### 9.5.5 Oklahoma

The Spanish De Soto Expedition (1539–1542), accompanied by Africans, was supposedly the first European expedition to explore the region after they had crossed the Mississippi River in 1541. Another expedition into this area, the Spanish Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján, was accompanied by Africans, some of whom deserted or were left behind and probably got into contact with local Native American tribes (Winship 1896, 564; K.W. Porter 1932, 291; 1933, 283; Riley 1972, 253).

In 1682, Oklahoma territory was claimed by the explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, for France. In 1803, the USA bought the territory from France as part of the Louisiana Purchase. From 1804 to 1830, the territory was organized within the Louisiana Territory, and became part of the unorganized Indian Territory in 1830. Since 1809, Native American Nations were removed to this territory.

Part of the Missouri Territory was incorporated into the Indian Territory in 1834. After the annexation of Texas in 1845, Texas land was added to the future Oklahoma Territory. When Kansas was split off from Indian Territory as a state in 1854, the Indian Territory was reduced to the area of present Oklahoma. Indian Territory became Oklahoma Territory in 1890 and Oklahoma joined the USA as a state in 1907 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 78–79; Wynn 2004).

After 1830, African Americans and colored persons of Native American and African American descent came to Oklahoma either as slaves of the deported slaveholding tribes, or as free persons accompanying other Native American Nations.

In 1907, after statehood, Oklahoma banned the intermarriage of Native Americans and African Americans and ruled that an Afro-Native person cannot be categorized as (American) Indian. In 1910, the voting rights for Persons of Color were restricted (McLoughlin 1974, 383; Forbes 1981, 407).

Oklahoma has thirty-nine federal Native American Nations, but no state Indian tribes. The only federal Indian tribe in Oklahoma with a formal reservation is the *Osage Tribe*. All other federal Indian tribes there live on federal Indian trust lands as suzerain Native American

Nations controlled by the United States. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Oklahoma, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

As already mentioned, after the passing of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Creek*, *Chickasaw*, and *Seminole Indians* were deported together with their Black slaves from their homelands east of the Mississippi River to the Indian Territory. It is estimated that before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, they totaled 14,000 American Indians and 10,000 Black slaves (K.W. Porter 1932, 351, footnote 167).

The removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from the east became known as “Indian Removal” or the *Cherokee* “Trail of Tears,” because a high number of deported tribal members died on their way to Oklahoma.

The *Cherokee Nation*, *Chickasaw Nation*, *Choctaw Nation*, *Muscogee Creek Nation*, and *Seminole Nation* live in Oklahoma today and are federally recognized. Their former African slaves were emancipated after the Civil War and are now living as so-called *Freedmen* among them (see Appendix H).

All slaveholding tribes more or less became involved into the Civil War (1861–1865) and sided with the Confederate States of America. The *Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma* were forced to do so by the Confederate States (Abel [1915] 1992, 166; 1925, 188f.; Sturtevant 1978). The *Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma* are federally recognized today and live in Oklahoma (see Appendix H).

After their arrival in Oklahoma, the African Americans, whether slave or free, usually lived in separate villages. In 1845, numerous settlements of Free Blacks were existing in *Creek* country, who sometimes got into trouble with them. In 1852, *Choctaw Indians* complained about bands of Free Black and Native Americans in their area (K.W. Porter 1932, 351).

In 1842, slaves of the *Cherokee*, *Creek*, and *Choctaw* initiated the first of several slave riots on the lands of the *Five Civilized Tribes* and some of them were able to flee, and in some cases came as far as Mexico (Littlefield, Jr. and Underhill 1977, 126).

In 1849–1850, a group of about 300 Maroons and *Seminole Indians* decided to migrate from Indian Territory to Coahuila, Mexico (see chapter on the *Seminole Blacks* in Texas for further information).

After the Civil War the former slaves, now called *Freedmen*, continued to live in their separate settlements, called *Freedmen Villages*. In 1866, an estimated number of 3,000 African Americans were living among the *Chickasaw* and *Choctaw*. In 1887, the *Freedmen* outnumbered the *Chickasaw* in Pickens County and Pontotoc County (James 1967, 53f.).

The *Freedmen* among the *Five Civilized Tribes* in Oklahoma are described as follows in 1905:

In 1905 there were 20,619 of these adopted negro citizens in these five tribes, besides all degrees of admixture in such portions that the census takers are frequently unable to discriminate. (Hodge 1907–1910, 1: 914)

“Adopted” does not mean that they were tribal members. Although the *Cherokee*, *Creek*, *Choctaw* and *Seminole* of Oklahoma had signed treaties with the USA after the end of the Civil War that forced them to emancipate their slaves and enroll them into their tribes, they refuse to do so – with the exception of the *Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* who was forced by a 2017 court decision to enroll its *Freedmen*.

In 1964, about 1/3 of the 3,000 *Seminole* in Oklahoma were former slaves. These approximately 1,000 *Seminole Freedmen* lived in two villages separate from the twelve *Seminole* settlements and were described by one author in inappropriate and racist terms, as was usual for that time:

The Freedmen have very dark skin. The men are usually small and slight, the women more buxom. Both sexes are active and ambitious. They are much more westernized than the *Seminole* and more dressy. (Freeman 1964, 144)

*Seminole Freedmen* are members of the *Seminole Tribal General Council*, all having equal rights.

Boley (Okfuskee County) and Van Zandt [location unknown] are typical *Freedman* settlements in Oklahoma (McLoughlin 1974, 383).

### **Delaware/Lenape, Shawnee, Nanticoke, and Conoy**

The *Delaware* and *Shawnee* were slaveholding tribes, who came from the east and were removed to Oklahoma. They always had close contact to African Americans, intermarried with them, but also enslaved them in small numbers (C.[1859] 1965, 333; Callender 1978c; Goddard 1978).

The original homeland of the *Delaware/Lenape* was the area of New York State, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the original homeland of the *Shawnee* was Ohio.

Since 1694, *Delaware/Lenape* and *Shawnee* bands had common settlements in Pennsylvania. Starting in the eighteenth century, *Delaware/Lenape* and *Shawnee* migrated west from the Pennsylvania-Ohio area via Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kansas, and finally settled in Oklahoma in 1867.

A small number of tri-racial *Nanticoke* and *Conoy Indians* from the Delaware-Maryland area joined the *Delaware/Lenape* and *Shawnee* on their way west to Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, the *Nanticoke* have become members of the federally recognized *Delaware Tribe of Indians*, forming the “Wolf Clan” within this tribe (C.F. Feest 1978a, 246; Callender 1978c; Goddard 1978).

Several *Delaware* and *Shawnee* tribes have federal recognition and live in Oklahoma today (see Appendix H).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups originated locally in Oklahoma, although many tri-racial persons can be found here as descendants of African Americans and Native Americans deported to the Indian Territory. The tri-racial groups of this state all have immigrated:

*Caddo* [immigration from Texas]

*Melungeon* [immigration from Tennessee/Kentucky]

## **9.5.6 Colorado**

The first European exploration to enter Colorado in 1540 is thought to be the Spanish Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján. He was accompanied by Africans, of whom some deserted or were left behind and probably got into con-

tact with local Native American tribes (Winship 1896, 564; Riley 1972, 263). The next expedition to explore the area in 1842 was led by John Charles Frémont.

The eastern part of Colorado became U.S. territory with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The western part of Colorado was added to the USA by the annexation of Texas in 1845 and by a treaty with Mexico in 1848. The first permanent settlement was founded in 1851. The area was transformed into Colorado Territory in 1861 and the territory joined the USA as the state of Colorado in 1876 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 18–19; Virden 2004).

Colorado has two federally recognized Native American Nations, no state tribe, and two non-acknowledged tribes (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c; U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 16). As there are no tri-racial groups in Colorado, the state is not listed in Appendix H. For the same reason, topics like slavery are omitted. Only the aspect of interactions between Native Americans and African Americans will be discussed here.

## **Cheyenne**

Intermarriages between *Cheyenne* and African Americans were rare. An African American from Bent's Fort (Otero County, 1833–1849), Andrew Green, was called “Black Whiteman” or “Negro” and could talk Cheyenne. A young *Cheyenne* adopted the name “Black White Man” from him and became a prominent warrior later. The name “Black White Man” transformed into a common *Cheyenne* name in the course of time (K. W. Porter 1932, 365; 1933, 315–16).

The *Cheyenne* originally settled in the Minnesota area in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century they started to migrate westward and southward. In the early nineteenth century, they had split up in two groups: the *Northern Cheyenne* and the *Southern Cheyenne*.

The *Northern Cheyenne* were removed to a reservation in Montana: the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation. They are federally recognized as *Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation*.

The *Southern Cheyenne* migrated south through Colorado to Oklahoma, where they live today. They became part of the federally recognized *Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes, Oklahoma* (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1943, 1945).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups are mentioned in Colorado.

## **9.5.7 Nebraska**

The Spanish Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján, is supposed to have entered the area of Nebraska in 1541. This expedition was accompanied by Africans, of whom some deserted or were left behind and probably got into contact with local Native American tribes (Winship 1896, 564; Riley 1972, 253).

In 1795, French traders built the first trading post in Nebraska and their first permanent settlement in 1823. In 1803, the United States bought the Nebraska area in the Louisiana Purchase and it was incorporated into the Louisiana Territory from 1804 to 1812. Between 1812 and 1854, it was reorganized as part of Missouri Territory.

From the 1820s onward, the area of Nebraska was designated as part of the “Indian Country,” until the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 established it as Nebraska Territory and in 1867 Nebraska joined the USA as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 60–61; M.R. Ellis 2004).

Nebraska has six federally recognized Native American Nations, but no state tribes, and no tribes claiming indigenous ancestry and applying for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Omaha**

The *Omaha*, living in Nebraska since the early eighteenth century, had contact to African Americans who worked for fur trading companies in their area in 1819–1820 (K.W. Porter 1933, 313).

Today the tribe is federally recognized as *Omaha Tribe of Nebraska* and lives on the Omaha Reservation, established in 1854 (Liberty, W.R.

Wood, and Irwin 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1945).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups originated in Nebraska, the only tri-racial group living there has immigrated:

*Laster Tribe* [immigration from North Carolina]

## **9.5.8 South Dakota**

Up to 1889, South Dakota and North Dakota shared the same history. The area was first claimed by La Salle as part of New France and Louisiana Territory in 1682. In 1743, South Dakota was first explored by members of the French-Canadian La Vérendrye family. The first French settlement was built in 1794. In 1803, the territory was bought by the USA in the Louisiana Purchase and became part of Louisiana Territory from 1804 to 1812. In 1804, the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), accompanied by at least two African Americans, explored the region. From 1812 to 1834, the territory was reorganized as part of the Missouri Territory. The Dakota area east of the Missouri River was organized as part of Michigan Territory in the years 1824–1836 and as part of Wisconsin Territory from 1836 until 1838. It became part of Iowa Territory from 1838 to 1846 and existed as an unorganized territory between 1846 and 1849. In the years 1849–1858 it was incorporated into the Minnesota Territory. The area west of the Missouri River was part of Nebraska Territory from 1854 to 1861.

In 1861, the territory was renamed as the Dakota Territory. By 1889, this Dakota Territory was divided into two parts and joined the USA as twin states: South Dakota and North Dakota (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 88–89; J. E. Miller 2004).

South Dakota has nine federally recognized Native American Nations, but no state tribes, and no groups claiming indigenous ancestry and applying for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Arikara**

The *Arikara*, who lived in South Dakota in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, had their first contact with an African person when they met York, who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806). Two other men of African American descent came with the Astor Overland Expedition led by Wilson Hunt (1810–1812) to the *Arikara* in 1811 (K.W. Porter 1932, 292; 1933, 311).

In the nineteenth century, most of the *Arikara* first migrated south from South Dakota to Nebraska and then back north to North Dakota. They joined with the *Mandan* and *Hidatsa* and formed the *Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation* (MHA Nation). They are federally recognized as the *Three Affiliated Tribes* and live on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, established in 1870 (Parks 2001; Schneider 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1946).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups are reported for South Dakota.

## 9.5.9 North Dakota

As already mentioned, up to 1889, South Dakota and North Dakota shared the same history. In 1682, the area was claimed by La Salle for New France and the Louisiana Territory. By 1738, North Dakota was first explored by members of the French-Canadian La Vérendrye family. In 1762, France ceded the land to Spain and Spain ceded it back to France in 1800.

In 1803, the territory came into the possession of the USA and was organized as part of Louisiana Territory from 1804 to 1812. In 1804–1805, the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), accompanied by at least two African Americans, explored the region. The John Fremont and Jean Nicollet Expedition crossed central North Dakota in 1839.

The first permanent American settlement was established in 1812. In 1818, the Treaty of Paris fixed its northern boundary with Canada at 49th parallel. From 1812 to 1834 the land was reorganized as part of the Missouri Territory. The area east of the Missouri River was organized as part of Michigan Territory from 1824 to 1836 and as part of Wisconsin



Territory in the years 1836–1838. It became part of Iowa Territory from 1838 to 1846 and then became an unorganized territory in the years 1846 to 1849. From 1849 to 1858 it was incorporated into the Minnesota Territory. The area west of the Missouri River was part of Nebraska Territory from 1854 to 1861.

In 1861, the territory was reorganized as Dakota Territory. By 1889 this Dakota Territory was divided into two states that joined the USA as twin states: South Dakota and North Dakota (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 74–75; Danbom 2004).

North Dakota has nine federally recognized tribes, but no state tribes. Two North Dakota groups claiming indigenous ancestry have applied for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 39; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Mandan**

The *Mandan* had contact with the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), which was accompanied by an African named York (K.W. Porter 1932, 292).

*Mandan* have been documented in North Dakota since the seventeenth century. They had joined with the *Arikara* and *Hidatsa* and formed the *Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation* (MHA Nation). This nation is federally recognized as the *Three Affiliated Tribes* and lives on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, established in 1870 (W.R. Wood and Irwin 2001; Schneider 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1946).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups are mentioned in literature for North Dakota.

## **9.5.10 Montana**

In 1743, Montana was first explored by the French-Canadian La Vérendrye Expedition. In 1805, the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806) crossed the area. This expedition was accompanied by at least two African Americans. A legend tells that the community of Pompeys Pillar

(Yellowstone County) has its name from an African cook of this expedition, who had died here. A group of the Astor Expedition, led by Wilson Hunt, travelled overland from St. Louis to Astoria in 1810–1812 with two men of African ancestry accompanying them: Edward Rose and François Duchouquette, who had contact to local Native Americans.

The first trading post of Montana was built in 1807 and the first permanent European mission and settlement was founded in 1841.

In 1803, eastern Montana became part of the USA and was incorporated into the Louisiana Territory from 1804 to 1812. Between 1812 and 1854, the region was reorganized as part of the Missouri Territory, from 1854 to 1861 as part of Nebraska Territory, and between 1861–1863 as part of Dakota Territory.

In 1818, the western part of Montana was organized as Oregon Territory and in 1846, the Montana northern boundary with Canada was fixed at 49th parallel. From 1846 to 1853, western Montana joined the USA as part of Oregon Territory and from 1853 to 1863 it was reorganized into Washington Territory.

In 1863, the entire Territory of Montana was organized into Idaho Territory. In 1864, the territory became Montana Territory and finally joined the USA as the State of Montana in 1889.<sup>114</sup>

Montana has six federally recognized Native American Nations, but no state tribes. Two non-recognized American Indian tribes have applied for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 33; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Gros Ventre/A'aninin**

It is reported that the African servant York, who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition, met the *Gros Ventre* in 1805 and was regarded as a great medicine man by them (K.W. Porter 1932, 292).

In the eighteenth century, the *Gros Ventre* lived in the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in Canada. They were gradually pushed south and by the mid-nineteenth century they had moved into Mon-

<sup>114</sup> Inborden (1927); Savage (1928, 256); K.W. Porter (1932, 291–93, 1933, 311–12); Wilson, Jr. (1986, 58–59); Fritz (2004).

tana (USA). They must have already roamed northern Montana in 1805, when they met Lewis and Clark.

Today, a part of the *Gros Ventre* or *A'aninin* is federally recognized as *Fort Belknap Indian Community*, living on the Fort Belknap Reservation, which was established in 1888. Another part is living on the Fort Peck Reservation, established 1878 (Fowler and Flannery 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Crow/Apsáalooke**

The *Crow Indians*, who lived already in Montana and Wyoming in the early nineteenth century, had friendly relationships with African Americans since the early contact period. It is reported that the *Crow* had adopted persons of African American descent and some of them even became *Crow* chiefs.

One of these *Crow* chiefs was Edward Rose, who entered the area with the Astor Overland Expedition (1810–1812) led by Wilson Hunt:

(...) the interpreter Rose, the son of a white trader among the Cherokees and a woman who was half-Cherokee and half-Negro. (K.W. Porter 1933, 311)

He came up the Missouri in 1807 or 1809 and joined the Crows, remaining with them until 1834 or later, distinguishing himself by his shrewdness and bravery in encounters with the Blackfeet, at whose hands he finally met his death. (K.W. Porter 1932, 363)

Another *Crow* chief was James P. Beckwourth. He was born in Virginia in 1798, but the degree of his African American ancestry is uncertain. He was adopted by the *Crow* after 1824 “and lived among them for several years, during which period his lodge was successively occupied by a number of Indian wives.” (K.W. Porter 1932, 363–64; Hallowell 1963, 522, [1963] 2018, 95).

The African York, who had accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806) in this area, returned here after his manumission and lived in a *Crow* village from 1832 to 1834. He had four Indian wives and possessed much influence and reputation among them (K.W. Porter 1932, 364).

The *Crow* or *Apsáalooke* are federally recognized today as *Crow Tribe of Montana* and live on the Crow Reservation there, which was established in 1868 (Voget 2001; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1944).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups are reported from Montana.

## **9.5.11 Idaho**

The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806) crossed the area in 1805. As already mentioned, this expedition was accompanied by at least two African Americans. The Astor Overland Expedition (1810–1812) led by Wilson Hunt, pioneered the Oregon Trail and was accompanied by men of African American descent.

In 1810, the first American buildings were erected, but the British acquired control of the land in 1812. In 1818, the area was organized as Oregon Country and in 1846, the northern boundary of Idaho with Canada was fixed at 49th parallel, the USA thus gaining possession of Oregon County to the south.

In 1863, Idaho organized as U.S. territory and in 1890, it was admitted to the USA as a state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 30–31; Aiken 2004).

In Idaho live three federally recognized Native American Nations, but no state tribes. One American Indian tribe has applied for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 22; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Nez Perce/Niimípuu**

The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), accompanied by African Americans, met the *Nez Perce* in Idaho in 1805.

Based on data collected in 1964, the *Nez Perce* were analyzed in a study about their blood quanta composition. Only 1% of the non-*Nez Perce* heredity was categorized as “Negro.” Discussing African American descent of the *Nez Perce* the study concludes:

The least frequent of all non-Nez Perce blood quanta units, however, are found in the *Negro* category. Although the low frequency may be explained by the paucity of Negroes in the surrounding Euro-American population, it is also the result of the Nez Percés' severe disapproval of unions with Negroes. A Negro union is as undesirable for most Nez Perce as would be a union with a traditional enemy. (...) it is alleged that in the past Nez Percés attempting to enter part-Negro children on the tribal rolls have been denied this right because of racial prejudice. (D. E. Walker, Jr. 1967, 144)

The race prejudices seemed to have been acquired from the surrounding Euro-American population. At the time of the study there were indications that the 1% of African American descent may increase as more *Nez Perce* move off the reservation and relocate to urban areas. Here, the incidence of intermarriage with African Americans may increase as social pressure against such unions decreased.

A 1964 genetic screening of the *Nez Perce* revealed that they were 0.22% African American (D. E. Walker, Jr. 1967).

Today, the *Nez Perce* or *Nimíipuu* are federally recognized as *Nez Perce Tribe* and reside on the *Nez Perce Reservation*, established 1855 (D. E. Walker, Jr. 1998; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1945).

### Tri-Racial Groups

No tri-racial groups are mentioned in literature for Idaho.

## 9.5.12 Oregon

In 1775, the area is claimed by Spain. The first African to be killed by Native Americans in Oregon was a servant to Captain Gray from the Cape Verde Islands, whose ship anchored in Tillamook Bay (Tillamook County) in 1788.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–1806), accompanied by African Americans, arrived here in 1805 and built Fort Clatsop on the Columbia River. In 1810, the Astor Pacific Fur Co. had reached Oregon and then built Astoria on the mouth of the Columbia River in 1811.

The Astor Overland Expedition (1810–1812) from St. Louis (Missouri) to Astoria (Oregon) pioneered the Oregon Trail and included men of African American descent.

In 1818, the area was organized as Oregon Country and the first European settlers arrived via the Oregon Trail by 1842. In 1844, a Free Black named Saul from the Tualatin District (Washington County) was reported to be married to an Indian woman.

The borders of Oregon territory were outlined in 1846 and in 1848 U.S. Oregon Territory was carved out of this territory. In 1859, the territory joined the USA as State of Oregon. Eventually, the transcontinental railway reached Oregon in 1883.<sup>115</sup>

In 1844, Oregon amended the law that prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude by excluding slaves, Free Blacks, and Mulattoes from the state. The amendment allowed for slaves to be brought into the state for three years. Thereafter they had to be removed or set free. Free Blacks had to leave after 2 to 3 years and were threatened with punishment if they did not respect this law.

Many sources state that few Blacks were living in the Pacific Northwest until the twentieth century. Nonetheless, in states like Oregon, where fewer than a hundred Blacks were counted in the 1850s, the territorial legislature expressed extreme racial phobia against them (Savage 1928, 255, 257; K.W. Porter 1932, 365; Crowe 1974, 136).

Oregon has seven federal Native American Nations and no state tribes. Three Indian tribes have petitioned for federal acknowledgement and for two of these groups acknowledgement had been declined (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 41–42; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Cayuse/Liksiyu**

In 1847 two free Black settlers were living in Waillatpu, a *Cayuse* settlement in Walla Walla County (Savage 1928, 261; K.W. Porter 1932, 365).

<sup>115</sup> Savage (1928, 255; 258); K.W. Porter (1932, 291–292; 365, 1933, 311–12); Wilson, Jr. (1986, 80–81); Jetté and Zacharias (2004).

The *Cayuse* lived in the area of Washington State and Oregon during the time of European contact. Today, the tribe is federally recognized as part of the *Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation* and was removed to the *Umatilla* Reservation of Oregon in 1860 (Stern 1998a).

### **Klamath**

The *Klamath* use the word “waiha” for Blacks, which can be translated as “servant.” They also had adopted the offensive term “nigga” from Americans and derived the word for monkey “niggalam shaamoksh” from it, which means literally translated “negro’s kinsmen” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 353). This racist concept of comparing other races, like Africans, to animals comes from the adoption and incorporation of a European race concept into Klamath language, as there were no monkeys living in North America before the arrival of the Europeans.

In the nineteenth century, the *Klamath* lived in southern Oregon. After being terminated as a tribe in 1954, they regained federal recognition as *Klamath Tribe* in 1986. Their reservation consists of several parcels of land in Klamath County, Oregon.

Another part of the *Klamath* is enrolled in the federally recognized *Quartz Valley Indian Community of the Quartz Valley Reservation of California* with its reservation in Siskiyou County, California (Stern 1998b; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1944–45).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

No tri-racial groups are reported from Oregon.

## **9.5.13 California**

California was first claimed by Spain. The Alarcón Expedition (1540) explored the Colorado River and was accompanied by at least one African. The claim was manifested when Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed along its coast in 1542. In 1769, the first Spanish Catholic missions were erected. The Russians, who had expanded into California from the north, built Fort Ross (Sonoma County) in Northern California in 1812.

After the Mexican Revolution of 1810, California stayed loyal to Spain and joined Mexico in 1822. In 1846, California declared itself independent by proclaiming the California Republic. After their defeat in the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), Mexico ceded land, including California, to the USA and by 1850, California joined the USA as state (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 16–17; Woo-Sam 2004).

*California Mission Indians* usually formed small groups and lived on tiny plots in and around missions. Of these small Mission Indian tribes 108 are federally recognized. Another 78 groups had petitioned for recognition up to 2013 (see also Appendix H). California has no state tribes (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 6–16; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Yuma/Quechan**

A Spanish expedition led by Hernando de Alarcón explored the Colorado River in 1540. This expedition was accompanied by at least one African man who might have had contact to the *Yuma* of southern California (Winship 1896, 403–6).

The *Yuma* or *Quechan* lived in southern California and Arizona at the time of European contact. Today they are federally recognized as *Quechan Tribe of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation*, living on the Fort Yuma Reservation, which was established 1884 on both sides of the border of California and Arizona (Bee 1979–1983; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1945).

### **Tri-Racial Groups**

Several tri-racial groups reside in California, but they are all factions of groups from more eastern states, who have immigrated, mainly to urban areas:

- Calusa-Seminole Nation* [immigration from Florida]
- Cane River Creoles of Color* [immigration from Louisiana]
- Clifton Choctaw* [immigration from Louisiana]
- Lumbee* [immigration from North Carolina]
- Nanticoke* [immigration from Delaware]
- People of Frilot Cove* [immigration from Louisiana]



### 9.5.14 Arizona

The first European exploration of Arizona was ventured by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539. This expedition was joined by the African Esteban, who had already accompanied the Spanish Narvaéz Expedition (1527–1536).

The Spanish Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado y Luján entered Arizona in 1540. This expedition was also accompanied by Africans, some of whom deserted or were left behind (Riley 1972, 253).

In 1687, the first Catholic mission was established in Arizona and in 1776 came the first settlement. In 1821, Arizona became part of Mexico. By 1848, the part of Arizona north of the Gila River was ceded by Mexico to the USA. The southern part was acquired from Mexico by way of the Gadsden Purchase of 1854.

In 1863, the area became Arizona Territory, which joined the USA as a state in 1912 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 12–13; Adams 2004).

There are 21 federal Native American Nations in Arizona, but no state tribes. No tribes with an active petition for federal acknowledgement are listed for Arizona (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 3; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

#### **Mojave/Mohave**

The *Mojave/Mohave* lived on the lower Colorado River in the border area of Arizona, California, and Nevada at the time of first European contact with the Spaniards in the early seventeenth century.

In their language they had a word for Africans: “waiko kwanil” which means “black white man” or “black foreigner” (Hodge 1907–1910, 2: 352).

Today the *Mojave/Mohave* are federally recognized as parts of two federal tribes: the *Fort Mojave Indian Tribe of Arizona, California & Nevada* on the Fort Mojave Reservation (Arizona, California, Nevada), established in 1870, and the *Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado River Indian Reservation, Arizona and California* on the Colorado River Reservation (Arizona, California), established in 1865 (Stewart 1979–1983).

### 9.5.15 New Mexico

The Spaniards were the first Europeans to explore the area. The expedition of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in company of the Moroccan Moor Esteban reached New Mexico in 1530. The same Esteban accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza on his exploration of New Mexico in 1539. The Coronado Expedition (1540–1542) entered New Mexico in 1540 and was also accompanied by Africans, some of whom deserted or were left behind.

The Alarcón Expedition of 1540 explored the Colorado River running through the area of New Mexico. By 1590, the Portuguese explorer Gaspar Castaño de Sosa unsuccessfully tried to establish an illegal colony in the New Mexico-Texas area. In 1598, Juan de Oñate y Salazar finally colonized the area for Spain and founded the first European settlement there. The Gordejuala Inspection of 1600, organized by Juan Guerra de Resa, also entered New Mexico. All these expeditions were accompanied by Africans and (free) persons of African ancestry.

As already mentioned in the Kansas chapter, the Naranjo Clan, who was of African descent, immigrated into New Mexico between 1598 and 1600. One member of the Naranjo family is reported to have accompanied Don Diego de Vargas in 1692, when he reconquered the New Mexico area after the Pueblo Revolt (1680). This clan member had settled down in Santa Fe (Santa Fe County) in the years 1692–1693 (Chávez, Fray 1949; 1967).

The followers of Luis de Rosas, who was governor of Spanish New Mexico from 1637 to 1641, are described as “mestizos and sambohijos, sons of Indian women and negroes and mulattoes” (Scholes quoted in Riley 1972, 258).

It can be concluded that since 1540, Africans and persons of African descent lived in New Mexico and had contact to the Native Americans there (K. W. Porter 1932, 290; Riley 1972, 253–58).

By 1821, the area became part of the Republic of Mexico. Part of the New Mexico area was obtained by the USA through the incorporation of the Republic of Texas in 1845, the remaining parts were ceded by Mexico to the USA in 1848 and 1854.

In 1850, New Mexico Territory was created by the United States, which joined the USA as a state in 1912 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 68–69; Reeve 2004)

Today, New Mexico has twenty-four federally recognized Native American Nations, but no state tribes. Three tribes have petitioned for federal recognition, the status of one of these petition is currently “in-progress” (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 34–35; [2020a]; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

### **Pueblo Indians**

The pueblo settlements of the *Pueblo Indians* existed since pre-contact times in their present location. Since around 1600, Spaniards and Africans were living among the *Pueblo Indians* of New Mexico. Several children of African descent came to the settlements as servants of the Spaniards and became leaders among the *Pueblo Indians*.

The African Naranjo Clan entered the Pueblo area around 1600 and settled down in *Santa Clara Pueblo* (Rio Arriba County). Members of the family then relocated to *San Felipe Pueblo* (Sandoval County), *Taos Pueblo* (Taos County), and *Acoma Pueblo* (Bernalillo County) later.

Between 1600 and 1680, members of the Naranjo clan were also known as spiritual and ritual leaders among the *Pueblo Indians*. Domingo Naranjo of Santa Clara Pueblo even took part in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 against Spain.

There is a theory that Domingo Naranjo was the representation of Pohé-Yemo, a cultural hero of the Pueblo Indians. Since 1680, most *Pueblo Indians* regarded Domingo Naranjo as the incarnation of Pohé-Yemo (Chávez, Fray 1967; Sando 1979–1983).

Although there is intermixture of *Pueblo Indians* with Europeans and African Americans, they never have been categorized as tri-racial.

The *Pueblo Indians* and their pueblo settlements are federally recognized by the USA. *Pueblo of Santa Clara*, *Pueblo of San Felipe*, *Pueblo of Taos* and *Pueblo of Acoma* all have U.S. federal recognition today.<sup>116</sup>

116 Arnon and Hill (1979–1983); Turner Strong (1979–1983); Bodine (1979–1983); Garcia-Mason (1979–1983); U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (2015c, 1945).

## Zuñi

The *Zuñi* live in New Mexico since the pre-contact period and experienced their first contact to an African when Fray Marcos de Niza explored their settlement area in company of the Moor Esteban in 1539. Esteban is described by the *Zuñi* as “one of the Black Mexicans, a large man with chili lips.” Fray de Niza reported that Esteban was killed in the *Zuñi* Pueblo Hawikuh shortly after his arrival while travelling ahead of the De Niza Expedition. The killing of Esteban could still be documented from within the oral tradition of the *Zuñi* in the 1930s.

In 1700, a member of the Naranjo Clan, Joseph Lopez Naranjo, was Alcalde Mayor among the *Zuñi*.<sup>117</sup>

Today, the *Zuñi* are federally recognized by the USA as *Zuni Tribe of the Zuni Reservation* and live on the Zuni Reservation, established 1877 (Woodbury 1979–1983; Eggan and Pandey 1979–1983; U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1946).

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Here ends the overview of African-Native contact, as discussed in my master’s thesis.

The following two chapters on Louisiana and Texas are part of my dissertation (Bartl 2017), like the first six chapters of this publication. A general introduction to the history of each state, including the ethnography of local indigenous groups, the history of European and African American immigration and settlement, the state’s legal framework for slavery and inter-racial relations, and the Afro-Indigenous contacts will precede a comprehensive discussion of the tri-racial groups living in each state.

The information for each tri-racial group discussed is organized – as far as possible – according to the following topics:

- Location and Archaeology
- Language and Ethnonyms
- Ethnohistory and Culture

<sup>117</sup> Winship (1896, 361); Wright (1902, 224ff.); K. W. Porter (1932, 290); Chávez, Fray (1967, 107); Woodbury (1979–1983, 469).

The following two chapters on Louisiana and Texas additionally use oral tradition and results from my field research as sources of information and are not solely based on written sources, like the last two chapters on Canada and the USA.

## 10 Louisiana

Louisiana looks back on an extraordinarily complex and troubled history. Before it became a state of the USA, it was divided under French, Spanish, and British rule, with influences on the different regions of the colony shifting back and forth between these three colonial powers.

Although earlier expeditions of the Gulf of Mexico by Europeans are documented, the first verified European contact with the coast of Louisiana was by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. In 1528 he reached the mouth of the Mississippi River while sailing along the Gulf Coast from Florida to Texas and declared the Gulf Coast to be territory of Spain. This expedition was accompanied by the black slave Esteban (also named Estevan, Estevanico, or Estevanillo) from Azamor, Morocco, who probably was a Moroccan Moor (Riley 1972, 247–48).

Supposedly in March of 1542, the Hernando de Soto Expedition moved down from Arkansas into Louisiana, explored the area, descended the Mississippi River to the Gulf Coast and had many encounters with local Indian tribes (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 3–5).

In 1682, Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle followed the Mississippi River, claimed the Mississippi River Basin for France and named it “Louisiana” (which included the territory of West Florida at that time). Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville and his brother Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville were able to locate the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1698. In 1699, Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville established the first settlement in Louisiana Territory, Fort Maurepas near Biloxi (Mississippi) and traveled up the Mississippi River.<sup>118</sup>

Concerning the Native Americans living in Louisiana, the identities and locations of the tribes “cannot be determined for any period prior to 1700” (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 44). Their early history and location can only be reconstructed from colonial documents and travel accounts of Europeans explorers.

<sup>118</sup> Jones (1950, 8); Jenkins (1965, 21); Wilson, Jr. (1986, 42–43); Usner, Jr. (1989, 105); Taylor (2002, 382).

The reconstruction of settlement areas and history of the tribes of southern Louisiana with the help of archaeology is difficult, because of the landscape and the high groundwater. Swamps and bayous are unsuited for archaeological research, rivers like the Mississippi River often flood the area and change their course and the climate provides ideal conditions for the decay of plant material. This renders archaeological research almost impossible.

In 1713, the first black slaves – 20 persons from Africa – were recorded in a census of the Louisiana Territory, in that part of the territory which is present day Mississippi (Dunbar-Nelson 1916, 362).

The first permanent settlement in the present state of Louisiana – a French military post – was established at Natchitoches in 1714:

(...) the post (...) coexisted in harmony with the friendly natives. Located just fifteen miles from the presidio of Los Adaes, the easternmost outpost of Spanish Texas, Natchitoches served as a bulwark against Spanish aggressions into French Louisiana and as a convenient base for private and surreptitious trade between the two nations. (Mills 1977, 1)

Shortly after – in 1718 – New Orleans was founded by Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville.<sup>119</sup>

As already mentioned, from the early colonial era up to 1803, Louisiana Territory was divided under French, Spanish, and British rule, and power and influences over certain parts shifted back and forth between these colonial governments for the entire colonial period.

Between 1717 and 1721, some 7,000 French and German settlers arrived in Louisiana, and between 1719 and 1731, nearly 6,000 African slaves were imported to Louisiana directly from Africa (mostly natives from the Gulf of Benin, Angola, and Senegambia). In the beginning, these slaves died faster than the slave trade could replace deceased slaves, but by 1731, the black population counted nearly 4,000 persons and outnumbered Whites for the first time in Louisiana history (Berlin 1998, 80–84).

119 Wilson, Jr. (1986, 42–43); Mills (1977, 1, 43); Usner, Jr. (1989, 106).

For a long time, French Louisiana was divided into “(...) two very different landscapes: a small plantation core remade by settlers; and an immense hinterland dominated by Indians.” French forts were small and scattered throughout this hinterland and had to rely on Native Americans as allies (Taylor 2002, 388).

Alcoholism, disease, and violence reduced the population number of French Louisiana Indians from 24,000 in 1685 to 4,000 in 1730 (Taylor 2002, 389).

Since 1724, the French Code Noir outlawed intermarriages between Whites and Non-Whites,<sup>120</sup> which resulted in many cases of illegal alliances (plaçage, concubinage, common law marriages) between men and women of different races – and illegitimate children. These children were restricted in their legal rights, could be excluded from parental heritage, and could even be enslaved, if one of their parents had a slave status.

On the other side, Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color were living in the colony of Louisiana since its foundation. By 1724, this class was well established in Louisiana with a social position equal to that of the Creoles (Dunbar-Nelson 1916).

After the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) between Great Britain, France, and Spain, France had to cede all its lands west of the Mississippi and the Isle of Orleans to Spain in 1762. The Treaty of Paris (1763) ended the Seven Years’ War and France had to cede further territory to the British, including Arcadia (= Nova Scotia, Canada) and the territory east of the Mississippi (West Florida, Mississippi and Alabama). Spain had to cede Florida to the British and received Louisiana Territory (whose western border was formed by the Rocky Mountains at that time) in return.

After the signature of the Treaty of Paris, new groups of immigrants, fleeing from British rule, came to Louisiana. One of these groups were the Acadians (Cajuns), French settlers from Acadia (Nova Scotia, Canada),

120 Mills (1977, 17, footnote 47; 21) quoting a translated passage of the Code Noir:

Article 6 (...):

“It must be absolutely prohibited to all white subjects of either sex to contract marriage with any blacks or mulattoes, upon pain of being dishonorably expelled from the colony.” Code noir ou Loi Municipal Servant de Reglement (New Orleans, 1778), 2. (Mills 1977, 21, footnote 60).



who settled down in the southern part of Louisiana – the Bayou country (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 42–43; Schomaekers 1983, 42).

Another huge immigrating population were Native Americans from the British Mississippi Territory. By 1764, Mobile Bay tribes had crossed the Mississippi River and migrated into the Spanish Louisiana Territory. Other tribes – among them Mississippi *Choctaw* – followed (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 83–105).

From the early colonial period, American Indians, Europeans, and Africans interacted closely in Louisiana. One large sphere of contact and interaction was the frontier economy<sup>121</sup> – especially the food economy:

By trading in particular food items, Indians, Africans and Europeans interacted closely and influenced each other culturally. (...) Production and peddling of foodstuff in small quantities constituted a sphere of social interaction for 18th-century Louisianians, and a source of economic autonomy for Indians, slaves and settlers. (Usner, Jr. 1986, 280)

Usner concluded “that an informal network of cross-cultural trade connected different ethnic groups across the Lower Mississippi Valley” (Usner, Jr. 1986, 302). The exchange economy in this area was made easier by the use of the Mobilian Jargon, a pidgin language used in the Mississippi River Valley, which “was learned by Whites, blacks and tribal language speakers and served as a lingua franca in trade and social situations involving these groups” (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 124–25).<sup>122</sup>

**121** Usner emphasizes the role of the frontier economy in the interaction of Native Americans, Africans and Europeans:

Marketing systems reveal a good deal about the relationships among various groups who comprise a society and, furthermore, they serve as a useful comparative measurement of the similarities and differences between societies. (...) the economic activities of indigenous and colonial populations have long been separated by prevalent conceptualizations of frontier either as boundaries between primitive and commercial economies or as transitional zones through which stages of economic development rapidly progress. (Usner, Jr. 1986, 279)

**122** Further information on the origin, use, and distribution of the Mobilian Jargon is given by Drechsel (1986, 1996) and Usner, Jr. (1995, 154). I want to thank Emanuel J. Drechsel for sending his article (1986) to me.

In 1800, Spain had to return Louisiana Territory to the French (Treaty of San Ildefonso). Finally, the USA bought Louisiana Territory from France (Louisiana Purchase of 1803).<sup>123</sup> In the following years, the territory was split up into districts and counties – which transformed into “parishes” later.<sup>124</sup>

To end the boundary confusion between Spanish and American territories, the “Neutral Ground Agreement” was signed on November 1, 1806. This agreement created a neutral zone – also called “No Man’s Land” – along the Sabine River between the Louisiana and Texas territories, in what is West Louisiana today. This Neutral Ground existed until 1821, when it was incorporated into the State of Louisiana. This “No Man’s Land” was the main immigration area for tri-racial groups like the *Redbones* for as long as it existed (Prejean 1999, 106).

Major migration and trading routes into and through early Louisiana Territory included the following: Federal Road through *Creek* Territory, Jackson’s Military Road, Southwest Trail, Natchitoches Trace, El Camino Real de los Tejas, and Old San Antonio Road. Major crossing points of the Mississippi River into Louisiana were Natchez and Vicksburg in Mississippi, where several trails and old Indian paths from the east and northeast intersected (Webb 2013; see also Map 5).

In 1810, the U.S. Government proclaimed West Florida to be part of Louisiana Territory. In 1812, Louisiana became the eighteenth state of the USA (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 43; Schomaekers 1983, 84–89).

123 U.S. Congress divided the Louisiana Territory in two sections (Marler 2003, 139): Territory of Louisiana (above the 33rd latitude) and Territory of Orleans (below the 33rd latitude).

124 The parishes of Louisiana have been renamed and their borders redesigned throughout history. Table A in the Appendix presents an overview on the origin and history of the Louisiana parishes. Additional information on parishes is drawn from Wikipedia (2015). An example for the renaming of geographical sites is given by Mills (1977, maps between pages 54 and 55) for sites delimiting the settlement area of the *Cane River Creoles of Color*: present day Cane River was formerly named Little River and then Red River, present day Old River was formerly named Red River, whereas present day Red River was formerly called Rigolet de Bon Dicu. These facts have to be taken into account when demographical, geographical, and political data are mentioned here – they always have to be seen within this historical context. It was beyond the scope of my dissertation to examine the validity and historical context of all these data.



Map 6 Louisiana

Regarding the Native American Nations living in the Louisiana Territory, the U.S. Government had promised to respect the colonial treaties and land rights of these tribes:

In the Louisiana Purchase treaty with France, the United States had obligated itself to recognize land rights that were protected under colonial law still in effect at that time. More generally, the federal government's preemptive right to purchase Indian land should also have been in effect – as secured under the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790, extended to the new territories of Orleans and Louisiana in 1804 and reinforced by the Supreme Court case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh* in 1823. (Usner, Jr. 2016, 92)

Examples will show that the federal government never did fulfill these obligations from the Louisiana Purchase Treaty.

By 1810, Free Persons of Color in Louisiana were legally defined as “descended from Indians on both sides, from white parent, or mulatto parents in possession of their freedom” (Mills 1977, 85).

Louisiana in the ante-bellum period stayed a slave state and seceded from the Union in 1861. For six weeks, it was independent before it joined the Confederate States. From 1861 to 1865, Louisiana took part in the Civil War on the side of the Confederates. After 1865, the state was brought back into the Union, regaining the status of a U.S. state in 1869 (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 43; Schomaekers 1983, 127).

The new Louisiana Constitution of 1898 excluded Blacks from voting, a right that was not given back to them until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Schomaekers 1983, 160). In 1964, a federal court ordered the integration of schools in New Orleans and other Louisiana cities (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 43).

Before the Civil War, the Louisiana population was stratified into three major social classes: Whites, Free Persons of Color, and slaves. After the Civil War, this stratification broke down and a two-class social stratification replaced it: White and non-White. In this new situation, Free Persons of Color (including Creoles of Color) had to find their own social and economic niche. Some could pass for White, but many feared to be classified as non-White or even Black (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, IX–X). To avoid a loss of status they started to form endogamous enclaves and isolated communities, many of whom transformed into tri-racial groups.

The U.S. Government tried to relocate the Native Americans of Louisiana to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River several times. Both the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Dawes Act of 1890 were enacted to remove Native Americans from eastern U.S. states to the Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma and Kansas. Some American Indians went, but many stayed in Louisiana. Additionally, Native Americans from the states east of Louisiana made stop-overs on their way to Indian Territory or settled in Louisiana.

Many Louisiana Native American tribes were dislocated or became extinct. Those who remained intermixed with Europeans and Persons of Color. In 1883 Gatschet wrote:

(...) these [Louisiana Indians] are not free from foreign admixtures, and, as far as race is concerned, the majority of Louisiana Indians are no longer of pure blood. (Gatschet 1883, 1)

Today many Louisiana Indians are of mixed ancestry and have become invisible or of little interest to researchers.<sup>125</sup>

Louisiana has the third largest native American population in the eastern United States. (...) Yet most non-Indians in the state are unaware of Louisiana's Indian heritage, or they assume that the tribes are dead or have moved to Oklahoma. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 1)

(...) they [the Louisiana Indians] were living much as poor whites did, and were too easily dismissed, by unthinking observers, as being ignorant of their ancestral ways. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 7)

Important factors in researching Native Americans in the east are described by Kniffen, Gregory and Stokes as being typical for tribes in Louisiana – factionalism and tribalism:

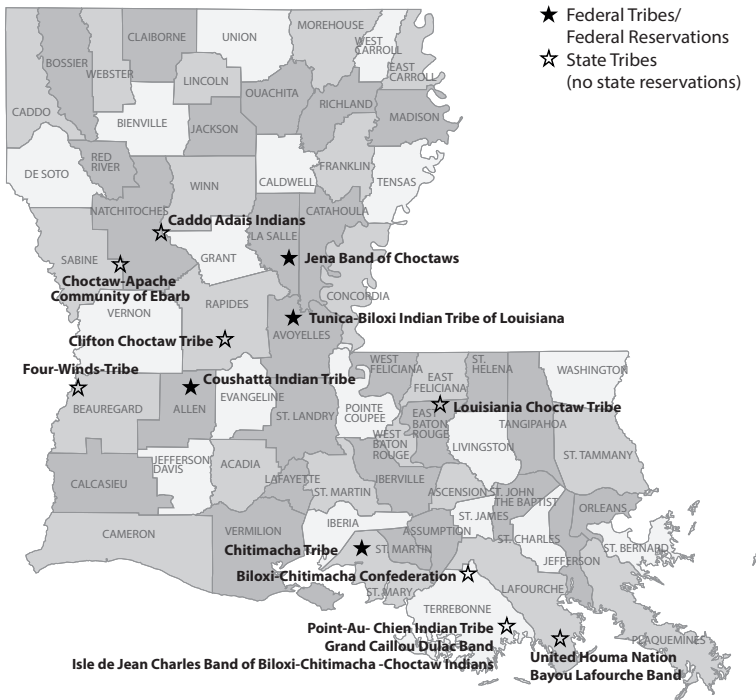
Factionalism has long been inherent in Indian political affairs, involving such rivalries as kin versus non-kin and traditionalist versus modernist. In traditional Indian communities, factionalism contributed to a balance of power. (...) Today, ancient intertribal and intratribal differences surface in tribal politics. Although appearing divisive to outsiders, they contribute a system of checks and balances essential to tribal structure. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 300)

Still, tribalism remains strong. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 301)

<sup>125</sup> This is a major reason why there are so few publications on Louisiana Indians – and the publications that are available are written by only a handful of authors: e.g. Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987); Gregory (1992); Usner, Jr. (1986, 1989, 1995).

Here, it is important to note that factionalism and tribalism are present in all Native American Nations in North America, which can make field research among them rather complicated sometimes. Nonetheless, American Indian tribes in Louisiana are now gaining more attention as scholars research Louisiana Indians, colonial history, early European and African immigration, ethnic intermixture, and the creolization of the society:

Some apparently lost tribal memories still may exist in the minds of older Louisiana Indians now living isolated lives in other tribes or non-Indian communities. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 91)



Map 7 Louisiana federal and state Native American Nations. Map by Renate Bartl

Louisiana had two state institutions that were concerned with Indian Affairs and bestowed state recognition on Louisiana tribes: the Louisiana Office of Indian Affairs (LOIA), and the Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs, both founded in 1972. Presently these institutions have been fused into the Louisiana Office of the Governor, Indian Affairs which will be supplemented by a Native American Commission within the Office of the Governor, Indian Affairs in 2019 (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019; State of Louisiana, Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs n.d.). The four federal Indian tribes of Louisiana live on federal reservations, but state tribes do not have state reservations (N. B. Duthu, pers. comm.; B. Klopotek, pers. comm.).

The American Indian tribes of Louisiana have self-organized in the "Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana (ITC)" in 1975. The Council still is comprised of its five founding tribes (Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana 2019, n.d.):

*Chitimacha Tribe*

*Coushatta Indian Tribe*

*Jena Band of Choctaws*

*Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana*

*United Houma Nation Tribe*

The cooperation among the tribes within this Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana was never assured. Additionally, the Council came under state investigation soon after its foundation. The former executive director Jeanette Alcon describes the early years:

(...) although tribes in this state had coexisted side-by-side – some of them not even but a few miles from one another – they had never come to the table together before.

Every tribe had such a different perspective and a different need. (...)

It took a lot of years to build the communication between the groups and to get tribes to actually be able to start trusting one another. We had a lot of battles over the blood quantum issue, and who were the "real" Indians and who were not. In Indian Country, that is such a big "to do" regarding who is and who isn't a "real" Indian. (Alcon 2016, 178–79)

Against all obstacles, the Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana is still active today.

In Louisiana exist four federal Native American Nations and eight state tribes. As of 2013, thirteen groups claiming Native American descent were petitioning for federal acknowledgement. For further information on Native American Nations and groups claiming indigenous ancestry in Louisiana, see Appendix H.

### Slavery

The first slave, a Moor named Esteban, entered Louisiana in 1528 as a member of the Narváez expedition (Riley 1972, 247–48). The first black slaves imported were listed in a census of 1713 for that part of the Louisiana colony, which is now in Mississippi (Dunbar-Nelson 1916, 362). Indian slavery began with the founding of the colony in 1699 (Lauber 1913, 90). In the first decades of Louisiana Territory history, mainly local Native Americans were enslaved by European colonists. In 1708, the colonial population numbered 122 soldiers and sailors, 77 settlers and 80 Indian slaves (Usner, Jr. 1995, 146; Taylor 2002, 384).

Between 1719 and 1731, nearly 6,000 African slaves were imported to Louisiana directly from Africa (Berlin 1998, 80–84). Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, who governed Louisiana from 1702 to 1740, started a slave trade with the West Indies, trading two Indians for one African (Taylor 2002, 382, 389).

In French Louisiana, the French Code Noir outlawed intermarriages between Whites and non-Whites in 1724 (Mills 1977, 17), with the effect that alliances between Whites and non-Whites were illegal and the children from such alliances illegitimate. These children could be enslaved, if one of their parents had slave status. On the other side, enslavement of Christians was theoretically ruled out:

The laws of France did not permit the holding of any Christian in slavery. This meant that the conversion of Indians or other slaves would confer freedom upon them. But the law was never enforced. (Lauber 1913, 89–90)

In 1726, the number of Indian slaves in the Louisiana colony (including Illinois Country) was 229 while the number of Black slaves was 1,540 (Webre 1984, 118–19; Lauber 1913, 91).



From the census data he had evaluated for the years 1704–1727, Lauber (1913, 90–91) concluded:

From these statistics it will be seen that in Louisiana the negro slaves far outnumbered the Indian slaves, and that the ratio of the number of Indian slaves to the number of whites in the colony was very small. (Lauber 1913, 91)

Although the Spanish New Laws of 1542 declared the enslavement of indigenous people of the Americas as illegal (Webre 1984, 117), Indians continued to be enslaved in the Spanish colonies. During the Spanish period of Louisiana Territory, the ethnic and racial identification of Indian slaves changed:

It is significant that many Indian slaves were described as “creoles” or “born in the country,” suggesting that they were born into slavery of slave parents. By the Spanish period, in fact, many slaves were no longer pure-blooded Indians. *Mestizos* (*métis* in French), the mixed offspring of unions between Indians and whites, appeared frequently among the slave population as did *zambos* (*griffes* in French), the mixed offspring of Indians and blacks or mulattoes. These slaves’ claim to special status as Indians were based on biological descent alone as they almost had lost any meaningful contact with their native culture and adopted the language and values of their masters. For their part, whites were not overly fastidious about the ethnic identity of their slaves and tended to refer to any mixed-blood as a mulatto. (Webre 1984, 120)

Miscegenation was common in colonial Louisiana and complexion or physical appearance was no sure guide in the absence of certain knowledge of ancestry. To a large extent, ethnic identity among “creole” slaves depended upon self-estimation or local reputation. (Webre 1984, 120, footnote 6)

The term *griffe* was applied to persons of African American and Native American or Euro-American descent in French Louisiana: “3/4 Negro-1/4 white or Indio-Negro mixture.” In Spanish Louisiana, the term *prado* was used for “light-skinned persons of color,” *moreno* for “dark-skinned persons of color” (Mills [1977] 2013, xxi-xxii).

Under Spanish rule, the prohibition of the enslavement of Indians was extended to the Louisiana Province in 1769, but Spanish authorities had problems enforcing the prohibition. Slaveholders, for example, misidentified indigenous slaves as “mulattoes” in sale transactions to evade legal problems. For researchers, this obscures the real number of American Indians enslaved in Louisiana (Webre 1984, 122–24).

Between 1763 and the 1790s, the total slave population of the Spanish province of Louisiana increased from 5,000 to approximately 20,000, of which only 200–300 “were of identifiable Indian descent” (Webre 1984, 133–34).

The French had also enslaved Native Americans, among them members of the *Natchez Tribe*. In 1729, the *Natchez* organized a revolt in alliance with 200 African slaves against the French at Fort Rosalie (Adams County), the so-called Natchez Uprising. As a result of the Natchez Revolt, all of the captives were enslaved in Louisiana.

After 1762, the colony came under Spanish control and the Spaniards deported at least 500 *Natchez Indians* as slaves to the West Indies, while the rest of the tribe found refuge among the *Creek*, *Cherokee*, and *Chickasaw*, or were dispersed as “settlement Indians” as far as South Carolina.

In 1800, France reacquired the territory from Spain, after it had abolished slavery in all of its possessions in 1794. The Louisiana Territory was sold by France to the USA in 1803 and incorporated as a territory into the United States. When the Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830, the *Natchez* went with the *Cherokee*, *Creek*, and *Chickasaw* to the Indian Country (Oklahoma).<sup>126</sup>

When the Louisiana Territory was purchased by the USA in 1803, U.S. laws were applied accordingly from thenceforth. In 1808, the United States outlawed the importation of slaves identified as “negro, mulatto, or person of colour” into its territory (U.S. Congress 1807).

126 Mooney (1900, 233); Hodge (1907–1910, 1: 16); Dunbar-Nelson (1916, 369–70); Willis (1963, 174); Roller and Twyman (1979, 1115); K. W. Porter (1933, 285); Taylor (2002, 390); Galloway and Jackson (2004).

Two authors are convinced they have found oral traditions among the Natchez that parallels African oral traditions in relation to the trickster figure Rabbit (Swanton 1913, 194–96; Dundes 1965).

The role Native American slaves played in the plantation economy, and the intermixture of Native American and African American slaves in Louisiana is discussed in several publications by Daniel H. Usner (1989, 1995).

Indian slaves gaining their freedom were identified as Free(d)men, entered the class of Free Persons of Color, and could legally intermarry with other Free Persons of Color. On the racial classification of these people Usner writes:

Liaisons between Indian and African American slaves produced children who were ascribed with increasing regularity to Negro or mulatto identities. Some Indians were assimilated into the free segment of colonial society, as the offspring of Indian slave women and freemen grew up as free people of color or as whites. (Usner, Jr. 1995, 151)

Nonetheless, Indian tribes were unwilling to incorporate colored persons with American Indian ancestry into their tribes:

In most tribes, some degree of white mixture was tolerated, but those who mixed with blacks generally were excluded from the Indian tribal community. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 94)

After Louisiana had joined the USA, a new Black Code was passed in 1806, making it difficult for the remaining (part-)indigenous slaves to gain freedom (Webre 1984, 135). African Americans and colored persons were enslaved in Louisiana until the end of the Civil War in 1865.

### **Maroons**

A maroon camp called *Natanapallé* existed outside of New Orleans in 1727 with about 15 Africans and Native Americans living in it (Usner, Jr. 1989, 108; 1995, 148; Berlin 1998, 88). A camp eight miles north of New Orleans with about 60 inhabitants was reported in 1827. A further settlement existed on Bayou Bienvenu (Orleans Parish/St. Bernard Parish) east of New Orleans (Aptheker 1939, 177; [1939] 1996, 160).

Maroon attacks were reported from Cypress Swamp near New Orleans in 1836, Terrebonne Parish in 1841, St. Landry Parish in 1846, and along the Comite River in 1861 (Aptheker 1939, 177, 179, 180, 182; [1939] 1996, 161–64).

Another maroon community, Bas du Fleuve, existed between the mouth of the Mississippi River and New Orleans (Marler 2003, 54).

## 10.1 Atakapa/Ishak

### Location and Archaeology

The *Atakapa/Ishak* once lived in Acadia Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Cameron Parish, Jefferson Davis Parish, Lafayette Parish, St. Landry Parish, Vermillion Parish, and in Orange County and Jefferson County of Texas. Today they are regarded as extinct by way of being totally absorbed into other tribes.

There are no archaeological data published on the *Atakapa*.

### Language and Ethnonyms

*Atakapa* is the term for all Atakapa-speaking Indians who were living between Vermilion Bay, Louisiana, and Galveston Bay, Texas. This language group was comprised of five sovereign bands: *Atakapans*, *Akokisa*, *Patiri/Pastia*, *Bidai*, and *Deadose*. Sometimes the *Opelousa*<sup>127</sup> are included as a sixth band.

The emic designation of these bands was *Atakapa* and *Ishak*. There are modern groups claiming *Atakapa-Ishak* ancestry and additional *Opelousa* identity (see Appendix H). *Creoles* are also ascribed *Atakapa-Ishak* descent by some authors and called *Creole Indians*, but there is no scientific proof for any *Atakapa* ancestry or ethnic identity of *Creoles* and vice versa.

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>128</sup>

The *Atakapa/Ishak* have never been identified as tri-racial, but groups claiming descent from them are categorized as tri-racial and will be discussed here. It is reported that some *Opelousa* “intermarried with free people of color in the settlements south of Natchitoches” (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 88).

<sup>127</sup> The *Opelousa* are included, because some authors see a linguistic relationship and their remnants are assumed to have joined the *Atakapa* in the eighteenth century (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 46; Goddard et al. 2004, 183). There are further designations for the *Opelousa* used in literature: *Blackleg* and *Blackfoot* (Jolivière 2007, 7), or “black above,” “black headed,” “black hair(ed),” “black-head,” “black(-)skull” (Swanton [1952] 1984, 207; Goddard et al. 2004, 183; Hodge 1907–1910, 2).

<sup>128</sup> Literature: Newcomb, Jr. (2004); Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 44–47, 75); Swanton ([1952] 1984, 197–99, [1911] 1998, 360–64); Hodge (1907–1910, 1).

In colonial times, they had early contacts with French traders, Spanish Catholic missionaries, and French and Spanish settlers.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century numerous plots of land were sold to French Creoles by the Atakapa Indians, but the last village of the easternmost band was not abandoned until early in the nineteenth century. The last village of the Atakapa who spoke the eastern dialect was on the Mermentou [= Mermentau River] and Indians are said to have lived there down to 1836. The Calcasieu band held together for a longer period, so that in 1908 a few persons were living who once made their homes in the last native village on Indian Lake or Lake Prien [Calcasieu Parish]. (Swanton [1952] 1984, 198)

The *Houma*, according to their oral traditions, share a common ancestry with the *Atakapa*, but are no Atakapa speakers. Joliv ette (2007, 60–61) claims that the *Atakapas Ishak* are one of the ancestral tribes of the *Creoles*. He argues that all *Creoles* living in the United States are of partly Native American ancestry and therefore share a Native American ethnic identity.

In the first half of the eighteenth century their numbers were estimated at: *Atakapa* 1,500–2,000, *Akokisa* 1,200–1,250, and *Bidai/Deadose/Patiri* combined 2,100–2,250 (900–1,000 for each band). This way the total estimation was 3,600–4,200, but by 1805 only 175 Atakapa had survived. In the early twentieth century only nine speakers of Atakapa were left, some living in Lake Charles (Calcasieu Parish), and by 1934 only one person was living in Louisiana who remembered a few words. In Texas, a few speakers of Atakapa survived near Vidor (Orange County) and the last fluent speaker lived there in 1935.

No *Atakapa* tribe in Louisiana has federal or state recognition. A recently created group, the *Atakapas Ishak Nation of Southeast Texas and Southwest Louisiana*, has filed a letter of intention to petition for federal acknowledgement on February 02, 2007 and is listed as a petitioning group in Texas by OFA (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 46). This group is located in Lake Charles (Calcasieu Parish), Acadia Parish, Cameron Parish, Iberia

Parish, Lafayette Parish, Plaquemines Parish, St. Landry Parish, St. Martin Parish, St. Mary Parish, Vermillion Parish, and in Texas.

On their webpage (subpage “History”), the *Atakapa-Ishak* provide information about their self-identification and traditional surnames:

We, the descendents [*sic*] of the Atakapa-Ishak Indians exist unrecognized and misnamed under various names of choice like Creoles, Creole Indians, and Creoles of Color.

Relics of Atakapa-Ishak names include Anacoco, Calcasieu, Carencro, Lacassine, Mamou, Mermentau, Opelousas, Teche and others. (Atakapas Ishak Nation 2015a)

What they present on their webpage as “Indian names” ([www.atakapa-ishak.org/history/indian-names/](http://www.atakapa-ishak.org/history/indian-names/)) is a census of the Church of Attacapas, a Catholic church once located in present-day St. Martin Parish and dated April 01, 1781. It is highly questionable that these surnames are Atakapa, as they represent all the people living in the church parish. The list indicates “English” and (free) negro or mulatto status, but no American Indian status. The surnames are mostly French (Creole) and some English (Atakapas Ishak Nation 2015a), but they do not indicate Native American ancestry. Therefore, the claim of this group to an Indian identity is highly questionable.

Another group, the *Attakapas Opelousas Prairie Tribe of SWLA*, is located in Jennings and Elton (Jefferson Davis Parish), Opelousas (St. Landry Parish), Vermilionville and Lafayette (Lafayette Parish), St. Martinville (St. Martin Parish), and has approximately 1,300 members according to its webpage (Attakapas Opelousas Prairie Tribe 2015, 2017).<sup>129</sup>

During my field research in Louisiana, I had spent three days (July 24–27, 1991) in Jennings and Elton, during which I went to the Coushatta Reservation near Elton and spoke to *Coushatta Indians* (Bertney Langley and his mother) and an anthropologist (Linda Parker) there. I went to the Jefferson Davis Parish Library in Jennings to search for

<sup>129</sup> Opelousas (St. Landry Parish), Vermilionville and Lafayette (Lafayette Parish), and St. Martinville (St. Martin Parish) are typical *Creole* settlements and colonies (Louisiana Creole Heritage Center 2015a).

primary sources and literature on local American Indians and spoke with the librarian there. I told people in Elton and Jennings, that I was looking for local ethnic groups identifying as Indian, but none of them mentioned any other group or tribe to me except the *Coushatta* and *Chitimacha*. The Jefferson Davis Parish Library had no information in their files on a local group claiming *Attakapas* and *Opelousas* identity. This is unusual, because if there would have been a group identifying as *Attakapas Opelousas* in this area at that time, someone would have told me – moreover, I would have found some information in the library. This lack of information tells me, that there was no remnant of an *Atakapa* or *Opelousa* band in this area in 1991. The *Attakapas Opelousas Prairie Tribe of SWLA* is a more recent creation of people organizing into a group and adopting Indian identities. At present the pages for “Council,” “Ancestors,” etc., on their webpage, where surnames of council members, location of group members, and claims to Indian ancestry were once published, have been deleted. This is usually a further proof that their claims are disputable and that they do not want to give information on their group and group members to the public.

## 10.2 Caddo

### **Location and Archaeology**

*Caddo* Indians lived in the northeastern part of Louisiana until they had to sell their land to the United States in 1835 and were ordered to leave Louisiana within five years (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 4; Swanton [1952] 1984, 201). Many of them moved to East Texas, where they were driven out again in 1859 and finally settled in the Indian Territory (Abel [1915] 1992, 19, footnote 5; Rogers and Sabo, III. 2004, 620).

*Caddo* archaeological surveys have been made in all of their settlement areas.

### **Language and Ethnonyms**

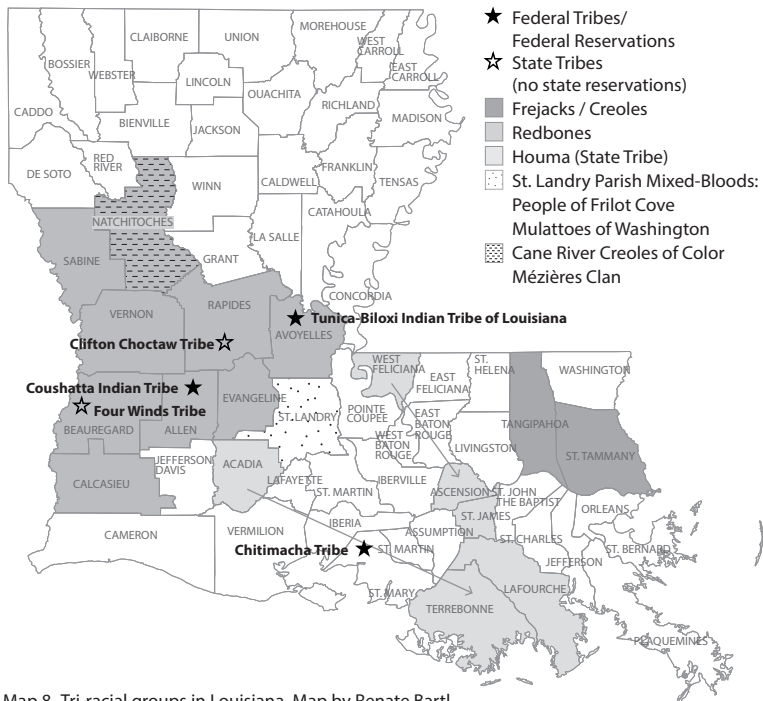
The *Caddo* language belongs to the Caddoan linguistic family. *Caddo* is the emic term used by these Native Americans for self-designation (Rogers and Sabo, III. 2004, 616–17, 629–30).

## Ethnohistory and Culture

The *Caddo Nation* was never categorized as tri-racial, but during the time *Caddo Indians* lived in Louisiana (up to 1840), three female Metoyer descendants of the *Cane River Creoles of Color* had married three sons of Marie Ursulle, who was a *Caddo* Indian woman and lived in *plaçage* with a French-American named Barthelmy LeCourt.<sup>130</sup>

The *Clifton Choctaw Indians* of Louisiana also claim ancestry to the *Caddo* (Klopotek 2011, 205).

Today the *Caddo* live in Oklahoma and are federally recognized as *Caddo Nation of Oklahoma* (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c, 1943; Rogers and Sabo, III. 2004).



Map 8 Tri-racial groups in Louisiana. Map by Renate Bartl

<sup>130</sup> Marie Sylvie Metoyer ∞ Joseph Valerie LeCourt, Marie Ositte Metoyer ∞ Neville LeCourt (1830), and Marie Celine Metoyer ∞ Jaques Eloy LeCourt (1836). The spelling of the surname LaCourt was changed into LeCour later (Mills 1977, 90).



## 10.3 Cane River Creoles of Color

### Location and Archaeology

The *Cane River Creoles of Color* live on Isle Brevelle, an island situated between Cane River and Old River, in Natchitoches Parish.

There are no known archaeological excavations, but the Louisiana Regional Folklife Program (2009) has partnered with the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (2015b) to preserve the buildings and church of the plantation and its history.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Cane River Creoles of Color* are mainly of French Creole origin and therefore French Creole is their original language. Nowadays many members of the groups also speak English.

The ethnonyms for the group *Cane River Creoles of Color* or *People of Isle Brevelle* are derived from their settlement area on Isle Brevelle along Cane River. They also call themselves *our people*, *the people*, or *we*, *the people* (Mills 1977, xxvi).

Additional ethnic identities applied to them were *Cane River Mulattoes* and *Red Bones* (Gilbert 1946, 445–46; 1949, 425; Dunlap and Weslager 1947, 86; Beale 1957, 193; 1972, 709).

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>131</sup>

The *Cane River Creoles of Color* are one of the few tri-racial groups with an ethnohistorical study (Mills 1977) and a psycho-sociological

**131** Literature: Mills (1977, [1977] 2013); Dunbar-Nelson (1916); Beale (1957, 193); in table „Other isolates: Natchitoches Parish;“ Heitzmann (2001a; K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.). Woods (1972) uses pseudonyms for surname and locations in her publication: the surname „Letoyant“ stands for Metoyer, and the pseudonym „Riverville“ stands for Isle Brevelle. It is important to note, that Frances Woods was a Catholic nun, a circumstance that surely influenced the results of her studies and field research. Additional sources, that were not available to me are: Heitzmann (2000, 2003).

There exists a “Cane River Collection, 1817–1859” (MSS 182 with 1,409 items) housed at the Historic New Orleans Collection, Manuscript Division, New Orleans, LA, which has not been used by any of these authors. Maps and photos of the *Cane River Creole of Color* settlement are provided on a webpage of the Northwestern State University (Louisiana Regional Folklife Program 2009). Genealogical aspects and historical documents are provided and discussed on Facebook (“Forgotten People:” 2013).

study (Woods 1972) – mostly relying on oral history and tradition – in publication.

The group's identity represents one of the few cases in which in-group (emic) identity and out-group (etic) identification coincide. The group self-identifies and is identified by outsiders as multi-ethnic, tri-racial, and part-indigenous, being a community of Creoles of Color with a French and other European, Native American, and African background. They have a clear concept of themselves as a distinct people.

The origin of the Cane River Colony goes back to an enslaved woman named Marie Thérèse Coincoin (1742–1816?), who entered a *plaçage* (i.e. an informal relationship) with her married owner Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer (1744–1815), an early French immigrant to Natchitoches.<sup>132</sup> In the years 1768–1784, ten children were born to them.<sup>133</sup> Marie Thérèse Coincoin served as a slave until 1778, when Metoyer purchased her freedom. In 1786, Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer and Marie Thérèse Coincoin ended their relationship. Soon after Metoyer donated land on Cane River (formerly Red River) and a lifetime annuity to Coincoin. After having got full title to this land in 1787, Marie Thérèse Coincoin settled down and started a plantation. In the years following, she acquired additional plantation land in the settlement area and from 1790 on she bought slaves to cultivate her plantation.

Gilbert (1946, 445–46, 1949, 425) erroneously included the *Cane River Creoles of Color* into his *Red Bone* groups.

A novel on the *Cane River Creoles of Color* has been written by Saxon (1948). A documentary film was “The Spirit of a Culture: Cane River Creoles” has been produced in 2005 (Rodman 2005).

**132** Both parents of Marie Thérèse Coincoin were African slaves at Nachitoches. Her father François (baptized: December 26, 1735, in Nachitoches) married her mother Marie Françoise on January 08, 1736, at Nachitoches. They had 11 children. The exact date of Marie Thérèse Coincoin's death is not documented and can only be concluded from sources (Mills 1977, 2). For a genealogy of Marie Thérèse Coincoin and her offspring, see Mills (1977, 72–76, [1977] 2013, 16–17, 32–35).

In the 2013 revised edition of the book by Mills ([1977] 2013, 3) a legend is added where Marie Thérèse Coincoin is described as “Of either African or Indian origin (...).”

Another daughter of François and Marie Françoise – Marie Jeanne – became the matriarch of the *Mézières* family clan (Mills 1977, 6).

**133** Marie Thérèse Coincoin had already four (Mills 1977, 8–9) or five (Mills [1977] 2013, 16–17) children when she entered into the *plaçage* with Metoyer, two of whom were classified as Black or Negro in colonial records.

Apart from enlarging her plantation, Coincoin's main goal was to free her enslaved offspring. Of her 14 children, only 3 were born free, one of which did not survive infancy. Of the remaining 11 children, one had died young, and Metoyer purchased the freedom of one in 1778. From 1786 to 1802, Coincoin managed to buy the freedom of remaining enslaved children and several grandchildren.

Coincoin's eldest Metoyer son, Nicolas Augustin Metoyer (1768–1856) brought the *Metoyers de couleur libre* to Isle Brevelle. In 1795, he got a land grant from the Spanish Colonial Government on Cane River, his brothers followed and got grants for adjacent lands. Nicolas Augustin Metoyer – called “Grand Pere” – is usually seen in oral tradition as the founder of the Cane River Colony and the ancestor of the *Cane River Creoles of Color*. The Metoyers also started to purchase slaves for their plantation economy after settling down on Cane River. When Marie Thérèse Coincoin died in 1816, her estate on Isle Brevelle was split up into 10 parts and divided among her children. The following generations tried to keep status and ethnic identity by selective marriage and inbreeding. Cross cousin marriage and paired sibling marriage became usual among the group and led to the formation of several core family clans.<sup>134</sup>

Group intermarriage (...) was not uncommon among families such as the Metoyers. Wherever free families of color clustered together for mutual support, especially when they possessed some degree of wealth or status, close marriages were common. (...)

In actuality, families such as the Metoyers of Louisiana (...) had little choice of mates. Despite the modern trend of blacks to view all men of color as “brothers,” and despite the traditional attitude of whites which has tended to lump all nonwhites into a single inferior category, definite class lines have existed in nonwhite society. For the well-to-do free man

<sup>134</sup> See genealogy of the *Cane River Creoles of Color* in Mills (1977, 72–76). The surnames of these core families are still considered as typical Cane River Creole surnames today: Metoyer, Dupre, Le Compte, LeCourt/LaCour, Rachal, Balthazar, Llorens, Anty, Cloutier, Conant, Dupart, Rocques, Morin, Mariotte, Monet/Monette, St. Ville, and Sarpy. Several persons bearing these surnames (partly with a slightly different spelling) are already listed as free Negroes in the 1830 U.S. census for Natchitoches Parish (Woodson 1924, 50; 1925, 31). Further surnames and genealogical information can be found in the internet: e.g. graveyard data of the St. Augustine Catholic Church on Rootsweb are an excellent source for genealogy research on the *Cane River Creoles of Color* (Metoyer 1999).

of color, status, wealth, racial composition, and even religion have been an important consideration in choosing a mate.

A study of Metoyer marriages of the colonial and antebellum period reveals that considerable selectivity was exercised. The most obvious criterion which they employed was racial; blacks were systematically excluded by them in the formation of romantic alliances. (Mills 1977, 77–78)

But inbreeding left its traces among the people of the colony:

Intermarriage between close relatives, especially repeated intermarriage, is a practice in which few families have indulged without serious genetic consequences. Poor eyesight and mental instability are two of the more common results. (Mills 1977, 176–77)

The preference in mate selection was on Whites or Free Persons of Color (including American Indians, who were also classified as Free Persons of Color in Louisiana at that time).

Two sons of Marie Thérèse Coincoin and Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer intermarried with Native Americans: Louis Metoyer (ca. 1770–1832) married Marie Thérèse Lecomte in 1801, whose mother was a member of the *Cancey Nation* (= *Connechi Nation*). Pierre Metoyer (ca. 1772–1833) married Marie Henriette Dorothee Monet-Cloutier in 1817, whose mother Dorothee Monet was classified as “*sauvagesse* of the Canneci Nation,” “mulattress,” or “free woman of color,” in civil records (Mills 1977, 86–87).<sup>135</sup>

135 The term “Cancey” refers to the *Connechi* or *Lipan Apache*:

Cancey or Kantsi, meaning “liars,” applied by the Caddo to all Apache of the plains, but oftenest to the Lipan. (Swanton [1952] 1984, 296)

The Lipan Apache, or Connechi, who have been introduced by the French and Spanish as slaves, became well established near Nachitoches (...) among the free people of color near Cane River. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 91)

During the eighteenth century *Apache Indians* were regularly captured by the Spaniards in Texas as a consequence of Native American-Spanish conflicts and sold as slaves to Louisiana settlers (Gregory 2004, 653). All enslaved Native Americans were freed in Louisiana in 1794, including large numbers of *Connechi* living in Northwestern Louisiana (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 94), and entered the class of Free Persons of Color. “Cannechi” is another spelling of *Connechi*.

A *Canneci Nde' Band of Lipan Apache, Inc.* resides in Lafayette (Lafayette Parish) and has organized as a non-recognized Louisiana tribe (Canneci Nde' Band of Lipan Apache, Inc. 2011).

Three grandchildren of Marie Thérèse Coincoin and Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer married three sons of Marie Ursulle, who was a *Caddo* Indian woman and lived in *plaçage* with a French-American named Barthelmy LeCourt.<sup>136</sup> Family tradition of the Metoyers claims even more Native American ancestry than those cases documented by historical records (Mills 1977, 103).

Intermarriage has occurred between the *Cane River Creoles of Color* and the tri-racial *Clifton Choctaws* discussed later. Catherine Clifton and Carroll Jones, both residents of the Clifton Choctaw Reservation, married and relocated to Cane River in 1869. They had 16 children and the descendants of that union still represent a big part of that community today. Furthermore, all seven surnames of the *Clifton Choctaw* core families occur in *Cane River Creole* genealogies (Heitzmann 2010–2012, 2001, 152–53; K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.).

The economic prosperity of the Cane River Colony grew in the years before the Civil War, based mainly on cotton plantation economy. The colony became an almost self-contained society, producing its own food and supplying its own craftsmen, tradesmen, merchants, and teachers. The peak period of Metoyer affluence was between 1830 and 1840.<sup>137</sup>

In 1829, the Chapel of St. Augustine on Isle Brevelle was blessed. This Roman-Catholic chapel was erected by Nicholas Augustin Metoyer and his brother Louis Metoyer. According to oral tradition, it is the oldest church built by and for people of color in the United States. The chapel soon became the center of Cane River Creole community life. In 1856, it was transformed into a parish with its own rights and a permanently resident pastor (Mills 1977, 144–63).

<sup>136</sup> Marie Sylvie Metoyer ∞ Joseph Valerie LeCourt, Marie Ositte Metoyer ∞ Neuville LeCourt (1830), and Marie Celine Metoyer ∞ Jaques Eloy LeCourt (1836). The spelling of the surname LaCourt was changed into LeCour in the years following (Mills 1977, 90). *Caddo Tribes* were already encountered by the first European expeditions to what is Louisiana nowadays. The *Nachitoches Confederacy of the Caddo*: the *Doustioni*, *Nachitoches*, and *Quachita* settled near present-day Nachitoches in 1700. In 1835, the Louisiana *Caddo* sold their land to the United States and were removed to Texas within five years (Swanton [1952] 1984, 201; Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 4).

<sup>137</sup> In 1830, the federal census counted 99 Metoyers who owned 287 slaves. The census of 1850 counted 436 Metoyer slaves who cultivated 5,667 acres of Metoyer land (Mills 1977, 108–11).

After the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and Louisiana's entry into U.S. statehood (1812), there was general decline in the Cane River Colony. Although the population of the colony grew constantly, United States Black Codes and the more severe enforcement of these codes by U.S. institutions lowered the social, economic, and political status, opportunities, freedom, and mobility of the group members. The economic depression of the 1830s and 1840s, and then the Civil War of 1861–1865 did the rest: the colony ended up in a complete economic, social, and political ruin (Mills 1977, 218–46).

But leaving the colony was not a solution for many members:

To leave Louisiana for the newly opened lands in Texas would have meant a loss of rights, a loss of status, and even more limited opportunity. In fact, to leave Natchitoches Parish, where they were known and respected, even to settle elsewhere in the state, would have resulted in the loss of much of their prestige. (Mills 1977, 226–27)

Nonetheless, mostly younger members left the colony at the beginning of the twentieth century hoping to find better opportunities in industrial cities. They moved to Natchitoches and other larger cities of Louisiana, to Houston (Texas), Los Angeles and San Francisco (California), and to Chicago (Illinois), where they clustered in segregated city areas. In 1964, more than half of the population of the Cane River Creoles of Color lived outside Louisiana.<sup>138</sup>

The situation for the colony improved in the twentieth century. Melrose Manor, built around 1833 by a Metoyer plantation owner, became the national historic landmark “Melrose Plantation” in 1974. Isle Brevelle became a center of *Cane River Creole* identity for those who moved away, as well as for those who stayed.

The situation in 1964 is described the following way:

138 Mills (1977, 248); Woods (1972, 271–356). Woods (1972, 7) included in her studies 8,901 *Cane River Creoles of Color* and 1,246 “outsiders” (= non-direct descent population who married *Metoyers*). Unfortunately, she does not exactly indicate the year these population numbers were counted. In search for work *Metoyer* family members left for California in the 1940s (Jolivette 2007, 58).

Riverville [= Isle Brevelle] will probably continue to be a kind of Mecca to which Letoyants [= Metoyer] who live elsewhere return to reinforce their sense of identity and learn about their heritage. Ties of out-migrants are maintained by frequent communication and particularly by visits during holidays and vacations. (Woods 1972, 298)

In 1977, Mills wrote about the colony:

The Chapel of St. Augustine has remained the center of community life. The French heritage of the colony is still cherished, and the people's pride in their ancestry is perhaps stronger than ever. The farms of the colony, despite lasting economic difficulties, reflect increased prosperity. (Mills 1977, 250)

This process seems to be continued well into the twenty-first century. A member of the Cane River Creoles of Color wrote to me in 2001:

(...) the Cane River, Isle Brevelle community is still very much alive. (...) The people are devout Catholics and all social activities are centered around the church. (...)

I try to visit Cane River annually. Also there are always reunions, one branch of the larger family, or another. (...)

(...) Annual visits are made by many people who have left. Typically a large group come [*sic*] for July 4th holiday (...), the church fair in October, the Christmas holiday, January 22, or the abouts, the birthday of N. Augustine Metoyer, and All Souls Day in November.

(...) Unfortunately we have lost our French Creole patois language. (K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.)<sup>139</sup>

Beale (1957, 193) lists an “Indian-White-Negro Racial Isolate” in Natchitoches Parish with a population number of 200 according to the 1950 U.S. Census, categorized as “Negro, Indian, White, blank entries.” It can be assumed that this were the *Cane River Creoles of Color*.

<sup>139</sup> This chapter was sent to Kathleen Balthazar Heitzmann, a member of *the Cane River Creoles of Color* living in upstate New York, for checking, and she had no objection to it. I want to thank Mrs. Heitzmann for her help, patience, and the invaluable information she gave to me during our email communication.

### 10.3.1 Mézières Clan

#### Location and Archaeology

The *Mézières* family clan lives in the area of Campti, a town in Natchitoches Parish, several miles north of Isle Brevelle.

They have traditional family relations to the *Cane River Creoles of Color*, but there are no archaeological explorations and no conservation efforts in their area like on Isle Brevelle.

#### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Mézières* are French Creoles and French Creole is their original language. There are no other ethnonyms known for them.

#### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>140</sup>

The matriarch of this group was Marie Jeanne Mézières, a sister of Marie Thérèse Coincoin, the matriarch of the *Cane River Creoles of Color*. Marie Jeanne, whose parents François and Marie Françoise were African slaves at Natchitoches and inherited their slave status to her, became the slave of Athanase Fortune Christophe De Mézières and adopted his surname. As there is very little information available on this group, it is not clear whether Athanase De Mézières was the father of Marie Jeanne's children, but as she and her descendants had the surname Mézières, it is probable that she lived in *plaçage* and he fathered her children.

Marie Jeanne founded the *Mézières* community in the Campti area of Natchitoches Parish. As members of the Mézières family intermarried with both the *Cane River Creoles of Color* and the *Clifton Choctaw*,<sup>141</sup> this

<sup>140</sup> Literature: Mills (1977, 6). There is not much literature and information available on this group. A further source I was not able to access would be Heitzmann (2003) and Bolton (1914). See also this chapter on the *Cane River Creoles of Color* and chapter 10.5.1. on the *Clifton Choctaw*.

<sup>141</sup> François Gaisson Metoyer – a son of the patriarch of the *Cane River Creoles of Color* Nicolas Augustin Metoyer, and nephew of Marie Jeanne Mézières – married Marie Flavie Mézières (Mills 1977, 74).

Cora Jones (1865–1939) – a daughter of Catherine Clifton (who was a resident of the *Clifton Choctaw* Reservation and the *Cane River Colony*), and a niece of Jesse Clifton, the patriarch of the *Clifton Choctaw* – was married to George Mézières (1869–1943).



group is included as a tri-racial group. There is no information available on the self-identification and ethnic categorization of this group except for the fact that Mills (1977, 6) classified them as “gens de couleur libre.”

## 10.4 Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana

### Location and Archaeology

The *Chitimacha* have a federal reservation in St. Mary Parish, the Chitimacha Reservation. No archaeological excavations on this reservation are known.



Fig. 2 Sign in front of Bayouland Bingo Hall, Chitimacha Reservation, St. Mary Parish, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl

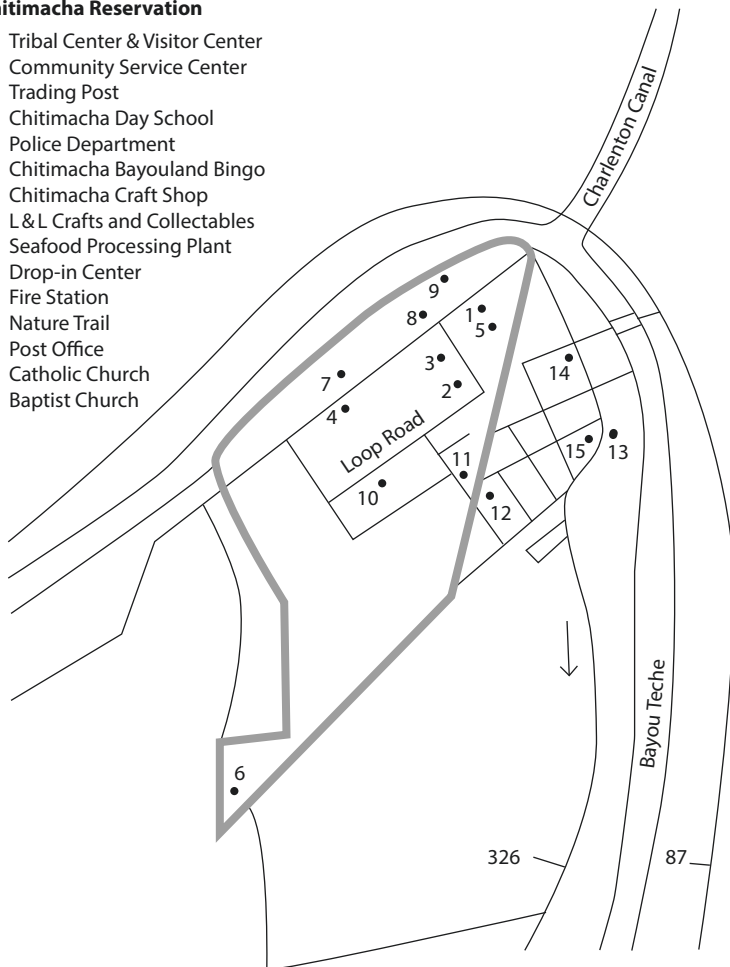
### Language and Ethnonyms

The traditional language of the *Chitimacha* is Chitimacha, which was still spoken by a few people in 1908. In the early nineteenth century multilingualism became common among the tribe by adding Acadian/Cajun French as a second language. By the end of the nineteenth century, Cajun French had displaced the Chitimacha language and in the 1940s French-English bilingualism was common. Today English is the predominant language on the reservation, but there are still monolingual Cajun and bilingual Cajun-English speakers living there (Brightman 2004, 642).

The official tribal designation is *Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana and Sovereign Nation of the Chitimacha*. Numerous synonyms have been used for the *Chitimacha* by persons reporting and writing on them, like Gatschet (1883, 1) using the term *Shetimasha*. Further synonyms are discussed in Brightman (2004, 652).

**Chitimacha Reservation**

- 1 Tribal Center & Visitor Center
- 2 Community Service Center
- 3 Trading Post
- 4 Chitimacha Day School
- 5 Police Department
- 6 Chitimacha Bayouland Bingo
- 7 Chitimacha Craft Shop
- 8 L&L Crafts and Collectables
- 9 Seafood Processing Plant
- 10 Drop-in Center
- 11 Fire Station
- 12 Nature Trail
- 13 Post Office
- 14 Catholic Church
- 15 Baptist Church



Map 9 Chitimacha Indian Reservation near Charenton, St. Mary Parish, LA. Map by Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, 1991

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>142</sup>

The *Chitimacha* are one of the four federal Native American Nations of Louisiana. Gilbert (1946, 447, 1949, 424) included them into the category of “tri-racial” or “mixed-blood” groups.

After his field research to the *Chitimacha* in 1881, Gatschet reported (using the synonym *Shetimasha*):

The Shetimasha Indians, (...), are distinct from other Indians in language and in some racial peculiarities. (Gatschet 1883, 1)

Little is known about the *Chitimacha Tribe* from early contact period. In the early seventeenth century, they settled in permanent towns, lived on agriculture and foraging subsistence, spoke Chitimacha language, and had a socially stratified society.

Anthropologists distinguish between the *Eastern Chitimacha* and the *Western Chitimacha*. The first reported contact of *Eastern Chitimacha* with French Europeans (Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville) took place in 1699. From 1706 to 1718 the *Chitimacha* were at war with the French and their Indians allies in the French Territory of Orleans. One consequence of these twelve years of war was that the *Chitimacha* were taken as slaves and the tribal population was diminished:

They also attained prominence in early Louisiana history on account of their long war with the French and the number of Chitimacha slaves in colonial families arising from that fact. (Swanton [1952] 1984, 203–4)

(...), it appears that they were continually harried by war parties of Indians in alliance with the French, and retired into the most inaccessible

<sup>142</sup> Literature: Brightman (2004); Gatschet (1883); Swanton ([1952] 1984, 220–24, [1911] 1998, 337–60); Emery (2007); Gregory (1992); Hudson (1992); Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987); Usner, Jr. (2016); State of Louisiana, Governor’s Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d., 11–14); Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (n.d.); Cypress Bayou Casino Hotel (n.d.). Visit of Renate Bartl to Chitimacha Reservation on July 23, 1991. Interviews with Jodie Baque (*Chitimacha*, park ranger at Chitimacha Museum & Tribal Center) and Nick Stouff (*Chitimacha*, tribal historian and artist).

The Tribal Center of the Chitimacha Reservation provided some typical Chitimacha surnames to me: Darden, Mora, Vilcan, Burgess, Stouff (Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana 1991).

parts of their country near the sea, which is intersected by a network of bayous. On account of this long-drawn-out war the greater portion of the Indian slaves in Louisiana in early days belonged to the Chitimacha nation. (Swanton [1911] 1998, 338)

(...) the Chitimachas of Bayou Lafourche became a significant ethnic component in the early slave population of lower Louisiana. (Usner, Jr. 1989, 106)

From the eighteenth century on the *Chitimacha* intermixed with neighboring tribes, Spaniards, and French Acadians/Cajuns. By the 1760s, when Acadians started to immigrate into the *Chitimacha* settlement area, the tribe began to intermarry with these Acadians/Cajuns and assimilated to their Cajun culture.

Both colonial powers – the French in 1767 and the Spanish in 1777 – recognized the *Chitimacha Nation* officially and legally protected their land. Nonetheless, the tribe suffered from massive land losses in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. By 1894, the *Chitimacha* had 1,093 acres land in their possession. In 1900, only 505 acres were left of the *Western Chitimacha* land at Charenton (St. Mary Parish). This land was further divided up and in 1903 only a plot of 261,54 acres remained in the tribe's possession.<sup>143</sup> Although the *Chitimacha*, like all American Indian tribes in Louisiana, were entitled to federal protection of their land guaranteed in the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, the federal agencies remained inactive when land was taken from them:

The Office of Indian Affairs' lack of interest in protecting them from alienation of their land was a problem suffered by many Indian communities in the eastern United States over the nineteenth century. (Usner, Jr. 2016, 92)

What helped the *Chitimacha* to secure their last land base and transform it into a reservation was their alliance with the McIlhenny family (the owners of McIlhenny Co. and the producers of the famous Tabasco

143 Usner, Jr. (2016) describes the fight of the *Chitimacha* for their land.

Sauce) from Avery Island. The two daughters of the founder of the McIlhenny Co. – Mary Bradford and Sara McIlhenny – helped them market their famous Chitimacha baskets.

Patronage of American Indian arts and crafts during the early twentieth century reflected a proactive effort by some sympathetic white Southerners to find a privileged, yet still marginalized place for Indian people in an increasingly segregated society.

As is already known in the Chitimacha case, cultural objects produced by Indigenous women became crucial for securing a network of relations that offered an effective, albeit peculiar, affirmation of their Indian identity and status. (Usner, Jr. 2016, 90)

In 1914, Sarah Avery McIlhenny paid all debts of the *Chitimacha* and thus prevented their last land base from being seized.<sup>144</sup> By 1916, the U.S. Federal Government finally allocated it as trust land. In 1919, the *Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana* – still residing on this trust land – got federal recognition and the trust land was transformed into the *Chitimacha* Reservation – which is part of the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve today.

In 1920, a tribal roll was established with sixty members on it, and in 1940 the required blood quantum for tribal membership was at least 1/4 Indian blood.

At this time, some *Chitimacha* must have already intermixed or intermarried with Blacks, because the draft of their tribal constitution of 1935 excluded persons of mixed Chitimacha-Black ancestry from membership. For this reason, their tribal constitution was rejected by the BIA. It is reported that in 1940, intermarriage with Blacks meant loss of tribal membership and ostracism.

Sara McIlhenny wrote in 1914 about the school attendance of Chitimacha children:

<sup>144</sup> How important this help of the McIlhenny family was, is still valued by the *Chitimacha* today, and is demonstrated by the fact, that this story was told to me elaborately by tribal historian Nick Stouff during my visit on the Chitimacha Reservation on July 23, 1991.



Fig. 3 Chitimacha Tribal Center & Museum/Park Ranger Office, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve, Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl



Fig. 4 Chitimacha Tribal Office [left] and Chitimacha Trading Post [right], Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl

(...) the law of Louisiana forbids the attendance of colored children in schools for white children and the Chetimaches refuse to send their children to public schools for negro children, holding themselves as a superior race, and realizing that intermarriage with negroes would mean their extermination. (Sara McIlhenny cited in Usner, Jr. 2016, 110)

In 1934, the *Chitimacha* founded a day school on their reservation, which was enlarged in 1978 (Fig. 5). As during the time of segregation *Chitimacha* were not allowed to attend White schools and refused to go to Black schools, this school was an important factor in maintaining a distinct *Chitimacha* identity and social status.



Fig. 5 Chitimacha Tribal School, Chitimacha Reservation, 1991. Photo by Renate Bartl

With the establishment of a tribal government in 1971, the increased income from oil leases in the 1980s, the building of the Bayouland Bingo Hall in 1985, and the substitution of the bingo hall with the Cypress Bayou Casino in 1995, money began to flow into the reservation, establishing a *Chitimacha* middle class, and provided better living and working conditions on the reservation.

## 10.4.1 Chawasha

### Location and Archaeology

The *Chawasha* lived east of the *Chitimacha* and were located between Atchafalaya Bay and the Mississippi River (Goddard et al. 2004, 188). As they have merged with the *Chitimacha* in the eighteenth century and there is no archaeological survey of their former settlement area, it is difficult to locate their traditional village.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Chawasha* spoke a language that was almost the same as *Chitimacha* language.



Synonyms used for the *Chawasha* was *Couchas*, *Couachas*, *Chaouachas*, or similar designations (Goddard et al. 2004, 188–89).

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

The *Chawasha* were closely affiliated with the tri-racial *Chitimacha* and some authors even define them as a *Chitimacha* subtribe, therefore they are discussed here.

In 1729 French authorities accused them of a combined revolt together with African slaves against the French. The accused African slaves were forced to attack the *Chawacha* in order to evade punishment. The accounts on the result of this attack, which had resulted in a fierce antagonism between both groups, are inconsistent. Some assert the tribe was exterminated, while others mention *Chawasha* survivors up to 1758. After that date they must have merged with the *Chitimacha Tribe*, as they are not mentioned in literature any longer.<sup>145</sup>

## 10.5 Choctaw/Chahta

### **Location**

Identifying *Choctaw* in Louisiana is somewhat difficult, because the term “Choctaw” was in widespread use as a synonym for “Indian” there (Ray 2007, 147). Speakers of Mobilian Jargon – a pidgin language based on the *Choctaw* and *Chickasaw* language (Drechsel 1986) – were regularly misidentified as “Choctaw.”

*Choctaw* bands were dispersed all over Louisiana, but archaeological research on them is almost non-existent.

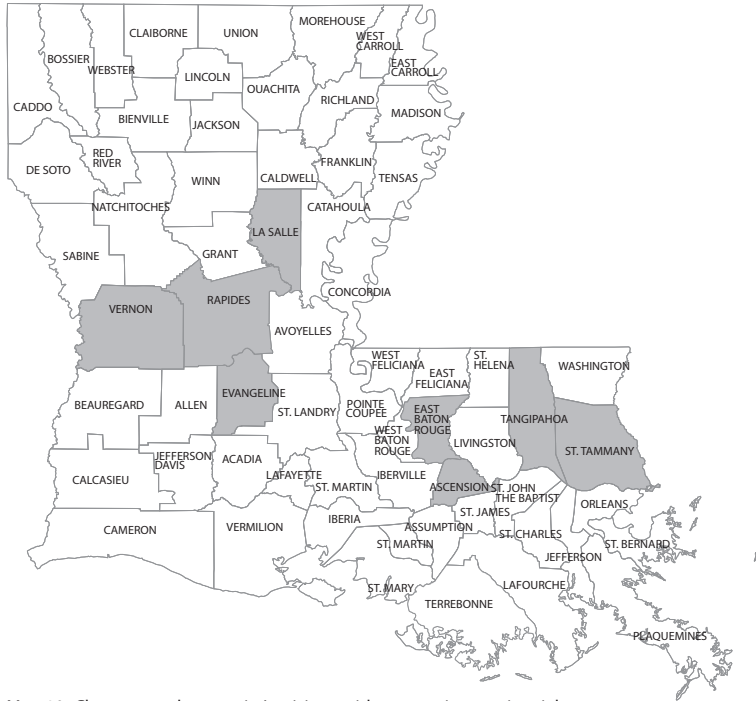
### **Language and Ethnonyms**

Louisiana *Choctaw* are speaking the *Mississippi Choctaw* dialect of the *Muskogean* language group (Galloway and Kidwell 2004, 499). Mobilian Jargon – a pidgin language based on *Choctaw* and *Chickasaw* language – was used by them as a trade language (Drechsel 1986).

Their self-designation is *Chahta*. Further synonyms are discussed in Galloway and Kidwell (2004, 518).

<sup>145</sup> Swanton ([1911] 1998, 301); Dunbar-Nelson (1916, 368–69); Willis (1963, 167–68); Goddard et al. (2004, 188–90).





Map 10 Choctaw settlements in Louisiana with connection to tri-racial groups.  
Map by Renate Bartl

## Ethnohistory and Culture

The *Choctaw* must be discussed here, because several tri-racial groups claim ancestry to local *Choctaw* bands or claim a (part-) *Choctaw* identity.

*Choctaw* are mentioned in Louisiana since the early eighteenth century and there are reports that they were enslaved side by side with Africans after the latter were brought into the colony in 1719. The result of this living together on plantations and in households was intermixture and intermarriage (K.W. Porter 1932, 322; Usner, Jr. 1995).

As already mentioned, *Choctaw* bands from Mississippi began to move into Louisiana en masse in 1764 and settled down mainly in the northern and central region, where they remained the dominant Indian groups until the twentieth century. The Louisiana *Choctaw* were recognized as part of the *Choctaw Nation* by the USA in 1786. Nowadays

*Choctaw* are the most widely dispersed American Indian Nation of Louisiana.<sup>146</sup>

After the enactment of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 the *Choctaw* were relocated to the Indian Territory (present Oklahoma and Kansas) by the U.S. Government in the years 1831–1833. A second relocation (1895–1905) to Indian Territory took place after the implementation of the Dawes Act in 1890. Nonetheless, many people of *Choctaw* ancestry managed to stay in Louisiana and formed *Choctaw* or multi-ethnic communities there.

As the *Choctaw* were slaveholding Indians, African slaves lived among them and intermixed with them. Thus, part of the *Choctaw* moving in and through Louisiana in the ante-bellum era were already of mixed Native American-African American ancestry (Abel 1915–1925; Bartl 1995)

Several Louisiana families and tribes with *Choctaw* identity claim ancestry to families of Free Persons of Color, who had immigrated from the Virginia-Carolinas area. The records of Virginia do not mention any persons with *Choctaw* identity in the late period of the eighteenth century, because Virginia was never a *Choctaw* settlement area (H. C. Rountree, pers. comm.). The question still needs to be answered by future research, as to where and when these free colored families and groups have adopted a *Choctaw* identity.

During the nineteenth century, *Choctaw* regularly went to New Orleans to sell handmade wares and foodstuff. The *Choctaw* living north of Lake Pontchartrain also benefitted from the beginning tourism by interaction with visitors to New Orleans (Usner, Jr. 2016, 95).

None of the Louisiana *Choctaw* tribes have federal acknowledgment and only two have state recognition (see Appendix H).

### **Location of Louisiana Choctaw Bands**

In the following paragraphs only *Choctaw* bands and locations are mentioned from whom Louisiana tri-racial groups claim descent. None of the sites has been archaeologically surveyed.

146 Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 83); Heitzmann (2001a, 152–53); Klopotek (2011, 128); Ray (2007, 173); Galloway and Kidwell (2004, 499); State of Louisiana, Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d., 15–19).

### Tangipahoa Parish

L. Williams (1951, 30) reported a *Choctaw* settlement east of Amite, Tangipahoa Parish, in 1827, who might have intermarried with the tri-racial *Freejacks* of Louisiana.

### St. Tammany Parish

Gilbert (1949, 425) mentioned a *Choctaw* settlement on Bayou Lacombe which once was inhabited by some fifty persons. This group seem to be *Mississippi Choctaw*, who had moved into Louisiana, and may be ancestral to the group that has organized as *Chahta Tribe* in Slidell (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019).

Paintings and photographs (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7) show individual *Choctaws* and *Choctaw* settlements in St. Tammany Parish, among them on Bayou Lacombe, near Tchefuncte River (Galloway and Kidwell 2004, 503–5). Scattered Choctaw families of the *Mississippi Choctaw Nation* lived in St. Tammany Parish and the Mandeville area (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 304).

Members of these groups might have intermarried with the tri-racial *Freejacks*.

### East Baton Rouge Parish & Ascension Parish

This community is comprised principally of mixed-blood *Choctaw* descendants and is known as *Louisiana Tribe of Choctaw* or *East Baton Rouge Choctaw*. They are described as a “suburban agglomerate of Choctaw” (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 304; Gregory 1992, 174). It is not clear whether kinship relations to the miscellaneous tri-racial groups Posey mentioned (see “Miscellaneous Louisiana Groups” discussed at the end of the Louisiana chapter) exist or not.

The *Louisiana Choctaw Tribe/Louisiana Band of Choctaw* residing in Pride, East Baton Rouge Parish, and Prairieville, Ascension Parish, has state recognition.

### Vernon Parish

A *Yowani Choctaw* village is reported from Hicks in 1807 (Heitzmann 2001a, 152–53), whose members probably have intermarried with the tri-racial *Clifton Choctaw*.



Fig. 6 Choctaw woman, carrying basket on back, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, 1909. Photograph by David Ives Bushnell, Jr. [BAE GN 01102B22 06227100]. Reprinted by courtesy of © National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 7 Choctaw man removing hair from animal skin in tanning process, Bayou Lacombe, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, 1909. Photograph by David Ives Bushnell, Jr. [BAE GN 01102B15 06226400]. Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

### Evangeline Parish

In 1810, a *Choctaw* village of approximately 200 people existed on Bayou Chicot (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 75; R. I. Everett 1958, 9). Members of this group are said to have intermarried with the *Clifton Choctaw*.

### LaSalle Parish & Rapides Parish

A group of *Choctaw* is reported from *Acatahola* [Catahoula Lake] in 1807 as a nascent group of the *Jena Band of Choctaw* (Klopotek 2011, 128; Sibley [1922] 1996, 24).

There is little information available on all these *Choctaw* bands in Louisiana, as they all tried to live a remote life, secluded from American society. Many of the bands do not exist any longer in the locations described above, except for the *Louisiana Choctaw Tribe/Louisiana Band of Choctaw* of East Baton Rouge Parish and Ascension Parish, because they have married into tri-racial groups.

## 10.5.1 Clifton Choctaw

### Location and Archaeology

The *Clifton Choctaw* live on what they call “Clifton Choctaw Reservation,” located on Highway 28, west of Alexandria (Rapides Parish). This is no official reservation as it is neither federally, nor state recognized. Before moving to their present settlement Clifton, the group lived in Sieper and Cotile Pine Woods, all settlements in Rapides Parish.

No archaeological survey of their settlement area has been conducted.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Clifton Choctaw* are one of the few examples where a linguistic research was conducted among a tri-racial group to prove the existence of a group-specific local “speech” or dialect distinctive from other dialects spoken in this region (R. I. Everett 1958) – most probably a local version of Mobilian Jargon. This local dialect, based on a Choctaw and Chickasaw pidgin, is one of the reasons why they are identified and self-identify as *Choctaw*.

Emic identifications are *Clifton Choctaw Indians* and *Clifton Choctaw Reservation Inc.* (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 24)

An ethnonym applied to them by some outsiders is *Redbones* (R. I. Everett 1958, 6).

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>147</sup>

As already mentioned, the *Clifton Choctaw* were categorized by some outsiders as *Redbones* and tri-racial:

<sup>147</sup> Literature: Klopotek (2011); R. I. Everett (1958); Redman (1978); Gregory (1992); Medford, Jr. et al. (1999–2014); Heitzmann (2001a, 152–53; K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.); Marler (2003, 100–101); Gregory (1992, 163, 171). The information of Heitzmann originates in a 1996 field research to the *Clifton Community* during which she and Hiram F. Gregory had made interviews with tribal members. Again, I am very much in debt to Kathleen Balthazar Heitzmann for mailing information on this group to me. Moreover I want to thank Brian Klopotek for mailing me the Redman (1978) article, and discussing this chapter with me. There are additional books on the *Clifton Choctaw* that were not available to me: Faine (1985) and Heitzmann (2000, 2003).

(...) Clifton is known to the residents of the surrounding areas as a “Redbone settlement.” (R. I. Everett 1958, 6)<sup>148</sup>

Marler denies this and adds *Chatot* (a tribe immigrating from West Florida to eastern Louisiana in the eighteenth century) and *Creole* ancestry to *Clifton Choctaw* identity:

They are Choctaw, Chatot, Creole and African. The Clifton Choctaw Tribe has not accepted the Redbones nor have Redbones accepted it. (Marler 1997, 88)

In 1958, the community classified itself as “white” according to R. I. Everett (1958, 15), but most probably had a *Choctaw Indian* identity as well, which they conserved up to present days, as they possess Louisiana state recognition as an Indian tribe with *Choctaw* identity.<sup>149</sup>

In 1978, a newspaper article ascribed Native American ancestry to them:

Everybody knows they’re up there. Nobody is exactly sure where they came from or how they got there, (...).

They’re mixed-breed Indians (...). (Redman 1978)

Unfortunately, the reconstruction of *Clifton Choctaw* history is difficult and has to rely mostly on oral tradition and history, because original documents have been lost during the Civil War:

**148** R. I. Everett (1958, 2, 4) defines a Redbone as a “mixture of the three races: white, Negro, Indian,” or the progeny of a Free Person of Color and an Indian. While Marler (2003, 100) states: “Clifton Choctaws claim no kinship to Redbones nor do Redbones claim kinship with them.” Their data on origin, migration route, settlement area, and surnames indicates kinship to local *Redbones* in Louisiana (see chapter 10.11.) The derivation of the term “Redbone” will also be discussed in this chapter.

**149** Brian Klopotek annotated to this: It may very well be that they considered themselves Choctaw at the time, but that being Choctaw did not fall outside the realm of whiteness, just as being part African American did not make them Non-White in their minds. (B. Klopotek, pers. comm.).



All documents relative to land sales and transfers were destroyed when Rapides Parish courthouse at Alexandria was burnt by Union forces in 1864. (R. I. Everett 1958, 9)

There are two strings of oral tradition recorded on the origin and history of the *Clifton Choctaw*: one by Heitzmann (2001a, 152–53), the other one by R. I. Everett (1958, 1–20). As Everett uses pseudonyms for surnames, it is difficult to identify the persons and families he is mentioning.

Both traditions are given here,<sup>150</sup> followed by a discussion of their origin according to newer research.

The exact date of origin for the Clifton settlement – which had several names and different locations (among them “Cotile Pine Woods” and “Sieper”) before moved to Clifton in the nineteenth century – cannot be reconstructed from historical sources. Oral history tells that this area was inhabited by *Choctaw* Indians in 1790. Moreover, it is important to note that all communities – Sieper, Cotile Pine Woods, and Clifton (Rapides Parish) – are situated in the traditional Louisiana *Redbone* core area.

R. I. Everett (1958, 14) reports that a first ancestor of the settlement moved from Georgia into Rapides Parish in the 1780s and married the daughter of a wealthy plantation owner. One of their sons fathered a son by a Black slave woman. He was freed when he was grown up, adopted his father’s name and was given a parcel of land in what is now Clifton. This son married an Indian woman from a nearby *Choctaw* village. According to this tradition the couple is the founding family of the *Clifton* community.

Several *Choctaw* villages are reported in the Clifton area: in 1807 a *Yowani Choctaw* village existed near Hicks (Vernon Parish) (Heitzmann 2001a, 152), another one is reported from Bayou Chicot (Evangeline Parish), and was inhabited by around 200 people in 1810 (R. I. Everett 1958, 9). These *Choctaw* Indians regularly visited the present site of Clifton,

150 Marler (2003, 100) mentions an undocumented claim that some members of the *Clifton Choctaw* came from North Carolina and descended from *Lumbee* Indians. No further proof for this claim could be found. Most probably this kinship relation comes through *Redbone* families migrating from North Carolina into Louisiana, whose family clans can also be found among the *Lumbee* of North Carolina.



which is an unincorporated community today. Prior to the Civil War the *Bayou Chicot Choctaw* from Evangeline Parish re-established their settlement between Flatwoods and Clifton. The wife of the founder of Clifton has come from this village according to one version of the oral tradition. For over fifty years this tribe was led by a chief called King Brandy, who died near the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1867, King Brandy refused to remove his tribe to the Indian Territory as requested by the Indian Removal Act, which ended up in an intermixture of the tribe with local Whites and African Americans:

At the time of King Brandy's death most of his tribe had been assimilated through marriage into the white or Negro culture of the frontier. (R. I. Everett 1958, 12)<sup>151</sup>

With plantation economy and slavery coming to the Clifton area, white plantation owners entered into plaçage or common law marriages with black slaves and freed Persons of Color. The children of these alliances became Free Persons of Color in many cases, and in the case of the *Clifton Community* seem to have intermarried with the *Choctaw* Indians from the nearby settlements. Kinship relations of the Clifton community to wealthy White plantation owners were usual:

(...), it can be safely said that a study of the ancestry of the family names of the Clifton community links these people to some very old Louisiana families. (R. I. Everett 1958, 13)

The *Clifton Choctaw* share genealogical ties with families from surrounding areas like Mora and Flatwoods, but their tribal government had to remove people from Flatwoods from their tribal rolls because of genealogical problems (Klopotek 2011, 212).

According to the second oral tradition recorded by Heitzmann (2001a, 152–53) the original founders of *Clifton Community* – Jesse Clif-

<sup>151</sup> Klopotek (B. Klopotek, pers. comm.) annotates that King Brandy was also associated with other Indians in that area, among them the *Jena Band of Choctaws* and the *Biloxi Choctaw Community* at Indian Creek.

ton<sup>152</sup> and his wife Jane – moved into Rapides Parish in the 1840s. In the 1850s, the Tyler and Neal families established households near Clifton and in the 1860s the Smith brothers joined them.<sup>153</sup>

In the 1870s, the first meeting house was built in Clifton, serving as school and as church, and Jesse Clifton was recognized as community leader. Around 1877 a Baptist preacher visited the settlement and converted the people to Baptism. Moreover, Catholicism was introduced into the group by intermarriage and close contacts to the *Cane River Creoles of Color*.

By the 1910s, sawmills were built in the area, which made the *Clifton* community move a few miles further north from their original settlement to their present location on Pisgah Road. The sawmills also attracted White and Black workers from outside communities, who relocated to Clifton. Unfortunately, lumber industry stopped its Clifton area operations in 1958 (R. I. Everett 1958, 20). This might have been the reason why younger community members started to move out of the community in the 1950s and relocated to Chicago (Illinois) or California. “They’re returning now” a local informant said in 1994 (Heitzmann 2001a, 152).

When R. I. Everett, conducted his field research in 1958 he described Clifton as a line-village, inhabited by 240 persons, with six family names

152 According to this oral tradition Jesse Clifton’s parents, Daniel Clifton and Rachel Clifton, came to Louisiana via Mississippi (Heitzmann 2001a, 152), which may point to the 1764 immigration from Mississippi into central Louisiana, but more probably they were part of the *Redbone* migration from the Middle Atlantic states to Louisiana. Jesse Clifton’s sister Catherine Clifton married J. Carroll Jones and moved to the *Cane River Colony*. One of the daughters of this couple married a member of the *Mézières* family clan.

153 Additional to the core families (Clifton, Tyler, Neal, Smith), families named Shackelford, Thomas, Terrell, and White have also been established as core families in the course of time. All of these family names can be found in the genealogy of the *Cane River Creoles*, which proofs a common ancestry and an extensive intermarriage between both groups (Medford, Jr. et al. 1999–2014; Redman 1978; Heitzmann 2001a; K. B. Heitzmann, pers. comm.). Additional surnames of *Clifton Choctaw* are Baptiste, Burgender, Cantu, Foster, Henderson, and Wright (Marler 2003, 100–101). All this points to common ancestry and an intermixture with local *Redbone* families, as Foster, Henderson, Neal, and Smith are identified as typical *Redbone* surnames in this area (see chapter 10.11.1.). The surname Batisse/Battiste/Baptiste can also be found among the *Jena Band of Choctaw* (Klopotek 2011, 127, footnote 4) to whom they have testified kinship relations, and the *Alabama Coushatta* in Texas.

among 35 families. Inter-marriage and first cousin marriage (common law or formal marriage) was usual within the community.

Physical characteristics of the inhabitants vary. For most part skin color is very light tan, but varies from white through reddish-brown to black. A wide variety of skin colors can be seen in one family. (...)

On rare occasions an outsider has been married and brought into the community; however, the outsider must meet certain color requirements to obtain community approval. He or she cannot, for example, be any darker in color than the native being married. (R. I. Everett 1958, 14–15)

The families of Clifton are closely knit groups. (R. I. Everett 1958, 18)

R. I. Everett (1958, 15) noted further that the community was slowly increasing and that there was little out-migration at the time of his visit.

A school still existed in Clifton in 1958, which was listed as white school with a white teacher and was attended by most of the Clifton children (R. I. Everett 1958, 18), although a local informant told Heitzmann (2001a, 152) in 1996: “The kids had no school until 1969. They couldn’t go to the white and the black school.”<sup>154</sup> According to another source the Clifton community had a school until 1971, because *Clifton Choctaw* children were not allowed to attend white schools in Rapides Parish, and they refused to visit black schools:

It was more important socially and economically to the Clifton-Choc-taws to avoid being considered black than receive a high school diploma, and avoiding racialization as blacks was vital to maintaining their identity as an indigenous group. (Klopotek 2011, 217)

When the Clifton school closed in 1971, students could attend desegregated schools in the area (Klopotek 2011, 217–18).

The 1910 census for Rapides Parish lists many families of the *Clifton* community as “Mulatto,” but as Klopotek annotates:

<sup>154</sup> According to Beale (n.d., 4) information on the Clifton school can be obtained from the following manuscript, which was not available to me: P. S. Wood (n.d.).

A designation as mulatto is not in itself confirmation of African ancestry, and certainly not confirmation of a lack of Indian ancestry. (Klopotek 2011, 211)

In a 1954 voters' register, most of them were registered as "Indian" (Klopotek 2011, 217), which again shows how racial categorizations of tri-racial groups shifted. Until after World War II the group lived a very insulated life with a high degree of in-marriages – with marriages between first cousins quite common.

In the 1970s "residents of Clifton began to think of and to remember crafts tradition which was truly their own" and they began to create a "unique material culture" – like developing their own style of quilting, basket making, and wood carving (Medford, Jr. et al. 1999–2014).

The end of the lumber industry had caused an economic decline within the community and by 1985 the unemployment rate for men was over 30% and the number of families living in poverty was 46%. State and federal grants for acknowledged tribes seemed to be a way out of this bad economic and social situation. In consequence, the *Clifton Choctaw* had to establish state- and federal-tribal relationships and had to define their tribal identity and institutions according to legal principles, which caused some difficulties:

Like many other Indians, the Clifton-Choctaws often talked about being Indian rather than naming a specific tribe, in part because language made sense contextually, but also because their ancestry is so mixed. They appear to have been tribally mixed, according to tribal genealogist Theresa Clifton Sarpy, who says the Clifton-Choctaws have ancestry from the Caddo, Choctaw, and Apache people, among others. Their petition apparently claimed Creek ancestry, and tribal members have suggested they have Virginia Indian ancestry of some unnamed type as well. Others have suggested that some ancestors of the Cliftons who were identified as "free people of color" from the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia were from multitribal communities such as the Lumbees, who settled among other Indians upon arrival in Louisiana in the mid-nineteenth century. If all that is true, then it makes sense that the Clifton-Choctaws might generally identify as Indian rather than as Choctaw, though certain com-

munity members from more distinctly Choctaw family lines would have answered that they were Choctaw if asked for a tribal affiliation. (Klopotek 2011, 205)

There are several patterns of emic identity formation in this quotation: reference to well-known Native American tribes – here *Caddo*, *Apache*, *Choctaw*, *Creek* – and the combination of multiple tribal identities as ancestral tribes. *Apache* ancestry would point to an intermarriage with enslaved members of these tribes, who were deported to from Texas to Louisiana.

*Choctaw* may refer to an intermixture with local indigenous people. Another possibility for the interpretation of *Choctaw* and *Creek* identity is, that the ancestors of the *Clifton Choctaw*, who came from the Virginia-Carolinas area, had already identified as “Indians” and adopted *Choctaw* and *Creek* identities during their migration through *Choctaw* and *Creek* territory, which was Mississippi Territory at the time of their migration. Virginia Indian tribal identity could not be identified among them, and *Choctaw* and *Creek* were not living in the Virginia-Carolina area at the time of their exodus. The adoption of *Choctaw* and *Creek* identity during migration could explain, why specialist in Indian genealogy Sharon Brown, who researched *Clifton Choctaw* genealogies for six months in 1998, came to the conclusion “that there was no evidence whatsoever indicating Indian heritage for the community” (Klopotek 2011, 204). It can be concluded from this, that the tribe descends from families of Free Persons of Color who had switched to an “Indian” identity probably already before leaving the Virginia-Carolina area in the late eighteenth century.

On the other side, there are kinship relations to the *Jena Band of Choctaw Indians*.

In 1977 the tribal council incorporated as *Clifton Choctaw Reservation Inc.* and filed a letter of intention to federal recognition as an Indian tribe dated March 22, 1978, (Redman 1978; U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 24):

The Clifton-Choctaw, like most other tribes, considered federal recognition a vehicle for pursuing other community goals – community empowerment through economic development, educational assistance, accessible health care, housing improvements, cultural programs, as well as affirmation of Indian heritage (...). (Klopotek 2011, 233)

This decision to go for state and federal acknowledgment had all kind of effects on the tribe:

The Clifton-Choctaws deserve attention because they are typical of many petitioners, in that they are a tight-knit, kin-based community with an enduring local identity as Indians. Yet intermingling, overlapping ideas about race, indigeneity, and community, interacting with legal and popular definitions of tribal existence, prompt the Clifton-Choctaws to contemplate their past, present, and future in new ways. (Klopotek 2011, 197)

The tribe had opened a community center and in 1979 gained Louisiana state recognition as an Indian community, which further institutionalized *Clifton* identity.<sup>155</sup> As of 2020 the federal acknowledgement process is not in active status.

In the early 1990s, this tribe had enrolled around 250 members, but lacked tribal land, because land was held by individual members (Gregory 1992, 163). This usually is considered as an obstacle in the federal recognition process. Gregory (1992, 180) reports of tensions that occurred within the tribe as urbanized members returned to the community and became politically active. A study of 1999 counted 326 *Clifton Choctaw* in the settlement area in about 85 households (Flora et al. 1999).

Features like a unique material culture, intermarriage within the group, a separate school and church, little in- and out-migration, and language are seen as a distinctive ethnic identity marker by the group and researchers.

155 Medford, Jr. et al. (1999–2014); Heitzmann (2001a, 153); Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs (2019). Klopotek (2011, 197–238) discusses the process of state recognition and federal acknowledgement for the *Clifton Choctaw*, among whom he conducted a field research from 1999 to 2004.

## 10.5.2 Jena Band of Choctaw

### Location and Archaeology

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* live on a federal reservation in Jena, LaSalle Parish, established in 1995.

Former settlement areas were in Scott County and Newton County, Mississippi, from where they migrated to Grant Parish in Louisiana, before they finally settled down in LaSalle Parish.

These places have yet to be archaeologically examined.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* are speaking the *Mississippi Choctaw* dialect of the *Muskogean* language group.

Ethnonyms applied to them are *Choctaw on Trout Creek*, *Eden Indians*, *Whatley Indians*, and *Bowie Indians*. The term *Choctaw of Trout Creek* was derived from a former settlement area on Trout Creek (LaSalle Parish). The ethnonyms *Bowie Indians* and *Whatley Indians* are derived from ancestral families who associated with the Bowie and Whatley families, wealthy white plantation owners and merchants of that area (Klopotek 2011, 128; M. E. Miller 2013, 179).

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>156</sup>

Although the *Jena Band of Choctaw* is not mentioned in literature as a tri-racial tribe, they are discussed here for two reasons: first, they have kinship relations to the *Clifton Choctaw*, and second, the tribe shall function here as a representative for a Native American Nations that had lived in isolation over a long period and had preserved its Native American identity in a multi-ethnic environment.

The kinship relations to the *Clifton Choctaw* are established by the Batisse/Battiste/Baptiste families (Klopotek 2011, 127, footnote 4).

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* descended from *Choctaw* who originated in Scott County and Newton County, Mississippi. By 1870 ancestors of

<sup>156</sup> Literature: Klopotek (2011, 127–96); M. E. Miller (2013, 177–99) U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (1995); Ray (2007, 173–75); Jena Band of Choctaw Indians (2011–2016); Jena Band of Choctaw Indians Cultural Department (2016); Gregory (1992); Masters (2016).

the group lived in Grant Parish, Louisiana, before they moved to their present settlement area in LaSalle Parish in 1880. The tribe claims ancestry to the *Mississippi Choctaw*. Surnames of tribal members indicate kinship relations to the *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (Mississippi) and the *MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians* (Alabama).<sup>157</sup>

Ancestors of the petitioner have resided in or near Jena, LaSalle Parish, Louisiana, since before 1880 (...).

(...) All except 18 of the 153 on the current membership list have at least one ancestor identified as a “Full-blood Mississippi Choctaw Indian” by the U.S. Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes Roll, a.k.a., the Dawes Commission (...). (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994d, 102)

In 1880, the tribe had some 30–40 members. After the passing of the Dawes Act in 1887 a few of them migrated to the Indian Territory in Oklahoma to have land allotted to them and be enrolled in the *Oklahoma Choctaw Nation* as full tribal members. The rest of the tribe remained in Louisiana, but nearly disintegrated around 1915 because

157 Typical surnames of ancestors and members of the tribe are Allen, Baptiste, Batise, Berry, Edmond(e), Gibson, Jackson, Johnson, Lewis, and Williams (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994d, 101–30). These surnames can also be found among other groups:

Allen: *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians* (AL), *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina* (NC)

Bat(t)ise/Battiste/Baptiste: *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *Clifton Choctaw* (LA), *Alabama-Coushatta* (TX)

Berry: *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina* (NC), *Melungeons* (TN)

Gibson: *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians* (AL), *Free State of Jones* (MS), *Melungeons* (TN), *Redbone Nation* (LA, TX)

Jackson: *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *Melungeons* (TN), *Brass Ankles* (SC)

Johns(t)on: *Alabama-Coushatta* (TX), *Cajan/Cajun* (AL, MS), *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina* (NC), *MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians* (AL), *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *Melungeons* (TN), *Nanticoke* (DE), *Poole Tribe* (PA), *Redbone Nation* (LA, SC, TX), *Texas Lumbee* (TX), *Tunica-Biloxi* (LA)

Lewis: *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *Redbone Nation* (TX)

Williams: *Alabama-Coushatta* (TX), *Brass Ankles* (SC), *Cajans* (AL), *Melungeons* (TN), *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians* (MS), *MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians* (AL), *Redbone Nation* (TX).



of the loss of members. In 1919, the community was revitalized by 14 members of the Lewis family, who were living in a nearby parish and joined the tribe.

Like all other American Indians in Louisiana, the *Jena Choctaw* were categorized as non-White. They were segregated from white schools until 1945 and they refused to go to schools attended by African Americans until the 1950s:

Jena Choctaw maintained a strong prejudice against blacks in these years as a result of their own precarious racial situation. Like other Indian groups in Louisiana and the South whose children were refused entry into white schools, the Jena Choctaw pursued separate schools for Indian children. Tribes were thus complicit in segregating and subjugating blacks in the South, even if at some level they were simply seeking respect and opportunity for themselves. (Klopotek 2011, 143)

All the years between 1880 and the 1940s, when they started to marry non-*Choctaw*/white persons, the tribe was living a very isolated life. While some of the older members coming from Mississippi to Louisiana in the 1870s spoke English, the English-language proficiency declined among their descendants. This made their integration and interaction with government institutions even more difficult.

Although most Louisiana Choctaw have been conservative, only the Jena Band has retained the language and traditional Choctaw crafts. Their old religion continued intact until the 1940s. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 304–5)

Gregory analyses the situation of the four Choctaw-related groups in Louisiana (*Jena Choctaw*, *Clifton Choctaw*, *Choctaw-Apache*, and *Louisiana Tribe of Choctaw*) in 1992:

The Jena Choctaw, with a number of Choctaw-speaking fullbloods in their ranks, are the most conservative. The other three Choctaw-related groups have no language retention and few or no fullbloods, so there are frequently conflicts over their “Choctawness.” Still, all these groups cling

desperately to quarter-blood enrollment; and among the Jena Choctaw, only one full Choctaw marriage has taken place in recent years. (Gregory 1992, 167–68)

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* are one of the few tribes in the eastern USA, who were living in isolation and thus retained their tribal identity, culture, and language up to the present time. This isolation continued even after they migrated to another settlement area and measures were taken beginning in the 1950s to prohibit them from speaking Choctaw:

Since the early 1950s, the Jena Choctaw were taught to not speak the Choctaw language. The elders today remember being told by their parents that they could no longer speak Choctaw and were forced to speak English. The teachers had visited the parents to tell them their children would not be successful if they continued speaking in their Native language. They would fail out of school and not be able to provide for their families or themselves if they continued. The language is not the only thing that is not practiced as it once was. All of the material cultural practices were put to the side as well. (Masters 2016, 140)

The view of Masters is an emic one as she is a tribal member. Her rating of the situation is less positive than the observation by Klopotek, an ethnologist:

Among unrecognized tribes they were unusual in the extent to which they maintained aboriginal language, culture, and blood quantum – so unusual that even the largely conservative Mississippi Band of Choctaws supported their petition and offered to accept qualifying Jena tribal members onto their own tribal rolls if recognition fell through. (Klopotek 2011, 127)

Before the tribe started to apply for state recognition and federal acknowledgement, it was forced to undergo substantial changes – from informal traditional leadership based on extended family kinship relations to formal tribal leadership (e.g. tribal council) based on democratic elections:

The council did not replace every other structure in the family, but the structure and format of the formalized tribal government were new and foreign, and the inevitable wrinkles between the formalized structure and the informal family ties needed to be ironed out, a common problem in smaller tribes.

(...) the new council was composed almost entirely of people in their twenties, and a couple of the council members were women, which also broke with their tradition. (Klopotek 2011, 151)

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* received Louisiana state recognition in 1974 and was federally acknowledged in 1995 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1995, 24). After federal acknowledgement, the tribe dropped its blood quantum for enrollment from 1/4 to 1/32 with the result that the tribe had 327 members by 2016. Federal acknowledgement also provided the basis for opening the *Jena Choctaw Pines Casino* in Dry Prong (Grant Parish) in 2013 (Jena Band of Choctaw Indians 2011–2016).

In 2014, less than five tribal members were still able to speak Choctaw fluently. Acculturation and exposure to mainstream Americans left its traces among the tribe:

Over the past sixty years, through the effects of assimilation and in simply just trying to survive in our local communities, it has caused us to have less contact with one another and use our traditional practices less. (Masters 2016, 141)

The tribal government, being so entangled with federal acknowledgement and the development of the casino, left the enculturation of the youth to the elder tribal members. Today, the focus of the tribe lies on bringing back cultural traditions and practices to its members.

How do you stop the effects of assimilation? You don't. All we can do is protect our culture and keep what makes us Choctaw strong by being together – as a family, as a tribe, as the Jena Choctaw community. (Masters 2016, 142)

The question remains as to why this group could preserve its tribal identity, culture, and language, even after migration and resettlement, and many others could not? They lived in isolation for a long time. The community consisted of extended families who practiced strict endogamy and had one single definite Native American identity that they still preserve. Although they had split off from a Native American Nation and migrated to another state, they maintained their identity, culture, and language.

Why is this group an “unusual” exception? Why have many tri-racial groups, who claim to be of Indian ancestry, and who had the same lifestyle, not been able to remember their identity, culture, or language – like the *Jena Band of Choctaw* did. Why did they forget(!) their original identity, culture, and language, although they lived an isolated life, consisted of extended families, practiced strict endogamy, and stayed in their claimed place of origin or migrated to more remote areas like the *Jena Band of Choctaw*?

There are two answers to this question: either they were living under such a big stress since first contact with Europeans, that all their remembrance of an identity, culture, and language was lost, or they never had a Native American identity, culture, and language, and constructed it after the ethnogenesis of their groups.

The *Jena Band of Choctaw* can be used as a strong counter argument against all the tri-racial groups who claim to be “Indian,” but argue they have lost all memories of their ancestral tribes(s).

## 10.6 Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana/Koasati

### **Location and Archaeology**

The *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana* lives on the Coushatta Indian Reservation north of Kinder in Allen Parish, where they also have a casino: the Coushatta Casino Resort on Highway 165.

No archaeological excavations have been conducted in their settlement area.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The language of the *Coushatta* is Koasati, a language belonging to the Muskogean linguistic family (S. A. May 2004, 407).

Their tribal self-designation is *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, but they also refer to themselves as *Koasati*. Further ethnonyms for the tribe are discussed by S. A. May (2004, 413).

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>158</sup>

This tribe has to be discussed here, because they share surnames with the *Red Shoe Tribe* (see next chapter), that is categorized as tri-racial, and because Gilbert (1946, 447) included them in his list of mixed Indian peoples in 1946, although he wrote two years later:

They claim to have no Negro blood and attend white public schools. (Gilbert 1949, 424)

I visited the *Coushatta* Reservation on July 24, 1991, and my personal impression was that they cannot be included in the category of tri-racial people.<sup>159</sup> Their categorization as mixed bloods is said to originate in their relatively dark skin color, but they totally lack the diversity in physiognomy that is so typical for tri-racial groups. I agree with Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes who wrote:

The Koasati, in several respects, are the most purely Indian of all the Louisiana tribes. They are almost entirely full bloods. Their native tongue is spoken by all as their first language. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 306)

Their surnames are adopted from local white farmers for whom they worked as sharecroppers, as did members of the *Red Shoe Tribe*. This

<sup>158</sup> Literature: Klopotek (2011, 282–83, footnote 20); Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 300); State of Louisiana, Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d., 19–21).

<sup>159</sup> Interviews have been made with Linda Parker (Langley), an anthropologist who worked on the reservation, and Bertney Langley and his mother, both *Coushatta Indians*, at their gift shop in Elton on July 24, 1991. I want to thank these interview partners for the information they provided to me.

is the reason why both groups share common surnames (D. E. Bates, pers. comm.).

The *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana* was recognized as a state Indian tribe in 1972 and got its federal recognition reaffirmed in 1973.

### 10.6.1 Red Shoe Tribe

#### Location and Archaeology

The main settlement of the *Red Shoe Tribe* is Indian Village. Members of the group also live in Philip's Bluff, Hickory Head, Kinder and Bayou Blue, all settlements in Allen Parish (Laughlin 1996–2020).

No archaeological survey of their area has taken place.

#### Language and Ethnonyms

Although the *Red Shoe Tribe* claims to be *Koasati* people, they do not speak Koasati. As their webpage is in English, it can be assumed that this is their main language (Laughlin 1996–2020).

Their emic identification is *Koasati*. By outsiders, the folk taxonomy *Redbones* is applied to them.

#### Ethnohistory and Culture

An informant from Lake Charles, when asked to identify southern Louisiana *Redbone* communities, said about the people living near the Coushatta Casino in Kinder (Allen Parish):

Indian and anything, redbone like redskin, like those people in Kinder at the casino. (Prejean 1999, 38)

It is appropriate to assume that the informant was speaking of the *Red Shoe Tribe*.

On its webpage the *Red Shoe Tribe* identifies itself as the “Original Koasati People.” According to their agenda they migrated to Spanish Louisiana and the Red River Area in the 1780s–1790s and moved to the Indian Village settlement in the early 1800s. By the 1880s–1890s, part of this group moved to Bayou Blue near Elton. The group is still living in Indian Village, Philip's Bluff, Hickory Head, and Bayou Blue, with

its tribal office in Kinder. They claim descent from prominent Native Americans: *Coushatta* Chief Red Shoe and Sahoy, who was a *Creek* woman.<sup>160</sup> One of their most important missions is to obtain Louisiana state recognition and federal acknowledgement as an American Indian tribe (Laughlin 1996–2020; S. A. May 2004, 408).

They have filed a letter of petition for federal recognition to the Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) dated June 21, 2010 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgment 2013b, 25). As there is no information on this tribe or their petition available on the OFA webpage, the status is inactive and there has been no further action on the side of the *Red Shoe Tribe* to proceed with its petition up to now (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgment [2020a]).

There is a certain degree of concordance of their surnames with Louisiana *Coushatta* and Texas *Alabama-Coushatta* surnames, but the *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana* denies any kinship relation to them. The reason for the concordance of some of their surnames is that they worked – like the *Coushatta* – as sharecroppers for local white farmers and adopted the surnames of their landowners (D. E. Bates, pers. comm.).<sup>161</sup>

*Coushatta* and other Native Americans were once living in Indian Village, this is how it got its name, but they had already left when the first Whites settled the village. Today Indian Village has three churches: a Baptist, a Pentecostal, and a Catholic Church. It also had a schoolhouse, but that was closed down at an unknown date (Wendell, July 04, 1985).

It can be concluded that in this case, the informant was using the term “redbone” like a folk taxonomy, not as an ethnonym for a specific group. There is no other source that identifies *Coushatta* in Louisiana as *Redbones*.

**160** Typical surnames of the group are Abbey/Abbot, Bushnell, Gordon, Langley, Lormand, Marcantel, Neville/Nevils, and Pete/Pitre. Inhabitants of Indian Village with these surnames were usually categorized as White when they settled the village.

Langley is a surname that can be found among the *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*. Abbey is a surname occurring among the *Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana* and the *Alabama-Coushatta* in Texas.

**161** I want to thank Denise E. Bates for discussing the *Coushatta* and *Red Shoe Tribe* chapters with me and providing additional information and literature during her visit in Munich on June 25, 2019.

## 10.7 Creoles

### Location and Archaeology

Up to 2015 the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (2015a) had identified 113 Creole colonies in Louisiana:

Initial research into the communities and founding families of the Creole culture identified almost 40 areas that met the description of a Creole Colony. Basically these are areas that are known for its Creole history. (...) Many of these colonies are no longer in existence or have merged with other areas, but are still deserving of recognition. To this end we have come up with a listing now termed “Registered Creole Colonies” that currently number 113. (Louisiana Creole Heritage Center 2015a)

For a list of these *Creole* communities and colonies in Louisiana see Appendix C. No archeological survey is known for these communities.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The *Creoles* in Louisiana speak Louisiana French Creole, but many of them are bilingual French Creole and English. Endemic terms for Louisiana French Creole are “Krèyòl,” “Kouri-Vini,” “Gombo,” “Fransé,” and “Fransé Kasé.”

The ethnonym *Creole* is used by both, *Creoles* and outsiders. Sometimes they are categorized by outsiders as *Redbones* (see below).

### Ethnohistory and Culture

*Creoles* must be discussed here, because there are publications claiming the Louisiana Creoles are of partly Native American, or tri-racial descent – especially those of rural Louisiana.

*Creoles* are usually defined as follows:

For eighteenth-century Louisianans, “Creole” (uppercase “c”) signified “of local origin.” Hence black and white children born in the colony were designated Creole to distinguish them from Louisiana’s European and African settlers.” (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, XI)



(...) in present-day Louisiana, the term “Creole” refers most commonly to persons of full or mixed African ancestry, their French dialect, and their Roman Catholic traditions. Creoles of African heritage generally employed the term “Creole of Color” in reference to Creoles of mixed-ancestry and used the term “black Creole” to refer to Creoles solely or largely of African descent. (Bernard 2007, 136)

Neither the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (2015b), nor standard literature on *Creoles* or American Indians in Louisiana – like Brassaux, Fontenot, and Oubre (1994) or *The Handbook of American Indians – Southeast* (Fogelson 2004b), define *Creole* identity as being partly Native American or vice versa. There are some *Creole* communities that have intermixed with Native Americans or whose members have married into multi-ethnic groups of Native American descent, but these are locally limited to certain settlement areas. These groups will be discussed within this chapter on Louisiana.

One source, claiming of *Creole* identification to be partly Native American, is the book by Jolivette (2007). The book is based on interviews and surveys among self-identified *Creoles* living in- and outside Louisiana.<sup>162</sup> Creoles in Louisiana were categorized as “gens de couleur libre”, Creoles of Color, (Free) Persons of Color or colored for most part of history – except for the period 1920–1965, when they were categorized as “black” (Jolivette 2007, 34–35). The book generally speaks of “Native American” or “(American) Indian” identity and rarely specifies descent from, or affiliation with, a specific Native American Nation. In the questionnaire only the categories “Native American” and “Indian” were offered to respondents, there was no possibility to mark tribal identity or affiliation. In the interviews participants were asked: “Is anyone in your family Native American? What tribe/community?”

**162** Jolivette is a sociologist who based his research on questionnaires and statistical methods. The interviews with 35 randomly chosen persons self-identifying as *Creoles* took place between July 2001 and May 2004 (Jolivette gives varying dates for this, on p. 1 he says June 2001–December 2003) in California, Louisiana, Nevada, and Texas [for interview questions see Jolivette (2007, 113–14)].

The survey was in form of a questionnaire (see Jolivette 2007, 107–12) sent out to 100 persons affiliated with the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center and the St. Augustine's Historical Society in 2001. 60 of these questionnaires were returned (Jolivette 2007, 1).

(Jolivéte 2007, 113). The problem of a general identification as “Native American” or “(American) Indian” has already been discussed in the theoretical part at the beginning.

In rare cases tribal identity is specified, when Jolivéte includes members of “American Indian communities such as the Atakapas-Ishaks (also known as the Opelousa or Blackleg/Blackfoot), the Clifton-Choctaw, the United Houma Nation, and the Redbones living along the Sabine and Red rivers” (Jolivéte 2007, 7) into his *Creole* population. He should have been more precise here, as the *Opelousa* are only one of five bands of Atakapa-speaking people and should not be confused with the *Atakapa* band proper.

Rather confusing is the fact that he applies the term “Redbones” to *Creoles* and categorizes *Redbone* communities as “Native American” communities. The term “Redbone” usually implies a partly English Protestant ancestry, which Jolivéte does not include in his definition of *Creole*. With *Redbones* living along the Sabine River, he means the *Redbone Nation*, who were never identified, neither emic nor etic, as *Creoles*. It is quite difficult to know which group(s) he means with *Redbones* living along the Red River, as there are several groups living along the whole length of Red River to whom the term “Redbone” is applied (see chapter on *Redbones* discussed later).

Jolivéte identifies himself as *Creole* and theorizes that ethnic identity is a matter of choice:

For people of mixed descent, questions of race and ethnicity are compounded by the question of choice. (Jolivéte 2007, 1)

His basic theoretical claim is:

In the United States – and throughout the Americas – there are many multiethnic, multicultural, and multiracial Native communities. These groups represent an aspect of American Indian identity that is seldom addressed – the amalgamation of some indigenous tribes into new ethnic communities. The Creoles of Louisiana are but one of these communities. (Jolivéte 2007, 2)

Then he proceeds to explain his intention:

One of my primary contentions throughout the book is that Creoles of Color as a multi-ethnic community should be recognized as both Creole (in a social, cultural, and legal context) and American Indian (in a social and cultural context). My explication of cultural formation provides the intellectual space to articulate the conditions and possibilities for groups to have multiple identities and affiliations that are self-asserted and based on a shared historical and cultural experience. (Jolivéte 2007, 5–6)

The book is interesting in the aspect of uncovering circumstantial formation of *Creole* ethnic identity and in respect to *Creole* self-identification, but it loses its credibility when it comes to proving that this emic *Creole* ethnic identity is partly American Indian as the following examples will show. Unfortunately, many references to sources of information and quotations are missing throughout the book.

Creoles according to the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center are “generally known as people of mixed French, African, Spanish, and Native American ancestry, most of whom reside or have ties to Louisiana.” (Jolivéte 2007, 6)

No source for this definition is given and the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center does not provide a definition of “Creole” including Native American ancestry on its webpage (Louisiana Creole Heritage Center 2015b).

The book gets ever more problematic when it starts to falsify quotations in order to document the Native American origins of Creoles. Jolivéte uses the documentation on the *Cane River Creoles of Color* by Mills (1977) to support his theory.

Jolivéte claims that Marie Thérèse Coincoin, the foundress of this multi-ethnic group, was “of African and indigenous American origins” (Jolivéte 2007, 13), whereas the original Mills text solely speaks “of African origins” (Mills 1977, xxvi). There is no evidence in the whole Mills book, nor in the sources Mills used, that Marie Thérèse Coincoin was of indigenous American origin.

Joliv ette continues to misquote from Mills without giving the precise pages of his alleged quotations. On page 13 he gives the impression of a literal citation from Mills (1977, xxvi–xxvii) to the reader without indicating from which page(s) he cites. He alters the wording or adds words to create an impression that serves his theory:

(...) Coincoin turned to African and Indigenous American cultural remedies including a knowledge of herbal medicines gained from her own parents. (Joliv ette 2007, 13)

The original Mills text reads:

Marie Th er eze, who has gained from her African parents a knowledge of herbal medicines (...). (Mills 1977, xxvii)

These examples, plus discrepancies in the enumeration of footnotes and the quotation of manuscript sources, indicate that the book by Joliv ette is not reliable as a scientific source. Even if his information on *Creole* self-identification and the construction of emic *Creole* identity might be correct, it cannot be verified.

A few further assumptions made by Joliv ette have to be discussed here, because they occur over and over again in literature, are quoted and re-quoted by other authors without proper attribution or verification.

(...) Indians had been so thoroughly mixed with the Creoles of Color (the only group they could legally marry besides other Indians until 1915 in Louisiana) that when Creoles of Color were suddenly redefined as “black” in 1915, so were the tens of thousands of Indians and part-Indians among them. (Joliv ette 2007, 21)

The number of “tens of thousands” Indians and part-Indians is largely exaggerated. As the discussion of the tribes and ethnic groups with Native American ancestry in this Louisiana chapter shows, the numbers of tribal members were quite too small throughout history to represent an ancestral group for all these *Creole* people, which are estimated by Joliv ette (2007, 99) for 1977 as being 1.5 million. Moreover, the tribes and groups lived mostly in separated – often isolated – small communities, so that an intermixture with *Creoles* on a broad level and to such

an extent would have been impossible. Additionally, it should be mentioned that in 1950 only 490 Native Americans were officially counted in Louisiana (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 299), this population number representing members of federal Indian tribes only.

A further thesis he presents is that Native American ancestry in *Creoles* originated in an extensive intermixture of African American and Native American slaves:

Most of the slaves brought from Africa to Louisiana were male, whereas most Indian slaves were women (...). The large number of male African slaves and female Indians slaves inevitably meant that many slave families were comprised of African husbands and Indian wives. (Joliv ette 2007, 76)

Again, an assumption for which no source is given. It is only his assumption that most Indian slaves in Louisiana were women because he does not verify this by data and sources. The number of Native American slaves in Louisiana were never big enough to have been the source of Native American ancestry in the Louisiana *Creoles* to the extent claimed by Joliv ette.<sup>163</sup>

Joliv ette also quotes (literally correct this time) Miles to support this point:

Even as Native Americans were enslaved outright in early America, Black Indians, or people of both Black and Native descent, were enslaved in large numbers along with African Americans into the nineteenth century. (Miles 2002, 145, quoted by Joliv ette 2007, 16)

Miles' findings cannot be applied to Louisiana *Creoles* one-to-one, because she focused on the experience of slaveholding *Cherokee*, *Choc-taw*, *Creeks*, and *Seminole Indians* and their Black slaves and *Freedmen*. Moreover, in respect to Black Indians, Miles also works with assumptions in her research (Miles 2002, 150).

**163** In 1708, for example, 80 Indian slaves were counted in the whole Louisiana Territory (Usner, Jr. 1995, 146). Moreover, many Native American slaves in Louisiana were war captives including male warriors.

Coming back to *Creole* ethnic self-identification, part of Jolivéte's research data basis (60 persons filling out the questionnaire and 32 persons interviewed) was much too small to make general statements about self-identification of *Creole* communities and the 1.5 million *Creole* persons from all over the United States. Nonetheless Jolivéte sees his theory supported by his data collection:

Despite the small size of my research sample the data collected clearly document a pervasive pattern of multiple self-identifications among Creoles that is inclusive of Indian, French, African, and Spanish ancestry. (Jolivéte 2007, 41)

He continues to refer to the ethnic self-identification of the *Creoles* he had interviewed:

(...) by Creole they meant French, Native American, Spanish, and African (with the additional possibility of European or Asian ancestry such as German, Irish, Italian, Chinese, or Filipino). (Jolivéte 2007, 8)

One tribe Jolivéte specifies as ancestral to Louisiana *Creoles* are the *Atakapa* (Atakapas Ishak Nation 2015b). The method of defining the *Atakapa* as an ancestral group is by extracting parallels between *Creole* and *Atakapa* cultural traits from literature:

(...) they are indirectly or virtually described as Indians when the book [Delphin 1999] relates Creoles of Color to customs and traits historically unique to Atakapas: the practice of healing, the dancing of zydeco that from pre-history was the Atakapa's good-time dance, long association with Catholicism, clannishness, long history of dwelling on the south-west prairies, a wide range of complexions, and so forth.

The examples articulated by Singleton [1999] reveal important aspects of Creole culture that are influenced by one of their major American Indian ancestral groups, the Atakapa. (Jolivéte 2007, 61)

As he describes features of the historical period, he names cultural traits that are the result of colonizing, evangelizing, and acculturating Native Americans into Euro-American culture, which does not mean that these are features of their traditional culture. Parallels with Native American post-contact culture does not indicate descent. Rather, it indicates that in Louisiana *Creoles* – as well as Native Americans – were enculturated in the same ways and this in fact reveals parallels in Roman Catholicism and post-contact cultural traits introduced by Europeans. A further consideration is: why should *Creoles* wait to intermix with Native Americans until they had reached the southwestern part of Louisiana? Why would they not have intermixed earlier with Native Americans, if there was a possibility? An intermixture with *Atakapa* would imply a goal-oriented migration and intermixture with a specific Native American tribe, that cannot be verified – a counter argument that can be applied to many tri-racial groups claiming indigenous ancestry.

This book by Jolivéte is one of the many examples of recent publications where ideology and the artificial construction of ethnic self-identity prevails over sound scientific research based on the reconstruction of data.<sup>164</sup>

Above all, it has to be noted here that not all *Creoles* in the USA share Jolivéte's concept of a partly Native American identity.

## 10.8 Freejacks & (Freejack) Creoles

### Location and Archaeology<sup>165</sup>

The *Freejacks* and their ancestral group, the (*Freejack*) *Creoles* had settled down in St. Tammany Parish and Tangipahoa Parish. No archaeological screening has been made in the settlement areas of the group.

The first Europeans who visited this area were Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville and his men in 1698. Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville explored part of this region in 1699 and established relations with the

<sup>164</sup> Examples for such books are: N. B. Kennedy and R. V. Kennedy (1994); Mira (1998); Ognibene and Browder (2018).

<sup>165</sup> Literature: Jenkins (1965, 22–28); Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 50); Wilson, Jr. (1986, 25, 43).

*Acolapissa* and *Chitimacha* Indians living along Pearl River at that time. St. Tammany Parish was part of (West-)Florida before 1763, this is why Louisiana parishes north of Lake Pontchartrain and east of the Mississippi are still called “Florida Parishes.” From 1701 on – during the twelve-years’ War of Spanish Succession – English agents and traders entered the land. In 1763 Britain acquired control over all territory east of the Mississippi River from France, and over Florida from Spain. The British divided Florida into two territories: West Florida and East Florida, with the border line along Chattahoochie and Appalachian Rivers. In the period from 1763 to 1783 West Florida – including the Florida Parishes of Louisiana – was under British control.

By 1783, Britain traded Florida back to Spain and the Florida Parishes came under Spanish rule again. When the Spaniards ceded Louisiana to France in 1800 and France sold it to the USA in 1803, West Florida was exempted from these land cessions and remained part of the Spanish colony Florida.

Under Spanish government, large number of settlers from the South Atlantic States entered West Florida. By 1810 these settlers started to revolt against the Spanish Government and declared the establishment of the Republic of West Florida. In 1812, when Louisiana became a state of the USA, West Florida joined as part of Louisiana.

### Language and Ethnonyms

The language predominantly spoken among both groups is English, although some members might be multilingual, speaking also French (Creole) and Spanish (Creole).

Jenkins (1965) differs between two Freejack communities:

- *Freejacks*, or “Hills Community”
- *Creoles*, “Hybrid Island,” or “Coastal Community”

To avoid Jenkin’s term “hybrids” for the coastal community members, the term “(Freejack) Creoles” will be used here. This ethnonym “Creoles” should not be confused with the ethnic group of *Louisiana French Creoles*, discussed in the preceding chapter. The (*Freejack*) *Creoles* are a distinctive ethnic group within the Creole community of Louisiana.



### **Ethnohistory and Culture**<sup>166</sup>

The *Freejacks* and (*Freejack*) *Creoles* are both categorized as tri-racial in literature. The history of the *Freejacks* and the (*Freejack*) *Creoles* is closely interwoven, because the *Freejacks* emerged from the *Coastal Creole Community*. Both communities are one of the few tri-racial communities where field research was performed, and the results published.

## 10.8.1 (Freejack) Creoles

### **Location**

The (*Freejack*) *Creoles* live on the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain along Interstate Highway 12 and U.S. Highway 90. Their main settlements are Arbita Springs, Mandeville, and Madisonville (St. Tammany Parish) which are also classified as Louisiana French Creole Communities (see Appendix C).

### **Language and Ethnonyms**

The (*Freejack*) *Creoles* are a multilingual group whose family clans speak French Creole, Spanish Creole, and English, depending on the geographical origin of their clans.

Ethnonyms applied to them are *Creoles*, “Hybrid Island,” “Coastal Community,” and *Redbones*. Depending on their origin they see themselves as French and Spanish *Creoles* or English *Redbones*.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

The towns of Arbita Springs, Mandeville, and Madisonville are listed as *Creole* colonies (see Appendix C) – this, most probably, is the reason why Jenkins categorized the group as “Creoles.” Jenkins (1965) started his field research in the *Coastal Creole Community* (“Hybrid Island”) in 1959. He was surprised by the conditions he found in his research area:

<sup>166</sup> Literature: Posey (1974, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1982); Jenkins (1965). The family names and geographical designations in these publications are pseudonyms. In a personal communication of Renate Bartl with Darrell A. Posey in Munich on May 23, 1991, divergent information on some facts in Posey’s publications were clarified as far as possible. The *Freejack* settlement area around Loranger has been visited by Renate Bartl on July 28, 1991. There is a novel by Shirley Ann Grau (1995) in which one of the main characters is a *Freejack* woman.

(...) the actual complexity of ethnicity on Hybrid island far exceeded the writer's prior comprehension. (Jenkins 1965, 4)

Moreover, it seemed that the isolated location of his research area created a unique social and racial situation:

The findings of the study indicate that in the isolated situation of early contacts a system of intergroup relations developed relatively free from the racial values of the regional society. (Jenkins 1965, VIII)

Throughout the history of Hybrid Island it has been host to heterogeneous ethnic and racial groups. Under these conditions, no widely accepted pattern of discrimination was possible. (Jenkins 1965, 52)

The first recorded settlers in the settlement area of the *Coastal Creole Community* were 20 – most probably *Redbone* – families from the Atlantic Colonies, who immigrated during the 1763–1783 period of West Florida under British control. During the same period, Native Americans from the surrounding territory immigrated into the *Coastal Creole Community* area.<sup>167</sup> From 1783 to 1810, during the Spanish era of West Florida, an increased immigration of French and English settlers from the territory of the later states of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia took place. Unfortunately, these early settlers missed the opportunity to make a formal application for the land they occupied (Jenkins 1965, 36–40).

According to Posey (1974, 33–35), who conducted field research among the *Freejacks* of the Hills Community, the oldest family of the Coastal Community – a wealthy French Creole family<sup>168</sup> – founded the original settlement on the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain in 1785. Members of this core family established “consensual unions” with Free Women of Color. The children of these unions were illegitimate and not

<sup>167</sup> Indian tribes and groups living or immigrating into the coastal area at that time were *Choctaw*, *Acolapissa*, *Biloxi*, *Mugulasha*, *Quinapisa*, *Tangipahoa*, and *Pensacola* (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 83–105; F. S. Ellis 1981, 27–29).

<sup>168</sup> The surnames of the descendants of this original family are Baam/Bayham/Baham/Bahan (pseudonym “Raab” in Posey’s publications). Personal communication Renate Bartl with Darell A. Posey in Munich on May 23, 1991 (Posey 1991).

entitled to inheritance. Subsequently four families of Free Persons of Color married into this core family. The origin of these four families is not quite clear, but family names indicate that they were driven out of Haiti during the Haitian slave rebellions (1791–1809) and settled in the Coastal Community thereafter.<sup>169</sup>

Members of these five families left the *Coastal Creole Community* before 1830 and settled down in what Jenkins called the “Hills Community” [i.e. Loranger].

The *Coastal Creole Community* displayed a predominantly Catholic French-Spanish culture and practiced slave-holding up to the Civil War:

An interesting feature of Hybrid Island slavery is the ethnic and racial background of slave holders. In 1830, there were 107 slave owners of which at least 62 were racial hybrids. Of the racial hybrid slave owners, 29 by their names indicated French origin, 12 English (...) origins, and 21 Spanish origins. Among the slave owners classified as white, 11 were of French background, 16 of English and 9 of Spanish background. (Jenkins 1965, 57)

As to racial classification of the Coastal Community members in the census Jenkins adds:

The Census term, “Free Person of Color,” (...) is limited in its value as a description of a racial or legal category. This is true in that the returns for each decade indicate an increased rate of passage of persons from the Free People of Color to the white category. (Jenkins 1965, 60)

## 10.8.2 Freejacks

### Location

The *Freejacks* live in Loranger and vicinity on the border of Tangipahoa Parish and St. Tammany Parish.

<sup>169</sup> Some surnames of these French Creole families are Pierre/Peres/Peers (Posey 1991). Among the *Creoles* of Alabama Perez can be found as a common surname (Gilbert 1949, 423).

### Language and Ethnonym

The language of the *Freejacks* is English, but some may still speak French Creole.

The term “Freejack” is a derogatory ethnic term applied by the surrounding population to the group, but it is acceptable to *Freejacks* to use the term in addressing one another. Other terms applied to them by outsiders are “Hills Community,” *Crackers*, and *Redbones*.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

Darrell A. Posey conducted a field research among the *Freejacks* Hills Community for six months in 1973. He gathered his data under extremely difficult conditions – among others his life was threatened several times by group members, who did not want to see an outsider in their community and especially did not want him to research the group.

The *Freejacks* do not see themselves as a homogeneous ethnic group. They are a conglomerate of people of different origins and different ethnic identities, who formed the community over a longer period of time.

As already mentioned, before 1830 some of the illegitimate children of the core family and members of the four families of Free People of Color from the original *Coastal Creole Community* migrated up north into the hills and were granted American patents to homestead land in Loranger by 1840.<sup>170</sup> This community is named “Hills Community” in the Jenkins (1965) publication.

In the Loranger settlement area there were two other families of English origin who had immigrated from South Carolina and Georgia by 1820. They were considered “mixed-bloods” at the time of Posey’s field research, but there is no indication as to when this mixture occurred. Most probably these people were *Redbone* families. As sources say, there existed a *Redbone* community in St. Tammany Parish, and Tangipahoa Parish was populated with *Redbones* after 1815.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Posey identified the “Fifth Ward Settlement” (pseudonym for the *Freejack* settlement in his publications) as Loranger (Posey 1991). Several persons named Baham and one person named Pierre are listed as Free Persons of Color in the 1830 census of St. Tammany Parish, which included Tangipahoa Parish at that time (Woodson 1924, 51; 1925, 39).

<sup>171</sup> Tillery (1950) cited in Prejean (1999, 23). In some sources the term “Redbones” was applied in this area to people of mixed Indian (*Choctaw*) and African American ancestry (Gilbert 1946, 445; Navard, [Cajun, Andre] 1947, 7–9). (cont.)

In 1812, after Louisiana was transformed into a state, repressive laws were enacted to restrict the liberties of the Free People of Color and attempts were made to lower their status. In consequence, the *Freejack* settlement increased in size due to the immigration of Creoles of Color. Encroachment by racist white settlers forced the *Freejacks* into more geographical and social isolation and may have been the reason for the development of a bigger sense of community and group identity. Inter-marriage with Indians – mostly *Choctaw* from the surrounding area<sup>172</sup> – intensified in the post-bellum era.

By the end of the nineteenth century turpentine industry came into the Loranger area. The turpentine workers – usually called “turpentine niggers” – were ethnically mixed people. Many of them settled in the *Freejack* area and were considered part of the group by the surrounding population, whereas within the *Freejack* community they comprised a distinct social group. Posey was able to identify several social strata within the *Freejack* community – mostly along “color lines” – and kin denial in cases where members of the core families had married into the “Black” faction of the community.

The surnames of these families are Reid/Reed/Read and Lee (Posey 1991).

It is not quite clear how these families were classified before their arrival in Louisiana, but they probably have been already classified as “Free Persons of Color” or “Indian” in South Carolina and Georgia. Woodson (1925, 39) lists a Free Person of Color named Reed in the 1830 census of St. Tammany Parish (which included Tangipahoa Parish at that time).

The surnames Reid and Reed are typical Louisiana *Redbone* surnames. The surname Reid can be found among Free Persons of Color in North Carolina and Virginia pre-1820 (Heinegg 2015b), the *Lower Mattaponi* of Virginia (Gilbert 1949, 417) and the *Creoles* of Alabama (Gilbert 1946, 439; 1949, 423). Reed can be found among the *Cajans* of Alabama (E. T. Price 1953, 144), the *Nanticoke* of Delaware, the *Moors* of Delaware and New Jersey (Gilbert 1946, 445) and among the Free Persons of Color in Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina before 1820. Read is common among Free Persons of Color in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina in the pre-1820 era (Heinegg 2015b). The surname Lee occurs among Free Persons of Color in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina in the time before 1820 (Heinegg 2015b).

Members of the Chavis clan from South Carolina were listed in Washington Parish in 1850, when it still was part of St. Tammany Parish (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 318).

<sup>172</sup> *Choctaw* settlements are reported from St. Tammany Parish and Tangipahoa Parish. None of the listed *Freejack* surnames could be identified as *Choctaw* surnames in my surname databank. It is highly questionable, whether these “Choctaw” really were Native Americans. They also could have been Free Persons of Color, who self-identified, or were identified, as “Indian” or “Choctaw” due to speaking Mobilian Jargon.

During World War II the *Freejack* community became more open to people from outside and the opening of the Causeway to New Orleans in 1965 further broke up the isolation of the settlement. In 1973, when visited by Posey, the settlement counted more than 2,000 inhabitants and Posey observed that although the community was not isolated any longer, the *Freejacks* were “longing to keep the identity with and strong sense of community in the Settlement” (Posey 1974, 87).

## 10.9 Houma

### Location and Archaeology

In the seventeenth century the settlement area of the *Houma* was north of their present settlement area in the borderland of Mississippi and Louisiana – in Louisiana in what is now West Feliciana Parish.

In the eighteenth century they moved south and resettled in the area of Acadia Parish, Ascension Parish, Lafourche Parish, St. James Parish, Tangipahoa Parish, and Terrebonne Parish.

In the nineteenth century they moved to their present settlement area comprising Jefferson Parish, Lafourche Parish, Plaquemines Parish, St. Bernard Parish, St. Mary Parish, and Terrebonne Parish.

An archaeological survey has been made of the eighteenth-century Houma villages of Ascension Parish.

### Language and Ethnonyms

*Houma* language is difficult to reconstruct as there is no original *Houma* spoken since a long time. The language was lost in the nineteenth century and it has been reconstructed that it must have been a Western Muskogean language. Documented is that the *Houma* spoke Mobilian Jargon, which they may have used as a Creole language. Since the nineteenth century they speak Louisiana Cajun French and nowadays many of them are bi-lingual Cajun French and English (Campisi 2004, 632). The *Houma* are identified as *Sabines* by several authors.<sup>173</sup> Further synonyms are discussed in Campisi (2004, 640).

173 The term “Sabines” is often applied to the *Houma*, e.g. by Berry (1963, 26); or Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 309). “Sabines” was also used as a designation for *Redbones*, although the *Houma* were never identified as a *Redbone* group.

Present day official designations for the different *Houma* tribes are: *Houma Tribe, Inc.*, *Houma Alliance, Inc.*, *United Houma Nation, Inc.* (UHN), *Pointe-aux-Chien Indian Tribe*, and *Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation* with its three bands *Bayou Lafourche Band*, the *Grand Caillou/Dulac Band*, and the *Isle de Jean Charles Band*.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**<sup>174</sup>

As the *Houma* and their bands are categorized as tri-racial in literature, they are discussed here. In the seventeenth century, the *Houma* were living east of the Mississippi River in the borderland between Mississippi and Louisiana. Their first contacts with Europeans was with the French (1682: René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle; 1686: Henri de Tonti; 1699: Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville). At the time of contact the estimated population number was not more than 1,500 *Houma* (M. E. Miller 2004a, 159).

By 1700 the Jesuits started a mission among the *Houma*, introducing Roman Catholicism, and built a church. The same year, d'Iberville noted that half of the *Houma* population of the village he visited in 1699 had died. Conflicts and warfare with Europeans and neighboring tribes such as the attack of the *Tunica* in 1706, caused many deaths among the *Houma* and forced them to move further south. In 1709, they settled down at the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River, founding the settlements of Petit Houma and Grand Houma (1718: 60 dwellings, 200 men). Petit Houma was moved to the west bank of the Mississippi in 1733.

By 1739 the *Houma*, *Colapissa*,<sup>175</sup> and *Bayougoula* lived in three separate villages close to one another, maintaining separate identities, but acting as one tribe. In 1758 the three tribes had finally merged into one tribe called *Houma*. Later, members of other tribes like the *Washa*, *Cha-*

<sup>174</sup> Literature: Campisi (2004); M. E. Miller (2004a); Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 309–10); C. S. Everett (2007); Swanton ([1952] 1984, 185–86, [1911] 1998, 285–92); United Houma Nation (2014, n.d.); State of Louisiana, Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d., 23–25). For photos see J. Holmes (1836–1959).

<sup>175</sup> The *Colapissa* actually were seen as a fusion of different Louisiana tribes such as the *Acolapissa*, *Bayougoula*, *Quinapisa*, *Mugulasha*, and *Tangipahoa* (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78).

*washa*, *Yakne Chitto*, and *Biloxi* joined the *Houma* (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 87).

During the French period until 1763, the French had used the *Houma* as allies against the British. In the Treaty of Paris (1763) the *Houma* land was ceded from France to Great Britain and the *Houma* came under British rule. As a consequence, the British took away land from the tribe once secured to them by the French.

The British Crown (1765), as well as the Spanish Crown (1769), tried to get into contact with the *Houma* and to involve them into their rivalries.

These colonial rivalries had a profound impact on the tribes in the lower Mississippi valley, particularly the *Houma*. The tribes were drawn into alliances with the various colonial powers that inevitably resulted in their waging war on each other. (Campisi 2004, 635)

In 1773 the *Houma* moved their village to Bayou Lafourche. All this warfare and subsequent relocation showed negative effects:

The continuing state of war, the competing colonial rivalries, the resulting shifts in tribal alliances, and the periodic dislocation of their villages all contributed to the development of a number of divisions within the *Houma* tribe. (Campisi 2004, 635)

In consequence, the *Houma* divided into three factions, each led by a chief (Calabee, Matiabee, and Teifayo), and settled in three different villages.

The colonial struggles between England and Spain, and later the United States, were the center of the divisions within the tribe. (Campisi 2004, 635)

After Louisiana Territory was sold to the United States in 1803, the *Houma* came under U.S. control. At that time, different *Houma* settlements were located along the Mississippi River and in the area along Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Terrebonne:



- 1803: east bank of Mississippi, 65 miles north of New Orleans  
 1804: St. James Parish  
 1805: Ascension Parish  
 1805 (ca.): Houma living with Atakapa in Southwest Louisiana  
 1806: Acadia Parish  
 [1807]: Opelousas District [extinct 1807, today: Parishes of Acadia, Allen Beauregard, Calcasieu, Jefferson Davis, Evangeline, and St. Landry]  
 1811: Old Lafourche District [today: Lafourche Parish, Terrebonne Parish]  
 1836: vicinity of Manchac (Tangipahoa Parish)

From around the 1820s onward, many *Houma* women began to marry French men.<sup>176</sup> American settlers started to move into the *Houma* settlement area along Bayou Lafourche, occupied *Houma* farmland and

176 *Houma* surnames from these unions:

Abbe/Abbé/Abe,  
 Billiot/Biliot/Billau/Billaud/Billaux/Billoux/Billeau/Billeaux/Billiau/Biot/Biau/Biou/Bion/Be/  
 Beyo/Beyout,  
 Chaisson/Chasson/Shaison,  
 Courteaux/Corteau/Corteaux/Courtai/Courtaine/Courtan/Courtau/Courteaud/Courteaux/  
 Courto/Courtot/?Pourteau,  
 Crepelle/Crapel/Crepel/Creppelle/Clappell,  
 Dardar/Dardard/Dardare/Dardarr/Dardart,  
 Dion/Dionne/Dyan/Dian/Dianne/?Jean/?Jeanne/Deanne/Deon, Dupre,  
 Enerisse/Eric/Erice/Eris/?Iriess/Iris/Nerisse/Aries [Acies]/Ellis/ Enerise/?Riche,  
 Fitch,  
 Foret,  
 Gallay/Gallet/Gallais,  
 Gregoire/Gregoir,  
 Iacalobe/Jacalobe/Tacalobe/?Cacalobe/Tough-IaBay/Loup-Ia-Bay,  
 Jeanne/Jean/John/?Dion,  
 Lamatte/Lamothe/Lamotte,  
 Naquin/Nacquin/Nankin/Nanquin/Nanguin,  
 Renaud/Renau/Reynolds,  
 Parfait,  
 Sauvage/Le Sauvage/Savage,  
 Solet/Saule/Saulet/Saully/Sole/Soley/Soule/Soulie,  
 Verdin/Verdam/Verdine/Verdun/Vardin/Berdine/Veirdean,  
 Verret/Verrette/Verris  
 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement  
 1994c, 6; C.S. Everett 2007).

pushed the *Houma* deeper into the southern bayou area creating serious problems for the *Houma* way of living:

Eventually the Houma established a series of settlements near the southern terminus of the bayous, below the area suitable for commercial farming. Families lived on houseboats or in small clusters along the shores of the many lakes that made up a part of the marshland complex. The result was a change in subsistence, with a shift from horticulturally based economy to one dependent on fishing, hunting, and trapping, particularly muskrats.

Along with the territory and subsistence changes experienced by the Houma came a shift in their status vis-à-vis the dominant society. The Houma found themselves lumped with other non-Whites in an increasingly rigid racial system. Geographical and racial isolation combined to maintain the Houma as a separate people. This segregation had a number of outcomes, including an intensification of the Houma sense of themselves as a separate entity. Intratribal marriage resulted in extensive, complex kin networks that tied the settlements together into a single, cultural unit. (Campisi 2004, 636–37)

In the U.S. Census of 1850, many *Houma* residing in Lafourche Parish were listed as “Free Persons of Color” (Prejean 1999, 20).

In the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century the *Houma* lived primarily in the marshland along the Gulf of Mexico. Their settlements were situated on slightly higher ground, were mainly connected by waterways, and served as social and political centers.

By 1900 Cajun French had replaced Houma as the dominant language among the tribe. A central cultural role at that time played the *traiteurs* (i.e. healers) – for many *Houma*, the only source of medical care – and a visit to a *traiteur* was seen a social event for the entire family. Another event for socialization was the gathering of extended families for fishing (e.g. taso-making gatherings). In this context “broomstick jumping” or “broomstick marriage” took place, a form of marriage that has public symbolism to the group but is not an officially legalized form of marriage.



Fig. 8 Houma group on Lower Bayou Lafourche, Lafourche Parish, Louisiana, 1907. Photograph by John A. Swanton. [NMNH-76\_109, Photo Lot 76]. Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 9 Houma group at Little Barataria Bayou, Jefferson Parish, Louisiana, 1907. Photograph by John A. Swanton. [NMNH-76\_107, Photo Lot 76] Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

The first half of the twentieth century brought many environmental changes for the *Houma*. The hurricanes of 1909 and 1926 destroyed some settlements, forcing the inhabitants to move away – so, since World War II, *Houma* are migrating to New Orleans for employment.

Bayou Lafourche was dammed at Donaldsville, causing saltwater to come into the bayou, which replaced the freshwater resources. In the 1920, soil speculation added to the erosion of *Houma* environment.

The combined effect of these conditions was the steady loss of the sources of income and the restriction of the resource base of the Houma economy.

Little changed for the Houma in the decade prior to World War II. Impoverished, largely illiterate, and isolated, the Houma sought relief from the federal government. (...) in 1938, the department [Department of the Interior] had another survey conducted, this time for education. (...) For income the Houma relied on trapping and fishing; their standard of living was the lowest in the area, and opportunities for an education were virtually nonexistent (...). (Campisi 2004, 638)

Besides a separated church, separate schools were particularly important to many non-recognized Indian tribes in the USA. The same is true for the *Houma*, who were prohibited from attending white public schools. They were allowed to send their children to the segregated colored parish schools, but they usually refused to do so.

In regard to the education system, there were segregated schools for white children and colored children. The school officials would not allow the UHN [*United Houma Nation*] children to attend the school for whites. The UHN ancestors did not want their children to attend the “colored” schools alongside black children, and requested the establishment of separate Indian schools. Local school officials refused to comply with the request. Thus, while accepting that the UHN had partial Indian ancestry, local school officials lumped the UHN together with blacks as “coloreds” or non-whites. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 4)

Some *Houma* moved to New Orleans to enroll their children in public schools there. A few could afford to hire private tutors, while others sent their children to the Christian schools established for the *Houma*:

- Methodist School at Dulac (Terrebonne Parish, Methodist Mission started in 1910, school established 1930)
- Baptist Schools at Pointe aux Chenes, Bayou Grand Caillou, and Bayou du Large (Terrebonne Parish)
- Roman Catholic Schools at Bayou Terrebonne, Pointe aux Chenes (both in Terrebonne Parish), and Bayou Lafourche, below Golden Meadow (Lafourche Parish)

In 1939 two public schools opened for the *Houma*:

- Houma Public School at Montegut (Terrebonne Parish)
- Houma Public School at Golden Meadow (Lafourche Parish)

In 1963 schools in Terrebonne Parish were desegregated by a federal court decision.

The situation of the *Houma* after 1945 was described as follows:

The population was isolated by racism and geography at the lowest end of the economic scale, held together by an extensive kinship network, the product of a high degree of in-group marriage. (Campisi 2004, 638)

By 1960 an improved highway system made it easier for the *Houma* to ride to nearby cities, where segregation was not applied as rigidly as in their traditional settlement area, and it made it easier for them to return to their *Houma* settlements for family reunions and social events. Those *Houma* who stayed in their traditional homeland shifted their economy from trapping to fishing, shell fishing, and shrimping.

The *Houma Tribe, Inc.*, was formed in the late 1960s. Another faction of the *Houma*, feeling not well represented by the tribe, formed as *Houma Alliance, Inc.*, in 1974.

Finally, in 1979 these two organizations merged into the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* (UHN). The UHN started to enroll *Houma* as tribal members and to prepare the petition for federal acknowledgement of the tribe, which was sent to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1985.

In 1994 acknowledgement as a federal Indian tribe was denied to the *United Houma Nation* (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian

Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c). In consequence, two factions of the tribe broke away and formed the *Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogeas, Inc.* (C.S. Everett 2007, 160) and the *Pointe-aux-Chien Indian Tribe*, who filed petitions for federal acknowledgment independently from the *United Houma Nation* (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 24; [2020c], [2020d]).

All three tribes have Louisiana state recognition: the *United Houma Nation* since 1972, the *Pointe-aux-Chien Indian Tribe* since 2004 (Point-Au-Chien Indian Tribe n.d.), and the *Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation* since 2005 (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019; Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw of Louisiana 2000–2013).

By 2020 the cases for federal recognition of all three tribes are still pending under active status (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement [2020c]; [2020b]; [2020d]).

By 2002 the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* counted more than 15,000 members, with a tribal government constituted of 12 counselors, acting for four years, and electing the traditional Houma Chief out of their rows.

In the reconstruction of *Houma* history, the gap between history based on oral tradition and history reconstructed from written sources is of great importance. Their residence on the Mississippi River in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and their migration downriver to their present settlement can only be reconstructed by oral tradition, because written sources are lacking:

The first ethnographic description of the petitioner's ancestors was published in 1911, based on the 1907 field research of anthropologist John Swanton, who described clearly separate and distinct settlements, (...). (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 13)

The lack of historical documentation is one of the main reasons for the denial of federal acknowledgement to the *United Houma Nation* in 1994.

In the SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g) section of the BIA-BAR Finding is written under Criterion 83.7(a.):

The UHN undoubtedly descends from people who since the mid-nineteenth century have been intermittently identified as Indian, as a mixed-blood Indian community, or as of Indian ancestry, Indian appearance, and/or of Indian lifestyle. Several early-nineteenth century ancestors have been documented as Indian, but there is no evidence that they descend from the historical Houma Indian tribe. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 1–2)

The Finding continues under Criterion 83.7(b):

The available evidence demonstrates that the petitioner did not exist continuously as a distinct community from historical times to the present. Most significantly, there is no evidence for a UHN ancestral community (Indian or non-Indian) prior to 1830. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 6)

In summary, the UHN petitioner has not maintained a distinct community from historical times until the present. The UHN does not meet the requirements of the regulations for criterion 83.7(b) before 1830, (...). (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 16)

Federal acknowledgement was denied because they did not meet criterion 83.7(b), (c), and (e):

There is no evidence of an ancestral UHN community, Indian or non-Indian, prior to 1830. There is no evidence that the petitioner is genealogically, socially, or politically connected to the historical Houma Indian tribe, or any other tribe of Indians. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 18)

Although it is clear that a significant, portion of the members of the UHN have some Indian ancestry (about 84% of them), this ancestry could not be reliably identified as descending from a specific historical tribe, nor from historical tribes which combined and have continued to function as a tribal entity. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 25)

All other criteria, 83.7(a), (d), (f), and (g) are met in the Finding. The identity and racial classification of the Houma is discussed in this Finding:

From the 18th century to the present, the progenitors of the petitioner and the petitioner's ancestral group have lived in a multi-racial society unique in the United States. Historically, throughout this period, racial distinctions were made by and about both individuals and communities. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 4)

The 1900 census identified most of the UHN ancestors living in the lower bayous as white, black, or mulatto. It is known that census takers in 1900 often did not record accurately the Indian origins of some communities in the South. Rather, there was a tendency to force all inhabitants into a bifurcated racial classification; that is, individuals were labelled either white or black, but seldom Indian. (...) The three previous censuses (1870, 1880, and 1890) and two subsequent censuses (1910, 1920) tended to list the UHN ancestors living in the vicinity of the founding Bayou Terrebonne settlement as Indians. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 2)

The oral history of the group did not claim Houma origin, but referred to Biloxi and Attakapas. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 27)

The Finding also discusses the genealogy of *Houma* family clans:

(...) the nucleus of the founding settlement was comprised of these three families. First, the Courteau family was clearly associated with the Biloxi Tribe. They were a nuclear family: parents and children. Second, the Billiot nuclear family had mixed ancestry: African American and German Creole. The Billiots were not Indian in origin; but, after their settlement on Bayou Terrebonne, three of their sons married Indian women. Third, the Verdin family was also mixed: German/French Creole and unidentified Indian. Extensive genealogical analysis has shown that all of the



members of the petitioning group descend from at least one of these three families. (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994c, 9–10)

When the Finding speaks of “historical Houma” it means the historical time for which written sources and historiographies for the tribe are available. Historians have gone even further, denying the existence of *Houma* in times before they are documented in written sources. Oral tradition is left out of their discourse.

One example for this historical approach is Davis (2001).<sup>177</sup> He differs between the *Houma* of the colonial period – mentioned in colonial French sources – and the *New or Modern Houma*, basing his statements partly on BIA-BAR document discussed above. Davis speaks of an ethnogenesis of the *Houma Indians* in the late nineteenth and twentieth century:

The nineteenth century witnessed a process of ethnogenesis through which a group of people of diverse biological and cultural heritages embraced a cultural identity and linked it to the past. (Davis 2001, 476)

His argumentation line is based on historical records only:

As far as can be told from documents of the time, the Houma lived close to the Mississippi until they faded from historical record in the early nineteenth century. (Davis 2001, 482)

What followed according to his line of argumentation, was the ethnogenesis of the *New Houma* later in the nineteenth century.

A historical approach like this is highly questionable, because of the tremendous problems with historical sources as discussed in the introduction – and because it totally ignores oral tradition and history so typical for indigenous societies in the Americas.

<sup>177</sup> Jack Campisi and William Starna, who have written the *UNH* petition for federal acknowledgement later, have formulated a commentary (Campisi and Starna 2004) to the Davis (2001) article, to which Davis (2004) responded.

By “history,” I must assume that they [Campisi and Starna] refer to Houma oral tradition, and if I am accused of privileging documentary evidence over oral tradition, I readily plead guilty. (Davis 2004, 795)

Another factor, that could play against the federal acknowledgement of the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* is their population size of over 17,000 members, which – in consequence – would create enormous federal costs in funding programs dedicated to Native Americans. Apart from this, there are concerns about the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* opening up casinos as soon as they will be acknowledged (M. E. Miller 2004a, 157, 206).

Although many *Houma* can proof Native American descent, the problems with federal acknowledgement will continue:

With 84 percent of its members possessing verifiable Indian ancestry and having several well-delineated Indian communities along the lower bayous, the United Houma Nation continues to remain a uniquely anomalous group, even in the annals of recognition cases. Lacking surviving Indian cultural traits such as language and religious ceremonies and copious documents of its specific tribal ancestry, the United Houma Nation does not neatly fit the model of tribalism held by the dominant society and many reservation tribes. Living in a marginal environment without substantial tribal resources, the group also may have lacked the ability to maintain political forms that BAR researchers could easily recognize under the regulations, criteria that tend to favor small, previously acknowledged tribes. The United Houma Nation thus continues to present outsiders with challenges to embedded assumptions about Indian racial identity, culture, and tribal forms. (M. E. Miller 2004a, 207–8)

One could add that their settlement area since the eighteenth century along the Mississippi River and the bayous was subject to constant transformations of environment and landscape. Extreme weather impacts, floods, and hurricanes altered the landscape and the places where settlements could be established. Therefore, *Houma* always had to adjust to the conditions of this landscape and environment and it was hard for them to establish permanent settlements and settlement

areas, that could function as a reservation. This, of course, makes it harder for them to fulfil criteria 25 CFR Part 83.7(a) and (b) of the federal acknowledgment regulations.

Evaluating the *Houma* case in comparison with what is written here about other tri-racial groups, it is obvious that the *Houma* are atypical. Their behavior represents more that of a traditional Native American Nation than that of a colored group claiming Indian identity. First of all, they always have claimed only one Native American identity and that is *Houma*. Even when denied federal acknowledgement, they did not switch their identity or added multiple Native American identities to their *Houma* tribal identity. They did not include in their emic identification, or switched to, a more prominent tribal affiliation, like *Choctaw*, *Biloxi*, *Colapissa*, *Bayougoula*, *Washa*, *Chawasha*, *Yakne*, *Chitto*, or *Atakapa*, which are ancestral Native American tribes to the *Houma*. No, the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* has kept its *Houma* identity through time, although an adoption of, or switch to, *Biloxi* identity might give them a bigger chance for being acknowledged. If *Houma* tribal members were identified as *Biloxi* or *Atakapa* in the past, it was because the *Houma* have incorporated several Native American tribes in the course of time, but this does not contradict to their self-identification as *Houma*.

It is a quite widespread habit, that indigenous tribes in North American traditionally do not use their general tribal or language group designation for self-identification, but use other terms, like place names, settlement areas, chief's name, family clan names, etc., including designations of their bands and ancestral tribes, depending on vis-à-vis whom they are identifying themselves.

The post-1994 factionalism of the *United Houma Tribe, Inc.* can also be seen as traditional Native American. The *Pointe-aux-Chien Indian Tribe* selected its name according to its settlement area, whereas the *Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogeas, Inc.* used the well-known pattern of switching to a multi-tribal identity, including more prominent Native American identities now, like *Biloxi*, *Chitimacha*, *Muskogee*, and *Choctaw*.

## 10.9.1 Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation

### Location and Archaeology

The three bands of the *Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation* – *Bayou Lafourche Band*, *Grand Caillou/Dulac Band*, and *Isle de Jean Charles Band* – live in Lafourche Parish and Terrebonne Parish. No archaeological data are available for them.

### Language and Ethnonyms

As they are bands of the *Houma*, the discussion of Houma language in the last chapter is also valid for these tribes. None of their tribal members speak Biloxi, Chitimacha, Choctaw, or Muskogee (Creek). Today many are bi-lingual, speaking English and Cajun French.

Besides identifying as *Biloxi* and *Chitimacha*, its three bands additionally identify as *Muskogee* and *Choctaw* and have chosen their tribal designations from their settlement areas.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

The *Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc.* (Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw of Louisiana 2000–2013) was formed by a faction of the *Houma* after the *United Houma Nation, Inc.* was denied federal recognition in 1994 (C.S. Everett 2007, 160). As the *Houma* were categorized as tri-racial, this faction of the *Houma* can be considered as tri-racial, too.

The ethnic identity as *Chitimacha* and *Biloxi* is derived from *Houma* ancestral tribes, *Muskogee* and *Choctaw* identity probably comes from ancestral tribal members speaking a *Muskogee* trade language or Mobilian Jargon, consequently being misidentified as *Muskogee*, *Creek*, or *Choctaw*.

The *Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation* consist of three bands: the *Bayou Lafourche Band* (Bayou Lafourche Band 2013), the *Grand Caillou/Dulac Band* (Grand Caillou/Dulac Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Indians n.d.; 2012; 2020), and the *Isle de Jean Charles Band* (Isle de Jean Charles Band 2012; n.d.). The confederation and its three bands are recognized by the state of Louisiana as state tribes since 2005 (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019). They have filed a letter of intent to petition for federal acknowledgement on October 24, 1995

and the status of their case is still “In-process” in 2020 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgment 2013b, 24, [2020c]).

The *Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Indians* is relocated since 2016 with the help of federal funds, as their settlement area Isle de Jean Charles will be swallowed by the sea in the near future, due to the worldwide climatic change causing a rise of sea level in the Gulf of Mexico (Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Indians n.d.).

## 10.10 Rapides Indians

### **Location and Archaeology**

The *Rapides Indians* are located in Rapides Parish. No archaeological data are available on them.

### **Language and Ethnonyms**

Authors do not specify any language or ethnonym for this group. The term *Rapides Indians* is derived from their settlement area in Rapides Parish. As there is no “Rapides Indian Tribe” known from Louisiana, this term is used as a general term for Indians living in Rapides Parish.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

Beale (1957, 193) and Pollitzer (1972, 722) mention a tri-racial group in Rapides Parish and give a population size of 90 members in the 1950 U.S. Census, categorized as “Indian.” It is not clear which tribe(s) Pollitzer identified as *Rapides Indians*.

Beale does not list them under his *Red Bones* groups, therefore his data may refer to the *Clifton Choctaw*. No further data are available on this group.

## 10.11 Redbones/Red Bones

Generally, the term *Redbone* is a designation for tri-racial persons and ethnic groups. It can be used in both ways: as a folk taxonomy, or as an ethnonym for a specific group.

Many authors do not pay attention to this fact in their publications. All meanings of the term are constantly intermixed in literature and it is rarely made clear, whether the author means a specific ethnic group, a racial category of people, or a social grouping. Correspondingly information is mixed up and confused.

Even though the term implies some degree of Indian ancestry, the connotation is that the people called Redbones are “really” black, meaning that they cannot “really” be classified as Indians. (Klopotek 2011, 55)

Whatever else Redbones are, they are not Creoles and are not marauders. (Marler 1997, 88)

To some authors, a *Redbone* must be member of a *Redbone* group:

A Redbone is a person of mixed racial heritage who is a member of a group which defines its relationship to the dominant culture in certain ways.

(...) The cultural milieu is one where the group members band together for protection against a perceived hostile dominant culture. They often, in times past, have isolated themselves from the dominant culture taking a physical stand to protect their territory and discourage intermarriage with members of the dominant culture and prohibit or try to prohibit intermarriage with persons of African heritage. (Marler 1997, 87)

Gilbert (1946, 445, 1949, 425) and Prejean (1999, 39) mention “Sabines” as a synonym for Redbones. This identification can be misleading, because “Sabines” is also used as a synonym for the *Houma*. The reason for this misinterpretation might be that many *Redbones* live in the Sabine River area. *Sabines* live in the Terrebonne and Lafourche Parish along the Gulf Coast and are historically French speaking fisherman and trappers and therefore might be identified as *Houma* (Marler 1997, 87–88).

In Louisiana, the term *Redbone* seemed to be applied to any immigrant with some kind of American Indian identity and ancestry. Within the frame of their own racial concepts, *Redbones* sometimes self-identify as a separate, or fourth race within American society – apart from the European, African American, and Native American race.

There are several theories on the origin of the term *Redbone*.<sup>178</sup> A famous superstition is that persons of Indian ancestry have red bones:

“Red Bone,” which is quite familiar in Louisiana and occurs also in South Carolina, suggests the belief in Indian ancestry, since there is a widespread superstition that the bones of an Indian have a reddish hue. (Berry 1963, 38)

Another theory sees the origin of the term in the West Indies:

That pejorative evidently came from the West Indies, where *Red Ibo* was a label for any mixture of races. (...) the West Indian term, pronounced “Reddy Bone” may well have been pronounced “Red Bone” in Louisiana and the Carolinas. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 92)

*Redbones* are often seen as an intermixture of persons of all kinds of origin with some Native American ancestry and probably slave background:

A group of mixed-blood families of reputed, White (Welsh and Irish), Black, Native American Indian, East Indian (Gypsy), Pacific Islander, Mediterranean and Arab descent in many and varied degrees of mixture. Likely descendants of the West Indian slave trade and imported into the Carolina’s and Louisiana. (Webb 2013, 26)

A further theory states that the term is derived from the family name Boone (Berry 1963, 34).<sup>179</sup>

<sup>178</sup> See also: Klopotek (2011, 296–297, footnote 62) and E. T. Price (1950, 127).

<sup>179</sup> One of the first *Redbone* immigrants to Opelousas in nowadays St. Landry Parish was a Daniel Boon immigrating ca. 1793–1795 (Marler 2003, 169).

Basically, the term seems to point to racial mixture with some (American) Indian ancestry, and was rated very negatively until recently:

Officially these people are classed as white, as is evidenced by their attendance at white schools; socially they are not accepted by white society.

The Redbones are usually recognizable in appearance, most being dark in hair and skin, some bearing negroid characteristics, some leaning more to the Indian types. (E.T. Price 1950, 109)

But whatever the name, and however it was derived, you can be fairly sure that the mixed-bloods do not like it. Friends, (...), warned me: "If you go around calling those people Red Bones, we'll have to come and cut you down out of a tree." (Berry 1963, 38)

Nowadays this has changed, and the term seems to have become commonly acceptable. The *Redbone Nation* has a Facebook page since 2004 (Redbone Heritage Foundation 2004) and a webpage since 2005 (Redbone Heritage Foundation 2005–2017).

Research on the *Redbones* in Louisiana was mainly done by two researchers: Don C. Marler and Lana Jean Fagot Prejean. While Marler has researched the total settlement area of the *Redbones* (in the Parishes Allen, Beauregard, Calcasieu, Natchitoches, Rapides, Red River, Sabine, and Vernon of Louisiana, and in Newton County, Texas), Prejean has concentrated on the core area (Allen Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Rapides Parish, Vernon Parish).

### 10.11.1 Redbone Nation/Redbones

#### **Location and Archaeology**

*Redbones* are a tri-racial group and are living in Allen Parish, Beauregard Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Evangeline Parish, Natchitoches Parish, Rapides Parish, Red River Parish, Sabine Parish, St. Landry Parish, Vernon Parish, and in Newton County (Texas).

No archaeological data from their settlement areas are known.



### Language and Ethnonyms

Depending on their descent and settlement area, *Redbones* speak Louisiana French, Spanish and English. Many of them are multi-lingual.

The term *Redbone* and its different spellings is used in the function of an ethnonym for this group. The term *Redbone Nation* is a more recent emic term, invented to stress the concept of a “nation” in the sense of Native American “Nation” and Indian identity.

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>180</sup>

There are specific *Redbone* groups and communities in Louisiana, displaying specific *Redbone* subcultures, which are identified as such and will be discussed now.

For a long time, the term “Redbones” was seen very negatively:

In the past the term Redbone has carried a negative connotation but is now becoming more a term of positive identification and pride. (Marler 2003, VII)

Today many Redbones are beginning to take pride in the name. (Marler 2003, 11)

The question is, what is a typical *Redbone* community and how can it be identified?

A Redbone is a person whose biological heritage is some combination of at least two of the following: Caucasian, American Indian or Negro and who is a member of a group that identifies itself as a Redbone group or Redbone Community, holding certain values, beliefs, and worldviews.

A Redbone community is composed of a group of people who identify as Redbones and live apart from the dominant society, propagating its own set of beliefs, traditions, value system and worldview. (Marler 2003, 211)

**180** Literature: E. T. Price (1950, 109–29, 1953, 143–44); Beale (1957, 193); Marler (1997, 2003). There is very little published literature on the *Redbones* of Louisiana, therefore Marler is used as the main source. Although the sources he used were not very reliable:

Information on this group is scarce, often distorted by history that was passed orally, hiding a past that may have included criminal activities or Black/Indian ancestry. The sparse written information on Redbones is piecemeal, scattered and often contradictory. (Marler 2003, VII).

The term Redbone suggests Indian blood, which is reported to have been evident among some of the older Redbones. The status the Redbones hold and the appearance of many Redbones today suggest an admixture of negro blood. No one is called a Redbone in his face, but the term is universally understood in southwest Louisiana, and the members of a Redbone family will be so tagged as long as they continue to live in this area. (E. T. Price 1953, 144)

People familiar with the Redbones report great heterogeneity of physical types in a single family. (E. T. Price 1950, 113)

There are indications that *Redbones* were originally Free Blacks or Free Persons of Color, who had switched to an Indian identity:

(...) Redbone community, a people who have long championed their “Indian” identity in contrast to a perceived “Black” identity. (Withrow 2013, 165)

Other authors claim that *Redbones* had intermixed with Native Americans, like with the *Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb, Inc.*, a tribe that has Louisiana state recognition since 1978, maintains a tribal office in Zwolle and a powwow ground in Ebarb (Sabine Parish) (Crawford [1993] 2008; Marler 1997, 88).

An interesting question is how the *Redbones* define themselves:

They define their identity as a people who are different from the dominant society along racial lines as well as in their community-world-view. Many tend to view genetic heritage as the most important aspect in defining who they are, believing that genetics determine their behavior as well as their physical characteristics. (Marler 2003, IX)

The most interesting aspect of *Redbone* identity is violence, which they believe is one of their predominant ethnic markers and which is caused genetically:

The Redbones are not reported as having any cultural peculiarities unless it be the use of the knife as a weapon. (...) Given quick tempers and resentment (...). (E.T. Price 1950, 121)

Violence, (...), is often seen by Redbones as an identifying trait and a source of pride, albeit an uneasy pride. (Marler 2003, 233)

Their violent and defensive behavior became a lifestyle – an entrenched part of their culture. (Marler 2003, 189)

Usually Black ancestry is denied and the mention of it can lead to violent reactions (Marler 2003, IX–X).

This hostile and violent behavior and reputation of the *Redbone* groups enabled them to form their communities apart from the dominant (American) society and to live relatively unaffected by it.

In 1803, Louisiana Territory was bought by the USA and opened for immigrants. Since the late eighteenth century *Redbones* migrated into Louisiana mainly from the Virginia-Carolinas area.

These *Redbones* also took part in the Louisiana skin trade that developed in 1773:

A large group of early Virginia settlers, a group of South Carolina's Irish, and Welsh Indentured Indian Mixed Blood fur trader families settled in the Louisiana Districts trading between the British Gulf Ports of Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Manchac. (Redbone Heritage Foundation 2017)

Their early settlement area was the so-called “Neutral Zone” between the Calcasieu River<sup>181</sup> to the east, the Sabine River to the west, the Gulf Coast to the South and the 32nd parallel to the north. A list of *Redbone* settlements with typical surnames of family clans, racial categorization, and census data is provided in Appendix D.

There are several data that point to the origin and migration routes of *Redbone* families into specific Louisiana settlements and parishes (Marler 2003, 143, 169, 173–177; with additional information from Heinegg [1992] 2005; and E.T. Price 1950, 123a-c):

**181** The Calcasieu River was also known as Rio Hondo and Quelqueshue (Marler and McManus 1993, v).

### Beauregard Parish

In 1813, John Hoosier and in 1837 Moses Bass moved from Mississippi to Bearhead in Beauregard Parish.

### Calcasieu Parish

In 1850, family clans moving into Calcasieu Parish were the Ashworth and Pinder families (born in South Carolina), members of the Perkins family (born in South Carolina and Georgia), and the Goodman family (born in Kentucky). In 1880 the Ashworth, Perkins, and Wisby families (born in South Carolina), members of the Bass family (born in South Carolina and Mississippi), members of the Clark family (born in South Carolina and North Carolina), and members of the Pinder family (born in South Carolina and Alabama) followed (E.T. Price 1950, 123b-c).

### Evangeline Parish

Early settlers of St. Landry in Evangeline Parish came from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Connecticut from 1804 to 1828.

### Natchitoches Parish

Early settlers from North Carolina and South Carolina immigrated to Natchez and Natchitoches between 1798 and 1815.

Marler filtered out 44 *Redbones* of the 1850 Natchitoches Parish census, coming from Kentucky (7), North Carolina (13), South Carolina (18), Tennessee (5), and Virginia (1).

### Rapides Parish

In the 1790s, John (Joshua) Dial had immigrated to Rapides (Rapides Parish) from South Carolina.

Marler extracted 25 *Redbones* from the Rapides Parish census of 1850, who had immigrated from Kentucky (1), North Carolina (5), South Carolina (14), Tennessee (3), and Virginia (2).

Perkins family members of Rapides Parish were born in Kentucky and South Carolina, Strother and Willis family members were born in South Carolina (E.T. Price 1950, 123c).

Marler found another 44 *Redbones* in the 1860 Rapides Parish census (additional to the 25 persons of the 1850 census), who came from

Kentucky (5), North Carolina (8), South Carolina (14), Tennessee (12), and Virginia (5).

Of the family clans who had immigrated to Rapides Parish in 1880, Johnson family members were born in South Carolina, Perkins family members were born in South Carolina and Mississippi, Willis family members were born in North Carolina and South Carolina, Strother family members were born in Mississippi (E.T. Price 1950, 123c).

### St. Landry Parish

Immigrants who reached St. Landry Parish by 1804 were Peter McDaniel and John McDaniel coming from South Carolina, Ephraim Sweat coming from North Carolina/South Carolina (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 1126), and Gilbert Sweat coming from North Carolina via Tennessee (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 1124).

By 1810, Jesse Ashworth, James Ashworth, Polly Ashworth (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 88), and Tapley Dial (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 391) had immigrated from South Carolina, John Bass from North Carolina to St. Landry Parish.

By 1820, Amos Avery came from Connecticut via Mississippi to St. Landry Parish (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 89). John Chavers immigrated from South Carolina (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 318).

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All *Redbone* families mentioned in the censuses 1810–1880 were categorized as “white,” “mulatto,” or “free colored.” None is categorized as “Indian” in the censuses after 1860, when the category “Indian” was added to the U.S. Census race categories (see Appendix A). Some surnames – Goins, Chavis, and Bunch – can be found in the U.S. Census for South Carolina as early as 1790 (E.T. Price 1950, 124).

The *Redbones* continued to intermix with local and immigrating American Indians in Louisiana:

A scattering of Louisiana Indians, including Biloxi, Choctaw, and Pacana, sometimes called “Seminoles” in error, was clearly associated with the Carolina and Georgia immigrants, reinforcing Indian genetics. Whites

and blacks, in some instances, are said to have become part of this mixture of races and cultures. Indian identity remained strong in the Red Bone communities, and cultural behavior reflected Indian roots. (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 92)

The *Redbone* groups and communities of Louisiana still exist today. Group cohesion functioned over the centuries and kept *Redbone* identity alive. Major places of socialization are churches. The favorite form of socializing in the 1930s–1950s was gospel singing, and “Saturday Night Dances” (Marler 2003, 246–47).

The profession of many *Redbone* men is farmer, stockman, or drover. Their ancestors in South Carolina were already stockmen and they brought this profession with them. It is assumed that *Redbones* have invented cattle industry in Louisiana and brought it to Texas when part of them migrated further westward (Webb 2013, 42). The closure of the open range in Louisiana in the mid–1900s “caused much strife and violence in the Redbone communities” (Marler 2003, 247).

From the 1880s onward *Redbones* were also employed in the local timber industry, providing them with some income (Marler 2003, 248–49).

The *Redbone* share many common beliefs, customs, and cultural traits, which provide them with a common ethnic and cultural identity.<sup>182</sup> Among other ethnic markers, they have kept their English Protestant tradition in a predominantly French Catholic environment:

While most (...) ethnic groups in south Louisiana are heavily influenced by the French Catholic culture, Redbones are an exception. They are culturally akin to the Protestants of north Louisiana. They are primarily rural hard working farmers, tradesmen, timber workers and stockmen. They are almost all Baptist or Pentecostal and a few Catholic. Redbone families are close-knit and matriarchal. (Marler 2003, 253)

In 1950, their number was estimated at 3,000 or more persons (E. T. Price 1950, 119).

182 For a description of these shared cultural features see Marler (2003, 236–61).

Within the *Redbone* community of Louisiana two further groups have been identified: the *Ten Milers* and the *Six Milers*. The *Ten Milers* are included in the description of Marler (2003). Both *Six Milers* and *Ten Milers* are described in the master's thesis of Lana Jean Fagot Prejean (1999).

### 10.11.1.1 Ten Milers/Six Milers

#### Location

Both subgroups live in Allen Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Rapides Parish, and Vernon Parish.

*The Six Milers* are concentrated in the Pitkin area of Vernon Parish and the *Ten Milers* in the Westport area of Rapides Parish.

#### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>183</sup>

We have arrived at the *Redbone* core area now and the research on the two subgroups living there.

*Six Milers* is an old designation for *Redbones* living in the area of Pitkin (Vernon Parish). The term was frequently used until the 1950s but is rarely used nowadays. It is derived from their settlement area near Six Mile Creek (Marler 2003, 141–42). Surnames of the earliest settler in Pitkin were Maddox and Bedgood (E. T. Price 1950, 127).

*Ten Milers* is the designation for the *Redbones* living in the Westport area (Rapides Parish). It is derived from their settlement area near Ten Mile Creek (Marler 2003, 141). One central location of the *Ten Miler* community is Church Occupy # 1 and its cemetery [today: Ten Mile Creek Cemetery], established in 1832 by Rev. Joseph Willis.

This *Redbone* core area (mainly *Ten Miler* communities) was visited by Lana Jean Fagot Prejean for a master's thesis research multiple

<sup>183</sup> Literature: E. T. Price (1950, 109–29); Prejean (1999); Marler (2003); Marler and McManus (1993); Withrow (2013). I want to thank Lana Jean Fagot Prejean for writing a permission and sending it to the University of Louisiana at Lafayette, allowing the copying of her 1999 master's thesis. I also want to thank the staff of the Edith Garland Dupre Library for copying the thesis for me, and finally Raeschelle Potter-Deimel and her husband Stephan Deimel from Vienna/Austria for fetching the copies, transporting them from the USA to Austria, and mailing them to me.

times between 1996 and 1999. During these visits, she interviewed 35 core group members. That this field research was not easy shows her statement:

There are still areas within the community that are considered dangerous (...). (Prejean 1999, 92).

Prejean describes her research conditions among the *Redbones* in the introduction to her thesis:

(...) a community that has been the focus of significant popular interest and speculation but almost no scholarly investigation. Shaped by ascriptive stereotypes, the common perception of the Redbone community focuses upon the group's allegedly violent heritage, a focus which the present-day descendants would prefer not to have continually directed towards their community. The label of mixed ancestry is also applied to this community, which, because of their reclusive nature, has been the subject of much speculation and wild guesses and little documentation consequently exists, even within the community. Due to the scarcity of scholarly investigation, lack of historical documentation, and reluctance of the community itself to confront its own origins, a more complete and scholarly approach is indicated. As will be seen from the existing literature to be reviewed, much is guessed and speculated, base rumor is offered as proof, and real documentation has either disappeared or is in heretofore unlooked-for places. (Prejean 1999, 1)

Although Prejean has performed many interviews with *Redbones* for her study, their self-identification was hard to discover, but one ethnic marker they repeatedly mentioned as typical was violence:

(...) Redbones have traditionally defined themselves by who they are not, rather than who they are. (Prejean 1999, 27)

It has long been the style of the Redbone community to define itself in reference to the negative things others say about them. There has been much grumbling within the community about the negative descriptions, but until recently, no one had come forward to challenge the prevailing



mythos. What developed from a great many interviews was an unexpected candor and acceptance of the perceived violent image. Some of the group actually are willing to accept the violent stereotype, and some are quite proud of it, since it indicates a marked ability to remain separate from the dominant, established society. (Prejean 1999, 89)

Up to nowadays the *Redbones* are proud to have survived as a group, despite of their negative image. In regard to their racial and ethnic origins, Prejean sums up:

Most members of the community deny African ancestry, while admitting it has been considered to be part of their heritage by others. Many admit to Amerind ancestry, but only grudgingly, and without reference to which tribe. (Prejean 1999, 30)

(...) many families insist they have “Indian grandmothers.” What many informants denied was African heritage. (Prejean 1999, 49)

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, the origin of this community is an “endogamous group of people of mixed Anglo-Saxon and Amerind heritage who travelled across America from the East Coast to the old Southwest, managing to maintain a cultural identity that persists to this day” (Prejean 1999, 3).<sup>184</sup>

The migration of the *Ten Miler* core families took place in the late part of the eighteenth century along one of the typical migration routes of that time:

(...) led by Joseph Willis, a charismatic preacher and the son of an English planter and his Cherokee slave, they moved from their natal homesteads on the Pee Dee River of South Carolina, thence westward to Tennessee, moving South, residing for a brief period in Mississippi, moving westward into the Opelousas country of Louisiana, settling near bayou Chicot area of St. Landry Parish and westward near the Sabine River, at the Louisiana boundary with Texas (then Spanish territory).

<sup>184</sup> There are further legends of origin that refer to Jean Lafitte’s/Moorish/Portuguese/Carthaginian pirates, maroon communities, and the Lost Tribe of Israel (Prejean 1999, 3)

(...) As the group continued westward, following the old “Texas Road,” they added other families to their core group, until they came to an area just north of present-day Elizabeth, Louisiana. (Prejean 1999, 16–18)<sup>185</sup>

Joseph Willis (1764?–1854)<sup>186</sup> was born in Bladen County [now Robeson County], North Carolina, held a slave status and was manumitted in 1787. In North Carolina he was categorized as “Molatto” in 1784, but he was classified as “white” in South Carolina in 1790 (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 927). In 1790, Joseph Willis had moved with his family to the Cheraw District [comprised of Chesterfield, Darlington, Marlboro, and Salem County then], South Carolina. In 1794, the family moved on to Greenville County, South Carolina, where they lived until 1799. Then they migrated south and settled in Natchez (Adams County), Mississippi, in 1801. In 1804, they migrated on to Louisiana, where Joseph Willis preached in Vermilion (Vermilion Parish) and settled down later at Bayou Chicot, St. Landry Parish [now Evangeline Parish]. Together with other families known as *Redbones*, the Willis family moved into the *Ten Milers* settlement area where Joseph Willis started his pastorate in 1833 at the Occupy #1 Baptist Church (Withrow 2013). The Joseph Willis biography (Redbone Heritage Foundation [2007] 2016, 215–16) is typical for the biographies of many tri-racial persons who left the Middle Atlantic states and migrated south- or westward.

**185** Prejean misinterprets racial identifications of *Redbone* persons throughout her thesis. In the case of Joseph Willis, whom she describes as “the son of an English planter and his Cherokee slave,” she concludes: “If his father was Anglo and his mother Cherokee, Willis could not be African, but instead a *métis*, i.e., half Caucasoid, half Mongoloid” (Prejean 1999, 32). In his case she is not realizing that the *Cherokee* in the east owned Black slaves who were identified as “Cherokee slaves” (Bartl 1995). She mis-identifies the mother of Joseph Willis as Native American, instead of identifying her as African American. Her sources further state that Joseph Willis had slave status when he was born, and was classified as “mulatto,” which again points to a descent from an African American parent, a fact she ignores during her whole discourse. By mistake she mentions South Carolina as the natal homestead of Joseph Willis, but he was born in North Carolina.

The same racial misidentification of Joseph Willis is done by Withrow (2013, 161–62).

**186** Withrow (2013, 146) gives a birth date between 1755 and 1758, the Redbone Heritage Foundation ([2007] 2016, 215) mentions the year 1758 as birth date. According to Prejean (1999, 19) he was listed being 98 in a 1850 census, which would indicate that he was born in 1752. Heinegg ([1992] 2005, 927, footnote 166) sets his birth date to 1764.

The core families of the *Ten Milers*, their settlement area and migration routes are identified by Prejean with the help of census data:<sup>187</sup>

Parish	Census date	Surnames / Origin
Calcasieu Parish	1840(?) <sup>188</sup>	Ashworth, Bass, Buxton, Dial, Drake, Nelson, Perkins, Sweat
Rapides Parish:	1840	Ash, Bass, Dial, Drake, Johnson, Nash, Perkins, Ray, Miricle/ Maricle, Moore, Strother, Sweat, West Upper Calcasieu River Valley area: Ashworth, Bass, Buxton, Drake, Dyal, Nelson, Perkins
	1850	born in South Carolina: Joseph Willis (98), John Dyal (47), Thomas Dyal (80), Isaac Perkins (61), Louis Perkins (59), Nancy Perkins, (60), Elizabeth Perkins (55), Willis Perkins (60) <sup>189</sup> born in North Carolina: Joseph Hatch (28), Tapley Dial (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 391)

Older census data prove that the *Ten Miler* core families arrived in Louisiana around 1803, immigrated into the eastern part of Opelousas, St. Landry district area shortly before 1810 and stayed there for at least one generation, before they moved further westward. In 1850, they were counted in the Rapides Parish census, where most of them were classified as “Free Persons of Color” (Prejean 1999, 42).<sup>190</sup>

**187** Prejean (1999, 18). For the genealogy of these families see also Heinegg ([1992] 2005).

**188** Prejean refers here to an 1830 census of Calcasieu Parish, but as Calcasieu Parish was formed in 1840, it did not exist in 1830. Prejean most probably refers to the 1840 census of Calcasieu Parish. It remains obscure, why she did not mention other tri-racial family clans that originated in South Carolina and are mentioned in this census: Barnett, Berry, Butler, Bunch, Chavis, Cole, Gibson, Goins, Johnson, Reed, Smith, White, Williams, Wood (Craven and Hayes 2014). Especially as these surnames, plus the surnames Cloud and Thompson, are surnames that can be found on the Ten Mile Creek Cemetery (Withrow 2013, 159).

**189** John Dial (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 423); Isaac Perkins (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 926); Louis/Lewis Perkins (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 927); Nancy Perkins (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 920); Elizabeth Perkins (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 128).

**190** Prejean continuously tries to prove that Redbones are solely of Euro-American and Native American ancestry, without African American intermixture. The reason for this might be their self-identification, and the negative reaction to any annotation of Black ancestry. “(...) they have often reacted with hostility towards Blacks and any suggestion that they may have African ancestry” (Prejean 1999, 30). This surely has made her field research much more difficult, but does not excuse her attitude to deny any African American ancestry of the Redbones, to interpret sources in this way, and to label those sources mentioning Black ancestry as unreliable.

In 1856, several *Red Bones* were accused of illegal voting in the Ten Mile Creek Precinct (Allen Parish) as free Blacks did not have the right to vote at that time, but they were not convicted as “their colored ancestry could not be proven and the judge would not permit the jury to evaluate them by their appearance” (Beale 1972, 706).

The *Ten Milers* are primarily remembered for the “Westport Fight” which broke out near Ten Mile Creek on December 24, 1881.<sup>191</sup> This event is the major reason why the *Redbones* are stereotyped as violent, hostile, and belligerent. The fight being “the culmination of what was undoubtedly decades of abuse, prejudice, and ill will between the Anglo inhabitants and the surrounding Redbone community” (Prejean 1999, 7).

It seems that the *Redbones* in the core area continued intermarrying with local persons identified as “Indians,” but whether these persons were local Native Americans is not documented. They were classified like *Redbones* – as Free Persons of Color – but their tribal affiliation is unknown:

From current family histories, there are at least a few community members who can point to a “half-breed” grandfather. This means that intermarriage with remnants of local Indian tribes was still a common practice. (Prejean 1999, 34)

Though the areas settled by the core group in both Opelousas and latter western areas had native settlements, proving that these tribes merged with the core group is nearly impossible. (Prejean 1999, 33)

In the censuses Prejean used, many persons are identified as “Indian” without any tribal affiliations given. *Redbones* refer to loss of memory as the reason for a missing tribal affiliation and turn to the use of historical local tribes for tribal self-identification:

(...) we’re Indian on both sides, but we don’t know which tribe. (Prejean 1999, 85)

We don’t know our tribes, we just guess from the area we ended up in. (Prejean 1999, 98)

<sup>191</sup> Redbone family names associated with this fight are Dial/Dyal/Dual/ Doyle/Doyal, Davis, Miracle/Maricle, Moore, Musgrove, Perkins, and Ray (Prejean 1999, 8). For a summary of the Westport Fight see also Harris (2016).

It is interesting here that thus Native American identity is constructed from their final settlement area.

The original *Ten Milers* were predominantly Protestants, settling in a predominantly Catholic area. A marriage to a Catholic person automatically meant out-marriage of the group. In the years 1810–1860 marriage records of St. Landry, St. Martin, and Lafayette parishes, endogamous marriage pattern prevailed – with 69% marriages to core group members.

For school education, the *Ten Milers* had been busing to Elizabeth, (Allen Parish), but many of the younger *Redbone* community members were forced to move away to find jobs, as there was little work in their traditional settlement area (Prejean 1999, 97).

During the nineteenth century, the *Ten Milers* were predominantly farmers, but by the end of the 1890s they also worked as loggers in the surrounding forests and at sawmills in the vicinity of their settlement area. By selling their own wood, or working for the lumber industry, they were able to earn some money. Nonetheless their reputation of being violent grew during that time.<sup>192</sup> That factionalism existing among the *Redbones* is displayed by the huge number of present-day churches:

Their propensity for conflict among themselves, aside from their own stories, is illustrated by the large number of small churches all within sight of each other in the Ten Mile and Six Mile areas of Rapides and Vernon parishes. (Prejean 1999, 107)

Perhaps they are just violent church-goers. (Prejean 1999, 106)

At the time of Prejean's field research (1996–1999) a break-down of the barriers between *Redbones* and the surrounding communities could be observed. Settling of other groups in their area occurred and intermarriage with outsiders started. Nonetheless the *Redbones* were able to keep their separate identity until today (Prejean 1999, 111).

<sup>192</sup> The first printed reference to the *Redbones* is in the *Opelousas St. Landry Clarion* of August 8, 1891, about a fight they had (Prejean 1999, 106).

## 10.11.2 Red Bones/Sabines

### Location

*Redbone* groups identified as *Sabines* are located in Allen Parish, Beauregard Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Lafourche Parish, Natchitoches Parish, Rapides Parish, Terrebonne Parish, and Vernon Parish.

### Language and Ethnonyms

It is rather difficult to interpret which author identifies which group as “Sabines.” The term seems to be used as an ethnonym for the *Redbone Nation* and *Houma*, but also as seems to be applied in form of a folk taxonomy.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

Gilbert (1946, 445–46, 1949, 425) applied the term *Red Bones* to a wide range of persons and groups in Louisiana, mixing up and confusing the information on these groups, which makes a clear identification rather difficult:

The term “Red Bone” is derived from the French Os [*sic*] Rouge, for persons of partly Indian blood. (Gilbert 1946, 445)

PHYSIQUE. Mixed French, Indian, Anglo-Saxon, and Negro. (...)

CULTURAL PECULIARITIES. Many old Indian customs and traits preserved. (Gilbert 1946, 446)

Any of the mixed-blood Indians of this part of Louisiana may be referred to as “Red Bones,” (...) The Red Bones probably number over 3,000 persons scattered about through the cut-over pine country of Calcasieu, Vernon, Allen, Rapides, and Beauregard Parishes (Gilbert 1949, 425).

Besides locating the *Redbones* of Beauregard Parish and Calcasieu Parish, he also included the *Cane River Creoles of Color* of Natchitoches Parish, and the *Houma* of La Fourche Parish and Terrebonne Parish into his *Red Bone* groups, which is obviously a misidentification.

Additionally, he mentions the *Red Bone* group(s) of Allen Parish, Rapides Parish and Vernon Parish. His statement, that they originate

in “the banishment of mixed race persons from Texas” (Gilbert 1946, 446) makes clear that they belong to *Redbone* groups that moved back from Texas to Louisiana.<sup>193</sup>

A French and *Houma* Indian woman interpreted the terms “Redbone” and “Sabine” as “Indian and anything else, a pejorative frequently used to identify her as a child growing up in Abbeville, and a term she bitterly resented, to the point of returning the insult with physical violence” (Prejean 1999, 38).

The term “Sabines” might also have been applied to “tri-racial” communities along the Sabine River (Prejean 1999, 39).

For 1950, a population number of 2,291 is given for the “Sabines of Hauma Indians” (Pollitzer 1972, 722).

Historically, the Sabines were French speaking fishermen and trappers who lives along the Gulf Coast of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parish (Marler 1997, 88).

### 10.11.3 Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee

#### Location

According to the webpage of this group, members live in Allen Parish, Beauregard Parish, Jefferson Davis Parish, Natchitoches Parish, Rapides Parish, Sabine Parish, and Vernon Parishes (Four Winds Tribe Louisiana Cherokee 2016).

#### Language and Ethnonyms

From their webpage, it can be reconstructed that their language is English. There is no evidence that they ever spoke Cherokee.

Their official designation is *Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee* or *Four Winds Tribe, Louisiana Cherokee*, but they are also designated as *Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy* (Four Winds Tribe Louisiana Cherokee 2016).

<sup>193</sup> Their classification as Persons of Color and their surnames Ashworth and Perkins (Gilbert 1949, 425) would also point to a Texas *Redbone* identity.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

The *Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee* are categorized as tri-racial here, because they are *Redbones*. They have received Louisiana state recognition in 1997, with their tribal headquarter in Oakdale (Allen Parish) as of 2019. The surnames of the members of their Tribal Council of 2019 are: Dyer, Dyson, Gill, Hicks, Melder, Perkins, Richard, Shirley, Strother, and Willis (Four Winds Tribe Louisiana Cherokee 2016). No information on this group is given by the Louisiana Office of Indian Affairs (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019).

According to Marler (1997, 89) they are open to Indians of any tribe and many *Redbones* are joining them. From their settlement area and surnames it can be concluded that they are related to the *Redbones* of Louisiana but have adopted a *Cherokee* identity. There is no evidence provided by the group for their *Cherokee* ancestry, neither is there any evidence of *Cherokees* traditionally living in their settlement area.

The reason for their claim might lay in the fact that Reverend Joseph Willis led their band of *Redbones* from South Carolina to Louisiana. As already mentioned, this Joseph Willis was the son of an English planter and a *Cherokee* slave woman and therefore often is mis-identified as “Cherokee.” The *Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee* might derive their “Cherokee” identity from Joseph Willis and his mother. As already discussed, a *Cherokee* slave cannot automatically be identified as member of the *Cherokee Nation*, instead usually is an African American or colored person enslaved by the *Cherokee* (Bartl 1995).

## **10.11.4 Redbones – Avoyelles Parish**

### **Location**

There is a tri-racial *Redbone* group located in Avoyelles Parish.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

E.T. Price (1950, 123a) lists persons with typical *Redbone* surnames for this parish – Clark and Johnson – he found in the 1810 U.S. census.



### 10.11.5 Red Bones – St. Tammany Parish

#### **Location**

A tri-racial group named *Red Bones* is mentioned in St. Tammany Parish.

#### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

Gilbert (1946, 446) identified a *Red Bone* group at Slidell, that gradually merged into the *Cajans* of southern Mississippi (see Appendix H). His *Red Bones* of St. Tammany Parish may probably include *Freejacks*, or *Creoles*, as Slidell is listed as a *Creole* community (see Appendix C).

Residing in Slidell is a group that has organized as *Chahta Tribe*, a designation referring to *Choctaw* identity (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019). No further information could be obtained on this group, but it can be assumed that they are tri-racial and were formed by *Redbone* families. Their *Choctaw* identity is doubtful.

### 10.11.6 Redbones – Rapides Parish

#### **Location**

A further tri-racial *Redbone* group is identified in Rapides Parish.

#### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

Prejean mentions a large *Redbone* community of unknown origin near Boyce (Prejean 1999, 39).

Persons with typical *Redbone* surnames are listed in the censuses for this parish from 1810 to 1880: Ash, Buxton, Clark, Dyel/Dyle/Dyes, Johnson, Nelson, Perkins, Strother, Swet/Swett/Sweat, Thompson, Ware, Willis. They are all categorized as “white” or “free colored” and their ancestors came from South Carolina, Kentucky, and Mississippi (E.T. Price 1950, 123a-c). The neighboring *Clifton Choctaw* of Rapides Parish are sometimes categorized as “Redbones” by their neighbors (R.I. Everett 1958, 6), although there is no overlap of family surnames between both groups. For this reason, it can be assumed that they are two groups with different identity and origin.

### 10.11.7 Redbones/Red Bones – Natchitoches Parish

#### Location

In Natchitoches Parish, a tri-racial group named *Redbones* or *Red Bones* is identified.

#### Ethnohistory and Culture

In the ante-bellum and Civil War era, *Redbones* were reported from Natchitoches Parish, but their designation seems to be used more in sense of a folk taxonomy:

The “redbones” were marauding groups of men and women of mixed racial origin, white, black, and Indian, who inhabited the unsettled areas of the parish. (Mills 1977, 119)

Marler (1997, 88) disagrees that these marauding groups are *Redbones*, the reason may be that Mills uses this term in form of a folk taxonomy, whereas Marler is using it as an ethnonym for a specific ethnic group.

(...) Redbone is mentioned as a local name for people of Indian, negro, French, and Spanish blood to be found in Natchitoches and Calcasieu Parishes (...). (E.T. Price 1950, 110, footnote 1)

*Redbone* traders are reported from Natchez (Natchitoches Parish), where a fur trade to Manchac (Tangipahoa Parish) developed in 1773 (Redbone Heritage Foundation 2017).

A letter by Ora Garland Williams of Louisiana State Normal College in Natchitoches to Lex Laney, Publication Editor at the Tourist Bureau in Baton Rouge, dated March 21, 1940, tells us more about the *Red Bones* of that parish.<sup>194</sup> First of all, we get to know once more how difficult research among *Red Bones* is:

(...) research in this direction would have to be conducted on in quiet. (...) these people resent any stranger, and will not allow their pictures taken. (...) one would have to take his life in his own hands when going among them. (O.G. Williams 1940)

<sup>194</sup> The manuscript used (O.G. Williams 1940) is a copy of this letter. The manuscript is in my personal archive, but I have lost the information where the original is stored and from where or whom I had obtained it.

Then Williams gives his own (prejudiced) observations of the *Red Bones* in Natchitoches Parish:

This is not authentic material, but merely observation.

The Red Bones in this parish live in colonies around Black and Clear Lakes. They are called “natives.” They are a mixture of French, Spanish, Indian, and in some degree negro blood. They have intermarried for several generations and call themselves Spanish. This is interesting in the light of the fact that their language is mostly French. They have a patois that is difficult to understand, but is a mixture of many languages.

(...) The rule has been observed among workers among these people that if they go to a white school, they are white, and if they go to the colored school, they are colored. One of the factors governing this is the community in which they live. If the people living in the community know that there has been negro blood, they will not allow the Red Bones to go to the white schools. Because of this, several large colonies have moved from this Parish to other Parishes where they are considered white. (...)

The Red Bones in this parish are fishermen, guides, and farmers. They are in general lazy and very hard to get along with. In fact they fight “at the drop of a hat.” A peculiar characteristic is that they are very loyal to one who trusts them. For example, if one has a camp in the Lake, and he locks it up very carefully, and does not ask any of the Natives to watch it, he will find it broken open when he comes back. If, however, he finds the nearest fisherman, and tells him he is leaving the cabin open, and will he please watch it for him, nothing is bothered. (O.G. Williams 1940)

The *Cane Rive Creoles of Color* of this parish were not included in this description of a *Redbone* community. What is interesting here is that in folk taxonomy Spanish and French Creoles, or Persons of Color, were categorized as *Red Bones* – contrary to the typification of Marler and Prejean. According to Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 88) Free People of Color of the settlements south of Natchitoches have intermarried with *Opelousa Indians*.

For 1950 a population number of 200 is given for these *Redbones* or “Natchitoches Mulattoes” (Pollitzer 1972, 722).

## 10.11.8 Redbones – Livingston and Tangipahoa Parishes

### Location

Tri-racial *Redbones* are identified in Livingston Parish and Tangipahoa Parish.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

*Redbone* traders were trading out of Manchac (Tangipahoa Parish), where a skin trade developed in 1773 (Redbone Heritage Foundation 2017). The term “Redbone” is used as a folk taxonomy in this case, not describing a specific ethnic group.

Navard<sup>195</sup> mentions that Livingston and Tangipahoa Parishes were well populated with *Redbones* after 1815. He categorizes the *Redbones* as offspring of *Choctaw* Indians and black women:

In a true Redbone there is no white blood. Redbones are a mixture of Indian and Negro and came into existence several years before the founding of New Orleans [1718]. (Navard, [Cajun, Andre] 1947: 7)

The identification as “Choctaw” might come from a mis-categorization of speakers of Mobilian Jargon as “Choctaw.”

## 10.11.9 Red Bones – West Carroll Parish

### Location

A *Red Bone* settlement is mentioned nearby Near Oak Grove in West Carroll Parish.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

Williams (1940) describes a large *Red Bone* colony near Oak Grove, whose settlers left the parish and moved elsewhere, with the intention

<sup>195</sup> Navard, [Cajun, Andre] (1947: 7–9), who wrote his book under the pseudonym “Andre Cajun,” is a very unreliable and highly questionable source. He is quoted here as an example, how the term *Redbone* is used as a folk taxonomy and how many legends are constructed around the term.

to get rid of being classified as partly African American. This colony would fit into the migration route of the *Redbones* from Virginia, North and South Carolina via Tennessee and Arkansas into North Louisiana, where they founded their colony.

No information is available where the group moved to when they left the parish, but it can be assumed that they migrated south to the present-day *Redbone* settlement area.

## 10.12 St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods

### Location and Archaeology

Two groups categorized as “tri-racial” and subsumed under the term *St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods* live in St. Landry Parish.

One group, the *People of Frilot Cove* live in Frilot Cove, the other group, the *Mulattoes of Washington* live in Washington. Both communities, Frilot Cove and Washington are identified as Creole communities (see Appendix C).

No archaeological data are available on these groups.

### Language and Ethnonyms

As descendants of immigrants from Acadia and Louisiana Creoles, they speak Cajun French, French Creole, and English.

Ethnonyms for these groups are *Creoles of Color/Gens de Couleur Libre*, *St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods* or *St. Landry Mulattoes*, *People of Frilot Cove*, *Frilot Cove Community*, and *Mulattoes of Washington*.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

The *St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods* are composed of two groups: the *People of Frilot Cove* and the *Mulattoes of Washington*. These people are usually classified as tri-racial, Creoles, Creoles of Color, Gens de Couleur Libre, or Free Persons of Color. The communities of Frilot Cove and Washington are identified as typical Creole colonies by the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (2015a). No source states explicitly that these two communities have intermixed with local Native Americans. Beale and Pollitzer list these two St. Landry Parish settlements in their

tables under “Reputed Indian-White-Negro Racial Isolates” (Beale 1957, 193) or “Reported Caucasian-Negro-Amerindian Racial Isolates” (Pollitzer 1972, 722), Pollitzer listing them as *St. Landry Mulattoes*. This way both authors indicate that the groups are tri-racial.

St. Landry Parish was settled first in 1762 by *Acadians* from Canada, and Spaniards. In the decades following, Creoles of Color immigrated and settled down in the area (Jones 1950, 13–25).

Clifton Carmon describes the origin and function of the communities formed in St. Landry Parish as follows:

Some Creoles of Color had for many years played a significant role in economic affairs of their respective communities. After the Civil War they were denied a separate status in these communities. To maintain some semblance of status in a community increasing in population, some of them found it necessary to relocate to have sufficient agricultural land. The enclaves they developed served two purposes for them: they had the land they sought for agricultural purposes, and these enclaves isolated them, allowing them to be with their own and to maintain their distinctive way of life. They became clannish, moving apart from society more than they had ever done before. (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, x)

In St. Landry Parish, these Creoles of Color (or French: *gens de couleur libre*) adhered to French Creole culture and had formed several of these enclaves after the Civil War: Palmetto, Leonville, Opelousas, Lawtell, Grand Prairie, Plaisance, Washington, Frilot Cove, Rideau, and Mallet,<sup>196</sup> with a total population of 1,909 in 1870 (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 96–97).

The origin of these communities was traced back to matriarchs of free black families, “who, after separation from their white paramours

**196** The family clans and surnames associated with these enclaves were mainly: Donato, Meuillon, Lemelle, Charlot, Decuir, Chevis, Grabdpré, Lenormand, Masse, and Simien. These family clans can be traced back in the settlement area up to the 1770s (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 40).

In 2015 the following additional colonies are identified as St. Landry Parish Creole Communities: Arnaudville, Eunice, Grand Coteau, Lebeau, Melville, Port Barre, Prairie Laurent, Soileau, Sunset, Swords (Louisiana Creole Heritage Center 2015a).

through either death or abandonment, set about to make themselves and their children economically independent” (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 42).

Among them were Marie Simien and Marie-Jeanne Lemelle. Marie Simien and her four sons settled down in this area around 1796. Marie-Jeanne Lemelle – with her two daughters Jaqueline and Julie – was manumitted in New Orleans on December 05, 1772 and immigrated in St. Landry Parish (which was Opelousas District then) in the 1780s (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 42).

Members of *Redbone* families, whose ancestors came from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia (partly via Tennessee and Mississippi), were registered in St. Landry Parish after 1800. They all were categorized as “white” or “free colored” in the U.S. Censuses 1810–1880.<sup>197</sup> As far as it can be reconstructed, the *People of Frilot Cove* share the surname Elliott with Louisiana *Redbone* families.

In the 1950 U.S. Census, 240 persons are identified as belonging to the *St. Landry Parish Indian-White-Negro Racial Isolates* categorized as “Negro” (Beale 1957, 193).

As only the communities of Washington and Frilot Cove are said to have intermixed with Native Americans, only these two communities will be discussed here.

## 10.12.1 People of Frilot Cove

### Location

The *People of Frilot Cove* live in Frilot Cove, St. Landry Parish.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

There are only few sources that assume a tri-racial origin of the Frilot Cove community. Gilbert speculates that they “may be of part-Indian descent” (Gilbert 1949, 425), and Berry claims:

<sup>197</sup> Surnames of these families: Ash, Ashworth, Avery, Bass, Bunch, Chavers/Chavis, Clark, Dial, Drake, Goin/Goins/Going/Gowen, Johnson, Nash, Nelson, Perkins, Strother, Sweat, Thompson, Willis, Wisby. (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 88–89, 318, 391, 423, 566, 876, 920, 923, 926–927, 1124, 1126; E. T. Price 1950, 123a–b).

Frilot Cove, (...) whose members have never denied their negro ancestry, even though they do not boast of it. Nor have they made any claim to Indian affiliation, despite the probability of a small degree of it being present. (Berry 1963, 168)

Jones, the author of a published field research of Frilot Cove in the years 1948 and 1949, explicitly calls this settlement a “bi-racial community” (Jones 1950, 47) consisting of *Creoles of Color* or *gens de couleur libre*. In none of his publications Jones reports of any intermixture with Native Americans (Jones 1950; Jones and Parenton 1951). The only reference to local American Indians he makes is that the area of today’s St. Landry Parish was once settled by *Attakapa* and *Opelousa* Indians. According to his analysis, the inhabitants of the Frilot Cove community are descendants of Acadian, French, and Spanish families, and Creoles of Color, who immigrated around 1832 and later.<sup>198</sup>

The Frilot Cove families all descended from Philippe Aimé Frilot and his nephews (Landry 2017, post 04/11/2017, 03:27 pm). Additionally, Marie Simien and a Marie Claude had land claims in the area of Frilot Cove (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 27).

Calvin Beale, who visited the Frilot Cove community together with Joseph Hardy Jones, Jr. and Al Bertrand in 1960, did not mention any intermixture with Native Americans in his field notes (Beale 1960).

Members of this community emigrated to California, Chicago (Illinois), and to other places in the USA (Berry 1963, 170).

Therefore, it is questionable whether this community can be identified as of part-indigenous origin and tri-racial at any time in history.

**198** The family names of the early Frilot Cove settlers were Auzenne, Chretien, Donato, Fontenot, Frilot, Fuselier, Guilbeau, La Chapelle, Meuillon, and Prudhomme. The family names at the time of Jones field research [1948/1949] were Auzenne, Billeaudeaux, Darbonne, Deselle, Durousseau, Elliott, Fontenot, Frilot, Guilbeau, Guillory, Lachapelle, Lemelle, Louis, Louvier, Olivier, and Prejean (Jones 1950, 69–70). The surname Elliott also occurs among Louisiana *Redbone* families.



## 10.12.2 Mulattos of Washington

### Location

The *Mulattos of Washington* live in Washington in St. Landry Parish.

### Ethnohistory

Gilbert (1949, 425) speculated that the “mulattoes of Washington” may be of part-Indian decent. No further information could be found in literature as to whether the *Mulattos of Washington* have intermixed with American Indians, or with specific Native American tribes.

From a source on the *Creoles of Color* in this area can be extracted, that Marie-Jeanne Lemelle and Marie Simien had land claims near Washington (Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre 1994, 21).

Olmsted reported about his 1853–1854 trip to Louisiana:

(...) I made a short visit to Washington and Opelousas. Washington was formerly called Niggerville, from the number of free negroes living in the village. A German merchant, living in Washington, told me there were few now living in the place; (...). (Olmsted 1968, 639)

Jolivéte quotes in his book from letters by John R. Swanton to Carolina Dormon, written between 1930 and 1936.<sup>199</sup>

(...) About twenty years ago I visited an old woman named Balthazar living just south of Washington, Louisiana. She recognized some Atakapa words as those of her own people but I do not know whether she belonged to the Atakapa or Opelousa. (John R. Swanton quoted in Jolivéte 2007, 46)

The surname Balthazar can also be found among the *Cane River Creoles of Color*, but must not indicate kinship relations, it is rather a typical Louisiana French Creole surname.

**199** This quotation has to be evaluated with caution, because of the already discussed deficits in Jolivéte’s book. In this case he quotes the source by mistake as “Letters to Catherine Dormon” (Jolivéte 2007, 51) whereas the Webpage of the Northwestern State University Libraries (<https://library.nsula.edu/collections/>) only list a collection of Caroline Dormon. The original manuscript was not available to me.

Unfortunately, no further information could be obtained on this community. On the basis of these sources, it is questionable, whether this community has ever intermixed with Native Americans.

## 10.13 Tunica/Biloxi/Ofo/Pascagoula/Avoyel

### **Location and Archaeology**

*Tunica*, *Biloxi*, *Choctaw*, *Ofo*, *Pascagoula*, and *Avoyel* Indians are documented in Avoyelles Parish, Catahoula Parish, LaSalle Parish, and Rapides Parish.

Archaeological excavations and surveys have been made in the *Tunica*, *Pascagoula*, and *Avoyel* area. No archaeological surveys are known for the *Biloxi* and *Ofo*.

### **Language and Ethnonymy**

*Tunica* language is considered a language isolate. The ethnonym *Tunica* is derived from their self-identification as “people” or “person” (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 586, 595). For further synonyms see Brain, Roth, and Reuse (2004, 595).

*Biloxi* and *Ofo* belong to the Ohio Valley sub-group of the Siouan language family (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 593).

The self-designation of the *Biloxi* is *Tanêks*, whereas the term “Biloxi” is an etic term derived from Mobilian Jargon. Further synonyms are discussed in Brain, Roth, and Reuse (2004, 595–96).

The term *Ofo* is a shortening of *Ofogoula*, the etic designation of this tribe in Mobilian Jargon. No emic term is documented for them. For further synonyms see Brain, Roth, and Reuse (2004, 596). The last speaker of the *Ofo* language was Rosa Pierite, who died in 1915 (Fig. 10).

There is no documentation for the *Pascagoula* and *Avoyel* languages as both languages have died out during early contact time.

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>200</sup>

The present-day *Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana* are of multi-tribal origin with at least six historic ancestral tribes: *Tunica*, *Biloxi*, *Choctaw*, *Ofo*, *Pascagoula*, and *Avoyel* (*Avoyelle*). The tribe is discussed here because the tri-racial *Houma* and *Chitimacha* tribes have ancestral kinship relations to this tribe.

In 1541–1542, the *Tunica* lived in what is Mississippi and Arkansas today. Roman-Catholic mission among them started in 1698, at a time when many of them were dying of epidemics. By 1706, the *Tunica* began to move south to escape war with the *Chickasaw*. They settled in a deserted village of the *Houma*, who had moved further south. As allies of the French, the *Tunica* were involved in the French-Natchez Wars (1716–1731). By 1735, they got in contact with the British, and when Spaniards replaced the French in Louisiana in 1769, the *Tunica* and other tribes were forced to cross the Mississippi River into Louisiana.

In 1778, the *Tunica*, *Ofo*, and *Avoyel* established allegiances with the Spaniards. By 1771, they had found several settlements: one near Marks-ville (*Avoyelle* Parish), one on Bayou Rouge (*Avoyelle* Parish), and on Bayou Boeuf (*Lafourche* Parish). The Marks-ville settlement was originally settled by *Biloxi* and *Avoyel*, but the *Biloxi* had moved to Bayou Boeuf and the *Avoyel* were absorbed by the *Tunica*. In the Bayou Rouge village, *Biloxi*, *Ofo*, *Choctaw*, and *Alabama* were living together with the *Tunica*, in the Bayou Boeuf village *Tunica*, *Biloxi*, and *Choctaw* lived together. As a result of these shared settlements, the *Tunica* can be seen as a combination of tribes since the 1850s (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 586–89).

The *Biloxi* originally lived on Biloxi Bay in what is present day Mississippi. In 1669, they were reported to have associated with the *Pascagoula*. They also crossed the Mississippi River and moved into Spanish Louisiana by 1763, where they settled together with *Tunica* and other tribes. Some *Biloxi* families relocated to Biloxi Bayou (*Angelina* County,

200 Literature: Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes (1987, 305–6); Gregory (1992, 170–71); Brain, Roth, and Reuse (2004); Klopotek (2011, 41–125); Downs (1979); U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement (1981a); *Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana* (n.d., 2017); Swanton ([1911] 1998, 272–274, 302–326); State of Louisiana, Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d., 27–29).

Texas) in 1871 (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 593). A *Biloxi-Choctaw* community is reported near Woodworth (Rapides Parish) in the 1920s (Klopotek 2011, 116).

The *Biloxi* possess a legend about the origin of the different races and their skin color: after their creation, the single people came to a river with clear water for a bath. First came the Americans when the water still was noticeably clear. After them came the French and then the Native Americans. As the water got dirtier, their skin color got darker. When the Spaniards came the water was already quite muddy and it had turned black when the Africans took their bath (C. F. Feest 1976, 286).

The *Ofo* originally were neighbors of the *Tunica* in what is now Mississippi, living in a village near Fort Rosalie (Adams County, Mississippi). By 1729, they had migrated south to join the *Tunica* in Louisiana. Here, they resettled in separate villages near Pointe Coupée (Pointe Coupée Parish). Some of the *Ofo* lived with the *Tunica* on their Marksville Reservation (Avoyelle Parish). Rosa Pierite/Pierrette, who lived on this reservation in 1908 and died in 1915, identified herself as *Ofo* and was the last person who spoke the *Ofo* language (Fig. 10). Rosa was married to Ernest Pierite, a *Tunica* of *Biloxi* and *Avoyel* descent. Alice Picote, who died in 1973, was probably the last person identified as *Ofo* (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 595).

A court agreement of 1848 confirmed that the *Tunica* had title to 130 acres of land at their Marksville settlement. This land was not taxed, indicating a protected status, and was named “Indian reservation” on maps (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 589). Such a quasi-reservation status for land owned by a tribe that was neither state nor federally recognized is unusual and unique.

When the USA took over Louisiana Territory in 1803, they did not recognize the aboriginal sovereignty and land rights of the *Tunica-Biloxi*:

They could not receive federal recognition or aid, because they had no federal reservation, and their reservation could not be put in trust because they were not federally recognized. (Klopotek 2011, 49–50)

In the 1930s the tribe was denied federal recognition because they had intermarried with African Americans.



Fig. 10 Rosa Leseur Pierite/Pierrette (*Ofo*) and unidentified girl, Marksville, Avoyelle Parish, Louisiana, 1908. Photograph by John R Swanton [NAA INV 01754700, Photo Lot 76] Reprinted by courtesy of ©National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

When Ruth Underhill initially evaluated the community for possible federal recognition in 1938, she noted that the Tunicas were “obviously much mixed with other Indians, negroes, and whites. The people of Marksville class them socially as negroes and allude to them as Redbones, or negroes with Indian ancestry.” (Underhill cited in Klopotek 2011, 215)

In consequence, the *Tunica-Biloxi* banished tribal members married to Blacks from their reservation in the 1930s and in the 1970s they still did not accept anyone with African American ancestry on their tribal rolls. The surname of tribal members with African American spouses

and ancestry was Pierite (Klopotek 2011, 215). In 1948 the *Tunica* are described as “greatly mixed in blood” and that a “few still speak the native language” (Gilbert 1949, 424).

As a result of restrictive federal politics towards their tribe and racial laws, *Tunica-Biloxi* started to emigrate to Texas and Chicago, Illinois, in the 1930s. One of the restrictions for the tribe was that *Tunica* children were not allowed to visit white schools in Avoyelles Parish. This was changed in 1948 when *Tunica* children – those without African American ancestry – began to attend white public schools (Klopotek 2011, 50, 61). Despite out-migration many tribal members kept their connection to the reservation:

Tribal members who left Marksville in the 1930s continued to return regularly, ensuring for the most part that their children and grandchildren would remain connected to their relatives, their tribe, and their homeland. (Klopotek 2011, 106)

In 1975, the *Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe* obtained Louisiana state recognition (Klopotek 2011, 67).

The *Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana*, with its 130 acres reservation in Marksville (Avoyelle Parish), finally got its federal acknowledgment in 1981 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1995, 24), their reservation land being turned into a federal reservation as a result. Their native languages were virtually extinct at that time (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 305).

The contemporary *Tunica-Biloxi* tribe offers an interesting case for assessing the impact of federal recognition on the perception of the legitimacy as Indians of Indians with black ancestry. (Klopotek 2011, 215)

The restrictions towards members with African American ancestry have been loosened after federal acknowledgement. During petition, all tribal members with African American ancestry – and less than 1/4 *Tunica-Biloxi* ancestry – were excluded from the tribal rolls. After recognition, all restrictions on African American ancestry were removed and the requirements for *Tunica-Biloxi* ancestry was reduced to 1/64 (Klopotek 2011, 79):

Within the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe there are varying degrees of racial harmony and racism – often simultaneously – among families and individuals, but acceptance of Indians with African American ancestry as Indians is high because of known and recent family relationships. When asked about racial divisions within the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe, most tribal members concede that there is a discernible amount of racism (...). (Klopotek 2011, 216)

In 1994, the tribe opened a casino on its Marksville Reservation (Klopotek 2011, 97). By 1995 they closed their tribal rolls, so new applicants could no longer be enrolled (Klopotek 2011, 112). One reason for this was the emergence of several groups around Marksville claiming *Avoyel*<sup>201</sup> ancestry.

In the years after the opening of the casino, the nation experienced a cultural reawakening, fired by the casino earnings, new jobs on the reservation, and the returning of members to the reservation for employment and residence. A tribal powwow, festivals, and cultural programs were established on the reservation, which function as homecoming events and intensify tribal identity (Klopotek 2011, 107, 117, 121).

By 2002, the Marksville reservation was enlarged to 740 acres, with over 100 tribal members living on reservation, another ca. 150 members nearby. The total tribal population on- and off-reservation had grown to 923 persons (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 590). In 2011, the tribal population living in the Marksville area had risen to over 300 members (Klopotek 2011, 103).

## 10.14 Miscellaneous Louisiana Groups

Posey (1974, 25) noticed in his publication on the *Freejacks*, that there were “at least three additional communities of people with similar racial mixture within thirty miles” of Loranger (Tangipahoa Parish/St. Tam-

<sup>201</sup> Some of these groups are trying to get federal acknowledgement from OFA: *Avogel Nation of Louisiana*; *Avogel, Okla Tasannuk Tribe/Nation*; *Avoyel-Taensa Tribe/Nation of Louisiana, Inc.*; *Avoyel-Kaskaskia Tribe of Louisiana* (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 25).

many Parish). These groups might include *Redbones* already described in previous chapters.

Prejean mentions “tri-racial groups in Louisiana (...) along the northern reaches of the Sabine River and along the Red River,” with some of these groups possessing documented ethnographies, that have never been published (Prejean 1999, 39).

Moreover, the groups listed under “Other Groups claiming indigenous identity” for Louisiana in Appendix H have to be researched more intensively, as there was no further information on them available to me.

There is a separatist group originating in Louisiana, claiming to be of indigenous and tri-racial background: the *Washita Nation* or *Empire Washitaw de Dugdahmoundyah Nation* or *Washita Moorish Nation*. The designation “Washita” is derived from the *Ouachita Tribe*, a Native American tribe from northern Louisiana, that has ceased to exist.

The group was founded by “Empress Verdiacee ‘Tiari’ Washitaw-Turner (Tunica) Goston El-Bey,” a former mayor of Richwood (Ouachita Parish), who started to claim ancestry to one of the former local American Indian tribe, the *Ouachita*, and to Moors. The 2019 leader of the group is “Empress Wendy Farica Washitaw.” There is no proof of any American Indian ancestry of this group.

The group issues official documents, like passports, that have turned up in Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Pennsylvania. The official headquarters of the group is in San Pedro (Los Angeles County, California) according to its webpage (Southern Poverty Law Center [1999] 2005; Empire Washitaw de Dugdahmoundyah 2019). As a sovereign citizen movement, this group will not be included in the general discussion of Native American Nations and tri-racial groups here.





# 11 Texas

The survivors of the Pánfilo de Narváez Expedition reached Texas in 1528. By 1532, only four members of this expedition were still alive, among them Cabeza de Vaca. They lived among different Indian tribes in Texas for six years, until they started to head for Mexico in 1535, where they finally arrived in 1536.<sup>202</sup>

In early colonial history, Texas<sup>203</sup> was part of New Spain and was transformed into a Spanish province in 1691. The first Spanish settlement was established 1682 near El Paso. Others followed in the 1710s and 1720s in form of Franciscan missions – military presidio settlements. By 1716, the Spanish tried to establish first missions in east Texas, which failed. The retreating missionaries and soldiers from east Texas founded San Antonio in 1718. During colonial times Texas province was not densely populated by Europeans, in 1760 only 1,200 colonists lived in Texas, 580 of them in San Antonio.

By the mid-15th [*sic*; mid-16th] century the Spaniards had set up a network of missions along the coastal regions of the Gulf of Mexico. From Mexico City to Florida, a trail connecting these missions, called *el camino real* (the royal road), would later facilitate many multiracial families on their migration to the fringes of White settlements. (Webb 2013, 40)

Further migration trails into Texas are: Coushatta Trace, Atascosito Road, and Coushatta-Nacogdoches Trace (Webb 2013, 44–49).

After the USA had purchased Louisiana Territory in 1803, the northern section of Texas came into the possession of the USA and the Sabine River was established as a boundary between Louisiana and New Spain/Texas in 1819.

As a result of the Mexican War of Independence against Spain in 1821, (Mexican) Texas was annexed to Mexico from 1821 to 1836. After

<sup>202</sup> Riley (1972, 248); Barr (2009, 277); K.W. Porter (1932, 289).

<sup>203</sup> Literature: Carlisle (2004); K.W. Porter (1956a, 1956b); Wilson, Jr. (1986, 92–93); Barr (2009, 286); Taylor (2002, 410–11).

the Texas Revolution (1835–1836) the Republic of Texas became independent in 1836. In 1845 Texas joined the USA as a state. From 1861 to 1865 Texas was part of the Confederate States of America and rejoined the USA in 1870.

Free Black persons were present in the Texas colony from earliest colonial times and intermixed with the Native Americans living there:

Blacks often accompanied Spanish expeditions to the Texas area. It was not uncommon for succeeding expeditions to find people of African and mixed ancestry living within Indian communities. In permanent settlements established in Texas by the Spanish, blacks and persons of mixed ancestry constituted a large segment of the outposts. As of 1792 the black and mulatto population constituted 15 percent of the 2,992 people living in Spanish Texas. (Hales 2016)

After 1800, an increased immigration of Free Blacks into Spanish Texas could be observed, along with the intrusion of some escaped slaves. Under Mexican rule (1821–1836), Free Blacks were treated as equal citizens and the government started to pursue the abolition of slavery (Hales 2016).

Later, during the Texas Rebellion (1835–1836) joint forces of Mexicans, *Biloxi Indians*, and blacks are reported to have fought against the USA (Katz 1986, 133).

The Republic of Texas (1836–1845) changed policies towards Free Blacks, restricted their freedom, prohibited interracial marriages, and strengthened the institution of slavery. An Act of 1837 had permitted the residence in the Republic of Texas for all Free Blacks living in Texas before the Texas Declaration of Independence (1836). This act was nullified by an act of 1840, in which the immigration of Free Blacks was prohibited, and all Free Black residents had to vacate the Republic of Texas within two years or would be sold into slavery. This way the economic and civil status of multi-ethnic and tri-racial Americans deteriorated rapidly. Feud-like hostilities between families occurred on the basis of racial classification (Webb 2013, 43–52; Marler 2003, 164).

The Free Black population was never large. An 1850 census counted 397, and an 1860 census reported 355 Free Black persons (Hales 2016).

The *Alabama Indians* of Texas have a storytelling motif of African origin in their version of the “Orphan and the Origin of Corn” (Dundes 1965, 214). The *Alabama* were part of the *Muscogee Creek Confederacy* in the Alabama-Mississippi area and migrated westward through Louisiana, where they allied with *Coushatta Indians*. They finally settled down in Texas, where they got federal recognition as the *Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas* and a reservation established in 1854.

In 1841, joint raids between African Americans and Native Americans are reported from Fannin County (K.W. Porter 1956b, 202).

Relations between Texas Negroes and the sedentary and semi-civilized Indians of Texas were of no long duration. They began when slaveholding settlers from the United States began to enter Texas with their Negroes but for several years were so slight that we have no record of them until the middle 1830's. The exclusion of the civilized Indians from Texas began 1839, warfare with these Indians ended 1843, and in 1859, except for a few strays, they were driven from Texas into the Indian Territory. (K.W. Porter 1956b, 207)

Relations between Texas Negroes and the wild nomadic Texas Indians, particularly the Comanche, covered a much longer period. Encounters between white settlers and Comanche Indians began at least as early as 1835 and almost from the beginning involved Negroes; raids by Comanche and other wild Indians on the Texas frontier were frequent until the middle 1870's and did not end until the early 1880's, (...). (K.W. Porter 1956b, 208)

Texas remained a target for raids of combined Native American and African American bands until the 1870s. After the mid-1870s, K.W. Porter (1956a, 307) could not find examples for friendly or unfriendly relations between Southern Plains Indians and individual Texas Blacks anymore.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup> K.W. Porter (1956a, 1956b) describes all kind of interactions between Native Americans and African Americans in Texas: Black captives, enslaved persons, combined raiding bands, intermarriages, hostile encounters, etc., and presents biographies of single persons of mixed ancestry, involved in these interactions.

No information on Maroon settlements in Texas could be obtained.

For the year 1930, the following data on Native Americans in Texas are given:

The 1930 census reported 1,000 Indians in Texas. Of these 29.2 percent were reported as pure-blood, 26.2 percent as mixed-blood, and 44.6 percent were not recorded. (Gilbert 1949, 425)

A Texas State Commission on Indians Affairs existed from 1965 to 1989 (Wunder 2016).

Texas has three federal Indian tribes and two state tribes. For Native American nations and groups claiming Indian ancestry in Texas, see Appendix H. All groups listed in there for Texas as “Other Groups claiming indigenous identity” need further investigation as there was only few or no information on them available.

The history of the formation of the Texas counties is summed up in table E in the Appendix.

### Slavery

Among the four survivors of the Pánfilo de Narváez Expedition arriving in Texas in 1528 was a black slave named Esteban (also Estevan, Estevanico, or Estevanillo) from Azamor (Morocco), who probably was a Moroccan Moor (Riley 1972, 247–48; Barr 2009, 277).

Katz (1986, 133) reports that black slaves were seeking contacts to Texas Indians and Mexicans to be freed, but the *Plains Indian Nations* of Texas did not possess black slaves.

Regarding the enslavement of Native Americans, extensive systems of Spanish slavery did never exist past the Rio Grande:

Unlike in neighboring provinces of (...) New Mexico, and Louisiana, Spaniards in Texas never adopted large-scale systems that coerced Indian or African labor. Nor did the Texas province have the finances to develop an extensive trade system such as in the British Southeast, Spanish New Mexico, or French Louisiana that entailed market exchanges in Indian captives which in turn evolved into an Indian slave trade. (Barr 2009, 279)

The *New Laws of 1542* and the 1680 *Recompilation of the Laws of the Indies* prohibited Indian enslavement and forced labor, “but the existence and the enforcement of law were two entirely different things” (Barr 2009, 283).

A kind of slave trade developed in Texas in the eighteenth century when *Apache Indians* started to raid Spanish settlements and were caught as prisoners of war. *Apache* men, women and children were channeled into the slave trade as captives of war:

In fact, captive Apaches would become as valuable as Spanish horses in Comanche and Wichita trading networks into French Louisiana. (Barr 2009, 289)

(...) Caddo peoples who had acted as crucial intermediaries in the trade networks linking Comanche and Wichita communities to markets in the French province of Louisiana. Apache captives had travelled through this network, ending up as slaves in the French military and trading post of Natchitoches. (Barr 2009, 303)

This *Apache* slave trade explains the existence of *Apache* ancestors among the *Cane River Creoles of Color* of Louisiana, as already mentioned.

The Peace of 1749 between Spain and the *Apache* finally put an end to *Apache* enslavement in Texas (Barr 2009, 301).

During the existence of the Republic of Texas (1836–1845), slavery was made legal again. In 1808 the United States outlawed the importation of slaves identified as “negro, mulatto, or person of colour” (U.S. Congress 1807). The law was applied in that section of Texas that was part of the Louisiana Territory then, and to the rest of Texas, when Texas joined the USA in 1845. Slavery was finally abolished in 1865.

## 11.1 Atakapa/Ishak

### Location and Archaeology

The *Atakapa/Ishak* once lived in Vidor (Orange County) and Port Arthur (Jefferson County). Today they are regarded as being totally absorbed into other tribes and therefore extinct.

There are no archaeological data published on the *Atakapa*.

### Language and Ethnonyms

*Atakapa* is the term for all Atakapa-speaking Indians who traditionally lived between Vermilion Bay, Louisiana, and Galveston Bay, Texas. This language group was comprised of six sovereign bands: *Atakapans*, *Akokisa*, *Patiri/Pastia*, *Bidai*, *Deadose*, and *Opelousa*.

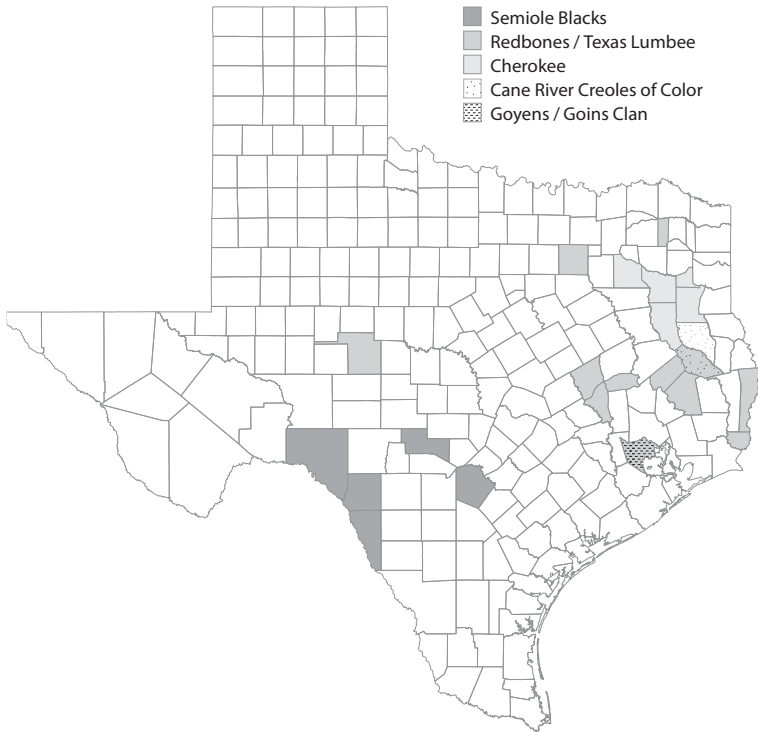
The emic designation of all these bands was *Atakapa* and *Ishak*. Only few speakers of *Atakapa* survived near Vidor (Orange County). The last fluent speaker, Rosalie de Rosie, was living there in 1935 (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 75).

There are modern groups in Texas claiming *Atakapa-Ishak* ancestry.

### Ethnohistory and Culture

The *Atakapa/Ishak* have never been identified as tri-racial, but they must be discussed here, because groups claiming descent from them are categorized as tri-racial. The ethnohistory of the *Atakapa* has been described extensively in the Louisiana chapter. One of the last survivors of the *Atakapa* is reported from near Vidor (Orange County), in 1935 (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 75).

The *Atakapas Ishak Nation of Southeastern Texas and Southwestern Louisiana* filed a letter of intention to petition for federal acknowledgment on February 2, 2007 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 46; Atakapas Ishak Nation 2015a, 2015b). How noncredible their claim to Native American identity is, was discussed already in the Louisiana chapter.



Map 11 Tri-racial groups in Texas. Map by Renate Bartl

## 11.2 Cane River Creoles of Color

### Location and Archaeology

Some *Cane River Creoles of Color* from Louisiana have resettled in Houston (Harris County). The group has already been discussed extensively in the Louisiana chapter.

### Language and Ethnonyms

As already mentioned, the *Cane River Creoles of Color* are mainly of French Creole origin and speak French Creole, but nowadays many members also speak English.



### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

Tri-racial *Cane River Creoles of Color* from Louisiana have moved to Houston (Harris County) in the early twentieth century where they concentrated in neighborhoods that were predominantly white.<sup>205</sup>

## 11.3 Cherokee

### **Location and Archaeology**

The *Cherokee* of Texas live in Dallas (Dallas County), Cherokee County, Gregg County, Rusk County, Smith County, and Van Zandt County.

No archaeological data are available for the *Cherokee* of Texas.

### **Language and Ethnonyms**

The *Cherokee* language is part of the Iroquoian linguistic family. The *Cherokee* call themselves *cáláki*, which has been transformed into *Tsalagi*. Another synonym often used by *Cherokee* bands for self-identification is *Chickamauga*. For further ethnonyms see Fogelson (2004a, 337, 349–351).

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

The *Cherokee* must be discussed here, because there are indications of intermarriage with members of the tri-racial *Redbone Nation* of Texas.

*Cherokee* are reported in Texas since 1807. By 1819/1820 ca. 60 *Cherokee* families under Chief Bowles (Bowl/Duwali) had moved from North Carolina, where they left in 1721, by way of Alabama and Georgia into Spanish Texas. Here they intermixed with local remnants of the *Delaware*, *Shawnee*, *Kickapoo*, *Quapaw*, *Choctaw*, *Biloxi*, *Alabama* and *Coushatta* Indians. In 1822 they numbered ca. 300 tribal members

<sup>205</sup> Mills (1977, 248); Woods (1972, 271–356) – although Woods uses pseudonyms for the cities, it is interpreted here that by “Southwest City” she means Houston.

and had established farms in East Texas, but without claiming title to their land.<sup>206</sup>

After the passing of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 all *Cherokee* Indians should have been removed from the Eastern United States to the Indian Territory, but:

Not all of the Southern Indians had emigrated in the thirties and forties. A considerable number of Cherokees removed themselves from the country east of the Mississippi to Texas. (Abel [1915] 1992, 20, footnote 7)

In 1839, many *Cherokee* living in Texas were driven out of the state to Mexico by troops of the Republic of Texas after it has claimed their land and started a conflict with them, which became known as the Cherokee War. In 1843 and 1844 peace treaties were signed with those *Cherokee* who had remained in Texas.

In the following year, there was a constant back-and-forth migration of *Cherokees* between their settlement areas in Texas and Oklahoma. Furthermore, in the years from the 1840s to the 1960s, Texas *Cherokee* tried to get compensation for the land they had lost in 1839. This is denied to them up to the present on grounds that the state of Texas is not liable for claims against the Republic of Texas.

Legally the Texas *Cherokee* are part of the federally recognized *Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Wilson, Jr. 1986, 93; Texas State Historical Association 2016).

Currently there are seventeen groups claiming *Cherokee/Chickamauga/Tsalagi* identity in Texas:

1. *American Cherokee Tribe of Texas*
2. *Cherokee Nation of Mexico*
3. *Cherokee Nation of Texas Limited*

**206** Hoelscher (2013, 122); Webb (2013, 40); Marler (1997, 93); Texas State Historical Association (2016); King (2004, 359–61).

The names of these Texas *Cherokee* were: Duwali (Colonel Bowls), Gatunwali, Fields, Bowls, Bowles, Boles, Brown, Chicken Trotter, Corn Tassel, The Egg, Harris, Harlin, Cuktokeh Jolly, Kanati (Long Turkey), Nkeolake, Osoota, Piggion, Saulowee (Tsuwali), Tahchee, Talontuskee, Talihina (Mrs. Sam Houston), Toquo (Turkey) (Marler 1997, 93).

4. *Cherokee Nation of Texas/Texas Cherokee/Tsalagiysi Nvdagi*
5. *Chickamauga Cherokee Brushy Creek Band*
6. *Free Cherokee, Hummingbird Clan*
7. *Free Cherokee Tennessee River Band of Chickamauga*
8. *Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) –  
Running Wolf Band*
9. *Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Hawk Clan*
10. *Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Sequoyah*
11. *Southeastern Cherokee Tribe and Associated Bands*
12. *Sovereign Cherokee Nation Tejas*
13. *Texas Band of Cherokee Indians of the Mount Tabor Indian  
Community with their subgroups:*
  - *Choctaw-Chickasaw Indians of the Mount Tabor  
Community*
  - *Pine Hill Community of Cherokee Indian*
14. *Texas Buffalo Bayou Band of Chickamaugan Cherokee,  
Southern Cherokee Nation*
15. *Texas Gulf Coast Cherokee and Associated Bands*
16. *United Cherokee Nation – Texas Clan*
17. *United Chickamaugan*

One of these groups, the *Sovereign Cherokee Nation Tejas*, residing in Fate (Rockwall County), seem to have switched to an American Indian identity and formed a tribe to evade criminal charges levied against them. In 1991 tribal members were accused of a variety of massive business frauds. By creating a Native American tribe, they thought tribal sovereignty would protect them from prosecution (Sturm 2011, 6).

All of these groups listed here need to be further researched, as there was no additional information on them available to me.

There is evidence of intermarriage between Texas *Cherokee* and Texas *Redbones*: Nancy Isaacs, the niece of Texas *Cherokee* chief Richard Field, was married to Leonard G. Williams (1802–1854), a *Redbone* from in Rusk County (Pruett 2016). Additionally, the surname Brown is shared by both groups (Marler 1997, 93).

## 11.4 Redbone Nation/Redbones

### Location and Archaeology

*Redbones* of Texas live in Angelina County, Brazos County, Atascocita (Harris County), Jefferson County, in the Newton and Burkeville area of Newton County, Madison County, Orange County, Polk County, Robertson County, Trinity County, and Tom Green County.

No archaeological data are available for the *Redbone Nation* in Texas.

### Language and Ethnonyms

As many Texas *Redbones* immigrated from Louisiana, they speak Louisiana French, Spanish, and English. Many of them are multi-lingual.

The term *Redbone* and its different spellings is used as an ethnonym for this specific group. The term *Redbone Nation* is a more recent term of self-designation, invented to stress the concept of a “nation” in the sense of Native American “Nation” and “Indian” identity.

### Ethnohistory and Culture<sup>207</sup>

The first tri-racial *Redbones* immigrated from Louisiana into Texas in the early nineteenth century and lived west of the *Redbone* settlement area in western Louisiana, just across the Sabine River, concentrating in the area of Newton and Burkeville and in the swamps of Newton County.<sup>208</sup>

When U.S. Congress denied the Spanish land grants held by the Louisiana *Redbones*, many moved to Texas. The surnames of these families were Ashworth, Perkins, Dial, and Johnson. As already mentioned, the *Redbones* introduced cattle ranching to Texas. They had already established cattle industries in their settlement areas in Louisiana and trans-

<sup>207</sup> Literature: Webb (2013, 39–45); Marler (1997, 92–93, 2003, 140); Marler and McManus (1993, V); E.T. Price (1953, 143).

<sup>208</sup> Typical surnames of these families are: Adams, Bass, Bennett, Bond, Brack, Brown, Clark, Cole, Coleman, Collins, Davis, Drodody, Hall, Harper, Hart, James, Johnson, Knight, Lee, Lewis, Martin, Mattox, Moore, Nash, Page, Parker, Perkins, Powell, Smith, Taylor, Thompson, Weeks, West, White, Willis, Williams, Woods, Wright, and Young. *Redbone* ethnohistory was already discussed under the Louisiana chapter.

ferred their businesses to Texas. Members of the Ashworth, Perkins, and Johnson families were among the first settlers of Angelina County establishing stock farming there (Webb 2013, 41).

Members of the Jackson, Johnson, and Dial families are reported to have been involved in the Regulator-Moderator War (1839–1844) in Harrison and Shelby County of east Texas. In 1831, members of the Ashworth family moved from Louisiana to Jefferson County and in 1856, they were reported to have committed crimes like murders, arsons, live-stock-rustling, and robberies in Madison (Orange County) (Beale 1972, 706; Marler 1997, 92; Prejean 1999, 17).

In 1840 an act named “Ashworth Act” was passed in Texas, that granted an exemption for free Blacks who were in Texas on the Day of the Declaration of Independence from an earlier law which had ordered them to leave the Republic – and thus guaranteed residency to the Ashworth family (Marler 2003, 164; N. Thompson 2016).

Some data point to the origin and migration routes of *Redbone* families to Texas: from 1805 to 1826, early settlers to Atascocita (Harris County), bearing the surnames Drake, Orr, and Taylor came from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The Ashworth family left South Carolina in 1799 and migrated via Louisiana to Jefferson County in 1831 (Marler 1997, 92, 2003, 169).

Today some descendants of the early *Redbones* still live in these and surrounding areas, but many have moved away.

#### 11.4.1 Texas Lumbee/United Lumbee Nation – Cougar Band

##### **Location and Archaeology**

The Texas Lumbee predominantly live in Franklin County, in Franklin (Robertson County), and in Dallas (Dallas County).

No archaeological data are available for this group.

##### **Language & Ethnonyms**

Their language is English, with the typical *Lumbee* English spoken by the *Lumbee* of North Carolina less noticeable.

Elders claim *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Comanche*, and *Lipan Apache* identity and “continue efforts to share their language within the bloodline” (Potter-Deimel 2004, 141).

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**<sup>209</sup>

The *Texas Lumbee* say they are a conglomerate of *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Lipan Apache*, and *Comanche* Indians, and claim descent from the *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina*.<sup>210</sup> Thus, they can be categorized as tri-racial.

Typical family names of the *Texas Lumbee* are Gibson, Johnson, Nash, Parker, Perkins, Revell, and Sweat (Swartz/Swatz/Swett/ Sweet). Alleen Perkins (Chief Fallen Leaf, elected 1996) provided an oral tradition which tells us that the “earliest known ancestor was named Cobbs who, around 1613, came to the new world from England in the tobacco trade” (Potter-Deimel 2004, 134). Members of the Parker family claim to be *Melungeons* (a tri-racial group living in the Tennessee-Kentucky area).

The *Texas Lumbee* migration stories parallel those of the *Redbone Nation* of Louisiana and Texas. They are mainly family legends, myths, and stories passed down within family clans.

In 2003, the tribe had 170 members with its headquarters in Franklin (Robertson County).

There are genealogical relations between the *Ten Milers (Redbone Nation)* of Louisiana and the *Texas Lumbee*. Members of the Ash/Nash and Sweat families migrated to Texas and intermarried with local *Redbone* and *Texas Lumbee* families. There are also claims of intermarriage of these families with *Pakana Muskogee (Creek)* and *Alabama-Coushatta* Indians in Polk County (Webb 2016b, 129–150).

In respect to religion they are basically Southern Baptist, but the *Apache* and *Comanche* families prefer the Indian Church (Protestant service and Methodist or Baptist ritual). There is a colored church in Franklin

209 Literature: Potter-Deimel (2004, 2003, pers. comm.).

210 By claiming descent from this tribe, they also claim descent from the ancestral tribes of the *Lumbee* from the North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia area: *Croatan*, *Waxhaw*, *Cheraw*, *Catawba*, *Sissipahaw*, *Peedee*, *Yeopim*, *Powhattan*, *Oconock*, *Meherrin*, *Nansemond*, *Keyanee*, *Shakori*, and *Eno* – as well as to the ancestral European ethnic groups of the *Lumbee*: Black Dutch, Black Irish, Spanish, Italian, French, Portuguese, and the British survivors of Raleigh’s Lost Colony (Potter-Deimel 2003, 2004).

County many members attend. Church meetings are an important family tradition, as well as sacred (Gospel) and secular singing.

Education has been always seen as a top priority. In their residential area, they were attending a colored school, that had been segregated. They visit a nearby junior college (Blinn College), and they study at universities across the nation, but mainly at Texas A&M University.

The *Texas Lumbee* organize their own annual intertribal powwow. Sometimes traditional wedding ceremonies are held during powwows. Powwow dances and traditional dresses are specific to each family clan.

The most important goal for them is to gain state recognition and federal acknowledgement as an Indian tribe. They confirm to possess a paper in which the *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina* permits them to use the term “Lumbee” in their tribal designation.

In the case of the *Texas Lumbee* we have a transfer of tribal identity in the way that a *Redbone* group claims descent from a specific tribe in North Carolina. The problem is that in North Carolina the term “Lumbee” came into usage earliest in the 1950s (e.g. in censuses) and was officially accepted in 1956, a long time after the *Redbones* had left the area and had migrated to their present Louisiana and Texas settlements. So, when the *Texas Lumbee* started migration and even a long time after their immigration to Texas in the early nineteenth century, they did not have a *Lumbee* identity, but must have adopted it some time after 1950. Basically, they are *Redbones* who share family names with *Lumbee*, *Melungeons*, and other *Redbone* groups.

So why did they choose a “Lumbee” identity? This behavior is typical for a tri-racial group claiming Indian identity. They are developing family traditions and migration stories by searching for family clans in their area of origin with the same surnames as they have. As the surnames Johnson, Nash, and Revell can be found among the *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina*, they concluded to have descended from this tribe.

The more important reason surely is that the *Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina* is a tri-racial group that succeeded in being state recognized by North Carolina and getting federal recognition as an American Indian tribe by U.S. Congress in 1956, but without having any right to federal funding by the BIA (Blum 2004). By claiming ancestry to the North Carolina *Lumbee* and their family clans, the *Texas Lumbee* surely hope to

have a better chance for being state and federally acknowledged, as they descend from a federal Indian tribe in North Carolina.

By adding multi-tribal identities, like the federally recognized *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, *Lipan Apache*, and *Comanche* to their *Lumbee* identity, they added more options for being recognized as a Native American tribe. The claim to *Cherokee* and *Choctaw* identities is certainly based on the fact that their settlement area is close to the Oklahoma border, where these tribes live today. *Lipan Apache* ancestry usually points to formerly enslaved *Apache*, who became members of several tri-racial groups in the South. *Comanche* could point to members of the tribe engaged in the Indian slave trade and thus having settled in this area after the Civil War.

As of 2020, they have not been recognized by the state of Texas, nor have they filed a petition for federal acknowledgement to OPA.

## 11.4.2 Goins Clan

### **Location and Archaeology**

Members of the *Goins Clan* live in Nacogdoches (Nacogdoches County) and Angelina County.

No archaeological data are available for this group. Even grave markers that would indicate where members of the *Goins Clan* are buried, have been removed from cemeteries.

### **Language and Ethnonyms**

Members of the *Goins Clan* predominantly speak English.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**

The tri-racial *Goins* (Goings/Goyens/Gowens/etc.) family clans consist of persons of color who claim Indian identity and who can be found dispersed all over the eastern United States.

Marler (1997, 93) includes the *Goins* family clan in his discussion of *Redbones* in Texas. According to DNA tests, there is a kinship relation of the Goyens family to *Redbone/Texas Lumbee* families (Webb 2016a). For this reason, the clan is listed under *Redbone Nation* here.



In 1820, a man of color named William Goyens, Jr. (1794–1856) born in Moore County, North Carolina, immigrated to Texas and settled down in Nacogdoches. He owned a blacksmith and wagonmaker shop and up to nine Black slaves. He also employed white laborers and “was regarded as a wealthy and respectable citizen” (K.W. Porter 1956b, 205). He had close kinship relations to the *Lumbee* (named *Croatan* then) of North Carolina, but his family was consistently enumerated as “Mulattoes” in North Carolina census records.

He was married to Mary Pate Sibley, a white woman from Georgia, and could speak several Indian languages, including Cherokee. He served as Texas Indian Agent to the *Cherokee Nation* from 1836 to 1838 and negotiated treaties with the *Comanche* and other Native American Nations.

After the establishment of the Republic of Texas, which brought along very restrictive laws against Free Blacks, he was permitted to stay in Texas as a Free Black Person and keep his land. He died June 20, 1856 and was buried in an unmarked grave on Goyens Hill outside of Nacogdoches.<sup>211</sup>

He seems to have accompanied the *Cherokee* group described in earlier chapters on their way from North Carolina to Texas.

## 11.5 Seminole Blacks/Seminole Maroons

### Location and Archaeology

Texas *Seminole Blacks* live in Brackettville (Kinney County), Del Rio (Val Verde County), Kerrville (Kerr County), San Antonio (Bexar County), and in Maverick County.

There are archaeological excavations at the Fort Clarke (Kinney County) settlement of the *Seminole Blacks* (Weik [2009] 2018, 17).

### Language and Ethnonyms

Many *Seminole Blacks* are bilingual and speak English and Spanish. Additionally, they have developed a Creole language called Afro-Seminole

211 K.W. Porter (1956b, 205–6); Marler (2003, 164); Hoelscher (2013); Blake (2016).

Creole. It is a mixture of English, African, Spanish, and Creek elements. Sometimes they call this Creole language also “Creek” or “Seminole.” In Texas, it was close to extinction by the end of the twentieth century.

The terms “Seminole” and “Maroon” both have their origin in the Spanish word “cimarrón” for “fugitive” (Foster 1935, 50, 53; Mulroy 2004, 465, 471–472, 475).

Depending on the time and area where they lived, the *Seminole Blacks* were called, or self-identified, as *Seminole Negroes*, *Indian Negroes*, *Indian Blacks*, *(Black) Muscogulges*, *Black Seminole (Indians)*, *Seminole Maroons*, *Mascogo*, *Seminole Freedmen*, *Indios Mascogos*.

### **Ethnohistory and Culture**<sup>212</sup>

The *Seminole Blacks* are categorized as tri-racial in literature. The ethnohistory of the *Seminole Blacks* dates back to the late eighteenth century in Florida. They were displaced African Americans, mostly run-aways, captives, or slaves to the *Seminole Indians*, who preferred living among the *Seminole Indians* in Florida to being enslaved on southern plantations.

After the First Seminole War (1817–1818) against the USA in Florida and the transfer of Spanish East Florida from Spain to the USA in 1821, part of the *Seminole Blacks* started to leave Florida for Andros Island, Bahamas. At that time, four Maroon settlements were known in Florida.

The Second Seminole War (1835–1842) caused many of the *Seminole Indians* and some 500 *Seminole Maroons* to migrate to the Indian Territory and resettle there. In the following years, further Maroons and Indians made their way to the Indian Territory. For the *Seminole Maroons*, the danger of being enslaved by Whites from Arkansas or being captured by local *Creek Indian* slave traders and sold into slavery, remained.

Then in 1849–1850 a group of about 300 Maroons and *Seminole Indians* decided to migrate from Indian Territory to Coahuila, Mexico, as Mexico had abolished legal servitude in 1824. They settled in

212 Literature: Dillard (1972, 152); Etienne-Gray (2016); Foster (1935, 41–59); Long (2016); Mulroy (1993, 2004); K. W. Porter (1941, 14); Webb (2013, 53–54).

Nacimiento de los Negros. In Mexico, the *Seminole Maroons* were called “Mascogo” or “Indios Mascogos,” a designation they retain until today.<sup>213</sup>

Around 1870, *Seminole Maroons* from Mexico were recruited by the United States Army in Texas as scouts, Indian trackers, and Indian fighters against raids of Native Americans into West Texas. Part of the “Seminole Negro Indian Scouts” were stationed at Fort Duncan (Maverick County) and established a camp on Elm Creek, another part of them was recruited at Fort Clark (Kinney County), where they established a settlement on Las Moras Creek. The total number of Maroon scouts recruited was 25, joined by families and friends.

In 1876, the scouts from Fort Duncan were transferred to Fort Clark and moved with their families to the settlement on Las Moras Creek, which had obtained the status of a reservation then. By the mid-1870s their population number added up to some 400 or 500 persons.

In 1914, the U.S. Army ordered the *Seminole Black Scouts* to disband and leave the reservation. Overall, 52 families (113 adults and 94 children), and their homes and property on this reservation was destroyed by the military. Many of them resettled in Brackettville (Kinney County), others went to Del Rio (Val Verde County), Kerrville (Kerr County), and San Antonio (Bexar County), while some moved back to Mexico.

Their descendants still live around Brackettville (Kinney County) nowadays:

There are some traditions of Indian-Negro relationships in the town, but the Blacks seem reluctant to talk about them. Whites have by now adopted the racist (and inaccurate) view that Seminole townswomen

<sup>213</sup> The term “Mascogos” probably is derived from “Muskogees,” a term for the members of the Muskogean language family. As both *Seminole* and *Creek* were members of this language family and *Seminole Blacks* were given the name *Mascogos* in Mexico, they are sometimes misidentified as “Muskogee Creeks.” To this misidentification may also add, that they spoke a Creole language called “Creek” or “Seminole” (Mulroy 1993, 193, footnote 68; 2004, 471).

There is no scientific basis for the identification of the *Seminole Blacks* as Muskogee Creeks. In *Seminole* society, they had a maroon or free Black status, whereas in *Creek* society African Americans had a slave status, as the *Creek* were slave traders and slave holders.

“Mascogos” nevertheless conferred exclusivity to the maroons from an early stage. (Mulroy 1993, 193, footnote 68).

degraded themselves in intermarriage with the Black scouts (whereas in fact they belonged to the same community from the beginning). (Dillard 1972, 182, footnote 35)

In the 1990s, there were 100–150 *Seminole Blacks* living in Texas, identifying themselves as “Seminoles.”

The *United Mascogo Seminole Tribe of Texas*, with headquarters in Del Rio (Val Verde County), intends to apply for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 46). They are descendants of the group that resettled to Del Rio (Val Verde County).

The *Seminole Blacks* never were members of the *Seminole Indian Nation*, they were always outsiders. The Texas group was highly endogamous, marrying only within the group or intermarrying with the group in Mexico. The Mexican group had some degree of intermarriage with *Kickapoo Indians*, neighboring Indians, and Mexicans.

The Texas *Seminole Blacks* continue to call themselves “Indians” or “Seminoles,” although they are aware that ethnically they are neither of them. African Americans and Whites are usually identified as “American Race” people and intermarriage with these people was seen with disfavor by the older group members. As of 1935 many of these older group members still could remember their former life in Florida and South Carolina.

Genealogical research among this groups is complicated by the fact that children could either take the surname of their father or the maiden name of their mother, and they seemed to prefer the latter.<sup>214</sup>

After their removal from Fort Clark in 1914, the group had no access to school education any longer, which created a high rate of illiteracy among them.

In respect to religion, the Texas *Seminole Blacks* were either Baptists, or did not attend any church. Their religion is described as syncretistic, mixing Africanisms and *Seminole* ceremonies with Presbyterian, Southern Baptist, Roman Catholic ones.

214 In the appendix of Foster (1935, 78–83) a very good example is shown for typical anthropological research of this time. He measures the differences between the Bracketville, Nacimiento, and Oklahoma-Arkansas group with the help of anthropometry and pigmentation, which results in a ratio to what degree these people are “Negro,” “White,” and “Red.”

The Texas group keeps still close ties to the group in Nacimiento, Mexico. Family and group reunions continue to take place in Brackettville (Kinney County, Texas), with member joining from Mexico and all over the USA. In 1981 relations with the *Seminole Freedmen* in Oklahoma (former Indian Territory) were reestablished, who started to join *Seminole Black* reunions in Texas then (Foster 1935, 41–59; Mulroy 2004).

## 11.6 Tunica-Biloxi

### Location and Archaeology

The *Tunica-Biloxi* of Texas are predominantly settling in Angelina County. The *Tunica* and *Biloxi* have already been discussed in the Louisiana chapter.

No archaeological data are available for these tribes in Texas.

### Language and Ethnonyms

As already mentioned, the *Tunica* language is considered a language isolate, the ethnonym *Tunica* derived from the emic term for “people” or “person” (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 586, 595).

*Biloxi* language belongs to the Ohio Valley sub-group of the Siouan language family (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 593).

The self-designation of the *Biloxi* is *Tanêks*, whereas the term “Biloxi” is an etic term derived from Mobilian Jargon. Further synonyms for both tribes are discussed in Brain, Roth, and Reuse (2004, 595–96).

### Ethnohistory and Culture

In the 1930s *Tunica-Biloxi* from Louisiana began to migrate to Texas (Klopotek 2011, 50). In Louisiana, they had intermarried with *Houma* and *Chitimacha*, both tri-racial groups.

Some *Biloxi* families from Louisiana had settled on Biloxi Bayou (near Neches River), Angelina County, in 1871. By 1828, this settlement counted about 20 families (Brain, Roth, and Reuse 2004, 593).

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Here ends the discussion of the Afro-Native contact and tri-racial groups in the single U.S. states and we come to the closing discussion of the topic now.

## 12 Conclusion

To sum up, the main focus of my research is the history of relations and interactions of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans/African Americans. In the past chapters the historical, legal, political, and social background of these relations has been discussed in reference to the colony, province, and state where they were observed. Finally, the emergence of tri-racial groups in these states was documented.

In this publication both my dissertation of 2017 and my master's thesis of 1986 are combined and published. My master's thesis has been included for a better understanding of African-Native contacts and interactions and the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups in North America. The master's thesis is summed up in the chapters on African Native Contacts in Canada and the USA, in which the tri-racial groups living in the single states are listed, but not discussed.

The theoretical background of the ethnogenesis of tri-racial groups is discussed in the first part of this publication. Exemplarily, the ethnogenesis and ethnohistory of tri-racial groups living in Louisiana and Texas is presented more comprehensively.

### **Terminology and Concepts**

The term “tri-racial” is used for persons and groups (tribes, nations) of European – Native American – African American descent, and multi-ethnic persons and groups claiming “Indian” ancestry.

The concept of “tri-racial” is based on concepts of “race” and “ethnicity” as created by multi-ethnic and tri-racial persons and groups for themselves and as created by external persons and institutions for these groups. In my analysis, these concepts as socio-cultural constructs do not have to do anything with genetics.

### **Research on Indigenous Americans**

Before I sum up my research and present my final conclusion, I must mention one point. During the past thirty years of my research, some individuals have told me repeatedly, that I – as a non-Native American and German – do not have the right to write about American Indians.

I want to refer these persons to the statement by the Native American Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA):

In no way are we implying that one must be Indigenous in order to undertake Native American and Indigenous Studies. (Native American Indigenous Studies Association 2015)<sup>215</sup>

Interestingly, members of federal and state Native American tribes do not have problems with my research and publications on indigenous peoples of North America.

To be clear, it is not the intention of my research (and this publication) to identify and determine whether a person or group is Native American or not. If a person or group identifies itself as (part-)“Indian,” (part-)“Native American,” or with a specific tribal identity, I take this as given and leave it to Native American Nations and institutions to decide, whether a person or group is of Native American identity and ancestry. In 2015, the Native American Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) formulated standards for American indigenous identity:

Issues of Indigenous identity are complex. (...) However, such complexity does not mean that there are no ethical considerations in claiming Indigenous identity or relationships with particular Indigenous peoples. To falsely claim such belonging is Indigenous identity fraud.

(...) When someone articulates connections to a particular people, the measure of truth cannot simply be a person’s belief but must come from relationships with Indigenous people, recognizing that there may be disagreements among Indigenous people over the legitimacy of a particular person’s or group’s claims. According to the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues statement on Indigenous identity, the test is “Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.” (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2006)

<sup>215</sup> In fact, I can be categorized as “indigenous” myself, as I am a member of the *Bavarian* ethnic group of southern Germany, speaking Bavarian, a German creole language.

(...) Falsifying one's identity or relationship to particular Indigenous peoples is an act of appropriation continuous with other forms of colonial violence. (...)

The issue is not one of enrollment, or blood quantum, or recognition by the state, or meeting any particular set of criteria for defining "proper" or "authentic" Indigenous identity. The issue is honesty and integrity in engaging the complexities, difficulties, and messiness of our histories (individual and collective), our relations to each other, and our connections to the people and peoples who serve as the subjects of our scholarship. (Native American Indigenous Studies Association 2015)

### **Indigenous Ethnicity and Multi-Ethnic Identity**

My personal research focus is on how indigenous ethnicity and ethnic identity is created, formed, maintained, used, altered, switched, or given up in a multi-ethnic environment. Furthermore, I am interested about which multi-ethnic persons and groups claim indigenous identity or ancestry and why.

To answer these questions, I have developed several basic theories and preconditions, which have been documented by data from multi-ethnic and tri-racial groups and tribes.

One basic precondition is to differ between specific terms used in etic categorization and emic (self-)identification of tri-racial persons, groups, and tribes. Terms like "Native American," "American Indian," "indigenous," or specific tribal identities like *Coushatta*, stand for indigenous identity. The term "Indian" is a racial category used for (self-)designation by indigenous persons, but it can also be used by all kind of non-Whites, multi-ethnic, and tri-racial persons, (Free) Blacks, and (Free) Persons of Color as an alternative racial category to avoid being categorized as "Black" or "Colored."

### **Basic Theories**

It is one of my basic theories that the "Indian" racial category can be chosen by non-Whites to escape the American bi-racial system and its negative consequences for Black and colored persons represented by the Black Codes, Slave Codes, Racial and Segregation Laws.



The variety of multi-ethnic indigenous tribes and tri-racial groups claiming “Indian” identity is remarkably diverse and the groups cannot be compared with each other – another basic theory of my research. Research results on one tri-racial group or tribe cannot be transferred to other tri-racial groups and tribes one-to-one. In particular, the situation among the so-called *Five Civilized Tribes*, who practiced plantation economy and the enslavement of Black and colored persons, cannot be compared to all other indigenous tribes and tri-racial groups in the USA.

Consequently, it is important to analyze these groups individually and separately, not(!) as if they were all the same. It would be desirable that researchers of tri-racial tribes and groups avoid extrapolating their research findings from one tribe, one group, or one geographical area, to all others. It would also be desirable that they stop speculating, assuming, and fantasizing in the elaboration of their theories, and make their conclusions from sound research based on empirical data from the field and archives.<sup>216</sup>

### How to Find Empirical Data on Tri-Racial Groups?

How can one extract sound empirical data for one’s research? For example, there are specific surnames for family clans in specific (multi-ethnic) tribes. These surnames can be extracted from manuscripts, official documents (e.g. censuses, tribal rolls), genealogical divisions of archives, and during field research. For the *Cherokee Nation*, for example, we have tribal rolls with their surnames listed (Blankenship 1992). Based on these surnames, membership in – and ancestry to – a Native American Nation can be identified. I have listed in this publication the surnames typical for tri-racial tribes and groups in Louisiana and Texas, and I have documented kinship relations and ancestral connections of these tribes and groups via these surnames (see Appendix F and G).

Family clans and groups with a “(Free) Black” or “(Free) Colored” status, claiming “Indian” ancestry, can be identified the same way by surnames. Heinegg (1998; 2000; [1992] 2005; 2015b, 2015a) has published substantial genealogies on “Free African Americans.” The Red-

<sup>216</sup> The same is true for the research on the enslavement of indigenous people by Europeans in North America. A good example for such a research is Heinegg (2009).

bone Heritage Foundation ([2007] 2016, 2005–2017) is compiling genealogies and ethnohistories of tri-racial family clans and groups. Authors like E. T. Price (1950; 1953) have analyzed tri-racial family clans and their dispersal across the USA. According to his analysis the most prominent and widely distributed tri-racial surnames are Collins (E. T. Price 1950, 305a), Chavis (E. T. Price 1950, 307a, 1953, 154), Gibson (E. T. Price 1950, 307a), and Goins (E. T. Price 1950, 305a, 1953, 152) in their different spellings. The data are there, they only need further analyzation.

### Tri-Racial Ethnicity

Let us come back to the theoretical background of the discussion of tri-racial groups. Basically, ethnicity and ethnic groups are defined as socio-cultural concepts and constructs. Both group members (emic) and non-group persons (etic) design the ethnicity of a group by applying specific ethnic markers. In many cases, emic and etic persons apply different ethnic markers to persons or groups and evaluate them differently. In consequence, discrepancies occur in the ethnic identification of a person or group by emic and etic actors – typical for tri-racial persons and ethnic groups.

Two types of tri-racial groups have been analyzed in this publication: **primordial tri-racial Native American Nations**, with a varying degree of amalgamation with African Americans and Europeans, and a Native American identity (such as the *Chitimacha*, *Houma*, *Tunica-Biloxi*, *Cherokee*), and **circumstantial tri-racial groups**, with an autonomous or “Indian” ethnic identity. Several groups discussed here have created such identities. Autonomous identities were created by the *Cane River Creoles of Color/Mézières Clan*, the *Freejacks/(Freejack) Creoles*, the *Redbones*, the *St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods (Frlot Cove Community/Mulattos of Washington)* and the *Goins Clan*. “Indian” identities are adopted by the *Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee*, the *Clifton Choctaw*, the *Texas Lumbee*, and the *Seminole Blacks*.

**Primordial tri-racial Native American Nations**, whose members have intermarried with Europeans and African Americans, usually have problems being accepted as “real” American Indians or American Indian tribes, even if they were able to preserve their tribal identity since pre-colonial times. Tribal members, as well as outsiders, are usually

more tolerant of intermixture of Native Americans with Euro-Americans than of intermixture with African Americans, because Euro-Native persons match stereotypes of being “American Indian” more closely.

The popular assumption that intermixture of Native Americans with African Americans mainly is caused by the interaction among slave societies is an assumption that cannot be supported by my data. There is no evidence of a widespread intermixture between Native American and African American slaves, nor of an intermixture between runaway slaves and indigenous people. If Native Americans would have given refuge to runaway slaves on their reservations to the extent claimed by literature, they would have experienced immediate reactions of military forces, militias, and slave hunters. We have seen this in the case of Andrew Jackson and the U.S. Military invading Spanish Florida during the First (1817–1818) and Second Seminole War (1835–1842), who hunted slaves on the ground of a foreign nation, returned escaped slaves to U.S. territory, and punished the *Seminole Nation* of Florida and their *Seminole Maroons* for giving refuge to these runaway slaves.

The false claims in literature and by Euro-Americans, that Native American tribes were hiding runaway slaves in high numbers on their reservations and intermixing with them, has immensely endangered the sovereignty of many tribes. To be clear: such tribes would have risked losing their tribal status and reservation land by housing runaway slaves. Moreover, intermarriage with escaped slaves could have transferred slave status onto their children. Therefore, it is quite doubtful that the number of runaway slaves among American Indian tribes was ever notably high.

Due to such false accusations and the immense pressure on their population and land base by the tremendous influx of Europeans, multi-ethnic Native American Nations in the eastern USA not only suffered from huge population losses since early contact time, but also from the loss of their land base. Functioning sovereign tribes, with valuable land base and land use rights, often lost this sovereignty over their tribes and land to European settlers hungry for land. Those tribes who survived this contact situation with Europeans were often forced to leave and migrate to regions less desirable by European settlers (like the *Seminole* of Florida or *Choctaw* bands of the Southeast, who were deported to the Indian Territory).

Native American Nations were self-sufficient and in full possession of their land until Europeans arrived. Colonial powers and settlers took away this indigenous land base, ignored treaties they had signed and the fact that land was assigned to tribes in form of reservations. In this manner, Native Americans were turned from autonomous political and economic nations into wards of the colonial powers and later the federal governments of the United States and Canada.

On the other side, we have **circumstantial tri-racial groups claiming “Indian” ancestry**. Some of these groups are able to identify the tribal membership of their ancestors (often with the help of anthropologists, genealogists, historians, etc.), like the *Cane River Creoles of Color*. Others claim they have lost all memory of their tribal descent.

In the latter case, it can be stated that most of them never had a tribal descent and identity. Their ancestors switched from a “Black” or “Colored” into an “Indian” identity, for reasons already discussed.

This switching into an “Indian” identity started early in colonial American history and is not a recent phenomenon, as some authors claim. The term “Indian” as a legal racial category, associated with legal restrictions, can be found in American colonial documents since the seventeenth century.

It is difficult to say when the first persons switched its self-identification from “Black” and “Colored” to “Indian,” as I have not checked all my documents up to now. Usually tri-racial persons interviewed speak of grandparents who have told them they are “Indian,” some even mention great-great-great-grandparents identifying as “Indian” (Pre-jean 1999, 49, footnote 96, 85; Sturm 2011, 7). From the data analyzed by me, I can conclude that the first switching in self-identification from “Black” and “Colored” to “Indian” took place at least as early as circa 1790. Around that time, Free Blacks and Free Persons of Color with an “Indian” identity started to migrate out of Virginia and the Carolinas and into U.S. territories (Georgia Territory, Mississippi Territory), French territories (Louisiana Territory), and Spanish territories (Florida, New Spain/Texas) opened up for settlement.

The situation is complicated by secondary publications of primary sources when authors do not pay attention to the fact that the term “Indian” as a racial category has to be distinguished from other desig-

nations for indigenous people in North America. They regularly interpret the term “Indian” in the original documents as meaning “Native American,” “American Indian,” or “indigenous,” and substitute the term “Indian” in their publications with terms for indigenous people. Therefore, original documents, even if already analyzed and the content published, have to be re-checked for occurrence of the category “Indian” and how it is used, in order to separate indigenous persons from non-indigenous persons who had switched to an “Indian” identity.

The search among tri-racial groups for a specific tribal identity is a more recent phenomenon, usually taking place when a group’s “Indian” identity is questioned, or when they want to go for state recognition or federal acknowledgement. At this point, groups start to check historical sources and maps for tribes once inhabiting their settlement area and adopt one or more of these tribal identities. Examples for such groups are the *Ramapough Lunaape Nation* of New York State/New Jersey, or the *Lumbee* of North Carolina and Texas.

In cases where family clans and groups have migrated, they either adopt indigenous identities from tribes residing in their area of origin, or who were living along their migration routes, or who were settling in their final settlement area. There is a tendency to claim tribal identities from tribes that do not exist anymore or that had migrated away, as in these cases no tribal members are left who could challenge their claims. In such a situation tri-racial groups usually claim that tribes have not been totally extinct, as they are the surviving descendants of such tribes, or that tribes moving away have left some members behind and they are the descendants of those tribal members.

There is also a tendency to include persons with high historical reputation in their genealogies, like Native American chiefs or well-known Europeans (for example, members of Raleigh’s Lost Colony, Vikings, prominent historical persons, and European aristocrats). Tri-racial groups explain their darker skin color by descent from Mediterranean Europeans (like Portuguese, Greeks, or Turks).

In any case, these kinship relations are difficult to prove, because the surnames do not concur with the surnames typical for the tribe(s) and ethnic groups to which ancestry is claimed. The typical argumentation used in these cases is: as long as no one can disapprove it, it is true! – even if no proof exists for the claims.

When connections to existing tribes cannot be established because these deny kinship relations, more general and popular tribal identities are employed, like *Cherokee*, *Choctaw*, or *Lenape*, to name a few of them. Also, multi-tribal identities can be designed, in order to create a wider variety of possible tribal kinship relations and ancestries.

One point has to be put straight: many of these persons and groups who switched to a (part-)“Indian” identity several generations ago are convinced they are ethnically and culturally “American Indian.” Based on this conviction, many of them have since formed American Indian tribes. Consequently, one of their utmost desires is being officially acknowledged as a Native American tribe by state recognition or federal acknowledgement.

Some tri-racial groups were successful in these efforts and have been recognized by the state they live in as an American Indian state tribe – some even were able to obtain a state reservation. Others were able to acquire recognition or acknowledgement as a federal Native American Nation and obtained a federal reservation.

Some federal U.S. Native American Nations do not accept and often oppose tri-racial groups, who have switched to an “Indian” identity, or who have succeeded in being recognized as state or federal Indian tribe, calling them Wannabees, fake or phony tribes, and Pretendian Nations. At the same time, other federal U.S. Native American Nations acknowledge the same tri-racial groups as American Indian tribes, equal to them in status and indigeneity, and cooperate with them. They even form American Indian organizations with them, like the Alliance of Colonial Era Tribes (ACET) (n.d.). This makes research among tri-racial Indian tribes even more difficult, because the researcher may be criticized by different Native American tribes for accepting, or not accepting, one and the same tri-racial group as indigenous.

Racial and ethnic terms in this context of defining who is indigenous and who is not, are often used according to the intention and interpretation of the user – even in official documents – and not according to their legal or scientific definitions. This is how ethnicity and ethnic self-identification functions: your ancestors, family, and relatives, plus the group you are living with, tell you that you are “Indian.” So you are “Indian!” After a few generations, these people finally turn into American Indians.

Many tri-racial groups have become highly active in the revitalization of the traditional “Indian” culture of their claimed ancestral tribe(s). They reconstruct and revive the language, religion, and material culture of their “ancestral” tribes(s). They offer language classes, perform traditional ceremonies, organize powwows, revive traditional handcrafts, and construct traditional dwellings in tribal outdoor museums and meeting places. Usually they tend to display stereotypical “Native American” features and ethnic markers in an overstated manner, in order to be accepted as American Indians, thinking they look and act like “real Indians.” Examples would be to dress in stereotypical “Indian” style – usually in Plains Indian or Powwow style, or dresses they have found in historical documents. They change their hair style to long hair and dye it black. Sometimes, they organize their family clans into totemistic Native American clans with clan chiefs and clan mothers. Tri-racial groups tend to ignore traditions they do not see as typical Native American. For example, they do not evaluate the role of their church and church community. Their churches – often including an attached meeting room – function as a cultural center for generations of tri-racial communities, but as this is a European religious tradition and not typically “Indian,” they do not evaluate it as an important ethnic marker in the creation of group cohesion and the survival of the group. The same is true for many Native American tribes (Fig. 11; Bartl 2000).

### **Social and Economic Status of Tri-Racial Groups**

Turning to the economic situation of tri-racial groups and the resulting social status, the following can be observed: as Free Persons of Color they could acquire land and economic wealth to a certain degree, like the *Cane River Creoles of Color*, the *Freejacks/Creoles*, or the *Redbone* groups. Up to around 1840, the groups were quite affluent, but on the eve of the Civil War, their economic situation and social status deteriorated. After the Civil War (1860–1865), their economic situation and social reputation had reached its nadir. One of the reasons for this was rooted in the racial system of the USA. The low social and economic status and negative reputation of tri-racial groups is still promoted by certain segments of American society.



Fig. 11 St. Peter's Congregational Church, Coushatta Reservation, Allen Parish, LA, 1991.  
Photo by Renate Bartl

Therefore, they stayed at a social and geographical distance from American society for most of their ethnohistory, to be able to preserve and protect their economic, social, and racial status as a tri-racial group and “free” persons. This self-imposed isolation led to extensive endogamy and inbreeding within and between these groups, resulting in the development of group-typical hereditary diseases. The geographical isolation might have broken up in the last decades, but the desire to keep a special status in American society is still strong within tri-racial groups. For this reason, they try to retain their social isolation and distinctive ethnicity.

### **Tri-Racial Groups in Early Borderland and on the Frontier**

One new aspect is, that the majority of persons migrating to and past the early borderland and opening up the early frontier for settlement were persons categorized as “Free Black,” “Free Colored,” or “tri-racial.” In the light of the data presented, concepts like the Early Borderland, Frontier, Settler Colonialism, Middle Ground, etc., connected to the westward migration of settlers must be re-evaluated, as these theories are based on the concept of westward migration of European colonists and Euro-American settlers (including missionaries, traders, and military forces) and their interactions with Native Americans.



As my data show, there was an extensive interaction of African Americans and Native Americans in North America since earliest colonial times, but this is insufficiently researched up until now. Native Americans often had contact with African Americans and colored persons before they had contact to Europeans.

In many areas, Free Blacks, Free Persons of Color, and tri-racial persons settled down in the early borderland and opened up the frontier before Europeans and Euro-Americans arrived there. This cannot be ignored any longer and intensive research in this field is needed.

### Summary

To use a Native American metaphor, let us close the circle by summing up the central conclusions of this research. Three main alternative theories have been presented in reference to tri-racial persons and groups:

First: (Free) Blacks and (Free) Persons of Color switched into the racial category “Indian” to avoid being categorized as “Black” or “Colored.”<sup>217</sup> Consequently, the term “Indian” does not automatically imply being indigenous. The same is true for tri-racial groups claiming “Indian” identity.

Second: intermixture between Native Americans and African Americans took place to a large degree within the racial category of “free” non-Whites, and only to a small degree within slave societies.

Third: the early borderland and early frontier (up to the Mississippi River) was colored. It was mainly “free” non-Whites, who left American societies first – predominantly from the British colonies and later USA – and migrated to the borders and beyond, fleeing from the extremely restrictive and inhumane racial system of these societies.

I have one final suggestion to the dear reader: in case you want to read an amusing book on tri-racial groups I can suggest Lisa Alther’s (2007): *Kinfolks Falling Off the Family Tree: The Search for my Melungeon Ancestors*. In her book, Alther goes on a road trip around Tennessee to search for her *Melungeon* Read/Reid family who have six fingers and toes.

217 Euro-Americans switch to American Indian identities too, as documented by Sturm (2011), but their motivation is different from the motivation of African American and colored persons, therefore this topic is not discussed here.

# Appendix

## A Racial and Ethnic Categories in the U.S. Census

This table is a summary of the U.S. Census Bureau racial and ethnic categories in the U.S. censuses from 1790 to 2010 referring to persons of (mixed) Native American, African American, Colored, and European ancestry (U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau 2015):

<b>Census</b>	<b>Racial and ethnic categories</b>
1790	Data on race were recorded via enumerator observation and for many more censuses (until 1960): <i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves</i>
1800	Data on race were recorded via enumerator observation and for many more censuses: <i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves</i>
1810	Data on race were recorded via enumerator observation and for many more censuses: <i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves</i>
1820	In the 1820 Census, a new racial category for "Free Colored Persons" was introduced, reflecting the different rights free Whites and free Blacks had, as well as the growth of the free black population: <i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves, Free Colored Persons</i>
1830	<i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves, Free Colored Persons</i>
1840	<i>Free White Males, Free White Females</i> <i>All Other Free Persons</i> <i>Slaves, Free Colored Persons</i>
1850	In the 1850 Census, for the first time, a category was used measuring a "Black Blood" quantum termed "Mulatto" for free inhabitants and slave inhabitants: <i>White</i> <i>Black, Mulatto</i>

<b>Census</b>	<b>Racial and ethnic categories</b>
1860	In the 1860 Census, census takers were instructed to enumerate only American Indians who were taxed. Taxed American Indians were those who had renounced tribal rule and exercised the rights of citizens under state or territorial laws. This primarily included American Indians who had settled in or near White communities and who had assimilated into American society. American Indians not taxed were considered to be those who lived among their kinsmen in tribal communities: <i>White</i> <i>Black, Mulatto</i> <i>Indian</i>
1870	The 1870 Census used a national origin category ("Chinese") for the first time, along with color and race: <i>White</i> <i>Black, Mulatto</i> <i>Indian</i>
1880	The 1880 Census used identical racial categories to collect data on the "color" of the U.S. population: <i>White</i> <i>Black, Mulatto</i> <i>Indian</i>
1890	The 1890 Census represented the first attempt to enumerate all American Indians, regardless of where they lived. However, those considered "not taxed" were still excluded from the apportionment counts. Pressure to further assess race science theories heightened, resulting in Congress mandating the introduction of supplementary "Black blood" quantum categories, "Quadroon" and "Octoroon," for the 1890 Census: <i>White</i> <i>Black, Mulatto, Quadroon, Octoroon</i> <i>Indian</i>
1900	In the 1900 Census the first time "negro" was used, in conjunction with "Black," to describe the population of African origin. While there were no separate categories used to measure "Black blood" quantum, the term "Negro" was used to refer to full-blooded individuals and the term "of Negro descent" was used to refer to "Mulattos." <i>White</i> <i>Black (Negro or of Negro Descent)</i> <i>Indian</i>
1910	The 1910 Census resurrected the attempt to measure "Black blood" quantum by including "Mulatto" as a racial category. For the first time the category of "Other" was used, to collect data on race during the 1910 Census enumeration: <i>White</i> <i>Black (Negro), Mulatto</i> <i>Indian</i> <i>Other</i>
1920	<i>White</i> <i>Black (Negro), Mulatto</i> <i>Indian</i> <i>Other</i>

<b>Census</b>	<b>Racial and ethnic categories</b>
1930	<i>White</i> <i>Negro</i> <i>Indian</i> <i>Other</i>
1940	<i>White</i> <i>Negro</i> <i>Indian</i> <i>Other</i>
1950	The term "Indian" was changed to "American Indian" in order to distinguish American Indians from those with origins in India: <i>White</i> <i>Negro</i> <i>American Indian</i> <i>Other</i>
1960	In the 1960 Census, self-response replaced the enumerator reporting for most Americans. Alaska and Hawaii achieved statehood in 1959. Thus, 1960 marked the first US decennial census that incorporated Alaska Native and Pacific Islander race categories. A specific category titled "Other" was not used in the race question for the 1960 Census; rather the list of racial categories for respondents to choose from ended with "etc.?" <i>White</i> <i>Negro</i> <i>American Indian, Aleut, Eskimo</i>
1970	In the 1970 Census the "Negro" category now included the term "Black." Additionally, the "American Indian" category was changed to "Indian (Amer.)" to reduce the number of respondents erroneously selecting this category because they identified with the term "American": <i>White</i> <i>Negro or Black</i> <i>Indian (Amer.)</i> <i>Other</i>
1980	In 1977 the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued its Directive 15 policy on ethnic and racial classification for federal data, defining the basic racial and ethnic categories for federal statistics and program administrative reporting. The 1977 race and ethnic standards maintained that ethnicity is a separate and distinct concept from race: <i>White</i> <i>Black or Negro</i> <i>Indian (Amer.), Aleut, Eskimo</i> <i>Other</i>
1990	<i>White</i> <i>Black or Negro</i> <i>Indian (Amer.), Aleut, Eskimo</i> <i>Other Race</i>

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**Census    Racial and ethnic categories**


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2000	<p>In 1997, OMB issued revised race and ethnic standards:  The race question allowed the reporting of more than one race.  There were two separate questions on race and ethnicity when collecting data via self-identification.  The final race categories were "white," "Black or African American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," "Asian," and "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander."  The final ethnicity categories were "Hispano or Latino," and "Not Hispanic or Latino."  The "Some Other Race" category was not included in either the 1977 OMB Directive 15 or the 1997 OMB revised race and ethnic standards. However, the 2005 the Omnibus Appropriations Bill stated: "none of the fund provided in this or any other Act for any fiscal year may be used for the collection of Census data on race identification that does not include 'some other race' as a category:  <i>White</i>  <i>Black, African American, or Negro</i>  <i>American Indian or Alaska Native</i>  <i>Some Other Race</i></p>
2010	<p><i>White</i>  <i>Black, African American, or Negro</i>  <i>American Indian or Alaska Native</i>  <i>Some Other Race</i></p> <hr/>

## B Louisiana Parishes

The following table presents an overview on the origin and history of the parishes mentioned in chapter 10. Parishes in parentheses () do no longer exist.

<b>Parish</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent parish(es)</b>
Acadia	1886	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1886: part of St. Landry Parish
(Old Acadia)	(1805)	(Territory of Orleans) [extinct 1807]
Allen	1912	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1840: part of St. Landry Parish 1840–1912: part of Calcasieu Parish
Ascension	1807	Territory of Orleans (1805–1807: Old Acadia Parish) 1807: part of St. James Parish
(Attakapas)	(1805)	(Territory of Orleans) [extinct 1811]
Avoyelle	1807	Territory of Orleans
(Baton Rouge)	(1807)	(Territory of Orleans) (1805–1807: part of Point Coupee Parish) [extinct 1807]
Beauregard	1912	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1840: part of St. Landry Parish 1840–1912: part of Calcasieu Parish
Bienville	1848	Territory of Orleans 1828–1848: part of Claiborne Parish 1805–1828: part of Natchitoches Parish
Bossier	1843	Territory of Orleans 1828–1843: part of Claiborne Parish 1805–1828: part of Natchitoches Parish
Caddo	1838	Territory of Orleans 1805–1838: part of Natchitoches Parish
Calcasieu	1840	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1840: part of St. Landry Parish
Cameron	1870	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1840: part of St. Landry Parish 1840–1870: part of Calcasieu Parish
(Carroll Parish)	(1832)	(Territory of Orleans) (1805–1832: part of Ouachita Parish) [divided 1877]

<b>Parish</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent parish(es)</b>
Catahoula	1808	Territory of Orleans 1805–1808: part of Rapides Parish
Claiborne	1828	Territory of Orleans 1805–1828: part of Natchitoches Parish
Concordia	1805	Territory of Orleans
East Baton Rouge	1810	Spanish West Florida
DeSoto	1843	Territory of Orleans 1838–1843: part of Caddo and Natchitoches Parishes 1805–1838: part of Natchitoches Parish
Evangeline	1910	Territory of Orleans 1805–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1910: part of St. Landry Parish
(Feliciana Parish)	(1810)	(Spanish West Florida) (1824: divided into East Feliciana Parish and West Feliciana Parish) [divided 1824]
(German Coast)	(1805)	(Territory of Orleans) [extinct 1807]
Grant	1869	Territory of Orleans 1805–1869: part of Rapides Parish and Winn Parish
Iberia	1868	Territory of Orleans 1805–1811: Attakapas Parish [extinct 1811] 1811–1868: part of St. Martin and St. Mary Parish
Iberville	1805	Territory of Orleans
Jefferson	1825	Territory of Orleans 1805–1925: part of Orleans Parish
Jefferson Davis	1912	Territory of Orleans 1804–1807: part of Opelousas District 1807–1840: part of St. Landry Parish 1840–1912: part of Calcasieu Parish
Lafayette	1823	Territory of Orleans 1805–1811: Attakapas Parish [extinct 1811] 1811–1823: St. Martin Parish
Lafourche	1805	Territory of Orleans
LaSalle	1908	Territory of Orleans 1808–1908: part of Catahoula Parish 1805–1808: part of Rapides Parish
Livingston	1832	Territory of Orleans 1807–1832: part of Ascension and (Baton Rouge) Parishes
Natchitoches	1805	Territory of Orleans
(Opelousas)	(1805)	(Territory of Orleans) [extinct 1807]

<b>Parish</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent parish(es)</b>
Orleans	1807	Territory of Orleans
Ouachita	1805	Territory of Orleans
Plaquemines	1807	Territory of Orleans
(Pointe Coupee)	1805	(Territory of Orleans) [extinct 1807]
Rapides	1805	Territory of Orleans
Red River	1871	Territory of Orleans 1938–1871: part of Caddo, Bienville, Bossier, DeSoto and Natchitoches Parishes 1805–1838: part of Natchitoches Parish
Sabine	1843	Territory of Orleans 1805–1843: part of Natchitoches Parish
St. Bernard	1805	Territory of Orleans
St. Helena	1810	Spanish West Florida
St. James	1807	Territory of Orleans (1805–1807: Old Acadia Parish)
St. Landry	1807	Territory of Orleans 1805–1807: part of Opelousas District
St. Martin	1811	Territory of Orleans 1805–1811: Attakapas Parish [extinct 1811]
St. Mary	1811	Territory of Orleans 1805–1811: Attakapas Parish [extinct 1811]
St. Tammany	1812	until 1763: Spanish Florida 1763–1783: British West Florida 1783–1800: Spanish West Florida 1810–1812: Republic of West Florida
Tangipahoa	1869	until 1763: Spanish Florida 1763–1783: British West Florida 1783–1800: Spanish West Florida 1810–1812: Republic of West Florida 1812–1869: part of Livingston, St. Tammany, St. Helena, and Washington Parishes
Terrebonne	1822	Territory of Orleans 1805–1822: part of Lafourche Parish
Vermillion	1844	Territory of Orleans 1805–1811: Attakapas Parish [extinct 1811] 1811–1823: St. Martin Parish 1823–1844: Lafayette Parish



<b>Parish</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent parish(es)</b>
Vernon	1871	Territory of Orleans 1805–1843: part of Natchitoches and Rapides Parish 1843–1871: part of Sabine, Natchitoches, and Rapides Parishes
Washington	1819	until 1763: Spanish Florida 1763–1783: British West Florida 1783–1800: Spanish West Florida 1810–1812: Republic of West Florida 1812–1869: part of St. Tammany, Parish
West Carroll	1877	Territory of Orleans 1832–1877: part of Carroll Parish 1805–1832: part of Ouachita Parish
West Feliciana	1824	until 1810: Spanish West Florida / Republic of Feliciana 1810–1824: Feliciana Parish

## C Creole Communities/Colonies in Louisiana

Creole communities and colonies in Louisiana according to the Louisiana Creole Heritage Center (2015a). Colonies extending over parish borders are listed multiply in all parishes they are located in:

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Creole Communities/Colonies</b>
Acadia Parish	Basile, Church Point, Duson, Eunice
Ascension Parish	Donaldsonville, Verdun
Assumption Parish	Napoleonville, Paincourtville, Ratliff
Avoyelles Parish	Bunkie, Cocoville, Evergreen, Mansura, Marksville, Simmesport
Caddo Parish	Shreveport
Calcasieu Parish	Chloe, Lake Charles
East Baton Rouge Parish	Baton Rouge
Evangeline Parish	Basile, Bayou Chicot, Beaver, Chataignier, Mamou, Ville Platte
Grant Parish	Colfax
Iberia Parish	Delcambre, Four Corners, Grand Marais, Jeanerette, Loreauville, Lydia, New Iberia, Olivier
Iberville Parish	Plaquemine, White Castle
Lafayette Parish	Carencro, Duson, Lafayette/Vermilionville, Scott, Youngsville
Lafourche Parish	Thibodaux
Madison Parish	Barnes, Coleman
Moorehouse Parish	Gum Ridge
Natchitoches Parish	Campti, Cloutierville, Derry, Melrose, Montrose, Natchez, Natchitoches
Orleans Parish	Algiers (New Orleans), New Orleans
Plaquemines Parish	Devant, Pointe A La Hache
Pointe Coupee Parish	Batchelor, Chenal, Lakeland, Lottie, New Roads, Raccourci, Rougon, Ventress
Rapides Parish	Alexandria
St. Augustine Parish	Cane River/Isle Brevelle
St. Charles Parish	Destrahan
St. James Parish	Convent, St. James, Vacherie
St. John the Baptist Parish	Edgard, LaPlace, Lucy, Wallace
St. Landry Parish	Arnaudville, Eunice, Frilot Cove, Grand Coteau, Grand Prairie, Lawtell, Lebeau, Leonville, Mallet, Melville, Opelousas, Palmetto, Plaisance, Port Barre, Prairie Laurent, Rideau, Soileau, Sunset, Swords, Washington

<b>Parish</b>	<b><i>Creole Communities/Colonies</i></b>
St. Martin Parish	Arnaudville, Breaux Bridge, St. Martinville
St. Mary Parish	Ashton, Baldwin, Charenton, Franklin
St. Tammany Parish	Abita Springs, Lacombe, Madisonville, Mandeville, Slidell
Terrebonne Parish	Gibson, Gray
Vermillion Parish	Abbeville, Delcambre, Maurice
West Baton Rouge Parish	Erwinville, Lobdell
Location not identifiable	Rhoudeaux, Roudier, Trevigne

## D Redbone Nation/Redbones

*Redbone* settlements in Louisiana with typical surnames of family clans living in these settlements. Population numbers and racial categorization from 1950 U.S. Census by Beale (1957, 193).

Parish	Settlement/ Immigration Surnames		1950 U.S. Census	
			Popu- lation	Race
Allen			1,270	White
	Elizabeth	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Kinder	No surnames given (Prejean 1999, 38)		
	Oakdale	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
Beauregard			370	White, Negro
	Immigration post 1770	Le Bleu, Moss, Reon, Rigmaiden, Ryan, Vincent. (Marler 2003, 147)		
	Immigration 1864–1868	Bass, Clark, Doyle, Drake, Fairchild, Foster, Fountain, Hoosier, Johnson, Mims, Pinder, Poole, Wisby. (Marler 2003, 143–44)		
	Immigration after 1868	Ashworth, Buxton, Hyatt, Johnson, Mazilly, Phillips. (Marler 2003, 143–44)		
Bearhead		Ashworth, Baggett, Dial, Dupries, Dyson, Elliott, Fulton, Kellen, King, La Comb, Marco, Morris, Murcle, Muton, Perkins, Swan, Ward, Willis. (Marler 2003, 146–47)		
	DeRidder	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Fields	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Longville	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Merryville	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 146)		
	Ragley	No surnames given (Prejean 1999, 38)		
	Singer	No surnames given (E. T. Price 1950, 123)		
	Sugartown <sup>218</sup>	Andrews, Baggett, Bailey, Boggs, Escobas, Caraway, Cockran, Cole, Gill, Johnson, Jones, Holoway, Isles, Kemp, Lyons, McDonald, McFatter, Moore, Sanders, Seamon, Simmons, Smith, Spears, Stracener, Watson, Welborn, Welch, Weldon, Young (Marler 2003, 142)		

<sup>218</sup> Sugartown was first surveyed in 1807. Around 1816 settlers began to move into this area. (Marler 2003, 142).

Parish			1950 U.S. Census	
	Settlement/ Immigration	Surnames	Popu- lation	Race
Calcasieu		Ashworth, Bass, Bunch, Buxton/Buxton, Clark, Dial/ Doil, Goan, Goodman, Johnson, Nelson, Perkins, Pinder, Thompson, Wisby (E. T. Price 1950, 123a-c)	950	White, Negro
	Forest Hill	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	De Quincy	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Starks <sup>219</sup>	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 142–43; E. T. Price 1950, 122)		
Evangeline		No surnames given	210	White
Natchitoches				
	Natchez	Bass, Dial. (Marler 2003, 169) Thompson. (E. T. Price 1950, 123a)		
	Natchitoches	Goin(s), Grovers, Nash. (Marler 2003, 169)		
Rapides		Ash, Buxton, Clark, Dye/Dyle/Dyes, Johnson, Nelson, Perkins, Strother, Swet/Swett/Sweat, Thompson, Ware, Willis. (E. T. Price 1950, 123a-c)	1,050	White
	Glenmora	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Hineston	Bass, James, Johnson, Mullins, Perkins (Marler 2003, 141).		
	Westport <sup>220</sup>	Davis, Day, Doyle/Dial/Doyal/Dyal, Hamilton, Hatch, Johnson, Maricle, Moore, Musgrove, Perkins, Ray, Watson. (Marler 2003, 141)		
	New Hope	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
Red River				
	Leesville	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Sabine	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 139)		
St. Landry				
	Immigration after 1800	Ashworth, Avery, Chavers, Dial, Drake, Goins/Gowen, Johnson, Nash/Ash, Perkins, Sweat. (Heinegg [1992] 2005, 88–89, 318, 391, 423, 566, 876, 920, 923, 926–927, 1124, 1126)		

<sup>219</sup> The date of the foundation of Starks is unknown. One source says that the community was known as “Pine Hill” since 1852, another source mentions a store that must have been built there between 1895 and 1900 (Marler 2003, 142–43).

<sup>220</sup> *Redbones* of the Westport area are also referred to as *Ten Milers* (Marler 2003, 141). See chapter 10.11.1.1.

Parish			1950 U.S. Census	
	Settlement/ Immigration	Surnames	Popu- lation	Race
Vernon			1,320	White
	Immigration after 1819	Alexander, Allen, Beckcum, Bennett, Bowie, Bridges, Bunch, Bush, Butler, Calhoun, Cherry, Davenport, Foster, Freeland, Gibson, Going, Gordon, Graham, Hays, Henderson, Hickman, Hicks, Jackson, Johnson, Mathis, Mc Donald, McMullen, Morris, Nash, Neal, Perkins, Pinchback, Robinson, Self, Stanly, Terrill, Thompson, Walker, Winfree, Woods. (Marler 2003, 147)		
	Pitkin <sup>221</sup>	Arnold, Bass, Beeson, Bond, Brack, Buxton, Cain, Chisholm, Clark, Cole, Davis, Day, Doyle, Farris, Glass, Gray, Green, Hall, Harland, Harper, Haymon, Hill, Howard, Howell, Jackson, Jean, Jeter, Johnson, Jones, LaCaze, Laird, Lambright, Legg, Lewis, Maddox, Mancil, Martin, Mathis, McDonald, Miller, Moore, Morrison, Mullins, Neal, Nye, Parker, Perkins, Reed, Reid, Smith, Stalsby, Strother, Sweat, Thompson, Townley, Weatherford, Welch, Weldon, West, Willis, Wilson, Wise. (Marler 2003, 141)		
	Cravens	No surnames given. (E. T. Price 1950, 123)		
	Rosepine	No surnames given (Marler 2003, 140)		
	Simpson	Bennett, Jackson, Parker, Temple, Williamson (Marler 2003, 146)		
	Walnut Hill	Bass, Bolton, Boswell, Burton, Bryant, Cragers, Crumpler, Fairchild, wGarland, Groves, Hardcastle, Harrison, Hawkins, Jenkins, Johnson, Lacaze, Richey, Simon, Sweat, Tippitt, Turner, Weeks (Marler 2003, 146)		

Additional Redbones surnames are Bedgood, Butters, Dyess, and Stroker (E.T. Price 1950, 120).

<sup>221</sup> The *Redbones* of the Pitkin area were called *Six Milers* in the early period (Marler 2003, 141). See chapter 10.11.1.1.

## E Texas Counties

The following table presents an overview on the origin and history of the counties mentioned in chapter 11.

<b>County</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent county/ies</b>
Angelina	1846	1826–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County
Bexar	1836	[established by Republic of Texas]
Brazos (Navasota)	1841	1837–1841: part of Washington County 1841–1842: Navasota County 1842: name changed to Brazos County
Cherokee	1846	1826–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County
Crockett	1875	1836–1875: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Dallas	1846	1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County and Robertson County
Franklin	1875	1846–1875: Titus County [established 1846 by State of Texas]
Gregg	1873	1839–1873: part of Harrison County [established 1839 by Republic of Texas], Rusk County and Upshur County
Harris (Harrisburg)	1836	[established by Republic of Texas] formed as Harrisburg County 1839: name changed into Harris County
Harrison	1839	[established by Republic of Texas]
Henderson	1846	1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County and Houston County [established 1837 by Republic of Texas]
Houston	1837	[established by Republic of Texas]
Jasper	1837	1834–1837: Municipality of Mexico
Jefferson	1836	[established by Republic of Texas]
Kinney	1850	1836–1850: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Liberty	1837	1831–1837: Municipality of Mexico
Madison	1842	1837–1842: part of Montgomery County [established 1837 by Republic of Texas]
Maverick	1856	1836–1850: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas] 1850–1856: part of Kinney County
Milam	1837	1834–1837: Municipality of Mexico
Montgomery	1837	[established by Republic of Texas]

<b>County</b>	<b>formed</b>	<b>Parent county/ies</b>
Nacogdoches	1837	1826–1837: Municipality of Mexico
Newton	1846	1834–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1846: Jasper County
Orange	1852	1836–1852: part of Jefferson County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Pecos	1871	1850–1871: part of Presidio County 1836–1850: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Polk	1846	1837–1846: part of Liberty County
Presidio County	1850	1836–1850: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Robertson	1837	1836–1837: part of Milam County, Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas], and Nacogdoches County
Rusk	1843	1826–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1843: part of Nacogdoches County
Smith	1846	1826–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County
Titus	1846	[established by State of Texas]
Trinity	1850	1827–1837: Municipality of Mexico 1837–1850: Houston County [established 1837 by Republic of Texas]
Tom Green	1874	1836–1874: Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas]
Upshur	1846	1839–1846: Harrison County [established 1839 by Republic of Texas]
Val Verde	1885	1836–1850: part of Bexar County [established 1836 by Republic of Texas] 1850–1885: part of Crockett County, Kinney County, Pecos County
Van Zandt [Free State of Van Zandt]	1848	1837–1846: part of Nacogdoches County and Houston County [established 1837 by Republic of Texas] 1846–1848: part of Henderson County
Washington	1834	1834–1836: Municipality of Mexico



## F Surnames

Typical family clan surnames of tri-racial groups are listed here with the groups (and states) in which they occur. Identical surnames in different groups usually indicate a kinship relation, but do not automatically imply such a relation.

Surname	Ethnic Group
Ash/Ashworth	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (SC) Sabines/Redbones (LA) Texas Lumbee (TX)
Auzenne	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Avery	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (CT, MS)
Baam/Bayham/Baham/Bahan	Freejacks & Creoles (LA)
Baggett	Redbone Nation (LA)
Bailey	Redbone Nation (LA)
Balthazar	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA) Mulattoes of Washington (LA)
Barnett	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Bass	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (MS, NC, SC)
Batise/Battiste/Baptiste	Alabama Coushatta (TX) Clifton Choctaw (LA) Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS)
Beckum	Redbone Nation (LA)
Bedgood	Redbone Nation/Six Milers (LA)
Abbe/Abbé/Abe	Houma (LA)
Abbey	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Abbot	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Adams	Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation (TX)
Alexander	Redbone Nation (LA)
Allen	Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) MOIWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation (LA)
Andrews	Redbone Nation (LA)
Anty	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Arnold	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Beeson	Redbone Nation (LA)	Bryant	Redbone Nation (LA)
Bennet	Melungeons (TN)	Bunch	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (SC)
Bennett	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Redbone Nation (LA, TX)	Burgender	Clifton Choctaw (LA)
Berry	Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Burgess	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)
Billeau	People of Frilot Cove (LA)	Burton	Redbone Nation (LA)
Billion/Biliot/Billau/ Billaud/ Billoux/Billoux/ Billeau/ Billeaux/Billiau/ Biot/Biau/ Biou/Bion/ Be/Beyo/Beyout	Houma (LA)	Bush	Redbone Nation (LA)
Boggs	Redbone Nation (LA)	Bushnell	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Bolton	Redbone Nation (LA)	Butler	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Bond	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)	Butters	Redbone Nation (LA)
Boswell	Redbone Nation (LA)	Buxton/Buxton	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Bowie	Redbone Nation (LA)	Cain	Redbone Nation (LA)
Brack	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)	Calhoun	Redbone Nation (LA)
Bridges	Redbone Nation (LA)	Cantu	Clifton Choctaw (LA)
Brown	Cherokee (TX) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)	Caraway	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Chaisson/Chasson/ Shaison	Houma (LA)
		Chavers/Chavis	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (SC)
		Cherry	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Chisholm	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Chretien	People of Frilot Cove (LA)	Courteaux/Corteau/Corteaux /Courtai/ Courtaine/Courtan/ Courtou/Courteaud/ Courteaux/Courto/ Courtot/?Pourteau	Houma (LA)
Clark	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeon (TN) Redbone Nation (LA, TX) Redbone Nation (NC, SC)	Cragers	Redbone Nation (LA)
Clifton	Clifton Choctaw (LA)	Crepelle/Crapel/Crepel/ Creppelle/Clappell	Houma (LA)
Cloud	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Crumpler	Redbone Nation (LA)
Cloutier	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)	Darbonne	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Cockran	Redbone Nation (LA)	Dardar/Dardard/Dardare/ Dardarr/ Dardart	Houma (LA)
Cole	Cajans/Cajuns (AL) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)	Darden	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)
Coleman	Free State of Jones (MS) Melungeon (TN) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)	Davenport	Redbone Nation (LA)
Collins	Free State of Jones (MS) Melungeon (TN) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)	Davies/Davis	Redbone Nation (SC) Redbone Nation (LA)
Conant	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)	Davis	Melungeon (TN) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)
		Day	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Deselle	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
		Dial/Dyal/Dual/Doyle/ Doyal	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (SC)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Dion/Dionne/Dyan/ Dian/ Dianne/?Jean/ ?Jeanne/ Deanne/Deon,	Houma (LA)
Doil/Doyle/Doyal	Redbone Nation (LA)
Donato	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Durousseau	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Drake	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (PA, VA)
Droddy	Redbone Nation (TX)
Dupart	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Dupre	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA) Houma (LA)
Dupries	Redbone Nation (LA)
Dyal/Dyel/Dyle/Dyes(s)	Redbone Nation (LA)
Dyer	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA)
Dyson	Redbone Nation (LA)
Elliott	Redbone Nation (LA) People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Enerise/Eric/Erice/Eris/?Iness/ Iris/ Nerisse/Aries [Acies] /Ellis/ Enerise/?Riche	Houma (LA)
Escobas	Redbone Nation (LA)
Fairchild	Redbone Nation (LA)
Farris	Redbone Nation (LA)
Fitch	Houma (LA)
Fontenot	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Forest	Houma (LA)
Foster	Clifton Choctaw (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)
Fountain	Redbone Nation (LA)
Freeland	Redbone Nation (LA)
Frilot	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Fulton	Redbone Nation (LA)
Fuselier	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Galley/Gallet/Gallais	Houma (LA)
Garland	Redbone Nation (LA)
Gibson	Free State of Jones (MS) Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Melungeons (TN) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Hardcastle	Redbone Nation (LA)
Harland	Redbone Nation (LA)
Harper	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
Harrison	Redbone Nation (LA)
Hart	Redbone Nation (TX)
Hatch	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Hawkins	Redbone Nation (LA)
Haymon	Redbone Nation (LA)
Hays	Redbone Nation (LA)
Henderson	Clifton Choctaw (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)
Hickman	Redbone Nation (LA)
Hicks	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)
Hill	Redbone Nation (LA)
Holloway	Redbone Nation (LA)
Hoosier	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (MS)
Howard	Redbone Nation (LA)
Howell	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Gill	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)
Glass	Redbone Nation (LA)
Goan	Redbone Nation (LA)
Goin(s)/Going(s)/Goyens/ Gowen(s)	Goins Clan (TX) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (SC)
Goodman	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (KY)
Gordon	Red Shoe Tribe (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)
Graham	Redbone Nation (LA)
Gray	Redbone Nation (LA)
Green	Redbone Nation (LA)
Gregoire/Gregoir	Houma (LA)
Grovers/Groves	Redbone Nation (LA)
Guilbeau	People of Friot Cove (LA)
Guillory	People of Friot Cove (LA)
Hall	Melungeon (TN) Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
Hamilton	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Hyatt	Redbone Nation (LA)	Johns(t)on (continued)	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Iacalobe/Jacalobe/Tacalobe/ ?Cacalobe/Tough-laBay/ Loup-la-Bay	Houma (LA)		Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (SC) Texas Lumbee (TX) Tunica-Biloxi (LA)
Isles	Redbone Nation (LA)	Jones	Redbone Nation (LA)
Jackson	Brass Ankles (SC) Melungeons (TN) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) Redbone Nation (LA, TX)	Kellen	Redbone Nation (LA)
James	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)	Kemp	Redbone Nation (LA)
Jean	Redbone Nation (LA) Houma (LA)	King	Redbone Nation (LA)
Jeanne/Jean/John/ ?Dion	Houma (LA)	Knight	Free State of Jones (MS) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)
Jenkins	Redbone Nation (LA)	Lacase/LaCaze	Redbone Nation (LA)
Jeter	Redbone Nation (LA)	La Chapelle/Lachapelle	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Johns(t)on	Alabama-Coushatta (TX) Cajun/Cajun (AL, MS) Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Nanticoke (DE) Poole Tribe (PA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	LaComb	Redbone Nation (LA)
		LaCour	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
		Laird	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Lamatter/Lamothe/ Lamotte	Houma (LA)
		Lambright	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Langley	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
		Le Bleu	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Le Compte	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Marcantel	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Maricle/Miricle	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Mariotte	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Marco	Redbone Nation (LA)
Martin	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
Mathis	Redbone Nation (LA)
Mattox	Redbone Nation (TX)
Mazilly	Redbone Nation (LA)
Melder	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA)
Metoyer	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Meullon	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Mézières	Mézières Clan (LA)
Miller	Redbone Nation (LA)
Mims	Redbone Nation (LA)
Monet	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Moore	Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb (LA) Melungeons (TN) Moors (DE) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
LeCourt	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Lee	Free State of Jones (MS) Freejacks & Creoles (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)
Legg	Redbone Nation (LA)
Lemelle	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Lewis	Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
Llorens	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)
Lormand	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Louis	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Louvier	People of Frilot Cove (LA)
Lyons	Redbone Nation (LA)
McDonald	Redbone Nation (LA)
McDaniel	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (SC)
McFatter	Redbone Nation (LA)
McMullen	Redbone Nation (LA)
Maddox	Redbone Nation/Six Milers (LA)
Mancil	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Mora	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)	Orr	Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (PA, VA)
Morin	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)	Parfait	Houma (LA)
Morris/Morrison	Redbone Nation (LA)	Page	Redbone Nation (TX)
Moss	Redbone Nation (LA)	Parker	Free State of Jones (MS) Redbone Nation (LA, SC, TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)
Mullins	Redbone Nation (LA)	Perkins	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (GA, KY, MS, SC) Sabines/Redbones (LA) Texas Lumbee (TX)
Murcle	Redbone Nation (LA)	Pete/Pitre	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)
Musgrove	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Phillips	Redbone Nation (LA)
Muton	Redbone Nation (LA)	Pierre/Peres/Peers	Freejacks & Creoles (LA)
Naquin/Nacquim/Nankin/ Nanquin/Nanguin	Houma (LA)	Pinchback	Redbone Nation (LA)
Nash	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Pinder	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (AL, SC)
Neal	Clifton Choctaw (LA) Redbone Nation (LA)	Poole	Redbone Nation (LA)
Nelson	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Powell	Free State of Jones (MS) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)
Neville/Nevils	Red Shoe Tribe (LA)		
Nye	Redbone Nation (LA)		
Olivier	People of Frilot Cove (LA)		



<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Prejean	People of Frilot Cove (LA)	Sauvage/Le Sauvage/ Savage	Houma (LA)
Pudhomme	People of Frilot Cove (LA)	Seamon	Redbone Nation (LA)
Rachal	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)	Self	Redbone Nation (LA)
Ray	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Shackelford	Clifton Choctaw (LA)
Reid/Reed/Read	Freejacks & Creoles (LA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)	Shirley	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA)
Renaud/Renau/Reynolds	Houma (LA)	Simmons/Simon	Redbone Nation (LA)
Reon	Redbone Nation (LA)	Smith	Cajans/Cajuns (AL) Clifton Choctaw (LA) Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)
Revell	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Redbone Nation (TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Solet/Saule/Saulet/ Saully/ Sole/Soley/Soule/Soulie	Houma (LA)
Richard	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA)	Spears	Redbone Nation (LA)
Richey/ ?Riche	Redbone Nation (LA) Houma (LA)	Stouff	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)
Rigmaiden	Redbone Nation (LA)	Stracener	Redbone Nation (LA)
Robinson	Redbone Nation (LA)	Stalsby	Redbone Nation (LA)
Rocques	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)	Stanly	Redbone Nation (LA)
Ryan	Redbone Nation (LA)	Stokher	Redbone Nation (LA)
St. Ville	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)		
Sanders	Redbone Nation (LA)		
Sarpy	Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)		

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Strother	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (MS, SC)	Terrill	Clifton Choctaw (LA)
Swan	Redbone Nation (LA)	Terrill	Redbone Nation (LA)
Swartz	Redbone Nation (TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Thomas	Clifton Choctaw (LA)
Sweet	Brass Ankles (SC) Chickahominy (VA) Melungeons (TN) Pamunkey (VA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (LA, TX) Redbone Nation (NC, SC, TN) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Thompson	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (GA, SC, TX)
Sweet	Redbone Nation (LA, TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Tippitt	Redbone Nation (LA)
Sweet(t)	Brass Ankles (SC) Redbone Nation (LA, TX) Texas Lumbee (TX)	Townley	Redbone Nation (LA)
Taylor	Cajans/Cajuns (AL) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation (LA, TX) Redbone Nation (PA, VA)	Turner	Redbone Nation (LA)
Temple	Redbone Nation (LA)	Verdin/Verdam/Verdine/ Verdun/Vardin/ Berdine/ Veirdean	Houma (LA)
		Verret/Verrette//Verris	Houma (LA)
		Vilcan	Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)
		Vincent	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Walker	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Ward	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Ware	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Watson	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Weatherford	Redbone Nation (LA)
		Weeks	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
		Welborn	Redbone Nation (LA)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Wilson	Redbone Nation (LA)
Winfree	Redbone Nation (LA)
Wisby	Redbone Nation (LA) Redbone Nation (SC)
Wise	Redbone Nation (LA)
Wood	Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA)
Woods	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)
Wright	Clifton Choctaw (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation (SC, TX)
Young	Redbone Nation (LA, TX)

<b>Surname</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
Welch	Redbone Nation (LA)
Weldon	Redbone Nation (LA)
West	Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)
White	Cajans/Cajuns (AL) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Clifton Choctaw (LA) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)
Williams	Alabama-Coushatta (TX) Brass Ankles (SC) Cajans/Cajuns (AL) Jena Band of Choctaw (LA) Melungeons (TN) Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS) MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX)
Williamson	Redbone Nation (LA)
Willis	Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA) Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC) Melungeons (TN) Redbone Nation/Ten Milers (LA) Redbone Nation (TX) Redbone Nation (NC, SC)

## G Surnames by Group

Typical family clan surnames for tri-racial groups are listed here sorted by group (state) in which they occur. For groups in states other than Louisiana and Texas only surnames are listed that parallel surnames in Louisiana and Texas.

### **Alabama-Coushatta (TX)**

Batise/Battiste/Baptiste, Johns(t)on, Williams.

### **Brass Ankles (SC)**

Jackson, Sweat, Swet(t), Williams.

### **Cajans/Cajuns (AL)**

Cole, Johns(t)on, Smith, Taylor, White, Williams.

### **Cane River Creoles of Color (LA)**

Anty, Balthazar, Cloutier, Conant, Dupart, Dupre, Le Compte, LeCourt/LaCour, Llorens, Mariotte, Metoyer, Monet/Monette, Morin, Rachal, Rocques, St.Ville, Sarpy.

### **Cherokee (TX)**

Brown.

### **Chickahominy (VA)**

Sweat.

### **Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (LA)**

Burgess, Darden, Mora, Stouff, Vilcan.

### **Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb (LA)**

Moore.

### **Clifton Choctaw (LA)**

Baptiste, Burgender, Cantu, Clifton, Foster, Henderson, Neal, Shackelford, Smith, Thomas, Terrell, Tyler; White, Wright.

### **Four Winds Tribe of Louisiana Cherokee (LA)**

Dyer, Dyson, Gill, Hicks, Melder, Perkins, Richard, Shirley, Strother, Willis.

### **Free State of Jones (MS)**

Coleman, Collins, Gibson, Knight, Lee, Parker, Powell.

### **Freejacks & Creoles (LA)**

Baam/Bayham/Baham/Bahan, Lee, Pierre/Peres/Peers, Reid/ Reed/Read.

### **Houma (LA)**

Abbe/Abbé/Abe, Billiot/Biliot/Billau/Billaud/Billaux/Billoux/ Billeau/Billeaux/Billiau/Biot/Biau/ Biou/Bion/Be/Beyo/Beyout, Chaisson/Chasson/Shaison, Courteaux/Corteau/Corteaux/Courtai/ Courtaine/Courtan/Courtau/Courteaud/Courteaux/Courto/ Courtot/?Pourteau, Crepelle/ Crapel/Crepel/Creppelle/Clappell, Dardar/Dardard/Dardare/Dardarr/Dardart, Dion/Dionne/

Dyan/Dian/Dianne/?Jean/?Jeanne/Deanne/Deon, Dupre, Enerisse/Eric/Erice/Eris/?Iriess/Iris/  
Nerisse/Aries [Acies] /Ellis/ Enerise/?Riche, Fitch, Foret, Gally/Gallet/Gallais, Gregoire/ Gregoir,  
lacalobe/Jacalobe/Tacalobe/?Cacalobe/Tough-laBay/ Loup-la-Bay, Jeanne/Jean/John/?Dion,  
Lamatte/Lamothe/La-motte, Naquin/Nacquin/Nankin/Nanquin/Nanguin, Parfait, Renaud/  
Renau/Reynolds, Sauvage/Le Sauvage/Savage, Solet/Saule/ Saulet/Saully/Sole/Soley/Soule/  
Soulie, Verdin/Verdam/Verdine/ Verdun/Vardin/Berdine/Veirdean, Verret/Verrette/Verris.

**Jena Band of Choctaw (LA)**

Allen, Baptiste, Batise, Berry, Edmond(e), Gibson, Jackson, Johnson, Lewis, Williams.

**Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (NC)**

Allen, Bennett, Berry, Brown, Clark, Cole, Johns(t)on, Martin, Nash, Powell, Revell, Smith, Taylor,  
White, Willis, Wood, Wright.

**Lumbee (TX) see: Texas Lumbee (TX)**

**Melungeons (TN)**

Adams, Bennet, Berry, Clark, Coleman, Collins, Davis, Gibson, Hall, Jackson, Johns(t)on, Martin,  
Moore, Nash, Sweat, Taylor, White, Williams, Willis, Wright.

**Mézières Clan (LA)**

Mézières.

**Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (MS)**

Allen, Batisse/Battiste/Baptiste, Gibson, Jackson, Johns(t)on, Lewis, Williams.

**Moors (DE)**

Moore.

**MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (AL)**

Allen, Cole, Gibson, Johns(t)on, Smith, Taylor, Williams.

**Nanticoke (DE)**

Johns(t)on.

**Pamunkey (VA)**

Sweat.

**Poole Tribe (PA)**

Johns(t)on.

**Red Shoe Tribe (LA)**

Abbey/Abbot, Bushnell, Gordon, Langley, Lormand, Marcantel, Neville/Nevils, Pete/Pitre.

**Redbone Nation (AL)**

Pinder.

**Redbone Nation (CT)**

Avery.

**Redbone Nation (GA)**

Perkins.

**Redbone Nation (KY)**

Goodman, Perkins.

**Redbone Nation (LA)**

Alexander, Allen, Andrews, Arnold, Ash/Ashworth, Avery, Baggett, Bailey, Bass, Beckcum, Bedgood, Beeson, Bennett, Boggs, Bolton, Bond, Boswell, Bowie, Brack, Bridges, Bryant, Bunch, Burton, Bush, Butler, Butters, Buxston/Buxton, Cain, Calhoun, Caraway, Chavers, Cherry, Chisholm, Clark, Cockran, Cole, Cragers, Crumpler, Davenport, Davis, Day, Dial, Doil/Doyle/Doyal, Drake, Dupries, Dyal/Dyel/Dyle/Dyes(s), Dyson, Elliott, Escobas, Fairchild, Farris, Foster, Fountain, Freeland, Fulton, Garland, Gibson, Gill, Glass, Goan, Goin(s)/Going/Gowen, Goodman, Gordon, McMullen, Maddox, Mancil, Marco, Maricle, Martin, Mathis, Moore, Mazilly, Miller, Harrison, Hatch, Hawkins, Haymon, Hays, Henderson, Hickman, Hicks, Hill, Holoway, Hoosier, Howard, Howell, Hyatt, Isles, Jackson, James, Jean, Jenkins, Jeter, Johnson, Jones, Kellen, Kemp, King, Lacaze/LaCaze, La Comb, Laird, Lambright, Le Bleu, Legg, Lewis, Lyons, McDonald, McFatter, McMullen, Maddox, Mancil, Marco, Maricle, Martin, Mathis, Moore, Mazilly, Miller, Mims, Moore, Morris, Morrison, Moss, Mullins, Murcle, Musgrove, Muton, Nash, Neal, Nelson, Nye, Parker, Perkins, Phillips, Pinchback, Pinder, Poole, Ray, Reed, Reid, Reon, Richey, Rigmaiden, Robinson, Ryan, Sanders, Seamon, Self, Simmons/Simon, Smith, Spears, Stracener, Stalsby, Stanly, Strokher, Strother, Swan, Swet/Swett/Sweat, Temple, Terrill, Thompson, Tippitt, Townley, Turner, Vincent, Walker, Ward, Ware, Watson, Weatherford, Weeks, Welborn, Welch, Weldon, West, Williamson, Willis, Wilson, Winfree, Wisby, Wise, Woods, Young.

*Ten Milers*

Ash/Ashworth, Barnett, Bass, Berry, Bunch, Butler, Buxton, Chavis, Cloud, Cole, Davis, Dial/Dyal/Dual/Doyle/Doyal, Drake, Gibson, Goins, Hatch, Johnson, Miricle/Maricle, Moore, Musgrove, Nash, Nelson, Perkins, Ray, Reed, Smith, Strother, Sweat, Thompson, West, White, Williams, Willis, Wood.

*Six Milers*

Bedgood, Maddox.

**Redbone Nation (MS)**

Avery, Bass, Hoosier, Perkins, Strother.

**Redbone Nation (NC)**

Bass, Clark, Sweat, Willis.

**Redbone Nation (PA)**

Drake, Orr, Taylor.

**Redbone Nation (SC)**

Ashworth, Bass, Bunch, Chavis/Chavers, Clark, Dial, Goins, Johnson, McDaniel, Perkins, Pinder, Strother, Sweat, Willis, Wisby.

**Redbone Nation (TN)**

Sweat.

**Redbone Nation (TX)**

Adams, Bass, Bennett, Bond, Brack, Brown, Clark, Cole, Coleman, Collins, Davis, Droddy, Hall, Harper, Hart, James, Johnson, Knight, Lee, Lewis, Martin, Mattox, Moore, Nash, Page, Parker, Perkins, Powell, Smith, Taylor, Thompson, Weeks, West, White, Willis, Williams, Woods, Wright, Young.

**Redbone Nation (VA)**

Drake, Orr, Taylor.

**Sabines/Redbones (LA)**

Ashworth, Perkins.

**St. Landry Parish Mixed Bloods (LA)**

*People of Frilot Cove*

Auzenne, Billeaudeaux, Chretien, Darbonne, Deselle, Donato, Durousseau, Elliott, Fontenot, Frilot, Fuselier, Guilbeau, Guillory, La Chapelle/Lachapelle, Lemelle, Louis, Louvier, Meuillon, Olivier, Prejean, Prudhomme.

*Mulattoes of Washington*

Balthazar.

**Texas Lumbee (TX)**

Gibson, Johnson, Nash, Parker, Perkins, Revell, Sweat, Swartz, Swatz, Swett, Sweet.

**Tunica-Biloxi (LA)**

Johns(t)on.

## H Native American Nations, State Tribes and Tri-racial Groups by State

Native American Nations and groups claiming American Indian ancestry, listed by state.

### Alabama

#### Native American Nations<sup>222</sup>

##### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Poarch Band of Creek Indians (Federal Acknowledgement 08/10/1984; Reservation: Atmore, Escambia County; [www.poarchcreekindians.org](http://www.poarchcreekindians.org))

##### **State Native American Nations:**

Cher-O-Creek Intra Tribal Indians / Cherokee of Southeast Alabama (Reservation: Dothan, Houston County)

Cherokee Tribe Of Northeast Alabama / Cherokees of Jackson County (Reservation: Huntsville, Madison County + Limestone County, + Pinson, Birmingham County)

Echota Cherokee Tribe Of Alabama (Reservation: Falkville, Morgan County)

MaChis Lower Alabama Creek Indian Tribe (Reservation: Kinston + New Brockton, Coffee County; [www.machistribe.com](http://www.machistribe.com))

MOWA Band of Choctaw Indians (Reservation: Mount Vernon, Mobile County; <https://mowachoctawindians.com/>)

Ohathee Cherokee Tribe of New York and Alabama (Location: Brooklyn, NY)

Piqua Shawnee Tribe (Reservation: Birmingham, Jefferson County; [www.native-american-online.org/PIQUA-SHAWNEE.htm](http://www.native-american-online.org/PIQUA-SHAWNEE.htm))

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Cedar Wolf Clan (Location: Ariton, Dale County)

United Cherokee Ani-Yun-Wiya Nation / United Cherokee Intertribal (Reservation: Guntersville, Marshall County)

Yufala Star Clan of Muscogee Creeks (Reservation: Troy, Pike County; [www.native-american-online.org/LOWER-MUSCOGEE-CREEK-INDIANS.htm](http://www.native-american-online.org/LOWER-MUSCOGEE-CREEK-INDIANS.htm))

#### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cherokee Nation of Alabama (Location: Birmingham, Jefferson County)

Cherokee River Indian Community (Location: Moulton, Lawrence County)

Cherokees of Alabama (Location: Gadsden, Etowah County)

Chickamauga Cherokee of Alabama (Location: Hamilton, Marion County)

Coweta Creek Tribe (Location: Phenix City, Russell County)

Echota Cherokee Tribe Of Alabama Wolf Clan (Location: Bibb County + Chilton County + Greene County + Hale County + Jefferson County + Pickens County + Shelby County + St Clair County + Tuscaloosa County)

Eagle Bear Band of Free Cherokee (Location: unknown)

Free Cherokee - Bird Clan of East Central Alabama (Location: Opelika, Lee County; [www.birdclan.org](http://www.birdclan.org))

<sup>222</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 1–2); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1985a); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1984). Alabama has a State Indian Affairs Commission (State of Alabama n.d.).



Langley Band of the Chickamogee Cherokee Indians of the Southeastern United States  
 (Location: Birmingham, Jefferson County)  
 Phoenician Cherokee II – Eagle Tribe of Sequoyah (Location: Gadsden, Etowah County)  
 Principle Creek Nation East of the Mississippi (Federal Acknowledgement declined 06/101985;  
 Location: Florala, Covington County)  
 United Cherokee Nation – Alabama Clan (Location unknown; <http://theucn.com/georgia.html>)

## Alaska

### Native American Nations <sup>223</sup>

[For Native American Nations and Native Villages see (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c)]

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Big Lake Band (Location: Big Lake, Matanuska-Susitna Borough)

## Arizona

### Native American Nations <sup>224</sup>

[For Native American Nations see U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs (2015c)]

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Medicine Keepers Band (Location: Sedona, Coconino + Yavapai County)

## Arkansas

### Native American Nations <sup>225</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

The Arkansas Band of Western Cherokee / Western Arkansas Cherokee Tribe (Location: Sulphur Springs, Cochise County)

Arkansas Cherokee / Arkansas Cherokee Nation / Chickamauga Cherokee of Arkansas (Location: Conway, Faulkner County)

Arkansas White River Cherokee (Location: Lady Lake, FL)

Amonsoquath Tribe of Cherokee (Location: Mammoth Springs, Fulton County; <http://amonsoquathbandofcherokee.org>)

Central Tribal Council (Location: Mammoth Spring, Fulton County + Tuscola, IL)

<sup>223</sup> Native American affairs in Alaska are handled by the State of Alaska Office of the Governor (2017).

<sup>224</sup> There exists a Governor's Office on Tribal Relations (2017) responsible for state American Indian affairs.

<sup>225</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 4–5); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

Cherokee Nation West of Missouri and Arkansas / Cherokee Nation West or Southern Band of the Eastern Cherokee  
 Indians of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Seneca, MO)  
 Cherokee-Choctaw Nation of St. Francis & Black Rivers (Location: Paragould, Greene County)  
 Confederated Western Cherokees of Arkansas (Location: unknown)  
 Lost Cherokee of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Conway, Faulkner County + Dover, Pope County, [www.facebook.com/groups/253169968043208/](http://www.facebook.com/groups/253169968043208/))  
 Neches Tribe – Cherokee Nation (Location: Hot Springs, Garland County)  
 Chickamauga Cherokee Nation / Chickamauga Cherokee Nation MO/AR White River and / White River Band of Northern Cherokee Nation of Missouri and Arkansas (Location: unknown)  
 Northern Cherokee Tribe of Indians of Missouri and Arkansas (Location: Clinton, MO)  
 Old Settler Cherokee Nation of Arkansas (Location: Timbo, Stone County)  
 Ozark Mountain Cherokee Tribe of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Melbourne, IZard County + Alton, MO)  
 Red Nation of the Cherokee (Location: unknown + Kansas; [www.rednation.org](http://www.rednation.org))  
 Revived Ouachita Indians of Arkansas and America (Location: Story, Montgomery County)  
 Sac River and White River Bands of the Chickamauga-Cherokee Nation of Arkansas and Missouri Inc. / Northern Chickamauga Cherokee Nation of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Fair Play, MO)  
 Western Cherokee of Arkansas and Louisiana Territories (Location: unknown)  
 Western Cherokee Nation of Arkansas and Missouri / Old Settlers (Location: Mena, Polk County; [www.facebook.com/pages/Western-Cherokee-Nation-of-Arkansas-Missouri-Old-Settlers/112665445462524](http://www.facebook.com/pages/Western-Cherokee-Nation-of-Arkansas-Missouri-Old-Settlers/112665445462524) + Conway, Faulkner County + Paragould, Green County; [http://members.tripod.com/Bold\\_Eagle/WesternCherokeeNation.html](http://members.tripod.com/Bold_Eagle/WesternCherokeeNation.html))

## California

### Native American Nations<sup>226</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Oklahoma Cherokee Communities in Bakersfield, Los Angeles, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, Greater Bay Area, Orange County and Silicon Valley

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Okla Chahta Clan of California, Inc. (Location: Bakersfield, Kern County; [www.oklachahta.org](http://www.oklachahta.org))  
 Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Wa Le Li Band (Location: Ontario, San Bernardino County)  
 United Lumbee Nation of North Carolina and America (Location: Exeter, Tulare County)  
 Kaweah Indian Nation (Location: Porterville, Tulare County)

<sup>226</sup> As of 2015 there are 102 federally recognized tribes in California which are not listed here (see U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c). By 2013 additional 81 groups have sent a letter of intention to petition for federal acknowledgement (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 6–16). There exists a California Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) handling Native American affairs on state level (State of California 2017).

## Connecticut

### Native American Nations<sup>227</sup>

#### Federal Native American Nations:

Mashantucket Pequot Tribe /Western (Mashantucket) Pequot Indians (Legislative Federal Recognition 10/18/1983; Reservation: Ledyard-Mashantucket, New London County; [www.pequotmuseum.org](http://www.pequotmuseum.org))

Mohegan Tribe of Indians of the State of Connecticut (Federal Acknowledgement 03/15/1994; Reservation: Uncasville, New London County; [www.mohegan.nsn.us](http://www.mohegan.nsn.us))

#### State Native American Nations:

Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut / Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation (Federal Acknowledgement declined 10/14/2005; Location: North Stonington; New London County)

Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal Nation /The True Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal Nation / Golden Hill Paugussett Tribe (Federal Acknowledgement declined 03/18/2005; Reservation: Golden Hill Indian Reservation, Trumbull, Fairfield County + New Haven, New Haven County)

Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Indians of Connecticut (Federal Acknowledgement declined 19/14/2005; Reservation: North Stonington + Ledyard, New London County)

Schaghticoke Tribal Nation (Federal Acknowledgement declined 10/14/2005; Reservation: Derby, New Haven County; [www.schaghticoke.com](http://www.schaghticoke.com))

Schaghticoke Indian Tribe (Location: Kent, Litchfield County)

Schaghticoke Tribe (Location: Bridgeport, Fairfield County)

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Algonquian Confederacy of the Quinnipiac Tribal Council (ACQTC) (Location: unknown)

Grasmere Band of Wangunk Indians of Glastonbury / Pequot Mohegan Tribe, Inc. (Location: Middletown, Middlesex County)

Mohegan Tribe and Nation (Location: Norwich, New London County)

Native American Mohegans, Inc. (Location: Norwich, New London County)

Nehantic Tribe and Nation (Location: Chester, Middlesex County)

New England Coastal Schaghticoke Indian Association (Location: Hampton, Windham County)

Nipmuc Indian Association of Connecticut (Location: Thompson, Windham County; [www.nativetech.org/Nipmuc](http://www.nativetech.org/Nipmuc))

Paugussett Tribal Nation of Waterbury (Location: Waterbury, New Haven County)

Poquonnock Pequot Tribe (Location: Ledyard, New London County)

Southern Pequot Tribe / Southern Pequot Tribal Nation of Waterford (Location: Waterford, New London County)

True Golden Hill Paugussett Tribal Nation (Location: New Haven, New Haven County)

United Cherokee Nation – Connecticut Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/connecticut.html>)

Western Pequot Tribal Nation of New Haven (Location: West Haven, New Haven County)

227 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 17–19); (National Conference of State Legislatures 2015); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (U.S. Congress 1983); (Wikipedia, 2019); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1994a); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2005a); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2005c); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2005b); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2005d). Responsible for state American Indian affairs is the (State of Connecticut, Department of Energy & Environmental Protection 2002–2017).

## Delaware

### Native American Nations<sup>228</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

Nanticoke Indian Association (Location: Millsboro, Sussex County; [www.nanticokeindians.org](http://www.nanticokeindians.org))

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Assateague Peoples Tribe (Location: Frankford, Sussex County)

Lenape Tribe of Delaware (Location: Dover, Kent County; [www.lenapeindiantribeofdelaware.com](http://www.lenapeindiantribeofdelaware.com))

United Cherokee Nation – Delaware Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/delaware.html>)

## District of Columbia

### Native American Nations<sup>229</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cherokee Tuscarora Nation of Turtle Island (Location: Washington)

Federation: Moorish Science Temple of America, Inc. (Location: Washington; [www.moorishsciencetempleofamericainc.com](http://www.moorishsciencetempleofamericainc.com))

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) - Windsong Band (Location: Washington)

## Florida

### Native American Nations<sup>230</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Miccosukee Tribe of Indians (Reservation: Broward County, Miami, Miami-Dade County; <https://tribe.miccosukee.com/>):

Seminole Tribe of Florida ([www.seminoletribe.com](http://www.seminoletribe.com)):

- Big Cypress Reservation: Clewiston, Hendry County
- Brighton Reservation: Okeechobee, Okeechobee County
- Dania Reservation: Broward County
- Fort Pierce Reservation: Fort Pierce, St. Lucy County
- Hollywood Reservation: Hollywood, Broward County
- Tampa Reservation: Tampa, Hillsborough County

**State Native American Nations:**

Muscogee Nation of Florida / Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians / Creek-Euchee Band of Indians of Florida (Location: Bruce, Walton County; Bristol, Liberty County; Owasso, OK)

Perdido Bay Tribe - Southeastern Lower Muscogee Creek Indians, Inc. (Location: Pensacola, Escambia County)

<sup>228</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 19); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). Responsible for Delaware state American Indian affairs is the State of Delaware, Department of State, Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs (2017).

<sup>229</sup> (Wikipedia, 2019).

<sup>230</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 19–20); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013a). There exists a Florida Governor’s Council on Indian Affairs, Inc. (2015).

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

- Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians (Location: Tallahassee, Leon County + Mabank, TX)
- Apalachicola River Community (Location: Hosford, Liberty County)
- Arkansas White River Cherokee (Location: Lady Lake, Lake County)
- Cherokees of Central Florida (Location: Tampa, Hillsborough County + Clearwater, Pinellas County; <http://centralflorida.cherokee.org>)
- Choctaw Nation of Florida / Hunter Tsalagi-Choctaw Tribe (Federal Acknowledgement declined 04/21/2011; Location: Marianna, Jackson County + Tampa, Hillsborough County)
- Creeks East of the Mississippi (Federal Acknowledgement declined 12/21/1981; Location: Molino, Escambia County)
- Free Cherokee – Florida Wolf Clan (Location: Titusville, Brevard County)
- Florida Tribe of Cherokee Indians (Location: Milton, Santa Rosa County)
- Indian Creek Band, Chickamauga Creek & Cherokee, Inc. (Location: Deltona, Volusia County)
- Muskogee Creek Indian Tribe East of the Mississippi in Taylor County, Inc. (Location: Taylor County; <http://muskoke.tripod.com/>)
- Oklewaha (Oklevueha) Band of Yamassee Seminole Indians (Location: Cox Osceola Indian Reservation, Orange Springs, Marion County)
- Perdido Bay Tribe of Southeastern Lower Muscogee Creek Indians, Inc. (Location: Pensacola, Escambia County; [www.facebook.com/perdidobaytribe/](http://www.facebook.com/perdidobaytribe/))
- Seminole Nation of Florida / Independent Traditional Seminole Nation (Location: Collier County + Helena, MT)
- Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) - Blue Band / - Long Hair Band / - Turtle Moon Band / - Spirit Wolf Watches Band / - Night Hawk Clan (Location: Bartow + Lakeland, Polk County; Cape Coral, Lee County; Collins, Covington County; Eustis, Lake County; Sebring, Highlands County)
- Topachula Tribe (Location: unknown)
- Tuscola United Cherokee Tribe of Florida, Inc. (Location: Geneva, Seminole County)
- United Cherokee Nation – Florida Clan (Location: Clearwater, Pinellas County; <http://theucn.com/florida.html>)
- Wolf Creek Cherokee Tribe, Inc. (Location: unknown)
- Yamassee (Muskogee) Nation of Florida (Location: Progress Village + Tampa, Hillsborough County; [www.yamasseenation.org](http://www.yamasseenation.org))

## Georgia

### Native American Nations <sup>231</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

American Cherokee Confederacy, Inc. (Reservation: Albany, Dougherty County)

Cherokee Indians of Georgia, Inc. (Reservation: Albany, Dougherty County; <http://cherokee-indians-of-ga-inc.Opi.com/>)

<sup>231</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 21–22); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Council on American Indian Concerns 2015); (Takatoka 2009); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1981b). State American Indian affairs are handled by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Council on American Indian Concerns (2015).

Georgia Tribe of Eastern Cherokees, Inc. / Cane Break Band of Eastern Cherokees  
(Reservation: Cumming, Forsyth County + Dahlonega, Lumpkin County;  
[www.georgiatribeofeasterncherokee.com](http://www.georgiatribeofeasterncherokee.com))

Lower Muskogee Creek Tribe – East of Mississippi, Inc. (Federal Acknowledgement  
declined 02/02/1981; Reservation: Whigham, Grady County)

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

American Cherokee Confederacy / Southeastern Cherokee  
Confederacy, Inc. (Federal Acknowledgement declined 11/25/1985; Location: Albany,  
Dougherty County)

Broad River Band of Cherokee (Location: unknown; [www.broad-river-band-of-cherokee-00server.com](http://www.broad-river-band-of-cherokee-00server.com))

Chickamauga Cherokee Band of Northwest Georgia (Location: Rossville, Walker County)

Free Cherokee – Turtle Clan (Location: Douglasville, Douglas County)

Georgia Band of Chickasaw Indians / Mississippi Band of Chickasaw Indians (Location: Mableton,  
Cobb County)

Georgia Tribe of Eastern Cherokee (I) (Location: Dahlonega, Lumpkin County)

Georgia Tribe of Eastern Cherokee (II) (Location: unknown)

Georgia Tribe of Eastern Cherokee (III) (Location: unknown)

Kokeneshv Natchez Nation (Reservation: Wigham, Grady County)

Manahoac Saponi Mattamuskeet Nation (Location: Union City, Fulton County)

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) / SeCCI – Gray Wolf Clan (Federal Acknowledgement  
declined 11/25/1985; Location: Stockbridge, Henry County + Ochlocknee, Thomas County +  
Omega, Tift & Colquitt County)

South Eastern Indian Nation (Location: Albany, Dougherty County)

Uganawvkalgvy Kituwah Ayeli (Location: Warner Robins, Houston County)

United Creeks of Georgia (Location: Atlanta, Fulton County + DeKalb County)

United Cherokee Nation – Eastern National Office – Georgia Clan (Location: unknown;  
<http://theucn.com/georgia.html>)

Uganawvkalgvy Kituwah Ayeli (Location: Warner Robins, Houston County)

Yamassee Native American Moors of the Creek Nation (Location: Milledgeville,  
Baldwin County)

## Illinois

### Native American Nations<sup>232</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Central Tribal Council (Location: Tuscola, Douglas County + Mammoth Spring, AR)

Choctaw Nation Mississippi River Clan (Location: unknown)

The People of the Mountains (Location: Mount Olive, Macoupin County)

United Cherokee Nation – Illinois Clan (Location: unknown, <http://theucn.com/illinois.html>)

Vinyard Indian Settlement of Shawnee Indians (Location: Herod, Pope County;  
[www.vinyardindiansettlement.com](http://www.vinyardindiansettlement.com))

<sup>232</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 22); (Wikipedia, 2019).

## Indiana

### Native American Nations<sup>233</sup>

#### Federal Native American Nations:

Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians (Reservation: South Bend, St. Joseph County; [www.pokagon.com](http://www.pokagon.com))

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Eel River Tribe Inc. of Indiana (Location: Lafayette, Tippecanoe County + Delphi, Carroll County)

Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. (Location: Peru, Miami County)

Lone Wolf Band of Cherokee Indians (Location: unknown)

Nimkii Band of the United Metis Tribe (Location: Indianapolis, Marion County)

Northern Cherokee Tribe of Indiana (Location: unknown)

Upper Kispoko Band of the Shawnee Nation (Location: Kokomo, Howard County)

United Cherokee Nation – Indiana Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/indiana.html>)

United Métis Tribe (Location: Indianapolis, Marion County; [www.facebook.com/BuffaloSpiritMetis](http://www.facebook.com/BuffaloSpiritMetis))

Buffalo Spirit Band of the United Métis Tribe  
Nimkii Band of the United Métis Tribe  
The Zibiodedy/River Heart Metis Association/Band

Wea Indian Tribe, Inc. (Location: Lafayette, Tippecanoe County)

Wea Indian Tribe of Indiana (Location: Clinton, Vermillion County; [www.weaindiantribe.com](http://www.weaindiantribe.com))

## Kansas

### Native American Nations<sup>234</sup>

#### Federal Native American Nations:

Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska (Headquarters: Reserve, Brown County; [www.sacandfoxks.com](http://www.sacandfoxks.com))

Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska (Reservation: Iowa Reservation, Richardson County + White Cloud, Doniphan County)

Kickapoo Tribe of Indians of the Kickapoo Reservation in Kansas (Reservation: Kickapoo Indian Reservation, Brown County; [www.ktik-nsn.gov](http://www.ktik-nsn.gov))

Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation / Prairie Band Potawatomi Indians (Reservation: Mayetta, Jackson County; [www.pbpindiantribe.com](http://www.pbpindiantribe.com))

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Delaware-Muncie (Location: Pomona, Franklin County)

Neutral Land Cherokee Group (Location: unknown)

Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory (Location: Columbia, MO;

<http://ncnolt.net>): Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory - Kansas

(Awi Akta) District (Location: Columbia, MO; [www.facebook.com/AwiAktaDistrict](http://www.facebook.com/AwiAktaDistrict))

**233** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 22–23); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). Responsible for state American Indian affairs is the State of Indiana, Native American Indian Affairs Commission (2017).

**234** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 23); (Wikipedia, 2019); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c). Responsible for state American Indian affairs is the Kansas Office of the Governor, Kansas Native American Affairs Office (2017).

Kaweah Indian Nation (Federal Acknowledgment declined 06/10/1985; Location: Oriental, NC + California)  
 Red Nation of the Cherokee (Location: unknown+ Arkansas; [www.rednation.org](http://www.rednation.org))  
 Swan Creek & Black River Chippewa (Location: unknown)  
 United Tribe of Shawnee Indians (Location: De Soto, Johnson County + Leavenworth County)  
 Wyandot Nation of Kansas (Location: Prairie Village, Johnson County; [www.wyandot.org](http://www.wyandot.org);  
[www.facebook.com/groups/252144031647869](https://www.facebook.com/groups/252144031647869))

## Kentucky

### Native American Nations <sup>235</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

Ridgetop Shawnee Tribe of Indians / Ridgetop Band of Shawnee (Location: Harlan County;  
<http://ridgetopshawnee.blogspot.de>)

Southern Cherokee Nation of Kentucky (Location: Manchester, Clay County + Henderson,  
 Henderson County; [www.sccnofkyweb.com](http://www.sccnofkyweb.com))

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Black Wolf Clan of SE Cherokee Council, Inc. (Location: unknown)

Cherokee Tribe of Kentucky (Location: Louisville, Jefferson County)

Kentucky Cherokee Heritage Group (Location: Henderson, Henderson County)

Southeastern Kentucky Shawnee (Location: Corbin, Whitley County + Knox County;  
[www.southeasternkentuckyshawnee.com](http://www.southeasternkentuckyshawnee.com))

United Cherokee Nation – Kentucky Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/kentucky.html>)

## Louisiana

### Native American Nations <sup>236</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Chitimacha Tribe (Reservation: Charenton, St. Mary Parish; [www.chitimacha.gov](http://www.chitimacha.gov))  
 [see chapter 10.4.]

Coushatta Indian Tribe (Reservation: Elton, Allen Parish; [www.koasatiheritage.org](http://www.koasatiheritage.org))  
 [see chapter 10.6.]

Jena Band of Choctaws (Reservation: Jena, LaSalle Parish; [www.jenachoctaw.org](http://www.jenachoctaw.org))  
 [see chapter 10.5.2.]

Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana (Reservation: Marksville, Avoyelle Parish;  
[www.tunicabiloxi.org](http://www.tunicabiloxi.org)) [see chapter 10.13.]

<sup>235</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 23); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). The state institution handling American Indian affairs is the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Kentucky Native American Heritage Commission (2015).

<sup>236</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 24); (Office of the Governor, Office of Indian Affairs 2019); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1995); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1981a, 1981a). See chapter 10. for further information and literature.



**State Native American Nations:**

- Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation / Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. / Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw of Louisiana (State Recognition: 2005, Location: Lafourche Parish + Bourg, Terrebonne Parish; [www.biloxi-chitimacha.com](http://www.biloxi-chitimacha.com)) [see chapter 10.9.1.]  
with their subgroups:
- Bayou Lafourche Band (Location: Lafourche Parish & Zachary, East Baton Rouge Parish; [www.biloxi-chitimacha.com/bayou\\_lafourche.htm](http://www.biloxi-chitimacha.com/bayou_lafourche.htm))
  - Grand Caillou/Dulac Band (Location: Chauvin, Terrebonne Parish; [www.gdcbcc.org](http://www.gdcbcc.org); [www.biloxi-chitimacha.com/grand\\_caillou\\_dulac.htm](http://www.biloxi-chitimacha.com/grand_caillou_dulac.htm); [www.facebook.com/Grand-Caillou-Dulac-Band-of-Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw-Indians-167836366609938](https://www.facebook.com/Grand-Caillou-Dulac-Band-of-Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw-Indians-167836366609938))
  - Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Indians (Location: Montegut, Terrebonne Parish; [www.isledejeancharles.com](http://www.isledejeancharles.com); [www.facebook.com/Isle-de-Jean-Charles-Band-of-Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw-Indians-160231020779491](https://www.facebook.com/Isle-de-Jean-Charles-Band-of-Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw-Indians-160231020779491))
- Caddo Adais Indians, Inc. (State Recognition: 1993, Location: Robeline, Natchitoches Parish; <https://www.facebook.com/pages/AdaiCaddoIndianNationCulturalCenter/1148615175252488/>)
- Choctaw-Apache Community of Ebarb, Inc. (State Recognition: 1978, Location: Zwolle, Sabine Parish; [www.facebook.com/ChoctawApacheofEbarb](https://www.facebook.com/ChoctawApacheofEbarb))
- Clifton Choctaw Tribe / Clifton Choctaw Indians / Clifton Choctaw Reservation, Inc. (Location: Clifton, Rapides Parish) [see chapter 10.5.1.]
- Four Winds Tribe / Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy (State Recognition: 1997, Location: Merryville, Vernon Parish; [www.fourwindscherokee.com](http://www.fourwindscherokee.com)) [see chapter 10.11.3.]
- Louisiana Choctaw Tribe / Louisiana Band of Choctaw (Location: Pride, East Baton Rouge Parish, + Prairieville, Ascension Parish) [see chapter 10.5.]
- Point-Au-Chien Indian Tribe (Location: Montegut, Terrebonne Parish; <http://pactribe.tripod.com>) [see chapter 10.9.]
- United Houma Nation, Inc. (Location: Golden Meadow, Lafourche Parish; [www.unitedhoumanation.org](http://www.unitedhoumanation.org); [www.facebook.com/United-Houma-Nation-190278573408](https://www.facebook.com/United-Houma-Nation-190278573408)) [see chapter 10.9.]

**Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry**

- Apalachee Indian Tribe (Location: Alexandria, Rapides Parish)
- Atakapas Ishak Nation of Southeast Texas and Southwest Louisiana / Opelousa / Blackleg / Blackfoot (Location: Lake Charles, Calcasieu Parish; Acadia Parish, Cameron Parish, Iberia Parish, Lafayette Parish, Plaquemines Parish, St. Landry Parish, St. Martin Parish, St. Mary Parish, Vermillion Parish; [www.atakapa-ishak.com](http://www.atakapa-ishak.com), [www.facebook.com/groups/69718159440](https://www.facebook.com/groups/69718159440)) [see chapters 10.1. and 10.7.]
- Attakapas Opelousas Prairie Tribe of SWLA (Location: Jennings & Elton, Jefferson Davis Parish; [www.facebook.com/attakapasopelousas.prairietribe](https://www.facebook.com/attakapasopelousas.prairietribe); <http://attakapasopt.com/>) [see chapter 10.1.]
- Avogel Nation of Louisiana (Location: Marksville, Avoyelle Parish)
- Avogel Nation of Louisiana, Tribe of Okla Tasannuk (Location: Mansura, Avoyelle Parish; [www.facebook.com/Avogel-Nation-of-Louisiana-Tribe-of-Okla-Tasannuk-647584428644243](https://www.facebook.com/Avogel-Nation-of-Louisiana-Tribe-of-Okla-Tasannuk-647584428644243))
- Avoyel-Taensa Tribe/Nation of Louisiana, Inc. (Location: Marksville, Avoyelle Parish; [www.avoyel-taensa.org](http://www.avoyel-taensa.org); [www.facebook.com/AvoyelTaensaTribe](https://www.facebook.com/AvoyelTaensaTribe))
- Avoyel-Kaskaskia Tribe of Louisiana (Location: Marksville, Avoyelle Parish)
- Canneci Nde' Band of Lipan Apache, Inc. (Location: Lafayette, Lafayette Parish, <http://canneci-lipan-apaches.webs.com>)
- Chahta Tribe (Location: Slidell, St. Tammany Parish) [see chapters 10.5. and 10.11.5.]
- Louisiana Choctaw Turtle Tribe (Location: Lake Charles, Calcasieu Parish)
- Red Shoe Tribe (Location: Kinder, Allen Parish; [www.redshoetribe.org](http://www.redshoetribe.org)) [see chapter 10.6.1.]
- Talimali Band, The Apalachee Indians of Louisiana (Location: Libuse, Rapides Parish)
- United Cherokee Nation – Louisiana Clan (Location: Monroe, Ouachita Parish; <http://theucn.com/louisiana.html>)

## Maine

### Native American Nations<sup>237</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Aroostock Band of Micmacs (Legislative Federal Recognition 11/26/1991; Reservation:

Presque Isle, Aroostook County; [www.micmac-nsn.gov](http://www.micmac-nsn.gov))

Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians (Reservation: Houlton, Aroostook County; [www.maliseets.com](http://www.maliseets.com))

Passamaquoddy Tribe – Indian Township (Reservation: Princeton, Washington County;

[www.passamaquoddy.com](http://www.passamaquoddy.com))

Passamaquoddy Tribe – Pleasant Point (Reservation: Perry, Washington County;

[www.passamaquoddy.com](http://www.passamaquoddy.com))

Penobscot Nation (Reservation: Indian Island, Penobscot County; [www.penobscotnation.org](http://www.penobscotnation.org))

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

United Cherokee Nation – Maine Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/maine.html>)

Wesgut Sipu Inc. (Location: Fort Kent, Aroostook County)

## Maryland

### Native American Nations<sup>238</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

Piscataway Indian Nation (Location: Port Tobacco, Charles County)

Piscataway-Conoy Confederacy and Sub-Tribes, Inc / Piscataway Conoy Tribe (Location: LaPlata,

Charles County; [www.piscatawayconoytribe.com/](http://www.piscatawayconoytribe.com/); [www.facebook.com/piscatawayconoytribe](https://www.facebook.com/piscatawayconoytribe))

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Accohannock Indian Tribal Association, Inc. (Location: Marian, Somerset County)

Assateague Indian Tribe (Location: unknown)

Cedarville Band of Piscataway Indians (Location: Waldorf, Charles County)

Federation: Moorish Science Temple of America, Inc. (Ineligible to petition for Federal

Acknowledgement 05/15/1997; Location: Baltimore; [www.moorishsciencetempleofamericainc.com](http://www.moorishsciencetempleofamericainc.com))

Nause-Waiwash Band of Indians, Inc. (Location: Vienna, Dorchester County;

[www.turtletracks.org](http://www.turtletracks.org))

Pocomoke Indian Nation / Pocomoke Indian Tribe, Inc. (Location: Eden + Crisfield,

Somerset County; [www.pocomokeindiannation.org](http://www.pocomokeindiannation.org))

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (Location: Conowingo, Cecil County)

United Cherokee Nation – Maryland Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/maryland.html>)

Youghiogaheny River Band of Shawnee Indians, Inc. (Location: Bethesda, Montgomery County)

<sup>237</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 26); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (National Conference of State Legislatures 2015). State Native American affairs are handled by the Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission (2015).

<sup>238</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 26); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). Responsible for Native American affairs on the state lever is the Maryland Commission on Indian Affairs (n.d.).

## Massachusetts

### Native American Nations <sup>239</sup>

#### Federal Native American Nations:

Aquinnah Wampanoag / Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Federal Acknowledgement 04/11/1987; Reservation: Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County; [www.wampanoagtribe.net](http://www.wampanoagtribe.net))

Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe (Federal Acknowledgement 02/15/2007; Reservation: Mashpee, Barnstable County; <https://mashpeewampanoagtribe-nsn.gov/>)

#### State Native American Nations:

Chappaquiddick Tribe of the Wampanoag Indian Nation (Reservation: Andover, Essex County; <https://chappaquiddickwampanoag.org/>)

Chaubunagungamaug Band of the Nipmuck Nation (Federal Acknowledgement declined 01/28/2008; Reservation: Webster/Dudley, Worcester County)

Herring Pond Wampanoag Tribe (Reservation: Buzzards Bay, Barnstable County; [www.herringpondtribe.org](http://www.herringpondtribe.org); [www.facebook.com/herringpondtribe/](https://www.facebook.com/herringpondtribe/))

Nipmuc Nation (Hassanamisco Band) (Federal Acknowledgement declined 01/28/2008; Reservation: Grafton, Worcester County; [www.nipmucnation.org](http://www.nipmucnation.org))

Pocasset Wampanoag Indian Tribe (Reservation: Auburn, Worcester County; [www.pocassetpokanoket.com/](http://www.pocassetpokanoket.com/); [www.facebook.com/Pocasset-Wampanoag-Tribe-of-the-Pokanoket-Nation-252741534757802/](https://www.facebook.com/Pocasset-Wampanoag-Tribe-of-the-Pokanoket-Nation-252741534757802/))

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Assonet Band of Wampanoags (Location: New Bedford, Bristol County)

Chappaquiddic Indian Band of Massachusetts (Location: Pocasset, Barnstable County; [www.chappiquiddic.org](http://www.chappiquiddic.org))

Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook - Abenaki People (Location: Franklin, Norfolk County + Forestdale, Barnstable County; [www.cowasuck.org](http://www.cowasuck.org))

Federation of old Plimoth Indian Tribes, Inc. (Location: Plymouth, Plymouth County)

Free Cherokee – Four Winds Band (Location: Franklin, Norfolk County)

Historical Nipmuc Tribe (Location: unknown)

Narragansett Tribe of Indians (Location: unknown)

Natick Nipmuc Indian Council (Location: Natick, Middlesex County)

New England Coastal Schaghticoke Indian Association & Tribal Council (Location: Avon, Norfolk County)

Namasket/Nemasket Wampanoag Band (Location: Middleborough, Plymouth County)

Pokanoket Tribe / Wampanoag Nation / Council of Seven / Royal House of Pokanoket (Location: Milbury, Worcester County)

Neponsett / Ponkapoag Tribal Council (Location: Brockton, Plymouth County)

Quinsigamond Band of the Nipmucs (Location: Worcester, Worcester County)

Rebel Deaf Panther Tribe International (Location: unknown)

Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe (Location: Seekonk, Bristol County; <http://kalel1461.tripod.com/home.html>)

**239** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 26–28); (National Conference of State Legislatures 2015); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1987); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2007a); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2008b); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2008a). State American Indian affairs are handled by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (2019).

United American Indians of New England (Location: Plymouth, Plymouth County;  
www.uaine.org)

United Cherokee Nation – Massachusetts Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/massachusetts.html>)

## Michigan

### Native American Nations<sup>240</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Bay Mills Chippewa Indian Community (Reservation: Bay Mills + Superior + Sugar Island +  
Brimley, Chippewa County; [www.baymills.org](http://www.baymills.org))

Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians (Federal Acknowledgement 05/27/1980;  
Reservation: Peshawbestown + Suttons Bay, Leelanau County; [www.gtbindians.org](http://www.gtbindians.org))

Hannahville Indian Community (Reservation: Hannahville, Menominee County + Delta County;  
[www.hannahville.net](http://www.hannahville.net))

Keweenaw Bay Indian Community (Reservation: L'Anse Indian Reservation, Baraga County;  
[www.ojibwa.com](http://www.ojibwa.com))

Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Legislative Recognition 09/08/1988;  
Reservation: Watersmeet, Gogebic County; [www.lvdtribal.com](http://www.lvdtribal.com))

Little River Band of Ottawa Indians (Legislative Recognition 09/21/1994; Reservation: Manistee,  
Manistee County; [www.lrbai-nsn.gov](http://www.lrbai-nsn.gov))

Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians (Legislative Recognition 09/21/1994; Reservation:  
Harbor Springs + Petoskey, Emmet County; [www.ltbodawa-nsn.gov](http://www.ltbodawa-nsn.gov))

Match-e-be-nash-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians / Gun Lake Village Band & Ottawa  
Colony Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians (Federal Acknowledgement 08/23/1999;  
Reservation: Dorr, Allegan County)

Huron Potawatomi, Inc. / Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi (Federal Acknowledg-  
ment 03/17/1996; Reservation: Pine Creek Indian Reservation, Fulton, Kalamazoo County +  
Athens, Calhoun County; [www.nhbpi.com](http://www.nhbpi.com))

Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians & Potawatomi Indians of Indiana and Michigan  
(Legislative Recognition 09/21/1994; Reservation: Dowagiac, Cass County;  
[www.pokagon.com](http://www.pokagon.com))

Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (Reservation: Isabella Indian Reservation, Mount Pleasant,  
Isabella County; [www.sagchip.org](http://www.sagchip.org))

Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians (Reservation: Sugar Island, Sault Ste. Marie,  
Chippewa County; [www.saulttribe.com](http://www.saulttribe.com))

#### **State Native American Nations:**

Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, Inc. (Federal Acknowledgement declined  
01/23/2007; Reservation: Brutus, Emmet County; [www.burtlakeband.org](http://www.burtlakeband.org))

Grand River Bands of Ottawa Indians (Reservation: Grand Rapids, Kent County; [www.grboi.com](http://www.grboi.com))

Gun Lake Band of Grand River Ottawa Indians (Reservation: Grand Ledge, Eaton +  
Clinton County)

Swan Creek Black River Confederated Ojibwa Tribes, Inc. (Reservation: Saginaw, Saginaw County)

Wyandot of Anderdon Nation (Reservation: Trenton, Wayne County;  
[www.wyandotofanderdon.com](http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com))

**240** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 28–31); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). Services for Native Americans on a state level is provided by State of Michigan, Michigan Department of Health and Human Services (MDHHS), Native American Affairs (2017).

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

- Consolidated Bahwetig Ojibwas and Mackinac Tribe (Location: Sault St. Marie, Chippewa County)  
 Chi-cau-gon Band of Lake Superior Chippewa of Iron County (Location: Iron River, Iron County)  
 Genesee Valley Indian Association (Location: Flint, Genesee County)  
 Lake Superior Chippewa of Marquette, Inc. (Location: Marquette, Marquette County)  
 Little Owl Band of Central Michigan Indians (Location: Sidney, Montcalm County)  
 Maconce Village Band of Ojibwa (Location: Ira Township, St. Clair County)  
 Mackinac Band of Chippewa and Ottawa Indians (Location: Hessel, Mackinac County)  
 Maple River Band of Ottawa (Location: Lyons, Ionia County)  
 Muskegon Ottawa Nation of Indians / Muskegon River Band of Ottawa Indians (Location:  
 North Muskegon, Muskegon County)  
 Ooragnak-Indian Nation (Location: Honor, Benzie County + Southfield, Oakland County)  
 Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Where Rivers Meet Band / - Wandering Waters  
 Band / - Thunderbird Band (Location: Brooklyn, Jackson County + Mesick, Wexford County +  
 Quincy, Branch County)  
 United Cherokee Nation – Michigan Clan (Location: unknown, <http://theucn.com/michigan.html>)

## Minnesota

### Native American Nations<sup>241</sup>

#### Federal Native American Nations:

- Lower Sioux Indian Community (Reservation: Morton, Renville County; [www.lowerSioux.com](http://www.lowerSioux.com))  
 Minnesota Chippewa Tribe ([www.mnchippewatribe.org](http://www.mnchippewatribe.org)):
- Bois Forte Band (Nett Lake) (Reservation: Bois Forte Reservation, Koochiching County + St. Louis County; [www.boisforte.com](http://www.boisforte.com))
  - Fond du Lac Band (Reservation: Fond du Lac Reservation, Carlton County + St. Louis County; [www.fdlrez.com](http://www.fdlrez.com))
  - Grand Portage Band (Reservation: Grand Portage Reservation, Cook County; [www.grandportage.com](http://www.grandportage.com))
  - Leech Lake Band (Reservation: Leech Lake Reservation, Beltrami County + Cass County + Hubbard County + Itasca County; [www.llojibwe.com](http://www.llojibwe.com))
  - Mille Lacs Band & Kettle & Knife & Snake Rivers Band of the St. Croix Chippewa of Minnesota (Reservation: Mille Lacs Lake Indian Reservation, Kathio + South Harbor + Isle Harbor + Idun, Mille Lacs County; [www.millelacsOjibwe.org](http://www.millelacsOjibwe.org)) + Rice Lake Band of Mississippi Ojibwe & Sandy Lake Band of Mississippi Chippewa (Reservation: Sandy Lake Indian Reservation, Turner Township, Aitkin County)
  - White Earth Band (Reservation: White Earth Reservation, Mahnomen County + Becker County + Clearwater County; [www.whiteearth.com](http://www.whiteearth.com))
- Prairie Island Indian Community (Reservation: Welch, Goodhue County; [www.prairieisland.org](http://www.prairieisland.org))  
 Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians (Reservation: Red Lake Reservation, Red Lake, Beltrami County + Clearwater County; [www.redlakenation.org](http://www.redlakenation.org))  
 Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux (Reservation: Prior Lake, Scott County; [www.shakopeedakota.org](http://www.shakopeedakota.org))  
 Upper Sioux Community (Reservation: Granite Falls, Yellow Medicine County; [www.upperSiouxcommunity-nsn.gov](http://www.upperSiouxcommunity-nsn.gov))
- State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

<sup>241</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 31); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). Responsible for state Native American affairs is the State of Minnesota, Indian Affairs Council (2007–2012).

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Kah-Bay-Kah-Nong / Gabekanaang Anishinaabeg / Warroad Chippewa (Location: Warroad, Roseau County)

Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota Community (Location: Mendota, Dakota County)

NI-MI-WIN Ojibways (Location: unknown)

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (Location: Hewitt, Todd County)

United Cherokee Nation – Minnesota Clan (Location: unknown;  
<http://theucn.com/minnesota.html>)

## Mississippi

### Native American Nations <sup>242</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (Reservation: Choctaw Reservation, Neshoba County, [www.choctaw.org](http://www.choctaw.org))

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cherokee Tribe of Mississippi (Location: Burnsville, Tishomingo County)

Grand Village Natchez Indian Tribe (Location: Natchez, Adams County)

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Medicine Crow Band (Location: Collins, Covington County)

United Cherokee Nation – Mississippi Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/mississippi.html>)

Vancleave Live Oak Choctaw (Location: Soucier, Harrison County + Vancleave, Jackson County)

## Missouri

### Native American Nations

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry <sup>243</sup>

Ahi Ni Yv Wiya, Inc. (Location: unknown)

Amonsoquath Tribe of Cherokee (Location: West Plains, Howell County + Van Buren, Carter County; <http://amonsoquathbandofcherokee.org>)

Cherokee Nation West of Missouri & Arkansas / Cherokee Nation West - Southern Band of Eastern Cherokee Indians of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Seneca, Newton County + Oklahoma City, OK)

Dogwood Band of Free Cherokees (Location: unknown)

Neutral Land Cherokee Group (Location: unknown)

<sup>242</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 31); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019).

<sup>243</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 31–33); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

- Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory (Location: Columbia, Boone County; <http://ncnolt.net>) with its subgroups:
- Northern Cherokee Nation of Old Louisiana Territory – Itse Dugalu District / – New Toogaloo District (Location: Columbia, Boone County)
  - Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory – Kansas (Awi Akta) District (Location: Columbia, Boone County; [www.facebook.com/AwiAktaDistrict](http://www.facebook.com/AwiAktaDistrict))
  - Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory – Oklahoma (Ani Tsi Na) District (Location: Columbia, Boone County)
  - Northern Cherokee Nation of Old Louisiana Territory – Southeastern Missouri (SEMO) District (Location: Columbia, Boone County)
- Northern Cherokee Tribe of Indians of Missouri and Arkansas (Location: Clinton, Henry County)  
 Ozark Mountain Cherokee Tribe of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Alton, Oregon County + Melbourne, AR)
- Sac River and White River Band of Chickamauga-Cherokee Nation of Arkansas and Missouri / Northern Chickamauga Cherokee Nation of Arkansas and Missouri (Location: Fair Play, Polk County)
- Saponi Nation of Missouri (Mahenips Band) (Location: Willow Springs, Howell County; <http://saponi.us/>)
- Shawnee Tribe (Location: Seneca, Newton County) Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Hummingbird Medicine Clan (Location: Collins, Covington County + Springfield, Greene County)
- Southern Cherokee Indian Tribe (Location: Newburg, Phelps County; <http://thesoutherncherokee.org>; [www.facebook.com/thesoutherncherokeeindiantribe](http://www.facebook.com/thesoutherncherokeeindiantribe))
- Southern Cherokee Treaty Tribe (Location: Linn Creek, Camden County)
- Western Cherokee (Location: Salem, Dent County)
- Western Cherokee of Arkansas/Louisiana Territories (Location: Ellington, Reynolds County)
- Wilderness Tribe of Missouri (Location: Alton, Oregon County)
- United Cherokee Nation – Missouri Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/missouri.html>)

## Nebraska

### Native American Nations

[For federal Native American Nations see (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c), no state Native American Nations, no tribes applying for federal acknowledgement.]

## New Hampshire

### Native American Nations<sup>244</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Abenaki Indian Center, Inc. (Location: Manchester, Hillsborough County)

Abenaki Nation of New Hampshire (Location: Manchester, Hillsborough County)

Pennacook New Hampshire Tribe (Location: Manchester, Hillsborough County)

United Cherokee Nation – New Hampshire Clan (Location: unknown;

<http://theucn.com/newhampshire.html>)

244 (Native Languages of the Americas 1998–2015), (Wikipedia, 2019).

## New Jersey

### Native American Nations<sup>245</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

Nanticoke Lenne-Lenape Nation (Reservation: Bridgeton, Cumberland County;  
www.nanticoke-lenape.info)

Powhatan Renape Nation (Reservation: Rankokus Indian Reservation, Rancocas,  
Burlington County)

Ramapough Luunape Nation / Ramapough Lenape Nation / Ramapough Mountain Indians, Inc.  
(Federal Acknowledgement declined 01/07/1998; Reservation: Mahwah, Bergen County;  
www.ramapoughlenapenation.org)

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cherokee Nation of New Jersey (Location: Newark, Essex County)

Eagle Medicine Band of Cherokee Indians (Location: Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, PA)

Jatibonico Taino Tribal Band of Southern New Jersey (Location: Vineland, Cumberland County;  
www.hartford-hwp.com/Taino/jatibonico.html)

New Jersey Sand Hill Band of Lenape and Cherokee Indians / Sand Hill Band of Indians (Location:  
Neptune, Monmouth County + Patterson, Passiac County + Montague, Sussex County)

Osprey Band of Free Cherokees (Location: unknown)

Powhatan Tribe (Location: Elizabeth, Union County)

Schëjachbi Wonameys, New Jersey Lenne Lenape Nation (Location: unknown;  
www.facebook.com/LenneLenape)

Unalachtigo Band of Nanticoke-Lenne Lenape Nation (Location: Bridgeport, Gloucester County)

United Cherokee Nation – New Jersey Clan (Location: unknown; http://theucn.com/  
newjersey.html)

## New York State

### Native American Nations<sup>246</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Cayuga Nation (Reservation: Versailles, Cattaraugus County; http://cayuganation-nsn.gov)

Oneida Indian Nation (Reservation: Vernon + Verona, Oneida County, Oneida + Canastota,  
Madison County; www.oneidaindianation.com)

Onondaga Indian Nation (Reservation: Nedrow, Onondaga County; www.onondaganation.org)

Saint Regis Mohawk Tribe (Reservation: Akwesasne, Hogsburg + St. Regis, Franklin County;  
www.srmt-nsn.gov)

Seneca/Cattaraugus Nation of Indians (www.sni.org): Allegeny Indian Reservation  
(Cattaraugus County)

<sup>245</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 34); (National Conference of State Legislatures 2015), (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009), (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1998). Responsible for American Indian affairs on state level is the State of New Jersey, Department of State, New Jersey Commission on American Indian Affairs (2011).

<sup>246</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 35); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2010). American Indian services on state level are provided by the New York State – Office of Children & Family Services (2017).



Cattaraugus Indian Reservation (Cattaraugus County + Chatauqua County + Erie County)  
 Oil Springs Indian Reservation (Cattaraugus County + Allegeny County)  
 Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians (Reservation: Tonawanda Indian Reservation, Basom,  
 Genesee County + Erie County + Niagara County)  
 Tuscarora Nation (Reservation: Lewiston, Niagara County; <http://tuscaroras.com/>)  
 Shinnecock Indian Nation / Shinnecock Tribe of New York / Shinnecock Nation of Indians  
 (Reservation: Southampton, Suffolk County; [www.shinnecocknation.com](http://www.shinnecocknation.com);  
[www.facebook.com/ShinnecockIndianNation](http://www.facebook.com/ShinnecockIndianNation))

**State Native American Nations:**

Poosepatuck/Unkequaug Indian Nation (Reservation: Mastic, Suffolk County;  
<https://www.facebook.com/Unkechaug-Indian-Nation-182228627237>)

**Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry**

Cherokee Blackfeet (Location: New York City)  
 Chickamauga Notowega Creeks (Location: Staten Island, Richmond County)  
 Deer Council of Free Cherokees (Location: Brooklyn, Kings County)  
 Hudson River Band / Konkapot Band / Hudson Valley Band (Location: North Granville,  
 Washington, County)  
 Mohawk Reservation (Location: Fonda, Montgomery County)  
 Montauk/Montaukett Indian Nation (Location: Sag Harbor, Suffolk County)  
 Montaukett Tribe of Long Island (Location: East Hampton, Suffolk County)  
 North Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Location: The Bronx, Westchester County;  
[www.nebci.org](http://www.nebci.org))  
 Nuy Keetoowah, Inc. (Location: unknown)  
 Ohatchee Cherokee Tribe of New York and Alabama (Location: Brooklyn, Kings County)  
 Taino Nation of The Antilles (Location: New York City)  
 United Cherokee Council – New York Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/newyork.html>)  
 Western Mohegan Tribe & Nation (Location: Granville, Washington County + New York City)

**North Carolina**

**Native American Nations**<sup>247</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Reservation: Qualla Boundary, Cherokee, Swain County;  
<https://ebci.com/>)

Lumbee Tribe (Location: Pembroke, Robeson County; [www.lumbee Tribe.com](http://www.lumbee Tribe.com))

**State Native American Nations and Associations:**

Coharie Tribe / Coharie Intra-Tribal Council, Inc. (Location: Clinton, Sampson County)  
 Cumberland County Association for Indian People (Reservation: Fayetteville,  
 Cumberland County)  
 Guilford Native American Association (Location: Greensboro, Guilford County)  
 Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe (Reservation: Hollister, Halifax County; [www.haliwa-saponi.com](http://www.haliwa-saponi.com))  
 Meherrin Indian Tribe (Location: Ahoskie, Hertford County; <http://meherrinnation.org>)  
 Metrolina Native American Association (Location: Mebane, Alamance County)

<sup>247</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 35–38); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Meherrin Indian Nation 2015); (Meherrin-Chowanoke.com 2015); personal communication Renate Bartl with Helen C. Rountree in Munich on April 6, 2015. State American Indian affairs are handled by the State of North Carolina, Department of Administration, Commission of Indian Affairs n.d..

Occaneechi Band of Saponi Nation (Location: Mebane + Little Texas, Pleasant Grove Township, Almerce County + Orange County) Sappony / High Plains Sappony / Indians of Person County / Cherokee-Powhattan Indian Association / Cubans (Location: Roxboro, Person County; [www.sappony.org](http://www.sappony.org))

Triangle Native American Association (Location: Raleigh, Wake County)

Waccamaw-Siouan Tribe / Waccamaw-Siouan Development Association, Inc. (Reservation: Bolton, Columbus County)

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cherokee Indians of Hoke County, Inc. / Tuscarora Hoke County (Ineligible to petition Federal Acknowledgement 10/23/1989; Location: Lumber Bridge, Robeson County)

Cherokee Indians of Red Banks, Robeson, and Adjoining Counties (Ineligible to petition Federal Acknowledgement 10/23/1989; Location: Red Springs, Robeson County + Hoke County)

Chicora-Siouan Indian People / Cape Fear Indians (Location: Cape Fear River, Brunswick County)

Coree / Faircloth Indians (Location: Atlantic, Carteret County)

Creek-Cherocumberlandkee Indians, Pine Tree Clan (Location: unknown)

Eno-Occaneechi Tribe of Indians (Location: Mebane, Almerce County + Orange County)

Free Cherokee (Location: Chapel Hill, Orange County)

Hattadare Indian Tribe (Location: Bunnlevel, Hartnett County)

Kaweah Indian Nation, Inc. (Federal Acknowledgment declined 06/10/1985; Location: Oriental, Pamlico County + Kansas + California)

Lumbee Tribe of Cheraw Indians / Lumbee Regional Development Association, Inc. (Ineligible to petition Federal Acknowledgement 10/23/1989; Location: Pembroke, Robeson County)

Meherrin-Chowanoke Nation / Meherrin Indian Tribe (Location: Winton, Hertford County)

Nuluti Equani Ehi / Near River Dwellers (Location: East Bend, Yadkin County)

Ridge Band of Cherokees (Location: Ridgecrest, Buncombe County)

Roanoke-Hatteras Indians of Dare County (Location: Elizabeth City, Pasquotank County + Camden County + Dare County)

Rockingham County Indians (Location: Rockingham County)

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Wee Toc Band / - Enola Band / - Mountain Band / Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy - Silver Cloud Clan (Location: Morgantown, Alamance County + Bakersville, Mitchell County + Albemarle, Stanly County + Jacksonville, Onslow County + Fletcher, Henderson County)

Southern Band Tuscarora Indian Tribe (Reservation: Indian Woods, Windsor, Bertie County)

Skaroreh Katenuaka (Location: Tosneoc Village, Elm City, Wilson County)

Tsalagi Nation Early Immigrants 1817 (Location: Rougemont, Durham County + Orange County + Person County)

Tuscarora Indian Tribe / Tuscarora Nation of Indians of North Carolina / Skaroreh Katenuaka Nation (Ineligible to petition Federal Acknowledgement 10/23/1989; Group formally dissolved 1997; Reservation: Drowning Creek Reservation, Maxton, Robeson County + Scotland County, Cumberland County, Hoke County)

Tuscarora Nation East of the Mountains / Hatteras Tuscarora Indians (Location: Maxton + Rowland, Robeson County)

Tuscarora Nation of North Carolina (Ineligible to petition Federal Acknowledgement 10/23/1989; Location: Maxton, Robeson County; [www.tuscaroranationnc.com](http://www.tuscaroranationnc.com))

Tuscarora Nation of Indians of the Carolinas (Location: Charlotte, Mecklenburg County)

United Cherokee Nation – North Carolina Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/northcarolina.html>)

Winton Triangle Community (Location: Winton + Ahoksi + Cofield, Hertford County)

Yeopim Renape Indian Tribe / WiYaPeMiAk / Weapemeoc (Location: Yeopim Indian Reservation, Currituck County)

## Ohio

### Native American Nations <sup>248</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

- Catawba Indian of Carrs Run, Ohio (Location: Carrs Run, Pike County; Chillicothe, Ross County; <http://catawbaindianofcarrsrunohio.yolasite.com/>)
- Munsee Delaware Indian Nation— USA / Munsee-Thames River Delaware / Munsee Delaware Indian Nation (Reservation: Cambridge Reservation, Guernsey County)
- Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band of Ohio (Reservation: Bellefontaine, Logan County)

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

- Allegheny Nation – Ohio Band (Location: Canton, Stark County)
- Chaliawa (Cat Nation) (Location: Greenwich, Huron County)
- Cherokee Delaware Indian Center (Location: Coshocton, Coshocton County)
- Cherokee United Intertribal Indian Council (Location: unknown)
- Chickamauga Keetoowah Unami Wolf Band of Cherokee Delaware Shawnee of Ohio, West Virginia & Virginia (Location: Cleveland, Cuyahoga County)
- East of the River Shawnee Tribe (Location: unknown)
- Eastern Cherokee Nation, Overhill Band (Location: Columbus, Franklin County)
- Etowah Cherokee Nation (Location: Portsmouth, Scioto County)
- Free Cherokee - Four Direction Council (Location: Toledo, Lucas County)
- Free Cherokee - Hokshichanklya Band (Location: Creola, Vinton County)
- Free Cherokee – Three Spirit Clan (Location: McArthur, Vinton County)
- Kispoko Sept of Ohio Shawnee (Location: Hog Creek Reservation, Cridersville, Auglaize County)
- Lower Eastern Ohio Mekojoy Shawnee (Location: Wilmington, Clinton County)
- Mekoce Shawnee (Location: unknown)
- Morning Star Shawnee Nation (Location: unknown)
- North Eastern U.S. Miami Inter-Tribal Council (Location: Youngstown, Mahoning County)
- Notoweega Nation (Location: unknown)
- Nottoway in Ohio (Location: Xenia, Greene County)
- Piqua Sept of Ohio Shawnee Indians (Location: North Hampton, Clark County)
- Saponi Nation of Ohio (Location: Rio Grande, Gallia County)
- Shawnee Nation – Ohio Blue Creek Band of Adams County (Location: Lynx, Adams County)
- Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band of Ohio (Location: Dayton, Montgomery County)
- Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (Location: Norwalk, Huron County)
- Tallige Cherokee Nation, Fire Clan / Tallige Fire Cherokee Nation (Location: Lucasville, Scioto County; [www.tallige.com](http://www.tallige.com))
- Tutelo-Saponi Tribal Nation / Pine Hill Saponi Tribal Nation (Location: Beavercreek, Greene County)
- Tutelo Nahysson Tribal Nation (Location: Stewart, Athens County)
- United Cherokee Nation – Ohio Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/northcarolina.html>)

## Pennsylvania

### Native American Nations <sup>249</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

<sup>248</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 39–40); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

<sup>249</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 42); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

- Eagle Medicine Band of Cherokee Indians (Location: Philadelphia, Philadelphia County)
- Eastern Lenape Nation (Location: Mountville, Lancaster County)
- Eastern Delaware Nation (Location: Wyalusing, Bradford County + Forksville, Sullivan County)
- Free Cherokee-Chickamauga (Location: unknown)
- Lenape Nation (Location: Norristown, Montgomery County)
- Lenape Nation Pennsylvania (Location: Easton, Northampton County)
- Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy of Pennsylvania (Location: Philadelphia, Philadelphia County)
- Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Earth Band (Location: Philadelphia, Philadelphia County)
- Thunder Mountain Lenapé Nation (Location: unknown)
- Tsalagi Elohi Cherokee Earth (Location: unknown)
- United Cherokee Nation – Pennsylvania Clan (Location: Haverford, Delaware County; <http://theucn.com/northcarolina.html>)
- United Cherokee Tribe of West Virginia (Location: unknown)
- White Path Society (Location: unknown)

## Oklahoma

### Native American Nations<sup>250</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

- Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Location: Cleveland County, Pottawatomie County; [www.astribe.com](http://www.astribe.com))
- Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town (Location: Wetumka, Hughes County; [www.alabama-quassarte.org](http://www.alabama-quassarte.org))
- Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Caddo County, Comanche County, Cotton County, Grady County, Jefferson County, Kiowa County, and Stephens County)
- Caddo Nation of Oklahoma / Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Binger, Caddo County)
- Cherokee Nation / Tsalagih Ayeli (Location: Adair County, Cherokee County, Craig County, Delaware County, Mayes County, McIntosh County, Muskogee County, Nowata County, Ottawa County, Rogers County, Sequoyah County, Tulsa County, Wagoner County, Washington County; [www.cherokee.org](http://www.cherokee.org))
- Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes / Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma (Location: Beckham County, Blaine County, Canadian County, Custer County, Dewey County, Ellis County, Kingfisher County, Roger Mills County, Washita County; [www.c-a-tribes.org](http://www.c-a-tribes.org))
- Chickasaw Nation (Location: Ada, Pontotoc County; [www.chickasaw.net](http://www.chickasaw.net))

**250** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 40–41); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c). Many tribes who lived in the Eastern United States before 1830 were deported to Oklahoma (which was part of the Indian Territory then) as a consequence of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. In Oklahoma, many tribes do not live on reservations, but on Indian trust land. Many eastern tribes were split up by the removal and nowadays have eastern parts, which still reside in the east, and western parts, that live in Oklahoma. Responsible for American Indian affairs on a state level are a Senate and House Joint Committee on State-Tribal Relations (Oklahoma State Legislature [2017]) and the Secretary of State (State of Oklahoma 2017). The Oklahoma Indian Affairs Commission was dissolved in 2011 (National Conference of State Legislatures 2017).

- Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma (Location: Atoka County, Bryan County, Choctaw County, Coal County, Haskell County, Hughes County, Johnston County, Latimer County, Le Flore County, McCurtain County, Pittsburg County, Pontotoc County, Pushmataha County; [www.choctawnation.com](http://www.choctawnation.com))
- Citizen Potawatomi Nation (Location: Shawnee, Pottawatomie County; [www.potawatomi.org](http://www.potawatomi.org))
- Comanche Nation / Comanche Indian Tribe (Location: Caddo County, Comanche County, Cotton County, Grady County, Jefferson County, Kiowa County, Stephens County, and Tillman County; [www.comanchenation.com](http://www.comanchenation.com))
- Delaware Nation / Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma (Location: Caddo County; [www.delawarenation.com](http://www.delawarenation.com))
- Delaware Tribe of Indians / Cherokee Delaware / Eastern Delaware (Location: Bartlesville, Osage + Washington County; [www.delawaretribe.org](http://www.delawaretribe.org))
- Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Ottawa County)
- Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Apache, Caddo County; [www.fortsillapache-nsn.gov](http://www.fortsillapache-nsn.gov))
- Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Lincoln County, Logan County, Oklahoma County, Payne County; [www.bahkhoje.com](http://www.bahkhoje.com))
- Kaw Nation (Location: Kay County)
- Kialegee Tribal Town (Location: Hughes County, McIntosh County, Okfuskee County; [www.kialegeetribaltown.net](http://www.kialegeetribaltown.net))
- Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Oklahoma County, Pottawatomie County, Lincoln County)
- Kiowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Caddo County, Kiowa County; [www.kiowatribe.org](http://www.kiowatribe.org))
- Loyal Shawnee Tribe (Federal Recognition 12/27/2000; Location: Tahlequah, Cherokee County)
- Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Miami, Ottawa County)
- Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Ottawa County; [www.modoctribe.net](http://www.modoctribe.net))
- Muscogee (Creek) Nation (Location: Creek County, Hughes (Tukvptvce) County, Mayes County, McIntosh County, Muskogee County, Okfuskee County, Okmulgee County, Rogers County, Seminole County, Tulsa County, Wagoner County; [www.muscogeenation-nsn.gov](http://www.muscogeenation-nsn.gov))
- Osage Tribe (Location: Osage County)
- Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Miami, Ottawa County; [www.ottawatribe.org](http://www.ottawatribe.org))
- Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians (Location: Noble County; [www.omtribe.org](http://www.omtribe.org))
- Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma (Location: Pawnee, Pawnee County; [www.pawneenation.org](http://www.pawneenation.org))
- Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Location: Ottawa County; [www.peoriatribe.com](http://www.peoriatribe.com))
- Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma / Ponca Nation (Location: Kay County, Noble County; [www.ponca.com](http://www.ponca.com))
- Quapaw Tribe of Indians (Location: Ottawa County; [www.quapawtribe.com](http://www.quapawtribe.com))
- Sac & Fox Nation (Location: Lincoln County, Payne County, Pottawatomie County; [www.sacandfoxnation-nsn.gov](http://www.sacandfoxnation-nsn.gov))
- Seminole Nation of Oklahoma (Location: Seminole County; [www.seminolenation.com](http://www.seminolenation.com))
- Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma (Location: Ottawa County, Delaware County; [www.sctribe.com](http://www.sctribe.com))
- Shawnee Tribe (Location: Miami, Ottawa County; [www.shawnee-tribe.com](http://www.shawnee-tribe.com))
- Thlopthlocco Tribal Town (Location: Clearview; Okfuskee County)
- Tonkawa Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Location: Kay County; [www.tonkawatribe.com](http://www.tonkawatribe.com))
- United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma / Anigiduwagi Anitsalagi (Location: Tahlequah, Cherokee County)
- Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (Wichita, Keechi, Waco & Tawakonie) (Location: Caddo County; [www.wichitatribes.com](http://www.wichitatribes.com))
- Wyandotte Nation (Location: Ottawa County; [www.wyandotte-nation.org](http://www.wyandotte-nation.org))
- State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cheyenne Nation (Location: Longdale, Blaine County)

Muscogee Creek Indian Freedmen Band (Location: Moore, Cleveland County + Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County)

Muscogee Nation of Florida / Florida Tribe of Eastern Creek Indians / Creek-Euchee Band of Indians of Florida (Location: Owasso, Rogers County + Tulsa County; Bruce + Bristol, FL)

Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Turtle Band (Location: Fort Cobb, Caddo County)

United Band of Western Cherokee Nation (Location: Pawhuska, Osage County)

United Chickamungwa Band (Location: Wister, Le Flore County)

Yuchi Tribe / Yuchi Tribal Organization (Federal Acknowledgement denied 03/21/2000; Location: Sapulpa, Creek + Tulsa County)

## Rhode Island

### Native American Nations<sup>251</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Narragansett Indian Tribe / Narragansett Tribe of Indians (Federal Acknowledgement 04/11/1983; Reservation: Charlestown, Washington County; <http://narragansettindiannation.org/>)

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Aquidneck Indian Council (Location: Portsmouth, Newport County; [www.aquidneckindiancouncil.org](http://www.aquidneckindiancouncil.org))

Pokanoket Tribe of Wampanoag Nation (Location: Bristol, Bristol County + Milbury, MA)

Pokanoket/Wampanoag Federation / Wampanoag Nation / Pokanoket Tribe/And Bands (Location: Warwick, Kent County)

Seaconke Wampanoag Tribe (Reservation: North Smithfield, Providence County; [www.seaconkewampanoag.com](http://www.seaconkewampanoag.com))

United Cherokee Nation – Rhode Island Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/rhodeisland.html>)

Wappinger Tribal Nation (Location: Wakefield, Washington County)

Wiquapau Eastern Pequot Tribe (Location: Hope Valley, Washington County)

## South Carolina

### Native American Nations<sup>252</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

Catawba Indian Nation (Reservation: Catawba State Reserve, Rock Hill + Catawba, York County; [www.catawbaindian.net](http://www.catawbaindian.net))

#### **State Native American Nations:**

Beaver Creek Indians of Orangeburg County / Beaver Creek Band of Pee Dee Indians (Reservation: Lexington, Lexington County, Wagener + Salley, Aiken County; [www.beavercreekindians.org](http://www.beavercreekindians.org))

<sup>251</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 42–43); (Wikipedia, 2019); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1983).

<sup>252</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 43–44); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Takatoka 2009). Native American affairs on the state level are handled by the South Carolina Commission For Minority Affairs (n.d.).

- Chaloklowa Chickasaw Indian People (Reservation: Indiantown + Hemingway, Williamsburg County + Wagener, Aiken County)
- Eastern Cherokee, Southern Iroquois and United Tribes of South Carolina (Reservation: Columbia, Richland County + Oconee County + Pickens County + Greenville County + Laurens County + Spartanburg County + Newberry County + Anderson County)
- Edisto Natchez-Kusso Tribe / Four Hole Indian Organization (Location: Ridgeville, Dorchester County, + Colleton County + Charleston County)
- Natchez Tribe of South Carolina / Natchez Nation Eastern Band (Reservation: Columbia, Richland County)
- Pee Dee Indian Tribe of Beaver Creek / Pee Dee Indian Nation of Beaver Creek (Reservation: Gilbert, Lexington County + Neeses, Orangeburg County)
- Pee Dee Indian Tribe of South Carolina / Pee Dee Indian Association, Inc. (Reservation: McColl + Bennettsville, Marlboro County + Dillon County + Marion County)
- Pee Dee Nation of Upper South Carolina (Reservation: Little Rock, Dillon County)
- Piedmont American Indian Association – Lower Eastern Cherokee Nation of South Carolina (Reservation: Gray Court, Laurens County + Simpsonville, Greenville County)
- Santee Indian Organization / White Oak Indian Community (Reservation: Holly Hill, Orangeburg County + Berkeley County + Calhoun County)
- Sumter Tribe / Sumter Band of Cheraw Indians (Location: Sumter, Sumter County)
- Waccamaw Indian People (Reservation: Conway, Horry County)
- Wassamasaw Tribe of Varnertown Indians (Reservation: Moncks Corner, Berkeley County + Dorchester County; [www.wassamasawtribe.com](http://www.wassamasawtribe.com))

## Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

- Broad River Band of Cherokees (Location: unknown)
- Cherokee Bear Clan (Location: Oconee County)
- Cherokees of South Carolina (Location: Columbia, Richland County + Lexington County)
- Chicora Indian Tribe / Chicora – Siouan Indian People (Location: Loris, Horry County + Andrews, Georgetown County + Williamsburg County)
- Chicora – Waccamaw Indian People (Location: Conway + Aynor, Horry County)
- Croatan Indian Tribe (Location: Cordova, Orangeburg County)
- Fields Indian Family – Pine Hill Indian Community (Location: Orangeburg County)
- Free Cherokee / Chickamauga (Location: Chesnee, Cherokee County + Spartanburg County)
- Free Cherokee – Sweet Potato Clan (Location: Ladson, Berkeley County + Charleston County + Dorchester County)
- Marlboro, Chesterfield, Darlington County Pee Dee Indian Tribe (Location: McColl, Marlboro County, + Chesterfield County + Darlington County; <http://mcdcppeedeindiantrib.tripod.com/>)
- Santee Indian Nation (Location: Pauline, Spartanburg County; <http://santeebeadman.tripod.com/>)
- Santee Indian Tribe (Location: Ladson, Berkeley County + Charleston County; Dorchester County; Moncks Corner, Berkeley County)
- Savannah River Band of Yuchi Indian Tribe - Uchean Nation (Location: Allendale, Allendale County)
- Three Rivers Cherokee (Location: Fairfield County)
- Tuscarora Indian Tribe / Tuscarora Nation of Indians of North Carolina / Skaroreh Katenuaka Nation (Location: Dillon County, Hartnett County, Sampson County)
- United Cherokee Nation – South Carolina Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/southcarolina.html>)
- Waccamaw – Siouan Indian Association (Location: Galivants Ferry, Horry County)

## Tennessee

### Native American Nations<sup>253</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**<sup>254</sup> no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Aniyunweya Nation (Location: Lyles, Hickman County)

Aniyuywai Native People (Location: Cleveland, Bradley County)

Appalachian Confederated Tribes (a.k.a. Upper Cumberland Cherokee) (Location: Kingsport, Hawkins County + Sullivan County)

Appalachian Intertribal Heritage Association, Inc. (Location: Appalachia, Wise County, KY + Kingsport, Hawkins County + Sullivan County)

Buffalo Ridge Cherokees (Location: unknown)

Central Band of Cherokee / Cherokees of Lawrence County / Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Sugar Creek Band (State Recognition declared void 2010, Federal Acknowledgment declined 07/24/2012; Location: Lawrenceburg + Looma, Lawrence County)

Cherokee Wolf Clan (State Recognition declared void 2010; Location: Yuma, Carroll County + Benton County + Decatur County + Henderson County + Henry County + Weakley County + Gibson County + Madison County)

Chikamaka Cherokee Band of the South Cumberland Plateau Region, Inc. (State Recognition declared void 2010; Location: Tracy City, Grundy County + Coffee County + Franklin County + Marion County + Sequatchie County + Warren County; <http://chikamaka.us>)

Chickamauga Circle Free Cherokee (Location: Chattanooga, Hamilton County)

Chota Nation (Location: Sweetwater, Monroe County + McMinn County Cumberland Creek Indian Confederation (Location: Tracy City, Grundy County)

East Tennessee Overhill Cherokee Descendants (Location: Cosby, Cocke County)

Eastern Cherokee Nation (Location: Chattanooga, Hamilton County)

Elk Valley Band-Council of Chickamauga Cherokee (Location: Estill Springs, Franklin County)

Elk Valley Council Band of Free Cherokee (Location: Pigeon Forge, Sevier County)

Etowah Cherokee Nation (Location: Cleveland, Bradley County + Pigeon Forge, Sevier County)

Faraway Cherokee Association (Location: Memphis, Shelby County)

Free Cherokee - Deer Clan of East Tennessee (Location: Lenoir City, Loudon County)

Free Cherokee - Good Medicine Society (Location: Grandview, Rhea County)

Free Cherokee - Tennessee River Band Chickamauga (Location: Jasper, Marion County)

Free Cherokees - Chickamaugan Circle (Location: Ooltewah, Hamilton County)

Free Cherokee of Tennessee (Location: Evensville, Rhea County)

Free Cherokee of Tennessee (Location: Grandview, Rhea County)

Kwatani Mission of Chickamauga Cherokee (Location: Chattanooga, Hamilton County + Marion County)

<sup>253</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 45); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1985b); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2012); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

<sup>254</sup> State Recognition for six Tennessee tribes declared void by court in 2010 (Mark Greene Vs. Tennessee Commission of Indian Affairs 2010). In consequence the Tennessee Commission of Indian Affairs ended operations on June 30, 2010 (National Conference of State Legislatures 2017).



- Over-Hill Indian Nation – Cherokee (Location: Englewood, McMinn County + Tellico Plains, Monroe County; [www.overhillcherokee.com](http://www.overhillcherokee.com))
- Red Clay Inter-tribal Indian Band, Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Inc. (Federal Acknowledgement declined 11/25/1985; Location: Ooltewah, Hamilton County)
- Red Stick Confederacy (Location: Franklin, Williamson County)
- Remnant Yuchi Nation (State Recognition declared void 2010; Location: Sullivan County + Carter County + Greene County + Hawkins County + Unicoi County + Johnson County + Washington County)
- Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Chota Band / – Buffalo Creek Band / – One Spirit Band / – Bear Spirit Band (Location: Maryville, Blount County + New Tazewell, Claiborne County + Newport, Cocke County + Sevierville, Sevier County)
- Tanasi Council of the Far Away Cherokee (Location: Memphis, Shelby County + Dyer County + Gibson County + Humphreys County + Perry County)
- Tanasi Native American Group (Location: Knoxville, Knox County)
- TeeHahNahMah Nation (Location: Rockwood, Roane County; [www.angelfire.com/band/teehahnahmah](http://www.angelfire.com/band/teehahnahmah))
- Tennessee Band Cherokees, Inc. Earth Clan (Location: Nashville, Davidson County + Dickson, Dickson County + Fairview, Williamson County)
- Tennessee Band Cherokees, Inc. (Location: Knoxville, Knox County)
- Tennessee Band of Eastern Cherokee (Location: Conosauga, Indian Land, Polk County + Knoxville, Knox County)
- Tennessee Band of the Cherokee (Location: Strawberry Plains, Jefferson County + Knox County)
- Tennessee River Band of Chickamauge Cherokee (Location: Ooltewah+ Chickamuga Station, Hamilton County + Marion County; [www.angelfire.com/tn/trbccscn](http://www.angelfire.com/tn/trbccscn))
- Tohcahe Band White Wolf Guardian Spirit (Location: unknown)
- Tsalagi Intertribal Warrior Society (Location: unknown)
- Turkey Town Association of the Cherokee (Location: Nashville, Davidson County)
- United Cherokee Nation – Tennessee Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/tennessee.html>)
- United Eastern Lenape Nation of Winfield Tennessee / United Eastern Lenape Nation Middle Division Inc. (Cherokee of the Upper Cumberland, Knoxville) (State Recognition declared void 2010; Location: Winfield, Scott County + Knoxville, Knox County+ Morgan County + Fentress County + Campbell County)
- United South and Eastern Tribes (Location: Nashville, Davidson County; <http://usetinc.org>)
- Western Cherokee (Location: Atoka, Tipton County)

## Texas

### Native American Nations<sup>255</sup>

#### **Federal Native American Nations:**

- Alabama-Coushatta Tribe(s) of Texas (Reservation: Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation, Polk County; [www.alabama-coushatta.com](http://www.alabama-coushatta.com))
- Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas / Texas Band of Traditional Kickapoo (Federal Acknowledgement as part of Oklahoma Kickapoo tribe 09/14/1981; Reservation: Kickapoo Indian Reservation, Rosita South, Maverick County; <https://kickapootexas.org>)
- Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo of Texas / Tigua Pueblo (Reservation: El Paso – Ysleta, El Paso County; [www.ysletadelsurpueblo.org](http://www.ysletadelsurpueblo.org))

255 (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 45–47); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009).

**State Native American Nations:**

Lipan Apache Tribe of Texas (Location: McAllen, Hidalgo County; [www.lipanapache.org](http://www.lipanapache.org))  
 Texas Band of Yaqui Indians (Location: Lubbock, Lubbock County; [www.yaquitribetexas.com](http://www.yaquitribetexas.com))

**Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry**

American Cherokee Tribe of Texas (Location: Lumberton, Hardin County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Apalachicola Band of Creek Indians (Location: Mabank, Henderson County + Kaufman County)  
 Arista Nation / Arista Indian Village (Location: Houston, Harris County; <http://aristaindianvillagearistanation.yolasite.com>)  
 Atakapas Ishak Nation of Southeastern Texas and Southwestern Louisiana (Location: Port Arthur, Jefferson County, Orange County; + Lake Charles, LA; [www.atakapa-ishak.org](http://www.atakapa-ishak.org); [www.facebook.com/groups/69718159440](https://www.facebook.com/groups/69718159440)) [see chapter 11.1.]  
 Carrizo/Comecrudo Nation of Texas (Location: Lubbock, Lubbock County; <http://carrizocomecrudonation.com>)  
 Cherokee Nation of Mexico (Location: Dripping Springs, Hays County. [www.cherokeestationofsequoyah.com](http://www.cherokeestationofsequoyah.com)) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Cherokee Nation of Texas Limited (Location: unknown) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Cherokee Nation of Texas / Texas Cherokee / Tsalagiya Nvdagi (Location: Troup, Smith County + Cherokee County; <https://texascherokees.net>) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Chickamauga Cherokee Brushy Creek Band (Location: unknown) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Comanche Penateka Tribe (Location: Houston, Harris County)  
 Court of the Golden Eagle, The Oukah (Location: unknown)  
 Creek Indians of Texas at Red Oak (Location: Red Oak, Ellis County)  
 Free Cherokee, Hummingbird Clan (Location: Dallas, Dallas County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Free Cherokee Tennessee River Band of Chickamauga (Location: unknown) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Jumano Tribe (West Texas) / People of LaJunta (Jumano/Mescalero) (Location: Odessa, Ector County)  
 Kuné Tsa Nde Band of the Lipan Apache Nation of Texas / Tu' Tssn Nde Band of the Lipan Apache Nation of Texas (Location: San Antonio, Bexar County; [www.facebook.com/kunetsande](http://www.facebook.com/kunetsande))  
 Lipan Apache Band of Texas (Location: San Antonio, Bexar County + Moulton, Lavaca County; [www.lipanapachebanoftexas.com](http://www.lipanapachebanoftexas.com))  
 Pamaque Clan of Coahuila y Tejas Spanish Indian Colonial Mission (Location: San Antonio, Bexar County)  
 Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Running Wolf Band (Location: Willow Park, Parker County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Hawk Clan (Location: Mineral Wells, Palo Pinto County + Parker County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Southeastern Cherokee Confederacy, Sequoyah Clan (Location: El Paso, El Paso County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Southeastern Cherokee Tribe and Associated Bands (Location: Porter, Montgomery County) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Sovereign Cherokee Nation Tejas (Location: Fate, Rockwall County; [www.texascherokeestation.org](http://www.texascherokeestation.org)) [see chapter 11.3.]  
 Tap Pilam: The Coahuiltecan Nation (Location: San Antonio, Baxter County)  
 Texas Band of Cherokee Indians of the Mount Tabor Indian Community (Location: unknown) with its subgroups [see chapter 11.3.]:  
 – Choctaw-Chickasaw Indians of the Mount Tabor Community (Location: unknown)  
 – Pine Hill Community of Cherokee Indian (Location: Pine Hill, Cherokee County)  
 – Texas Buffalo Bayou Band of Chickamauga Cherokee, Southern Cherokee Nation (Location: unknown)  
 – Texas Gulf Coast Cherokee and Associated Bands (Location: New Caney, Montgomery County)

Tlaxcalteca Nation and Affiliated Tribes (Location: San Antonio, Baxter County)

United Cherokee Nation – Texas Clan (Location: Bastrop, Bastrop County, + Atlanta, Cass County; <http://theucn.com/texas.html>) [see chapter 11.3.]

United Chickamauga (Location: unknown) [see chapter 11.3.]

United Mascogo Seminole Tribe of Texas (Location: Del Rio, Val Verde County) [see chapter 11.5.]

Yanaguana Bands of Mission Indians of Texas (Location: San Antonio, Baxter County)

## Vermont

### Native American Nations<sup>256</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:**

Nulhegan Band of the Coosuk-Abenaki People (Location: Newport/Derby Line, Orleans County)

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook-Abenaki People (Location: Alton, Belknap County)

ELNU Tribe of the Abenaki (Location: Putney, Windham County)

Free Cherokee, Tribal Council (Location: Springfield, Windsor County)

Green Mountain Band of Cherokee (Location: Bristol, Addison County)

Koasek Traditional Band of the Sovereign Abenaki Nation / Northern New England-Coos Band / Independent Clans of the Coos United / Cowasuck of North America and Cowasuck-Horicon Traditional Band / Cowasuck Traditional Band of the Sovereign Abenaki Nation (Location: Newbury/Post Mills, Orange County)

St. Francis/Sokoki/Missquoi/Mazipskwik Band of Abenakis of Vermont (Federal Acknowledgement declined 10/01/2007; Location: Missisquoi/Swanton, Franklin County)

Sunray Mediation Society (Location: Bristol, Addison County)

United Cherokee Nation – Vermont Clan (Location: unknown; <http://theucn.com/vermont.html>)

## Virginia

### Native American Nations<sup>257</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Chickahominy Indian Tribe (Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Location: New Kent County + Charles City County; [www.chickahominytribe.org](http://www.chickahominytribe.org))

Chickahominy Indians, Eastern Division, Inc. / Eastern Chickahominy Tribe (Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Reservation: Providence Forge, New Kent County; [www.cied.org](http://www.cied.org))

**256** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 47); (National Conference of State Legislatures 2017) (National Conference of State Legislatures 2015), (Vermonters Concerned on Native American Affairs 2015); (Wikipedia, 2019); (Takatoka 2009); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2007b). Responsible for American Indian affairs in this state is the State of Vermont, Vermont Commission on Native American Affairs (2015).

**257** (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 47–49); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2016); U.S. Congress (2018); (Wikipedia, 2019); personal communication Renate Bartl with Helen C. Rountree in Munich on April 07, 2010 and April 06, 2015. American Indian affairs on state level are regulated by the Virginia Council on Indians (2002–2009).

- Monacan Indian Nation, Inc./ Monacan Indian Tribe of Virginia (Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Reservation: Madison Heights, Amherst County; [www.monacannation.com](http://www.monacannation.com))  
 Nansemond Indian Tribe (Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Location: Chesapeake + Portsmouth; [www.nansemond.org](http://www.nansemond.org))
- Pamunkey Nation / Pamunkey Indian Tribe (Federal Acknowledgement 01/28/2016; Reservation: King William, King William County; [www.pamunkey.net](http://www.pamunkey.net))
- Rappahannock Indian Tribe / United Rappahannock Tribe.(Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Location: King and Queen County + Essex County + Caroline County; [www.rappahannocktribe.org](http://www.rappahannocktribe.org))
- Upper Mattaponi Indian Tribe, Inc. (Federal Recognition 01/29/2018; Location: King William County; [www.uppermattaponi.org](http://www.uppermattaponi.org))

**State Native American Nations:**

- Cheroenhaka (Nottoway) Indian Tribe (Reservation: Courtland, Southampton County; [www.cheroenhaka-nottoway.org](http://www.cheroenhaka-nottoway.org))
- Mattaponi Indian Nation / Mattaponi Indian Tribe (Reservation: Mattaponi Indian Reservation, King William County)
- Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia (NITV) (Reservation: Capron, Southampton County; [www.nottowayindians.org](http://www.nottowayindians.org))
- Patawomeck Indian Tribe (Location: Stafford County + Spotsylvania County)

**Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry**

- Almondsville Group (Location: York County)
- Ani-Stohini/Unami Nation (Location: Fries, Grayson County)
- Appalachian Cherokee Nation (Location: Thornburg, Spotsylvania County + Gore, Frederick County; [www.appalachiancherokeenation.net](http://www.appalachiancherokeenation.net))
- Appalachian Intertribal Heritage Association, Inc. (Location: Appalachia, Wise County + Kingsport, Hawkins County + Sullivan County, TN)
- Assateague Indians (Location: Eastern Shore of VA)
- Bear Saponi Tribe of Clinch Mountain Southwest Virginia (Location: Wise County)
- Blue Ridge Cherokee, Inc. (Location: Clinch Mountain, Tazewell County)
- Cherokee of Virginia Birdtown (Location: unknown)
- Drummondtown Group (Location: Northampton County)
- Free Cherokees Spider Clan (Location: Richmond)
- Inagel Tsalagi, Cherokee of Virginia (Location: Rapidan, Culpeper + Orange County)
- Northern Tsalagi Indian Nation (Location: unknown)
- Rappahannock Indian Tribe, Inc. (Location: Chance, Essex County)
- Southeastern Cherokee Council, Inc. (SeCCI) – Red Cedar Band (Location: Richmond)
- Southern Cherokee Confederacy - Pine Log Clan (Location: Fairfax, Fairfax County)
- Tauxenent Indian Nation (Location: Mason Neck, Fairfax County)
- Turtle Band of Cherokee (Location: Evington, Campbell County)
- United Cherokee Indian Tribe of Virginia / Buffalo Ridge Cherokees (Location: Madison Heights, Amherst County; [www.ucitova.org](http://www.ucitova.org))
- United Cherokee Nation – Virginia Clan (Location: Portsmouth; <http://theucn.com/virginia.html>)
- Wicocomico Indian Nation / Historic Wicocomico Indian Nation of Northumberland County (Location: Sierra Vista, Cochise County, AZ+ Heathsville, Northumberland County)
- Wolf Creek Cherokee Indian Tribe (Location: Stuart, Patrick County)
- Wolf Creek Cherokee Tribe, Inc. (Location: Henrico, Henrico County)

## West Virginia

### Native American Nations <sup>258</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:** no federal tribes

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Monican Indian Nation (Location: Huntington, Cabell County + Wayne County)

United Cherokee Indian Tribe of West Virginia (Location: Beckley, Raleigh County)

United Cherokee Nation – West Virginia Clan (Location: Glen Morgan, Raleigh County, + Welch, McDowell County; <http://theucn.com/westvirginia.html>)

## Wisconsin

### Native American Nations <sup>259</sup>

**Federal Native American Nations:**

Bad River Band of the Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa Indians of the Bad River Reservation  
(Reservation: Bad River Reservation, Odanah, Ashland + Iron County; [www.badriver.com](http://www.badriver.com))

Forest County Potawatomi Community (Reservation: Crandon, Forest County + Milwaukee County)

Ho-Chunk Nation (Reservation: Black River Falls, Jackson County; [www.ho-chunknation.com](http://www.ho-chunknation.com))

Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Reservation: Hayward, Sawyer County; [www.lco-nsn.gov](http://www.lco-nsn.gov))

Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of the Lac du Flambeau Reservation (Reservation: Lac du Flambeau Reservation, Lac du Flambeau, Vilas County)

Menominee Indian Tribe (Reservation: Keshena, Menominee County; [www.menominee-nsn.gov](http://www.menominee-nsn.gov))

Oneida Tribe of Indians (Reservation: Oneida, Brown County + Outagamie County)

Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Reservation: Red Cliff, Bayfield County; [www.redcliff-nsn.gov](http://www.redcliff-nsn.gov))

St. Croix Chippewa Indians (Reservation: St. Croix Indian Reservation, Barron County + Burnett County + Polk County; [www.stcciw.com](http://www.stcciw.com))

Sokaogon Chippewa Community (Reservation: Crandon, Forest County; [www.sokaogonchippewa.com](http://www.sokaogonchippewa.com))

Stockbridge Munsee Community (Reservation: Bowler, Shawano County; [www.mohican-nsn.gov](http://www.mohican-nsn.gov))

**State Native American Nations:** no state tribes

### Other Groups Claiming Indigenous Ancestry

Brothertown Indian Nation (Location: Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac County; [www.brothertownindians.org](http://www.brothertownindians.org))

Muhheconnuck and Munsee Tribe (Location: Keshena, Menominee County)

Southern Cherokee Confederacy (Location: unknown)

United Cherokee Nation – Michigan Clan (Location: Fox Point, Milwaukee County, <http://theucn.com/wisconsin.html>)

<sup>258</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 51); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c).

<sup>259</sup> (U.S. Department of the Interior – Indian Affairs, Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2013b, 51); (U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015c); (Wikipedia, 2019). American Indian affairs in Wisconsin are handled by the Wisconsin State Legislature, Special Committee on State-Tribal Relations (2016) and the Wisconsin State Tribal Initiative (2017).

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This book presents an ethnohistorical overview on the contact situation of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans in North America. In particular, it discusses the ethnogenesis of African-Indigenous and tri-racial groups in the eastern USA. Described in detail is the situation in Louisiana and Texas, with a discussion of the specific social, cultural, and legal factors, that framed the contact and interaction of Native Americans, African Americans, Free Persons of Color, and Europeans in these states.

A theoretical frame is provided explaining the formation of a collective ethnicity and culture in African-Native and tri-racial groups, by creating shared group histories, genealogies, migration stories, ethnic identities, etc.

Another focus of this book is on the usage of the term "Indian" by African Americans and Persons of Color as a racial category for self-identification. It is demonstrated, how African Americans and Persons of Color switched into the racial category "Indian" to evade segregation, discrimination, and enslavement, and retain a status as "free" persons.

**Renate Bartl** holds a Ph.D. in American Cultural History and Cultural Anthropology from the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU), Munich, Germany. Her main research areas are Native American Nations, and African-Indigenous and tri-racial groups of the eastern USA.

Renate Bartl is an independent scholar and the person in charge of the *American Indian Workshop (AIW)*.

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