

MORGANANGEL



ASSOCIATES, LLC

Historical and Public Policy Consultants
1601 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Suite 600
Washington, DC 20009

INTRODUCING THE ADAI INDIAN NATION*

Executive Summary

The Adai Indian Nation is a Native American tribal entity based on its traditional homelands in west-central Louisiana. The State of Louisiana officially recognizes the Nation as a tribal entity. The Nation's tribal community headquarters is located at 4460 Highway 485, Robeline, LA 71469. Its primary tribal community is a 600-acre land grant given to the Nation's Chief and Tribal leader in 1829 by the United States Government. This land grant was bordering Lake of the Adaes or *Laguna de Adaes* as named by the Spaniards. After the United States acquired this part of the Adaes territory, Euro-Americans begin referring to the lake as the old Spanish Lake and the Adaes community there also became known as the Spanish Lake community. Formally renamed by the Nation as the Adai Indian Nation Community, it lies immediately west of the town of Natchitoches, LA. The Nation describes its over 1300 members as a "body of people bound together by blood ties, who are socially, economically, politically, and religiously organized."

Current Adai members trace their ancestry back to the mid-19th century Federal censuses of Louisiana and from the 18th century Spanish Texas archives of Nacogdoches, Texas, where tribal members emigrated through trade with the Spanish. The Nacogdoches, Texas area was originally part of the territory of the Nacogdoche, a tribe of the Caddo confederacy, with which the Adai were associated. When this area of Texas was districted for the jurisdiction of Indians, the Adai were placed under the division having its official headquarters at Nacogdoches. Adai tribal members there eventually began to move their families back to the original principal village of the Adaes, east of the Sabine River (known in the 18th century as the *Rios de las Adiais*). This territory became zoned as the Neutral Strip in 1806 and termed "No Man's Land" because of a jurisdictional dispute between the governments of the United States and New Spain. Neither Americans nor Spaniards could legally occupy this strip. Until

* This briefing paper was prepared by Dr. Michael L. Lawson, an historian and partner in Morgan, Angel, and Associates, L.L.C., an historical consulting firm in Washington, D.C., in cooperation with Mr. Rufus Davis, Chief of the Adai Indian Nation, and Dr. Maria D. Wade, an anthropologist at the University of Texas at Austin. For more information about Dr. Lawson and the Morgan Angel firm see the concluding page.

1821, only the Adai Indians were allowed to occupy this part of their original territory. At that time, the territory west of the Sabine in Spanish Texas became part of the new independent country of Mexico and the Neutral Strip, including the remaining principal territory of the Adai, became part of the State of Louisiana. During the Cordova Rebellion of 1838-39, a Hispanic and Indian uprising against the Republic of Texas, in which the Adai were involved, the last of the Adai tribal people in their original Texas territory west of the Sabine moved back to the principal village of the Adai.

Although English is the primary language of tribal members today, historically the Adai also spoke their native Adai dialect and Caddoan and other Native American dialects, as well as French and Spanish. The majority of the Adai are Roman Catholics, and their tribal community has maintained a Catholic mission within its homelands since the establishment of St. Michael of the Adaes in 1717. The Adai continue to occupy a part of their aboriginal territory where they were first encountered by Spanish explorers in 1529.

Prior to World War II, the majority of the Adai lived in close proximity within the tribal residential community at Spanish Lake and maintained a high rate of endogamy (marriages within the tribe). Although only about 15 percent of the members now reside within the tribal residential community, the Adai continue to maintain close kinship ties and those living away from the core community return frequently to Spanish Lake for tribal and family events, including funerals at the community church and burials in the tribal cemetery. The Adai still govern themselves through their traditional, informal system, now under the dynamic leadership of Chief Rufus Davis. The Adai Indian Nation has been formally recognized as a Native American tribal entity by the State of Louisiana, the *Consulat General De France* in New Orleans, the Council General of Spain and the Caddo Nation of Oklahoma, and many other governmental, cultural, and social organizations.

Although the Adai had extensive contacts with U.S. Army officers and Indian agents between at least 1805 and 1857, the United States never negotiated any treaties with the Nation. By the time the United States acquired Louisiana and extending its territory to the Sabine in 1812, the Adai were severely weakened, by European diseases to a stage where they had very little power to negotiate more than a 600-acre land grant that ultimately became the survival community where the Adai reside today. They remained quiet in their community and were not in a position to establish a formal government-to government relationship with the United States, particularly at a time, when the Federal Government began removing Indian tribes out of Louisiana. Consequently, the Adai Indian Nation is still seeking the formal Federal Acknowledgment or legislative or judicial recognition that would allow it to become eligible for the services and benefits that are available to other tribal entities because of their status as federally recognized tribes. The Adai also wish to gain the enhanced legal status, sovereign powers, privileges, and immunities that accrue to federally recognized tribes, and are anxious to assume the increased responsibilities and obligations that come with Federal status.

In 1978, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established regulations and procedures by which unrecognized tribal groups could gain Federal acknowledgment of their status as Indian tribe from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs. These regulations were codified as Part 83 of Title 25 of the *Code of Federal Regulations*

(25 CFR 83). The Adai Indian Nation is an active petitioner in this administrative process and it continues to collect evidence to demonstrate that it meets the mandatory criteria.

The Federal acknowledgment process has long been criticized because it places an extraordinary evidentiary and financial burden on petitioning tribes and has failed to provide due process in a timely manner in regard to the resolution of its cases. For example, the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, which now manages the process, has historically resolved only about 1.6 cases per year and has a list of 263 petitioners whose status it has yet to determine. A recent successful petitioner, the Shinnecock Indian Nation of New York, spent millions of dollars to gain Federal acknowledgment and was in the administrative process for 32 years.

Congress also has the legislative power to grant Federal recognition to Indian tribes, as well as to restore the Federal status of tribes that were previously recognized but lost that status. Federal courts likewise have the judicial authority to recognize Indian tribes under the precedent established by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Montoya v. United States* (1901).

While the Adai Indian Nation will continue in the BIA's administrative process for Federal acknowledgment, and is confident that it meets the mandatory criteria of the regulations, it is also intent on pursuing other options for Federal recognition in which the merits of its case might gain due process in a more expedient and timely manner.

Historical Background of the Adai Indian Nation

Adai Culture, Territory and Early European Contacts

The historical Adai resided within the modern boundaries of northwestern Louisiana and east-central Texas centuries before the establishment of the United States. The Spanish documented the existence of the Adai as a separate and distinct Indian tribe as far back as the early 16th century. At that time, the Adai were encountered living in scattered villages just west of the Red River in the Texas territory claimed by the Spanish. Their territory extended east across the Sabine River, which was formerly named *Rio de Los Adaes* by the Spanish, in what is now Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana. The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 established the Sabine River as the boundary between Spanish Texas and the State of Louisiana. Descendants of that historical Adai tribe continue to maintain a residential community within these traditional homelands.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Adai were part of a regional indigenous culture that lived in permanent communities of extended family groups situated in fertile river valleys. They practiced sedentary horticulture, gathered wild food resources, hunted large and small mammals, and fully exploited the lacustrine resources of the region. Ethnological evidence indicates that the Adai governed by consensus through a representative council presided over by a leader and comprised of elders of the primary extended families. The council decided matters of importance to the tribe and dispensed justice. The Adai were renowned for their influential shamans who practiced healing and interceded in connections between the tribal community and the spirit world.

Although the Adai's native territory was inside the boundaries of the tribes identified, as being part of the Caddo confederacies and the Adai were closely associated

with the Caddo, they spoke a distinct dialect. In the 17th century, Caddo society included more than a dozen separate tribes with similar cultures and languages. Based on linguistic similarity, scholars classified the different Caddo tribes into three affiliated confederations: *Kadohadacho* (Caddo), *Natchitoches*, and *Hasinai*. Eventually, all of these tribes that were identified linguistically and culturally as being Caddo. The loss of population and territory caused by Euro-American contact resulted in tribal consolidation of the Caddo within the boundaries of the United States. The Caddo sold their Louisiana land to the United States in 1835, but the Adai territory and Principal Village was not included in the land sale and neither was the Texas territory of the Hasinai. The Louisiana Caddo moved out of the boundaries of the United States into Mexican Texas, and later banded with the Texas Hasinai and other Texas Caddo, as they were forced into Indian Territory (Oklahoma) by the Anglo Texans.

Because of the location of their Principal Village and territory the Adai were in the hub of the area claimed by the Spanish and French, which later became disputed territory between the United States and Spain. The Caddo tribes that had banded together sold their Louisiana land to the United States. The territory and the Principal Village of the Adai had already been districted out by the United States in land grants to Euro-Americans, and the Adai Chief received one of these grants.

Scholars have in the past grouped the Adai with the Caddo, proper classification, although each Caddo tribe exercised independent leadership, they maintained close relationships with each other. The *Kadohadachos* were located to the north along the bend of the Red River in Louisiana near the present borders of Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma. The *Natchitoches* lived further south on the Red River near what is now Natchitoches, Louisiana. The *Hasinai* resided to the west in Texas along the upper Neches and Angelina Rivers. The Adai territory was described in 1719 as running south from the Red River past the Rio de los Adaes (Sabine River), the lower course of which serves as most of the modern border between Louisiana and Texas. Close proximity to the larger and more influential Caddo tribes served often to overshadow the distinct existence and history of the Adai.

The Adai had a unique facility for languages, which helped them become adept in matters of trade and diplomacy. Their location and familiarity with the Caddoan dialects allowed them to become a conduit for native trade between tribes of the Plains and those of the Southeast. After gaining access to horses and cattle through Spanish trade networks, they became excellent horsemen, ranchers, and mounted hunters. The location of their traditional territory in northwestern Louisiana and east-central Texas and their facility with languages were also key factors that controlled the ability of the Adai to survive on their homelands following their initial contact with Europeans. Their lands came to be a strategic junction respectively between French and Spanish territories, United States and Spanish territories, U.S. and Mexican territories, and, finally, between territories claimed by the U.S. and the Republic of Texas. As a result, the Adai were periodically courted or ignored by the major Euro-American colonizers who sought their loyalty in order to maintain control of their territorial claims. In order to survive on their homelands, they were continuously forced to adapt and develop strategies to deal with both the competing nations and other tribes and, eventually, with the overwhelming pressure of Anglo-American settlement. These strategies included learning the rudiments of European languages, forging commercial and military alliances, periodically

withdrawing to safe havens when relationships became hostile, and submerging themselves in obscurity once their territory officially became part of the United States and they were faced with the relentless influx of Anglo-American settlers.

These European encroachments into their village area, forced the Adais Indians north from the Village of the Adaes, where they were transformed from living their traditional lifestyle and compelled again to submerge themselves into obscurity. All of the tribal families eventually settled on a 600-acre land grant given by the United States in 1825 to their famous tribal leader CA BA CON NA (One Who Speaks), also known as Manuel Flores. This land grant was within their traditional homeland, where the Adai remain today. This land was granted to the Adai approximately 10 years before the remaining Caddo tribes sold their land to the United States in 1836 and moved out of the boundaries of the United States. This land grant bordered *Laguna de Los Adaes* (Lake of the Adaes) so named by the Spaniards because the Adaes had lived around this Lake from time immemorial. The lake was later called the Old Spanish Lake by the Euro-Americans and ultimately the Adai community was also later referred to as the Spanish Lake Community.

Between 1700 and 1825, French, Spanish, and United States officials completed six independent estimates of Adai population, which suggest a total of 400-500 tribal members. However, by the time the United States officially obtained control of Adai territory in 1821, their population was less than 100. Their comparatively small size was undoubtedly a key factor effecting their interaction with the United States Government. Since small, peaceful tribes generally did not draw the attention of Government officials, the opportunity for the Adai to gain Federal recognition was minimal in the 19th century.

The Adai were living in what is now northwestern Louisiana when Spanish explorers first visited the area in 1529. The shipwrecked Spanish explorer Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca referred to them as the *Atayos*. Although in the early 16th century the Spanish claimed all of Texas and the western part of Louisiana, they had no real presence in most of Texas and none in Louisiana. Consequently, almost 200 years passed before the Adai encountered any additional contact with Europeans. When official contact was reestablished with Spain in 1690, the competition of nearby French territorial claims spurred the Spanish to establish a presence near the Adai, establishing two missions among tribes of the *Hasinai* confederation in East Texas. These missions proved to be short lived, but they helped secure Spain's continued legal claim to the region.

Adai in the 18th Century

In the meantime, France began to develop and expand its claims to the Mississippi River Valley in response to increased British infiltration of the North American interior from its east coast colonies. In 1700, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville led an expedition up the Red River to identify potential Indian trading partners among the Indians and determine Spanish proximity to the area. Bienville wrote of his visit to an Adai village near the Red River, where he counted approximately 100 men. This expedition marked the first contact between the Adai and Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the young French-Canadian military officer who would become a crucial conduit for both French and Spanish interaction with the Adai and all the Caddo tribes.

In 1714, with the help of the *Natchitoches* tribe, St. Denis established a fort named St. Jean Baptiste aux Natchitos on the Red River at the present site of

Natchitoches (*NAK-ə-təsh*), Louisiana. This post quickly became a thriving center of trade and the Adai helped the French establish trading relationships with tribes beyond the Rio de los Adaes (Sabine River).

In an effort to counter French influence, the Spanish in 1716-1717 established six missions stretching across eastern Texas into present northwestern Louisiana. With the permission of the Adai, the mission San Miguel de los Linares de Los Adaes was erected near the principal Adai village close to the present town of Robeline, Louisiana. At that time, the Spanish claimed the Red River to be the eastern boundary of the East Texas portion of New Spain, so the mission was considered part of Spanish Texas despite being in what is now considered Louisiana. The San Miguel mission took part of its name from the Adai, in whose territory it was located. The rationale for establishing a mission among a relatively minor tribe was obviously its proximity to the French fort at Natchitoches. San Miguel de los Linares de Los Adaes was less than 15 miles west of Fort St. Jean Baptiste aux Natchitos.

While the French were driven mainly by a desire to establish profitable trade with the Indians, the Spanish sought to convert the tribes to Catholicism, settle them in European-like communities surrounding a mission, and exploit them as a labor source similar to feudal peasants. Given the dichotomy of their imperialistic interests, it is not difficult to understand why the French quickly won the loyalty of the Adai and Caddo tribes.

Despite the strong efforts of the Spanish missionaries, the Adai did not settle near the San Miguel mission in significant numbers and defied the Spanish prohibition against continued trade with the French. Following the outbreak of the War of the Quadruple Alliance in 1719, which involved Spain, France, Great Britain, and other European powers, the Spanish retreated from San Miguel and their other new missions. However, they returned in 1721 with an impressive army and established a new mission, San Miguel de Cuellar de los Adaes a few miles east of the former mission site. Over the next few years, the Spanish soldiers also erected a fortification, the presidio of Nuestra Senora del Pilar de los Adaes (Presidio Los Adaes), with its own separate chapel, to defend the mission and province from the French. Due to its strategic location, the Presidio Los Adaes served as the Spanish capital of Texas from 1729 to 1770.

In order to establish an alliance with the Adai, the Spanish named a local Adai leader to serve as governor of the new San Miguel mission, thus forging an official relationship between the two entities. Many Adai accepted Catholicism and were baptized with Spanish names, but they refused the friar's efforts to have them settle near the mission, preferring instead to remain in their traditional *rancherias*.

Racial designations during this era were more complex than they appeared. Use of the term "Spanish" in describing soldiers, settlers, and officials did not always mean that they were of pure European stock. The Spanish developed an elaborate *Casta* system for describing racial distinctions and mixtures, which eventually included over one hundred categories. For example, the terms *Mestizos*, *Coyotes*, and *Lobos* were used to describe mixed peoples who were presumed to have Indian blood. *Mestizos* were persons with one Spanish parent and one Indian parent. *Coyotes* were persons with one Mestizo parent and one Indian parent. A significant portion of the Spanish and later Mexican people that came to the Louisiana and Texas frontier had intermarried with Indian populations in other parts of Spain's Empire in the Americas. A large part of the

“Spanish” population at Los Adaes and similar settlements was comprised of lower caste *Mestizos* and *Coyotes*. Since they already had Indian blood, they had little problem in accepting an Indian mixture. The priests at the San Miguel missions consistently baptized Adai and other tribal members and gave them Spanish names; most often after the friars, soldiers, or settlers who served as godparents at the baptism.

The Anglo-Americans that came in the 19th century to become the dominant population in this region did not generally understand the existing distinctions between the ethnic and genealogical designations of “Spanish,” “Mexican,” and “Indian.” This explains in large part why Anglo-American observers variably used all three designations, in identifying the Adai.

Despite their territorial ambitions, the Spanish and French in the region settled into an extended period of non-aggression and peaceful recognition of the status quo. An incident in 1731 convinced both of the importance of maintaining the loyalty of the Adai and the Caddo tribes. In that year, 200 Natchez Indians from Mississippi attacked the French fort at Natchitoches. At the request of the French, Spanish soldiers and warriors from the Adai and Caddo tribes joined the battle to successfully defend the fort. This expression of Indian loyalty made both powers acutely aware of the need to maintain goodwill with these tribes. The willingness of the tribes to fight for the French also indicated to Spanish officials that their continued presence in the area was dependent on maintaining peaceful relations with the French.

The Adai were able to exploit the French-Spanish rivalry for material, political, and military gains over a period of approximately four decades. For example, in 1755 an Adai chief and some Caddo leaders convinced the Spanish governor at Presidio Los Adaes to lift the restrictions on trade with the French and permit Spanish traders to distribute firearms to the tribes. Their fertile homelands permitted the Adai to develop a thriving livestock industry. Some tribal members received individual grants for thousands of acres and some of these grants were later recognized by the United States.

The positive circumstances of these international relationships began to unravel for the Adai in 1762, when at the end of the Seven Years’ War, France conceded its authority over Louisiana to Spain. The Adai lost their importance to Spain after the French fort at Natchitoches ceased to be a threat. The Mississippi River became the eastern boundary of the Spanish territory and Spain decided to administer Louisiana under a governmental system separate from that of Spanish Texas, which then encompassed the Adai territory. The Texas governor imposed restrictions on trade with Louisiana for a time. The Spanish generally paid less attention to the Red River Indians as they focused mainly on preventing British and American encroachment and maintaining peace with the many tribes occupying their vast new territory.

The Caddo tribes fell increasingly under the attack of hostile tribes, including the Osage from the north and Apaches from the west. This situation was exacerbated by Spanish efforts to preclude British advancement by inviting tribes displaced by the British expansion to relocate within Spanish territory.

In 1770, the Spanish decided to move the capital of Texas to San Antonio and to eventually abandon both the presidio and mission at Los Adaes. Baron de Ripperdá, the Governor of Texas, arrived at Los Adaes in 1773 and ordered the settlers to evacuate the area within five days. For more than 75 years, the Adai had connected with the Spanish through commerce and economic trade, serving as hunters for top-quality skins and

animal hides for the European trade. They also worked as cowboys, rounding up wild mustangs and cattle for trade with the Spanish in exchange for the European goods that afforded them a better life. Now, the majority of the settlers and some of the Indians closely associated with the Spanish, including many, if not most, of the Adai tribal members, were compelled to hastily embarked on a three-month trek to San Antonio, where they were promised parcels of land. Instead of receiving land the Indians were placed in one of the five Indian missions established by the Spaniards at San Antonio to be used as labor to provide goods to the Spaniards. One of these was the Indian mission San Antonio de Valero, which later became known as the Alamo. After the land promised to them did not materialize, some Adai members joined other Indians and Spaniards who left to found the ill-fated colony of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Bucareli on the Trinity River in what is now Madison County, Texas. Following a smallpox epidemic in 1777 and attacks by Comanche Indians in 1778, this settlement was deserted. Consequently, the Bucareli settlers, including their Adai contingent, moved to the site of the abandoned mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches and established the town of Nacogdoches (*KNACK-uh-DOUGH-ches*), Texas. Some of the ancestors of the present Adai community were enumerated on the censuses of Nacogdoches between 1792 and 1809.

These census records show some of the Adai living at Nacogdoches and the majority living on the road known as the El Camino Real, leading to Natchatoches, Louisiana and located at the Atoyac River, about halfway between Nacogdoches and the Principal Village of the Adais near the abandoned Presidio de Los Adaes. Thus, the majority were basically back in their original territory, where they could still interact in trade with the Spanish at Nacogdoches and where their people remained living in their Adai Village near the abandoned Presidio de Los Adaes and the surrounding areas. Here, they could still connect for the convenience of trade with their old trade partners, the French/Spanish population at Natchitoches, Louisiana, which had once been a major trade center, when owned by the French government.

When the country was districted for the jurisdiction of Indians, the Adai Tribe was placed under the division having its official headquarters at Nacogdoches, Texas. Census records show most or all of the Adai in that area were living at Nacogdoches and the Atoyac River location west of the Sabine River in Texas, which was basically part of their original territory. From around 1810 through 1821, during the turmoil of the Mexican war of Independence from Spain, these Adai began to move back to take up their former lands and farmsteads in the Red River region and rejoin the tribal members that had remained in the area of their homelands and to their Adai Village. The principal Village of the Adaes was now located in the disputed territory of the United States and Spain, designated as the Neutral Strip, which eventually became part of the United States, where the Adai reside today.

Once at Nacogdoches, many Adai moved back to take up their former lands and farmsteads in the Red River region and rejoin the tribal members that had remained in the area of their homelands. Spain's decision to withdraw from the Presidio Los Adaes, the Mission San Miguel, and the other missions among the Caddo in East Texas, left the Adai and Caddo tribes completely reliant upon their own devices for the first time since the early 18th century. Just at a time when they became even more vulnerable to threatening hostile tribes, they also suffered a smallpox epidemic in 1777 and 1778,

which almost decimated the Adai. A 1780 census of the Indians of the Natchitoches jurisdiction listed only 33 tribal members of “the nation of Adayes at 15 leagues from the post” under “Chief Quensy.”

The old San Miguel mission evolved as a critical center that bound the Adai community. Although the mission no longer had a resident priest, Franciscans from the pueblo of Nacogdoches visited regularly and recorded baptisms and marriages among the Adai.

Adai in the 19th Century

The reduced Adai population became involved in another international rivalry when in 1803 France sold its Louisiana territory to the United States. The traditional homelands of the Adai were situated just outside of the western border of the Louisiana Purchase, but the transaction posed the clear threat of eventual American encroachment on Adai territory. However, for a time, the ill-defined boundaries again made Adai and Caddo loyalty an important priority for both Spain and the United States. In 1805, the Spanish reoccupied Presidio Los Adaes and expanded Indian trading privileges. For its part, the United States distributed generous gifts and trade arrangements and brokered peace agreements with warring tribes.

In 1805, Dr. John Sibley, an Army surgeon who was appointed as the United States’ Indian agent in Louisiana, reported that the “Adais lived about 40 miles west of Natchitoches and 20 miles south of Los Adaes.” Two years later, in 1807, Sibley observed that they lived

“on a lake called Mac Macdon . . . at, or near, where their ancestors have lived from time immemorial . . . There are now but twenty men of them remaining, but more women. Their language differs from all other, and it is so difficult to speak, or understand, that no other nation can speak ten words of it: but they all speak Caddo and most of them French. . . .”

The United States boldly challenged Spanish authority over the Adai territory and threatened in 1805 to take control by military force. In order to avert warfare, the two nations negotiated a Neutral Ground Agreement that remained in effect until 1821. This agreement established a buffer zone between Louisiana and Texas, over which neither government could assert authority. The Adai territory lay completely within this zone and remained so when Louisiana became a State in 1812. For a time, this situation protected the Adai from the relentless American settlement that so quickly reduced the land holdings of the Caddo tribes.

Caught between turmoil in Texas caused by a series of revolutions and filibusters and an advancing and unfriendly American population to the East, the Adai consolidated its community within a smaller area during the Neutral Strip period. Beginning in 1810 and continuing over the next 30 years, many of the Adai ranchers west of the Sabine River moved back east to settle among their relatives in the vicinity of the Adai village.

In 1819, the United States and Spain negotiated the Adams-Onís Treaty, which gave Florida to the United States and settled several boundary disputes between the two nations, including the border between the State of Louisiana and Spanish Texas. This treaty, which was not ratified by the United States until February 1821, established conclusively that the Adai territory was entirely within the United States. It declared that

the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was a line running along the western bank of the Sabine River to the 32nd parallel and due north from there to the Red River. A few months after the United States ratified the treaty, Spain withdrew from Texas as a result of the Mexican Revolution and Texas became part of what would become the Federal Republic of Mexico.

That the Adai continued to maintain their community in the early 19th century is clearly evinced in documentary records, including censuses, land titles, and official correspondence. They retained the same pattern of extended family groupings and many of the traditions of their ancestors. They also continued to marry primarily within their own community and extant marriage records demonstrate as late as the 1940's that marriages between tribal members far exceeded those to outsiders. Under the authority of American governments, many Adai were acknowledged as established citizens of the area on the basis of official recognition of their individual land titles.

The Adai tribal leader Manuel (Emanuel) Flores was one of these land grantees. His title to 600 acres was confirmed in 1825. Under the employ of Indian traders Samuel Davenport and William Barr, the knowledge he gained about the American legal and business systems helped the Adai to survive during that era. In 1824, the U.S. Indian Agent for the Sulphur Fork, Red Rock Agency in Arkansas Territory granted Flores a license to trade with the Indians of the region.

As most of the Adai were practicing Catholics by this time, their mission church became the central focus of their tribal community, providing a place to socialize, hold councils, and organize community activities. After 1830, when predominately Protestant Anglo-Americans began to settle in the area in larger numbers, the Catholic Adai, with their darker skins and Spanish baptismal surnames, gradually became an alien people in their own lands whose ethnic identity and origins were increasingly misunderstood and misinterpreted. The Americans labeled them "Spanish" or "Mexican" and changed the names of some of the Adai landmarks.

We now know how the Adais Village got its designation as a Spanish Village. It started with the jealousy of the French at Natchitoches, upon losing its status as the top trade center, stating that the Adaes Village was a Spanish village because the Spanish Governor Narvetta had made it a center for trade. Narvetta was a former merchant and trader who began living on the frontier of Adais and Natchitoches and then became the Spanish Governor at the Presidio de Los Adaes in 1759. Under his administration, Spanish lace, woolens, and linens, finer than any which had previously been offered for sale on the frontier, and hardware supplies became plentiful at the Adaes Indian Village. .. Consequently, the Adaes prospered more under the guidance of Narvetta than it had from any other governor who preceded him. He encouraged new settlers to come to the Adaes for trade. The Village of the Adaes was referred to by the Natchitoches French merchants as La Ville de Espanole, the town of the Spanish, and that is why Anglo Americans later depicted it on maps as the Spanish Village of the Adaes, then the Spanish village, and ultimately Spanish Town.

Because they posed no threat as a small, settled Indian tribe, the Adai were spared from the removal policies that the United States applied to the Caddo and many other tribes. The United States Government relaxed its Indian removal policies and was not as strenuous on the tribes bordering the Western part of the United States, because they did not want to drive these tribes over to help enforce the Spanish military in control of

Texas. In addition to the Adai, the Choctaw Apache, Clifton Choctaw, United Houma Nation, Tunica Biloxi, Coushatta, Chitimacha, and Jena Choctaw were allowed to remain in Louisiana. This further demonstrates that the smaller tribes, like the Adai, who largely remained out of sight and did not cause any problems to the white settlers, were allowed to remain and eventually became citizens of the United States.

In accordance with the terms of an 1835 treaty, the Caddo were compelled to cede their homelands and remove west to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). However, this treaty made no mention of the Adai and did not affect their retention of their traditional homelands within the former "Neutral Strip."

In 1835, Anglo-American settlers in Texas led a revolution against the Mexican government that resulted in the creation of the independent Republic of Texas in 1836. Although the Adai remained peaceful in the United States during the Mexican and Texas revolutions, they played an active role on behalf of the United States and Mexico in the aftermath of the latter revolt. It was widely rumored that loyal Mexicans had urged American Indian tribes in the region to become their allies in the conflict against the Texas revolutionaries. Although it was alleged that Adai leader Manuel Flores had attempted to persuade the Caddo tribes to join the fight, his actual role in the Texas Revolution remains obscure and no Indian hostilities took place prior to the time that the Anglo-Texans won their independence in May 1836.

After the Texans gained their independence, the Mexican government still hoped to regain its lost territory and encouraged the leaders of tribes in and bordering Texas to attack American settlers as part of a coordinated military plan to recapture Texas. This plan found support among various tribes, in large part due to the fact that the Republic of Texas had refused to recognize any Indian land claims or treaties, including an agreement with the Cherokee in Texas that promised them land in exchange for their neutrality during the Texas Revolution. In 1838, Vicente Córdova, a Mexican loyalist in Nacogdoches was directed by Mexican army commanders to work with Manuel Flores in organizing all the Indians to serve as allies in a military campaign.

Flores and other Adai tribal members played a significant role in trying to organize the regional tribes for this operation, meeting in a large council in June 1838 at which various tribes resolved to go to war against Texas when there was sufficient Mexican military support for their attacks. However, this planned insurrection, which became known as the Córdova Rebellion, failed miserably. Only about 300 Indians joined the campaign and they never received sufficient support from either the Mexican loyalists or the Mexican army.

In one of the last skirmishes of the Rebellion, the Battle of the San Gabriels, Manuel Flores led a mixed band of Mexicans and Indians, including Adai and Cherokees from Chief Bowl's village in Texas. Texas Rangers attacked this company near the north San Gabriel River in central Texas on May 17, 1839. Flores was killed and his band fled, abandoning a supply train that was intended to equip other Indians in East Texas. Upon searching Flores's body, the Rangers discovered correspondence between Córdova and Flores and instructions from the Mexican General Valentín Canalizo that detailed plans for the Rebellion. These letters also implicated Chief Bowl in the plot. Bowl, the overall leader of the Cherokees in Texas, had previously disavowed his involvement. This and other evidence convinced Texas Governor Mirabeau B. Lamar to order the Cherokees to leave Texas. Their refusal to do so led to the Cherokee War of 1839, which included the

Battle of the Neches at which Chief Bowl was killed, and the eventual removal of the Texas Cherokees to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

Following the hostilities of the Córdova Rebellion, forty-two of the rebels, including several Adai men, were jailed and indicted for treason and murder in Texas courts, but none were ever convicted. The secret letters carried by Manuel Flores indicated that he held significant political influence with many of the region's Indian tribes. With his death, the influence of the Adai waned. After Texas became a State in 1845, the Adai could no longer use their strategic locations to exploit the international rivalries that had existed since the early 18th century along the shifting borders between Louisiana and Texas. As a result, their political and much of the commercial importance ceased.

Around 1840, Catholic authorities established the chapel of San Miguel de los Ayayes at Spanish Town (the former Adaes village) to replace the original mission church. However, the new chapel was not assigned a resident priest and was served instead by visiting Lazarist priests from Natchitoches, and by confirmation documents called it Chapel of the Adaes. In 1857, the Bishop of Natchitoches described the congregants at the missions served by his Diocese, including the Adai, as a "separate people who mix very little with the whites, who consider them inferior." He further described them as being "small of stature – their complexion very dark – their hair invariably black and straight like the Indians whose features dominate in them."

The Adai remained independent and continued to survive as farmers and adapted to domestic animals and cattlemen, but many had lost their lands and were compelled to work for the new Anglo-American landowners. In reaction to the increased white population in the area, the Adai moved their community five miles northwest to a place that became known as "Spanish Lake."

The 1860 Federal Census for Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana was the first document that enumerated the ancestors of the current Adai membership living in one area and identified them as being ethnically distinct. Most of these ancestors were living in close proximity to one another, but census takers identified them all as "Mulattos," meaning they were of mixed color or race. Other than the Adai members, only a few other individuals in the parish were enumerated as Mulatto. In the years following the Civil War, freed black slaves settled in areas surrounding the Adai community. Significantly, the same Adai ancestors and/or their descendants who were listed as "Mulatto" in 1860 were enumerated as "White" in the 1870 and subsequent Federal censuses until 1930 and as "Mexican" thereafter. However, the Adai ancestors and/or descendants were never identified as being "Negro" or "Colored." While ethnic identification on the Federal censuses was based on the subjective determination of the census taker, the members of the Adai community did not openly identify themselves as Indian or any other race in particular. In a region that was not accepting of racial or religious diversity, and often hostile to it, the Adai, who were distinct by virtue of their physical appearance, Spanish surnames, and practice of Catholicism, adopted a survival strategy that focused on keeping as low a profile as possible, after they were forced to evacuate Spanish Town (the former Adaes village) and the chapel of San Miguel de los Ayayes, to get out of the way of encroaching white people moving into their area, they became very quiet for fear of being again, harassed or harmed as Indians or escorted off to Indian territory, now the state of Oklahoma.

The members of the Adai community did not openly identify themselves as Indian or any other race in particular. In a region that was not accepting of racial or religious diversity, and often hostile to it, the Adai, who were distinct by virtue of their physical appearance, Spanish surnames, and practice of Catholicism, adopted a survival strategy that focused on keeping as low a profile as possible.

While the Spanish had been preoccupied with developing several racial categories, the Anglo-Americans in Louisiana focused on only two; White and Non-White. Although they recognized gradients of non-whiteness, they identified Non-White ethnic groups on the basis of “perceived” physical characteristics, names, language, and locations and generally displayed an inability to accurately differentiate between ethnic groups different than their own. Since most whites were settled long after the Caddo tribes were removed from Louisiana, there was likely a general perception that Indians no longer resided in Natchitoches Parish. Yet, many were aware that the Spanish had once occupied the region and that may explain in large part why they changed the Spanish names of Adai landmarks, the El Camino Real (the Kings Road or Highway) to the old Spanish Trail, Laguna de los Adaes (Lake of the Adaes) to the Old Spanish Lake, to English names that reflected this Spanish heritage, such as the village of Los Adaes to English names that reflected this Spanish heritage (Spanish Town, Spanish Lake, etc).

Despite these inaccurate identifications and misperceptions of the Adai, they were identified as a distinct and independent Indian population in the Federal Census of Indian Tribes of the United States as late as 1857. This periodic census listed all the tribes that the United States Government recognized and communicated with through its Indian agents. The 1857 census listed 250 Adai tribal members and categorized them as being independent from any of the Caddo tribes, therefore contradicting the interpretation by some scholars that the Adai were removed with the Caddo tribes in 1835 and consolidated with them in the Indian Territory. The history of the tribe had been kept alive by their oral history and later proven by the Adai Tribe’s history and Family Genealogical Research.

During the Civil War, a few Adai men became soldiers in the Army of the Confederacy. When the conflict came to northwestern Louisiana in 1864, both Union and Confederate maps depicted the location “Adaias” (village of Adaes, Old Spanish Town), “New Spanish Town,” and the “Spanish” Church of the Adais.

In 1873, the chapel San Miguel de los Adayes was assigned to a church in Many, Louisiana, and a new mission chapel was erected at Spanish Lake, site of the present Adai community. By the 1880’s, the extension of rail lines into the area brought about a new influx of Anglo-Americans and Irish immigrants. The Adai decided again to move their community from New Spanish Town a few miles north and settling on the Adai Indian Leader Manuel Flores’ land-grant in a location bordering a lake that the Spanish had named *Laguna de los Adaes*. The American settlers renamed this area “Spanish Lake” and it was commonly known by that name. The Adai tribe renamed their community Adai Indian Nation Community. This site of the present Adai community is only a few miles distant from the site of the village that served as the primary settlement of the Adai when the Spanish and French first encountered them.

In 1882, the Chapel of the Adayes was closed and was replaced on the list of Catholic missions by St. Joseph’s Church at Spanish Lake, within the present Adai community. In the late 1880’s, the local parish school board finally established a primary

school within the Adai community. Despite the fact that the Adai had officially been under the authority of the governments of the United States and the State of Louisiana since 1821, this represented the first effort to provide for formal public education of the Adai people.

The Adai have continually implemented strategies that have allowed them to adapt to change in order to maintain their survival as a distinct entity and also control their own affairs and property. One adaptation that manifested itself in the community in the late 19th century and continued into the 1900's was the frequent legal transfer of property deeds between tribal elders (family leaders) in order to prevent tax foreclosures, the further loss of ancestral lands, and potential ownership and settlement by community outsiders. This maneuver, well documented in local land records, permitted a tribal elder facing foreclosure to take advantage of a tax loophole by deeding the lands and improvements at risk to another tribal elder, who would later deed them back to the elder that had been at risk.

Adai in the 20th Century

Another adaptation that came into play in the early in the early 20th century was the greater participations of tribal members in local government affairs, including the election of tribal members to local public offices, in order to represent and better serve the interests of the community. Between 1916 and 1920, for example, tribal members petitioned the Natchitoches Parish government for special tax elections in order to finance improvements in the Spanish Lake community, including roads, bridges, and a school. The Parish Police Jury appointed tribal members to serve as election commissioners and in other offices for both these special elections as well as for general elections. In 1917, when women were first given the right to vote in Louisiana elections, four Adai women served as commissioners and clerks for the local Fall election.

In regard to internal community politics, the Adai continued to maintain an informal government structure in which heads of families represented their members and decisions involving the community were reached by consensus. This system worked to exercise control because its leaders were dealing with a community with very close kinship ties and relationships through intermarriage, common beliefs, and shared religious activities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the St. Joseph's Mission Church at Spanish Lake continued to serve both literally and figuratively as the center of the Adais community. Tribal members attended this church almost exclusively and resided on two arteries that intersected at the church, which was located in the middle of the 600-acre tract granted to tribal leader Manuel Flores in 1825. The extreme closeness of their residential pattern both reflected their strong kinship ties and worked to keep others out of the community. The Adai continued to marry other tribal members, to celebrate holidays and family life events, and to bury their dead in a community cemetery. They bought or bartered their crops for goods from the Paige/Yarborough store in Robeline, the only general merchandise store serving the community and they worked for a handful of employers with whom they had established mutual familiarity and trust.

Despite the community's strong support of the Spanish Lake public school, including a donation of land in 1903 by tribal leaders Jack Niette and Crit Flores, the Parish School Board decided to close the facility in 1913. The community supported

special tax elections to fund the reopening of the school, but to no avail. In 1923, tribal leaders were finally successful in influencing the Catholic Bishop of Alexandria to finance the opening of a parochial school at Spanish Lake. The Adai community did not again have a public school again until the 1940's.

The St. Joseph's Mission Church was destroyed by fire in 1916. Adai tribal leaders and members donated labor, materials, and funds to help rebuild the church, which was reopened in 1917. During the following year, Crit Flores, a son of Manuel Flores, donated five acres for the expansion of the church grounds. In 1922, a priest based in Robeline wrote that

there are about 70 families in this settlement [Spanish Lake], all Catholic of Spanish descent, still speaking Spanish among themselves, but understanding and learning also the English language. They are Catholic and good people, but have been greatly neglected. They are mostly poor and would not be able to support a pastor at present.

Around 1925, the church was renamed St. Anne's Mission Church and under that name it continues to serve the residential Adai community at Spanish Lake.

The cemetery adjacent to the St. Anne's Church has also become an important community focal point. The first burials took place there in 1902 and as of 2005, 285 people had been buried in this cemetery, nearly all of which have been members of the Adai community. The official observance of Mother's Day also began in the early 20th century, and in the 1950's the Adai developed a tradition that linked this modern holiday to an older tribal custom of cleaning the cemeteries near old community church sites, which dated from at least 1834. Although its precise date of beginning is not known, tribal members have for at least six decades gathered at the St. Anne's cemetery on Mother's Day weekend in remembrance of departed family members and to clean and repair the grounds and markers. It is also significant that many tribal members who have left the Adai residential community to find opportunities elsewhere, are returned to St. Anne's when they die to be buried with their ancestors in the community cemetery. The funerals of all tribal members at St. Anne's, and especially those of tribal elders, are important community events.

Increasingly in the 1930's, Adai leaders took advantage of the traditional impenetrability of their community to outsiders to obtain civic and political appointments in local government agencies and organizations, through which they could both represent and protect the Adai community. For example, in 1932/33, J.B. Cordova was appointed as the local Justice of the Peace and J.C. Flores as a Deputy Sheriff, both with jurisdiction over Spanish Lake. Such appointments served to recognize the influence of these community leaders as well as to acknowledge that Parish officials did not wish to deal with the Adai community on their own. These appointments also came with the expectation that the community leaders would help deliver votes for the elected officials that appointed them. It is well documented that many appointments of Adai leaders were made in connection with elections and polls. Civil and political authorities sought the votes of the Adai community and appointed tribal leaders who might influence those votes. Tribal leaders accepted these appointments in order to retain tribal control over Adai affairs, as well as to represent the community to outside authorities and communities. In addition to further protecting its insularity, the Adai community gained

other benefits from these arrangements, ranging from gifts of material goods to political favors to increased prestige.

During the Great Depression, which really began for agricultural America in the 1920's, Adai males often left the community to obtain itinerant work in agriculture and in the booming oil business elsewhere in Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma. World War II had a similar impact on the Adai community as it had on most other isolated Native American communities. Many male members either joined the Armed Services or left the community temporarily in search of itinerant work. Several female members left the community for the first time to find factory work in order to feed their families. Though most returned to Spanish Lake after the war, their exposure to a broader world and new experiences made them eager to seek greater opportunities than could be found in their own insular community. Consequently, many moved to larger regional employment centers, particularly to the Shreveport-Bossier City, Louisiana area, just over 70 miles north of the Adai community. Others sought opportunities in the Texas cities of Beaumont and Houston, about 150 and 225 miles southwest from the Adai community respectively.

In the 1960's and 1970's, the tribal community's tight-knit kinship ties and traditional social and cultural ties were further altered by trends that impacted many tribal groups as well as other small communities and ethnic neighborhoods generally. These changes included higher rates of exogamy (marriage outside the group) and divorce and out-migration of younger tribal members to pursue education and/or employment in urban areas. Although those who moved away returned home for community and family gatherings and holidays and otherwise kept in touch, the tribe and its leaders became increasingly concerned about these social trends and what actions they could take to preserve their unique community. The Adai began to reverse these processes in the 1980's when they organized a more formal tribal government and began to pursue Federal recognition, realizing more fully how their community could be enriched and restored by the benefits and legal advantages that would accrue from gaining the formal acknowledgment of their tribal existence by the United States.

Highlights of the more recent history of the Adai community have included the establishment in 1990 of an annual powwow gathering. Over the years, this July event, which includes traditional dancing by both the Adai and members of other tribes and the display and sale of native arts and crafts, has steadily grown to become the community's most important public celebration. In 1993, the Adai were formally recognized by the Louisiana State legislature. Two years later, the Nation was successful in getting the Church of St. Anne's, which tribal members had worked to restore in the 1950's and 1970's, officially listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In 2001, the government of France formally reestablished ties with the Adai and in 2002 the community constructed a tribal center and museum.

Options for Federal Recognition of the Adai Indian Nation

In 1978, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established regulations and procedures by which unrecognized tribal groups could gain Federal acknowledgment of their status as Indian tribe from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Indian Affairs. These regulations were codified as Part 83 of Title 25 of the *Code of Federal Regulations* (25 CFR 83). The Adai Indian Nation is an active petitioner in this administrative process and it continues to collect evidence to demonstrate that it meets the mandatory criteria. The Adai continued to marry other tribal members, to celebrate holidays and family life events, and to bury their dead in a community cemetery in their traditions of facing East.

Under the name Caddo Adai Indians, Inc., what is now the Adai Indian Nation submitted to the BIA a letter of intent to petition for Federal acknowledgment on September 13, 1993. It subsequently submitted initial evidence to document that petition. On September 24, 2002, the BIA provided the Nation with a Technical Assistance (TA) letter outlining ways in which the Nation's petition could be strengthened. With the limited resources it has available, the Nation has been working over the last decade to collect and interpret documentation that enhances its evidence for Federal acknowledgment.

The Federal acknowledgment process has long been criticized because it places an extraordinary evidentiary and financial burden on petitioning tribes and has failed to provide due process in a timely manner in regard to the resolution of its cases. For example, the Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA), which now manages the process, has historically resolved only about 1.5 cases per year and has a list of 263 petitioners whose status it has yet to determine. A recent successful petitioner, the Shinnecock Indian Nation of New York, spent millions of dollars to gain Federal acknowledgment and was in the administrative process for 32 years. When the OFA determines that a tribe's petition is sufficiently documented, it places that petition on its "Ready Status" list. Some of the petitioners on the present ready list have been waiting for more than nine years to have their petition placed under active consideration status by the OFA. Some of petitions on active consideration have been in various phases of active status for several years. One petitioner has had its case under active consideration for more than ten years.

The OFA advises petitioners that their own tribal members can easily document and interpret their petitions with the resources they have at hand and that they need not hire professionals to assist in this work. Yet, no petitioner has ever been successful in gaining Federal acknowledgment without professional help and most have required extensive research and consultation by lawyers, historians, anthropologists, and genealogists. At the same time that it advises petitioners that they can readily develop their own home-grown petitions, the OFA itself uses historians, anthropologists, and genealogists with Ph.D.s to evaluate the petitions and they are also reviewed by lawyers from the Department of the Interior's Office of the Solicitor.

The Administration for Native Americans (ANA) within the Department of Health and Human Services used to provide minimal "status clarification" grants to unrecognized tribes to help them gain Federal acknowledgment. The Adai Indian Nation was able to obtain one of these grants for its initial research efforts. However, the ANA no longer provides status clarification grants and, in the absence of this financial aid, there are no other Federal, State or Tribal agencies, or public or private research or

advocacy organizations, or religious or charitable organizations that regularly provide funding, consultation, or any other assistance to tribes seeking Federal recognition.

Congress also has the legislative power to grant Federal recognition to Indian tribes, as well as to restore the Federal status of tribes that were previously recognized but lost that status. Since 1982, Congress has federally recognized or restored nine tribes that were initially in the BIA's Federal acknowledgment process and several more that were not in the administrative process. During this same period, the BIA has only acknowledged 14 tribes.

Federal courts likewise have the judicial authority to recognize Indian tribes under the precedent established by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Montoya v. United States* (1901). The Court adopted a common-law test to determine whether a group constituted an Indian tribe for the purposes of the Indian Depredation Act of 1891. In this case, it offered the following definition of the term tribe: "*By a 'tribe' we understand a body of Indians of the same or similar race, united in one community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular though sometimes ill-defined territory....*" (Emphasis added).

The Supreme Court and other Federal courts later employed the *Montoya* test for determining tribal status in construing various provisions of the Federal Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts. For example, a lower Court of Appeals in a 1975 case involving the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Maine cited the *Montoya* definition as controlling common law and found that the Passamaquoddy "plainly fits that definition." The Passamaquoddy were subsequently placed on the BIA's list of "Indian Entities Recognized and Eligible to Receive Federal Services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs," which is published periodically in the *Federal Register*.

While the Adai Indian Nation will continue in the BIA's administrative process for Federal acknowledgment, and is confident that it meets the mandatory criteria of the regulations, it is also intent on pursuing other options for Federal recognition in which the merits of its case might gain due process in a more expedient and timely manner.

The Adai Indian Nation presently has a professional team that is working on its Federal recognition initiatives. Dr. Michael L. Lawson, an historian and partner in Morgan, Angel & Associates, LLC, an historical and public policy consulting firm in Washington, D.C., is managing the overall research. Dr. Maria D. Wade, an anthropology professor at the University of Texas at Austin, has conducted the most extensive research on the Nation to date. Mr. Guy Conrad, a business consultant based in Hingham, MA, who has long provided consultation to unrecognized tribes that are similarly situated, is also advising the Nation. Under the guidance of Chief Rufus Davis, the Nation is presently developing a strategic plan that would add other professionals to this team, including legal counsel and historical, anthropological, and genealogical researchers and consultants.

Historian **Michael L. Lawson** has more than 25 years experience with the U.S. Department of the Interior's (DOI) Federal Acknowledgment process. For ten years he was a historian with the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR), which is now the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, or (OFA), within the DOI's Office of the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs). In that job, he helped evaluate dozens of Acknowledgment petitions from unrecognized tribal groups. In 1993, he left his position as the senior historian with the BAR to become a private consultant. He is presently a Partner in Morgan, Angel & Associates, L.L.C., an historical and public policy consulting firm in Washington, D.C.

Since leaving Government service, Dr. Lawson has provided consultation and research services to numerous tribes seeking Federal Acknowledgment from the DOI and/or Federal recognition from Congress. These tribes have included the Shinnecock Indian Nation of New York, which successfully completed the process and was federally recognized in 2010, as well as two Connecticut petitioners that received positive Final Determinations from the BIA, but were ultimately denied on appeal. He also testified before a Congressional hearing on behalf of the Swan Creek Black River Chippewa, a Michigan tribe that sought Federal recognition through Congressional legislation. As a result of his experience, and because he helped revise the Federal Acknowledgment regulations (Part 83 of Title 25 of the *Code of Federal Regulations*) when he worked for the BAR, Dr. Lawson is well versed regarding the regulatory procedures, requirements, and interpretations.

Dr. Lawson is a recognized scholar in the area of Native American history. He earned a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) degree in American History at The University of New Mexico, with an emphasis on Federal Indian policy and tribal histories. Prior to joining the BAR staff, he was a historian with the BIA's Aberdeen Area Office (now the Great Plains Regional Office), the Smithsonian Institution's National Portrait Gallery, and the National Park Service. He is the author of three books and several articles on Native American historical topics. His scholarly writing has received several honors including the Independent Publisher's Silver Medal for Best Regional Non-Fiction, the Phi Alpha Theta International Book Award, the Ray A. Billington Award of the Western History Association, and the Phillip A. Danielson Award of Westerners International. Dr. Lawson lectures periodically at various colleges, including the College of William and Mary, New York University, and The George Washington University.

Reports authored by Dr. Lawson have provided the factual basis for Congressional legislation establishing tribal recovery trust funds totaling more than \$385 million for five Sioux tribes in North and South Dakota and Nebraska in compensation for reservation infrastructure lost to Federal dam projects between 1944-1966. He has written two books on this subject; *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press (1982, 1994), and *Dammed Indians Revisited: The Continuing History of the Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux*, published in 2010 by the South Dakota State Historical Society Press. This latest work featured forewords by Senator George McGovern and the late Sioux scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. He has also authored a history of the Sioux Wars for high school readers entitled *Little Bighorn: Winning the Battle, Losing the War*, published in 2007 by Chelsea House Publishers of New York.

Morgan, Angel & Associates, L.L.C.

For more than thirty years, Morgan, Angel & Associates, with offices in Washington, DC, Denver, CO and Albuquerque, NM, has been a recognized leader in historical and public policy research and analysis, expert testimony and reports, and litigation consultation in a broad range of areas. We are a team of professional historians, skilled archival researchers, and experienced expert witnesses who can testify in both depth and broad context regarding past events, specific government policies, and the legislative intent behind particular statutes. We also provide expert research and reporting to facilitate regulatory compliance in certain specialized areas. We serve a diverse clientele, including federal agencies, state and local governments, Native American tribes, and private law firms.