

J. DeVance
File copy

Summary under the Criteria and Evidence for
Proposed Finding against Federal Acknowledgment
of the
United Houma Nation, Inc.

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to
the Secretary of the Interior for Federal
acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian
tribe.

DEC 13 1994

Approved: _____

Ada E. Dees
Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA

83.7(a)

83.7(b)

83.7(c)

83.7(d)

83.7(e)

83.7(f)

83.7(g)

INTRODUCTION

MAP SUPPLEMENT

HISTORICAL REPORT

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT

GENEALOGICAL REPORT

APPENDIX: Historic Tribes in Louisiana

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in response to a petition received by the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs from the United Houma Nation, Inc., hereafter UHN, seeking Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the Code of Federal Regulations (25 CFR 83).

Part 83 establishes procedures by which unrecognized Indian groups may seek Federal acknowledgment of an existing government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit documentary evidence that the group meets the seven criteria set forth in Section 83.7 of 25 CFR. Failure to meet any one of the seven criteria will result in a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

Publication of the Assistant Secretary's proposed finding in the Federal Register initiates a 180-day response period during which factual and/or legal arguments and evidence to rebut the evidence relied upon are received from the petitioner and any other interested party. Such evidence should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1849 C Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Mail Stop 2611-MIB.

After consideration of all written arguments and evidence received during the 180-day response period, the Assistant Secretary will make a final determination regarding the petitioner's status, a summary of which will be published in the Federal Register within 60 days of the expiration of the 180-day response period. This determination will become effective 60 days from its date of publication unless the Secretary of the Interior requests the Assistant Secretary to reconsider under 25 CFR 83.10(c).

If at the expiration of the 180-day response period this proposed finding is confirmed, the Assistant Secretary will analyze and forward to the petitioner other options, if any, under which the petitioner might make application for services or other benefits.

A summary of the evidence under the Acknowledgment criteria follows. Technical reports detailing the evidence are also attached. To help the reader, brief discussions are provided below of social/racial distinctions, names and abbreviations, as well as other terminology used in this report.

Social/Racial Distinctions

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. To persons living in the region, these distinctions were important.

The more extreme theories of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century racists cannot be projected backwards into the antebellum period. Neither is it even a matter of saying "Indian" and "African-American," when discussing a place and time when social/racial categories, while important, were nonetheless also fluid and to some extent dependent upon economic status and life style. It is not such a simple matter as saying "white" and "non-white."

In order to present an accurate picture of the historical development of the petitioner's group, it has been necessary to understand and use the social/racial categories which were in effect at each period of its history. To some extent, it has been necessary to reference the vocabulary and/or terminology in use at each point in time, even when these words are now considered to be offensive. Such words, when used in source records or oral histories, have been placed in quotation marks to indicate that these words specifically were used by the informant, and that the usage was determined by BAR researchers to be critical in understanding the historical context of an event or the process of community development.

Discrimination on a racial basis can, in fact, be strong evidence for the existence of distinct community. To understand the discrimination, it is necessary to understand the ethnohistorical context and the classifications that were used in the society in which the petitioner's ancestral group lived. That the BAR's researchers have found it necessary to employ these terms does not mean that the BAR's researchers endorse these terms.

Although racial heritage that is other than "Indian" may be present within a group, genealogical research focuses on whether the group's members descend from a historical Indian tribe.

Names and Other Terminology

Many of the names common to the history of the United Houma Nation are found in official records under a variety of spellings. Where specific documents are discussed within the attached reports, individual names will be spelled as they appear in the document. In general discussions not

dealing with specific documents, however, the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research (BAR) has attempted to standardize the spelling of names to conform with spellings found in the group today. A list of "standardized" names along with spelling variations found in official records is provided for the reader.

In the attached technical reports the terms "husband," "wife," and "married" are used for unions which lasted and/or produced children even though the BAR researchers are fully aware that some of these unions may not have been recognized legally within the state of Louisiana.

Wherever possible, references to materials submitted as part of the petition or supplements to it, incorporate volume and document numbers assigned by the petitioner.

Abbreviations and/or Acronyms used in Reports

BAR = Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs (Evaluator of the Petition)
BIA = Bureau of Indian Affairs
CIA = Commissioner of Indian Affairs
FD = Field data collected by member of BAR research team
HA = Houma Alliance, [Inc.], one of precursor organizations to the UHN petitioner
HT = The Houma Tribes, Inc., one of precursor organizations to the UHN petitioner
NARA = National Archives and Records Administration
Pink Charts = Early printouts from a genealogical database created by BAR genealogists from information provided by the UHN. Pink charts were then annotated to show additional data collected and its source.
RG = Record Group, record classification system utilized by NARA (RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census)
UHN = United Houma Nation, Inc. (the petitioner)
UHN Pet., Narr. = Petition narrative which cites page # (UHN Pet., Narr. 35)
UHN Pet., Ex. = Petition exhibit which cites volume # and document # (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#56)
UHN BC(#) = Refers to Petitioner's Blue Chart by # (UHN BC2)
UHN GEN = Refers to Petitioner's Genealogical (Ancestry/Individual History) Charts

Standardized Surname Spellings

<u>Standard</u>	<u>Spelling variations</u>
Abbe	Abe. See also Courteau
Billiot	Biliot, Billau, Billaud, Billaux, Billoux, Billeau, Billeaux, Billiau, Billot, Biot, Biau, Biou, Bion, Beo, Beyo, Beyout
Chaisson	Chiasson, Chasson, Shaison
Courteau	Corteau, Corteaux, Courtai, Courtaine, Courtan, Courtau, Courteaud, Courteaux, Courto, Courtot, ?Pourteau
Creppel	Crapel, Crepel, Creppelle, Clappell
Dardar	Dardard, Dardare, Dardarr, Dardart
Dion	Dionne, Dyan, Dian, Dianne, ?Jean, ?Jeanne, Deanne, Deon
Enerisse	Eric, Erice, Eris, ?Iriess, Iris, Nerisse, Aries [Acies], Ellis, Enerise, ?Riche
Galley	Gallet, Gallais
Gregoire	Gregoir
Iacalobe	Jacalobe, Tacalobe, ?Cacalobe, Tough-la- Bay, Loup-la-Bay. See also Courteau.
Jeanne	Jean, John, ?Dion
Lamatte	Lamothe, Lamotte
Naquin	Nacquin, Nankin, Nanquin, Nanguin
Renaud	Renau, Reynolds
Sauvage	Le Sauvage, Savage
Solet	Saule, Saulet, Sauly, Sole, Soley, Soule, Soulie
Verdin	Verdam, Verdine, Verdun, Vardin, Berdine, Veirdean
Verret	Verrette, Verris

PLACE AND TRIBAL NAME SPELLINGS FOR HOUMA REPORT

Due to variant spellings of numerous names of people, places and things in this finding, we have used the following authorities for the spellings:

Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (2 volumes) by Frederick W. Hodge, ed. Totowa, NJ:Rowman and Littlefield, 1979 for the Indian names and languages spelling. (Hodge)

Louisiana Geographic Names Information System, Alphabetical List

Branch of Geographic Names, Office of Geographic and Cartographic Research, National Mapping Division, U.S. Geological Survey, 6/11/86. (GNIS)

ACOLAPISSA (Indians) (Hodge 1:9) *no Colapissa*
ALIBAMU (Indians) (Hodge 1:43) *no Alabamas/alimaons*
Amite River (GNIS:5)
APALACHEE (Indians) (Hodge 1:67)
ATTACAPA (Indians) (District) (Hodge 1:114)
Atchafalaya River (locale, Bayou GNIS:9)
"Balise"
Barataria (ppl GNIS:12)
Barthelemy
BAYOGOULA (Indians) (Hodge 1:137)
Bayou Boeuf (stream, GNIS:53)
Bayou D'Arbonne (stream, Quachita, GNIS:103)
Bayou D'Arbonne Lake (reservoir, Union, GNIS:21)
Bayou de Chene (stream, Lafourche, GNIS:21)
Bayou Debonne (gut, Natchitoches, GNIS:22)
Bayou du Large (stream, GNIS:192))
Bayou Lacombe (stream, GNIS:188)
Bayou Lafourche (stream, GNIS:189)
Bayou Terrebonne (stream, GNIS:32)
Bayou Saint Jean Charles (stream, GNIS:30)
Cabanocey/Cabannocey
Calabee (chief)
Calcasieu Lake (GNIS:67)
Cantrelle (family)
Carondelet
Cathcart
CATAWBA (Indians) (Hodge 1:213)
CHITIMACHA (Indians) (Hodge 1:286) *no Sitimacha*
COUSHATTA (Indians) (Federal Register notice 9/29/86)
Dulac (ppl, GNIS:116)
"Fort Chartres"
Fort Toulouse
Houma (ppl, GNIS:169)
Iberville *no Point*
Isle Jean-Charles
Judice (family)

KOASATI (Indians) (Hodge 1:720)
Lafourche (GNIS:189)
La Fourche des Chetimachas
Lake Pontchartrain (GNIS:277)
Lamotte Creek (stream, Rapides, GNIS:191)
Larose (ppl, GNIS:192)
Manchac (ppl GNIS:216)
Matiabee/Natchiabee
MUGULASHA (Indians)(Hodge 1:954)
MUSKOGEAN (Hodge 2:500)
OPELOUSA (Indians) (Hodge 2:139)
PASCAGOULA (Indians) (Hodge II:205)
Pacagoula Bayou (GNIS:263)
Plattenville (ppl GNIS:275)
Petit Caillou, Bayou (stream, GNIS:267)
Point Barre (GNIS:275)
Pointe au Chien (school and bayou, GNIS, 276)
Pointe Coupee (GNIS:276)
SEMINOLIS (Indians) (Hodge 2:500)
TALAPOOSA (Indians) (Hodge 2:677)
Tensas River (stream, GNIS:338)
Thibodaux (ppl GNIS:339)
Tombigbee River (mod.AL)
Vermilion (GNIS:351)
Yalobusha River (ms)
Yazoo River (GNIS:369)

SUMMARY UNDER THE CRITERIA 83.7(a-g)

Evidence submitted by the United Houma Nation, Inc. (hereinafter the petitioner) and obtained through other interested parties and independent research by the Acknowledgment staff demonstrates that the petitioner does not meet all seven criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. Specifically, the petitioner does not meet criteria (b), (c), and (e). In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83, failure to meet any one of the seven criteria requires a determination that the group does not exist as an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This is a proposed finding based on available evidence, and, as such, does not preclude the submission of other evidence to the contrary during the 180-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached in the proposed finding. The final determination, which will be published separately after the receipt of the comments, will be based on both the new evidence submitted in response to the proposed finding and the original evidence used in formulating the proposed finding.

In the summary of evidence which follows, each criterion has been reproduced in boldface type as it appears in the regulations. Summary statements of the evidence relied upon follow the respective criteria.

- 83.7(a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met.**

The petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe submitted by the United Houma Nation, Inc. (hereafter referred to as UHN) maintains that the petitioner descends from the historical Houma tribe, which was mentioned in eighteenth century French, Spanish, and English colonial documents. 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

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

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.

Criterion 83.7(a) serves to establish the identification of the petitioner as an American Indian entity, by sources external to the group (for example, historians, anthropologists, government agencies), but does not determine the tribal character of the group. Tribal character (such as identification with and descent from a historical Indian tribe, the maintenance of social community, and the exercise of political authority) is determined by other criteria. Criterion 83.7(a) does not require identification as a specific tribe, although such evidence is stronger than simple identification as an Indian group.

Federal government. The Federal censuses from 1870, 1880, and 1910 all indicate the petitioner lived in a number of settlements isolated from non-group members. In the 1870 and 1880 censuses, a majority of the petitioner's ancestral settlements in the lower bayous were identified as Indian. The regular 1890 census is not available for evaluation because it was destroyed by fire. But the special 1890 Federal census of Indians taxed and not taxed is extant, and indicates there were 55 Indians living in Terrebonne Parish that year.

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 regulations state that occasional identification of the petitioner as non-Indian by external sources will not be the sole grounds for denying that a petitioner has met criterion 83.7(a). 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. We therefore find that the 1900 census does not constitute conclusive evidence that the UHN were not identified as an American Indian entity. In addition to the consistent identification as an American Indian entity in every Federal census from 1870 to 1920, with the exception of 1900, there is evidence, detailed below, which indicates the UHN ancestors were identified as an American Indian

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

entity between 1890 and 1910, by knowledgeable external sources other than the Federal government.

In the 1910 and 1920 censuses, those living along Bayou Terrebonne, in the vicinity of the original founding community, were consistently identified as Indian. But the majority of the UHN ancestors living away from the original founding settlement area were listed as non-Indian. Even those UHN ancestors with no documented Indian ancestry were labelled Indian, if they lived along Bayou Terrebonne. This indicates that outsiders had a perception that the people living along parts of Bayou Terrebonne, and sharing particular surnames, were a distinguishable American Indian entity.

During the 1920's, several members of the UHN ancestral group wrote to the BIA requesting assistance. Reports compiled during the 1930's by researchers sent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Nash Report; Underhill Report) accepted the community as mixed-blood Indian, but no Federal assistance was provided. Most efforts during this period were aimed at the improvement of educational facilities.

In the 1930's, Assistant Commissioner - Indian Affairs Scattergood did not deny that the group was Indian, but indicated that the UHN ancestral group lacked tribal status vis-a-vis the Federal government. Scattergood's conclusion was based on at least three considerations: that the Houma never had treaty relations with the Federal government; had never been given any reservation lands; and had no allotment history. Though Scattergood's summary of the facts was accurate, it does not constitute conclusive evidence that the UHN were not regarded as an Indian entity under criterion 83.7(a). Under the current regulations for Federal acknowledgment, petitioners are not required to have signed a treaty. Petitioners are also not required to have had a reservation established for them, or to have an allotment history. While denying their status as an Indian tribe, Scattergood did nonetheless identify the petitioner's ancestors as an American Indian entity.

State government. In 1921, the Congressman representing the district in which Terrebonne Parish is located wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (COIA) enclosing a memorial presented to him by "the Houma Indians, who reside in my district." Another Louisiana congressman wrote the BIA on their behalf a decade later. The UHN became a member of the Louisiana Commission on Indian Affairs sometime after their formation in 1974.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Local government. In the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century local governmental authorities identified the petitioner as a non-white entity, with partial Indian ancestry. The petitioner fought against locally exerted pressure to amalgamate with those free families of color descended from the antebellum slave population. This is particularly evidenced in efforts by the Terrebonne Parish school authorities to require the attendance of UHN children at "colored" segregated schools (see below). Oral histories stated that during segregation, Terrebonne Parish had a tripartite system for, example, public water fountains, with the UHN group distinguished both from white and from black. In 1931, the secretary of the Houma-Terrebonne Chamber of Commerce wrote to BIA researcher Roy Nash offering assistance "in this splendid effort to help these people," and identifying them as Indians, part French, some with Negro blood.

In his 1938 Master's thesis, the local school board commissioner, H.L. Bourgeois, treated the petitioner as a distinct community with mixed Indian and non-Indian heritage. But the bifurcated racial classification system (i.e., black and white) shaped the way outsiders, including Bourgeois, acted toward the UHN ancestors. In regard to the education system, there were segregated schools for white children and colored children. The school officials would not allow the UHN 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.

The fact that the children of the petitioner's ancestors were forced to attend the colored schools during segregation does not constitute conclusive evidence that the UHN were not identified as an American Indian entity. Bourgeois' assumption that the UHN ancestors were a separate entity was based on the perception that they had partial American Indian ancestry. This provides supporting evidence that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a).

Academic and scholarly. At the time of anthropologist John R. Swanton's field research among the petitioner's ancestors in 1907, under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, two of the petitioner's elderly female ancestors still recalled a few Indian words, which were recently

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

identified as Mobilian Trade Jargon (a pidgin language, based on Choctaw, spoken by most Indians along the Gulf Coast, from Florida to Louisiana). Since 1907, the ancestors of the petitioner have regularly been reported in anthropological literature as a "mixed-blood" Indian group. In 1935, anthropologist Fred Kniffen identified the Houma as an American Indian entity. During the late 1930's, Frank G. Speck expressed no doubts about Swanton's identification of the group with the historical Houma tribe, and stated that he would "rate the Houma as a people possessing Indian blood and cultural characters to a degree about equal to that of the Creek, Choctaw, Catawba, and Seminoles." In 1941, Speck acknowledged the existence of both Indian (from a variety of tribes) and non-Indian elements in the group, but in 1943 he simply asserted that "the modern people known as Houma Indians . . . are descendants of the Historic Houma tribe mentioned in eighteenth-century narratives of Louisiana."

From the 1940's to the present, subsequent scholars continued to identify the petitioner's ancestors as descendants of the historical Houma Indian tribe based on the unfounded assumptions of Swanton and Speck. In spite of the inaccuracy of this identification, the petitioner has been consistently identified by external sources as an American Indian entity. Evidence for this includes identification by anthropologists and sociologists (e.g., Fred Kniffen in 1935 and 1987; William H. Gilbert, Jr., in 1946; and Ann Fischer in 1968), historians (e.g., Charles Gayarre in 1974; Kenneth Martin in 1984; Richebourg McWilliams, in 1953), and others. In the 1970's, Janel Curry, Jessica Parks, and Edison Roy researched and wrote about the petitioner for their Master's theses. Two additional papers were also published during the 1970's, partially based upon research conducted in the petitioner's communities, concerning housing and racial identification.

Other external sources of identification. From the late 1930's to the present, many journalists (e.g., Fred Barry, Sherwin Guidry, Edgar Poe) and Protestant missionaries and mission organizations (e.g., Milbry Guest, Henry Harper, Mary Lou Jenkins, Mary Beth Littlejohn, and Wilhelmina Hooper) have identified the petitioner as an American Indian entity. The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity in newspapers with greater frequency since the founding of their organization in the 1970's.

As noted above, evaluation under criterion (a) does not establish the identification of the petitioner with a specific tribe. It also does not consider whether any such

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

identifications are accurate. Nevertheless, in the case of the UHN, it should be stated clearly that there is no evidence to support the contention of early anthropologists, or the petitioner, that the petitioner's ancestors are related to the historical Houma Indian tribe. In fact, all available evidence indicates that they are clearly not Houma Indian descendants. This finding, elaborated under criterion 83.7(e), has no bearing on whether or not the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a).

External identification of a petitioner's ancestors as descendants of a specific Indian tribe, even though it does not accurately reflect the historical tribal origins of the group, may nevertheless provide evidence that the group was identified by outsiders as American Indian. Thus Swanton's and Speck's specific identification of the petitioner's ancestors as Houma Indians, while historically and genealogically inaccurate, has to be separated from the fact that their research, and the research of those who followed them, provides evidence that the petitioner has been consistently identified by external sources as an American Indian entity since the early 1900's to the present.

Based on this and other evidence that external sources identified the petitioner as an American Indian entity from 1900 to the present, we conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(a).

83.7(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.

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. The petitioner has not presented any evidence that such a community existed, and none has been found. The petitioner maintains that they are descended from the historical Houma Indian tribe. There is no evidence of any social, political, or genealogical connections between the petitioner and the historical Houma Indian tribe.

First historical contact of Europeans with the historical Houma Indian tribe (though not the petitioner) dates to the 1682 voyage of LaSalle, at which time the Houma Indian tribe

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

was living on the Mississippi-Louisiana state border, north of present-day Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Houma Indians moved to Bayou St. Jean (near New Orleans) in 1706, and by 1718 had moved to the headwaters of Bayou Lafourche, residing on both banks of the Mississippi River near the present-day town of Donaldsonville, Louisiana. They continued to live in settlements in this area into the early 1800's.

By 1830, however, there is evidence that a single community of UHN ancestors had formed, at Montegut on Bayou Terrebonne, which is the community from which the petitioner descends. The majority of these ancestors were non-Indians, though a few were Indian. The varied origins of this community are detailed below. This community existed continuously from 1830 to 1880. There is no evidence that any of the Houma Indians from around the Donaldsonville area ever migrated, as individuals or as a tribe, to the UHN ancestral settlement near Montegut.

From 1840 to 1880, some of the petitioner's ancestors migrated out of this community to nearby bayous in south Louisiana and established several socially and politically independent, satellite settlements. The evidence indicates that these communities were never united across the bayous on a continuous basis in terms of extensive, significant social and political relations. However, each of the communities did exhibit a high degree of internal social cohesion by 1880.

The evidence in this case is complex, and presents a unique situation, in comparison to previous acknowledgment cases, because of the three-stage historical process just described in outline form: 1. prior to 1830, no evidence of a social community; 2. 1830 to 1880, a single UHN ancestral community; 3. 1880 to the present, several (six or more) socially and politically independent communities. Thus, when speaking of the UHN petitioner's ancestors between 1830 and 1880, the reference will be to a single "community." From 1880 to the present the reference will be to the separate UHN "communities."

The earliest UHN community evolved from individuals and nuclear families who moved to modern-day Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes beginning in the 1780's. The UHN ancestors who first settled the bayous of southern Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, Louisiana, did not enter the area together. The UHN petitioner presents a situation in which a small number of individual Indians, from partially unknown

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

tribal backgrounds (two unrelated Indian women and a single Indian nuclear family), and numerous non-Indian individuals, coalesced into a distinct community on Bayou Terrebonne between 1810 and 1830. Geographically, the origins of the individual families can be traced to several locations: south of New Orleans, the city of New Orleans, the German Coast, and Ascension Parish. Ethnically, they were French, German, English, and African, as well as American Indian. The various families came to take up land grants from the Spanish colonial administration.

The petitioner's ancestors who would meet in Louisiana's lower bayous had few, if any, previous relationships, other than those within nuclear families. In only two cases were prior interactions documented among genealogically unrelated ancestors moving onto Bayou Terrebonne. The documentation indicates that the vast majority of the ties among the UHN's ancestors developed only after the families had settled on their land in Terrebonne Parish after 1800. After moving onto Spanish-era land grants along Terrebonne Bayou near present-day Montegut, they united through marriage, economic undertakings, and other social interactions. After these immigrants had become one another's neighbors, over the course of a generation, the settlers evolved into the small farming community shown on Federal census records and General Land Office records in the 1830's.

In the context of Louisiana history, it is not surprising to find that some members of such a farming community were of American Indian origin. Documents generated by the colonial administrations, travelers' reports, and letters described what has been metaphorically called the "mixing bowl" of Louisiana Indians in the second half of the eighteenth century. The many small Muskogean tribes which had lived on the greater Mississippi River Delta were battered by the great European powers, displaced by settlers, and decimated by disease. They moved often. Members of different tribes intermarried. Often larger groupings amalgamated temporarily, and sometimes permanently.

What has rarely been focused on in historical and other writings is that Indian individuals and families also joined non-Indian society. Some Indians married non-Indian settlers. Others took on many of the customs of the new population. They were baptized. They learned and used the French language. They farmed and cared for domesticated animals. They held slaves. Some obtained land grants.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

While some Indian groups acculturated and changed substantially in social, political, and cultural practices, they maintained tribal political authority within tribal communities. The Tunica-Biloxi, Chitimacha, and Mississippi Choctaw are good examples of groups which were able to sustain continuous existence as tribal entities despite acculturative processes. Other Indian individuals and families did not maintain close relations with tribesmen, but rather, joined existing non-Indian communities or pioneered in the frontier communities being established in their midst. The Indian ancestors of the UHN petitioner clearly fall into the latter category.

Extensive settlement of Bayou Lafourche had begun in the mid-1700's. Settlers from Acadia, who would become known in Louisiana as "Cajuns," settled in the upper part of Bayou Lafourche. By 1790, internal migration within Louisiana brought second-generation Cajuns and landless Creoles (as those born in Louisiana were called) to Bayou Terrebonne in search of new lands. The need for new lands was felt especially by second and younger sons who could not inherit according to primogeniture requirements of Franco-Spanish law. Young Creoles from the German Coast, English Turn, and other older settlements moved with second generation Cajuns into the lower bayous in the 1790's. They became neighbors along Bayou Terrebonne. Other settlers came directly from France or the young United States.

Between 1790 and 1820, documents show the petitioner's ancestors moving to a location above modern-day Montegut on Bayou Terrebonne. Their descendants have remained associated with this place for 200 years. In 1907, an informant from the group told ethnologist John Swanton that all the people whom Swanton subsequently called "Houma" living in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes were descended from three families: Billiot, Courteau, and Verdin. The informant's claim has been verified by extensive research on the petitioning group.

General Land Office records and documents of probate, marriage, baptisms, and other events show that 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 Billiotics 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

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

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.

The petitioner, anthropologists, and others have often referred to the three founding families of the UHN petitioner. It has usually been assumed that these three families had Indian origins. Anthropologist John Swanton even speculated that the three families represented three clans or moieties, but there is no evidence to support this contention. Even his own field notes of interviews with the oldest members of the community support a scenario which would attribute diverse tribal and geographical origins to the founding ancestors.

The Billiot and Verdin families received Spanish land grants along Bayou Terrebonne between 1788 and 1803, as did a Courteau brother-in-law, Louis Sauvage. Between 1805 and 1830, two of the original core families, the Indian Courteau family and the non-Indian Billiot family, contracted two marriages. They were neighbors and associates of the Indian Verdin family, whose children were not yet old enough to marry. However, during the same period of time, 1805-1830, the two remaining Courteau siblings and the seven remaining Billiot siblings contracted marriages with members of other neighboring families (Billiot) or with persons of unknown origin. None of these neighboring families can be documented as American Indian: most have been documented as non-Indian in origin -- French, Acadian, Euro-African, or Mexican, for example. In summary, a group of neighbors lived on Bayou Terrebonne approximately 20 miles south of the modern city of Houma, Louisiana, between 1805 and 1830. They are ancestors of the petitioner.

The group of people living along Bayou Terrebonne before 1830 did not, however, constitute a distinct Indian community. It was a group of neighbors: settlers of widely varying origins. Only a minority of these settlers had American Indian ancestry: one family and two apparently unrelated women. These individuals appear in the records of Terrebonne Parish and in the 1810 Federal census. They owned their land in fee simple and paid taxes on it. Both local and Federal census records identified some in the neighborhood as "Indian." In one case, Houma Courteau was specifically identified as Biloxi. However, extensive research has failed to document any tribe or band of Indians that settled along Bayou Terrebonne in the later eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Extensive records concerning the activities of the three core families and those whom they married prior to the Civil War have been located. These records leave no doubt that the three families became closely associated. The three families lived next door to one another. In the second and third generations they married each other. Between 1825 and 1840, three siblings of the mixed French/German/Indian Verdin family married into the Courteau line; the other three Verdin children who survived to maturity married non-Indian neighbors.

While the founders' descendants often married each other, no widespread pattern of group endogamy (marriage to other UHN ancestors) could be confirmed for the period before 1880. During the second and third generations, the UHN ancestors married widely. In addition to the intermarriages among the three core families, members of the core families entered into unions with several recent European immigrants (for example, Dardar, Parfait, Gallet, Roubion, Molinaire), with members of local French/German Creole families (Frederick, Robinet, Prevost), and with free persons of color (Solet, Verret, Jeanne). Two Cajun women (Magneau, Renaud) married into the Billiot family during the second generation. The first Cajun marriage by a woman from one of the core families was between a Verdin daughter and one of the Naquins who had settled on Isle Jean-Charles.

In the revised acknowledgment regulations, which became effective March 28, 1994, two kinds of high evidence are specified which allow a petitioner to show that they historically met or currently meet the criterion of community. First, section 83.7(b)(1)(i-ix) lists several specific examples of high evidence that can be used to demonstrate conclusively that social community exists at a particular point in time; for example, significant rates of culturally appropriate patterned marriages, significant social relationships connecting individual members, significant degree of shared labor, broadly shared cultural patterns such as kinship organization, language, religious beliefs, etc. Second, section 83.7(b)(2)(i-v) addresses another kind of high level of evidence for social community: "A petitioner shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence of community at a given point in time" if evidence is provided to demonstrate one of five characteristics. For example, 83.7(b)(2)(i) states that if a petitioner can show that "more than fifty percent of the members reside in a geographical area exclusively or almost exclusively composed of members of the group, and the balance of the group maintains consistent interaction with

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

some members of the community," that is sufficient evidence that the petitioner meets that criterion at that point in time.

The UHN petitioner can show that their ancestors met the high level of geographical evidence for community between 1830 and 1880 because at least fifty percent of the petitioner's ancestral group lived in a geographic area exclusively inhabited by their ancestors, which extended from just north of modern Montegut to Isle Jean-Charles on Bayou Terrebonne. Land records show a central community existing near Montegut as early as 1830. There are no full descriptions of the community between 1830 and 1880, but the geographic proximity and isolation of the petitioner's ancestral population, as evidenced by the Federal census schedules, maps, and other period documents, demonstrates they meet criterion 83.7(b)(2) from 1830 to 1880.

From about 1810 to 1880, the ancestral group's members married widely with their neighbors (UHN and non-UHN), and there is no evidence of a widespread pattern of endogamy which would meet the high levels of evidence required by the regulations at 83.7(b)(2)(i). An analysis of the partial evidence provided by the petitioner for two distinct UHN communities showed that fifty percent or more of the marriages within the separate communities were endogamous from 1880 to 1940. There is, therefore, limited but inconclusive evidence suggesting that marriage patterns may have distinguished the UHN petitioner from both the white and African American populations also living in the region from 1880 to 1940. The preliminary analysis raises the possibility that endogamy may have been characteristic for each of the UHN communities during this time period. More complete evidence concerning marriage patterns, for all of the UHN component communities, needs to be submitted and more analysis needs to be done, before the petitioner or its component communities can meet a high level of evidence for 83.7(b).

In addition to the evidence suggesting endogamy may have been practiced within the separate communities between 1880 and 1940, the descendants of the founders also appeared in documents and on census rolls together, or sometimes filed legal papers on the same day.

In 1880, the Federal Census showed the petitioner's ancestors living in the founding settlement just north of Montegut, in extensions to that original settlement along Bayou Terrebonne, and in satellite communities on other

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

nearby bayous. The censuses record the same pattern of geographic distribution continuing in 1900, 1910, and 1920. There are no ethnographic or other first-hand descriptions of these communities before 1907. The existence of the separate communities is assumed solely based on geographical proximity of the ancestors according to the Federal censuses.

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, not only on lower Bayou Terrebonne, but also on Bayou Grand Caillou, Bayou du Large, and Bayou Lafourche. The communities listed by Swanton were often viewed as similar by outsiders because they were seen as being similar in terms of their ancestry, language, and customs.

In spite of identification by outsiders as an American Indian entity from 1900 to the present, it may not be presumed that close social and economic relationships continued to exist among the later nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century residents of the founding settlement on Bayou Terrebonne and residents of the satellite communities on other bayous, who were three and four generations removed from each other in kinship. Because of the system of racial hierarchy which existed in this region, residents of one UHN settlement sometimes denied that they were related in any way to residents of other UHN settlements, despite the fact that outsiders often classified all UHN ancestors together. As time progressed and later generations were born, the contacts between the major areas of settlement (the different bayous) cannot be presumed to exist: kin ties became more and more distant. Data to demonstrate continued significant interaction is required to show that the entire descendent population living in the founding settlement and the satellite settlements continued to exist as a single, unified community. Evidence showing this type of interaction was not provided.

The evolution of separate communities from the single founding community had clearly occurred by 1907, when Swanton visited the region and wrote about the kin-based level of social and political organization that characterized the petitioner at that time. Although the six settlements listed by Swanton in 1911 were misidentified as "Houma," it is clear that the settlements were each separate and distinct from the surrounding populations. It is also

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

certain that some of the UHN component communities were socially and politically independent of each other at the time of his visit.

The petitioner did not submit conclusive evidence which shows that, from 1880 to the present, the entire petitioner meets the requirements for community under the acknowledgment regulations as a single entity. However, some evidence suggests that, from 1880 to 1940, the petitioner's precursor population lived in several distinct communities which individually met the requirements for community. These communities were located on Bayous Terrebonne, du Large, Lafourche, and Grand Caillou. Residence patterns from 1880 to 1940, show that the majority of the UHN ancestral population lived in geographically distinct "village-like" settlements, which were exclusively inhabited by the petitioner's members. A residence pattern of this sort clearly demonstrates that the separate settlements which make up the petitioner meet the high level evidence for community required by 83.7(b)(2)(i) between 1880 and 1940.

By the mid-1940's, some of the petitioner's ancestors began emigrating to urban areas, such as New Orleans, to work in war-related industry. This led to a pattern of more and more members living outside of the lower bayou communities. Thus, from 1940 to the present, it cannot be assumed that the petitioner meets the high level of evidence of social community based on geographical distribution. There is no alternative evidence that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) based on residential patterns.

The evidence also indicates that, as the petitioner's members emigrated from the lower bayous in greater numbers than ever before, they started marrying non-petitioner members with greater frequency. Thus, the petitioner, as a whole, does not meet the sufficient level of evidence of community from 1940 to the present based on endogamy, although specific communities within the petitioner retained the endogamous marriage pattern much longer. In the UHN community at Dulac, for example, community residents continued until 1980 to be predominantly married to other UHN members. However, UHN members who are historically associated with the separate settlements, but who currently reside outside of the region (nearly two-thirds of the UHN membership), are very likely to be married to non-UHN spouses. There is some evidence that those who marry outside of the UHN membership do not continue to maintain residence in the lower bayou communities post-maritally.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

For these reasons, since 1940, endogamy cannot be used as sufficient evidence of community for the UHN petitioner as a whole or for the component communities. Each individual community would have to be analyzed, including relatives living away from the traditional community, to determine if endogamy could be used to provide sufficient evidence of community after 1940. Evidence that could be analyzed in such a manner was not provided by the petitioner.

Other evidence, such as continuing interaction, may be used to demonstrate that the separate communities continued to exist from 1940 to the present. After 1940, there is evidence that some people in the separate UHN settlements in the lower bayous met on a daily basis, often worked together in task groups for fishing and trapping, socialized, maintained order and supported distinct institutions such as churches, schools or dance halls. This provides evidence suggesting that the separate settlements on the lower bayous have maintained community between 1940 to the present, but this needs to be better documented for each decade. There has been no analysis of the closeness of kin ties which exist between residents of the bayou communities and migrants to New Orleans. If the UHN members in lower bayou communities and the UHN members in New Orleans area are related as primary kin (children, parents, and grandparents), this could be used to demonstrate that the separate settlements have maintained close social relationships with urban residents associated with their individual communities from 1940 to the present. Evidence to perform such an analysis was not submitted by the petitioner.

There is limited evidence, based on a list of member's addresses submitted by the petitioner, that some or all of the UHN communities on the lower bayous may meet the level of evidence required for recognition under the regulations as separate entities, from 1940 to the present. However, some of the addresses that were spot checked for confirmation were proven to be inaccurate. Additionally, the address information for many of the group's members was not complete. The petitioner did not submit sufficient evidence to prove conclusively that their community has continued to exist from 1940 to the present. Because of the failure to meet criterion 83.7(b) prior to 1830, it is not necessary to evaluate this issue further at this time.

The cohesiveness found in some of the separate communities does not prove that the entire petitioning population meets 83.7(b) as a single community. Overall, little interaction

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

between the various communities in the lower bayous has been demonstrated. In fact, antagonistic relations, justified by perceived racial differences, typified the few social interactions between the petitioner's component communities that were documented. There is evidence that people who emigrated from Isle Jean-Charles to New Orleans have maintained long-standing relationships with their relatives in Isle Jean-Charles from 1940 to the present. But there is no evidence that they maintained any sort of social relationship with other members of the petitioning group living in nearby UHN settlements, such as Dulac or Bayou DuLarge. There is also no evidence, for example, that emigrants from Isle Jean-Charles to New Orleans maintain any social relations with other UHN members in New Orleans who emigrated from other settlements in the lower bayous. More evidence is needed to show that the UHN has constituted a single community from 1880 to the present before the petitioner could be acknowledged as a single entity.

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, because there is no evidence that their progenitors existed as a separate, distinct community, Indian or non-Indian. Because they have not evolved as a continuously existing social community from a historic Indian tribe, they do not meet the requirement for continuous existence as a community since first contact with Europeans.

From 1830 to 1880, however, the existence of a distinct, exclusive, geographical settlement provides sufficient evidence that a UHN predecessor community existed. Between 1840 and 1880, many UHN ancestors emigrated from the original community to satellite settlements on nearby bayous. There is no evidence which allows a precise determination as to when these satellite settlements became politically and socially independent from the single founding community. There is also no information on the process which led to their social and political independence from the founding community.

Nevertheless, the evidence clearly indicates that by 1880, these satellite settlements had evolved into at least six independent communities. From 1880 to 1940, the evidence indicates that only UHN members inhabited these settlements. This provides prima facie evidence that the petitioner continued to meet criterion 83.7(b)(2)(i) for that period as separate communities, but not as a whole. For the purposes

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

of these regulations, therefore, it is determined that from 1880 to 1940, at least six component settlements (Isle Jean-Charles, Pointe Barre, Montegut, Golden Meadow, Dulac, and Bayou du Large) individually met the requirement of criterion 83.7(b)(2)(i).

For the period from 1940 to the present, no evidence was presented by the petitioner or found during the evaluation process which indicates the separate communities that constitute the UHN meet criterion 83.7(b) as a single entity. The petitioner has not submitted sufficient evidence that UHN members who have emigrated from the lower bayou region, to the New Orleans area and beyond, continue to maintain social relations with the bayou settlements with which they are historically identified. There is also no evidence that the petitioner's members who emigrated to New Orleans from the various bayous are maintaining social relations in New Orleans. There is only limited evidence that the component UHN communities on the lower bayous continued to maintain their social relations within their communities either. For these reasons, the petitioner does not meet this criterion from 1940 to the present.

If the UHN petitioner were to find conclusive evidence that established their descent from an American Indian tribe from historical contact to 1830, the issue of acknowledging the petitioner as a whole or as separate entities would have to be investigated. Further evidence would also have to be submitted to determine if each of the component settlements of the UHN petitioner is actually distinct from all other settlements, or if two or more of these settlements may actually be connected socially to each other. For example, it is not clear at this point in time whether the two settlements on lower Bayou Terrebonne may constitute a single community that could be acknowledged as a single entity or as two distinct communities. This issue would be investigated further if the petitioner should find conclusive evidence that they descend from a historical Indian tribe.

We conclude, therefore, that the petitioner has not met criterion 83.7(b).

83.7(c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

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. It is, therefore, impossible for the petitioner to demonstrate that it has exercised political influence over its members from from historical times to the present. Without a community, there is no entity in which political influence may be exercised. For this reason, the petitioner cannot meet criterion 83.7(c).

As under the discussion of criterion 83.7(b) above, there is an important distinction to be made concerning the existence of a single UHN ancestral community, from 1830 to 1880, and the several independent, satellite UHN communities, from 1880 to 1940. Evidence indicates that the earliest documented UHN progenitors were creating a settlement on Bayou Terrebonne between 1810 and 1830. They moved there with other settlers from a variety of non-Indian origins. During the period from 1810 to 1830, they constituted a minority of the total number of settlers. From 1810 to 1830, the UHN ancestors interacted socially with each other and with neighbors who would not become UHN ancestors with the same frequency and intensity. Thus, even though the UHN ancestors were evolving into a distinct community from 1810 to 1830, there is no evidence that political authority was exercised during this formative period.

By 1830, however, a distinctive community comprised of UHN ancestors had been established on Bayou Terrebonne. Between 1830 and 1880, the petitioner meets the regulations for community because they have presented a high level of evidence for social community: at least half of the UHN ancestors lived in close proximity to one another along Bayou Terrebonne, in exclusive settlements. The revised regulations for Federal acknowledgment provide that when the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(b) for a specific period of time by presenting sufficient evidence, they also meet the requirements for political authority for the same period (see 83.7(c)(3)). Thus, on this basis, the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(c) between 1830 and 1880 as a single entity.

The petition states that Rosalie Courteau was a leader for the UHN ancestors from 1840 to 1880. The evidence presented by the petitioner in the form of oral histories indicates that Rosalie Courteau is remembered by her descendants as a prominent ancestor. It has been found that she is a documented Indian ancestor of the UHN, and was widely respected in the ancestral community along Bayou Terrebonne.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

But the petitioner has not presented any evidence that she exercised political influence over the UHN ancestors, as a whole. There is no evidence that she was involved in issues that were of importance to the petitioner's ancestors, as a whole. The consistent assertions by the petitioner that she was influential in the founding community on Bayou Terrebonne have not been supported by specific evidence, though the possibility remains that she may have been a leader within that particular sphere. There is no evidence that her influence extended to the satellite settlements that were formed during the period the petitioner claims she was a leader (1840 to 1880). There is not any evidence that she had influence over her own daughters once they married and emigrated from the original founding community on Bayou Terrebonne to Isle Jean-Charles and Bayou Grand Caillou. The available evidence (presented by the petitioner and found during the evaluation of the petitioner) does not substantiate the petitioner's contention that she was a political leader for the entire community.

The petitioner's founding community established satellite settlements throughout the lower bayous between 1840 and 1880. There is no evidence of a bilateral political relationship between the original, founding UHN community on Bayou Terrebonne and the satellite communities. There are no descriptions of political influence being exercised by the UHN ancestors at Bayou Terrebonne over UHN ancestors in the satellite communities or vice versa. There is no indication that there were any political issues of concern to the UHN ancestors, as a whole, between 1840 and 1880. No evidence was presented establishing the shift in political authority from the founding community on Bayou Terrebonne to the separate settlements on other nearby bayous, though later evidence seems to suggest that such a process must have occurred, since Swanton described each of six satellite communities as having their own leaders in 1907 (see below).

The fact that there is no evidence that Rosalie Courteau or anyone else exercised political authority within the community from 1830 to 1880 is not considered critical for this petitioner, since the petitioner meets the requirements for political leadership based on the high level of evidence presented to establish the existence of social community from 1830 to 1880 (see discussion under criterion 83.7(b), above).

It has been determined that the individual settlements meet criterion 83.7(b) between 1880 and 1940 based on a high level of evidence. This conclusion was based on the fact

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

that, during this period, 50 percent or more of the UHN ancestors exclusively inhabited villages in the lower bayous. Under the revised regulations for Federal acknowledgment, this means that at least six of the UHN individual settlements, though not the petitioner as a whole, meet the regulations for community (83.7(b)) at a high level from 1880 to 1940. Based on the evidence submitted, it is not possible to determine at this time if some of the settlements have actually functioned as a single community, or if they are all in fact socially and politically distinct. This would be investigated further if the petitioner should find conclusive evidence that they descend from a historical Indian tribe.

For the period from 1880 to 1930, the UHN, based on information submitted in its petition, does not meet the evidence for criterion 83.7(c)(1). There are no descriptions of political influence being exercised over the petitioner's ancestral communities as a whole. During the same period, there are no detailed descriptions of political authority within the separate communities, though Swanton made a general reference to the fact that each of the six satellite communities he identified had its own leaders in 1907. There is no evidence concerning how or why the leaders referred to by Swanton became leaders. There is also neither evidence that indicates what political issues were important for the UHN ancestors nor that there were differences of opinion on such issues. There is no specific evidence that can be used to understand the political process that may have been operating.

From 1930 to 1940, there is some evidence for the exercise of leadership within the satellite settlements on a limited number of issues, such as refusing to attend segregated schools established for black children, as required by Louisiana laws, and lobbying the Federal and state governments to establish separate Indian schools for UHN children. This is some evidence for the existence of ad hoc leaders between 1930 and 1940. Studies performed by the Federal Office of Indian Affairs in the 1930's indicated that at that time, such leadership as existed was exerted by heads of extended families, but no examples were provided.

From 1940 to the present, the petitioner did not meet the criterion for social community with a high level of evidence. Therefore, the petitioner is required to meet the regular standards of evidence for political authority from 1940 to the present. For this period, there is limited evidence for the existence of an informal, kinship-based

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

system of leadership within the separate communities. Informal, kin-based leadership, when in evidence, can be used to demonstrate the existence of political leadership. But the UHN has not presented insufficient evidence to prove conclusively that such leadership existed for the petitioner as a whole, or within the individual communities, from 1940 to the present. There is also limited, anecdotal evidence that, within some of the satellite communities, there have been ad hoc UHN leaders.

During the 1940's there was a reference to elders within the lower bayou communities who played a special role in maintaining order and organizing work crews. The Cajun French words "Tante" (Aunt) and "Nonc" (Uncle) are used to refer to these older men and women who exert authority in the communities. The oral histories submitted with the petition contain many examples of elders organizing task forces during the 1920's to 1930's. A recent example, from 1992, indicated that this political authority is still being exercised. The story involved a young UHN member who stole a boat. The man whose boat had been stolen did not reprove the young man directly. Rather, he approached the teenage thief's "Noncs," accompanied by his own male relatives, or "Noncs." They requested that the teenager's "Noncs" devise a plan to punish him. In response, the teenager's "Noncs" made him work to pay for the damage.

During the 1970's civil rights movement, there is evidence that leadership was exercised primarily within the satellite communities. The only example submitted by the petitioner indicates that Tom Dion was a leader during the fight to integrate the schools in Dulac and along Bayou Grand Caillou. No evidence indicated that his authority extended to other bayous. There is no evidence which indicates how or why Dion became involved in this issue; that is, whether he was self-appointed or representing UHN members officially. There is also no evidence that he provided leadership on any other issues of importance to the UHN.

The formal UHN organization was founded in 1972. From 1972 to the present, there is little or no evidence that there is a significant, broad-based bilateral relationship between the leaders of the formal organization and the UHN's members. A handful of people, many of them close relatives, claim to lead the organization. Meetings have not been well attended and only few people have voted in elections. Decision-making was performed by only a few people and did not appear to incorporate the opinions of the organization's membership widely. No evidence was presented or found that

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the urban portion of the membership that lives around New Orleans (approximately two-thirds of the total UHN members) is involved in the political process. For example, there is no evidence that they are kept informed of the leaders' activities, or that they communicate their opinions to the leaders.

The UHN has encountered difficulties maintaining a cohesive front. Major rifts have developed on two occasions since the UHN was founded. Only in the last two years has public opinion been openly expressed in well attended public meetings. This interest appears to have been generated by the activity of the Documented Houma (a new organization which is considering withdrawing from the UHN in order to set up its own council) and others who are questioning the actions of the current council. Based on the limited information submitted by the petitioner, it is not possible to determine if the major divisions which have surfaced in the UHN organization are due to factionalism; that is, if they are based on strong and long-lasting political opinions. If they are, this might be used as evidence of political process.

In summary, there is no evidence that a UHN ancestral community, Indian or non-Indian, existed prior to 1830. This means that there was no entity over which political influence or authority could have been exercised, as required by the regulations at 83.7(c). Because the evidence presented for social community from 1830 to 1880 was at a high level, (see discussion above under criterion 83.7(b)), the petitioner, as a single entity, meets criterion 83.7(c) for the same period. From 1880 to 1940, the separate communities meet criterion 83.7(c) as separate communities, because of the high level of evidence presented on community within the separate communities. But the petitioner, as a whole, does not. Since 1940, there is some evidence for kin-based leadership structures and processes within the separate lower bayou communities. But the evidence presented is not sufficient to meet the regulations for criterion 83.7(c) because it is sparse (no mention of examples of leadership for certain communities and/or several major time periods). The examples that are mentioned are vague and/or anecdotal. There is no evidence for a bilateral political relationship between the UHN council and the petitioner's members from the time of their formal organization in 1972 to the present. There is also no evidence for the existence of a political relationship between the UHN members in New Orleans and the council.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Because the petitioner has not demonstrated a genealogical, social, or political connection to a historical tribe, there was no need for further study of the issue of a single versus multiple communities in the preparation of this Proposed Finding. If the petitioner can prove that it connects to a historical tribe, then the issue of whether or not there is one community or several could be reopened. An investigation of this issue would require the presentation of more evidence concerning the political and social connection between the separate communities or, on the other hand, the independence of the communities from each other between 1940 and the present.

We conclude, therefore, that the petitioner does not meet criterion 83.7(c).

- 83.7(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.**

The membership was updated several times after the start of the active consideration phase of the petitioning process, on May 20, 1991. The UHN membership list was last updated with the Secretary in 1992. The membership list submitted that year includes 17,616 individuals.

Three UHN constitutions were submitted by the petitioner. The first and earliest one, dated July 18, 1979, was submitted with the original petition. The second version, which was undated, was very similar to the first. It increased the number of council members from 9 to 14, and changed the election date. The third and current version of the constitution is dated August 20, 1983, and it contained substantial changes in the membership criteria.

The 1983 constitution requires an individual to be able to trace descent from a list of "known Houma Indian ancestors" who have been identified as such by the group's tribal council. Also, they must reside in Louisiana or be known to the council and have identified with the group in the past. The list of "known Houma Indian ancestors" was developed in 1991 by the council from individuals enumerated as "Indian" in the 1850-1880 and 1900 Federal population census schedules of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. This list of "known Houma Indian ancestors," because it is based on

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the census schedules, is not completely accurate. It excludes some individuals who actually have Indian ancestry but were classified as non-Indian by the census takers. It also includes some who were classified as Indian, but have no verifiable Indian ancestry. Indian identity of the UHN ancestors is based solely upon external identification by Federal census takers not upon genealogical evidence. It is also important to note that the list of ancestors developed in 1991 could not have been used to evaluate membership applications for individuals appearing on the membership lists compiled before that date.

The earliest governing documents from the 1970's specified a blood quantum for members; the Houma Alliance constitution of 1974 specified one-fourth "Houma Indian blood," the 1979 constitution of the UHN specified one-eighth. The basis for calculating this blood quantum was not discussed in the petition. In fact, there is no evidence it was really used, and it is no longer a requirement under the current constitution. Both the 1974 Houma Alliance and 1979 UHN governing documents required Louisiana residency for membership, but this requirement has also been modified, as noted above.

Two versions (1979 and 1983) of UHN by-laws were submitted by the petitioner. They were very different from each other in terms of the membership criteria, mirroring differences in the 1979 and 1983 constitutions. There is an additional ratified document, dated August 20, 1983, which reasserts a minimum of one-eighth Houma Indian blood quantum. This ratified document contradicts the UHN constitution. There is no evidence that the UHN uses the blood quantum in determining membership eligibility, or how they purport to do so.

The current constitution says that the UHN council will decide the issue of membership eligibility. This procedure seems to have been followed in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Registration cards were checked by council members; if they knew the applicant, they were approved and sent back to the staff. The staff stamped the membership card, acknowledging acceptance as a member of the UHN, and sent it to the new member. There is no evidence that the tribal council is currently involved in the enrollment process and it is unclear what the current process is for determining eligibility.

The petitioner has provided a copy of its present governing document (the August 20, 1983 constitution) and the criteria

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

it uses for determining membership. We conclude that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(d).

83.7(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.

The situation of the UHN under criterion 83.7(e) is unique as compared to that of previous acknowledgment cases decided by the Assistant Secretary. 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.

Indian ancestry can be verified for the petitioner without doubt or question. However, the documentary record indicates that there were only three Indian progenitors for the UHN. These three unrelated Indians settled along the southern portion of Bayou Terrebonne, Lafourche Parish (now Terrebonne Parish), Louisiana, prior to 1810 (the Houma Courteau family (including the descendants of Rosalie Courteau who married Jacques Billiot and those of Marguerite Courteau who married Jean Billiot), the Verdin children of Marie Gregoire, and the descendants of "Jeanet an Indian woman" who married Joseph Billiot). Aside from these three family lines, all members of the founding generation, including the parents of the Billiot family, appear as non-Indian in contemporary early nineteenth-century documents, even when the petitioner's oral tradition ascribed Indian ancestry to them.

No additional Indian ancestors can be documented as having joined the community in the two succeeding generations. Most spouses from non-founding families who married into the group during the first half of the nineteenth century can be documented from Louisiana civil and church records as non-Indian, even though the petitioner's oral tradition ascribed Indian ancestry to them.

In addition to the documented Indians named above, UHN oral tradition of the petitioner ascribes Indian ancestry to five other persons whose descendants married into the group during the first half of the nineteenth century. The available documentation neither demonstrated nor disproved

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

such Indian ancestry for these five persons (Francois Fitch and his wife Marguerite Houma/Bellome, Auguste Jaco and his sister Constance Jaco, and Constance Jaco's husband Joseph/Jean Baptiste Gregoire). The oral tradition did not include a clear ascription of tribal origin for any of these five individuals. No tribal identification was given for Jaco or Gregoire. Francois Fitch was said to be "from Oklahoma" and Marguerite Houma/Bellome was said to be Choctaw/Comanche.

Since the coalescence of the UHN predecessor community along Bayou Terrebonne in the early nineteenth century, the original three Indian family lines have maintained themselves persistently: analysis indicates that about 84% of the petitioner's members have verifiable Indian ancestry tracing to the founding generation. Because of the extensive courthouse and Catholic church records in southern Louisiana, verification of lines of descent for individuals who lived in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes in the nineteenth and twentieth century did not present a problem in the case of this petitioner.

The Indian ancestry present in the founding generation has been conserved to a considerable extent. Because of extensive intermarriage among UHN ancestral families during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries--intermarriage which led to a high degree of ancestral implosion--these few Indian individuals of the founding generation appear several times over among the 32 great-great grandparents or 64 great-great-great grandparents of many UHN members.

However, with the exception of one individual, none of the founding Indian ancestors can be traced to any particular tribal origin. Courteau (aka Joseph Abbe/Tacalobe/Tough-la-Bay) was not from the historical Houma tribe, but Biloxi, as confirmed both by contemporary nineteenth-century documentation and the petitioner's own oral tradition as presented to anthropologists in the early twentieth century. His wife Marianne was probably of Indian descent. Swanton's 1907 field notes recorded oral tradition that she was either Acolapissa or an Attakapa from Texas, but another of the petitioner's oral traditions relayed to Swanton--that she was born in or near Mobile, Alabama--would indicate that she was a member of one of the Alabama tribes that moved into Louisiana after 1763 rather than a member of the historical Houma tribe in Louisiana. Marianne's proven brother, Louis Sauvage aka Louis Le Sauvage, a Terrebonne Parish landholder in the founding generation, is documented as having left no descendants.

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Aside from that one Biloxi man and his probably Indian wife, the petitioner's founding ancestry includes two women, Marie Gregoire and Jeanet, who are identified only as "Indian" in the contemporary, early nineteenth century, documentary records. Circumstantial evidence indicates that Marie Gregoire may have had ties to the Attakapa, while nothing at all is known of the tribal origin of the other woman.

The linguistic evidence which still existed at the time of early anthropological study of the group is not sufficiently definitive to permit ascription of tribal origins on that ground. The words collected by Swanton, which he labelled "pure Choctaw," are in fact Mobilian trade jargon, a language that would have been spoken by Indians of most tribes along the gulf coast of the United States, from Florida to Louisiana.

In spite of the "Houma" name ascribed to the community by anthropologists since the first study by ethnologist John Reed Swanton in 1907, there is no evidence that any of the Indian individuals in the UHN ancestral community originated in the historical Houma Indian tribe of Louisiana. There are no documents indicating why Swanton referred to them as "Houma." His own field notes indicate that he believed the UHN ancestors descended from a variety of tribes. The oral history of the group did not claim Houma origin, but referred to Biloxi and Attakapas. Neither did the ancestral community represent descent from "historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity." Rather, the ancestral community represented Indian individuals separated from their tribes of origin who intermarried with non-Indians in the founding generation. The descendants of these founders represented a group of people who have interacted with and intermarried with neighbors of non-Indian origin, but who have also maintained a certain level of distinction from neighbors without Indian ancestry, from about 1830 until the present day.

Thus the UHN presents a unique situation. They are a distinct settlement with verifiable Indian ancestry, which has existed continuously since 1830. Some elders still remembered a few Indian words into the early twentieth century. But there is no documentation that allows an identification of the UHN members with the Houma or any other historical tribe. We conclude the petitioner does not meet criterion 83.7(e).

Summary under the Criteria -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

83.7(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.

The petitioner's membership does not include individuals who are members of any Federally recognized tribe.

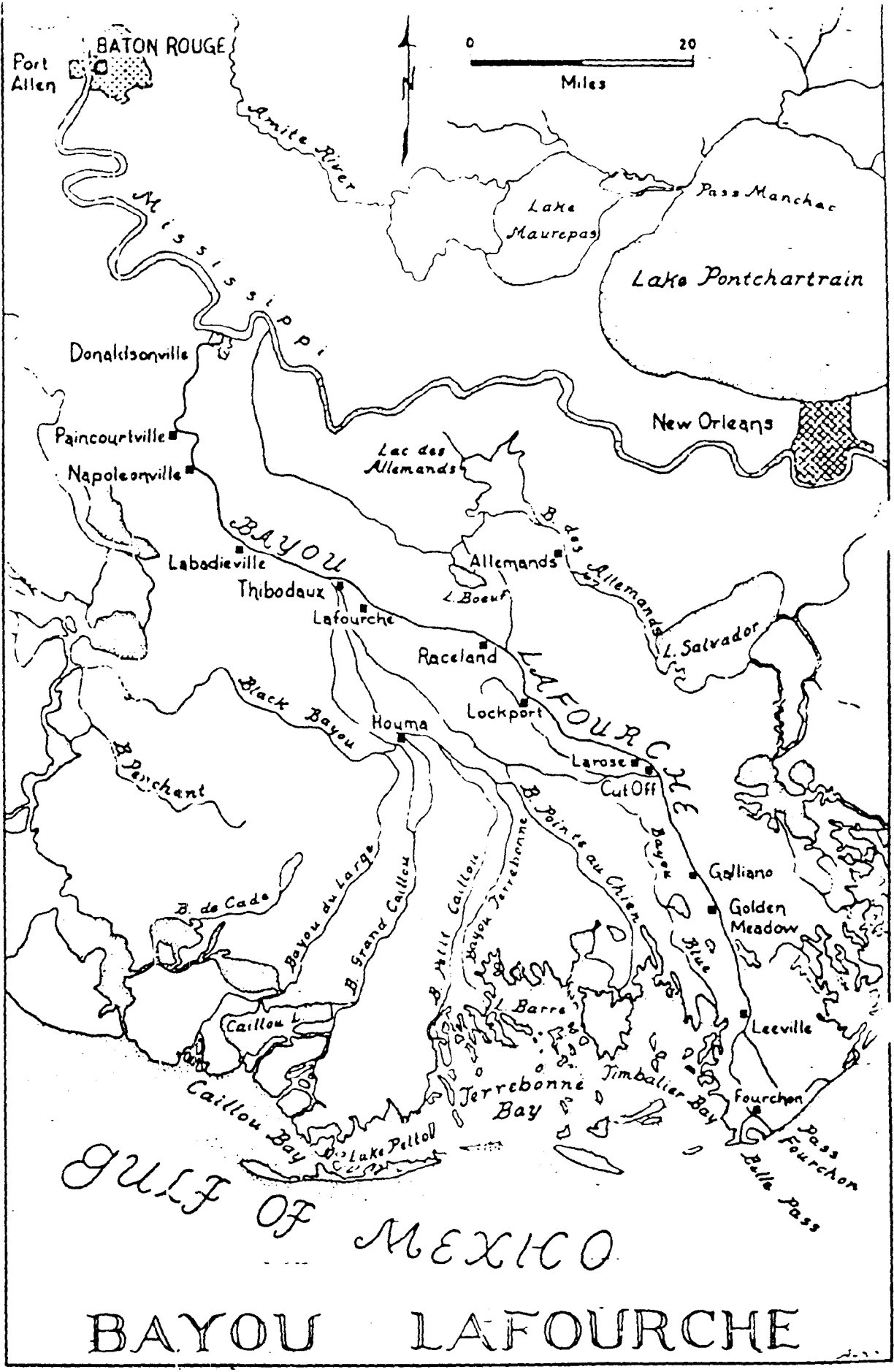
We conclude, therefore, that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(f).

83.7(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

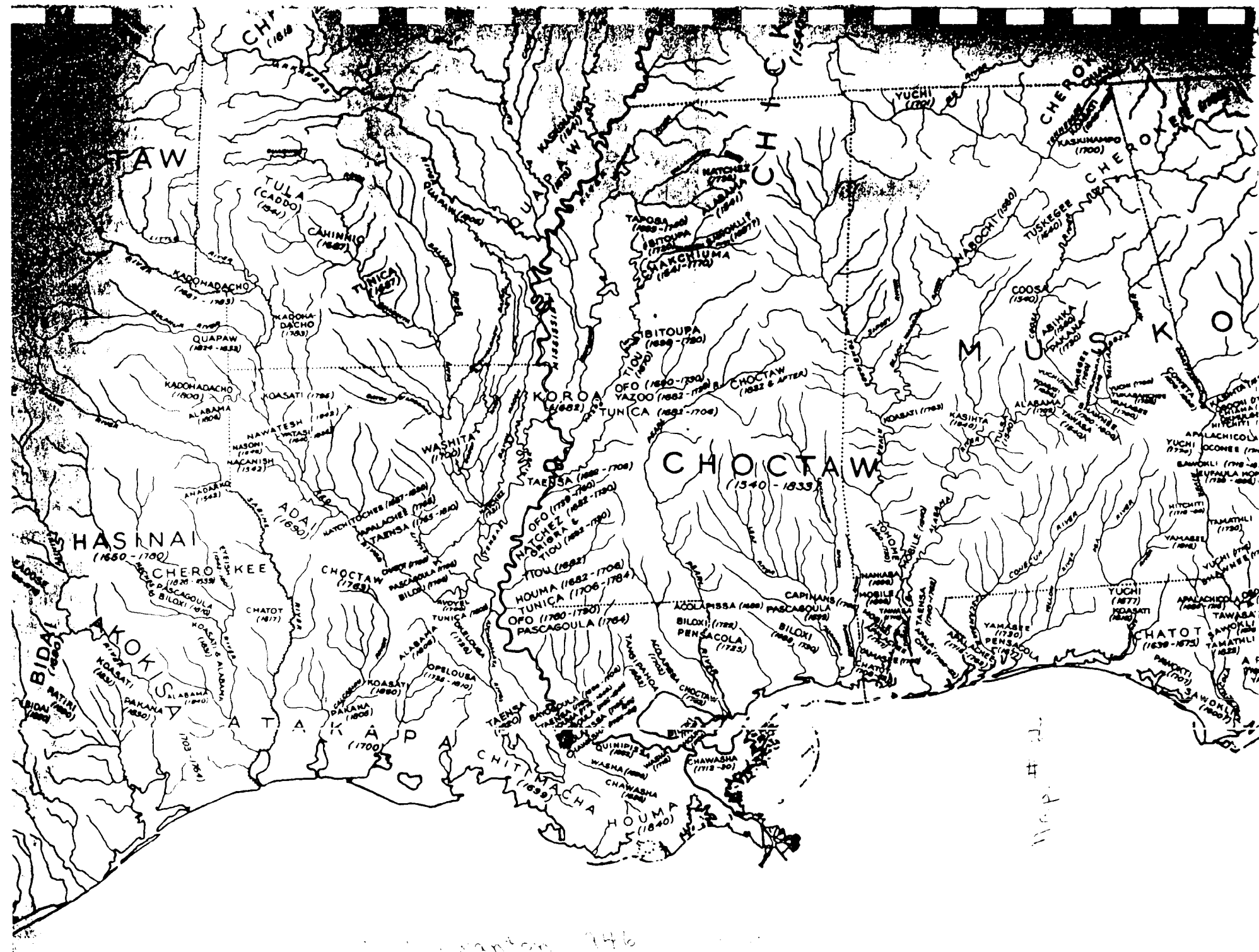
There is no evidence that the United Houma Nation, Inc., or its members, have ever been the subject of any Congressional legislation which has expressly forbidden or terminated the Federal relationship.

We conclude, therefore, that the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(g).

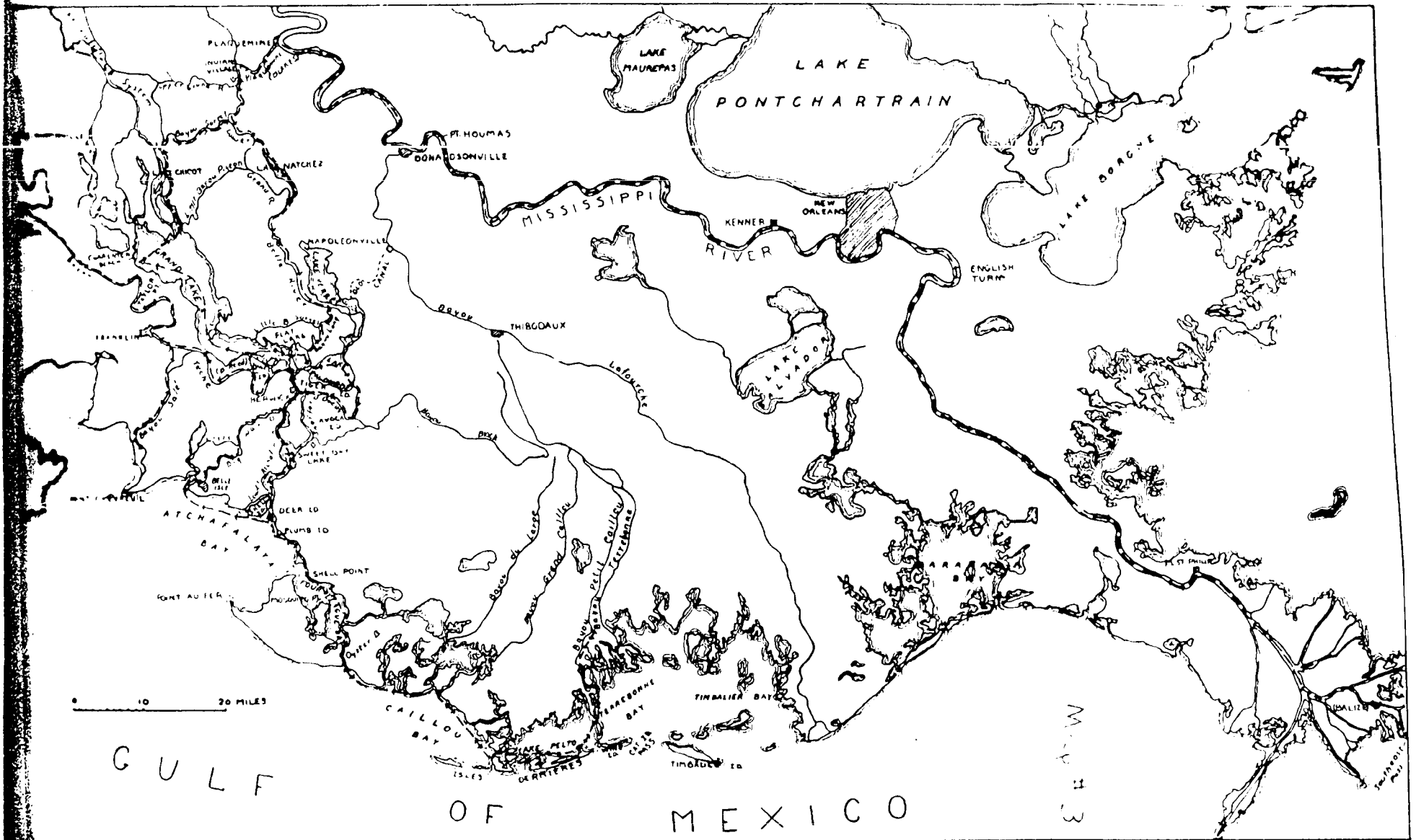
From: *Louisiana Bayou Rouge, LA: Louisiana Educational Research Association, 1968, p. 125.*



Map. # 1

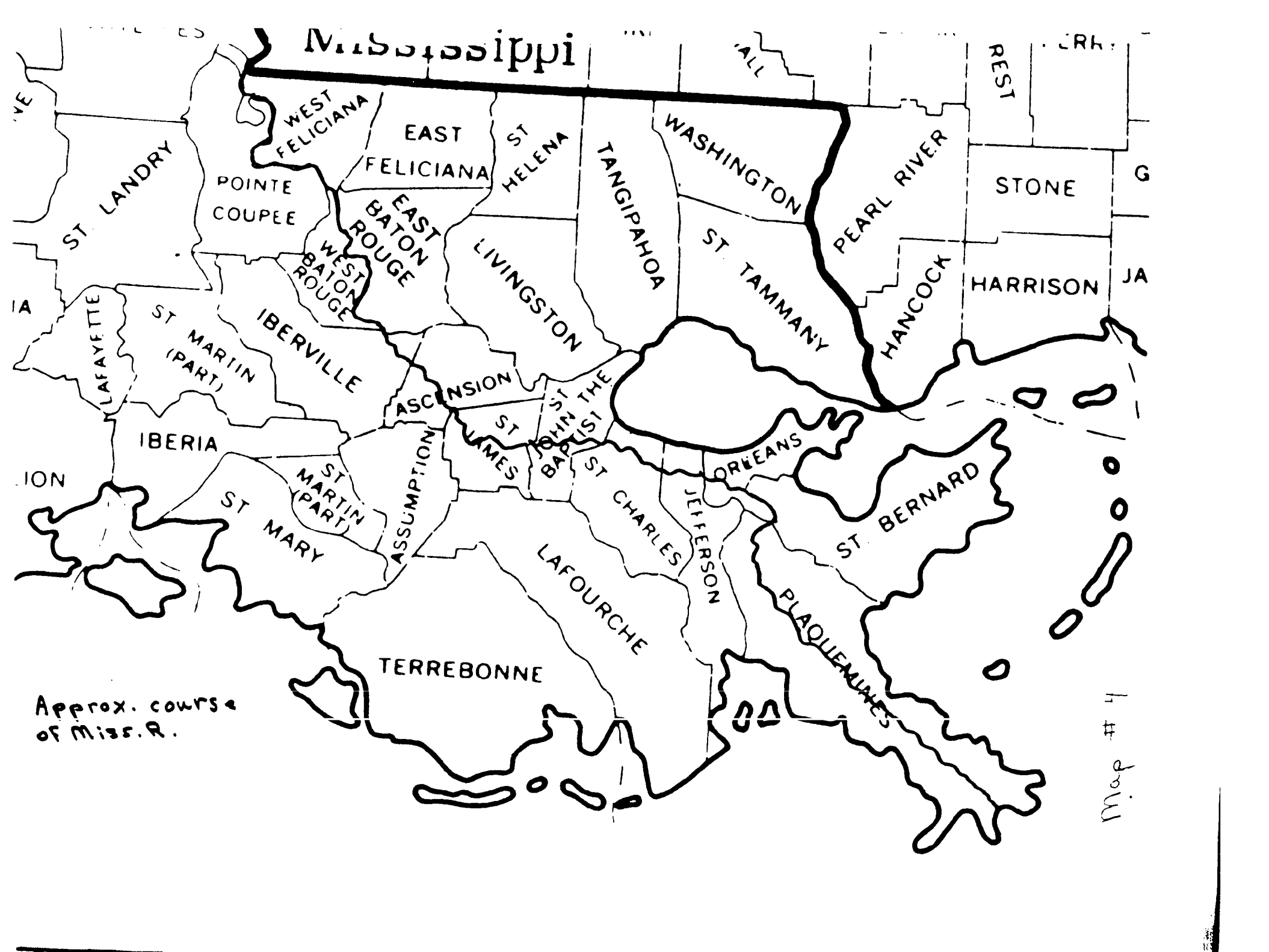


...anton 1946



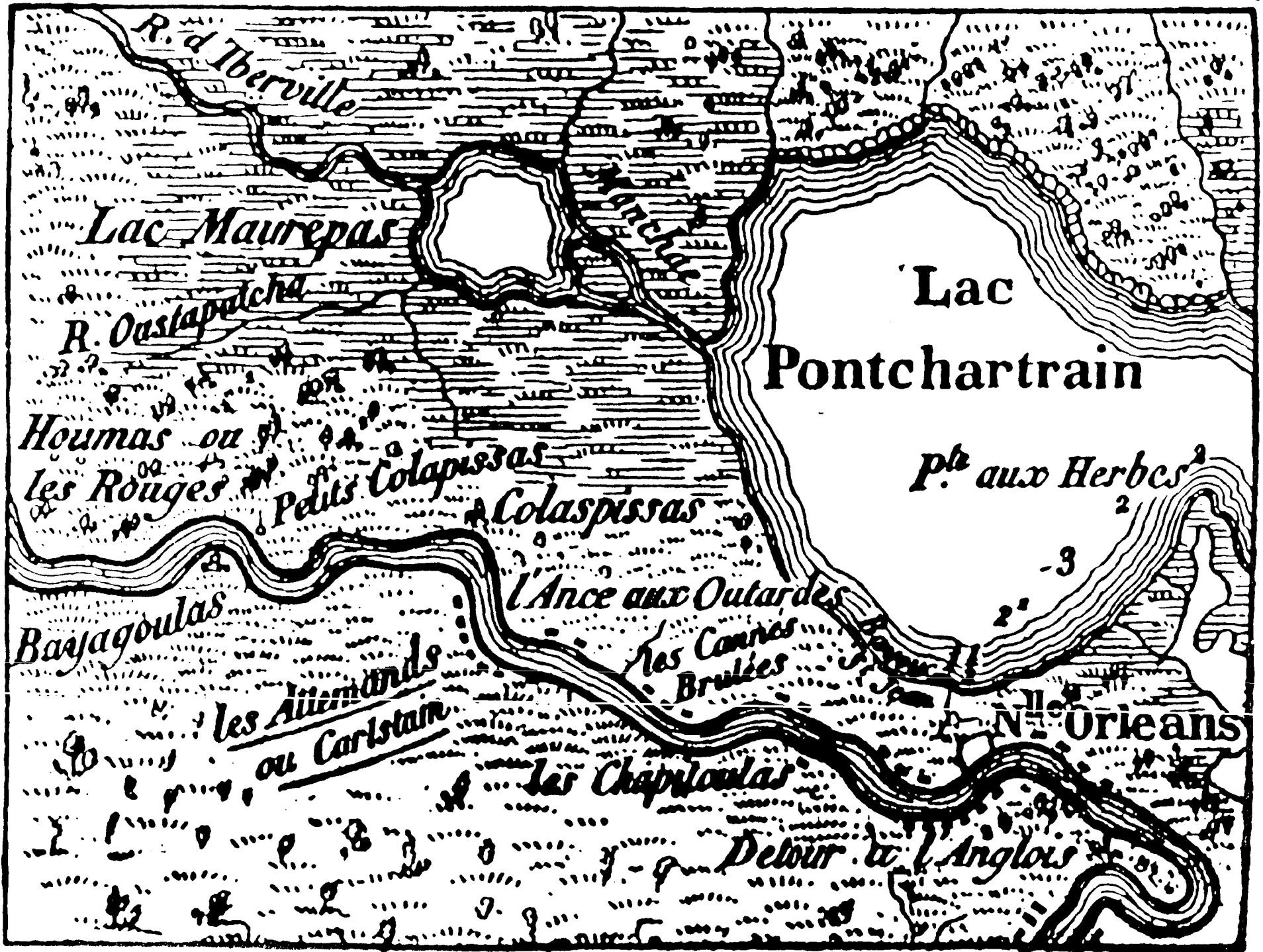
CATHCART'S ROUTES IN LOUISIANA

The major routes are indicated by dashed lines. No attempt is made to show all the minor traverses. The map represents present day natural conditions; it is somewhat more detailed in areas visited by Cathcart. Names are modern with the exception of a few that are enclosed in parentheses.



Approx. course
of Miss. R.

Map # 4



PARADIA, COMPRISING THE
LAND ASCENSION AND ON
PI RIVER

183-274

13 feet front by a depth
upstream by Louis ARCEN-
David ROM.

415-254

depth of 40 arpents boun-
HEINS and downstream by
a tract surveyed in 1782
the original tract conti-
sies and 6 inches front.

140-271

140-298

and 1 foot front by a
or 2 arpents front and to
for the remainder,
uan Carlos ARCENAJA and
GER. The front 40 arpents
for Juan ARCENAUX by
aimant being son of said
ck 40 arpents claimed was
RY from whom Juan ARCENAUX
arpents measured from the
the remainder rejected.

126-300

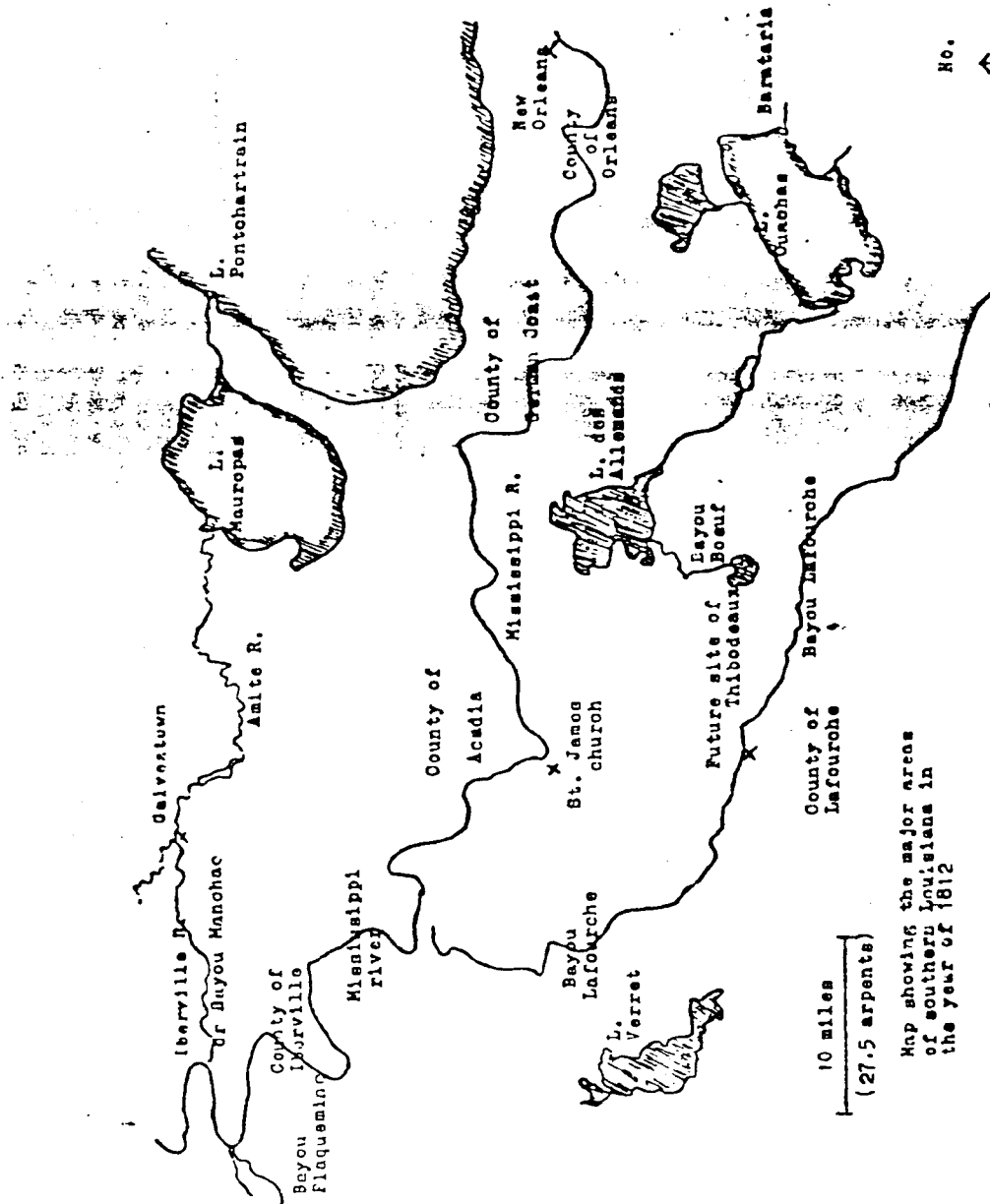
426-295

feet front by a depth of
s added a claim to the
y back of this section
erome CODET and downstream
n. The front 40 arpents
ar section rejected.

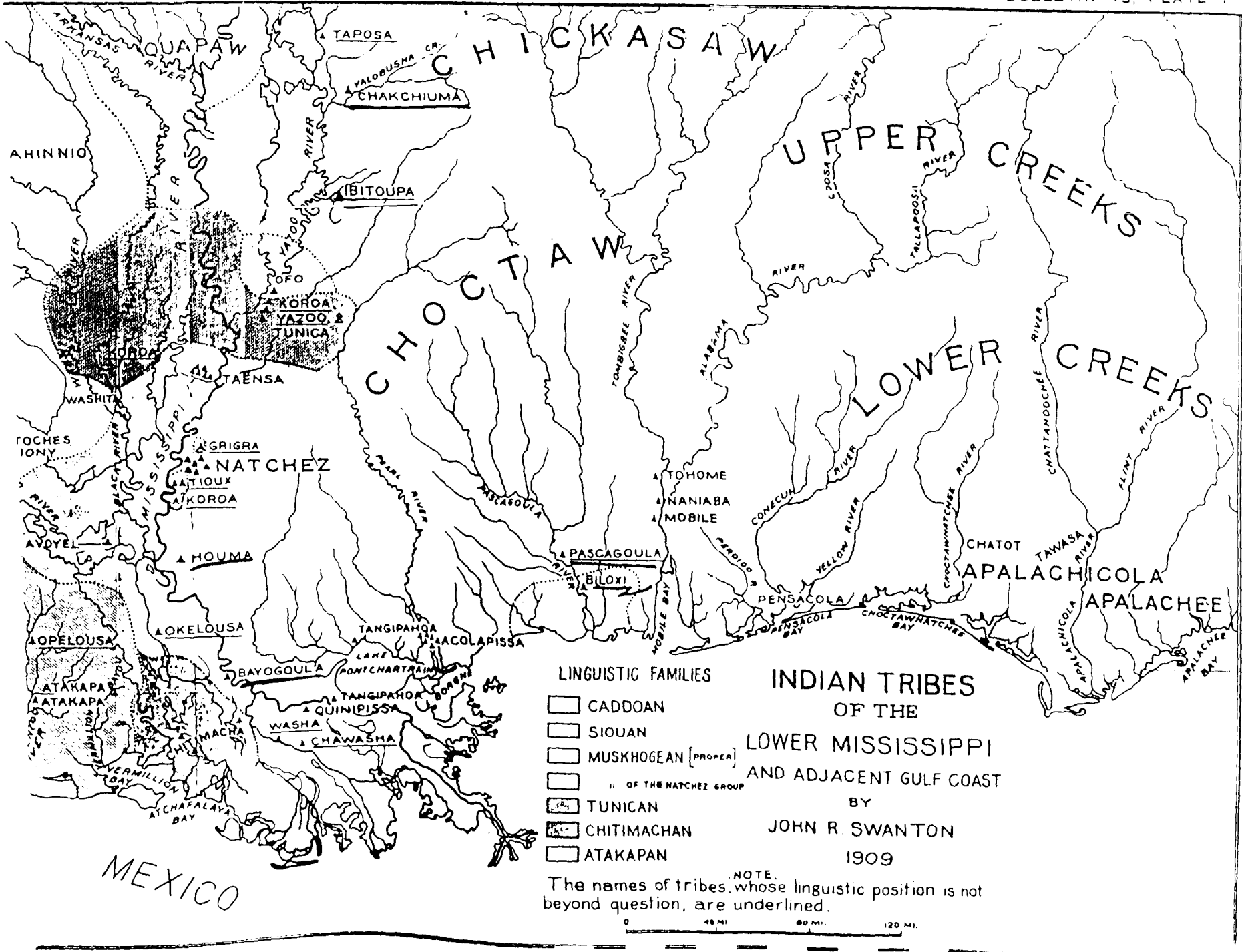
427-295

foot front by a depth of
ostream by Joseph ARCE-
eam by Henry LANDRY. The
confirmed, the back 40

124



Map # 6



LOW

MAP # 7

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES

- CADDOAN
- SIOUAN
- MUSKHOGEAN [PROPER]
- " OF THE NACHEZ GROUP
- TUNICAN
- CHITIMACHAN
- ATAKAPAN

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI AND ADJACENT GULF COAST

BY JOHN R. SWANTON 1909

NOTE. The names of tribes whose linguistic position is not beyond question, are underlined.





Fig. 3. The Lower Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche areas, Louisiana.

extended from the pine forests in central Louisiana southward to the coastal marshes (fig. 4).²⁷ Interrupted occasionally only by forest-lined bayous, the prairies formed extensive pasture well suited for livestock, and by the mid-eighteenth century herds of cattle and horses derived from Spanish livestock in neighboring Texas were found in various parts of the area.²⁸ A retired army officer of New Orleans, one Captain Antoine-Bernard Daurive, had obtained a large grant of land in the At-

takapas, and in the 1760s claimed the possession of several thousand head of semi-wild cattle and horses.²⁹ In 1765 Daurive offered to aid some of the newly arrived Acadian refugees in developing a livestock industry in the Attakapas, mainly for the purpose of insuring a reliable supply of animals for the New Orleans market. Members of the group of refugees led by Joseph Broussard dit Beausoleil of Halifax were chosen for this enterprise. A contract was drawn whereby Daurive would

MAP # 9

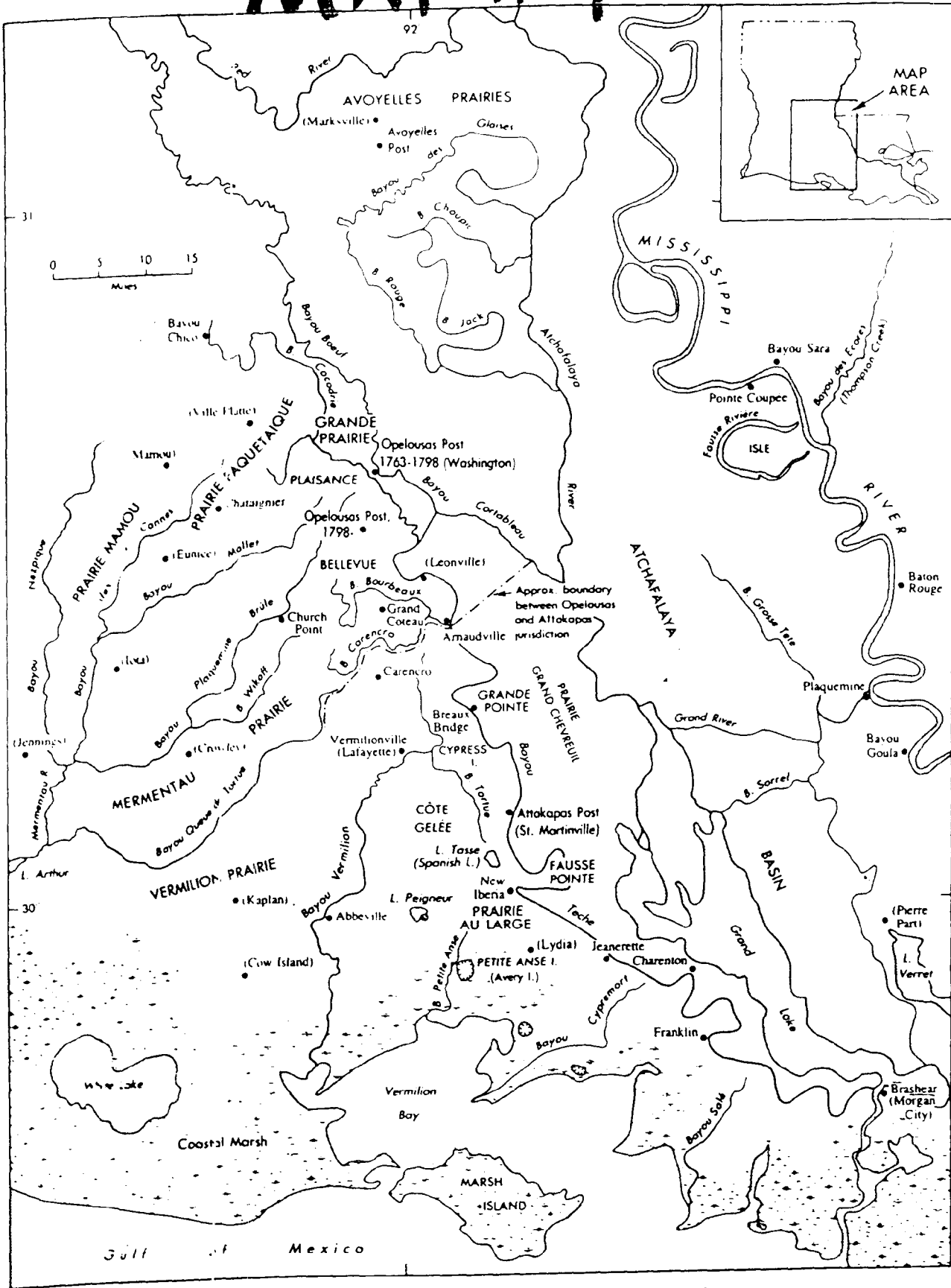


Fig. 4. The Bayou Teche, Opelousas area, and adjacent prairies of South-Central Louisiana.

6 From: Robert C. West (1989) An Atlas of Louisiana Surnames of French and Spanish Origin.

GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

Table of Contents

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE	1
I. PRESENTATION AND UTILIZATION OF GENEALOGICAL DATA	3
II. GOVERNING DOCUMENTS	4
A. Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., aka The Houma Tribes, Inc.	4
B. Houma Alliance, Inc.	5
C. United Houma Nation, Inc.	5
D. UHN Constitutions and Membership Requirements	6
1. 1979 Constitution	7
a. Article III, Section 1	8
b. Article III, Section 2	8
c. Article III, Section 3	8
2. Undated Constitution	8
3. 1983 Constitution	8
a. Sections 1-3	9
E. By-Laws	9
F. Additional Governing Documents	11
III. ENROLLMENT PROCEDURES	12
A. Background	12
B. UHN "Base Lists"	14
1. The First Base List	14
2. The Second Base List	15
3. The Third and Current Base List ("Tribal Lineage Base List")	15
C. Current Enrollment Procedures	17
IV. FORMER MEMBERSHIP LISTS	18
A. The Houma Tribes, Inc.	18
B. The Houma Alliance, [Inc.]	18
V. CURRENT MEMBERSHIP LIST	19
A. General Statistics on Membership	20
1. Age	20
2. Geographic Distribution	21
3. Marriage Patterns	22
VI. LIST COMPARISONS	24
VII. RECORDS UTILIZED	25
A. Original Records	25
1. Courthouse Records	25
2. World War I Draft Records	26
3. Census Records	30
B. Published Sources	32

1.	Hebert's South Louisiana Records	32
2.	Published Church Records	32
3.	International Genealogical Index (IGI)	33
VIII.	ESTABLISHING ANCESTRY AS "INDIAN"	34
A.	UHN's "Indian Progenitors"	35
1.	Rosalie Houma Courteau	36
a.	Rosalie's Father, Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe	38
b.	Rosalie's siblings	43
c.	Rosalie's mother, Marianne Courteau, and Marianne's brother, Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage	44
d.	Rosalie's Husband, Jacques Billiot.	46
2.	Marie Gregoire	47
a.	Marie Gregoire's Husband, Alexander Verdin	48
b.	Marie Gregoire's Children	48
c.	Joseph Gregoire, Marie's Brother?	51
3.	Jeanet, an Indian woman	52
B.	Other UHN Ancestors	54
1.	Jean Baptiste Billiot & Marie Enerisse, Parents of Jacques and Joseph Billiot	54
2.	Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage	58
3.	Margaret/Marguerite Houma/Bellome	60
4.	Marie Migolois.	62
IX.	THE GENEALOGICAL ROOTS III DATABASE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES	62
A.	Preliminary Non-Random Sample	62
B.	Systematic Random Sample	64
X.	ESTABLISHING TRIBAL HERITAGE (WHICH TRIBE?)	65
A.	Houma Courteau (Tough-la-Bay, alias Courteau of the Beloxy Nation)	65
B.	Marie Gregoire (wife of Alexander Verdin)	66
C.	Jeanet (wife of Joseph Billiot)	66
D.	Other "Indian" Claims	66
1.	Marianne, wife of Houma Courteau	66
2.	Moscow Indian Wife of Jean Naquin	66
3.	Chitimacha Wife of Dion	67
4.	Francois Fitch	67
5.	Margaret/Marguerite Houma, wife of Francois Fitch	67
E.	Claims in Published and Manuscript Materials	67
F.	Conclusion Regarding Tribal Heritage	71
XI.	MEMBERSHIP IN RECOGNIZED TRIBES	71

GENEALOGICAL REPORT ON THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

The petitioning organization is the present-day successor to an organization which formed in the early 1960's under the name Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. This name was later changed to The Houma Tribes, Inc. In 1974, residents of the Dulac area who felt unrepresented split off to form The Houma Alliance, [Inc.]. The Houma Tribes, Inc. and The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] subsequently merged in 1979 to form what is now known as the United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN).

Membership criteria in effect today were put in place in 1983. They require an individual to be able to trace descent from a list of "known Houma Indian ancestors" who have been identified as such by the group's tribal council. Additionally, they must reside in Louisiana or be known to the council and have identified with the group in the past. The list of "known Houma Indian ancestors" (aka the "Tribal Lineage Base Lists") was developed in 1991 by the council from individuals enumerated as "Indian" in the 1860-1880 and 1900 Federal population census schedules of Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes. As constructed, the Tribal Lineage Base Lists include only persons who were identified as "Indian" and do not include others who are clearly ancestors of the current petitioner's members.

Governing documents (of the Houma Alliance in 1974 and the United Houma Nation in 1979) indicate that for a time eligibility was supposedly based on a blood quantum requirement of one-fourth and later one-eighth "Houma Indian blood." No evidence was provided to show how this blood quantum requirement could have been determined, if in fact it was actually used. There is currently no blood quantum requirement.

The UHN presented a membership list containing 17,616 members. According to the membership list, last updated by the petitioner in January, 1992, 93% of the group's total current membership resides in Louisiana: 74% in Terrebonne, Lafourche, or adjoining parishes of Jefferson and St. Mary. Another 19% live elsewhere in the state of Louisiana. Less than 7% reside outside Louisiana.

Analysis of available data concerning the ancestry of members' parents shows that slightly more than half of the

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

"parent" couples married other "Houmas." The tendency to marry non-UHN members has increased since the 1950's. For the petitioner as a whole, the tendency today is toward exogamy, although endogamy may still be practiced at a significant level within some of the lower bayou communities. The data was not available to conduct an analysis of this situation.

Using documentary material found in official records (Federal, state, and local), Federal population census of the area, and other published and manuscript materials, it is possible to document "Indian" ancestry for only three of the earliest ancestors/progenitors of the current organization. These three "Indian progenitors" appear to represent three separate family lines. One is that of Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe, a Biloxi Indian (possibly also Chitimacha or Choctaw), and his children, including his daughter, Rosalie, who is central to "Houma" genealogy and history. There are also two apparently unrelated "Indian" women whose specific tribal heritage could not be documented. Nothing is known about the ancestors of these progenitors. Although other ancestors are reported to have been of "Indian" heritage, none of their heritage could be documented satisfactorily. A large number of the UHN's progenitors were Frenchmen who came to this country in the 1700's and were reputed to have married Indian women. Based on available documentation, all of the UHN's "Indian progenitors" were married to non-Indians, with the possible exception of Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe.

To deal with the analysis of the group's large, 17,616-member enrollment, statistical sampling techniques were utilized. Based on sampling data done by BAR, using the genealogical charts supplied by the petitioner, at least 84% of the total membership are projected to be able to trace to "Indian" heritage founded on one or more of the group's three progenitors who can be documented to be "Indian." In the systematic random sample of 176 UHN members, BAR was able to identify unreported ancestry for six members which could be traced to one or more of the three Indian progenitors. Charts provided by the petitioner had not made the connection to these progenitors.

The use of the word "Houmas" in this report does not imply a connection to the historical Houma Indian Tribe, since the BAR has not been able to establish such a link. Rather, it is used as a term of reference for the contemporary petitioner.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

It is clear that a significant portion of the members of the UHN have some "Indian" ancestry. But there is no evidence linking these ancestors to a particular historical tribe, or to historical tribes which combined and have continued to function as a tribal entity.

The petitioner's membership does not include individuals who are members of any Federally recognized tribe. None of the present-day members of the UHN petitioner were found to be enrolled in the recognized Mississippi Choctaw or Louisiana Chitimacha Tribes. Further, no evidence was provided or found to suggest any of the present-day members are enrolled elsewhere.

I. PRESENTATION AND UTILIZATION OF GENEALOGICAL DATA

The UHN is the largest membership yet reviewed under the Acknowledgment regulations (25 CFR 83). Therefore it seems appropriate to provide a brief discussion regarding how genealogical information was presented in the petition and how this information was utilized by BAR genealogists.

Genealogical data submitted with the petition included a series of 56 handdrawn charts tracing several generations of descendants from the group's earliest ancestors or "progenitors." These charts, reproduced on blue paper, became known as the petitioner's "blue charts" (they shall continue to be referred to as such herein also). Citations to specific blue charts appear as UHN BC and a number (e.g., "UHN BC1") in this report.

One or more of these blue charts were then used as cover sheets for a series of Ancestry Charts (optional form BIA-8305) and supporting Individual History Charts (optional form BIA-8304). The ancestry and individual history charts were used to show all known descendants of the group's earliest ancestors and covered seven, eight, and sometimes nine generations before reaching living, enrolled UHN members. The total volume of the genealogical charts (blue charts, ancestry charts, and individual history charts) when placed one on top of the other would make a stack approximately 18 feet tall. Although working with this many charts was cumbersome, it was, nonetheless, the most effective way for the petitioner to develop the genealogical record needed to describe the ancestry of the group's current membership stretching back to the 1700's. No consistent genealogical record is known to have existed

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

prior to the group's preparation of the petition materials during the 1980's and early 1990's.

The greatest mechanical problem encountered in dealing with this many charts comes in trying to find the charts which relate to a specific living member. The early ancestors of the group as well as their descendants had large families (8 to 12 children), who in turn had large families. Families intermarried extensively, especially in the first few (i.e., earlier) generations. Persons with the same surname but different lineal ancestors, frequently married one another. Thus, people who share the same surname do not necessarily share the same ancestry.

Two database programs were utilized to analyze and evaluate the petitioner's membership and their claimed ancestry. A computerized database for the petitioner's current membership list, containing 17,616 members, was established on dBaseIII+ (UHN 1988b and UHN 1992). A powerful genealogical software program called "Roots III" was also utilized by BAR genealogists to create a separate genealogical database containing information on selected UHN families that could reasonably represent the ancestry of the group as a whole. For additional discussion on the Roots III database, refer to Section IX of this report, "Roots III Database and Sampling Techniques."

II. GOVERNING DOCUMENTS

A. Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., aka The Houma Tribes, Inc.

Four members of the UHN antecedent community attended the American Indian Conference which was held in Chicago in the early 1960's, and on their return began a formal organization (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a). First, they held meetings in each area. Then they began constructing a list of members (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a). The original organization was known as the Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. Articles of Incorporation were adopted on October 14, 1972 (UHN 1979). Membership in the organization was defined as "all members of the Houma Indian Tribes residing in Louisiana."

A split in the organization known as the Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. occurred in 1974 because the residents of

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the Dulac area reportedly felt unrepresented. The second group (the Dulac faction) formally organized on May 13, 1974, as the Houma Alliance (see further discussion below).

Following the split, the shareholders of the Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. held a special meeting on August 5, 1974, at which time they voted to change the group's name to The Houma Tribes, Inc. (UHN 1979). This name (The Houma Tribes, Inc.) was subsequently recorded with the State of Louisiana as an amendment to the 1972 Articles of Incorporation.

No governing documents other than the 1972 Articles of Incorporation were provided for The Houma Tribes, Inc./Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. The petitioner states that if there were any, they were probably destroyed in one of the many hurricanes (UHN 1989, NARF ltr).

B. Houma Alliance, Inc.

When the Houma Alliance broke away from the Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., they adopted Articles of Incorporation which separated membership into two classes: honorary members, who were defined as persons contributing services and property, who were elected by a majority vote of the Board of Directors, and "all persons of one-quarter (1/4) or more Houma Indian blood, residing in the State of Louisiana" (UHN 1974b). No information was provided to indicate that the group actually accepted any honorary members.

Additionally, the Articles of Incorporation for the Houma Alliance also included the following language:

In the event the Secretary of the Interior approves a constitution and set of By-Laws for the Houma Indian Tribe of Louisiana, then the members of that tribe as defined in such constitution and By-Laws shall thereafter constitute the membership of the corporation (UHN 1974b).

It is not clear from the document if the "Houma Indian Tribe of Louisiana" is the same as Houma Tribes, Inc., Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., or some other entity.

C. United Houma Nation, Inc.

The current organization is a merger of the two earlier groups, the Houma Tribes of Louisiana, Inc. formerly, Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. and the Houma Alliance, Inc. On

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

February 10, 1979, the two groups met and resolved to consolidate. An Agreement of Consolidation was signed by representatives of both groups on May 12, 1979 (UHN 1979), consolidating as the United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN). The consolidation agreement was filed and recorded with the State of Louisiana on July 18, 1979 (UHN 1979). The State's certification identifies The Houma Tribes, Inc. as "domiciled at Golden Meadow" with The Houma Alliance as "domiciled at Houma" and goes on to state "that the separate corporate existence of the consolidating corporations has ceased" (UHN 1979).

D. UHN Constitutions and Membership Requirements

Three constitutions were submitted for the UHN organization. The first and earliest one, dated July 18, 1979, was attached to the Agreement of Consolidation and submitted with the original petition. A second, similar but undated, version of the 1979 constitution was also provided with the original petition. The only differences noted between these two versions were an increase in the number of council members from 9 (1979 document) to 14 (undated document), and a change in the date for the election from May 2, 1979 (1979 document) to June 27, 1981 (undated document).

The third and current version of the constitution is dated August 20, 1983, and was received by the BAR on May 22, 1991 (UHN 1991b). The third version (hereinafter, 1983 constitution) contains substantial changes in the membership criteria compared to earlier versions. For a comparison of

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the 1979 and 1983 constitutional membership criteria, refer to Table 1.

TABLE 1 COMPARISON OF CONSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS	
1979 CONSTITUTION	1983 CONSTITUTION
<p>Article III - Membership</p> <p>Section 1 - The membership of THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC. shall consist of:</p> <p>(a) All Houma Indians who are living in the territorial limits defined by Article II, and who at the time of the ratification of this document possess one-eighth (1/8) degree or more of Houma Indian blood shall be admitted to membership in the United Houma Nation, Inc. of Louisiana.</p> <p>(b) All persons officially registered as Houma Indian at the time of the ratification shall be recognized as members of the United Houma Nations, Inc. [sic] (UHN 1985a Const.).</p>	<p>Article III - Membership</p> <p>Section 1 (A) Criteria All persons:</p> <p>(1) who can trace descendency from a list of known Houma Indian ancestors as identified by tribal resolution duly approved by the United Houma Nation Tribal Council, and</p> <p>(2) who reside in the state of Louisiana, or</p> <p>(3) who are known to the members of the United Houma Nation Tribal Council or its delagatees [sic], and who identify with the Houma Tribe, shall be eligible for membership (UHN 1991a).</p>

1. 1979 Constitution

The 1979 constitution limits eligibility to successful applicants for membership residing in the state of Louisiana (UHN 1979 version attached to the Agreement of Consolidation). Following a discussion about the residency requirement at a UHN tribal council meeting held November 30, 1979, the council members decided that no person should be denied membership based on residency (UHN 1979 Tribal Minutes). There was no resolution or amendment to support this decision.

Article II defines the territorial limits as "any parish where any Houma Indian may reside" Based on a membership list dated April 10, 1985, entitled "Name [sic] and addresses of People that live in other Parish [sic] & States" which was included in the petition, this criteria does not appear to have been followed (UHN 1979 Const.). The defined territory also includes "any lands hereafter

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

acquired by or for the Houma Indians as tribal assets (UHN 1979 Const.)." It is unclear why this clause was included or if it pertains to membership.

a. Article III, Section 1

The second criteria in Article III, Section 1 (a) includes a one-eighth Houma Indian blood quantum. The basis on which the blood quantum was determined and if the quantum was ever calculated for any of the members is unknown. Section 1 (b) of the membership criteria accepts any person who had already been officially registered as a Houma Indian, presumably those registered in either of the predecessor organizations, at the time of ratification of the constitution.

b. Article III, Section 2

Section 2 of Article III gives the tribal council the power to pass ordinances governing future membership, loss of membership, and the adoption of new members. No ordinances of this nature were ever submitted.

c. Article III, Section 3

Section 3 of Article III places the burden of proof on the applicant in establishing eligibility for membership. There are no ordinances or resolutions to describe what documents are acceptable as evidence in establishing Indian ancestry or enrollment in the United Houma Nation, Inc.

2. Undated Constitution

Although there were no changes in the membership criteria in the undated version of the constitution, the number of members on the council (Article VI) changed from nine (9) to fourteen (14). The only other substantive change noted was the election date. Under the first constitution the election date was May 12, 1979; the undated version required the first election to be held June 27, 1981. No evidence was provided to indicate whether the undated version of the constitution was ever executed or adopted (UHN 1985a, Undated Const.).

3. 1983 Constitution

This constitution is dated August 20, 1983, and was received May 22, 1991 by BAR (UHN 1991a). The 1983 constitution is the current governing document of the UHN. The membership requirements of the 1983 constitution show a substantive change from those found in the UHN's 1979 constitution. Section 1 (A) (1) dropped the one-eighth degree blood quantum requirement. The language of the constitution indicates that descent is to be traced from a "list of known

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Houma Indian ancestors." No such list was provided with the 1983 constitution (see further discussion under F, Additional Governing Documents).

a. Sections 1-3

Section 1 (B) appears to reaffirm Section 1 (A) and adds that any one seeking membership "must apply to and be approved by the UHN Tribal Council or its delegates [sic] (UHN 1991a Const.)." **Section 2** empowers the Tribal Council to establish rules regarding enrollment and loss of membership (UHN 1991a Const.). Obvious deficiency (OD) letters requested (dated December 1, 1986 and May 27, 1987) copies of any rules established under this section; none were provided. **Section 3** amends the UHN Constitution and revokes anything which may be inconsistent with this particular constitution (UHN 1991a Const.).

The last major change noted in the 1983 constitution is the addition of Article XV which provides ratification of the document (UHN 1991a Const.). The ratification reads "The by-laws shall be declared adopted ... (and) are approved by the UHNTC ... August 20, 1983 (UHN 1991a Const.)." The article reads "by-laws" rather than "constitution". For a comparison between the membership requirements found in the 1983 constitution and those found in 1983 by-laws, refer to Table 2.

E. By-Laws

Two undated sets of by-laws were submitted with significantly different membership requirements: one set closely followed the 1979 constitutional membership requirements, the other followed the 1983 constitutional membership requirements. Some confusion exists, however, because the by-laws which are similar in content to the 1979 constitution include a separate, one-page ratification statement, dated August 20, 1983. The ratified version contains a blood quantum requirement of "1/8 degree of more Houma Indian blood" which is not consistent with the current UHN constitution. The unratified version includes two additional requirements (namely, "all persons who reside in the state of Louisiana" and "all persons who are known to the members of the United Houma Nation Tribal Council or its delegates, and who identify with the Houma Tribe"), but does not contain a blood quantum requirement.

The section 1A of Article III of both versions of the bylaws includes as eligible for membership, "All persons officially

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

registered as Houma Indian at the time of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United Houma Nation, Inc." According to field data, this section was added to grandfather-in those individuals already registered (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a). Based on available evidence, it appears that the ratification page was intended to cover the set of bylaws which matches the current constitution, but was inadvertently attached to the earlier version when the petition was assembled.

Section 4 of both sets of by-laws deal with the termination of membership, but are not specific as to who initiates the action to remove a member from the membership. Willful falsification of information on the application for membership is grounds for termination. Section 5, again for both sets of by-laws, provides for resignation from the UHN. The two versions of the by-laws are fairly consistent except for the membership requirements.

**TABLE 2
COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS
in 1983 governing documents**

CONSTITUTION REQUIREMENTS	BY-LAWS REQUIREMENTS
<p>Article III - Membership</p> <p>Section 1 (A) Criteria</p> <p>(1) who can trace descendency from a list of known Houma Indian ancestors as identified by tribal resolution duly approved by the United Houma Nation Tribal Council, and</p> <p>(2) who reside in the state of Louisiana, or</p> <p>(3) who are known to the members of the United Houma Nation Tribal Council or its delagatees[sic], and who identify with the Houma Tribe, shall be eligible for membership (UHN 1991a Const.).</p>	<p>Article III Membership Section 1. Composition of Organization</p> <p>A. ... shall consist of:</p> <p>A-1. All persons officially registered as Houma Indian at the time of the Ratification of the Constitution of the United Houma Nation, Inc.</p> <p>A-2. All persons who can trace descendency from a list of know Houma Indian ancestors as identified by tribal resolution duly approved by the United Houma Nation Tribal Council.</p> <p>A-3. All persons who reside in the state of Louisiana.</p> <p>A-4. All persons who are known to the members of the United Houma Nation Tribal Council or its delegates, and who identify with the Houma Tribe, shall be eligible for membership (UHN 1991a By-Laws).</p>

F. Additional Governing Documents

Both the 1983 constitution and its matching, undated and unratified by-laws require the individual to be able to trace their descent "from a list of known Houma Indian ancestors as identified by tribal resolution duly approved"

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

(UHN 1991b). No resolution or list of "known Houma Indian ancestors" (which could be identified by BAR researchers) was provided with either of the 1983 governing documents.

Later, Resolution 1, enacted May 28, 1991, was adopted designating the United States censuses for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 as the "Tribal Lineage Base Lists." Resolution 1 and the "Tribal Lineage Base Lists" were received by BAR July 16, 1991, after the Houma petition went on active consideration. The base lists will be discussed later in this report.

Resolution 1 states that:

in lawful consideration of establishing a sound and fair basis from which to determine, as acceptable, the genealogical lineage of Houma Indian descendance, accept without questions, or reservations, the United States Censuses for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 as the lawfully established "Tribal Lineage Base Lists" (UHN 1991b).

Since these "base lists" were established after the UHN membership list was compiled and submitted, they could not have been utilized in determining eligibility at the time the list was being prepared.

III. ENROLLMENT PROCEDURES

A. Background

The formal procedures for enrollment or registration in the former organizations are unknown and cannot be determined from the membership lists in existence. A house-to-house survey was taken sometime between 1973 and 1979 by volunteers in an effort to develop a "census" for the group. It was reported that registration cards were filled out during the house-to-house survey for each household by the head of the household. This registration form was developed in 1973 or 1974 (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991a). "Census cards" were developed from the information on the registration form submitted by the applicant. In the field interview, UHN staff explained how the process began.

In 1979 they registered anyone who came in and (they) did not trace ancestry,

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

but then . . . they had to do ancestry on each person. They . . . would go through the ancestry (to verify the ancestry). They then took existing membership and traced all people with cards, then they started giving numbers. Prior to the numbers they removed those who couldn't trace back (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (DD) 1992a).

Essentially, the documentary evidence for ancestry and genealogies appear to have been collected and/or constructed by researchers Greg Bowman and Jonathan Beachy, who were working for the Mennonite Central Committee. Volunteers were recruited from the UHN membership to assist in gathering genealogical data. Eventually the UHN employed individuals who were members of the UHN to take over the membership duties (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (DD) 1992a).

As mentioned earlier the group is said to have registered anyone who came in without tracing their ancestry. Recognizing the need to trace the ancestry of each person, Bowman would personally go through the cards and verify the ancestry. Cards of people who could not trace were removed before [UHN membership] numbers were assigned. The registration cards of seven members who had registered, been accepted for membership, but were later denied membership, were copied from two large file folders in the tribal office in Golden Meadow. In each case form letters had been sent by Dolores Dardar (tribal genealogist) to the members or families in question stating, "we are unable to trace your ancestry to Houma decent [sic] with the information you have furnished us. Your tribal roll #_____ is no longer valid by the tribe" (Field Data Colliflower and McMillion, (DD) 1992a).

In each of the eight cases, the member's "official registration" card had been rubber stamped originally as accepted as a "Houma Tribal Member." Four of the eight appear to have been issued a UHN membership number; the other four were noted "not Houma" in the upper right corner of the card. The earliest card in the sample was dated September 30, 1975, the latest May 18, 1983. Based on these dates and the name of the respective chairperson stamped on the cards, this practice appears to have been in use for at least eight years and under the leadership of Helen Gindrat, Kirby Verret, Steve Cheramie, and John A. Billiot. (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a)

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Helen Gindrat states that every card was reviewed and checked (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a). A list was then prepared and brought to the Tribal Council by Dolores Dardar for approval. Council representatives usually knew persons from their community (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a). The cards themselves provide no evidence to confirm or deny this process.

B. UHN "Base Lists"

There has been some confusion concerning the terms "base list" and "base roll." The current membership list of a petitioning group does not become a "base roll" until that group becomes federally recognized. The current membership list becomes the tribe's base list/roll when or if acknowledged.

The UHN has a current membership list and, in their (UHN) terms, one or more "base lists." The UHN "base lists" are lists composed of individuals (ancestors) found on the "blue charts" from whom the current members trace their ancestry. The UHN's "base list" is also known as the "Tribal Number Master List". The ancestors listed on the Tribal Number Master List consisted of all of the individuals that appear on the "blue charts." The third and final "base list" submitted by the petitioner is referred to as the "Tribal Lineage Base List." This list is believed to have resulted from the BAR's two obvious deficiency letters requesting "any former lists" of tribal members (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (MLT, DD) 1992; Bureau of Indian Affairs 1986, BAR OD ltr #1; 1987, BAR OD ltr #2). As noted previously, it appears that the "Tribal Lineage Base List" was not a functional document since it was constructed after the current membership list was submitted.

The petitioning group appears to have had no "membership list:" per se prior to the list that was typed and submitted as part of the petition. For a discussion of the current membership list, refer to Section V of this report.

The UHN base list(s) are referred to in Article III, Section 1 (A) (1) of the Constitution. They appear to have evolved over time from several similar but different sources.

1. The First Base List

The first base list was a series of handdrawn ancestry charts which identified several generations of the group's

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

early ancestors. Because these charts had been reproduced on yellow paper, they will be referred to herein as the "yellow charts." These charts, received with the initial documented petition on July 18, 1985, were used as cover sheets for approximately three linear feet of detailed genealogical charts (BIA optional forms 8304 and 8305).

2. The Second Base List

In 1988 the UHN submitted a second base list consisting of a second, larger series of the handdrawn ancestry charts. This second series of charts was reproduced on blue paper and is referred to herein as the "blue charts". Approximately 18 linear feet of supporting genealogical charts and a typewritten list entitled "Tribal Number Master List" were also submitted at this time. UHN genealogists advised BAR genealogists that the blue charts replaced the yellow charts and that the yellow charts and their three linear feet of supporting genealogical charts should not be used. Time has not permitted an examination of the yellow charts to determine how they compare with the blue charts and what was added or deleted.

The Tribal Number Master List is primarily a list of ancestors of the petitioning group. The list is said to have been compiled from Bowman's research on the families (UHN 1988b). It includes the ancestor's name, the unique (*i.e.*, one-of-a-kind) number assigned by the UHN, and the number of the "blue chart" on which the name appears. The list includes several ancestors who are identified elsewhere by the UHN as non-Indians. Examples of such individuals are August Creppel (Tribal Number Master List number 0110A), Michel Dardar (0100A), Jean Charles Naquin (0171A), Thomas Molinere (0300A), Francois Galley (0086A), and Marie Manette Renaud (0134A, 0151A, 0163A), to mention but a few. An alternative name for the Tribal Number Master List might better be "Master Ancestor List."

3. The Third and Current Base List ("Tribal Lineage Base List")

At a special meeting of the UHN tribal council held May 28, 1991, a new and entirely different base list was adopted. This list could more aptly be called a census list because it is an abstract of individuals and households identified as "Indian" in one of several Federal population censuses. This list, as well as a list of 144 deceased members, and a list of 11 individuals who had been accepted into membership without establishing a "link" to any ancestor on the tribal lineage base list were received on July 16, 1991 (UHN 1991b, Resolution 1). UHN genealogists indicated that these lists

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

had been part of a larger shipment of genealogical charts covering 6,434 additional, new members sent to their attorney in June 1991. Only the resolutions and "Tribal Lineage Base Lists" had been forwarded on to the BAR; the balance of the shipment was not received until January of 1992 (UHN 1992), eight months into the active consideration period.

The council's resolution adopting this census listing as the tribal lineage base list reads:

in lawful consideration of establishing a sound and fair basis from which to determine, as acceptable, the genealogical lineage of Houma Indian descendance, accept without questions, or reservations, the United States Censuses for the years 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 as the lawfully established "Tribal Lineage Base Lists" (UHN 1991b, Resolution 1).

In an interview, UHN genealogical staff explained that anthropologist Jack Campisi sent them photocopies of selected pages reproduced from the Federal population census (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a). UHN genealogist Mary Lou Townsley then abstracted persons identified by the census enumerator simply as "Indian"² (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a).

When asked why some families enumerated as "Indian" had been omitted from the typewritten list provided with the resolution, Townsley stated that her handwritten lists had been retyped several times before they were submitted to the BAR (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a; UHN 1991a, Resolution 1). Earlier Field Data (1991a) indicates that only families enumerated as "Indian" were extracted, and then only once [even though in succeeding years additional children not previously enumerated may have been present]. A partial analysis of these lists and the census itself shows that the base lists approved by the tribal council in 1991 do not include all "Indians" present in all years, nor do they include families/individuals who were known ancestors of the group when they were identified as anything other than "Indian." Some individuals then identified as "Indian" who were extracted have no apparent descendants in the current membership.

² In no instance did the enumerator record the tribal heritage of persons enumerated as "Indian."

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The group's use of the Federal census as a base list is believed to have resulted from their misinterpretation of the BAR's obvious deficiency letter requesting copies of "any former rolls" which might exist (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a; Bureau of Indian Affairs 1986 and 1987).

It is unclear whether any of the lists provided were ever actually used by the UHN as "base lists". The "blue" and "yellow" charts (which are base lists one and two) were created from the ancestry and individual history charts prepared for the petitioner. The "Tribal Number Master List" includes persons identified elsewhere by the petitioner as non-Indians. The "Tribal Lineage Base List" (the third and current base list) was abstracted from the 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900 Federal population censuses of Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes and was not itself complete until 1991.

C. Current Enrollment Procedures

Currently, the registration process is initiated by the individual. The person contacts the UHN headquarters and fills out a "registration form" for each member of the family. Next, the applicant is asked to fill out an ancestry chart listing their ancestors as far back as possible. They also fill out an individual history chart. The enrollment staff then verifies the information provided by the applicant against the UHN ancestor index card file prepared by UHN researchers from documents collected. If the applicant can trace back to a UHN ancestor, they will be assigned an enrollment number. No supporting documents verifying the identity of the applicant are necessary.

Currently there is no apparent tribal council involvement in the enrollment process; in earlier years there was. Registration cards were checked by council members; if they knew the applicant, they were approved and sent back to the staff. The staff stamped the chairperson's name on the back as approved. For additional discussion, refer to Section IIIA. It is unclear if this practice is still being used.

According to the staff, the only time an applicant has to provide documentation (birth record, etc.) is if there is "a missing link" (i.e., if they don't know who one of their ancestors is) (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a). No resolution appears to have been passed citing documents which are acceptable evidence. An individual may

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

be removed from the membership roll if he/she does not "trace back" to a Houma ancestor: a tribal resolution is not needed (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a).

IV. FORMER MEMBERSHIP LISTS

The UHN petition, as initially submitted, contained no former membership lists. Two former lists of members were later provided with the petitioner's response to BAR's obvious deficiency (OD) letter: one list for the Houma Tribes, Inc.; the other, for The Houma Alliance, [Inc.]. A second Houma Alliance list was collected at the UHN office in Golden Meadow, during field research in June 1992. The Houma Tribes, Inc. and The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] were precursors of the United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN) petitioner (UHN 1985b, 145-147; Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (HG) 1992a).

A. The Houma Tribes, Inc.

The earliest membership list provided was for The Houma Tribes, Inc. This list, estimated to have been prepared in 1973, includes 2,579 individuals, grouped by parish with the largest representations being from the parishes of Terrebonne (1,074), Lafourche (935), and Jefferson (423). Considerably smaller numbers appear in other nearby parishes. The list includes sixty-three individuals who resided out of state. The balance (111 individuals, 4%) are spread over 13 Louisiana parishes. Within each parish, individuals appear to be grouped into family households, though familial relationships are not stated. Full name, date of birth, and mailing address are provided for most individuals listed.

B. The Houma Alliance, [Inc.]

The second former list provided in the UHN response to the OD letter was a list of the members of The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] (UHN 1976). This list, which contains the names of approximately 1,795 individuals, is believed to have been prepared in 1976--three years after The Houma Tribes' list. Individuals listed appear to be grouped by families and/or households. Familial relationships are not stated. Full name, age in years, and sex are provided. Household addresses are generally expressed only by street name or

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

post office box but without the town, making it virtually impossible to conduct any analyses or compare it with other available lists.

Another Houma Alliance list (1976) was obtained from UHN headquarters during field research. This list, like the list presumably prepared in 1976, also appears to be arranged in families and/or households. No addresses of any sort are provided, only full names and dates of birth. Maiden names are used for women.

V. CURRENT MEMBERSHIP LIST

The UHN's documented petition, as initially submitted June 18, 1985, included a list of names and addresses for only 2,718 adult members (UHN 1985c). This list, prepared in the spring of 1985, contained full mailing address for each member, but no other identifying information. No children were apparent and there was no obvious grouping which might suggest familial relationships.

The size of the list (2,718) was significantly smaller than the BAR had been led to expect. For this reason, and because the genealogical charts of some members indicated UHN membership numbers in the 6000's, the BAR questioned the completeness of the list in the obvious deficiency letter (UHN 1985a; Bureau of Indian Affairs 1986). In response to BAR's OD letter, the UHN petitioner submitted a new list containing 11,223 members (UHN 1988). The list of 11,223 was computerized by the BAR and hereinafter will be referred to as part of the "UHN membership database."

In June 1991, shortly after the petition had been placed under active consideration, the petitioner submitted a supplemental list to their attorney along with supporting genealogical charts (UHN 1992). This new material covered approximately 6,400 new members who had been enrolled since the 11,223 were submitted. These additions represented new births and members omitted from the membership list submitted in 1988. Unfortunately, however, the supplemental list and the accompanying genealogical charts were not forwarded to the BAR until eight months later--after BAR genealogists had questioned the presence of UHN membership numbers in the 17,000's! The missing charts were received by the BAR in January 1992. Delay in transmitting this additional material (a 57 percent increase in the size of

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the group) caused the Assistant Secretary to extend the period for active consideration.

For the purpose of this report, the group's "current list" of members consists of the 11,223 members submitted in June 1988 and the supplemental list of approximately 6,400 members received in January 1992. The current list includes 17,616 members. Information on an additional 156 members was submitted to the group's attorney two to three weeks prior to the field research in June 1992 (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992); this material has not been forwarded to the BAR and is not included in this report.

The current list provides the following information for most members: mailing address, full name, sex, date of birth (month, day, and year), social security number (where applicable), UHN membership number, mother's full maiden name, father's name, and for each parent whether they are "H" ("Houma")³ or "NH" ("non-Houma") (UHN 1988b, Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (DD) 1992a). Women are listed by full maiden name. Identification of the member's parents as "Houma" or "non-Houma" has been determined by tribal members who staff the tribal headquarters in Golden Meadow (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992a).

For most families, the current membership list includes at least two generations--sometimes three where younger families are involved. The presence of four generations is estimated to be very rare.

A. General Statistics on Membership

1. Age

The median age of current members for whom dates of birth are known appears to be around 22+ years. This figure and those in Table 3 below are based on a total membership of

³The petitioner's classification of a parent as "H" (meaning "Houma") does not reflect the BAR's finding as to whether or not the parent has Indian heritage. For a more detailed discussion of BAR's findings regarding the petitioner's claims to descend from the historic Houma Tribe, see Section X, Establishing Tribal Heritage (Which Tribe?), of this technical report.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

17,554 members which excludes the 62 members for whom no birth year data is known.

22 and under	8,537	49%
23 thru 52	7,237	41%
53 thru 72	1,319	7%
73 and over	461	3%
Total	17,554*	100%

* Does not include 62 for whom no birth year is known

2. Geographic Distribution

Statistics on the geographic distribution of the current membership are estimated, due to lack to time for BAR to follow up on addresses that were obviously incomplete or incorrect. At least 93 percent of the group's members appear to live within the state of Louisiana (74% live in the adjoining parishes of Terrebonne, Jefferson, Lafourche, and St. Mary; 19% live elsewhere in the state); less than 7 percent live outside the state. Information on the parish of residence was not provided and was, therefore, estimated using a road map. When the parish could not easily be determined from the map, persons were placed in the "Other Louisiana" category.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Terrebonne	6,771
Jefferson	2,529
Lafourche	2,415
<u>St. Mary</u>	<u>1,283</u>
Subtotal	12,998 (74%)
Plaquemines	376
St. Bernard	489
Orleans	335
<u>Other LA parish</u>	<u>2,192</u>
Subtotal	16,390 (93%)
Other than LA	<u>1,187</u>
Total known	17,577
State unknown	<u>39</u>
Total Current	<u>17,616</u>

The petition provides a chart showing the distribution of 8,715 members of the "Houma Indian Population, by Parish" for the year 1985 based on UHN tribal records (UHN 1985b). Efforts were made to compare the 1985 information provided in the petition with the Table 4 above. However, meaningful comparisons could not be drawn because of the "Other Louisiana" category.

3. Marriage Patterns

Statistics generated from the membership database provide some insight into marriage patterns prevalent among the current membership. The analysis of the data that follows, however, must be seen as a provisional estimate, because the data that the petitioner submitted is limited. It is helpful only as an indicator that endogamy may have been practiced for from 1880 to around 1940 at the level of 50% or greater. Better data would need to be collected, and a more detailed analysis would have to be performed before this could be asserted with certainty.

The data shown in Table 5 below has been calculated from the membership database of 17,618 (the total number before a few corrections were made). The figures do not add to 17,618. Information in the database concerning the ancestry of

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

individual members was obtained from the UHN membership list itself. Determinations regarding the ancestry of members parents (i.e., "H" for "Houma" and "NH" for "non-Houma") are believed to have been made by the UHN genealogical staff.

TABLE 5 UHN MARRIAGE PATTERNS BASED ON THE PARTIAL DATA SUPPLIED BY THE PETITIONER			
Born Between	Birth date Range, Current UHN Members	Percent with two Houma parents	Percent with one Houma parent only
1885 - 1899	21	76 %	23 %
1900 - 1909	126	80	20
1910 - 1919	299	75	25
1920 - 1929	513	69	31
1930 - 1939	805	63	37
1940 - 1949	1,511	57	43
1950 - 1959	2,293	42	58
1960 - 1969	3,434	36	64
1970 - 1979	4,021	26	74
1980 - 1989	4,109	17	83
1990 - 1992	405	15	85

* Birth year for at least 62 members is missing from database.

The petition states that:

Since 1960 there has been a greater tendency for Houmas to marry whites, but this has not been a significant [p]ortion of the population. The majority of Houma continue to marry other members of the tribe"(UHN 1985b, 130).

Statistics gathered from the petitioner's membership list contradict this statement. Based on the membership database, the tendency for "Houmas" to marry whites appears to have been prevalent since at least the 1950's and to have been on a steady increase since the early 1900's (1910-1919). The table above illustrates that it was more common for members born in decades prior to 1950 to have two "Houma" parents (57%). In decades beginning with the 1950's, the tendency to marry other "Houmas" dropped

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

significantly to 42%. Thus the tendency beginning in the 1950's was to marry non-Indians. This tendency has continued, and by the 1980's had almost doubled (83%) what it was in the 1940's (43%).

Table 3 also reflects the fact, contrary to what the petition states (UHN 1985b, 130), that the portion of the membership which is marrying out may be significant and, further, that the majority of the members may not have been marrying other members of the group since the 1940's.

VI. LIST COMPARISONS

Meaningful comparisons between the Houma Tribes list and the two Houma Alliance lists are virtually impossible because information provided differs. One list provides complete mailing addresses, another gives only street or post office box, while the third gives no address at all. One list expresses age in years, while the others provide birth information as month, day, and year. Two give the full maiden name for women, the other lists women by married name without reference to maiden name. Because of problems like this, it was very hard to confirm that individuals on one list were the same as people on another list.

Notwithstanding the above inconsistencies, a very limited comparison was attempted, using 25 of the more visible members⁴ of the current tribal council and five other members as the sample (obviously, this is not a random sample and cannot be used to extrapolate to the petitioning group as a whole). The analysis showed that 29 of the 30 individuals checked appeared on the current UHN membership list. One council member could not be identified on any list. Of the 30, two persons could be identified on the lists of all three organizations; five appeared on both the UHN list (the current membership list) and the Houma Tribes list; and five others showed up on the UHN list and one of the two Houma Alliance lists. No individual appeared on both Houma Alliance lists. Seventeen appeared only on the current membership list.

⁴ Includes 14 council members, 9 alternate council members, and 2 ex-officio members (former chairpersons).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Our conclusion was that very little overlap was found between the available lists, even for the more prominent members.

VII. RECORDS UTILIZED

To verify information presented in the petition, research was conducted in a variety of different repositories and records. Staff genealogists made two separate field trips to repositories in Louisiana. The first trip, in December 1991, was based on data for the 11,223 members available at that time; a second trip was made in June, 1992, after the data covering the approximately 6,400 new members had been reviewed and computerized. Extensive research was also conducted in Washington, D.C. area repositories, in particular the National Archives and the library of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution (NSDAR). Wherever possible, however, research focused on original records. Where published information was relied upon, some effort was made to verify the information at the original source. The following paragraphs will briefly discuss some of the major collections and the extent to which they were utilized.

A. Original Records

1. Courthouse Records

Records in four parish courthouses (primarily Terrebonne Parish and Lafourche Parish, but also Ascension and Assumption parishes) were researched in an effort to verify information provided and/or cited in the petition. The largest quantity of relevant material was found in Terrebonne Parish where several of the group's earliest ancestors had acquired and disposed of land and other possessions beginning in the early 1800's. Where documents collected were written in French, translators were employed to prepare English transcripts. All documents were reviewed for genealogical content. Relevant information was then extracted and posted to BAR's "pink charts"⁵ for further analysis. Many of the documents which have been utilized in

⁵ The "pink charts" were early printouts from the Roots III database. They were early in the sense that the database had not yet been expanded to include current members of the UHN tribal council and their ancestors (see discussion at section IX).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

analyses and evaluations for this report are discussed at some length in section VIII, entitled "Establishing Ancestry as Indian."

2. World War I Draft Records

World War I draft registration cards were consulted to see how ancestors of the petitioning group had identified themselves or been identified by Selective Service registrars when they registered for the draft in 1917 and 1918 (U.S. Selective Service 1917-18).

The draft registration cards for 15 surnames⁶ which are significant or common to UHN genealogy were pulled and reproduced from the total cards filed from the parishes of Terrebonne and Lafourche. Approximately 365 individual cards were reproduced from the total cards filed: 203 from Terrebonne Parish; 162 from Lafourche Parish. The names of these 365 persons were then compared with the BAR's pink charts to see if any could be identified as ancestors of the UHN. Forty-four men were identified with reasonable certainty. Another nine were "perhaps" ancestors, but could not be positively identified based on available information.

Three separate registrations had been held for the draft.⁷ A slightly different registration card had been used for each of the registrations. In each case, the front of the card was physically completed by a registrar based on information provided by the individual being registered. The person registering was then asked to read what the registrar had written on the front of the card and to attest to the accuracy of the information recorded by signature or mark.

The question regarding race was handled differently on each of the three registrations. The first registration card simply asked the registrant to specify which race but suggested no terminology. The second form asked the

⁶ Bergeron, Billiot, Chaisson, Courteaux, Creppel, Dardar, Fitch, Frederick, Gregoire, Molinere, Naquin, Sauvage, Solet, Verdin, Verret and all variant spellings.

⁷ The first registration was for men ages 21-31 as of June 5, 1917. The second registration, a year later (June 5, 1918), was for men who had become 21 in the intervening year. The third and final registration was for all men between the ages of 18-21 and 31-45 on September 12, 1918, who had not previously registered.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

individual to specify the race by striking out the inappropriate lines or words and offered five possible alternatives of which the fifth was "I am a noncitizen or citizen Indian."⁸ The forms used for the first and second registrations provided for a corner of the form to be torn off if the person was of African descent. While some registrars did tear corners, others placed a "C" in the lower corner of the form. The third form provided boxes to check race as "White," "Negro," "Oriental," or "Indian," with "Indian" further classified as to "citizen" or "noncitizen." The back of the card included space for the registrar to describe the physical appearance (height, build, color of eyes and hair, disqualifying disabilities) and to record a personal comment not seen by the registrant. The registrar then certified:

that my answers are true; that the person registered has read or has had read to him his own answers; that I have witnessed his signature or mark, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows (emphasis added) . . . (U.S. Selective Service 1917-19).

Comments extracted from the backs of the 365 draft cards reproduced by BAR's researchers reflect confusion on the part of registrars over the meaning of such terms as "mixed breed," "mixed blood," "mixed," and "mix Indian," and whether these terms included persons of some "Indian" heritage. Examples of this confusion follow.

On cards of persons who identified themselves as "Indian" on the front of the card, the registrar commented later (on the reverse):

⁸ "Non-citizen Indians" were Indians living on a reservation under the care of a Government agent or roaming individually, or in bands over unsettled tracts of country. They were believed to be maintaining relations with a tribe, were not taxed, and were not to be counted for the purpose of the apportionment of Representatives among the States. Non-citizen Indians were not required to register for the Selective Service draft. In contrast, "Citizen Indians" were living mingled with the white ("ordinary") population, out of tribal relations, were taxed, were to be counted for apportionment purposes, and were required to register for the draft. (Twenty Censuses 1979, 19,22; Provost Marshal General Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918 Washington: GPO 1919, 197).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

"Registered as Indian but is mixed
breed."

"Born of white & Indian parents."

On the card of a person who identified himself as "Mix
Indian" on the front, the registrar commented:

"Father is of Indian, mother is of
Indian and Caucasian."

On the card of a person self-identified as "Caucasian," the
registrar commented:

"Mix Blood."

Only one of the four cards noted above could be reliably
matched by BAR to an ancestor of the UHN; the other three
were "perhaps" UHN ancestors, but could not be found on the
UHN lists.

On one typewritten card (third registration, 1918) where the
individual had registered as "white," the registrar drew a
line through the block and checked "Negro." On the back of
the card, the registrar wrote, "My opinion is that he is a
mixed breed such as one at Golden Meadow" (U.S. Selective
Service 1918, Louisiana, Lafourche Parish, Augustin Verdin,
Serial Number 2432, Order Number A459, Sep 12). The
registrar's comment raises an unanswered question as to his-
and other registrars'--interpretation of the term "mixed
breed." This registrar's comment also suggests his
awareness of a community of "mixed breeds" at Golden Meadow.

An analysis of answers to questions relating to race for the
45 men who could be identified by BAR with any reliability
as ancestors of the UHN shows them distributed by race as
follows:

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

TABLE 6 RACIAL DISTRIBUTION by self-identification*	
Indian	20**
Indian Mixed	6
Mixed/Mixed Blood	4
White	13
Caucasian	2***
Total	45

- * Positive identification on BAR's pink charts
- ** Three of the twenty were identified by registrars as being of "Mixed Blood."
- *** One was identified by a registrar as descending from "Indian/Negro."

Another nine persons were determined to be "perhaps" descended from a UHN ancestor. Five of the nine identified themselves as "Indian" (1), "Mixed Indian" (1), "Mixed" (2), or "white" (1). The card of the individual who identified himself as "Indian" had been annotated by the registrar as "mix:" [sic].

If the classifications in Table 6 are regrouped to consolidate terms which could reasonably include persons of some "Indian" heritage, the heading "Some Indian Blood" might then look like this:⁹

⁹ Analysis is limited to persons appearing on BAR's pink charts at a time when the Roots III database included only the BAR's first selection (i.e., 1089 names). If the analysis had been conducted using the complete Roots III database (1408 names), researchers would undoubtedly have been able to match more draft registration cards with UHN ancestors.

TABLE 7 RACIAL DISTRIBUTION by self-identification* (revised)	
How Identified	# Men
Some Indian Blood	30
White/Caucasian	15
Total	45

* Positive Identification on BAR's pink charts

3. Census Records

For the purpose of this report, genealogists used the Federal population census schedules to try to locate prominent UHN ancestors in order to verify information provided by the petitioner. The census was also used to determine whether individuals who could be identified with the group had been identified as "Indian" and, if so, of what tribal origin. For discussions of residential patterns in the census, see the accompanying Historical and Anthropological reports.

Genealogical research initially focused on Federal population schedules of Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes found in National Archives Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census. The majority of the petitioning group's ancestors lived in these two parishes. Some schedules for other parishes were also researched; refer to the bibliography for a complete list of censuses searched (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

It was often impossible to positively identify families in the census with families sampled on BAR's pink charts, thus making it difficult to draw conclusions from available information. These difficulties may have resulted because the individual/family was residing outside Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes when the census was taken and was enumerated elsewhere, or was simply not enumerated at all. Where they could be identified, it was sometimes with unrecognizable family members who had widely different names. In some instances they were enumerated 20 years

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

apart, making family composition almost impossible to pin down.

Where specific individuals/families could be found, racial identification was often inconsistent. The following example (albeit a non-Indian) is fairly typical of the problem found. Manette Renaud appears in the 1850 census as "M" (Mulatto), as "Ind" (Indian) in 1860, and as "W" (White) in 1880. She could not be found in the 1870 census. Manette Renaud classified herself as white when applying for the War of 1812 pension of her last husband, Etienne Billiot (U.S Veterans Administration 1878b), and it can be verified that her parents were of French ancestry (Catholic Church, Diocese of Baton Rouge, 1982, ASC-5, 276; ASM-2, 99; ASC-2, 49; ASM-1, 14).

The separate "Indian schedules" used with the 1900 and 1910 Federal population censuses to enumerate households composed predominantly of persons identified as "Indian" were not found for Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes (Twenty Censuses 1979, 39; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900a, 1900c; 1910b, 1910c). When available, these schedules can often provide valuable information about individuals and sometimes the group as a whole.

No Indian census rolls are known to have been prepared by agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of persons living in Terrebonne or Lafourche Parishes (Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940, 1973).

Of the "Indian progenitors" identified by BAR researchers (Houma Courteau, Marie Gregoire, and Jeanet) (for more information refer to discussion at Section VIII), only Rosalie, the daughter of Houma Courteau, and possibly Houma Courteau himself, could be identified in the census. In 1860, Rosalie is listed as Mrs. J. Billiot age 75, living with her grandchildren, Marguerite Verdin, age 17, and Eliza Verdin, age 25; all three are identified as "Indian" (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1860c, 6th Ward, p.66, household 475).¹⁰ In 1880 "Rosalie Billiot," identified as "Indian," is listed as mother-in-law in the household of James Fitch, husband of her granddaughter, Clodine (1880 U. S. Bureau of the Census 1880c, p. 323, household 290).

¹⁰ Rosalie's grandchildren, Marguerite and Eliza Verdin, were the children of Ursain Verdin (son of Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire) and Arthemise Billiot (daughter of Rosalie Courteau and Jacques Billiot); as such, they descended from Indian ancestors on both sides.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Rosalie's father is believed to be "Courto, a Savage" listed on the 1810 census (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1810, page 161, line 25). The census was recorded in English, therefore "a savage" clearly meant Courto was an "Indian." Marie Gregoire (m. Alexander Verdin) and Jeanet (m. Joseph Billiot) could not be found.

In general, census information concerning UHN families sampled by the BAR genealogists was found to be quite inconsistent and not always reliable with respect to family composition or racial identification.

This finding is not inconsistent with findings of other scholars regarding use of the census for ethnic identification purposes:

Any assumption of ethnicity on the basis of census data from a single year (or any other single document) may err. Determining the ethnic identity of any family labeled free people of color (or f.p.c.) on any record invariably requires exhaustive research in the widest-possible variety of resources (Mills 1990, 264).

B. Published Sources

1. Hebert's South Louisiana Records

In addition to research in original records in four Louisiana courthouses, Reverend Donald J. Hebert's 12-volume series entitled South Louisiana Records was utilized extensively. The series contains abstracts of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths recorded in Catholic and non-Catholic churches of the parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne. The series also includes abstracts of marriages, successions, and some Original Acts recorded in the courthouses at Thibodaux (Lafourche Parish) and Houma (Terrebonne Parish). A volume of South Louisiana Additions and Corrections was published in 1993 (Terrebonne Genealogical Society 1993).

2. Published Church Records

Church records for St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans dating from the early to mid-1700's were reviewed in their published format, Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, and were used to verify relationships. These records in their published format reportedly do "not include information about race or

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

legitimacy, although race can often be deduced when the country of origin, e.g., Senegal or Ireland, is listed" (Woods and Nelson 1987, 1:ix).

The Diocese of Baton Rouge was separated from the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1961. This diocese includes the 12 civil parishes located directly north of Lafourche and Terrebonne, including the civil parishes of Ascension and Assumption. Records created prior to 1870 have been brought to the archives of the newly-created diocese and the diocese is now reported to have the "largest collection of Catholic colonial registers in Louisiana outside of St. Louis Cathedral (New Orleans)" (Catholic Church, Diocese of Baton Rouge 1978, i). Published records from this diocese were examined in the series entitled Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records (refer to bibliography for citations to individual volumes).

3. International Genealogical Index (IGI)

A microfiche index published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (aka LDS, an accepted acronym, or Mormons) was also relied upon where more official sources were not available. A research outline distributed by the Family History Library of the Church describes the International Genealogical Index, commonly referred to as the IGI, as

a worldwide index of about 187 million names of deceased persons. It lists birth, christening, marriage, and Latter-day Saint temple ordinance information. It does not contain records of living persons. Most of the names in the index come from vital records from the early 1500s to 1875. Other names were submitted by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for temple ordinance work. Individuals listed in the index are not joined in family groups or pedigrees . . . [although] the index is published by The Church . . . names are not limited to Church members or their ancestors (LDS 1992, 1).

The microfiche is arranged by state and thereunder by surname. Citations to the IGI appearing in this report (e.g., LDS-IGI, LA 1173) are to the state abbreviation (LA) and the fiche card number (1173). Entries on pages reproduced on the fiche card are arranged alphabetically by surname.

VIII. ESTABLISHING ANCESTRY AS "INDIAN"

The purpose of genealogical research for acknowledgment purposes is to verify the petitioner's claims that members are of Indian descent and further that they descend from an historical tribe, or tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous entity. While other racial admixtures may also be present within a group, the focus of the genealogist's research is on whether the members of the group descend from Indian ancestors and, if so, from which tribe or tribes. The BAR genealogist of necessity begins with the information provided by the petitioner and sets out to verify this information using materials contained in the petition and, when necessary, expands upon the petitioner's information using standard genealogical research methodology and available records.

The petition states that many "Houma" Indian women married Frenchmen from 1800 to 1840 giving the tribe French family names such as Billiot, Dardar, Dion (Dean), Dupre, Gallet, Naquin, Parfait, Verdin, Gregoire, and Verret, which then became essentially "Indian" names (UHN 1985b, 35). Other researchers have also commented on social distinctions attributed to certain names which are commonly found within the petitioner's membership.

Swanton identified three families "known by the French names 'Couteaux,' 'Billiout,' and 'Verdine,'" who were, he said, all that was left after other Houma families "went back north" in the late 1700's [ca. 1786]. He further stated that the remaining "Houma" of Terrebonne and Lafourche descended from these three "families or possibly bands" (Swanton 1911, 292).

Speck said that, "family patronyms indicate that the collective Houma band stems from a limited group of progenitors" - Billiot, Verdin, Diane (or Dean), Parfait, Gregoire, and Verret (Speck 1943, 212-213). Writing more recently, Stanton concurs: "Surnames are often indicators of an Indian background. Some of the more common names which are either exclusively Indian or tend to be Indian are: Billiot, Deon (Dion), Gregoire, Naquin, Parfait, and Verdin" (Stanton 1971a, 86). Stanton writes that "by 1795 at least three whites, all bearing French surnames, had settled in the southern portion of Terrebonne Parish, all three married to Indians" (Stanton 1979, 97). BAR could not verify the settlement date or determine which three whites Stanton was referring to in this passage.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

All of the above surnames are present in the membership today. Some names like Billiot (2,314 members) and Verdin (1,029) are more common, followed then by Dardar (752), Naquin (631), Parfait (556), Verret (460), Creppell (279), Fitch (267), Dion (247), Chaisson (192), Foret (186), Solet (171), and Gregoire (162). Forty-one percent of the current UHN membership use one of the above surnames.

BAR genealogical research initially focused on verifying the Indian ancestry of the "three original families of Houma" identified by Swanton--Couteaux [sic], Billiout [sic], and Verdine [sic] (Courteau, Billiot, and Verdin) (Swanton 1911, 292). Research was then expanded to include other families, such as Dardar, Naquin, Solet, Verret, Dion, Creppell, Gallet, Foret, and Fitch, which petition materials had also identified as ancestors of the UHN. The starting point for BAR's work was always the petitioner's blue charts and supporting genealogical charts.

Three of the progenitors of the UHN could be identified as "Indian" with reasonable accuracy in official (Federal, state, and local) records: Houma Courteau, a Biloxi Indian (and his children, including his daughter Rosalie Courteau, wife of Jacques Billiot), and Indian women whose tribal affiliation is not known: Marie Gregoire ("femme sauvage"), wife of Alexander Verdin; and Jeanet ("an Indian woman"), wife of Joseph Billiot (brother of Rosalie's husband Jacques). It is from these three "Indian progenitors," who were married to non-Indians¹¹ and appear to have founded three independent family lines, that most UHN members descend. Virtually nothing is known about the ancestors of these early families. Appendix A is a diagram which shows how these three "Indian progenitors" relate to one another.

The following sections will discuss the evidence to identify these UHN progenitors as "Indian." A discussion of what is known about the specific tribal affiliation of these "Indian progenitors" will be found in section X entitled, "Establishing Tribal Heritage/Which Tribe?"

A. UHN's "Indian Progenitors"

The UHN often discuss their ancestors in terms of their relationship to Rosalie Courteau, an important historical

¹¹ For a more extensive discussion of Houma Courteau's wife, see below.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

leader. This section of the report will begin with Rosalie Courteau and her relations before proceeding to Marie Gregoire and Jeanet. Other UHN progenitors whom the petitioner did not claim to be Indian, or for whom Indian ancestry could not be established, are handled under the subheading "Other UHN Ancestors."

1. Rosalie Houma Courteau

Documentation of Rosalie's ancestry as Indian is based primarily on the Indian ancestry of her father, Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe, who is clearly identified as "Indian" in official records (see section VIII.A.1.a). Rosalie also appears as "Indian" in the 1860 and 1880 Federal population censuses (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1860c, p.66, household 475; U. S. Bureau of the Census 1880c, p. 323, household 290). "Indian" ancestry for Rosalie's mother has not been documented, although BAR genealogists believe it is likely (see VIII.A.1.b).

Information concerning Rosalie Courteau's date and place of birth is somewhat conflicting. The petitioner's blue charts place her date of birth as simply 1787 (UHN BC1). An abstract of Rosalie's baptism which appears in Hebert's South Louisiana Records (Hebert 1978a, 161) indicates that Rosalie was baptized on January 27, 1867, at the age of 80; this agrees with the petitioner's information. The International Genealogical Index (IGI) lists her date of birth as June 24, 1787, in Houma, Terrebonne Parish (LDS-IGI, LA 1173). The IGI entry shows the information to have been submitted by an LDS church member, but does not indicate the source of the member's information. Oral history reports her place of birth as Biloxi, Mississippi (Billiot, Charles and Emay 1978; Billiot, Charles 1979).

Conflicting information regarding Rosalie's date of birth appears in several places. In her application for a widow's pension based on her husband's (Jacques Billiot) service in the War of 1812 (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a),¹² Rosalie gives her age as 83 (i.e., born about 1795). In the 1880 Federal population census of Terrebonne Parish, "Rosalie Billot" is enumerated as "Indian;" her age is recorded as 102 years (i.e., born about 1778) (U.S. Census

¹² Rosalie's pension application was rejected because Jacques' military service could not be verified by Federal officials. Widows Brief, War of 1812 Svc. Pension, "Rejected July 14, 1879, on the grounds that there is no evidence of the alleged service. Claimant so notified" (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

1880c, 6th Ward, p. 323, household 290). Published Montegut Church records give her age at death in 1883 as 130 years, placing her year of birth at about 1753 (Hebert 1981c, 242). The original of the Montegut Church record was not available for review.

Rosalie's oldest child (Alexander) was born in 1813 (LDS-IGI, LA 463); her youngest child, Jacques Constant, was born in 1835 (Hebert 1978a, 68). When this 22-year span is used in conjunction with the 1787 birth date, we find her marrying at age 21 and bearing children from age 26 to 48. Using the 1795 date of birth calculated from Rosalie's pension application places her marriage at age 13. Her children would have been born when she was between 18 and 40 years of age. The 1787 birth date seems more likely than the 1795 or 1753 dates, given Rosalie's 1808 marriage date, since it would place her marrying at age 21, rather than 13 (1795) or 55 (1753).

The 1778 birth date calculated from the 1880 census seems quite unlikely since it would mean that she gave birth to her last child, Jacques, when she was 57 years old. The 1753 birth date calculated from the age at death reported in Hebert's work (Hebert 1981c, 242) is undoubtedly in error. Using this date (1753) would place Rosalie marrying at age 55 in 1808 and bearing children when she is between the ages of 60 and 82--well beyond the years when a woman is physically able to bear children. The normal child bearing years for a woman in this area and time period were probably between 18 and 45 years--the maximum possible range is considered to be between 12 and 50 years.

From Rosalie's pension application we learn that she married Jacques Billiot on April 15, 1808, at Bayou Terrebonne (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a). She describes herself as a "maid" [unmarried] at the time; Jacques was the widower of Charlotte Louis. This is the first and only indication of a prior marriage for Jacques. The petitioner's blue charts (UHN BC2; UHN BC3) make no reference to Jacques' marriage to anyone other than Rosalie Courteau. Rosalie's marriage date is confirmed in the IGI, but as was the case with the information regarding her date of birth, this information was also submitted by an LDS church member and the source of the information is not reported in the published IGI entry (LDS-IGI, LA 1173). Hebert, when reporting her death in 1883, notes that she was married to Jacques Billiot, but gives no date for the marriage (Hebert 1981c, 242).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Sacred Heart Church records that report "Rosalie Houma" [sic] died January 24, 1883, and was buried the following day in the cemetery of St. John the Baptist, at Bayou Terrebonne (Sacred Heart Church 1964; see document under Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992b (Certificate of Death abstracted April 17, 1964, from Sacred Heart Church records). However, other field data and oral history, provide conflicting information, suggesting her burial may have been in Dugas Cemetery just below Montegut (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991b; Courteau, Jimmy and Albertine 1978). Oral history states that Rosalie was buried in a brick cave at the back of the Dugas Cemetery. Emile Billiot (Rosalie's nephew) is said to have taken the marker and buried it (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991b; Dion 1981). A stone marker was placed at the front of the Dugas Cemetery in recent years (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991b). The inscription reads:

Rosalie Courteau (Houmas) June 4, 1787 Jan. 24, 1883 Wife of Jacques Billiot

In the 1968 intestate succession³ of "Rosalie Houma Courteau, widow of/and Jacques Billiot"--entered some 85 years after her death--her date of death is reported as having occurred one day later (January 25, 1883) (Terrebonne Parish 1968).

In summary, although Rosalie's reported date of birth ranges from as early as 1753 to as late as 1795 (both dates calculated), BAR believes the 1787 date to be most likely. Information concerning Rosalie's marriage to Jacques Billiot in 1808, and her death in 1883, is generally consistent.

a. Rosalie's Father, Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe.

Rosalie's father appears in official records under several different names, but most consistently as "Courteau." These

³ SUCCESSION refers to the process by which the property or right of a decedent is taken through descent or by will. It is a word that clearly excludes those who take by deed, grant, gift, or any form of purchase or contract . . . (Black's Law Dictionary). In this instance, it means taken by descent since Rosalie and Jacques died intestate (without leaving a will). It is very unusual for such a long period to ensue between the death and the filing of the succession.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

names, when viewed collectively, clearly identify "Courteau" as Indian and as Rosalie's father.

Identification of Courteau as an Indian is found in two deeds from the 1820's. In the earliest of these deeds a "Touh/Tough-la-bay alias Courteau of the Beloxy Nation" purchases land from a Jean Billiot (Terrebonne Parish 1822e). Several years later, identified now as "Loup La Bay called Courteau Indian of the Beloxy Nation," he conveys the same land to Alexander Verdin [husband of Marie Gregoire] (Terrebonne Parish 1829g). Both names, Touh/Tough-la-bay and Loup La Bay, are obviously Indian and are undoubtedly one-and-the-same person. Neither deed makes any reference to Rosalie.

Direct identification of Rosalie as the daughter of "Loup/Toup la [B]ay alias Courteau" comes from Rosalie herself and is found in a land transfer from Rosalie to Clement Carlos (Terrebonne Parish 1856).

Further evidence that Courteau is the father of Rosalie and the husband of Rosalie's mother, Marianne, is also found in official parish records. Identification of Rosalie as the daughter of Marianne is found in an 1841 transfer of land from Marianne, identified as the wife of Courtau [sic] and the sister of Louis le Sauvage, to her "daughter" Rosalie (Terrebonne Parish 1841a). Three years earlier, in 1838, "Houma dit¹⁴ Courteau" and wife Mari Ann/Marie Anne sold land to a Louis Verret (Terrebonne Parish 1838). In the 1838 document, the grantor's name is written as "Houma Courteau" in the text of the document and is reversed to read "Courteau + Houma" in the signature block. (The "+" in the signature block indicates the individual signed the document with his mark rather than a written signature.) Use of both names (Houma Courteau and Courteau Houma) within the document has been interpreted to mean that the names were used interchangeably.

Additional evidence of family relationships can also be gathered from the records concerning the probate of the estate of Francois Iacalobe (Terrebonne Parish 1844), which identifies Iacalobe as the deceased husband of Marianne and the father of four children:

¹⁴ "Dit" is French for "called" and when used in this manner means that the individual named Houma also went by the name of Courteau.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Francois Courteau/Abe/Iacalobe (deceased);
(Marie Mingoloi is identified as Francois' widow;
their children are Julien and Josephine Iacalobe)
Rosalie Iacalobe/Benbe(?);
Antoine Iacalobe;
Marguerit Iacalobe
(Marguerit is identified as the mother of
Filarum/Philarum).

These relationships are consistent with other materials,
both provided by the petitioner and gathered by BAR
researchers.

The following list attempts to display visually the
information concerning Courteau which was collected from the
official documents discussed above:

- 1322 Touh/Tough-la-bay alias Courteau of the Beloxy
Nation
- 1329 Loup La Bay called Courteau Indian of the Beloxy
Nation
- 1338 Houma dit Courteau and Courteau Houma [as husband
of Marianne Courtau]
- 1341 Marianne Courtau [as wife of Courtau and mother of
Rosalie]
- 1844 Iacalobe [as husband of Marianne and father of
four Iacalobe children: Francois Courteau/Abe,
Rosalie Benby(?); Antoine, and Marguerit Iacalobe]
- 1856* Loup/Toup la [B]ay alias Courteau [father of
Rosalie]

* Rosalie identifies herself as daughter of Loup/Toup la [B]ay
alias Courteau

Based on the foregoing, there seems little question but that
Courteau (aka Houma, Loup la Bay, Toup/Touh/Tough-la-
bay/Iacalobe) was Rosalie's father and was an Indian.

In addition to the names mentioned in the paragraph above,
some writers have identified Rosalie's father, variably, as
Joseph Abbe, Shulushumon, and Louis de la Hussaye alias le
Sauvage ("the Indian"). Anthropologist John R. Swanton
identified Rosalie's father as "Joseph Abbe, a Biloxi medal
chief (also called Shulushumon)" (Swanton 1911, 292). This
information is reported to have come from Rosalie's
daughter, Felicité Billiot, who was age 78 when Swanton
interviewed her in 1907. Felicité is reported to have said
that "her grandfather, Shulu-shumon or, in French, Joseph
Abbe, and more often called 'Courteaux' was a Biloxi medal
chief (emphasis added) . . ." (Swanton 1911, 292).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Swanton's field notes, however, show this quote to have come from Bartholemy Billiot, Felicité's brother, and not Felicité herself (Swanton 1906; UHN 1985b, 44). Elsewhere in Swanton's field notes, Rosalie's father is also identified as a **Chitimacha** chief (Swanton n.d.c).

Other references to Rosalie's father as Joseph Abbe (aka Shulushumon) appear in works by Janel Curry (1979a, 17) and Max Stanton (1979, 97). Such references appear to rely on the field notes and writings of Swanton (Swanton 1911, 292; Swanton n.d.b) who obtained his information from Bartholemy Billiot.

Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) educator Ruth Underhill stated that Rosalie was "pure Indian" and the "daughter of the Indian chief Louis de la Hussaye, alias le Sauvage" but did not give the source of her information (Underhill 1938a, 14). No evidence was found to substantiate a parent-child relationship between Rosalie and any one by the name of Louis de la Hussaye/le Sauvage. Official records do establish a sibling relationship between Rosalie's mother, Marianne, wife of Houma Courteau, and Louis Le Sauvage who died without issue (Terrebonne Parish 1841a; Terrebonne Parish 1854).

In 1943, Anthropologist Frank Speck stated:

The last chief, apparently a hereditary officer, is remembered to have been one Delahoussay (Dalahousie) Couteau (Courteau). He is an historical figure mentioned by Swanton, and pointed to by the Houma as the last social unifier whose death (about 1800) left the people minus leadership (Speck 1943, 213).

No source is cited for this information. Whether Speck believed a relationship to exist between Rosalie and this "Delahoussay Couteau" cannot be determined from his writings.

The 1810 Federal Population Census of Lafourche Interior Parish, the precursor to present-day Terrebonne Parish, enumerates one "Courto, a Savage" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, page 161, line 25). Courto is listed as male, "of 45 [years] and up," with six children. The census was recorded in English leaving no question that the words "a Savage" after his name meant he was an Indian. Based on available information we can only speculate that this Courto could have been Rosalie's father. His age would fit with a birth

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

year of 1787 for Rosalie; his name is a phonetic spelling for Courteau; he was Indian, as was Rosalie's father. The only information which casts some doubt on such a relationship is found in Speck's writings wherein he states (without citing any backup documentation) that the last hereditary chief, Delahoussay Couteau, died about 1800--10 years prior to the census (Speck 1943, 213).

The petition narrative at page 32 speculates that a "Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage" was most likely the second Houmas chief present at the meeting between Chac-Chouma and Governor Claiborne in 1806. Volume 5, page 275 of Rowland (1917) is cited as the basis for this information (UHN Pet., Narr., p. 32). An examination of the cited page, however, shows no reference--direct or indirect--to anyone by the name of "Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage." The petitioner should recheck the source of this information and provide the BAR with an accurate citation.

Janel Curry appears to enlarge on the statements of Swanton and Speck, identifying Rosalie's mother as the sister of "chief Louis de la Houssaye" (Curry 1979a). She goes on to claim that "leadership went matrilineally from Louis de la Houssaye [sic] to his sister's daughter" (Curry 1979b). Terrebonne Parish conveyance records (Book I, page 157) are cited as the basis for this statement. A search of the cited conveyance records shows the documents on page 157 of Book I to record two land transfers, neither of which refers to a Louis de la Houssaye or to the passage of leadership of any kind. One document records the transfer of land from Marianne, wife of Courtau [sic] and sister of "Louis le Sauvage," to her daughter, Rosalie Courteau (Terrebonne Parish 1841a); the other records Rosalie's transfer of land acquired from Louis le Sauvage to a Mister Paroy(?) (Terrebonne Parish 1841b). Nowhere in any of the official documents reviewed for this report was any evidence found to corroborate claims that Louis de la Houssaye and Louis le Sauvage were one-and-the-same individual.

The petitioner's blue charts identify Rosalie's father as Joseph Houma Courteau (UHN BC1). Published church records, probably extracted from the original church record, identify him simply as Joseph Courteau (Hebert 1978a, 161). The entry published in the IGI also describes him as Joseph Courteau; this entry may have been copied from a published source such as Hebert or may have been entered from family information provided by a church member (LDS-IGI, LA 1173).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

b. Rosalie's siblings.

The petitioner's blue chart (UHN BC1) lists Rosalie, Francois, Antoine, Philomene, and Josephine (Fine) as the children of "Joseph Houma Courteaux" and "Anne Marie Pierre (aka Marie Sauvage)." Rosalie, Francois, Antoine, and Marguerite can be documented to be the children of Iacalobe (Houma Courteau/Abbe) and Marianne using the succession of Francois Iacalobe (see discussion at VIII.A.1.a). Based on this same succession, Philerom Courteau/Billiot, Josephine (Fine), and Julien Courteau are the grandchildren of Iacalobe (Houma Courteau/Abbe) and Marianne.

Philerom was born February 10, 1812, and baptized December 17, 1818 (Catholic Church. Diocese of Baton Rouge, ASM 4:238). Josephine was born about 1833 according to the 1860 census where she appears as "Fine" with her mother Marie [(Migolois) Courteau, now Billiot] (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860e, Terrebonne Parish, p. 67, household 480). Julien appears as Julius, age 21, with his mother Marie [(Migolois) Courteau, now Billiot] in 1850; in 1860, he is listed as Julien Billiot, age 33, as the head of a household containing his sister Fine's children (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860c Terrebonne Parish, p. 67, household 48).

The Federal population census schedules also show "Julien Houma," an Indian, age 38 in 1870 (born about 1832) (U. S. Bureau of the Census 1870b, page 25, household 202) and "Philerome Billiot," an Indian (male), age 66 in 1860 (born about 1794) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860c, p. 418, household 646).

Although a 1854 land transfer identifies Marianne Courteau as the "deceased mother" of Antoine, Julien and Fine [Josephine] Courteau, and Philerom Billiot/Courteau (Terr Par 1854), this parent/child relationship is not supported by papers in the succession of Francois Iacalobe. The succession identifies Julien, Josephine, and Philerom as grandchildren of Marianne and Antoine as a son.

Additional documentation to support the Indian ancestry of Rosalie's sister, Marguerite Courteau, appears in a series of birth and death records found in the basement of the Terrebonne Parish Courthouse and later published in Terrebonne Life Lines. A "Declaration of Death" given by "Jean Billiou" [Jean Billiot, the son of Jean Baptiste [Jean-Pierre] Billiot and Marie Enerisse] regarding the

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

death?¹⁵ of Marguerite Courteau, identifies her as an "Indian [sic] woman." She is reported to have died on August 6, 1822. No tribal heritage was recorded for Marguerite. This declaration of death and the series of declarations of birth which follow, all given September 7, 1822 by Jean Billiot, identify five children born to him and Marguerite Courteau between 1812 and 1819¹⁶ (Shannon 1985, 65-67). Descendants of these children who were born to Jean Billiot and Marguerite Courteau, his "Indian" wife, would be counted as "Indian" in the same manner that descendants of "Jeanet an Indian woman" and Marie Gregoire are being counted except for the fact that it has not been possible to identify them on the current UHN membership list and none of them appear in either of the samples (systematic random or non-random).

Based on the above evidence, Rosalie, Francois, Antoine, and Marguerite are believed to be the children of Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe and of "Indian" ancestry. Evidence to establish Marianne as "Indian" or as "Anne Marie Pierre" was neither provided by the petitioner nor found by BAR researchers.

c. Rosalie's mother, Marianne Courteau, and Marianne's brother, Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage.

Although numerous documents refer to Marianne, they provide little personal information about her other than that she was the wife of Houma Courteau (also written Courteau Houma); the sister of Louis le Sauvage "who died without issue;" the mother of Rosalie, the "wife of Jacques Billiot" (Terrebonne Parish 1841a; Terrebonne Parish 1838; Terrebonne Parish 1854), and as the widow of Iacalobe and mother of Rosalie, Antoine, Francois Courteau/Abe, and Marguerit Iacalobe (Terrebonne Parish 1844). Swanton's informants, who were children of Rosalie, stated that their grandmother, named "Nuyu'n", was later baptized Marion (Swanton 1911, 292; Swanton 1906, 197).

The petitioner's blue charts identify Rosalie's mother as "Anne Marie Pierre (aka Marie Sauvage)" (UHN BC1). However, only the surname "Pierre" appears in Hebert's extract of

¹⁵ Published transcript of Marguerite's "Declaration of Death" indicates that document was incomplete in the original ("page torn"). Some of detail regarding Marguerite is incomplete and inconclusive.

¹⁶ Phylorosine (male) b. 2/2/1812, Joseph b. 2/4/1813, Etienne b. 4/10/1815, Heloise b. 5/9/1817, and Jean Baptiste b. 4/12/1819.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Rosalie's baptismal record (Hebert 1978a, 161). No official abstract (i.e., prepared by the church based on its own records) was provided to verify this information. Documentary evidence to substantiate the name "Marie Sauvage" as an alias could not be found. The petitioner's reference to Marie Sauvage is believed to derive from the fact that Rosalie's mother was the sister of Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage.

The only other record provided by the petitioner to substantiate "Anne Marie Pierre" as the name of Rosalie Courteau's mother was a marriage entry form used by the LDS Church to enter data into the IGI (International Genealogical Index) (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, (MLI) 1992a; LDS-IGI, LA 1173). The marriage entry form notes the information provided came from an unspecified War of 1812 pension record. Lacking any information to the contrary, BAR researchers believe this citation refers to Rosalie Courteau Billiot's application for a widow's pension (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a). An examination of Rosalie's pension application, however, shows it to contain no information about Rosalie's parents.

Based on documents recorded in Terrebonne Parish records, Marianne's date of death can be approximated to have occurred between April 1, 1845 (Terrebonne Parish 1844) and June 30, 1854 (Terrebonne Parish 1854). Rosalie is identified as Marianne's daughter in an 1841 land transfer from Marianne to Rosalie (Terrebonne Parish 1841a). Marianne is also described as the "deceased mother" of Julien, Antoine, and Fine [Josephine] Courteau, and Phileram Billiot/Courteau in an 1854 deed.¹⁷ No mention is made of Rosalie. The deed transfers land originally confirmed and registered to Louis Sauvage, but which had been acquired by the Courteaux as an inheritance from the death of their "deceased mother Marianne sister of Louis Sauvage [who] died without children" (Terrebonne Parish 1854). This land appears to be the same land that was confirmed to Louis Sauvage in 1813 (ASP 1834a, 388).

BAR genealogists speculate that Marianne may have been of Indian descent. However, no direct evidence was provided or found to confirm this. It seems unlikely that an Indian man would have married a non-Indian woman in the late 1700's due to the marriage patterns of that time period. In

¹⁷ For an analysis of these relationships, see the discussion above under: section b., Rosalie's Siblings.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

addition, Swanton's informants report that Marianne had an Indian name, "Nuyu'n," when she was baptized, which, along with her sibling relationship to Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage (whose name could be translated as Louis, "the Indian") would suggest that she may have been of Indian heritage. However, even when taken collectively, this circumstantial evidence is not sufficient to credit Marianne with Indian ancestry at this time.

Discussions found in the petition narrative (UHN Pet., Narr., p. 32) and in the report by Underhill (Underhill 1938a, 14) which link Marianne's brother, Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage, to Louis de la Houssaye/Hussaye could not be confirmed.

In addition to the Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage who is mentioned in land records previously discussed in conjunction with Rosalie and Marianne, there was also an Indian named Louis Sauvage living in Point Coupee Parish in 1806. A fair amount of research was expended by BAR researchers in an effort to establish whether or not the Louis in Point Coupee (ASP 1834a, 388), and Louis, the brother of Marianne who is noted in Terrebonne Parish land transactions (Terrebonne Parish 1841a; Terrebonne Parish 1854), were one-and-the-same man. Given the presence of other persons of the same surname in the general area who were not identified as Indian, it seems questionable that they were the same person, given the distance between the two parishes both by land and by water. Additional research in Louisiana land records could possibly establish this link.

d. Rosalie's Husband, Jacques Billiot.

Rosalie is known to have been married only once and then to Jacques Billiot, the son of Jean Billiot and Marianne Enerisse [Iris] (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a).

Jacques' date of birth is unknown. He is reported to have "died intestate [without a will] in the Parish of Terrebonne on May 16, 1867," according to a 1968 petition to appoint a provisional administrator to handle the settlement of Rosalie's and Jacques' combined estate (Terrebonne Parish 1968). The 1968 petition for an administrator states that Jacques' death was recorded in Terrebonne Parish on May 29, 1868, as entry No. 9648. The May 16, 1867, death date for Jacques conflicts with Rosalie's own testimony wherein she states that Jacques died September 28, 1858 (U.S. Veterans

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Administration 1878a). Jacques' supposed death record,¹⁸ noted as entry 9648, was not submitted by the petitioner or viewed by BAR researchers. Therefore no explanation for the discrepancy can be put forth. However, lacking any obvious explanation for the almost nine year difference in the two dates, it is reasonable to place more weight on the 1858 date provided by Rosalie, because she was in a position to have had firsthand knowledge and she was providing the information closer to the time the event occurred. The 1868 date reported in the 1968 petition for the appointment of a provisional administrator was entered almost 100 years later.

Rosalie's application for a widow's pension (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a) states that Jacques was a widower at the time he and Rosalie were married in 1808. His previous wife is reported to have been Charlotte Louis; no information other than Rosalie's testimony was found to corroborate this information (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a). Hebert's twelve volumes of South Louisiana Records were searched for further information on Jacques' marriage to Charlotte, but nothing was found.

Available evidence shows Jacques Billiot to be a non-Indian (see also discussion of Jacques' parents, Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse under "Other UHN Ancestors," VIII.B.2).

2. Marie Gregoire

No reliable information was found or collected concerning Marie Gregoire's parents or her date of birth, nor has any record of her date of death been found (Westerman 1984, 19; Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991a). Based on "Fire Brands" (cattle brands) and deeds recorded in Terrebonne Parish, her death is estimated to have occurred after April 30, 1828, but before April 22, 1829 (Terrebonne Parish 1828; Terrebonne Parish 1829b, 1829c, 1829d, 1829e).

According to information supplied by the UHN petitioner, Marie Gregoire reportedly married Alexander Verdin on February 1, 1800 (UHN Pet., ancestry charts of Narciss Naquin, Rose Lovel, and Joseph A. Verdin; UHN resource card for Marie Gregoire). Circumstantial evidence that this union occurred appears in the 1860 application for a marriage license of their son Jean Baptiste Verdin and

¹⁸ By 1868, there were several men named Jacques Billiot in Terrebonne Parish.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Arcene Gregoire (Terrebonne Parish 1860). The license identifies Jean Baptiste Verdun as the "legitimate issue of the marriage" between Marie Gregoire and Alexander Verdun; Arcene Gregoire is recorded as the "legitimate issue of the marriage" between Joseph Gregoire and Constance Jaceau. All parties in this document are identified as free people of color.

The 1829 will of Alexander Verdun identifies Marie Gregoire as a femme sauvage 'Indian woman' (Terrebonne Parish 1829f; Miller 1992; Westerman 1984). Westerman states that Marie Gregoire was a "Houmas Indian of the Biloxi nation" but cites no evidence to prove this point (Westerman 1984, 20). No information was provided by the petitioner or found by BAR researchers to identify the name of the tribe from which Marie Gregoire descended.

a. Marie Gregoire's Husband, Alexander Verdun.

The baptism of Alexander Verdun [Verdin] was recorded on November 1, 1771, in St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans, along with the births and baptisms of three of his siblings (Cathedral St. Louis 1771, Alexander Verdun; Cathedral St. Louis 1758, Marie Verdun; Cathedral St. Louis 1767, Jean Baptiste Verdun; Cathedral St. Louis 1769, Jean Pierre Verdun). All are identified as children of the legitimate marriage of Jean Adam Verdun and Anne Dauphine who, in 1767 and 1769, were noted as residents of New Orleans (Cathedral St. Louis 1767, Jean Baptiste Verdun; Cathedral St. Louis 1769, Jean Pierre Verdun).

Oral histories state that the Verdins originally came from "overseas" (Verdin 1978), or from Germany, and that "some married Indians like Gregoire" (Dion 1981). Alexander Verdun's will identifies him as a "native of" (i.e., born in) what was then Jefferson Parish (Terrebonne Parish 1829f). Two translations prepared by parish officials from the early French Acts describe transfers of land from Billiots, identified as men of color, to Alexander Verdun, a white man (Terrebonne Parish 1822b; 1822c). The marriage record of Alexander's son, Jean Baptiste Verdun (Terrebonne Parish 1860), and the petitioner's blue charts (UHN BC24; UHN BC25) identify Alexander Verdun as a free man of color. No documentation was provided or found to identify Alexander Verdun as "Indian."

b. Marie Gregoire's Children.

The petitioner's blue charts (UHN BC25) list eight children born to the union of Alexander Verdun and Marie Gregoire-- Pauline, Melanie, Ursain, Felicite Marguerite, Jean

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Baptiste, Victor, Eulalie, and Joseph. Only seven of these children are mentioned in Alexander's will [Joseph is not mentioned] (Terrebonne Parish 1829f). Alexander's estate is divided into seven equal shares which are left to the children of Marie Gregoire, deceased. The children are described in the will by given name only (Eulalie, Pauline, Melanie, Ursin, Felicite Marguerite, Jean Baptiste, and Victore); each of the children is identified as a free person of color, which would be appropriate for children of an Indian-white union in Louisiana at this time. Although the children's surnames were not included in the document, all children were, nonetheless, individually indexed in the conveyance book under their mother's surname, Gregoire (Terrebonne Parish 1822f). A parent-child relationship between Marie and five of her seven children (Melanie, Felicite Marguerite, Victore, Jean Baptiste, and Ursin) can also be verified using land records (Terrebonne Parish 1829a, 1829b, 1829c, 1829d, 1829e).

Westerman speculates that "the marriage of Alexandre Verdun and Marie Gregoire will probably never be found" and that the reason Alexandre wrote his will the way he did,

not calling the heirs his children (but most of them are proven children from church records), was the fact there was a law that offspring of mixed races could not legally inherit property. Their parents' marriage was probably according to Indian customs, both parties appear to have been faithful to the marriage commitment, but it was not recognized bywhite [sic] law (Westerman 1984, 20).

"Interracial marriages were prohibited in Louisiana between 1807 and 1972," except for the period from 1870 to 1894, when laws prohibiting miscegenation (marriage or cohabitation between different races) were temporarily repealed (Dominguez 1968, 57). From 1810 to 1920, Louisiana legally classed Indians as "people of color." This stemmed from a ruling by the Louisiana Supreme Court in 1810 which defined "people of color" to include persons who "may be descended from Indians on both sides, from a white parent, or Mulatto parents in possession of their freedom" (Louisiana District Court 1810, Adele v. Beauregard, 1 Mart.; Dominguez 1968, 34; Stahl 1934, 303; Mills 1978, 14). It was not until 1920 that Indians were legally identified as "non-colored" by the state of Louisiana (Dominguez 1968, 34).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

An examination of the relationship between Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire within the framework of the above laws helps to bring their relationship into perspective. Based on available records, a long-term relationship appears to have existed between Alexander Verdin, a white man, and Marie Gregoire, an Indian (who by Louisiana law was then classified as a person of color, or "POC").¹⁹ Children born to that relationship were identified as persons of color by virtue of their mother being a "POC." Because marriage between different races was prohibited, Alexander and Marie's marriage was not legal under Louisiana law after 1807. Thus, the children born to their relationship were considered illegitimate.

Although laws against miscegenation were repealed for the 24-year period from 1870-1894, this was not within the lifetimes of Alexander and Marie. Alexander did not survive long enough to "legitimate" his children born to Marie in the eyes of Louisiana law. Consequently, donations of land made by Alexander in 1829 to his "illegitimate" children of color by Marie Gregoire were later successfully challenged by other Verdin heirs in Robinett, et al. v. Verdun's Vendees (Louisiana Supreme Court 1840, 914 La. 542; Terrebonne Parish 1829a, 1829b, 1829c, 1829d, 1829e). At that time, Louisiana law was especially stringent on inheritance issues dealing with the illegitimate issue of color of a white man. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, giving the following reasons:

Children of color (from a white person) are not allowed to prove their paternal descent when they have not been legally acknowledged; but this may be shown by proof against them, by the adverse party, in order to annul a sale made to them as a disguised and simulated donation to incapable persons (Louisiana Supreme Court 1840, 914 La. 542).

So, children of color (from a white person) unacknowledged, cannot inherit or receive by

¹⁹ In this report the terms "husband," "wife," and "married" are used for unions which lasted and/or produced children even though the BAR researchers are fully aware that these unions were not recognized as legal within the State of Louisiana.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

donation inter vivos or mortis causa²⁰, even one fourth of the ancestor's estate; and, if by disguised sale or donation, an attempt is made to give them a greater amount of property than can be legally disposed of, it is not reducible to the disposable portion, but absolutely null (Louisiana Supreme Court 1840, 914 La. 542).

Louisiana law regarding "persons of color," interracial marriages and inheritance is very complex. Much has been written on the subject.²¹ One author summarizes the problem by stating, "More about the people of color in Louisiana might be written. It is a theme too large to be treated save by a master hand" (Stahl 1934, 376).

"Indian" ancestry has been established for Marie Gregoire based on her identification as a femme sauvage 'Indian woman' in the will of Alexander Verdin (Terrebonne Parish 1829f). The tribe of Marie's Indian heritage is as yet unknown. Because Indian ancestry has not been documented for Alexander Verdin, the seven children who descend from that union (i.e., all but Joseph) establish their Indian heritage from their mother, Marie, and not from Alexander.

c. Joseph Gregoire, Marie's Brother?

The ancestor card of Joseph Gregoire at the UHN headquarters and three of the petitioner's ancestry charts (Joseph A. Verdin, Arcene Gregoire, Jackson Gregoire) suggest a possible sibling relationship between Marie Gregoire (wife of Alexander Verdin, mother of Jean Baptiste Verdin) and Joseph Gregoire, aka Jean-Baptiste Gregoire,²² (father of Arcene Gregoire). Such a relationship could not be confirmed.

²⁰ Donation inter vivos means a gift in or during life; donation mortis causa means gift in expectation of the donor's death.

²¹ See especially, Virginia R. Dominguez, White By Definition (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1986) and "Social Classification in Creole Louisiana" In American Ethnologist (1977, 4:589-602).

²² 1850 U.S. Census, Terrebonne Parish, LA, Bayou Petit Caillou, #338, shows: Jean-Baptiste Gregoir, 56, male, mulatto, laborer, born Louisiana; wife Constance, and children Arcene, Helen, Pierre, Jackson, Pelagie, and Constance. The household also contained seven Billiot children (U.S. Bureau of the Census. Terrebonne Parish 1850c, p. 333, household 338).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Circumstantial evidence to suggest a possible sibling relationship between Marie and Joseph/Jean-Baptiste can be found in the marriage license of Jean Baptiste Verdin and Arcene Gregoire, in which Marie Gregoire and Joseph Gregoire each appear as a parent and possibly contemporaries (Terrebonne Parish 1860). A series of cattle brands (called "fire brands") recorded in Terrebonne Parish offer additional information to suggest a sibling relationship (Terrebonne Parish 1828). Table 8 abstracts fire brand records to show the placement of Alexander and Marie and six of their known children (all identified as children of Marie) in a block, followed immediately by Joseph Gregoire with no stated relationship. Joseph is followed by Pierre Chaisson, who frequently served as a witness for Alexander Verdin. The fact that the fire brands were recorded consecutively on the same day suggests that the registrants may have traveled to the courthouse together. The placement of Joseph with respect to the family of Alexandre and Marie and the fact that he and Marie have the same surname suggests a possible relationship, although none is specified (Terrebonne Parish 1828; Hebert 1978b, 16-17).

TABLE 8 FIRE BRANDS RECORDED 4-30-1828, TERREBONNE PARISH			
Name	Brand	Regis#	Comment
Alexandre Verdun [sic]	D/V	63	
Marguerite	VN	64	"dau of Marie Gregoire"
Marie Gregoire	MG	65	
Melanie	MV	66	"dau of Marie Gregoire"
Ursin	HV	67	"son of Marie Gregoire"
Eulalie	EV	68	"dau of Marie Gregoire"
Jeanbaptiste [sic]	B	69	"son of Marie Gregoire"
Victore	VV	70	"son of Marie Gregoire"
Joseph Gregoire	J	71	[relationship not stated]
Pierre Chaisson	PC	72	

The names of several other "Gregoires" appear in UHN genealogy and in early Louisiana records. Familial relationships between Marie Gregoire (the wife of Alexander Verdin) and these other Gregoires could not be documented. None of the other Gregoires noted were identified as Indian by outsiders.

3. Jeanet, an Indian woman

Evidence to establish the Indian ancestry of Jeanet comes from the January 12, 1811, record of her marriage to a "Joseph Billaux" [Billiot], which identifies her simply as "Jeanet, an Indian woman" (Lafourche Parish 1811; Hebert

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

1978a, 68). The record provides no information as to Jeanet's surname or tribal heritage.

UHN materials identify "Jeanet" as "Janet Houma", wife of Joseph Billiot, with a daughter named Modeste, born July 2, 1812 (UHN BC18a). Evidence was not provided by the petitioner, nor was evidence found by BAR, establishing her surname. Nor was her tribal affiliation established.

Modeste Billiot's December 1818 christening record at Assumption Church in Plattenville, Louisiana, identifies her parents as "Joseph Billiau" and "Jeanne" (no surname) (Catholic Church. Diocese of Baton Rouge 1982, 100; Hebert 1978a, 68; LDS-IGI, LA 461).

That "Jeanet, an Indian woman" from the Lafourche Parish marriage record, "Jeanne" from the Plattenville church christening records, and "Janet" from the petitioner's blue charts are one-and-the-same person is highly likely. No conflicting evidence was provided by UHN or found by BAR researchers.

One of the petitioner's ancestry charts also identifies a "Joseph Biliau," married the same day (January 12, 1811) to a "Jeanette Courteau" (UHN Pet., Ancestry chart of Lucien Fitch, p. 2), with a daughter named Marguerite Bellome (born 1824, died at age 105 [c. 1929]). The surname "Bellome" is significant because the "Modeste Billiot" who is the daughter of Joseph and Jeanet also appears in official records as "Modeste Bellhomme" of Terrebonne Parish who married Joseph Prevost (Hebert 1974b, 41 [April 13, 1856]²³). The published abstract of the record of their marriage in Houma Church on April 13, 1856, lists Modeste as the daughter of "Jeanette Courteaud"; the father is recorded as "name not given" (Hebert 1974b, 41 (April 13, 1856)). The actual church record was not seen by BAR.

²³ Hebert (1974b) contains two citations to the "marriage" of Modeste Bellhomme and Joseph Prevost. The first, dated April 7, 1856, is a civil record in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana (Houma Courthouse Marriage Vol. 4, p. 217). This record is a marriage bond which references a marriage license. It is not, however, a marriage return, as the citation in Hebert suggests. Therefore, it can not be used to prove that the marriage occurred; only that a marriage was intended. The second citation, dated April 13, 1856, is to a marriage abstracted from the records of Houma Church. A third citation comes from the LDS-IGI (LDS-IGI, LA 3615) which reports this marriage as having occurred on April 30, 1856; the source of this information is unknown.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The petitioner's materials connect this same Modeste Billiot with an early UHN ancestor named Antoine Courteau. Based on available information, however, BAR researchers conclude that there were probably two Modestes in the area at the same time and that the Modeste who married Antoine Courteau was not the daughter of Joseph Billiot and "Jeanet, an Indian woman." This conclusion was based on the fact that the women appeared to be giving birth to two independent families at the same time and because available records show the relationship between Modeste Billiot and Joseph Prevost to have been one of long standing (Terrebonne Parish 1842).

Available evidence shows Jeanet's husband, Joseph Billiot, to be a non-Indian (see also discussion of Joseph's parents, Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse under "Other UHN Ancestors," VIII.B.2).

B. Other UHN Ancestors

A large number of the UHN's male progenitors were Frenchmen who came to Louisiana in the 1700's and are reputed to have married Indian women. That a large number of the UHN's male progenitors were Frenchmen can be substantiated by the genealogical record; that they married Indian women has yet to be established. For a listing of most of the UHN progenitors and their ethnic origins, refer to Appendix B. Origins cited are based on information provided by the petitioner or from official documents collected during field research. The key to abbreviations used in the chart appears at the end of the chart.

1. Jean Baptiste Billiot & Marie Enerisse, Parents of Jacques and Joseph Billiot

A large portion of the UHN membership trace their ancestry to Jean Baptiste Billiot (referred to in one document as as Jean Pierre Billiot) and Marie Enerisse who were, according to the petitioner, "with the tribe in 1787" and are identified as the parents of Jacques and Joseph Billiot, the respective husbands of Rosalie Houma Courteau and "Jeanet, an Indian woman" (UHN 1985b, 35; UHN BC2; UHN BC3).

Marie's surname has been spelled many different ways in the records utilized for this report; virtually all variations can be shown to refer to the Marie who was the wife of Jean Baptiste Billiot and the mother of Jacques and Joseph

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Billiot. Some of the more common spelling variations²⁴ include Marie Enerisse, Mariane Erice, Mary Eric, Marian(n)e Eris, Marianne Iris, Marie Iris, and Marie Neriss/e.

That Jacques and Joseph are children of Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse can be documented in a variety of sources. The following are just a few examples from official parish records:

- o A deed dated August 27, 1822, from Jacques Billot, a man of colour, to Alexander Verdin for land to be sold to his (Jacques') mother, Marianne Eris (Terrebonne Parish 1822a). Similar deeds exist for his brothers Charles "Billeau" (Terrebonne Parish 1822c) and Jean Billot, Jr. (Terrebonne Parish 1822d).
- o A quitclaim deed dated October 31, 1823, from the Billiot brothers (Joseph, Jacques, Charles, Jean, Etienne, and Pierre) to their brother Michel who cared for their deceased mother, Marianne Iris, during her last sickness (Terrebonne Parish 1823).
- o The marriage record of Joseph Biliot to Magdelaine Gregoire, in which Joseph is identified as the son of Jean Biliot and Mariane Eris (Terrebonne Parish 1826).
- o Donations in 1855 from Miss Adelaide Billiot (Terrebonne Parish 1855a) and Pierre Billiot (Terrebonne Parish 1855b) to their brother, Jacques Billiot, of claims they had to the succession (estate) of their mother and father, Jean Billiot and Mary Eric(e).

According to the petition narrative, proof that "Jean Billiot and Marie Nerisse" were "of at least partial Indian parentage" is found in a document recorded on page 485 of Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Book 1 (UHN 1985b, 35). A copy of the document in question was not provided. Inquiries to Parish authorities produced a copy of the document cited in the petition as Book 1:485; it had no apparent connection with UHN ancestors. Subsequent inquiries produced a photocopy of a deed from Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Book T, page 485, which is believed to be the document intended (Terrebonne Parish 1813). This document is a handwritten transcript of a deed which was initially recorded in

²⁴ Where specific records are discussed below, names are spelled as they occur in the record.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Lafourche Interior Parish in 1813, prior to the formation of Terrebonne Parish (Lafourche Parish 1813). Terrebonne was formed from "Lafourche Interior" in 1822; the remaining portion of the original parish then became known simply as Lafourche Parish (Everton 1982, 122-123).

The deed recorded as Conveyance Book (COB) T:485 transfers land from Marianne Iris to Jean Baptiste Verdin. It is not clear from the document whether the Jean Baptiste Verdin named in this deed is the son of Marie Gregoire and Alexander Verdin or the brother of Alexander.²⁵ Marianne Iris is identified as a free woman of color (Terrebonne Parish 1813). The only information in the document which could be interpreted as evidence of "partial Indian parentage" is a reference to Marianne Iris as a "FWOC" (free woman of color). If this were the only information describing Marianne's heritage, one could speculate that she might have some Indian heritage because the definition of people of color at that time legally included Indians (Louisiana District Court 1810, Adele v. Beauregard, 1 Mart.; Dominguez 1968, 34). However, it is not the only evidence.

Other available evidence of the ancestry of Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marianne Iris comes primarily from sources discussed below:

- o Documents in the 1809 probate files of Lafourche Parish concerning the estate of Jean Baptiste Billau [Billiot] strongly suggest that many of the items in his estate were sold to his children (Lafourche Parish 1809). Family relationships must be established using other available documentary evidence (Terrebonne Parish 1823; Terrebonne Parish 1827). Items sold to children of Jean Baptiste and Marie are typically followed by Marie's name and the word "Caution"²⁶ suggesting that Marie would make good on the sale if the individual [her child] did not. The relationship between Marie and the child is not stated. The children are not identified as to race in the probate file.

²⁵ The 1813 date, at which Alexander and Marie's son would have been a minor, makes it more probable that the deed was to Alexander's brother.

²⁶ The word "caution" which appears in this document is believed to be the French word meaning surety or security. Except for the word "caution", the rest of this and other documents in the probate file are written in English.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Marie/Marianne is described in these probate documents both as a free woman of color and a free negress (Lafourche Parish 1809). Others purchasing from the estate of Jean Baptiste Billau include Courteau/Pourteau, "an Indian." Marianne Iris is identified three times as a free negress on the same page with "Pourteau an Indian" indicating that, at the least, the person recording the sale was distinguishing between Indians and Negroes even though both might have been classified as Free People of Color in other contexts (Lafourche Parish 1809; Dardar 1992).

- o One year later, a "Marian Billa/o_" appears in the 1810 census of Lafourche identified as a "Free negress 60 year old" [who] "has land pays tax has 10 children" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, 161, line 24). "Courto a Savage" is enumerated on the next line (1810, 161, line 25). The census is in English, strongly suggesting that "Courto a Savage" means that "Courto" was an Indian. As was the case in the 1809 inventory of sale discussed above, it appears that the census enumerator was making a clear racial distinction between Marian Billiot and Courto.
- o Court testimony in 1917 in H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education describes Marianne as a native of Santo Domingo, which is described as an "Early name of Dominican Republic and name of earliest settlement on Hispaniola" (Webster's New Geographical Dictionary 1972, 1060). Hispaniola is the island in the West Indies, on which the countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic are now located.
- o Fischer (1968, 137) reports that "Marie is said to have been Spanish, and a one-time recipient of a Spanish land grant." The public land claim (No. 370) of Marie Nerisse was confirmed in 1812 based on a regular warrant of survey from Governor Miro in 1788. The claim notes that the "land was "inhabited and cultivated by her on the 1st day of October, 1800" (ASP 1834b, 433).
- o Oral history also credits Marianne with Spanish ancestry (Billiot, Charles/Emay 1978; Lovell 1979; Molinere 1978) and as "Pure Indian" (Billiot, Alex. 1979).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- o Oral history regarding the ancestry of Jean Baptiste [Jean Pierre] Billiot quite consistently identifies him as French (Billiot, Alex. 1979; Billiot, Ludovic 1979; Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1992b). Information about Jean Baptiste Billiot obtained from ancestor cards at UHN tribal headquarters in Golden Meadow and confirmed by field research (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion, 1991a) describes him as born in 1766 in France, married to Marie Enerise, died 1798 at sea (Field Data, Colliflower and McMillion).

Available evidence shows Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse (Marianne Iris), the parents of Jacques, Adelaide, Michel, Joseph, Pierre, Charles, Etienne, and Jean Billiot, to be non-Indians, therefore their children must also be non-Indians. UHN blue chart #2, which diagrams the family of Jean Baptiste/Jean Pierre Billiot and Marie Enerise, erroneously includes two children (Alexander and Francois) who descend from a later generation and fails to include Jean/John who can be clearly identified in other documents (Terrebonne Parish 1823 and 1822d). It also includes Agnese [Agnes], a daughter of John Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse who is not mentioned in the documents discussed above (UHN Pet., BC#2).

2. Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage. Information concerning the origins of the name "Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage" comes primarily from four separate interviews with one couple and an "Indian Identification Form" completed by the husband.

Through each of the interviews, the couple consistently identified Rosalie's father as "Louis de La Houssaye" (three times) or "De la housaye Courteau" (one time) (Billiot, Charles and Emy/Amy Billiot 1978a and 1978b; Billiot, Charles 1979). They stated that Rosalie's father had changed his name and that papers on de la Houssaye had been found in New Iberia (Billiot, Charles 1979). No documentary evidence was found or provided to corroborate the name change.

The "Indian Identification Form" completed by Charle [sic] Billiot in 1940 refers to a "Houmas Reservation" in St. Mary

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Parish, Louisiana,²⁷ and mentions an allotment (number 19) to "Luice Dellahouse Corto" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1940). In answer to the question regarding where allotted, Charles Billiot answered "Terrebonne Parish." How the form should be interpreted is unclear. The allotted land referred to appears to have been located in Terrebonne Parish and not on a Houmas Reservation in St. Mary Parish (see below). What significance should be attached to the name "Luice Dellahouse Corto" is not obvious on the face of the form, since elsewhere on the form "Charle" states that his claim is for an oil field in Terrebonne Parish that belonged to his grandmother, but had been taken away (U.S. Department of the Interior 1940).

Another interviewee identified Rosalie as the "daughter of the chief, De Ba LaHoussaye Courteaux" but did not know more about him (Billiot, Alex 1979). Rosalie's father was also identified as "Louis de Sauvage" in another interview. However, the name "de Sauvage" was suggested by the interviewer and confirmed by the interviewee (Billiot, Sylvest 1978).

The petition asserts that "Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux, alias le Sauvage" was a chief, that "he acquired land for the tribe from the Spanish government in 1787" (emphasis added), and that these statements are "supported by federal and parish documents" which are cited as "American State Papers 2:432-433" and "Terrebonne Parish conveyance Records I:157-158" (UHN 1985b, 32). The citation to the American State Papers appears to refer to public lands settled by Louis Sauvage prior to 1803 and subsequently confirmed to him in 1812 by certificate No. 339 (ASP 1834b, 432).

The citation to Terrebonne Parish conveyance records at pages 157-158 in Book I refers to land originally confirmed to Louis Sauvage (ASP 1834b, 432; No. 339). The first of the two documents found in Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Records on pages 157 and 158 is a deed transferring the land originally confirmed to Louis Sauvage from Rosalie Courteau to a Mister Paroy (Terrebonne Parish 1841b). The second document is Marianne Courteau's acknowledgment that she had given this parcel of land to Rosalie Courteau, her daughter (Terrebonne Parish 1841a). Marianne is identified in the document as the sister of Louis le Sauvage.

²⁷ No other record of a Houma/Houmas Reservation in St. Mary Parish, Louisiana, was provided or found.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

None of the documents cited above includes an alternate name for Louis Sauvage (such as de la Houssaye or Courteau); none describes Louis as a chief. There is no language in any of these documents to suggest that the land is being held for the tribe. The deeds do not specify how or why Rosalie obtained the land other than that it came from Louis le Sauvage via Marianne, Rosalie's mother.

No evidence could be found to establish any connection between a Louis de la Houssaye Courteau and Louis Sauvage/Louis le Sauvage. Nor was evidence provided or found to substantiate a father-daughter relationship between Louis Sauvage/Louis le Sauvage or Louis de la Houssaye Courteau and Rosalie Houma Courteau. Based on available documentary evidence, Rosalie's father was Houma Courteau/Abbe/Iacalobe (aka Tough la Bay and various other spellings) (see earlier discussion at VIII.A.1.a). Louis Sauvage was Rosalie's uncle (her mother's brother) (see previous discussion at VIII.A.1.b). Thus, the assertion that Louis de la Houssaye Courteaux (aka, le Sauvage) was Indian has not been substantiated. Nor is the assertion that he was the father of Rosalie supported by available evidence.

3. Margaret/Marguerite Houma/Bellome.

Information concerning the ancestors of "Margaret Houma" comes from the oral history interviews of three individuals who identify themselves as Margaret's great-great-grandchildren (Billiot, Cyril n.d.; Billiot, Cyril 1978; Lovell 1979; Molinere, Lindsay 1978). Margaret Houma is described by one informant as the daughter of a "Choctaw chief" (Molinere, Lindsay 1978) and by another as the daughter of the "chief of the Houmas" (Billiot, Cyril n.d.; Billiot, Cyril 1978). She is said to have died at the age of 11; no year of death or birth is given (Billiot, Cyril n.d.). A third informant (Lovell 1979) is reported to have said of Margaret's parents that one was Choctaw, the other Comanche. Based solely on the placement of this information on the ancestry chart which accompanies the oral history interview, we can only speculate that Margaret's father was the Choctaw and her mother the Comanche.

One oral history interview infers that Rosalie Houma Courteau and "Marguerite Houma" were sisters. When the interviewer pursued the relationship further, however, the informant stated that they were not sisters because they had different fathers (Billiot, Cyril n.d.). It is not clear from the interview whether they did or did not have the same mother.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

A sibling relationship between Rosalie Courteau and Margaret/Marguerite Houma/Bellome could not be verified in official records. The Marguerite Courteau/Iacalobe who was the sister of Rosalie died in 1822 (see discussion under VIII.A.b, Rosalie's Siblings).

Margaret Houma is reported to have married Francois Fitch, Sr., "a Frenchman," during the "Confederate period" (Billiot, Cyril 1978). However, the petitioner's blue charts for the Fitch family show "Francois Fitch I" as married to "Rosalie Marguerite Bellome" (UHN BC38). Rosalie Marguerite Bellome is reportedly identified as "Indian" on her death certificate, but no certificate was provided. Francois is also identified as being "from Oklahoma" (UHN Pet., Individual History Chart of Francois "Sambo" Fitch I). Francois's granddaughter also states that he was from Oklanoma (Verdin, Azelie Clodellia Fitch 1979). When queried as to which Indian nation he was from she said simply "Just Oklahoma." As to whether he was Indian, she replied "Oh ya, he said he was Indian." Francois is reported to have died in 1939 at age 115 years [i.e., born about 1824]. His son, also known as Francois (Frank) Fitch, is reported to have been identified as Indian on his death certificate. The certificate was not seen by BAR researchers.

A Frank Fitch, age 50 [i.e., born about 1810], appears in the 11th ward of the 1860 Federal Population Census of Terrebonne Parish (Houma post office) with wife Marguerite, also 50, and six children ranging in age from 10 to 21 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860c, p.48, household 341). None of the children are documentable descendants of the Frank Fitch family listed on the UHN blue chart for the Fitch family (UHN BC38) or the Individual History Chart provided for "Francois 'Sambo' Fitch I (from Okla.)." On the 1860 Federal census, all members of the family, including Frank and Marguerite, are enumerated as born in Louisiana. All are recorded as "M" (Mulatto) as opposed to other choices (white or black). Three households immediately following the Frank Fitch household are recorded as "Ind" (Indian), indicating that the enumerator was making some distinction as to race. At the bottom of the page, the enumerator has written "Indians and Negroes."²⁸

²⁸ Additional research in the census would need to be done to determine what the enumerator meant by the annotation "Indians and Negroes." Photocopies gathered by researchers do not include a complete consecutive run of all pages for the ward.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Information concerning the Indian ancestry of Margaret Houma, Francois Fitch, and Rosalie Marguerite Bellome could not be verified. A relationship between Rosalie Marguerite Bellome and Modeste Bellhomme/Billiot could not be established, given available information.

4. Marie Migolois.

Marie Migolois [Migoulois, Mingoloi, Margoulois] was married first to Francois Courteau/Abe/Iacalobe who died about 1844 according to succession records in Terrebonne Parish (Terrebonne Parish 1844). She married second to Jean/John Billiot, who was by then the widower of Marguerite Courteau/Iacalobe. No documentary evidence was provided or found to establish "Indian" ancestry for Marie Migolois. Descendants of her marriage with Francois Courteau/Abe/Iacalobe can be counted among those who are believed to have some Indian ancestry based on Francois' established ancestry (see discussion under VII.A.1.b). However, descendants of Marie Migolois' marriage with Jean/John Billiot (son of Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse) cannot, at present, be counted among those who are believed to have some Indian ancestry because such ancestry has not been established for either Marie Migolois or Jean/John Billiot. For additional discussion of Jean/John Billiot, refer to VII.B.1, Jean Baptiste Billiot & Marie Enerisse.

IX. THE GENEALOGICAL ROOTS III DATABASE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

Because time constraints and staffing limitations did not permit computerization of all of the genealogical data provided, sampling techniques were used. All names found on the UHN's "blue charts" were entered into the genealogical database first because they accounted for a large portion of the earliest three or four generations of the group's ancestors.

A. Preliminary Non-Random Sample

A preliminary non-random sample consisting of 25 living persons was manually selected from the 18 feet of ancestry and individual history charts of the UHN's 17,616 current members. In selecting this group of 25, BAR genealogists made an effort to include representatives of all important families, age groups, and residential communities. Families

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

classed as "important" included those that were historically as well as presently involved in politics, large families, and/or surnames that were or are still common to the UHN's history and genealogy. Collectively, the ancestry of these 25 individuals included almost all of the UHN progenitors identified on the group's blue charts.

To expand the scope and size of this genealogical database further, current tribal council members, their alternates, and two ex-officio members of the council (i.e., former UHN chairpersons) and their ancestors were added. A few others from the general membership were also added. Four council members and/or their alternates could not be included in the database for lack of sufficient information to identify them in the 18 feet of genealogical charts. Table 9 shows the distribution of the non-random sample by age and residence.

TABLE 9 DISTRIBUTION OF NON-RANDOM SAMPLE OF UHN MEMBERSHIP BY AGE AND PARISH			
Distribution by Age		Distribution by Parish (residence)	
Age: Range -	#persons	Parish -	#persons
10-19	- 1	Terrebonne	- 10
20-29	- 3	Jefferson	- 5
30-39	- 3	Lafourche	- 3
40-49	- 4	St. Mary's	- 3
50-59	- 2	Plaquemines	- 2
60-69	- 4	out-of-state	- 1
70-79	- 3	no address	- 1
80-89	- 1		
90-100	- 2		
age unkn	- 2		

Worksheets were then printed from the genealogical database created for the non-random sample to show how the individuals descended from the group's earliest ancestors/progenitors. Because these worksheets are printed on pink paper, they are referred to as BAR's "pink charts."

The pink charts were then annotated and footnoted with genealogical data obtained from other sources, such as copies of original and published courthouse and church records, information from oral histories and other materials

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

provided with the petition or collected during field research. Thus the pink charts were used to consolidate information about individuals from a variety of sources into one location where it could be analyzed and evaluated more easily.

B. Systematic Random Sample

In addition to the non-random sample, a systematic random sample was independently drawn from the total membership of 17,616. In order to compute the size of the systematic random sample it was necessary to rely on the percentage of those who descended from Indian ancestry from the preliminary non-random sample (refer to Table 10). It was estimated that a 1% sample would give a 4.1% plus or minus margin of error.

A systematic random sample of 176 individuals was then drawn. The petitioning group had assigned a registration (membership) number to each individual registered. There was no discernable pattern to the numbering system. A skip interval of 100 was established based on the size of the sample. The beginning number was drawn randomly from the first 100-member registration numbers and was "81"; therefore, subsequent numbers in the sample, using an interval of 100, were 181, 281, 381, etc.

Next, the lineage for each individual in the systematic random sample was traced back to the original ancestors using the genealogical information provided by the petitioner. All information in the Roots III database regarding an individual's ancestry was taken from information provided by the petitioner on their blue charts, individual history charts, and/or ancestry charts.

After the lineage of those included in the systematic random sample was entered into the database, the sampling results showed that 84% of the individuals sampled could be expected to document some Indian ancestry (refer to Table 10). A 95% level of confidence was used, with a 5.4% plus or minus margin rate of error. The percent of the individuals sampled who can be expected to have some "Indian" ancestry is between 78.6% and 89.4%. Based on these results, we estimate that 14,797 of the 17,616 individuals who are registered as members of the group would be able to trace descent from one or more of the UHN's three documented "Indian progenitors."

TABLE 10 Roots III Database Composition		
Category Sample	Sample* Size	Percent traced to Indian
Random	176	84%
Non-Random	25	85%

* Current living members

The random and non-random samples differed by only one percentage point.

X. ESTABLISHING TRIBAL HERITAGE (WHICH TRIBE?)

This section will examine what is or is not known about the tribal heritage of the three progenitors of three independent family lines present in the UHN membership for which "Indian" ancestry could be documented.

A. Houma Courteau (Tough-la-Bay, alias Courteau of the Beloxy Nation)

Evidence of Houma Courteau's tribal heritage is conflicting. Terrebonne Parish land records from the 1820's identify him as being of the "Beloxy Nation" [Biloxi] (Terrebonne Parish 1822a; Terrebonne Parish 1829g). In the early 1900's, Swanton's informants described him as a Biloxi medal chief (Swanton 1911, 292). Elsewhere in Swanton's field notes, he is identified as a Chitimacha chief (Swanton n.d.b). With regard to language, Swanton recorded "about 78 words and expressions in the Houma language" noting that it was "nearly pure Choctaw" (Swanton, n.d.b), but more recent scholarship considers these words to have originated in Mobilian Trade Jargon, which was the pidgin lingua franca among Indians of various language groups along the Gulf Coast, from Louisiana to Florida (Drechsel to DeMarce, 1993). Oral history collected in the 1970's says that his daughter Rosalie was the last of the "Houma" (Billiot, Charles 1979).

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The most consistent contemporary documentary evidence appears to describe Houma Courteau as Biloxi. Late sources indicate he was possibly Chitimacha or Choctaw.

B. Marie Gregoire (wife of Alexander Verdin)

No information was provided or found concerning the tribal heritage of Marie Gregoire. Her parents are unknown. Marie's Indian ancestry was derived from her identification as a femme sauvage 'Indian woman' in the will of her husband Alexander Verdin (Terrebonne Parish 1829f).

C. Jeanet (wife of Joseph Billiot)

No information was provided or found concerning the tribal heritage of Jeanet. Her parents are unknown. Jeanet is described in her marriage record simply as "an Indian woman" (Lafourche Parish 1811).

D. Other "Indian" Claims

1. Marianne, wife of Houma Courteau

Oral history concerning the possible tribal heritage of Rosalie's mother, Marianne Courteau, comes from Swanton's informants, who in one place described their grandmother Marianne/Marion as an "Atakapa" from Texas, but elsewhere said that she came from Mobile (Swanton 1911, 292; Swanton n.d.a; Swanton n.d.b). One of these informants also indicated that she was an Acolapissa (Swanton n.d.). No other evidence of Marianne's Indian ancestry was provided or found. If Marianne Courtau [sic] (aka Marion) could be documented to be of Indian descent, then Rosalie Courteau (daughter of Houma Courteau and Marianne), could possibly have been of Biloxi and some other tribal heritage.

Oral history also includes a number of references to the possible tribal heritage of other UHN ancestors:

2. Moscow Indian Wife of Jean Naquin

Alexander Billiot in 1979 stated that Jean Naquin married a Moscow Indian girl (Billiot, Alex. 1979). When Alexander was questioned further as to whether Moscow was a tribe or just a family, he speculated that Moscow was "just a family" (Billiot, Alex. 1979). BAR research showed that, in fact, Jean-Marie Naquin married Marie Gregoire's daughter, Pauline Verdin.

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

3. Chitimacha Wife of Dion

The "Dion [name] came from [a] Frenchman who married a **Chitimacha** and came to (?) Dulac area" according to Tom Dion (Dion 1981). BAR research showed that Jean-Charles Dion actually married Marie Zeloni Frederick, the non-Indian daughter of Bastian Frederick and Francoise Billiot.

4. Francois Fitch

Francois Fitch is reported to have come from Oklahoma according to his children (Fitch, Wickliffe 1979; Verdin, Clodellia Fitch 1979). When the interviewer asked which Indian nation, the answer was "Just **Oklahoma** . . . he said he was **Indian**" (Fitch, Wickliffe 1979). BAR researchers were unable to confirm Indian ancestry for Francois Fitch.

5. Margaret/Marguerite Houma, wife of Francois Fitch

Margaret/Marguerite Houma, the wife of Francois Fitch, Sr., is said to have been "the daughter of the chief of Houma" (Billiot, Cyril 1978). Cyril did not know the chief's first name, but reported, "his last name was Houma. He was chief of the reservation." Later in the interview, Cyril described the Indians of the area saying the "right way to call them is the **Choctaw**." When the interviewer questioned, "It wasn't the Houma Indians?," Cyril answered "It was the **Houma** Indians too in Terrebonne Parish, LaFource [sic] Parish, Assumption Parish, where they was thrown . . . together . . . old people used to tell me that" (Billiot, Cyril 1978).

The ancestry chart of Maria Billiot Lovell identifies the parents of Margaret, wife of Francis Fitch, to have been a **Choctaw** and a **Comanche** (Lovell 1979). BAR has not been able to confirm these tribal identifications for her.

E. Claims in Published and Manuscript Materials

A sampling of published literature and some manuscript materials provides additional, equally generic references.

Hodge's Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico published in 1907, identifies the "Huma" ('red') as "A **Choctaw** tribe living during the earlier period of the French colonization of Louisiana." The entry concludes with the statement, "They are now supposed to be extinct" (Hodge 1907, 577).

Swanton reported that:

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Although they call themselves 'Houmas,' or, rather 'Hômas,' it has been intimated . . . that remains of several other tribes, such as the Bayougoula and Acolapissa, have been incorporated with them. To these must be added Biloxi and Chitimacha . . . and probably the remnants of the Washa (Swanton 1911, 392).

In 1917 Bushnell reported:

several families living in Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes, near Bayou La Fource [sic], claim to be of Chitimacha descent, although they know some of their ancestors to have been Houma (Bushnell 1917, 302).

Bushnell's informant was an Abel Billiot, age 65, "'who is known as a Chitimacha' from Point-au-chien." However, this man, whose full name was Abel Rene Billiot, was born August 9, 1853 (Hebert 1976b, Houma Church: V. 2, p. 75), and had no documentable Chitimacha ancestry. His parents were Joseph Rene Billiot and Henrietta Solet; his grandparents were Pierre Billiot and Marie Jeanne, and Jean Baptiste Prarialle Solet and Marie Genevieve Verdin. The eight great-grandparents were Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse; Joseph Jeanne, a native of Campeche, Mexico, and Françoise (ethnicity unknown); Valentin Solet and Babet Marie. The parentage of Marie Genevieve Verdin is not documented, but she was not a descendant of Marie Gregoire.

Abel Rene Billiot was married to Pauline Creppel, one of Rosalie Courteau's great-granddaughters.

In 1938, Underhill stated that, in her opinion, "Houma has become a generic name for a number of Muskogian remnants which mixed and concentrated as the French and Spaniards usurped the land" (Underhill 1938, 3). She went on to note on the same page that "some 300 people of Indian descent calling themselves Houma," were present in the parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne "in more or less concentrated settlements . . . though [they are] not organized as a tribe."

Speck, in 1941, when writing about plant curatives obtained from Houma Indians, noted in a footnote that the present population classified as "Houma Indians of Louisiana," then estimated at 2,000, was comprised of:

elements of other Indian descent (early historic Choctaw, Biloxi, Chitimacha), early Spanish,

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

French and unspecified American, besides several recent accessions of Filipinos by marriage (Speck 1941, 49).

In 1943, when writing about the "Creole Houma Indian Trappers," Speck noted, without citation, that:

Swanton added a comment to his enumeration, saying 'The so-called Houma of today include remnants of most of the Louisiana coast tribes, in all degrees of mixture, Indian, white and negro' (Speck 1943, 137).

In 1979 Stanton repeated this same quote crediting it to Speck rather than Swanton (Stanton 1979, 93).

Edison Roy, relying on Swanton's work, reported that "some Indians presumably the Houmas inhabited Terrebonne as early as the end of the eighteenth century" (Roy 1959, 7). Roy concluded that of some 200 "Indian" families living in the Dulac community (Terrebonne Parish) in the 1950's, most "have some white intermixture and some with traces of Negro heritage" (Roy 1959, 9). He breaks this down further stating that,

The native inhabitants are approximately 45 per cent white ("Cajuns"); the remainder, a racial hybrid people, are primarily of Indian and French ancestry. About 10 per cent are tri-racial (Indian, white and Negro) (Roy 1959, 10).

In 1968, Fischer referred to the "Houma" as "so-called Indians" which is believed to denote "individuals who have some claim to Indian ancestry" (Fischer 1968, 133-4). She noted that, "Approximately 2000 people identify themselves primarily with the Houma" (Fischer 1968, 135).

In 1971, Stanton noted that they "identify themselves as Indian . . . they prefer to be called Indian . . . In the historical and descriptive literature, they are often referred to as Houma Indians" (Stanton 1971, 82). He stated that: he "was not able to find any Indian who used this designation" (Stanton 1971, 82). Later, Stanton pointed out that: literature referred to them as Houma Indians, but the term did not appear to be used locally by the Indians or their non-Indian neighbors. He went on to state that the group did not use the term Houma and resented, "even among themselves, those who use the word Sabine" (Stanton 1979,

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

90). Stanton also cited Speck, 1943, who was quoting Swanton.

Stanton claimed in 1971 that a 1795 record "states that land in the southern portion of Terrebonne Parish was granted to French settlers who had married local Indians" (Stanton 1971, 84). However, closer investigation of Stanton's source provides a slightly different picture:

The parish Conveyance Records reveal that in 1795 a white man named "Carlo" Naquin was granted a tract of land in the marshy fringes along the Gulf Coast. It is stated that Naquin, a migrant from France, another white man named Chaisson, and an individual named Dardar, whose race is unknown, settled in the southern end of the parish and married Indian women (Parenton and Pellegrin, 1950, 149).

BAR research indicates that Charles Naquin, who arrived in 1785 and received the land grant, was Acadian. His grandson, Jean-Marie Naquin, married Pauline Verdin, a daughter of Marie Gregoire, founding the UHN line. The Chaisson family was also Acadian: it was not until after 1850 that Andre J. Chaisson (aka Joseph Andre Chaisson) married Felicite Isilda Billiot, the non-Indian daughter of Jean Billiot and Manette Renaud, and began the UHN line bearing this surname, for which BAR cannot establish Indian ancestry. Michel Dardar, from France, married Adelaide Billiot, the non-Indian daughter of Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse, in 1809.

The UHN petition states that "early courthouse records refer to the Houma as the Courteaux Indians which was, most likely, a reference to an extended family" (UHN 1985b, 27). BAR researchers found no such direct references in official records. One possible explanation may have been that "Loup La Hay called Courteau Indian of the Beloxy Nation" was interpreted as "Courteau Indian" rather than the more likely interpretation "Courteau[,] Indian of the Beloxy Nation" (Terrebonne Parish 1829g).

Available information regarding the historical tribe from which the petitioning group descends is vague and inconsistent. Researchers have tended to quote one another freely, without further primary source research. When quotes attributed in print are investigated at the source, one often finds that information has been restated upon reprinting in such a manner that the original meaning is

Genealogical Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Chitimacha

11-18-1920 1920)	Annuity Pay Roll (Bureau of Indian Affairs)
no date	Annuity Pay Roll (received Office of Indian Affairs 10/18/1926) (Bureau of Indian Affairs n.d.)
June 1959	Tribal Roll of Chitimacha Indians, Charenton, LA (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1959)

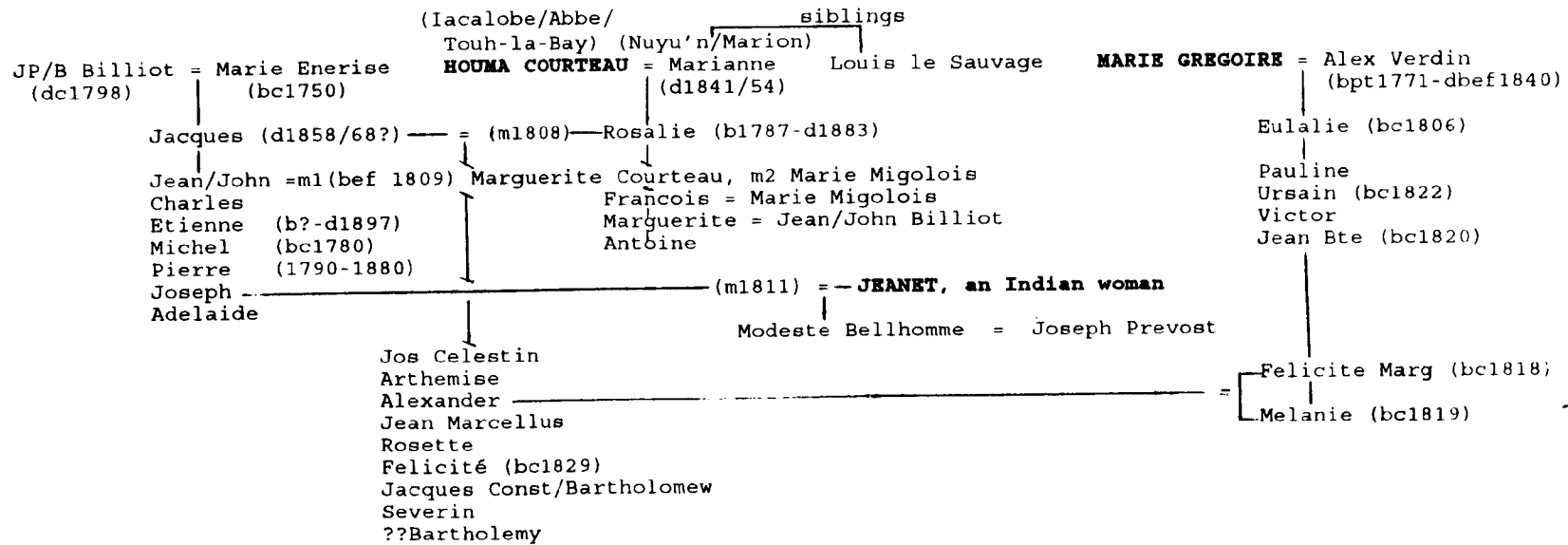
Although a few individuals of the same or similar surnames could be identified on the above Choctaw and Chitimacha rolls, there the similarity stopped. Given names did not match those found in the UHN genealogy.

None of the current members were found to be enrolled in the recognized Mississippi Choctaw or Louisiana Chitimacha Tribes. An unpublished inventory of annuity rolls on deposit with the National Archives was checked for the following possible tribal entities: Houma, Attakapas, Biloxi, Acolapissas, and Bayogoula; none were found (Hart 1954).

No evidence was provided to suggest that any of the current members are enrolled elsewhere.

Appendix A

UHN'S DOCUMENTED "INDIAN" PROGENITORS AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS
 ("Indian" Progenitors in bold)



RACIAL/ETHNIC ORIGINS OF UHN PROGENITORS
based on available information

Key to Abbreviations:

A/C; IHC = Ancestry/Individual History Charts provided by UHN
 ASP = American State Papers
 BC22 = Blue Chart #22 prepared and provided by UHN
 dc;b = death certificate; born
 fa;mo;s;gs = father; mother; son; grandson
 FD DD 6/92 = Field Data, June 1992, UHN Headquarters
 Not Houma = Not a Houma Indian according to UHN genealogist
 O/H58 Tom Dion = Oral History #58 collected by UHN researchers from informant Tom Dion, in UHN petition
 UHN anc Card = Ancestor card prepared by UHN of information collected on specific ancestor of UHN group

<u>UHN "Progenitor"</u>	<u>Race/Ethnic Origin</u>	<u>Source of Information</u>
BABE (see SOLET)		
BILLIOT Jean Pierre Baptiste	from France from France German	O/H18 Alex Billiot FD Louis Molinere <u>H.L. Billiot v.</u> <u>Terrebonne Bd of Ed</u>
Jacques	from France from France	O/H33 Francis Gallet O/H11 Marie Dupre
CHAISSON, Andre I/Andressi	Not Houma French	FD DD 6/92 O/H33 Francis Gallet
COURTEAU, Houma/Tough la Bay	Indian Indian	Terr. Parish 1822e Terr. Parish 1829g
CREPPELL, August I	Not Houma from France	FD DD 6/92 August I's IHC
DARDAR, Michael	Not Houma French from France	FD DD 6/92 UHN anc card (dau's baptismal record) Leopold Paulin Dardar's IHC
DION Jean Charles surname from Frenchman who married a Chitimacha	b France	dc of son Placid O/H48 Tom Dion
DUBOIS, Francois	re whether Indian, said "We don't know."	O/H56 Tom Dion

ENERISSE/IRIS, Marie	Spanish Spanish Spanish San/Santo Domingo	O/HChas/Emay Billiot O/H17 Ludovic Billiot FD Louis Molinere <u>H.L. Billiot v.</u> <u>Terrebonne Bd of Ed</u> O/H18 Alex Billiot J.B. Billiot Probate
FITCH, Francois I	Pure Indian Free Negress	
	Oklahoma Oklahoma Pure French	O/H26 Azalie Verdin O/H29 Coldelia Verdin O/H5 Lindsay Molinere
FREDERICK, Bastian	Not Houma Not Houma Not Houma looked Indian/ known as Indian	FD DD 6/92 UHN anc card Marie Dion's A/C O/H65 Odelia Smith
GALLEY/GALLET, Francois	Not Houma b France Frenchman	FD DD 6/92 1880 Fed'l Census, Terrebonne Parish O/H33 Francis Gallet
GREGOIRE, Marie	Indian	Alex Verdin will (Terr Parish 1829f)
HOUMA (see COURTEAU)		
IRIS (see ENERISSE)		
JEANET (given name)	Indian	Lafayette Parish 1811
JOHN Captain (fa of Genevieve)	from Spain	O/H15 Valentie Serigny Dardar death record
Joseph Jeanne	Native of Mexico	
LOVING, Lise	English	O/H16 Louis Naquin
MOLINERE, Thomas	Not Houma from Rome [Italy]	FD DD 6/92 O/H30 Elvira Molinere Billiot
NAQUIN Jean Marie (fa) Jean Charles (son)	Acadian b France b France parents b Acadia immigrated w/fa from France on ship, St. Remy, 1785	O/H3 Manuel Naquin BC22 Narciss Naquin A/C UHN anc card UHN anc card
NERISSE (see ENERISSE)		

PARFAIT, Frederick	Not Home France	FD DD 6/92 O/H48 Tom Dion
PRERIELLE (see SOLET)		
RENAUD, Annette/Mannette	from France parents were French	O/H30 Elvira Molinere Billiot church record
SAVAGE/LE SAUVAGE, Louis	Indian	ASP 1834a
SERIGNY, Gergoire/Gregor	from England	O/H15 Valentine Serigny Dardar
SOLET/SOLEY Valentine Babe	French FWOC	church record church record
VERDIN, Jean Adam (fa of Alex)	Germany Overseas	O/H56 Tom Dion O/H28 Paul Verdin
VERRET Jacques Celeste Lamatte	French Quadroon	church record church record

HISTORICAL REPORT--THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE 1

LOUISIANA INDIAN TRIBES, PRE-1800 3

 Colonial Context 3

 The Historical Houma Tribe, Colonial Period 4

 Eighteenth-Century Maps 5

 Linguistic Evidence 6

 Historical Houma Locations and UHN Tradition 6

 De la Houssaye 7

 The Historical Houma among Other Historical Tribes:
 Acadian Coast and "La Fourche des Chetimachas,"
 1769-1803 8

 Census Records 9

 Interaction with European Settlers 11

 Descriptions by Observers 14

 The Historical Houma, Early U.S. Administration 16

 Correlation with the Petitioner's Traditions 19

 Were the Historical Houma the Tribal Antecedent of the
 UHN? 20

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR 21

EARLY DEMOGRAPHY OF THE UHN ANCESTORS 24

 Origins of UHN Ancestral Settlement in Lafourche and
 Terrebonne Parishes, 1800-1850 24

 Development of Southern Louisiana Record-Keeping
 Agencies 25

 Civil Jurisdictions 25

 Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions 27

 Using Civil and Church Records to Identify Early
 Ancestors of the Petitioner 27

 Chronology of Settlement Patterns on Bayou Terrebonne,
 1787-1810 29

 General Pattern of Settlement of the Lafourche-
 Terrebonne Area 31

 Arrival of Known UHN Ancestral Families in Modern
 Terrebonne Parish 32

 Family-by-Family Summary 33

 Naquin 33

 Chaisson/Chiasson 33

 Billiot/Billeau, etc 33

 Sauvage/Savage 35

 Solet/Saulet 36

 Verret/Lamatte 36

 Jeanne/Dianne (perhaps Dion) 37

 Courteau/Houma/Abbe 38

 Verdin/Verdine/Verdun 38

 Dardar 39

Summary	40
Relationship of Appearance of Known UHN Ancestral Families in Lafourche/Terrebonne to Early Nineteenth-century Reports of Historical Houma Tribal Locations	41
EVIDENCE OF UHN BACKGROUND FROM U.S. LAND CLAIMS	41
General Nature of Claims Records	41
General Nature of Indian Tribal Claims and Sales	42
The Early Federal Period Land Claim By the "Homas Tribe of Indians" Was Not Located in the Lower Bayous	44
No Documented Land Sales by the Historical Houma Tribe after 1774	44
The "Houmas Claim" Was By American Settlers to Land Which the Historical Houma Tribe Had Already Sold in 1774	45
Land Claims by Individual UHN Ancestors	46
NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEMOGRAPHY OF THE UHN ANCESTORS	48
Interconnections of Families Based upon Baptismal Sponsor-ships, Witnessing of Legal Documents, etc.	48
Community Residence Patterns from the Federal Census, 1810-1860	48
Pattern Shown by the 1810 Federal Census	48
Pattern Shown by the 1820 Federal Census	50
Pattern Shown by the 1830 Federal Census	51
Pattern Shown by the 1840 Federal Census	51
1850 and 1860 Federal Census Records	52
Ethnic Identification	52
1850 Residential Groupings	53
1860 Residential Groupings	53
Nature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century Petitioning Community	53
DEVELOPMENT OF THE UHN COMMUNITY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR	56
Occupations at the Turn of the Century	56
John Swanton	57
Self-Identification as Indian	58
The Challenge of White Supremacy	60
Education at the Turn of the Century	62
"Rediscovery" of the Terrebonne Settlement as Indian and "Houma" by Anthropologists	63
Segregation and Its Limits	66
Self-Identification as Indian	67
Economic Foundations and Self-Definition	68
UHN Oral Histories: Outside Observers	71
AFTER WORLD WAR I	72
Locations and Leaders: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century	72
Activity of the Petitioner's Ancestors on their Own Behalf	76

Mid-Twentieth Century Studies for the Federal Office of	
Indian Affairs	79
1920's and 1930's	79
The Brandon Report	79
Correspondence, 1920's	80
The Nash Report	81
Correspondence, 1930's	82
The Problem of Education	84
The Underhill Report	88
The Speck Report	90
1940's: Education Problems Continue	94
POST WORLD WAR II STUDIES	95
RECENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY	99

HISTORICAL REPORT ON THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

The petition for Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe submitted by the United Houma Nation, Inc. (hereafter referred to as UHN) maintains that the petitioner descends from the historical Houma tribe, which was mentioned in eighteenth-century French, Spanish, and English colonial documents. The UHN membership undoubtedly has both Indian ancestry, which can be traced to the early nineteenth century, and non-Indian ancestry, which is traceable to the same period. Since the mid-nineteenth century, residents of UHN settlements have been intermittently identified as Indian, or as of Indian ancestry, Indian appearance, and/or of Indian lifestyle. Since the early twentieth century, they have regularly been reported in anthropological literature as a mixed-blood Indian group.

Some individual ancestors of the UHN group were unambiguously identified as Indian in local documentation between 1808 and 1830. Most, but not all, of the UHN ancestral population was enumerated as Indian in the 1860 Federal census. The sole firm tribal identification for any of these Indian ancestors, however, both in deed records and by oral tradition preserved in ethnologist John R. Swanton's 1907 anthropological interviews, is Biloxi rather than Houma. "Houma" was used as a family name by this Biloxi man, which may have contributed to confusion on the part of outsiders. Oral tradition also recalled one Indian ancestress as born in Mobile, and one as either Atakapa or Acolapissa. Three other women in the founding generation of the UHN ancestral group were just described as "Indian."

In addition to these individual Indian ancestors, the first two generations of UHN progenitors in the Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, area included persons of European ancestry and persons of mixed European and African ancestry. Since settlement in its current location, which took place by the first decade of the nineteenth century, the UHN population has increased significantly. In addition to large families in the founding group, considerable interaction with the surrounding population, from the first generation onward, contributed to this population expansion.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the culture and language of the UHN were primarily Cajun French, though two

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

elderly people recalled some vocabulary of the Indian language, which was described by Swanton at the time as being "almost pure Choctaw," although more recent scholarship indicates that it was from the Mobilian Trade Jargon. In spite of extensive marriage outside the group and a high level of participation in the surrounding society's institutions (as indicated by membership in the Catholic church, private landholding in fee simple with conveyances recorded at the courthouse, etc.), evidence indicates that the UHN continued to regard itself, and to be regarded by its neighbors, as distinct from the French and Acadian cultural groups around it.

The petitioner's ancestors resisted attempts by government authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century to pressure it into amalgamation with those free families of color descended from the antebellum slave population, particularly evidenced in efforts by the Terrebonne Parish school authorities to require the attendance of UHN children at "colored" segregated schools. In this matter, the UHN's ancestral population continued to maintain internally and assert externally that its Indian ancestry distinguished it from other free persons of color in the region.

However, it is not manifest from the evidence that the distinct nature of the community, although based upon pride in Indian ancestry, was tribal. Because of population growth, the UHN precursor group expanded during the nineteenth century from its original location into the six settlements found in 1907 by Swanton, who described them as having few ties to one another and only informal family-based internal leadership.

Reports compiled during the 1930's by researchers sent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs accepted the community as mixed-blood Indian, but no Federal assistance was provided. Most efforts during this period were aimed at the improvement of educational facilities.

The modern UHN organization did not formally incorporate until the late 1970's. Since that time, efforts of the leadership have been directed toward strengthening the group's perceived Indian cultural identity and improving the community's economic base.

LOUISIANA INDIAN TRIBES, PRE-1800.

Since the UHN petition identifies the historical tribe from which the group descends as the Houma, it is necessary to discuss the history of the historical Houma tribe in more detail than that of the other small tribes of the coastal area.

Colonial Context. The situation in which the historical Houma tribe and other neighboring Louisiana Indian tribes lived during the second half of the eighteenth century was that of the competitive struggle among the French, Spanish, English, and Americans for control of the Mississippi River. The colonial regimes all generated extensive records, many of which were researched in the early twentieth century by John Reed Swanton, an ethnologist who studied the Indians of the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi River Basin in considerable detail (see Swanton 1911, 2-3; Beers 1989). Only recently has historical scholarship attempted to delve into the multi-faceted relationships which evolved, in part, from the day-to-day situations confronting the participants rather than from policy enunciated by formal governmental authorities.

There were numerous players in the drama. Not only the European powers were involved through the French, Spanish, and English colonists whom they sent directly to the Gulf Coast. There were the coastal Indian tribes themselves. There were French emigres from Canada and the Caribbean Islands; English who came by way of the North American Colonies; and Spanish immigrants who came by way of the Canary Islands. Also, in increasing numbers during the eighteenth century, African slaves of a wide variety of geographical origins were brought into Louisiana. These immigrants contributed to the development, along the Gulf Coast from Florida to Louisiana, of one of the first societies in the Western Hemisphere composed of various ethnic groups and languages.

While the political and administrative network established by the French within the Mississippi Valley was primarily designed to link their own settlements from the Great Lakes to the Lower Mississippi Valley, both Marcel Giraud, A History of French Louisiana, Vol. One, The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715 (Giraud 1974) and Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy (Usner 1992), demonstrate that this system did extend to include the Native American and African populations.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The prodigious bibliographical and archival materials researched and analyzed by Giraud and Usner demonstrate considerable political, economic, and social interaction between European administrators and settlers and the resident Indian tribes under the French and Spanish colonial systems. Indian groups were involved in local affairs. They interacted with French and Spanish authorities, especially in connection with land grants made by, or land purchases made from, the tribes. The internal Indian perception of these events is less well understood than are the assumptions the Europeans made.

Economic change and cultural mixing did not proceed without conflict and difficulty. At various points in the eighteenth century, the Indian tribes were thrust into situations where they had to determine whom or whether they would fight, be the enemy Indian or European. Internal factions within tribes and splits between factions considerably affected the tribal social and political makeup.

One of the effects of the Seven Years War, 1756-63, was the readjustment of the political fortunes of the French, Spanish, and English in North America (Lyon 1974, Chap. II; Moore 1976, Chap. II). By the last third of the eighteenth century, the Spanish took over the administrative authority of Louisiana, beginning in 1762, with the process effectively complete by 1769.

The Historical Houma Tribe, Colonial Period. The Houma tribe is believed to have been resident on the Tombigbee River in modern Alabama in pre-colonial times. By the time of first European contact by LaSalle in 1682, however, they were in Louisiana near the Mississippi border. Evicted from this village site north of Baton Rouge by the Tunica in 1706, they lived for a short time on Bayou St. Jean near present-day New Orleans, but by 1718 settled around Houmas Point, on both banks of the Mississippi, near the headwaters of Bayou Lafourche (Donaldsonville area). There are scattered mentions of them in this same location during the next 50 years. The 1758 comment by De Kerlerec, quoted by Swanton (Swanton 1911, 290), that the Houma were reduced by the consumption of alcohol, is found in an extensive 25-page report on the Indians of the Colony of Louisiana. It indicated that the Houma had been numerous, but now only numbered about "sixty men bearing arms." The group was then located half-way between New Orleans and Point Coupee. The Governor noted the strategic position they occupied and indicated "great consideration is shown them" (Mississippi

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Provincial Archives [hereafter MPA] 5:212, Doc. 56; MPA 5:225, note 41).

For the Spanish period, numerous political descriptions and analyses have been used by historians to try to determine where various tribes were actually located at particular dates in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century (for sources see Kinnaird 1979, 39-48; Sanchez et al. 1991). The political background contributes, as does Usner's description of the eighteenth century economic system, to reinforcing awareness of the possibilities for intercultural mixing among the riverain tribes of the lower Mississippi. Anthropologists have made the assumption that the historical Houma tribe incorporated remnants of several other small coastal tribes during this period (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78).

Using the documentary record to trace the historical Houma tribe in particular is a somewhat sketchy, though not altogether impossible process. There are numerous references to tribes such as the Bayougoula, Houma, Taensa, Tunica, and other tribes (e.g., Giraud 1974, 73; Usner 1992, 62-63, 85), often in the context of a multi-level and interactive set of circumstances, rather than mentions of one tribe in isolation.

Eighteenth-Century Maps. Two maps printed in the 1770's included the Mississippi River Valley and adjacent portions of the southeastern area of what came to be the United States. Both were based on scientific and historical documentation available at the time and each contained information locating the Houma and other Indian tribes in the general area indicated by other documentation.

The earlier map was completed in 1765 by a Lieutenant Ross. It traced the "Course of the River Mississippi [sic] from the Balise to Fort Chartres; taken on an Expedition to the Illinois, in the latter end of the Year 1765," including references to a number of southeastern Indian tribes within the Mississippi River Valley drainage system. Houma, Acolapissa, Alibamons, villages, forts, and French settlements were all depicted, as was "Chackhumas" on the Yazou River. The Houma, Alibamons, Bayagoulas, and Acolapissas are all shown along the Mississippi above New Orleans, yet below Point Iberville/Manchac (Report of the Secretary of War, 1892).

The third quarter of the eighteenth century saw the publication of Adair's History of the American Indians,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

published in London in 1775. James Adair was described on the title page as "a trader with the Indians, and resident in their country for forty years" (Adair 1775). Adair's map, while somewhat indefinite regarding Indian tribes in the Mississippi Valley and Louisiana, noted a "Chakchooma" location on the Yazous River, in an area ostensibly claimed at the time by South Carolina.

Linguistic Evidence. Scholars have used linguistic information to hypothesize a link connecting the historical Houma to other tribes, specifically Choctaw. One scholar noted that the Adair map (Adair 1775) indicated that the "Chakchiuma originated from the vicinity of the Yazoo and Yalobusha Rivers in Mississippi" (Albrecht 1946, 49), and then asserted that the "Houma were once a part of the Chakchiuma" (Albrecht 1946, 48). His theory was based on the similarity and use of the red crawfish by both groups and on a linguistic analysis that the Houma were essentially "a Choctaw-speaking remnant group" (Albrecht 1946, 48). It should be noted that Swanton did not make this identification (Swanton 1911, 292-293). "Houma" was not a term which pertained exclusively to one tribal group along the Mississippi River. Humma or homma for "red" was "widely used" in Choctaw (Albrecht 1946, 46-47) and related Muskogean languages.¹ Linguistic evidence is not conclusive in tying the petitioner to a historical tribe.

Historical Houma Locations and UHN Tradition. The standard description of the locations of the historical Houma tribe - that LaSalle located them on the banks of the Mississippi in 1682, and Iberville visited them there in 1699 (Swanton 1911, 285); that they were near New Orleans in 1706, and by 1718 some distance upriver from New Orleans on the Mississippi--does not square well with the UHN tradition of a Courteau grandmother who was born in Mobile (Swanton 1911, 292).²

¹ The petitioner cites the Penicaut narrative of eighteenth-century Louisiana as the source of the word "istrouma," signifying "red stick" (McWilliams 1988 [1953]; United Houma Nation, Inc., Petition for Federal Acknowledgment, Exhibit (hereafter UHN Pet., Ex.) 1:24), but scholars' reviews of the eighteenth century documents note some linguistic confusion. While humma or homma was found to be a "true Indian source," the spelling of the prefix "istro" does not conform to the Choctaw dialect.

² The tribes which are known to have moved from Mobile to Louisiana in 1764 include the Pascagoula (Swanton 1911, 305), Apalache, and Chatot (Swanton 1911, 156, 210). The Taensa, originally from Louisiana, had moved near Mobile in 1715 and returned to Louisiana shortly after the 1763 cession (Swanton 1911, 171,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

A background report prepared by the BAR historian surveyed the movements and linguistic affiliations of all the later eighteenth-century Louisiana tribal groupings in an attempt to ascertain if any one of them more closely matched than did the historical Houma to the information which Swanton's informants provided to him in 1907 (Background History Paper, BAR Files). Although several of the other tribal groupings which came into Louisiana from Alabama after 1763 followed paths more consistent with Felicite Billiot's descriptions of her ancestors' movements than did the historical Houma, no conclusive determination was reached. BAR research could not tie the petitioner to the historical Houma tribe, but was unable to determine which of several other possibilities might be the correct one.

De la Houssaye. The UHN's oral tradition frequently cites a supposed eighteenth century ancestor of the petitioner referred to as "de la Houssaye." Speck reported that this "Dalahousie Courteau" was the last chief and died about 1800 (Speck 1943, 213). He cited to Swanton 1911, but Swanton's field notes and published papers did not include the Delahoussay/Dalahousie reference: only one to Courteau.

Records of the Mississippi Provincial Archives name two officers named La Houssaye who served in Louisiana. Jean Richard P. de la Houssaye was in Louisiana by 1731 and had been a lieutenant at Point Coupee in 1741, but was removed from that command, probably for "maintaining an Indian concubine" (MPA 4:97, note 14, Doc. 16). He later antagonized a chief in 1749 while in command at Tombecbe--he had promised a cow to the chief in order to secure the favors of the chief's daughter, but the chief complained he did not receive the cow (MPA 5:15, 21-22, Doc. 2; MPA 4:97, note 14, Doc. 16). He was forced to leave the colony in 1749, when Governor Vaudreuil requested his transfer due to his "excessive familiarity . . . with most of our Indian nations" (MPA 4:97, Doc. 16).

The second de la Houssaye arrived in Louisiana in 1750. Paul Augustin le Pelletier de la Houssaye, after service in the Arkansas and Mobile posts went to New Orleans as a major in 1762. (MPA 5:97, 99, and note 5, Doc. 24; see also Arthur 1971, 204-210). Paul Augustin de Pelletier died November

210). One band of the Muskogee, the Pacanna/Pakana, also moved into Louisiana from Alabama about 1764 (Swanton 1911, 204). Only "some" of the Alibamu followed the French from Fort Toulouse to the Ascension Parish location on the Mississippi in 1762 (Gatschet 1969, 88; Swanton 1911, 153-156).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

23, 1777, having served in the western area of Louisiana in the Attakapas country (later the parishes of St. Martin, St. Mary, Iberia, Lafayette, and Vermilion). He settled in Attakapas District by 1771 (American State Papers (hereafter cited as ASP) 1834c, 3:129-30, No. 50). His eldest son, Louis le Pelletier de la Houssaye, followed in his father's footsteps and served in the military in the late eighteenth century (House Rept. No. 28, 19th Cong., 1st Sess., Jan. 26, 1826; Smith 1991, 177-204). Both this son (Louis) and another son, in the Attakapas District, had extensive land claims (ASP 1859, 4:455-457, 803-804), business ties to the Attakapas Indians (ASP 1834c, 3:111, No. 81), and documentable economic connections with the Prevost family (Conrad 1992, 359), which BAR research has proven to have married into the UHN's ancestors.

Genealogical certainty as to whether Paul Augustin de Pelletier may have been the progenitor, or whether the more senior Jean Richard was the connection (if, indeed, either one was), may be difficult to ascertain. As no documentary evidence of the de la Houssaye or "Dalahousie Courteau" cited by Speck's informants has been located, it is possible that it was the early nineteenth-century connection with the Prevosts that the oral history was recalling (for a recollection of Louis de la Houssaye's connection with New Iberia in Attakapas District, see UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#209/10, p. 1).

The Historical Houma among Other Historical Tribes: Acadian Coast and "La Fourche des Chetimachas," 1769-1803. There were many conflicts between Indians and colonists in Louisiana during and after the French and Indian War. The introduction of Spanish and English administration in the lower Mississippi Valley, east and west of the River, as a result of the European realignment, caused considerable turmoil (Moore 1976, 64 ff.).

Cabcnocey, The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish by Lillian C. Bourgeois (Bourgeois 1987), states that the central location of St. James Parish made it a natural center for Indian groups such as the Houma, Chitimacha, Mugulasha, Bayougoula, Washa, and Acolapissa³ (Bourgeois 1987, 1). No extensive, permanent European settlement of this part of the coasts of the Mississippi River took place until the arrival of the Acadians in the 1760's. At that

³ The Acolapissa Indians had been residents prior to 1739, when the site of their village was purchased by the French (Campbell 1981, 27-28).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

time, modern St. James Parish was referred to as the First Acadian Coast, and modern Ascension Parish as the Second Acadian Coast. Although the Acadians were more numerous, government administration remained in the hands of older French colonial settlers of Louisiana who moved to the Acadian Coast from New Orleans.

During the 1760's and 1770's, the intermarried Cantrelle [also Canterelle], Judice, and Verret families obtained land grants in the area of what is today St. James Parish, on the western shore of the Mississippi River (Campbell 1981, 4-5; Harrell 1992). Louis Judice, Sr., a son-in-law of Jacques Cantrelle, Sr., was commandant at St. James from 1765-1770, and then moved to Lafourche (La Fourche des Chetimachas) to become Commandant there. At St. James, he was succeeded by Nicholas Verret, Sr. (d. 1775), another son-in-law of Jacques Cantrelle, Sr. (Campbell 1981, 36-37, 47-48). Verret was succeeded at St. James in 1775 by Michel Bernard Cantrelle, Sr. (a son of Jacques Cantrelle, Sr. and brother-in-law to his two predecessors in office as commandant and judge of the First Acadian Coast). Verret descendants settled in Ascension and Lafourche Parishes as well. The personal background and connections of the government officials in the area are prerequisites for understanding settlement patterns, as these men were also the largest landowners and it is primarily the records they created, rather than accounts by occasional travellers, upon which systematic research must depend.

Census Records. The number of Indians residing along the Mississippi River's banks in Louisiana in the last third of the eighteenth century was not large. Local officials knew in considerable detail who and where they were.⁴ Because of the mixing-bowl effect that the close residential proximity of a number of small tribal groupings had, it is effectively impossible to discuss the historical Houma tribe during the last third of the eighteenth century independently from the other "small nations" living in the same neighborhoods. The questions to be answered are, essentially: (1) what became of each of these Indian groups; and (2) can any of these groups be documented as having been the community of origin for the UHN?

In his Journal, Notes on the Country along the Mississippi from Kaskaskia to New Orleans, Captain Harry Gordon wrote on

⁴ For more detail on the individual tribes other than Houma, see Historian's Background Report (attached to this Proposed Finding as an appendix).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

October 14, 1766, that the colony of New Orleans was inhabited on both sides of the Mississippi for 20 leagues (approximately 60 miles) above the town. The population included not only "poor Acadians," but also "about 150 Houma and like number of Alibamu" (Bourgeois 1987, 13-14).

The 1766 Spanish census of Indian villages and tribes taken in 1766 in the colony of Louisiana has been published (Voorhies 1973, 164-166). At Cabannocey, on the right (west) bank, some 20 leagues upriver from New Orleans, were a Taensa village (pop. 21) and a Houma village (pop. 14); at "Humas Coast" on the left (east) bank, about 22 leagues upriver from New Orleans, were an Allibamont [sic] village (pop. 27) and a Houma village (pop. 58). The census of 1769 specified quite precisely that this "Land occupied by Alibamu Indians" and "Land Occupied by Houma Indians" was located between the concession of Pierre Blanchard and the concession of Jean Sonne on the Acadian Coast (Bourgeois 1987, 178). The 1769 census also placed a Taensa Indian village in St. James Parish (on the site of an earlier Bayougoula village).⁵

Louis Judice's 1768 "Resencement des Sauvages Dependants de la Coste" [Census of the Dependant Indians of the Coast] at Cabannocey went into somewhat more detail (Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (hereafter cited as PPC), 1772-1797):

Taensa ⁶ little nation, left bank, Mingo Mastabe, chief		
men	12	
women	12	
boys	11	
girls	10	TOTAL: 45

⁵ Further north, near Pointe Coupee (Punta Cortada in Spanish), described as "below the little River of Plaquemine, above False River, further downstream from Pointe Coupee," on the right (west) bank, were two Chitimacha villages (pop. 22, respectively), and one Allibamont village (pop. 9). On the left (east) bank, "six leagues, more or less, above the bridge of Pointe Coupee," were one Tunica village (pop. 33), one Istagoula village (pop. 5), and one Chakta village (pop. 3) (Voorhies 1973, 164).

⁶ In 1805, Sibley reported the Taensa (Tennisaw), with 25 men, as emigrants from the Tensaw River that ran into Mobile Bay; they had been on Red River about 40 years, in a village within one mile of the Pascagoula, but were planning to move to Bayou Boeuf. All spoke French and Mobilian [a southeast coast trade jargon] (ASP 1832, 4:725). There is documentation pertaining to a Taensa land sale on both sides of Red River in Rapides District, below the lands of the Pascagoula, in 1803. The sale included lands occupied by the Apalache and Coushatta (ASP 1834b, 2:796-797, No. 126; ASP 1834b, 2:801).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

[S/C(?)uana or] Alabamon⁷ nation, right bank, Mingos Canebe, chief

men	27	
women	28	
boys	17	
girls	15	TOTAL: 87

Cocteau [Hoctahenja] or Alibamon village, Mingo Titabe, chief

men	23	
women	31	
boys	32	
girls	31	TOTAL: 117

Houma⁸ nation, right bank, Mingos Atthanabe, chief; Calabe also chief

men	40	
women	40	
boys	60	
girls	90	TOTAL: 230

These basic numbers serve as a starting point for analysis.

Interaction with European Settlers. In his study of Acadian settlement, Brasseaux located the historical Houma tribe on the west side of the river, in present-day Assumption Parish, in the 1770's and 1780's (Brasseaux 1987, 182-183). However, they also had a more general presence in the region--they were also on the east bank and in St. James and elsewhere in Ascension Parishes as well. All of these locations were along the banks of the Mississippi River

⁷ By 1805, Sibley reported that the Alabamas, from West Florida off the Alabama River, settled on the Red River about the same time as the Bolusca and Apalache. They had lived about 16 miles above Bayou Rapide until 1804, when most, about 30 men, moved up the Red River near the Caddoes. Another party of Alabamas, about 40 men, had been in the Opelousas District ever since coming from West Florida, their village being located 35 miles northwest of the Opelousas church. He reported that the Alabamas spoke Creek, Choctaw, Mobilian, most of them French, and some of them English (ASP 1832, 4:724). The land of the Alabamas in Rapides District was contiguous to that of the Choctaw, Pascagoula, and Biloxi (ASP 1834b, 2:802-803).

⁸ Sibley's 1805 report on Louisiana Indians indicated that "a few of the Humas" were still on the east side of the Mississippi near Manchac, but stated that they "scarcely exist as a nation" (ASP 1832, 4:725). In the same report, Sibley also stated that the Attakapa, about 50 men, were living in a village about 20 miles west of the Attakapas District church. Tunica and Houma who had married into the group raised the total number of men to about 80 (ASP 1832, 4:724).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

north of New Orleans, near the confluence of the Mississippi with Bayou Lafourche. Although no mention of Indian presence is found in the published local records, which deal exclusively with land conveyances, marriage contracts, and other legal matters pertaining to European settlers (Behrman 1981; Behrman 1985), the correspondence of Judice, the Spanish commandant at St. James and Lafourche, preserved in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, from the 1770's and 1780's, contains frequent reference to Indian residents--some of whom were Houma, but by no means all of whom were Houma: when Judice confronted local Houma with allegations of cattle stealing in 1772, their reply was that the Taensa and Alibamu had done it (Corbin 1981, [1]).

The same year, in discussing a palisade that the Houma had built to defend their village against the Talapouche, Judice indicated that Taensa, Chitimacha, Tunica, "Hochtchianya", and Pacana were also in the area, though the Tunica had abandoned their village and gone to Pointe Coupee (Corbin 1981, [2]). The Houma were going to take over the site of an abandoned Chitimacha village near Lafourche, about three-fourths of a league from the river on the left (east) bank of the bayou (Corbin 1981, [3]).

Throughout the 1770's, the correspondence of the commandants indicated that these "small tribes" moved back and forth extensively. They went across the river to talk to the English Indian agent at Manchac. They went as far west as Opelousas and returned, while Atakapa and Opelousa also came into the Lafourche area. There were repeated conflicts among the various groups (Corbin 1981, [5-7, 13]), but there were also other types of interaction. Judice mentioned one Houma-Chickasaw marriage that had taken place in the previous generation (Corbin 1981, [7]). The daughter of this marriage "ran off" to the Alibamon village with a Chickasaw (Corbin 1981, [9]).⁹ Pascagoulas (possibly from

⁹ In more detail, a young Indian slave woman (who is not named in the translation submitted in the historical document #23 with the petition) ran away from her master, a man with whom she was living. He was a "former Illinois post commandant" (PPC, Roll 189B, August 1775; UHN Pet., Ex. 1 #23, p. 7). She was apparently the niece of the Houma Chief, Calabee. Her mother was a Houma who married a Chickasaw. The Houma wanted her master to free her. She had moved in with a Frenchman named Larteaux, yet later ran to an Alibamon [*sic*] village with a Chickasaw. The French official, Louis Judice, sent Calabee, Larteaux, and three women to "fetch her," (PPC, Roll 189B, August 30, 1775; UHN Pet., Ex. 1 #23, p. 9).

The Frenchman Larteaux was apparently protected by the Alibamons. These events indicate that special consideration was given to one Indian slave woman's disappearance and return.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

the Red River area in Pointe Coupee Parish) had come to town and "gone after" some Houma women (Corbin 1981, [8, 16]). Essentially, the continuing interaction among the small tribes was so close that it became more and more difficult and artificial for European administrators to distinguish them from one another.

In 1775, some Biloxi were in Pointe Coupee near the Tunica and both groups were associating with the Choctaw (Corbin 1981, [10-11]), while some Choctaw raiders had taken refuge with the Houma (Corbin 1981, [8]). In 1779, one Arkansas killed another in the Chitimacha village, and Judice was of the opinion that the whole affair had been "fomented by the malice of the Houmas" (Corbin 1981, [20]).

Calabee was noted as a Houma chief in records relating to a land sale. Judice's October 1, 1775, to the Governor of Louisiana, Unzaga, stated that the "Houma chief" (probably Matiabee¹⁰) was descending the Mississippi with several tribesmen to visit the Governor (UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#16). Judice voiced the Houma chief's concern that Calabee would receive a present without passing it along to the other members of the group, added that he had attempted to restrain the others from going to Unzaga, and proposed Unzaga send the present to him for distribution to the five or six tribesmen who would receive the annual present (UHN Pet. Ex. 1:#16; see also: PPC, Roll 189B, p. 277, Feb. 4, 1776; Mar. 18, 1776; UHN Pet. Ex. 1:#23, p. 9).

There was a split within the Houma tribe at the time. Referring to the sale of October 1774, made by Calabee, of "its village site" (UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#16; see also: Senate Doc. 45, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., January 13, 1845, for documents) Judice indicated (1775) that the Houma actually had divided into "three villages." Calabee, with about 20 men, remained on the site on the left bank of the Mississippi River sold to Mr. (William) Conway; "the chief [Matiabee?]" with an almost equal number, had retired to another "site two and one-half leagues above [that of Calabee's village]" and established a village 20 arpents

¹⁰ In addition to Calabee, the name Matiabee [Natchiabee] appears in a number of entries in the PPC, where he is referred to in several as the young or only real chief of the Houma (PPC, UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#23, p. 9, 2, February 4, 1776 and March 13, 1776; UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#23, p. 20, Oct. 4, 1778).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

from the river.¹¹ In addition, "one Tiefayo, with eight families, has withdrawn to the LaFourche" (UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#16). This location was near Donaldsonville, at the far north of Bayou Lafourche where it met the Mississippi River, and was not indicative of a migration of the historical Houma tribe at this time into lower Bayou Lafourche or lower Bayou Terrebonne.

On the basis of Judice's description of their size, the two contingents of approximately 20 men, with their families, and the third under Tiefayo, may well have totaled less than 100 persons. At the time of this letter Judice was attempting to have "these tribes" which he indicated were the cause of complaints and disorder among themselves, move to Lafourche. This may shed light on the movement of Tiefayo to Bayou Lafourche, though the correspondence indicates that Judice was referring to the former Chitimacha village site near the confluence of the bayou and the Mississippi--not to the lower Lafourche area as asserted in the petition. Therefore, the late colonial movements of the historical Houma tribe as described and the names of its leaders as given in the PPC do not provide a link between it and the ancestors of the petitioner.

In summary, by the 1770's the historical Houma are clearly documented as having been settled in the parishes of St. James and Ascension, on the Mississippi River above New Orleans, but they were not living in isolation. The 1770's witnessed considerable, if not perpetual, conflict among the Houma and their neighbors, including other Indians, the Talapouches and the Chitimacha, the Attakapa and Opelousa, as well as European settlers and African slaves (PPC, #23, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17, 18, 31, 32, 33). The documents provide no indication that any of the ancestors of the UHN petitioner were, during the 1770's and 1780's, living among the historical Houma tribe.

Descriptions by Observers. The most concise generally available picture of the status of the Indian "petites nations" in Louisiana during the early 1770's (Rea 1970, 13-14) is Robert Rea's article on the career of John Thomas, the English representative who had been involved in the

¹¹ It was probably this group that Jefferson's 1803 report to Congress on Indians in Louisiana described as follows: "on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about twenty five leagues above Orleans, are the remains of the nation of Houmas, or red men, which do not exceed sixty persons" (ASP 1834a, 1:349).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

establishment of Fort Bute on the east bank of the Iberville River at Manchac since 1764 (Rea 1970, 6-7). When Thomas returned to Manchac as Deputy to the Indian Superintendent of the Province of West Florida in 1771, his instructions included that he was to travel the Mississippi from New Orleans as far north as Natchez, "noting the various Indian tribes and traders, and then to return to Manchac and reside there while cultivating the good will of the surrounding tribes and the neighboring Spaniards" (Rea 1970, 12).

The Indians who came under John Thomas' purview and were usually referred to as the Small Tribes consisted of remnants and survivors of numerous groups once established on the Gulf Coast west of Mobile and along the rivers between the Tombeckby and the Mississippi. They had been driven inland and westward by the more powerful Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks, and in 1771 they eked out an existence on either side of the Mississippi, hunting and planting wherever they could find safety, dreaming of returning to the coastal plain. The Houmas were the first tribe north of New Orleans and were located about twenty-five leagues above the town. They numbered between thirty and forty-six men and were firmly attached to the masters of the Isle of Orleans. A league below Manchac, Plaquemines creek entered the Mississippi from the west, and there were found some thirty families of Tensa, Pacanna, and Mobilien Indians; farther up the bayou lived fifty to fifty-eight Chittamachas, Attacappas and Opelousas. The Alabamas lived a half-league below Manchac, on the Spanish side, and numbered thirty-five or forty warriors. Near Point Coupee was located a band of fifteen Chittamachas, and a league above the Spanish post, the Tonicas, some thirty-five families strong, occupied the English shore. Across the river from there were ten or a dozen Choctoes [probably Chatot; possibly Choctaw], so few in number that their chief Illetaska described himself as the sole survivor of the tribe and depended upon the Biloxies for safety. Two leagues further north were nearly one hundred Biloxies, refugees driven from the Pascagoula River to the banks of the Amite and thence to the Mississippi. As recently as 1771, they had fled to the Spanish side in fear of Choctaw raids, as had fifteen or so Pascagoula warriors. Several smaller groups had separated

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

from these tribes and were settled on the Red River where security had bred civilization and it was reported that they had built themselves a church (Rea 1970, 13; 14 n. 10, citing "Charles Stuart's List of the Several Indian Tribes, c. November 1772"; Thomas to J. Stuart, December 12, 1771, in Haldimand Papers).

All these tribes were declining, the number of their warriors being estimated at somewhere between 200 and 250, but their very weakness enabled them to move back and forth across the Mississippi as they pleased. The Biloxies and Pascagoulas, for example, planted corn on the English side of the river but resided on the Spanish side. All of the tribes were eager to trade with any white men (Rea 1970, 14).

In 1784, Thomas Hutchins, a British officer reported that there were about 25 Houma warriors at a village 60 miles from New Orleans, also an Alabama village with 30 warriors, and three miles further on, a Chitimacha village with 27 warriors (Hutchins 1969, 39).

Judice's references to Houma at Lafourche (living on the site of the former Chitimacha village near Donaldsonville) continued in 1784, 1785, and 1787 (Corbin 1981, [26-27, 29]). In 1790, 1793, 1796, and 1797, Verret wrote mentioning Naquiabee, chief of the Houma of Lafourche, to the governor (Corbin 1981, [30-31, 34-35]), but aside from those occasions, mentions of Indians gradually dropped out of the correspondence from the Lafourche commandant. During this period, most of the "petites nations" migrated from the Mississippi to the Red River and Bayou Boeuf areas in central Louisiana (see Background History Paper, BAR Files). Indian concerns continued to be prominent in the correspondence of commandants further to the north and west, and continued to indicate extensive interaction among the various small tribes (Corbin 1981, [30-38]). The disappearance of such mentions from the correspondence of the administrators in the Mississippi River parishes probably indicates that none of the small tribes were still living there.

The Historical Houma, Early U.S. Administration. Several items printed in the American State Papers and The Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. IX, The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812 indicate the interest of observers in the Indian groups at the time of U.S.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

assumption of sovereignty over Louisiana. President Jefferson's letter to Congress, November 14, 1803, entitled "Description of Louisiana," states that the Houma did not exceed 60 persons (ASP 1834a, 1:349, Report No. 164). Jefferson had taken the information from a letter, dated September 29, 1803, to Secretary of State James Madison from Daniel Clark detailing the Louisiana Indian tribes along the Mississippi and other important rivers and bayous. Jefferson utilized Clark's letter to Madison on the Indian population in its entirety, making no substantive changes.

Two years later, John Sibley indicated that the Lower Mississippi Valley tribes were experiencing constant movement and interaction among groups or remnants of various tribes. Sibley noted that some Tunicas and Humas [sic] were "married in" to the Atakapas, in a village near Quelqueshoe [Calcasieu, later Opelousas District], about 20 miles west of the Attakapas Church (ASP 1832 [Indian Affairs], 4:724). The addition of the Houma and Tunica had increased the number of men at this settlement, which was a considerable distance (50 to 80 miles) west of the UHN ancestral settlement along the bayous in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes (Swanton 1911, 291-292). For a land claim based on an 1801 purchase from an Indian of the Calcasieu settlement, see the American State Papers (ASP 1834c, 3:113, No. 96).¹²

Sibley in the same report (ASP 1832, 4:721-725, No. 113; Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 2d Sess., 1076-1088) indicated that "a few of the Humas [were] still living on the east side of the Mississippi, in Insussees [bad misspelling of Ascension?] parish, below Manchac, but scarcely existed as a nation" (ASP 1832, 4:725). By way of contrast, the only Indians reported in Lafourche Parish by Sibley in 1805 were not Houma, but five Washas, scattered in French families (ASP 1832, 4:725). This reaffirmed what Clark's letter had indicated in 1803. It was land in this area, sold by Calabee in 1774, which subsequently was referred to as the "Houmas Claim" (Sen. Doc. 144, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Jan. 29, 1838; S. Report 45, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., Jan. 13, 1845). Daniel Clark, who purchased the Houma's property in the area, sold it to General Wade Hampton in 1812. In the 1850's the property passed to John Burnside, after which

¹² Alabamas were also in this area. HYLAIRES, sauvage Alibamon legitmate according to their laws, son of Payancabe & Fic SCHONQUE, sauvages Alibamons, b. 1 Aug. 1815, bt. 16 July 1816, Opelousas Church: Register of Blacks, v. 2, p. 19 (Hebert 1976a, 3:687).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

time the area came to be called Burnside (Prichard, Kniffen, and Brown 1945, p. 757, note 76; p. 843, note 504).

A diary kept by James Leander Cathcart also referred to the Houma settlement in the early nineteenth century as being located near the modern boundary of Ascension and St. James Parish, on the east side of the Mississippi. Some Houma (four families, two of whom he saw) were certainly on Cantrelle lands in St. James Parish when seen by de Laussat in 1805/06. At that time, he reported, they spoke Choctaw and French (Laussat 1978, 67-68). They were still in St. James, under Cantrelle patronage, when "Chakchuma" and an unnamed chief were sent to New Orleans to see Governor William Claiborne in 1806 and 1811 (Rowland 1917, 3:347 and 5:275). Houma were possibly reported around Manchac as late as 1836 (Gallatin 1973, 115), if Gallatin was not at that date just repeating information that Sibley had gathered over 30 years earlier. Anthropological literature seems to have assumed that they migrated away from St. James Parish shortly after that date, but a local historian indicates that a settlement remained to the rear of Bon Secours Plantation until at least 1915 (Campbell 1981, 28).

Writing on behalf of the petitioner and seeking to deal specifically with the historical Houma from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth, Janel Curry traced movements of the historical Houma, both known and supposed, from a variety of sources (Curry 1979). As an explanation for the fact that neither Clark nor Sibley referred to a UHN ancestral settlement on Bayou Terrebonne, Curry contended that the authors of the early Federal period sources, particularly Daniel Clark, might have had some ulterior motive(s) in describing only certain locations of the historical Houma tribe (Curry 1979, 9-10, 17).

More probably, the sources did not describe any Indian settlement along Bayou Terrebonne during the first decade of the nineteenth century because there was none. The situation depicted in these sources showed a high level of movement by numerous Indian groups (not only the historical Houma tribe) in the Lower Mississippi Valley at this time. The relocation and amalgamation of various Indian tribes, bands, and groups prior to and subsequent to U.S. acquisition of Louisiana from France were part of their response to the pressure of United States, French, and Spanish interests and the uncertainties which resulted from the rapid administrative changes. There is no indication that the government officials' reports deliberately omitted information.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Correlation with the Petitioner's Traditions. The Indian groups which appeared in Judice's correspondence during the 1770's are very similar to those recalled by UHN ancestress Felicite Billiot in her conversations with Swanton in 1907:

The family history of the writer's oldest informant, Felicite Billiot, will serve to illustrate this tribal complexity. Her¹³ grandmother, whose Indian name was Nuyu'n, but who was baptized "Marion" after her removal to Louisiana, was born in or near Mobile; her grandfather, Shulu-shumon, or, in French, Joseph Abbe,¹⁴ and more often called "Couteaux," was a

¹³ In reviewing Swanton's field notes, the referent of the pronoun "her" is ambiguous. In the published version, it seems to refer to Felicite Billiot herself. However, his notes indicate it is possible that Felicite's brother, Barthelemi, may have been speaking of his mother's grandparents and parents. Chronologically, the second interpretation would make more sense.

¹⁴ For a very similar name, see a 1745 reference to *Shulashummashtabe* (Red Shoe, Soulouche Oumastabe) as a Choctaw war chief at the town of Couechitto, near Tombeche (Galloway 1981). Elsewhere, Galloway remarks that:

each [Choctaw village] chief had his staff of officials numbering about five. These men can be identified in the documents through the repeated occurrence of what the French took for personal names but what are clearly functional titles, . . . Many, if not all, villages had a war chief, and often this office carried the title of *soulouche oumastabe* (red shoe killer) or simply *mingo ouma* (red chief)" (Galloway 1985, 123).

Galloway further notes that, "Swanton, who had access only to the French documents acquired up to that time by the Library of Congress and other American libraries . . . did not recognize the titular nature of the appellations *soulouche oumastabe* . . . (Galloway 1985, 152, note 14). Gatschet regarded appellations such as *Old Red Shoe* as names or war-names rather than titles in Creek, Alibamu, and Koasati (Gatschet 1969, 162).

Usner's discussion of the Choctaw Red Shoes (Usner 1992, 88) also says he was "known by the name of his political position" and uses the spelling "Shulush Houma" for "Red Shoes," which is phonetically even closer to the version given Swanton by Felicite Billiot. Combined with her recollection that the family came from Mobile, and the fact that the "Houma" language that Swanton collected from her was "nearly pure Choctaw" (Swanton n.d.; see also Swanton 1918), this opens a possible line of research that some of her ancestry may have been Mobilian or Choctaw and that "Shulu'shumon" represented a title rather than a personal name.

A "Coosada" [Coushatta, Koasati] chief named Red Shoes was mentioned several times in Alexander McGillivray's correspondence, and is noted as having visited New Orleans in 1792 (Caughey 1938, 246), but a Creek uncle of McGillivray's called Red Shoes (brother of McGillivray's mother Sehoy Marchand) died in 1784, which indicates further the frequency of the name/title (Caughey 1938, 62, 65). According to Swanton, about 1793 this Coushatta Red Shoes led a party of about 20 families of Alabamas and Coushattas to settle about 60 miles up from the mouth of the Red River (Swanton 1922, 204).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Biloxi medal chief; and her mother "an Atakapa from Texas." In addition, she said that Cherokee ("Tsalaki"), Choctaw, and Alibamu had all married with her people. Among other tribes she had heard of the Chickasaw ("Shikasha"), Tallapoosa ("Talapush"),¹⁵ and Tunica. Her grandmother, whom, she said, had moved successively to the Mississippi, "Tuckapaw Canal," Bayou La Fourche, Houma, and the coast of Terre Bonne, was evidently among the Indians who migrated from the neighborhood of Mobile after 1764, in order not to remain under English rule (Swanton 1911, 292).

Were the Historical Houma the Tribal Antecedent of the UHN?
In accordance with the acknowledgment criteria, the focus of this section of the report is whether or not the historical Houma, or any of the other Indian tribes along the Mississippi in the later eighteenth century, can be identified as a tribal antecedent of the UHN. Various authors have attempted to make such an interpretation. Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes, publishing in 1987 and apparently extrapolating from Swanton (Swanton 1911), stated that even after 1803, "three Houma families, or bands" remained (emphasis added) in the "marshland bayous" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78). At the same time, these authors indicated that while lands were sold by the Houma in 1776, "as late as 1836" English¹⁶ [sic] maps showed them hunting on the Amite River (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78).

Elsewhere, referring to the "pantribal Houma agglomerate," Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes suggest the historical Houma absorbed "some Washa and Chawasha, the Yakene Chitto, and refugees from Gulf Coast tribes such as the Biloxi" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78), as well as the Okelousa, whose "identity, location, and fate . . . remain in doubt" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 79; Swanton 1911, 300-301). In addition, these same authors suggest at another point that the "Acolapissa, Houma, and quite likely, the Washa fused into one group, seeking refuge from the encroachment of the Europeans" and moved into Terrebonne

¹⁵ A subdivision of the Creek.

¹⁶ Although Albert Gallatin published his history of American Indians in 1836, a close reading indicates that his discussion of the Houma and other small Louisiana tribes was based primarily on Sibley's 1805 report, and the statement did not refer to the actual situation in 1836.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Parish to become the UHN (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 65; Swanton 1911, 44). The authors cite no primary documents supporting these presumed admixtures with the historical Houma tribe or for its presumed migration into the lower bayous.

FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The situation of the Indian groups in Louisiana in the eighteenth century cannot be analyzed without considering the impact of African as well as European settlers. A number of studies treat the issue of slavery in colonial Louisiana, but a discussion of race is not synonymous with a discussion of slavery.

Indians were enslaved with some frequency during the French colonial period. However, the issue of Indian slavery in Louisiana is not relevant to analysis of the petition, as there is no indication that any of the documented Indian ancestors of the UHN had ever been enslaved.

In fact, neither Indian nor African slavery was as significant in the development of the UHN ancestral group as was the existence in Louisiana of free persons of African, or mixed European and African, ancestry. While this study is not primarily focused on investigating black-Indian relationships during the French and Spanish administrations in Louisiana, in the total picture of the heterogeneous society which was evolving, the presence of Africans was nearly as important for the Indians as the presence of Europeans. Their existence is of major significance to understanding the social, linguistic, ethnic, and economic groups which developed and met in Louisiana, as a whole, and in specific localities within the State.

The importance of the "free people of color" portion of the Louisiana population in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Louisiana is well documented in governmental, archival, and secondary source material. Ingersoll (1991), Sterkx (1972), Everett (1966) and Berlin (1974), have dealt with free blacks and free negroes in the New Orleans area prior to 1803. They and others have presented various aspects of a century and a half of the history (1720-1860) of African and West Indian immigrant society, though primarily from the perspective of outside observers rather than using the documents generated by the group itself, as Mills did for the Metoyers (Mills 1977).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The free Negro population in Louisiana appeared shortly after the founding of the colony. Church records indicate that marriages of free Africans took place in New Orleans as early as the 1720's (Sterkx 1972, 15, 22). The heterogeneity of the society created a social situation that permitted widespread interaction among all ethnic groups (Sterkx 1972, 31). In addition to the "mixed offspring" of white and Indian (known in French as "metis" and in Spanish as "mestizos"), and white and African (mulattos, quadroons, etc.), there were also offspring of Indians and blacks or mulattoes (known in French as "griffes" or in Spanish as "zambos") (Webre 1984, 120). All of these groups intermarried with one another as well as marrying back into the source populations.

The Spanish treatment of, and attitude towards, both Indians and Africans was potentially, if not always in reality, more humane than the French, British, or American (Moore 1976, Chap. V; Sterkx 1972, Chap. 2). The new Spanish Governor, Alejandro O'Reilly issued a decree in December, 1769, which prohibited the future enslavement of Indians (Webre 1984, 122). In 1794, Governor Carondelet freed all Louisiana Indian slaves except the Natchez (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 94).

Webre stated in a phone conversation that the court records for the slave cases cited at footnotes on pages 124-126 of his article¹⁷ indicated that the suits for freedom were brought by Indians who were "fairly fully assimilated into white and black culture" (August 25, 1992, phone conversation with BAR historian Terry Lamb). If, however, a slave who claimed to be Indian were found to be African in appearance, the legal ground for determining free status was based on whether or not the individual "could prove to the satisfaction of the court that he was descended from Indians in the maternal line" (Webre 1984, 127).

While adopting a more positive or pragmatic attitude toward the Indian population, the Spanish also "removed all

¹⁷ The study of Spanish judicial records indicates that, while the Indians who brought legal actions on slavery issues were identified by name, they were not identified by tribe. One case involved a suit against the estate of Francisco Cruzat, a lieutenant at an Illinois post. Following his return to Louisiana from Spanish Illinois (Missouri), he died. Slaves kept by Cruzat, one Marie and her brother Pierre, and Marie's half-brother Baptiste, who sued his own master, were freed under the anti-slavery declarations initially issued by Governor O'Reilly in 1769. Between 1790 and 1794 some dozen cases were brought before the Governor, who heard each case (Webre 1984, 124-130).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

impediments to manumission" for all slaves, though this did not, of course, outlaw or restrict slavery itself (Ingersoll 1991, 180). After 1780, African slaves were guaranteed a right of self-purchase, which was quite frequently exercised (Ingersoll 1991, 183-89, 192; Conrad 1974).

The Spanish kept population figures on the numbers of free persons of color. Sterkx concluded that of the 165 free Negroes in Louisiana in 1769, 73 were "free Blacks" and 92 were "free Mulattoes" (Sterkx 1972, 33), but this appears to have been only a count of males eligible for militia service (Voorhies 1973). In 1785, the Louisiana Colony had a population of 9,766 whites, 15,010 slaves, and 1,175 free Negroes, of whom 563 were in New Orleans (Sterkx 1972, 85).

A 1900 publication, cited by Sterkx, indicates that the Spanish period witnessed "clear lines" of classes based on law and custom, which placed the Europeans by birth (the "chapelones") as first in rank and power; the Creoles, in the sense of persons of European ancestry born in the colonies, were second; the free mulattoes and free Negroes formed the third class; and the slaves and Indians [emphasis added] the fourth (Sterkx 1972, 87). There is no indication of why Indians were classified with with slaves rather than with other free persons of color.

The law of Louisiana under American jurisdiction after 1803 did not make legal distinctions among the various categories of free persons of color, whatever an individual or group's specific ancestry may have been. The status of free people of color within Louisiana in the early nineteenth century was defined in a First District, Louisiana, court decision of 1810 (Adelle v. Beauregard) in which the Court held that "persons of color may have descended from Indians on both sides, from a white parent, or mulatto parents in possession of their freedom" (1 Mart. [O.S.] 183, 184).

As of 1806, the Black Code (a compendium of laws pertaining primarily to slaves but also referring to free persons of color) stated that the testimony of "all free Indians" would be admitted into evidence in trials involving slaves (Digest 1806, 8-9).¹⁸

The "free person of color" notation on official civil records, devised after the purchase of Louisiana by the

¹⁸ The Digest of slave law compiled in 1835 summarized the "Black Code" as it existed under the Louisiana government from 1806 to the 1830's.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

United States, was the result of official government policy (Sterkx 1972, Chap. 3 and 4, esp. 160-161). The slave revolts in the 1790's in Haiti and Santo Domingo had caused a fear of similar potential upheavals in Louisiana (Berlin 1974, 112-119; Sterkx 1972, 79-97).

The social and political situation faced by the Spanish, French, Americans, and Creoles in Louisiana was new and anomalous for the American government (Sterkx 1972, 79-97). Once the United States began to establish an administrative network, free blacks who had begun to exert some degree of independence through the black militia challenged the social and economic patterns which were being introduced, in large degree as a response to the immigration from Haiti and the resulting larger free Negro population developing in Louisiana. By 1810, with the influx of free Negroes from Santo Domingo and Cuba, the free people of color in Louisiana numbered approximately 8,000: most were from the West Indies.

How the petitioning group relates to the free Negro or to free people of color who were partly of African ancestry is incompletely documented from the traditional historical perspective. Genealogical sheets forwarded with the petition include notations that a number of founding group ancestors were designated as free people of color. It is sometimes, but not always, clear whether a specific "free person of color" was of Indian or African background--or a combination. From the perspective of acknowledgment criteria, the question to be analyzed is whether or not the group was distinct from the society surrounding it because of the element of Indian ancestry, the element of African ancestry, or both. If it was held distinct from French Creole society because of non-European ancestry (whether Indian or African), did it hold itself distinct from the general population of free people of color because it identified itself as Indian in nature rather than African in nature?

EARLY DEMOGRAPHY OF THE UHN ANCESTORS.

Origins of UHN Ancestral Settlement in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, 1800-1850. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the ancestors of the UHN were never distinguished in Federal or State government records as an Indian group discussed by Indian agents or in specialized record groups. Therefore, to locate documents that permit an understanding of the chronology of the

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

appearance of the group's ancestors in its current area of residence, and the development of the community in what is now Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, it is necessary to look, not at any special set of "Indian" records, but at the ordinary administrative records of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions of southern Louisiana, as they pertained to all residents.

The records pertaining to the petitioning group have been kept in various civil and ecclesiastical parishes over time. This does not reflect a continuing geographical migration on the part of the UHN ancestors during the period 1800-1850. By the end of the Spanish administration in the 1790's, they had already received land grants on Bayou Terrebonne and were living there. Rather, the location of the records reflects the subsequent subdivision of civil and ecclesiastical parishes which occurred as the population increased and the level of governmental and church services was extended over the course of time.

Development of Southern Louisiana Record-Keeping Agencies.

The founding ancestors of the UHN appear to have been already settled in what is now Terrebonne Parish along Bayou Terrebonne by the late 1790's. They continued to live there from the 1820's through the 1850's. The successive appearance of records pertaining to the UHN in Ascension, Assumption, Lafourche, and Terrebonne Parishes does not reflect a process of continuing or ongoing southward migration, but rather one of changing administrative boundaries through subdivision.

Civil Jurisdictions. For the purpose of tracking the origins of the petitioning group in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, it is not necessary to consider the development of Louisiana's civil jurisdictions prior to their reorganization by the Spanish administration in 1769. The new rulers divided the Province of Louisiana into 20 districts, with sometimes rather ill-defined boundaries. In each district, the governor appointed a commandant who was entrusted with various military, judicial, and civil powers (Robichaux 1974, vii). These districts survived until the beginnings of American administration after the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803.

One of these districts was the "Distrito de La Fourche de los Chetimachas." From a study of adjacent districts and of the subsequent separations from the original area, this District

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

is believed to have been composed essentially of the areas of today's civil parishes of Lafourche, Terrebonne, Assumption and that part of Ascension on the "west" side of the Mississippi River. The District included land on both sides of, and along, the entire length of Bayou Lafourche (formerly called by the French, "La Riviere des Chetimachas")--from the junction with the Mississippi (the "fork," in French, "La Fourche") to the Gulf of Mexico. Its shoreline on the Gulf was that of the present parishes of Lafourche and Terrebonne combined (Robichaux 1974, p. vii).

On the north, it was bounded by the Iberville Coast and Cabanocey or the First Acadian Coast (modern St. James Parish); on the east by the German Coasts, the District of New Orleans, and the Lower Coast below New Orleans; on the west, by the Attakapas District (Robichaux 1974, p. vii). The Spanish military post of Valenzuela was established on Bayou Lafourche in 1778 (Robichaux 1974, p. viii).

After the Louisiana Purchase, the first session of the Territory of Orleans Legislative Council (1805) abolished the Spanish administrative system and replaced the 20 districts with 12 counties. The ecclesiastical parish of Ascension (also known as the Second Acadian Coast) was subtracted from the old Lafourche District and placed into Acadia County together with St. James Parish, while the new Lafourche County was the old district less Ascension Parish (Robichaux 1974, p. ix).

This system did not last long. In 1807, the second session of the legislature redivided Orleans Territory into 19 civil parishes. Those of interest for the history of the UHN were Ascension Parish (the Second Acadian Coast, including the old post and village of "La Fourche des Chetimachas"), Assumption Parish, and Lafourche Interior Parish. The civil Assumption Parish was the northern part of this area along Bayou Lafourche, closest to the Mississippi River. Lafourche Interior Parish contained the southern part of old Lafourche District (Robichaux 1974, pp. ix-x).

In 1822, the legislature divided Lafourche Interior Parish into Lafourche Parish and Terrebonne Parish. These civil parishes attained, at that time, essentially their modern boundaries (Robichaux 1974, p. x). Sketches of both of these civil parishes (No. 29, Lafourche and No. 55, Terrebonne) and their records were produced by the Works Projects Administration and published in 1942 by Louisiana

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

State University. They were conveniently reprinted in the first volume of Hebert's South Louisiana Records (Hebert 1978a, pp. xiii-xxxviii).

Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions. While Catholic churches existed in Louisiana from the foundation of the settlement, New Orleans was not established as a diocese until 1793. Prior to that date, the ecclesiastical administrative authority was first Quebec, then Santiago de Cuba, and then Havana (Beers 1989, 154). In 1793, the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas (episcopal seat at New Orleans) included the entire area of the modern state. In 1853, the northern section of Louisiana was transferred to the newly established Diocese of Natchitoches (the name of which has since been changed to the Diocese of Alexandria). Southwest Louisiana was made into a separate diocese in 1918, with Lafayette as the seat. The Diocese of Baton Rouge was created in 1961 (Hebert 1975, 2). Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, with a small amount of adjacent territory, were separated from the Archdiocese of New Orleans in 1977 under the title of the Diocese of Houma-Thibodaux (Hebert 1979a, p. vi).

Ascension Parish, at the Post of Lafourche (modern Donaldsonville), was founded August 15, 1772 (Robichaux 1974, viii). Assumption Parish, a few miles below the Post of Valenzuela, at modern Plattenville, was founded 1793 (Robichaux 1974, p. ix). Abstracts of these parish records have been published (Catholic Church. Diocese of Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

St. Joseph Church, Thibodaux, Louisiana (Lafourche Parish), was established in 1817; registers begin in 1820 (Hebert 1975, 32). St. Francis de Sales Church, Houma, Louisiana (Terrebonne Parish), was established in 1848 (Hebert 1975, 59). Sacred Heart Church, Montegut, Louisiana (Terrebonne Parish), was established in 1865 (Hebert 1975, 59). While its date of founding might seem to place its records beyond consideration in a section on the first half of the nineteenth century, the efforts of Sacred Heart's first priest to baptize a number of adults, some of them of advanced age, make its early records relevant to the period 1800-1850.

Using Civil and Church Records to Identify Early Ancestors of the Petitioner. Use of the records generated by the late colonial and early Federal era civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Louisiana to identify members of the petitioning community is not always a straightforward

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

procedure. After 1808, keepers of civil records were instructed to use the term "free person of color" (abbreviated "f.p.o.c."), or some variant of it, for non-whites. Indians and mixed blood Indians, as well as African/Caucasian mulattos and negroes, were included in this generic category (see Adelle v. Beauregard, First District Louisiana, Fall Term, 1810). Of necessity, under the Adelle v. Beauregard standard, Indians in Louisiana had to accept the "f.p.o.c." designation for legal purposes in relationships with outside society. This was not congruent with the self-identity of those who perceived themselves, or whose parents chose to identify them, as Indian.

Upon occasion a civil record keeper might be more specific than "f.p.o.c.," as in referring to Joseph Billiot's wife Jeanet as "an Indian woman" (Lafourche Parish Records, Marriage Bk. 1808-1829, Doc. 3) or Courteau as "Indian of the Biloxi nation" (Terrebonne Parish Records, Acts of Conveyance, Bk. 3, 1828-1830, Doc. 526)--but a civil record keeper was not required to be this specific. Several of the references of use to researchers working on this petition exist not because the record keeper specified the ethnic designation, but because the originator of the record did so, as when Jean Billiot declared that his deceased wife Marguerite Courteau was "an Indian woman" (Shannon 1986, 65) or when Alexandre Verdun, in his will, specified that Marie Gregoire was a "femme sauvage" (Terrebonne Parish Records, Acts of Conveyance, Bk. 3, 1828-1830, Doc. 521 and 521A).

In presenting abstracts of early sacramental records (baptisms, marriages, and funerals), the Catholic dioceses of Louisiana have made a deliberate effort both to provide essential information to genealogists and to prevent the use of the abstracts for purposes of racial identification. As an example of this procedure, in the Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records, Volume 3 (1804-1819), most of the records pertaining to ancestors of the UHN from Assumption Parish are coded ASM-4 (Catholic Church, Diocese of Baton Rouge, Louisiana 1982, Vol. 3, throughout). It is necessary to refer to another book, not in the same series, to discover that the ASM-4 code for Assumption Parish refers to "Libro de bautizados de neg.s y mulatos para esta parroquia de la Fource de Valenzuela (nombrada la Assumpcion) que comienza en veinte y nueva de sept[i]embre del ano de mil setecientos noventa y tres y acaba en [1841]" [Book of baptisms of negroes and mulattos in this parish of La Fource of Valenzuela (called Assumption) which begins September 29, 1793, and ends in [1841]] (Nolan 1976, p. B-15-2). Some of the original entries may have been more specific about the

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

ethnic identity of the individual considered, but the original entries were not accessible to BAR researchers.

The published abstracts are not complete. In his introduction to the South Louisiana Records series, Rev. Donald J. Hebert stated:

The records found in this series are from the Registers of Whites only, although a few records of slaves or free people of color are sometimes to be found in these Registers. The records from the Black Registers will probably be published later on in a different series (Hebert 1978a, p. ix).

Hebert also emphasized that his extracts of church records made no reference to legitimacy, even when this was given in the original document (Hebert 1978a, ix). Therefore, it must be emphasized that while a historian can to some extent utilize these series of abstracts in a study of the early development of the UHN, the abstracts were not produced with such a purpose in mind, and are not well-designed for the purpose of analyzing ethnic affiliations and legal relationships.

Chronology of Settlement Patterns on Bayou Terrebonne, 1787-1810. At the time of Swanton's visit to Terrebonne Parish in 1907, Bob Verret, one of his informants, delineated approximately 1,700 descendants of its founders in six settlements on the southern bayous (Swanton 1911, 291). In 1911, Swanton wrote that:

The records leave us in doubt when the bulk of the [historical Houma] tribe moved from Ascension into Terre Bonne parish, and possibly it was a drift rather than a regular migration. At any rate, the remnant of the tribe, mixed with other Indian peoples and white and negro blood, now live along the coasts of Terre Bonne and La Fourche parishes . . . (Swanton 1911, 291).

In fact, the parish-level documents located by BAR create doubt that the "bulk of the tribe" ever made such a move at all. Swanton's informants in 1907 told him that all "Houmas or rather Homas" of Terrebonne and Lafourche descended from the "Couteaux, Billiout, and Verdine" families (Swanton 1911, 292). This statement was perfectly accurate. Swanton

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

did not realize how small the number of Indians who originated the group he was studying had been.¹⁹

In addition to acknowledging that there had been a mixture with whites and negroes (Swanton 1911, 292), Swanton made the assumption that the UHN's founding settlement had incorporated not only survivors of the historical Houma tribe, but remains of several other tribes: Bayougoula and Acolapissa, Biloxi and Chitimacha, probably remnants of Washa and Chawasha, besides individuals from a number of other Louisiana and Mississippi peoples (Swanton 1911, 292).

Thus Swanton suggested seven specific tribes as ancestral to the modern UHN petitioner. However, BAR research has found only three family lines (a married couple with their four children, and two other women) providing documented Indian ancestry for the petitioning group. In fact, the situation that Swanton attributed to the first decade of the nineteenth century would seem to be much more typical of the Indian tribal melting pot or mixing-bowl process that had been taking place along the Mississippi River near La Fourche des Chetimachas a full generation earlier, as described in the PPC correspondence of Commandant Judice in the 1770's (Corbin 1981). It does not conform to the data that land and census records provide about the settlement pattern in the lower bayous.

The Billiot land grants in Terrebonne Parish were dated as early as 1787/1788, while the Verdin land grant was in 1792 (see below). These dates are not in chronological accord with Swanton's hypothesis that the historical Houma tribe migrated into the lower bayous. By the time of the latest reports of the historical Houma tribe in St. James Parish and among the Atakapa in the first decade of the 1800's, the UHN ancestors had already received Spanish land grants on Bayou Terrebonne. The earliest reported marriage of a documented Indian in the petitioning group, that of Rosalie Courteau to Jacques Billiot, took place in Lafourche Parish on Bayou Terrebonne in 1808, at which time the historical Houma tribe was still in St. James Parish.

¹⁹ Swanton's studies of American Indians were comprehensive but not infallible--see, for example, a discussion of how research by more recent scholars indicates that Swanton was in error when he assumed that the Mohegan tribe of Connecticut migrated there from upstate New York (BAR Proposed Finding, Mohegan, Historical Report, 12).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

It proved possible to develop a chronology of settlement of the UHN's ancestral families. This section covers, essentially, the period from the arrival of the Acadians in 1785 to the death of Jean-Baptiste Billiot, Sr. in 1809. Sources for the preparation of the chronology included not only land and church records, but also the late Spanish colonial censuses of Lafourche, 1788-1791-1795-1797-1798 (Robichaux 1974) and the first Federal census of Louisiana in 1810 (NARA Microfilm Series M-252, Roll 10). Overall, this chronology does not link the known ancestors of the petitioner to the known activities of the historical Houma tribe.

General pattern of settlement of the Lafourche-Terrebonne area. In a marginal note to his taking of the 1810 Federal Census, Judge William Goforth of Lafourche Interior Parish described Bayou D'Arbonne (Terrebonne) as follows:

This Bayou comes up from the Sea and is Considered as belonging to the Interior Parish of La Fourche. It comes up to within about 10 miles of the bayou la Fourche in a dry time and in a wet time within the distance of one and a half. The Tide comes up this bayou about Nine Legues. The length of this bayou from the Sea is Seventeen Leggues. The general wideness is 120 feet at 10 mi. It has good rich land on each side surrounded with low lands. The arable land is 15 acres [illegible] & 10 acres & till you get near to the Sea it is chiefly a low marsh (NARA Microfilm Series M-252, Roll 10, [2]).

A few settlers from colonial Louisiana French families, as well as some more recent immigrants from the Canary Islands and some Acadians, were residing in, or at least claiming land in, the Lafourche area by 1779 (ASP 1839b, 2:332, No. 1). Newly arrived Acadian French received grants in the area after 1785 (Robichaux 1974, viii), but the number of Spanish grants to this population group in the area was also small. In 1810, Goforth noted of "Bayou D'Arbonne" that, "There is very few Spanish grants on this bayou, it is generally Congress land" (NARA Microfilm Series M-252, Roll 10, 3).

By 1787/1788, Governor Miro was issuing these land grants on "Bayou Darbonne." U.S. Land Office surveys indicate the Spanish claimants' names as (in order, moving from north to south) Pierre Menard [Minoue], Pierre Gazeau [Cazo], Pierre Ganoue [Gano], Joseph Ganoue [Gano], Charles Billiot

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

[Billio], Pierre Billiot, Michel Derdin [Dirdia], Etienne Billiot, Etienne Billiot [Bioux], and M. Eris [Iris]. Another slightly overlapping sequence continued with the names: Etienne Billiot, Marianne Erice [Iris], Joseph Deann/Deanne/Dianne [Dion/Dionne/Jeanne], Pierre Chasson [Chasson/Chiasson], Charles Billiot, Jean Bte. Theodore Henry, Joseph M. Boudreau, Jean Dupres [Dupre], Jean Nanquin [Naquin, Nacquin], and the widow of Jean Pierre Dugat [Dugas]. A third survey map, starting with Jean Pierre Dugat [Dugas], continued down the Bayou with Charles Nanquin [Naquin, Nacquin] (assigned to John B. Alexander and Peter Vardin [Verdin/Berdine]), Charles Billot (assigned to John B. Alexander and Peter Vardin [Verdin]), Pierre Bourque (assigned to John B. Alexander and Peter Vardin [Verdin]), Louis Sauvage (assigned to John B. Alexander and Peter Vardin [Verdin]), Jean Billot Jr., Jean Billot Sr., Marie Nerisse [Iris], Joseph Billot, and Manuel Albaradez (U.S. General Land Office, Survey Maps; copies in BAR files).

Arrival of Known UHN Ancestral Families in Modern Terrebonne Parish. The date of arrival of the majority of the ancestral families of the UHN who were early settlers in the Lafourche/Terrebonne area (not just of those families who are identified in the records as Indian), must ordinarily be determined by a combination of church, land, and census records. The following discussions are in approximate order of arrival. More detail on the demographic development of the families of Billiot, Courteau, Verdin, Gregoire, Solet, and Verret is contained in a survey prepared by BAR historian as background for this report.²⁰

There was no Indian tribe living on Bayou Terrebonne at the time Europeans and other non-Indians started to settle there. Also, there is no evidence for an Indian tribe or tribal agglomerate which moved to Bayou Terrebonne from somewhere else. Rather, the descendants of a small number of unrelated individuals with Indian ancestry, along with descendants of a majority of immigrants who were of European and/or African descent, developed into a community on the lower reaches of Bayou Terrebonne. The immigrants, both Indian and non-Indians, received individual land grants. These persons of widely varied origins became neighbors and associates. Because of a tendency toward group endogamy, most of these immigrants' descendants now share some Indian ancestry (84% of petitioner's members).

²⁰ A copy of this background survey will be made available to the petitioner.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

For narrative purposes, BAR has adopted standardized spellings for the relevant family names. The original documents contain many variants for every surname.

Family-by-Family Summary. Each of the following families has been documented as ancestral to the UHN petitioner. The order of discussion is chronological, beginning with the earliest known date of settlement in the lower bayous.

Naquin. Jean Charles Naquin, born in 1771 in France, was a son of two Acadians, Charles Naquin and Anne Durand, a seamstress. He immigrated to Louisiana with his father from Nancy on the *St. Remy* to New Orleans in 1785. As Juan Carlos Naquin, he married Magdalena or Magdelaine LeBoeuf on December 28, 1800, at Assumption Church, Plattenville, Louisiana. She was a daughter of Jean LeBoeuf, born on the German Coast (his parents had been born in Canada) and Reine Matherine/Matherne/Materne, born ca. 1760 on the German coast (her parents were also born on the German Coast). The 1810 census showed Jean "Nankin" [Naquin] on Bayou D'Arbonne (U.S. Bureau of the Census. Original 1810 Population Census Louisiana, 161). The family has remained a large one in the Terrebonne area, the majority of the descendants of the immigrant couple continuing to identify exclusively as Acadian French.

No member of this family became identified with the UHN until ca. 1828, when Jean-Marie Naquin, born in 1804, baptized at Assumption Parish, Plattenville, Louisiana, son of Jean Charles Naquin and Magdelaine LeBoeuf, entered the group through his union with Pauline Verdin, daughter of Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire.

Chaisson/Chiasson. This family was also part of the Acadian French immigrant group that arrived in 1785. The 1810 census showed Pierre "Shaison" on Bayou D'Arbonne (Original 1810 Population Census, Louisiana, 161). However, no Chaisson identified with the UHN until shortly before 1850. The majority of UHN members who carry the Chaisson surname are descendants of only one marriage: that of Andre Chaisson and Marie Azilda/Felicite Isilda Billiot.

Billiot/Billeau, etc. When John Reed Swanton visited Louisiana in 1907, one of his main informants was Felicite Billiot (Swanton n.d.; Swanton 1911, 392). The information he obtained from her and from her brother Barthelemi pertained primarily to their maternal grandparents. However, Felicite and Barthelemi were also grandchildren of Jean-Baptiste Billiot, Sr. and Marie/Mariane Iris, members

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

of families which had been living south of New Orleans in the area of the English Turn [Detour Anglaise] as late as the 1770 census (Voorhies 1973, 133; Woods and Nolan 1988, 2:21-22).

Jean-Baptiste Billiot's first land claim on Bayou D'Arbonne was filed on land granted in 1787 by Governor Miro: this land, 162 acres, was inhabited by him prior to 1803. His other claim, 167 acres adjacent to Louis Sauvage, was as assignee of Joseph LeForce (ASP 1834b, 2:433, Nos. 371 and 484; ASP 1834c, 3:362, No. 371; 363, No. 484). Marie Iris entered an independent claim of 321 acres, obtained on a regular warrant from Governor Miro in 1788, which was recorded as Marie Nerisse (ASP 1834b, 2:433, No. 370; ASP 1834c, 3:362, No. 370); as Marianne Erice she claimed a tract in Lafourche Parish on both sides of Bayou Terrebonne, adjoining the lands of Dardan [sic] (ASP 1834c, 3:597, No. 249).

Their son Joseph Billot/Billiot received a grant in the same area in 1788, adjoining "Marie Acies" in the printed records--most probably another misspelling/misreading of "Aries" for "Iris" (ASP 1834b, 2:432, No. 368). Jean Billot, Jr. was in possession of a claim by 1803, but it had been conveyed to him by way of Jean Chap, the original claimant, through his father, Jean Baptiste Billiot, Sr. (ASP 1834b, 2:433, No. 484; ASP 1834b, 2:432, No. 369).

Three more sons of Jean Baptiste Billiot, Sr., and Marie Iris had claims in the same area. Charles Billot/Billio/Billiot's was dated 1790 (ASP 1834b, 2:362, No. 314; ASP 1839c, 3:597, No. 244) and adjoined those of Pierre Billio (ASP 1834c, 3:597, No. 243) and Etienne Billio (ASP 1834c, 3:597, No. 251).

It is doubtful that the family had moved to their claims by the filing dates, however, for as late as 1792 Jean Biau [sic] and Marie Yrys had a daughter baptized at New Orleans, with Alexandre Verdin (see below) serving as her godfather (Woods and Nolan 1990b, 5:32-33). So far, this is the only documentary evidence located by BAR for a connection between any two of these families prior to their settlement on Bayou Terrebonne, and it is the sponsorship of the child of one man of European ancestry by another man of European ancestry.

The Billiot family is not listed on any of the late Spanish colonial censuses (the last dated 1798) as being in Lafourche Parish, but Jean-Baptiste Billiot died there in

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

1809 (Lafourche Parish Probate Records 1809) and Marian Billau/Billoux was on the 1810 Federal Census, described in a marginal note as "free Negress, 60 years old, has land, pays tax, has 10 children" (Original 1810 Population Census, Louisiana, 161).

Because Marie Iris was clearly identified as non-Indian in the records, considerable effort was made by BAR historians to determine whether or not there was Indian heritage in the line of Jean Baptiste Billiot. Circumstantial evidence gathered from numerous published sources (Robichaux 1973; Voorhies 1973; Woods and Nolan 1988-1992; Cruzat 1941a and 1941b) leads to the conclusion that he was in all probability a descendant on the paternal side of Isaac/Louis Billiot dit Bon (French) and Marie Eve Frederick dit Conrad (German), early residents of the Mississippi River coast below New Orleans. No information at all was found pertaining to his maternal lineage but, as he was never referred to as a free person of color in his estate administration, it is probable that his mother was also of European ancestry.

Sauvage/Savage. Louis Sauvage claimed a tract of land on both sides of Bayou Terrebonne in Lafourche Parish, containing 80 and 48/100 acres, adjoining on one side to Pierre Bourg [Bourque]. This land had been actually settled prior to December 20, 1803, with permission of the proper Spanish Officer (ASP 1834b, 2:423, No. 339), but the claims report does not indicate by whom. Louis Sauvage did not appear on any Federal census records. On December 27, 1806, John Joseph of Lafourche sold to Louis Ogeron land on Bayou Darbonne bounded above by Louis Sauvage and below by Jean Biou, files (Toups 1991a, 47). As Louis Sauvage died without children, the land eventually passed to descendants of his sister, Marianne, wife of Houma called Courteau (Terrebonne Parish, Conveyance Bk. I, 157-158).

The origins of the Louis Sauvage who held land on Bayou Terrebonne have not been traced. It is possible that he was of Indian ancestry, but no proof has been adduced of his identity with the Louis Sauvage, grandson of an Indian, who in 1806 sold to Joseph Ennet land in Pointe Coupee Parish,²¹ a considerable distance to the north from the Terrebonne Parish land (ASP 1834b, 2:388, No. 154).

²¹ There were several Indian groups (not Houma) in Pointe Coupee Parish in the early 18th century.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The petition states that this man was identical with the "Louis de la Houssaye/Dalahousie Courteau" whom oral tradition says was the last chief of the group, that he succeeded Chac-Chouma as chief of the historical Houma, and that he was the unnamed man who accompanied Chac-Chouma on his visit to Governor Claiborne in 1811 (UHN Pet., Narr., p. 32; UHN Pet., Resp. to OD Letter, 35). All of these assertions are unwarranted assumptions based upon extrapolation from one single documented fact: that his land was inherited by his niece Rosalie Courteau (Terrebonne Parish, Conveyance Bk. I, 157-158).

There was a colonial family named **Sauvage** or **Sauvagin** which appears in other documents connected with the Billiot family, and which was of Flemish origin. Since there was a documented contemporary man named **Luis Sauvagin** in that family (Forsyth 1977, 123), additional work needs to be undertaken before Indian ancestry can be regarded as established for this Louis Sauvage or, by extension, for his sister. However, the oral tradition that his sister had an Indian name and an adult baptism (Swanton 1911, 292) would point to a strong possibility that there was Indian heritage here, even if he is not identical to the Pointe Coupee vendor.

Solet/Saulet. Valentine Solet (Louisiana French) was the father, by a woman of color named Babe/Babet Marie whom he freed in 1811, of a son named Jean-Baptiste Prairiale Solet whose descendants would marry into the petitioning community. (By Babet and other women, Valentin Solet was also father of at least five other children of color whose descendants did not become part of the UHN community). Baptized May 4, 1755, in New Orleans, son of Thomas Solet and Francoise Julie Bruandet (Woods and Nolan 1989, 2:250), Valentine Solet married in 1782 (Woods and Nolan 1989, 3:272), but apparently had no children by his wife. His Lafourche Parish land claim was dated 1790 (ASP 1834b, 2:333, No. 15). On the basis of late colonial census records, he apparently settled in Lafourche Parish between 1791 and 1795 (Robichaux 1974, 50, 73, and 123), but the 1810 census indicates that he resided on Bayou Lafourche--not on Bayou Terrebonne (Original 1810 Population Census Louisiana, 149).

Verret/Lamatte. Jacques Verret, who was probably a member of the Louisiana-French Verret family, had between about 1790 and 1803 seven children by Celeste Lamatte (or

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Lamothe/Lamotte), who is described as a liberated quadroon²² (Toups 1991a, 26; Original 1810 Federal Census, Louisiana, 145). Verret was ordinarily described in the records as a resident of New Orleans, though because of his relationship to the Cantrelle and Nicholas Verret families, he often appeared also in land records of St. James and Assumption Parishes. The Verrets were filing land claims along Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Terrebonne by 1792 (ASP 1834b, 2:333, No. 10; ASP 1834c, 3:596, Nos. 236-239).

Celeste Lamotte's Spanish-era land claim for 193 acres was on the right (east) bank of Bayou Lafourche, not in the area of the claims of other UHN ancestral families on Bayou Terrebonne (ASP 1834b, 2:417, No. 297). She later married a French-born man, Pierre Jacob Gaubert, who in 1807 was serving as a Justice of the Peace in Lafourche Parish, by whom she had at least seven more children (Berger 1985, 30; Catholic Church, Diocese of Baton Rouge, Louisiana 1980, 2:411; Catholic Church, Diocese of Baton Rouge, Louisiana 1982, 3:474; Hebert 1978a, 333).

Of Celeste Lamotte's children by Jacques Verret, only three have descendants among the petitioner: Solomon Verret, who married into the Verdin family, and Louis Verret, who married into the Courteau/Billiot family. A family named Fitch, her descendants through a daughter, also married into the Courteau/Billiot family prior to 1850 and has descendants among the petitioner. None of her Verret children who married into other families and none of her Gaubert children were progenitors of UHN members.

Jeanne/Dianne (perhaps Dion). Joseph Jeanne or Dianne²³ [also Ghianne], thus far identified only as a free man of color and a native of Campeche, Mexico, held a land claim along Bayou Terrebonne by 1792 (ASP 1834c, 3:597, No. 254). His descendants began to marry into the petitioning group by about 1815, and he died by 1822 (Cogswell 1978, 277). As all three of his children were associated with ancestors of the UHN, more knowledge of this family line could be of significance, particularly since "John" is a surname

²² A quadroon was a person of one-fourth African and three-fourths European ancestry.

²³ In 18th-century French pronunciation and spelling, the "D" and the hard "G" were totally interchangeable: Dion and Guyon must be handled as the same name in Quebec genealogical research, for example. As the "G" and "J" were nearly indistinguishable in many people's handwriting, names beginning with those two letters often became confused as well.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

commonly found in at least two other Louisiana Indian communities in the nineteenth century (Bushnell 1909, 18; Jacobson 1974, 93).

Courteau/Houma/Abbe. The earliest reported records under the name Courteau along Bayou Terrebonne are: the 1808 marriage of Rosalie Courteau to Jacques Billiot (this date evidenced only by an 1878 application for a War of 1812 widow's pension--the oldest child was not born until 1813); an 1808 land sale in Lafourche Parish (Lafourche Parish, Record of Deeds, Book A, 24); an 1809 purchase by Cortau a Savage from the estate of Jean-Baptiste Billiot; and the 1810 recording of Courto a Savage (with six children) on Bayou Terrebonne in the Federal census, as the household next to that of Marian Billou (U.S. Bureau of the Census. Original 1810 Population Census Louisiana, 161).

Since Rosalie Courteau's mother Marianne, wife of Houma/Courteau, is documented as having been a sister of Louis Sauvage (see land claim above), it is possible that the family was on Bayou Terrebonne prior to 1803. The family's presence, however, was not recorded on any of the late colonial Spanish censuses. Information provided by Felicite Billiot to Swanton in 1907 indicated that the origins of the Courteau family lay in the Biloxi tribe (Swanton 1911, 292), which was verified by early deed records (Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Book A, 92-94, No. 51; Acts of Conveyance Bk. 3, 8128-1830, Doc. 526), but the family used Houma as a surname by the 1830's and 1840's (Terrebonne Parish Original Acts, Bk. 7, Doc. 1343, Conveyance Book H, 110-111; Federal Land Certificate, December 8, 1845). No documentation was located to tie Houma/Courteau to known families of the acknowledged Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana.

Felicite Billiot also indicated that her ancestress had been baptized with the name "Marion" later in life. This, along with the adult baptism recorded for Rosalie Courteau as an elderly woman, a couple of other late-in-life Courteau baptisms, and the oral tradition that Rosalie's nephew Jacques Julien Courteau was arranging for a Catholic baptism at the time of his drowning in 1882, by which time he was over 50 (UHN Pet., Ex. 7), would indicate that this family was not fully European-aculturated in the early nineteenth century.

Verdin/Verdine/Verdun. Alexandre Verdin, his brothers, Pierre and Jean-Baptiste, and his sister Marie who married Nicholas Joseph Robinet, were children of Jean-Adam Verdin

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

(German) and Marie-Anne Dauphin (French). All were baptized at New Orleans (Cathedral of St. Louis King of France, New Orleans, 1758, 1767, 1769, 1771). The three brothers made a land claim "on both sides of Bayou Derbonne" in the Lafourche area as early as 1792/93, but the land commissioners stated that they were reported to have left the area prior to 1800. The claim was first denied but then approved upon appeal (ASP 1834c, 3:261-262, No. 612, under the spelling Vardin). They spent some time in the Attakapas District where the Robinet family had settled (Conrad 1992, 107, 360, 379 and throughout). The 1810 census recorded all three of the brothers in the section of Attakapas District south of St. Martin of Tours church, each recorded as a white male in a household of free persons of color. Alexandre Verdin's household showed three persons of color (Original 1810 Population Census Louisiana, 68). Alexandre had returned to Lafourche - Terrebonne by 1820 (Jackson, Teeples, and Schaefermeyer 1981, 31).

Between 1805 and 1822, he fathered seven children by an American Indian woman, Marie Gregoire, of unknown tribal origin.²⁴ Those who survived to adulthood remained in Terrebonne Parish and became ancestors of numerous UHN members. Several additional free persons of color named Verdin, who may have been descendants of Alexandre Verdin's brothers, amalgamated with the group during the 1830's and 1840's, while at least one of his brothers left descendants among the Atakapa (Gatschet 1885).

Dardar. Journalists' reports on the UHN have claimed Dardar as being a uniquely Indian name (UHN Pet., Ex. 3: Sherwin

²⁴ Of possible relevance to the tribal origins of Marie Gregoire is a notebook by Albert Samuel Gatschet entitled Atakapa Language, gathered at Lake Charles, Louisiana, in 1885 (Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives #239-a-b, BAE Records). It indicates that Cyprien Verdin, a nephew of Alexandre Verdin, was married to an Atakapa woman, showing that the family had ties to that tribe. Specifically, Gatschet described Delia/Delila Moss (Swanton 1911, 362, gave her name as Delia Morse) as a daughter of Cyprien Verdin, who raised the children and died in the Civil War after they were grown, and of an Atakapa woman who removed to Texas.

This unnamed Atakapa woman was said to be the daughter of Shu'kuhui, chief of the the Atakapa at English Bayou/Lake Charles, and of Mary Ann. Delia was described as a cousin of Pauline Verda-ine, and of Eliza Verda-ine (born ca. 1848), who knew the Atakapa language and lived at Lockport, 3-4 miles west of Lake Charles.

Civil marriage records gave the name of Cyprien Verdin's wife as Helene. They were married in 1826 (Hebert 1974b, 2:887). Baptismal records for their children gave her surname as Baradin (Hebert 1976b, 563) or Barabino (Hebert 1977, 463).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Guidry, "Houmas Indians, First Americans," Subsection 'Oldest Resident/Bright Future for Houmas,' Courier), but it is not. Michel Dardar was born in 1782 in Chalons-sur-Marne, France. The date of his arrival in the Bayou Terrebonne settlement is not known, but he married Adelaide Billiot there in 1809 (Lafourche Parish, Marriage Records, Bk. 1808-1829, No. 4). It is possible that he was there by 1803, when a Michel "Dirdia" or "Dardan" claimed a tract of land situated in the county of Lafourche, on both sides of Bayou Terrebonne, containing 330 superficial acres, adjacent Joseph Ganoe and Pierre Bion [Biou, Billiot], settled and cultivated by permission of the proper Spanish officer prior to December 20, 1803 (ASP 1834, 3:231, No. 597). However, it is not certain that Dardar was in the U.S. so early, for this claimant may have been from the Dardenne family which had numerous members in the Lafourche area.

Summary. The UHN petitioner has far more European ancestry than it does Indian ancestry, even though the Indian ancestry spread as a result of group endogamy (intermarriage). No families besides the Courteaux and the Verdins known to have married into the UHN ancestral group through the time of the Civil War have been documented to be of Indian origin, although the possibility has not been disproven in the cases of Joseph Gregoire, the Jaco (Jacquot) family, and Marie Migoulois. In addition to Naquin and Chaisson (discussed above), the Magnan, Renaud, and Dubois families, all in the Terrebonne area prior to 1800, were demonstrably of Acadian or combined colonial French and Acadian ancestry. The origin of the Parfait UHN ancestor is undocumented, but according to the UHN's oral tradition, he was French. The Fredericks were from Louisiana's German Coast and of German/French descent. The Creppel, Gallet (Terrebonne Genealogical Society 1983, 64), and Roubion (Toups 1991b, 1) marriages, like that to Dardar, were to men born in France. The Fitch ancestor came from Kentucky and married into the Verrets.

The proportion of African ancestry in the UHN founding group was genetically very small and culturally insignificant.²⁵ After the founding generation, which contained African ancestry in the line of Marie Enerisse/Iris (mother of the Billiots), and the second generation, when some entered via intermarriage by way of Celeste Lamatte and Babet Marie,

²⁵ Except in so far as white supremacists, more than a century later, would attempt to use its presence to force an amalgamation between the UHN and other non-white population groups.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

there were no documented alliances between the UHN ancestral group and the general community of Euro/African free persons of color prior to the Civil War.²⁶ It is probable from the historical circumstances (the Iris family had been in Louisiana, and free, at least since 1741) and descriptive terminology used in contemporary records that all three of these women were, in part, of European ancestry. Celeste Lamatte was specifically described as a quadroon. It is certain that all three of them were European-aculturated in the sense that they were Catholic in religion, French in language, and bore their children to men of European ancestry.

Relationship of Appearance of Known UHN Ancestral Families in Lafourche/Terrebonne to Early Nineteenth-century Reports of Historical Houma Tribal Locations. To sum up the material gathered above, none of the ancestral families of the UHN have been shown to have descended from the historical Houma tribe. The majority of them have been shown to have resided elsewhere than in Ascension and St. James Parishes (the known location of the historical Houma tribe's villages) prior to 1800. The documentation indicates that the majority of the ties among the UHN's ancestors developed only after the families had settled on their Spanish land grants in what is now Terrebonne Parish after 1790/1800.

EVIDENCE OF UHN BACKGROUND FROM U.S. LAND CLAIMS.

General Nature of Claims Records. Almost immediately after the date of United States sovereignty in Louisiana, settlers claimed lands based on grants issued under the French and Spanish administrations. Descendants, purchasers, or likely speculators claimed title from those to whom the grants were originally made. Disposition of the claims was made by commissioners who were authorized by U.S. law to pass on their validity.

The various classes of Louisiana claims were summarized in two 1812 reports (ASP 1834b, 2:377-379, No. 200). A clear explanation of the procedures by which French and Spanish land titles were granted (written petition or requete to the commandant of the post, regular survey, and sometimes, but not always, formal patent by the governor) and the

²⁶ The Jeanne/Dianne family members were described as free persons of color. The earliest known ancestor was a native of Campeche, Mexico.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

procedures of the American commissioners in handling these claims was made to Congress in 1813 (ASP 1834b, 2:635-636, Claim No. 240). Some were dismissed or rejected for lack of documentation (ASP 1834b, 2:299, No. 421; ASP 1834b, 2:300, No. 422; ASP 1834b, 2:435, No. 338).

The records are extensive: reports of these claims made to the General Land Office (ASP 1834b, 2:224-404) comprise a total of 180 pages of several hundred claims by individuals throughout the Orleans Territory, as constituted in 1811-1812. This was just one of many similar reports made in an attempt to recognize and confirm land titles in portions of the lands purchased from France in 1803.

At least some members of the UHN trace their genealogical roots to individuals who claimed land under these procedures. A number of claims were made by individuals with surnames matching those of families noted in the genealogy accompanying the UHN petition (ASP 1834b, 2:395-96, Nos. 6, 10, 15; 2:411, No. 207; ASP 1834b, 2:415, Nos. 249, 250, 251; ASP 1834b, 2:417, Nos. 275, 286; ASP 1834b, 2:418, No. 312; ASP 1834b, 2:432, Nos. 314, 339, 340, 341, 368, 369; 2:433, No. 370, 371, 453, 484, 496; ASP 1834b, 2:435, No. 338). None of these documents identified by claimant by race or background. Each of these confirmed claims was located on Bayou Lafourche or Bayou Terrebonne. Other claims in the same geographical areas were made by individuals not related to those on the UHN membership list.

General Nature of Indian Tribal Claims and Sales.

Individuals who considered themselves to be Indian were free to submit claims for individual parcels. In the early nineteenth century, these claims made by individual Indians were not afforded the protection of tribal lands, as was the practice when the United States made treaties with Indian tribes as tribes.

Some claims involved lands initially conveyed by Indians. A number of these were denied for lack of adequate documentation, or lack of information indicating Indian occupancy of the lands. Reports from the Land District Office of Western Louisiana in 1815 cited the Spanish policy as to what lands constituted Indian lands. In reports dated April 6, 1815, and May 1, 1815 (ASP 1834c, 3:91, 119), the nature of Indian land-holding practice and policy under Spanish administration in Louisiana was discussed, (ASP 1834c, 3:94; ASP 1834c, 3:146). The Spanish policy regarding title to Indian lands in Louisiana had allowed the Indians to occupy what areas they wished. Official acts

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

under the French or the Spanish either "granted" the lands in some official act or unofficially recognized that the Indians held certain tracts, usually called villages.

The Spanish respected Indian occupancy and title to lands as inhering in the soil. Indians were allowed to sell their lands, customarily with the government's consent, although apparently no time requirement existed for such consent. This was in part because the approval was a "formality," rather than a real possibility of refusal. "The principle is well established, that a deed for lands from Indians or their chief, who, in all cases sells in his name for them, is as valid and good [as others], and the title as complete, provided the land sold was a village or part of a village" (ASP 1834c, 3:146). Indeed, even villages deserted by the Indian tribes in Louisiana apparently continued to be considered Indian property by the Spanish.

Certain land claims did describe Indian individuals by the names of their tribes. Those tribes that were named in General Land Office documents included the Atakapa (ASP 1834c, 3:91, 120-121) and the Choctaw (ASP 1834b, 2:775-776). In the schedule of sales made by Indians of lands in Opelousas and Attakapas Parishes, eleven individual Indians were named as selling various acreages.

The American commissioners distinguished four separate categories or classes of claims to lands purchased from Indians during the Spanish period. The first class covered those claims to land purchased from Indians who were found to be Christian. These were usually small tracts for the use of one family. The second class was those claims to land purchased from Indians, a chief or tribe, which had been ratified by the Governor. The Governor's ratification was "regarded as a relinquishment of the title of the Crown in favor of the purchaser" (ASP 1834c, 3:95). The third category included sales of lands from Indians who occupied the lands at time of the sale, even though the deeds had not been presented to the Governor. The title was incomplete in such transactions, the claimant having only an "equitable claim for the confirmation of his title" (ASP 1834c, 3:96). Finally, if the lands claimed as having been sold by Indians were unoccupied at the date of the sale and the Governor of Louisiana had not ratified the transaction, then the purchasers or claimants' title was not confirmed (ASP 1834c, 3:96).

Of those claims made by individuals who derived their title from "purchase from Indians," most were not recommended for

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

confirmation by the U.S. land commissioners. The report dated April 6, 1815, from the Western District Land Office indicated only 5 of 20 claims involving lands "sold" by Indians were recommended for confirmation (ASP 1834c, 3:91-97, No. 235). A similar report dated May 1, 1815, included nine sales claiming Indian lands. Five of these nine were recommended to provide, in part, compensation if not actual title to the land. The issue upon which confirmation of the land claim turned was non-occupancy of the land by the Indians at the time of the conveyance.

As examples of handling of these Indian sales, the Pascagoula joined the Biloxi in a land sale in 1802 (ASP 1834b, 2:789-93, No. 125; ASP 1834b, 2:801-803). Documents indicate that in the first decade of U.S. sovereignty in Louisiana, the Choctaw, Pascagoula, and Biloxi tribes were located on Bayou Boeuf, in Rapides Parish. The conveyance made by the Biloxi, Choctaw, and Pascagoula tribes to William Miller and Alexander Fulton in 1802 was brought before the General Land Office officials and reported June 9, 1813 (ASP 1834b, 2:744, 775, 789-795, no. 217; ASP 1834c, 3:91-97, no. 235).

The Early Federal Period Land Claim By the "Homas Tribe of Indians" Was Not Located in the Lower Bayous. At some time between 1803 and 1817, a claim was filed by "The Homas tribe of Indians" to twelve sections of land "on bayou Boeuf, or Black bayou." This claim for land near Nachitoches, in the general Red River area where others of the "petites nations" had established themselves by the time of the American purchase of Louisiana, was denied by the General Land Office in 1817, under the Act of February 27, 1813, on the ground that it did not fall within provisions of the existing laws. It indicates, however, that as of the January, 1817, date of the report to the General Land Office in which the claim was included (ASP 1834c, 3:254; ASP 1834c, 3:265, No. 247), Houma Indians apparently were seeking to claim lands in north central Louisiana (ASP 1834a, 1:349, No. 164). This indicates that the direction of movement of the historical Houma tribe, when it left the Mississippi River parishes, had not been south, but rather northwest. One writer has maintained that the denial of this claim violated the Louisiana Purchase Treaty (Curry 1979a, 17).

No Documented Land Sales by the Historical Houma Tribe after 1774. There is no documentation for any lands conveyed by the historical Houma, as a tribe, after 1774. There is little indication that the tribe advanced land claims after that date: the above referenced 1817 unsuccessful claim for

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

lands on Bayou Boeuf by unnamed Houma Indians (ASP 1834c, 3:265, No. 247) is the sole exception. There is no documentation to indicate why this occurred, but the phenomenon does raise some basic questions. Was it because the historical Houma tribe had no additional interest in lands to convey? Had the historical Houma tribe amalgamated with other tribes? Were no chiefs still functioning to act as representative(s) for the historical Houma?. The answer to each of the three questions appears to be, "yes."

The "Houmas Claim" Was By American Settlers to Land Which the Historical Houma Tribe Had Already Sold in 1774.

Several documents were presented to the Congress in the mid-nineteenth century, each of which dealt with the "Houmas Claim." In spite of the name of the claim, Houma Indians, either as a tribe or individually, were not claiming these lands. Instead, non-Indian successors of the eighteenth-century European purchasers were the nineteenth-century claimants, seeking to confirm title in themselves.

In October 1774, the Bayougoula and Houma Indians sold certain lands on the left (east) bank of the Mississippi River, the exact description of which was unclear. Chiefs of the two tribes conveyed the lands, the location of which was confused by subsequent overlapping claims. Correspondence and petitions for title to certain portions of the Houma land were recorded in an opinion of the U.S. Attorney General dated December 31, 1847, (Sen. Doc. 150, 36th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 7-55). The tracts involved in various transfers were intertwined in a series of claims made on the government, essentially to clear title in the name of the claimants.

The Donaldson, Conway, and Clark claims to the "Houmas Grant," located on the north side of the Bayou Manchac, were reviewed under the provisions of Acts of Congress enacted March 2, 1805, 2 Stat. 324; April 21, 1806, 2 Stat. 391; March 3, 1807, 2 Stat. 440; March 3, 1811, 2 Stat. 662; April 25, 1812, 2 Stat. 713; April 12, 1814, 3 Stat. 121; and April 18, 1814, 3 Stat. 137. This legislation provided for confirmation procedures regarding private land claims in Louisiana, yet these Acts did not simplify the complexities of surveying and patenting lands either in the context of French and Spanish law or in light of Louisiana's ecological and geographical realities (Sen. Ex. Doc. 111, 46th Cong., 2d sess). The Attorney General concluded that the grant to one Maurice Conway was "a complete and perfect Spanish Grant," but that certain patents issued to Donaldson, Scott,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

and Clark were "void and of no effect" (Sen. Ex. Doc. 111, 46th Cong., 2d sess., 55).

Documentation pertaining to the "Houmas Claim" was printed as congressional documents on several different occasions in the nineteenth century. Two of these were: "Information in relation to the claim to land in the State of Louisiana, called the 'Houmas claim'" (Sen. Doc. 45, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., January 13, 1845, Serial Vol. 450), and "The select committee to whom was referred the memorial of residents and owners of lands in the parishes of Ascension and Iberville, Louisiana, . . . to whom, also, were referred the protest of the owners of the Houmas grant, . . ." (Sen. Doc. 150, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., March 23, 1860). These two Congressional documents alone comprised over 250 pages of correspondence, copies of eighteenth century Spanish and French materials and extensive discussion of the issues which characterized the history and individual claims involved.

Confusion in the legal terminology and uncertainty concerning the exact location of the lands involved increased to the degree that a General Land Office report of 1880 on the "Houmas Claim" identified the lands as comprising approximately 120,000 acres. Reports of the Surveyors General, Louisiana, made to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, filed in the 1870's, include references to the unconfirmed land claims in Louisiana. The reports indicate title to approximately 80,000 acres was still unresolved. This excluded the lands embraced within the "Houmas Grants" (GLO Reports, 1873, 1874, 1877; Sen. Ex. Doc. 111, 46th Cong., 2d sess.). In none of these documents, however, were any UHN ancestors cited as having any possible interest in or title to the lands in dispute.

Land Claims by Individual UHN Ancestors. Research conducted in records of the General Land Office and Louisiana parish conveyance records, using the citations in the American State Papers, suggests a chain of title exists from individual claims made in the early nineteenth century to the present. However, the voluminous amount of material which must be reviewed and collated in such an effort to prove more than mere "connections" precluded an extensive in-depth research endeavor. Entries in tract books of the General Land Office indicating claims by individuals with surnames identical to those of members of the petitioning group lead to the tentative conclusion that individual land claims which were confirmed were later surveyed and platted, and the surveys approved, as early as 1831-1832, although in some cases they were not patented until 1964!

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Information available on private land claims includes the names of individuals making those claims, the names of individuals making application for the patents, and the issuance of the patents in the name of the original claimants. Subsequent actions on those claims by the General Land Office and the Bureau of Land Management were administrative actions taken, file numbers, and patenting procedures. Certain documentation submitted by one individual to the BAR included genealogical data intended to demonstrate the inheritance of land by that individual and members of his family (Bureau of Land Management patents, submitted to BAR, with documentation, by P.H.B. Martinez, Fort Worth, Texas, July 1991).

These submitted records include copies of a dozen patents issued between 1940 and 1964 (8 issued in 1964, 1 in 1963, 2 in 1950, and 1 in 1940). They indicate a chain of title exists on lands initially claimed in the early nineteenth century by individuals with the surname Billiot, in six of twelve instances. These lands were platted from surveys completed in 1831-32 and 1856. However, the lands were not officially patented until well over 100 years had elapsed. The coming of the War between the States in the late 1850's, the long duration of that conflict, both in actuality and the period of Reconstruction following, when Federal troops occupied Louisiana and other states, may have contributed to this delay. The delay may also indicate a predisposition of both the Federal and state governments to refrain from the patenting of lands to those not considered full-fledged citizens, be they considered black, negro, mulatto, Indian, or some combination.

One example of two claims being made on behalf of an individual who was one of the progenitors of the UHN is that of "Marie Nerisse/Erice". Her claim (No. 370) was approved for patenting in 1964 (ASP 1834b, 2:433, Report No. 193, January 8, 1812). Claim No. 370, contained 309.24 acres, according to the plat of survey of August 30, 1856. Another claim (No. 249) was referenced in a letter of the Bureau of Land Management, dated August 5/6, 1963. This claim was reported as part of Report No. 368, dated January 1, 1823 (ASP 1834c, 3:597, No. 251). Each claim was confirmed, according to the BLM documents, the first under authority of the Act of March 3, 1807, 2 Stat. 440; the second under authority of the Act of February 28, 1823, 3 Stat 727.

There were also two claims on behalf of Charles Billiot. The first claim (No. 314), made as part of Report No. 193, January 8, 1812, was approved for patenting and patent

issued in December 1963 (ASP 1834b, 2:433, Report No. 193, January 8, 1812). The second was made as part of Report No. 368, January 1, 1823 (ASP 1834c, 3:597). These were also surveyed and the plats of survey approved in 1831-32 and 1855.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEMOGRAPHY OF THE UHN ANCESTORS.

Interconnections of Families Based upon Baptismal Sponsorships, Witnessing of Legal Documents, etc. Civil and church records from the early nineteenth century demonstrate that ancestors of the modern UHN frequently did appear in such roles as witnesses to one another's deeds and sponsors at the baptisms of one another's children. However, the same records clearly demonstrate that they were neither the exclusive nor even the predominant fulfillers of such roles. In the case of legal documents, this might be explained by the wish to have as witnesses white neighbors whose testimony could not be impeached in court in the case of future disputes or challenges to the document. This could not be a causative factor in the case of baptismal sponsorships, however.

Community Residence Patterns from the Federal Census, 1810-1860. All source materials have their limitations. When using Federal censuses to outline community development, it is necessary to emphasize that ethnic identifications did not remain consistent from one Federal census to another: in 1810 and 1820, the household of Alexandre Verdin had one free white male, while all others in the household were identified as free persons of color. In 1830, all free persons in his household (with a very high degree of probability the same children by the same Indian mother, Marie Gregoire) were listed as white. On the other hand, the household of Solomon Verret, who was identified in his marriage record as a free man of color, was consistently listed as white in the 1820, 1830, 1840, and 1850 Federal censuses.

Pattern shown by the 1810 Federal Census. In addition to the originals of the 1810 Federal census for Lafourche Parish, Louisiana (U.S. Bureau of the Census. Original 1810 Population Census Louisiana), there is a published version (Census Records 1957). Several heads of UHN-ancestral families, and also many unrelated neighbors and associates who appear in documents pertaining to UHN ancestors, were listed in this census. The families of interest for an

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

analysis were not in a uniform pattern of close residential contact. Some names were difficult to decipher.²⁷

To make the meaning of the following listing easier to follow, the listings have been keyed. Names in bold print are persons, both Indian and non-Indian, who were members of future UHN core families. Names underlined are French or Acadian families which would marry into the UHN ancestral group in subsequent generations, but were not yet associated with it as of the date the census was taken. Names in italics indicate neighbors who witnessed deeds, sponsored baptisms, and otherwise were associated with UHN ancestors in the documentary record, but who were not themselves ancestors of the modern UHN group. Regular type indicates neighbors who did not appear associated with UHN ancestors in documents.

On Bayou Lafourche (ellipses indicate the appearance of several other households between the names, indicating that these individuals of interest for the history of the UHN lived in the same general vicinity along Bayou Lafourche, but were not immediate or next door neighbors to one another): . . . Marie Celeste Lamatte (marginal note, "A quadroom") . . . Thomas Fitch . . . Jacques Lamotte . . . Jacques Verret . . . Valentine Solet . . . Guillaume Gobert.

On Bayou Terrebonne (full listing of residents, in order):²⁸ Thomas Rhodes, Hubert Bellenger, Margrette Bellenger, Auguste Babin, Henry S. Thibodeaux,²⁹ Ustace Carret, Pierre Guedry, Pierre Sylvie, Francis Sylla, Joseph Darsy [Darce], Widow Charles Bergeron, John Cambel, Jean Joseances [?], Jean Baptist Henry, Joseph Boudraux, Jean Duprey, Pierre Shaison [Chaisson], Jean Nankin [Naquin], Jean Pierre Dugot [Dugas], Pierre Bourge [Bourg?/Bourque?], Marian Billau[x?]

²⁷ The Accelerated Indexing System index to the 1810 census of Louisiana indexed "Valentia Solet," "Marian Billoux" and "Courlo Savage" in Lafourche Parish (Jackson 1976, 13, 133, and 136). The following names are as they appear in the published version (Census Records, 1957), indicating some of the difficulties that appear in attempting to use published indexes: Jacques Loret or Verret . . . Valentine Lobet . . . Marian Billain, Coxitoa Savage. Examination of the original census at the National Archives indicated that this final name was "Courto, a Savage."

²⁸ Note that this order corresponds closely with that of the land grants, from north to south.

²⁹ The Justice of the Peace who performed the 1808 marriage of Jacques Billiot and Rosalie Courteau, Thibodeaux was born in Albany, New York, but had settled in Louisiana by 1793 (Westerman 1991: 29-30).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

(marginal note: free Negress 60 years old, has land, pays tax, has 10 children), **Courto a Savage** (marginal note: pays tax, has six children).

Pattern Shown by the 1820 Federal Census. In addition to the originals of the 1820 Federal census of Lafourche Interior Parish, there is a published version (Westerman 1982). This census had no separate category for "Indian" identification--ancestors of the petitioning group were identified as either white or as free persons of color.

The 1820 Federal census listing of names, apparently in order of residence since the names again track well with the order shown in plats and surveys of land grants along Bayou Terrebonne from north to south, indicates that those persons who were most closely associated with the early petitioning community were living in a tight but not exclusive residential group.

To make the meaning of the following listing easier to follow, the listings have been keyed. Names in bold print are persons, both Indian and non-Indian, who were members of future UHN core families. Names underlined are French or Acadian families which would marry into the UHN ancestral group in subsequent generations, but were not yet associated with it as of the date the census was taken. Names in italics indicate neighbors who witnessed deeds, sponsored baptisms, and otherwise were associated with UHN ancestors in the documentary record, but who were not themselves ancestors of the modern UHN group. Regular type indicates neighbors who did not appear associated with UHN ancestors in documents.

Pircn Amie, **Thomas Fitch**, **Joseph Collet** [dit Prevost], Marie Riche [i.e. Marie Iris/Eris], Pierre Billiot [Jackson, Teeples, and Schaefermeyer 1981 indexed as Billcot], Etienne Billiot [Jackson, Teeples and Schaefermeyer 1981 indexed as Ettiennne Billcot], Charles Billiot, Mitchel Dardar, Jacques Billiot [Jackson, Teeples and Schaefermeyer 1981 indexed as Jocke Belleot], John Billiot [Jackson, Teeples and Schaefermeyer 1981 indexed as Bilhot], Bastien Fredrick, Joseph Bodro fils, John Bpt. Duplantis, Edmon Fanguy, Widow Tyeen [Tyson], Jos. Jean Guenon, Pierre Chasson, Pierre Bourque, John Bpt. Henry fils, John Bpt. Henry, Frans. Const. Henry, Chs. Mager. Henry, Widow Bodro, Isidore Bodro, Francis. Dubois, Charles Dupret, John Dupret fils, John Dupret pere, Joseph Cher-Amie, Jerome Dupret, Jean Naquin, Gabriel Lebeuf, John Pierre Dugas, Alexandre Verdine, John Mars, Lewis Lynge [Synge], Joseph Gennot, Daniel Laquet,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Ambroise Dugas, Joseph Bourgeois, Augustin Babin, Widow Crochet, Hubert Baulenger [Bellenger] ... Jacque Verret (Westerman 1982, 33).

Pattern Shown by the 1830 Federal Census. In 1830, census identification possibilities again were "free white" or "free persons of color" (abbreviated as "fpc"). The census of Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, showed in this year three separate residential clusters (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1830b, NARA Microfilm Series M-19, Roll 43):

(1) Alexandre **Verdine**, Pierre **Chaisson**, Solomon **Verret**, Joseph **Gauber**, Joseph **Gregoire** [possibly an Acadian rather than the UHN ancestor] (all of these persons counted as white) . . . ; (2) Jean M. **Naquin** (white), Pierre **Billeaux** (fpc), Charles **Billeaux** (fpc), Henry **Carr**, Edmond **Fanguille** . . . ; and (3) Jean **Billeaux** (fpc), Pierre **Cazeau**, Joseph **Mongen**, Etienne **Billeaux** (fpc), Jean V. **LeBlanc**.

The Courteau family did not receive a "head of household" listing in Terrebonne Parish in 1830 or 1840. There are some indications that they may have been living elsewhere, as land sales made in 1836 and confirmed in 1845 to "Courteau Houma and Antoine Houma" and "Modeste Abbey and Julian Houma" indicate that this family, as well as some of the Billiots, were purchasing Federal land in St. Martin Parish (BLM, Federal Land Certificates, December 8, 1845).³⁰ The petition presented no information pertaining to these purchases. However, the family was living in Terrebonne Parish in 1828 and 1838 when Joseph Courteau Houma executed deeds, and in 1844 at the time of his death, so they may have been counted in someone else's household.

Pattern Shown by the 1840 Federal Census. In 1840, census identification possibilities again were "free white" or "free persons of color." It is marked by anglicized phonetic spelling of many French family names ("Abear" for Hebert, "Robsho" for Robicheaux), which makes its use difficult. Again, there were clusters:

³⁰ U.S. Land Office - Index to Tract Books, Southeastern District. Abbey, Modeste & Houma, Julien, Bk. 41, Folio 89; 46/144. Sec. 23, T55, R8E, LA Meridian, sale 2/8/1836, pat. 10/6/1841, vol. 1, p. 435.
December 8, 1845. Houma, Couteau and Houma, Antoine, of the Parish of Terrebonne, Section 66, T20 R18E; Section 21, T5, R8E, District of land subject to sale at New Orleans, Louisiana, containing 329 64/100 acres.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

J. M. Naquin (husband of Pauline Verdin) next door to Ursin Verdin (both households counted as white) (NARA Microfilm Series M-704, Roll 129, 31). Separated from them by three households were A. Beyout [Jackson and Teeples 1978 indexed as Beyont] next door to L. Verret, all counted as white (NARA Microfilm Series M-704, Roll 129, 32).

After an interval of twelve households appeared: Pierre Beix [Beez, Becz, Beey?] (6 f.p.c.), J. Rice [?], S. Verret (white), H. Beo (2 f.p.c.), C. Dalder (5 f.p.c.), C. Bieo [Becc?] (white), Benjn. Thibodeaux, P. Beo (4 f.p.c.), J. Greggsano [Gregoire?] (7 f.p.c.), F. Debo, F. Thibodeaux, Vin F. Town, P. Dursch, P. Thibodeaux, M. Beo (white), W. Delaide Vinton (1 free woman of color, aged 55/100)³¹ (NARA Microfilm Series M-704, Roll 192, 32-33).

1850 and 1860 Federal Census Records. The clearest pictures of the petitioning community in the mid-nineteenth century come from the Federal census records of 1850 and 1860. Published, annotated versions of both these documents are available (Horvath 1985 and Terrebonne Genealogical Society 1983). In 1850, generally, as ethnic identification, the designations of "black" or "mulatto" were substituted where "all other free persons except Indians not taxed" or "free colored persons" had been used in the earlier decennial censuses.

Ethnic Identification. In 1850, the majority of the ancestors of the UHN were classified as mulatto, though several families were counted as white. Modeste, nee Billiot, wife of Joseph Provost, had "I" for "Indian" inserted in the ethnic identity column (Horvath 1985, 106). The 1860 census identified many more members of the group as Indian, though not with any consistency--some were identified as mulatto, and others as white, with variable designations for persons who were full siblings. Modeste (Billiot) Prevost, who had been the only individual labelled Indian in 1850, was classified as white in 1860, in her white husband's household #325 (Terrebonne Genealogical Society 1983, 44). The families were in Terrebonne Parish, but no clear residential pattern appeared from the census listings.

³¹ Circumstantial evidence indicates that this might be a listing for Adelaide Billiot, who otherwise does not appear in this census, but is known from other documents to have been living in the area.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

1850 Residential Groupings. In 1850, the family of Jean Billiot, #228, was followed by two Dupre households--the Dupre's having been neighbors of UHN ancestors, but not themselves UHN ancestors, at least since 1810.³² Nearby, at #235 and #236, were the households of Charles Dardar and Etienne Billiot. The remainder were listed in several separate clusters: Jean Baptiste Verdin at #333; Etienne Billiot at #336; Michel Billiot #337; Jean Baptiste Gregoire #338; then Pierre Billiot at #350; Francis Fitch #353; and Solomon Verret #356; then Louis Verret #523 and Joseph Provost, #525; finally, Ursin Verdin at #542 and Celestin Billiot at #550 (Horvath 1985, 62-64, 92-93, 96-98, 105-106, 150).

1860 Residential Groupings. The household of Michel Billiot was more or less isolated at #297. Joseph Verret, Etienne Billiot, and Solomon Verret were next door neighbors (#307, 308, and 309). A residential cluster began at #341 with Frank Fitch, followed by Rene Billiot, Robert Billiot, and M. Billiot.

There was one other clear residential cluster. Michel Billiot (#467) was living near his Dubois in-laws. As neighbors, he had Paul Dardar (#472), Clemente Carlos (married to a Naquin and who was involved with Rosalie Courteau's land transactions in the next decade) (#474), Rosalie (Courteau) Billiot (#475), Rosalie's sons, Jean Marcellus Billiot (#476) and Barthelemy Billiot (#477), her daughter Felicite's family (#479), Mrs. M. Courteau (#480), Julien Billiot [Courteau] (#481), and Manette (Renaud) Billiot (#482).

Azilda Billiot had by this time married Andre Chaisson, and was at #531, near others of the Dubois connection. At some distance, Antoine Courteau, working as a farm laborer, was by himself at #644, and it is not clear whether the Courteau woman and child shown in the next household were his sister and niece or his wife and child. Philerome Billiot was at #646, Pierre Billiot at #649, Louis Verret at #653, Frederic Parfait at #657. Rosalie Courteau's son, Jacques, was working as a farm laborer and living in household #639, near Jean Verdin (#641) and Joseph Courteau (#642).

Nature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century Petitioning Community.
Information on the activities of the UHN in the mid-

³² Vincent Dupre would marry Rosalie Gregoire in 1858, beginning a UHN Dupre family line.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

nineteenth century is scattered, if not sketchy. One explanation for the lack of information is that offered by Janel Curry (Curry 1979a; Curry 1979b), who worked among the UHN on behalf of the Central Mennonite Committee in the later 1970's. Curry's research has been incorporated into the UHN petition.

Curry maintained that ecological conditions and historical circumstances combined to isolate UHN ancestors, driven there by economic circumstances, in small residential pockets in the southern Louisiana bayous. Curry contended that these isolated settlements permitted the UHN ancestral families to maintain linked familial and social ties. She also claimed that the families in these settlements adapted to the economic circumstances by moving from an agricultural to a "hunting and gathering" society (Curry 1979a, 18; Curry 1979b, 6 and 15-16).

Curry overstated this point. The economic pattern of UHN ancestors was, it is true, more traditionally agricultural in the mid-19th century than it was to become in the early 20th century. By the latter date, many members of the petitioning community were living on houseboats. They were, however, fishing, oystering, and trapping for commercial sales--not just for subsistence--and their existence remained tied to the surrounding cash economy. Manuel Naquin's grandfather constructed pirogues [small, flat-bottomed boats], used to transport groceries from Houma, a six hour trip (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#203, p. 2).

Curry's review of Terrebonne Parish land records indicated expansion by UHN ancestors into several locations during the nineteenth century. These records showed families residing as far west as Bayou Du Large and as far east as Bayou Lafourche (Curry 1979a, 18, citing Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Records and Lafourche Parish Tax Roll). She argued that the leadership of the group decentralized to individuals in the various locations that the group occupied and settled on a permanent basis (Curry 1979b, 8).

These locations included Bayou du Large, Bayou Lafourche, Dulac, Point Barre on Lower Bayou Terrebonne, and Bayou Petit Caillou ((Curry 1979a, 18; Curry 1979b, 8; Swanton 1911, 291). Curry stated that the leadership that grew out of such a decentralized situation was "based on kinship or identification with a certain community" (Curry 1979a, 18). This hypothesis was based primarily upon Swanton's research (Swanton 1911, 291-292).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

However, Curry elsewhere contended that it was the economic adaptation to "hunting and gathering" and its consequences, rather than the residential expansion per se, that shifted political authority away from any centralized leader who would have been universally recognized by the society external to the petitioning community. BAR found no evidence of centralized leadership in the mid-19th century period.

By the 1930's, Frank G. Speck's description of the petitioning group's organizational system was:

It may be found, broadly applied, that the entire Houma group is now an extended consanguineous family. The clan organization is not known. There is no semblance of political cohesion under chief, leader or council. The last chief, apparently a hereditary officer, is remembered to have been one Delahoussay (Dalahousie) Couteau (Courteau). He is an historical figure mentioned by Swanton,³³ and pointed to by the Houma as the last social unifier, whose death (about 1800) left the people minus leadership (Speck 1943, 213).

³³ Swanton mentioned the name Courteau, but not Dalahousie or any of its variants.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UHN COMMUNITY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR.

Unfortunately, the petitioner presented essentially no documentation on the development of the UHN from the Civil War through World War I other than Federal census records. The only written material consisted of the above-mentioned deeds pertaining to land purchases by Rosalie Courteau, but nothing indicated that these purchases were of a tribal nature. Rather, they seemed to be ordinary individual land transactions.

Occupations at the Turn of the Century. It was possible to derive a picture of the occupations of petitioner's ancestral families at the turn of the century from the 1900 U.S. Federal Census (Boudreaux and Morrison 1989a, 296, 311-318, 345, 446-453). The results are presented in the following table:

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Occupations of UHN Ancestors (Male) over Age 16
1900 U.S. Census, Terrebonne Parish, LA

Age Range	Fisher- man	Oyster* Fishman	Farmer/** Farm Labor	Other
Under 26	13	21	15***	Laborer: 6 Day labor: 1 Swamper: 2 Grocer: 1
26-35	9	19	7	Grocer: 2 Hunter: 1 Day labor: 2
36-45	6	7	9	Hunter: 1 Laborer: 1 Swamper: 1
46-55	1	4	3	Laborer: 3
Over 55	1	2	4	Laborer: 1 Day labor: 1 Hunter: 1 Swamper: 1 None: 5****

* All on Bayou Terrebonne.

** Only 4 farmers/farm laborers were on Bayou Terrebonne; the remainder lived in the area served by Theriot Church.

*** Seven of the "farm laborers" under 26 were counted in the households of fathers who were farmers.

**** The ages of these men were given as: (78) (81) (82) (92) (100).

John Swanton. The only study submitted by the petitioner which interrupted this blank between the Civil War and World War I was the material gathered by John R. Swanton in the community in 1907. As an ethnologist, his interest was primarily in the group's origins, artifacts, and survivals of Indian culture, as indicated by the 80 "Indian" words which he collected from Felicite Billiot (Swanton n.d.; Swanton 1911, 33). Swanton characterized these words as nearly pure Choctaw, but, in fact, the words appear to be Mobilian trade jargon (Drechsel to DeMarce, 1993).

In so far as the petitioner presented documentation for the development of the group during this period, it existed in a group of oral histories taken in the later 1970's. Some of the interviewees at this time were over 80 years old, so can be assumed to have had memories which reached back to the World War I era. The oral history testimony contains a plethora of information on ancestors, families, communities, Houma, and/or "Indians." Various references to leaders,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

leadership, lands, community, and countless individuals permeate the answers to questions posed by the interviewers. Genealogical references are interspersed and numerous throughout the interviews.

For the period from the Civil War to World War I, the interviewees were describing, on the basis of recollection only, things which had been told to them by others. As an example, one informant stated that the movement of the Indian groups down the Mississippi bayous occurred with the displacements caused by the "Confederate war" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7: #224/31, p. 2). One woman related how her grandfather came down the bayou "with the Indian group he was with" (Juanita Wilson Roma, UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#223/31). She said that a considerable amount of moving or drifting around the area happened at the time they were attempting to get away from the Choctaw, which took place at the time the Negroes were in slavery (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#223/31). This vagueness about place and time is characteristic of the oral interviews. Essentially, there is a 50-year hiatus in the historical record. Lacking further specifics, *i.e.*, dates, locations, names, and reasons, only a partial picture emerges from the oral history testimony.

Self-Identification as Indian. After Swanton published his first work on the petitioner's ancestors in 1911, identification of the petitioner as "Houma" became more frequent. It was not yet, however, consistent. While the oral testimony may be illustrative, it is largely inconclusive as to whether some of the individuals were Indian, or even claimed to be. The interviews indicate clearly that Rosalie Courteau's memory was strongly imprinted upon her descendants. The general picture is that of an impressive family matriarch, but there is no evidence that her political influence went beyond her own extended family. For example, claims in the petitioner's oral histories that she originally owned a land grant and donated the land upon which the city of Houma, Louisiana, is located have been disproved by a local historian who checked the chain of title (Chauvin in Morrison 1984, 4).³⁴

³⁴ The Spanish land grant was to Joseph Hache, later confirmed to him by the U.S. government. He sold to Brigitte (Belanger) Thibodaux, widow of Henry Schuyler Thibodaux. She sold a portion to her brother Francois belanger, who sold to his nephew, Hubert Madison Belanger, and to Hubert's brother-in-law Richard Henry Grinage. Their act of donation for relocation of the Terrebonne Parish courthouse on this property was dated May 10, 1834 (Chauvin in Morrison 1984, 4). The same historian indicates the following:

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The testimony presented by V.S. Dardar indicates a mobile society characterized by "some Indians that moved from place to place" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 1). In addition, the mobility factor among the Indians themselves was characterized by knowing other Indians, *i.e.*, "Sitimacha" [*sic*] were located near Berwick and Morgan City (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 1). At the same time, Dardar indicated that the "Sitimacha" and modern Houma were "mixed" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 2). BAR researchers, on the other hand, found no evidence of intermarriage between the Chitimacha and ancestors of the petitioner during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It may be of significance in explaining this confusion that in 1917, Bushnell's "Chitimacha" informant was Abel Billiot, demonstrably a descendant of UHN ancestors (Bushnell 1917).

Some information in the oral histories appeared in isolation, unconnected to any other data presented in the petition. For example, Dardar also recalled that in 1932 some "Oklahoma Indians came here and talked to people" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#207). This interesting bit of information also appeared as a short notice in the Times-Picayune, but no interviewee recalled who the Indians from Oklahoma were, from what tribe, or why they had come.

In the oral histories, there was uncertainty both as to specific dates and actual residential locations of earlier generations. Referencing the mid-to-late nineteenth century, V.S. Dardar stated the "Indians" at Bayou Lafourche were there prior to anyone else.³⁵ He also indicated that he did not know "anybody that was pure Sitimacha and not Houma." The mixture of the two groups was more typical, though "the Terrebonne people were more the Houma people" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 2).

It is generally conceded [*sic*] that Houma received it's [*sic*] name from a small band of Indians, who, at the same time of the founding of the town and for some years prior, were camped at Ouiski Point. This is where Bayou Cand [*sic*, should be Bayou Cane] intersects with Bayou Black, some three miles northwest of the City. Tobias Gibson, or a member of his household is supposed to have suggested the name. Houma means "red" in the Indian language (Chauvin in Morrison 1984, 4).

Since the ancestors of the petitioner had been living over 20 miles south of the location of the city of Houma for 30 to 40 years by the time the city was founded in 1834, this does not indicate a connection between them and the band camped for some time northwest of the city location.

³⁵ According to the documentary record, the earliest settlers were Acadians.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The Challenge of White Supremacy. V.S. Dardar (born ca. 1910) indicated that Rosalie Courteau was a "Houma Indian" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 2). The petition narrative indicates that in the early nineteenth century the generation of Indian women represented by Rosalie Courteau, and the generation following [no names in addition to that of Rosalie were provided in the oral history], married "Frenchmen" (UHN Pet., Narr., 35-36).³⁶

The issue of race predisposed, if not determined, the social identity of Rosalie Courteau's husband, Jacques Billiot, a son of Jean Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse [Iris]. Records of 1812 pensioners indicate Jacques Billiot was of "yellow complexion" and that he was designated a free person of color (U.S. Veterans Administration 1878a). This is illustrated by comments by Marie Dupre during an oral history interview in 1977. Dupre indicated to Janel Curry that while she thought that Jacques Billiot "came from France," confusion had resulted from people's describing him as part Negro and part Indian. Dupre ascribed this to an attempt to prevent Rosalie Courteau from obtaining funds that other Indians were understood to receive. The issue to Dupre was not whether Jacques Billiot was Indian, but that he was construed as being "Negro." According to Dupre,

the reason they done that [sic] was they wanted her to go down so her people wouldn't get the money what the other indians [sic] are getting in the west and all over. They figure being married to a half negro, her family, her grandchildren and all that they wouldn't have been able to do anything because a negro was not able to have nothing (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#192).

The point of the discussion was that Rosalie Courteau was recognized and accepted as Indian, if not specifically as Houma. More importantly, since the association of some of the community with Negroes could not be made through Rosalie it was made through her husband. The Negro "association,"

³⁶ Some of these "Frenchmen" were in fact from France or were from Acadian families of the local neighborhood, but others were Creoles of partially African ancestry who bore French surnames. The social effects on those who maintained a "Houma" identity were to last for several generations. Because of the circumstances in which free people of color lived, and the general overall racial relationships in 19th century Louisiana, the element of African ancestry may have been what caused the UHN group to become geographically isolated, socially and economically constricted, and politically non-existent to those not part of the numerous kinship networks which developed over several generations.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

which Dupre went on to explain was made because "they wanted her to go down," is a reference to the white population's associating all dark-skinned individuals with Negroes.

The origin of the derogatory term "Sabine" as applied to the UHN has not been specified to any particular time during the nineteenth century, nor are there early examples of it in the written documentation.³⁷ In any case, the question of the term's origin is irrelevant to the merits of the UHN petition. As the practice of racial discrimination affected Rosalie Courteau and her husband, however, the use of the term "Sabine" within the local context, as implying mixed Indian-Negro ancestry, becomes significant.

For a quarter-century following repeal of anti-miscegenation statutes in 1870 by a Reconstruction state government (Dominguez 1986, 84-85), the white, black, Creole, Acadian, and Indian groups of society could legally mix. Although still classified as persons of color, Indians could legally marry whites until 1894. Numerous long-standing households among the petitioning group's ancestors legalized their status during this period.

As the twentieth century dawned, white ascendancy in Louisiana created a more openly dichotomous racial atmosphere, as the separation of Creoles of European ancestry from Creoles of color became more deliberate (Desdunes 1973, xxi-xxiii). During this period, as recounted in the UHN oral histories, the assertiveness of the petitioning community as to its Indian/Houma identity, personalized in Rosalie Courteau, emerged in the context of claims to certain land located in the southern Terrebonne Parish bayous.

Francis Gallet was related to Rosalie through one of her daughters, Felicite, who was his grandmother, and maintained lively recollections of her. He indicated in one interview that his mother was having a baby when Rosalie Courteau passed away (UHN Pet. Ex. 7: #201/33, p. 3). He stated that Rosalie Courteau and Jacques Billiot were married when France was still in Louisiana. It was not unusual for him

³⁷ A good case could probably be made that it derived from the period shortly after the purchase of Louisiana by the United States. The unsettled circumstances along the Sabine River and east into what came to be western Louisiana led up to the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain which fixed the western boundary of Louisiana vis-a-vis the eastern boundary of Texas (Taylor 1984).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

to indicate, or even emphasize, that Jacques Billiot was a Frenchman. He went on to state that Billiot was friendly with the Spaniards and wanted to take Francis to South America (UHN Pet., Ex.#201/13, p. 2). While Gallet indicated he had not heard of the name "Delahoussaye" his wife stated, "that was supposed to be Rosalie's name. Her last name" [sic]; (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#201/13, p. 2).

Ludvic Dardar asserted that Rosalie "was the daughter of the chief of the tribe of the Houmas grant" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#205). He also was aware that she married Jacques Billiot, and said that she moved from Houma to Montegut (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#205). Oneziphor Dardar, Ludvic's brother, indicated in December 1978 that "Rosalie was the aunt of all these people around here. She was the aunt of my grandfather on both sides" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#207).

After 1894, allegations that ancestors of the petitioner were Negro (based on the presumption that any African ancestry, no matter how little, categorized the bearer as black), or that individuals in the group were passing for white, became critical to the group's survival and self-identification, both for the segment of society wishing to maintain the Indian identity and that segment seeking to deliberately categorize all non-whites as colored/Negro. By this time, any external "Indian" aspects of identification that may have existed in earlier periods had dissipated so far, as Swanton found out, that this group of people with Indian ancestry had to be rediscovered in Louisiana, and their history had to be reconstructed as a part of the process of re-labelling them as Indians. Though no Indian cultural traits remained, compared with the stereotypical Indian of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, his interviewees cast themselves as among the the "Indians of Louisiana."

Education at the Turn of the Century. Since much of the petitioner's oral history tradition and many of the twentieth-century studies of the petitioner by outsiders indicated a lack of educational facilities, it should be noted that the 1900 Federal census indicates that a school was available to that portion of the group resident at or near Montegut, Louisiana, on Bayou Terrebonne. "Student" was noted as the occupation of 16 school-age children in the 1900 U.S. census, all but one on Bayou Terrebonne. Girls were as likely to be in school as boys. These children

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

resided in 13 households³⁸ numbered between #3380-#3410 (Boudreaux and Morrison 1989a, 296, 311-318). Fifty-six children on Bayou Terrebonne, age 6-14 (elementary range for 8 grades), were not classified as students.

In households #3380-3410, nine non-students of school age (6-14, elementary range for 8 grades) lived in a household where at least one other child was a student. Of these, all were aged either 6-7 or 13-14. Nine non-students of school age (6-14, elementary range for 8 grades) lived in five households where no child was a student.³⁹ One child in question was 8; one was 11; two were 12. The other 5 were either 6-7 or 13-14. In the succeeding households on Bayou Terrebonne, #3411-#3453, no children were classified as students. In this range, 20 households contained 38 children of school age (6-14, elementary range for 8 grades). It was not possible to determine if no children were in school, or if the census taker just stopped counting at that point (Boudreaux and Morrison 1989a, 311-318). No children in families ancestral to the petitioning group who were living in the Theriot Church service area were noted as students. There were students in "non-Houma" families enumerated on the same census pages (Boudreaux and Morrison 1989, 446-453), indicating that "white" public schools existed in the vicinity.

"Rediscovery" of the Terrebonne Settlement as Indian and "Houma" by Anthropologists. In 1900, James Mooney reported that the historical Houma were practically extinct, or at least had lost their identity, prior to 1800. In 1907, Hodge's Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, repeated that the "Huma" were said to be extinct (Hodge 1907, 1:577). In the same year, however, ethnologist John Reed Swanton, while doing field work in Indian communities in Louisiana, visited the Terrebonne Parish settlement and tentatively identified its members as descendants of the historical Houma, saying that they called themselves "'Hommas' or, rather 'Hommas'" (Swanton 1911, 292). After a long discussion of the historical Houma tribe from eighteenth and early nineteenth-

³⁸ Household heads: Victor Billiot, Francois Gallet, Martin Dupre, Oscar Galley, Jules Courteaux, [Charles] Duncan Billiot, Clodius [Chlodimir] Billiot, Andrew Chasson, Marcel Naquin, Jr.; Joseph Maulinaire, Marcelian Courteaux, Charles Hotard [son of Josephine/Fine Courteau], Wallace Couteaux.

³⁹ Household heads: Jim Fitch, Jouissan [Joachim] Verdin, James Dardar, Arthur Chasson, Floran Chasson.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

century sources, he concluded: "At any rate, the remnant of the tribe, mixed with other Indian peoples and white and negro blood, now live along the coasts of Terre Bonne and La Fourche parishes" (Swanton 1911, 291). Swanton continued by saying that, "In spite of mixture with whites and negroes, they form a distinct class of the population, and prefer to be called 'Indians'" (Swanton 1911, 292).

According to Speck, in 1907 Swanton estimated a population of 350 for the UHN ancestral group at that time and added a comment that: "The so-called Houma of today include remnants of most of the Louisiana coast tribes, in all degrees of mixture, Indian, white, and negro. The state recognizes about 350 as Indian. They claim over 800 of all mixtures and intermarriages" (Speck 1943, 1937). The petition presented no documentation concerning this "state recognition" as Indian prior to 1907, nor did the petition narrative discuss what it meant for the community.

Swanton's identification of the group as Houma was not accepted as unambiguous by other ethnologists in the early twentieth century. When M. Raymond Harrington spent some time "searching out the remnants of Indian tribes still left in the state of Louisiana, for the purpose of learning something about their location, numbers, and condition . . ." (Harrington 1908, 656), he discussed the Chitimacha and Koasati at length. His total description of the UHN settlement was much briefer:

The Houma tribe, near Houma, Terrebonne Parish, is now nearly extinct, only two or three persons being found who can claim pure Indian blood. However, a number of families were seen who show plainly their Indian extraction. The Houma language, which belongs to the Muskogean stock and is closely related to the Choctaw, is remembered to-day by two old women only and one of these has forgotten much of what she knew of the Indian tongue. Strange to say this very woman remembers some characteristic Indian songs. French is the prevailing language to-day, and the Houma live like the white people about them. Even the art of basketry has been lost, which seems a pity, for I found a number of fine old baskets among these people, one of which, a double basket, would compare favorably with the work of the Chitimacha. The most remarkable specimen I found here was a blowgun made of a cypress pole, which had been split, hollowed out, and stuck together again,

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

then wound with cord, and covered with wax or gum of some kind (Harrington 1908, 657-658).

In 1917, Bushnell identified a descendant of a central UHN family, from a major UHN settlement, as Chitimacha:

At the present time several families living in Terrebonne and La Fourche parishes, near Bayou La Fourche, claim to be of Chitimacha descent, although they know some of their ancestors to have been Houma, and many have traces of European blood as well. On the following pages are given some of the mannerisms and customs of these people, as related by Abel Billiot, a man about sixty-five years of age, who is known as a Chitimacha, from the village of Point-au-chien in the southeastern part of Terrebonne parish, Louisiana (Bushnell 1917, 302).

Frank G. Speck expressed no doubts that the roots of the modern petitioner lay within the historical Houma tribe, although he opened his major article (based upon a report he prepared for the Department of Education, Office of Indian Affairs, in 1939-40) by saying, "Historians and ethnologists have dealt most charily with the Houma people" (Speck 1943, 136). His own summary stated that it was "well established historically that the Houma removed" from their 1706 settlement to the delta near New Orleans "and subsequently drifted to the bayous of La Fourche and Terre Bonne" (Speck 1943, 137). He did not mention the period of the historical Houma tribe's residence around Ascension and St. James Parishes in the later eighteenth century. In a 1938 letter to Dr. Willard Beatty, Educational Division, Bureau of Indian Affairs, he stated:

I should rate the Houma as a people possessing Indian blood and cultural characters to a degree about equal to that of the Crook [sic, should be Creek], Choctaw, Catawba, and Seminoles. According to Swanton their numbers may reach about a thousand in the districts which they inhabit. The Houma tribe traces its extraction from the Muskogian Indian family of Mississippi and Louisiana" (Downs and Whitehead 1976, 11).

In 1941, Speck estimated the group to contain 2,000 persons and summarized it in the following description:

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

There are no Houma individuals or families of pure blood. The present population so classified comprises elements of other Indian descent (early historic Choctaw, Biloxi, Chitimacha), early Spanish, French and unspecified American, besides more recent accessions of Filipinos by marriage. Some families of Houma descent have intermarried with mulattoes, which circumstance has been cause for classification of the whole troupe as such by local partisans of racial segregation (Speck 1941, 49:n.1).

Elsewhere, he indicated no doubt of a connection between the historical Houma and the UHN: "The modern people known as Houma Indians . . . are descendants of the Historic Houma tribe mentioned in eighteenth-century narratives of Louisiana" (Speck 1943, 136-137).⁴⁰ As far as group membership was concerned,

there is in the physical type of the group, however, a predominantly and distinctly Indian cargo. The leaders of the Houma people themselves are, in my judgment, capable of satisfactorily evaluating the validity of claims to Houma 'raciality' in respect to the blood quantum, when the time arrives for listing and segregating the Indians (Speck 1943, 138).

Segregation and Its Limits. Speck noted in 1943 that, "There are, however, some families residing nearer the large centers of white population, related collaterally to those of more distinct Houma descent, which have acquired perceptible negro blood, and hence are classified as mulattos by the Houma themselves" (Speck 1943, 138). Simultaneously, some members of the UHN core ancestral families were perceived by outsiders as more black/Negro than Indian in ancestry, culture, and tradition. Because of this, local whites resented them when they attempted to disassociate from the Negro social category. Yet, the more "white/Creole" Acadian-accultured UHN members did cut themselves off from Negro society at the same time that they were being cut off from white society.

This dual exclusion was exemplified by the H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Parish School Board case (1917/18, No. 7,876 20th

⁴⁰ In his text, Speck provided no citation or footnote to indicate the basis upon which he was making this linkage. BAR has not located any primary source to which he could have been referring as an authority for this statement.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Judicial District Court of La. Affirmed 29 April 1918, Case No. 22,567, High Court Docket), in which a UHN ancestor sued to have his children admitted to the white school system. The Board of Education attempted to demonstrate that the family was of Negro descent. The resulting jurisdictional dismissal sidestepped the issue of race by claiming that the benefit to accrue did not amount to a tuition cost of \$2,000 or more (Bourgeois 1938, 70).

Twenty years later, the opinion of the Terrebonne Parish school system had not altered, as exemplified in statements made by the superintendent, Henry L. Bourgeois, in his master's thesis on the past 40 years of public education in the parish: Chapter XIV was titled "So-Called Indians of Terrebonne Parish." Bourgeois described the situation from his perspective:

This group numbers approximately one thousand souls, including men, women, and children. They call themselves Indians, and claim a social status comparable to that of the white man. But, as a matter of fact, they are not Indians. They are the descendants of that union of the Indian and the free gens de couleur of many generations back, with large infusions of white blood (Bourgeois 1938, 69-70).

The legal situation in Louisiana did not remain static, however. A 1920 statute "treated the union of an Indian and a person of the 'colored and black' race as miscegenetic" and nullified such unions, demonstrating that Indians were "noncolored for the first time in Louisiana's legal history" (Dominguez 1986, 34). In an opinion of the Louisiana Attorney General in the early 1930's, marriages between whites and Indians were no longer prohibited.

Even this did not make the status of UHN families unambiguous, however. Members of even the same immediate family were not consistently identified as Indian on such vital records documents as birth certificates. In the oral histories, Dora Santiny indicated she "had to go to court to get my children's birth certificates changed to white from black. The court papers say we were of white and Indian ancestry" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#210/11, p. 1).

Self-Identification as Indian. A retired teacher who worked with the group, Miss Laise Ledet, when discussing Clement

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

and Victor Naquin, noted that during the 1940's and early 1950's, certain other people (last names not mentioned) were reluctant to admit to being Indian. Ms. Ledet indicated that during the time she was a teacher at Pointe au Chien, some of the group identified themselves as Indians, while others would not (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p. 5). Irrespective of the physical appearance of the people to whom she was referring, Ms. Ledet interpreted the social identification of certain individuals as "Indian" as based both on a process of self-identification and also on behavior or characteristics as observed by others. Some individuals were not only identified as "Indian" by others, but so identified themselves.

In another reference to one "Aurlie" Naquin, (Mrs. Arlene Naquin), Ms. Ledet indicated that Mrs. Naquin "had been so discriminated against for being Indian that she didn't want anything to do with any program for the Indians" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p. 4). In another description, Ms. Ledet indicated that one Aubin Billiot was identified as Indian by Msgr. Henri Bezou. Billiot was among those at "rural Point Aux Chenes" who was "considered" Indian. The term "Indian" is more consistently used than "Houma." Further on, Ms. Ledet indicated that people at Pointe au Chien considered individuals at lower Pointe au Chien as Indians. A notable observation which Ms. Ledet made was "if you were an Indian, you didn't have any rights, you couldn't do anything" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p. 5).

The oral testimony from Ms. Ledet supports the idea that social practices distinguished between Indians and non-Indians in the 1940's and early 1950's, especially in education. At another juncture in the testimony, she stated that while the "antipathy" between Indians and whites was apparently based on "racial prejudice," economic differences between the two groups did not exist. "Those who had been living here [Pointe au Chien], say 100 years, . . . [practiced] farming, fishing, hunting, trapping" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p. 2).

Economic Foundations and Self-Definition. The oral histories portray intensive economic activity among the UHN ancestral group at the various locations. Most of these locations - Bayou Terrebonne, Isle Jean-Charles, Pointe au Chien - are discussed from the perspective of what it was like one to three generations ago, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In one case, land was described as leased from fur companies (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#180); in another, land was described as bought from the

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

state (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#203). In another interview, lands were stated to have been settled on by sons of Rosalie Courteau (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#218/21).

The connection of various UHN families to specific land parcels is alluded to in an oral history compiled in 1960 which is included in the petition documents (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#180). Referred to as the "Anderson Papers/Homestead Research Ctr.," the document indicates the sons of Rosalie Courteau ostensibly occupied or held title to lands which were later used, if not by legal title then by occupation, for fur trapping and later oil exploration. Both the oral history and the 1938 report by Ruth Underhill indicate that these lands, if indeed in the Billiots' hands in the nineteenth century, had been lost by the 1930's, if not earlier.

The descriptions of the land issues furnished by the Naquins and others in the oral histories suffers from a lack of focus on when, where, and how the land was "lost." In spite of such uncertainty, the oral history, which is substantiated by other documentary records (*i.e.*, material submitted by Mr. P.H.B. Martinez, Fort Worth, Texas), indicates that members of the petitioner were actively researching land title issues for some time before the limited number of patents which they obtained were issued between 1949 and 1963.

Whatever claim the petitioning community may have had to the use most of these lands was tenuous. As the oral history indicates (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#180), in addition to the land that was later patented, individual UHN members leased lands from fur companies such as the Delaware Fur Company and the LaTerre Fur Company.⁴¹ In a description given in 1978, Paul Verdin indicated the Verdins were a large family, some at Pointe au Chien, others at Grand Caillou and elsewhere. Verdin said his father was a farmer who planted corn and potatoes, but who trapped in the winter, and he also indicated the land actually belonged to "a Dusenberry from New Orleans" (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#198/28, p. 1).

⁴¹ In 1948, David Billiot wrote that while fishing or trapping on "Indian" lands, some of the Indians more recently were "hit over the head" and "sent to Negro jails" (D.Billiot, May 24, 1948; UHN Pet. Ex. 5:#136; 4834-42-800--Gen. Serv.). This was a reference to lands previously used or occupied by members of the petitioning group for fishing or trapping purposes, which were now being used by outsiders or had been purchased by other people.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

A similar description of economic life at Pointe au Chien was obtained from two great grandsons of Rosalie Courteau (grandsons of Alexander Billiot, who died in 1908), Joseph and Roger Billiot, in 1979, when they were 86 and 82 years old respectively. The primary economic activity of Alexander Billiot and his family was agriculture. Sugar cane was a primary product. The Billiot brothers said that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Alexander Billiot's generation had planted sugar cane, corn, and rice. In addition, their grandfather had large numbers of livestock: notably, cows, pigs, and chickens. They indicated further that their grandfather and several of his brothers had come down the bayou to Pointe au Chien. According to Joseph and Roger Billiot, Celestin and Alexander Billiot had come to use land that the federal government ostensibly gave to them. Other sons of Rosalie Courteau followed, including Barthelemy and Joseph.⁴²

In particular, Joseph and Roger Billiot noted that by the time their grandfather died in 1908, people were beginning to harvest fish as an economic activity, in addition to farming and hunting, (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#218/21).⁴³ At the same time, crabbing and shrimping gained some prominence. Farming declined as an economic activity as the salt water took over areas formerly used for crops. "Fields got shorter and shorter till they couldn't plant anything" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#218/21). Water levels increased and eventually in some areas, with the coming of oil fields, the necessity to dig deep canals to transport the oil rigs "caused the ocean water to come in" further inland (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#218/21).

The standard of living among the UHN ancestors living in the lower bayous declined in the early twentieth century, according to the Billiot brothers. The oil companies "marked off all the land" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#218/21). The land remaining was "this section of hard land and a little bit in the prairie" (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#218/21). The oil companies moved onto a good deal of what the UHN ancestors - or the Billiots - had formerly occupied. This was possible because the oil companies had "legal documents at the courthouse" (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#218/21, p. 3), though the

⁴² "Joseph" and "Celestin" were the same person: Joseph Celestin Billiot.

⁴³ The 1900 U.S. Federal census already indicates the occupation of most heads of household in this geographical area, both members and non-members of the group, as fisherman or oyster fisherman.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Billiots considered that the land belonged to them by equity, if not in legal title. Perhaps because of the loss of the lands, resulting in restricted areas for grazing, the cattle died due to disease and lack of adequate nourishment. The cattle that remained were used for food, rather than sold, if not stolen beforehand (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#218/21, p. 3).

Several environmental disasters in the early twentieth century contributed to the temporary displacement of at least those UHN progenitors who lived in locations close to the Gulf of Mexico coastline. These disasters included hurricanes in 1909 (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#27, p. 4) and 1926 (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#26), damming of a portion of Bayou Lafourche in 1904, and loss of certain animal trapping, which had previously been a significant part of the UHN ancestors' economy. Each of these events had multiple effects in terms of population locations of UHN progenitors. Following the hurricanes, an increased salt water dispersion occurred upstream on the bayous, along with muskrat and oyster loss. The nutria replaced the muskrat, but the increased use of grasses by the nutria as a food supply led to erosion and silt buildup in certain areas. This allowed additional salt water intrusion further upstream from the coast, with a resulting loss of some farmland.

The loss of oyster beds further depleted the economic base of the portion of the UHN community that had come to rely on sea fishing. In 1978, Clodelia (Mrs. John) Verdin related that her father had caught shrimp, [probably in the early twentieth century]. He also worked in the sugar fields (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#29, p. 4). It was, however, a Chinese immigrant to Louisiana, in the late nineteenth century who introduced a process for preserving shrimp which was adopted by UHN ancestors and other coastal fishers. A community festival developed from this new method of food preservation.

UHN Oral Histories: Outside Observers. Bishop Abel Caillouet, New Orleans, indicated in June 1979 (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#20/24), that while serving at St. Eloi Church, (location not specified), he assisted at several churches on Bayou du Large and Grand Caillou in the late 1930's and early 1940's. He stated that he referred to the petitioner's members as Indians, not as "Sabines" nor "savages," because he wanted to show he respected them.

Another clergyman, Msgr. Henry C. Bezou, was assigned to Terrebonne Parish in 1938, following his ordination. In

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

1979, he provided information regarding the kind of French spoken at Isle Jean-Charles. Bezou stated that the Indians were "deprecatingly called 'Sabine'" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37) and that research he conducted indicated that Jean Charles Naquin was French, though he married a woman of Indian descent.⁴⁴ He described the families on Isle Jean-Charles as all self-sufficient, employed in fishing, and trapping muskrats. Bezou also stated the island had possibly been settled as early as 1800 and that the inhabitants spoke a form of seventeenth century French (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#223/37).

Some of Bezou's conclusions were based on his familiarity with outside scholarship rather than on direct observation-- for example, he referred to an article by a Dr. Paul Kunkel on the "retrogression and amalgamation" of Indian tribes (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 5). Bezou referred to several groups: the "Indians of IJC [Isle Jean-Charles], Indians of the lower reaches of Bayou Terrebonne, Indians of Grand Caillou, Indians who are on Bayou du Large, the Indians . . . at . . . Bayou PaC [Point aux Chene] . . . and other parts of Terrebonne Parish" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 5). He perceived that there might be difficulty in demonstrating that they were all of the same tribe, or, if so, that they were Houma.

Bezou was, himself, a clergyman rather than a historian or an anthropologist. Some of the comments he made during the interview were internally inconsistent. He did not indicate the basis for the opinion he expressed that the petitioner might "have been more Chitimacha than Houma" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 5). While further stating that "Donaldsonville was formerly known as LaFourche des Chetimachas" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 5), Bezou suggested that the Chitimacha could have disappeared and "that the Houmas took over their hunting ground, their fishing grounds" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 5).

AFTER WORLD WAR I.

Locations and Leaders: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century. During the early twentieth century, leaders emerged in various locations, such as J.B. Parfait, in Dulac, and Victor Naquin, of Isle Jean-Charles. Anthropologists who have studied the petitioner indicate

⁴⁴ It was actually his son, Jean-Marie Naquin, who married Pauline Verdin.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

that this decentralized leadership resulted from the dispersed residential pattern which, given the ecological and geographical barriers between communities in south central Louisiana, certainly contributed to developing a parallel political pattern of an extended family nature. Leadership was strongest within each isolated bayou community. The geographical situation discouraged more extensive political organization and no such centralized leadership was documented by the petitioner.

The local leaders of individual settlements were known to outsiders such as clergy and parish officials. While he expressed essentially what might be termed conjecture as to the origin of the "Indians" he referred to, Msgr. Bezou stated that one Antoine Naquin, "was regarded as the chief of the place" i.e., Isle Jean-Charles (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37, p. 1-2). Bezou indicated Antoine was chief following the time of his uncle, Victor Naquin (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#227/37). This was substantiated by another oral history interview, that of Miss Laise Ledet, who also indicated Clement Naquin, Antoine's father, had been chief (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p.3-6). At another point, in response to a question about the leaders, she referred to a "Marcellin" who was "talk[ed] about" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#43, p.5).

In response to a question whether anyone acted as chief, Manuel Naquin replied that Victor Naquin was "look[ed] to . . . for information" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#203). Margaret Verdin "treated" people, even those from Terrebonne and Houma (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#203, p. 1), and also gave "advice on a lot of things they needed to know at that time" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#203, p. 3).

A widespread custom of colonial officials was the issuance of medals to the leaders of American Indian tribes during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Both primary and secondary documentation relating to the historical Houma tribe in the late eighteenth century refer to the receipt of medals from the Louisiana authorities, but the receipt of such medals was not in any way unique to the Houma.

Oral history references say that UHN progenitors living in the nineteenth century possessed such medals, which they had inherited. These references are sketchy. However, in 1979 Charles Billiot indicated that his grandfather, Alexander Billiot, had possessed a medal given by the government of Spain "to the governor of Louisiana" for Indian land. Alexander Billiot came into possession of the medal "because

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

he had education and a high rank. He lived near Point au Chene" (UHN Pet., Ex.7:#209/10). At one time Charles Billiot himself supposedly had possession of the medal. No medals have apparently survived to the present time. None have been seen by BAR researchers. Therefore, they could not be used to assist in determining the tribal affiliation of the original recipient.

Charles Billiot's interview contained information which demonstrated the kinship nature of the communities of which his family was a part, and showed that these families identified themselves as distinct and apart from other people in the settlement areas where they lived. His description of his ancestors indicated he was well informed as to his grandfather being a son of Rosalie Courteau. He also indicated that his grandfather and one of his grandfather's brothers, Celestin, operated a sugar mill at Pointe au Chien (UHN Pet. Ex.#209/10). He also stated that two of his brothers, Michael and Victor Billiot, held deeds to lands in Terrebonne Parish in the Pointe au Chien area.

David Billiot was later characterized by Elvira Molivere Billiot, as uneducated, though "a smart man" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#223/30). He attempted "to bring people together" to deal with problems (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#223/30, p. 2). Whether or not he was a success in the sense of having accomplished his aims, Billiot was a figure of some standing (see: D. Billiot/Frank G. Speck; Apr. 3, 1943; BIA File No. 4834;42-800--Gen. Serv.). The dispersion of the UHN ancestral group throughout Terrebonne Parish, Bayou Caillou, and Bayou du Large during the 1920's may well have contributed to the phenomenon of new leadership coming forward, as both David and Charles Billiot did. In addition, Ernest Coycault's bringing forth of the land issue indicates additional leadership activity among the UHN ancestral group at the beginning of the 1920's (see above and UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#223/30, p. 4).

The oral history testimony indicates that the issue of leadership throughout the nineteenth century and into the mid-twentieth century was pursued by the interviewers. Several individuals who succeeded Rosalie Courteau were noted as having influence if not leadership positions. One, Alexandre Billiot, was characterized by a great-grandson, Louis Naquin, as a "chief" (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#215/16, p. 1, Louis Naquin), but no supporting evidence was produced.

Another "chief," noted in the oral testimony by V.S. Dardar, was "Lovincy" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 2). In a

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

parenthetical reference one of the interviewers stated, "I visited his house last month . . . , [i.e., February 1979] . . . he died last year" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#214/15, p. 2, Dardar). The reference to Lovincy is one of two noted in the oral testimony.

"Lovincie" Billiot was the subject of an article in New Orleans in September 1975. He was identified as a "great grandson of Rosalie Courteau Houmas and honorary head of the Houmas tribe" (UHN Pet., Ex. 3:#53). A reference to "tribal meetings" by V.S. Dardar indicates they may have been held periodically in the early twentieth century. However, since she was still a child, she was either unaware of the subjects being discussed, or even that a meeting was being held. The question was phrased by the interviewer to lead one to the conclusion the meetings were "tribal" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#215/15, p. 5-6). Whether such meetings of three or four families, as they were described, were other than ~~economically focused, is difficult to discern from the text of the oral interview. Discussion centered on animal~~ construction, well digging, and pirogue making by three or four families (UHN Pet., Ex. #215/15, p. 5-6). There is no indication whether the families who met were immediate neighbors, or represented a broader cross-section of the settlements.

Meetings were also recalled by Frank and Hilda Naquin, as noted in their interview in 1979. Meetings were held in the 1920's and 1930's on Isle Jean-Charles. They were apparently initiated by Tom Dion and involved initially, if not exclusively, bringing people to the island on Christmas, Easter, and possibly other holidays (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#237/44, p. 1).

The social aspect of these get-togethers apparently predominated over other purposes. Later meetings took place in the 1950's regarding lands taken at Pointe au Chien. One meeting was called by an individual, possibly Ralph Schofield, "to help us get it [land] back" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#237/44, p. 1). Although the meeting was attended by "lots of people" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#237/44, p. 1), there is no indication of whether or not those attending came only from the Pointe au Chien settlement or from all of the settlements. Nothing materialized on obtaining land.

In the same interview, the Naquins related that in the 1950's and 1960's other activity took place with regard to obtaining genealogical information. The context of the information in this discussion indicates the genealogy was

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

"to get people active in the land cases" (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#237/44, p. 3). This work was conducted at least in part by Mrs. Schofield (UHN Pet. Ex. 7:#237/44, p. 4).

Activity of the Petitioner's Ancestors on their Own Behalf. What one writer describes as the "interplay of possibility and choice" (Dominguez 1986, 188-89) began to affect the social fabric of the UHN's community as it came to define itself as Indian, as evidenced in the leadership demonstrated in the 1920's and 1930's by Charles and David Billiot, and the efforts to obtain Federal assistance of some sort for their community.

Several inquiries on behalf of the "Houma Indians" were made by Charles Billiot of Houma, Louisiana, in 1927. The first, directed to a limestone company in Indiana, was forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from the Company office. The letter was then forwarded from the Office of Indian Affairs to an attorney in Franklin, Louisiana, Charles Boatner (9849-27-260--Gen. Serv.). Boatner's representation of Indians in Louisiana in 1919 had been the impetus for the Brandon investigation of Indian affairs in Louisiana (see below). While the limestone company letter is somewhat cryptic at best, it indicates that Mr. Billiot was concerned about land issues.

This is one of several instances prior to 1940 that the same Charles Billiot wrote to the Office of Indian Affairs. In September 1927, Mr. Billiot wrote the Commissioner a letter in which he mentioned one "Arnest Carcault" (apparently the same Ernest Coycault referred to in the 1921 letters from Congressmen Martin and Hayden, see below). By 1927, Coycault had passed away, but not before having advised Billiot that land between the Atchafalaya River and Barataria "had been given to us in the old time" (Charles Billiot/Commr. Ind. Aff., Sept. 5, 1927, 43529-27-115 Gen. Serv.).⁴⁵

Coycault had, according to the September 1927 Billiot letter, researched the historical Houma tribe, indicating

⁴⁵ The Atchafalaya River separates Terrebonne Parish on the east bank from St. Mary Parish on the west bank. Barataria is presently a town in Jefferson Parish, east of Lake Salvador, which separates Lafourche Parish from Jefferson Parish. Barataria Bay empties into the Gulf of Mexico, east of Lafourche Parish. Therefore, the lands included in the area between the Atchafalaya River and Barataria comprise Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes.

These are not areas in which the historical Houma tribe is known to have resided in the eighteenth century.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

that by this date, UHN members had accepted the identification that Swanton and other anthropologists had assigned to them. Billiot stated that the said land, "Chu:uhouma" [underlining in copy of letter] was "now known] as Houma" (Charles Billiot/Commr. Ind. Aff., Sept. 5, 1927, 43529-27-115 Gen. Serv.). Billiot also stated that one "Delahoula the Indian chief . . . was my old grandfather" (Charles Billiot/Commr. Ind. Aff., Sept. 5, 1927, 43529-27-115 Gen. Serv.). Billiot submitted an Indian Identification Form to the Office of Indian Affairs in 1940 (see 48363-31-260-Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#132).⁴⁶

In an oral history interview in 1979, Charles Billiot, then age 81, reiterated some of the information contained the correspondence he had written over 50 years earlier. He indicated that Louis de la Houssaye was Rosalie Courteau's father, and that he changed his name. Rosalie, he said, was born in Biloxi: her son Alexander Billiot was his own grandfather. He claimed that some documents did exist at one time on Louis de la Houssaye, but that they were lost or misplaced when Paul Dion was active on behalf of the UHN ancestral group. Whether these were the same as the "papers on an Indian case" which Charles Billiot described as being about to be tried in the 1940's, is unclear. Whether these papers held by Paul Dion were connected to "land deeds from the Indians" which were lost or "taken by attorneys [sic], lost when families bickered between themselves," or "outside crookedness" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7:#209/10) is not clarified either by Billiot or the interviewer.

In a letter to F.G. Speck in 1938, Morice Billiot of Houma, Louisiana, referred to a "ugen [indecipherable] Loususy [sic]" [de la Houssaye?] and how the individual was "sopuse to be one of the grand grand [sic] child of the trigbe [sic] of Houma." This may correspond to the UHN oral tradition that de la Houssaye was supposed to be a great-great grandfather of some of them (M. Billiot/F.G. Speck, July 4, 1938; 68776-31-Gen. Serv.-800; UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#133).

The reason for Charles Billiot writing to the Commissioner in 1927 was to claim their trapping rights were being denied. He indicated "we" had paid \$300 or \$400 for a mile of trapping land, but that if they killed game during closed season they could be fined or imprisoned. Billiot further

⁴⁶ These were completed by persons requesting services from the Office of Indian Affairs as Indians of one-half blood or more, even though not tribally affiliated. Billiot did not receive services.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

indicated that he understood that those of 1/8 Indian blood "ought [ought] to be free to hunt [hunt] or trap . . . like the old time" (Charles Billiot/Commr. Ind. Aff., Sept. 5, 1927, 43529-27-115 Gen. Serv.). Commissioner Burke replied September 21, 1927, stating essentially that the UHN ancestral group's members in Louisiana were subject to state game laws and that hunting or trapping out of season, or without a license, subjected them to arrest and prosecution. This applied to "all Indians involved regardless of their Indian blood" (Burke/Billiot, Sept. 21, 1927; 43529-27-115--Gen. Serv.).

In 1930, correspondence on behalf of Eldon Naquin, a resident of "John Charley Island" [Isle Jean-Charles] was directed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by Dominique C. Schwab of New Orleans. Schwab described Naquin as a "Choctaw Indian." Apparently Naquin understood money was to be disbursed to Choctaw Indians. Numerous cases were brought before the U.S. Court of Claims on behalf of Choctaw and Choctaw-Chickasaw Indians in the years prior to the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 1049. Each of these earlier cases, many of which were dismissed in the 1930's and 1940's, required Congressional appropriation of the funds, if any were awarded. BAR historians have been unable to determine which case, if any, the Naquin/Schwab correspondence may have referred to (Dominique C. Schwab/Comm.Ind.Aff., 8/16/30;46303-30-053-Choctaw; UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#130).

The Commissioner replied that the citizenship rolls of the Choctaw Indians had been completed and closed in 1907, under the provisions of the Act of April 26, 1906, 34 Stat. 137. No enrollment nor allotment possibilities were, therefore, open to Mr. Naquin or others, who might claim to be eligible. There is no clear indication in the correspondence of whether Naquin was acting only on his own behalf, or was the representative of an organized group.

In November 1930, the Commissioner wrote to the Commissioner of the General Land Office (GLO), transmitting a "communication" from Eldon Naquin. The Commissioner admitted a lack of jurisdiction with respect to the "band" of Indians "that has made its home on a small island for a long period of time" (Rhoads/Hon. C.C. Moore, Commr. GLO, Nov. 18, 1930; 43603-30-053-Choctaw). At the same time, Commissioner Rhoads requested that "if the island mentioned is a part of the public domain" that "the claim of this group of Indians to the land by reason of alleged long occupation and use [be] recognized so far as may be

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

possible" (Rhoads/Hon. C.C. Moore, Commr. GLO, Nov. 18, 1930; 43603-30-053-Choctaw).

The GLO wrote to both Mr. Naquin and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, indicating that the land, ten miles south, southeast of Montegut, Louisiana, was approved to the State of Louisiana as swamp land. This was authorized under provisions of the Act of March 2, 1849, 9 Stat. 352. While recognizing that "the lands you have occupied for so many years" were ostensibly under state jurisdiction, the Acting Commissioner, GLO, indicated questions "relative to present title of the land" should be addressed to the Register of State Lands, at Baton Rouge, (Actg. Asst. Commr., D.K. Parrott/Mr. Eldon Naquin, Nov. 22, 1930; 43603-30-Choctaw-053). The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was similarly informed. Nothing else was ever accomplished regarding this land claim, as far as is known.

Mid-Twentieth Century Studies for the Federal Office of Indian Affairs. A series of studies by the Indian Office in the mid-twentieth century regarding the status of Louisiana Indians indicated that Indian groups did exist in Louisiana. The question of whether these groups were considered or held to be "tribes" arose during the consideration of the Wheeler-Howard bill in 1933-1934, but was not necessarily the focus once the Indian Reorganization Act, 48 Stat. 984, was enacted in 1934 (BIA File No.: 10179-43-042--General Service/UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#135).

1920's and 1930's.

The Brandon Report. On January 12, 1920, Frank E. Brandon, Special Supervisor of the Indian Office, reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on his investigation of the "Chittemache Indians" (Brandon to Commr. Ind. Aff. (hereafter CIA) 33956-08-150-pt.2--Gen. Serv.). The report included a discussion of other Indian groups at various locations in Louisiana, not all of which were Chitimacha. In two cases, he made tribal designations: a group in the "extreme south part of the state" which he described as Choctaw,⁴⁷ and another group at Marksville, Louisiana, who said they were Tunica. He did not use any other Indian tribal names to designate the Indian groups, but rather referred to them by location.

⁴⁷ Not further identified, but possibly the St. Tammany Parish group of Choctaw. The reference to the "extreme south" of Louisiana, however, leaves open the possibility that he was referring to the petitioner.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

It is not clear whether any of Brandon's geographical descriptions referred to the petitioner. A 1942 summary of the Brandon report, "Notes on Louisiana Indians," identified certain Indian groups in Louisiana as Chitimacha, Choctaw, Tunica, and Coushatta. The same summary stated that Brandon made "no mention . . . of the Houma Indians" ("Notes on Louisiana Indians," Joe Jennings, May 5, 1942, 10179-43-042-Gen. Serv.) Neither did Jennings identify Houma Indians at any of the locations.

Correspondence, 1920's. In 1921, the Congressman representing Houma in Terrebonne Parish wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He enclosed a memorial presented to him by "the Houma Indians, who reside in my District" (Hon. W.P. Martin/Chas. H. Burke, July 30, 1921, 62897-21-150--Gen. Serv.). Congressman Martin's inquiry was at the behest of Mr. Ernest Coycault of New Orleans. Martin wanted to know whether the "Indians" . . . "have any claims or rights against the Government" (Hon. W.P. Martin/Chas. H. Burke, July 30, 1921, 62897-21-150--Gen. Serv.). He indicated that the Indian Affairs Committee of the House may not have possessed any information regarding the petitioner, since he had been advised to request an investigation be made by the Office of Indian Affairs.

The reply stated that due to limited funds, the investigation could not be conducted at that time (E.B. Meritt/Hon. Whitmell Martin, Aug. 18, 1921; 62897-21-150--Gen. Serv.). In December 1921, Congressman Carl Hayden of Arizona also inquired of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding "what the Indian Office knows about the Houma Indians." Hayden stated, "Mr. Coycault desires legislation to be passed authorizing that suit be filed in the Court of Claims for the value of the lands formerly occupied by these Indians" (Carl Hayden/CIA, Dec. 3, 1921; 97649-21-266--Gen. Serv.).

Commissioner Burke replied that the "only information" the Office of Indian Affairs had was that noted in Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology [Hodge 1907]. That entry referenced information stating that "Huma" meant "red" and that the group was a Choctaw Tribe. Noting several early dates in "Huma" history (1699, 1706) the Bureau of American Ethnology indicated the group lived along Bayou Lafourche, near Houma, and that "they are now supposed to be extinct" (Chas. H. Burke/Carl Hayden, Dec. 9, 1921, 97649-21-266-Gen. Serv.). The Commissioner's reply to Congressman Hayden stated no treaty had been signed nor were any funds or lands held in trust by the United States for the

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

historical Houma. While indicating further that "these Indians appear to have been under the jurisdiction of the local or State authorities," the Indian Office had no knowledge of any claims the historical Houma may have had against Louisiana or the United States (Chas. H. Burke/Carl Hayden, Dec. 9, 1921, 97649-21-266-Gen. Serv.).

The Nash Report. This correspondence about Isle Jean-Charles indicates a conscious effort to determine the status of the Indians in Louisiana and their eligibility for some form of Federal status either as individuals, or potential claimants. In 1931 the Office of Indian Affairs conducted another study of the situation. This initiated a series of exchanges between Louisiana state and local school officials, the Office of Indian Affairs, Congress, members of the petitioning community, and interested parties. These exchanges covered the better part of a decade and resulted in further studies by anthropologists Ruth Underhill and Frank G. Speck. Portions of this correspondence were reprinted in the American Indian Journal in 1976 (UHN Pet., Ex. 2:#35; Downs and Whitehead 1976).

Once Special Commissioner Roy Nash estimated the number of Indians in Louisiana to be 3,000, the dimensions of the potential problem stood out (Nash/CIA Rhoads, June 12, 1931; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.). The Nash Report was essentially a report on the Coushatta Indians located near Elton, Louisiana. However, he described the dispersed locations of the UHN population, the openness of the area, and the ecological conditions of the bayous and marshes which contributed to the "marginal" nature of settlement and cultivation in Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes. He found "descendants of Houma Indians on Bayou Caillou from Dulac south, on Little Caillou, on Bayou Terrebonne around Montegut, on Point au Chien, on Bayou LaFourche" and on Isle Jean-Charles (Nash/CIA Rhoads, June 12, 1931; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv., p. 11).

Referring to the UHN ancestral group as mixed bloods, predominantly French and Indian, Nash said that it was the "five percent" with "unmistakable Negro blood" which prevented their obtaining an education in the public system. Nash presumed that if "these Indian mixed bloods were concentrated in any one place," then the Federal government might be able to provide schools. However, Louisiana Indians included not only the UHN ancestral group in the Delta area, but also groups in St. Mary's Parish, along the Calcasieu River in western Louisiana, and in Bayou Lacombe

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

in St. Tammany north of Lake Pontchartrain (Nash/CIA Rhoads, June 12, 1931; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv., p. 12).

Correspondence, 1930's. A letter from the Secretary of the Houma-Terrebonne Chamber of Commerce, Eugene Dumez, offered assistance to Nash's efforts "in this splendid effort to help these people" (Dumez/Indian Office, Apr. 27, 1931; G.M. Conrad/U.S. Indian Office, Apr. 28, 1931; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.). Dumez had read a news clipping in the New Orleans press on Nash's work, so was, therefore, cognizant of Nash's effort to ascertain "how many Indians or persons of Indian descent live in our [Terrebonne] parish" (Dumez, Apr. 27, 1931). While acknowledging they were Indians, Dumez indicated that the majority were part French, some with negro blood.

Over a year later, a letter to the Indian Office from Dumez, who was still Secretary of the Houma-Terrebonne Chamber of Commerce, requested a copy of the Nash Report. He also asked whether the Indian Office "decided to do anything for these people" (Dumez/Indian Office, Aug. 18, 1932; 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.). Such a statement implies a belief by local parish leadership that a portion of the parish population was comprised of what the letter itself described as "remnants of the 'Houma' tribe of Indians" (Dumez/Indian Office, Aug. 18, 1932; 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.).

On September 7, 1932, the Assistant Commissioner, J. Henry Scattergood replied to Mr. Dumez and forwarded an office copy of the Nash report, requesting that it be returned, "when it has served your purpose" (Scattergood/Dumez, Sept. 7, 1932, 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.). Scattergood indicated that there were "many different bands of Indians scattered throughout Louisiana [underline added]." The conditions faced by these Indians--without reservation lands, no allotments, and "not recognized as members of any tribe maintaining treaty relations . . . and over whom the Federal Government has never exercised any supervision"--were indeed "recognized by local authorities for many years" (Scattergood/Dumez, Sept. 7, 1932, 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.). The conclusion was not, therefore, that these groups were not Indian, but that lack of tribal status vis-a-vis the Federal government was based at least in part on the absence of treaty relations, the lack of reservation lands, and the nonexistence of any allotment history. At the same time, the Federal government's position was that local authorities and communities had responsibilities and "the duty of caring for the various bands of Indians in

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Louisiana" (Scattergood/Dumez, Sept. 7, 1932, 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.).

In a January 9, 1933, letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Frederic C. Querens characterized the situation of the UHN ancestral group at the time as critical and indicated that some would face starvation. Querens had defended the Indians against charges of violating an injunction brought by some adjoining landowners. This action further limited the land holdings of the UHN ancestral group in a time when the price of pelts was too low to provide them a survival-level income and their lands were "insufficient for them to maintain an existence upon" (Querens/CIA, Jan. 9, 1932; 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.). Querens was seeking aid for the modern "Houma," comparing "these unfortunates . . . [to] other Indians in other localities" (Querens/CIA, Jan. 9, 1932; 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.), indicating almost a destitute status for them.

At the same time, Querens stated that the lack of employment possibilities for the group was exacerbated by the fact that they neither read, spoke, nor wrote English; had no education; and did not read or write French, but spoke a dialect of French and Indian combined. The reply by the Commissioner, C.J. Rhoads, stated that since the "Houma Indians have never been regarded as government wards," the request for aid was being forwarded to the Red Cross (Rhcads/Querens, Jan. 20, 1933, 43488-32-150--Gen. Serv.).

In December 1931, Congressman Numa Montet of Louisiana wrote to Commissioner Rhoads. Mr. Montet stated that 900 Indians in Terrebonne Parish lacked educational facilities, lived in unhealthy conditions, and although they were farmers, were suffering due to the "advanced ideas of the other farmers [who] make it impossible for these Indians to realize anything from their crops" (Hon. Numa Montet/CIA Chas. J. Rhoads, Dec. 11, 1931; 68776-31-800, pt. 1.--Gen. Serv.). The Congressman requested assistance from the Commissioner regarding the living conditions, education, and steps to be taken regarding "your jurisdiction" (Hon. Numa Montet/CIA Chas. J. Rhoads, Dec. 11, 1931; 68776-31-800, pt. 1.--Gen. Serv.).

The Commissioner's reply summarized both the issues and the realities facing the Indian Office at the time. The assumption of responsibility by the Federal government for the Louisiana Indians' plight in the early 1930's was seen as a problem which presented practical, financial, and philosophical considerations. Were "the Federal government

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

to assume jurisdiction of the Indians in Terrebonne [the result] would be to assume responsibility for all the Indians in the State: all have equal claim" (Rhoads/Montet, Jan. 4, 1932; 68776-31-800, pt.1--Gen. Serv.). The Commissioner indicated that the "main objective" of Federal Indian policy was to place Indians in a position of standing on their own within their community. To take on the responsibility, that is, to make the Indians wards of the government, would turn the clock backward.

At the same time, admitting the "dire poverty and deplorable health conditions" referred to by Congressman Montet, the Commissioner thought these no worse than those facing Negroes and poor whites (Rhoads/Montet, Jan. 4, 1932; 68776-31-800, pt. 1--Gen. Serv.). In addition, the Commissioner questioned how the Federal government could assume jurisdiction over small groups of 5-15 Indians, scattered through Louisiana. The Coushattas and the "little colony" on Isle Jean-Charles were "the only two compact groups" (Rhoads/Montet, Jan. 4, 1932; 68776-31-800, pt. 1--Gen. Serv.).

The Problem of Education. While stating that "ignorance is the fundamental disease among the Indians of Terrebonne," the Commissioner quoted the Nash report's description of the group as mixed blood, French and Indian, having 5% with unmistakable Negro blood. It also discussed the school issue. The education of Indian students was the central issue of correspondence over the next several years. The white schools would admit no one with any degree of Negro blood. The "Indians" would not attend the "colored" schools, thus reinforcing their own belief in their Indian character and inheritance (Superintendent L.A. Law, St. Mary Parish School Board/Dr. Carson Ryan, Office of Indian Affairs, Feb. 25, 1932; 68776-31-800-pt. 1--Gen. Serv.).

Following the exchange between Congressman Montet and Commissioner Rhoads (Rhoads' letter also being approved by the Secretary of the Interior), the Superintendent of the Louisiana Department of Education wrote to the Secretary of the Interior, Ray Lyman Wilbur. Citing the previously described circumstances regarding the education of Indian children in Louisiana, he also indicated that the location of the children was in small groups in marsh areas. He envisaged resulting transportation problems and mentioned the question of providing school buildings. The Superintendent, T.H. Harris, indicated Federal aid would surely be effective (T.H.Harris/Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Feb. 20, 1932; 6877-31-800-pt. 1--Gen. Serv.). The Secretary's

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

reply to Mr. Harris, dated March 3, 1932, reiterated the points made in the January 4, 1932, letter to Congressman Montet.

An April 25, 1934 letter from the Assistant State Supervisor of Elementary Schools, M.S. Robertson, to Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Director, Indian Education, Office of Indian Affairs, stated that two women were teaching school in the Dulac Community, eighteen miles south of Houma, in Terrebonne Parish. "Approximately one hundred Indian children in and around Dulac" were in need of educational facilities. They were presently being educated in a private home. Mr. Robertson reminded Dr. Ryan that the needs of Indian children in Dulac had been discussed when he had been in Louisiana (M.S. Robertson/W. Carson Ryan, Apr. 25, 1934; 68776-31-800-pt. 1--Gen. Serv.).

Other correspondence and memoranda available on the education issue indicate that in the mid-1930's the Indian Office was aware of other groups of people in the southern part of the United States who claimed to be Indians, but who did not have a relationship with the Federal government as sovereign Indian tribes. The absence of such a relationship was irrelevant as far as OIA's Indian Education was concerned: the schools were for Indian descendants, rather than for tribes per se.

In Terrebonne Parish alone, the education office of the Office of Indian Affairs stated, 400-500 school children were "supposed to be of Indian blood" (Memorandum on Indian Groups in the Southern States, April 3, 1934, p. 5; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet. Ex., 5:135). Twenty-three were attending local public schools in Houma, but protests were made on the ground they were "colored" (Memorandum on Indian Groups in the Southern States, April 3, 1934, p. 5; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet. Ex., 5:135).

The Superintendent of Schools of Terrebonne Parish, Henry L. Bourgeois,⁴⁸ indicated he could not continue to have the Indians in the public schools in the next year. At the same time he apparently indicated the "people of Indian blood" would not consent to a separate school (Memorandum on Indian Groups in the Southern States, April 3, 1934, p. 5; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet. Ex., 5:135). Neither would they

⁴⁸ Bourgeois wrote a Masters thesis in the Department of Education at Louisiana State University, which was submitted in 1938. ("Four Decades of Public Education in Terrebonne Parish," UHN Pet., Ex. 2:#29).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

attend the schools for the colored students (Dumez/CIA, Sept. 11, 1934; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.). Bourgeois had also indicated that the "Indians" had objected to "segregated schools" when Federal funds had been made available for adult education programs (Memorandum on Indian Groups in the Southern States, April 3, 1934, p. 5; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet. Ex., 5:135).

An interview with Clodelia (Mrs. John) Verdin in 1978 indicated that early in the twentieth century, or earlier given the context of her remarks, there were no schools for Indians.

My kids had some [education], a little, and my little children - grandchildren, had more. No, the Indians couldn't have school. Only the whites and the blacks had some. And then they opened the school in Dulac, and finally, the Indians could go to school" (UHN Pet. Ex., 7:#29, p. 4).

Addressing the racial issue, Bourgeois maintained that the people involved were "not really Indian people, but are mulattos" (Memorandum on Indian Groups in the Southern States, April 3, 1934, p. 5; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.; UHN Pet.Ex., 5:135). Bourgeois cited the "F.M.C." notation (free men of color) used in older documents, the implication to him being that the "Indians" were descended more from black or Negro forebears than Indian.

In September 1934, Eugene Dumez again wrote to the Commissioner. Referring to the "remnants of the Choctaw and Houma tribes," he stated that if those claiming to be Indians were denied access to the white schools, and would not attend a Negro school, then the only alternative was an "Indian School" (Dumez/Comm.Ind.Aff., Sept. 11, 1934; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.).

David Billiot wrote to President Roosevelt, May 31, 1934, and to Governor O.K. Allen of Louisiana, August 6, 1933, explaining the education issue facing the Indians (not mentioning Houma nor any other tribal entity): "The Indian [sic] are like white with no colored blood" (David Billiot/Gov. O.K. Allen, Aug. 6, 1933; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.). He also stated the Indians were not afraid to pay taxes for education.

In October 1934, W. Carson Ryan, Jr. answered Mr. Billiot's inquiry. He enclosed a copy of the Nash report and indicated Congress had yet to make an appropriation for

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

"Indian groups" in Louisiana. On the education issue he said that "education of Indian or mixed Indian children in Louisiana has been considered entirely a State matter," and that the Indian Office was corresponding with the State on the issue (Ryan/D.Billiot, Oct. 13, 1934; 25436-31-150--Gen. Serv.).

A letter from Caroline Dormon, Chestnut, Louisiana, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, dated July 4, 1935, indicated that while the UHN progenitors were the most numerous of the Indian groups in Louisiana, they were largely "mixed bloods," "having intermarried with both white and Negro" (Dormon/Collier, July 4, 1935; 43603-30-Choctaw-053). Miss Dormon volunteered to study the Indians, if some arrangement could be made to pay her traveling expenses. In a comment for researchers then working with the Indians of Louisiana, Miss Dormon stated "the Indians resent a stranger's prying into their affairs" (Dormon/Collier, July 4, 1935; 43603-30-Choctaw-053). The Director of Research on Planning and Development, W. Carson Ryan, indicated that while some Indians were attending white schools in Houma, "the Indians resent being classified as anything but white - they have even refused to accept adult classes that were set up separately for them as Indians" (Memorandum to Education: Louisiana Indians, June 27, 1935; 43603-30-Choctaw-053).

In the early twentieth century, Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic missions identified various educational needs of the Indians in Louisiana, including the UHN ancestors residing in the lower bayous in this category. As early as 1910, the need for educational assistance on Grand Caillou was recognized (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#125). Work on a sustained basis, however, does not appear to have been carried on until the 1930's (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#118-#127). The private school efforts which began in the 1930's are outlined in several sources (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#117-#128). An undated magazine article (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#117) was written by Wilhelmina Hooper and Mary Beth Littlejohn, who helped establish a school at Dulac. The article referred to the UHN ancestors residing in the lower bayous as economic and social outcasts, who lived by trapping and fishing. Not allowed in the "white school," they did not attend the "few schools for Negroes in Indian communities" (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#117).

The individuals who were providing this educational assistance were well-intentioned. However, they did not necessarily distinguish one Indian group from another, other than by location. One 1950 document indicates the "groups

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

of Indians and part-Indians" were geographically dispersed, and were "a mixed race, French, Spanish, Italian, and other strains of blood mingling with the Indian" (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#126, p. 89). While not sure as to whether they also had Negro blood, the document stated that, "most of them are dark people," and were therefore denied education with whites (UHN Pet., Ex. 4:#126, p. 89).

The Underhill Report. Ruth M. Underhill made one of the more formal studies of the Indian groups in Louisiana in 1938 when she was Associate Director, Indian Education, for the Office of Indian Affairs. Underhill's report was preceded by correspondence with anthropologist Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The report indicated that while some of the Indians in the Lafourche and Terrebonne Parish area identified themselves as "Houma," she believed they actually were a generic group, derived from "a number of Muskogian [*sic*] remnants." Underhill also reported that an 1897 Supreme Court of Louisiana decision "held that none of these [referring to previously mentioned groups of historical Houma and Tunica, Bayogoula, Acolapissa, Chitimacha, Attakapa] are Indians in the sense of maintaining tribal relations" (Underhill 1938, 2).

At the same time, she stated that the UHN ancestors had "definite traditions of tribal descent" (Underhill 1938, 4). She described them as "300 people of Indian descent [who] called themselves Houma, though not organized as a tribe" (Underhill 1938, 6). Several pages later she gave estimated populations for seven settlements which totalled approximately 475 (Underhill 1938, 12-13). One reason she concluded they were not a tribe is indicated by her statement that, "the 'Houma' have no legal status as Indians" (Underhill 1938, 6), even though "most know their genealogies for many generations back" (Underhill 1938, 3-4). The dilemma facing the UHN ancestral group in 1938 was their inability to meet the Federal government's definition of a tribe, which at that time included the following: "treaties, grants or tribal rolls, . . ." and maintenance of an Indian language (Underhill 1938, 3-4).

Racial assumptions were evident in her characterization of the situation. Indicating that "the whole population of this coastal country must have intermixed . . . without benefit of clergy . . ." (Underhill 1938, 4), she concluded that no records were available to calculate degrees of

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Indian blood.⁴⁹ Further confusing the picture, Underhill noted, was that "their physical status varies with different families" (Underhill 1938, 6). This is apparently a reference to racial classification based on individuals' physical appearance, biased at the time by the perceptions of white society, which did not accept an identification as Indian, based on kinship, within the group, as opposed to external perceptions.

Between 1920 and 1950, the petitioner's ancestors are frequently referred to in the published literature and in government correspondence as "Houma," indicating that the identification that Swanton had made in 1907 had come to be generally accepted. As stated in numerous documents written in the 1920's to 1940's, the "Houma" were then asserting their Indian identity in large part to obtain their educational rights, as they and others portrayed them. They could not attend the "White schools of Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes," (Underhill 1938, 6) but refused to attend the "negro schools."

Underhill accepted and referenced the description of the UHN ancestral settlements as stated by Swanton, and indicated at least nominal communication among the residents on different bayous. Her population data and descriptions of commercial endeavors of shrimping, oystering, trapping, working on oil rigs, and cannery work portrayed a community which internally was based on extended kinship groups, but which had extensive economic interaction with the outside society (Underhill 1938, 11-14).

In correspondence from the same period, Charles Billiot and David Billiot also wrote to anthropologist Frank G. Speck. These letters provide some useful insight into how the "Houma" functioned during the period, and how they perceived themselves. In one of the letters, dated April 7, 1938, from Golden Meadow, Louisiana, David Billiot thanked Speck for his interest in "our affairs. We feel confident that some day we'll have recognition for our tribe through your efforts" [underline added] (David Billiot/F.G. Speck, April 7, 1938; 68776-31-800-Gen. Serv.).

In going on to explain some misconceptions and problems associated with the previous study made by Roy Nash, David

⁴⁹ BAI research indicates that Underhill's presumption was inaccurate: many primary sources exist and family relationships can be clearly delineated on the basis of contemporary documentation.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Billiot indicated that he was aware of events in the petitioner's bayou communities other than his own. He indicated Nash had visited "the people in Grand Caillou, petit: [sic] Caillou, and below bayou Terrebonne. [sic] but did not go in Point-au-Chene nor below Lafourche, if he did, we have not seen him nor heard he's been there" (David Billiot/F.G. Speck, April 7, 1938; 68776-31-800-Gen. Serv.).

Mentioning Nash's estimate that 5% of the petitioner's mid-twentieth century members had "unmistakable Negro blood," Billiot stated that there was "much more" than that and said because of this the Indians were considered social outcasts. He attempted to disassociate his own family from the racially-mixed components of the overall group, saying, "the truth of it is there are many Billiots, Dardars and Verduns living in Grand Caillou, Petit Caillous, and below Bayou Terrebonne which have Negro blood . . . and those that haven['t] all follow the same rank . . . and because we have the same names many of the whites here through false misrepresentation are trying to place us in the same rank as the colored and that will not do with us, for we are not mixed with them" (David Billiot/F.G. Speck, April 7, 1938; 68776-31-800-Gen. Serv.).

The Speck Report: When Do Indians Cease to Be Indians?
Within ten years of the Nash report, Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, through the Department of Education, Office of Indian Affairs, that 72 "Houma" children had been "admitted to the parish public school at Golden Meadow with white children." (UHN Pet. Ex. 2:#40; UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#134; Speck 1943, 134, 216; see also: BIA File No. 10174-43-042-Gen. Serv.). He believed that a lack of funds was contributory, but not primary, in causing the general lack of educational facilities for "Houma" in other parts of Terrebonne Parish. The crucial question was "who were the Houma," or "who were they, according to others."

Speck noted that some 300 children and 100 adults were receiving some "advantages of elementary schooling" (Speck 1940, 217). If, in fact, this was 10% of the group's population, as Speck indicated, then there were 4,000 members in 1940. However, in the beginning of the same article Speck stated that the "descendants of the Historic [sic] Houma tribe . . . number approximately 2,000" in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes (Speck 1940, 136-137). Speck offered no explanation for this inconsistency.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

The varying population estimates were not reconciled by Speck, but reflected the question of who was a member of the UHN ancestral group. His study was an attempt to answer, within the context of anthropological thought, a specific question: what constituted Indian groups in Louisiana? One of his articles noted, at several instances, points of comparison with other southeastern Indian tribes, and even with South American Indians. The article's title, "A Social Reconnaissance of the Creole Houma Indian Trappers of the Louisiana Bayous" (underlining provided), incorporated historical references to reach a definition of who Swanton, Underhill, and he himself conceived the group to be, based in considerable degree on their field work (Speck 1943).

While indicating that there were no "pure-blood Houma" remaining, Speck did conclude that there were those who possessed "a sufficient degree of Houma blood to make their Indian racial classification obvious" (Speck 1943, 138). He went on to state that the many individuals and families in the group "passed" as white (Speck 1943, 137-139). The problem which contributed to the uniqueness of the UHN ancestral group was their mixture with other Indian peoples (Choctaw, Chitimacha, and Biloxi), with French and Spanish, with Negro, and, finally, with Filipino. In spite of the mixture, Speck believed that although the Houma language had been not spoken in the twentieth century, the physical type was "predominantly and distinctly Indian" (Speck 1943, 138).

The UHN progenitors had not only survived: Speck commented that they had "increased," from an estimated Houma population of 1,225 in 1700⁵⁰ to some 2,000⁵¹ nearly 250 years later. While he explained the population expansion that he assumed to have taken place as being a result of the greater availability of food along the coast and the incorporation of other groups over time by the historical Houma tribe, Speck deemphasized the overall growth. The population density of some locations, conditioned by geographical and ecological constraints, was still sparse.

Speck stated that "roughly speaking" ten population centers existed for the UHN ancestral group, including six principal settlements cited by Swanton in 1907 (Speck 1943, 212).

⁵⁰ HAR research does not indicate that the petitioner is descended genealogically from the historical Houma tribe which was described in 1700.

⁵¹ HAR indicates that this is a roughly accurate estimate of the petitioner's ancestral population in the lower bayous in the 1930's.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

Working in part from data on those locations, Speck visited a number of these areas, along with David and Charles Billiot. These areas included Bayou du Large, which included the Billiot, Verret, and Gregoire families, along with several other surnames. "These are Houma Indians mixed with French and some English" (Speck 1943, 214). Speck also commented on the "present non-integration of the Houma as a tribe, without headman or council" (Speck 1943, 212). He saw this condition as offset by the "bond of kinship" predominant among the UHN ancestral group, indicating that "the collective Houma band stems from a limited group of progenitors" (Speck 1943, 212).

Speck stated that all UHN ancestral families were collaterally related to each other, but residents of isolated settlements would not necessarily know of collaterally related family groups some distance away. However, this distance factor seems to be only part of the explanation offered by Speck, since he also indicated that the more loosely affiliated collateral branch(es) might also be more Negro in ancestry (Speck 1943, 137-138).

Speck described the group members on Bayou Lafourche as almost entirely comprised of Billiotics and Verdins. Terrebonne Parish names were predominantly Diane (Dean) [sic: Dion/Deon], Parfait, Gregoire, and Verret (Speck 1943, 213). Indicating further that, "the entire Houma group is now an extended consanguineous family," Speck went on to say clan organization was unknown and there was "no semblance of political cohesion under chief, leader or council" (Speck 1943, 213). David Billiot's correspondence has been quoted above. Speck indicated that he was "a leader well known all along Bayou LaFourche," but that he (Billiot), "had not met the Gregoires, or Deans on Bayou Grand Caillou" until he went along with Speck to visit those locations (Speck 1943, 213). At another point Speck stated that "Charles and David Billiot stand forth as aspirants for election as headman" (Speck 1943, 212).

In further discussion of the locations he visited, Speck indicated there were settlements of trappers and fishermen at Bayou Grand Caillou and at Pointe au Chien, about ten miles east of Point Barre. He also noted, among others, eight families of Verdin with twenty children at Bayou Blue, located adjacent to Bayou Lafourche, who were also trappers and fishermen (Speck 1943, 215).

In the context in which he understood the issue(s), Speck conceptualized the problem, when he indicated that the "wide

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

variation in the estimates" of population in 1940 was not an issue merely affecting the "Houma." In speaking of "many modern Indian bands, even to tribes," he asked,

When do Indians cease to be Indians anthropologically, sociologically or politically? Is classification dependant upon a local 'race caste' system, a legislative fiat, blood 'purity', or upon the legacy of a direct tradition under a name identity involving all of these conditions plus forms of separatist behavior and self consciousness? (Speck 1943, 137).

One final comment in Speck's article which indicates the dilemma of "Houma" identification for both the UHN ancestral group and outside observers such as himself was the statement:

The persons of Indian blood comprising the Houma group have expressed themselves in general as desirous of recognition as Indian. There is, however, a small group of the same people living in the neighborhood of the city of Houma, who desire recognition as whites, not as Indians (Speck 1943, 219).

Speck went on to indicate that the reason for this dichotomy probably revolved around the education issue. In 1939, a group of "some twenty children of varied degrees of Indian blood, some of the[m] almost indistinguishable from white, were dismissed from the public school at Houma" (Speck 1943, 219). When they attempted to gain admission to a private Wesleyan school, they were turned away. Such instances were described repeatedly in the documents. Racism was dominant in the sense that the slightest suspicion of something less than "all white" ancestry precipitated segregation of even those with visually minimal Indian/"Houma" background from the rest of the school population.

1940's: Education Problems Continue. Throughout 1942-43 and following the Second World War, correspondence between Louisiana State and Terrebonne County education officials and the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington was directed at obtaining Federal funds for the education of the "Indians" in the UHN ancestral settlement areas. Despite the positive intentions, the war effort precluded any serious consideration of actually providing monies for this goal.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

In 1942, H.L. Bourgeois, the Superintendent of Terrebonne Parish Schools summarized the educational, social, and racial realities discussed in the previous reports, private correspondence, Congressional correspondence, and Executive Department files. Bourgeois indicated that the population of the parish (35,880) was predominantly of French extraction. He estimated the Indians in the parish were approximately 1,500 persons, largely "descendants of that union of the Indian and the free men of color of many generations back, with large infusions of Caucasian blood" ("Terrebonne Parish Indians," H.L. Bourgeois, Sept. 1942; UHN Pet. Ex. 5:#136).

He indicated that the constitution of Louisiana provided for a school system for whites and a school system for Negroes. An "Indian" school system run by the state did not fit into either system, from either a legal or practical perspective. While state constitutional limitations prevented the institutionalization of a separate Indian system, Bourgeois thought a system supported by the Office Of Indian Affairs would solve that aspect of the problem. On the practical side, Bourgeois reiterated the reluctance and opposition of the Indians to attending the Negro schools and the opposition of the white system to allowing the Indians to attend schools established for white students.

Bourgeois updated the number of "Indian educables" and their locations in three separate areas: Isle Jean-Charles; Bayou Terrebonne and Pointe au Chien; and Bayou Grand Caillou and Bayou du Large. He indicated approximately 450 individuals were eligible to attend Indian school facilities if they should become available (Bourgeois, Sept. 1942, UHN Pet., Ex. 5:#136).

In 1948, Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, D'Arcy McNickle responded to an inquiry from Sen. Allen J. Ellender (Louisiana). Even though Ellender's inquiry specifically concerned "a tribe of Indians living in and around Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana,"⁵² the BIA response indicated the names of several other groups of Indians in Louisiana, including "the Houma Indians of Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes" (McNickle/Ellender, Feb. 26, 1948; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.). McNickle specified that

⁵² Natchitoches is in north central Louisiana, not near the lower bayous. McNickle indicated that the Office of Indian Affairs' files and records contained no information on "this group of Indians," *i.e.*, the Natchitoches (McNickle/Ellender, Feb. 26, 1948; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

"[t]ribes of Indians come under Federal jurisdiction by treaties entered into between an Indian tribe and the United States; and by Acts of Congress specifically referring to a tribe" (McNickle/Ellender, Feb. 26, 1948; 10179-43-042--Gen. Serv.). While the letter stated specifically that the Nachitoch [sic] group did not come under Federal jurisdiction, and therefore was not eligible for Federal assistance, it made no conclusive judgment as to the status of the other groups to which McNickle had referred, including the "Houma."

In 1948, David Billiot wrote two letters to John Collier (Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier left that position in 1945). Indicating in the letter dated May 24, 1948, that he wanted to wait until after the war was over to request educational assistance, Billiot reemphasized the need of the UHN ancestral group for education (D. Billiot, May 24, 1948; UHN Pet. Ex. 5:#136; 4834-42-800--Gen. Serv.).

POST WORLD WAR II STUDIES.

Between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Federal recognition effort by the petitioner, the Federal government and Bureau of Indian Affairs did not produce any more official studies of the petitioner. Available analyses were done either by private scholars or under the auspices of local or state governments.

The history of the UHN, as presented in material written since the late 1940's, has to a considerable degree been written by non-historians. The historical summaries by anthropologists and sociologists have calcified the history of the group by restating certain "facts" and issues which were published by Swanton in the early twentieth century, and were amplified by Speck. As such, the last forty years of UHN historical writing has been repetitive of the prior fifty, without using new primary sources of information.

The petition narrative recites this series of studies after Speck, beginning with Parenton and Pellegrin (1950). These studies include description, analysis, advocacy, and some historical assessment. The perspective of each of these researchers who viewed or studied the UHN ancestral group requires some review itself, in order to assess the information, sources and views presented.

Several of these recent studies characterize the settlements in an "isolated" context, abstracted out, as if no

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

interacting movements or events occurred which affected either the UHN progenitors or their settlements. While documentation may lead to such a view, to demonstrate whether, or to what degree, Indian tribes were isolated in Louisiana may be a logical, though not realistic approach.

An article by two sociologists, Parenton and Pellegrin (1950), while informative, is more descriptive than analytical, in that it utilizes a community study approach, rather than an integrated approach to the various UHN communities. Those studies referenced by the petition narrative refer to a "remnant community ostracized by the surrounding white population" (UHN Pet., Narr., 116). While this characterization may be correct in the context from which it was derived, it neglects to portray the historical and social forces which promoted and encouraged this isolation. Furthermore, by not delineating how this isolation occurred in the first place, the "explanation" is time deficient.

Another researcher, Stanton, advanced a concept of "community" that is all-inclusive as to the entire set or group of community members, as opposed to one or two subsets of "community" (Stanton 1979, 91-92), e.g., "Cajun," "Indian," "Houma," "Creole." Indeed, in his 1979 article, Stanton stated that the Indian identity of the UHN ancestral group, was "a phenomenon of their social relations in the community rather than a result of basic physical differences" (underlining added, Stanton 1979, 91).

Stanton emphasized "one's ethnic group identity . . . within the community and the social aspect of racial identification" as applied to the Indian group by the "dominant white element" (Stanton 1979, 92). While members of the UHN ancestral group would lose their "ethnic-status" identification when they left Terrebonne and Lafourche, according to Stanton, the reverse might also occur. "Persons of African ancestry, who might be regarded as blacks outside the area, prefer, by and large, to remain in the Terrebonne-Lafourche parish area, where they are accepted⁵³ as Indians" (Stanton 1979, 92-93).

Stanton juxtaposed the seeming reality of an Indian, or "Houma," community, to the concept of the overall community.

⁵³ Presumably, Stanton meant that they were regarded by whites as being Indians. Such persons were neither socially accepted by whites, nor accepted as group members by the petitioner.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

This illustrates the complimentary nature, for Stanton, of the holding together of the whole community within a subset of other groups which may or may not conform to one's description of these other groups, e.g., Creole, or their own description of themselves. On the other side of the juxtaposition were those of predominantly Negro ancestry, who with some "Houma" heritage would identify with the UHN ancestral group to enhance their own social acceptance by its other members, if not white society (Stanton 1979, 92-93).

In addition to the studies noted above, others including Deseran and Stokely (1976, UHN Pet., Ex. 2:#33) referred to the Grand Caillou and Dulac communities as "multi-racial" (Deseran and Stokely, 1976, 11). They used this term to denote co-residence of whites, blacks, and Indians, rather than to denote a mixture of all three. Each racial group was geographically separate in certain areas of the community. While some Indians lived in the Grand Caillou area, they said, the white population was dominant there. However, more Indians resided in Dulac, and "the Indians in the Grand Caillou-Dulac area are the largest of eight (underlining provided) subcommunities of the Houma tribe" (Deseran and Stokely 1976, 11). While the distinction was drawn by these authors, in their narrative three categories of "language" (French), "racial differences," and "each cultural group," were still used within a sociological context, so that each category was apparently assumed to determine or at least define the other (Deseran and Stokely 1976, 12).

In August 1979, Louisiana State University's Center for Agricultural Sciences and Rural Development published Bulletin No. 719. This publication, "An Assessment of Housing of Indian, White, and Black Residents in Two Rural Louisiana Communities," was based on the above document by Deseran and Stokely, with the addition of Mullen. While indicating an historical connection of the Dulac and Grand Caillou communities to the Houma, the authors emphasized "the racial composition of these communities . . . , " their attachment to other "Houma" subcommunities, and "cultural background . . . under the influence of the French" (Deseran, Stokely, and Mullen 1979, 5).

Deseran, Stokely, and Mullen indicated that the more recent past, that is, over at least the previous decade, the UHN were "a loosely structured group lacking political organization" (Deseran, Mullen, and Stokely 1979, 5-6). However, closer to the time of the LSU publication, the

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

group had "become more tightly-knit and organized because of issues involving better schools, improved roads, land ownership, and civil rights" (Deseran, Mullen, and Stokely 1979, 6). The three authors based this assessment upon their literature review. Key sources included Fischer, 1968; Stanton, 1971; and Roy and Leary, 1977, as cited in the background to the housing assessment (Fischer 1978; Stanton 1971; Roy and Leary 1977).

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

RECENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

By the mid-1970's, modern UHN political organization began to become formal (see the Genealogical Report for a description of the formation of the modern UHN organization). Minutes of a May 24, 1975 meeting of the Houma Tribal Council held in Galliano, Louisiana, indicated that Helen Gindrat was Chairperson, with two others in attendance. Topics discussed included the desire to hire a publicity chairman, and a visit by someone from the Times Picayune. A subsequent meeting indicated that Mrs. Gindrat "went to Washington to rewrite [the] C.E.T.A. Program." Several references in the 1975 time frame indicate correspondence or contact with the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans (CENA) involving economic development projects for the UHN in Lafourche, Terrebonne, St. Bernard, and Jefferson Parishes. Plans for a community center were discussed, including day care and medical services, counseling, legal services, adult education, and other social service programs, including preservation of historical sites (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Apr. 4, 1975).

A news article in the Houma Courier in mid-1975 resulted in "calls from everywhere about donations and organizations, school board, Recreation Committee, Tourist Committee, Public Assistance offices, public health, etc.," (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Aug. 22, 1975). The impact of the article included an offer of \$2,000 from the Tourist Committee to the petitioner's community.

Helen Gindrat reported that following a meeting with the school board (though not indicating which one), plans were developed "to coordinate their funds and program with ours" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Aug. 22, 1975). Materials, supplies, and equipment along with desks, chairs, and salaries were part of a plan developed for "a final ratification" with the School Board Committee and the State Department of Education (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Aug. 22, 1975).

In 1976 testimony before the American Indian Policy Review Commission, representatives of the petitioning community intimated that the Houma Alliance and the Houma Tribe were connected to certain groups within the community, dispersed throughout St. Mary, Terrebonne, Lafourche, Ascension, Jefferson, and St. Bernard Parishes. Claiming that the group's members were "descendants of the original Houma Indians," the representative spokesman claimed that nearly 5,000 members of the petitioning group were "settled in different bodies and different parishes" (UHN Pet., Ex.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

6:#142, Excerpts from Hearing before Task Force 10, AIPRC, Mar. 9, 1976).

Those attending a February 25, 1978 tribal council meeting of the Houma Tribe discussed several subjects. These included the history to be written by Janel Curry on behalf of the Mennonite Central Committee of Pennsylvania, the upcoming National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) conference, the HEW (Health, Education and Welfare) adult education grant, the technical assistance program at ANA (Administration for Native Americans), and CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act). In addition, a Bureau of Indian Affairs workshop was to be held in Houma, Louisiana, on March 6-7, and plans were made for some UHN members to attend.

While the Houma Tribe and the Houma Alliance were not yet united in one formal organization, the tribal council minutes indicated that the "general consensus is that a merger of the two groups would be beneficial to both for Federal recognition" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: February 25, 1978, p. 3). The work of Janel Curry was discussed, and how her expenses were being provided, either in-kind or by monetary donations to the Mennonite Community.

The group was in touch with the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE), attempting to "find a member from Terrebonne parish⁵⁴ for the Tribal Council" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Feb. 25, 1978, p. 4), and discussing plans to attend the NCAI convention in Nashville in late March. On the issue of economic development, the group discussed homes, tribal centers, sewage lines, and fire protection under the master planning contemplated by the South Central Planning and Development District. A crawfish farm was discussed as a possible economic project in conjunction with Louisiana Land and Exploration.

As if to indicate that all descendants of the UHN ancestral group in Louisiana should be part of the organization, at a Special Tribal meeting of The Houma Tribes, Inc. in April 1978, John Billiot of Dulac (generally Houma Alliance Territory at the time) was recognized as the new member from Terrebonne Parish (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Apr. 21, 1978). Similarly in 1980, under new business conducted at a Special Meeting held March 22, 1980, the "Houma Indians of Vermilion parish asked how they could have representation on the

⁵⁴ The historic center of the group.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

council" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 22, 1980, p. 2), since some claimed to have been placed on tribal rolls. As the UHN's activities became more widely known, three dozen "Houma Indians" in Plaquemines Parish requested representation on the tribal council (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Nov. 1980).

By the June 1, 1979 meeting, the Houma Tribe, Inc. and the Houma Alliance, Inc. had joined to form the United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN). An Interim Board was being created and an inventory of all assets of both groups was approved. A recreation committee, consisting of six members was nominated and approved. This committee was to administer a \$3,000 grant obtained from the Department of Urban and Community Affairs. Grant applications and funding were discussed in connection with ANA, Adult Education, the Crisis Intervention Program, and the Department of Labor. A by-laws committee for the United Houma Nation, and a land claim committee were also formed (UHN Pet. Ex. 6: June 1, 1979).

At a meeting held July 7, 1979, the Council appointed Kirby Verret and Charles Duthu to be representatives to the Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana. At a November 30, 1979, meeting discussion took place regarding the current limitation of Louisiana residency to become registered members of the UHN. Actions taken by the Council indicated a disposition of the Council not to prohibit those descendants residing outside Louisiana from enrolling.

At the same meeting an historical and archeological committee was formed to investigate local Indian mounds (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Nov. 30, 1979).⁵⁵ In January 1980, further efforts to consolidate the United Houma Nation organization included adding several members to the Land Claims Committee and emphasizing that meetings be held (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Jan. 26, 1980). An attorney working on the issue of land claims was also identified, but later indicated he did not wish to represent the group (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 8, 1980). Reports were made by the Recreation Committee and the By-laws Committee chairmen on activities and work in their respective areas. Each indicated a more than perfunctory activity. A "Federal Recognition Report" was made at the January 26, 1980, meeting by Greg Bowman, a Mennonite researcher coordinating research on the group's petition. A

⁵⁵ These were prehistoric Indian mounds. BAR research indicates that they had no immediate, direct connection either to the historical Houma tribe or to the known progenitors of the petitioner.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

proposal was also made for the updating of tribal rolls. Details on the Federal "recognition" report they were preparing included data on the genealogical information collection process (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Jan. 26, 1980).

A meeting on March 8, 1980, held at the tribal center in Golden Meadow, Louisiana, found 11 members present, with three absent. The major subject of discussion was a report of the land claim committee. This was in connection with "a long presentation on federal recognition and land claims" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 8, 1980, p. 2). An extended discussion of the by-laws followed, including voting on their provisions (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 8, 1980). Helen Gindrat indicated that the National Park Service was "working with the Indians to provide funds for this Jean Lafitte Park" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 8, 1980, p. 4).

The next meeting included a discussion of Federal grants in economic development and housing. The Planning Committee of United Houma Nation noted Federal manpower funds which might be available to the group (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 22, 1980).

In 1980 one of the main themes of UHN council activities was identification of the group with traditional and historic accutremments of Indian identity. Several meetings found the discussion revolving around arts and crafts, wood sculpture, pottery, and the lease/purchase of some Indian mounds in the Houma, Louisiana, area (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Jan. 26; Mar. 8; Mar. 22; Apr. 11; Aug. 4; Dec. 6, 1980). The Land Claims Committee took on some responsibility for the mound issue (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Apr. 11, 1980).

A reflection of how the United Houma Nation approached the concept of representation of tribal members on the Council was recorded on August 4, 1980. While it was not stated whether there was or was not representation from "areas such as St. Mary, Vermilion and Iberia Parishes," two individuals were to begin "a census of the Indian population in these areas" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Aug. 4, 1980, p. 2). The use of the term "Indian population" may indicate either an emphasis on the word "Indian" as generic, to include any and all "Indians" to be located by the upcoming census, or may indicate that some doubt existed as to the applicability of the term "Houma" with regard to the Indians who would be identified (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Aug. 4, 1980).

At the December 6, 1980, Tribal Council meeting in Golden Meadow, Greg Bowman presented "the History of the Houma Tribe" and distributed part of the petition "for the Council

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

to agree on" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Dec. 6, 1980, p. 2) before submission to the BIA.

The first meeting of 1981 began with the appointment of two new representatives, one for St. Mary Parish and another for Terrebonne Parish. Two resignations for personal reasons apparently prompted the new appointments. In addition to the nine Council members present, some 17 guests were present. Reports regarding the petition for Federal recognition and on the ancestry work being done were made. An agreement on lease of the site of the prehistoric Indian mounds by the UHN had made enough progress that a motion was adopted authorizing the Chairman of the committee dealing with the issue to sign a lease with a realty company (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Jan. 17, 1981).⁵⁶

The early meetings of 1981 included similar issues on the agenda as in 1980. An historical "overview" of the tribe for the Federal recognition petition was presented. The Arts and Craft report was made, including reference to distribution and discussion of a bookkeeper and marketing person. Following a discussion of the Federal recognition issues, a motion was adopted for the tribal attorney to draft a resolution requesting assistance on Federal recognition of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Feb. 22, 1981). While the motion passed, the same attorney "suggested contacting [sic] legal services to assist in Federal Recognition" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Feb. 22, 1981, p. 2). Similarly, at a later meeting in June, the possibility of obtaining NARF's assistance was discussed and a motion was adopted in that regard (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: June 28, 1981).

Some discussion ensued as to the title and responsibility of the Election Committee. A recommendation was made that the Constitution Committee be one and the same with the Election Committee. The issue was left unresolved. Somewhat similarly in confusion was the status and authority of the Recreation Committee. One member indicated that the recreation activities in the United Houma Nation Community Center were occurring without the "direction of the Recreation Committee" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Feb. 22, 1981, p.

⁵⁶ The UHN was leasing the site of some prehistoric Indian mounds in the Bayou Grand Caillou area from the owner, in order to afford protection to the archeological remains. This cultural preservation undertaking by the petitioner does not document a genealogical or historical connection between the UHN and the makers of the prehistoric mounds.

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

3). A new Recreation Committee was appointed, with a subcommittee especially for Terrebonne (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Feb. 22, 1981, p. 3).

A meeting of the Election Committee, held February 28, 1981, dealt with the number of representatives on the permanent board. With the addition of St. Bernard and St. Mary Parishes, a new formula for representation of the tribal council was essentially required. The new breakdown of representation provided for five allotted to Terrebonne Parish; three to Lafourche Parish; three to Orleans/Jefferson Parish; two to St. Mary/Iberia/Vermilion/Lafayette/Assumption Parishes; and one to St. Bernard. This increased the number of representatives on the council from 9 to 14 (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Election Comm. Min., Feb. 28, 1981).

Attached to the minutes of several tribal council meetings in early 1981 are lists of guests who attended. The number of guests attending these meetings varied from 25 to 33, (Feb.-Apr. 1981). The subject of Federal recognition was on the agenda for the March 14, 1981 meeting. Packets of information were distributed to five Council members for comments and changes (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 14, 1981). The Indian mounds, previously discussed, but not specifically cited in the earlier minutes as to location, were identified as being near Bayou Grand Caillou. A lease had apparently been entered and a motion was adopted that called for an attorney to review the constitution and by-laws, in order to coordinate their respective provisions.

In an item notable for its brevity and lack of discussion, Helen Gindrat spoke regarding the "1/8 degree of Indian blood required in the constitution for membership" [underlining provided] (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 14, 1981, p. 2). What Mrs. Gindrat "clarified" is not part of the minutes. For the first time a direct reference was made in the minutes concerning the grant money from the Administration for Native Americans to be used for "the federal recognition position" (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 14, 1981, p. 3).

An April 25, 1981, meeting of the Tribal Council, with 10 of 14 council members in attendance, along with 33 guests, was held in Jefferson Parish. Education funds were discussed. The Mounds Committee was renamed the Archaeology Committee and directed to investigate Burnside (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Apr. 25, 1981). The Council discussed the Houma city site and maps of the village. A meeting of the Election Committee

Historical Report - United Houma Nation, Inc.

also took place on April 25, 1981, attended by 9 of 11 members. Little discussion of substance was recorded.

Among the subjects discussed at the June 28, 1981 meeting at the Dulac Community center were the financial report, the applications of 30 students for higher education grants, and the development of a program for those in higher education to aid their people. Also discussed were block grants for Indian communities. The Arts and Crafts report and program again were part of the agenda. The genealogy aspect of the Federal recognition petition was discussed. The genealogy coordinator indicated that he and Greg Bowman understood that "no new members could be added to the roles [sic]" after the petition was submitted. The attorney questioned whether there was legal precedent for this restriction (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: June 28, 1981, p. 1).

The Archeology Report was apparently brief, with the suggestion that due to the "IT plant site" the case could end up in Federal Court (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: June 28, 1981, p. 2). The reference to the IT plant site was to a contemplated "massive treatment and dumping plant for hazardous wastes" planned for construction at Burnside, Louisiana. The waste dump story was carried in two newspapers, April 12, 1981 (UHN Pet., Ex. 3:#93 and 3:#94).

No tribal minutes were submitted for 1982 or 1983. A few were included from 1984. At that time, the UHN were actively pursuing preparation of the petition for Federal acknowledgment (UHN Pet., Ex. 6: Mar. 24, 1984; Sept. 14, 1984). During the BAR field visit, additional Tribal Minutes were obtained for the dates of Feb. 25 and Apr. 21, 1978; June 1, July 7, Oct. 20, and Nov. 30, 1979; Jan 26, March 22, and Nov. 1980; Jan. 17, 1981; Jan. 23, and Feb. 27, 1982; May 14 and Aug. 20, 1983; April 20, 1985; Dec. 13, 1986; Aug. 13, 1988; June 10, 1989; Sept. 8, 1990; and an apparently complete run for 1991 (Jan. 22, Feb. 16, Apr. 20, May 18, May 28, June 15, July 13, Aug. 17, Sept. 14, Oct. 12, Dec. 14).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT--THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	<u>General Summary</u>	1
A.	Origins of the petitioner	1
B.	The ancestors move to Lower Bayous family-by-family	2
C.	Society of founding ancestors	4
D.	The population radiates throughout the lower bayou area	5
E.	Swanton visits in 1907	7
F.	School desegregation becomes an on-going battle	7
G.	Labor migration during World War II decreases isolation	8
H.	Modern political organization established in 1972	9
II.	<u>The Historic Houma Tribe</u>	10
A.	Louisiana Indians participate in frontier economy	11
B.	The PPC describes activities of the historical Houma tribe	13
C.	The American period begins	17
III.	<u>Locating the Petitioner's Ancestors</u>	18
A.	The founding families move to lower bayous one-by-one	20
B.	The lower bayou community draws together people of diverse origins	22
C.	The founding neighborhood: land surveys locate ancestors	22
IV.	<u>The Nineteenth-Century Community Takes Shape</u>	26
A.	Marriage in the nineteenth century	26
B.	The three central families: Courteau, Billiot and Verdin	26
C.	The population expands	32
D.	Continuing kinship relationships among cousin groupings	35
E.	Evidence of social interaction demonstrated by legal witnesses	37
F.	Racial discrimination	39
V.	<u>The Post-Bellum Communities</u>	40
A.	The Terrebonne Indian community circa 1880	40

B.	Social organization in Terrebonne community	45
C.	Post-bellum economy	46
VI.	<u>Researchers Study Lower Bayou Communities Identified as "Indian: 1900-1940</u>	47
A.	Population estimates fluctuate widely	47
B.	Distinct geographical settlements associated with the petitioner	48
C.	Education and economy through 1945	52
1.	Task groups organize labor	54
2.	Demographic trends place pressure on land and economy	55
a.	Loss of lands and of access to lands	55
b.	Petitioner increasingly viewed as squatters	58
c.	Black/White system of segregation leaves no place for UHN ancestors	60
d.	Rise of discrimination	62
	Summary	63
3.	Education blocked to some ancestors in the lower bayous	65
VII.	<u>World War II Brings Out-Migration</u>	66
A.	Out-migration fosters out-marriage	66
B.	French language	71
VIII.	<u>Ad-hoc Political Authority and Leadership: 1940-1970</u>	72
A.	Tom Dion and the fight for school desegregation	78
B.	Recent political events in schools	79
IX.	<u>Establishing a Formal Organization: 1970 to present</u>	80
A.	United Houma Nation takes shape	82
B.	Modern organization and factionalism	88
C.	The UHN Leadership is attacked	89
D.	Current status	95
X.	<u>Charts</u>	

ANTHROPOLOGICAL REPORT--THE UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

I. General Summary

The Houma petitioner descends from ancestors of diverse ethnic and racial origins who settled along Bayou Terrebonne near modern-day Montegut around 1800. They do not descend from the historic Houma Indian tribe or any other tribe. Currently, United Houma Nation (UHN) membership is clustered in various communities in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, where the founders' descendants resided during the nineteenth century. Members of the petitioning group also reside today in St. Bernard, Jefferson, and other south Louisiana parishes where some of the founders' descendants moved in the twentieth century.

I-A. Origins of the petitioner

The petition proposes that the Houma petitioner derives directly from the historic Houma tribe which was forced into the lower Louisiana bayous by increasing European settlement in their traditional areas to the North. Bureau of American Ethnography Anthropologist John Swanton, who visited the group in 1907, speculated that remnants, specifically three Houma families, remained in Terrebonne after the main portion of their tribe moved north in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Based on his field trip, Swanton reported:

When they first came across from the Mississippi, it is said that they located near the city that bears their name, but, being driven out by the whites, moved to their present situation. Being followed down by the settlers, all except three families, or possibly bands, went back north about one hundred and twenty years ago and were never heard of again. The three families, which were known by the French names "Courteaux," "Billiout," and "Verdine," held their ground, and it is from them that all the Houma of Terre Bonne and La Fourche are descended (Swanton 1911, 292).

The Branch of Acknowledgment and Research's (BAR's) findings comport with Swanton's statement that three important families -- the Billiot, Verdin and Courteau families -- are ancestral to the petitioner. However, the BAR did not find that all three families were Indian families. Though some of the UHN ancestors were Indian, they could not be traced to the Houma Indian tribe.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

In addition, no contemporary evidence or records indicate that the petitioner descended from a wandering group of tribal people who moved as a group into the lower bayous. No evidence supports the contention that a band of Biloxi, a band of Houma, or any other specific tribe or amalgamation of tribes moved into the southern bayous together.

I-B. The ancestors move to lower bayous family-by-family

While Swanton speculated that other Indians joined an existing Houma band, the records do not confirm his theory. They clearly show that the petitioners' ancestors were individual families which moved to the area to obtain land, to settle, to farm, and to fish. They moved individual by individual, or family by family, to the lower bayous, beginning in the late 1700's. Their origins varied. Only one Indian family and an unrelated part-Indian family settled south of modern Houma City. The majority of the settlers were immigrants from Europe, French-speaking refugees from Acadia, Canada, pioneers from other parts of Louisiana where land was no longer available, such as the German Coast, and free people of color, also seeking land.

The historical depiction of the ancestors in the petitioner's own oral histories repeatedly points to well-known and diverse origins in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and America. Contemporary records also point to disparate origins. Swanton reported in 1907 that the "remains of several other tribes, such as the Bayougoula and Acolapissa have been incorporated with them [the Houma]" (Swanton 1911, 292). His field notes indicate that elders to whom he talked claimed to have a varied tribal heritage and mentioned a number of tribes including the Atakapa, Chitimacha, Houma, and Biloxi.

Diversity of background is not problematical for meeting the regulations for acknowledgment, as long as the petitioning group also descends from an Indian tribe or tribes which had amalgamated. However, the lack of a cohesive tribal community which existed historically is a critical obstacle to recognition for this petitioner. A situation in which a few individual Indians, who were alienated from their tribes, and non-Indians of diverse backgrounds coalesced into a predecessor community to the petitioner's modern community does not meet criterion 87.3(b) for Federal acknowledgment under 25 CFR Part 83.

The three important families first mentioned by Swanton were among the pioneer settlers of modern-day Lafourche and

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Terrebonne Parishes. They were granted land along Bayou Terrebonne at the southern end of the Acadian/Spanish settlement. Even though these families lived near one another as early as 1809 and certainly by 1820, they were part of a larger community. They did not live in a distinct, identifiable Indian community -- geographically, socially, or politically -- exclusively made up of their own families and descendants. Records indicate that they interacted with other pioneer families, usually non-Cajuns (non-Acadians).¹ Specifically, they married their neighbors, usually Europeans or free people of color, as non-Europeans (usually of mixed ancestry) were called at that time. It appears that one member each from only two Acadian families, the Naquins and the Chaissons, married² into the first and second generation ancestors.³

The three main families composed a nucleus of founding ancestors. The Courteaux were Indian, the father identified repeatedly as a Biloxi medal chief. Some recent sources identify the Courteau mother, Marianne, as Houma, Choctaw, or another unidentified Alabama tribe, but her roots are not really known. The Billiots were European and African in descent and had probably lived several generations in Louisiana. The Verdins were European. Alexander Verdin married Marie Gregoire, an "Indian woman." Her tribal affiliation is now unclear. Other Verdin family members made marriages and unions with the Attakapas. This points to possible connections with that Louisiana tribe to the West. By 1820, these three families lived next to one another along Bayou Terrebonne.

A few of the original families had contacts prior to moving to Terrebonne. There is documentation showing the Verdins

¹ "Cajun" or "Acadian" refer only to those people who were part of or descended from the "grand derangement" or exodus of French-speaking people from Nova Scotia, Canada, in the mid-1700's. After ten years or more of refugee status in various locations in the New World and France, a large group moved en masse to Louisiana. Many other settlers also came to Louisiana in this period, earlier, and later. Some were French-speakers, but they were not Acadians or "Cajuns". Among them were important petition ancestors such as the Verrets and Dardars.

² In the anthropology report long-term unions that resulted in offspring are often called "marriages," even when the legal system did not recognize the unions.

³ Cajun families such as the Cheramies, Pitres, Heberts, and others would marry into the UHN in later generations, some after 1900 and others only recently.

and Billiots interacting in New Orleans before moving to the Houma area. The prior relationship between these two families could be based on their shared German heritage as much as any other attribute.⁴

I-C. Society of founding ancestors

There is very little direct evidence of leadership among the petitioner's ancestors during the first half of the nineteenth century. It is not known whether they formed a cohesive community. The character of the social boundaries between the founding families and their neighbors is also unknown. However, documents submitted by the petitioner or located by BAR researchers indicate that ongoing economic and social relationships existed not only among the three families (Courteau, Billiot, and Verdin) but also between them and the surrounding community. Because people with mixed ancestry and women did not have standing in the legal system at this time, neighbors of Acadian and French ancestry repeatedly represented the three families' interests, according to contemporary documents. Non-Indian neighbors such as the Chaissons, Solets, Verrets, and Naguins lived on neighboring lands during the first half of the century, and their children married the children of the founding ancestors as early as the 1820's.

Documents indicate that the UHN founding ancestors often faced legal impediments to marriage, inheritance and land ownership in the greater Louisiana society, apparently because of their mixed racial heritage. After the Civil War and following Reconstruction, the white population attempted to class the petitioners with freedmen. The petitioner resisted.⁵ Race-based discrimination increasingly became a problem for the petitioner's ancestors as the twentieth century began.

However, in the lower bayous, isolation sometimes mitigated discrimination during the early part of the nineteenth

⁴ Many Germans emigrated to Louisiana in the 18th Century. A German settlement was established north of New Orleans on the Mississippi's east bank. However, the Verdins came from New Orleans and the Billiot family (as well as the Iris family, from which Jean Baptiste Billiot's wife stemmed) probably came from the English Turn south of New Orleans.

⁵ A Louisiana Supreme Court case in 1917 clearly shows one petitioner ancestor disputing the attempt by the society to class his children as Black and block their entrance to white schools (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education).

century, and documents show the ancestors interacting on many levels with neighboring populations. Genealogical documents indicate high levels of marriage outside the founding families. As many as two-thirds of the descendants of the founding community married neighbors who were not from the three founding families in the generations marrying between 1825 and 1870. High birth rates and out-marriage caused the population to grow. Between 1825 and 1870, founders' descendants moved throughout the lower bayous in search of land. They founded new communities loosely associated with the original founding neighborhood on Bayou Terrebonne.

I-D. The population radiates throughout the lower bayou area

The children and grandchildren of the founding families married widely and moved into all parts of the bayous between 1825 and 1880. Rosalie Courteau, of the Courteau Indian family, married Jacques Billiot, a non-Indian, in 1808. Their sons managed, by 1840, through marriage and land trades, to own neighboring lands on Bayou Terrebonne. Some of Jacques Billiot's non-Indian nieces and nephews (the children of his siblings) moved to other bayous, where they founded new communities which have evolved into some of the modern communities associated with the petitioner.

By 1850, descendants of the founding families (Billiot, Courteau and Verdin) were found in many parts of the lower bayous. They formed a large grouping of cousins, some with Indian ancestry and some without. Some of these early pioneer settlements had no one with Indian ancestry for several generations. Nevertheless, the non-Indian children of Jacques Billiot's siblings continued to interact in significant ways (such as acting as trustee for orphans) with each other and also with their Indian cousins (the children of Jacques Billiot and Rosalie Courteau).

Marriage patterns indicate that generally the first three generations of UHN ancestors (until 1840) married widely among neighbors who were not Indian. The notable exception is the propensity of Marie Gregoire's children and Rosalie Courteau's children to marry one another in the second generation. Both women were identified in documents as Indian. After those marriages, however, the descendants of Indians and non-Indians living in Bayou Terrebonne married often, so that by 1880 Indian ancestry was widely shared in that bayou. In other bayous, originally settled by people without Indian ancestry, it could sometimes be two or three

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

more generations before residents of the outlying bayous married someone with Indian ancestry, although this was by no means a universal rule. The children such non-Indian/Indian marriages then often married on that bayou, sharing their Indian ancestry.

After the Civil War, racial and ethnic differences became increasingly important in defining the social position of the group. Marriage turned inward, and the descendants primarily married each other. Land ownership was threatened. Increasingly, the white population attempted to force the petitioner's ancestors into a category with freed slaves. It appears that during this period the ancestor's communities in Terrebonne and Lafourche bayous coalesced into those identified with the petitioner today.

Persons such as Rosalie Courteau and Victor Naquin began to stand out in oral histories which purport to describe the late nineteenth century. Almost no contemporary documents from the post-bellum period were included with the petition⁶. Certainly no documents were submitted which indicated that any one individual was considered a political leader of the ancestral population.

Janel Curry has stated that leadership was actually passed matrilineally particularly to Rosalie Courteau from her mother's brother, Louis Le Sauvage. This is somewhat confusing, as among the identified leaders in the generation before Rosalie Courteau is also her father, identified as a Biloxi medal chief. This theoretical position is also difficult to support because lack of other examples does not allow one to draw patterns of succession over time. Yet, Rosalie Courteau's description in the oral histories clearly is of a woman of special note.

Although the hypothesis of matrilineal leadership is not supported by the available documentary record, this matriarch, Rosalie Courteau, who is said to have lived to be 100 years old⁷, was undoubtedly prominent in the community of descendants living near Montegut on Bayou Terrebonne and south to Isle Jean-Charles. Today, when viewed retrospectively through the oral histories, she is described

⁶ Only one document was submitted with the petition dating to the period between 1860 and 1900.

⁷ She was more likely about 90 when she died.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

as a matriarch for a larger historical population found throughout Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes.

I-E. Swanton visits in 1907

Anthropologist John Swanton was the first researcher and the first writer to call the UHN ancestral population "Houma" Indians. When he visited in 1907, the founding ancestors' descendants lived in the southern regions of the bayous of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes in communities, clearly segregated from whites and blacks. Fishing, shrimping, muskrat trapping, and cattle raising contributed cash to what he described as essentially a subsistence economy. His description does not conform precisely to the economic information reported on the 1900 Federal census.

All descriptions of the communities associated with the petitioner since Swanton's visit have emphasized the clear geographical segregation between the petitioner's areas of habitation and their neighbors. In the petitioner's communities, including Dulac, Montegut, Isle Jean-Charles, du Large, Grand Bois, and Bayou au Chien, each community lives in an exclusive "village" lining the bayous. Sometimes villages inhabited by white and black populations are located in nearby, but in clearly distinct areas. The BAR anthropologist found neighborhoods or "line villages" inhabited exclusively by members of the petitioning group in 1992. Although it could not be determined what percentage of the petitioner's membership lives today in the lower bayou villages, clearly a central cultural and social core still thrives there. Many people, including children, continue to speak Cajun French. People who have migrated to New Orleans continue to visit and maintain close kin relationships in these areas. Because out-migration only began during World War II, large numbers of migrants still have first-degree relatives (parents or siblings) living in the lower bayous.

Similarity exists in the social character of the villages. Older couples appear to stand at the head of large extended families. Several generations live along driveways associated with the grandparent generation. The elders are influential in maintaining order, according to oral history.

I-F. School desegregation becomes an on-going battle

By the time University of Pennsylvania Professor Frank Speck visited in the 1930's, little seemed to have changed from Swanton's field trip, although population pressure on the

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

land and loss of lands meant that many people did not have a place to live or even to tie up their trapping houseboats, locally called "camp boats". Some families had migrated to the bayous south of New Orleans on the Mississippi's east bank to trap in less crowded territories. Missionaries provided education in some communities, as the state refused to allow the petitioner's children to attend white schools, and apparently they refused to attend black schools.

Speck and BIA anthropologist Ruth Underhill in the late 1930's attempted, with little permanent success, to force the state to open Indian schools. However, they did not consider the petitioners to be an Indian tribe, and the BIA did not allow them to vote to reject the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA).

Schooling was only one area of life where people were racially segregated in Louisiana. Virtually all social institutions were segregated. The unique tripartite form of segregation practiced in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes divided "whites," "blacks" and "sabines," the last term considered by most to have been a derogatory term desigrating the petitioner's members and their ancestors.

I-G. Labor migration during World War II decreases social isolation

During World War II, significant labor migration to New Orleans and its suburbs began, in part precipitated by the lure of employment in war-related industries such as ship building. Those who moved to New Orleans found that the racially segregated tripartite social system of the lower bayous was irrelevant to their social positions outside of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. Many were classed as "white", and they sent their children to "white" schools, attended churches which were "white," socialized in clubs and institutions that were viewed as "white," and lived in "white" neighborhoods.

Marriages with outsiders resulted from increased social interaction with outsiders. Consequently, Cajun French was not spoken in homes, and other cultural changes occurred when families moved away from the bayou areas historically associated with the petitioner.

However, in the lower bayous social institutions remained racially segregated. By the 1960's, increasing pressure arose within the petitioner's various communities to force the local governments to allow the petitioner's children to

attend white schools. In some UHN communities, ad hoc leaders for separate communities (never for the UHN as a whole), arose in this comparatively quiet battle for desegregation. For example, the UHN members at Dulac, acted in a united fashion to finally end segregation in the schools in the 1970's. However, racial discrimination persisted in housing, employment, and social institutions.

I-H. Modern political organization established in 1972

No traditional or modern organization encompassing the entire petitioner population was founded until 1972, when The Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. (name changed in 1974 to The Houma Tribes, Inc.) was established by Helen Gindrat of Golden Meadow. In 1974, the group divided along what appears on the surface to be regional lines, and The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] was founded, with its members drawn primarily from the western bayous, including Grand Caillou and du Large.

In 1979, the two groups rejoined to become The United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN), the petitioner. The reason for the merger, in part, was that people believed unity would enhance the group's chances for Federal acknowledgment. The UHN reportedly ran a few community development programs, although little documentation of these activities was included in the petition. They also organized and submitted the acknowledgment petition. The UHN's governing body was a council formed of individuals from various communities associated with the petitioner. It is not known how these people joined the council. For example, we do not know if they were elected or self-appointed.

Council is dominated by a small group of people, some of whom are close relatives and also hold jobs in the community development projects or Federal acknowledgment project. According to council minutes, public disagreement rarely surfaces, and criticism is discouraged, in part because the council members emphasize harmony, which they say will increase chances of acknowledgment.

Almost no substantial decision-making on the part of the council was documented in the council minutes. When substantive issues arose in council meetings, they were usually referred to committee, despite the fact that some council meetings only had ten members present. For example, the council discussed the possibility of obtaining a non-profit tax number for years. By 1993, they still had not

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

obtained the number, but the reason they had not gotten the number is not known.

Participation by the general membership in the operations of the UHN and the running of the organization was minimal until recently. Usually, fewer than 20 people attended council meetings. At first, council members were appointed to represent the individual communities. More recently regional elections have been held for council members. No mention was made of local or regional meetings. People voted at voting locations rather than at a general council meeting of some sort. In fact, nothing was submitted which indicates that an annual business meeting was held. A powwow to raise money has been held each year since they organized in the 1970's. The evidence indicates that the powwows are socio-cultural events; that is, there is no evidence that UHN politics or discussions of UHN business are held during the powwow. The relationship between the council representatives and their regions was not documented.

Community elders do not hold positions in the UHN or on the council. This, in part, results from the high school education requirement for those running for council. Within the traditional communities, the elders exert political influence, particularly to maintain order.

Since 1992, more group members have taken an increased interest in the running of the UHN. Young people on the council disregard pleas for harmony and demand answers to controversial questions. A faction calling itself the Documented Houma Tribe has recently identified itself. Originating in Lower Terrebonne, it is led by Steve Cheramie, a young man whose roots are in that area, but who currently lives in the New Orleans suburbs. The Documented Houma Tribe is unhappy with the leadership of Helen Gindrat, who founded the UHN predecessor organization. Based on what has been informally reported to the BAR, there is also the possibility that this faction represents an historically and geographically distinct grouping, which has always believed itself to be the "true" Indians and the direct descendants of Rosalie Courteau and Marie Gregoire.

II. The Historic Houma Tribe

Anthropologists, journalists, and others have mistakenly associated the UHN's ancestors with the historical Houma Indian tribe (the Houma) since about 1900. The BAR found no

evidence linking the UHN to the historical Houma tribe, genealogically, politically, or socially. The historic Houma, a Muskogean tribe, were located on the Mississippi River near the Mississippi-Louisiana border when French explorers navigated the river in the seventeenth century (see the Map Supplement).

The historical Houma tribe's movements from the location where they were first contacted by Europeans in 1682, show them battered from place to place by war, disease, slaving, and the displacement caused by increasing numbers of Europeans immigrating to Louisiana. The Houma reportedly absorbed small tribes such as the Acolapissa (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 62). In the late 1600's and early 1700's Frenchmen and metis⁸ lived in some Indian villages, often cohabiting with the Indian women (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 62).

What happened to the Houma tribe was similar to what happened to all of the small Louisiana tribes. The evidence indicates that the UHN ancestors (a few were Indians, but the vast majority were non-Indians) did not coalesce into a community on Bayou Terrebonne until 1830. Prior to that date, the petitioner's ancestors were not a community and they do not connect to the historical Houma Indian tribe or any other tribe of Indians. Because the petitioner asserts they descend from the historical Houma Indian tribe, it is important to discuss the fate of the historical Houma Indian tribe. By way of background, it is important to describe what kind of economy that Louisiana Indians in general participated in, in the late 1700's and early 1800's, and how they related socially to the European and African people living around them.

II-A. Louisiana Indians participate in frontier economy

Louisiana was geographically located at the nexus of the French, Spanish and British regions of settlement in the New World. Louisiana and its main city of New Orleans were central economic and cultural locations for France's Caribbean and Upper Mississippi colonies.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the British were pushing westward from their colonies in Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia, and southward from Upper Canada with

⁸ The Random House College Dictionary defines metis, "Canadian, a half-breed of white, esp. French, and Indian parentage."

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

their sights set on the French lands. Acadian settlement began in 1755 and continued through 1785. In 1762, the French transferred the colony to Spain, who administered it until 1800, when it was returned to France.

In 1803, the young United States bought the French colony, which at this time extended deep into the Mississippi and Missouri River drainage basins. Statehood followed in 1812. During the colonial period, although Louisiana was passed from one European country to another, the French culture and language predominated. This remained true in French-settled and Acadian-settled parts of the state after the Americans took over as well.

Early French and Spanish explorers in the 1600's found Indians in Louisiana making a living through subsistence agriculture as well as hunting and gathering. This had changed by the late 1700's to a market economy: hunting, slaving, and other pursuits that served the colonial newcomers (Kniffen, Gregory and Stokes 1987, 62; Usner 1990). The Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (the archives of Spanish Louisiana maintained in Madrid, hereafter called the "PPC") clearly document such activity among the Houma and other tribes.

By the 1780's, significant economic interactions on the frontier between European colonists and Indians had lasted 100 years, or at least three, if not four, generations. The Houma, like other Mississippi tribes, had become deeply involved in the colonial mercantile economy of the frontier. Bernard Romans, a cartographer and naturalist, reported in 1775:

The Houma, Chitimacha, and other Indian communities that were dispersed among the plantations, served as hunters, and for some other laborious uses, something similar to subdued tribes of New England (Usner 1990, 168).

Another Englishman wrote in 1769 that the Houma, among other "petites nations [literally translated "small nations," and here refers to Indian tribes] are to the full as civilized as our poorer sort of People: they are very industrious, and have been very useful to the French" (Usner 1990, 168). Other documents depict the Houma as less tractable than Romans did.

When the Acadians began to immigrate to Louisiana from Nova Scotia and France in the later 1750's, they began settling

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

at the place where Bayou Lafourche (The Fork) leaves, or forks from, the Mississippi River near modern Donaldsonville. The last Acadian immigrants to arrive settled on the lower ends of Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Terrebonne⁹, according to an eighteenth century census¹⁰. Spanish names also appear on the records from the 1790's, indicating that during the Spanish period, settlement continued. In fact, at least one of the petitioner's ancestors, Genevieve Celine John, was the granddaughter of a man whom documents describe as "a man of Campiche" [Mexico]¹¹ (Shannon 1985, 67).

II-B. The PPC describe activities of the historic Houma tribe

The PPC, which describe the Houma tribe's activities between 1755 and 1790, when Spain governed the region, present a picture somewhat different than that drawn by the above quoted English observers. The PPC describe Houma Indians who are as likely to raid the colonists' hogs and steers as to trade deer for goods. This could, in part, be due to the fact that the colonial government's job was to maintain order; what the provincial government considered to be unruly Indian activity was perhaps more likely to be documented than their day-to-day peaceful activities.

One center of Acadian life was near present-day Donaldsonville in the late eighteenth century (See Map Supplement). The first Acadians, migrating to Louisiana between 1765 and 1770 (Brasseaux 1987, 181), had settled close to the Houma in the late 1700's, near Cabannoce (now St. James Parish), Iberville, and St. Gabriel. By 1773, Acadians were located "in the fourche" in a spot previously inhabited by Chitimachas "about three-quarters of a league

⁹ The manifests of the ships carrying the Acadian immigrants were compared to the eighteenth century Acadian census. The comparison shows that the early arrivals were granted land along upper Lafourche Bayou, while those on the last ships in the 1770's were forced to accept less productive lands along the lower bayous.

¹⁰ The 1788 census is found in the Historic New Orleans Collection. Among those family names found at the ends of Bayou Terrebonne were Bourg, Breau, Hebert, Pitre, Dion, Trahan, Lirette, Boudreau, Naquin and Chaisson. The UHN ancestors married with some of these families in the early period. Later, they came into conflict with others.

¹¹ Declaration of death by his son Jean Baptiste Jeanne, October 19, 1822.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

from the river, on the left [east] bank of the bayou" (PPC, 473).

Between 1772 and 1785, a small group of Houma "warriors" and their families are described in the PPC. Leaders were identified, and the tribe undertook activities such as war, raiding, punishment, ceremonial dancing, cattle stealing, catching run-away Negro slaves, hiding run-away Indian slaves, building a small fort, and participating in war councils. These activities provide clear evidence of community and tribal political structures and processes until about 1790 (PPC 1772-1785).

In an attempt to settle the various disturbances caused by interaction of indigenous people and European colonists, the French consulted with named Houma leaders. Commandant Judice at Lafourche dealt with chiefs, who then were expected to punish or control their tribesmen. On February 27, 1774, the Chief of the Houma and six men came to call on Judice, who demanded that the Chief find some Houma who had raided hogs while on a visit to the English. The chief agreed, and a calumet ("peace pipe") was smoked.

In 1775, Chitimachas, Attakapas, and Opelousas asked the Governor's permission to go to war with the Houma to revenge the death of two chiefs (PPC, 270). On the same day, it was noted in the PPC that the Pascagoulas and the Houma were involved in a dispute concerning the Pascagoulas' harassing Houma women (PPC 271).

A letter of October 1, 1775 written by Judice to Governor Unzaga described three Houma villages:

Since this tribe had sold its village site, it has divided to the point that it currently consists of three villages: Calabee, with about twenty men, remains on the village site that he sold to Mr. Conway: the chief, with about as many men, retired to a site two and one-half leagues above, and established a village twenty arpents distance from the river, upon the land of the district settlers who are greatly disturbed by it; one Tiefayo, with eight families, has withdrawn to the Lafourche, where they have done quite well. I have done everything possible to reunite this tribe into only one village . . . They were on the verge of reuniting and of establishing themselves in the Lafourche when an Indian named

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Pailmastabee, a Choctaw, told them not to listen to me (PPC 189,284-285).

On February 4, 1776, a young Houma who, according to Judice, was the only "real chief" of the tribe, was accused of killing an Indian from another tribe, and the dead man's tribe asked for revenge. Judice sent the dead man's mother and three others to find the killer and did not interfere at that point in his punishment (PPC, 1776). However, a month later Judice wrote:

18 March 1776 the above-mentioned young chief Matiabee is really innocent. The dead man killed himself. The Houmans [sic] want to kill Matiabee's wife and another woman as his nearest relatives. The dead man got drunk, got mad, grabbed for a gun, and it went off and shot him in the throat. Judice wants the governor to call in the most determined enemies of Matiabee and disuage them in order to prevent a massacre in the tribe, because the relatives of these three will in turn seek revenge (PPC, 1776).¹²

In addition to Matiabee, the Houma had two other chiefs, including Calabee, who was associated with war and raiding, and Tioutioubabee, a medal chief. The following account illustrates that in July, 1777, the Houma were still distributing gifts from the Spanish government in what appears to have been a traditional way using the elders:

The Houmas assembled, [the Spanish administrator] gave out their presents, and all were satisfied except Calabee, who wanted a "couverte blanche" [white blanket], but "since there were only two [the Spanish administrator] gave them to the two first chiefs (Tioutioubabee, medal chief, and Matiabee, petty chief, but the only real chief of his nation). When these chiefs had received their presents, they put everything together and gave it to the elders, who divided it up to the satisfaction of all. These two chiefs asked

¹² It was general practice among many Indian tribes, and in other societies as well, for the tribe to take the life of a member in order to stop threats of revenge from another tribe. In this case, it appears that the Houma wanted to take the lives of two women who were close to their chief who had been accused of wrongful death by another tribe. In this way revenge did not escalate.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

permission to fire the cannon. All cried "Long live the King"; planted their flags before my door, and began to dance around at 10 in the morning and did not stop until dark. (PPC 1777)

In a dispatch dated March, 1778, Judice wrote that "...the Houma Indians cause considerable harm to the settlers, stealing their rice and corn from their fields, and rustling and killing their hogs, which they subsequently sell to the English" (quoted from PPC, in Brasseaux 1987, 182). Complaints from settlers about Houma activities continued until 1785, when a slave rebellion broke out at Pointe Coupee. The Houma cooperated in tracking down the rebels, but disputes between settlers and Houma resumed after the rebellion was quelled in 1785 (Brasseaux 1987, 182).

A continent-wide epidemic between 1779 and 1783 significantly reduced the Indian population of the entire continent (Calloway 1987, 39). In 1784, American Thomas Hutchins wrote:

About 60 miles from New Orleans are the villages of the Humas [sic] and Alibamas. The former were once a considerable nation of Indians, but are reduced now to about 25 warriors . . . three miles further up in the Forche de Chetimachas, near which is the village of a tribe of Indians of the same name: they reckon about 27 warriors (Hutchins 1784, 39).

The Houma retreated from the areas of European settlement near Donaldsonville during a smallpox epidemic in 1785 (Brasseaux 1987, 185). The last mention of the Houma tribe by name in the PPC appears on October 25, 1787: "The Houmas are happy with their present. They have gone to the Attakapas and Opelousas to sing a calumet" (PPC 1787). The location was not indicated.

However, on April 3, 1793, Commandant Verret (see Historical Report) wrote to the governor to recommend Naquiabee, "chief of the Indians of Lafourche" (PPC 1793). This is followed by other Verret letters in the PPC dated April 17, 1793, August 2, 1796 and April 1797, which refer to a man whose name is spelled variously Natiabee, Natquiabee, and Natquiabe. All these names could have referred to the same individual. It is possible that this person, sponsored by Commandant Verret, was the same Houma petty Chief Matiabee who was discussed in the PPC by Judice in 1776. After 1793, documentary references in the PPC to the tribe became silent

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

(See Historical Report for more detail from this time period).

II-C. The American period begins

President Jefferson asked an American named Sibley to take a census of Indians in Louisiana after the colony was bought from France in 1803. Sibley's census places a few Houma living on the east side of the Mississippi below Manchac (See Map Supplement). No notation is made of a Houma community or political entity in the Lafourche/Donaldsonville location at this time.

In 1804, Pierre Clement de Laussat, a visiting commissioner of the French government, referred to four Houma families living in the Canterelle household in St. James Parish as "Just like a part of the [Michel Bernard de] Canterelle household" (Laussat 1978, 68).

American Governor Claiborne's letter books indicate that in August, 1811, a Houma delegation visited Governor Claiborne, who said that there were only 80 Houma left, and their chief was named Chac-Chouma. He awarded them \$100 and provisions for the return trip. He later wrote a letter to Judge Canterelle of Acadia Parish, thanking him for sending the Houma delegation to visit him (Morehand n.d., 13-14). There is nothing to indicate where the members of the delegation usually lived: in Acadia, with Judge Canterelle, or elsewhere.

At the end of the Franco/Spanish period, the documents describing the Houma and all the petites nations are somewhat contradictory. Some writers present the tribes as peaceful and peasant-like, cooperating and working with the settlers. The PPC, on the other hand, presents a picture of "warriors" traveling together in tribal delegations, and dwells on negative interactions, such as stealing pigs and raiding for liquor, between the tribe and the colonists.

Because the petitioner's ancestors had no known link to the historical Houma tribe, this description of the Houma and other Muskogean tribes in the late eighteenth century is only useful as background. Despite what the Houma and other tribes may have really been doing or not doing, it is very clear from documents that, by the time the American period began in the early 1800's, the petitioner's Indian and non-Indian ancestors were already settling on Bayou Terrebonne, where they engaged in agricultural pursuits together, and the few Houma Indians who were still living were in villages

on the Mississippi River, near present-day Donaldsonville. They lived like their pioneer neighbors. They were baptized in Catholic Churches, gave their children French names, owned slaves and land, sold and inherited boats, furniture, farming equipment, and domesticated farm animals. They inherited through a system of primogeniture. In this respect, late eighteenth century descriptions of peaceful, peasant-like Indians, married with non-Indians, more closely resemble the activities of the petitioner's ancestors than the PCC description of wandering bands of nomadic warriors.

III. Locating the Petitioner's Ancestors

The BAR has not been able to connect the petitioner's ancestors to the historic Houma tribe described in the eighteenth century documents. The BAR has found that several families of the petitioner's ancestors came one-by-one to live along Bayou Terrebonne near Montegut beginning as early as 1805,¹³ but they were not descendants of the historic Houma tribe. The petitioner's ancestors are referred to in probate records, War of 1812 pension records, marriage and birth documents, and baptisms. They are identified as "Indian," "mulatto," "free people of color," "white" and, sometimes, as immigrants from specific European countries (e.g. France and Germany). They are not, however, identified as "Houma Indians" and only on rare occasions are specific individuals identified as "Indian."

The earliest records of the petitioner's ancestors place them at the southern end of Acadian and Spanish settlement.

¹³ Spanish land grants date from 1787-1788 through the 1790's. These lands were confirmed by American commissioners after the Louisiana Purchase as having been occupied and inhabited by the grantees for ten years prior to 1803 (ASP).

Note that many of the petitioner's surnames in the early documents vary in spelling, often because the names are spelled differently by Spanish, French and English speakers. Thus a name such as Guidry today, in the past was spelled Guidroz in Spanish and Guidrez in French. The name Courteau today was spelled Courto by Spanish speakers in the past, and so on (Billiot, Billeau, Billio; Jaceau, Jacco; Jean, Dianne, Dian, Dion, etc.). Pronunciation also differed among the three language speakers, and the lens of oral history, added to the confusion. For example, the petitioner refers to Marie Enerisse as Jacques Billiot's mother. Most likely her name was originally in French and something like Marie Anne [Marianne] Iris, which when spoken quickly probably sounds very much like Marie Enerisse. The Iris family was a well-known Louisiana family who lived near English Turn south of New Orleans in the 18th century.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

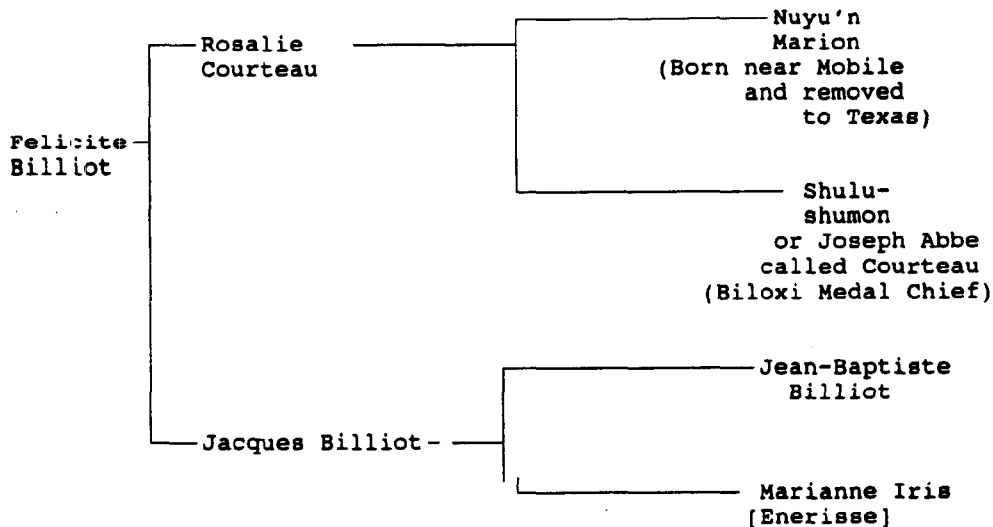
Census, and land records show that the Indian family named "Courteau" lived along Bayou Terrebonne, above present-day Montegut, as early as 1805. Six years later, Governor Claiborne presented a Houma delegation from the Donaldsonville area with presents. This means that the Houma tribe was still living around Donaldsonville several years after the UHN ancestors had moved to Bayou Terrebonne. The Courteau family included: the most famous petitioner ancestor, Rosalie Courteau, her parents, Iacalobe (aka Houma Courteau/Joseph Abbe), and Marianne, and her siblings, Francois, Antoine, and Marguerite.¹⁴ Rosalie Courteau claimed to have settled in the area in 1805, two years after the Americans took control of Louisiana (Veterans Administration 1878a).

Swanton quotes Felicite Billiot, Rosalie Courteau's daughter, describing her family:

Her grandmother, whose Indian name was Nuyu'n, but who was baptized "Marion" after her removal to Louisiana, was born in or near Mobile; her grandfather Shulu-shumon, or, in French, Joseph Abbe, and more often called "Couteaux," was a Biloxi medal chief; and her mother "an Atakapa from Texas" (Swanton, 1911).¹⁵

¹⁴ Probate record of Iacalobe, Probate No. 115 (Terrebonne Parish 1845).

¹⁵



Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Documents identify one "Loup-la-Bay called Courteau" [Touplabay] . . . "Of the Beloxy nation" as "Personally" appearing before Judge Leufroy Barras on June 1, 1829 (Terrebonne Parish Acts of Conveyance, Bk. #3. 8/1828-7/1830: Doc. 526). Rosalie Courteau's father is also described in more recent oral interviews as a "Biloxi medal Chief" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Charles Billiot, January 5, 1979).

Later Swanton wrote:

Her [Felicite Billiot's] grandmother [Marion], whom, she said, had moved successively to the Mississippi, "Tuckapaw canal," Bayou Lafourche, Houma, and the coast of Terre Bonne, was evidently among the Indians who migrated from the neighborhood of Mobile after 1764, in order not to remain under English rule" (Swanton 1911, 292).

With her husband, Courteau (aka Iacalobe or Joseph Abbe or Houma Courteau), Marion had in the late 1700's at least four children. Also associated with the family is a man named Louis Sauvage, who was the brother of Marianne/Marion Courteau. Louis Sauvage died without children.

Between 1808 and 1812, the sheriff of LaFourche Parish sold a "tract of land belonging to Courteau Savage," a non-resident proprietor, for the payment of taxes and costs due. The property was purchased by a Thomas Kennedy for \$11.50, the amount owed. The land is described as "situate on the left hand bank of the Bayou Lafourche descending about Sixty miles from the river Mississippi bounded above by a tract of land claimed by Jacques Savage formerly and below by a tract of land claimed by Jacques Verret containing six acres front more or less" (Lafourche Parish, Record of Deeds, 1808-1812, 24). The association with Verret, a name also associated with the "Indians of Lafourche" in the PPC, opens the possibility that the Courteaux are the Indians associated with the Verrets in the PPC and other early records, although the relationship of Jacques Verret to the Spanish commandant at Lafourche, if any, is not known.

III-A. The founding families move to lower bayous one-by-one

Records indicate that the Courteau family's immediate neighbors in 1809 included the Jean-Baptiste Billiot family (Lafourche Parish Original Acts 1813-17, 1-6). Jean-

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Baptiste Billiot was of European ancestry and his wife, Marie Enerisse or Iris, was of African ancestry. The BAR has located no records showing that the Jean-Baptiste Billiot family was identified as "Indian" or that their ancestors were identified as "Indian."

Jean-Baptiste Billiot and Marie Iris [Enerisse] had nine children, probably born before the turn of the nineteenth century. Jean-Baptiste and Marie (Enerisse/Iris) Billiot's sons--Jacques, Joseph, Pierre, Charles, Jean, and Etienne--all appear on early nineteenth century Terrebonne Parish land records (see historian's report). They all owned land on Bayou Terrebonne within close proximity to one another and their parents.

Jean-Baptiste Billiot died in 1809, and probate records indicate that those buying the various items in the estate included Acadians (Bourg and Boulanger), other Billiot's (the dead man's sons), "Courteau an Indian", and "Marie Iris," identified as the deceased's widow (September 27, 1809, Record of Estate Sale, Lafourche Parish Louisiana Probate records 1809). The sales of individual items show a family that was farming, growing grain and sugar, and raising domesticated animals. They owned one slave named Telemaque (September 27, 1809, Record of Estate Sale, Lafourche Parish Louisiana Probate records 1809). The standard of living was modest. The purchasers were neighbors.

Four years later on October 12, 1813, Jean-Baptiste Billiot's widow, Marie Enerisse/Iris sold land to Jean-Baptiste Verdin (Lafourche Parish Original Acts 1813-17, 1-6). The Verdin family is described in the oral interviews included with the petition as "German." The Verdin family came from New Orleans, and its German/French ancestry has been documented (see Genealogical Report).

Jean-Baptiste Verdin's brother, Alexander Verdin married Marie Gregoire, who is identified in his will as being Indian, although nowhere is her tribe indicated (see Genealogical Report). They are the third founding family of the petitioner. Alexander Verdin and his brothers already owned land on Bayou Terrebonne in the 1790's. However, in the 1810 Federal census, he was enumerated in Attakapas District, west of Terrebonne. In 1813, his brother bought land in Attakapas. However, by 1820, Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire were living on Bayou Terrebonne. It seems likely that Alexander had gone to Attakapas, and returned with Marie Gregoire by 1820. Immediately neighboring properties were owned by "Courteau Sauvage", and Jean-

Baptiste Billiot's sons, Jean and Joseph. Other records show that Joseph Billiot was married to "Jeanet an Indian woman."

III-B. The lower bayou community draws together people of diverse origins

Thus by 1820, three important founding families, Billiot, Verdin and Courteau, were living next to one another in a small farming community just north of modern-day Montegut, Louisiana. These three families originated in various parts of Louisiana, Alabama, or Mississippi. After settling in Terrebonne Parish in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, these families evolved into the nucleus of what would become the petitioner.

The fact that these families were not Cajun, or Acadian, set them apart somewhat from other original settlers along the Bayou who were primarily of Acadian ancestry. By 1860, only two marriages had taken place between these families and their Cajun neighbors. The Verdins, Billiotics, and Courteaux joined through marriage, married non-Cajun neighbors of diverse origins, and proliferated. Succeeding generations moved into open lands seeking new opportunities. By 1840, they had extended their presence south into lower Bayou Terrebonne, and east and west into the neighboring bayous.

III-C. The founding neighborhood: land surveys locate ancestors

There are few documents from the early 1800's that describe a contemporary external view of the neighborhood where the founding ancestors lived and their activities. Information about land ownership by the petitioner's ancestors in the early 1800's is available on four land maps based on surveys performed in the winter of 1830-1831. These maps show land claimed in the 1780's and 1790's, during the Spanish administration. These Spanish grants were only confirmed later by the U.S. government if the individuals named actually had actually lived on the claim for ten successive years immediately preceding 1803. These maps show that certain descendants of the founding community continued to live in the same general location as in the probate records of 1809. However, the children of Jean-Baptist Billiot and Marie Enerisse are clearly shown settling several properties along the bayou. Land holdings appear to have expanded, although one of the maps indicates the survey is based on claims from the early 1820's. The combined maps show the properties along approximately ten miles of Bayou Terrebonne

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

south of Houma City to below present-day Montegut. Several descendants of the three main families, the Billiots, Courteaux and Verdins, lived next to one another. The Chaissons, Dardars, Naquins, and other families which had already married or would eventually marry the founders' descendants, also owned land in the same region.

As these surveys show, the land along the bayous was distributed in what have been called "line villages." Owners had frontage on the bayou, often on both sides of the bayou. The land parcels then extended from the bayou, sometimes as much as a mile or more. Often the back lines were not surveyed. Traveling "down" the line (downstream) on a boat on the bayou, one passed homestead after homestead strung along the waterway.¹⁶

By the 1830's land survey, the Billiot children are shown extending down the Bayou Terrebonne. The chart below (Chart 1) shows their locations vis-a-vis one another as they move south along Bayou Terrebonne, only sporadically interrupted by the Dardars, Dions, Beaudreaux, Naquins, Thibodeaux and Albarades.

The land-owners in this area were selling, consolidating, and trading land. Members of the three families sold land to one another. Courteau, for example, obtained land in 1822 from Jean Billiot [probably Jean-Baptiste's son] (Terrebonne Parish Acts of Conveyance, Bk #3, 8/1826-7/1830: Doc 526).¹⁷ The Thibodeaux lands shown on the 1831 land map had been sold on April 22, 1829, to Henry Thibodeaux by

¹⁶ Starting at the northern point on the map, approximately 18 different individuals are shown as land owners on the survey maps. They are listed from north to south as follows:

T.17S. - R.18E. Map submitted April 9, 1830, based on 1830 survey: P. Cazeau, P. Gavreu, I. Gauveu, Charles Billiot, P. Billiot, Michel Derdin, Ete Billiot, Ete Billiot, M. Erice;

T.18S. - R.18E. Map submitted April 5th, 1832, based on 1831 survey: Etienne Billiot, Etienne Billiot, Marianne Erice, Joseph Diann, Pierre Chasson [Chaisson], Charles Billiot;

T. 18S. - R. 19E. Map submitted April 5, 1832, based on 1831 survey: Joseph Deanne, Pierre Chasson, Charles Billiot, Jean Bts Henry, John Dupre, Joseph M. Boudreu, John Nanguin, Charles Nanguin;

T. 19S. - R. 19E. Map submitted April 5, 1832 based on 1830-31 survey: Charles Billiot, Alexis Verdine, John Billiot, Henry Thibideaux, Manuel Albarades, Joseph Billiot;

Some names appear twice because their property overlaps on two surveys. Others are shown owning two separately surveyed properties.

¹⁷ However, no Courteau is listed on the 1831 survey.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Jacques Billiot.¹⁸ The sale of his land in 1829 could explain why Jacques Billiot does not appear to own land on the 1830 maps (Terrebonne Parish, LA, Acts of Conveyance Bk#3, 8/1828-7/1830). Seven years earlier in 1822, Jacques Billiot quitclaimed his interest in his mother's land to Alexander Verdin in order to pay debts."¹⁹

There also appears to have been some trading of land going on among the brothers and brothers-in-law and their immediate neighbors. It is not clear why certain transactions were made. The record is somewhat incomplete because the petitioner did not submit documents which would clarify the situation. One can only speculate that people were attempting to consolidate for social or economic reasons.

For example, Michel Dardar married Adelaide Billiot on September 28, 1809. On August 8, 1822, Michel Billiot, Pierre Billiot and Charles Billiot transferred land to their sister's husband, Michel Dardar. Two weeks later, Thibodeaux, who had witnessed the previous transaction, donated ten arpents to Michel Dardar. This is probably an incomplete record of transactions and trades which residents along the bayou were doing to consolidate or to expand their holdings, provide land to unlanded relatives or in-laws, or move close to relatives.²⁰

In 1830, the kinship relationships among those listed as landholders show them to be the Verdin and Billiot founders, their children, and in-laws. The Indian Courteau family is not shown owning land. The only woman to be shown holding land is Marie Enerisse. Every known son, with the notable exception of Jacques Billiot, of Jean-Baptist Billiot and Marie Enerisse holds land, as does one daughter's husband,

" Billiot "sells cedes and hands over to the heirs of the aforesaid Thibodeaux the undivided half that he said Billiot owns in a land certified in the name of the defunct [deceased] Mariane Eris being N251 in the reports from the Bureau of Lands."

" The transaction read in part, "Whereas the said Jacques Billot, during the lifetime of his mother Marianne Eris, had become indebted to her, in several sums of money, in order to satisfy those debts . . . confirms sale of land by Marianne Eris to Alexander Verdin" (Terrebonne Parish, French Acts Translations, 45 - 48).

²⁰ An 1835 document shows Michel Dardar, Etienne Billiot and Charles Billiot all falsely swearing that they had never been married, an obvious attempt to deny their wives' dower rights in property they were selling.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Michel Dardar. The Chaissons, Naquin, Verdin, Diann [Jeanne or John], and Maneau have already become or will become their in-laws within two generations.²¹

The 1830 Federal Census does not substantially add to the information taken from the land maps above. The census does list people who would become future in-laws to the descendants of the petitioner's original founders, but does not count many among the petitioner's known founding Indian ancestors. At one place in the census, five men are listed sequentially.²² One is Alexander Verdin, and the others' names would eventually become associated with the petitioner. On the next page of the census is a sequential listing²³, some of whom are Billiots and others representing families with whom the Billiots would marry.

On the next sheet (separated from the above listing by at least 48 intervening names) are found Jean Billeaux and Etienne Billeaux. With the exception of the four "Billeaux", or Billiots and Alexander Verdin, the others among the founding ancestors, most notably the Courteaux, are missing from the 1830 Federal census. It is impossible to determine with certainty from the documents available to BAR if Jean and Etienne Billiot had already moved from the Terrebonne founding community and were living in a location separate from Pierre and Charles Billiot.

It does appear that the expansion began soon after 1830. Records of baptisms demonstrate that children (ancestors of the petitioner) were being baptized on Little Caillou as early as the 1840's.²⁴ Later Federal census records²⁵ indicate that descendants of Jean-Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse had settled in the areas of Bayou Salle and Francis

² Three Verrets are shown living in a similar and much smaller configuration due west of modern-day Houma city.

²¹ Alexander Verdin, Pierre Chaisson, Solomon Verret, Joseph Gautier, and Joseph Gregoire. Verdin, Chaisson, Verret and Gregoire family members had already or would after 1830 marry the petitioner's ancestors.

²³ Joseph C. Naquin, Sebastien Tyre, Hypoletus Naquin, Hypolite Pitre, Gabriel Leboeuf, Adrien Naquin, Henry Dugas, Jean M. Naquin, Pierre Billeaux, Charles Billeaux.

²⁴ For example Auguste Billiot was baptized June 25, 1849, at Petit Caillou (Houma Church, 1:12).

²⁵ 1860 and 1880.

Points. Few had Indian ancestry. Those who moved away from the original tracts on Bayou Terrebonne often married outsiders from other Little Caillou, Grand Caillou, or Bayou Lafourche families.

IV. The Nineteenth-Century Community Takes Shape

Between 1810 and 1820 the nucleus of what would become the founding community coalesced on Bayou Terrebonne. Three formerly unrelated families (the Billiots, the Verdins, and the Courteau) forged ties through marriage. Their children pioneered on new lands and their descendants extended their influence into lower Bayou Terrebonne. But they did not become an identifiable community, separate from their surrounding neighbors, until about 1830.

IV-A. Marriage in the nineteenth century

Through marriage, the founding families which moved onto Bayou Terrebonne during the early nineteenth century allied with one another. Evidence concerning marriages, whether in marriage records, birth records, or probate records, provided the best information about the coalescence of a community ancestral to the UHN petitioner. Because of race laws, which were already being passed in the early nineteenth century, as soon as the Americans began to administer Louisiana territory, many of the petitioner's ancestors were not allowed to marry legally. However, in this report, the term "marriage" will refer to all unions, whether legally or traditionally sanctioned.

IV-B. The three central families: Courteau, Billiot and Verdin

In the oral history included with the petition, the central marriage between the Billiot family and the Courteau family was that of Rosalie Courteau to Jacques Billiot. Described as a dynamic and industrious couple in the oral histories, Rosalie and Jacques sit at the apex of most of the petitioner's genealogies.

Born about 1787 (War 1812 Pension Record: Jacques Billiot), Rosalie is described in one oral interview as "born in Bilcxi" [Mississippi] (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Charles and Emy Billiot, August 12, 1978).²⁶ She married Jacques Billiot in

²⁶ All census records indicate that she was born in Louisiana.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

1808. Rosalie described her husband Jacques as having been a "farmer" in 1815 when he enlisted in the army (Veterans Administration 1878a). Neighbors of Rosalie testified on April 11, 1878, that they had known the Billiots when they lived "at the Bayou Terrebonne in the parish of Terrebonne all the time" (Veterans Administration 1878a) between 1818 and Jacques' death ca. 1858. Jacques and Rosalie had eight children. Because Rosalie was their mother, they all had Indian ancestry.

Two of Jacques Billiot's brothers married Indian women. Jacques' brother Joseph Billiot married a woman identified as Indian, Jeanet.²⁷ No tribal or family association has been made for her. They had only one known child, named Modeste. Jacques' brother, Jean Billiot, married into the Courteau family: his first wife was Rosalie Courteau's sister, Marguerite Courteau. His second wife was Rosalie's brother's (Francois Courteau's) widow, Marie Migolois, whose ancestry has not been established.

However, the seven other siblings of Jacques, Joseph, and Jean Billiot did not marry Indians. Jean-Baptiste and Marie (Enerisse) Billiot's other children married people of diverse backgrounds.²⁸

Marie Gregoire, the wife of Alexander Verdin, is also identified as Indian. The first marriage between descendants of Marie Gregoire and the Billiots occurred when the children of Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire married the grandchildren of founders Jean-Baptiste and Marie/Marianne Enerisse/Iris Billiot. Specifically, Melanie

²⁷ Identified as "Jeanet an Indian woman" on marriage record from Lafourche Parish, January 12, 1811. For details, see the Genealogical Report.

²⁸ Adelaide Billiot married two Frenchmen, Michel Dardar and August Creppel; Michel Billiot married Manette Renaud, of French/Acadian ancestry; Joseph Billiot married first "Jeanet an Indian woman" and second Magdelaine Gregoire, fwoc [free woman of color]; Pierre Billiot married first Marie Jeanne John, fwoc, father from Campeche and mother not identified, and then Felicite Theonise Verdin, fwoc; Charles Billiot married two white women, possibly half-sisters, Manette Renaud and Genevieve Magneau, who were Acadian/French; Etienne Billiot married first Rosalie Robinet (the daughter of Alexander Verdin's sister Marie and Nicholas Robinet), second Rosalie Ramagos, fwoc, and third, Manette Renaud; Francoise Billiot married first Bastian Frederick from the German Coast, and then possibly Jean-Bte Prerialle Solet, fmoc [free man of color]; and Agnes Billiot (perhaps the same person as Francoise) married Jean-Bte Prerialle Solet, fmoc.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

and Felicite Marguerite Verdin both married sons of Jacques Billict and Rosalie Courteau.

At the same time, however, Pauline Verdin, Melanie and Felicite Marguerite's sister, married an Acadian, Jean-Marie Naquin, around 1828, and began the demographic movement of the petitioner's ancestors into Isle Jean Charles, south of Montegut. Later, Pauline Verdin's brother Ursain (b. 1822) married Arthemise Billiot (b. 1821), the daughter of Rosalie Courteau and Jacques Billiot. Arthemise and Ursain also moved to Isle Jean-Charles,²⁹ although the date is unclear.

It should be noted that three of Marie Gregoire's seven children married children of Rosalie Courteau. Marie Gregoire's other children married with non-Indian neighbors.³⁰ At the same time, a large number of marriages were forged between Rosalie Courteau's other children and non-Indians. The possibility of marrying other people with Indian ancestry [if in fact that was the marriage strategy of those with Indian ancestry] was blocked because no eligible Indian mates, other than the Verdins and Courteaux, were living along Bayou Terrebonne.

Out-marriage from the founding three families, serial marriage, and extremely high birth and survival rates, caused the group's population to expand rapidly. Migration away from the original land parcels near Montegut is documented in the nineteenth century records. Swanton's field notes point to Point Barre (less than a mile from Montegut) as "their seat" (Swanton Notebook, Smithsonian Anthropology Archives, 199).³¹ The descendants of the founding families radiated not only into the lower

²⁹ Before Pauline and Ursain Verdin had moved to Isle Jean-Charles, it had been a Cajun community, established originally by the Naquin family.

³⁰ The other siblings married equally with people identified in various documents as either white or fpoc (free person of color). Pauline Verdin married Acadian Jean-Marie Naquin. Jean-Baptiste Verdin married Arcene Gregoire, daughter of Joseph Gregoire and Constance Jacco (possibly an Indian). Ursain Verdin married four times: to Rosalie Courteau's daughter Arthemise Billiot, to Jane Lovell (white), to Marie Plaisance, (French and German), and to Estelle Solet, (fwoc). Victor Verdin married Genevieve Celina John, fwoc.

³¹ The actual quote is ". . . about 120 years since the 3 original families of Houma started and all have spread from their seat at Point au Barre."

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Terrebonne areas of Isle Jean Charles and Bayou au Chien, but also to neighboring bayous.

By 1830, most children of the founding three families had married and a third generation, the grandchildren of the founders, were being born. Some of the grandchildren had Indian ancestry, but many others did not, particularly in the Billiot line among those descendants of the Billiets who had not married with the Courteaux or Verdins.

The children of Jean-Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse are a very important part of the petitioner's history. Records show that they formed a large and cohesive sibling group. The following generation, Jean-Baptiste and Marie's grandchildren, formed a large group of first cousins who are shown to continue to interact, live near one another, appear on documents together, and intermarry. Only three of the ten Billiot siblings in the first generation married spouses who can demonstrate Indian ancestry.³²

The other Billiot brothers and sisters married non-Indians. Jacques' children, Joseph's daughter Modeste, and the one surviving son of Jean's first marriage, therefore, were the only children in the first generation of descendants in the Billiot first cousin grouping who had Indian ancestry. This means that (according to the BAR genealogist's records) nine [who reached adulthood] of the total 58 known third generation Billiot cousins had Indian ancestry.

At marriage, three of the nine Billiot cousins with Indian ancestry married a spouse of Indian ancestry.³³ The remaining six Billiot cousins with Indian ancestry married either non-Indian Billiot first cousins (Anne Damase "Annette" Billiot and Marie Estelle Billiot) or other non-Indians (Frederick Parfait, Louis Verret, Euphrosine Jacco/Tranche, Joseph Prevost dit Collet, and Francois Galley). Of the five non-Indian spouses, two men were born in France, one was of colonial French ancestry, and one was fmoc. The ancestry of Euphrosine Jaco/Tranche is unknown.

³² To recap, Jacques Billiot married Rosalie Courteau; Joseph married as his first wife, "Jeanet an Indian woman;" and the first wife of Jean Billiot was Marguerite Courteau, Rosalie's sister.

³³ Alexander Billiot married Melanie Verdin and Felicite Marguerite Verdin; Joseph Celestin Billiot married Melanie Verdin; Arthemise Billiot married Ursain Verdin.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Of the 49 Billiot cousins without Indian ancestry, only four married spouses with Indian ancestry, according to the BAR records. Thus in the 1830's through 1860's, Indian ancestry appears to be somewhat limited to the Jacques Billiot/Rosalie Courteau and Alexander Verdin/Marie Gregoire families. At the same time, other records show a good deal of interaction with non-Indians of French, German, and other ancestry.

Manette Renaud, a woman of French/Acadian ancestry, is also an important UHN ancestor. She is closely associated with Rosalie Courteau, who was her sister-in-law, and Genevieve Magneau, who was possibly her half-sister. Renaud married sequentially Michel Billiot, Jean Billiot, Charles Billiot and Etienne Billiot, all the full brothers of Jacques Billiot, Rosalie Courteau's husband. Manette had children by five men.³⁴ When she married Etienne Billiot in the 1840's, she moved with her Billiot children and step children to Bayou du Large. Manette was the mother by four Billiot brothers of approximately 12 of Jean-Baptiste and Marie Enerisse's grandchildren, and step-mother to at least eight others. Thus many of the offspring of the Billiot brothers were not only cousins, but also half-siblings.

The children of Alexander Verdin and Marie Gregoire formed a sibling group very similar to the Indian Jacques and Rosalie (Courteau) Billiot family. Marie Gregoire, an Indian, and Alexander Verdin, a non-Indian, had seven children. In addition to the Billiotics cited above, the Verdin children married into the Naquin, Solet, Plaisance, Lovell, and Verret non-Indian families.

It is also known that Alexander Verdin had at least three siblings (baptized in St. Louis Cathedral, New Orleans between 1758 and 1771). His sister Marie was married to a non-Indian. This is no record of his two brothers' marrying

³⁴ She married Etienne Jeanne between Michel Billiot and Jean Billiot. Manette Renaud had at least one child by Etienne Dianne, a non-Indian, and this child later married into the petitioning group.

Renaud had three children with Michel Billiot, her first husband. The third husband was Jean Billiot. Her fourth husband, Charles Billiot, had been previously married to Genevieve Magneau by whom he had two children. After Charles' death, Renaud married Etienne Billiot, who already had six children by his first wife Rosalie Robinet, the non-Indian niece of Alexander Verdin, and two by his non-Indian second wife Rosalie Ramagos. Etienne Billiot raised Charles' children according to Severin Billiot's 1917 court testimony (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

legally, but they did have non-Indian children who married into the Billiot third generation cousin complex. These non-Indian Robinet and Verdin families were first cousins to Alexander Verdin's Indian children.

Thus, from a kinship perspective, during the first generation after the founding families moved to Bayou Terrebonne, the kin groupings which clearly interact in the records and live near one another on the Bayou Terrebonne are predominantly non-Indian. The community, as defined by kin relationships and geographical propinquity, is predominantly non-Indian. From the few records included with the petition or discovered by the BAR, it is reasonable to state that interaction among the various cousin groupings occurred among Indian and non-Indian cousin groupings in similar ways. That is, there were not separate spheres of social interaction for Indian cousins and non-Indian cousins; the cousins interacted with each other without regard for whether or not some individuals had Indian ancestry and others did not.

The female offspring of Jean-Baptiste and Marie (Enerisse) Billiot appear to have married neighbors. In two cases, they either married men already living on neighboring bayous, or moved after marriage. Adelaide Billiot, the oldest daughter, married Michel Dardar, who owned land near the Billiot brothers. This couple remained on Bayou Terrebonne until approximately 1835, when they separated. Adelaide remarried to Auguste Creppel and moved to Bayou Lafourche, taking her Dardar children with her.³⁵

The descendants of both the Courteau and Verdin families frequently married into the large Billiot family. Members of the Jacco, Verret, and Solet families also married

³⁵ The other two Billiot sisters, Françoise and Agnes, appear to have left Bayou Terrebonne at marriage or soon thereafter. Agnes married Jean Baptiste Preriale Solet in a double ceremony with Charles Billiot and Genevieve Magneau. A man named Jean Bte. Prairial [sic] is mentioned in an 1822 document as living above land owned by Pierre Billiot. Françoise had already been married to Bastian Frederick in 1815.

By the time of the 1831 survey, the maps do not show these families living on Terrebonne. The Frederick and Solet grandchildren married Dion, Guidroz, and, in a late, childless, second marriage that took place after the Civil War, Gravoire (none of whom had known Indian ancestry).

At around the same time that Billiot and Verdin grandchildren were marrying the Naquins on Isle Jean-Charles, the Billiot sisters' children (also Billiot grandchildren) were marrying and moving into Bayou Grand Caillou and Bayou Baratavia, where Swanton found Dion and Frederick descendants in 1907.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Billiot, Courteau, and Verdin descendants multiple times, so that the alliances between the core families and other families were reinforced through multiple marriages among sibling and cousin groups.³⁶

When BAR analyzed the Indian ancestry of the great-grandchildren of Jean-Baptiste Billiot and Marie Iris/Enerisse, 310 great-grandchildren [born mid-century] were documented. Some 118 descended from the two Indian families of Courteau and Verdin; 192 did not. The marriage patterns indicate close interaction among the three founding families.

It is important to understand that virtually all known descendants of these three families, whether they are able to demonstrate Indian ancestry or not, are members of the UHN petitioner today. This statement cannot be made for peripheral families, such as the Solets, Verrets, Naquins, and Chaissons, members of whom married into the original three-family nucleus. In the case of such families, only the individual lines which intermarried into Billiot, Courteau, or Verdin are considered to be UHN.

IV-C. The population expands

There are no detailed, contemporary descriptions of the process by which the founding community established satellite settlements on nearby bayous, between 1840 and 1880. We know from census schedules and land records that such emigration did take place during that period, however. The oral histories collected by the petitioner indicate that Cajun culture influenced the petitioner's ancestors. Their language, diet, music, clothes, and material life was similar to the wider Cajun culture which, in turn, had been influenced by local populations, including Indians. The oral histories describe a life of fishing and subsistence agriculture. At least one of Rosalie (Courteau) Billiot's sons ran cattle and a sugar mill on Bayou Terrebonne, indicating that the original settlement was involved with the cash economy.

The movements of Etienne Billiot, Jr., known as "King" Billiot, illustrate the interactions between the Terrebonne communities near and south of Montegut and the western community of Bayou du Large. The life history of Etienne

³⁶ These families are also all identified as "Mu," or Mulatto, on the census.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

demonstrates how the successive generations of Courteau, Verdin and Billiot descendants married, moved away from the Terrebonne settlement and became established throughout the lower Bayous.

Etienne Billiot, Jr. (aka "King" Billiot) was the son of Etienne Billiot, Sr. and Rosalie Robinet, both of whom were non-Indian.³⁷ In court documents from 1917, Joseph Severin Billiot (b. 1839), King's cousin and adopted brother, estimated that "King" Billiot had been at least 20 years his senior. This would make King's birth date near 1820 in Terrebonne.³⁸ Also, according to Severin's testimony, King Billiot moved before the 1840's to Bayou du Large in what is today the western part of the petitioner's territory. In 1848, Etienne Billiot was married to Celasie Verret, of Indian ancestry, daughter of Solomon and Eulalie (Verdin) Verret. Their children were baptized on Bayou Petit Caillou beginning in 1849.

The testimony in the 1917 court case of H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education provides an interesting insight into outsiders' perspectives of the Billiot family in the nineteenth century. According to Taylor Beattie's sworn statement, "King Billiot had in those days the reputation of claiming to be and being recognized as being the King or the Chief of the Houmas Tribe of Indians that settled in this portion of the State" (Sworn statement of Taylor Beattie, February 15, 1917 in H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education 1917, cv no. 7876. Testimony.).

These attributions of Indian identity, as related in 1917, conflict with the BAR's findings about King Billiot's family: Rosalie Robinet and Etienne Billiot, Sr. were not Indians. Therefore their son, "King" Billiot was not an Indian, so he could not have been an Indian chief. King Billiot's, wife was a descendant of Marie Gregoire, who was a UHN Indian ancestor. Also, it bears repeating "King" Billiot could not have been the chief of an Indian tribe, since there was no Indian tribe on Bayou Terrebonne, Houma or otherwise, at the time "King" Billiot flourished.

³⁷ Rosalie Robinet was the daughter of Alexander Verdin's sister Marie and Nicholas Robinet. Etienne Sr. was the son of Jean-Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse.

³⁸ His baptismal certificate places his birth in 1823.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The 1917 testimony of Severin Billiot described a rugged "camp" on Bayou du Large in the mid-nineteenth century. His testimony implies the existence of a loose association of people, but it is unclear if he is actually referring to his own family or to a larger type of socio-political entity.

In the Bayou du Large community, according to Severin's testimony, the people lived in a "camp":

Q: How many rooms did you have in the camp?

A: It was in the woods, there were no rooms.

Q: Did you eat together?

A: Yes, we ate together.

Q: Did you sleep together?

A: Yes, in the same camp near us.

Severin's testimony described on-going reciprocal relationships or a patron-client relationship:

Q: Did old man King Billiot associate with all of the people on Bayou du Large just as one of them?

A: No, but when he needed us we assisted him, and when we needed him he assisted us.

Unfortunately, very little is known about the various roles played by individuals in the historical communities in the second half of the nineteenth century, while "King" Billiot lived.

The 1850 Federal census of Bayou Petit Caillou lists several families which are ancestral to the petitioner, including Etienne Billiot, Jr.; Michel Billiot and his wife Jeanne Marguerite (Billiot) Billiot; Pierre Billiot; Jean Baptiste Verdin; Francis Fitch and his wife Marguerite Bellome; Solomon Verret and his wife Eulalie Verdin. Of this group, only Eulalie Verdin had documented Indian ancestry.³⁹ Nearby, on Bayou Grand Caillou, were Louis Verret, married to Rosalie Courteau's daughter Rosette Billiot, and also, one household away from them, the family of Joseph Billiot's Indian daughter Modeste, married to Joseph Prevost.

The ancestral families were not listed contiguously on the 1850 census of Bayou Petit Caillou. Rather, they were

³⁹ The Billiotics represent children of Charles and Etienne Billiot with Rosalie Robinet and Genevieve Magneau, women of French/European ancestry.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

listed amid a number of unrelated non-Indian families such as Pelegrin, Trosclair, DeRouche, Boudreau, Bourg, and Thibodaux. Therefore, there is no evidence of a separate UHN community on Bayou Grand Caillou in 1850.⁴⁰

In 1855-56, another set of survey maps of Bayou Terrebonne were made, indicating a very different situation from that on Bayou Grand Caillou. These differ from the 1831 maps only in showing Acadian descendants moving into the lower bayou. Jean-Baptiste Theodore Henry, Jean-Pierre Dugat's widow, Pierre Bourg, Louis Sauvage⁴¹ are new names. All of the other names appeared on the 1831 maps.

In 1857, and a double sale-and-purchase transaction, Rosalie Courteau sold the land she had previously held and obtained two new tracts of land, one in Section 51, Township 19 South, Range 19 East, and the other part of interior Section 6, totalling 164 acres (Terrebonne Parish Conveyance Bk. S, 200-201). Her new purchase was probably located near Point Barre, south of Montegut. This occurred only a year before her husband Jacques Billiot died.

IV-D. Continuing kinship relationships among cousin groupings

By the third and fourth generations (born between 1840 and 1880), UHN ancestors had settled throughout the lower bayous. The structure of their kinship relationships may be characterized as a loose network of cousins, some with Indian ancestry and some without Indian ancestry.

For example, documents from immediately after the Civil War indicate that Etienne Billiot's brother-in-law Michel Billiot, was also living in Bayou du Large.⁴² Succession papers of Michel Billiot and wife Jeanne Marguerite Billiot show an Etienne Billiot in 1869 buying four lots of movables

⁴⁰ Many of the Little Caillou non-Indian residents, ancestral to the petitioner, were first cousins to people with Indian ancestry on Bayou Terrebonne and Pointe au Chien.

⁴¹ A Louis Sauvage is identified in one deed as the brother of Marianne Courteau.

⁴² Jeanne Marguerite Billiot, daughter of Etienne Billiot and Rosalie Robinet, married Michel Billiot, son of Charles Billiot and Genevieve Magneau. This family had no Indian ancestry.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

at \$403.70 from the estate of Michel Billiot.⁴³ The document indicates that named relatives who were watching over the interests of the minor children lived in both Bayou Petit Caillou and Bayou Terrebonne.⁴⁴

Specifically, these documents show first and second generation cousins descending from Jean-Baptiste and Marie Enerisse utilizing kinship ties when dealing with important economic and social matters among the cousins living in the west, central, and eastern communities. Relatives from Little Caillou and Terrebonne were brought together to watch over the interests of minor children living on Bayou du Large. The orphans were the children of the trustees' first cousins. Some among the first cousins had Indian ancestry; others did not⁴⁵.

The 1880 Federal census showed a number of important ancestors⁴⁶ of the petitioning group listed almost consecutively and living at Bayou Salle (at least seventeen households numbered #31 through #59). Nine households include descendants of Jean-Pierre Baptiste Billiot and Marie Enerisse's non-Indian children Pierre, Francoise, and Etienne, whose descendants had not yet acquired Indian

⁴³ Michel Billiot's lands were sold for \$5,756.00 during this sale. Michel was married to Jeanne Marguerite Billiot -- children were Charles Billiot, Robert Billiot, and Madeline Eugenia Billiot, wife of Charles Frederick, all of age; and minors Jean B. Prosper Billiot, Joseph Victor Billiot, Rosela Elucia Billiot, Zulma Melazie Billiot, and Clara Billiot. According to the documents, his family was living at Bayou du Large. Charles Frederick, a cousin who was also married to one of Michel's children, bought a piece of estate property.

⁴⁴ These relatives included Louis Billiot, Lacroix Billiot, Romain Billiot (all sons of Pierre Billiot by his second wife, Felicite Theonise Verdin, who was not Marie Gregoire's daughter Felicite Marguerite Verdin, but a second Felicite Verdin), residing on Bayou Petit Caillou; and Jean Billiot and Barthelemy Billiot, residing on Bayou Terrebonne in the parish of Terrebonne (Terrebonne Parish 1869. Probate records of Michel Billiot and wife Jeanne Marguerite Billiot, Succession 41 and 478).

The 1850 census of Terrebonne Parish showed that Pierre Billiot, his wife and six children lived on Bayou Petit Caillou. Louis, Luroix, Romain, and Jule were listed as their sons. Michel Billiot, his wife and children were also living on Bayou Petit Caillou in 1850. Jean Billiot was shown residing on Bayou Terrebonne in 1860.

⁴⁵ Pierre Billiot's sons did not have Indian ancestry; Barthelemy did.

⁴⁶ None of the ancestors in this neighborhood cluster were identified as "I," or Indian, in the 1880 Federal Census.

ancestry through intermarriage with both Verdin and Courteau descendants. This is the first evidence for a separate UHN community on Bayou Salle, but the UHN ancestors living on that bayou at that time did not have Indian ancestry; therefore, they were not an Indian community.

IV-E. Evidence of social interaction as demonstrated by legal witnesses

A search of the records was made to determine if certain people were acting as sponsors or patrons to the individuals identified as "Indian" on various records or believed to be part of a community of UHN ancestors. The use of this data could be flawed to some extent, because race laws in part determined legal roles. The data is unclear on the extent to which the use of non-UHN ancestors in the records as baptismal sponsors, godparents, and witnesses, is an artifact of the race laws or actually reflects patterns of interaction in non-legal social arenas. Both variables could be at work. The possibility exists that mixed-race people established on-going patron-client relationships with whites who sponsored them in legal situations.

A search of records produced between 1807 and 1878 indicates that a variety of men acted as witnesses for people known to be ancestors of the petitioner. They can be generally described as neighbors, leading one to assume that the documents were being written in the lower bayous and filed in the courthouses, rather than written and signed in the courthouses.

Many of the witnesses were also ancestors or in-laws of the petitioner, including Chaisson, Dardar, Verret, Lovell, Creppel, and Galley. But others were only neighbors -- Thibodaux, Henry, and Alberellez. With two exceptions,⁴⁷ no Verdins, Billiots, or Courteaux are ever found as witnesses on documents, although people with these names do appear in the legal documents and are parties to numerous legal transactions. It is clear that they were playing a separate and distinct role in the legal system than some of their neighbors, especially those who were male, white, and literate.

⁴⁷ In 1840 and 1841, three land sales or transfers involving "widow Billiot," "Marianne, wife of Courteau," and Rosalie Courteau were witnessed by "Adelaid Billot, Alexander Billot, and Jean Billot," respectively.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

For example, UHN ancestors Adelaide Billiot and Michel Dardar⁴⁸ were married by Henry Thibodaux in 1809 (Lafourche Parish 1809. Marriage Records Bk. 1808-1829 Document #4).⁴⁹ Two years later Henry Thibodeau sponsored the baptism of Adelaide and Michel's first child, Marie Genevieve (Harman Collection, Reel 4, documents 1XB 2/9, New Orleans Public Library). Thirteen years later, Adelaide's brothers Pierre, Charles Michel, and Etienne donated land to Michel Dardar. Three weeks after that transaction, their neighbor Henry Thibodaux donated land to "Adelaide Billot Dardart [sic] . . . and Michel Dardart her legitimate husband" (Cogswell 1978, 195). Clearly, neighbor and Justice of the Peace, Henry Thibodaux, was a part of the family's circle of associates.

Geographical proximity appears to determine with whom the UHN core ancestral families would interact. Later, marriages of their children between about 1835 and 1855 were also with neighbors, regardless of ancestry or association.⁵⁰

Starting around the time of her husband's Jacques' death, Rosalie Courteau undertook several land transactions. They were all witnessed either by Clement Carlos, a surveyor, or Jean Francois Galley, her son-in-law. Chart 2 details these land transactions.

Carlos and Galley are two names of people mentioned in the UHN oral histories as having helped Rosalie Courteau. However, the significance of these two names appearing as witnesses is small, when placed in the total field of those appearing as witnesses for Rosalie Courteau. They included neighbors, in-laws, and friends. This demonstrates that Rosalie Courteau interacted with a variety of people, both within and outside of the petitioning group's ancestors.

Non-Indian neighbors interacted with members of the petitioning group in ways other than witnessing legal documents. During the H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of

⁴⁸ Michel Dardar is identified as white on 19th century documents such as the Federal censuses and land records.

⁴⁹ Marie Iris, her mother, made her mark on the document. Adelaide (fwoc) had no Indian ancestry, although her brothers Jacques, Jean, and Joseph had married women identified as Indians.

⁵⁰ Such as Solet, Roubion, Guitroz and Creppell. Marcellin Dardar and Charles Dardar married first cousins, daughters of Michel Billiot and Manette Renaud.

Education case, Joseph Severin Billiot (b. 1839) testified that he associated with whites: "There is Mr. Joe Robichaux I ate at their table and slept in their beds. I worked at his grandfather's, ate at his tables and slept in his beds like one of the family." Later he says that he was allowed to go to the white school in Terrebonne, explaining "It was Mr. Joe Robichaux presented me to the school board so I could obtain a school" (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education 1917).

From 1830 to 1880, there is nothing in the evidence which suggests UHN Indian ancestors with other UHN ancestors with Indian ancestry with greater frequency than those with no Indian ancestry.

IV-F. Racial discrimination

Petitioner ancestors' marriages with people of French, German Coast, and Acadian ancestry before 1860 indicate that some social parity existed between the founding families and the neighboring community, particularly along Bayou Terrebonne. However, laws already existed in the earlier part of the century which circumscribed the founding families' and their descendants' ability to legally own property, inherit from white relatives, including parents, legally marry without regard to race, sign contracts, and obtain equality from the state and local government. Several documents collected by BAR researchers show UHN ancestors trying to bypass laws which discriminated against non-whites, especially those perceived as black, by entering into marriage bonds and contracts, selling land to heirs before death, and misrepresenting ancestry in legal cases.

Although free, the UHN ancestors did not have rights equal to "all-white" citizens of the state. The racial atmosphere found in the lower bayou society differed from the parish seat in Houma. The circumstances surrounding Rosalie's application for her husband Jacques Billiot's 1812 War pension illustrate the differences.

In 1878, Rosalie Courteau and her Cajun sister-in-law Manette Renaud applied for widows' pensions by proxy at the Houma post office. Manette had married Jacques's brother Etienne Billiot in 1843, six years after the death of her former husband Charles Billiot, also a brother of Jacques (Veterans Administration 1878b). Neither woman had a marriage certificate. Rosalie stated that all who attended her wedding were dead, including the judge, and there was no one to vouch for her marriage to Jacques. Manette stated

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

that because she was white and her husband was "a colored person, it was forbidden by the laws of the state of Louisiana for any person to marry us: and therefore we could not be married by any marriage ceremony" (Veterans Administration 1878b).

Two white men testified to their marriages. Gallois Jean Francois [Francois Galley, born 1814 had married Rosalie's daughter Felicite, born 1832] and G. M. Robichaux testified that they knew them to be married to their husbands because they were "neighbors," and that the community recognized the marriages. Both pension requests were denied; Rosalie's because there was "no evidence of the alleged service," and Manette's because "the claimant was not legally married to the soldier" (Veterans Administration 1878a, 1878b).

Marriage between whites and non-whites was not legally recognized in Louisiana. However, communities recognized mixed marriages. Others attempted to circumvent race laws by obtaining bonds for marriage contracts. As much as \$500 was paid to judges to legalize these bonds

As early as 1840, the children of Alexander Verdin were disinherited in court of their father's lands, even though he had tried to protect them by selling them his own land in 1829 when he was still alive, and they were still children (Robinette et. al. vs. Verdun's Vendees, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana, vol. XIV; 542, 548).⁵¹

V. The Post-Bellum Communities

V-A. The Terrebonne Indian Community circa 1880

⁵¹ The decision disallowed the sale because, if it were allowed to stand, "the object of the law would be easily evaded, and it would . . . give to that class of our population [unacknowledged non-white illegitimate children of a white father], not only equal, but more extensive rights and capacities than are allowed to our white citizens . . . even though the children were known to the world, and openly declared as the illegitimate issue of a white man" (Robinette et. al. vs. Verdun's Vendees, 542, 548).

Since whites and non-whites could not legally marry, and therefore all of their offspring were illegitimate by legal definition. If the white father acknowledged his non-white children formally, he could leave them up to one-fourth of his property, but not more than that amount. Alexander Verdin was attempting to transfer all of his property to his children by refraining from acknowledging them and selling them the land for a nominal sum prior to his death.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The 1880 Federal census of Terrebonne Parish lists 36 consecutively numbered households made up primarily of individuals identified as "I" or "Indian" (see Chart 3). The census shows a large community of petitioner's ancestors living in the 6th ward, concentrated in 36 residences numbered #286 to #322. This indicates that the founding UHN community that had formed by 1830 continued to exist in 1880.

Three ethnic designations are used by the enumerator, who indicated "I" for Indian, "M" for Mulatto, and "W" for White. All three racial/ethnic groups are listed as living in the community in Ward Six. However, the majority are listed as "I". Ancestors of the petitioner living outside the Montegut area were only rarely identified on this census as "Indian."⁵²

Analyzing the 1880 census materials on the petitioner's ancestors in Ward Six of Terrebonne Parish, 22 households are shown as "I" or Indian, nine households are shown as "M" or Mulatto and seven are shown as "W" or white. Among those identified as "I" are almost all descendants of Marie Gregoire ("the Verdins") or Rosalie Courteau, who is herself identified as "I". Rosalie Courteau was still living, listed as 102 years old, and residing with the three-member James Fitch family (identified as "M"), where she is shown as "grandmother-in-law."

It may seem unusual to find persons of the same household identified as belonging to different races or ethnic groups, especially in a case like that of the UHN's ancestors, where almost all of the 36 households listed in the 1880 census were related through consanguinity or marriage. The classification of a person's race was a matter of the subjective perception of their phenotype, rather than on genealogy. In the case of the UHN's ancestors, who were tri-racial, the phenotype could well have varied within the same nuclear family, resulting in siblings being classified in different racial categories.

⁵² The Solomon Verret family, for example, lived at Bayou du Large and was consistently identified as "W" in the 1820, 1830, 1840, and 1850 censuses. This could be interpreted to mean that association with the Terrebonne community made it more likely that those with Indian ancestry would be identified as "Indian," and that the community was at least by the enumerator identified as a separate, perhaps even an Indian community.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

On the list are Rosalie Courteau (household 290), whom oral histories place her near Montegut at this time, Ursain Verdin (household #322), various Naquin descendants of Ursain's sister Pauline, whom oral histories place in Isle Jean-Charles, and Barthelmy and John Billiot, who an 1869 source places on Bayou Terrebonne. Their presence supports the supposition that these households are from the settlements on lower Bayou Terrebonne.

The census lists 72 adults living in 36 households. Forty seven are listed as "I" or Indian. Thirteen are listed as "M" or Mulatto. Twelve are listed as "W" for White. There are five all-white families dispersed among those shown as "Indian". According to the BAR's genealogical information, more than half of the 13 listed as Mulatto trace to Indian ancestors. It is not indicated how the enumerator determined racial designation, but it is clear that individuals with one "white" and one "Indian" parent were classified as Mulatto on this particular census.⁵³ The enumerator was not systematic if the individuals lived in different houses.

The people shown as Indian on the census appear to be primarily the children and grandchildren of Rosalie Courteau, children and grandchildren of her brother Antoine Courteau, and descendants of Marie Gregoire. However, individuals identified as "Indian" also included non-Indian descendants of Manette Renaud (by four Billiot brothers Michel, Jean, Charles and Etienne). They do not represent the entire field of descendants.

The Federal Census listing between households numbered 286 through 322 indicates that individuals identified as Indian lived sequentially along the Bayou. It may only be assumed that the enumerator traveled down the Bayou Terrebonne and listed people as they lived along the Bayou. It is unclear if the enumerator crossed the Bayou or only went on one side. The sequence of names (with the Galleys at the top, Manette Renaud's family in the middle, and the Naquins, then Verdins at the bottom, points to these households being located relative to one another as they were on the 1830 and 1850 survey maps' locations of these families along Bayou Terrebonne (see Chart 1).

⁵³ This is not the case in other censuses. The determination of racial designation varied from census to census and even enumerator to enumerator. However, this enumerator clearly labeled people with any kind of mixed ancestry as mulatto.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

An attempt was made to determine the kin relationship of the households to one another. This was an extremely difficult task, and not every individual was identified and connected to a family line. However, individuals could be identified for 26 out of 33 "Indian" households. All 26 households had at least one member who descended from Marie Enerisse/Iris, indicating that descendants of Marie Enerisse/Iris and Jean Baptiste Billiot continued to live along Bayou Terrebonne. However, it is equally clear that most of Marie Enerisse's descendants alive at this time were not living there. They had migrated to other parts of the southern bayous.

There is some indication that the oldest male child was more likely to live in the Terrebonne neighborhood identified as Indian in the 1880 Federal census than were his younger siblings.⁵⁴ Even considering the incompleteness of the data, the fact that roughly one third of the heads of households were headed by oldest sons illustrates the impact of the value of primogeniture embodied in the Napoleonic Code, the basis of Louisiana state law to this day. The people shown as heads of households on the 1880 Federal census represented those who had inherited land. Younger children were not on the census living on Terrebonne; rather, they had moved to open lands on other bayous. Other data indicates that they were settling in remote locations, where Swanton would document their presence 25 years later.

By 1880, the people identified as "I" on the census and shown living in households along Bayou Terrebonne can almost all show Indian ancestry. At least 15 of the households could show descent from Marie Gregoire and 15 could show descent from Rosalie Courteau (some descended from both of them). At least 21 of 26 households identified on the census as "I" could show descent from either Rosalie Courteau or Marie Gregoire. At least in the neighborhood

⁵⁴ The following is a list of household heads, who are also oldest sons:

286 Francis Galley
287 Marcilline Naquin
291 Joseph Verdin I
290 Jame Fitch
293 Severine Billiot
296 Gervais Dardar
297 Andre Chaisson
306 Marceline Naquin I
309 Charles Dardar II
312 Alexander Billiot
314 William Billiot II

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

covered by the census, Indian ancestry is clearly present in virtually every household in 1880, with only a couple of exceptions. One and two generations earlier, a number of individuals with no Indian ancestry lived in this same neighborhood. Through marriage between Indian and non-Indian families, Indian ancestry was increasingly shared by individuals in the community.

The UHN ancestors' settlements along lower Bayou Terrebonne are more likely to show Indian descent than the settlement areas found in Grand Caillou, Lafourche, and Bayou du Large during the same time period. Surnames indicate that Indian descendants have intermarried with men of European ancestry, such as Galley, Dardar, Naquin, Verdin and Fitch.

Some family clusters are shown on the census. For example, households #304 through #307 were clearly descended from Jean-Marie Naquin and Pauline Verdin.⁵⁵ Manette Renaud, who married four of Marie Enerisse and Jean Baptiste Billiot's sons, lived at #294. On either side of her were households with her descendants.⁵⁶ Manette had at least twelve children. While other descendants such as her son Lartie Billiot are listed on the census, clearly a number are not listed as living in this geographical area.

Racial and ethnic identity given on the 1880 Federal census reflected the influence of social criteria in classifying the people by ethnicity and race. Race and ethnicity are not coterminous. For example, Mary Louise Lovell is shown as "I" or Indian on the census and living in a household with her Indian husband and Indian children. Living next door are her biological parents, both listed as "W" or white, although, in fact, her mother was the Indian daughter of Pauline Verdin.

Non-Indian men married to Indian women maintained their birth ethnicity on the census. Their wives sometimes, but not always, took on their husbands' classification. Manette

⁵⁵ Jean Marie and Pauline had at least five children. Marcellin, the oldest son, is head of household #306, his sister's daughter lives in #305, and his youngest brother Narcisse in household #304. His sister Mary/Marie Marguerite lives in household #307. His brother Joseph Naquin lives at #311. One sister was deceased by 1880.

⁵⁶ At #292 is Damas Billiot, Manette's daughter with Charles Billiot; at #293 is Severin, her son with Charles Billiot; at #296 is her grandson through the daughter she had with Michel Billiot, and her granddaughter through the daughter she had with Charles Billiot.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Renaud, a woman who had serially married Jacques Billiot's brothers was widowed and living alone in 1880. She was listed as "W" or white. On previous censuses she had been identified as "I" and "M", depending on how the enumerator chose to list her husband. The racial/ethnic identity given Manette Renaud by the census taker is informed by the larger social context.

From 1830 to 1880, the petitioner's ancestors who lived along Bayou Terrebonne formed a single, geographical community. Residents were related through extended family ties. The extended kin-groups subsumed individuals who were identified by the enumerator as belonging to different ethnic or racial groupings; to be Indians, persons of mixed ancestry, and white. From 1840 to 1880, some of the UHN ancestors, especially those who did not inherit land as first sons, started to move away from the original founding community in search of more land along the nearby bayous.

V-B. Social organization in Terrebonne Community

While little has been documented concerning their ancestors' social and cultural life, UHN informants recall that it differed little from that of surrounding populations (Hooper 1978, 2). This has led anthropological consultants for the National Park Service to interpret the petitioner's history to represent total assimilation. They wrote that any Indian survivors "submerged into the larger white and black populations [and] quickly lost their separate ethnicities as a result" (Makuane-Dreschel 1982, 89).⁵⁷

On the contrary, BAR concludes that the ancestral population evolved into a distinct social community from 1810 to 1830 (prior to 1830, there is no link to a community, Indian or non-Indian). By 1880, the UHN ancestors had formed a number of socially and politically distinct satellite communities, with their own institutions and patterns of social interaction, which were separate from those of both their black and white neighbors, and from each other.

Clearly, the UHN ancestors in the nineteenth century did not intermarry with the slave population. After emancipation, they rarely married freedmen. The UHN ancestors did, however, marry widely among both ante-bellum free-people-of-

⁵⁷ Makuane-Dreschel are discussing the Houma tribe.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

color and whites.⁵⁸ At the same time, they shared many cultural attributes with non-UHN "Cajuns." They spoke "Cajun" French, shrimped, trapped from pirogues, played "Cajun" music, ate "gumbo file" and attended Catholic churches.⁵⁹

The above discussions on marriage, expansion, the role of cousins, and the eventual coalescence of a community identified as Indian on Bayou Terrebonne by 1880 shows that the social and demographic processes that have created the UHN petitioner are more complicated than described by previous researchers.

The geographical segregation of at least some among the petitioners' ancestors in a distinct community identified as Indian and populated primarily by individuals identified as Indian existed geographically on Bayou Terrebonne by 1880. At the same time other ancestors were not living in communities identified as Indian, nor were they individually identified as Indian. In many cases this was because they did not have Indian ancestry, nor did most of the individuals in the settlements outside of Bayou Terrebonne have Indian ancestry by 1880.

After the Civil War and particularly post-Reconstruction, documents show increasingly severe, government-sponsored discrimination against UHN ancestors, resulting eventually in the twentieth century in the loss of land, lower economic status, decreased ability to marry or socialize outside their group, and blocks to education and advancement. Discrimination led to a rise in separate social and cultural institutions and development of exclusive neighborhoods. After reconstruction, the end result was isolation: isolation which state laws condoned, and even required.

V-C. Post-bellum economy

A journalist's 1938 interview with a petitioner ancestor who lived during the nineteenth century in Isle Jean-Charles

⁵⁸ John Swanton's field notes refer to "Filipinos [who] still [live] near Little Lake and Grand Island, La fourche Lake and some in Terre Bonne and Grand Caillou," but it isn't clear if any married with the petitioner. However, Kirby Verret claimed that one of his in-laws had married with Filipinos.

⁵⁹ Many Cajun cultural and economic practices are Native American in origin. The concept "assimilation" does not accurately describe the sharing of cultural attributes among all of the residents of Louisiana.

showed that the residents there moved seasonally from the swamps to the Gulf Coast to fish. Taso-making (drying a small kind of fish) drew them in a "flotilla" of pirogues to the coast where they camped in large groups among clumps of willow trees, where they would collect drift wood on the sandy beaches for fuel and shelter (Times-Picayune, April 17, 1938). It is not known if UHN communities on other bayous also made taso.

However, there is reason to believe that the importance of seasonal hunting and fishing has been overstated in relation to the role of agriculture during the mid-nineteenth century. Chart 8 shows the occupations of UHN ancestors listed on the 1880 Federal Census. What stands out is the discrepancy between the occupations of the people living on Bayou Salle and Four Points, which is modern Dulac, and the other wards. As is often corroborated in the oral histories, the people on lower Bayou Grand Caillou clearly had a much lower standard of living. Predominantly, they were working as laborers. Only two men owned land, and one in-law owned land. Grand Caillou was settled by Billiots and those they married with by 1850. In the other areas, such as along Bayou Terrebonne, Bayou du Large, and Isle Jean Charles, the people owned their own land and were farming. Few were laborers. By 1900, commercial fishing and oyster fishing had become major occupations for the Bayou Terrebonne settlement (see Historical Report).

The environment of the lower bayous was somewhat different in the nineteenth century than it is today. UHN oral histories suggest that the environment was not as marginal as it has become in recent decades, nor was it saturated with salt water. Areas such as Isle Jean-Charles, Montegut, and Golden Meadow were characterized by sugar plantations and large oak trees. In fact, Rosalie (Courteau) Billiot's sons Alexander and Celestin Billiot, started and ran a sugar mill at Point au Chien, where they produced raw sugar and took it to New Orleans to have it processed (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Charles Billiot, January 5, 1979).

VI. Researchers Study Lower Bayou Settlements identified as Indian 1900-1940

VI-A. Population estimates fluctuate widely

Population estimates for "Indians" in the lower bayous have fluctuated greatly. Most problematical is the fact that

researchers, missionaries and others making the estimates rarely indicated exactly whom they included in their counts.

Swanton and others have held that the early nineteenth century Indian ancestors of the petitioner were steadily pushed to the southern ends of the swamps by white settlement. However, UHN members are located today very near the places where land records placed their ancestors in the early and mid-1800's, particularly Montegut, Isle Jean-Charles, and Point Barre. Their increasing population moved voluntarily to obtain land in the second half of the nineteenth century. The population of the lower bayous has always been diverse since the earliest settlement years. The petitioner's Indian and non-Indian ancestors were an important part of this settlement. The petitioners have maintained distinct residence areas since they were identified as a distinct population by Swanton in 1905.

Janel Curry, UHN petition researcher, estimated that in the late 1800's the group counted 1,200 members, but gave no basis for this figure. Nor did she indicate exactly whom she counted.⁶⁰ Even in recent times, population estimates for the UHN population in the lower bayous have varied greatly from observer to observer. The Baptist missionaries on Bayou du Large estimated in 1957 that 3,000 to 5,000 people inhabited the southern bayous. Census estimates at the time were only 936 (Jenkins 1957). Fischer counted 2,000 "Houma" in the Bayous of Terrebonne and Lafourche in 1960 (Fischer 1968, 216). In 1979, the petitioner claimed 6,000 members. Curry supported this figure from her own survey data, in which she counted 60 households in the "main Houma communities" (Curry 1979:5). Twelve years later, the petition membership list included some 17,000 people. The enormous difference in population estimates results from deficiencies in counting members, rather than an actual rise in the population. Curry's estimates were based on counting who lived in the UHN communities. The 17,000 figure includes many individuals who lived in New Orleans and other areas.

VI-B. Distinct geographical settlements associated with the petitioner

⁶⁰ It would be particularly interesting to know if she included populations in communities which had little or no people of Indian ancestry in the 1800's but through marriage with individuals of Indian ancestry gained Indian identity later.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Oral histories indicate that in the nineteenth century some families were located in permanent communities and involved in agricultural and fishing economies. Areas such as Isle Jean-Charles, Montegut, and Golden Meadow were characterized in the oral histories as shaded by large oak trees and surrounded by cane fields.

Swanton's 1906⁶¹ "ethnographic and kinship notes," found in the National Museum of Natural History Anthropology Archives, included field notes taken during interviews with Charles Billiot about the locations of main families in the traditional area. Billiot referred to seven communities and associated each community with specific families. These communities and families are shown in Chart 4.

Photographs in the Smithsonian Institution collection taken by Swanton before 1911 show people, often standing in large extended family groupings, from each of these communities. They often stand before large palmetto-roofed structures identified by Swanton as houses and barns. Swanton's guide on this trip, Bob Verret, did not know people on bayous other than his own. This supports the conclusion that there was not much social interaction across the bayous and that the UHN ancestors did not continue to maintain a single community, but evolved into several distinct communities.

In the bayou communities, houses were usually only one or two rooms and consisted of wattle-and-daub walls and palmetto roofs. Considered by both the local population and Speck to be easily ventilated during the summer, they were also easily warmed with a simple stove during the winter, and could be constructed, through cooperative community effort in a couple of days (Speck 1942, 8-9).

At least four of the communities -- Pointe au Chien, Lafourche, Point Barre, and Champ Charles [Isle Jean-Charles] -- are the same communities which the census and other documentary materials from the nineteenth century indicate were the main areas of settlement by people with Indian ancestry at that time. Grand Caillou, Bayou Bleu, and Baratavia Bayou were settled around the mid-1800's.

According to anthropologist Max Stanton, during the 1930's, the oil companies upset the swamp's ecosystem. In fact, as early as 1904, Uzee (Uzee, n.d., 124) noticed that Bayou Lafourche had been changed following an attempt in the late

⁶¹ Swanton's field notes are very sparse and not clearly dated.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

nineteenth century to build flood control locks at Donaldsonville. While the locks were never completed, the bayou became stagnant and strained the petitioner's household economy. Later, Works Project Administration (WPA) projects on the Mississippi River and elsewhere blocked the water entering the swamps and allowed the salt water to impinge on previously fresh water areas, causing the flora and fauna to change.

According to Stanton, these ecological changes made the previously dispersed settlement pattern less viable and the UHN ancestors coalesced into six communities at the southern ends of the major bayous.⁶² The population, he claimed, soon took jobs in oil and in new fish and shrimp canneries. Clearly, Stanton's theory explaining the settlement pattern has flaws, because the petitioner's population has been located in these same settlements since the middle 1800's.

The change of environment and decreased access to open lands did affect the ability of the populations of these communities to utilize the resources of the swamps and to continue to expand and establish new communities. By the time the missionaries arrived in the 1930's, many of the UHN ancestors were forced to live on houseboats and to lead a migratory life. Oil and gas development and land speculation cut off their previous access to open lands for settlement. What land they had previously used freely, they were forced to lease in the twentieth century.

Segregation in housing existed in 1979, when researchers from a Louisiana university identified eight UHN communities with 1,800 residents (Deseran, Mullen and Stokely 1979, 5) in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. In general, the land was leased from large companies (Deseran, Mullen and Stokely 1979, 30). The population clustered according to race and ethnicity along the various bayous. For example, on Bayou Grand Caillou, the petitioners lived predominantly in the southern regions, clustered around Dulac. African Americans lived in a community in the northern part of the region known as "Bobtown." Whites lived along the east side of the Bayou in pockets near the churches, schools, and white-owned businesses.

⁶² Land documents from the nineteenth century and oral histories indicate that several of the petitioner's communities had already formed in the early 1800's. Stanton's apparent assumption that these communities resulted from a gathering-in process of a dispersed population which occurred in the 20th century is not supported by the evidence.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Today, the petitioner population also lives in all parts of Houma City and Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, but exclusively petitioner communities continue to exist at Golden Meadow, Montegut, Isle Jean Charles, Point Barre, Dulac, Grand Bois, and Bayou du Large. In addition, one neighborhood in the city of Houma, one neighborhood is identified with the petitioner.

Some 5,500 UHN members (out of a total 17,616) are listed on the membership list as living at addresses in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes (including Houma City). In many cases, parents listed grown children as living in their natal homes, even though they had moved out of the area. It was clear that many of those listed by address as living in the lower bayou communities had not lived there since childhood. They used their parents' address as their address for purposes of membership in the petitioning group. The membership records in the UHN headquarters show that in many instances parents filled out applications for grown children. For this reason, the data and maps submitted with the petition concerning residence are of limited value in determining actual residence.

The seven communities (Golden Meadow, Montegut, Isle Jean Charles, Point Barre, Dulac, Grand Bois, and Bayou du Large) listed by Swanton, Speck, and others continue to be identified as the main communities of the petitioner. Maps submitted with the petition show that people living in the historical communities today are usually related to one another, and that close kin tend to live near to one another. Close kin would include siblings, parents and children. This residence pattern was discussed in a 1959 description of the community by Roy, who found that closely related kin were living in close proximity (Roy 1959, 84).⁶³ The BAR anthropologist found that this pattern has persisted to the present. Rising populations, coupled with land scarcity, means that people now build homes or move trailers onto close kin's property. This results in extended family clusters living around a central driveway. Most families have some members living away from the historical areas, usually because of work. Social considerations could

⁶³ The analysis of the nineteenth century land records showed that members of a single family line often lived near one another. However, the availability of lands allowed children to pioneer in new areas. Thus, the residence patterns more often showed a group of siblings or cousins establishing residence together, the oldest sons remained in the original location. When land became scarce, it appears that extended family residence became common.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

contribute to decisions of UHN individuals married to non-UHN spouses to live away from the lower bayous. The BAR anthropologist found it very rare for non-UHN members to live in the traditional communities even as spouses. This means that few non-UHN members move into the UHN communities. This also indicates that UHN members who marry outsiders tend to move away from their natal communities.

The EAR anthropologist interviewed a UHN member⁶⁴ whose family is typical of the lower Bayou families. Her family lives in the community near Dulac founded in the 1930's and sponsored by the Methodists. The purpose of its founding was to provide land for people living on houseboats who had nowhere to dock or permanently live. The property was originally bought in 1882 by New York Methodists (BAR Zoanne Verret, 1992c). In 1989, Kirby Verret, one-time chairman of the UHN, became the first native minister. In 1991, there were 181 church members, all UHN members. The elected board had been made up of UHN members. Every year, church members vote for the board at an annual meeting.

In the nearby neighborhood, three families are non-UHN and 39 are UHN members. Only recently have non-UHN people moved into the community as renters (from out-of-state) or UHN-spouses (from Houma City) (BAR Zoanne Verret, 1992c). The families living near the church are often members of large extended families. The continuing physical proximity of her siblings also characterized her father's generation. His brothers and sisters also lived in the community and many of the people living in the community are this woman's nieces and nephews. Her family had given a family reunion on father's day in 1991, and 60 or 70 people (all close kin) attended.⁶⁵ Large Father's Day reunions were mentioned by others as well, perhaps because the BAR researcher visited the area only a month after Father's Day.

VI-C. Education and Economy through 1945

In the 1930's, Speck and Underhill found the petitioner capable of meeting the needs of food, shelter, and clothing by continuing to rely on local resources (Speck n.d., 5). A teacher who was raised in the area and taught at Isle Jean-Charles during the 1930's recalled in a 1970-era interview

⁶⁴ Zoanne Verret.

⁶⁵ Verret said, "all my sisters and brothers came . . . sister-in-law from Houma came furthest."

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

that life was reasonably comfortable and self sufficient before 1940 (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Laise Ledet, October 6, 1970). Others described the bayou way of life in less positive terms. Missionaries Mary Beth Littlejohn and Wilhelmina Hooper in Dulac wrote in 1937:

These Indians are "outcasts" both economically and socially. They are often the prey of the buyer of the product of their toil -- trapping and fishing. Few other occupations are open to them. Food in abundance is theirs for the taking -- seafood and wild game. They raise fruits and vegetables on the narrow ridge of available land. Money for clothes, home comforts, medical care, recreation, and education is almost totally lacking for the majority. Even though an occasional Indian has money, education is still denied him (Littlejohn and Hooper, 1937).

By the early twentieth century, social and legal discrimination against the UHN ancestors blocked them from voting and attending public schools. They socialized in their own dance halls, generally married within their group, lived in exclusive neighborhoods, and often attended churches where the congregation was seated separately by race or ethnicity. They were identified primarily by last name. Even today, certain names such as Billiot, Verdin, Solet, Dardar, Chaisson and Naquin are used to identify individuals of the petitioning group (Fischer 1968, 214). This is true even though there are sometimes large non-UHN families in the region that also carry these names.

The petition maintains that traditional life in the beginning of the twentieth century was based on subsistence. As one resident stated, "We traded work for work and food from our gardens for meat and fish. We had no need for money" (Victor Naquin in Van Pelt, 1943). The people had assumed what Speck called the life of a "marsh nomad." Having home bases on small remnants of land, community life revolved around a yearly cycle of winter trapping along the bayous, as yet unclaimed by oil and gas interests, summer fishing and shrimping along the Gulf Coast, and subsistence hunting and gardening (Guest 1938, 2; Underhill 1938, 16; Speck n.d., 8).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Occasionally in the 1930's, an individual was able to put up the \$500 to \$800 to buy fishing equipment.⁶⁶ Manned by a four-man crew, a lugger was used when the fishermen set shrimp nets (Underhill 1938, 15). Fishing and shrimping seasonally in summer complemented fur-trapping, a winter activity. Fishing oriented the population toward the Gulf Coast, rather than the interior communities such as the city of Houma. Some women could obtain income by working at canneries (Underhill 1938, 15; Spitzer, 1979, 220)

VI-C. Task groups organize labor

During the 1930's and 1940's there is some evidence that the petitioner's ancestors trapped and fished in male working groups, or gangs, organized through kinship along extended family lines. Hunting, roof repair, gardening, and other household maintenance activities were usually conducted by the men alone. The petition narrative places great emphasis on the fact that small canals, called "trenasses," were constructed through the swamps by work gangs. The narrative says that the existence of this type of construction project proves the existence of political authority. However, it is unclear when the construction of such canals began or ended in the petitioner's history, nor is the make-up of such work gangs described in detail or based on firm documentation or even oral histories which were included in the petition documents. Whether these projects were organized under the leadership of group leaders or outsiders is also not documented. Clearly, however, the formation of work gangs in other contexts organized people to perform a number of important tasks.

Relationships among individuals and work groups were informal, but the rules governing their organization were widely recognized. For example, people in interviews recall that work groups agreed on rules for conserving shrimp and ducks:

They know when to stop and when to start. . . .
They know how to do. They . . . cast net off the
trawl . . . if the shrimp was big enough to catch.
If it was not big enough, they not catch them. . .
. They had a certain [way] they were hunting. And
they have a law between men. . . . They can't
start hunting before sunrise. At o'clock they

⁶⁶ A 1942 newspaper article pointed out that a number of old rusted boat motors littered Isle Jean-Charles.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

have to be in. Nobody can shoot after 12. . . .
To give the ducks a chance to eat and rest (UHN
Pet., Ex. 7).

Failure to observe these rules could result in beatings (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Elvira Molinere Billiot, 30). This description of cooperative subsistence comports well with what anthropologist John Swanton found in 1905, when he wrote of "local band affinity and cooperation among the families who fish and trap the same bayous." Work groups generally recognized a leader whose authority was based on his knowledge of trapping, net-making, boat building, and other skills. Young boys often accompanied the men, and learned how to subsist by doing.

Also during the 1930's and 1940's, women generally stayed near the homestead and participated in food preparation (Underhill 1938, 14). Some reference to joint gathering, cooking, and sewing activities in the oral histories indicates that women's activities were also organized as work gangs, similar to the men's.

Extended families came together for the "boucherie" or butchering of a hog on special occasions, such as Christmas, Easter, and Mardi Gras. Meat was divided among the three or four families in attendance (Guidry). Relatives also joined at births, deaths, and weddings. During these times, the hosts prepared food, and the feasts would last as long as the food remained. Weddings were known to last as long as eight days.

VI-C?. Demographic trends place pressure on land and economy

The petitioner observed that by the early twentieth century, their way of life was under increasing stress from four interrelated factors: loss of public lands and rise in population placed pressure on land resources; there were increased legal pressures; changing social identification; and rise of apartheid-type discrimination.

VI-C?a. Loss of lands and of access to lands

Changes in trapping. In the early twentieth century, UHN ancestors were losing rights to the free use of public land for trapping. Before 1924, the trappers could freely utilize the swamps, which were public domain. With the growth of the fur trapping industry around World War I, non-UHN landowners and corporations bought up large tracts of

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

land that they would lease, through the sale of permits, to members of the petitioner (Anderson Papers n.d., 1). By 1924, most of the Louisiana public lands were sold, and the residents were forced to lease land they had used previously without cost (Underhill, 1938,4; Fischer 1968, 220).

With the privatization of swamp lands in 1924, trappers were forced to lease trapping areas from land owners. The fur trade was organized out of a trading store often run by the lessor, himself, or his employees. Most groups received their equipment from the lessor's store in anticipation of their future earnings. The trappers became indebted to the lessor. The indebtedness left the trappers with little to show for their work (Dumez 1931). According to one researcher some lost their lands to pay bills incurred while trapping (Fisher 1968, 220).

Leases were assigned to a senior man, who then trapped the lease with other male relatives. Groups of two to five men worked together. Trapping leases were maintained year after year on the same piece of land (Curry 1979, 16). Trapping drove others to nearby parishes, particularly St. Bernard and Jefferson, to find open trapping territories or leases. Outfitters hired trappers from the historical communities of the petitioner in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, and established them on leases south of New Orleans on the east bank of the Mississippi. These leases were far from the petitioner's traditional homes. Migrants to the new leasing areas soon sent for brothers or other friends and family to join them. As late as 1960, older sons were pressured to remain associated with their father's trapping group, while younger sons were more likely to move away from home (Fischer 1968, 226). Secondary communities with predominantly UHN populations grew up near Marrero in St. Bernard Parish, in Jefferson Parish, and even in southern Mississippi.

When not trapping, the trappers lived in home-base communities, usually in the parishes where they trapped, such as Point Barre, Dulac, or Montegut. Small home base communities also grew up in the new leasing areas. Some had campboats which they took to remote trapping locations. Entire families accompanied the trapping party (Curry 1979, 22). Families sometimes lived permanently on the campboats (Curry 1979, 16). This situation moved missionary Wilhelmena Hooper, who first came to Dulac in 1933, to prod her denomination to buy land for the petitioners. She wanted to provide landless trapping families with permanent docking facilities or home sites, so that their children

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

could attend her school for part of the year. In 1933, parents removed children from the schools to accompany parents on fishing and trapping expeditions (Armstrong 1980). Few were able to attend mission schools because their families' schedules prohibited it.

The situation was described by Guest in 1939 when he visited Bayou du Large and noted that families remained in their homes while husbands trawled for shrimp or worked on oyster beds in the summer. The Baptist mission school closed until the families returned at the end of the trapping season (Guest 1939). During the summer shrimping seasons, men would form work crews or gangs, leave the settlements, and return in the autumn. However, they often left their wives and children behind (Guest 1938, 4). Income came from trapping muskrat and raccoon and cash was used to purchase implements and clothing (Speck n.d., 9). Entire families, along with their domestic animals, continued to move to trapping areas in the fall.

Leasing eroded trapping income substantially (Underhill 1938, 15). The collapse in the fur market during the depression also cut into trapping revenues. In 1938, one observer wrote:

Due to the low market values of pelts last season and the stringent trapping contracts by lessors of the marsh lands, these Indians have barely earned a sustenance and they are not in good circumstances financially" (Dumez, 1931).

The introduction of nutria and the demise of muskrats in the swamps added to the destruction of trapping, which plays almost no role in the modern economy.

Decrease in landownership. The UHN oral histories indicate that petitioner ancestral families which had earlier owned land sold it during this period, at extremely low prices. No indication was given of the causes leading up to the sales. The sales were often to white neighbors, who, in turn, leased their newly acquired and consolidated holdings to large oil and gas companies. In this leasing process, the companies would lease land or else buy the land and lease it back to the original landholders for as long as 90 years. Payments as low as \$20 were made for lands which held valuable oil leases (Speck 1943, 139; Curry 1979, 21). One informant indicated that privatization and land speculation pushed the petitioner's families onto lands in the less desirable parts of the marshes (Frank Naquin 1970).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Certainly, such practices ate into the holdings that the UHN petitioner had managed to possess for a century. Another result was that, unlike many of the white residents of Terrebonne and Lafourche, UHN members rarely received annuity payments on oil and gas leases.

In 1938, Ruth Underhill studied what was behind the loss of land for the petitioners. She wrote:

These patentees have, by now, thirty or forty descendants apiece, and the inheritance difficulties would be bad enough if there were accurate records. Since the Indians did not marry and baptize, there are no records.⁶⁷ This automatically disqualifies the heirs since, by Louisiana law, illegitimate children cannot inherit. Assurance is made doubly sure by the legal requirement known as the "opening of succession" which demands that any new owner, on taking possession of land, must register the fact. The illiterate Indians did not do this, nor did they pay taxes. The Louisiana law has, indeed, a recent provision in the nature of "Squatters' right" which guarantees possession to anyone residing on land unquestioned for thirty years. Indians who had been doing this did not register the fact while Whites moved in by this "Law of prescription" have clinched their title to former Indian patents. Heirs of Indian landowners have thus been dispossessed by entirely legal means (Underhill 1938, 9-10).

VI-C?b. Petitioner increasingly viewed as squatters

Second among factors contributing to the social stress on the petitioner was that they were increasingly classed as squatters. The UHN petitioner found that they were increasingly relegated to the status of "squatter" on lands they had used or owned traditionally (Speck n.d., 4). Underhill observed that a person fell into this status when not allowed to inherit land from parents who were not legally married in the state of Louisiana (often because of anti-miscegenation laws) or when they failed to register

⁶⁷ In this statement, she was incorrect: almost all individuals in the petitioner's ancestral communities have baptismal records. Marriage records exist for many couples.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

annually under the Law of Open Succession (Underhill 1938, 9).

Bourgeois maintained that many of the houseboats observed by Speck during his visit had been "bought during the boom days," during the fur-trapping boom in the early twentieth century (Bourgeois 1938, 77). Roy observed twenty years later at Grand Caillou, that while all the whites owned their own homes, the rest paid \$12 - \$60 a year to locate households or houseboats on others' property (Roy 1959, 10-11).

The petitioner reported that even in cases where taxes were paid or judges had witnessed marriages, lands were lost because documents had been lost (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Marie Dupre, October 22, 1977) or never produced (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Angelo Trosclair, June 20, 1978). The oral histories indicate that from the UHN viewpoint, the legal system was manipulated by unscrupulous persons to take advantage of their illiteracy and lack of knowledge of government systems.

The loss of lands became particularly evident around Point Barre, the old village site inhabited by Rosalie Courteau in 1857. In 1992, the BAR anthropologist observed that the area is criss-crossed with natural gas lines and dotted with wellheads. Another indicator that the petitioner was losing land was that Methodist missionaries at Dulac observed a large number of the group's members living in houseboats, with no permanent domicile (Littlejohn and Hooper 1938, 3). While it is not clear that loss of land was the only contributing factor to the use of campboats, the Methodists concluded that it was necessary to provide land near their missions for cattle pasturage, garden plots, and home sites so that families could afford to support the children who went to school.

A lack of access to the legal system exacerbated people's losses. The petitioner encountered increasing pressure simply from the legal process itself, increasing social stress. They were unable to afford the lawyers needed for their defense. In some cases they were unable to afford the transportation to Houma City to defend themselves. Those who were defeated in court were arrested (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Franck Naquin 1979). and their houses bulldozed (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Creppell 1979). They were also increasingly dependent on legal and administrative channels to get welfare vouchers for food (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Henry Bezou 1979).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

State supported segregation lasted into the 1960's and only began to crumble after the passage of the National Civil Rights Act in 1964. De facto segregation, particularly in housing, continues somewhat. However, significant increases in marriages between UHN members and outsiders since the 1970's indicate that the social boundaries, as manifested by marriages, have fallen.

VI-C2c. Black/White system of classification leaves no place for UHN ancestors

The third pressure on the petitioner was the shift to social identification by outsiders as Negro rather than as Indian. Some among the petitioner observed that legal and social pressures were intensified to relegate them to a racial status of color that in turn eroded their rights to a legal defense of their land. Informants recall having to resort to legal pressure to change the characterization of their race as "Black" on their birth certificates (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Dcra Santiny 1979) and on driver's licenses (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Wycliffe Fitch 1979). They also complained increasingly about the tendency for whites to hire outsiders in preference to themselves (Billiot n.d., letter to Speck).

Some observed that social discrimination intensified generally from 1920 on (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Tony Naquin 1978). It was also apparently applied unevenly, with social discrimination most severe in the Grand Caillou-Dulac areas and less so along Bayou Lafourche (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Lindsay Molinaire 1979). In some cases, the discrimination in Lafourche was resisted with the help of whites (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Trosclair 1978).

Socializing also involved visiting segregated dance halls and bars, which were attended exclusively by the petitioner's ancestors. Whites and African Americans used other segregated facilities. Sometimes, a home was opened to become a dance hall (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Louis Vincent Angelo Trosclair 1978). All such socializing was segregated; whites, African-Americans and UHN members did not socialize together on the lower bayous in the first half of the twentieth century. Marriage patterns support the description of the three populations as separate communities. In the twentieth century, before 1940 and to some extent until 1960, it was relatively rare for petitioner members to marry outside of the group.

The issue of racial identity is complex in this case, but it can not be ignored. The petitioning group has, since the

middle of the nineteenth century, been inconsistently classified by the census and other government and social institutions. At least one researcher, in 1943, argued that the UHN population numbers were arbitrarily reduced by the local population who opposed their recognition as Indians (Speck 1943, 136-7). A few years earlier, in 1938, Mary Lou Jenkins wrote about the experience of Baptist missionaries named Martin:

When the census estimate of nine hundred and thirty-six Indians was brought to the attention of Mr. and Mrs. Martin, they were indignant and insisted that there were from three to five thousand in the Parish. They offered to take any one who would go with them and show them that they were correct. A good many persons have gone and have been convinced that the Martins' estimate was not too high, because they were thinking of all those of Indian extraction and the census statistics had to do only with pure or half breed Indians. These "brown people" (as the people in Houma call them) live along the water courses and on islands on the southern coast (Jenkins 1937, 72).

Missionaries consistently identified the petitioner as "Indians," or "French Indians," and sometimes "Houma". However, the documents and oral histories often leave the identification unclear. Colloquially, individuals in the group have been called "Sabine," a derogatory term of unknown source, usually used with the connotation of a person who has a mixed Indian and black racial heritage. Members of the petitioning group find the term extremely offensive today. Nevertheless, the word was used locally to categorize the petitioner's ancestors as a separate social category, distinct from both whites and blacks.

As late as 1971, one researcher was unable to find any among the petitioning group who referred to themselves as "Houma Indians," although non-UHN members did use the appellation (Stanton 1971, 82). A UHN member stated, in 1979, that in the past, discrimination had been so severe many would not "admit" that they were "Houma Indians" (Kearns 1979). However, just how people did identify themselves is not clear from the materials in the petition.

The word "Sabine," and the category, had real meaning within the parochial environment of the lower bayous, but not in the wider legal environment of the state government, which

passed and enforced Jim Crow laws. These requirements of state laws placed all people into one of two racial categories -- black or white. This did not comport well with the local on-the-ground tri-partite racial categories and even finer distinctions made in the petitioner's home area.

VI-C2d. Rise of discrimination

Especially since the late 1800's, when racial segregation laws came into force, the petitioner lived in a society where race was the essential criterion for social status, and determined whom one could marry, where one lived, with whom one socialized, how one inherited land, and where one sat in church or went to school. It is thus a topic which must be discussed forthrightly in this finding, although the topic is avoided by many individual members of the petitioning group. The group members' position in society depended on the interplay between how the individuals categorized themselves and fellow group members, and how they were categorized by others. Their society, and the issues considered important by the few documented ad hoc leaders, from 1880 to 1970, often centered around the ongoing struggle of the UHN membership to define their own ethnicity as distinct, particularly from African-Americans.

It is also not clear if identification varied within the petitioner itself, so that some identified as "Indian," some as "white," and perhaps used other racial terms. Various documents, such as birth certificates, court testimony, and early military records indicate variation in racial and ethnic identification within the group. Members of a single sibling group might be identified by a variety of racial designations (Roy 1959, 62).

Even within the group itself, race categorizations affected the relations between the petitioner's populations living on the bayous of Terrebonne, Lafourche, and Grand Caillou. People interviewed in 1991 by the BAR anthropologist indicated that certain geographical subdivisions within the region were populated by individuals who were somehow "more Indian" than others. Race was even an issue within families, as several people reported that grandparents treated the "light"-skinned children better than others.

Roy also commented on racial sub-stratification in the Dulac community (Roy 1959, 101), a fact which was corroborated in oral interviews, when people discussed growing up in the 1960's and 1970's (BAR 1992c). The perception within the group that some, but not all, of the petitioner's

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

communities have black ancestry is sometimes used to explain inter-bayou rivalry and political antagonisms between the communities.

Racial antagonism between the petitioner's communities was discussed with the BAR anthropologist in 1991 by people on the main bayous. It was common in the past for fights to break out when a group of young men from one bayou visited dance halls and clubs on other bayous. Those interviewed said that the fights often involved protecting the women in one bayou from visitors.

Several social scientists observed that women were more likely to marry outside of the petitioning group and leave the lower bayous. The fighting between the bayou populations over women was described by many interviewed. According to middle-aged men at Point Barre, in the 1950's, large groups of men from Point Barre would travel to a dance hall just north of Dulac where they became involved in altercations. No forms of conflict resolution following such disputes could be described. On-going enmity existed.

Racial identity among group members was often at odds with the racial identity applied to group members by outsiders. Apparently, disagreement over racial identification has been ongoing since at least the beginning of the twentieth century, when a court case documented a couple contesting their official racial designation.

It is unclear whether individual social status was determined by surname, appearance, economic status, residence in a traditional community, or some combination of all or some of these factors. A surname change at marriage or adoption often had the result of removing the individual from their community (Roy 1959, 22); however, such marriages also resulted in residence outside of the traditional communities. For many, the quickest way to escape persecution was to leave the lower bayous, and many took this route.

VI-C. Summary

Outsiders' opinions varied on whether or not the petitioner's members were Indian, and they were not easily classified in the wider bi-racial society. With the pressures of leasing, land alienation, legal problems, and discrimination, the petitioner's members defended themselves by establishing land claims, and staunchly defended their Indian [not necessarily Houma] identity. They recognized

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the possibility of having descended from several different tribes or groups (Juanita W. Roma 1979). The continuous classification of some groups of the petitioner's ancestors as "Indian" in the census and other documents indicates that Indian identity was not taken on recently but had been on-going since historic times. At least some, if not most, fought outsiders' efforts to classify them as African-American because they saw that as a means of degrading them (Frank Naquin, 1979):

They 'barrass us. And that's what they do. They took all our property because they want to push us down -- they want to walk on us. If they have another name lower than the negro, they're going to call us that. They try to put us more down. That's what they try to do (Frank Naquin 1979).

They fought the identity of "Sabine" because they considered it an attempt to define them as "people that had color like the negro" (Valentine Serigny Dardar, 1979).⁶⁸ Having Indian identity can define one's ethnicity or nationality and can thus be used to side-step issues of race:

I know who I am. . . . I can prove to you that I am Indian. . . . You look at the nationality and you know where my blood come from. They got Blackfoot Indian, and they got all kind -- they got Choctaw, they got all kind of nationality -- but it's still Indian. My grandpa, if you think he wasn't a pure Indian, I don't see what he was doing here that long ago. I'd like to find out his daddy's daddy's daddy. . . . (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Wycliffe Fitch, July 20, 1927, 2-3).

Behavior based on racial identification and allegiance distinguishes the UHN community from surrounding communities and is the single best evidence for the existence of a distinct community. Boundaries maintained by the entire

⁶⁸ Research for family legal documents took on a special importance that had political implications because it mediated the power relationships in the bayou area and access to full participation in the larger society and economy. People recall that their desire to attend white school was based on the desire for a good education and to avoid legitimizing the "colored" racial stereotype that might occur if they accepted a state public school even for "Indians." Bourgeois' offer of separate state schools met with resistance, even if offered as "Indian," because Houma equated them with "colored." Federal and church schools were more acceptable, as implied above.

population's beliefs about race and the behavior resulting from those beliefs have resulted in a separation not only in institutions such as schools and dance halls, but of the entire universe of social relations.

VI-C3. Education blocked to some ancestors in the lower bayous

As oil development intensified the alienation of their lands and reduced access to public lands during the 1930's, some ad hoc leaders from some of the UHN ancestral communities tried to establish legal title to land. Individuals began collecting names, genealogies, and other documentation connecting them to land. Others tried to research Spanish land grants that would link the group to land and support land claims. A parade of attorneys, connected with individuals, performed land title research, but usually nothing resulted except the disappearance of documents, titles and other legal papers along with the lawyer (Underhill, 1938). Underhill examined the existence of some of these land titles and claims, but found that they had been extinguished legally, if unethically (Underhill, 1938, 9-10), by the State of Louisiana. She suggested to the BIA, however, that a proper examination of land titles would be more than she could conduct, and recommended that Federal officials clarify the situation (Underhill 1938, 2).

Some UHN members concluded that their vulnerability to adverse leasing, alienation from land, costs of legal help, and discrimination were due to poor education. As early as 1913 Henry L. Billiot attempted to enroll his three younger boys in the all-white Falgut School. He was rejected by the Terrebonne Parish School Board (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education. Testimony, Court Document 7876, February, 1917).

When questioned, "You didn't agree to send your children to the Indian school?" Billiot replied, "No, sir, because there are but two lines and I been following the white lines all my life" (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education 1917). By this he meant that he had attended white bars, sat in white sections of public institutions, and sat on the white sides of churches. Moreover, he, himself, had attended public school in Terrebonne.

Upon appeal by Billiot in 1917, the Louisiana Supreme Court determined that Billiot was a person of color, regardless of

whether he was Indian or black.⁶⁹ To establish whether Billiot or his relatives were Indian or white required, according to the court, "binding admissions by certain ancestors of the plaintiff or legal presumptions . . . of the officials who issue certain marriage certificates . . . and mortuary records offered in evidence" would be needed. The Judge did "not consider [such evidence] necessary to so hold in discussing this case under the pleading."

Henry Billiot's actions are unique and there is no evidence that he was widely supported.

VII. World War II Brings Out-migration

VII-A. Out-migration fosters out-marriage

For most of the petitioning group, the only route to gaining a good education and avoiding further degradation was to move where one's family was not known, and where one's name did not mark one as belonging to any particular group. One woman recounted how she, her husband, and children moved to New Orleans. Once they were there she made it clear to her children that they were to receive her support (Juanita W. Roma July 30, 1979) only if they remained in school.

⁶⁹ The decision read in part: "Plaintiff's petition [affirms] that the children in question are not colored, but of mixed blood, part American Indian and part white. Defendants justify refusal to admit on the grounds that the children are not of the white race, but of mixed blood, whether they have Indian blood they do not know.

The evidence is overwhelming that they are not white, whether the mixture with their white blood is Indian as contended by plaintiff, or some other blood which is not white or just what that blood is, the court finds it unnecessary to decide under the pleadings.

[Other] children in question were presented to the court . . . [a]t least two of them . . . show every appearance of . . . white children -- the mother and all his legitimate grandchildren. But the evidence does not prove that they are white, but is conclusive that they are of mixed blood . . . whether the mixture is Indian or some other race other than Caucasian is not shown positively, unless it results from binding admissions by certain ancestors of the plaintiff or legal presumptions . . . of the officials who issue certain marriage certificates . . . and mortuary records offered in evidence, which I do not consider it necessary to so hold in discussing this case under the pleading.

I deem it sufficient to say that the Falgut School, having been shown to be a public school legally established and maintained for the education of white children only and the evidence failing to show that relator's children are white, in the eyes of the laws of Louisiana as interpreted by our supreme court they are not entitled to admission to . . . school (H.L. Billiot v. Terrebonne Board of Education 1917. 12SLaf.2.36.126La.300, in Petition Documents, 13-14).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

World War II saw some of the men enter the army and leave the bayou communities. The rise of wartime heavy industries in the 1940's along the Mississippi River, especially in Marrero and the southern suburbs of New Orleans, drew badly needed workers from the bayou population. Some relatives already lived in the southern outskirts of New Orleans, where they had moved in the 1920's and 1930's to trap, when the areas were still undeveloped swamp lands.

Those who found jobs in plants and industries told others in the lower bayous of the opportunities available to them if they would migrate to the New Orleans area. Those who moved often lived close to relatives. The original families who migrated during the 1940's sometimes lived along the same roads or driveways, close to one another, although not in neighborhoods inhabited exclusively by UHN members such as those found in the lower bayous.

Migrants observed that the extreme racial prejudice and segregation typical of Lafourche and Terrebonne did not apply in St. Bernard and Jefferson Parishes. Two factors were at work. New neighbors and plant co-workers did not follow the arcane rules of segregation specific to the lower bayous. Workers and bosses migrating from other parts of Louisiana and the United States did not identify the petitioners by their surnames and, even if they had been able to identify them, they would not have cared.

Even in 1964, the Dulac missionary observed:

Outside the parish, many do find social freedom and social equality in other communities. Many are leaving here and are being joined by their families. But most of the older people who leave find social pressures and the tempo of living too much, and eventually return (H.B. Teeter, 1964).

In later decades, migrants working in oil fields had a similar experience. One woman, whose husband worked in the oil industry, wrote to her sister to join her family in Morgan City because she had found that her children were not discriminated against and were allowed to attend white schools and live in white neighborhoods. In another case, a woman at Isle Jean-Charles said that she first left the island in the 1940's to live in Lafitte with cousins. She attended white schools there for half a year, and found the situation unlike her experience in her home community, where she said, "Terrebonne Parish didn't want the Indian in school" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Zelma Naquin, June 19, 1992). Few

migrants returned to their original communities. Either they or their children had often married into the non-Houma populations.

The data provided with the petition tends to support the unfolding pattern. The BAR researchers analyzed marriages in two very different communities -- Marrero, a suburb of New Orleans, and Dulac, a lower bayou community, long associated with the petitioner's ancestors. Today, unions between two UHN members⁷⁰ producing off-spring have occurred among a third of the membership listed living at Dulac. Only three percent of all child-producing unions between 1980 and 1990 in Marrero were between two UHN parents. Chart 5 shows that those UHN members currently listed on the membership list at Marrero addresses started to marry non-UHN members starting during the war years between 1940 and 1945. At this time rates of out-marriage from the UHN petitioner's ancestors into other populations increased suddenly.

Today's Dulac residents are less likely to have a non-UHN parent⁷¹. Chart 6 illustrates the changing trends in that community. A researcher in 1960 found that out-marriages there "usually meant departure," and noted only two exceptions, both missionaries (Fischer 1969, 224). In Dulac, the decline in unions between UHN members did not begin until 1960, and only dropped below fifty percent during the last decade. These figures (49 percent with another UHN member, and 51 percent with a non-UHN member) accord with the estimate of the present priest at Grand Caillou (just north of Dulac) that half of all marriages today in his parish, which includes Dulac are between UHN members and non-members (BAR Field Data 1992).

Chart 7 compares the UHN members living in Marrero with the UHN population living in Dulac. Significant differences exist between couples living in Marrero and Dulac. People living in Marrero are much more likely to be the offspring

⁷⁰ Because of the lack of marriage records the way data was entered into the BAR's data base, the only measure of intermarriage rates could be obtained by noting the year that the oldest child was born to a couple; and the tribal membership of the parents. We are not looking at marriages per se; rather at child-producing unions of couples living in the two communities

⁷¹ The data from the nineteenth century clearly shows that marriage among various ethnic groups was common for the petitioner's ancestors, if not the norm.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

of unions between UHN members and non-members than those living in Dulac, even today. Since 1960, only a small fraction of unions were between two members of the petitioning group in Marrero, while in Dulac the majority of unions have been between two UHN individuals.

It is unclear what socio-demographic processes cause the differences in marriage rates found in Marrero and Dulac. In 1959, one researcher found that the chances of a male marrying and leaving the traditional community were less than for a woman. Roy found that women who married white men generally left the traditional community and their children became "white" (Roy 1959, 22). He said that males tended to marry within the community.⁷² The result in Dulac was a higher population of men than women.

Researchers reported that women married to white men had children attending white schools, while the woman's brothers' children, who have white mothers, attended the now defunct Dulac Indian school (Roy 1959, 22; Teeter, 1964). The practice of identifying UHN members through their surnames obviously contributed to this phenomenon. Surnames inherited from fathers are critical markers of ethnic identity in the lower bayous. Any child named Billiot, Gregoire, Courteau or other easily recognizable names associated with the petitioner, will be immediately classified as "Houma" by local residents of all races. One Acadian white woman discussing this phenomenon in Grand Caillou, expressed great surprise -- even shock -- when her daughter told her that intermarriage had occurred recently so that "there are even Heberts who are Houma" (BAR Field Data 1992). Conversely, a woman who loses her maiden name at marriage and takes on a typically "Cajun" surname such as Bergeron, Petit, or Ellander will suddenly find herself no longer identifiable as a member of the petitioning group if she moves to locations, even in the lower bayous, where her maiden name is not known.

Personal accounts indicate that children and grandchildren of these marriages were sometimes not informed of their non-white heritage (Ferstel March 1980). Finally, according to Roy, in 1959 exceptions were made if the white spouse came

⁷² This opinion was supported by a Methodist missionary in Dulac in 1964 who told a reporter that "when an attractive French-Indian girl marries a non-Indian, as many do, she is usually accepted on her husband's social level. The same cannot be said for the French-Indian boy who marries a non-Indian girl" (Teeter, 1964).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

from a socially and financially prominent local family. When such a marriage was formed, the local white community often accepted the off-spring and the UHN spouse without "impairing" the white man's status (Roy 1959, 79). In 1979, a writer noted that "passage into the Cajun community" was more common than into the Black community (Spitzer 1979, 209).

The contrasting marriage profiles of Marrero and Dulac suggest two intersecting processes. First, those living in Marrero tend to marry outside the UHN membership. Second, those who marry outside of the membership tend to congregate in Marrero and, by extension, in other non-traditional communities. The researchers found that even those raised in Dulac who marry outside the petitioning group only rarely remain resident in the Dulac community.

A woman in Isle Jean-Charles said, "some people marry white people and take off" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Zelma Naquin, June 19, 1992). Also, those who moved to New Orleans to work in major factories and ship works during World War II reported that marriages to outsiders soon became common. Interaction among the migrants and the wider population in schools and at the work place resulted in increased intermarriage. Those who did return to Terrebonne Parish after World War II came back with changed expectations. They reported, however, that the racially-imposed impasse in education and land remained.

There is no indication in either oral histories or documents that the lower bayou residents related their situation to the civil rights battles then being waged by African Americans throughout the south and other parts of the country. They continued to hold the stance that because they were not black, Jim Crow laws did not apply to them. They did not question the legality of the system itself: merely their position in that system.

Members of the group maintained a separation between their settlements and nearby blacks in 1960. One researcher reported that:

in many parts of this region white and Indian houses may be mixed in the line villages, due to the movement of the whites down the line, negro and Indian housing, on the other hand, is never mixed in the situations which I have observed. Many Indians know no negroes, and when they

compare themselves to any other group it is usually to the white French (Fischer 1969: 213).

As recently as 1981, researchers found that the ethnic boundaries were maintained through informal modes of social pressure (Larouche 1981). A Cajun father expressed dismay that his son was marrying a woman from the petitioning group because he feared that his children would fight each other. This indicates that family pressures were still exerted to marry endogamously within one's own group (Larouche 1981). In Dulac in 1959, the UHN family of a woman who married a black man did not speak to their daughter, thus ostracizing her from the family (Roy 1959, 101).

VII-B French language

French language characterized the members of the group at the turn of the century. In 1907, Swanton found only one speaker of an Indian language, Rosalie Courteau's daughter Felicite (Billiot) Galley (b. ca. 1825), who provided him with some 80 words of an Indian language which differed little from the equivalent Choctaw words (Speck 1943, 139; see the Historical Report concerning these words, which derived from the Mobilian Trade Jargon). The last "Houma" song was recorded from Felicite Zilda (Billiot) Chaisson⁷³ at Landry's Landing in 1924 (Van Pelt, 1943). In 1943, all spoke Louisiana French (Speck 1943, 139). The maintenance of a "Cajun French" culture and language continued into the 1950's (Deseran, Mullen and Stokely 1979, 5; Roy 1959, 22). Today, the lower bayou communities of Isle Jean Charles, Point Barre, and Dulac stand out as some of the last remaining linguistic islands of Cajun French in Louisiana. The BAR staff anthropologist found fluent Cajun French speakers of all ages in these communities, although everyone says that children are less likely to speak the traditional French today than in the past.

At Point Barre, interviews with middle-aged and elderly people had to be conducted in French, as the people did not speak English. Children participated in the interview at Point Barre. Also at Point Barre, regular business at the shrimper's dock was carried on in French by people of all ages and economic status. Cajun French continues to be a viable and preferred language in the lower bayous.

⁷³ Daughter of Jean Billiot and Manette Renaud, b. March 15, 1835. Felicite Isilda Billiot had no Indian ancestry. On the other hand, she undoubtedly grew up in close association with Rosalie Courteau.

VIII. Ad-hoc Political Authority: 1940 to 1970

In 1940, Speck identified what he called "local band affinity" among the people who lived along the same bayou and utilized the bayou as an avenue to the coastal fishing areas. These local bands were led by elders: male elders were called "nonc" (French for uncle) and female elders were called "tante" (French for aunt).

It is difficult to find any indications that there were leaders over larger groups of people, such as villages, bayou communities, or the UHN population as a whole. Speck, in fact, found no indication of an "integrated tribal unit" of the entire membership (Speck 1943, 212). He wrote:

It is not sufficiently organized in the political sense to be termed an integrated tribal unit. Some of its leaders, however, entertain ideas in this direction, among others Charles and David Elliot stand forth as aspirants for election as headmen (Speck 1943, 212).

He was not using the term "tribe" in its legal sense as the government has utilized it in the acknowledgment context. In fact, Speck does not say exactly what he meant by the term. However, that he referred to the group as a "collective band" (Speck 1943, 212) is a significant concession by an anthropologist that the population formed some sort of identifiable social and political unit.

From an anthropologist's perspective, it is clear that the group displayed no single structural organization, such as clans, moieties, or lineages, which would unite the population across community lines or even within communities. The existence of such social institutions often structure the leadership roles within more traditional Indian communities. Such structures are often hierarchical or status defined, and in complex societies often define individuals who have wide reaching influence. In this case, there is no indication that such formal kin-based political roles existed, though there is limited evidence for political authority being exercised along extended family lines..

That Speck described the group as a collective band, however, indicates that he viewed the communities as socially cohesive. The communities in the lower bayous were similar and comparable entities which, because of their

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

structural similarities, were classed together by researchers, outsiders, and the petitioners themselves. Since around 1907 to the present, non-UHN members assumed that the similarities of the UHN antecedent communities in terms of culture, economy, and ancestry, meant that the UHN ancestors were socially, if not politically, monolithic; that they were unified across the bayou communities. In contrast to the outsider's perspective, UHN ancestors often emphasized differences between those living in the various bayou communities. That is, the UHN ancestors believed that there were differences between their communities, and there is no indication that they ever considered themselves to be politically monolithic, across the bayou communities. The UHN continue to make these distinctions and there is no evidence for cross-bayou unity until the 1970's organization of the UHN, and this evidence is very limited.

In 1940, Speck noted that Charles and David Billiot had aspirations to become leaders over the entire group (Speck 1943, 212). Speck's definition of the group was unclear. He was, however, referring to the "mixed race" people living in the lower bayous, and stated that the would-be leaders were hampered by general illiteracy and constant movement of the people. Speck found that those living on separate bayous often did not know one another (Speck 1943, 213). He gave the example of David Billiot, whom Speck assumed was a leader on Bayou Lafourche, who did not know the "Gregoires or Deans" on Bayou Grand Caillou until he visited them with Speck (Speck 1943, 213), suggesting there was no overarching community.

In the early part of this century, the most identifiable leaders were those who led various kinds of temporary task groups. They were only ad hoc leaders, that is leaders for a short time, as long as a specific project lasted. A cooperative task force of men is described in the petition. Its purpose was to organize labor to dig and maintain canals through the swamps, or build a chimney (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Sylvester Billiot, November, 1978). No evidence was presented in the petition to show that such task groups have been formed in recent decades.

Another task force composed of men included the trapping outfit made up of various close male relatives, according to men interviewed by the staff anthropologist in 1992. The existence of task-defined groups and leaders is corroborated in most descriptions of their way of life in the earlier part of this century, but little is known if such groups have continued to operate, particularly since 1940.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Within extended families, there is limited evidence that political authority was exercised by community elders, often the fathers, uncles, and grandfather of most of the people living in the family compound. Extended families are structured so that a couple, their children, and families live together. Kniffen and others found that male elders were generally the leaders of "geographic bands" composed of thirty to forty extended families. The BAR anthropologist found that most people could identify influential community leaders in their own communities of Montegut, Point Barre, Isle Jean-Charles, and Dulac. They could rarely name leaders in other UHN communities. Those who were identified were all older men who stood at the apex of a large extended family. These "noncs," male elders, and the female equivalent, "tantes," were, as a group, the leaders of each community.

Women, other than Rosalie Courteau, are less frequently referred to as leaders (compared to men) in the literature or by those being interviewed. Clearly certain strong women, often curers, in Cajun French, "traiteurs," are treated with respect for both their knowledge and their position vis-a-vis the greater community, which often consulted them for traditional medicines and cures. Traiteurs did enjoy a special high status among the group's membership (Speck 1941, 51). One person interviewed described the traiteur's role as hard: "People come up on you at one time of the night and run all over you, it's hard work, man" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Valentine Serigny Dardar, March 14, 1979, 3).

It appears that there are fewer traiteurs now than during the past. However, the petition does not indicate when traiteurs were active in all communities. One researcher reported that the last curer in Dulac was 82 in 1959 (Roy 1959, 43). The BAR anthropologist was taken to Montegut to meet a woman who was described as one of the last curers, Antoinette Courteau, in 1992.

Female task groups also came together to make Spanish moss or duck feather mattresses and quilted coverlets (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Sylvester Billiot, November 26, 1978). This custom apparently disappeared by the 1930's if not earlier, and no one referred to such customs presently.

At some of the larger or more isolated settlements such as Isle Jean-Charles, visitors referred to the some community members as "chiefs" (Meyer, February 20, 1940) and maintained that the leadership passed from father to son

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

(UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Bezou, August 20, 1979). Therefore, in the one community where leaders have been identified by outside visitors, Isle Jean-Charles, leadership did not pass matrilineally, as alleged by Janel Curry. Certainly no clear indications of matrilineal organization, such as clan or moiety organization, or distinct terms for mother's and father's lineal relatives, institutionalized sibling or matrilineal cousin groups, are presented as evidence for matrilineality in the petition and the BAR anthropologist found no evidence for such a kinship system at present or historically.

Oral interviews indicate that many elders did not use the word "chief" because they did not believe that there was a chief or single leader in the traditional communities (UHN Pet., Ex. 7 Tom Dion, January 23, 1981). Tom Dion told an interviewer in 1981:

. . . and all the people from my daddy's day that I talked to, they never mentioned that nobody was a chief. Nobody was 'chief.' The only one that was named 'chief' by the Welfare people was Victor Naquin of Isle Jean-Charles (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Tom Dion, January 23, 1981).

Documentation concerning leadership at Isle Jean-Charles indicates that Victor Naquin, who died at age 86 in 1956, was a leader there in the first half of this century, and recognized by other members of the community. According to a man who grew up on the island, "there was always some kind of chief." Victor and Clement were the sons of Narcisse Naquin, the son of Jean Marie Naquin and Pauline Verdin (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Laise Ledet, October 16, 1979). After Victor Naquin's death, his nephew Antoine Naquin took over. He had a grocery store. People turned to his nephew Demi Naquin in 1992 (BAR Father Roch Naquin 1992c). Laise Ledet traced the descent as follows. At Antoine's death Laise Ledet writes, "The Island is without a pilot" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Laise Ledet, October 16, 1979). The succession after Antoine was unclear to Ledet and she ventured that while one person appeared to have leadership qualities, Augustin Dardar (son of Thomas Dardar) had taken over (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Laise Ledet, October 16, 1979).

Outsiders have discussed leadership on Isle Jean-Charles. The succession of political authority is often presented as if it were handed down from the original Acadian founder Charles Naquin, through his son Jean-Charles and subsequent Naquins, according to Laise Ledet, a teacher very familiar

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

with the islanders. In 1940, Victor Naquin was the main contact with outsiders visiting the island on an official basis (Kane 1943). Victor Naquin, conversely, also acted as a contact to the outside and people within the community did obtain information from him (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Sylvester Billiot, November 28, 1978). It is unclear whether a pattern existed in which outsiders designated someone to deal with in UHN communities and referred to that person as "chief," while those in the communities did not recognize a single "chief" and utilized other forms of political influence and authority, such as the system of family elders or "noncs" and "tantes."

No election was held at Isle Jean-Charles; rather, one became the leader through consensus (BAR Roch Naquin 1992c). It was important that he would "care for people" (BAR Roch Naquin 1992c). The leadership role was not always handed father to son, as is exemplified in the above case when the son of Antoine Naquin did not achieve the recognition as chief. There is no evidence indicating what the political issues were on Isle Jean-Charles, or how political influence was actually exercised.

Father Henry Bezou was a young priest in Terrebonne from 1938 through 1942. He conducted services on Isle Jean-Charles in Antoine Naquin's home, whom he says "was regarded as the chief of the place" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Bezou, August 20, 1979). Elsewhere Bezou says that Antoine was de facto chief while Victor was still living. According to Father Bezou, Antoine's uncle Victor Naquin was still living between 1938 and 1941. At that time Victor was in his late 60's or early 70's and Father Bezou described him as "strong, affable, gentle, kindly . . . He was very generous with his time, also very generous with the produce of the sea, because I rarely went home without bringing shrimp which he had given me" (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Bezou, August 20, 1979).

The characteristic of wisdom and the picture of the quiet elder who would counsel others often appear in descriptions of Victor Naquin. The ability to give good advice made him a good leader, according to one person who was interviewed (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Cyriaque Williams, February 19 & 20, 1980).

In the Grand Caillou area in the 1940's through 1960's, Howard and Tom Dion and Alcede and Lovance Billiot were described as leaders (BAR Wilbert Billiot 1992c). They advocated Indian heritage and sought recognition of their

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

people as Indians (BAR Wilbert Billiot 1992c). They worked not only on land issues, but also on school desegregation (BAR Wilbert Billiot 1992c). Their role in school desegregation has been discussed elsewhere.

It appears likely from the little we do know about leaders in this century, that positions of leadership were in part inherited and in part achieved and fell to people who had special talents in the leadership arena. David Billiot, for example, was literate, and today Kirby Verret has a college education. Others were excellent farmers or, like Howard Dion, have been able to maintain wage employment which earned them respect within and outside of the community.

The evidence presented in the petition did not deal with political processes. Rather, lists identify leaders by name. Little is said about how they led, whether they were in fact making decisions for the group, plumbing the group for support, or sounding out the community on the issues. Virtually nothing is said concerning political process. Presented with a list of identified leaders, but no discussion of what leadership entailed, it is impossible to judge if the persons on the leaders list actually led anyone.

Fischer reported that in 1960, land issues were often the focus of dissension in lower bayou communities (Fischer 1968, 226). Considering the population growth and the pressure such growth rates must have had on the land and resources, it is surprising that so little documentation on the issue was presented in the petition. It was also not talked about very much in the oral histories gathered for the petition. Arguments over land and unauthorized use of boats, traps, nets and leases continue today. These were reported to the BAR anthropologist in 1992 as the issues most likely to cause problems in the bayou communities, where male family heads are still expected to deal with their male family members who poach or use others' property without permission.

Two older men identified to the BAR anthropologist as acknowledged leaders at Point au Chien clearly said that it was better to deal with such problems behind the scenes, rather than to make them public (BAR Field Data 1992). In 1960, Fischer reported that some at Point au Chien believed that in order for one person to resolve their land problems, others would have to lose land (Fischer 1968, 226), a belief which would make it difficult for one individual to rise above others.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The reluctance of anyone to claim leadership is found in most periods, and those who do, such as Swanton's guide Bob Verret, are sometimes quickly disowned by others. There is clear reluctance for any individual to speak for the group.

Leaders were required to share and to make a good living. One researcher stated that in 1971, "it [was] difficult to do well and still maintain strong ties with kinsmen" (Stanton 1971, 87), because obligations to kinsmen would drain one's reserves.

VIII-A. Tom Dion and the fight for school desegregation

There is some evidence for temporary political organization within communities since the 1940's, though not at level of the petitioner as a whole. The most notable group action occurred during the quest for education for their children in the 1950's and 1960's. At the head of this political movement stood most notably Tom Dion of Dulac. Mr. Dion became a spokesperson for at least the Dulac/Grand Caillou people vis-a-vis the outside community. It is not clear if he also acted on behalf of people on other bayous or even in other communities along Grand Caillou. His role in the 1964 integration of the schools involved not only influencing powerful local political operatives to open the schools, but also (and equally problematic) involved concerted political action to influence the children living along Grand Caillou to attend previously all-white schools (Fischer 1968, 231-232).

According to one man, Tom Dion contacted him personally and asked him "if [he] would consider going to white schools." In 1963 a Federal Court Judge ordered the white schools opened to 11th and 12th graders, but the decision came down two weeks after the school year began and was announced personally to Tom Dion and student Rita Dion by Superintendent Nelson (Fischer 1968, 232). No student wanted to be the first student to break the color bar and also to be isolated in the white schools during the last two years in high school. Tom Dion, with others, continued through the school year to try to get the school system to accept children in the 7th grade year. They were successful, and the children living along Grand Caillou as a united group entered the previously all-white Houma City school. Clearly, the UHN people living along Grand Caillou acted as a group concerning this issue; they refused to integrate in 1963, but a year later, when the rules were slightly changed, acted in concert to integrate the schools, and found a certain safety in numbers.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The lesson learned from the integration of the Houma City school is that kinship and proximity of residence are likely to underlie the process for implementing concerted action among large groups within the petitioning population. There was no central authority for the petitioner's ancestors as a whole, that pushed them to participate in desegregation. Rather, it is presented to those outside the group that each individual acted on his or her own. In fact, it is said that even children were allowed to choose their own actions after consulting friends (Fischer 1968, 232), and parents did not force children to attend white schools. In other situations action was mediated through sibling groups. The cohesive action of the Grand Caillou UHN residents in this pivotal historical event of school desegregation depended on the ramifying personal and kin-ties of individuals (Fischer 1968, 232), rather than on allegiance to a central leader or council. From the outside, these actions represented the concerted action of what Speck referred to as an enormous extended consanguineous family (Speck 1943, 212). When they finally acted on school desegregation, they activated a large familial network. Control was maintained at the level of extended families and particularly sibling groups (Larouche 1981).

Political processes are also obscured by the fact that minority populations in the south deliberately obscured informal political behavior attacking segregation. Locating political influence at the lowest societal levels, at least in the ideology expressed at the time, had the effect of providing safety in a social and political environment which was extremely hostile. The store-keeper, shrimp shed owner, leasers, and others were often the sole source of employment (Stanton 1971, 87). Stanton pointed out in 1971 that the relationship among white, Indian, and black was not marked by hate, nor accord: inter-group contact was simply limited (Stanton 1971, 85).

VIII-B. Recent political events in schools

Ten years later, in the 1979-80 school year, the character of political action involving UHN members and their schools in a suburb of New Orleans was very different from that described above in the lower bayous. In that year, the St. Berrard Parish Schools received \$58,000 from the Federal Government for Indian programs (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Wisnowski 1981). UHN parents believe the school system did not spend the money on Indian programs, but used it to hire tutors who worked in the program in general. The parent group publicly criticized the superintendent's actions, particularly the

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

fact that no UHN members were hired. Things became so contentious that the superintendent reportedly hired armed guards for meetings. People attended from outside St. Bernard Parish (UHN Pet., Ex. 7, Wisnowski, 1981). The program was eventually canceled.

IX. Establishing a Formal Organization: 1970 to present

The Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. was formed in 1972. Helen Gindrat had become involved in pan-Indian organizations after attending a 1963 conference of Indians in Chicago. She worked with the Indian Angels, a group in Louisiana, which aided Indian causes and had helped send supplies to the Alcatraz take-over in 1969-70. The Indian Angels helped Gindrat and others organize The Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., which in 1974 changed its name to The Houma Tribes, Inc. Gindrat was a native of Golden Meadow on Bayou Lafourche, at the eastern edge of UHN residential areas.

Traditional competition between Lafourche/Terrebonne in the east and Grand Caillou/du Large in the west soon divided the group. The Houma Tribes, Inc. split April 24, 1974, over representation. Howard Dion led some of Dulac UHN community in forming a new group, eventually known as The Houma Alliance, [Inc.], to represent the western Terrebonne Parish people. Dion, along with some other Dulac group members, formed a committee to initiate the new group, and the following people nominated to serve on it: Howard Dion, Theresa Billiot, Emelda Billiot, Judy Trahan, Randolph Francis, Dot Billiot, Kirby Verret, Ivy Billiot, Ricky Verdin, Curtis Billiot, Louis Dean, and Clyde Dion (Houma Daily Courier, April 25, 1974). However, not all residents of the western bayous concurred with this action. Opposition came from John and Joseph Billiot, who stated that a council existed and this action would only split the "tribe" (HTCM).

The split between the two groups appears to reflect the traditional regional tensions between the eastern and western bayous. The BAR has copies of both groups' rolls (see Genealogical Report for details). The Houma Alliance roll was not fully alphabetized which made working with it extremely difficult. Comparing the names on each roll, it appears that the Houma Alliance was made up of people living primarily along Bayou Grand Caillou, in Houma City, and on Route 6 on Bayou du Large. Many of the people named on the Houma Alliance roll also appear on the Houma Tribes' roll

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

for the same period. Although BAR received no information on how these rolls were compiled, it appears that the Houma Alliance roll was put together after the group split, and that the Houma Tribes did not remove people from the original roll, except in a few cases. The Houma Alliance list included many more people from Grand Caillou, Houma and Bayou du Large than the Houma Tribes list contained. The Houma Tribes listed 1,074 people in Terrebonne Parish, while the Houma Alliance listed 1,795 on its entire roll which was made up almost entirely of people from the western parts of Terrebonne Parish. Virtually no one living in Terrebonne Parish from Montegut, Isle Jean-Charles, and Bayou au Chien was listed on the Houma Alliance roll.

There seems to have been a regional split between the east and west in 1974, based on an analysis of these membership lists. However, the Houma Tribes continued to act as if the western Terrebonne Parish UHN population (Dulac and Bayou du Large region) were still in their group, and some of the western residents did continue to hold membership in The Houma Tribes, Inc. The organization of the [Houma Tribes, Inc.'s] Houma Tribal Council in April 1978 included members from three Louisiana Parishes: Terrebonne, Lafourche and Jefferson. At an April 1978 meeting, John Parfait from Grand Caillou said that, "speaking as a man from Terrebonne Parish . . . his people" needed services they deserved and had not received and suggested that an office be established in their area (HTCM April 21, 1978).

At the same meeting, an argument broke out concerning representation on a five-person personnel committee made up of two people from Terrebonne, two from Lafourche and one from Jefferson (HTCM April 21, 1978). Joe Lodrigue complained that when one person was absent, the result was uneven representation. Joe Billiot said "an issue should not be made of unequal representation, that they're all Houma Indians and should work for the good of the tribe" (HTCM April 21, 1978).

Also in 1978 the Houma Tribal Council minutes indicate an attempt to make the composition of the council representative when John Parfait and Joseph Lodrigue were asked to find a new council member from Terrebonne (HTCM February 25, 1978). At the next meeting, Pierre Solet was nominated by Joe Lodrigue and seconded by John Billiot to become a new council member "from Terrebonne Parish" (HTCM April 21, 1978).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

The UHN has participated in a non-profit organization, Indian Manpower Services, from 1974 to the present, along with the Chitimacha, the Coushatta, the Tunica-Biloxi, and the Jena Choctaw. This non-profit became known as the Louisiana Inter-tribal Indian Council around 1980.

IX-A. United Houma Nation takes shape

The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] and the Houma Tribes, Inc. merged in April 1979. The merger had been discussed at the Houma Tribal Council meeting February 25, 1978, and a general consensus had been reached that a merger would benefit both organizations' Federal acknowledgment potential (HTCM February 25, 1978). Only nine hundred ballots were sent out, according to news accounts (Weinstock, 1979). There were many more than 900 members in the group at that time. The discrepancy between the membership list numbers and the number of ballots could be due to the fact that children are on the membership lists, but they are not allowed to vote.

Newspaper accounts of the merger quoted Mrs. Gindrat of The Houma Tribes, Inc., as saying that she did not know why two organizations had developed. "Communications between the Houma people and their tribal representatives will be greater," John Parfait said. However, other accounts and Houma Tribal Council minutes indicate that the merger came about because some believed that their chances of Federal acknowledgment would be improved as a united entity (Weinstock May 6, 1979; Ferstel March 1980; HTCM February 25, 1978). A month later, Howard Dion still was The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] Chairman and Helen Gindrat was still The Houma Tribes, Inc. Chairman. Representatives from both organizations met at the first meeting of the United Houma Nation, Inc. Ten tribal council members were present and three absent. Nine non-council members were present. Those present formed a number of committees, including a recreation committee, a by-laws committee, and a land claims committee (UHNM June 1, 1979).

The interim council consisted of Kirby Verret, who would remain president of the group until summer, 1992; Charlie Duthu, secretary; and John Billiot, Joseph Billiot, Conal Lovell, Helen Gindrat, Delores Terrebonne, Clyde Dion, Howard Dion, Randolph Francis, Joseph Lodrigue, and John Parfait.

An effort to extend representation beyond Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes began at the October 20, 1979 meeting,

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the first to be held outside the traditional area. At that meeting representation from St. Bernard Parish was recommended. In response, John Billiot nominated Lawrence Billiot, and Joseph Billiot nominated Mary Lee Wisnowski (UHNM October 20, 1979). Both nominees were attending the meeting. Attendance at this October 20, 1979 meeting was very small, and was in no way representative of the UHN as a whole. Except for Charlie Duthu from Houma City, everyone attending the October 20, 1979 "special" meeting with attorney Guy D'Antonio was living outside of the traditional parishes of Terrebonne and Lafourche. John A. and Joseph W. Billiot were from Westwego (Jefferson Parish); Mary Lee Wisnowski and Lawrence Billiot from St. Bernard; and Betty Matherne from Marrero (Jefferson parish). Wilbert Billiot's residence was not given (UHNM, October 20, 1979). This indicates that the group's efforts to expand participation were not successful, since members from the lower bayous did not attend, only people from the New Orleans suburbs.

Regional representation became an important issue for the United Houma Nation, just as it had been for The Houma Tribes, Inc. The roll call at the November, 1979, council meeting shows those present by parish, a practice which would continue to the present. Four came from Terrebonne, two from Lafourche and one from Jefferson (UHNM November 20, 1979). No one from St. Bernard was listed, although their representatives were usually present at other meetings.

The tendency to expand membership was demonstrated by other actions. A motion was made by Helen Gindrat at the November, 1979, meeting that Louisiana residence no longer be a membership requirement (UHNM November 30, 1979). The motion to amend the constitution to no longer require Louisiana residence passed 8 to 0.

The 1981 representatives of the UHN cast their nets widely when they began to create tribal rolls. They advertised and obtained news and television coverage of their efforts. One organizer was quoted as saying "We are trying now to find all the Indians in the parish who might be qualified to belong to the Houma Nation . . . but right now I can't say what that number might be" (New Iberia, May 18, 1981). This resulted in the incorporation of many new members who had not previously been involved in the formal "Houma" organizations. Prior to 1981, membership was around 3,000; after 1981, it jumped to 17,000.

The merger of the two groups was not easily accomplished (Rcane, June 28, 1981). Chairman Kirby Verret said that

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

sometimes "we were pulling the wagon two different ways" (Roane, June 28, 1981). Councilman John Billiot, son of Lovency Billiot and a descendant of both Marie Gregoire and Rosalie Courteau, claimed to be the traditional chief and had disagreed with younger Chairman Kirby Verret, also a descendent of both Rosalie Courteau and Marie Gregoire. In fact, John Billiot's father and Kirby's paternal grandmother were siblings (Roane, June 28, 1981).

John Billiot was Lovency Billiot's third oldest son. Lovency had in his own day sometimes been referred to as the "chief" (Wonk 1975). He had also collected papers pertaining to land claims since 1936, when the Humble Oil Company obtained control of lands that had formerly belonged to UHN ancestors. He had focused on the "children of Rosalie Courteau" (Wonk 1975), an approach similar to other elders from the Terrebonne traditional area near Montegut and Isle Jean-Charles.

There was some indication in oral interviews that some UHN members question the validity of the membership of some others who live along Bayou Grand Caillou and in Golden Meadow, although there is a reluctance to clearly articulate the basis of the split (BAR 1992c). Nevertheless, those who would extend membership widely have won over those who would limit membership to descendants of Rosalie Courteau and those in residence along Bayou Terrebonne.

In 1979, three days after the merger of the two predecessor organizations into the UHN, The Houma Tribes, Inc. received notification that \$82,500 would be made available through the supplementary Federal Energy Crisis Intervention Program for distribution to qualified Houma Tribes members. This money to defray utilities costs of individual ran into trouble, when many of the poorest could not receive help with their bills because they had not enrolled in the tribe by September 30, 1982 (Huttenhower 1982). There is no indication in the minutes available to the BAR that this problem was ever discussed in council meetings or that the leadership of the Houma Tribes, Inc. or UHN was held accountable for this problem.

Virtually no information was included in the petition about grants, their administration, proposal writing, etc. The minutes of meetings only refer to grants obliquely. Financial records attached to some minutes do not include any information concerning grants. Other organizations, boards, or individuals were apparently handling business matters and finances for these grants which concerned the

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

UHN. There is no record of how these other organizations were related to the UHN council. For example, it is not known if they consulted with the council in the application, budgeting, or appropriation phases.

Kirby Verret had been made Chairman at the time of the merger in 1979. But in January, 1981, he explained in the council that Helen Gindrat was serving as "Acting Director" as a title because his job prevented him from fulfilling all his duties. The council sent a letter to Helen in appreciation of her efforts. A copy was sent to Joe Lodrigue (UHNM January 17, 1981), who had criticized Helen's use of the title, "Acting Director." Minutes indicate that Joe Lodrigue and John Parfait have often been at odds with Helen Gindrat, Mary Lee Wisnowski, Dolores Dardar, and others. The split between those who wanted more direct control by the council over business and a group centered around Helen Gindrat, supported by Kirby Verret and Dolores Dardar, has characterized the workings of the council to the present. There have always been council members who have taken on the role of critic, expressing frustration at what they considered to be a slow pace of tribal operations, a lack of results, and meager information.

In an on-going attempt to meet throughout the areas where members were living, council meetings moved each month. In January, 1980, the council met at Dulac; in March at New Iberia; in January, 1982, at Crown Point; in February, 1982, in Montegut; in May, 1983, in Lafitte. This pattern has continued to the present. Evidence indicates that the meetings were not attended by many in the membership. Sign-in sheets indicate that fewer than 10 or 20 people, if that, ever came to a meeting, until the last two years.

The UHN became involved in a number of community development projects. An arts and crafts grant was obtained: woodcarving, among other things, was taught (UHNM March 22, 1980). Plans were made to apply for Economic Development Administration (EDA) and Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grants to provide funds for administration (UHNM March 22, 1980). Steve Cheramie was researching Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), Veterans' Administration (VA), and Louisiana's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training as possible funding sources (UHNM March 22, 1980).

In 1980, Vermilion and Plaquemines Parish members sought representation on the Council. A petition with 37 names of people identified as living in Plaquemines sought "direct representation so that [they] too may share in the

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

leadership and decision-making process of the Tribal Council" (Petition to Tribal Council dated November, 1980). At the January, 1981, meeting, Johnny Soule was appointed to represent St. Mary Parish (UHNC, January 17, 1981), but no representation from Vermilion and Plaquemines was ever established.

Internal dissension erupted on the UHN council in late 1980 and early 1981. John Parfait had been removed from the Council for behavior which was not spelled out in the minutes submitted to the BAR (UHNC January 17, 1981). Apparently, Joe Lodrigue's petition for John Parfait's reinstatement to the council was presented by Kirby Verret. Dolores Dardar reported that the petition didn't have the required number of signatures. Helen Gindrat moved to not put John Parfait's reinstatement on the agenda again. The motion passed. The council decided to send him a letter telling him that if he wanted to get on the council, he would have to be elected (UHNC January 17, 1981). Helen Gindrat, Dolores Dardar, and Mary Lee Wisnowski took the lead in blocking John Parfait's reinstatement (UHNC Jan 17, 1981).

John Parfait had been an extremely active member of the council as shown in minutes from 1978 through 1981. Even when he was removed from the council, he continued committee work. He had been the primary advocate for Grand Caillou/Dulac, often voicing concerns about equal representation (UHTM April 21, 1978), opening an office in Dulac, obtaining land in Dulac, etc. He also directly opposed Dolores Dardar's employment by the tribe (UHTM April 21, 1978). Joe Lodrigue usually supported him.

On July 11, 1981, Steve Cheramie was elected as Chairman of the UHN by the tribal council, over Kirby Verret, 7 to 5. The UHN was then awarded \$22,711 as part of a community services Block Grant. Councilman Clyde Dyon moved that the money be used to open one profit-making day care center at the Dulac Community Center and a second at Golden Meadow (UHNM, February 27, 1982). The answer (not attributed) was that Dulac had a building; at other locations rent would have to be paid. In addition \$125,900 was administered through CETA (UHNM February 17, 1982). Neither the petition nor minutes indicated how the grant was administered.

Also at the February 17, 1982, meeting it was reported that the UHN had \$382.87 and had been unable to pay two months office rent (UHNM February 27, 1982). Although the UHN had no non-profit tax status, the subject was discussed at a

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

February, 1982, meeting, when it was estimated that it would take six months to complete the application. There is no evidence that the petitioner ever obtained a tax exempt status.

The lack of non-profit status was often referred to as a stumbling block for receiving funds and grants (UHNM November 6, 1990; February 16, 1991). Without non-profit status, the group could not receive free computers (November 6, 1990) or grant money, but the council had not obtained it by 1992, when an attorney told them to act on it. The BAR received no information to indicate that a non-profit status has been obtained. How the grants from CETA, the State of Louisiana, or the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) were actually administered is unclear. The Council was not informed in depth about these programs. The minutes do not indicate that the council oversaw operations, hired directors or other personnel, or dealt with the policy of these programs.

The on-going argument about the 501(c)(3) Internal Revenue Service (IRS) non-profit status of the organization was raised again by councilman Reggie Billiot (UHNM April 20, 1991). Kirby Verret disagreed with Reggie saying that the Houma already were non-profit (UHNM April 20, 1991). Only a month later, however, at the suggestion of NARF, Kirby Verret introduced a resolution (#5-91) to authorize Dale Revelle to complete the 501(c)(3) process for the tax exempt status.

It is unclear from the minutes and other evidence submitted to the BAR which activities and initiatives actually went forward. There is some indication that many committees were formed with very few results or reports back to the council. For example, newsletters were discussed at many early UHN meetings (February 27, 1982) and as late as 1990 (UHNM September 8, 1990). No evidence was found to show that an actual newsletter was ever produced and none have been submitted to the BAR. At the September, 1990, meeting, the newsletter issue was tabled (September 8, 1990). The minutes were unclear if substantial discussion concerning the pros and cons of sending out a newsletter ever took place.

If rapid consensus was not reached concerning an issue, it was either tabled or sent to committee. This leaves the impression that direct disagreement was viewed as dangerous, even intolerable, by those in control of the council. Perhaps some members feared that disagreement could split

the group again. An inter-community level of political organization was a new political phenomenon for this group and was not traditional. The group had already split once. Helen Gindrat's supporters acted particularly wary of any sort of disagreement and often moved fast to contain rising conflict.

IX-B. Modern organization and factionalism

Numerous references to perceived intra-group differences were made in the oral histories included in the petition (UHN Pet., Ex. 7) and to the BAR researchers in person (BAR Field Data 1992). Inter-bayou rivalry, particularly between the people living in the central part of the lower bayous (Terrebonne area) and those living in the western parts of the bayous (Grand Caillou area), indicates that there was, and continues to be, a division of the group which echoes the Houma Tribes, Inc., and The Houma Alliance, [Inc.] division of the two governing bodies that split in 1974. Many people said in 1992 that there used to be inter-bayou fights at the segregated bars only attended UHN members in the past. One man referred to "bad blood between families" (BAR, Wilbert Billiot, 1992c).

However, there is great reluctance to discuss these differences in the modern community. The division is sometimes characterized as a racial division or genealogically defined division within the petitioning group. One man at Montegut said that many from Terrebonne did not believe that everyone on Bayou Grand Caillou and also Golden Meadow who claimed to be Indians today, are in fact descended from Indians (BAR L. Molinaire 1992c). He believed that only people descended from Rosalie Courteau can claim Indian ancestry. The amount of African ancestry is clearly an issue within the group; one man described many cruel and negative comments he had heard growing up concerning the racial backgrounds of those others believed to have African ancestry (BAR Reggie Billiot 1992c).

Although socializing between Terrebonne and Grand Caillou is reported, it is unusual. Socializing at "jamborees" held at Christmas, Easter, or Mardi Gras were often for extended families and friends from nearby communities. For example, one man discussed how Golden Meadow people had traveled in the 1950's to Isle Jean-Charles, where people originally from the Terrebonne traditional communities had a Christmas Jamboree. One man from Pointe au Chien said "we don't get Grand Caillou [coming] in here" (BAR Wycliffe Verdin,

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

1992c). A Grand Caillou man said about this, "I guess they think they're better than us" (BAR Field Data 1992).

Recent events which have been covered by news articles in the local Houma City paper indicate that these divisions continue to play a role in the petitioner's politics. A dissident faction of people with lower Terrebonne origins in Montegut, Bayou au Chien, and Isle Jean-Charles, have tried to discredit the present petitioner's council members by questioning whether they have Indian ancestry. Genealogical charts were even published in the newspapers, according to phone conversations between the BAR staff and UHN members.

IX- C. The UHN leadership is attacked

Beginning in September, 1990, the entire tone, content and modus operandi of the council underwent a drastic change. People such as Jim Liner, Reggie Billiot, and Louise Solet joined the council and proceeded to ask -- even demand answers to -- questions concerning the group's business and governing practices. The increase in apparent political process could also be related to a major change in the minutes, which suddenly became more detailed. These people represented a generation younger than Helen Gindrat, Dolores Dardar, and Kirby Verret. They asked questions and demanded information, which appeared to shake up the long-standing troika of Helen Gindrat, Kirby Verret, and Dolores Dardar, who have provided direction to the UHN since it was founded.

The issue of council control was actually raised by Councilmen Reggie Billiot and Jim Liner at a September 8, 1990, Council Meeting (UHNM September 8, 1990):

Councilman Reggie Billiot expressed concern over the propriety of certain decisions that were made without previously consulting the council. Councilman Jim Liner expressed concern over hiring and policy-making on other Boards that do not reflect the input of the Tribal Council (UHNM September 8, 1990).

Reggie Billiot went on to say that the Tribal Chairman's role (at this time Kirby Verret) was limited in decision-making powers and he should function as a spokesman. He was supported in this concern by Joe and John Billiot and "by other members of the council" (UHNM September 8, 1990).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Reggie Billiot went further to recommend that Council persons who served on boards of other organizations also operate as a "spokesman reflecting the will of the tribal council" and that to avoid conflict of interest "any Tribal Council person nominated and elected to represent the Tribal Council on another Board or those employed by the tribe as a direct result of funding . . . not be allowed to vote on issues concerning those agencies (UHNM September 8, 1990). A mailing of ballots was done to amend the constitution. This is the first time the issue of the relationship between the UHN Council and community development agencies funded by grants written or sponsored by the UHN had been raised since John Billiot had questioned the employment of council members on a grant in 1980.

Council members sometimes attacked the leadership. One instance occurred in November 1990, when Jim Liner brought up that the constitution and by-laws stated that a chairman would serve two consecutive terms or no more than eight years in all. Chairman Kirby Verret was then breaking these stipulations as of June 1990 (UHNM November 10, 1990).

In the council meeting, minutes indicate that a counter-attack proceeded against Reggie Billiot who had signed a proposal to the Catholic Charities' Campaign for Human Development. There had been a lot of dissatisfaction and non-communication concerning the proposal. Reggie said that "he had received a phone call from . . . Catholic Social Services to the effect that the Chairman [Kirby Verret] . . . was trying to kill the proposal by the comments he had made (UHNM November 10, 1990). Reggie Billiot went further to question Kirby Verret's propriety in contacting Reggie's employer (Terrebonne Parish Council) concerning Reggie's application for a job to work on a better relationship between the Houma and the parish (UHNM November 10, 1990). Verret alleged that the parish was trying to "groom" Reggie for Tribal Chairman.

Council man Reggie Billiot pointed out that the letter sent to his supervisor was on Tribal stationary and signed as Tribal Chairman and that this was interpreted by Councilman [Reggie] Billiot as someone using their position to intimidate (UHNM November 10, 1990).

Great suspicion toward Terrebonne Parish government appears to underlie much of the discussion concerning Reggie Billiot's employment there. The fact that Reggie is paid by

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

the parish immediately casts suspicion on him in some eyes (UHNM March 16, 1991).

Jim Liner and Helen Gindrat sparred verbally in February 1991:

Councilman Liner asked if anyone in the audience wanted copies of anything he would gladly put it in the mail. He continued that he was accused of giving out all kinds of information to the public and will continue because he believed it was his right. Vice-Chairman Gindrat told councilman Liner to make sure he was giving out the correct information. Councilman Liner replied to go ahead and have your "kangaroo court" (UHNM, February 1991).

During the public-forum part of the March meeting, several people spoke on behalf of the Coalition for Better Government, a watch-dog organization comprised of several UHN members who were critical of the UHN council. Albert Naquin of Terrebonne Parish apologized to Louise Solet, a UHN council member from Dulac for holding a meeting in her town without informing her. He further said that the Coalition was only trying to "collect names, addresses, phone numbers and tribal roll numbers." In the process, they had found people without tribal roll numbers (UHNM March 16, 1991). Yet Marlene Foret from Terrebonne indicated that the collecting of names had the ultimate purpose of opening up the governing process. She said that,

eventually we will be able to get together the amount of people we need from every area then these people are going to get together and work together so that everybody else knows and anybody who wants to get involved will be able to (UHNM March 16, 1991).

Helen Gindrat at the same meeting confronted Naquin and Foret about what they were doing, saying that they were not elected (UHNM March 16, 1991).

Between 1980 and 1990, the UHN minutes show an evolution in political interest among group members, with significant increase in formal community-wide political processes as shown in the presence of expressed conflict, rise of factional disputes, and political activity not staged by a handful of council leaders. In the past, council members such as John Parfiat had been expelled without community

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

involvement and questioning. By 1991, the operations of the council were scrutinized not only by group members who attended meetings and spoke from the floor but also by council members. A coalition for good government had been formed to check council activities and to open the political process to the membership.

Reggie Billiot questioned the leadership of the group from the council chamber itself. He was highly critical of what he saw. He was also criticized for creating "issues not relevant to tribal unity and diminished honor of the tribe" (UHNM, January 1991).

At some point, it appears, although the record does not indicate exactly when, the council made the geographical representation more specific, so that there were defined districts within the parishes. In Terrebonne Parish today, five districts are delineated: Bayou du Large (Kirby Verret); from Bayou du Large to Houma City (Wilbert Billiot); Houma (Reggie Billiot); Montegut/Point au Chien (Marie Domangue); and Point au Chien to Isle Jean-Charles (Kirby "Bud" Courteaux) (BAR Wilbert Billiot 1992c).

Issues discussed in council have changed. In 1980, the council discussed beauty contests, crafts fairs and classes, land claims issues, and genealogical work done by non-members. Even in 1992, Delores Dardar said that the group's #1 priority was "education." Because there was little significant discussion, there was little to argue over other than equal representation among the parishes.

By 1991, the discussions were often heated and acrimonious, concerning business matters such as the non-profit status of the group, how the group governs itself, conflict of interest on the part of board members, relations with government, recycling operations, membership and voting regulations, and many other issues which would be more typical of a governing body than a social or cultural club.

There was also an attempt in 1991 to open a BINGO hall in cooperation with a private business, although there are no discussions concerning this in the minutes, whether due to deficiency of the minutes or actual lack of discussion is unclear. Perhaps internal opposition to BINGO is the reason the non-profit number was blocked for more than ten years. The tribe needed a non-profit number, which it did not have at the time, in order to sponsor BINGO. The VFW and American legion went to court to block the hall's opening (BAR Wilhoa Thomassie 1992c).

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

An action-oriented younger group is concerned with furthering the economic interests of the membership. They no longer discuss issues concerning group pride, unity, and "honor," so important to the old guard who began the council. They demand that attorneys be hired to answer legal questions. They bring in consultants to discuss new business prospects. They freely refer to African as well as Indian ancestry.

Election to the Council today follows a complex process. Louise Solet described it for her area in Dulac. A local meeting was attended by 79 people, from which an election committee of five people was formed. This committee met at Louise's house to study the by-laws and constitution. They set a date for the election, determined how the vote would be held and designated polling locations. The committee met with other districts' election committees to coordinate dates, as the election was supposed to be held in June (BAR Louise Solet 1992c). It was postponed to August 30, 1992.

Candidates nominate themselves. They must live in the district, have been a member in good standing for two years, and have a high school diploma. They must also pay a \$25.00 fee. Apparently many people do not qualify and some disputes arise over this issue. Some applications for candidacy are reviewed at the central office (BAR Delores Dardar 1992c), although others said that the election committee made sure candidates met the criteria (BAR Louise Solet 1992c).

By the April, 1991, meeting in Dulac, the growing interest in UHN activities is documented by the sign-in sheet of 62 names (UHNM April 20, 1991). References are made to council persons receiving great numbers of telephone calls concerning gossip and radio stories on the tribe. Now, not only are 12 of 14 council members present, but also present are six non-voting alternates and one voting alternate.

The responsibility of writing up the UHN minutes was turned over to Kirby Verret in June 1991. The minutes became simplified and no indications of actual political process can be detected (UHNM July 13, 1991). It is unclear if the temporary downward fluctuation in the minutes reflected a real diminution of political process or merely a change in the coverage in the minutes. However, when Francis Johnson began writing the minutes in October, 1991 (UHNM October 12, 1991), debate, often heated and acrimonious, was continuing. Recent letters to the BAR from Reggie Billiot and Michael Dardar indicate that the council is in an uproar over

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

various allegations concerning ancestry and the presentation of genealogical material to the BAR.

Michael Dardar has begun to publish a newsletter entitled Talking Stick. Two issues had been published by fall of 1992. The November issue read

This issue is dedicated to Jim Liner, Reggie Billiot, and Jerry Billiot. Many times I've told my wife that I wish I could have seen through the lies and deceptions of Joe Dardard [sic] and the others sooner so I could have supported Jim, Reggie and Jerry in their earlier attempts to expose the corruption (Talking Stick, November 1992).

Details of the so-called "corruption" were not given.

Michael Dardar also brought John Billiot back onto the council as his alternate, writing "It is an honor to have him as my alternate. He is the former councilman for this district, a former tribal chairman and someone who tried to fight the old administration years ago" (Talking Stick, November 1992). There is consistency in how the main factions on the council line up over time. Many of those most critical of the tribal leadership represent the Dulac/Grand Caillou/Houma area.

The use of gossip and threats of intimidation are an ongoing theme in the UHN political process, within the UHN communities of the lower bayous. These informal means of social control and exertion of authority are referred to often in the 1991 period and also earlier, as in the incident when Kirby Verret wrote a letter to Reggie Billiot's employer. Helen Gindrat (Vice Chairman) said in a meeting in March 1991:

that she was asked sometime back to mention this. Their was [sic] some accusations made on some individuals. Please stop or someone eventually will want to file a class action suit on the accusations that are going around (UHNM March 16, 1991).

The utilization of gossip, often a potent form of social control in small communities and kin-based communities, is an indicator that some form of informal community existed, as gossip is not effective without a community and shared system of values to support it.

IX-D. Current status

Since 1992, a number of issues, such as hurricane relief fund distribution and Federal acknowledgment, have ignited new levels of interest. Meetings have been attended by several hundred people, some of whom became unruly due to certain frustrations with the leadership of the group. Formally, since about 1979, the UHN membership includes people from all the major bayou communities. Two thirds of the membership, however, now lives in the New Orleans suburbs. There is no evidence that they maintain a political or social relationship with UHN members in the bayous, or with other UHN members in the suburbs. There is no evidence supporting the existence of actual social and/or political interaction between the bayou communities from 1880 to 1970, and very limited evidence for such interaction from 1970 to the present. Prior to 1970, there never was even a formal entity.

Since the 1970's, the UHN have perceived a need for a higher level of organization. This especially seems to be motivated by the pursuit of Federal acknowledgment. There are real and substantial issues that the organization could deal with beyond identity: issues that deal with their social and economic standing in the greater community, such as racism, housing, poverty, fishing, disaster relief, land claims, and environmental degradation. But they do not seem to be addressing these.

A faction has recently identified itself. It is centered around Montegut, Pointe au Chien and Isle Jean-Charles. Calling themselves the Documented Houma Tribe, this group has demanded that some of the UHN leadership be replaced, and that the UHN clearly account for spending and grant administration. The elders, or "noncs" and "tantes," on lower Bayou Terrebonne appear to be directly involved in the new political faction, because some individuals who have telephoned the BAR to discuss the break-up do not speak English, nor read or write. There is a possibility that some of the young, well-educated group that has shaken up the UHN Council is allied in part with the elders in a political vise, closing in on the long-term leadership of the UHN organization.

Based on what has been informally reported to BAR, there is also the possibility that this faction represents an historically and geographically distinct grouping, which has always believed itself to be the "true" Indians and the direct descendants of Rosalie Courteau and Marie Gregoire.

Anthropological Report -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

However, the petitioner has provided no written materials on recent events, other than newspaper clippings sent to BAR by dissidents. A full analysis of recent events could reveal much about the political organization and processes of the modern petitioner.

BAR did not analyze the submitted material to determine whether or not a smaller Indian entity exists within the larger UHN petitioner, even though some of the dissidents have hypothesized that such could be the case. Such an analysis would be premature because the petitioner has not established a link to a historical tribe. Having failed on this threshold issue, a detailed analysis of factions today is unnecessary.

CHART 1: INDIVIDUALS LISTED ON LAND MAPS CIRCA 1930-1931
ALONG A TEN MILE STRIP OF TERREBONNE BAYOU

T.17S.- R.18E.	T.18S.- R.18E.	T.18S.- R.19E.	T.18S.- R.19E.
GAZAU GAVREAU GAVREAU CHARLES BILLIOT PIERRE BILLIOT MICHEL DARDAR ETIENNE BILLIOT ETIENNE BILLIOT M. ERICE	ETEINNE BILLIOT ETEINNE BILLIOT MARIANNE ERICE JOSEPH DIANN PIERRE CHASSON CHARLES BILLIOT	JOSEPH DIAN PIERRE CHASSON CHARLES BILLIOT J-BTS HENRY JOHN DUPRE JOHN DUPRE JOSEPH BOUDREAU JOHN NAQUIN CHARLES NAQUIN	CHARLES NAQUIN ALEXIS VERDINE JOHN BILLIOT HENRY THIBADEAUX MANUEL ALBARADES

Chart 2: ROSALIE COURTEAU'S LAND TRANSACTIONS AND WITNESSES

DATE	HOW ROSALIE WAS NAMED	NAMES OF WITNESSES	TYPE OF TRANS
1856	ROSALIE COURTEAU	CHARLES WHITE JEAN FR. GALLEY	DEED
1856	ROSALIE COURTEAU	LEWIS WILLIS CLEMENT CARLOS	DEED
1857	ROSALIE COURTEAU	CHARLES WHITE JEAN-FR. GALLEY	LAND DE D
1857	ROSALIE COURTEAU	JUSTIN DASPIT EMILE FANGUY E.P. BARDE A. VERRET, JR.	DEED
1865	ROSALIE COURTEAU	CHARLES WHITE JEAN FR GALIE [SIC]	DEED :
1867	ROSALIE COURTO [SIC]	CLINT BELANGER LEFRO BELANGER	DEED
1869	ROSALIE COURTEAU	H FIELDS N BELANGER	LAND SALE
1869	ROSALIE COURTEAU		DEED
1870	ROSALIE COURTEAU	H. FIELDS E.P. ROBICHAUX J.N. ROBICHAUX	LAND SALE
1874	ROSALIE COURTEAU	WM. S. CAMPBELL JOS. S. CAMPBELL	LAND SALE

Chart 3: HOUSEHOLD HEADS ON THE 1880 FEDERAL CENSUS #286 - #322
RELATED TO IMPORTANT FEMALE ANCESTORS

CENSUS LISTING	ROSALIE COURTEAU/ MARIANNE COURTEAU	MARIE ENERISSE	MARIE GREGOIRE	MANETTE RENAUD ¹
286 FRANCIS* & EUGENIA GALLEY	H	H		
287 MARCELLINE* & ARTHIMISE NAQUIN		W	H	W
288 JOHN & ESTELLE BILLIOT	H	H		
289 FRANCES & FELICITE GALLEY	W	W		
290 JAMES* & CLAUDINA FITCH	W	W		
291 JOSEPH* & MARCELINE VERDIN				H
292 BARTHELMI BILLIOT & DAMAS BILLIOT	H	H/W		W
293 SEVERIN* & ROSALINE BILLIOT	H-ADO	TED H	W	H
294 MANETTE REYNOLDS [RENAUD]				
295 DOMINIQUE & PAULINE CARRIER (NOT ANCESTORS OF GROUP)				
296 GERVAIS* DARDARE & MARGARET DARDAR		H/W		W
297 CHAISSON ANDRE* & VARINA [EVALINA?]	W	H/W		W
298 PAULINE AND FLURE BABIN (UNKNOWN)				
299 JOHN COURTEAU (UNKNOWN)	H?			
300 FLORINTINE & ROSETTA CHAISSON	W	W		
301 ANDRE & FELICITE BILLOT (CHAISSONS)				
302 JOHN GETTIS/HARRIET (NON-ANCESTORS)				
303 GABRIEL DUBOIS FRANCIS BOURG (NON-ANCESTORS)				
304 NARCISE & MARGARET NAQUIN	W	W	H/W	
305 LINANDAIS & ELLOISE DARDARE		H	W	
306 MARCELINE* & ARMALIZE NAQUIN		W	H	W
307 WALKER LOVELLS & MARY [NAQUIN]			W	
308 JOSEPH & CARMALITE CHAUVEST (NON-ANCESTORS)				
309 CHARLES* & MARGARET DARDAR		H		
10 CHARLES & LOUISE BILLOT		H		
11 JOSEPH & JOSEPHINE NAQUIN	W	W	H	
12 ALEXANDER* & MARGARET BILLIOT	H	H	W	
13 ELASKI & DELAILE BILLIOT		H		H
14 WILLIAM* & ROSINE BILLIOT	H	H	H	
15 CELESTNEE & MADELINE BILLIOT				
16 MARK & MARGARET BILLIOT				
17 FELEX & ANNIE BILLOT				
18 FAUSTIN & MALINA CREPPEL	W	W/H	W	
19 GUILLAUME & PETIT BILLOT				
20 PAUL AND PERZILE BILLOT				

¹ Manette Renaud, unlike the other female ancestors on this chart has no Indian ancestry. However, she was socially significant as the daughter-in-law several times of Rosalie Courteau Billiot. Because she is still alive and listed on this census at #294, she is included in the analysis. The data does indicate that close kin lived in a cluster around her.

Chart 3, cont'd: HOUSEHOLD HEADS ON THE 1880 FEDERAL CENSUS #286 - #322
 RELATED TO IMPORTANT FEMALE ANCESTORS

CENSUS LISTING	ROSALIE COURTEAU/ MARIANNE COURTEAU	MARIE ENERISSE	MARIE GREGOIRE	MANETTE RENAUD
21 JOSHUA AND MATILDA VERDIN	W	W	W/H	
22 URSAIN & MARY VERDIN			H	
W = wife H = husband				

Chart 4

FAMILY SURNAMES ASSOCIATED WITH SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES: 1907

Barataria Bayou: Billiot, Dardar, Solet, Verdin

Point au Chien: Billiot, Dardar, Naquin, Verdin, Fitch,
Creppell (originally)

Lafourche: Dardar, Billiot, Verdin

Pointe au Barree: Courteaux

Champs Charles (Isle Jean-Charles): Naquin, Billiot, Dardar
Verdin

Grand Caillou: Deon, Fitch

Bayou Bleu: Creppell family

:

Chart 5: TRENDS IN OUT-MARRIAGE FOR PERSONS WITH MARRERO ADDRESSES FOR THE YEARS 1900-1990

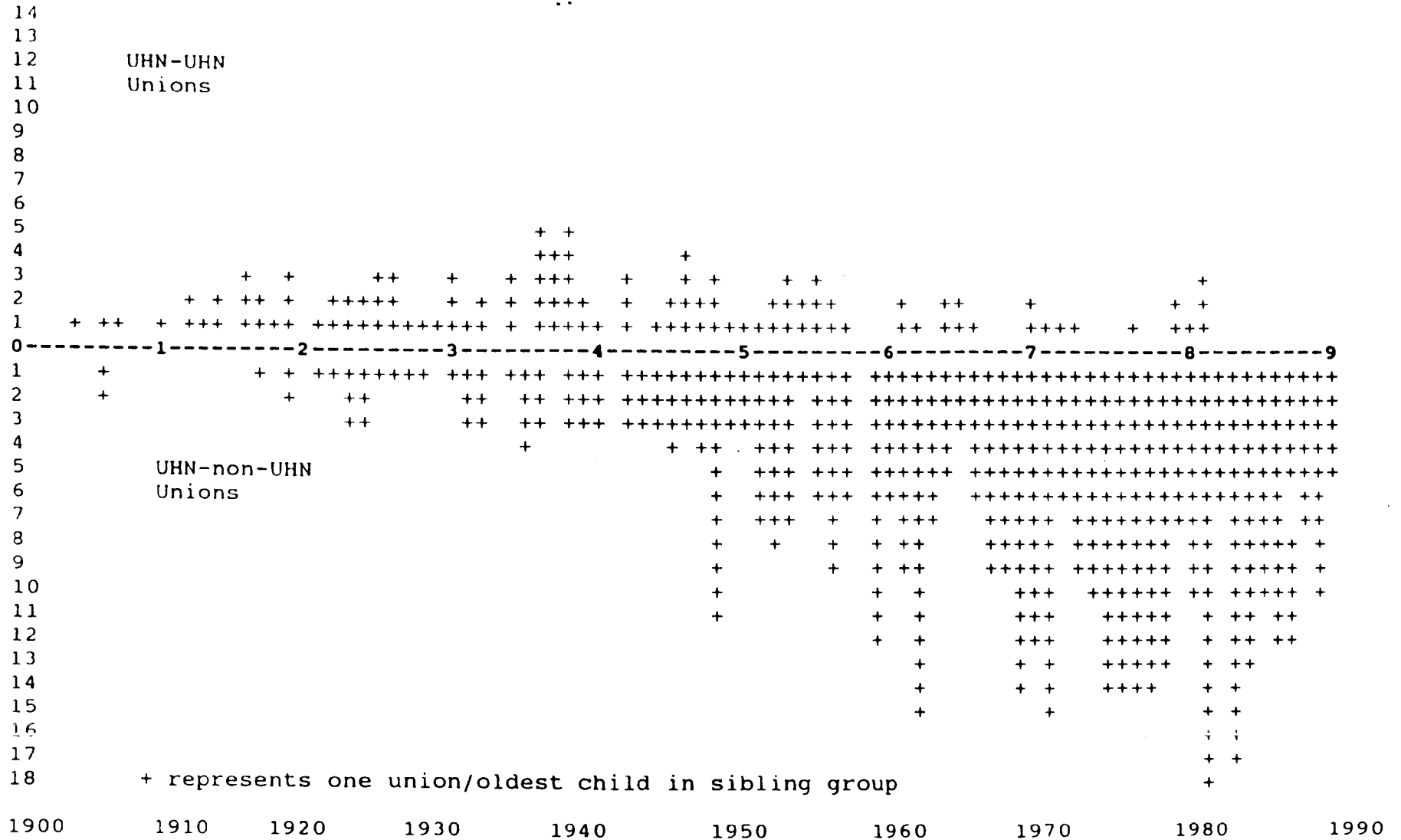


Chart 6: TRENDS IN OUT-MARRIAGE FOR PERSONS WITH DULAC ADDRESSES FOR THE YEARS 1900-1990

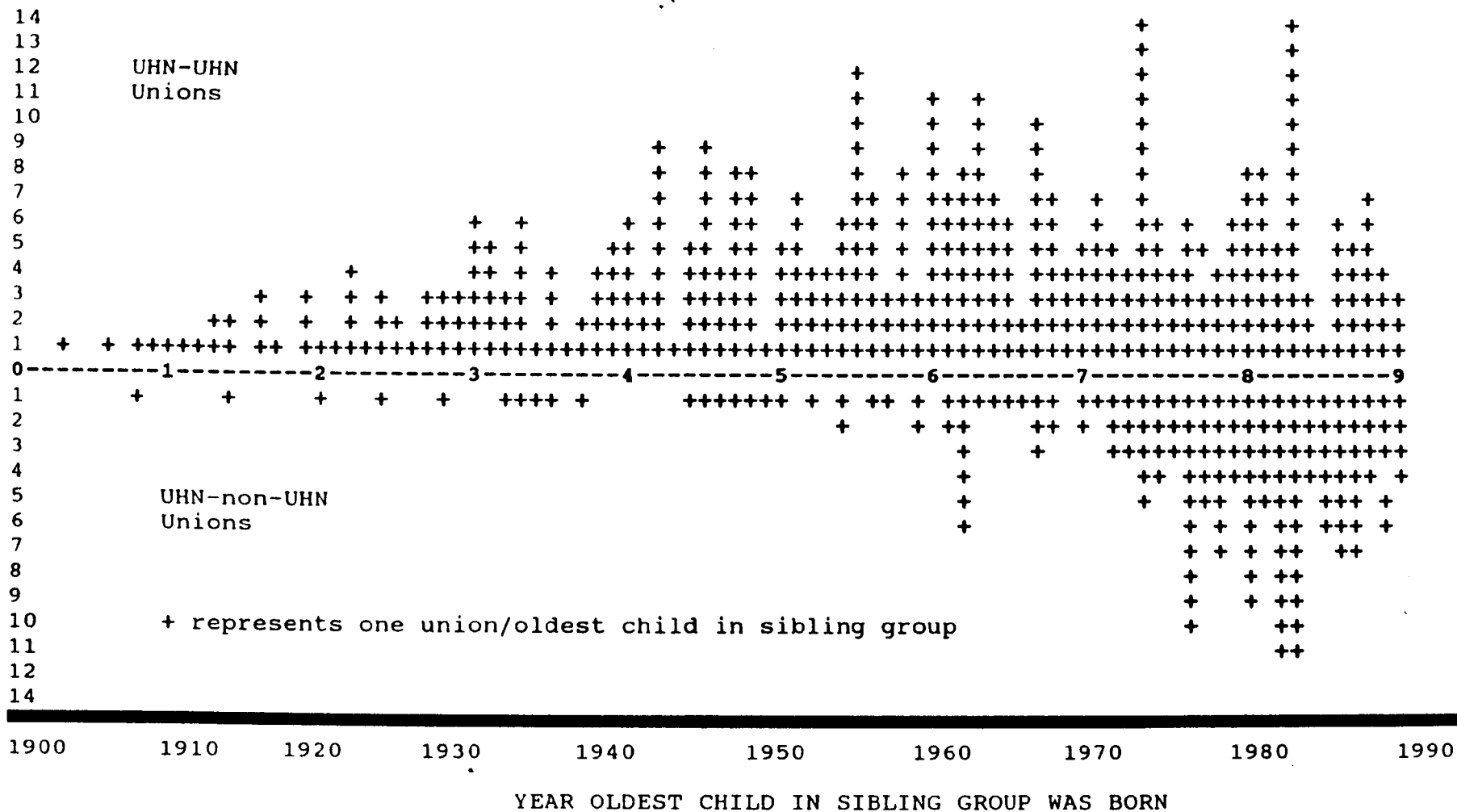
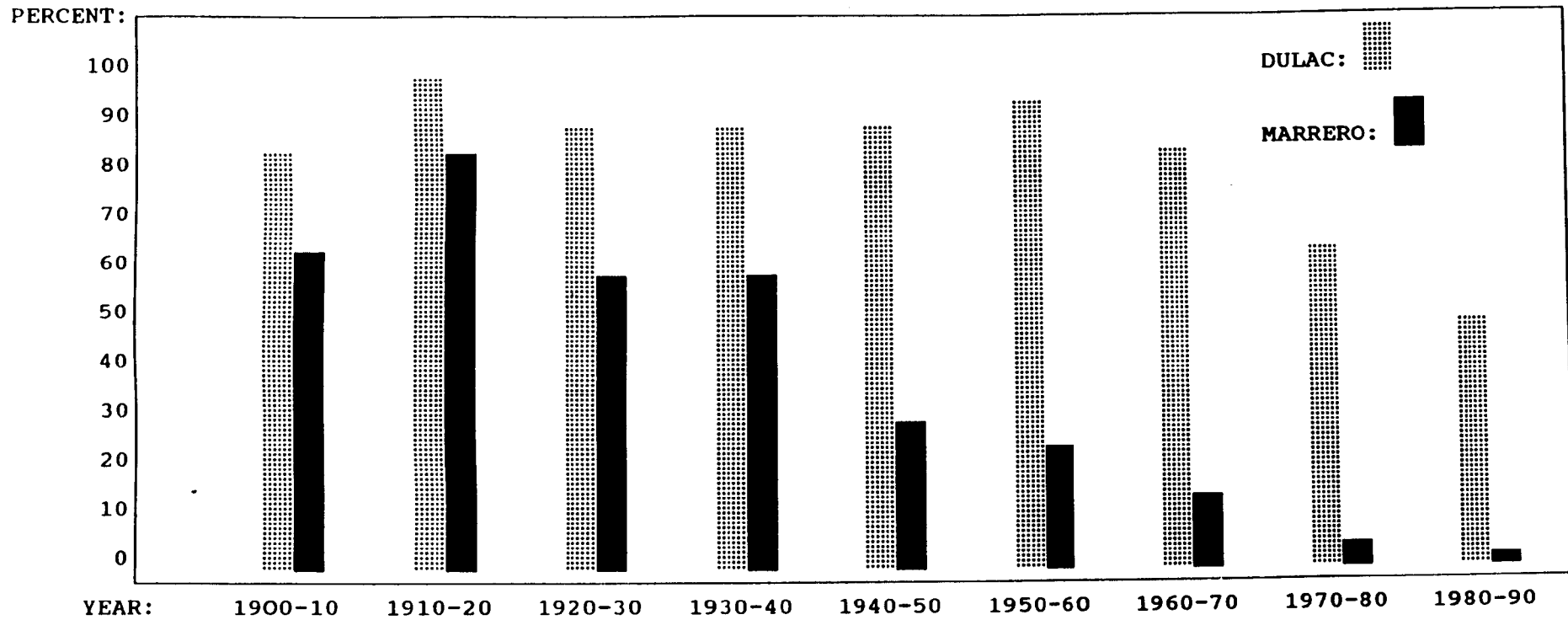


CHART 7: PERCENTAGE OF OLDEST IN SIBLING GROUPS WITH TWO UHN PARENTS
 (ONLY MEASURE AVAILABLE OF UHN-UHN MARRIAGES)
 TOTAL NUMBER OF UNIONS: 1,114 INDIVIDUALS*



553 Sibling Groups at Dulac
 561 Sibling Groups at Marrero

Chart 8
 OCCUPATIONS OF ANCESTORS (MALES OVER 16 YEARS OLD)
 BASED ON THE 1880 FEDERAL CENSUS

LOCATION	FARMERS*	FISHERMAN	LABORER	PLANTER	FARMS on SHARE	NONE
BAYOU SALLE & FOUR POINTS	2	1	16			1
SIXTH WARD TERREBONNE	7	17	1			
TENTH WARD TERREBONNE	7			1		1
TENTH WARD TERREBONNE	8		2		1	1
TENTH WARD LAFOURCHE						:

*In-laws to the UHN ancestors are shown farming at Bayou Salle & Four Points (1), Sixth Ward, Terrebonne Parish (1), and Tenth Ward, Lafourche Parish (1) and (1) farmed on shares.

**One man at Bayou Salle & Four Points was listed as a "huckster," or peddler.

BIBLIOGRAPHY -- UNITED HOUMA NATION, INC.

Acadiana Profile

- 1969 Pointe Coupee: Her Place in History. Acadiana Profile: A Magazine for Bi-lingual Louisiana 2:5.

Act of 1908

- 1982 Act of 1908 Enumeration of Ex-Confederate Soldiers and Widows of Deceased Soldiers Parish of Terrebonne 1911. Terrebonne Life Lines 1 (1):49-52.

Albrecht, Andrew C.

- 1945 The Origin and Early Settlement of Baton Rouge. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 28 (1):5-68.

Alvord, Clarence W., and Clarence E. Carter

- 1915 The Critical Period. Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library.

- 1916 The New Regime, 1765-1767. Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library.

American State Papers (ASP)

- 1832 Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1815. [Indian Affairs]. Walter Lowrie and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, eds. Volume IV. [U.S. Congress. Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 7.] Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.
- 1834a Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the First to the Second Session of the Tenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing March 3, 1789, and Ending March 3, 1809. Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin, eds. Volume I. [U.S. Congress. Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 37.] Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.
- 1834b Documents Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the First Congress to the First Session of the Twenty-Third Congress: March 4, 1789, to June 15, 1834. Walter Lowrie, ed. Volume II [June 12, 1809 to February 14, 1815]. [U.S. Congress.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 29.]
Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.

1834c Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, from the First Session of the Fourteenth to the First Session of the Eighteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing December 4, 1815, and Ending May 27, 1824. Walter Lowrie and Walter S. Franklin, eds. Volume III. [U.S. Congress, Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 30.] Washington, D.C., Gales and Seaton.

1859 Documents of the Congress of the United States, in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the Eighteenth to the Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing December 1, 1823, and Ending March 3, 1827. Asbury Dickens and James C. Allen, eds. Volume IV. Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.

1860a Documents of the Congress of the United States, in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the Twentieth to the Second Session of the Twentieth Congress, Inclusive: Commencing December 3, 1827, and Ending March 3, 1829. Volume V. Asbury Dickens and John W. Forney, eds. [U.S. Congress. Congressional Serial Set, Serial No. 32.] Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.

1860b Documents of the Congress of the United States, in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the Twenty-First to the First Session of the Twenty-Third Congress, Commencing December 1, 1828, and Ending April 11, 1834. Volume VI. Asbury Dickins and John W. Forney, eds. [U.S. Congress.] Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.

1860c Documents of the Congress of the United States, in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the Twenty-Third Congress to the Second Session of the Twenty-Third Congress, Commencing April 11, 1824, and Ending March 3, 1835. Volume VII. Asbury Dickins and John W. Forney, eds. [U.S. Congress. Congressional Serial Set, Serial No.34.] Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton.

Anville, Jean Baptiste

1732 Carte de la Louisiana. Louisiana Room of the Eugene Watson Library, Northwestern State

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

University of Louisiana, Natchitoches, La.

Archives Nationales

1698 Sections Outre-Mer, 27 in. Colonies DFC 9.
1698 - AN 10 Reels 3-7. In Historic New Orleans
Collection. New Orleans, LA.

Arena, C. Richard

1974 Land Settlement Policies and Practices in Spanish
Louisiana. In The Spanish in the Mississippi
Valley 1762-1804. John Francis McDermott, ed.
Pp. 51-60. Urbana, Chicago, and London:
University of Illinois Press.

Armstrong, Annabelle

1980 On the "Warpath" for her People. Baton Rouge
Morning Advocate. September.

Arthur, Stanley Clisby.

1971 Old Families of Louisiana. Baton Rouge:
Claitor's Publishing Division. reprint.

Ball, Millie

1980 Houma Heroine. Dixie, Sunday Magazine of Times-
Picayune. November 9.

Barry, Fred

1970 Houmas Seeking to Regain Former Lands, Houma Area,
Ascension Parish Claimed. New Orleans Times-
Picayune, April 17 3:6.

Beers, Henry Putney

1989 French and Spanish Records of Louisiana: A
Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript
Sources. Baton Rouge, LA and London: Louisiana
State University Press.

Behrman, Eileen Lorre, tr. and abstr.

1981 St. James Parish, Louisiana Colonial Records 1782-
1787. Cut and Shoot, TX: Clan MacBean Press.

1985 Ascension Parish, Louisiana Civil Records, 1770-
1804. Conroe, TX: privately printed.

Berger, Ronald

1985 Marriage Contracts and Civil Marriages in
Conveyance Books in Lafourche Parish at the
Thibodaux Courthouse. Terrebonne Life Lines, 4
(2):24-34.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Berlandier, Jean Louis
1969 The Indians of Texas in 1830. Washington, DC:
Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Berlin, Ira
1974 Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the
Antebellum South. New York: Random House (Vintage
Books).
- Bertram, William
1973 Travels through North and South Georgia, East and
West Florida. Facsimile of the 1792 London
Edition. Savannah, Ga.: The Beehive Press.
- Billiot, Alex
1979 Oral History #18. United Houma Nation Petition
Files.
- Billiot, Antoine
1973 Oral History #1, United Houma Nation Petition
Files. May 23.
- Billiot, Charles
1979 Oral History #10. United Houma Nation Petition
Files. January 5.
- Billiot, Charles and Emay
1973a Unnumbered Oral History. United Houma Nation
Petition Files. February 21.
- 1973b Unnumbered Oral History. United Houma Nation
Petition Files. August 21.
- Billiot, Charles and Amy [Emay]
1979 Oral History #45. United Houma Nation Petition
Files. November 13.
- Billiot, Cyril
n.d. Oral History #57. United Houma Nation Petition
Files.
- 1973 Oral History #3. United Houma Nation Petition
Files. July 26.
- Billiot, Ludovic
1979 Oral History #17. United Houma Nation Petition
Files. April 23.
- Billiot, Sylvest

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1978 Oral History #B1. United Houma Nation Petition Files. November 26.
- Bjork, David K.
1941 Documents Regarding Indian Affairs in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1771-1772. Mississippi Valley Historical Review 13 (3):398-410.
- Blanc, Louis de
1796 Louis de Blanc to Carondelet Yerxa, June 3. United Houma Nation Petition for Federal Acknowledgment, Appendix "T". "Descriptive List of Documents on the Spanish Period in Louisiana, Most Dealing with Indian Affairs." In Bancroft Library: University of California; State Land Office: Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
- Boudreaux, Roland J.
1992 Ward Six Legacy. Diocese of Houma-Thibodaux: Historical Research Center.
- Boudreaux, Wilma and Phoebe Chauvin Morrison, comps.
1989a Census 1 June 1900 Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. Houma, LA: Audrey D. Westerman.
1989b Index of Census 1 June 1900 Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. Houma, LA: Audrey D. Westerman.
- Bourgeois, H. L.
1938 Four Decades of Public Education in Terrebonne Parish. Masters thesis, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College.
- Bourgeois, Lillian C.
1987 Cabanocey The History, Customs, and Folklore of St. James Parish. Gretna, La: Pelican Publishing Company. [originally published, 1957].
- Bourquard, Shirley Chaisson
1980 Marriage Dispensations in the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, 1786-1803. Charles E. Nolan, intro. New Orleans: Polyanthos.
- Bowman, Greg and Janel Curry-Roper
1982 The Houma People of Louisiana. A Story of Indian Survival. Extract from the petition of the United Houma Nation for Federal Acknowledgment as an American Indian Tribe, as per 25 CFR 54. Akron,

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

PA: United Houma Nation and Mennonite Central
Committee.

Bradley, Jared W.

1971 W.C.C. Claiborne and Spain: Foreign Affairs under
Jefferson and Madison, 1801-1811, Part 1. 7
(4):297-314.

1972 W.C.C. Claiborne and Spain: Foreign Affairs under
Jefferson and Madison, 1801-1811, Part 2. 8 (1):5-
26.

Brasseaux, Carl A.

1987 The Founding of New Acadia: The Beginning of
Acadian Life in Louisiana, 1765-1803 Baton Rouge:
Louisiana State University.

1982 Book Review of Vidreine, Vidrine-Vedrine, 1600-
1750: Our Vedrines in France. Louisiana History
23(3):304-5.

Bridges, Katherine and Winston DeVille

1963 Natchitoches in 1766. Louisiana History 4:2.

Bureau of Indian Affairs

1920 Office of Tribal Enrollment. Chitimacha Annuity
Payroll Claim #332 295. November 18.

1926 Office of Tribal Enrollment. Chitimacha Annuity
Payroll Claim #374 514. Received October 18.

1940 Office of Tribal Enrollment. Census of
Mississippi Choctaw Reservation, Harvey K. Myer,
compiler. January 1.

1941 Office of Tribal Enrollment. Supplemental Birth
Roll No. 1 to Census of Mississippi Choctaw Roll.
January 1.

1959 Office of Tribal Enrollment. Chitimacha Tribal
Roll, Clarenton, LA. June.

1986 Branch of Acknowledgment Obvious Deficiency
letter, 12-12. (BAR OD ltr #1)

1987 Branch of Acknowledgment Obvious Deficiency
letter, 05-27. (BAR OD ltr #2).

1989 Branch of Acknowledgment Obvious Deficiency

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

letter, 02-17. (BAR OD ltr #3).

- Burson, Caroline Maude
1940 The Stewardship of Don Esteban Miro, 1782-1792.
New Orleans, LA: American Printing Company, Ltd.
- Bushnell, David I., Jr.
1917 Ethnology--The Chitimacha of Bayou La Fourche, Louisiana. Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences 7(May):301-307.
- Butler, Joseph T., Jr.
1970 The Atakapa Indians: Cannibals of Louisiana. Louisiana History 11 (2):167-176.
- Calder, Isabel M.
1935 Francois De Montigny, S. J., To the Comte De Pontchartrain, 1699. In Colonial Captivities Marshes and Journeys. New York: MacMillan Co. Reprinted: Kennikat Press, Inc. [Subsequently published in 1967]
- Calhoun, Robert Dabney
1934 The Taensa Indians. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 17 (3):411-435; 17 (4):665-679.
- Campbell, Marie McDowell Pilkington, comp.
1981 Nostalgic Notes on St. James Parish, Louisiana: Then and Now. Lee Etheridge Patrick, ed. Baton Rouge, LA: privately printed.
- Carter, Clarence Edwin, comp. and ed.
1940 The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. IX, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. [originally published in 1881]
- Carter, Doris D.
1984 Book Review of The People Called Cajuns. Louisiana History 25(3):329-30.
- Cathedral of St. Louis King of France, New Orleans.
1758 Book of Baptisms III (1753-1759): 95, Marie Verdun. St. Louis Cathedral Archives. Birth: April 24. [translation of French original from personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, Louisiana.]
- 1767 Book of Baptisms V (1763-1766): 159, Jean Baptiste Verdun. St. Louis Cathedral Archives. Birth:

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

January 4. [translation of French original from personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, Louisiana.]

1769 Book of Baptisms VI (1767-1771): 68, Jean Pierre Verdun. St. Louis Cathedral Archives. Birth: May 9. [translation of French original from personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, Louisiana.]

1771 Book of Baptisms VI (1767-1771): 122, Alexandre Verdun. St. Louis Cathedral Archives. Baptism: November 1. [translation of French original from personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, Louisiana.]

Catholic Church. Diocese of Baton Rouge.

1978 Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records.
Volume 1. Baton Rouge, LA: Diocese of Baton Rouge.

1980 Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records.
Volume 2 (1770-1803). Baton Rouge, LA: Diocese of Baton Rouge.

1982 Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records.
Volume 3 (1804-1819). Baton Rouge, LA: Diocese of Baton Rouge.

1983 Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records.
Volume 4 (1820-1829). Baton Rouge, LA: Diocese of Baton Rouge.

1984 Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records.
Volume 5 (1830-1839). Baton Rouge, LA: Diocese of Baton Rouge.

Catholic Church. Archdiocese of New Orleans.

1967 Libro Primero de Confirmaciones de esta Parroquia de San Luis de la Nueva Orleans: Contener Folios y de Principio al Folio 1, Consigne Hasta q Dios No Señor ea Servido Confirmacions.
Translation: First Book of Confirmations of this Parish of St. Louis of New Orleans, Containing Folios from the Beginning up to the Present. New Orleans, LA: The Genealogical Research Society of New Orleans.

Catholic Church. Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas.

1967 Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Records of

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803. Thomas T. McAvoy, project director; Lawrence J. Bradley, manuscripts preparator. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Archives.
- Catterall, Helen Tunnickliff.
1932: Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Vol. III. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution.
- Caughey, John Walton
1938: McGillivray of the Creeks. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Census Records.
1957: Census Records. ... 1810 Census of the Parish of Lafourche. Louisiana Genealogical Register 4 (1):4-5.
- Charlevoix, Pierre Francis de
1721: Historical Journal of Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, Letters Addressed to the Duchess of Ledioueres. In Historical Collection of Louisiana. B.F. French, ed. New York: Wiley and Putnam [Reprint 1851]
- Chepesiuk, Ron and Arnold Shankman, comps.
1982: American Indian Archival Material: A Guide to Holdings in the Southeast. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS)
1988: International Genealogical Index (IGI). Salt Lake City, UT: Genealogical Society of Utah.
- 1992: International Genealogical Index (IGI). Native American (on Microfiche). 2nd edition. Series IGI, No. 1. July.
- Cogswell, Jim H.
1978: Terrebonne Parish History and Conveyance Records. L'Heritage. St. Bernard Genealogical Society 1(1):46-50; 1 (4):277-281.
- Coker, William S. and Coker, Hazel P.
1982: The Siege of Mobile 1780 in Maps. Pensacola: The Perdido Bay Press.
- Coleman, William Head, comp.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1835 Historical Sketchbook and Guide to New Orleans.
New York: Will H. Coleman.
- Collins, Daniel
1972 The Racially Mixed People of the Ramapos: Undoing
the Jackson White Legends. American
Anthropologist 74(5):1276-1285.
- Comet
1980 Indian Program Grant Received. September, 93:
113.
- Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Records of the Bureau of
Indian Affairs. Record Group 75, Central Classified
Files, 1907-1939+. National Archives, Washington, DC.
- 1908 Inquiry Leading to Brandon Report. File No.
33956-1908-150. Parts 1 and 2.
- 1910 Hitt. File No. 90058-19-313.
- 1913 Choctaw. File No. 106747-13-211-Choctaw.
- 1921a Martin. File No. 62897-21-150.
- 1921b Hayden. File No. 97649-21-266.
- 1927a Indiana Limestone/Charles Billiot. File No. 4849-
27-260.
- 1927b Charles Billiot. File No. 43529-1927-114.
- 1930 Eldon Naquin. File No. 43603-1930-053.
- 1931 David Billiot. File No. 68726-1931-800. Part 2.
- 1931- Nash Report. File No. 25436-1931-150.
1933
- 1933 Correspondence. File No. 43488-1932-150. Gen.
Serv.
- 1934- Brandon Report. File No. 10179-43-042.
1942
- 1935 Correspondence. File No. 37717-1935-042.
- 1933 Underhill Report. File No. 68776-1931-800.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1938- Education. File No. 48363-1931-260.
1942
- 1939a Correspondence. File No. 2601-1939-800. Gen.
Serv.
- 1939b Choctaw Agency. File No. 8662-1939-723-Choctaw.
- 1942- Beatty Report. File No. 4834-42-800.
1943
- 1943- Correspondence. File No. 10179-1943-042. Gen Serv.
1943
- 1944 Education. File No. 24092-1944-803/old file
68776-31-800.
- Conrad, Glenn C.
1972 Saint-Jean-Baptiste des Allemands: Abstracts of
the Civil Records of St. John the Baptist parish,
with Genealogy and Index, 1753-1803. Lafayette,
LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana.
- 1974 St. Charles: Abstracts of the Civil Records of
St. Charles Parish, 1770-1803. Lafayette, LA:
University of Southwestern Louisiana.
- 1992 Land Records of the Attakapas District. Volume II,
Part I. Conveyance Records of Attakapas County,
1804-1818. Lafayette, LA: University of
Southwestern Louisiana.
- Corbin, Diane H., tr.
1981 Extracts from the Correspondence of Commandant
Judice at La Fourche, 1772-1798. Papeles
Procedentes de Cuba, Commandant's Correspondence.
Microfilm, Centre for Louisiana Studies,
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette,
LA.
- Courteaux, Jimmy and Albertine
1978 Oral History #6. United Houma Nation Petition
files.
- Coutts, Brian E.
1978 An Inventory of Sources in the Department of
Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State
University, for the History of Spanish Louisiana
and Spanish West Florida. Louisiana History 19

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

(2):213-243.

- Crawford, James M.
1975 Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- 1978 The Mobilian Trade Language. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Crete, Lillian
1978 Daily Life in Louisiana, 1815-1830. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Cruise, Boyd, comp.
1956 Index to the Louisiana Historical Quarterly. Intro. by Charles "Pie" Dufour. New Orleans, LA: The Plantation Book Shop.
- Cruzat, Heloise H., tr. and abstr.
1923 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana XIX. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 6(2):283-310.
- 1941a Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana LXXXVIII. January-March 1763. By G. Lugano, Revised by Walter Prichard. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24(3):781-837.
- 1941b Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana LXXXIX. April-May 1763. by G. Lugano, Revised by Walter Prichard. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24(4):1178-1221.
- Cunningham, Mary B. and Jeanne C. Blythe
1971 The Chauvins of the Illinois Country. The Louisiana Genealogical Register 18(2):153-165.
- Curry, Jan[el]
1979a A History of the Houma Indian and Their Story of Federal Nonrecognition. Edited by Megan Morgan. American Indian Journal 5(2):8-28.
- 1979b Culture Change and The Houma Indians: A Historical and Ecological Examination. Master's thesis, University of Minnesota.
- Curry-Roper, Janel M.
1982 Houma Blowguns and Baskets in the Mississippi River Delta. Journal of Cultural Geography. 2(2):13-22.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- D'Abbadie, M.
1763- Journal. In The Critical Period. Clarence Alvord
1764 and Clarence E. Carter, eds., Springfield:
Illinois State Historical Library.
- Dardar, Michael
1992 Letter to Holly Reckord. November 16. BAR files.
- Dart, William Kerman
1918 Early Episodes in Louisiana History. Louisiana
Historical Quarterly 1 (3):190-201.

1921 Louisiana Land Titles Derived from Indian Tribes.
Louisiana Historical Quarterly 4 (1):134-144.
- Davis, Edwin Adams, ed.
1968 The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana. Baton Rouge:
Louisiana Education Research Association.
- D'Antoni, Blaise C.
1986 Chahta - Ima and St. Tammany's Choctaws.
Privately published.
- DeBrahms, J. W. G.
1766 Map of Indian Nations in the Southern Department.
Original in the Clements Library, Indiana
University, Bloomington, IN.
- DeConde, Alexander
1976 This Affair of Louisiana. Baton Rouge and London:
Louisiana State University Press.
- DeCrenay, Baron
1753 Carte Departie de la Louisiane qui comprend le
cours do Mississpy depuis fort embouchure jusque
aux Arcanias () des inieres de la Mobile depuis
la Laye Jusque au Fort de Toulouse de pacagoula
et de la riviere aux Pedes le tont relave
parestime. Copy in the Louisiana State University
Archives, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Deiler, J. Hanno
1909 The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana
and the Creoles of German Descent. Philadelphia,
PA: America Germanica Press.
- De Kerlrec
1907 Rapport du Chevalier De Kerlrec. Compte Rendu du
Congress International des Americanistes, 15th

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

sess. Quebec: Dussault and Prouix. Vol. 1.

De la Claire, Fuselier

1773 Letter of May 31st. Commandant's Correspondence, Notes from the translation of the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, on microfilm in the Centre for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, LA.

De la Forte, Joseph

1749 Letter of the 31st. Works Progress Administration (WPA) translation, WPA Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1937-1938. New Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University.

Denece, Jn M Jh

1868 Letter to the Monsignor. Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans. New Orleans, LA.

Desdunes, Rodolphe Lucien.

1911 Our People and Our History. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. [1973]

Deseran, Forrest A., Robert Mullen and Gary Stokely

1979 An Assessment of Housing of Indian, White, and Black Residents in Two Rural Louisiana Communities. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College. Bulletin No. 719.

Deseran, Forrest A. and Gary M. Stokely

1976 Subjective Indicators of Rural Housing and Community: A Preliminary Appraisal. Unpublished Paper: Mid-South Sociological Association, Monroe, Louisiana.

Dethloff, Henry C. and Robert R. Jones

1968 Race Relations in Louisiana, 1877-98. Louisiana History 9.

DeVille, Winston

1961 Calendar of Louisiana Colonial Documents, Volume 1 Avoyelles Parish. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission.

1973a The New Orleans French 1720-1733. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc.

1973b Opelousas: The History of a French and Spanish

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Military Post in America, 1716-1803. Cottonport, LA: Polyanthos.
- 1985a Louisiana and Mississippi Lands: A Guide to Spanish Land Grants at the University of Michigan. Ville Platte, LA: Evangeline Genealogical and Historical Society.
- 1985b Rapides Post on Red River: Census and Military Documents for Central Louisiana, 1769 - 1800. Ville Platte, LA: n.p.
- 1987 The Territory of Orleans, 1803-1812: Genealogical Reference Lists from Clarence Edwin Carter's Territorial Papers of the United States Relating to the Present State of Louisiana. Ville Platte, LA: Privately printed.
- 1988 Slaves and Masters of Pointe Coupee, Louisiana: 1762-1823. Ville Platte, LA: Privately printed.
- 1992 African-American Militiamen of New Orleans: 1792. New Orleans Genesis 31 (122):256-259.
- Digest of the Laws.
- 1835 Digest of the Laws Relative to Slaves and Free People of Colour in the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, LA: Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society.
- Dion, Tom
- 1981 Oral History #56. United Houma Nation Petition Files.
- Directory of Archives.
- 1988 Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories in the United States. Phoenix AZ: The Ornyx Press.
- Dixie Roto Magazine
- 1970 The Houma Indians. January 4.
- Domirquez, Virginia R.
- 1977 Social Classification in Creole Louisiana. American Ethnologist 4:589-602.
- 1986 White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Downs, Ernest C.

- 1978a A Compilation of Documents Pertaining to Indian Legal Rights in Spanish Louisiana. A study prepared for the Office of Rights Protection, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.
- 1978b Descriptive List of Documents on the Spanish Period in Louisiana, Most Dealing with Indian Affairs, Found in the Bancroft Library, The State Land Office of Louisiana, and Other Sources. A study prepared for the Office of Rights Protection, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.
- 1978c Legal Cases on Indians of Louisiana, and Title to Indian Lands in Louisiana. A Study prepared for the Office of Rights Protection, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Downs, Ernest C. and Jenna Whitehead, eds.

- 1976 The Houma Indians: Two Decades in a History of Struggle. American Indian Journal 2(3):2-18.

Drake, Samuel G.

- 1841 The Book of the Indians Book I. Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore.

Drechsel, Emanuel

- 1978 The Mobilian Jargon. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Drechsel, Emmanuel J. and T. Haunani Makuakane-Dreschel
1982 An Ethnohistory of 19th Century Louisiana Indians. Report Prepared for the National Park Service. Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma.

- 1993 Letter to BAR historian, Virginia DeMarce. (BAR files)

Du Pratz, Lepage

- 1847 The History of Louisiana. New Orleans: O.S.W. Harmanson.

Duthu, Bruce

- 1976 Oral Histories. Dartmouth College Library. Hanover, N.H.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1978 Oral History #2. United Houma Nation Petition Files.
- Dyer, J. O., Dr.
1917 The Lake Charles Atakapas, 1817-1820. Galveston, Texas:.
- East, Charles
n.c. Houma Indians Got \$150 for Vast Ascension Tract.
- Edwards, Edwin
1977 Letter from the Governor to the Honorable James S. Abourezk, U. S. Senate. April 8.
- Ellis, Frederick S.
1981 St. Tammany Parish: L'Autre Cote du Lac. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company.
- Ethridge, Adele Nash
1940 Indians of Grant Parish. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 23(4):1107-1131.
- Everton, George B., Sr.
1982 The Handy Book for Genealogists. 7th edition. Logan, UT: Everton Publishers, Inc.
- Everett, Donald
1966 Free Persons of Color in Colonial Louisiana. Louisiana History 7 (1):21-50.
- Faribault-Beauregard, Marthe
1984 La Population des Forts Francais d'Amerique (XIIIe siecle). Tome 2, Fort de Chartres, Ste-Anne 1721-1765. Montreal: Editions Bergeron.
- Favrot, Pierre Joseph de
1793 Journal of Pedro [Pierre Joseph de] Favrot [Captain of Infantry] while making a trip with his family from New Orleans to Natchez. Favrot Papers, Special Collections, Tulane University.
- Ferstel, Vicki
1980 Houma Indian Descendant to Be Included in Council. Daily Iberian. March.
- Field Data
1978 Field visit to Leanis Joseph Soley at his home behind Houma Tribe, Inc. center of Golden Meadow, Louisiana.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1979 Field visit to Dora Santiny at her home in Lafitte, Louisiana, January 9.
- 1981a Field visit to Mary Less Billiot Wisnoski, Golden Meadow, Louisiana just prior to meeting.
- 1981b Field visit to Randolph Bazet, who had worked as Terrebonne Parish Clerk of Courts.
- 1991a UHN Headquarters, Golden Meadow, Louisiana. Genealogist interview with UHN staff (Dolores Dardar(DD), Helen Gindrat(HG), Mary Lou Townsley(MLT), Mary Cheramie(MC)).
- 1991b Field visit with Louis Molinaire, including photographs. December.
- 1992a UHN Headquarters, Golden Meadow, Louisiana. Genealogists interview with UHN staff (Laura Billiot(LB), Dolores Dardar(DD), Mary Lou Townsley(MLT), Mary Cheramie(MC)).
- 1992b Colliflower, Elizabeth and Lynn McMillion. BAR genealogists' field visit with Louis Molinaire. June 18.
- 1992c Reckord, Holly. BAR anthropologist's field notes.

Fischer, Ann

- 1968 History and Current Status of the Houma Indians. In The American Indian Today. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie, eds. Pp. 133-147. Deland, Fla.: Everett and Edwards, Inc. Revised ed.

Fitch, Wickliffe

- 1979 Oral History #25. United Houma Nation Petition. July 20.

Fontenot, Ruth Robertson

- 1974 Book Review of The Opelousas Post: A Compendium of Church Records Relating to the First Families of Southwest Louisiana, 1776-1806. Louisiana History 15(1):83-84.

Forbes, Jack D.

- 1983 Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo North America: Aspects of Black-Indian Relations. American Indian Quarterly 7(1):57-83.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Forsyth, Alice Daly, ed.

- 1977 Louisiana Marriages Volume I: A Collection of Marriage Records from the St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans During the Spanish Regime and the Early American Period 1784-1806. Intro. by Jack Belsom. New Orleans: Polyanthos.
- 1987a Frederic and Allied Families. New Orleans Genesis 26 (104):459-466.
- 1987b St. Bernard Marriages - St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana. New Orleans Genesis 26 (102):161-166.
- 1988 Miscellaneous Records [Flotte-Leveille separation agreement]. New Orleans Genesis 27 (106):170-172.
- 1989 Louisiana Marriage Contracts - Volume II: Abstracts from Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana 1728-1769. New Orleans, LA: Genealogical Research Society of New Orleans.

Forsyth, Alice E. and Earlene L. Zeringue

- 1969 German "Pest Ships", 1720-1721. New Orleans: The Genealogical Research Society of New Orleans.

Fortier, Alcee

- 1914 Louisiana; Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form. Madison, WI: Century Historical Association.

Frazer, Tom

- 1980 Brogans, Lafitte Girl's First Pair of Shoes Used for "Dancing the Shrimp". New Orleans Times-Picayune. October 19.

Freeman, John F.

- 1966 A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to the American Indian in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society.

French, B. F., ed.

- 1865 Historical Collections of Louisiana. 5 Vols. New York: Albert Mason.

Gallatin, Albert

- 1973 A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- British and Russian Possessions in North America.
New York: AMS Press. [originally published in
1836].
- Galloway, Patricia
1981 Louisiana Post Letters: The Missing Evidence for
Indian Diplomacy. Louisiana History 22(1):31-44.
- 1985 Choctaw Factionalism and Civil War, 1746-1750. In
The Choctaw before Removal. Carolyn Keller
Reeves, ed. Pp. 120-156. Jackson, MS:
University Press of Mississippi.
- Garrett, Julia Kathryn.
1942- Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier,
1946 1803-1814. The Southwestern Historical Quarterly.
Vols. 45-49. Correspondence reprinted.
- Gatschet, Samuel Albert
1885 Atakapa Language, notebook gathered by Samuel A.
Gatschet at Lake Charles, Louisiana, in 1885
(Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological
Archives #239-a-b, BAE Records).
- 1969 A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, with a
Linguistic, Historic and Ethnographic
Introduction. In Brinton's Library of Aboriginal
American Literature Vols. 1,4. Philadelphia: D.
G. Brinton.
- Gayarre, Charles
1974 History of Louisiana. 5th ed. 4 vols. Gretna,
LA: Pelican Publishing Co.
- Gianelloni, Elizabeth Becker, comp.
[1965] Calendar of Louisiana Colonial Documents: Volume
III, St. Charles Parish. Part One: The
D'Arensbourg Records, 1734-1769. [Baton Rouge,
LA]: Louisiana State Archives and Records
Commission.
- 1971 Genealogical Data from Records of the Diocese of
Louisiana and the Floridas. Louisiana
Genealogical Register 18 (4):302-308.
- 1972 Genealogical Data from Records of the Diocese of
Louisiana and the Floridas. Louisiana
Genealogical Register 19 (1):2-18.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Gilbert, William Harlen Jr.
1946 Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States. Social Forces 24 (May):438-447.
- Giraud, Marcel
1974 A History of French Louisiana: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698-1715. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Gregory, H.R. "Pete"
1985 "A Promise from the Sun:" The Folklife Traditions of Louisiana Indians. In Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State. Nicholas R. Spitzer, ed. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana Folklife Program, Office of Cultural Development, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism.
- Guest, Milbry
1939 Exalting His Name among the Indians of Bayou du Large. Home Missions Board. Southern Baptist Convention, Annual.
- Guidry, Sherwin
1977 Land of the Houmas. Houma, LA: Daily Courier Publishing Co.

1980 Xplorin' Terrebonne. Houma Courier and Terrebonne Press. September 3.

Le Terrebonne Focuses on Churches, Houma Indians, Chapter II, Churches of Le Terrebonne Story of Hard Work.
- Haas, Mary R.
1949 The Position of Apalachee in the Muskogean Family. International Journal of American Linguistics 15(2): 121-127.

1968 The Last Words of Biloxi. International Journal of American Linguistics 34(2):77-81.

1975 What is Mobilian? In Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages. James M. Crawford, ed. Pp. 257-261. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press.
- Halliburton, Arthur
1942 Isolated Indian Farmers Pledge "Victory Crops",

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

French-Speaking Families to Get U.S. Money, Raise Food for Allies. New Orleans Times-Picayune. April 17:3.

- Hambrick, Keith S.
1982 Book Review of The Vigilante Committees of the Attakapas: An Eyewitness Account of Banditry and Backlash in Southwestern Louisiana. Louisiana History 23 (2):212-13.
- Hamer, Collin, Jr.
1972 Library Additions, New Orleans Public Library [A listing of the names, dates, and microfilm roll numbers of the New Orleans Notarial Archives]. New Orleans Genesis 11 (44): 406-409.
- Hamilton, Peter J.
1976 Colonial Mobile. Charles G. Summersell, ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Hanger, Kimberly S.
1989 Household and Community Structure Among the Free Population of Spanish New Orleans, 1778. Louisiana History 30(1):63-79.
- Hargroder, Charles M.
1980 Treen's Indian Pick "Just Isn't Qualified". in unnamed newspaper, December 25.
- Harrell, John K.
1992 The Lermuseaux, Cantrelle and Picou Families. New Orleans Genesis 31 (124):415-422.
- Harrington, M. Raymond
1908 Among Louisiana Indians. The Southern Workman 37 (12):656-661.
- Harris, T. H.
1963 The Memoirs of T. H. Harris, (State Superintendent of Public Education in Louisiana, 1908-1940). Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.
- Harper, Henry
1949 Louisiana Methodism. Washington, DC: Kaufman Press. Inc.
- Harsen, Clem G.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

1929 The Vengeance of the Natchez. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 12.

Hart, Royal, comp.

1954 List of the Rolls of Annuity Payments Made to Indians. Compiled from RG 75. Washington, DC: National Archives.

Hebert, Donald J. ed.

1942 South Louisiana Records: Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 1. Baton Rouge, LA: Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.

1974a Southwest Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Settlers 1756-1810. Eunice, LA: privately printed.

1974b Southwest Louisiana Records. Volume II. Church and Civil Records 1811-1830. Eunice, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.

1975 A Guide to Church Records in Louisiana. Eunice, LA: privately printed.

1976a Southwest Louisiana Records. Volume III. Church and Civil Records 1831-1840. Eunice, LA: [Rev. Donald J. Hebert.]

1976b Southwest Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records Volume V (1848-1855). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.

1977 Southwest Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records Volume VII (1861-1865). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.

1978a South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 1 (1794-1840). Cecilia, LA: privately printed.

1978b South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 2 (1841-1850). Cecilia, LA: privately printed.

1979a South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 3 (1851-1860). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1979b South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 4 (1861-1870). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1981a South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 5 (1871-1875). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1981b South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 6 (1876-1880). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1981c South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 7 (1881-1885). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1982a South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 8 (1886-1890). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1982b South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 9 (1891-1895). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1982c South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 10 (1896-1899). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1983 South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 11 (1900-1902). Special Section (1903). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.
- 1984 Index of New Orleans Confirmations 1789-1841. Baton Rouge, LA: Claitor's Publishing Division.
- 1985 South Louisiana Records. Church and Civil Records of Lafourche - Terrebonne Parishes. Vol. 12 - Supplement. Mixed Records (1904-1920). Corrections and Additions (1795-1903). Cecilia, LA: Rev. Donald J. Hebert.

Hendrix, Ge Lee Corley
1990 Backtracking through Burned Counties: Bonds of Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas. National Genealogical Quarterly 78(2):98-114.

Henry, Sandy, Billie Robertson and Pat Blanchard

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1982 Dugas Cemetery. Terrebonne Life Lines 1 (2):4-11.
- Higginbotham, Jay.
1967 The Pascagoula Indians. Mobile, AL: Colonial Books.
- Hill, Roscoe R.
1916 Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- Hinckley, Kathleen W.
1991 Marks and Brands as a Genealogical Source. National Genealogical Quarterly 79 (4):253-267.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed.
1907 Huma. In Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Holley, Donald
1970 Old and New Worlds in the New Deal Resettlement Program; Two Louisiana Projects. Louisiana History 11.
- Holmes, Jack D. L.
1970 The Abortive Slave Revolt at Pointe Coupee, Louisiana, 1795. Louisiana History 11(4): 341-362.
- 1983 The Value of the Arpent in Spanish Louisiana and West Florida. Louisiana History 25(3): 314-320.
- Horvath, Dorothea
1985 1850 Census of Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. with Annotations. Houma, LA: Terrebonne Genealogical Society.
- Houma Daily Courier
1974 Dulac Indians Splinter for State Tribal Group. Houma Daily Courier. April 25.
- 1979 Houma Indians Unite in Merger Ceremony. Houma Daily Courier. May 13.
- Hutchins, Thomas

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1968 An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press. [originally published in 1784].
- Hunt, Alfred
1988 Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Huttenhower, Bobbie
1982 Disgruntled Indians Seek Financial Help from Tribe. Houma Daily Courier. February 15.
- Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940
1973 Pamphlet Describing M595. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service.
- Ingersoll, Thomas N.
1991 Free Blacks In A Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718-1812. The William and Mary Quarterly 48(2):173-200.
- Jackson, Ronald Vern, ed.
1976 Louisiana 1810 Census Index. [North Salt Lake, UT]: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Inc.
- Jackson, Ronald Vern, and Gary Ronald Teeples, eds.
1978 Louisiana 1840 Census Index. Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Inc.
- Jackson, Ronald Vern, Gary Ronald Teeples, and David Schaefermeyer, eds.
1981 Louisiana 1820 Census Index. Bountiful, UT: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Inc.
- Jacobson, Daniel
1960 The Origin of the Koasati Community of Louisiana. Ethnohistory 7 (2):97-120.
- James, Thelma Cocgnard
1969 Index to the Black Boxes. New Orleans Genesis. 7 (30):172.
- Jenkins, Mary Lou
1957 Indian Work. In Around the World in Louisiana. Bible Institute Memorial Press (Old New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary Press).

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Jenkins, Mary Lou, and Hannah E. Reynolds
1950 God's Dividends in Louisiana. Louisiana Baptist Convention.
- Johnson, Bobby H.
1976 The Coushatta People. Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series.
- Judice, Louis
1775 Letter to Unzaga. In Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, 189B:284-285. Microfilm at University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette, LA.
- Kane, Harnett T.
1943 The Bayous of Louisiana. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Kearns, Roxanne
1979 Merger of Houmas Means Progress. The Daily Comet, April 13.
- Kent, Joan
1980 On the Craftsmen's Trail. States Item April 23 C: 1-3.
- Kernson, George C. H.
1929 The Chavalier de Pradel. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 12:238-254.
- Kimball, Geoffrey D. et al.
1991 Koasati Grammar. Studies in the Anthropology of North American Indians. Published in cooperation with the American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kinnaird, Lawrence, ed.
1946 Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794: Translations of Materials from the Spanish Archives in the Bancroft Library. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1945. Vol. IV. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- 1949 Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794. Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1945. Vol. II. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- 1979 Spanish Treaties with Indian Tribes. The Western

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Historical Quarterly 10(1):39-48.

Kinnaird, Lawrence and Lucia B. Kinnaird.

1983 The Red River Valley in 1796. Louisiana History
24 (2):184-195.

Kniffen, Fred B.

1915 Historical Indian Tribes of Louisiana. Louisiana
Conservation Review 4 (7):5-12.

1973 Book Review of The Bayou Chene Story: A History of
the Atchafalaya Basin and its People. Louisiana
History 14 (4):406.

Kniffen, Fred B., Hiram R. Gregory, George A. Stokes

1987 The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana from 1542
to the Present. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State
University Press.

Lafourche Gazette, The

1979 Houma Indians Receive Federal Funds. May 9.

Lafourche Parish, Louisiana.

(Copies of the following Lafourche Parish records were
obtained from the Lafourche Parish Courthouse at
Thibodaux, Louisiana.)

1809 1809 Probate Records. Inventory/sale of estate of
Jean Baptiste Billau, deceased. September 2.

1811 Marriage Records, Book 1808-1829, Document 3.
Marriage of Joseph Billaux to Jeanet, an Indian
woman. January 12.

1813 Original Acts, 1813-1817, pp. 78-80 (3 typescript
pp). Mariane Iris FWOOC to Jean Baptiste Verdun.
October 12. [Also of record in Terrebonne Parish,
Conveyance Book T-485, Entry #16, p. 2985.]

1808- Records of Conveyances, Civil Suits, and Tax
1900 Rolls. Courthouse Records. Thibodaux, LA.

1942 Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana.
Prepared by the Louisiana Historical Records
Survey Service Division Works Projects
Administration. Baton Rouge, Louisiana,
Department of Archives, Louisiana State
University.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- La Harpe, Jean-Baptiste Bernard de
1831 Journal Historique de l'establissement des Francais a la Louisiane, Nouvell-Orleans. Translated by Joan Cain and Virginia Koenig. Lafayette, LA: University of Southwest Louisiana Press. [1971]
- Laussat, Pierre Clement de
1973 Memoirs of My Life to My Son During the Years 1803 and After, Which I Spent in Public Service in Louisiana as Commissioner of the French Government for the Retrocession to France of that Colony and for the Transfer to the United States. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Ledet, Hal
1981 Esquine Remains Mystery. Baton Rouge Advocate. February 2.
- Ledet, Laise Marie
1982 They Came They Stayed. Origins of Pointe-aux-Chenes and Ile a Jean Charles. A genealogical study, 1575-1982.
- Le Gac, Charles
1718- Memoirs of Charles LeGac, Director of the Company of the Indies. Trans. Olivia Blanchard. In Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1937-1938. New Hill Memorial Library, Louisiana State University.
- Le Maire, Paul
1714 Memoir, to be Presented to the Sovereign Council of the Marine, by Francois le Maire, Apostolic Missionary of the Mission et Seminaire des Missions Etrangeres et Paris. WPA Survey of Federal Archives, 1937-1938.
- Lepre, Jerome
1980 The Indian Connection Among Gulf Coast Families. Journal of Mississippi History 42 (4):362-376.
- 1989a Origin of Marianne St. Martin Paquet Ladner. New Orleans Genesis 28 (112):459-468.
- 1989c Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 28 (111):375-381.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1990a Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 29 (113): 15-47.
- 1990b Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 29 (114): 145-175.
- 1990c Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 29 (115): 275-300.
- 1990d Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 29 (116): 402-432.
- 1991a Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 30 (117): 7-45.
- 1991b Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 30 (118):147-192.
- 1991c Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Jean Baptiste Garic.] New Orleans Genesis 30 (119):285-332.
- 1991d Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Pedro Pedesclaux.] New Orleans Genesis 30 (120):417-451.
- 1992a Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Pedro Pedesclaux.] New Orleans Genesis 31 (121):50-96.
- 1992b Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Pedro Pedesclaux.] New Orleans Genesis 31 (122):144-180.
- 1992c Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Pedro Pedesclaux.] New Orleans Genesis 31 (123):346-370.
- 1992d Colonial Records of Louisiana. [Index to the notarial records of Pedro Pedesclaux.] New Orleans Genesis 31 (124):482-502.

L'Isle, Guillaume de

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1702 Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississippi.
Middleton Library, Louisiana State University.
Baton Rouge, LA.
- Littlejohn, Mary Beth and Wilhelmina Hooper
1933 Among the Indians of Louisiana. Methodist Women
Board of Mission.
- Louisiana Baptist Convention.
1937 Annual Report of Woman's Missionary Union
Auxillary to Louisiana Baptist Convention.
Executive Board Report.
- Louisiana District Court
1810 Adelle v. Beauregard. 1 mart. (O.S.) 183.
- 1956 Joseph Billiot v. Louisiana State Board of Health.
No. 340,209.
- Louisiana State Legislature
1977 House Resolution No. 97, Passed June 28.
- 1979 The Elderly Indians of Louisiana and Their Needs.
Baton Rouge.
- Louisiana Genealogical Register
1957 1810 Census Records, Parish of Lafourche. 4 (1):4.
- Louisiana State Land Office
1858 Act No. 136.
- 1883 Decision of Louisiana Supreme Court: Grandjean v.
James G. Richardson.
- Louisiana Supreme Court
1840 914 LA 542. Robinett, et al v. Verdin's Vendees.
- 1917 143 LA 623. Billiot v. Board of Education.
- Lovell, Marie Billiot
1979 Oral History #14. United Houma Nation Petition
Files.
- Lugano, G.
1923 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana XIX.
Louisiana Historical Quarterly 6 (2):283-310.
- 1941 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- LXXXVI. July-September, 1762. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24 (1):211-257.
- 1941 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana LXXXVIII. January - March, 1763. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24 (3):781-837.
- 1941 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana LXXXIX. April - May, 1763. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 24 (4):1178-1231.
- 1942 Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana XC. June, 1763. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 25 (1):228-259.
- Lyon, E. Wilson.
1914 Louisiana in French Diplomacy 1759-1804. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. [1974]
- Maduell, Charles R., Jr.
1969 Marriage Contracts, Wills and Testaments of the Spanish Colonial Period in New Orleans, 1770-1804. New Orleans, LA: privately printed.
- 1972 The Census Tables of the French Colony of Louisiana, 1699-1732. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.
- 1975 Federal Land Grants in the Territory of Orleans: The Delta Parishes. New Orleans: Polyanthos.
- 1977 New Orleans Marriage Contracts, 1804-1820. New Orleans, LA: Polyanthos.
- 1980 Marriages and Family Relationships of New Orleans, 1830-1840. N.P.: privately printed.
- 1984 Marriages and Family Relationships of New Orleans, 1820-1830. N.P.: privately printed.
- Marchand, Sidney
1931 The Story of Ascension Parish, Louisiana. Baton Rouge, LA: J.E. Ortlieb.
- Martin, Kenneth
1984 Early Settlers of Lafourche and Terrebonne Parish. Terrebonne Life Lines 3 (3):1-7.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Margry, Pierre, ed.
1877- De'couvertes et Etablissements des Francais
1886 dans l'Quest et dans le sud de l'Amerique
septentrionale, 1614-1754. Memoirs et documentes
originaux. 6 vols. Paris: D. Jouaust.
- Martinez, P.H.B.
1991 Letters to staff genealogist with attachments.
July 15 and July 28. (BAR files).
- McAvoy, Thomas T., dir, and Lawrence J. Bradley, prep.
1967 Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Records of
Louisiana and the Floridas, 1576-1803. Notre
Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Archives
Publication.
- McCarley, Marion
n.d. Index of Names Part I. Superior Council Records of
French Louisiana 1717 - 1763 (As abstracted in
Vols I to XXVI, Louisiana Historical Quarterly
(1917 - 1943). N.P.: typescript.
- McDermott, John Francis, ed.
1974 The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804.
Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- McKee, Jesse O. and Jon A. Schlenker
1980 The Choctaws: Cultural Evolution of a Native
American Tribe. Jackson, MS: University Press of
Mississippi.
- McMullin, Phillip W.
1972 Grassroots of America. Salt Lake City, UT: Gendex
Corp.
- McWilliams, Richebourg F.
1953 Fleur de lys and Calumet. Baton Rouge: Louisiana
State University Press. [1988]
- Menge, Margaret
1978 Plaquemines Parish Index to Notarial Acts, 1792-
1810. L'Heritage 1 (2):122-125.
- Miller, Miriam R.
1992 Memorandum to Lynn McMillion, re Marie Gregoire,
femme sauvage. August 28. BAR files.
- Miller, Spiller.
1976 The Houma Indians Since 1940. American Indian

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Journal 2 (4):16-17.

- Millet, Donald J.
1970 Some Aspects of Agricultural Retardation in Southwest Louisiana, 1865-1900. Louisiana History 11 (1):37-61.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown
1977 Natchitoches, 1729-1803. Vol. II. New Orleans: Polyanthos.
1978 How to Understand the Ethnic Terminology in Old Louisiana. The Genealogical Helper 32 (5):13-14.
1985 Spanish Records: Locating Anglo and Latin Ancestry in the Colonial Southeast. National Genealogical Quarterly 73 (4): 243-259.
- Mills, Elizabeth Shown and Gary B. Mills
1982 Slaves and Masters: The Louisiana Metoyers. National Genealogical Quarterly 70 (3):163-189.
1987 Letter to Mrs. Diana Williamson, Governor's Commission of Indian Affairs. December 5. BAR files.
- Mills, Gary B.
1974 The Chauvin Brother: Early Colonists of Louisiana. Louisiana History 15 (1):117-131.
1977 The Forgotten People. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
1981 Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum "Anglo" Alabama: A Reexamination of Southern Race Relations. Journal of American History 69 (1):16-34.
1990 Tracing Free People of Color in the Antebellum South: Methods, Sources, and Perspectives. National Genealogical Society Quarterly 78 (4):262-278.
- Milner, Anita Cheek
1977 Newspaper Indexes: A Location and Subject Guide for Researchers. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Molinere, Lindsay
1978 Oral History #5. United Houma Nation Petition Files.
- Montigny, Francois de
1935 Francois de Montigny, S. J. To The Comte de Pontchartrain, 1699. In Colonial Captivities, Marches, and Journeys. Pp. 201-216. New York: Macmillan Co. Reprinted: Kennikat Press Inc. [1978]
- Mooney, James
1894 The Siouan Tribes of the East. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 22. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Moore, John Preston
1976 Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation, 1766-1770. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Morrison, Phoebe Chauvin, ed.
1984 Pioneers. Houma, LA: The Terrebonne Genealogical Society.
- Morrison, Samuel Eliot
1972 The Oxford History of the American People, Volume One, Prehistory to 1789. New York: New American Library.
- Murdock, George P.
1960 Ethnographic Bibliography of North America. New Haven, CT: Human Relations Area Files.
- National Archives Cartographic Branch
1900 Record Group 29. 1900 Census maps. Terrebonne Parish Enumeration District.

1920 Record Group 29. 1920 Census maps. Terrebonne Parish Enumeration District.
- National Archives Microfilm Publications.
1987 Bound Records of the General Land Office Relating to Private Land Claims in Louisiana 1767-1892. In Cooperation with The Historic New Orleans Collection. Pamphlet Describing Series M-1382. Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, National Archives and Records Administration.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

National Archives Publications

- 1974 Guide to the National Archives of the United States. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Service.
- 1983 Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives. Washington, DC: National Archives Trust Fund.

National Genealogical Society

- 1976 Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications in the National Archives. Special Publication No. 40. Washington, DC: National Genealogical Society.

National Register of Historic Places

- 1980 Nomination form for "Houma House." n.p.

Neff, Bertha Perreand [Mrs. Amos] and E. Russ Williams, Jr.

- 1969 Records of St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana: Index to the Marriages 1812--1900. Volume One. n.p.

New Encyclopaedia Britannica, The

- 1975 Volume 11. Chicago: Helen Hemingway Benton.

New Iberia

- 1981 Houma Tribe See Members for Meeting. May 18:11.

New Orleans Times Picayune

- 1933 Warm Days in Marsh Recall Taso-Making of Indians. April 17.
- 1939 Awaits Happy Hunting Ground Call. January 29.

Nickell, Patti

- 1982 The Houma Indians, A Struggle for Dignity. The East Jefferson General Hospital Examiner Jan/Feb.

Nolan, Charles E.

- 1975 A Southern Catholic Heritage, Vol. 1. Colonial Period, 1704-1813. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.

O'Callaghan, Mary A.

- 1945 An Indian Removal Policy in Spanish Louisiana. In Greater American: Essays in Honor of Herbert Bolton. Pp. 281-294. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Observer, The

- 1818 Newspaper clipping from London. September 27.
Article on emigration.

Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (PPC)

- 1981 Notes from the translation by Diane H. Corbin,
under contract for the National Park Service, on
microfilm at the University of Southwestern
Louisiana, Lafayette, LA. [originally published
1772-1794].

Parenton, Vernon J. and Roland J. Pellegrin

- 1951 The "Sabines": A Study of Racial Hybrids in a
Louisiana Coastal Parish. Social Forces 29:148-
154.

Parks, Jessica

- 1974 Social Classification of Race: The Case of the
Houma of Louisiana. Master's thesis, Department
of Anthropology, Newcomb College, Tulane
University, New Orleans, LA.

Pintado Papers

- 1939 Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1939.
Louisiana State Land Office, Baton Rouge, LA.
Vols. 21, 24.

Poe, Edgar

- 1977 Louisiana's Forgotten Indians. New Orleans Times-
Picayune May 1.

Porteous, Laura L., ed.

- 1923- Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana.
1941 Installments I-LXIII. The Louisiana Historical
Quarterly, Volumes 6-24.

Poret, Ory G.

- 1972 History of Land Titles in the State of Louisiana.
Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana Department of Natural
Resources.

Prichard, Walter, Fred B. Kniffen and Clair A. Brown, eds.

- 1945 Southern Louisiana and Southern Alabama in 1819;
The Journal of James Leander Cathcart. Louisiana
Historical Quarterly 28 (3): 735-921.

Provost Marshall General

- 1919 Second Report of the Provost Marshall General to
the Secretary of War on the Operations of the

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Selective System to December 20, 1918. Washington,
DC: Government Printing Office.

- Puncky, Claire
1962 Bravery of Houma Indians Hailed by Early
Explorers. New Orleans Times-Picayune July 29.
- Purser, Joyce.
1964 The Administration of Indian Affairs in Louisiana,
1803-1820. Louisiana History 5 (4):401-419.
- Ramsey, Carolyn
1957 Cajuns on the Bayous. New York: Hastings House.
- Rand, Earl
1963 The Structural Phonology of Alabaman, a Muskogean
Language. International Journal of American
Linguistics 34(2):94-103.
- Rea, Robert R.
1970 Redcoats and Redskins on the Lower Mississippi,
1763-1776: The Career of Lt. John Thomas.
Louisiana History 11(1):5-36.
- Read, William Alexander
1927 Louisiana Place-Names of Indian Origin.
University Bulletin, Vol. XIX n.s., no. 2. Baton
Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University and
Agriculture and Mechanical College.
- Reeves, Carolyn Keller, ed.
1985 The Choctaw before Removal. Jackson, MS:
University Press of Mississippi.
- Register, James
1969 Fort Rosalie: The French at Old Natchez (1682-
1762). Shreveport, LA: Mid-South Press.
- Roane, Arthur, Jr.
1981a Houma Indians Bid for U.S. Nod. New Orleans
Times-Picayune June 18.

1981b State's Houma Indians Bid for U.S. Recognition.
New Orleans Times-Picayune Jun/Jul.
- Robichaux, Albert J.
n.d. The Acadian Exiles in Chatellerault, 1773-1785.
Hebert Publications.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1973 Louisiana Census and Militia Lists 1770-1789.
Vol. 1. German Coast, New Orleans, Below New Orleans and Lafourche. Harvey, LA: privately printed.
- 1974 Colonial Settlers Along Bayou Lafourche.
Louisiana Census Records, 1770-1798. Vol. II. Harvey, LA: privately printed.
- 1978 The Acadian Exiles in Nantes, 1775-1785. n.p.
- Ross, L.
1775 Course of the River Mississippi from Balise to Fort Chartres; Taken in the Latter End of the Year 1765. Map Library, Museum of Geoscience, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Rountree, Helen C.
1987 The Termination and Dispersal of the Nottoway Indians of Virginia. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (2):193-209.
- Rowland, Dunbar, ed.
1917 Official Letterbooks of W.C.C. Claiborne, 1801-1816. 6 vols. Jackson, MS: State Department of Archives and History.
- Rowland, Dunbar and Albert Godfrey Sanders, trans. and eds.
1932 Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1704-1743. Vol. 3. Jackson, MS: Press of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
- Roy, Edison P.
1959 The Indians of Dulac: A Descriptive Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. Masters thesis, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge, LA.
- Roy, Ewell P. and Don Leary
1977 Economic Survey of American Indians in Louisiana. American Indian Journal 3 (1):11-16.
- Ruff, Verda Jenkins
1987 The Cabildo Records of New Orleans, 1769-1785: An Index to Abstracts in the Louisiana Historical Quarterly. Winston DeVille, Intro. Forest Hall, LA: privately printed.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Rushton, William F.
1979 The Cajuns, From Acadia to Louisiana. N.Y.:
Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.
- Sacred Heart Church, Montegut, LA
1865 Marriage Records. Vol. 6, p. 62. September 21.
[Copy from Historical Research Center, Thibodaux,
LA]
- 1964 Certificate of Death, abstracted from 1883, p.42,
entry 292. April 7. [Copy from personal files of
Louis Molinere, Montegut, LA]
- Sanchez, Joseph P. William H. Broughton, Eva D. Gallegos,
Jerry L. Gurule and Rebecca Steele
1991. A Selected Bibliography of the Florida-Louisiana
Frontier with References to the Caribbean, 1492-
1819. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico.
- Sanders, Mary Elizabeth
1962. Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana, 1738-
1811. N.P.: privately printed.
1969. Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana. St.
Mary Parish 1811-1860. Vol. II. Fort Worth, TX:
American Reference Publishers, Inc. [1963]
1972. Annotated Abstracts of the Successions of St. Mary
Parish, Louisiana 1811-1834. Lafayette, LA:
privately printed.
1973. Selected Annotated Abstracts of Marriage Book 1,
St. Mary Parish, Louisiana 1811-1834. N.P.:
privately printed.
1974. Records of Attakapas District, Louisiana. Volume
III. St. Martin Parish, 1808-1860. N.P.:
privately printed.
1978. Selected Annotated Abstracts of St. Mary Parish,
Louisiana, Court Records 1811-1837. Volume III.
N.P.: privately printed.
- Sauvole, de la Villantray
1699 Sauvole's Journal of the Frigate Le Marin 1699-
1701. In Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana,
1937-1938. Stanley C. Arthur, trans. Middleton
Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge,
LA. Petitioner Documentation #26.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1969 The Journal of Sauvole. Jay Higginbottom, ed. and
 trans. Mobile, AL: Colonial Books.
- Schott, Matthew J.
1971 Class Conflict in Louisiana Voting Since 1877:
 Some New Perspectives. Louisiana History 12
 (1):149-165.
- Schweninger, Loren
1989 Antebellum Free Persons of Color in Postbellum
 Louisiana. Louisiana History 30 (4): 345-364.
- Sennegy, Rene de
1877 Une paroisse louisianaise St. Michel, du comte
 D'Acadie. Nouvel-Orleans: M. Capo.
- Shannon, Cathy D.
1985 Terrebonne Parish Courthouse Unpublished Records
 (Births, Deaths). Terrebonne Life Lines 4 (2):65-
 73.
- Shea, John G.
1861 Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, by
 Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Seur, Gravier, and
 Guignas. Albany, NY: J. Munsell.
- Shrugg, Roger W.
1939 Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana. Baton
 Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Sibley, John
1832 Historical Sketches of Several Indian Tribes in
 Louisiana. American State Papers, Class II. Vol.
 1, Indian Affairs. Washington, DC: Gales and
 Seaton.
- 1927 The Journal of Dr. John Sibley; July-October,
 1802. Louisiana Historical Quarterly 10:474-497.
- 1944a Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the
 Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1814. The
 Southwestern Historical Quarterly 47(3): 319-339.
- 1944b Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the
 Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1814 (cont.) The
 Southwestern Historical Quarterly 47(4):388-391.
- 1944c Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the
 Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1813 (cont.) The

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- Southwestern Historical Quarterly 48(1):67-71.
- 1945a Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1813 (cont.) The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 49(1):116-119.
- 1945b Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1813 (cont.) The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 49(2):290-292.
- 1945c Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1813 (cont.) The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 49(3):399-431.
- 1945d Letters and Documents: Dr. John Sibley and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1813 (cont.) The Southwestern Historical Quarterly 49(4):599-614.
- 1987 A Report from Natchitoches in 1807. Ville Platte, LA: Evangeline Genealogical and Historical Society.
- Smith, F. Todd
1991 The Kadohadacho Indians and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1815. Southwestern Historical Quarterly 95(2):176-204.
- Southern Baptist Conventions
1938- Louisiana Women's Missionary Union.
1949
- Speck, Frank G.
1938 Letter to Dr. Willard Beatty, Educational Division, Bureau of Indian Affairs. Quoted in Ernest C. Downs and Jenna Whitehead, The Houma Indians: Two Decades in a History of Struggle. American Indian Journal 2 (3):2-18.
- 1940 Historical and Economic Background of the Houma Indians of the Lower Parishes of Louisiana with a Statement of Present Educational Conditions and Recommendation for their Development. Unpublished paper, Department of Education, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC.
- 1941a Report on Requests for Department of Indian Affairs on Historical and Economic Background of Houma Indians of the Lower Parishes of Louisiana with a Statement of Present Educational Conditions

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- and Recommendations for Its Development. Houma
mss 170 16:4c6. American Philosophical Society,
Philadelphia, PA.
- 1941b A List of Plant Curatives Obtained from the Houma
Indians of Louisiana. Primitive Man: Quarterly
Bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological
Conference 14(4):49-73
- 1943 A Social Reconnaissance of the Creole Houma
Trappers of the Louisiana Bayous. America
Indigena 3:134-146, 211-226.
- 1976 The Houma Indian in 1940. American Indian Journal
2(1):4-15.
- Speck, Frank G. and Ralph W. Dexter
1946 Molluscan Food Items of the Houma Indians.
Nautilus 60(1):
- Spitzer, Nicholas T., ed.
1979 The Houma Indians. In Mississippi Delta
Ethnographic Overview. Pp. 204-226. New Orleans,
LA: National Park Service. mimeo.
- Stahl, Annie Lee West
1934 The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana. Masters
thesis, Louisiana State University. In The
Louisiana Historical Quarterly 25 [1942] (2):301-
396.
- Stanton, Max E.
1971a A Remnant Indian Community: The Houma of Southern
Louisiana. In The Not So Solid South:
Anthropological Studies in a Regional Subculture.
John Kenneth Morland, ed. Southern
Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 4.
Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 82-92.
- 1971b The Indians in the Grand Caillou-Dulac Community.
Masters thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton
Rouge, LA.
- 1979 Southern Louisiana Survivors: The Houma Indians.
In Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era.
Walter W. Williams, ed. Athens, GA: University of
Georgia Press.
- Sterkx, H. E.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1972 The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana.
Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University
Press.
- Stringfield, William R.
1989 Le Pays des Fleurs Oranges (The Land of Orange
Blossoms): A Genealogical Study of Eight Creole
Families of Plaquemines Parish Louisiana: Buras
(Burat), Barrois, Fontenelle, Collette, Cosse,
Cavalier, Frederick, Martin, Vinet, LaFrance and
Dobard. Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press.
- 1991 Additions and Corrections to Le Pays des Fleurs
Oranges. Buras, LA: Blossom Press.
- Swanton, John Read
n.d.a Captions on back of photos in author's handwriting
before publication in 1911 in BAE Bulletin.
National Anthropological Archives, Swanton
Negatives, S.E.U.S. Tribes.
- n.d.b Field Notebook. National Anthropological
Archives, MS 4966. Washington, DC: Smithsonian
Institution.
- n.d.c Ethnographic and kinship notes. National
Anthropological Archives, MS 4906. Washington,
DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1906 National Anthropological Archives, MS 4201. Notes.
Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- c. 1907 Fieldnotes. Southeastern Miscellany No. 4204 (Pt.
1). National Anthropological Archives.
Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- 1907 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.
Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30,
Smithsonian Institution: Washington, DC.:
Government Printing Office.
- 1911 Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and
Adjacent Coast of Mexico. Bureau of American
Ethnology, Bulletin 43, Smithsonian Institution.
Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1918 An Early Account of the Choctaw Indians. Memoirs
of the American Anthropological Association 5:53-
72.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1919 A Structural and Lexical Companion of the Tunica, Chitamach and Atakapa Languages. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 68. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1922 Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1928 Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast. Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Years 1924-1925. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1931 Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 13. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1946 The Indians of the Southeastern United States. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1952 The American Indian Tribes of North America. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1979 The Indians of the Southeastern United States. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press.
- Tallant, Robert
1957 Evangeline and the Acadians. New York: Random House.
- Taylor, Joe G.
1960 The Foreign Slave Trade in Louisiana after 1808. Louisiana History 1:36-43.
- Teeter, H. B.
1964 Mission on the Bayou. Together. The Methodist Publishing House.
- Terrebonne Genealogical Society. Census Committee.
1983 The Terrebonne Parish 1860 Census. June 4, 1860. Copied and Annotated. Houma, LA: The Terrebonne Genealogical Society.
- 1984 1910 Census Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana, Wards 4-10. Houma, LA: The Terrebonne Genealogical

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Society.

- 1936 U.S. Census Terrebonne Parish 1870. Houma, LA:
The Terrebonne Genealogical Society.

Terrebonne Genealogical Society, Inc.

- 1993 South Louisiana Additions and Corrections.
Thibodaux, LA: Audrey B. Westerman.

Terrebonne Life Lines

- 1932 Terrebonne Parish Census of 1830 1 (3):28.
1934 Queries: Creppel/Crappel/Billiot. 3 (3):75.
1935 Terrebonne Parish Courthouse Unpublished Records
(Births, Deaths) 4(2):65-73.
1938 Donation Book A, Terrebonne Parish, LA 7(1):1.
1938 Lafourche Parish Wills and Donations, Book No. A-1
[1817-1889] 7(3):45.
1939 Query: Verdun/Verdon. 8 (1):32.
1990 Terrebonne Parish Court Records, Civil Suits Bk.
1. 9(3):1-5.
1991 Genealogical Research at the Louisiana State
Archives. 10(4):65-72

Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana.

- 1813 Conveyance Book T-485, Entry #16, p. 2985
[Incorrectly cited as Book 1: 485 in UHN Petition
(35).]
1822a French Act Translations, p. 45. August 27. [Also
recorded in Conveyance Book A, Document 35.]
1822b French Act Translations, p. 46. [Also recorded in
Conveyance Book A, Document 36.]
1822c French Act Translations, p. 47. August 27. [Also
recorded in Conveyance Book A, Document 37.]
1822d French Act Translations, p.48. August 29. [also
recorded in Conveyance Book A, Document 38.]
1822e Original Acts, Book 1, Document 71 (2 pp). August
29. [Also typescript copy from Conveyance Book A,

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- p. 92.]
- 1822f Index to Conveyance Books showing Verdin and Gregoire.
- 1823 Original Acts, Mortgages, Book 1A, 1822-1831, p.14 (3pp). October 31.
- 1826 Marriage Book 1, Document 110. February 7. [Also copied in Marriage Book A, p. 18.]
- 1827 Original Acts, Mortgages, Book 1A. 1822-1831, Document 75 (2pp). August 27.
- 1823 Fire Brands, June 6, 1822-April 1, 1907. Book 1. [Transcribed from originals; also photocopied and reprinted in Hebert 1978, Vol 2.]
- 1829a Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 510 (3pp). April 22.
- 1829b Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 511 (3pp). April 22.
- 1829c Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 512 (3pp). April 22.
- 1829d Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 513 (3pp). April 22.
- 1829e Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 514 (3pp). April 22.
- 1829f Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 521-521A (4pp). April 29. [Original present in Book 4, 1833-1848, Civil Suits and Probate Records, Item No. 38B.]
- 1829g Conveyance Book 3, 8/1828-7/1830, Document 526 (3pp). June 1.
- 1838 Conveyance Book H, pp. 110-11. November 8. [Also copy of Original Acts, Book 7, Document 1343 (2pp).]
- 1841a Conveyance Book I, pp. 157. [Copy from the personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, LA]
- 1841b Conveyance Book I, pp. 157-158. Recorded December

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

27.

- 1845 Probate Record No. 115. Probate record of Iacalobe.
- 1851 Conveyance Book 1, p. 485. Recorded August 2. [Document incorrectly cited in petition; should have been Book T, p. 485, see above under 1813.]
- 1854 Deed from Julien and Antoine Courteau, Phileron Billiot/Courteau, and Fine Courteau to Clement Calore. June 30. [Full citation unknown; copy from the personal files of Louis Molinere, Montegut, LA.]
- 1855a Donation Book A, pp. verso 19-20. November 19.
- 1855b Donation Book A, pp. verso 20-21. December 6.
- 1856a Conveyance Book R, pp.39-40. February 16.
- 1856b Conveyance Book R, p. 200. February 16.
- 1860 Marriage Records, Book 5, Document 244. February 1. [Hebert 1979, 3:511.]
- 1968 Intestate Succession #5308. April 17.

Terrebonne Parish School Board
1900- Minutes.
1951

Thomas, John

- 1771 Letter to John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District of North America. Library of Congress, Public Record Office of Great Britain and Colonial Office. Class 5; Documents Relating to British Indian Affairs. Washington, DC.

Thompson, Edgar T.

- 1972 The Little Races. American Anthropologist 74 (6):1295-1306.

Thorndale, William and William Dollarhide

- 1987 Map Guide to the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1790-1920. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc.

Thwaites, Rueben G., ed.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1896-1901 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travel and Exploration of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes. 73 Vols. Cleveland: Burrow Brothers. [reprint: Pageant, NY, 1959]
- Toups, Kenneth B., tr. and extr.
1988 Lafourche Parish Wills and Donations, Book No. A-1, July 3, 1817-February 27, 1889. Terrebonne Life Lines 7(3):54-68.
- 1991a Translated Miscellaneous French Acts - Book 3 - Lafourche Parish. Terrebonne Life Lines 10(2):1-12.
- 1991b Assumption Parish, LA. Original Cahier Records, Books 1 through 5, 1786-1813. Thibodaux, LA: Audrey B. Westerman.
- Underhill, Ruth
1938a Letter to Frank Speck. October 22. Reproduced in The Houma Indians: Two Decades in a History of Struggle. The American Indian Journal 2(3):14. [Original in Speck Collection, Box 16, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, PA.]
- 1938b Report on Visit to Indian Groups in Louisiana, October 15-25, 1938 (Bureau of Indian Affairs; typescript). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- United Houma Nation, Inc. (UHN)
1974a Petition, Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc. aka The Houma Tribes, Inc. Amended Articles of Incorporation. (HI or HT Art. of Inc.)
- 1974b Petition, Houma Alliance, Articles of Incorporation. (HA, Art. of Inc.)
- 1976 Houma Alliance n.d. (Halli2)
- 1979 Petition, Articles of Consolidation, Houma Tribes and Houma Alliance. (Art. of Inc., HI aka HT)
- 1985a Petition. Exhibits.
 Vol. 1. Historical
 Vol. 2. Anthropological and Sociological.
 Vol. 3. Newspapers.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Vol. 4. Education and Religion.
Vol. 5. U.S. Government Documents.
Vol. 6. Tribal Minutes.
Vol. 7. Oral Histories.
Constitutions (dated and undated)

- 1985b Narrative
- 1985c Membership list
- 1986 Response of the United Houma Nation to first Letter of Obvious Deficiencies and Omissions of December 12, 1986.
- 1988a Response of the United Houma Nation, Inc. to the second Letter of Obvious Deficiencies and Omissions of May 27, 1987. March 14.
- 1988b Supplemental response of the United Houma Nation, Inc. to the letter of Obvious Deficiencies and Omissions of May 27, 1987. June 18. (Included "Blue Charts").
- 1989 Native American Rights Fund letter, dated May 15. (NARF ltr.)
- 1991a Native American Rights Fund letter with enclosures:
Supplement to Criterion c
Houma Alliance copy
Houma Articles of Incorporation
Houma By-laws
Houma Constitution
May 22.
- 1991b Native American Rights Fund letter with enclosures:
Resolutions of May 28, 1991.
U.S. Terrebonne Parish Census, 1860/70/80 abstracts.
U.S. Lafourche Parish Census, 1900 abstracts.
Resolution 3 - List of names.
List of Deceased members.
July 16
- 1992 Supplemental Submission of 6434 additions to membership. January 17.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

U. S. Bureau of the Census

1810 Original. U. S. Population Census, Louisiana.

1979 Twenty Censuses. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

U. S. Bureau of the Census

All in the National Archives, Record Group 29. Records of the Bureau of the Census.

1810 Federal Population Census. Microcopy M252, Roll 10, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1820 Federal Population Census. Microcopy M33, Roll 30, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1830a Federal Population Census. Microcopy M19, Roll 43, Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, LA.

1830b Federal Population Census, Microcopy M19, Roll 44, St. Mary Parish, LA.

1840 Federal Population Census. Microcopy M704, Roll 129, Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, LA.

1850a Federal Population Census. Microcopy M432, Roll, 232, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1850b Federal Population Census. Microcopy M432, Roll 244, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1850c Federal Population Census. Microcopy M432, Roll 241, Terrebonne Parish, LA.

1850d Federal Population Census. Microcopy M432, Roll 247, Terrebonne Parish, LA.

1860a Federal Population Census. Microcopy M653, Roll 413, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1860b Federal Population Census. Microcopy M643, Roll 429, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1860c Federal Population Census. Microcopy M643, Roll 425, Terrebonne Parish, LA.

1860d Federal Population Census. Microcopy M643, Roll 431, Terrebonne Parish, LA.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1870a Federal Population Census. Microcopy M593, Roll 516, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1870b Federal Population Census. Microcopy M593, Roll 533, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1880a Federal Population Census. Microcopy T9, Roll 455, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1880b Federal Population Census. Microcopy T9, Roll 472, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1880c Federal Population Census. Microcopy T9, Roll 473, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1880e Federal Population Census. Microcopy T9, Roll 455, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1890a Schedules Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War. Microcopy M123, Roll 5, Ascension Parish, LA.
- 1890b Schedules Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War. Microcopy M123, Roll 5, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1890c Schedules Enumerating Union Veterans and Widows of Union Veterans of the Civil War. Microcopy M123, Roll 5, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1900a Federal Population Census. Microcopy T623, Roll 584, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1900b Federal Population Census. Microcopy T623, Roll 580, St. James Parish, LA.
- 1900c Federal Population Census. Microcopy T623, Roll 567, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1910a Federal Population Census. Microcopy T634, Roll 528, St. James Parish, LA.
- 1910b Federal Population Census. Microcopy T624, Roll 529, Terrebonne Parish, LA.
- 1910c Federal Population Census. Microcopy T624, Roll 517, Lafourche Parish, LA.
- 1920a Federal Population Census. Microcopy T625, Roll

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

616, Lafourche Parish, LA.

1920b Federal Population Census. Microcopy T625, Roll 634, Terrebonne Parish, LA.

U. S. Congress

1852 Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States with an Appendix. Ninth Congress - Second Session Comprising the Period from December 1, 1806 to March 3, 1807. Washington, DC: Gales and Seaton.

1859 Exposition of the Houmas Land Claim and of the Second Section of the Missouri Land Bill. Washington, DC.

1897 Chap. 213, dated February 10. 29 Stat 517. 54th Cong. Sess. II.

1976 Report on Terminated and Non-federally Recognized Indians. American Indian Policy Review Commission. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

U. S. Congress, House of Representatives

1826 Report: Heirs of Louis de la Houssaye. 19th Congress. 1st Session, H. R. 28.

1834 Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury. Dated January 31. 23rd Congress, 1st Sess. Doc 73.

1843 Statute III, 27th Congress, Sess. III, Ch. 77,78.

1893 Report of the Secretary of War, Vol II, Part 5. 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, Ex Doc. 1, Part 2, Appendix 3.

U. S. Congress, Senate

1833 Memorial of the Representatives of Wade Hampton. Senate Report No. 144. 25th Congress, 2nd Session. (Grant to Latil and Conway of Houma Grant by Claazone, October 5, 1774.).

1841 Report from the Secretary of the Treasury. 26th Congress, 2nd Session. Dated January 18. Serial #377.

1841 Report from the Secretary of the Treasury. Dated December 27. 27th Congress, 2nd Sess.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- 1845 Report of the Secretary of the Treasury. Dated January 13. 28th Congress, 2nd Sess. Ser. 450. Information in relation to the claim of land in the State of Louisiana, called the "Houmas Claim."
- 1846 Report of the General Land Office. 29th Congress, 1st Session. Dated June 12. Serial 477.
- 1850 Memorial of the Residents and Owners of Lands in the Parishes of Ascension and Iberville, LA, . . . Senate Report No. 150. 36th Congress, 1st Session. March 23.
- 1879 Letter from the Secretary of the Interior dated March 9. 46th Congress, 2nd Sess. Ex. doc 111.
- 1990 Houma Recognition Act. Hearing before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 101 Congress, 2nd Sess. on S. 2423. Dated August 7.
- U.S. Department of the Interior
- 1859 Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office. Dated November 30. Serial 1023.
- 1873 Report of the Commissioner of the U.S. General Land Office for the year of 1873. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1874 Report of the Commissioner of the U.S. General Land Office for the Year of 1874. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1931 Report: Indians of Louisiana in 1931. Roy Nash, Special Commissioner. (Nash Report)
- 1934 Memorandum on Indian groups in the Southern States. Ryan, Director of Education. April 3. 10799-43-042.
- 1940 Charle [sic] Billiot Indian Identification Form. August 14. General Services #48363-31-260.
- 1959 Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 170. The Pascagoula, Biloxi and Mobilian Consolidated Band of Indians v. United States of America.
- 1968 Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 170. 20 Ind.

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Cl Comm 130.

U.S. General Land Office

- 1845 Land Patent of Corteau Houma and Antoine Houma
- 1877 Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner of the General Land Office. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1880 The Public Domain and its History. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- 1882 The Matter of the Claim of John Burnside to a portion of the Houmas Grant in Louisiana. Report and Opinion.
- 1992 U.S. Land Office - Index to Tract Books, Southeastern District. BAR files.

U.S. Selective Service (U.S. Sel Svc)

- 1917- Draft Registration Cards, Louisiana, Terrebonne
1919 and Lafourche Parishes. Record Group 163, Records of the Selective Service System. National Archives - Southeast Region, Atlanta, GA.

U. S. Veterans Administration.

- 1873a Widow's Original Application #18,391, dated April 11. Record Group 15, Records of the Veterans Administration. National Archives, Washington, DC.
- 1873b Original Widow's Application #18,392, dated April 11. Record Group 15, Records of the Veterans Administration. National Archives, Washington, DC.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr.

- 1985 American Indians on the Cotton Frontier: Changing Economic Relations with Citizens and Slaves in the Mississippi Territory. The Journal of American History 72 (2):297-317.
- 1992 Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Economy. Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Uzee, Phillip D.

- 1963 Bayou Lafourche. In The Rivers and Bayous of Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Education

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Research Association.

- Van Pelt, Arthur
1943 New Orleans Times-Picayune. January 16.
- Vercin, Clodellia Fitch
1979 Oral History #26. United Houma Nation Petition.
July 20.
- Vercin, Paul and Violet Billiot
1978 Oral History #28. United Houma Nation Petition.
June 26.
- Verdine, Jacqueline Olivier
1979 The Opelousas Post, 1764-1789. Guide to the St. Landry Parish Archives. Baton Rouge, LA: Le Comite des Archives de la Louisiane,

1985 Love's Legacy: The Mobile Marriage Recorded in French. Transcribed with annotated abstracts in English, 1724-1786. Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies.
- Voorhies, Edward
1965 Passenger on History-making Excursion Train of Eighty-three Years Ago Retrospectives. Louisiana History 6(3):
- Voorhies, Jacqueline K.
1973 Some Late Eighteenth-Century Louisiana Census Records 1758-1796. The USL History Series. Lafayette, LA: University of Southwestern Louisiana.

1976 The Attakapas Post: The First Acadian Settlement. trans. Louisiana History 17(1):91-96.
- Walker, John E.
1990 Subdividing Louisiana. New Orleans Genesis 29(115):371-376.
- Walsh, Winnefred E.
1954 Walsh, Erwin and Allied Families. New York: American Historical Company.
- Warton, Charles
1981 Pointe-au-Chien Indians Seek Help to Fight Saltwater Intrusion. Houma Daily Courier June

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

8:1.

Webre, Stephen

1984 The Problem of Indian Slavery in Spanish Louisiana, 1769-1803. Louisiana History 25 (2):117-135.

1992 Notes from research on Indian Slavery article, and letter of September 3 to BAR historian. BAR files.

Webster's New Geographical Dictionary

1972 Springfield, MA: G. and C. Merriam Company.

Westerman, Audrey.

1982a 1820 Census of Lafourche Interior Parish. Terrebonne Life Lines 1 (1):29-34.

1982b 1860 Census, Ascension Parish, Louisiana

1983 1860 Census, Assumption Parish, Louisiana

1984 The Will of Alexandre Verdun. Terrebonne Life Lines 3(1):17-20.

1991 Henry Schuyler Thibodaux. Terrebonne Life Lines 10(3):29-30.

Whittington, George Parnell

1970 Rapides Parish Louisiana: A History. A reprint from the Louisiana Historical Quarterly 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935. N.P.: Alexandria Committee of the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Louisiana.

Williams, Samuel Cole, ed.

1966 Adair's History of the American Indians. 1775. London. Reprint. New York: Argonaut Press Ltd.

Wohl, Michael

1983 Not Yet Saint Nor Sinner: A Further Note on Daniel Clark. Louisiana History 24 (2):195-205.

Wonk, Dalt

1975 This Man Might Own Everything from the River to the Gulf. Photographs by Josephine Sacabo. New Orleans. September.

Woods, Earl C. and Charles E. Nelson, eds.

1987 Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

- of New Orleans. Volume 1, 1718-1750. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1988 Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 2, 1751-1771. New Orleans, La: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1989 Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 3, 1772-1783. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1990a Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 4, 1783-1790. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1990b Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 5, 1791-1795. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1991 Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 6, 1796-1799. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- 1992 Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New Orleans. Volume 7, 1800-1803. New Orleans, LA: Archdiocese of New Orleans.
- Woods, Patricia Dillon
1980 French-Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699-1762. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press.
- Woodson, Carter G.
1925 Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830. Washington, DC: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc.
- Work Projects Administration of Louisiana (WPA)
1940 Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.
- Wright, Nancy L.
1985 Terrebonne Parish (Old Civil Suits). Terrebonne Lifelines 5(3):47.
- 1990 Parish Court, Civil Suits, Book 2, Terrebonne Parish. Terrebonne Lifelines 9(4):18
- York, Kenneth H.
1982 Mobilian: The Indian *Lingua Franca* of Colonial

Bibliography -- United Houma Nation, Inc.

Louisiana. In La Salle and His Legacy: Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Patricia K. Galloway, ed. Pp. 139-145. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi.

APPENDIX

HISTORICAL INDIAN TRIBES IN LOUISIANA

Background Paper

Proposed Finding United Houma Nation

Branch of Acknowledgment and Research

Bureau of Indian Affairs

United States Department of the Interior

BACKGROUND PAPER

HISTORICAL INDIAN TRIBES IN LOUISIANA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
The Historical Houma Tribe	1
Summary of Documentation Pertaining to the Historical Houma Tribe, 1763-1803	1
Documentation on the Historical Houma from the Early Federal Period	4
Comparison of Documentation on the Historical Houma Tribe with UHN Traditions	6
Other Historical Tribes of Louisiana	9
Purpose of the Survey	9
Late Eighteenth-Century Movements of Louisiana Indian Tribes	10
Extinct groups	10
The use of Mobilian Trade Jargon as an inter-tribal language	11
Summaries by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century observers	11
Tribe-by-Tribe Analysis	15
Tribes known to have been in immediate contact with the historical Houma tribe	15
Alabama/Alibamu in Louisiana	15
Taensa	20
Louisiana tribes other than the Alabama and Taensa	21
The Biloxi and their Associates	22
Biloxi	22
Acolapissa-Biloxi connection	24
Tribes Immigrating to Louisiana from Alabama and West Florida after 1763	25
Pascagoula	25
Apalache	28
Chatot	29
Mobile	29
Pacana	30
Coushatta/Koasati	29
Tallapoosa	37
Choctaw	37
Indigenous Louisiana Tribes	40
Chitimacha	40
Attakapa	41

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Tunica	43
Avoyel	43
Ofo/Ofogoula/Mosopelea	43
Other Louisiana tribes not considered in this survey	44
Suggestions on the Possible Fate of the Historical Houma	44
Possible Alternative UHN Matches	47
General Bibliography	48

BACKGROUND PAPER

HISTORICAL INDIAN TRIBES IN LOUISIANA

Introduction. BAR undertook this survey for two purposes. First, because of the mixing-bowl effect that the close proximity of a number of small tribal groupings in Louisiana had during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century (see description below), it was effectively impossible to understand or discuss the development of the historical Houma tribe during the last third of the eighteenth century independently from the activities of the other *petites nations* or "small nations" living in the same neighborhoods. Second, because BAR research could not tie the ancestors of the UHN petitioner to the historical Houma tribe, it was necessary to see if the petitioner originated from any other historical tribe in Louisiana.

The questions that needed to be answered were, essentially:

- (1) what became of the small Louisiana tribes of the late eighteenth century?; and
- (2) can **any** of these groups be documented as having provided a core for the ancestral origin of the twentieth century United Houma Nation (hereafter UHN)?

In this background paper, bibliographical information is provided only for those sources which have not already been included in the bibliography on the Proposed Finding--United Houma Nation.

THE HISTORICAL HOUMA TRIBE

Summary of Documentation Pertaining to the Historical Houma Tribe 1763-1803. The historical Houma tribe is believed to have been resident on the Tombigbee River in modern Alabama in pre-colonial times. By the time of European contact, however, they were in Louisiana. A Houma village was first encountered by La Salle in 1692. Evicted from their site north of Baton Rouge by the Tunica in 1706, they lived for a short time on Bayou St. Jean near present-day New Orleans, but by 1718 were located around Houmas Point, on both banks of the Mississippi, near the headwaters of Bayou Lafourche. There are scattered mentions of them in this same location during the next 50 years. Anthropologists have made the

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

assumption that the Houma incorporated remnants of several other small coastal tribes during this period (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78).

Views of the Houma varied during the eighteenth century-- from "troublesome" in the 1750's to "intermingling with other Indian groups" (Swanton 1911, 278 and 290-92, quoting French and English sources). One comment by De Kerlerec, quoted by Swanton (Swanton 1911, 290), indicates that by at least 1758 the Houma population was reduced by the consumption of alcohol. This extensive 25-page report on the Indians of the Colony of Louisiana, written in 1758 by De Kerlerec, indicated that the Houmas had been numerous, but now only numbered about "sixty men bearing arms." The group was located half-way between New Orleans and Point Coupee. The Governor noted the strategic position they occupied and indicated "great consideration is shown them" (Mississippi Provincial Archives (hereafter MPA) 5:212, Doc. 56; MPA 5:226, note 41).

By the 1770's, the Houma are clearly documented as having been settled in the parishes of St. James and Ascension, up the Mississippi River from New Orleans. The 1770's witnessed considerable, if not uniform conflict among the Houma and their neighbors, including the Talapouches and the Chitimachas, the Atakapas and Opelousas (Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (hereafter PPC), #23, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 16, 17, 18, 31, 32, 33). Cabonocey, The History, Customs and Folklore of St. James Parish by Lillian C. Bourgeois (Bourgeois 1987), states that the central location of St. James Parish made it a natural center for the Muskogean speaking groups such as the Houma, Chitimacha, Mugulasha, Bayougoula, Washa, and Acolapissa (Bourgeois 1987, 1). In her description of the first Acadians coming to settle during the mid-1760's in the Louisiana area of what came to be St. James Parish along the Acadian coast, Bourgeois interjects notes of a certain Captain Harry Gordon. In his "Journal, Notes on the Country along the Mississippi from Kaskaskia to New Orleans," Gordon wrote on October 14, 1766, that the colony of New Orleans was inhabited on both sides of the Mississippi for 20 leagues above the town. The population included not only "poor Acadians," but also "about 150 Houma and like number of Alibamu" (Bourgeois 1987, 13-14).

The 1766 census of inhabitants along the right bank of the Mississippi, includes the reference to "two Indian tribes or villages" (Bourgeois 1987, 170). Internal evidence suggests that these were the Alibamu Indians and the Houma Indians

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

noted in the 1769 "Census of Acadian Coast" (Bourgeois 1987, 173, 178). These lands, along the Mississippi, were located in the area of what was transferred by Calibee in the Houmas grant (see below). Whether the lands were in fact the same is not as important as that Houma and Acadian immigrants were in the same area during the interlude of the 1760's when the French administration was preempted by the Spanish.

Spanish Commandant Louis Judice's 1768 "Resencement des Sauvages Dependants de la Coste" at Cabbanocey went into somewhat more detail on the Indian settlements in the region (PFC):

Taensa little nation, left bank, Mingo Mastabe, chief
men 12
women 12
boys 11
girls 10 TOTAL: 45

[S/C(?)uana or] Alabamon nation, right bank, Mingos Canebe, chief
men 27
women 28
boys 17
girls 15 TOTAL: 87

Cocteau [Hoctahenja] or Alibamon village, Mingo Titabe, chief
men 23
women 31
boys 32
girls 31 TOTAL: 117

Houma nation, right bank, Mingos Atthanabe, chief; Calabe also chief
men 40
women 40
boys 60
girls 90 TOTAL: 230

These basic numbers have to serve as a starting point for analysis. Referring to the sale of "its village site" made in October, 1774, made by the Houma Chief Calabee (UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#16; see also: Senate Doc. 45, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., January 13, 1845, for documents) Judice indicated in 1775 that the Houma village actually had divided into "three villages." Calabee with about 20 men remained on the site sold to Mr. (William) Conway; "the chief" with an almost

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

equal number, had retired to another "site two and one-half leagues above [that of Calabee's village]" and established a village 20 arpents from the river.¹ In addition, "one Tiefayo, with eight families, has withdrawn to the LaFourche" (UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#16). This description indicates a possible three-fold division of the Houma, at least temporarily, in contrast to other documents indicating only two locations of Houma.

At the time of the 1775 letter, Judice was attempting to have "these tribes" retire to Lafourche. He indicated they were the cause of complaints and disorder among themselves and between themselves and European colonists. This may shed light on the movement of Tiefayo to LaFourche. On the basis of Judice's description of their relative size, the two contingents of approximately 20 men, with their families, and the third under Tiefayo, may well have numbered less than one hundred.

In addition to Calabee, the name Matiabee [Natchiabee] appears in a number of entries in the PPC. He is referred to in several as the "young" or "only real chief" of the Houma (PPC, UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#23, p. 9, 2, February 4, 1776 and March 18, 1776; UHN Pet., Ex. 1:#23, p. 20, Oct. 4, 1778). The Spanish commandant at St. James/Ascension continued to refer to the Houma at intervals until 1787/89 (see Historical Report, UHN Proposed Finding).

In 1784, Thomas Hutchins, a British officer reported that there were about 25 Houma warriors at a village 60 miles from New Orleans, also an Alabama village with 30 warriors, and three miles further on, a Chitimacha village with 27 warriors (Hutchins 1969, 39).

Documentation on the Historical Houma from the Early Federal Period. Jefferson's letter to Congress, November 14, 1803, entitled "Description of Louisiana," contains a statement that the Houma did not exceed 60 persons (ASP 1834a, 1:349, Report No. 164). The source from which Jefferson extracted the information was a letter, dated September 29, 1803, to the Secretary of State, James Madison, from Daniel Clark.

¹ It was probably this group that Jefferson's 1803 report to Congress on Indians in Louisiana described as "on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about twenty five north leagues of Orleans, are the remains of the nation of Houmas, or red men, which do not exceed sixty persons" (ASP 1834a, 1:349).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Clark's September 29, 1803, letter to Madison on the Indian population was reprinted in its entirety in the ASP, Jefferson making no substantive changes. It was Clark, whatever the source of his information, who detailed the Louisiana Indian tribes along the Mississippi and other important rivers and bayous. Indeed, Clark's letter serves as one of the primary documents of Indian groups in Louisiana at the time of the Louisiana Purchase.

Two years later, John Sibley indicated that the Lower Mississippi Valley tribes were experiencing an apparently constant movement and interaction among groups or remnants of various tribes. Sibley noted that some Tunicas and Humas [sic] were "married in" to the Attakapas, in a village near Quelqueshoe [Calcasieu, later Opelousas District, Louisiana], about 20 miles west of the Attakapas Church (ASP 1832, 4:724; for a land claim based on an 1801 purchase from an Indian of this settlement, see ASP 1834c, 3:113, No. 96).² This was a considerable distance west of the UHN ancestral settlement along the bayous in Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes. Swanton (based on Sibley's 1805 report) restated this situation, saying that the Houma had intermarried with the Tunica and Attakapa (Swanton 1911, 290-292).

Sibley in the same report (ASP 1832 [Indian Affairs], 4:721-725, No. 113; Annals of Congress, 9th Cong., 2d Sess., 1076-1088) indicated that "a few of the Humas [were] still living on the east side of the Mississippi, in Insussees [bad misspelling of Ascension?] parish, below Manchac, but scarcely exist as a nation" (ASP 1832, 4:725). This reaffirmed what Clark's letter had indicated in 1803, namely that some Houma Indians were still located in the area of the Amite River, at Manchac. It was land in this area which subsequently was referred to as the "Houmas Claim" (Sen. Doc. 144, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Jan. 29, 1838; S. Report 45, 28th Cong., 2d Sess., Jan. 13, 1845).

A diary kept by James Leander Cathcart refers to the Houmas' settlement in the early nineteenth century as being located near the modern boundary of Ascension Parish and St. James Parish, on the east side of the Mississippi. Daniel Clark,

² Alabamas were also in this area: "HYLAIRE, sauvage Alibamon legitmate according to their laws, son of Payancabe & Fic SCHONQUE, sauvages Alibamons, b. 1 Aug. 1815, bt. 16 July 1816, Opel. Ch.: Reg. of Blacks, v. 2, p. 19" (Hebert 1976a, 3:687).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

who purchased the Houmas' property in the area, sold it to General Wade Hampton in 1812. In the 1850's the property passed to John Burnside, after which time the area came to be called Burnside (Prichard, Kniffen, and Brown 1945, 757 note 76; 843 note 504).

Some Houma (four or five families) were in St. James Parish on Cantrelle lands when seen by de Laussat in 1805/06 (Laussat 1978, 67-68). They were under Cantrelle patronage in St. James when the unnamed chief was sent to New Orleans to see Governor William Claiborne in 1806 and 1811 (Rowland 1917, 3:347 and 5:275). Anthropological literature seems to have assumed that they migrated away from St. James Parish shortly after that date, but a local historian indicates that an Indian settlement remained to the rear of Bon Secours Plantation until at least 1915 (Campbell 1981, 28).³

According to a recent book on Indians in Louisiana, Albert Gallatin's report on Indians in the United States indicated that while lands were sold by the Houma in 1776, "as late as 1836" English [sic] maps showed them hunting on the Amite River (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78). However, 1836 was only the date of Gallatin's report--not to the date of the map to which Gallatin referred.

Comparison of documentation on the historical Houma Tribe with UHN traditions. Certainly the standard descriptions of historical Houma tribal locations--that LaSalle located them on the banks of the Mississippi in 1682, and Iberville visited them there in 1699 (Swanton 1911, 285), that they were near New Orleans in 1706, and by 1718 some distance upriver from New Orleans on the Mississippi, where they remained throughout the eighteenth century--do not square well with the UHN tradition of a grandmother who was born in Mobile and a grandfather who was Biloxi (Swanton 1911, 292).⁴

³ By way of contrast, the only Indians reported in Lafourche Parish by Sibley in 1805 were not Houma, but five Washas, scattered in French families (ASP 1832, 4:725).

⁴ The tribes which are known to have moved from Mobile to Louisiana in 1764 include the Pascagoula (Swanton 1911, 305), Apalache, and Chatot (Swanton 1911, 156, 210). The Taensa, originally from Louisiana, had moved near Mobile in 1715 and returned to Louisiana shortly after the 1763 cession (Swanton 1911, 171, 210). One band of the Muskogee, the Pacanna/Pakana, also moved into Louisiana from Alabama about 1764 (Swanton

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

The family history of the writer's oldest informant, Felicite Billiot, will serve to illustrate this tribal complexity. Her⁵ grandmother, whose Indian name was Nuyu'n, but who was baptized "Marion" after her removal to Louisiana, was born in or near Mobile; her grandfather, Shulu-shumon, or, in French, Joseph Abbe,⁶ and more often called "Couteaux," was a

1911 204). Only "some" of the Alibamu followed the French from Fort Toulouse to the Ascension Parish location on the Mississippi in 1762 (Gatschet 1969, 88; Swanton 1911, 153-156).

⁵ In reviewing Swanton's field notes, the referent of the pronoun "her" is ambiguous. In the published version, it seems to refer to Felicite Billiot herself. However, his notes indicate it is possible that Felicite's brother Barthelemy may have been speaking of his **mother's** grandparents and parents. Chronologically, the second interpretation would make more sense.

⁶ See for a very similar name, a 1745 reference to *Shulashummashtabe* (Red Shoe, Soulouche Oumastabe) as a Choctaw war chief at the town of Couehitto near Tombecbe [Tombigbee] (Galloway 1981). Elsewhere, Galloway remarks that:

each [Choctaw village] chief had his staff of officials numbering about five. These men can be identified in the documents through the repeated occurrence of what the French took for personal names but what are clearly functional titles, . . . Many, if not all, villages had a war chief, and often this office carried the title of *soulouche oumastabe* (red shoe killer) or simply *mingo ouma* (red chief)" (Galloway 1985, 123).

Galloway further notes that, "Swanton, who had access only to the French documents acquired up to that time by the Library of Congress and other American libraries . . . did not recognize the titular nature of the appellations *soulouche oumastabe* . . . (Galloway 1985, 152, note 14). Gatschet regarded appellations such as *Old Red Shoe* as names or war names, rather than titles, in Creek, Alibamu, and Koasati (Gatschet 1969, 162).

Usner's discussion of the Choctaw Red Shoes (Usner 1992, 88) also says he was "known by the name of his political position" and uses the spelling "Shulush Houma" for "Red Shoes," which is phonetically even closer to the version given Swanton by Barthelemy Billiot. Combined with Felicite Billiot's recollection that the family came from Mobile, and the fact that the "Houma" language that Swanton collected from her was "nearly pure Choctaw" (Swanton n.d.; see also Swanton 1918), this opens a possible line of research that some of her ancestry may have been Mobilian or Choctaw and that "Shulu'shumon" represented a title rather than a personal name.

A Chitimachá with the "Red Shoes" name or title was reported by Swanton as a chief on Bayou Lafourche in 1784 (Swanton 1911, 343, citing Hutchins 1784, 39, 46). However, the Hutchins reference says nothing about the name of either this chief or the other one, Mingo Luak or Fire

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Biloxi medal chief; and her mother "an Atakapa from Texas." In addition, she said that Cherokee ("Tsalaki"), Choctaw, and Alibamu had all married with her people. Among other tribes she had heard of the Chickasaw ("Shikasha"), Tallapoosa ("Talapush"),⁷ and Tunica. Her grandmother, whom, she said, had moved successively to the Mississippi, "Tuckapaw Canal," Bayou La Fourche, Houma, and the coast of Terre Bonne, was evidently among the Indians who migrated from the neighborhood of Mobile after 1764, in order not to remain under English rule (Swanton 1911, 292).

The following comment may well be relevant to understanding the names attributed to and used by the UHN ancestor Shulu shuman, or in French Joseph Abbe, also called Courteau or Houma,⁸ whose grandchildren identified him as Biloxi, an identification confirmed by contemporary documentation in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana (see Genealogical Report, UHN Proposed Finding, for details):

Frequently, men were addressed by honorifics that were war names. These often ended with *-huma*,

Chief, named by Swanton on the same page. Hutchins later mentions a village named Mingo Louak.

A Coosada [Coushatta, Koasati] chief named Red Shoes was mentioned several times in Creek leader Alexander McGillivray's correspondence, and is noted as having visited New Orleans in 1792 (Caughey 1938, 246): he was also mentioned by Caleb Swan in his report on the condition of the Creeks in 1791 (Schoolcraft 1969, 5:263). According to Swanton, about 1793 this Coushatta Red Shoes led a party of about 20 families of Alabamas and Coushattas to settle in Louisiana about 60 miles up from the mouth of the Red River (Swanton 1922, 204).

A Creek uncle of McGillivray's called Red Shoes (brother of McGillivray's mother Sehoy Marchand) died in 1784, which indicates further the frequency of the name/title (Caughey 1938, 62, 66).

⁷ A subdivision of the Creek.

⁸ According to Swanton's notes, it was Barthelemy Billiot who told Swanton that his grandfather, Shulu-shuman, had been "driven out by the Indians and made a medal chief by the whites." His other names were Joseph Abbe, or Courteau.

A parallel usage of "Homa" as a family name in the nineteenth century is Tisha Homa, "otherwise called Captain Red Pepper," a Choctaw, who died, leaving an estate, in Lowndes County, Mississippi, in 1836 (Ward 1985, 34, 40).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

meaning *red*, a power color, or with *-abe* or *-ubbe*,⁹ signifying "killer," the equivalent of "general" or "commander" in English. The Mobilian word *mingo*, or *chief*, was applied to powerful men (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 242).

Among the Muskogean speakers, men assumed honorific titles after they had distinguished themselves in battle. Many such names appear in the literature on the Louisiana Indians. The suffixes *-tubbe*, *-mico*, and *-huma*, or *-houma*, were more in the nature of insignia of military rank than simple name endings (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 291).

Apparently because of these internal contradictions, a recent book has suggested that the Houma "may be the only native Louisiana tribal group to join the westward movement from west Florida in the Spanish period. As such, the Houma may be considered one of the immigrant tribes" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 79). It is not clear from the context whether these authors were referring to the historical Houma, a tribe which was resident in Louisiana at the time of first contact with European colonists, or if Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes were positing an immigrant origin for the modern Houma of Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes.

OTHER HISTORICAL TRIBES OF LOUISIANA

Purpose of the Survey. The UHN ancestral community had a clear tradition of Indian identity. Since examination of the documentary record did not produce any clear connection of the UHN to the historical Houma tribe of Louisiana, as attributed by Swanton (Swanton 1911, 392) and claimed by the petitioner, the BAR historian undertook a more extensive survey of the Indian "mixing bowl" community which formed along the Mississippi River between 1763 and 1803, under the stress caused by actions and land cessions made by the European colonial powers, to see if any other historical tribal identity could be determined for the ancestors of the UHN petitioner. In part, this undertaking was in response to the suggestion by Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes that the

⁹ See, for example, Moshulitubbee, a Choctaw living in Noxubee County, Mississippi, in 1819 (Ward 1986, 34).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Houma "may be the only native Louisiana tribal group to join the westward movement from west Florida in the Spanish period. As such, the Houma may be considered one of the immigrant tribes" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes, 1987, 79).

Although the number of Indian groups in late-eighteenth century Louisiana was large, the aggregate number of individuals was comparatively small. By 1803, at the time of American assumption of authority, "at least" 2,000 Indians were known to be living within the limits of the modern State of Louisiana (Purser 1964, 402).¹⁰ The questions which the BAR attempted to answer by surveying these groups were threefold:

(1) What was the broader context of the historical community from which the small group of UHN founders came?

(2) If the "bulk" of the historical Houma tribe, last mentioned as consisting of 80 persons and residing in Ascension and St. James parishes, did not move to Lafourche and Terrebonne parishes, what became of it?

(3) Does any other of the Indian groups along the banks of the Mississippi during this 40-year period (1763-1803) match more closely than the historical Houma tribe to the traditions provided to Swanton by the group's descendants in 1907?

Late Eighteenth-Century Movement of Louisiana Indian Tribes.

Extinct groups. By the beginning of Spanish administration in Louisiana (1762/68), a number of the smaller coastal and Mississippi River tribes had already gone out of independent existence. Swanton presumed that any remnants had been incorporated into the Houma and other surviving groups, but there seems to be no documentary evidence for this presumption except for the incorporation of the Bayougoula and at least some of the Acolapissa with the Houma before 1753. The groups who had ceased independent existence by the 1760's are the Tangipahoa, Okelousa, Bayougoula, those Acolapissa who had settled on the banks of the Mississippi,

¹⁰ The single largest group, the Caddo, was irrelevant to research on JHN origins.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

the Quinipissa, the Chawasha, and the Washa¹¹ (Swanton 1945, Map 11). Therefore, they were not relevant to a consideration of the 1763-1803 time period.

The use of Mobilian Trade Jargon as an inter-tribal language. One contributing factor to the intermixing of the small tribal groups in Louisiana was that they had a common means of communication: the Mobilian Trade Jargon. John Sibley reported that Mobilian was spoken in addition to their native languages by all the Indians who had come into Louisiana from the east side of the Mississippi. Among those using it [were] the Alabama, Apalachi, Biloxi, Choctoo, Pacana, Pascagoula, Taensas, and Tunica (York 1982, 139).

York felt that the "common language now known as Mobilian" had its origin from the Choctaw language (York 1982, 141). Woodward reported that Mobilian was a mixture of Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Natchez, and Apalache. Haas concluded that Mobilian appeared to be a mixture of Choctaw and Alabama (York 1982, 141-142).

When Swanton collected Indian words from UHN ancestress Felicite Billiot, he reported that "all the words look like Choctaw" and could be taken as proof that the language of the historical Houma tribe had been a dialect of Choctaw (Swanton n.d.). However, a more recent scholar has commented that, "it is equally possible that the words are from the Mobilian trade language and are not at all representative of the language of the Houma" (Crawford 1975, 34).¹²

Summaries by late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century observers. The correspondence of Judice, the Spanish

¹¹ Both the Chawasha and the Washa were in the Bayou Lafourche area at the time of first European contact. In 1699, the Washa had a central village on upper Bayou Lafourche. From 1718-1739, they were near the German Coast post, in modern St. Charles Parish. Five of them were still reported in Lafourche Parish by Sibley in 1805, living scattered in French households. Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes stated that they are believed to have spoken a language of the Chitimachan family--at any rate, they were not Muskogean speakers (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 55, 79).

¹² Professor Emanuel J. Drechsel, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, in a telephone conversation with BAR historian Virginia DeMarce on September 27, 1993, confirmed that the word list collected by Swanton from Felicite Billiot in 1907 was, with a high degree of probability, Mobilian rather than Choctaw.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

commandant at St. James and La Fourche des Chetimachas, preserved in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, from the 1770's and 1780's, had frequent reference to Indian residents--some of whom were Houma, but by no means all of whom were Houma. In fact, when he confronted local Houma with allegations of cattle stealing in 1772, their reply was that the Taensa and Alibamu had done it (Corbin 1981, [1]). The same year, in discussing a palisade that the Houma had built to defend their village against the Tallapoosa, Judice indicated that Taensa, Chitimacha, Tunica, "Hochtchianya", and Pacana were also in the area, though the Tunica had abandoned their village and gone to Pointe Coupee (Corbin 1981, [2]). The Houma were going to take over the site of an abandoned Chitimacha village near Lafourche, about three-quarters of a league from the river on the left [east] bank of the bayou (Corbin 1981, [3]).

Throughout the 1770's, the official correspondence of the Spanish commandants indicates that these groups were moving back and forth extensively. They went east, across the river, to talk to the English Indian agent at Manchac. They went as far west as Opelousas and came back again, while Attakapa and Opelousa came into the Lafourche area. There were repeated conflicts among the various groups (Corbin 1981, [5-7, 13]), but there were also other types of interaction. Judice mentioned one Houma-Chickasaw marriage in the previous generation (Corbin 1981, [7]), while the daughter of this marriage "ran off" to the Alibamon village with a Chickasaw (Corbin 1981, [9]).¹³ Pascagoulas (possibly from the Red River area in Pointe Coupee Parish) had come to town and "gone after" some Houma women (Corbin 1981, [8, 16]).

¹³ In more detail, a young Indian slave woman (who is not named in the translation submitted in the historical document #23 with the petition) ran away from her master, a man with whom she was living. He was a "former Illinois post commandant" (PPC, Roll 189B, August 1775; UHN Pet., Ex. Hist. #23, p. 7). She was apparently the niece of the Houma Chief, Calabee. Her mother was a Houma who married a Chickasaw. The Houma wanted her master to free her. She had moved in with a Frenchman named Larteaux, yet later ran to an Alibamon (sic) village with a Chickasaw. The French official, Louis Judice, sent Calabee, Larteaux, and three women to "fetch her," (PPC, Roll 189B, August 30, 1775; Hodoc Hist. #23, p. 9).

The Frenchman Larteaux was apparently protected by the Alibamons. These events indicate that special consideration was given to one Indian slave woman's disappearance and return.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

In 1775, apparently, the Biloxi were also in Pointe Coupee near the Tunica, both of whom were associating with the Choctaw (Corbin 1981, [10-11]). Also, some Choctaw raiders had taken refuge with the Houma in 1775 (Corbin 1981, [8]). In 1779, one Arkansas killed another in the Chitimacha village, and Judice was of the opinion that the whole affair had been "fomented by the malice of the Houmas" (Corbin 1981, [20]).

From the perspective of the English agents on the other bank of the Mississippi, the most concise picture of the status of the Indian "petites nations" in Louisiana during the early 1770's is to be found in Robert Rea's article on the career of John Thomas, the English representative who had been involved in the establishment of Fort Bute on the east bank of the Iberville River at Manchac since 1764 (Rea 1970, 6-7, 13-14). When Thomas returned to Manchac as Deputy to the Indian Superintendent of the Province of West Florida in 1771, his instructions included that he was to travel the Mississippi from New Orleans as far north as Natchez, "noting the various Indian tribes and traders, and then to return to Manchac and reside there while cultivating the good will of the surrounding tribes and the neighboring Spaniards" (Rea 1970, 12).

The Indians who came under John Thomas' purview and were usually referred to as the Small Tribes consisted of remnants and survivors of numerous groups once established on the Gulf Coast west of Mobile and along the rivers between the Tombeckby and the Mississippi. They had been driven inland and westward by the more powerful Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creeks, and in 1771 they eked out an existence on either side of the Mississippi, hunting and planting wherever they could find safety, dreaming of returning to the coastal plain. The Houmas were the first tribe north of New Orleans and were located about twenty-five leagues above the town. They numbered between thirty and forty-six men [sic] and were firmly attached to the masters of the Isle of Orleans. A league below Manchac, Plaquemines creek entered the Mississippi from the west, and there were found some thirty families of Tensa, Pacanna, and Mobilien Indians; farther up the bayou lived fifty to fifty-eight Chittamachas, Attacappas and Opelousas. The Alabamas lived a half-league below Manchac, on the Spanish side, and numbered thirty-

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

five or forty warriors. Near Point Coupee was located a band of fifteen Chittamachas, and a league above the Spanish post, the Tonicas, some thirty-five families strong, occupied the English shore. Across the river from there were ten or a dozen Choctoes [Chatot?], so few in number that their chief Illetaska described himself as the sole survivor of the tribe and depended upon the Biloxies for safety. Two leagues further north were nearly one hundred Biloxies, refugees driven from the Pascagoula River to the banks of the Amite and thence to the Mississippi. As recently as 1771, they had fled to the Spanish side in fear of Choctaw raids, as had fifteen or so Pascagoula warriors. Several smaller groups had separated from these tribes and were settled on the Red River where security had bred civilization and it was reported that they had built themselves a church (Rea 1970, 13; 14 n. 10 citing "Charles Stuart's List of the Several Indian Tribes, c. November 1772" Thomas to J. Stuart, December 12, 1771, in Haldimand Papers).

Thomas reported that all of these tribes, the *petites nations*, were declining. He estimated the total number of all their warriors at somewhere between 200 and 250, but added that this gave them mobility:

[T]heir very weakness enabled them to move back and forth across the Mississippi as they pleased. The Biloxies and Pascagoulas, for example, planted corn on the English side of the river but resided on the Spanish side (Rea 1970, 14).

Thomas also stated that all of the small tribes were eager to trade with any white men.

The highly fluid situation reported by Thomas is confirmed by the records of Spanish Louisiana. Houma tribal land on the east side of the Mississippi was sold in 1774 (the much-discussed "Houma Claim"), but the tribe did not completely abandon the east bank at that time. Sibley in 1805 said there were a few around Manchac in Ascension Parish (ASP 1832, 4:725) and as late as 1836, Albert Gallatin repeated Sibley's statement that Houma were around Manchac (Gallatin 1973, 115).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

The movements of the groups who are documented by the Spanish census records of 1768 and 1769 and the correspondence of Commandant Justice as having lived in close proximity to the historical Houma were of particular relevance to the questions posed to the BAR. In addition to these more or less settled tribes which are discussed below, it is clearly documented that small groups of wandering Choctaw, Chickasaw, Arkansas, etc. were coming through Louisiana in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Tribe-by-Tribe Analysis.

Tribes known to have been in immediate contact with the historical Houma tribe. The 1768/69 censuses indicated that the Alabama and Taensa lived in immediate proximity to the historical Houma, so these two tribes were looked at first in BAR's search for possible connections to UHN originators.

Alabama/Alibamu in Louisiana. UHN ancestress Felicite Billiot stated in 1907 that the Alibamu had "married into" her people. While in Alabama, this tribe was a member of the Creek Confederacy.¹⁴ Those Alabama, or Alibamu, Indians who eventually settled in Texas are currently part of a recognized tribe as Alabama-Coushatta.¹⁵

¹⁴ "The Alabama language belonged to the southern division of the Muskogean stock, and was perhaps connected with the tongues of the Muklasa and Tuskegee, which have not been preserved. It was closely related to Koasati and more remotely to Hitchiti and Choctaw" (Swanton 1952, 154).

¹⁵ Swanton stated that, "later some Alabama moved to the Sabine River, and the greater part of them finally drifted into Texas, where they are settled in what is now Polk County between Livingston and Woodville though a few families remained in Louisiana" (Swanton 1946, 87-88).

Jacobson indicated that the movement into Texas came by the end of the eighteenth century:

For two decades the Alabama on the Mississippi prospered. But the burgeoning white population forced the Alabama westward -- and into Spanish territory. They settled in two villages in southwestern Louisiana. Other Alabama moved to the Red and Calcasieu rivers and like the Coushatta ultimately (1795) crossed the Sabine into Texas (Jacobson 1974, 40).

There is no record of who was chief of the Alabama in Texas before 1836, but at that time an Indian called Co-La-Be was chief. He was succeeded by John Scott who lived until 1913 (Marsh 286-297). This name

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

According to an interview with Mrs. C. W. Chambers, who served as a missionary among the Alabama Indians of Big Sandy Village, Texas for 38 years, beginning in 1899, the sequence of events for the Alabama tribe's migration as recollected by those who finally settled in Texas had been as follows. At the evacuation of Fort Toulouse [1763], some of the Alabamas had become such good friends with the French that they followed them. They caught up with the French near the mouth of the Alabama River, where there took place the death of chief Tamathee Mingo, who was given Christian burial. At that time, some Indian babies began to be christened; none had been before that time.¹⁶ They followed the French to near New Orleans and then split up into five settlements; 40 families on Bayou Boeuf, a small village called Alabama two miles above Manchac on the east bank of the Mississippi; at El Rapide on the east side of the Red River above Bayou Rapide; near Nachitoches but across the river and farther up from Bayou Rapide; the majority went farther westward on the east bank of the Sabine River, probably near Elton, Louisiana (Marsh 1941, 276-277; quoted in Jacobson 1974).

Swanton stated that after 1763, the Alabama tribe began to break up, some going to Florida and some settling with the Koasati [Coushatta] along the Tombigbee River. The exodus of the 1760's into Louisiana cannot have been complete, for in 1772, Taitt reported 40 "Alibamons" still residing in what was evidently the Koasati [Coushatta] town in Alabama (Swanton 1946, 146).

By 1764, some Alabama established a settlement on Bayou Manchac on the left bank of the Mississippi River. Two years later Captain Harry Gordon, on his trip downstream, reported 150 Alabama tribesmen at the site (Jacobson 1974, 40). An Alabama village existed in the Ascension/St. James Parish area by 1768/69 per Judice's Spanish government census (see above). The Manchac and Ascension/St. James groups were still on the Mississippi in 1777 when Bartram

is comparable to "Calabee," which was the name of the Houma "young chief" mentioned in Judice's correspondence.

¹⁶ This might agree with the statement of Felicite Billiot that her grandmother, born at Mobile, had an Indian name and was baptized later.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

saw them and remained until at least 1784, when Hutchins saw them.¹⁷

"Other bodies" of Alabama, according to Swanton, moved to the Red River in Louisiana, and by the date of Sibley's 1805 report, one band lived near the Caddo Indians, one group resided 16 miles above Bayou Rapides, and another group was located about 30 miles northwest of Opelousas (each with 30 to 40 men respectively).¹⁸

¹⁷ "About 60 miles from New Orleans are the villages of the Humas and Alibamas. The former were once a considerable nation of Indians, but are reduced now to about 25 warriors; the latter consists of about 30, being part of a nation which lived near Fort Toulouse, on the river Alabama, and followed the French when they abandoned that post in the year 1762" (Hutchins 1784, 39). "About a mile above the Ibberville [35 miles below Pointe Coupee], on the East side of the Mississippi, there is a village of Alabama Indians, consisting of twenty-five warriors" (Hutchins 1784, 44).

¹⁸ In 1782, the commandant at Opelousas

informed the governor that l'Oeil de Carpe (Carp Eye), an Alibamon chief, and Derneville, representing the deceased chief of the Pacana village were so persistent in their desire to meet the governor for their present in payment for their part in the "Campaign of Baton Rouge," that all his arguments could not stop them (De Ville 1973b, 19).

Sibley reported numerous, scattered, settlements:

Alabamas are likewise from West Florida, off the Alabama River, and came to Red river about the same time of the Boluscas [*i.e.*, Biloxi] and Apalachies [*i.e.* ca. 1764]. Part of them have lived on Red river, about sixteen miles above the Bayou Rapide [possibly in Grant Parish?], till last year, when most of this party, of about thirty men, went up Red River, and have settled themselves near the Caddoquies [Royce map says Twp 18N. - Range 16 W, Caddo Parish, La], where, I am informed, they last year made a good crop of corn. The Caddoes are friendly to them, and have no objection to their settling there; they speak the Creek and Choctaw languages, and Mobilien[,] most of them French, and some of them English. There is another party of them, whose village is on a small creek in Opelousas district, about thirty miles northwest from the church of Opelousas; they consist of about forty men; they have lived at the same place ever since they came from Florida; are said to be increasing a little in numbers for a few years past; they raise corn, have houses, hogs and cattle, and are harmless, quiet people (Sibley 1806; quoted in Jacobson 1974, 58).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

The Rapides Post village of "Alibamons" was counted in the 1773 Spanish government census, giving men and women by name and male and female children by count only. There were seven men (four with French names and three with Indian names), eight women (five with French names and three unnamed), and seven boys (De Ville 1985, 20).

John Davis mentioned two Alabama villages in the center of the Opelousas District, near the church, containing 100 persons (Davis 1806, 97). An Alibamon baptism was recorded an Opelousas in 1815 (Hebert 1976a, 3:687).

Berlandier indicated that a number of these continued westward to Texas, but indicates a considerably later migration than the 1795 date assumed by Jacobson:

In 1809 the Alabamas were given 1500 acres of land in the territory of Orleans, west of the Mississippi, but without the right to sell or transfer the land. Those who came here [to Louisiana] from [British West] Florida live in the Opelousa country near the Cado [sic]. Several families of them still live in the state of Alabama. Fifty or sixty families of the tribe that came to Opelousa territory have long since settled along the west bank of the Rio Neches Others are to be found along the Trinity (Berlandier 1969, 104).

The Alabama and Coushatta villages in Louisiana listed by Jacobson included: (1) the Bayou Manchac site,¹⁹ East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, 1764-1784 (with Koasati [Coushatta] next to them according to Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 84, 87); (2) Caddo Parish, Louisiana (Royce map);²⁰ (3) north of Bayou Bodeau, Boccier Parish, Louisiana (1806 Freeman Custers expedition, 1820 Tanner map, 1825 Schoolcraft map); (4) about nine miles northwest of

¹⁹ "Following their two decade (1764-1784) stay on Bayou Manchac the Alabama retreated, in face of growing English numbers, into Spanish Louisiana. They set up one village in Opelousas District (Saint Landry Parish), another to the northwest on Bayou Boeuf. Their Pakana kinsmen from the Alabama River later moved to Louisiana (1795) and set up their village on the Calcasieu" (Jacobson 1974, 56, citing Swanton 1911, 33).

²⁰ Freeman-Custis expedition, June 26, 1806. Alabama village site, [in Caddo territory], left bank of Red River, 100 miles upstream from Natchitoches, Nicholas King map (Jacobson 1974, 60).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Coushatta, Louisiana (Sibley, Royce); (5) Alabama near Colfax, Grant Parish, Louisiana; (6) above the rapids near Alexandria, Louisiana, more or less at Pineville on the left bank of the Red River [Rapides Parish]; (7) Bayou Chico,²¹ near St. Landry, from 1795; (8) on the Sabine River ca. 1800, 80 miles south of Nacogdoches (Sibley); (9) land abandoned in 1883 when purchased by Mr. Nevilles, Township 15/16 (Coushatta site); (10) Bayou Blue Community from 1884 (Jacobson 1974, 243-249).

The migration to Texas was not entirely one-way. After 1803, most of the Alabama in Louisiana moved to Texas. About 1835 the head chief of the Alabamas decided to move back to Louisiana, to Patalaka on the Red River where the Biloxi and Pascagoues [sic] lived. The majority followed him, but some stayed in Texas; about two years later the Louisiana group went to Tyler Co., Texas (Marsh 1941, 279-280). About 1840, some Alabama came back to to Opelousas, Louisiana; later they returned to Texas, to Town Bluff in Liberty County. In 1852 settled at Big Sandy Village in Texas. Some from Louisiana's Red River joined the Big Sandy Village group in 1854, but some also continued to live near Colfax, Louisiana, with no chief and no special tribe (Marsh 1941, 280-281).

Bibliography:

Berlandier, Jean Louis.

1969 The Indians of Texas in 1830. Ed. and Intro. by John C. Ewers. Tr. Patricia Reading Leclercq. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Davis, John

1806 Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas. New York: L. Riley & Co.

Jacobson, Daniel, Howard N. Martin, and Ralph Henry Marsh

1974 (Creek) Indians Alabama-Coushatta. David Agee Horr, ed. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

[Extracts from records of the Indian Claims Commission, Docket No. 226.] Contains: Daniel Jacobson, Alabama-Coushatta Indians: Ethnological

²¹ Also Bayou Chicot, in Evangeline Parish (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 125). There was also a Choctaw village established at Bayou Chicot.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Report and Statement of Testimony [ca. 1972], 31-178; Howard N. Martin, [Ethnohistorical Analysis of] Documents on [Relating to] the Alabama and Coushatta Tribes of [the State of] Texas, 179-256; Ralph Henry Marsh, The History of Polk County, Texas, Indians [ca. 1941?], 257-313.

Marsh, Ralph Henry
1941 See Jacobson 1974.

Martin, Howard N.
1977 Myths & Folktales of the Alabama-Coushatta Indians of Texas. Austin, TX: The Encino Press.

Randl, Earl
1968 The Structural Phonology of Alabaman, a Muskogean Language. International Journal of American Linguistics 34:94-103.

Taensa. The Taensa were a Natchez-speaking tribe (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 123). Swanton was not aware of the Taensa village in Ascension Parish, Louisiana, during the later eighteenth century that was counted in Judice's census (see above). After following the tribe's migration from northeastern Louisiana to the lower Mississippi in 1706, to east of Mobile in 1715, and to the Tensaw River by 1744, he wrote that in late 1763 or early 1764 the Taensa moved to the Red River

and were later granted permission to settle on the Mississippi at the entrance of Bayou Lafourche. It is doubtful whether they availed themselves of the permission,²² as they were not there in 1784 and Sibley, writing in 1805, says that they had been on Red River 40 years (Swanton 1946, 188).

Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes followed Swanton's lead in being unaware of the Ascension Parish village:

[After 1763] the Taensa moved to Red River and established themselves near the Apalachee, another Mobile Bay tribe, in the vicinity of modern Boyce. The French regime had granted the Taensa land on

²² They were there in the 1768/69 Spanish censuses, which Swanton did not use.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

the Mississippi River at the head of Bayou Lafourche, but, apparently, they did not occupy it (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 77).

In addition to the Ascension Parish location, Taensa or "Tinsas" were settled between Natchitoches and Rapides on both banks of the Red River in 1796, scattered in groups of three, four, and five families (Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1983, 192).

In 1803 both Taensa and Apalachee sold their lands, and some of the former moved southward to Bayou Boeuf. Still another move came in 1812 when the Taensa shifted to Bayou Tensas, one of the many streams flowing into the northern end of Grand Lake. From this locality the Taensa were gradually assimilated by others, principally the Chitimacha. The Tensas language persisted among the Chitimacha at least until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Taensa tribal identity still existed in the 1930s (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 77).

One scholar wrote that:

There does not seem to be any documentation for the movement of the Tinzas (Taensas) to Texas. Members of this tribe were intermarrying with Alabamas in Louisiana, and any Taensas that may have moved to Texas were probably absorbed by the more numerous Alabamas (Martin in Jacobson 1974, 205).

Bibliography:

Calhoun, Robert Dabney.
1934 The Taensa Indians, I. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 17:411-435.

Louisiana tribes other than the Alabama and Taensa. No other tribes lived in quite such close proximity to the historical Houma on the banks of the Mississippi River as did the Alabama and Taensa, but there was Houma interaction with several more. Because the traditions of the UHN as provided to Swanton by Felicite and Barthelemy Billiot in 1907 (Swanton n.d.) indicated that their grandfather was Biloxi (confirmed by later deed records in Terrebonne

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Parish) and their grandmother born in Mobile, the order of discussion of the groups that follow is (1) the Biloxi; (2) other immigrant tribes which came into Louisiana from Alabama after 1763; (3) indigenous Louisiana tribes.

The Biloxi and their Associates.

Biloxi. This tribe, its members representing, however, only a small proportion of the Biloxi groups of the later eighteenth century, is currently Federally acknowledged as part of the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana.

The movements of the Biloxi were of more interest for BAR analysis than those of other tribes not closely associated with the historical Houma, because one UHN ancestor was specifically identified as Biloxi. Since his tribe would have needed to have been in contact with the unidentified tribe to which his wife belonged, tracing Biloxi movements opened a possible methodology for identifying another UHN ancestral group.

Although the Biloxi were a Siouan tribe, Sibley, in 1805, said that they spoke the Mobilian trade jargon in addition to their own language (Mooney 1894, 15-16).

In 1699, the Biloxi were living in southern Mississippi around Biloxi Bay on the Gulf of Mexico, near the Pascagoula and Mochtobi (Mooney 1894, 15). The Biloxi were living near New Orleans by 1707. In 1722 they were on the Pearl River near the Louisiana/Mississippi border (Swanton 1946, 97).

The Biloxi . . . settled at the old Acolapissa village near the Pearl River in about 1722 and remained there for some years. A 1759 affidavit puts their village at Indian Village on the West Pearl River, In 1761, they are alleged to have sold all of their land between Bayou Bonfouca and the Pearl River to Marie Chenet, widow of Francois Rillieux (Ellis 1981, 28-29).

Swanton stated that soon thereafter they moved near the Pascagoula, and after 1763 moved across the Mississippi (Swanton 1946, 97). In 1784, Hutchins located them near the mouth of the Red River (Swanton 1946, 97). At that time, they and the Pascagoula together were estimated at 30 warriors (Mooney 1894, 15). Swanton indicates that they soon after moved near Marksville, Louisiana, where they had two villages, one adjoining the Tunica (Swanton 1946, 97).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

By the 1790's, however, the Biloxi were fragmenting into numerous small groups. At least some of them soon moved to Bayou Rapides, at Rigolet du Bon Dieu,²³ about six miles above Alexandria, Louisiana, and by 1794/96 were on Bayou Boeuf, "on the south side below a band of Choctaw" (Swanton 1946, 97).²⁴ In 1805, Sibley said they had come to the Red River about 40 years before as a "numerous tribe," but attributed them a population of only 30 (Swanton 1946, 98; Ethridge 1940, 1115; Berlandier 1969, 105 n. 125). At this time, they were still associated with the Pascagoula:

The Pascagoula settled still farther down 2 years later. Soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the two tribes sold their lands to William Miller and Colonel Fulton, but though the sale was confirmed by the United States Government May 5, 1805, the Biloxi remained in the immediate neighborhood and gradually died out there or fused with the Tunica and Choctaw (Swanton 1946, 97).

Supposedly, a mixed group of Biloxi and Pascagoula removed to Texas about the close of the Civil War, but Mooney thought they had probably gone to Oklahoma (Mooney 1894, 16). According to Swanton,

A large body of these people, however, if we may trust the figures given by Morse, went to Texas and established themselves on a stream in Angelina County, still called Biloxi Bayou. Among the Alabama Indians in this neighborhood are a few descended from these; what became of the rest is unknown. In 1829, Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Caddo

²³ "The Belocses, as the Spanish call them, or Biloxi in French, are a small nation that originally came from Pensacola. For many years they lived along the Louisiana border, near the confluence of the Rigoles du Bon Dieu, where they had a few fields of maize and hunted in the forests. At that time they numbered about a hundred individuals, including a score or so of warriors. When France ceded Louisiana to the United States of North America the Belocses moved into Texas territory, where they now dwell along the eastern bank of the Rio de Neches. Their numbers have not dwindled since then. There are still 25 families of them, with a hundred members at the very least" (Berlandier 1969, 105).

²⁴ Mooney described the same location as "near Lamourie bridge on Bayou Boeuf, in Rapides Parish, Louisiana, sixteen miles south of Alexandria. They numbered only 25 all told, including several mixed bloods, and hardly half a dozen were able to speak the language fluently;" (Mooney 1894, 16).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

were said to be living near one another close to
the Texas boundary. . . . (Swanton 1946, 97).

However, not all of the Biloxi left Louisiana or combined
with the Tunica: "In the fall of 1886 Dr. A. S. Gatschet,
of the Bureau of American Ethnology, discovered a few Biloxi
on Indian Creek, 5 to 6 miles west of Leconte, La.,"
(Swanton 1946, 97).

Bibliography:

- Dorsey, James Owen.
1894 The Biloxi Indians of Louisiana. *Proceedings of
the American Association for the Advancement of
Science* 42 (1894):267-287.
- Dorsey, James Owen and John R. Swanton
1912 A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages.
Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 47.
Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Haas, Mary
1968 The Last Words of Biloxi. *International Journal
of American Linguistics* 34:77-84.

Acolapissa-Biloxi Connection. By the early 1720's, the
Acolapissa, originally living in the area of the Pearl River
(Louisiana/Mississippi border) and on the north bank of Lake
Pontchartrain,²⁵ had apparently split. In 1722, some were
on the banks of the Mississippi River, while in 1725, 100 of
the 400 men they had previously had were still at Bayou
Castein in modern St. Tammany Parish (Ellis 1981, 27).
Apparently, only those Acolapissa on the banks of the
Mississippi incorporated with the Houma by 1753. The 1765
Ross map still shows them in both locations (Bushnell 1909,
Plate 2), and their continued separate existence is also
indicated by the 1764 list compiled at the orders of the
French official Choiseul (Moore 1976, 85).²⁶

²⁵ Other tribes which were located in the area included the Biloxi,
the Choctaw, and the Pensacola (Ellis 1981, 28-29).

²⁶ This list mentioned: Apalachees, Biloxis, Pascagoulas,
Chitimachas, Colapissas, Bayogoulas, Avoyelles, Houmas, Chanaches
[Chauaches or Chawashas?], Vachas [Washas?], Tomikas [*sic*, Tunicas?],
Offogoulas, Atakapas, and Arkansas (Moore 1976, 85). Puentes to Grimaldi,
March 9, 1764, in Leg. 2542, Audiencia de Sto. Domingo, AGI).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Bushnell's opinion was that, "the Acolapissa [of St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana] were so closely connected with the Choctaw proper that it is not possible now to distinguish between them. They spoke the same language, probably with only slight local variations" (Bushnell 1909, 1-2). In fact, Bushnell allowed for the possibility that some of the St. Tammany Parish "Choctaw" were actually descendants of the Acolapissa (Bushnell 1909, 3).

In connection with Swanton's report that Felicite Billiot's family had a "badge of the red crawfish," and his note in one place her mother was said to be Acolapissa rather than Attakapa (Swanton, n.d.),²⁷ it was of interest in attempting to identify a historical tribal connection for the UHN that an Acolapissa subgroup in St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, living 12 miles west of Bayou Lacombe, were the Crayfish people (Bushnell 1908, 16). However, no definite connection could be documented.

Tribes immigrating to Louisiana from Alabama and West Florida after 1763.

Pascagoula. The Pascagoula are considered first in this category because of their known association with the historical Houma tribe and with the Biloxi. Judice's correspondence mentioned the appearance of Pascagoula and Biloxi in the Houma village along the Mississippi River in the later 1760's.

The Pascagoula were on the Gulf Coast shortly after 1700. Swanton indicated that they were probably Muskogean, but closely associated with the Siouan Biloxi (Swanton 1952, 190-191). A census by governor de Kerlerec in 1758 counted, as a combination of Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Chatot, 100 warriors and, by estimate, 350 people (Higginbotham 1967, 18; Swanton 1946, 171). When French rule ended, the

²⁷ Can there have been confusion in pronunciation here? In discussing Texas Indians, Swanton elsewhere stated:

The father of these men was a Biloxi, pronounced by them **Atabalo'ktci**; their mother, a Pascagoula, and they asserted that there were no other descendants of the latter tribe among the Indians of Polk county. The rest they declared "had gone back to Opelousas" (Swanton 1911, 31-32).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Pascagoula moved to Louisiana, first on the west side of the Mississippi River.²⁸

Higginbotham says that, "In 1771, they are reported to have been living on Lake Maurepas, hunting near Baton Rouge and on the Amite River" (Higginbotham 1967, 18). In 1784, Hutchins said that they had a village with 20 warriors located on the west side of the Mississippi River about ten miles above the Tunica.²⁹

In 1787 they moved to the Red River at Les Ecores de Rigolet du Bon Dieu [an alternate channel of the Red River which formed an island about 50 miles long], land bounded above by Bayou de la Coeur and below by Bayou Philippe (Higginbotham 1967, 18).³⁰ "Their principal village was Mt. Pleasant and their chief was listed as Louis de Blanc" (Higginbotham 1967, 37).

Some also went to Bayou Boeuf in 1795, where they "settled on land granted to them that same year by the Choctaw on a bend in the bayou near the Biloxi (Higginbotham 1967, 38; Swanton 1946, 171).³¹ On May 4, 1805, they and the Biloxi sold their lands to Fulton and Miller of Rapides Parish, the Pascagoula signers being the chiefs Big Bread, la Culotte, Ajadonah, Cosauh, Ningo, and Big Head (Higginbotham 1967, 38; Swanton 1946, 171). In 1805, according to Sibley, there were 25 Pascagoula warriors (Swanton 1946, 171).

In 1817, one hundred Pascagoulas and Biloxis were reported to be living on lower Red River and in 1822, Morse, in his statistical table [dated

²⁸ "In 1764 they crossed the Mississippi and settled for a short time on the great stream itself not far from the mouth of Red River" (Swanton 1946, 171).

²⁹ "About ten miles above the Tonicas village, on the same side of the river, is a village of Pascagoula Indians, of twenty warriors; and a little lower down, on the opposite, there is a village of Biloxi Indians, containing thirty warriors" (Hutchins 1784, 45).

³⁰ ". . . in 1787 permission was granted them to locate at the confluence of the Rigolet du Bon Dieu and the Red River, and they probably moved at about the same time, their territory lying between Bayou de la Coeur and Bayou Philippe" (Swanton 1946, 171).

³¹ "Pascagoula settled between Natchitoches and Rapides 1796, on both banks of Red River, scattered in groups of three, four, and five families" (Kinnaid and Kinnaid 1983, 192).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

1822],³² gives three bodies of Pascagoula Indians, one numbering 80, on Red River, 160 miles from the mouth and near the Apalachee; another of 60 persons, 160 miles farther up; and a third of 100 on Biloxi Bayou, 15 miles above the junction with the Neches. In 1829, Porter reported 111 Pascagoula living with 65 Biloxi in eastern Texas on Red River (Higginbotham 1967, 38-39).

No living Pascagoula are known to the Biloxi still in Rapides parish, but a considerable number of them moved to Angelina county, Tex., before the year 1917 [sic--should be 1817], and settled not far from the Alibamu. Hoping that a few of these might still be found, the writer, in November, 1908, stopped at Livingston, Tex., to look for them. By the merest accident he had the good fortune to meet near that place two Indians of Pascagoula descent, who, although brothers, are called by different names--Tom Johnson and Sam Lockhart. The father of these men was a Biloxi, pronounced by them *Atabalo'ktci*; their mother, a Pascagoula, and they asserted that there were no other descendants of the latter tribe among the Indians of Polk county. The rest they declared "had gone back to Opelousas" (Swanton 1911, 31-32).

Most of the words which these men recalled from their parents were identified by Swanton as Choctaw. As the remainder were "not Biloxi," he hypothesized that they could have been either Pascagoula or Mobilian trade jargon (Swanton 1911, 32). In 1805, Sibley had noted that the Pascagoula spoke Mobilian in addition to their own language and French (Higginbotham 1967, 38).

Bibliography:

Higginbotham, Jay
1967 The Pascagoula Indians. Mobile, AL: Colonial Books.

³² "From Rapides Parish, Louisiana, they went to Biloxi Bayou, Texas" (Swanton 1952, 190-191). "Morse, writing in 1822, reports three bodies of Pascagoula, two at different points on Red River and a third on Biloxi Bayou, a branch of the Neches in Texas (Swanton 1946, 171).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Apalache. From 1730-1762, the Apalache lived east of Mobile, south of the Taensa (Swanton 1946, Map 11). This group crossed the Mississippi from Mobile after West Florida was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, and came to the Red River (Swanton 1952, 156, 210), where they settled between Natchitoches and Rapides, on both banks of Red River.

In 1769, the expedition sent by Governor Alexandro O'Reilly to Natchitoches reported that at Rapides on the Red River,

a small village of Apalache Indians is established . . . , composed in all of twenty-one houses of little stability, twenty-six men and about eighteen women, of all ages. They live by hunting and on a scant amount of corn which they roast. Most of them are Catholics, and many of them speak our language (Bjork 1924, quoted in De Ville 1985, 17).

These "Catholic Apalache Indians" settled at Rapides were specifically mentioned on February 14, 1770, in connection with the appointment of a priest for the Rapides Post (PPC PC-AGI, legajo 1055, quoted in De Ville, 1985, 13). The 1773 Spanish census, which listed these Apalache villagers by name, enumerated a chief named Piere [sic], his wife Therese, 18 other men (eight with Indian names and ten with French names), 14 other women (all with French names), seven boys and seven girls (De Ville 1985, 20).

In 1796, they lived scattered in groups of three, four, and five families (Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1983, 192). "Gatschet (1884:76) noted there were 14 Apalachee families in 1815 on the Bayou Rapide in Louisiana. The Apalachee appear to have remained in this region, where they either died out or merged with other tribes" (Crawford 1975, 30).

Bibliography:

- Ethridge, Adele N.
1940 The Indians of Grant Parish. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 23:1107-1131.
- Haas, Mary
1949 The Position of Apalachee in the Muskoghean Family. International Journal of American Linguistics 15:121-127.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Chatot. This very small tribe had come from Florida to Mobile, where they lived 1708-1763, and then moved to Louisiana about the same time as the Apalachee (Swanton 1952). Because of variant spellings in eighteenth and early nineteenth century documents, it is extremely difficult to distinguish them from small, wandering, bands of Choctaw.

Mentioned as an extremely small group, about five men, along the Mississippi in the second half of the eighteenth century, by 1817 they were on the Sabine River (Louisiana/Texas border) (Swanton 1946, Map 11). In addition to that location, the 1773 Spanish government census of Rapides Post mentioned the presence of "Chatos." The commandant did not have a count of the people, but indicated that they had 30 horses and were going to establish a village half a league below the post (De Ville 1985, 20).

Mobile. Swanton stated that the Mobile Indians did not appear to have gone to Louisiana after 1763, and added that they probably united with the Choctaw (Swanton 1952, 159).

The Mobile proper; and the Alabama, Koasati, and Pacana, were shifted to the English³³ east bank of the Mississippi north and south of the settlement at Manchac--a location ten miles south of Baton Rouge and above the Houma living nearer New Orleans. The Spanish recorded that they had settled the tribes there in one village (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 84).

The 1773 Spanish government census of Rapides Post also indicated a small village of "Mobilliens" between the Alabama and the Chatot, containing 7 men, 6 women, and 4 children (De Ville 1985, 20).

³³ Sic, but why would the Spanish have settled them on the English east bank? There has to be something wrong with this statement. Was the actual location along the German Coast?

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Pacana.³⁴ This tribe was Muskogean. In 1717, a part of the *Pacana* (also spelled *Pakana*) lived at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, in the vicinity of Fort Toulouse, near the Alabama and Couthatta. The population was about 30 men in 1761 (Swanton 1946, 170). One band moved into Louisiana in 1763 or 1764, going to the Red River along with the Taensa and Apalache. By 1805, Sibley found them on the Calcasieu River, Louisiana, again with a population of 30 men (Swanton 1946, 170).

According to Alabama tradition, they subsequently united with the Alabama in Texas, along the Trinity River, by 1830 (Swanton 1952, 204; Swanton 1946, Map 11; Martin in Jacobson 1974, 196).³⁵

Koasati/Couthatta. The *Koasati* or *Couthatta* who moved to Texas are now part of a Federally acknowledged tribe as the Alabama-Couthatta.

While in Alabama, the *Couthatta* were members of the Creek Confederacy (Jacobson 1974, 23). During the first half of eighteenth century, they lived west of the Coosa/Tallapoosa River junction [Marsh says near Coosada Station, Elmore County, Alabama (Marsh 1941, 284)]. In 1763 a band went to the Tombigbee, but returned to the original location before 1771 (Jacobson 1960, 103). The *Couthatta* remained in Alabama a generation longer than most of the Louisiana "immigrant tribes." In 1792, just before the emigration to Louisiana began, they are said to have had 130 men (Swanton 1946, 146). Between 1793 and 1797, one band went to Red

³⁴ "The existence of this group, almost unnoticed by Europeans, would have important consequences for the *Koasati* in the mid-nineteenth century" (Kirball 1991, 5).

³⁵ *Pakana Muskogee Village -- 1834*. "The *Pakana* Muskogees lived near the Alabama tribe in the State of Alabama, migrated westward after 1763 and established a village near the Alabamas in Louisiana, and then settled on Penwau Slough in western Polk County, Texas, in 1834. Later, the *Pakanas* moved to the John Burgess League a few miles northeast of their original settlement in Polk County. This tribe has been occasionally referred to, erroneously, as "Kickapoo" Indians, as in Exhibit 1,006 (Ralph Henry Marsh thesis) filed for the Louisiana *Couthattas* in Docket 226. These Indians of Polk County, Texas, were not members of the Kickapoo Tribe. The name "Kickapoo", as applied to the *Pakana* Muskogees in Polk County, was used only to refer to their location near Kickapoo Creek in the western part of this county (Martin in Jacobson 1974, 223-224).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

River, Louisiana.³⁶ The rest remained with the Creeks and shared their subsequent history.³⁷

In 1793 Red Shoes, an old Coshatti chieftain, and Billy Ashe, a mulatto who lived with the Alabamas, refusing to fight the Chickasaws, gathered together about twenty-five families³⁸ and moved to the Red River, about sixty miles up from its mouth . . .³⁹ [then in] 1799 to the east bank of the Sabine River, eight miles south of Natchitoches, near the present town of Elton, Louisiana . . . (Marsh 1941, 285-286).⁴⁰

For BAR analysis purposes, Red Shoes' refusal to fight the Chickasaws and as a result having to leave Alabama would be consistent with UHN ancestor Barthelemy Billiot's

³⁶ "The most important event in Koasati history, their migration to Louisiana, occurred at this time. Because of Red Shoes's opposition to certain policies of the Confederacy--one of which was a proposed war on the Chickasaws--and because of his good relations with the Spanish of Louisiana, he and 214 followers left their homes in 1795, traveled to New Orleans and Mobile for supplies, then removed to a location sixty miles from the confluence of the Red and Mississippi Rivers" (Kimball 1991, 5; citing to Nunez 1958, 19-20).

³⁷ "In the 1770s the Koasati began to play a prominent role in the affairs of the developing Creek Confederacy. They traded in both Mobile and New Orleans and had close contacts with the Spanish in the two cities, as well as with the Chickasaw. At this time they were under the leadership of the independent and energetic chief known in the English records as Red Shoes, in the Spanish records as Zapatos Colorados, or under the Chickasaw title Sulushmastabe; his Koasati name was Stillapikachatta (*stilapeyka ca.ti* 'Red Shoes'). Other important Koasati were signatories of the Treaty of New York in 1790: Hopoy (*ahopa.ya* 'Measurer'), Muthtee (*immatti*. 'One Who Misses'), and Stimafutchkee (*istima.facki* 'Gladdener)" (Kimball 1991, 5; citing to Nunez 1958, 19-20).

³⁸ "Twenty families, partly Coshatta, partly Alabama, appeared in the present state of Louisiana in 1795. A settlement was made on Red River, sixty miles from its mouth; . . . abandoned the site . . . and moved to a point near the mouth of the Trinity River in Texas . . . Morse could report 240 Coshatta living on the Trinity in 1822" (Sibley 1806, cited in: Jacobson 1974, 40).

³⁹ See Swanton 1946, Map 11.

⁴⁰ The location is also described as six miles north of the confluence of Bayou Anacoco and the Sabine. "A secondary village was established on the Red River north of the Great Raft, in the territory of the Caddo" (Freeman and Custis 1807, 21-23).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

statement to Swanton that his ancestor Shulu shuman was "driven out by the Indians" and "made a medal chief by the white men" (Swanton n.d.)⁴¹ However, there was no documentation to prove such a connection.

In 1804 Pia Mingo and about four hundred fifty other Coushatta [Coshattis] were reported to have settled near Red Shoes⁴² on the Sabine River. . . (Marsh 1941, 285-286),⁴³ but if this were the case, his group does not appear in the following population estimates. In 1805, Sibley reported that:

Conchattas [sic] are almost the same people as the Allibamis, but came over only ten years ago; first lived on Bayau Chico, in Appelousa district, but, four years ago, moved to the river Sabine, settled themselves on the east bank, where they now live, in nearly a south direction from Natchitoch, and distant about eighty miles. They call their number of men one hundred and sixty, but say, if they were altogether, they would amount to two hundred.⁴⁴ Several families of them live in

⁴¹ "Medal chiefs, legal chiefs who dealt with political and military affairs, were favored in every way when friendly to the whites, and the displacement of those less willing to collaborate with the newcomers was deliberately undertaken by both French and Spanish, constituting a major threat to tribal sovereignty" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes, 1987, 66).

"After Europeans began to appoint medal chiefs, the status of the chiefs became separated from kinship to a much greater degree than ever before. The position was more secular, less social, and more of a public office. American Indian agents like John Sibley at Natchitoches crassly manipulated the position of chief among the Louisiana Choctaw. When the tribe chose a person whom Sibley disliked, he engineered a confrontation, told authorities that he had been attacked, and had the man arrested. Then he demanded that the Choctaw appoint another man more to his liking to be their chief" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 235).

⁴² "Old Red Shoe served as micco [chief] both the Alabama and Coushatta" (Swan in Schoolcraft 1969, 5:263; Jacobson 1974, 152, n. 50).

⁴³ In 1807 according to Sibley, Red Shoes was still chief of the Coushatta on the Sabine near Merryville in Louisiana; another Coushatta leader from the Sabine settlement was Pia Mingo; Echean/Etienne was chief of the Coushatta in the Caddo region 95 miles northwest of Natchitoches, Red River, Bossier Parish, Louisiana (Johnson 1976, 31-33).

⁴⁴ In 1806, John Davis mentioned Coushatta "dispersed through the country as far west as the river Savinas, and its neighborhood, about three hundred and fifty persons" (Davis 1806, 97).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

detached settlements The Conchattas are friendly with all other Indians, and speak well of their neighbors the Carankouas, who, they say, live about eighty miles south of them, on the bay, which I believe, is the nearest point to the sea from Natchitoches. A few families of Choctaws have lately settled near them from Bayau Beauf [sic]. The Conchattas speak Creek, which is their native language, and Chactaw, and several of them English, and one or two of them can read it a little" (Sibley 1806; quoted in Jacobson 1974, 59-60).

In 1806, even though Red Shoes had moved to the Sabine River, the Coushatta also still had a village on the left bank of Red River above Bayou Bodeau, 510 miles from the mouth of the river, which received additional population in 1809 (Jacobson 1974, 90-91; Jacobson 1860, 105).⁴⁵ In 1814, Schermerhorn counted a Coushatta population of 600 on the Sabine River (Louisiana-Texas border). In 1817, Morse said there were 350 on Red River, 50 on the Neches, and 240 in two villages on the Trinity River in eastern Texas (Swanton 1946, 146; Jacobson 1860, 103).⁴⁶ Morse apparently omitted the Sabine River village from his estimate. By 1850, the Louisiana site on the Red River site had been abandoned and the Red River Coushatta joined those

⁴⁵ A report from Dr. John Sibley in 1809 stated that:

There are likewise Several parties of emigrant Vagabond Creeks, Commonly called Conchettes, one party of them with the Alabamas, have settled on Red River about latitude 32:40; Another onthe East Side of the River Sabine about 70 miles South westwardly from Natchitoches, some on the West Side of the Sabine, and Some who have no fixed place of residence" (quoted in: Berlandier 1969, 124, n. 167).

⁴⁶ "The Koasati seem to have ranged widely over eastern Texas and western Louisiana; eventually, because of friction between them and the new American rulers of Louisiana and at the invitation of the Spanish, Red Shoes led the Koasati out of Louisiana and into Spanish Texas (Sibley 1922; Cox 1913;:157). They settled on the Trinity River, about forty miles north of its mouth" (Kimball 1991, 7). Kimball does not seem to have realized that the existence of these villages was not totally sequential, but that their settlement dates overlapped considerably:

For other estimates of the Texas population, see Berlandier 1969, 124 n. 167.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

on the Trinity, Neches, and Sabine Rivers in Texas (Jacobson 1974, 90-91).⁴⁷

In 1828, Berlandier commented that the

Conchates [sic] do not look like a native people. To see them you would say they were a gathering of settlers. Toward the beginning of the 19th century, 350 Conchates moved out of the Opelousa territory, where they had lived ever since leaving Florida many years before, and came to settle on the lonely banks of the Sabine, where they have built their houses. There they have chosen fertile land. They are successful farmers and sell much of their produce. They raise sheep, build houses of logs, and differ in practically no respect from the American settlers (Berlandier 1969, 124).

According to a census of Coushatta in Texas taken by J. Francisco Madero in 1831, they lived in two villages, Colege and Battista, with a total population of 426 (Smither 1932:90-91). They suffered from epidemics of dysentery in 1833 and in 1839. Beginning in 1839, there also were troubles with white settlers who had begun to move into the Trinity River area (Kimball 1991, 7).

Swanton stated that as a result of the problems developing in Texas, some Coushatta returned to Louisiana after 1839, settling in what was then Calcasieu Parish, now Allen and Jefferson Parishes, between Elton and Kinder (Swanton 1946, 145). Marsh, however, believed that the village at Elton, Louisiana, was comprised of Coushatta who remained behind when the main group moved to Texas. Marsh reported that the Elton settlement had a population of about 300, with Jeff Abbey as chief (Marsh 1941, 286). After 1844, some Coushatta also returned to the Red River in Louisiana and others joined the Alabamas at Big Sandy Village (Marsh 1941, 288-289).

⁴⁷ "Some who went to Louisiana lived for a time in the Opelousas district and then went to the Sabine River; we later (1831) find Koasati on the Neches, River, Texas, and others on the Trinity, where they suffered severely from pestilence. The remainder collected in one village which united with the Alabama Indians" (Swanton 1946, 145).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

The Coushatta community in Louisiana, on Calcasieu southwest of the modern town of Kinder, Allen Parish, Louisiana, was called Indian Village. It had a population of 250 during the Civil War, but was abandoned during the 1880's under white pressure. In 1884, they settled on Bayou Blue, a few miles northeast of Kinder, where in 1893 the population was 150/200 (Jacobson 1960, 97; Jacobson 1974, 91). Located south of Elton, Louisiana, Bayou Blue is a tributary of Bayou Nezpique (Kimball 1991, 2).

It has been shown that the Coushatta (or Alabama) are a distinct ethnic group, whether they were residents in Louisiana or in Texas. The Coushatta lived in both states historically and live in both currently. Coushatta go back and forth today between the Alabama-Coushatta Reservation and the Bayou Blue community. A number of the Coushatta in Texas have intermarried with the Alabama. But many have not. Numerous surnames - **Abbey**,⁴⁸ **Batisse**, **Celestine**,⁴⁹ **John**,⁵⁰ **Robinson**, **Williams** testify to the Coushatta presence in both Louisiana and Texas (Jacobson 1974, 93).⁵¹

The [Texas] Koasati never obtained the reservation promised them. Some moved onto or near the Alabama reservation when it was set up; others remained near Shepherd, Texas. A slow but steady migration to Louisiana shrank the latter group; finally, in the late 1880s or early 1890s, Chickasaw Abbey's son, John Abbey, emigrated to Louisiana, where he became chief (Kimball 1991, 9).

Their village was on the Calcasieu River in the same general area that the Pacana Muskogee were noted in 1805. This and the fact that the records

⁴⁸ Chickasaw Abbey, son of Kalita, was leader of the Coushatta in Polk Co., TX, ca. 1850's (Jacobson 1974, 86; Kimball 1991, 9).

⁴⁹ Appears also among the Choctaw of St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana.

⁵⁰ This family name also appears among the Choctaw of St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana (Bushnell 1909, Plate 13).

⁵¹ Both Abbey and John appeared as names in the first two generations of the UHN community. The French name for Courteau Houma is said to have been Joseph Abbe.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

of St. Peter's Church indicate that several persons among the Koasati around the turn of the century were Muskogee suggests that the Koasati settled either near or among the Pacana In addition to the Koasati and Muskogee, a band of Choctaw lived along the Calcasieu around 1908 their was a major emigration of people of Choctaw descent from the Louisiana settlement to Oklahoma (Kimball 1991, 9).

[The Koasati] believe that their traditional culture . . . is the sole property of the Koasati themselves and should not be revealed to outsiders. At one time this attitude extended to the language itself; community members were opposed to teaching the language to non-Indians, and until the 1930s they taught outsiders interested in the Indian language the Mobilian Trade Jargon (*yama*) to maintain linguistic distance between themselves and non-Indians (see Drechsel 1979) (Kimball 1991, 3).

Bibliography:

Davis, John

1806 Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas. New York:
L. Riley & Co.

Hunter, Donald G.

1973 The Settlement Pattern and Toponymy of the Koasati
Indians of Bayou Blue. Florida Anthropologist
26(2) (1973):79-88.

Jacobson, Daniel.

1960 The Origin of the Koasati Community of Louisiana.
Ethnohistory 7 (1960):97-120.

Johnson, Bobby H.

1976 The Coshatta People. Indian Tribal Series.
Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series.

Kimball, Geoffrey D. et al.

1991 Koasati Grammar. Studies in the Anthropology of
North American Indians. In Cooperation with the
American Indian Studies Research Institute,
Indiana University. Lincoln, NE and London:
University of Nebraska Press.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

1994 Koasati Dictionary. With the Assistance of Bel Abbey [et al.] Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Rothe, Aline Thompson
1963 Kalita's People: A History of the Alabama-Coushatta Indians of Texas. [Waco, TX:] Privately printed.

Sibley, John
1987 A Report from Natchitoches in 1807. Annie Heloise Abel, ed. Foreword by Elizabeth Shown Mills. Ville Platte, La: Evangeline Genealogical and Historical Society.

Tallapoosa. In Alabama, a map indicating tribal group distribution ca. 1700 shows the Tallapoosa as residing between the Alabama and Koasati (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 45)--a proximity which would make UHN ancestress Felicite Billiot's recollection of "Tallapuche" as a tribal name more reasonable than if one assumes her ancestors were from a native Louisiana group such as the historical Houma, who were already on the banks of the Mississippi when LaSalle encountered them in 1692.

Choctaw. By 1803, there were four Choctaw villages in the Ouachitas and Opelousas Districts of Louisiana (Purser 1964, 402).

The Choctaw became the most widespread Indian population in Louisiana. Small groups of them were to be found in the Florida parishes, on lower Bayou Lafourche, from the Chicot settlement to the banks of the upper Calcasieu River in central Louisiana, in the Bayou Boeuf drainage, and scattered across the hills of northern Louisiana from the Ouachita River to the Sabine. They had villages on Bayou Nezpique⁵² and the German Coast along the Mississippi (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 94).

The Choctaw of Louisiana are the most widely dispersed group, the East Baton Rouge Parish

⁵² Near Elton, Louisiana.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

community representing principally mixed-blood Choctaw descendants now living in an urban setting. The other relict Choctaw groups represent eighteenth-century bands that moved into the present state under Spanish dominion. The only exceptions are the families scattered in the Mandeville area, which constitute a southerly extension of the larger body of Mississippi Choctaw.⁵³ The largest contemporary Choctaw populations are descended from eighteenth-century Choctaw settlements in Rapides Parish and on the Ouachita River. These groups now compose the Jena Band of Choctaw⁵⁴ and another, unrelated group, the Clifton community (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 304).

There is a Choctaw group in St. Tammany Parish, on the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, one part at Bayou Lacombe and the other about 12 miles from the mouth of the Pearl River on the right bank (Bushnell 1909, 1). The family names "Silestine" [also spelled Celestine] and John⁵⁵ appear in this settlement (Bushnell 1909, 18).⁵⁶ "Albert S. Gatschet collected Choctaw words and phrases in Louisiana north of Lake Pontchartrain in 1881-82 (Pilling 1889:32)" (Crawford 1975, 35).

Bushnell suggested that the St. Tammany Parish Choctaw may actually have been, at least in part, Acolapissa descendants, but offered no documentation or genealogical study to support this. Father Adrien Rouquette, who worked with the Bayou Lacombe Choctaw in St. Tammany Parish from 1859 onward, considered them to be simply Choctaw. Ellis

⁵³ Could this have any connection with the mention in the UHN oral histories that Rosalie Courteau had connections with Philadelphia, Mississippi, which is the headquarters of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw?

⁵⁴ BAR research on the Jena Band of Choctaw petition for Federal acknowledgment indicates that the group is of Mississippi Choctaw origin, having moved to Louisiana only between 1870 and 1880. They were identified as Mississippi Choctaw by the Dawes Commission, and this is the ancestry which the Jena claim for themselves.

⁵⁵ Cf. Alabama/Coushatta names at Elton, Louisiana.

⁵⁶ Cf. "Celestine" among the Coushatta in Louisiana. Bushnell presented no documentary or genealogical evidence for his suggestion that some of the St. Tammany Parish Choctaw may actually have been descendants of the Acolapissa.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

indicated that the Choctaw did not make permanent settlements in St. Tammany Parish until after European settlement.

French records indicate that in the mid-18th century, around 1748, there were a number of Choctaw villages in St. Tammany, but the locations are not given. Spanish records dated about 1790 suggest that there were still several Choctaw villages there However, in 1803, Daniel Clark was able to report to President Madison as follows: "There are no other Indians settled on this (the east) side of the River, either in Louisiana or West Florida tho' they are at times frequented by parties of wandering Choctaws" (Ellis 1981, 29).

Another settlement existed at Indian Creek (Rapides Parish), about 12 miles from Alexandria, Louisiana (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 96).

Bibliography:

- Bremer, Cora
1907 The Chata Indians of Lower Pearl River. New Orleans, LA: n.p.
- Bushnell, David I., Jr.
1909 The Choctaw of Bayou LaCombe, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 48. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- D'Antoni, Blaise C.
1936 Chahta-Ima and St. Tammany's Choctaws. N.p.: privately printed.
- Jacob, Betty, [Thurston] Dale Nicklas, and Betty Spencer
1977 Introduction to Choctaw. Durant, OK: Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, Southern Oklahoma State University.
- LeBreton, Dagmar Renshaw
1947 Chahta-Ima, The Life of Adrien-Emanuel Rouquette. Baton Rouge, LA: n.p.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

- Nicklas, Thurston Dale
1974 The Elements of Choctaw. Ph.D. dissertation,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Peterson, John H., Jr.
1975 Louisiana Choctaw Life at the End of the
Eighteenth Century. Pp. 101-131 in Four Centuries
of Southern Indians. Charles Hudson, ed. Athens,
GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Rouquette, Dominique
n.d. The Choctaw. Olivia Blanchard, tr. Survey of
Federal Archives in Louisiana, Louisiana State
University, Baton Rouge.

Indigenous Louisiana Tribes.

Chitimacha (recognized tribe). There were Chitimacha
villages in the area of Bayou Lafourche at the conjunction
with the Mississippi, but UHN tradition did not recall a
close Chitimacha connection.

The Chitimacha, or at least part of them, were living near
the junction of the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche by
1719, and continued to have at least one village there, with
80 warriors in 1758 and 27 warriors in 1784. They had other
villages along Bayou Teche,⁵⁷ near Charenton. Swanton
suggested that the Mississippi band had moved somewhat to
the north, near Plaquemine, and become extinguished, leaving
only the Charenton settlement as modern survivors (Swanton
1946, 120-121).

Three miles further up [the Mississippi from the
Houma and Alabama villages] is the Fourche de
Chetimachas, near which is the village of a tribe
of Indians of the same name; they reckon about 27
warriors (Hutchins 1784, 39). On the Chetimachas,
6 leagues from the Mississippi, is a small
settlement of a tribe of Indians of the same name
(Hutchins 1784, 40).

⁵⁷ "In ascending the Taje river, it is 10 leagues from its mouth to
an old Indian village, on the East side, called Mingo Luoac, which
signifies Fire Chief" (Hutchins 1784, 46). "All the Indians in this part
of the country [Bayou Teche], consisting of several small tribes, do not
exceed 100 families" (Hutchins 1784, 48).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Although the Chitimacha had absorbed Taensa tribal remnants at the head of Grand Lake and some of the neighboring Houma as well, only fifty of them remained in 1909, confined to a small tract near Charenton. Individual Chitimacha joined the Atakapa, and others joined the mixed group known as Houma⁵⁸ (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 74-75).

• Bibliography:

Gatschet, Albert S.
1883 The Shetimasha Indians of St. Mary's Parish, Southern Louisiana. Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington 2:148-158.

Hoover, Herbert T.
1975 The Chitimacha People. Indian Tribal Series. Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series.

Attakapa. Because oral tradition passed on to Swanton identified in one place the mother of Rosalie Courteau as "an Attakapa from Texas,"⁵⁹ this tribe was also of interest for purposes of BAR analysis. The Attakapa were never on the Mississippi. In 1760, they made a land sale between Bayou Teche and Vermilion Bayou to a Frenchman. The eastern band's main village on Vermilion River and Bay was near Abbeville (Crawford 1975, 59). Mermentou was 25 to 30 miles east and southeast of Lake Charles (Crawford 1975, 60). The Western Attakapa were in Calcasieu at Lake Charles (Crawford 1975, 60).

Notwithstanding the sale above mentioned, the Vermilion village was not abandoned until early in the nineteenth century, and in 1779 it supplied 60 men to Governor Galvez to assist him in his expedition against the British forts on the

⁵⁸ There is no documentary evidence of any intermarriages between the Chitimacha and the UHN ancestral group.

⁵⁹ Actually, in his notes in another place Swanton had "Acolapissa" rather than "Attakapa," so this data probably should be taken with a grain of salt.

The Spanish called those Attakapa living in southeastern Texas, between Trinity Bay and Trinity River and Sabine River, "Akokisa" (Swanton 1952, 307).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Mississippi.⁶⁰ The Mermentou band furnished 120 men to Galvez in that expedition. In 1787 the principal Atakapa village was at the "Island of Woods," later known as the "Island of Lacasine" from an Indian reputed to be its chief. It was abandoned about 1799 and the Indians moved to a village on the Mermentou. This was the last village of the Eastern Atakapa and is said to have been occupied as late as 1836, but this is not certain. Some of these Indians united with the Western Atakapa about Lake Charles (Swanton 1946, 93).

There are quite a few land sales and concessions from Attakapa recorded in the American State Papers, Public Lands, naming chiefs and prominent men. A settlement on Bayou Queue de Tortue about 1782 had a chief named Patate (De Ville 1973b, 14). Attakapa occupied the neutral ground after the Louisiana Purchase (1803-1821) from Sabine River on the west to the Calcasieu and Mermenteau rivers on the east (Jacobson 1974, 61).

The number of people comprising the Attakapas tribe was never large In 1779 there were about 180 able-bodied men in the eastern part of southwest Louisiana. By 1803, the number had dwindled to about "one hundred souls," but by that time had been augmented by wandering and dispersed bands of Biloxi, Choctaw, Alibamas, and Coushatas Indians (De Ville 1973b, 15).

Sibley noted that some Tunicas and Humas [sic] were "married in" to the Attakapas, in a village near Quelqueshoe [Calcasieu, later Opelousas District], about 20 miles west of the Attakapas Church (ASP 1832, 4:724). Sibley indicated that, by 1805, this had increased the number of Attakapa warriors significantly.

Bibliography:

Dyer, Joseph Osterman
1917 The Lake Charles Attakapas (Cannibals), Period of 1817 to 1820. Galveston, Texas: Dr. J.O. Dyer.

⁶⁰ Opelousa Indians were also involved in the 1779 campaign against Baton Rouge (De Ville 1973b, 18).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Gatschet, Albert Samuel
1932 A Dictionary of the Attakapa Language, Accompanied
by Text Material. John R. Swanton, ed. Bureau of
American Ethnology, Bulletin 108. Washington,
D.C.: Government Printing Office.

Tunica. Descendants of this historical tribe are currently
part of a Federally recognized tribe, the Tunica-Biloxi.

The historical Tunica lived to the north of the historical
Houma site on the Mississippi River, in Pointe Coupee
Parish, and followed the pattern of westward migration taken
by most of the other "petites nations" only to a very
limited extent. In 1706, the Tunica abandoned villages on
the Louisiana/Mississippi border and moved to the Houma town
opposite the mouth of the Red River. In 1758, they had
about 60 warriors (Swanton 1946, 198). Twenty-five years
later, Hutchins reported that the tribe was in decline:

On the East side of the river, and opposite to the
upper plantations of Point Coupee, is the village
of the Tonicas, formerly a numerous nation of
Indians, but their constant intercourse with the
white people, and immoderate use of spiritous
liquors, have reduced them to about twenty
warriors (Hutchins 1784, 44).

Some time between 1784 and 1803, the Tunica left the
Mississippi River and moved up the Red River to Marksville
Prairie, where they settled on land bought from the Avoyel
Indians. In 1803 the total population was estimated as 50-
60 (Swanton 1946, 198).

There is a lot of bibliography available on the Tunica. No
study of the group's movements indicated that the historical
Tunica tribe offered a likely possibility for the origins of
the UHN ancestral group.

Avoyel. The modern rolls of the Tunica-Biloxi tribe near
Marksville include a few people of Avoyel descent, but this
Natchez-speaking tribe had effectively gone out of existence
by the second half of the eighteenth century (Kniffen,
Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 78. 123).

Ofo, also Ofogoula or Mosopelea. The Ofo were Siouan-
speaking (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 123). In 1673,

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

this tribe lived on the east bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio; by 1682 they were with the Taensa. They stayed on the Yazoo near the Tunica until 1729, went south with the Tunica, and settled at the mouth of the Red River. From 1764/84 they occupied a small village on west side of the Mississippi River, eight miles above Point Coupee, on the same side of the river. Hutchins spelled their name Affagoula and said they had only about a dozen warriors (Hutchins 1784, 44). The survivors were believed by Swanton to have eventually joined the Tunica at Marksville (Swanton 1946, 166).

Opelousa. Little firm documentation is available concerning this group: most discussion amounts to surmise and speculation. From 1725 until 1810, the Opelousa were located west of the Atchalafaya River, in Opelousas District near the present city. In 1805, their village was 15 miles west of Opelousa, with 40 warriors; the 1814 population was given as 20. Swanton surmised the survivors joined the Attakapa (Swanton 1946, 168-169). Their language is presumed to have been akin to Attakapa. "The remnant may have been absorbed by the the Atakapa or Bayou Chicot Choctaw" (Kniffen, Gregory, and Stokes 1987, 75). They were mentioned in the 1920's as playing ball with the Tunica (Kniffen, Gregory, & Stokes 1987, 75).

Other Louisiana tribes. Several other Louisiana tribes, such as the Caddo and the Natchez, were not included in this analysis because their locations and histories provided only minimal likelihood that they had a potential for providing ancestors of the modern UHN.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE POSSIBLE FATE OF THE HISTORICAL HOUMA

Since the UHN ancestral group can be documented as having been so small that the "bulk" of the Mississippi River Houma living in Ascension Parish and St. James Parish in the late eighteenth century cannot have been involved in the Lafourche and Terrebonne Parish settlements, what did become of the historical Houma tribe?

Some, apparently, remained in the Ascension/St. James Parish area in the early nineteenth century. If local historians are reliable, at least a few remained in Ascension and St. James Parishes until 1915. Others by 1806 had, like the

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Tunica, married into the Attakapa. Where did the remainder go?

Of particular interest in determining what became of the Houma who were living along the Mississippi during the latter eighteenth century is the claim made by "The Homas tribe of Indians" to twelve sections of land "on bayou Boeuf, or Black bayou" (ASP 1834c, 3:265, No. 247). This claim was denied by the U.S. General Land Office in 1817, under the Act of February 27, 1813, on the ground that it did not fall within provisions of the existing laws.

Even though the claim was denied, the question, however, remains--why were the Houma requesting land in the general Red River area of central Louisiana where others of the "petites nations" had established themselves by the time of the American purchase? Were they still living among their former neighbors, the Alabama and Taensa?

It is well documented that a number of the small tribes with whom the historical Houma had associated closely during their residence in Ascension and St. James Parishes moved by the 1790's to the Bayou Boeuf area, where they were joined by several of the other groups whose names were recalled by Swanton's UHN informants in 1907 (Swanton 1946, Map 11).

In particular, why would the Houma have been petitioning for land in this area at this time? In the decade between the Louisiana Purchase and 1813,

The whites intruded not only on Indian lands in the Indian country, but also in the more settled areas of the territory. There, Indian land holdings were based upon grants made by the French, later confirmed by the Spanish, and then recognized by the United States. But as whites moved into areas near the Indian villages, they questioned the legitimacy of the tribal land titles, usually on some technicality, and called for their removal. The whites asserted that the claims of the Pascagoula, Biloxi, Taensa, and Apalachee tribes residing along Bayou Boeuf in Rapides District had not been properly approved by the French and Spanish governments and that, therefore, the lands occupied by these red men were actually public lands (Purser 1964, 407).

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

Under these conditions, it seems unlikely that the Houma would have been requesting a new grant in this part of Louisiana. More probably, they were requesting the U.S. government to confirm for them an existing grant similar in nature to those held by the other small tribes and then under challenge by white settlers.

It is not surprising that some of the groups lost their individual identity. Partly this may simply have been a result of the small numbers, but also, certainly, the small tribes were under governmental pressure to amalgamate with one another. Grand Pre, the Spanish commandant of the area, wrote to Governor Carondelet, in 1796:

I have spoken to the chiefs of each nation [Pascagoulas, Apalaches, and Tinsas] in the presence of the people, endeavoring to persuade them to unite in villages. I proposed to establish them near those of the Chacteaux, Biloxis, and Tonicas in the territory occupied by these Indians on the Bayou de los Bueyes. I explained to them that thus they would form a respectable body to oppose the other nations [esp. Choctaws] and no longer be exposed to attack or injury. At present, on the contrary, they cannot be considered a nation because they are so scattered. They have all promised to leave those lands and retire to the place indicated, but it is difficult to be certain they will do so promptly. In all, these six small nations have one hundred and sixty-eight warriors" (Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1983, 192).

Generally, in view of the tribe's claim to land in the Bayou Boeuf area, it would probably be desirable to look at later documents, from the 1790's and early 1800's, carefully, to see whether or not the historical Houma shared with their neighbors the migration from the banks of the Mississippi to the Red River area of central Louisiana and then into Texas. As Federal and state-level records heretofore used have not provided an answer to this question, a page-by-page study of the records of individual parishes in Louisiana would have to be undertaken in a search for documentation.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE UHN MATCHES

Unfortunately, this survey of Indian tribal groupings in Louisiana from 1763-1803, based upon research by BAR historians Terry Lamb and Virginia DeMarce, has not resulted in a clear-cut identification of the probable tribal origin of the grandmother of Felicite Billiot, Swanton's UHN ancestral informant in 1907. Several of the "immigrant tribes" followed movement patterns that would allow them to be classified as possibilities. More than this cannot be said on the basis of currently available source materials. It is possible that the question could be answered, but this would require intensive research in unpublished archival sources, and there is no guarantee that the search would prove fruitful.

Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana--Background History
Paper, United Houma Nation

General Bibliography:

- Albrecht, Andrew E.
1946 Indian-French Relations at Natchez. American Anthropologist 48(3):321-354.
- Berlandier, Jean Louis.
1969 The Indians of Texas in 1830. Ed. and Intro by John C. Ewers, Tr. Patricia Reading Leclercq. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. Discusses Biloxi, Pascagoula, Caddo, Koasati, Alabama.
- Bjork, David Knuth
1923 The Establishment of Spanish Rule in the Province of Louisiana, 1762-1770. Ph.d. Dissertation, University of California.
- Crawford, James M.
1978 The Mobilian Trade Language. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
- Cushman, Horatio B.
1972 History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians. Angie Debo, ed. New York: Russell and Russell [1899].
- Dart, Henry P.
1921 Louisiana Land Titles Derived from Indian Tribes. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 4:137.
- Drechsel, Emanuel
1979 Mobilian Jargon: Linguistic, Sociocultural, and Historical Aspects of an American Indian *Lingua Franca*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Drechsel, Emanuel and T. Haunani Makuakane
1932 An Ethnohistory of the 19th Century Louisiana Indians. MS at Jean Lafitte National Park, New Orleans.
- Haas, Mary
1975 What is Mobilian? Pp. 257-263 in Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages. James M. Crawford, ed. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.