Summary Under the Criteria and Evidence for Amended Proposed Finding against Federal Acknowledgment

of the

Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc.

Prepared in response to a petition submitted to the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs for Federal acknowledgment that this group exists as an Indian Tribe.

| Approved: | MAY 2 2 2008 | |
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| | (date) | |

Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs

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on the

BILOXI, CHITIMACHA CONFEDERATION OF MUSKOGEES, INC.

INTRODUCTION

The Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs (AS-IA) within the Department of the Interior (Department) issues this proposed finding in response to the petition the Department received from the group known as the Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) of Louisiana. The petitioner seeks Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe under Part 83 of Title 25 of the *Code of Federal Regulations* (25 CFR Part 83), "Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe."

The evidence in the administrative record, submitted by the BCCM petitioner and third parties and obtained by Department staff through its verification research, is insufficient to demonstrate that the petitioner meets all seven mandatory criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. Specifically, the petitioner does not meet criteria 83.7(b), 83.7(c), 83.7(d), or 83.7(e). The petitioner meets criteria 83.7(a), 83.7(f) and 83.7(g). An explanation of the Department's evaluation of each criterion is presented in sections that follow this introduction. In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83.10(m), failure to meet any one of the criteria in section 83.7 requires a determination that the petitioning group is not an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law. Therefore, the Department proposes to decline to acknowledge that the BCCM petitioner is an Indian tribe.

Regulatory Procedures

The acknowledgment regulations under 25 CFR Part 83 establish procedures by which an Indian group may seek Federal acknowledgment as an Indian tribe with a government-to-government relationship with the United States. To be entitled to such a political relationship with the United States, the petitioner must submit evidence demonstrating that it meets the seven mandatory criteria set forth in section 83.7 of the regulations. Failure to meet any one of the mandatory criteria will result in a determination that the group is not an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law. The Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) within the Office of the AS-IA has responsibility for administering the Federal acknowledgment regulations and evaluating petitions based on the evidence in the administrative record.

The time periods for the evaluation of documented petitions are set forth in the acknowledgment regulations in section 83.10. Publication of the notice of a proposed finding in the *Federal Register* initiates a 180-day comment period during which the petitioner and interested and informed parties may submit arguments and evidence to support or rebut the evidence relied upon in the proposed finding. Such comments should be submitted in writing to the Office of the Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, 1951 Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20240, Attention: Office of Federal Acknowledgment, Mail Stop 34B-SIB. Interested and informed parties must provide a copy of their comments to the petitioner.

The regulations, at 25 CFR 83.10(k), provide petitioners a minimum of 60 days to respond to any comments on the proposed finding submitted during the comment period. At the end of the response period for the proposed finding, OFA shall consult with the petitioner and interested parties to determine an equitable time frame for consideration of the arguments and evidence submitted during the comment and response periods. OFA shall notify the petitioner and interested parties of the date such consideration begins.

After consideration of all arguments and evidence received during the comment and response periods, the AS-IA will issue a final determination regarding the petitioner's status. The Department will publish a notice of this final determination in the *Federal Register*.

The Petitioner

The Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM), Petitioner #56a, is a confederation of three subgroups each of which claims to be the continuation of a historical Indian community on a specific bayou in south-central Louisiana: the Bayou Lafourche Band, Grand Caillou/Dulac Band, and Isle de Jean Charles Band. BCCM claims to descend from the historical Biloxi, Chitimacha, Acolapissa, Atakapa, and Choctaw tribes, contending that individuals from those tribes came together in the late 1700's and early 1800's on the lower bayous of modern Terrebonne Parish. It does not claim to descend from the historical Houma tribe, although its members and their ancestors have been called "Houma" Indians since at least 1907. Most of BCCM's members previously had been members of the United Houma Nation (UHN), Petitioner #56, which received a negative proposed finding in 1994. BCCM submitted a letter of intent to petition for Federal acknowledgment in 1995, soon after its current organization was formed. BCCM's subgroups have adopted constitutions, but BCCM has not submitted a governing document for the confederation. BCCM has 2,545 members in its three subgroups.

Administrative History

The Department received a letter of intent to petition for acknowledgment as the Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees on October 24, 1995. This letter followed a letter in 1995 from the group's chairman that stated the "Indian communities of Grand Caillou, Pointe aux Chene, Isle de Jean Charles, Bayou DuLarge, and Montegut" had withdrawn from the UHN petitioner, which had received a negative proposed finding in December 1994 (59 F.R. 66118).

The group claimed ownership of the petition submitted by UHN. In 1996, BCCM advised the Department that "the Pointe aux Chene Indian Tribe has decided to seek federal recognition independently and should not be considered a member community of this confederation." After receiving letters of intent to petition for Federal acknowledgment from the BCCM petitioner as well as the Pointe-au-Chien Indian Tribe (PACIT) petitioner, the Department took the position that the BCCM, PACIT, and UHN petitioners would be treated as "three separate, independent petitioners sharing a common original petition...."

The Department advised the BCCM petitioner in 1996 of its decision to issue an "amended Proposed Finding" for BCCM, saying that, "[p]rocedurally, BCCM is being treated as a petitioner with a proposed finding...." The Department set a time period for BCCM to respond to the UHN proposed finding and submit its own petition documentation. The Department informed the BCCM petitioner that it would treat the petitioner as being "covered by the documented petition which was previously submitted" by the UHN petitioner. The Department also advised the petitioner that it should submit its governing document, its membership list, and a narrative responding to the UHN proposed finding. Based on this combination of new evidence and the original UHN petition documentation, the Department indicated it would issue "an amended Proposed Finding" that would "pertain specifically to the BCCM." The amended proposed finding would also give the public an opportunity to comment on the BCCM petition.

On November 6, 1996, BCCM submitted comments on the UHN petition plus its own petition documentation. BCCM submitted additional petition documentation on May 15, 1997. The BCCM petition has been considered to be in "active consideration" status, together with the original UHN petition, since filing its letter of intent. The Department notified BCCM that evaluation of its petition began on February 4, 2005, and a period to submit additional materials would close on April 15. Three subgroups of BCCM—"Bayou Lafourche," "Grand Caillou/Dulac," and "Isle de Jean Charles"—separately submitted petition documentation to the Department by April 15, 2005.

BCCM's submission in 1996 consisted of a cover letter accompanied by BCCM-designed UHN resignation forms, BCCM membership declaration forms, ancestry charts, individual history charts, and membership lists supplied by BCCM's "Grand Caillou," "Isle de Jean Charles," "Lower Lafourche," and "Bayou Dularge" subgroups. BCCM's submission in 1997 consisted of a narrative report entitled "The BCCM Indians of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes," compiled five-generation genealogies (and grandchildren charts) for the earliest BCCM ancestors, BCCM evidence, plus narratives and genealogical information from the "Isle de Jean Charles" and "Lower Lafourche" subgroups of BCCM, but none from its Grand Caillou/Dulac or Bayou Dularge subgroups. The submissions in 2005 included more than 10,000 pages of narratives, meeting minutes and sign-in sheets, membership lists and forms, genealogical printouts, historical documents, and maps. The submission also included electronic media, in the forms of videotaped interviews and compact disks (CDs) containing document images and a genealogical database. For the purpose of evaluating and verifying claims made by the petitioner, OFA staff conducted field work and obtained photocopies of archival records and published primary and secondary sources from various archives and libraries.

Historical Overview

This proposed finding concludes that the evidence in the record demonstrates Indian ancestry for two claimed ancestors of the petitioner's members, Houma Courteau and Marie (Gregoire) Verdin. The available evidence does not show those two individuals had the same tribal ancestry. These conclusions agree with those of the proposed finding on the UHN petitioner. The UHN proposed finding also concluded that evidence supported Indian ancestry for a third individual, "Jeanet an Indian woman," but the BCCM petitioner does not claim descent from her. Houma Courteau and Marie (Gregoire) Verdin were progenitors of two of the three founding families of the "Houma" population of southern Louisiana, identified by ethnologist John Swanton as the Courteau, Verdin, and Billiot families. The evidence in the record is insufficient to demonstrate Indian ancestry for Marianne (Iris) Billiot, the claimed Indian progenitor of the Billiot family. The three founding "Houma" families are first documented together as neighboring landowners on lower Bayou Terrebonne in coastal Louisiana in the early 1820's (see Figure 1). The evidence in the record for this petition does not show that these claimed Indian ancestors were part of a historical tribe at that time.

The three founding families intermarried in the early 19th century. Children of claimed progenitors Houma Courteau and Marianne Iris married around 1808, and three of their grandchildren from that marriage married three children of claimed progenitor Marie Gregoire between about 1833 and 1839. These claimed ancestors and their Indian descendants expanded beyond lower Bayou Terrebonne to Bayou Little Caillou by the 1830's, Bayou Pointe au Chien by at least the late 1840's, Bayou Isle Jean Charles by at least the 1870's, Bayou Sale below Dulac on Bayou Grand Caillou by at least 1880, and lower Bayou Lafourche by at least 1900 (see Figure 2). In 1911, Swanton listed Indian settlements on six bayous that run to the Gulf of Mexico in modern Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes (see Figure 3), and called their residents "Houma" Indians. The Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) petitioner is organized with three subgroups which represent members linked to three of those bayous.

Many members of the BCCM petitioner previously had been members of the United Houma Nation (UHN) petitioner. Another petitioner, the Pointe-au-Chien Indian Tribe (PACIT), also was formed by members who withdrew from the UHN petitioner. The UHN (#56), BCCM (#56a), and PACIT (#56b) petitioners share the same three claimed Indian founding families and share a common history through the mid-19th century. These petitioners have not demonstrated their continuous historical existence as a group descended from a historical Indian tribe, or from tribes which combined and functioned as a single political entity. As discussed in the proposed finding on the UHN, that petitioner did not demonstrate continuity from the historical Houma tribe, or from any other tribe or tribes which combined and functioned as a single political entity. The current petitioner does not claim to be Houma, but has not demonstrated that it has evolved as a group from a portion of the historical Biloxi tribe, historical Chitimacha tribe, any other historical tribe, or any tribal entity formed by tribes which combined historically. The Indian descendants who expanded to the lower bayous of Louisiana during the 19th century may have developed Indian settlements there, but there is insufficient evidence to find that these settlements continued the existence of a historical Indian tribe or historically combined tribes.

The petitioner did not submit a narrative which provides an account of how the petitioning group migrated to modern Terrebonne Parish or, alternatively, how the group has always been located in the area as a portion of a historical tribe. While the petitioner indicates it believes it has ancestry from several tribes, it presents no argument that those tribes combined historically. The evidence in the record indicates that its Indian ancestors came together as Indian individuals or families. This available evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the Indian ancestors married into a portion of a continuously existing tribe. The land claims and land sales which document the presence of claimed Indian progenitors in the area of modern Terrebonne Parish in the first quarter of the 19th century all involved those Indians as individual landowners. The evidence in the record shows that some of the petitioner's ancestors for whom Indian ancestry has not been demonstrated were first documented along Bayou Terrebonne with Spanish land surveys of about 1788 for Marianne Iris and her spouse Jean Billiot, Sr. The Indians claimed as ancestors were first documented along Bayou Terrebonne with an estate sale in 1809 which appears to have mentioned claimed progenitor Houma Courteau, and an approved land claim in 1817 and land sales in 1822 and 1824 for Alexandre Verdin, spouse of claimed Indian progenitor Marie Gregoire.

The available evidence emphasizes the importance of Rosalie Courteau ([1787]-1883), daughter of Houma Courteau, as a key ancestor crucial to the petitioning group's definition of its identity. Some oral history accounts mentioned Rosalie Courteau as a leader. Some oral history accounts linked her to an alleged movement of a tribal group to Bayou Terrebonne, where she purchased land, after being driven out or burned out of her home at the present site of the courthouse in the town of Houma. Although some accounts date such an eviction to the 1850's, this chronology conflicts with documentary evidence about the location of the courthouse since 1822 and Rosalie Courteau's own testimony that she resided on Bayou Terrebonne consistently after 1815. Thus, documentary evidence does not corroborate this tradition of a group movement within Terrebonne Parish at such a late date. Rosalie Courteau bought land in her own name in 1859 "back" of Bayou Terrebonne on Bayou Barré. Before that time, however, her father purchased land in 1836 on Bayou Little Caillou, west of Bayou Terrebonne, and by 1849 two of her sons were small-scale sugar planters on Bayou Pointe au Chien, east of Bayou Terrebonne.

The proposed finding on the UHN petitioner concluded that the petitioner's ancestors were arriving on Bayou Terrebonne between 1790 and 1830, and that by 1830 the petitioner's ancestors, the majority of whom were non-Indian, formed an identifiable distinct community on Bayou Terrebonne. The Federal census of 1880 revealed the existence of small areas of almost exclusive Indian settlement on several bayous in Terrebonne Parish. In 1880, there was an area of predominantly Indian settlement on Bayou Terrebonne and areas of exclusive Indian settlement on both Pointe au Chien and Isle Jean Charles (see Figure 2). These three bayou settlements are now represented by three separate petitioning groups. The geographical expansion of Indian descendants continued during the late 19th century, for John Swanton identified six settlements of "Houma" as a result of his brief field work in Louisiana in 1907. Swanton identified those six settlements as: "Point au Barrée" on or near Bayou Terrebonne, "Lower Point au Chien," "Champs Charles" or Isle Jean Charles, "Bayou Salé" below Bayou Grand Caillou, "Bayou de Large," and "Lower Bayou La Fourche" (see Figure 2). The identification of the Indians on those bayous as "Houma" Indians has persisted, and been made consistently, since publication of Swanton's report in 1911.

Although the BCCM and PACIT petitioners filed letters of intent to petition for acknowledgment after a proposed finding was issued on the UHN petition, some efforts to create organizations separate from the UHN occurred prior to the proposed finding of December 1994. On October 20, 1993, the "Documented Houma Tribe" (DHT) was registered as a non-profit corporation with the State of Louisiana. At a UHN council meeting, in January of either 1994 or 1995, DHT chairman Steve Cheramie unsuccessfully proposed restructuring that organization into several component "tribes." In March 1995, individuals attending an "Indian community" meeting in East Houma agreed, according to the meeting minutes, "to govern themselves through individual community leadership" rather than to continue in the UHN. At this meeting, participants elected interim representatives for several "identified Indian communities." A local newspaper referred to the organizers of the "new group" as five former UHN council members, and reported that the meeting approved their plan to form a confederation of five independent "community groups." This meeting established the basic structure that would become the BCCM, although its component subgroups would change over time.

The Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) was incorporated in June 1995. The first meeting minutes using this corporate name were those for a meeting held in August 1995. Later that month, BCCM minutes reveal that the confederation consisted at that time of four "communities": "Pointe-au-Chene," "Isle de Jean Charles," "Grand Caillou/Dulac," and "Bayou Dularge." A letter written by BCCM chairman Reginald Billiot in September 1995 referred to five "communities," adding Montegut, although a Montegut group did not participate in BCCM meetings and is not part of the petitioner. The BCCM letter of intent to petition, filed in October 1995, was signed by the chairman and four local representatives. The organization's subgroups, with the exception of "Pointe-au-Chene," organized after the formation of the confederation. A "Lower Lafourche community" was accepted to be represented in the BCCM in March 1996, and appears to have organized the next month. By the council meeting of May 1996, "Pointe-au-Chene" stopped participating as one of the BCCM's component "communities." At the BCCM council meeting in June 1996, the chairman suggested that the "Bayou Dularge Community" be allowed to become part of the "Grand Caillou/Dulac Community." Since that time, BCCM has functioned with three subgroups: Isle de Jean Charles, Grand Caillou/Dulac, and Bayou Lafourche.

The Historical Indian Tribes

The Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) petitioner claims "ancestry from ... Chitimacha and Biloxi tribes that eventually migrated to lower Terrebonne Parish" (R. Billiot 9/6/1995). The names of the subgroups which comprise this confederation—Bayou Lafourche Band, Grand Caillou/Dulac Band, and Isle de Jean Charles Band—refer to historical settlements of Indian descendants on various bayous in south central Louisiana in today's parishes of Terrebonne and Lafourche. Although Indian descendants living in this area have been referred to as "Houma Indians" for the last century, the petitioner does not claim ancestry from the historical Houma tribe. The genealogical researcher for the BCCM petitioner claims that the petitioner's members—actually the Indian descendants residing in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes—have ancestry from five historical tribes: Biloxi, Chitimacha, Acolapissa,

Atakapa, and Choctaw (Westerman 1997, 1; BCCM 2005, 21; see also BL 4/21/2005; IJC 2005, 1, 3). She wrote, "People from these tribes came together in the late 1700's and early 1800's in the Terrebonne-Lafourche area" (Westerman 1997, 1).

A key issue for this petition is the connection of the petitioner to a historical Indian tribe or tribes. The petitioner must demonstrate its continuous existence as a historical Indian tribe, or as a group that has evolved from a historical Indian tribe, or from historical Indian tribes that combined. It is not sufficient under the acknowledgment regulations to demonstrate that the petitioner's members descend from individual Indians, whether of one or more tribes, who were separated from a tribal community. The possible tribal origins of the petitioner are those Indian tribes from which it claims genealogical descent, the "Houma" tribe to which others have attributed its origins, and the aboriginal tribes that may have lived in or migrated to the area where its members have resided (see Figure 4). It is necessary to consider all of these possible historical tribes from which the petitioner may have evolved as a group.¹

In order to evaluate the petitioner's connection to a historical Indian tribe, this finding reviewed the available evidence about the location and migration of historical tribes mentioned as possibly ancestral to Indians of Terrebonne Parish, the oral history traditions of tribal origins and migrations related by claimed Indian descendants, and the claimed tribal ancestry of the petitioning group's claimed Indian founding ancestors (see Appendix A, "Report on Historical Tribes"). This review finds no historical evidence that a historical tribe continued to exist in or migrated to the area of modern Terrebonne Parish, inconsistent oral history accounts of the petitioning group's historical origins, and insufficient evidence to establish the tribal ancestry of historical individuals claimed as the founding Indian ancestors of the petitioning group. In short, this proposed finding concludes that the petitioner has not demonstrated its continuity from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes that combined to form an autonomous Indian entity.

A review of the available evidence about the location and migration of historical Indian tribes finds no contemporaneous historical accounts or conclusions by modern historians that place any historical tribe in the vicinity of the earliest known historical settlement in Terrebonne Parish by the petitioner's claimed Indian ancestors (see Figure 5). The aboriginal Ouacha and Chaouacha tribes of the area were relocated by colonial officials and historical references to them disappeared after about 1769. Chitimacha settlements were located west and north of modern Terrebonne Parish. It is possible some Chitimacha Indians relocated to the vicinity of Bayou Terrebonne, but no known historical observation places a group of them in that area. Some Biloxi Indians migrated from an area along the Gulf coast in modern Mississippi and Alabama to areas west of the Mississippi River, but all historical accounts place those various locations well north of Terrebonne Parish. The Houma tribe migrated from an original location near the

¹ The proposed finding on the United Houma Nation (UHN) found that petitioner did not demonstrate its continuous existence from the historical Houma tribe. This petitioner, many of whose members previously were part of the UHN petitioner, raises the issue of its possible continuous existence from a historical tribe, or combined tribes, other than the Houma.

² See also an Appendix to the United Houma Nation proposed finding entitled, "Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana: Background Paper," by BAR (BIA 1994), which also considers other historical tribes.

junction of the Mississippi and Red Rivers to a later location along the Mississippi near the headwaters of Bayou Lafourche. Neither Swanton nor any other source has offered a likely explanation or evidence of a Houma tribal migration to Bayou Terrebonne. The petitioner has not presented an alternative account of a tribal migration there. Since it has not been demonstrated that any historical tribe or portion of a historical tribe had relocated in Terrebonne Parish when the petitioner's ancestors were first documented in the area, there is no basis to conclude that the petitioner's claimed Indian ancestors arrived there as part of a tribal migration.

Oral history interviews with older members of the "Houma" population were conducted by researchers for the UHN petitioner between 1978 and 1981. Some of the individuals interviewed made references to a historical Houma tribe or referred to an ancestor as a Houma Indian, but some individuals also mentioned other tribal backgrounds such as Chitimacha or Choctaw. Many of the references to "Houma" Indians in these interviews referred to 20th-century Indians, after a local population had been labeled as "Houma," rather than to a historical tribe. The individuals interviewed suggested that the previous locations of their ancestors included the town of Houma and the area of the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River to the north; Mobile, Biloxi, and Mississippi to the east; and the Atchafalaya basin and Bayou Teche to the west. The interviewers, interested in evidence of a historical Houma tribal connection, did not pursue further information from interviewees about these other tribes or other origins they mentioned. These oral history interviews produced no consensus story of a tribal background or a tribal migration for the Indian population of Terrebonne Parish or the members of the petitioning group.

The presumed Indian population of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes has become known as "Houma," but this petitioner claims its founding ancestors came from Indian tribes other than the historical Houma tribe. Swanton's three founding families of the "Houma" can be associated with three founding ancestors, or progenitors, of the "Houma" population: Houma Courteau, Marie (Gregoire) Verdin, and Marianne (Iris) Billiot. The Department determined that specific tribal ancestry is suggested for only one of these progenitors, Courteau, and Indian ancestry is demonstrated for only two of them, Courteau and Gregoire. The researcher for the BCCM petitioner claims Indian ancestry for additional historical individuals. The available evidence, however, does not establish any tribal ancestry for them, and none of them have descendants in the BCCM membership (see Appendix B, "Individuals Claimed as 'Indians'").

The evidence in the record contains some hints of specific tribal ancestry for some of the petitioner's claimed ancestors. Biloxi ancestry is suggested by Swanton's reference to the grandfather of one of his informants having been called "a Biloxi medal chief" and by references in land records to Houma Courteau as a "Beloxy Indian." This evidence about Courteau more clearly states that his ancestry was Biloxi than any other source indicates that any other claimed ancestor of the petitioning group was "Houma." The will of "Alexandre Verdun" in 1829 referred to Marie Gregoire as a "femme sauvage," which is reasonably interpreted as Indian woman, but the evidence in the record does not demonstrate any specific tribal ancestry for her. The evidence in the record about Marianne Iris is insufficient to demonstrate Indian ancestry or any specific tribal ancestry. Chitimacha ancestry was suggested for a Pointe au Chien founder by Swanton when he referred in his field notes to "old chief Alexandre Billiot[,] Chitimacha." Ethnologist David Bushnell also wrote in 1917 that his informant, Abel Billiot of "Point-au-

chien," was known as Chitimacha. Atakapa ancestry was suggested by Swanton when he said that the mother of one of his informants was "an Atakapa from Texas." Finally, Swanton said that these Indians called themselves "Houma," although his field notes appear to indicate that only one informant said so.

The three claimed Indian progenitors were rarely discussed in oral history interviews conducted between 1978 and 1981 by researchers for the UHN petitioner. Houma Courteau's daughter Rosalie Courteau was the most commonly identified Indian progenitor of the modern "Houma" population. Those oral history interviews revealed that persons interviewed by UHN researchers held several different theories about the parentage and tribal background of key ancestor Rosalie Courteau. Accounts of the migration of Rosalie Courteau's parents to the vicinity of Bayou Terrebonne found in these oral history interviews and Swanton's field notes do not match Swanton's theory of a Houma tribal migration to Terrebonne Parish. In general, the oral history interviews had little to say about the origins and background of Rosalie Courteau and how she arrived in Terrebonne Parish.

This evidence from various sources does not demonstrate a reasonable likelihood that the petitioner's claimed Indian founding ancestors constituted a portion of a historical Indian tribe or historical Indian tribes that combined and functioned as a political entity. The petitioner needs to show that its claimed Indian ancestors, or Indians with whom the claimed founding ancestors associated even if those Indians have no descendants in the petitioning group today, were together as a group of people and that they and at least some of their parents and their grandparents had a shared history that demonstrates a link from a founding generation on Bayou Terrebonne back to a historical Indian tribe. The petitioner would improve its case if it could identify the parents of the two progenitors accepted as Indians for this finding, and the parents of other contemporaneous ancestors who may have been Indians, and show that they were in the same place at the same time and that many of them shared common tribal ancestry. The petitioner is more likely to establish a link to a historical Indian tribe by finding its ancestors in earlier generations than by submitting more information about the histories of various historical tribes.

Previous Federal Acknowledgment

The evidence in the record does not show that the petitioner's claimed Indian ancestors were ever part of any acknowledged historical Indian tribe that lost that status, whether one located in the Terrebonne Parish area or outside that area from which the petitioner evolved as a group. Therefore, the petitioner is not eligible to be evaluated under the provisions of section 83.8, which modifies the acknowledgment criteria for previously acknowledged groups, and will be evaluated according to the criteria set forth in section 83.7 of the regulations.

SECTION 83.7

Summary Conclusions under the Criteria

The evidence the Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) petitioner and third parties submitted and the Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) staff obtained through its verification research is insufficient to demonstrate that the petitioner meets all seven mandatory criteria required for Federal acknowledgment. Specifically, the petitioner does not meet criteria 83.7(b), 83.7(c), 83.7(d), or 83.7(e). The petitioner meets criteria 83.7(a), 83.7(f) and 83.7(g). In accordance with the regulations set forth in 25 CFR 83.10(m), failure to meet any one of the criteria in section 83.7 requires a determination that the petitioning group is not an Indian tribe within the meaning of Federal law.

This amended proposed finding is based on the evidence in the record. The petitioner and interested and informed parties may submit additional evidence during the 180-day comment period which follows publication of this finding. Such new evidence may result in a change in the conclusions reached here. The burden of providing sufficient evidence under the criteria in the regulations rests with the petitioner. After the receipt of the public comments and the petitioner's response to them, the Department will make a final determination and publish a notice of it in the *Federal Register*. The Department will base its final determination on the original evidence used in the proposed finding and amended proposed finding and the new evidence submitted in response to these proposed findings.

This amended proposed finding reaches the following conclusions for each of the mandatory criteria in 25 CFR Part 83.7:

The BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(a). This amended proposed finding concludes that identifications of a "Houma" population or group when combined with other identifications of settlements or groups of the "Houma" associated with the petitioner's subgroups provide evidence sufficient to demonstrate the substantially continuous identification of the subgroups of the petitioner as Indian entities since 1900. Therefore, the petitioner meets the requirements of this criterion.

The BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(b). This amended proposed finding concludes the BCCM petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion. The evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the petitioner's ancestors and others associated with them constituted a community before 1830. This finding concludes the BCCM petitioner meets this criterion between 1830 and 1940 on the basis of the conclusions contained in the 1994 proposed finding on the UHN petitioner. For the period since 1940, there is sufficient evidence for the Isle de Jean Charles subgroup of the petitioner, but the evidence in the record is not sufficient to show that all of the petitioner's subgroups, or the petitioner as a whole, meet the requirements of this criterion. Because the evidence in the record

does not show that the petitioning group has existed as a community from historical times to the present, the petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion.

The BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(c). This amended proposed finding concludes the BCCM petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion. There is insufficient evidence the petitioner maintained political influence over its historical ancestors before 1830. This finding concludes the BCCM petitioner meets this criterion between 1830 and 1940 on the basis of the conclusions contained in the 1994 proposed finding on the UHN petitioner. For the period since 1940, there is sufficient evidence for the Isle de Jean Charles subgroup of the petitioner only since the 1990's. Thus, the evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the petitioner's subgroups meet the requirements of this criterion since 1940. The available evidence is not sufficient to show that the petitioner's confederation currently maintains political influence over its members. Because the evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the petitioning group has maintained political influence over group members from historical times to the present, the petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion.

The BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(d). The petitioner, a confederation comprising three subgroups, lacks a governing document for the confederation or a statement describing in full how the confederation governs itself and defines its membership criteria, and did not respond to a request for this document. The three subgroups of the BCCM petitioner submitted current and former governing documents describing their individual governing procedures and membership criteria. All three subgroups require descent from historical Indians, but do not identify which historical Indians. In the absence of a BCCM governing document, or a descriptive statement, the BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of this criterion.

The BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(e). The three subgroups of the petitioner submitted separate membership lists identifying a total of 2,545 members. The GCD subgroup's membership list lacked certification, and the "Grand Council" governing body of the petitioner did not separately certify the three subgroups' lists. The regulations require that the petitioner's governing body separately certify its current, complete membership list. An analysis of selected members demonstrates that more than half of them descend from at least one of two individual historical "Indians," but those historical individuals have not been shown to be a part of a historical Indian tribe, or of historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single tribal entity. The evidence in the record has not demonstrated that the BCCM petitioner's members descend from a historical Indian tribe. Therefore, the petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(e).

The BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(f). The names of current BCCM members do not appear on rolls of federally recognized Indian tribes reviewed for this amended proposed finding. Additionally, each of the BCCM petitioner's subgroups requires its members to disavow membership in any other Indian group, and their submissions included disavowals for 89 percent of the 2,545 BCCM members. Because evidence in the record indicates that the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe, the petitioner meets the requirements of this criterion.

The BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(g). Because no evidence has been submitted or located that indicates the petitioner, its members, or their ancestors have been the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden a relationship with the Federal Government as Indians or as an Indian tribe, the petitioner meets the requirements of this criterion.

The Department's evaluation of the evidence under each criterion is presented in the following sections on each criterion. Each criterion is reproduced in boldface type as it appears in the regulations and is followed by a summary of the evaluation of the evidence in the record relating to that criterion.

Criterion 83.7(a)

- 83.7(a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900.... by other than the petitioner itself or its members.
- 83.1 ... continuous means extending ... throughout the group's history to the present substantially without interruption.

External observers have identified a "Houma" Indian population or group on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. They have described that "Houma" population as composed of several settlements, including settlements at Isle Jean Charles, Grand Caillou or vicinity, and Golden Meadow on Bayou Lafourche. Since 1900, external observers have tended to identify the larger "Houma" population or group in southern Louisiana rather than its settlements or component groups, frequently noting that this population or group inhabited a specific geographical area in Terrebonne or Lafourche Parishes, which would have included the ancestors of the BCCM petitioner. In other cases, external observers identified the petitioner's ancestors as constituting either one of the settlements among the "Houma" Indians or as one of the groups within the larger "Houma" entity. This amended proposed finding concludes that identifications of a "Houma" population or group when combined with other identifications of settlements or groups of the "Houma" associated with the petitioner's subgroups provide evidence sufficient to demonstrate the substantially continuous identification of the subgroups of the petitioner as Indian entities since 1900. Therefore, the evidence in the record demonstrates the BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of this criterion.

The description of the Indian population of southern Louisiana as "Houma" was shaped by ethnologist John Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) who conducted research in the area during a brief visit in 1907 and published his findings in a BAE report in 1911. Swanton identified six settlements of "Houma" Indians, including Isle Jean Charles, lower Bayou Lafourche, and Bayou Salé below Bayou Grand Caillou. Since that report, a variety of external observers influenced by Swanton consistently identified a "Houma" Indian population

living on the lower bayous and in the marshes of coastal Louisiana.³ In addition to Swanton, influential writers included Roy Nash and Ruth Underhill of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1930's and anthropologists Frank Speck in the 1940's and Ann Fischer in the 1960's. Descriptions of the "Houma" also were provided by Federal and local government officials, other anthropologists and scholars, visitors and area residents, and local newspapers. Some of these observers suggested that "Houma" is an inaccurate label for a population that had, as Swanton noted, complex and multiple origins, but they accepted the convention that refers to these people as the "Houma." For this reason, perhaps, observers did not consistently identify a Biloxi or Chitimacha population in the area. A few studies noted that Louisiana residents referred to the "Houma" as a tri-racial group by the derogatory term "Sabine." Some external observers identified the "Houma" as a "group," "tribe," or "community." These descriptions of the "Houma" population can reasonably be considered to have included the petitioner's ancestors as part of that population.

Some of the external observers who identified a "Houma" population or group in southern Louisiana during the 20th century noted that population was living in a number of separate geographical settlements. The observers who identified a series of "Houma" settlements generally named the same settlements. These descriptions treated the residents of these settlements as constituting the "Houma," defining the "Houma" in terms of their settlements, including Isle Jean Charles, lower Bayou Lafourche, and Bayou Grand Caillou. Such identifications demonstrate these settlements were considered component parts of the "Houma" population or group that was consistently identified after 1907. Under the reasonable likelihood standard, this amended proposed finding accepts general identifications of the "Houma" as constituting an identification of the settlements or subgroups of the petitioner. Such identifications of the "Houma," in combination with other identifications that specifically identified the petitioner's subgroups, provide substantially continuous identification of the BCCM petitioner.

The record includes some examples in which an external observer identified Indian settlements at Isle Jean Charles, Bayou Grand Caillou, or lower Bayou Lafourche as a "group" or "community" or "colony" and some examples in which an observer included these settlements in a listing of the several settlements of "Houma" Indians. The evidence in the record does not include any identification of an informal confederation of the petitioner's subgroups prior to the

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³ See "Criterion 83.7(a)" in the proposed finding for *United Houma Nation*. See also: Swanton n.d. [1907] MS 4906; Harrington 1908; Swanton 1911; W. Martin 7/30/1921; Burke 9/21/1927; Associated Press 4/25/1931; Garber 5/8/1931; Nash 6/-/1931; Dumez 9/11/1934; Kniffen 1935; Dormon 7/4/1935; Hardin 2/15/1936; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 4/17/1938; Underhill 10/22/1938 and 10/25/1938; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 1/29/1939; Speck 2/7/1939; WPA 1941, *xxvii*; Speck 1941a, 1941b, and 2/14/1941; Zimmerman 3/12/1941; Beatty 1/1/1942 and 1/30/1942; Jennings 5/5/1942; Beatty 9/3/1942; Speck 1943; Beatty 4/10/1943; Albrecht 1945; Beatty 12/5/1945 and 8/18/1948; Parenton and Pellegrin 1950; Fischer 8/14/1960b; Madigan 8/14/1960; Fischer 3/28/1963; Teeter 1964; Fischer 1965; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 5/10/1966; United Press 11/18/1966; Guidry n.d. [1970's]; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 1/4/1970 and 4/17/1970; Stanton 1971; *Houma Courier* 8/21/1972, 4/25/1974, 7/19/1974, and 8/18/1974; Davis 1975; ITCL n.d. [1975-]; *Houma Courier* 5/10/1976; Louisiana 1977; Edwards 4/20/1977; *Houma Courier* 11/18/1977, 3/5/1978, and 6/14/1978; Stanton 1979; *Daily Comet* 4/13/1979; *Houma Courier* 5/6/1979 and 5/13/1979; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 10/9/1983; Terrebonne Parish 3/14/1984; *State Times* 4/4/1985; Kniffen *et al.* 1987; St. Mary Parish 5/24/1989; *Houma Courier* 9/29/1994 and 3/14/1996.

petitioner's formal organization as a confederation in 1995. The BCCM petitioning group's current organization has been identified continuously since its creation in 1995.

Swanton identified the Isle Jean Charles settlement in his 1907 field notes, and in his 1911 publication identified it as the "Champs Charles band" of the "Houma" (Swanton n.d. [1907] MS 4906; Swanton 1911, 291). In 1921, U.S. Representative Whitmell Martin identified the "Houma Indians" in his district in Terrebonne Parish in a letter that specifically referred to Swanton's work (W. Martin 7/30/1921). The Isle Jean Charles settlement was identified as a "group" by Indian Office officials in 1930, 1932, and 1940 (Rhoads 11/18/1930 and 1/4/1932; Meyer 2/20/1940; Zimmerman 8/16/1940); a "colony" by Nash in 1931 (Nash 6/-/1931, 11); one of the "Houma" settlements by Underhill in 1938 (Underhill 10/25/1938, 12-13); a "community" and Indian settlement by a priest referring to the period from 1938 to 1941 (Bezou 8/20/1979, 1, 5); a "community" and "colony" by a newspaper in 1942 and 1943 (New Orleans Times-Picayune 4/17/1942, 1/16/1943); a "group" of the "Houma" by a Baptist missionary who served there in 1944-1946 (Sanders 1947, 2); a "tribe" by a church publication in 1950 (Jenkins and Reynolds 1950, 90); and a "community" in a 1952 newspaper article (*Times-Picayune Magazine* 5/18/1952). Fischer identified the "Houma Indians" as a "group" in the early 1960's (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 3, and 3/28/1963). Some observers identified Isle Jean Charles as a group of "Houma," as Fischer in 1965 called it one of the "groups" within the Houma "group" and Max Stanton in 1971 and 1979 said it was one of the "communities" within a "Houma" or Indian "community" (Fischer 1965, 134, 135; Stanton 1971, 91 n.4, see also 82, 85, 90; and Stanton 1979, 90). Various newspaper articles during the 1970's identified the "Houma" Indians of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes, the "Houma Tribe of Louisiana," and the "Houma Alliance Inc." A newspaper in 1981 identified Isle Jean Charles as a "community" (Baton Rouge Advocate 2/2/1981). Terrebonne Parish in 1989 identified "Isle de Jean Charles" as one of the "Native American communities" in the parish (Terrebonne Parish 10/25/1989). The United Houma Nation, of which the petitioner's members were a part, was identified consistently in the 1980's and early 1990's.⁵

Swanton identified a Bayou Grand Caillou settlement in his 1907 field notes (Swanton n.d. [1907] MS 4906). In his 1911 publication, one of the settlements Swanton identified was Bayou Salé, described as below Bayou Grand Caillou, which the petitioner considers a predecessor to a later settlement at Grand Caillou (Swanton 1911, 291). In 1921, U.S. Representative Whitmell Martin identified the "Houma Indians" in his district in Terrebonne Parish in a letter that specifically referred to Swanton's work (W. Martin 7/30/1921). Nash in 1931 identified the

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⁴ New Orleans Times-Picayune 1/4/1970, 4/17/1970; Houma Courier 8/21/1972, 4/25/1974, 7/19/1974, 8/18/1974, 11/18/1977, 3/5/1978; see also Louisiana 1977.

⁵ Houma Courier 5/7/1979; Edwards 8/15/1979; Breaux 8/31/1979; Leach 9/4/1979; Houma Courier 3/25/1980, 3/26/1980; New Orleans Times-Picayune 11/9/1980; Franklin Banner 1/21/1981; Daily Comet 2/6/1981; Houma Courier 5/3/1981; New Orleans Times-Picayune 7/17/1981; Houma Courier 2/25/1982, 3/4/1982, 7/9/1982, 11/18/1984; Lee 2/16/1987; Toomy 4/10/1987; [Town Talk] 11/25/1988; Hale 12/7/1989; St. Bernard Parish 1/9/1990; Iberia Parish 1/24/1990; Plaquemines Parish 1/25/1990; Jefferson Parish 1/31/1990; New Orleans City Council 2/1/1990; Vermillion Parish 2/5/1990; Terrebonne Parish 2/14/1990; Lafourche Parish 2/14/1990; U.S. Senate 4/5/1990; U.S. House 5/23/1990; Louisiana 1990; Houma Courier 7/10/1990, 8/16/1991, 8/10/1992, 4/25/1993, 5/30/1993, 7/1/1993, 7/27/1993a, 7/29/1993, 8/18/1993, 6/10/1994, 8/16/1994, 10/28/1994, 12/6/1994, 12/18/1994.

specific settlement areas of the "Houma Indians," including "Bayou Caillou from Dulac south" (Nash 6/-/1931, 11). A church publication identified a "group at Dulac" about 1936 (Littlejohn and Hooper n.d. [1936?] and a priest referred to Dulac as the location of one of the area's "groups" of Indians during the period about 1938 to 1941 (Bezou 8/20/1979, 1, 5). Underhill named Grand Caillou as one of the "Houma" settlements in 1938 as did Speck in 1941, although Speck named Dulac and Grand Caillou as separate settlements (Underhill 10/25/1938, 12-13; Speck 1941a, 14-16; Speck 1943, 212). In 1950, a pair of scholars identified the "Houma" who "inhabit the marshy fringe of a Louisiana parish" as a "tri-racial group," an acceptable identification under acknowledgment precedent (Parenton and Pellegrin 1950, 148). In 1959. Edison Roy identified a "racial community" at Dulac (Roy 1959, 2, 10). Fischer identified the "Houma Indians" as a "group" in the early 1960's (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 3, 3/28/1963, and 1965). Stanton in 1971 said Grand Caillou was one of the "communities" within a "Houma" or Indian "community" (Stanton 1971, 91 n.4; see also 82, 85, 90). In 1974, a newspaper identified a "group of Dulac Indians" (Houma Courier 4/25/1974). Two scholarly publications in 1979 identified Dulac as one of the "communities" or "subcommunities" of a larger "community" of "Houma" Indians (Stanton 1979, 90; Deseran et al. 1979, 5). Terrebonne Parish in 1989 identified three separate "Native American communities" at Grand Caillou, Dulac, and Bayou Dularge (Terrebonne Parish 10/25/1989). The United Houma Nation, of which the petitioner's members were a part, was identified consistently in the 1980's and early 1990's.

Swanton identified a Bayou Lafourche settlement in his 1907 field notes and his 1911 publication (Swanton n.d. [1907] MS 4906; Swanton 1911, 291). In 1921, U.S. Representative Whitmell Martin identified the "Houma Indians" in his district in Terrebonne Parish in a letter that specifically referred to Swanton's work (W. Martin 7/30/1921). Nash in 1931 identified the specific settlement areas of the "Houma Indians," including Bayou Lafourche (Nash 6/-/1931, 11). Underhill in 1938 and Speck in 1941 identified lower Bayou Lafourche as the location of one of the settlements of "Houma" Indians (Underhill 10/25/1938, 12-13; Speck 1941a, 14-16; Speck 1943, 212). In 1950, a pair of scholars identified the "Houma" who "inhabit the marshy fringe of a Louisiana parish" as a "tri-racial group," an acceptable identification under acknowledgment precedent (Parenton and Pellegrin 1950, 148). Fischer identified the "Houma Indians" as a "group" in the early 1960's (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 3, 3/28/1963, and 1965). Stanton in 1971 and 1979 identified Golden Meadow on lower Bayou Lafourche as one of the "communities" within a "Houma" or Indian "community" (Stanton 1971, 91 n.4, see also 82, 85, 90; and Stanton 1979, 90). Alain Larouche in 1983 identified an Indian entity on lower Bayou Lafourche south of the town of Golden Meadow by describing an "Indian group" there (Larouche 1983, 280, 285). The United Houma Nation, of which the petitioner's members were a part, was identified consistently in the 1980's and early 1990's. The petitioner's Bayou Lafourche subgroup meets this criterion as part of the "Houma" population, whether it is found that it is the same group as the historically identified group at the settlement on Bayou Lafourche, or is derived from additional or other settlements that were identified as "Houma" settlements.

The BCCM petitioner has been identified consistently since the formation of its organization in 1995 by local newspapers that have referred to the petitioner by name and as a "group," "band,"

"tribe," or "confederation." The Terrebonne Parish council and president identified the petitioner's organization in 1996 as an Indian entity (*Houma Courier* 7/9/1996; Terrebonne Parish 8/15/1996). Local newspapers identified the petitioning group by reporting in 2001 and 2004 on the consideration by the Louisiana legislature of bills to provide State recognition to the BCCM or its subgroups (*Daily Comet* 5/10/2001; *Houma Courier* 3/14/2004, 5/27/2004). The State of Louisiana appears to have conferred recognition only to the petitioner's separate subgroups by resolution in 2004 rather than to the petitioner's confederation. The Houma newspaper identified the "Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees" as one of the "splinter groups" or "local Indian tribes" whose petition for acknowledgment was placed under active consideration in 2005 (*Houma Courier* 3/13/2005).

The BCCM subgroups also have been identified as Indian entities. A newspaper that reported in 2001 on the bill introduced in the State legislature indicated it would provide "state recognition of the Grand Caillou/Dulac Band, Isle de Jean Charles Band and the Bayou Lafourche Band" (*Daily Comet* 5/10/2001). Newspaper accounts additionally identified the Bayou Lafourche subgroup in the obituary of a member and the Isle de Jean Charles subgroup in a profile of its "chief" (*Daily Comet* 3/27/2000; *Houma Courier* 3/31/2002). In 2002, three newspaper articles and the governing body of Terrebonne Parish identified "Isle de Jean Charles" as an Indian "community" (*Houma Courier* 1/23/2002, 3/31/2002; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 6/25/2002). A newspaper account in 2004 about groups seeking Federal recognition said the BCCM confederation consisted of "three tribal bands" (*Houma Courier* 3/14/2004). The State legislature in 2004 identified the three subgroups of the BCCM petitioner by name in a resolution of State recognition (Louisiana 2004).

Conclusion

External observers have identified a "Houma" Indian population or group on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. They have described that "Houma" population as composed of several settlements, including settlements associated with the petitioner's subgroups. In these circumstances there is a reasonable likelihood that a general identification of the "Houma" Indians was an identification of their settlements, which include the petitioner. Various outside observers have consistently identified a "Houma" Indian population since 1907. External observers also have often identified settlements or groups at Isle Jean Charles, Bayou Grand Caillou, and Bayou Lafourche or predecessor settlements of the petitioner's Bayou Lafourche subgroup as Indian entities, and have consistently identified the petitioner's formal organization since its formation. Therefore, the petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(a).

⁶ Houma Courier 10/15/1995, 2/15/1996, 2/22/1996, 6/27/1996, 6/28/1996, 7/7/1996, 7/9/1996, 7/10/1996, 7/17/1996, 11/13/1996, 2/23/1997, 3/13/1997, 3/19/1997, 5/14/1997, 4/30/1999, 5/5/1999, 5/12/1999, 6/13/1999; Baton Rouge Advocate Magazine 6/23/1996; Daily Comet 5/5/1999.

⁷ A Parish Council resolution does not appear to have been submitted for the record.

Criterion 83.7(b)

- 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.
- 83.1 Community means any group of people which can demonstrate that consistent interactions and significant social relationships exist within its membership and that its members are differentiated from and identified as distinct from nonmembers. Community must be understood in the context of the history, geography, culture and social organization of the group.

This amended proposed finding concludes the BCCM petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion. The evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the petitioner's ancestors and others associated with them constituted a community before 1830. This finding concludes the BCCM petitioner meets this criterion between 1830 and 1940 on the basis of the conclusions contained in the 1994 proposed finding on the UHN petitioner. For the period since 1940, there is sufficient evidence for the Isle de Jean Charles subgroup of the petitioner, but the evidence in the record is not sufficient to show that all of the petitioner's subgroups, or the petitioner as a whole, meet the requirements of this criterion. No evidence has been submitted or found that shows that the earliest claimed Indian ancestors of the petitioner were part of a community that evolved from a historical Indian tribe or formed a community together before arrival at Bayou Terrebonne. The claimed founding ancestors of the petitioner, according to the evidence available, came together during the early 19th century along Bayou Terrebonne but the evidence is insufficient to demonstrate community before 1830. The descendants of these families multiplied and this population expanded to other bayous, including the settlements at Isle Jean Charles, Grand Caillou, and Bayou Lafourche. Because the evidence in the record does not show that the petitioning group has existed as a community from historical times to the present, the petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion.

A review of the UHN proposed finding reveals that this amended proposed finding must consider this criterion for the BCCM petitioner only for the chronological periods before 1830 and after 1940. Because the proposed finding on the UHN petitioner reached conclusions that separate settlements met this criterion during certain periods, and such settlements are associated with the current BCCM petitioner, this amended proposed finding does not need to reconsider those conclusions.

The UHN proposed finding concluded that the UHN petitioner did not meet this criterion because it did not demonstrate that the petitioning group had an antecedent social community prior to 1830. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner needed to demonstrate its historical members

constituted a community before 1830. The evidence in the record has not demonstrated community before 1830.

The UHN proposed finding concluded that separate settlements met this criterion between 1830 and 1940, originally as part of a single ancestral community between 1830 and 1880 and then between 1880 and 1940 as separate settlements that evolved out of the earlier community. The UHN proposed finding concluded that both the single group between 1830 and 1880 and the separate settlements between 1880 and 1940 met this criterion by meeting the provisions of section 83.7(b)(2)(i). Because the petitioner and its subgroups are derived from those settlements, the petitioner meets this criterion for the same time period.⁸

The UHN proposed finding did not reach conclusions for this criterion for the separate settlements during the period after 1940. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner needed to demonstrate that its members constitute, and previous members constituted, a distinct community or communities during that period. The evidence in the record is sufficient to demonstrate that only the petitioner's Isle de Jean Charles subgroup constituted a community during that period. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of this criterion since 1940.

Before 1830

The BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(b) because it has not shown that any ancestral population of its current members continued the existence of a historical Indian tribe or that its historical members formed a community before 1830. The BCCM petitioner needs to show that a pre-1830 community composed of its ancestors and their associates evolved into the community identified by the UHN proposed finding as existing between 1830 and 1880. The petitioner could accomplish this in one of two ways. The petitioner could submit new analysis or evidence to demonstrate that its ancestral community formed on Bayou Terrebonne or elsewhere earlier than 1830. Alternatively, the petitioner could show that its Indian ancestors formed an Indian community, and a portion of that community joined the Bayou Terrebonne community that evolved into the current petitioner. The BCCM petitioner responded to the latter option.

The petitioner's membership is derived from the Billiot, Courteau, and Verdin families that ethnologist John Swanton identified as the founding families of the "Houma" population of Louisiana (Swanton 1911, 292). The petitioner has not shown that those ancestors, or additional claimed Indian ancestors or associated Indians, were members of the same historical Indian tribe or came to the area of Bayou Terrebonne as a group that then evolved into the petitioner. This amended proposed finding, like the earlier proposed finding on the UHN petitioner, concludes that the evidence in the record demonstrates Indian ancestry for two claimed ancestors of the petitioner's members, Houma Courteau and Marie (Gregoire) Verdin. The available evidence is insufficient to show that those two individuals had the same tribal ancestry. The UHN proposed finding also concluded that evidence supported Indian ancestry, but not specific tribal ancestry,

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⁸ The UHN proposed finding included "Isle Jean-Charles," "Golden Meadow," and "Dulac" in the list of the six settlements that met this criterion from 1880 to 1940 (*UHN PF*, 17).

for "Jeanet an Indian woman." The evidence for this amended proposed finding includes claims of possible additional Indian progenitors. The researcher for the BCCM petitioner lists additional historical "Indians" (Westerman 1997, 12-31; BCCM 2005, 247-263; Westerman 2005; BCCM 4/21/2005). This finding accepts that Indian ancestry is demonstrated for five of those individuals (see Appendix B). It has not been shown that any of the five Indians were members of a historical Indian tribe.

The available evidence is insufficient to show that Houma Courteau, Marie (Gregoire) Verdin, Jeanet, or the five historical Indians identified in the new evidence came from a common tribal background, or that some of them or their parents were together in a shared location in the 1790's or earlier, before settlement on Bayou Terrebonne. The evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the five historical Indians identified in the new submissions had connections with each other. None of those five historical Indians have been shown to be linked to the three founding families and their associates in Terrebonne or Lafourche Parishes during their lifetimes. The available evidence is insufficient to show that the "Houma" founding families or historical Indians moved together to Bayou Terrebonne. The evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the claimed Indian ancestors of members of the petitioning group and other Indians interacted with each other before some of them arrived at Bayou Terrebonne. Thus, there is an absence of evidence that any of the petitioner's claimed Indian ancestors or their Indian associates were part of a community that evolved from a historical Indian tribe or formed a community together before arrival at Bayou Terrebonne or before 1830.

The evidence available for this amended proposed finding is insufficient to show interaction of the petitioner's ancestral families earlier than noted in the UHN proposed finding. The evidence in the record indicates that the founding families of the "Houma" population came together at Bayou Terrebonne after arriving there independently of each other. Marianne (Iris) Billiot and Jean Billiot, Sr., received Spanish grants of land as early as 1787 and claimed to have resided on those grants on Bayou Terrebonne by 1800. Houma Courteau appears to have been present in the area as early as 1809 based on a probate sale, and two of his daughters claimed to have married Billiot brothers there about 1808. Marie (Gregoire) Verdin appears to have arrived in the area sometime after 1810 since her spouse Alexandre Verdin was listed on the Federal census in another parish in that year. An association of all three families with each other at Bayou Terrebonne is not documented until land records show them owning or exchanging adjacent lands in 1822. The additional claimed historical Indians also appear to have arrived in Terrebonne Parish independently of each other, and some arrived after 1830. There is

⁹ *UHN PF*. HR. 33-41, 48: AR. 20-32, 37-39.

¹⁰ Treasury 1/8/1812, 433, no.370, 371; Treasury 1/1/1823, 597, no.249; Westerman 1995, 13 and map 7. *See also*: Westerman 1995, form #574; BCCM 2005, 19 n.1.

¹¹ Billau 1809, item no.9; R. Courteau 4/11/1878. *See also*: U.S. Census 1810; Westerman 1995, form #575; BCCM 2005, 19 n.1, 34.

¹² Brasseaux 1975; GLO 6/9/1813, 845; Surveyor General n.d., SW District. *See also*: Treasury 1/8/1812, 435, no.338; GLO 1/16/1817, 261-262, no.612; Westerman 1995, map 7.

¹³ C. Billot to Verdin 8/27/1822; Jean Billot to Verdin 8/27/1822; Billot to Courteau 8/29/1822; BCCM 2005, 34.

insufficient evidence in the record to show that the later arrivals had existing relationships to earlier arrivals or were part of a continuing pattern of migration. Later marriages during the 19th century between descendants of the "Houma" founding families and other families in the general population created the basis for the emergence of a new group. The petitioner's submission is insufficient to demonstrate that before 1830 its historical members formed a community. This evidence in the record is insufficient to demonstrate that any historical Indians or historical members of the petitioning group constituted a community on Bayou Terrebonne or in Terrebonne Parish prior to 1830.

1830-1940

The BCCM petitioner has sufficient evidence for this criterion between 1830 and 1940 based on the conclusions of the UHN proposed finding. The UHN proposed finding concluded the UHN petitioner met this criterion as a single community between 1830 and 1880 because more than half of the petitioner's ancestors lived in an exclusive settlement on Bayou Terrebonne extending to Isle Jean Charles, which under the provisions of section 83.7(b)(2)(i) provided sufficient evidence for that period. The UHN proposed finding concluded that separate communities evolved out of that original community. For the 1880 to 1940 time period, the UHN proposed finding concluded that more than half of the petitioner's ancestors lived in geographical isolation in at least six exclusive settlements that individually would meet the requirements of section 83.7(b)(2)(i). This amended proposed finding concludes on the basis of the UHN proposed finding that the petitioner has sufficient evidence for this criterion from 1830 to 1940, because its subgroups are derived from those settlements.

The petitioner contends that Isle Jean Charles was settled by Jean Marie Naquin and Pauline Verdin, daughter of Marie (Gregoire) Verdin, at an unspecified time after their marriage about 1828. This contention is based on "tradition" or "oral history," although no oral history interviews are cited by the petitioner (IJC 1997, 1, and 2005, 23; BCCM 2005, 61). The available evidence does not show Pauline Verdin and Jean Marie Naquin ever lived at Isle Jean Charles. The first evidence of the settlement at Isle Jean Charles by at least three of their children is their acquisition of land there from the State in 1876, when they received land patents on the same date (IJC 1997, 5-10, and 2005, 23-25). Three Naquin children who received land patents in 1876 also appeared on the 1880 census, with an additional household, in a series of consecutive households which match the geographical order of their land patents (IJC 1997, 6-10, and 2005, 24-25; BCCM 2005, 65-69; U.S. Census 1880, E.D. 190, #304-307). At that time, the settlement at Isle Jean Charles consisted of households of three Naquin siblings and one of their adult children (BCCM 2005, 60). In 1900, the settlement at Isle Jean Charles consisted almost exclusively of households containing descendants of the original three Naquin siblings (BCCM 2005, 65-69; for 1910, see p.61; U.S. Census 1900, E.D. 74, #305-319).

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¹⁴ The petitioner's subgroups' narratives of the origins of their settlements, however, do not adopt this explanation that they evolved out of an earlier community that existed between 1830 and 1880. The petitioner's subgroups have the option of presenting alternative explanations to the UHN finding adopted here of how their settlements maintained continuity from an earlier community and how they emerged as distinct groups.

The petitioner suggests that its present population on Bayou Grand Caillou at Dulac arrived there as a result of migration over time from Bayou Little Caillou to Bayou Salé to Bayou Grand Caillou (BCCM 2005, 19). The petitioner contends that "Indian" settlement on Bayou Little Caillou (or *Petit Caillou*) began by 1836 (BCCM 2005, 1, 99-109). It presents a list of claimed "Indian" families on Bayou Little Caillou on the 1850 census (BCCM 2005, 2-4; U.S. Census 1850, #333-356). It also presents a list of "Indian" households on the 1910 census on Bayou Sale Road and Four Point Road below Dulac (BCCM 2005, 6-8, 31-32; U.S. Census 1910, #520-553). The petitioner's researcher suggests that a hurricane in 1926 and flooding in 1927 explain a migration from Bayou Salé to "higher ground at Dulac" (BCCM 2005, 20). Although the petitioner does not demonstrate group migration, the available evidence indicates that most "Houma" households at Bayou Salé in 1880 had a genealogical relationship to an 1850 resident at Bayou Caillou, and the UHN proposed finding said most "Houma" residents at Dulac descend from a previous resident of Bayou Salé. The petitioner's Grand Caillou / Dulac subgroup claims to represent Bayou Dularge, but the petitioner does not explain or demonstrate any relationship between "Houma" descendants at Bayou Dularge and those at Bayou Salé or Dulac.

The petitioner does not contend that there was an area of settlement on lower Bayou Lafourche composed of the descendants of the three "Houma" founding families until 1900. For the period prior to 1900, the petitioner's evidence shows that a few claimed "Indian" descendants were living on Bayou Lafourche as individuals or, perhaps, in small family clusters (BL 4/21/2005, 2-3; BCCM 2005, 73-74, 82-84; Westerman n.d., 2-3). The 1900 census of Lafourche Parish showed, according to the petitioner's researcher, a "clustered community below Golden Meadow," on the east side of Bayou Lafourche, consisting of 11 families (BL 4/21/2005, 3; BCCM 2005, 74; Westerman n.d., 3; U.S. Census 1900, E.D. 36, #344-353). Most of those families lived within a range of 10 consecutive households consisting exclusively of individuals designated as "Indian" by the census enumerator. The available evidence, however, appears to show that the current members of the petitioner's Bayou Lafourche subgroup have a historical background different from those residing in or having a connection to an exclusive settlement at Golden Meadow (see also BL 4/21/2005, 4-5). The other settlements from which this subgroup's members appear to be derived can be considered to be among the "satellite" settlements of the "Houma" described in the UHN proposed finding.

1940 to the Present: The Subgroups of the BCCM Petitioner

The subgroups of the BCCM confederation claim to represent Indian communities located in the southern-most areas on Grand Caillou, Isle Jean Charles, and Lafourche Bayous. The subgroups represent three "line settlements" on the several of the bayous, which have been regularly identified by academic researchers (Swanton 1911; Underhill 1938; Speck 1943; Parenton and Pellegrin 1950; Fischer 1965). Historically, the populations of these settlements also inhabited homes and seasonal camps below the locations of these settlements. Before about 1970, the Indian inhabitants of the area were described as "nomadic within limits," meaning some moved within a specific territory (Speck 1941a). Louisiana State University researchers described the

distribution of this population in 1950. They found that a majority of the Indian descendants¹⁵ were "clustered in groups or settlements at intervals along the bayous. Usually, they [were] settled along these streams in a line village pattern, occasionally interspersed among White families. The remainder live[d] deep in the marshes in areas which can be reached only by boat travel, and ... scattered about in no definite settlement pattern. In these cases, no White persons live[d] among them" (Parenton and Pellegrin 1950). This and other similar descriptions indicate that dispersed, but exclusive, Indian settlement areas, settlements, and neighborhoods existed historically on the three bayous associated with the three BCCM subgroups and on other bayous not represented by BCCM. At present, exclusive Indian settlements still exist but the seminomadic lifestyle described in the early and the mid-twentieth century has given way to wage employment and commercial fishing.

Of the BCCM subgroups, only Isle Jean Charles has demonstrated that its membership encompasses the population of the actual Isle Jean Charles community associated with Isle Jean Charles Bayou. More than half of its members live in or very near this almost exclusive community. Virtually all Isle Jean Charles members, including those who have moved from it in recent decades, descend from its founders and are part of families residing there continuously since its founding to at least 1950.

The evidence is insufficient to show that the membership of the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup encompasses the population of the actual Grand Caillou/Dulac community. The membership does not include important social actors and leaders of that community. Similarly, it appears that the membership of the Bayou Lafourche subgroup does not encompass large portions of the actual community that may exist on that bayou. This subgroup, however, may more accurately represent the descendants of several related small family enclaves and settlements located between Bayou Lafourche and Bayou Pointe au Chien at Bayous Faleau (Fala), Bleu, and L'Eskine before 1960. Thus, although the following discussion notes evidence for communities associated with the three bayou petitioners historically and at present, only in the case of Isle Jean Charles, does the membership of the subgroup encompass the population of the actual community associated with that bayou.

In the early 20th century or earlier, the economy of the lower bayous changed from agriculture to fishing, trapping, and industry. Until the 1970's, some BCCM ancestors lived full-time or seasonally at small kin-based trapping and shrimping camps and moved from one locale to another by boat (Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979; Anna Augustine Billiot 9/30/1979; Amy ("Aimee") Billiot 11/13/1979; Marie Dupre 8/6/1979). In 1943, an anthropologist described them as "marsh nomads" and noted they had "changed from agriculture" to "trapping hunting and fishing on the coastal fringe" (Speck 1941a, 1943). Local sociologists found that they had "largely abandoned" agriculture for fishing and trapping in 1950 (Parenton and Pellegrin 1950). Culturally conservative individuals, choosing the settlements' kin-based, semi-subsistence way of life, tended to stay in the settlements, while many others left the lower bayous. Evidence

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¹⁵ Parenton and Pellegrin's "Study of Racial Hybrids in a Louisiana Coastal Parish" used the local term "Sabine," considered derogatory by the Indian descendants, for the "Houma" population. Speck used the term "Creole Houma."

reveals that the subgroups vary in the extent to which members resided in the associated settlements and the degree to which these settlements are exclusive to their memberships.¹⁶

Although the Indian population in the lower bayous is usually characterized by an economy of trapping, fishing, and ovstering, Indians also participated, full or part-time, in wage employment from the 1800's when they were cane field workers to the present day as workers in the shipping, oil, and gas industries. The loss of access to State lands once opened to trappers during the Great Depression pushed many Indians out of the lower bayous for economic reasons. By the late 1930's an observer found "Houma" employed in canneries near Houma, in an ice plant at Golden Meadow, as a carpenter, and "employed irregularly" on nearby cane plantations near Grand Bois (north of Faleau) (Underhill 10/25/1938). Some families lived in housing provided by employers to the 1960's, especially on Grand Caillou Bayou (World War I Draft Registration Cards; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Tom Dion 1/23/1981; Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978). A "Cajun" woman from Pointe Aux Chênes said that men from Isle Jean Charles worked in local fields and truck gardens in the 1940's (Ledet 10/16/1979). In 1978, a man from Dulac said that Ashland Plantation on Grand Caillou Bayou had employed many Indians in a refinery and sawmill, and an Indian community grew up there separate from an African American residence area nearby (Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Members of the Bayou Lafourche subgroup began working in the oil industry near Larose in the 1960's, and many of its members work in that and related industries at present. Thus, although academic literature and popular news coverage of the "Houma" population dwell on trapping and fishing, wage employment was also an option for some for most of the twentieth century.

Evidence of Social Processes Organizing Expansion

Since 1830, the descendants of the BCCM subgroups' Indian and other founding ancestors in Bayou Terrebonne have moved in family groupings to other lower bayou areas in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. They established areas of exclusive settlement that, over time, became socially distinct. BCCM's three subgroups represent people associated with three such settlement areas on three bayous (although Bayou Lafourche subgroup primarily descends from small enclaves in wetlands west of Bayou Lafourche). Their separate memberships trace to unique sets of Indian and other ancestors, who founded each settlement or married the founders in early generations.¹⁷ Indian and other ancestors with whom the Indian ancestors of the three

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¹⁶ The Isle Jean Charles and Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroups' members tend to represent families that stayed at, or very close to, those settlements to the present. The BL subgroup's members, however, tend to descend primarily from families living in small encampments east of Pointe au Chien at Bayous Bleu and Faleau, abandoned around 1960. Today, Bayou Lafourche subgroup members live dispersed among a much larger Indian population on Bayou Lafourche or in other parts of the State. Grand Caillou/Dulac members still residing at Dulac, Shrimpers Row, or other Grand Caillou Indian neighborhoods also live dispersed within a large Indian population, many of whom presumably belong to another petitioner. Only isolated Isle Jean Charles has maintained a settlement almost exclusive to its members, with few resident families currently enrolled in other petitioners.

¹⁷ Descendants of the families of Houma Courteau, Jean-Baptiste Billiot, Marie Gregoire Verdin, and other families with whom they married and interacted, are differentially represented in the current populations of the separate subgroups because after the first generations living on the separate bayous, their separate populations tended to

BCCM subgroups had already married settled on Grand Caillou in the mid 1800's, Isle Jean Charles before 1870, and Bayou Bleu, Faleau (Fala), or L'Eskine, near Bayou Lafourche in the late 1800's.

Analysis of the movements of BCCM's 19th-century ancestors based on Federal census records and the BCCM genealogy database enhanced by OFA suggests that, as they expanded from the pre-1850 residential locations on Bayou Terrebonne and branched into new areas, as discussed in the UHN proposed finding, they repeated certain steps in successive generations. Although these processes characterize the "Houma" expansion before 1940 and were discussed in the UHN proposed finding, it is important to review them in the evaluation of BCCM's separate subgroups because these historical processes laid a foundation that helps explain the highly dense social networks and multiple kinship relationships within each of the three subgroups' separate memberships at present.

From the available evidence, analysis of the general pattern of expansion reveals that family groupings, rather than any larger entity, organized the expansion within the bayous along lines of kinship. In the first step or generation, a small group of siblings and their in-laws, often led by an older father or uncle and his wife, would patent land or squat on public lands, sometimes seasonally moving within a limited territory (Speck 1943). The group's members traced multiple ties of kinship and marriage, and had life-long connections as siblings and cousins before they moved within the lower bayous. They preferred marrying cousins (Randy Verdun 7/29/2005). Siblings from one family often married siblings from another family purportedly to enhance cooperation in satellite settlements or temporary trapping camps (Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979). During the first generations in new settlements, the residents presumably maintained social ties to relatives elsewhere.

During the second generation, the new settlements' residents invested socially in their new settlements, raising large families. Second-generation children, who remained in their birth settlement throughout their lives, married cousins from the same settlement or their parents' former settlement, which loosely tied the new outpost to its older residents' birth settlement. Before 1900, a few marriages were forged with non-Indians, with names including Lovell, Verret, Naquin, Crepell, and Dardar among others, and these names, like Billiot, Courteau, and Verdin, have become local markers of Indian ancestry and are sometimes associated with specific bayou settlements where descendants who bear their names are numerous (Swanton 1907, 1911; Speck 1943; Fischer 8/14/1960b).

By the third generation, natural increases in population possibly made marriage between cousins living within the same settlement preferred over finding spouses from more remote locations (Randy Verdun 7/29/2005; Speck 1943; BCCM genealogical database enhanced by OFA). Those who married out of the settlement tended to leave it. Small groups of close kin (often siblings) and their spouses in successive generations extended areas of settlement north and south along the already inhabited bayous, increasing the population density in the exclusive areas of settlement and distributing families throughout the lowest periphery of the bayou region. The

marry within their own group. As a result, the initial founders of Grand Caillou have few descendants in Isle Jean Charles and Bayou Lafourche subgroups, and vice versa.

retention of specific lines of descent (family lines) continuously over generations provides significant evidence of community to the present for all of the lower bayou settlement areas, and their associated communities. Connections between the new settlement and its founders' birth settlement weakened over time, and the various "Houma" settlements grew increasingly distinct over time. By 1940, a researcher from the University of Pennsylvania observed the population distribution resulting from these social processes of kinship and marriage. He found "local band affinity among families that fish and hunt the same bayous, and whose camps are located on its levees and hummocks, whose occupational movements follow the course of the same bayou from the Gulf to the borders of the cultivated land held by whites." He also found "families frequently living on one bayou are strangers to those on another" (Speck 1943).

In addition to the out-migration of sibling/family groups to establish new settlements, outmarriage of individuals from their birth settlements, either to other "Houma" individuals or to non-Indians, also appears to have separated their descendants from "Houma" bayou communities before about 1970. Settlement residents who married non-Indians before 1970, tended to leave the lower bayous (Fischer 1965). Their descendants are less likely to be enrolled in any BCCM subgroup. Racial discrimination informed marriage and residence choices, especially as Jim Crow segregation intensified between 1890 and 1920 (David Billiot 4/7/1938; Speck 1943; Ledet 10/16/1979; Sidney Gary Verdin 7/26/2005; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naquin 7/27/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). These internal social processes were socially patterned and followed described social norms that were shared and informally enforced through peer pressure, shunning, gossip, and other practices by settlement residents (Roy 1959; Fischer 1965, Bezou 8/20/1979; Albert Naguin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). Such norms were possibly part of what Speck observed and described as unifying "social mores and community consciousness" (Speck 1943). Those lines of descent (family lines), which remained in a lower bayou settlement from its founding to the present, are more likely to be represented in a BCCM subgroup than the descendants of families who permanently migrated before 1950 and individuals who married out of the settlements before about 1970. As a result, the memberships of each of the communities associated with the three BCCM subgroups exhibit very dense kin-based social networks. These networks are a result of multiple ties of kinship and, for those who married endogamously within the settlement, continuous residence in an exclusive lower bayou settlement area.

The UHN proposed finding described this movement of the "Houma" population throughout the lower bayous as one group between 1830 and 1880 and as several separate groups on different bayous from 1880 to 1940. The UHN proposed finding found that from 1880 to 1940, "several ... socially and politically independent communities" sharing the same pool of Indian and other ancestors existed in the lower bayous. The family-based social organization of the historical BCCM groups is typical of societies that are highly successful in expanding a rapidly growing population into new territories. In such a defined social process, family segments readily break away from the main body of inter-related families living in an established settlement area to move to new locations as the economy and resource availability require. As in the Houma case, families are headed by an independent kin-based older man equal in stature to the heads of other similarly situated families that comprise the groups, but there is no central organization uniting all of these families and settlements under a single leadership. Group composition was flexible in response to specific economic, social, or demographic pressures. Families could remain alone or join other families. These kinds of social processes that anthropologists have identified in

other expanding populations provide significant evidence for demonstrating community under the regulations, so long as the processes are decribed with sufficient detail. Outside observers have described in general terms this type of family based social organization in the lower bayou communities (Speck 1943; Fischer 1965).¹⁸

Family segments, which had lived at Isle Jean Charles, had moved to Bayou Dularge by the 1890's and into Mississippi in the 1950's. Grand Caillou Bayou residents had built allied camps in wetlands southwest of Dulac and in St. Mary Parish by 1910, had moved to New Orleans as early as 1930, and had extended north along that bayou into Houma City. Lafourche outmigrants had settled in other parishes, such as Barataria and Placquimines by the 1930's. Migrants from all lower bayou settlements moved to urban areas in the State before 1963. They and their descendants may be in another petitioner or no petitioner, but they tend not to be in the memberships of the Grand Caillou/Dulac and Isle Jean Charles subgroups. There is not enough evidence in the record to determine the relationship between urban migrants and the membership of the Bayou Lafourche subgroup.

This process of expansion appears to have continued to the present, and the memberships of the BCCM subgroups reflect these social processes. Residents of a settlement area who married, socialized, and resided after marriage in the settlement, before 1950, were more likely to have descendants in the current BCCM subgroup associated with that settlement than those residents who married or migrated out. Families permanently left the lower bayous during the worst years of segregation between 1920 and 1963, and have continued to leave for economic reasons. Sociologist Edison Roy found in 1959 that "usually migrations are permanent" if based on "dissatisfaction with prejudice found in the [Dulac] community" (Roy 1959). Out-migrant families organized their own moves away from the lower bayous to new areas, where even during segregation they often found they were treated as Whites (Elvira Molinere7/26/1979; Roy 1959; Stanton 1971; Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979; Anna Augustine Billiot 9/30/1979).

Out-migrants, especially those who left during segregation, often became socially distant from their birth settlements and married within the general population. They sometimes changed racial or ethnic identity. (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965; Mary Lee Billiot Wisnowski *in* Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979; Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979; Alfredia Billiot *in* Alexander E. Billiot interview 4/24/1979; Roy 1959). Other family lines were retained in the settlement area generation after generation, and they formed a continuous social core which is closely related to each bayou community today.

BCCM subgroup members view kin relationships with the Indian residents of other bayou settlements, including those founded by out-migrants from their own settlements or Indian descendants from collateral lines, as distant, although they do acknowledge their general relationship. One anthropologist wrote that the settlements represented a "large consanguineous

¹⁸ For example, a priest who had served Isle Jean Charles in the later 1930's and 1940's said in 1979 that all the families in that community were "self-sufficient. No one was employed by anyone else" (Bezou 8/20/1979).

¹⁹ Roy found for Dulac that between 1954 and 1959, at least 48 percent of the families had at least one immediate family member migrate (Roy 1959).

family" (Frank Speck 1943; Tom Dion 1/23/1981). Thus, the history of the highly cohesive communities of intermarrying families at Isle Jean Charles, Grand Caillou/Dulac, and Lafourche demonstrates over time a social process in which many family segments and individuals who married out or moved out left the lower bayous, while other lines of descent remained, thereby creating a settlement distinct from other "Houma" settlements inhabited by distant kin. This process is the foundation of each subgroups' social cohesion because the families associated with each bayou community are multiply related, and have lived in close proximity since 1880 when the existence of separate communities became evident. A priest who lived in Isle Jean Charles the 1940's said in 1979 that "the people living there were all considered relatives—cousins....who had been there for generations" (Bezou 8/20/1979). This process would continue after 1940 to the present for Grand Caillou/Dulac and Isle Jean Charles, but the evidence is insufficient to determine specific details concerning the process at Bayou Lafourche.

Evidence of Government-sponsored Segregation

The social organization of the BCCM subgroups, and the larger "Houma" group, was greatly influenced by the social context provided by the greater society, especially racial discrimination. Because some of the larger "Houma" group's ancestors had African ancestry, all of the group's members were targeted by racial discrimination (Underhill 1938; Speck 1943; Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Their response to segregation and attempts to deal with its effects provides evidence relevant to criteria 83.7(b) and 83.7(c). The regulations provide at 83.7(b)(1)(v) that "evidence of strong patterns of discrimination or other social distinctions by non-members," may be used to demonstrate a petitioner meets 83.7(b), and in this case, the subgroups' responses to it also provides evidence under criteria 83.7(b) and 83.7(c).

Between 1887 and 1963, Louisiana institutionalized discrimination by legally dividing the general population into people of European ancestry and those with African ancestry. Whites enjoyed privileges and special legal rights African Americans did not have. The specifics of discrimination as it was applied to Indians or people of mixed ancestry in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes before 1920 is unclear; however, oral history maintains that by 1920, and probably earlier, institutionalized segregation systematically divided the Indians in all lower bayous from Whites in many important areas of life. In Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes, officials, including the Terrebonne Parish Superintendent of Schools, legally classed the "socalled Indians" with "Negroes" (Bourgeois 1938). Speck noted "the local tendency to exploit them as inferior 'people of color'" (Speck 1943), and Father Bezou, a Roman Catholic priest who served at Isle Jean Charles, found the Terrebonne Superintendent of Schools "adamant about keeping the schools segregated" (Bezou 8/20/1979). BCCM's ancestors compelled officials to provide—albeit sporadically—separate "Indian" institutions (Sanders 1947; Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978; Arline Naguin 8/1/2005; Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979). The Parishes begrudgingly supported "Indian" schools from time to time or provided money to church schools in most of the main settlements (Bezou 8/20/1979; Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978). There seems to have been some variation in the application of segregation in the eastern and western bayous, in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes, and in how Indians in those regions responded to it (Underhill 10/22/1938; Arline Naguin 8/1/2005). Nevertheless, Indians in every bayou had their own bars, dancehalls, churches, schools, and roped-off areas in some facilities (Billiot v.

School Board Testimony 2/3-15/1917; Cyril Billiot 7/26/1978, 1/23/1981; Maria Billiot Lovell 1/28/1979; Albert Naquin 8/3/2005; Ronald Naquin *et al.* 7/29/2005). Father Bezou believed Isle Jean Charles in the 1940's had little interaction with Terrebonne Parish Government: "There was no jail...no judge...no elected official...It undoubtedly belonged to some precinct," but Bezou did not "think that they voted, no more than the blacks were voting in those days" (Bezou 8/20/1979). By 1959, however, a researcher reported survey results finding that 35 percent of Dulac household heads told him they "were voters" (Roy 1959).

BCCM members and ancestors were often indistinguishable from White "Cajun" neighbors, and some Indian descendants in eastern bayous (Lafourche and Isle Jean Charles) identified themselves as White in many contexts. Officials and others used indices other than appearance, including surname, residence, and school attended, to identify them as Indians. That "Indian" surnames were associated with specific bayous was documented as early as 1907, when Swanton visited, to the present; and this phenomenon was used to discriminate legally against Indian descendants, including those who were White in appearance, before the Civil Rights Act passed in 1963 and probably for some time after 1963 on an unofficial basis (Swanton 1911; Ledet 10/16/1979; Speck 1943; David Billiot 4/7/1938; Amy ("Aimee") Billiot 11/13/1979; Randy Verdun 7/29/2005). Indian out-migrants to other parishes or New Orleans often escaped discrimination and reported voting, attending White schools, and socializing with Whites. Some Indian students in the town of Houma, the Terrebonne Parish seat, reported that they attended White schools, but only if they had never attended an Indian school and asserted a White identity.

Segregation before 1963, as applied to BCCM ancestors, clearly promoted "strong patterns of discrimination or other social distinctions," evidence of community as provided in section 83.7(b)(1)(v) of the regulations. This discrimination focused primarily on persons of African ancestry, a group much larger than the members and ancestors of BCCM, the subgroups, or the "Houma" ethnic group. Yet, the record also contains many instances between 1900 and 1965 when Indians were treated differently from African Americans and Whites. In addition, the tailoring of segregation to Indian descendants in each settlement provides evidence that some distinctions were being made about each settlement, which distinguished its residents from others subject to discrimination. Lower bayou residents of the Indian settlements were subjected to discrimination based on a calculation that included their residence in a settlement identified as "Indian." The localized derogatory term used by neighbors only to refer to the Indian descendants was "Sabine" (Ronald Naguin et al. 7/29/2005; Nickell 1982; Ledet 10/16/1979). The term, only applied to the "Houma" population, probably denoted tri-racial ancestry (Parenton and Pellegrin 1950). This pattern of discrimination, especially from White neighbors, living in nearby "Cajun" settlements, who could identify Indians based on their personal knowledge, provides some evidence of social distinction between 1920 and 1965 for the communities associated with the three subgroups. ²⁰

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²⁰ A man translating for his aunt in an interview said, "In school they used to pick at us a lot, tell us we were half-breed, things like that...When I used to go shoot pool, a lot of times I ended up getting in fights because of that, cause people would start calling me half-breed, and I'm proud of what I am. I'm Indian and I'm proud of it" ("Joe" Billiot in interview of Anna Augustine Billiot 9/29/2005). Such accounts were typical of many people interviewed who had been alive before 1960 (Ledet 10/16/1979; Bezou 8/20/1979).

Evidence of Discrimination among the Separate Lower Bayou Indian Settlements

Racial discrimination and segregation influenced relations among the three BCCM subgroups and other Indian communities, not associated with BCCM including Montegut, Dularge, and Pointe au Chien. BCCM's ancestors refused to interact socially with African Americans, including families and settlements claiming to be "Indian," that some other Indians believed had Black ancestry (Ann Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965; Anonymous 2/22/1963, Bourgeois 1938; Albert Naguin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Bezou 8/20/1979). Frank Speck stated that the Indians "fought intensely" against being given "colored or negro status" (Speck 1943).²¹ Each family and settlement held a position, based primarily on the purported racial make-up of its unique founding ancestors and their subsequent marriage partners. Indian descendants assigned relative racial status to regions, bayous, settlements, and neighborhoods, and discouraged social interactions with any group or family viewed as having a lower racial status than their own group. A neighborhood, such as the southern half of Isle Jean Charles, sometimes claimed higher racial status than other parts of the same settlement (Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naquin 7/27/2005; Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Indians systematically received and applied discrimination in everyday interactions. Because an individual's actions reflected on their community, their extended family, and nuclear family, significant social pressure was exerted on family and settlement group members to maintain, at least publicly before the dominant population, distinctions between their own settlement or family and others, providing supporting evidence for community (Roy 1959; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naguin 7/27/2005).

Institutionalized segregation coming from outside the group directed at the larger ethnic grouping of "Houma," combined with discrimination the Indian descendants publicly directed at each other, appears to have created a socio-racial hierarchy, which separated some historical Indian settlements from other Indian settlements. Settlements maintained boundaries with certain other settlements, neighborhoods, or areas primarily by avoiding significant social interaction with them. Marriage and residence patterns demonstrate these avoidance practices and provide some evidence for community.

A typical example of the effects of these practices in defining the population of the settlements is demonstrated by the descendants of early Grand Caillou resident Rosette Billiot, the sister of Alexandre Billiot, founder of Pointe au Chien. (The siblings were Indian descendants of Houma Courteau). Rosette had children by three non-Indian men before 1850, when she was enumerated living on Bayou Grand Caillou. Of her 2,239 descendants and their spouses documented in the BCCM database as enhanced by OFA, 909 are enrolled in the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup. Only 16 of her descendants and their spouses listed in the FTW genealogical database descending from her are PACIT members. All of these PACIT members descend from a single marriage between a PACIT man and an Indian descendant from Dulac in the late 1960's, after segregation became illegal. Six of her known descendants and their

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²¹ Speck noted the presence of "separatist behavior and self-consciousness" in the Indian population, but it is unclear what he meant by those terms (Speck 1943).

marriage partners are BL members, based on a marriage in 1990. However, in the exception that tends to illustrate the rule, 69 of her descendants and their spouses are Isle Jean Charles members, descendants of a marriage in the 1940's. A descendant of this latter marriage was interviewed, and he revealed that his parents could not live in Isle Jean Charles, stating simply that his mother's origin outside of Isle Jean Charles was not accepted by her in-laws. After his parents' divorce, he, his siblings, and his mother lived near Grand Caillou until he married a woman from Isle Jean Charles in the 1970's. The couple does not live in Isle Jean Charles, although they live nearby. This type of differential distribution is typical of descendants of the founding members of the Billiot, Courteau, and Gregoire-Verdin families—kin groupings Speck labeled "family subdivisions" on different bayous. A writer of a thesis in 1959 identified family neighborhoods in Dulac (Roy 1959). These facts illustrate the effect of cousin marriage, and to some extent segregation, as practiced in the lower bayous. The application of racial distinctions resulting in a racial factions²³ within the larger "Houma" population and within settlements provides evidence for community because it discerns patterns of social distinctions directed toward the "Houma" population by outsiders, and toward smaller groupings by Indian descendants, themselves.

Lafourche resident David Billiot reflected the racial ideology asserted publicly of many Indians attempting to maintain an identity that was not "Negro" by local definition. In a 1938 letter to anthropologist Frank Speck, Billiot objected to being classified with certain "Houma" Indian descendants from other locales he believed had "Negro blood:"

The truth is there are many [Indian families in other bayous] which have Negro Blood and those that have all follow the same rank with them ["Negroes"]. And because we have the same [sur]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 4/7/1938)

David Billiot did not directly object to segregation, but did object to his position within the system.

Edison Roy, presumably White, spent considerable time "in the field" at Dulac in 1959. He reported that "The Indians with tri-blood or of tri-heritage (Negro, Indian, and White) are substratified in the Indian community." The families the writer interviewed readily pointed out, "That family line has Negro blood; we do not associate with those with Negro blood." Roy added, "The Indians among themselves have particular groups they prefer their children to play

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²² Speck wrote: "The family patronyms indicate that the collective Houma band [as contrasted with the "local band" found on each bayou, which he also described in the same article] [descend] from a limited group of progenitors, the names Billiot (comprising approximately 13 family subdivisions), Verdin (approximately 11 families), constituting almost the entire population of Bayou La Fourche, the eastern sector inhabited. In the Terre Bonne and adjacent sections the family names existing are Diane (or Dion) (10 subdivisions alone at Du Lac), Parfait (10 subdivisions along at Du Lac), Gregoire (5 subdivisions at Du Lac), and Verret (5 subdivisions at Du Lac), with others not designated by the people of old Houma stock and residence" (Speck 1943).

²³ Whether this system is a caste system or a "race-caste" system, as labeled by Speck, does not need to be discussed in this report.

or associate with" (Roy 1959). A Terrebonne school official cited such attitudes as a reason not to build Indian schools (Bourgeois 1938). He said some Indians refused to attend classes with Indian descendants they believed also had African ancestors, an observation also made by a BIA researcher in 1938 and a Catholic priest who had served at Isle Jean Charles and Montegut in the 1940's (Underhill 1938; Bezou 8/20/1979). Edison Roy reported that at Dulac "Some dissatisfactions have been felt among the people in regards to 'some children with mixed Indian and negro blood going to their schools.' Practically all of the Indians agree that there are several cases" (Roy 1959).²⁴

Cultural attitudes defined suitable marriage partners until the 1970's. People who did not marry suitable spouses tended to reside outside their birth settlement after marriage, and their descendants lost social contact with it. Several researchers noted in mid-century that marrying out meant moving out of a settlement, and communities and families sometimes shunned individuals who married out (Roy 1959; Fischer 8/14/1960b; 1965). Qualitative evidence indicated that ancestors of current subgroup ancestors and members often married other subgroup ancestors and members between 1850 and 1970. Over time, the lower bayou settlements lost from their social networks people who married out and their descendants. It is still unlikely to find persons whose families are traditionally associated with one line settlement living in another line settlement, and it is relatively rare to find marriages between Indian individuals raised on different bayous, although since 1970 such marriages have become more common. Shared cultural patterns of making distinctions among different Indian families and settlements applied to the selection of marriage partners, social relationships, and residency and provide supporting evidence for community for the communities associated with the bayous of the three subgroups of BCCM until 1970.

Families guarded their racial reputations (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Racial considerations affected where one lived and worked and whom one married. Birth in New Orleans, location of baptisms, and taking a stepfather's name could influence racial status (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Some Indians entered White society and raised their children as Whites (Roy 1959). Taking on a White identity required one to leave or to marry outside the lower bayous (Fischer 1965). Persons who made this choice before 1963 have few descendants in BCCM subgroups.

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²⁴ A researcher in 1959 stated that racial perceptions especially strained inter-bayou relations and relationships between "Houma" populations in the eastern and western bayou regions (Roy 1959). A Dulac missionary in the 1930's and 1940's blamed racial prejudice for animosity between Indians on Lafouche and Dulac (Hooper 10/25/1977). In 1938 and 1965, anthropologists found that informants on the eastern bayous claimed not to know or visit people on the western bayous. Inter-settlement animosity within the context of racial segregation discouraged political organization of the larger group and perhaps even settlements.

²⁵ Edison Roy also related that a Dulac woman who married a Black man found, "Her family and friends [did] not speak to her," and Ann Fischer discussed a similar situation in which a woman no longer spoke to her family after marrying a Black man and having his child (Fischer 8/14/1960b). Those who married Whites also tended to move away.

²⁶ This BCCM amended proposed finding finds insufficient evidence based on marriage alone to demonstrate community under 83.7(b)(2)(ii), but that between 1900 and about 1960 marriage within the settlements, combined with residence, created a socially cohesive population in the settlements at GCD, IJC, and Bayous Faleau and Bleu (BL).

Parents living in the settlements encouraged children to marry Indian spouses of very similar ancestry to maintain the family's social position (Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naquin 7/27/2005).

Within settlements, interaction within extended families living in close proximity and more closely related as kin was more intense than between extended families living in different neighborhoods. Anthropologist Ann Fischer noted that ramifying (or branching) kin ties and social organization characterized the group in the early 1960's (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Individuals of the same family were socially closer than individuals of the same extended family; individuals of the same extended family were socially closer than individuals from different extended families; individuals from the same settlement were socially closer than individuals from neighboring settlements; and individuals from different regions rarely interacted at all.

Despite some differences, beliefs about race were more likely to unite residents within settlements because they usually shared similar status, derived from the group's founders. Multiple marriages to cousins, and the tendency of siblings from one family to marry siblings from another family over generations created a dense kinship network within each settlement, and tied the families to one another through ties of marriage and kinship. Settlement residents often viewed each other as kin. They knew each other well, communicated frequently, and bent to social pressures from friends and relatives, including peer groups, and older relatives.

Combining these kinship practices with residential proximity, residents of settlements between the early 1900's and the present demonstrated significant social relationships and community in the actual communities of each BCCM subgroup. Presently, informal kin-based social networks based on cousin marriage are effective in maintaining significant levels of social interaction, although such marriages are decreasing. The combination of government sponsored practices of segregation between at least 1920 and 1963 and the specific response of the petitioner's and subgroup's ancestors to segregation indicates that there were significant distinctions made about the Indians living in the exclusive lower bayou settlements based on racial perceptions, which provides supporting evidence of community during segregation.

Evidence of Informal Social Interaction and Relationships Based in Exclusive Settlements

The subgroups of the BCCM petitioner are associated with isolated ethnic enclaves, where residents are related to each other multiple times. Proximity and kinship relationships combined to bring together people residing in or very near each settlement area and their close relatives as part of a highly cohesive social community. Interviewees discussed sharing, mutual aid, community-wide socializing, and other informal social activities supported by the close relationships that families developed over generations (Teeter 1964; Anna Augustine Billiot 9/30/1979; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naquin 7/27/2005).

Sources also referred to gossip, rumor, and information sharing, indicating that residents were well informed of each other's activities (Roy 1959; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Judy Ann Billiot 7/27/2005). In addition, analysis of the geographical distribution of members finds that large numbers of non-resident members may seasonally occupy lower bayou residences, use them as

bases for fishing and shrimping, or moor a sport fishing boat in the bayou, especially at Isle Jean Charles (Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). Others vacation on weekends in the lower bayous during summers, crew on a commercial boat operated by a relative, or visit for other purposes. Thus, the actual active social core of the three bayou communities, not necessarily the memberships of the BCCM subgroups, extends beyond the people who live in exclusive Indian settlements associated with these communities to nearby neighborhoods.

Settlements provide a locus for informal interaction, which not only provides evidence for community, but also, because political authority was mediated through informal social and kinship processes, provides context for the evidence for political authority.²⁷ Processes for exchanging information, applying pressure, making decisions, maintaining the welfare, and resolving disputes depend on ties of kinship. Political interrelationships among people and families are and were determined in large part by kinship relationships. The record contains little specific information about informal political organization, although Edison Roy's treatment of Dulac in 1959 discusses specific instances of shunning, gossip, and peer group pressure in that community's attempts to deal with racial issues in mid-century (Roy 1959), and interviews discuss the role of kin-based leadership in that community and others. The primary leadership role, identified by people interviewed in 2005, was the male family head or "nonc," translated "uncle" (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005; Patty Ferguson 8/2/2005; Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979). Interviewees claimed that an amorphous grouping of *noncs* in every settlement acted on an ad hoc basis or together to make decisions, resolve conflict, and exert social control; however, evidence, including oral histories, described only a few actual occasions when noncs acted together.

Some Grand Caillou/Dulac and Isle Jean Charles area residents belong to UHN, another petitioner, even though they may continue to interact socially with BCCM members, and they descend from people listed on the historical censuses of the various settlements. At this time, the evidence is insufficient to determine if the Grand Caillou subgroup can demonstrate community without these other persons being part of its membership. In contrast, IJC is minimally affected by the presence of UHN or PACIT members in its settlement and interacting with its membership, and that subgroup has provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate community since 1940. Although the Indian descendants living on Bayou Lafourche, "below the Incorporation" in Golden Meadow appear to live in an exclusive Indian settlement, very few of the Bayou Lafourche subgroup's members live in this settlement. They tend to live interspersed with large numbers of non-members north of Golden Meadow or in urban areas and other states. Thus, the evidence of an exclusive settlement must be evaluated differently for each of the subgroups, depending on the relationship of their individual memberships to each area and its non-member residents.

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²⁷ The UHN proposed finding (*UHN PF*, 15) found that 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 BCCM amended proposed finding essentially agrees with that finding, but includes the period from 1900 to the present in finding that informal social interactions characterized the lower bayou settlements, but not the entire BCCM petitioner.

The relationship of each subgroup to a geographically defined area of exclusive Indian settlement in the respective bayous follows:

Isle Jean Charles

Isle Jean Charles is currently the most isolated Indian settlement in the lower bayous. Its only road lies on the eastern bank of Bayou Jean Charles, where almost all of the homes sit. Within the last 15 years, successive hurricanes have destroyed virtually all the homes, a church, and structures on the west bank. A few non-Indians maintain fish "camps" at the island's south end, and a few families who belong to UHN live in the settlement.²⁸ Forty-eight housholds, or 66 percent of the total households in the settlement, are headed by a member of the Isle Jean Charles subgroup, and some 26 households, or 31 percent, are associated with other petitioners or non-Indians. Because Indians and non-Indians are concentrated in different areas, this settlement provides significant evidence of a geographical core area almost exclusively inhabited by Isle Jean Charles members. Some 34 percent (228 members) of the subgroup's membership whose residential addresses are known (n=679) live full- or part-time on Isle Jean Charles.²⁹ Other members who were residents within the past two decades have moved in family groups to locations in Terrebonne Parish and elsewhere to escape rising water levels. Presently, 62 percent of the membership whose addresses are known lives in ZIP code 70377. More than 52 percent of the membership with documented addresses lives either at Isle Jean Charles or on Highway 665, the only road connecting Isle Jean Charles to the state road system. Exactly 150 members, or 22 percent of the membership whose addresses are known, live in the town of Houma, about 30 minutes drive to the northwest.

Isle Jean Charles settlement is a geographical core settlement comprised of Isle Jean Charles members. Statistics do not rise to the levels that would provide evidence which is sufficient in itself to show community under 83.7(b)(2). Nevertheless, the population distribution in Isle Jean Charles and along the road to the settlement provides evidence that a significant number of individuals live full or part-time in an almost exclusive geographical settlement and many others live close by at present and visit and use it. The evidence of an exclusive settlement at Isle Jean Charles and many members living in it or very nearby provides significant evidence of a geographical core area for that subgroup, and other evidence indicates that a cohesive social core resides there and nearby at present, and that the remainder of the membership is closely connected to it. Thus, Isle Jean Charles has provided significant geographical evidence to demonstrate community at present, which when combined with evidence of actual interaction with members who live in and away from the geographical core area is sufficient to demonstrate community from 1940 to the present.

Grand Caillou Dulac

The Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup is closely associated with Shrimpers Row, a 10-mile-long road on the west bank of Bayou Grand Caillou north of Dulac. Lower Bayou Dularge Road and the Dulac mission neighborhood are contiguous with Shrimpers Row and together these

²⁸However, it appears that Isle Jean Charles residents mostly if not overwhelmingly belong to the IJC subgroup.

²⁹ At least 66 members did not have addresses available at the time of the analysis.

neighborhoods form a 10-mile-long settlement area, comprised almost exclusively of an Indian population that is largely split between two petitioners. Shrimpers Row natives have moved north along Highway 57 running up the bayou's east bank to Houma, where an Indian area is located on the "flower streets." Whites, African-Americans, and recently arrived Asians live and work in oil, gas, and other industries near this settlement area. A predominantly African American community sits south of Ashland. Some Grand Caillou/Dulac families live intermixed with the general population on Highway 57. Whites cluster near the Dulac store, cemetery, post office, and church, in a settlement with White "Cajun" roots. Some Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup members live on Bayou Dularge, west of Grand Caillou, which historically was viewed as distinct from Grand Caillou/Dulac.

At least 21 percent of the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup's members, with reported street addresses, live on Shrimpers Row or its cross streets, and almost 8 percent of Grand Caillou/Dulac members lived along Route 57, "Grand Caillou Road," or a driveway or short street off it. Other members of the GCD subgroup with known street addresses live in residential clusters near the Methodist Mission, Lower Bayou Dularge (2 percent), and along Grand Caillou Road between Cambon Bridge and Ashland (6 percent). Some 11 percent of members lived in Ashland, mostly in a single mobile home park (7 percent of members). In total, approximately 52 percent of Grand Caillou/Dulac's members appear to live in various Grand Caillou and Dulac neighborhoods composed almost entirely of members of two petitioners, and are not exclusive to the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup of BCCM.

The regulations at section 83.7(b)(2)(i) provide that when 50 percent of the membership "resides in a geographic area exclusively or almost exclusively composed of group members," a petitioner may meet criterion 83.7(b) for the time period when such an exclusive settlement existed based on residential distribution alone. The neighborhoods are not in every case exclusive to Grand Caillou/Dulac, but include other related Indians—UHN members—with whom they interact in significant ways and are often closely related to as kin. Some of the areas with many Indian residents also have non-Indian residents. Grand Caillou/Dulac evidence of geographical proximity is not sufficient in itself to demonstrate community for the BCCM subgroup associated with that bayou at present.

The evidence of several related and exclusive Indian settlement areas at Grand Caillou and Dulac inhabited by many of that subgroup's members, as well as large numbers of non-member Indians, provides significant evidence of a geographical core area for an Indian community associated with the areas of settlement. Other evidence indicates that a cohesive social core of Indians resides there and nearby at present. Nevertheless, the evidence is insufficient to demonstrate that the membership of the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup encompasses the actual Indian community associated with Grand Caillou Bayou and Dulac. Other evidence indicates the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup does not include important social and political families and influential Indian individuals living there. Thus, the available evidence for social community has not been shown to apply to the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup as it is currently defined by its membership.

Bayou Lafourche

Bayou Lafourche is located only an hour's drive from New Orleans. Businesses connected to fishing, shipping, and oil development line the banks of this bayou. The southern suburbs of New Orleans are less than 30 miles northeast. About 66 percent of the members of the Bayou Lafourche subgroup live in housing clusters on short drives off Highway 654 on the bayou's east bank or off Route 1 on its west bank. Bayou Lafourche's members live along about 35 miles of road and in six jurisdictions. The northernmost town where members reside, Raceland, is approximately 35 miles north of the south end of Golden Meadow. Some evidence, particularly for Golden Meadow, indicates that some Bayou Lafourche members may be living in areas that are exclusively composed of Indian descendants, but they are intermixed with many non-member Indians, presumably members of UHN. In other areas they appear to be intermixed with non-Indians. Bayou Lafourche members primarily descend from Faleau (Fala) and other small settlements in wetlands west of Golden Meadow, and not from Golden Meadow before 1950. They abandoned those wetland areas by 1960, moving first, often temporarily, to Golden Meadow and later north. The subgroup's members claim to have created family enclaves along Highway 654. Apparently, as many as 10 or 15 households of a family may stand close to one another, but OFA research determined that many of the Bayou Lafourche members' Indian neighbors are not associated with the Bayou Lafourche subgroup of BCCM.

It appears that Bayou Lafourche members are only a small fraction of the total number of Indian descendants living on Bayou Lafourche and a very small fraction of the Indians living in the Golden Meadow settlement, the exclusive Indian settlement most often associated with Bayou Lafourche. The lack of an exclusive geographical settlement after about 1960—if Faleau, Bayou Bleu, and L'Eskine really are the historical settlements actually associated with this subgroup's membership—weakens Bayou Lafourche subgroup's evidence for informal social organization, which depends on close, every-day, interaction that is more likely to occur when people are living in residential proximity. Therefore, to demonstrate community, the Bayou Lafourche subgroup needs to submit evidence of actual social interactions and processes among its members to demonstrate community at present. Alternatively, it must demonstrate that their membership really is representative of the actual Bayou Lafourche community and encompasses the actual community.

Conclusion

The BCCM petitioner and its subgroups claim to represent distinct groups of descendants of Indian people who have evolved from the exclusive area of settlement where separate Indian settlement emerged around 1880 on bayous in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. From before 1850 through at least 1970, a population of their ancestors expanded throughout the lower bayous in systematic steps defined by social processes of kinship, marriage, post-marriage residence, and migration that produced distinct settlements in the 19th century, which were distinguished from other lower bayou settlements, comprised of distant Indian relations or of non-Indians. They resided in line settlements that grew and expanded up and down the specific bayous. This historical social process discussed in the UHN proposed finding continued after 1940 to the 1970's, and provides a social foundation for the Indian communities associated with

Isle Jean Charles, Lafourche, and Grand Caillou/Dulac Bayous. During roughly 150 years of expansion, the groups developed highly dense social networks, forged multiple kinship ties, resided continuously in exclusive settlements, and retained specific lines of descent (family lines or "family subdivisions") within each settlement, thus creating strong social cores which appear to have continued to characterize the actual communities associated with each bayou to the present.

Isle Jean Charles is the only subgroup of BCCM with a membership which actually represents and encompasses one of these Indian communities and is the only subgroup that demonstrates significant close kin and social ties from 1940 to the present. If the two other subgroups can present memberships encompassing the social cores of the two bayou communities they claim to represent, then they possibly will also be able to demonstrate significant close kin and social ties from 1940 to the present. Alternatively, they need to provide additional evidence to show that they already encompass actual communities, based on their current memberships, to meet criterion (b).

Between 1887 and 1965, a government supported system of discrimination was enforced in Louisiana. By 1920, segregation denied the larger Houma ethnic group access to White public schools and other institutions, and required public facilities to serve Blacks and Whites separately. BCCM ancestors refused to attend schools with African Americans where school officials directed them to go, and Indians in some settlements refused to attend school with Indians they believed had Black ancestry. The public school board in Terrebonne Parish attempted to set up Indian-only schools, and sometimes failed because of discrimination among the Indian descendants. The combined effect of state-supported segregation and internal discrimination helped to create separate settlements and provides supporting evidence to demonstrate social distinction and community from 1920 to 1965 for all of the communities claimed by the BCCM subgroups. However, only Isle Jean Charles subgroup represents the actual Isle Jean Charles community and can take advantage of this finding that government sponsored racial discrimination provides corroborating evidence for community between at least 1920 and 1965.

Informal social interaction within the actual settlements in the lower bayous extending to their first degree relatives provides supporting evidence for social interaction. The three subgroups may be able to demonstrate community between 1990 and 2005 in part because they have limited their memberships to individuals who maintain significant kin and social relationships. Members of all three subgroups displayed significant knowledge of other members of the same subgroup, but very little knowledge of individuals from other subgroups. Nevertheless, the subgroups can substantially strengthen the evidence of how informal social processes support political processes by providing more specific information about actual social interaction, especially concerning elders and other persons of authority, information sharing and gossip, peer pressure, shunning, and other informal social customs that influence behavior within the groups for every period. Such evidence most likely would also contribute to demonstrating informal kin-based political organization for criterion 83.7(c).

The existence of exclusive settlements and the social processes that maintained them provides significant evidence for community from 1880 to 1940, based on the findings in the UHN

proposed finding, and from 1940 to the present for the actual Indian communities of Isle Jean Charles, Grand Caillou/Dulac, and Bayou Lafourche. However, only Isle Jean Charles represents an actual community. If Bayou Lafourche petitioner decides it is an entity that existed before 1960 near Faleau (Fala) and Bayou Bleu, then it would also have the burden of demonstrating that its members maintain social relationships without having a distinct settlement after 1960 with a combined social and geographical core to anchor the membership.

There is evidence in the record that implies the existence since the early 20th century of three distinct communities comprised, at least partially, of BCCM's ancestors and members. The form of the petition and other evidence indicates that the petitioner intended to demonstrate that it meets the criterion because its subgroups meet the criterion. If for the final determination the BCCM petitioner demonstrates a connection to a historical tribe, and additionally demonstrates that some or all of its subgroups individually meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(b) as communities and meet the requirements of the other criteria as well, then the Assistant Secretary may consider whether those communities that meet the criteria will be acknowledged individually or as a confederation.

The UHN proposed finding found that six separate communities met 83.7(b)(2) as a unified group from 1830 to 1880 and as separate communities from 1880 to 1940. The three communities on Bayou Lafourche, Isle Jean Charles, and Grand Caillou/Dulac, therefore, have demonstrated community from 1830 to 1940. This amended finding for BCCM finds that there is sufficient evidence for community for the Isle Jean Charles subgroup of BCCM from 1940 to the present. There is significant evidence for community for a population living on Grand Caillou Bayou and at Dulac and their close relatives from 1940 to the present, but the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup of BCCM does not encompass that actual community because it does not include important and influential social actors and related persons who are part of the community. Finally, there is also significant evidence for community for a population living on Bayou Lafourche and their close relatives from 1940 to the present, but the Bayou Lafourche subgroup of BCCM does not encompass that actual community and does not include important and influential social actors and related persons who are part of the community. In addition, there is some evidence that the Bayou Lafourche subgroup may actually represent people who resided on small bayous west of Bayou Lafourche before 1960, and could possibly be a community associated with those wetland areas, and not Bayou Lafouche.

Neither the BCCM petitioner as a whole, nor the subgroups, has documented community before 1830. Therefore, based on the evidence in the record at this time, neither the BCCM petitioner nor any of its subgroups meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(b).

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³⁰ The UHN proposed finding also contained several statements that certain claims had not been demonstrated "conclusively," which is not the regulatory standard of proof. Despite these statements, it appears that the evaluation of the evidence in the record for the UHN proposed finding properly applied the "reasonable likelihood of the validity of the facts" standard (§83.6(d)). The reasonable likelihood standard is used in this amended proposed finding.

Criterion 83.7(c)

- 83.7(c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.
- 83.1 Political influence or authority means a tribal council, leadership, internal process or other mechanism which the group has used as a means of influencing or controlling the behavior of its members in significant respects, and/or making decisions for the group which substantially affect its members, and/or representing the group in dealing with outsiders in matters of consequence. This process is to be understood in the context of the history, culture and social organization of the group.

This amended proposed finding concludes the BCCM petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion. There is insufficient evidence the petitioner maintained political influence over its historical ancestors before 1830. This finding concludes the BCCM petitioner meets this criterion between 1830 and 1940 on the basis of the conclusions contained in the 1994 proposed finding on the UHN petitioner. For the period since 1940, there is sufficient evidence for the Isle de Jean Charles subgroup of the petitioner only since the 1990's. Thus, the evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the petitioner's subgroups meet the requirements of this criterion since 1940. The available evidence is not sufficient to show that the petitioner's confederation currently maintains political influence over its members. Because the evidence in the record is insufficient to show that the petitioning group has maintained political influence over group members from historical times to the present, the petitioner has not demonstrated that it meets the requirements of this criterion.

A review of the previous UHN proposed finding reveals that this amended proposed finding must consider this criterion for the BCCM petitioner for the chronological periods before 1830 and after 1940. Because the proposed finding on the UHN petitioner reached conclusions that separate settlements met this criterion during certain periods, and such settlements are associated with the current BCCM petitioner, this amended proposed finding does not need to reconsider those conclusions.

The UHN proposed finding concluded that the UHN petitioner did not meet this criterion because there was insufficient evidence that the petitioning group exercised political influence over the members of a group prior to 1830. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner needed to demonstrate that it maintained political influence over its historical members before 1830. The new evidence in the record is insufficient to demonstrate political influence or authority before 1830.

The UHN proposed finding concluded that separate settlements met this criterion between 1830 and 1940, originally as part of a single ancestral community between 1830 and 1880 and then between 1880 and 1940 as separate settlements that evolved out of the earlier community. The UHN proposed finding concluded that both the single group between 1830 and 1880 and the separate settlements between 1880 and 1940 met the provisions of section 83.7(b)(2)(i). Because the petitioner's subgroups are derived from those settlements, those conclusions provide sufficient evidence for this petitioner to meet this criterion for the same time period.³¹

The UHN proposed finding did not reach conclusions for this criterion for the separate settlements during the period after 1940. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner needed to demonstrate that it maintains political influence over its members, and maintained political influence over its previous members, during that period. The evidence in the record is insufficient to demonstrate the BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of this criterion since 1940.

Before 1830

The submissions of the BCCM petitioner and its subgroups do not present arguments to show that the petitioner or an ancedent group maintained political influence over its members before 1830. The petitioner's subgroups begin their historical narratives with settlement beginning about 1827 on Bayou Lafourche (BL 4/21/2005, 2; BCCM 2005, 73; Westerman n.d., 2), about 1828 at Isle Jean Charles (IJC 1997, 1, and 2005, 23; BCCM 2005, 61), and about 1836 for families who later migrated to Bayou Grand Caillou (BCCM 2005, 1, 19). Thus, the narratives of the petitioner's subgroups do not discuss leadership and political influence within a pre-1830 group or groups.

Assertions of political leadership among the ancestral "Houma" population or Indians of Terrebonne Parish prior to the mid-19th century are found only in recollections of informants and oral history interviews, not in contemporaneous accounts. Ethnologist John Swanton reported that one of his informants referred to her grandfather, likely Houma Courteau who died by 1844, as a "Biloxi medal chief" (Swanton 1911, 292; Swanton n.d., MS 4201). Ruth Underhill and Frank Speck also acquired statements from informants who named historical "chiefs" (Underhill 10/22/1938; Speck 1941a, 11). The evidence in the record relating to political influence or authority among the petitioner's ancestors for this period is limited mostly to oral history attributions of leadership to historical individuals who were not known by the interviewees.³² These informants and oral histories exhibited no consensus among individuals claiming Indian descent as to who may have been their historical "chiefs" or leaders. These accounts provided no examples before 1830 of the exercise of political influence by any historical leaders over any group of the petitioner's ancestors. Although some interviewees considered Rosalie Courteau to have been an important historical figure during the 19th century,

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³¹ The UHN proposed finding included "Isle Jean-Charles," "Golden Meadow," and "Dulac" in the list of the six settlements that met this criterion from 1880 to 1940 (*UHN PF*, 17).

³² Cy. Billiot 7/26/1978, 1, and 1/23/1981, 1; L. Dardar 12/17/1978, 2; Ch. Billiot 1/5/1979, 1, 2, and 9/5/1927; A.E. Billiot 4/24/1979, 1.

the evidence is insufficient to show that she was a group leader rather than the head of a family with presumed influence over her family members or to have exercised any political influence prior to 1830.³³

The UHN proposed finding noted that no community had been shown to exist before 1830 within which political influence could be exercised, and that deficiency remains for this amended proposed finding. The petitioner's submission is insufficient to show that before 1830 it maintained political influence as a group over its historical members, and the evidence in the record is insufficient to demonstrate that any group composed of historical members of the petitioning group maintained political influence over such members in Terrebonne Parish or elsewhere prior to 1830. Thus, there is an absence of evidence to demonstrate political influence over the members of a group prior to 1830.

1830-1940

The Isle de Jean Charles subgroup of the BCCM petitioner appears to be the only BCCM subgroup to have expressly presented a claim or account of its historical leadership. It states that Narcisse Naquin (1835-1924) "was the first Chief of Isle de Jean Charles" and that he was succeeded as the "chief" of the "island" by Jean Victor Naquin (b.1869) at an unknown time in the early 1900's (IJC 2005, 8). Victor Naquin was described as a leader of the population at Isle Jean Charles by a series of visitors until the 1940's or early 1950's, and was recalled as a leader in some oral history interviews.³⁴

The bases of the conclusions of the UHN proposed finding provide the BCCM petitioner with evidence sufficient to meet this criterion between 1830 and 1940 under the provisions of section 83.7(c)(3). Under that section, a finding that a petitioner meets the requirements of section 83.7(b)(2) is considered to provide sufficient evidence the petitioner meets criterion 83.7(c) for the same time period. The UHN proposed finding concluded that an exclusive settlement on Bayou Terrebonne met the requirements of section 83.7(b)(2)(i) between 1830 and 1880 and that at least six exclusive settlements that evolved out of the earlier community individually met the requirements of section 83.7(b)(2)(i) between 1880 and 1940. The petitioner's subgroups' narratives of the origins of their settlements, however, do not adopt the explanation of the UHN proposed finding that their settlements evolved out of an earlier community that maintained political influence over its members between 1830 and 1880.³⁵ This amended proposed finding concludes on the basis of the UHN proposed finding and the provisions of section 83.7(c)(3) that

³³ The UHN proposed finding discussed her political influence after 1840 and concluded that it did not extend beyond Bayou Terrebonne (*UHN PF*, 18-19).

³⁴ Meyer 2/20/1940; *New Orleans Times-Picayune* 1/16/1943; *Times-Picayune Magazine* 5/18/1952; *Houma Courier* 4/26/1976 [reprint from early 1940's]; Ramsey n.d. [1940's], 46; M. Naquin 12/12/1978, 1; Bezou 8/20/1979, 2; Ledet 10/16/1979; T. Naquin 12/31/1980, 1.

³⁵ The petitioner has the option of presenting an alternative explanation to the UHN finding adopted here of how it or its subgroups maintained the political influence of a predecessor community.

the BCCM petitioner, whose subgroups are derived from those settlements and are successors to the antecedent settlement, meets the requirements of this criterion from 1830 to 1940.

1940 to the Present: Introduction

The UHN proposed finding found that from 1830 to 1880, "the strongest evidence for social community" was that "more than half of the petitioner's ancestors lived in an isolated, exclusive settlement," and thus met 83.7(b)(2) for that period. By utilizing the cross-over provisions of the regulations at 83.7(c)(3), the UHN petitioner also met criterion 83.7(c) for the same period.³⁶ After 1880, the evidence indicated that the UHN ancestors had "divided into several (six or more), socially and politically distinct, satellite communities," which "maintained social integrity ... based on the evidence that 50% or more of them lived in geographical isolation." Such evidence provides evidence that political influence was maintained under 83.7(c)(3). The UHN proposed finding also found informal political organization, "in these relatively isolated communities," where "political influence was exercised through the extended kinship structure, by elders known as noncs 'uncles' and tantes 'aunts'," and determined each community "may have had its own leaders." This amended proposed finding finds that in 1940, the informal kinbased political system described in the UHN proposed finding continued to provide a foundation for political activities after 1940, and appears to continue to the present in communities on the separate bayous, including the bayous that the subgroups of the BCCM petitioner claim to represent.

General descriptions by outside observers and other evidence implies that kin-based social organization supported informal political activity within each bayou settlement after 1940 (Speck 1943; Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965) and has persisted to the present. The separate bayou communities did not have centralized governments, named leaders, chiefs (with two exceptions at Isle Jean Charles), councils, or other formal political organizations influencing all families in a settlement until the 1990's. Additionally, the "Houma" population did not have a central council uniting the various bayou communities (Speck 1943; Fischer 1965; Roy 1959). As late as 1971, a researcher in Dulac noted there was no "Houma Indian Tribal Council or any similar body representing all of the Houma" and also no "strong feeling of tribal or intra-group unity" (Stanton 1971).

Through the 1900's, the most significant social grouping was the extended family (Stanton 1971). Informal family-based political influence, claimed by family heads, mediated political activity within these families. Some of these families have more than 100 members living in the settlement and elsewhere. It appears that these family heads sometimes dealt with other family heads to resolve a dispute or deal with an issue directly involving only their families, and most of these families have marriage ties that extend to other families in their community. Isle Jean Charles was the only lower bayou settlement within BCCM to have a named chief, Victor Naquin, and his son may have taken over his position for a short time. His function appeared to

³⁶ This language of the UHN proposed finding misstated the level of evidence required as "conclusive." The regulations require only that evidence should establish facts by a reasonable likelihood, which was the standard of proof actually applied in the UHN proposed finding.

have been largely to deal with visitors, rather than to deal with internal community organization and significant issues of the community, although his protests concerning land may have resulted in his arrest (Bezou 8/20/1979; Sidney Gary Verdin 3/5/2005). Even after individuals, including Tom Dion, Lovincey Billiot, or Frank Naquin, began to claim formal leadership in the 1950's and 1960's, ties of kinship were sometime utilized for political purposes in the subgroups during claims in the 1950's, civil rights in the 1960's, inter-bayou organizations in the 1970's, or BCCM's separation from UHN in the 1990's. Despite the lack of formal leaders, inter-bayou political activities eventually led in the late 1970's, to the formation of the Houma Alliance, representing primarily Dulac and the western areas, and United Houma Nation, representing eastern areas and urban migrants. These organizations united in 1981. Dissatisfaction from residents of the exclusive lower bayou settlements, however, led to the founding of BCCM between 1994 and 1996. BCCM places political control in three lower bayou communities. The record contains almost no specific information about informal political activities in Bayou Lafourche, although presumably many of the general descriptions of historical "Houma" political organization apply to that bayou area.

Oral history and documentation available from 1940 to the present, taken in context, do not demonstrate that the BCCM petitioner as a whole demonstrated unitary political influence and authority at any time. Nevertheless, specific subgroups provided sufficient evidence of political influence during different periods after 1940. The three subgroups of BCCM display some evidence, although insufficient, of informal, kin-based political influence during all other times after 1940.

The Isle Jean Charles subgroup of the petitioner submitted sufficient evidence to demonstrate political authority from 1960 to 1965 and from 1990 to the present. There is a possibility that an intense program of interview collection aimed at describing internal community affairs, supported by documentation such as police reports, land documents, and court depositions, drawn primarily from the local parish and state records and newspapers, could demonstrate political authority in the Isle Jean Charles subgroup from 1940 to 1960 and from 1965 to 1990.

There is sufficient evidence of political authority or influence at Grand Caillou/Dulac from 1950 to 1978. However, the membership of this subgroup does not encompass enough of the population of the actual political community to be representative of it. Similarly, the membership of the Bayou Lafourch subgroup does not represent the Indian community there. In these two bayou areas, many people, including influential persons and their relatives, presumably belong to another petitioner. The actual communities on Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche could possibly demonstrate sufficient evidence for political authority from 1940 to the present, if these subgroups' memberships were shown to encompass the actual Indian communities they claim to represent and if they provide additional evidence of political authority or influence for time periods where the evidence presently is insufficient.

Documenting Informal Political Influence and Authority

The regulations do not require petitioners to have a formal political organization in the past or at present. However, demonstrating the existence of informal political activity during historical

periods in the absence of formal organization may be more difficult than demonstrating formal organization, especially in the case of a petitioner with low literacy rates during modern times. This evaluation acknowledges that the lack of a formal organization and lack of membership and other lists, high rates of illiteracy, isolation, segregation, racism, and a hostile political environment from the late 1880's to 1970 may effect the kinds of records available. Section 83.6 of the 1994 amendments to the 25 CFR 83 regulations clarified that acknowledgment evaluations must take into consideration the nature and limitations of the historical record. The preamble to the 1994 amendments to the regulations state:

A detailed description of individual social relationships has not been required in past acknowledgment decisions where historical community has been demonstrated successfully and it is not required here. The descriptions of specific kinds of evidence to demonstrate community make clear that detailed sociological reconstructions are not required ... Further, the language added to § 83.6 clarifies that the nature of limitations of the historical record will be taken into account.

In this case, it is likely that Indian participants rarely made written records of informal political activities and may have hidden their activities from the view of authorities who were hostile to it. In 1938, Ruth Underhill stated that she believed the Indians had been "robbed of their property but by entirely legal procedure," in part because they were illiterate and unable to monitor public records (Underhill 10/22/1938). Frank Speck believed that local officials had "arbitrarily belittled" population estimates for Indians because they were "manifestly adverse to their recognition as Indian" (Speck 1943). In the 1940's, David Billiot wrote anthropologists and Federal officials that Indian men in "negro" jails were "beaten like dogs," and in 1961, a civil rights worker was told that Pointe au Chien, another petitioner, did not participate in a meeting because they were "afraid," and a sheriff's deputy had scared one of the Indian civil rights organizers (Anonymous 2/22/1963). Non-Indians reported that White parishioners attacked Indians who attended, at a priest's invitation, a church social event in the 1940's (Ledet 10/16/1979; Bezou 8/20/1979). Father Bezou, who spent more than four years living at Isle Jean Charles, pointed out that Indians there appeared to avoid any interaction with authorities (Bezou 8/20/1979). Nevertheless, researchers should continue to locate records without regard to potentially embarrassing or derogatory statements in them, which could strengthen evidence demonstrating informal political authority in the subgroup communities.³⁷ The petitioner should consider making such records available for the evaluation for their final determination.

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³⁷ It is important that researchers maintain a record of where they look for information, whether they find relevant documents are not. For example, considering the problems the school system encountered in applying segregation to the Indian population, and seeing references in other records to meetings between Federal and local school officials, a researcher could assume the topic was sometimes discussed or written about by board members and employees. The lack of such school records in the submission raises questions about how thorough the petitioner's search has been or how decisions were made to include or not include documents in the submission. A record that a researcher read the minutes of school board meetings between 1938 and 1965, and how little information they found in them, etc., for example, could explain the absence in the submission of documents commonly available elsewhere and used by other petitioners. Letters from officials denying access to records in response to a researcher's written request for documents would also be helpful in showing what materials, available elsewhere, are not available in this case.

Recent interviews may be unreliable for periods before 1940, as individuals report what they have heard from others and not what they themselves witnessed. Between 1940 and the present, however, living persons can provide eyewitness accounts. Researchers should take detailed interviews with individuals, whether subgroup members or others, about what they witnessed for evidence on informal political organization.

The available record for BCCM and its subgroups rarely documents directly, but often implies, political authority and influence among the families residing in the subgroup settlements and associated areas. For example, sources report that Indians boycotted schools if persons they believed were African-American attended them (Bourgeois 1938; Bezou 8/20/1979). In two cases, their families and birth communities shunned women who married Black men (Roy 1959; Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Finally, landowners in the Indian neighborhoods reported they felt pressured not to sell to non-Indians (Theresa Billiot 8/1/2005). No specific negotiations, planning, or meetings were documented for any of these or similar cases, but these events imply political processes.

Evaluations of other petitioners have sometimes accepted such implied evidence for the 19th and early 20th century when oral history is unavailable, the written record is thin, and historical context supports it. However, petitioners are expected to provide evidence when possible. In this case, living individuals can provide eyewitness accounts of internal political activities for the period between 1940 and 2008. Therefore, the lack of such evidence is a critical deficiency. The petitioner should collect interviews containing specific details and descriptions of actual events, disagreements, disputes, and actions drawing together groups of named *noncs*. If interviews reveal consultations among *noncs* and the behavior of community members in response to *noncs*' influence and authority, it would strengthen the petitioner's evidence under criterion (c). Even if *noncs* are not instrumental political leaders, then other data culled from interviews may show how the subgroups made decisions.

Evidence for Informal Political Influence

After 1900, observers described a trapping and fishing subsistence economy dependent on the lower bayou wetlands. Raising cattle was an important economic activity near Golden Meadow before 1940, sugar cane plantations employed agricultural workers on Bayou Grand Caillou, and oil and gas development began throughout the lower bayous in the 1920's. The economies and specific histories of each of the subgroups display some variation, but general descriptions of their informal political organizations are very similar, differing only in the amount of specific description available in the record for each subgroup.

In all lower bayou areas, kin groups of brothers and cousins trapped, fished, logged, cut cane or harvested crops, as revealed by interviews collected from individuals from all subgroups between 1979 and 1983, and in 2005. Before 1970, these kin groups were highly mobile and flexible in composition. Family heads, the "*noncs*," asserted authority within families and often headed work groups comprised of sons and nephews, and other relatives (Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979; Theresa Billiot 8/1/2005). *Noncs* decided who could live on family land, and therefore in settlements, marry, and utilize nearby resources (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot

7/31/2005; Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). They oversaw socializing in remote swamps or cooking for celebrations (Ronald Naquin *et al.* 7/29/2005). If members of two families fought, the *noncs* of those two families would meet to resolve the conflict (Theresa Billiot 8/1/2005). A *nonc* in Bayou Lafourche was instrumental in creating an expanding jobs network linking many group members to jobs in the oil and gas industry in Lafourche. *Noncs* assumed their role based on their age, status, and family position. In an interview, a man said there "wasn't any jostling for position ... no elections" (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005).

Before 1970, each settlement area had several *noncs*. They generally influenced only their own extended families, but joint action did occur on occasion. In the 1950's, several Grand Caillou *noncs* become angry when another man directly approached family members without going through him (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). The *noncs*' influence depended on the shared expectations that kin had about each other. Neighborhoods within each settlement were generally inhabited by close relations. Dense social networks connecting kin and in-laws and residential proximity in settlement areas of Indian descendants reinforced the influence of *noncs*. ³⁸ Nevertheless, informal social controls including gossip, manipulation of information, peer-group pressure, snubbing, economic pressure (such as raising rents or making a rental property unavailable), withholding services, fistfights or violence, and joking encouraged a settlement's residents to comply with certain group norms.

For groups larger than an extended family to take action, *noncs* and their families had to cooperate. They sometimes worked together to deal with specific issues, including school segregation and land loss. As early as the era of Reconstruction to 1963, groups of parents in some settlements simultaneously refused to send children to schools with African Americans or attend schools that had no White students also attending them. These group actions sometimes appeared to occur without leaders, meetings, and transparent decision-making. Although simultaneous actions by families implied informal collaboration, the petitioner described only a few specific situations when *noncs* consulted or actually influenced a group of people. The interviews did not explain, for example, how *noncs* dealt with specific disputes (detailing dates, places, names of persons, and processes of communication) over settlement residence and waterway rights of way.

Only beginning in 1950 and extending through 1974 at Grand Caillou/Dulac do the interviews detail named individuals arguing and applying informal political pressures within that community to bring about joint action on school integration and the founding of a formal organization (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Interviews from Isle Jean Charles contain information on the role of *noncs* in determining who could live in the settlement and in leading shunning of some individuals who married outside the community (Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naquin 7/27/2005). In other cases, including school boycotts for decades before 1963 or Isle Jean Charles'

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³⁸ Edison Roy, who did fieldwork in Dulac in the late 1950's, determined that leadership was "found among the people in each of the neighborhood groups," and although people named such leaders for him, he did not seem to recognize them as leaders, by his definition of the term. He noted, not surprisingly, that elected White officials were not named by the group's members.

participation in civil rights litigation in the early 1960's, the political processes of decision-making are rarely discussed in interviews. However, the result of shared decision-making is sometimes evident, as when an entire settlement boycotted a school on a single day when an Indian family believed to have Black ancestry enrolled (Bezou 8/20/1979). In another case, a group from Isle Jean Charles, at a priest's invitation, attended a social event at a Catholic Church in the later 1940's, even though they were defying segregation practices (Ledet 10/16/1979). The continuation of camping, docking boats, trapping, and hunting (poaching) on private lands may also have involved group decision-making. In 1963, it appears that parents of a large number of schoolchildren from Isle Jean Charles participated in a lawsuit to end segregation (*Margie Naquin et al. v. Terrebonne Parish School Board*; Anonymous 2/22/1963, Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Bayou Lafourche subgroup's activities are almost completely undocumented at any time.

In mid-century, a Grand Caillou/Dulac man, Tom Dion, who worked outside the nonc structure met resistance. Two Grand Caillou/Dulac leaders described how the "the elders of each family" spurned Tom Dion's attempts in the 1950's and 1960's to integrate schools and file a private land claim against the Humble Oil Company (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Tom Dion went against the tendency of family heads, or *noncs*, to lead their families as he went from house to house convincing young families to send children to newly integrated schools from 1963 to 1966 (Tom Dion -/-/1978, 1/23/1981; Fischer 1965). The noncs he circumvented resented his actions. They believed "the elders of each of the families ... [s]hould gather and make decisions" (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005). Informal social controls, especially rumor and gossip, sabotaged Dion's efforts, as people became fearful that he would aggravate their position with non-Indian employers and parish officials or financially gain at others' expense because his name topped the list of plaintiffs in a land suit against Humble Oil (Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Evidence shows that some Grand Caillou/Dulac people used gossip and peer pressure to undermine him. Similar tactics were used against others, who crossed over family lines of authority when attempting to found a formal Indian organization, file claims, or integrate schools, especially after 1950. The specific descriptions of Tom Dion and his principle adversary Lovincy Billiot by Dion, himself, and several others, including Billiot's close relatives, provide evidence of the processes of political authority in Grand Caillou/Dulac from 1950 to 1975. This evidence, when combined with the close kinship network and proximity of members to one another within an exclusive community, is sufficient to demonstrate political authority (Fischer 1965; Tom Dion -/-/1978, 1/23/1981; Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005).

From 1940 to 1949 and from 1976 to 1994 for Grand Caillou/Dulac and from 1940 to 1994 for the Isle Jean Charles subgroup, the activities of *noncs* provides good, but overly general and insufficient, evidence of political influence and authority within extended families. The activities of *noncs* provide some evidence of political influence within the Bayou Lafourche subgroup before 1960, when the ancestors of most of that petitioner left Faleau and nearby areas, where most of the petitioner's members originated. The record contains little evidence for the larger community living at Golden Meadow or other areas on Bayou Lafourche between 1940 and the present.

As the subgroups' memberships increasingly include people who do not live in or near bayou settlements and no longer marry other settlement residents, informal social controls and political influence, highly dependant on kin ties and residential proximity will become less effective, and less significant as evidence of political authority.

Evidence from Trapping and other Subsistence Activities

The record contains evidence about trappers in Isle Jean Charles in the 1930's, when corporate owners sued 30 Isle Jean Charles and Pointe au Chien trappers and 30 White "Cajuns." The company alleged Indian trappers were part of a "conspiracy" to poach, a charge Isle Jean Charles trappers denied. Testimony described small kin groups comprised of brothers, brothers-in-law, and cousins, trapping between Isle Jean Charles and Pointe au Chien. Although evidence is in the record concerning activities to protest the treatment of people who trapped and used the lower bayou areas in other ways from 1930 to 1996, it pertains mostly to Pointe au Chien people. The trappers' response appeared to be to continue to trap throughout the twentieth century in some areas, while others permanently migrated from the lower bayous. Those who continued to trap presented their activities, as a form of community resistance to what they considered was an illegal seizure of their lands in the 1930's. If other communities undertook similar protest activities similar to those of the PACIT petitioner about the use of the lower bayous, they should submit detailed interviews concerning any possible leadership, influence, and group response involving this issue. Testimony in the 1930's and later and interviews claim that Isle Jean Charles trappers poached, scoffed laws, posted signs, and vandalized property on occasion as late as the 1994, but very little documentation is in the record. No documents in the record demonstrate that trappers in the Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche subgroups had legal problems about trapping to the extent that Pointe au Chien and Isle Jean Charles did, although many of them also signed quitclaims and were trapping before 1930.

Evidence for Political Influence in Dealing with Government Sponsored Segregation

Interviews between 1978 and 1981 recounted that around 1920, Jim Crow segregation had fully developed in Terrebonne and Larourche Parishes, and the "Houma" population was blocked from any institutional or public interactions with Whites (Fischer 8/14/1960b, 1965). Local governments allegedly changed racial designations on courthouse documents, draft boards placed Indians in "negro" army units, a school turned away an Indian child because his name "had black in it," and Catholic churches separated congregants with a rope (Cyril Billiot 7/26/1978, 1/23/1981; Amy ("Aimee") Billiot 11/13/1979; Tom Dion 1/23/1981). In a 1981 interview, a man traced his and others' concern about how local officials characterized their ancestry and his belief that issues of racial status were of political consequence and an appropriate subject of political activity (Tom Dion 1/23/1981).

Between 1900 and 1940, Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes tried to force Indians into African-American schools and institutions. Indian families resisted, disputing their racial classification, not the overall system of segregation. They advocated a separate Indian category or treatment as Whites. Indians avoided interactions with African Americans, and some avoided Indian families

and communities they thought had Black ancestry. Others refused to attend "Indian Schools" if no White pupils went to the same school. These activities continued for all the subgroups after 1940 until 1963. Descriptions of this boycott sometimes showed groups of Indian descendants acting together. In 1979, a Bayou Dularge man said that his "father and most everybody who had Indian on Bayou Dularge tried to put [their children] into [White] schools" around 1920. "They would go and try to register and they would refuse them" (Alfredia Billiot in Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979). Similar accounts indirectly implied action by extended families, several related families, and settlements, but did not describe specific group decision-making and public discussions or name leaders (Bezou 8/20/1979; Roy 1959; Bourgeois 1938). Largely through their refusal to attend Black institutions, Indian families by the 1940's, appear to have convinced officials to give them separate status and to set up a three-part system of White, Black, and Indian schools in some areas (Ledet 10/16/1979; Arline Naquin 8/1/2005; Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). While parishes refused to treat Indians as Whites, at some point in most bayous, they started providing some separate Indian schools or partially financing church sponsored Indian schools by supplying school supplies or giving other support (Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978; Ledet 10/16/1979; Bezou 8/20/1979). The record about these events differs for each of the subgroups.

Considerable information is in the record concerning schools and integration in the Grand Caillou/Dulac area, including the role *noncs* played discussed above, but very little information describes similar activities in Bayou Lafourche. Information about Isle Jean Charles pertains primarily to events after 1960, when a number of Isle Jean parents and a smaller number of Montegut parents joined and successfully sued Terrebonne Parish to enroll their children in White schools (Fischer 1965; Anonymous 2/22/1963; *Margie Naquin et al. v. Terrebonne Parish School Board*). This evidence, when combined with evidence of informal kin-based political activity and residence in an exclusive community, demonstrates political authority in Isle Jean Charles from 1960 to 1965. Petitioners should submit evidence concerning the activities of their specific communities.

In 1931, Roy Nash, sent by the BIA to investigate the situation in Louisiana, reported that the Terrebonne superintendent had been skeptical that Indians would attend schools set aside for Indians alone (Nash 6/-/1931). The Terrebonne superintendent wrote in 1938 that Indians consistently boycotted schools over racial issues. In 1941, near Montegut, the Roman Catholic priest witnessed such a boycott when a new teacher admitted children from a neighboring settlement who others believed had Black ancestry (Bezou 8/20/1979). According to the Terrebonne school superintendent, in the 1930's, about 40 students enrolled in an "adult illiterate" program in Dulac (Bourgeois 1938). When no "White" students enrolled, a Dulac woman demanded that the Parish bring in White students. When no "White" students arrived by the third day, no Indian students showed up on the fourth day. There are no known examples of Indians attending Black schools, even though the school board directed them to them. These actions imply political processes and additional evidence should be submitted.

Outsiders usually treated the BCCM subgroups as parts of a larger ethnic group but had difficulty identifying specific leaders of any entity. From 1935 to 1967, anthropologists, government officials, missionaries, priests, and attorneys occasionally represented the petitioner's ancestors before governmental or non-governmental agencies and dealt with men

who represented undefined constituencies (Underhill 10/22/1938; Speck 1943; Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978; Amy ("Aimee") Billiot 11/13/1979; Teeter 1964; Fischer 8/14/1960a, 8/14/1960b, 1965; Wallace Verdin 3/5/2005). News sources or anthropologists noted the lack of named leaders, and even interviewees denied that leaders existed at a level higher than extended families. The only exception was Victor Naquin (1869–1956), of Isle Jean Charles, who was variously identified as "chief," "leader," "patriarch," "boss," "well-known community leader and spokesman," and even "mayor" between 1938 and 1957 (Fischer 1965; Meyer 2/20/1940; Sidney Gary Verdin 3/5/2005).

After 1950, a group of Dulac men acted to force Terrebonne Parish to build a separate "Indian school" in Dulac. Father Roland Boudreaux, a Catholic priest in Dulac, brought "12 men altogether," after he saw Indians abandoning his Dulac church to go to the Methodist mission (Louis V. A. Trosclair 6/20/1978). One of these 12 men, Louis Vincent "Angelo" Trosclair related events in a 1978 interview. The priest wanted to open an Indian school, but needed funding. He called together Tom Dion, J. B. Parfait, Paul Verdin, Angelo Trosclair, and eight unnamed men to go to an open school board meeting to ask Terrebonne Parish to rent the Catholic church hall for \$100 and paint it. They agreed to go with him and three White supporters, including a local businessman, who eventually donated land for a separate Indian school. At the school board meeting, the priest told the board members "what he wanted for Dulac." Against an Indian school in the church, the board voted to build an Indian elementary school on the donated land. In addition to the Dulac School, Terrebonne Parish also built Indian elementary schools in Lower Montegut, and reportedly Pointe au Chien, and opened up Daigleville Indian High School in Mechanicsville in the mid-1950's (Tom Dion 1978).

The timing of these events to the mid 1950's about the same time that Federal Supreme Court issued the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, may have explained the Terrebonne School Board's actions and the support of local lower bayou Whites. Grand Caillou/Dulac, on a western bayou, had always supported Indian schools, but eastern bayous preferred entry to White schools, because in their view Indian schools were merely a stop-gap measure by officials who fought integration (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). Thus, the eastern and western populations of the larger Houma group sometimes displayed different perspectives on school integration. Tom Dion of Dulac supported full integration of Indians into White Terrebonne High School in the early 1960's. Dion did not believe other settlements knew that the Dulac men's activities were connected to the building of the Indian schools throughout the Parish, indicating that communications between bayou settlements, even on an issue of shared importance, was not as common as within settlements (Tom Dion -/-/1978).

In 1962, a group mostly from Isle Jean Charles, who were students at Pointe au Chien School, was turned away from Terrebonne High School. They had gone in a group with a missionary who found it difficult to believe that they would be turned away (Anonymous 2/22/1963). Lafourche Parish had already admitted Indian students, including Pointe au Chien students who lived on the east bank in Lafourche Parish, to a White high school (Arline Naquin 8/1/2005).

Attorney "Jack" Nelson held a 1963 meeting with parents in Montegut on litigation that would force Terrebonne Parish to open White schools to Indians. The list of students in *Margie Naquin*

et al. v. Terrebonne Parish Board of Education contained names of Isle Jean Charles pupils and a few from Montegut. No child from Pointe au Chien, Dulac, Grand Caillou, or Dularge was a plaintiff. A Montegut parent alleged in the 1963 meeting that Pointe au Chien would not participate in the suit because her children were on it, revealing inter-bayou conflict and social distance, but others at the meeting disagreed with her (Anonymous 2/221963). Terrebonne Parish lost the case, and White schools in Terrebonne Parish opened to Indian students. Although group action appears to have been taken by Isle Jean Charles, oral histories or documentation needs to provide more evidence about the decision making that went on within the community. At this point, the evidence significantly contributes to demonstrating political authority for Isle Jean Charles during this litigation. It is sufficient when combined with evidence of Victor (and Antoine) Naquin's activities, as "chiefs" and general descriptions of informal political influence, when placed in the context of dense kinship networks and residential proximity at Isle Jean Charles.

The first year the White schools opened, Tom Dion, of Grand Caillou/Dulac, on his own, selected two "good students" to lead the way, and, at first, they decided to go to Terrebonne High at his urging (Tom Dion 1978). Dion described in a 1978 interview his efforts to convince students and their parents to attend the White schools. According to his telling of events, the "good students" reversed their decision when peer pressure from friends urged them to stay with them. Realizing that all of Dulac and Grand Caillou, not just individuals, had to make a joint decision before any single person would act, Dion began a family-by-family campaign to persuade all students in a grade to switch schools together, thus transferring students grade by grade out of the Indian school over several years, until it closed. In fact, this was the plan outlined in the court's decision.

To his dismay, Dion found that most people in Dulac and Grand Caillou did not yet want to close the unaccredited Indian school in their community, where they thought children were safe and learning. In 2005, Marlene Foret, a current elected leader in Grand Caillou/Dulac, described Tom Dion's tactics as manipulative (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). She said that Dion "went around from house to house." He visited her father, a respected *nonc*, who worked at the Indian school, to pressure him to sign a promise to remove his child from the school, but her father held out. Another man from Grand Caillou described the anger of his own father, a *nonc*, at Dion, when he lobbied the man's sons without going through him (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005). Dion had people in the community publicly record their intentions by signing a paper, probably a petition (Tom Dion 1978).³⁹ He also drove as far as Bayou Dularge to convince a "good student" to attend the White high school. Yet Dion's approach, which some believed circumvented and undermined the *noncs*, began to have an effect as organizers began to blame Foret's father and another family for blocking the settlements' children from receiving an accredited education (Tom Dion 1978). In the end, Foret's father, also a nonc, consented because he did not want community opinion to hold him responsible for children's poor educations. Thus, the Dulac/Grand Caillou families acted together, but only after a struggle involving *noncs* from many families. Integration advocates on both sides used peer pressure, gossip, community opinion, and threats of community disapproval, which worked in Grand

³⁹ This "paper" or petition is not in the record.

Caillou/ Dulac's close-knit social environment where people felt mutual obligations to one another.

Interviews concerning Indian school desegregation activities demonstrated that Tom Dion was able to influence others in Dulac and Grand Caillou to change schools despite their reluctance. Only after a significant effort to influence *noncs* through younger relatives did the community back his position. He reportedly circumvented the *nonc* system by applying pressure on *noncs* either by approaching them directly or through young parents, not considered *noncs*. The disapproval of Dion's activities by a conservative element of the *noncs*, would imply that Dion himself did not have the stature of a *nonc*. Nevertheless, the decision of individual students to attend the White schools appears to have been dependent in part on the *noncs*' consensus decision to support sending the community's children to the White High school.⁴⁰

Tom Dion's tactics were more aggressive than any documented in the record before 1965, and the events surrounding school integration in the 1950's and 1960's reveal community wide decision-making involved kinship-based leadership of families. Nevertheless, Tom Dion presaged a modern type of leader who exerted direct influence beyond his own extended family and his own settlement. Subsequent events indicate that public discussion, argument, open group meetings, and inter-bayou leaders would follow soon after segregation ended, implying that the social and political environment during segregation inhibited making group political action public for or all to see.

The record contains no information about political activities involving Bayou Lafourche during this period. The record demonstrates that Isle Jean Charles and Grand Caillou/Dulac worked primarily on their own, utilizing informal modes of kin-based social and political influence to achieve community goals. The community involvement in integration at Grand Caillou/Dulac provides sufficient evidence of political authority for the BCCM subgroup from 1950 to 1967, when the Indian schools closed. Evidence for group decision-making concerning school segregation is implied for Isle Jean Charles, but only demonstrated at a sufficient level from 1960 to 1965. An intense course of interviews which would contain specific names, dates, and situations and would discuss the different attitudes and positions taken on these important issues could probably cure the lack of evidence for other years during the era of "civil rights" at Isle Jean Charles. None of the available evidence, however, deals with these issues for the Bayou Lafourche petitioner, except in a general way.

⁴⁰ Ultimately, the court's decision held that the Indian schools would close according to a grade-staggered plan over a number of years. Thus, high school students had the option of continuing in the Indian High School for several years or immediately entering White schools when their grade became eligible. Tom Dion advocated that the students integrate as soon as the option was made available to them. Others wanted to remain in the Indian environment as long as possible.

⁴¹ Several people interviewed in 2005 object to the use of "Civil Rights movement" in reference to their activities to achieve full integration into the White schools. They believe that "movement" involved African Americans only.

Evidence of Inter-bayou Political Activity

Political activity rarely brought together more than one bayou settlement before 1960. Documents and interviews named individuals who were involved in inter-bayou political activities, although not specifically identified as leaders from 1940 through the 1970's. These documents focused mainly on their dealings with outsiders, rather than actions of group members. Individuals named in leadership roles at Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche included, among others, Tom Dion, Charles Billiot, August Dardar, Bob Verret, Lovincey Billiot, Frank Naquin, Kirby Verret, Helen Gindrat, and David Billiot, who one observer described as a "leader of ... activities." It does not appear that Isle Jean Charles produced any person claiming leadership beyond that community. These persons or their descendants may not be members of BCCM subgroups, but documents and members have named them at the hub of political activities. Only after 1960 does evidence show these persons publicly consulting with followers, who influenced them in turn. Interviews imply that differences in education, residence, and economic status, as well as inter-bayou rivalries, racial enmity, and attitudes pitting lower bayou residents against urban out-migrants have caused political tension among the bayou communities since at least 1940.

The record contains the correspondence between outsiders and David Billiot and Charles Billiot, in the 1930's and 1940's. David Billiot's relationship to Charles Billiot is ambiguous (Amy ("Aimee") Billiot 11/13/1979). While their letters implied each man worked for "Houma" people, there are suggestions that Charles worked primarily with the western bayous and David with the eastern bayous. There is little evidence that Indian descendants actually approved either man's activities. By 1948, David Billiot signed a letter to the BIA, "Mr. David Billiot Houma Indian Tribe," but still did not claim a leadership position. Other letters indicate that he believed certain "Houma" settlements were not Indian.

Although David Billiot succeeded in making anthropologists and Federal officials aware of the group's land and education problems, little evidence indicated significant numbers of Indian descendants worked with him or were influenced by him. Raised in Pointe au Chien, where he trapped until the mid-1930's, David Billiot moved in 1938 to "below Golden Meadow," and later moved to suburban Merrero. School segregation politicized him (Marie Dupre 8/6/1979). In 1933, he wrote to the Governor (David Billiot 8/6/1933) and, a year later, to President Roosevelt, asking them for help (David Billiot 5/31/1934). A woman raised in Pointe au Chien who knew David Billiot said in 1979 that people did not listen to him because he was uneducated and poor (Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979). Another acquaintance criticized him for never completing "anything." David Billiot claimed to represent a group of Indian descendants, but steps he took to engage them and who exactly they were are undocumented. The information available about David Billiot concerns dealings with individuals in Isle Jean Charles, Pointe au Chien, and Golden Meadow in the eastern bayous (Elvira Molinere 7/26/1979; Marie Dupre 8/6/1979; David Billiot 4/7/1938). In contrast, Charles Billiot, who lived near the town of Houma, where many Grand Caillou/Dulac people had moved for wage employment, was dealing with named individuals primarily in the western bayous but also at Pointe au Chien (Charles Billiot 8/24/1931: Tom Dion 1/23/1981). Charles claimed that David worked with him. Both David and Charles Billiot used the word "families" or, in French, "Houma Familles" in the 1940's in describing their constituencies.

A small nebulous inter-bayou network, including David Billiot; Charles Billiot; Paul Dion (1883-1957), and "Dick" Parfait, both from Dulac; Emil Billiot, born in Montegut in 1860; and non-Indian attorneys, worked on Indian rights between the mid-1920's and 1948 (Tom Dion 1/23/1981; Charles and Emy ("Aimee") Billiot 8/21/1978). They compiled genealogies as a prelude to claims, and, in 1927, Charles Billiot wrote to the BIA about hunting rights (Charles Billiot 9/5/1927). He said he was "with many others, a descendant of ... American Indians," and mentioned "us," "we," "our rights," indicating he represented a group. Charles had worked with attorney Ernest Coycault in the 1920's, and members of his family may have been in the group that had met with a congressman about 1921 (Charles and Emy ("Aimee") Billiot 8/21/1978). After Coycault's death sometime before 1930, an undefined group hired Houma attorney Harris Gagne. Paul Dion's son linked Coycault's death to Gagne's hiring and said, in 1981, that just as Gagne was to file the case, unnamed persons threatened to "chase him out of Houma," so he bowed out (Tom Dion 1/23/1981). The combined information about this group between 1920 and 1950 describes an interest group, rather than a group of leaders or influential representatives of the various communities working on issues sanctioned by a larger Indian group. Although they may have believed they worked on behalf of "Houma" people, there is no indication that an Indian entity or entities authorized and supervised their activities. Evidence concerning this interest group's activities does not provide evidence for political influence or authority for BCCM as a whole or any subgroup.

After 1963, several people, including Frank Naquin from Golden Meadow, Lovincey Billiot from a New Orleans suburb, and Tom Dion from Dulac, competed to become the designated leader of groups bringing land claims litigation. The groups they attempted to organize were larger than the traditional extended families and even bayou areas and their associated communities. This land claims activity sparked a competition among leaders and organizations for Indian constituencies that has continued to the present. The strength of political ties reflected geographical and social distances defined by kinship and residence, so that those most closely related and living in the same settlement were most likely to take concerted action, and those most distantly related and living dispersed among settlements were least likely to take joint action.

In about 1963, according to interview accounts, a non-Indian named Ralph Schofield approached "Rosalie Courteau's descendants" and told them he "had found the grant for the Houma Indians." To sue, he said they needed a chief. Tom Dion described the activities of Schofield, who worked primarily with Frank Naquin from Golden Meadow and Bayou Dularge native Lovincey Billiot. Dion questioned Schofield's having Frank Naquin place a "feather bonnet" on Lovincey's head at a meeting that Dulac people attended. Naquin declared Lovincey chief, even though, according to Dion, an election was not held and Lovincey was never elected (Tom Dion 1/23/1981). A 1966 newspaper article, however, reported that 1,500 Houma Indians had elected Lovincey Billiot their chief (*New Orleans Times-Picayune* 5/10/1966). Lovincey Billiot's brother said the "people from Baton Rouge elected him chief," and his sister-in-law from Merrero, who claimed he was chief of "all the Houma tribe," blamed lower bayou people, such as Tom Dion, for undermining him (Alfredia Billiot *in* Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979). Attitudes expressed in these interviews reveal undercurrents of conflict not only between the eastern and western bayous, represented by Frank Naquin, Lovincey Billiot, and Ralph Schofield

and by Tom Dion respectively, but also between urban descendants of earlier out-migrants and lower bayou residents.

Schofield had convinced Frank Naquin that if the "family," generally viewed as the descendants of Rosalie Courteau, would come together they would receive land or money. In April of 1970 "Chief' Lovincy Billiot, who was reportedly working with Schofield on behalf of "some 1,600 Houma Indians," described the land claim encompassing "all of Ascension Parish, about 88,000 acres of swamp and the 'Paradise Isle' area of Terrebonne Parish, and a smaller section in Pointe Coupee Parish" (New Orleans Times-Picayune 4/17/1970). Interviewees described Frank Naquin as he traveled "house to house" in New Orleans suburbs, Isle Jean Charles, and Montegut to organize Houma Indians. He took with him his daughter and first cousin, who lived near New Orleans (Frank and Hilda Naquin 11/5/1979; Tom Dion 1/23/1981; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naguin 7/27/2005; Ronald Naguin et al. 7/29/2005). Interviews do not place Frank Naguin in Dulac or Grand Caillou, but at one point Frank Naguin held a three-day meeting in Golden Meadow attended by men from Isle Jean Charles, and reportedly people from as far as Grand Caillou and Lafitte (Frank and Hilda Naquin 11/5/1979; Wensceslaus Billiot and Deme Naguin 7/27/2005). In the summer of 1970, Tom Dion at a pan-Indian pow-wow and march in Baton Rouge was appointed to a new State inter-tribal council (Houma Courier 8/2/1970). An assistant to the Governor compared the march to "those led in the south by the late Dr. Martin Luther King in protest of poor conditions of blacks" (Houma Courier 8/2/1970).

As during earlier decades, two geographical activity areas emerged in the eastern and western bayous in the 1970's, and different men became associated with those areas as identified leaders. Frank Naguin and Lovincey Billiot worked the eastern bayous and outskirts of New Orleans, while Tom Dion worked the western bayous. Tom Dion was linked to a Humble Oil lawsuit over land near Montegut and school integration in Dulac and Bayou Grand Caillou, and Frank Naguin was involved with a land claim and land swap involving islands on the Gulf of Mexico. In a 1979 interview Frank Naguin said that he believed Tom Dion, who had "started a good while before Ralph" Schofield on land claims, did not trust the outside attorney. Dion's 1978 and 1981 interviews support Naguin's statement (Tom Dion 1978, 1/23/1981; Frank and Hilda Naguin 11/5/1979). A third man, urban migrant Lovincey Billiot seemed allied with Frank Naguin, even though he had Dularge roots. Although originally from Bayou Dularge, Lovincey Billiot lived in Merrero near New Orleans as early as the 1930's, and his residence outside the lower bayous was an issue for Tom Dion (Alfredia Billiot in Alexander E. Billiot 4/24/1979). These named leaders did not replace the long-established family heads, the *noncs*, who maintained their positions as family heads. Competition among the new inter-bayou leaders and traditional informal leaders and between geographical regions complicated attempts at interregional cooperation.

Frank Naquin had incorporated an organization called the Houma Indians of Louisisana in the early 1970's. Frank Naquin described his efforts to bring a land claim for tracts between Pointe au Chien and Lafourche bayous. He said that he, his son, and others self-financed the effort. "We was traveling everyday, every day, every day. I put my boy Richard on the boat for a year, and I was on the road every day...house to house, house to house. Metairie, Pointe Aux Chênes, Isle Jean Charles. For one solid year, I never did stop, except for Sunday" (Frank and Hilda Naquin 11/5/1979). His house-to-house effort was similar to Tom Dion's lobbying in Dulac and

Grand Caillou in the early 1960's to further integration. The farthest west Naquin went was Terrebonne, "where we knew they had some Indian" (Frank and Hilda Naquin 11/5/1979).

The perception that the Houma Indians of Louisiana, Inc., an organization established by Frank Naquin, was oriented to out-migrants from the lower bayous living in New Orleans caused friction between Frank Naquin and people in Dulac. On April 24, 1974, a large group at Dulac, which claimed the Houma Tribe did not represent them, established a new organization, the Houma Indians of Terrebonne, which would become the Houma Alliance. Tom Dion's son Howard was the acting chairman of the group. ⁴² John Billiot, Lovincey's son, identified as "cochairman of the Houma Indians," said that he regretted the split and defended his organization (*Houma Courier* 4/25/1974). Lovincey Billiot's cousin claimed that the Houma Indians of Louisiana had "sent letters to the Dulac Indians asking them to attend our meetings, but we have never gotten any response from anyone," introducing some ambiguity about whether the new organization actually split from the Houma Indians or organized a group of people who were not part of it (*Houma Courier* 4/25/1974). Howard Dion said the issue was that Dulac had no "representation in that tribe [Houma Indians]," and so they have established a tribe to "represent our needs." The "committee to form a new tribe" was composed primarily of people from Dulac.

The Houma Indian Tribe and the Houma Alliance, formed about 1974, were the first formal membership organizations for the Indians of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes. They held formal meetings, incorporated under state laws, held elections of leaders and council members, and ran open meetings. The lower bayou population had no tradition of formal political organization, and after the start-up period, members did not attend meetings in significant numbers and little evidence shows members' participating in events sponsored by these organizations. Some members reportedly did not even realize there were separate organizations, according to the vice chairman of the Houma Alliance, indicating that news of the organizations was not circulating throughout the memberships.

The animosity between the families of Tom Dion, whose son headed the Houma Alliance, and Lovincey Billiot, whose children were on the board and officers of the Houma Indian Tribe, may have diminished because of Lovincey's death in 1978 and Tom's advancing age. The two organizations united as the United Houma Nation in 1980. An Indian minister from Bayou Dularge had taken over the leadership of the Houma Alliance by 1978, and he and many of his followers have remained members of UHN to the present, even though they live, at least part time, in Dulac. The members of the current subgroups of the BCCM petitioner were enrolled in UHN and remained members until at least 1994. The BCCM subgroups include subgroups from the eastern and western regions and former members of the Houma tribe and the Houma Alliance and their descendants. The evidence of the steps leading to Grand Caillou/Dulac's founding and then the participation in the Houma Alliance by the core community associated with that bayou

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⁴² Tom Dion, who worked for integration of the schools in the 1950's and 1960's, and whose activities provide evidence of political influence in the GCD settlement, had as many as 16 children, but only one of them has descendants in the GCD subgroup of BCCM. Evidence that significant leaders from the past have no descendants in BCCM (presumably they are members of another petitioner) raises questions about whether the membership in BCCM or its subgroups reflects the complete group, and whether important political actors within GCD are not members. GCD subgroup must encompass signficiant numbers and important political actors of the Grand Caillou/Dulac community and political entity at present in order to meet the criteria.

provides sufficient evidence of political activity for a group associated with Grand Caillou/Dulac from about 1965 to 1978, although the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup may not adequately encompass the membership of the actual community and political entity.

Evidence of Political Authority Connected to the Development of BCCM

The residents of the lower bayous, which were the most socially and politically cohesive parts of the memberships of the various formal Houma organizations, based on informal social organization within the residential settlements, continued to criticize the "Houma" inter-bayou organization, the United Houma Nation, throughout the 1980's. Even so, only when some "baby-boomers" from different Terrebonne areas, who had met in 1965 when they attended Daigleville Indian High School, began meeting around 1992, did an inter-bayou political movement develop, which resulted in the organization of BCCM (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005; Antoine Parfait 8/2/2005; Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). The teaming up of old high-school classmates from Isle Jean Charles with Grand Caillou/Dulac represents interaction between communities in two bayous, which were rarely linked previously.

By the early 1990's, events documented in the press, court documents, and interviews showed discontent spreading from the Daigleville baby-boomers to an influential group of older men and women from BCCM subgroups and also to younger persons who had been the first to attend integrated schools. As early as 1990, council member and UHN Secretary Reggie Billiot, who grew up in the Grand Caillou/Dulac area, began to question the actions of UHN leadership, or to go behind explanations and statements made by UHN leaders to research events on his own. According to Reggie Billiot, UHN meetings had been acrimonious since he became involved in the early 1980's, although UHN meeting minutes rarely reflect such acrimony (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005). Others were also complaining publicly, including Jim Liner and Pete Duthu of Grand Caillou/Dulac, and Ernest Dardar of Isle Jean Charles, and people from Pointe au Chien (Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005). No one from the Bayou Lafourche subgroup was documented as part of these events before 1994. By the mid-1990's, approximately 1,500 former UHN members had enrolled in the subgroups of a BCCM confederation, which provides evidence, although not sufficient in itself, to show political authority for the subgroups.

Four of the Daigleville graduates from Grand Caillou/Dulac were embarrassed by UHN because they believed UHN humiliated people in Dulac and the other lower bayou communities by describing them as needy and ignorant in order to receive grants, and they felt that UHN ignored their questions or criticisms (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). UHN's representation of Dulac and Grand Caillou as "substandard" was a significant issue for families who lived there. They believed Golden Meadow in the eastern bayous and the main families and out-migrants to New Orleans dominating the UHN leadership, represented the same people who, like David Billiot *in* the 1940's, had avoided interaction with them during segregation (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). They heard UHN leaders' stress on better education, housing, and jobs as criticisms of themselves, their families, and community. Shared historical sensitivities about race and poverty informed the decision of some lower bayou residents to form a confederation because they thought it would stop one area or leader from asserting superiority over others and setting

priorities without the input of lower bayou communities (Albert Naquin and Ernest Dardar 7/27/2005).

In 1993, questions arose about the misappropriation of funds for Hurricane Andrew relief (*Houma Courier* 7/27/1993a; 7/28/1993) and, in 1994, the BIA issued the negative UHN proposed finding. ⁴³ By 1996, members left the UHN petitioner and formed four BCCM subgroups to work for acknowledgment on their own as a confederated organization, composed of Grand Caillou/Dulac, Isle Jean Charles, Bayou Dularge, and Bayou Lafourche. Bayou Dularge ultimately dropped out or became part of Grand Caillou/Dulac (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). The organization of BCCM depends wholly on the activities of the subgroups. Each holds elections, has a separate constitution and membership list, holds separate meetings and events, has separate councils and officers, and acts independently, except for purposes of acknowledgment and state recognition. When the three subgroups meet, members of each subgroup sit in their own area or at their own table and respond to issues before BCCM as subgroups. Because the communities the subgroups claim to represent have been separate communities since 1880, they are not splinters or factions of UHN, which many of the current subgroup's members temporarily joined between 1978 and 1996, or of a larger unorganized group or groups.

Large numbers of lower bayou residents took action to disenroll themselves from UHN, usually as extended family units, since 1996. A high percentage of former UHN members actually residing full or part-time in the Isle Jean Charles settlement and their relatives and related families joined the Isle Jean Charles subgroup of BCCM. It seems that a smaller percentage of Grand Caillou/Dulac residents and related families broke away from UHN to join Grand Caillou/Dulac, apparently leaving large blocks and important families in UHN. Finally, it appears that a small percentage of Bayou Lafourche residents have joined Bayou Lafourche, which appears to represent primarily families that migrated to wetlands west of Golden Meadow from Pointe Au Chien in the early 1900's and then to Bayou Lafourche after 1960, rather than families associated for generations with Golden Meadow settlement. Had the enrolled families in the BCCM subgroups stayed in UHN, they would be qualified, although not guaranteed, to receive various services that UHN controlled as a "state recognized" tribe. Disenrolling from UHN, thus, was a significant decision. The BCCM subgroups and PACIT worked together for three years to gain passage of a state bill designating them "state recognized" in 2003 (Marlene Foret 7/28/2005). Such recognition maintained educational funding levels for their children enrolled in local public schools that would have been lost by leaving UHN. At joint meetings the BCCM sub-groups and PACIT interact as four groups, not two. It is extremely important that each of the subgroups demonstrate that they have encompassed a significant portion of the actual community and political entity associated with their respective bayous.

UHN's former members contended that reorganization along the lines of bayou settlements would help invigorate and encourage the participation of lower bayou people, whom they believe

⁴³ The UHN proposed finding discussed the leadership of UHN, noting that a "handful of people, many of them close relatives, claimed to lead the organization. Meetings had not been well attended and only [a] few people 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" (*UHN PF*, 21).

were alienated from UHN (Reginald ("Reggie") T. Billiot 7/31/2005). However, few people attend BCCM meetings, elections are sporadic, and the subgroups have encountered difficulties running a formal organization. Yet, informal social controls and vigorous communication along the lines of kin, age, and residence still ensure that subgroup members share information widely, especially in the Isle Jean Charles community. Thus, knowledge about a particular subgroup, but not the entire BCCM, is widespread among each subgroup's members. Informal dense social networks that have characterized the socially cohesive settlements for decades predicate the high levels of knowledge.

In the ten years since BCCM members withdrew from UHN, the lower bayous have changed. The long-term economic boom, associated with oil and gas development in Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche, has lessened the settlements' isolation. In contrast, storms have ravaged Isle Jean Charles, making many homes uninhabitable. Younger members of all subgroups are becoming educated, moving away and marrying non-Indians, and no longer speaking French. Informal social controls applied by kin and co-residents within the context of an isolated settlement are less likely to influence permanent out-migrants from the lower bayous or people who return to the settlements but did not grow up there. Preferring to focus primarily on residents of the lower bayous, ⁴⁴ BCCM subgroups, however, have not organized in significant numbers individuals with roots to the bayou settlements whose ancestors left the lower bayous before about 1950. The result is that the group maintains close social cohesion based on recent or present geographical proximity to other members.

In addition, in every subgroup parts of families or settlement natives belong to other petitioners and may even be active leaders in UHN or PACIT, while also influencing BCCM subgroup members within their family, settlement, and social network on significant issues, such as road development, construction of storm barriers, and land acquisition. Non-members may influence elections and internal politics of a subgroup, if decision-making is affected by personal animosities, which may arise during a divorce or a long-term inter-family argument, between members and non-member neighbors or by close relationships, following marriages and acts of generosity during times of hardship. Only in Isle Jean Charles' case, does the petitioner's membership encompass the members of the community, and the presence of small numbers of non-member Indians who interact regularly with the social core of that petitioner is insignificant, based on current evidence, providing that subgroup with sufficient evidence to demonstrate political influence and authority from 1990 to the present.

Conclusions

Individuals who are not current members of the Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche subgroups live among and interact with members of the those subgroup communities. These non-members have close social ties to members of these two subgroups. They are part of the same social networks, and may influence each other on political issues that affect their communities. Thus, the actual political influence of BCCM and/or its subgroups may extend

⁴⁴ The UHN proposed finding found that the petitioner had provided little if any evidence concerning the political connections and influence of individuals in New Orleans.

beyond its members, including members of other petitioners, or, members of other petitioners may influence political affairs in these two subgroups. In at least one subgroup, even extended families are split among petitioners and subgroups, as young families join UHN for education benefits, and older *noncs* remain in BCCM, which serves their interest in conserving the wetlands. Conversely, older family members join UHN because they enjoy taking day trips to Indian casinos with other retirees, while younger relatives join a BCCM subgroup. If significant portions of communities do not belong to the same petitioner or if families divide between petitioners, then the evidence of political activities relying on kin relations and proximity is affected and the subgroup would not be able to demonstrate autonomous political influence as required by the regulations.

The magnitude of this problem depends in large part on whether the subgroup's membership encompasses most of the people maintaining tribal relations in an actual social community. Important leaders and families should influence the petitioner's members or should be an integral part of informal processes of political authority, such as gossip, peer pressure, shunning or kin-based authority. Leaders should influence public opinion within the actual communities associated with the historical bayou settlements and over people living elsewhere who maintain close ties to the communities. If an actual community is composed of individuals in several petitioning organizations, the political processes are not autonomous as the regulations require. Isle Jean Charles subgroup demonstrated that its membership encompasses the actual community and the political processes are autonomous within that community between 1960 and 1965 and since 1990. The membership lists of Grand Caillou/Dulac and Bayou Lafourche subgroups do not encompass the community on their respective bayous.

Below are separate findings for each subgroup:

Isle Jean Charles: Evidence to demonstrate political authority of the Isle Jean Charles subgroup is sufficient from 1830 to 1940, based on reasoning in the UHN proposed finding, from 1960 to 1965, based on the group's participation in civil rights litigation, the activities of its named leaders, and other evidence of dense kin-based social organization within a geographical settlement, and from 1990 to the present, based on the events leading up to separation from UHN, the creation of the IJC subgroup, and evidence of informal political organization during that period. From 1940 to 1960 and from 1965 to 1990, evidence implies that informal political influence existed, at a significant but not sufficient level. More specific evidence of group action, including eyewitness accounts drawn from interviews, should be submitted to demonstrate informal political authority from 1940 to the present at a sufficient level.

Grand Caillou/Dulac: An actual Grand Caillou/Dulac community and political entity appears to have social and political processes that includes the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup's membership, but also extends to many people who are members of another petitioner. Conversely, important political actors in the actual Grand Caillou/Dulac community and political organization may not be members of the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup of the BCCM petitioner. Grand Caillou/Dulac did not provide sufficient evidence to demonstrate that its membership encompasses the actual community and political organization associated with Grand Caillou Bayou and Dulac. Although its members may belong to a larger community and political organization historically associated with that area of the lower bayous, it appears that the

members of the political organization associated with that larger community is split between petitioners and therefore is not autonomous as the regulations require.

Nevertheless, evidence to demonstrate political authority of a Grand Caillou/Dulac entity (not necessarily the petitioning subgroup) is sufficient from 1830 to 1940, based on reasoning in the UHN proposed finding, from 1950 to 1978, based on the group's efforts to integrate the public schools and to set up a formal organization which was named the Houma Alliance. The actual Grand Caillou/Dulac community may also be able to demonstrate sufficient evidence for political authority from 1990 to the present, based on the events leading up to separation from UHN, the creation of the Grand Caillou/Dulac subgroup, arguments and disputes arising from the split between petitioners, and evidence of informal political organization during that period. In addition, from 1940 to 1950 and from 1978 to 1990, evidence implies that informal political influence existed, but more specific evidence, including eyewitness accounts drawn from interviews, is needed to demonstrate sufficient evidence that political authority exists for the actual community of Grand Caillou/Dulac.

Bayou Lafourche: Bayou Lafourche subgroup appears to represent primarily an entity that existed on Bayous Bleu and Faleau (Fala) from 1900 to 1960, when its members' ancestors left that area. The members now live intermixed with another petitioner's members on Bayou Lafourche, and they may be influenced by that entity's members or exert influence within it. From 1940 to the present, some evidence implies that informal political influence existed, but this evidence is extremely general and includes general descriptions of the entire "Houma" group. The petitioner needs to submit more specific evidence, including eyewitness accounts drawn from interviews. It also needs to determine whether it represents a small entity composed of related family enclaves on Bayous Bleu, Faleau, and L'Eskine or some other entity, such as the actual community and political entity associated with *Bayou Lafourche*, including Golden Meadow, and then ensure that its membership encompasses this actual community and political entity.

The form of the BCCM petition and other evidence indicates that the petitioner intended to demonstrate that it meets the criterion because each of its subgroups meets the criterion. If for the final determination the BCCM petitioner demonstrates a connection to a historical tribe, and additionally demonstrates that some or all of its subgroups individually meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(c) as political entities and meet the requirements of the other criteria as well, then the Assistant Secretary may consider whether those political entities that meet the criteria will be acknowledged individually or as a confederation.

Based on the lack of demonstrated tribal origins, neither the BCCM confederation as an entity nor as an individual subgroup represents a continuously existing autonomous political entity.

Therefore, based on the evidence in the record at this time, the BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(c).

Criterion 83.7(d)

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 Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) comprises three subgroups: "Bayou Lafourche Band of Biloxi-Chitimacha Indians" (BL), "Grand Caillou/Dulac Band of Biloxi/Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogee Indians" (GCD), and "Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi/Chitimacha/Choctaw" (IJC). Each subgroup submitted a governing document (BL n.d.(a), (b); GCD 5/11/1996b, 7/1/1996b; IJC 4/-/2005b). All three subgroups require descent from specific historical Indians but do not identify them. However, BCCM did not submit a governing document, or a statement describing in full its membership criteria and how the confederation governs itself. The Department requested such a document but received no reply. Therefore, the BCCM petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(d).

The three component subgroups of the BCCM petitioner individually provided current governing documents, but the BCCM organization itself is the petitioner and did not submit a governing document or a description of its membership criteria and current governing procedures. Minutes of a 1996 meeting of the "Grand Council" recorded its efforts to draft the confederation's constitution and bylaws (BCCM 9/8/1996). If governing documents have not been formalized, the comment period will provide the petitioner the opportunity to do so, or to draft a "statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures" (83.7(d)). 45

The BCCM petitioner's lack of a governing document, or statement, also means the BCCM petitioner lacks a definition of its membership criteria. The draft governing document discussed at the September 8, 1996, BCCM "Grand Council" meeting included a section that directed each subgroup's "Council of Elders" to make membership determinations for its own subgroup (BCCM 9/8/1996, 2). Regardless of whether a BCCM governing document was ever adopted with that provision in it, membership does appear to be determined at the subgroup level. While it is not necessary for BCCM to create a governing document to satisfy this criterion, it is necessary for BCCM to create a statement that describes its membership criteria and how the group governs itself. Such a statement would not invalidate the governing documents of the

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⁴⁵ The situation of the BCCM petitioner, with three subgroups, differs from that of the two, separate Eastern Pequot (EP) and Paucatuck Eastern Pequot (PEP) petitioners, who met criterion 83.7(d) in their final determinations despite the lack of an overarching governing document. EP and PEP submitted governing documents that met criterion 83.7(d) for their proposed findings. For the final determinations, the AS-IA concluded that EP and PEP together represented a tribal entity. Because EP and PEP did not view themselves as a unified entity, no overarching governing document was prepared by them. BCCM, in contrast, views itself as a unified entity, attempted to draft an overarching governing document, but did not submit such a governing document or statement describing its governing procedures.

subgroups so long as it clearly delineates between the powers and functions of the BCCM confederation and the powers and functions of the subgroups.

The governing documents for all three subgroups include sections describing membership requirements. All three subgroups require members to demonstrate descent from historical Indians, but none of the subgroups identifies those historical individuals. Such basic information is needed for the evaluation of the petition (59 FR 9288, February 5, 1994, Final Rule). The types of evidence that each subgroup requires as acceptable proof of descent are not described. The membership folders that were furnished did not contain evidence of descent, so it was not possible for OFA to review the types of evidence that have been accepted as proof of descent.

The comment period will provide the petitioner the opportunity to clarify its overall membership criteria and its identification of those responsible for making membership determinations, or, if BCCM governing documents already exist that include its membership criteria, to provide them to the Department. The comment period will provide the subgroups of the petitioner the opportunity to identify the historical individuals from whom members must prove descent and to codify that requirement by including it in their governing documents or membership ordinance, or, if such identifications already exist, to provide such resolutions to the Department.

Conclusion

The BCCM petitioner did not submit a governing document or a "statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures." Therefore, the petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(d).

Criterion 83.7(e)

- 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.
- 83.7(e)(2) The petitioner must provide an official membership list, separately certified by the group's governing body, of all known current members of the group.

In order to meet criterion (e) under section 83.7, a petitioner must demonstrate that its current members descend from a historical Indian tribe or band, or tribes or bands that combined and functioned as an autonomous political entity. Therefore, the petitioner must (1) identify its current members, (2) document the historical Indian tribe or band and the individuals in that historical tribe or band from whom its current members descend, and (3) document that descent.

The three subgroups of the petitioner submitted three membership lists identifying a total of 2,545 current members, but the petitioner did not certify that these three membership lists represent the entire Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) membership. Both the Bayou Lafourche (BL) and Isle de Jean Charles (IJC) subgroups certified their respective membership list; the Grand Caillou/Dulac (GCD) subgroup did not. Most BCCM members were part of the United Houma Nation (UHN) petitioner and the UHN proposed finding stated that most UHN members had Indian ancestry. However, the petitioner did not document descent of its members from a historical Indian tribe. Therefore, the evidence in the record does not demonstrate that the BCCM petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(e).

Ninety-nine percent of the petitioner's members claim descent from one of two individuals identified in the 1820's as "Indian"—Houma Courteau ("Beloxy") and Marie Gregoire ("femme sauvage"). At that time they held, individually or with a spouse, adjoining tracts of land on Bayou Terrebonne, but the petitioner has not demonstrated, nor has the Department found, the existence or continuation of a historical Indian tribe, or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity, from which these historical Indian individuals descend. The petitioner's genealogical claims of descent from these two verified Indians differ in some cases from that of the UHN proposed finding. Where they differ, the petitioner's genealogical claims of not replace Indian with non-Indian ancestors. Therefore, these conflicting claims of specific lines of descent should not lead to different conclusions about Indian ancestry.

Identification of Current Members

Each subgroup of BCCM submitted its own, separate membership list, and two of the three subgroups separately certified their membership lists (BL 4/20/2005, BL n.d.(c); GCD 3/7/2005; IJC 4/-/2005a, IJC 4/13/2005). One of the three subgroups (GCD) did not certify its membership list, which did not include members' addresses, as required under 83.7(e)(2) (GCD 3/7/2005). The BL subgroup membership is 579, the GCD subgroup membership is 1,225, and the IJC subgroup membership is 745. Because 4 individuals hold membership in two subgroups simultaneously, the BCCM total membership is 2,545. However, the petition lacks a certification from the BCCM governing body that the three, separate subgroup membership lists represent the complete and current BCCM membership.

All subgroups provided copies of previous membership lists (dated 1996) (LLB 11/8/1996; GCD 11/7/1996; IJC 10/27/1996) but did not describe the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the current and previous membership lists, as required by the regulations. Comparison of the 1996 and current membership lists shows that the BL subgroup grew 47 percent since 1996, the GCD subgroup grew 9 percent, and the IJC subgroup grew 25 percent.

Analysis of the current membership lists for the three subgroups shows that 1,688 BCCM members appeared on the 1992 membership list of the UHN petitioner's 17,616 members, and therefore constituted almost 10 percent of that group. Individually by subgroup, 91 percent of

⁴⁶ Nine IJC members also appear on the membership list of the Pointe-au-Chien (PACIT) petitioner.

BL, 80 percent of GCD, and 86 percent of IJC subgroup members who were then living appeared on the 1992 membership list of the UHN petitioner, and BCCM-designed UHN resignation forms were found for 36 percent of them (600 of 1,688 former UHN members). The evidence demonstrates that 94 percent of BL, 83 percent of GCD, and 93 percent of IJC current members consented in writing to being listed as members of those subgroups.

Historical Indian Tribe

None of the three subgroups documented a historical Indian tribe, or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity, from which each subgroup descends. The petitioner asserted Chitimacha, Choctaw, Acolapissa, Biloxi, and Atakapa tribal origins for its ancestors, but did not demonstrate an amalgamation of these tribes, or portions of these tribes, that continues to exist as the petitioner.

The UHN proposed finding concluded that three historical individuals (Houma Courteau, Marie Gregoire, and "Jeanet") were identified contemporaneously as "Indian" (and claimed as ancestors by UHN members) but "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" (*UHN PF*, 25). Deeds involving land on Bayou Terrebonne in 1822 and 1829 identify Houma Courteau as "of the Beloxy nation" (Billot to Courteau 8/29/1822; Courteau to Verdun 6/1/1829), but the tribal ancestry of "*femme sauvage*" Marie Gregoire and of "Jeanet an Indian woman" remains undocumented.⁴⁷

This amended BCCM proposed finding concurs that 19th century contemporary evidence identified these three historical individuals as "Indian." The two documented Indians claimed as ancestors by BCCM members are Houma Courteau and Marie (Gregoire) Verdin. A detailed discussion of other claimed historical Indians appears in Appendix B. This amended proposed finding, as did the UHN proposed finding, does not find evidence of the existence or continuation of a historical Indian tribe, or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity, from which these historical Indian individuals descend.

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⁴⁷ The UHN proposed finding (*UHN PF*, GR, 53-54) and BAR's "Who's Who Houma" (BIA 8/28/1994, 29-30) expressed BAR's genealogical conclusion that "Jeanet, an Indian woman" had one known daughter Modeste Billiot/Bellhomme who married Joseph Prevost/Provost. No UHN members claimed descent from this couple, based on information from UHN ancestry charts as entered into a genealogical database for this amended proposed finding (OFA n.d.(c)). BAR also stated that evidence did not demonstrate UHN members' claims that Jeanet's daughter Modeste also married Antoine Courteau (*UHN PF*, GR, 54; BIA 8/28/1994, 30), or that Jeanet had another daughter Margaret/Marguerite/Rose Marguerite Bellome who married a Fitch (*UHN PF*, GR, 61-62; BIA 8/28/1994, 254). UHN members claimed descent from Jeanet through both the Courteau and Fitch wives. Although no known UHN members claimed descent from Jeanet through her only documented daughter Modeste Billiot/Bellhomme who married Joseph Prevost, the UHN proposed finding nevertheless referred to Jeanet as being an Indian ancestor or progenitor of UHN members (*UHN PF*, 25; GR, 35).

Evidence Documenting Descent from the Historical Indian Tribe

The BCCM petitioner provided a copy of an electronic genealogical database of its BL, GCD, and IJC members and their ancestry (BCCM 4/21/2005). The genealogical database is not annotated to cite the evidence used for parentage, birth, marriage, or death of each individual, nor is such evidence in the record, but the database served as an illustration of the members' ancestry claims. The Department relied upon a compiled genealogy created by the Department for the 1994 UHN proposed finding which it entitled "Who's Who Houma" (BIA 8/28/1994), and a genealogical database created from "Who's Who Houma" (OFA n.d.(b)) for the petitioner's pre-1922 genealogy. (See Figure 7 for the three founding families, and the three historical Indians, as presented by "Who's Who Houma.")

The petitioner's submission did not include descent documentation for its members. The BL and IJC subgroups provided copies of the membership files maintained for their members. The membership files contain ancestry charts and forms that similarly illustrate the members' claimed ancestry, but they do not contain any documentary evidence, such as vital records, demonstrating each link of a member's ancestry, generation by generation, back to a founding Indian ancestor.

The Department's practice has been to review descent documentation for all members of petitioners whose relative size makes that feasible. The size of the UHN petitioner precluded the Department from reviewing descent documentation for each of the 17,616 UHN members, so two sampling methods were used instead. BCCM's membership, at 2,545 members, is much smaller than the UHN membership. The random sample of 176 UHN members analyzed for the UHN proposed finding included 14 individuals who are now among BCCM's 2,545 members, and verified 13 of them as descendants of Houma Courteau and/or Marie Gregoire. Therefore, the Indian descent of these 13 BCCM members has been verified by the UHN proposed finding. So

⁴⁸ In addition to data on BCCM members, this genealogical database also contained the names and claimed ancestry of 552 of PACIT's 682 members. Because the PACIT petitioner did not provide a copy of its own genealogical database, but rather ancestry charts and reports printed from it, the Department made a copy of the BCCM database, and added to it the names, claimed ancestry, and membership numbers of the additional 130 PACIT members so that one database could be used to analyze both the BCCM and PACIT petitions (OFA n.d.(a)).

⁴⁹ The two methods included a preliminary non-random sample of 25 UHN members, and a systematic random sample of 176 UHN members. Of the 25 UHN members analyzed in the non-random sample, two are current BCCM members. The estimate or projection of UHN Indian descent was based on the results of the random sample only (*UHN PF*, 25; GR, 64-65).

⁵⁰ The UHN proposed finding concluded that about 84 percent of the members "have some Indian ancestry" (*UHN PF*, 25). The genealogical technical report estimated from the Department's random sample that the percent of members "who can be expected to have some 'Indian' ancestry is between 78.6% and 89.4%" (*UHN PF*, GR, 64). However, 20 of the 176 members of UHN's sampled members have since joined either the BCCM or PACIT petitioner. Indian ancestry was verified for 19 of those 20 members. The changes in UHN's membership since its 1992 membership list may raise questions for its final determination about whether the sampling done for the proposed finding continues to be representative of the group 16 years later. The UHN petitioner should be prepared to provide ancestry documentation, such as birth and death certificates, baptismal records, and marriage records, for its new members.

However, BCCM's membership folders, as submitted, did not include complete descent documentation for all other members. In this unique situation, the Department adopted another approach for this amended proposed finding to test whether OFA could verify the genealogical claims of at least some of the petitioner's members using available evidence.

OFA evaluated a genealogical selection consisting of the 70 BCCM members born before 1930, because their parentage could be verified by records in the public domain.⁵¹ Evidence found and compiled by OFA for them and their ancestors supported descent from an Indian individual for 36 of the 70 members.⁵² The petitioner has the opportunity to raise the percentage of members in the genealogical selection who can document Indian ancestry.⁵³ This can be done by providing the generation-by-generation documentation demonstrating the Indian ancestry of the other 34 members in OFA's evaluation who could not be verified as descendants of Houma Courteau or Marie Gregoire. Due to historical intermarriage, members generally have more than one line of descent from Houma Courteau and/or Marie Gregoire, and, thus, more than one option for demonstrating their Indian ancestry by supplying the additional documentation.

This amended proposed finding relied upon the pre-1922 data in the Department's "Who's Who Houma" narrative and genealogical database for verifying the ancestry of the petitioner's members in the genealogical selection (BIA 8/28/1994; OFA n.d.(b)). The petitioner, or its genealogist, should have documentation that supports its pre-1922 genealogical claims, and such evidence could help update, expand, or correct entries within "Who's Who Houma." Such documentation could demonstrate more Indian ancestry for its members. This evidence would allow the Department to resolve the conflicts noted among genealogical claims made by the BCCM petitioner, the UHN petitioner, and the Department's "Who's Who Houma" narrative. Such evidence would be helpful because the membership files are incomplete.

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⁵¹ Many of the ancestry charts for those 70 current members, and others, as presented by BCCM included conflicting information, more direct ancestors, or fewer direct ancestors as compared to the information entered on handwritten ancestry charts by their members, documented for them in "Who's Who Houma," or submitted by the UHN petitioner for its proposed finding. These discrepancies occur within the four most recent generations of each current member studied. Without the evidence relied upon by the BCCM petitioner for each member's ancestry, OFA could not resolve all the conflicts.

⁵² One of the 36 BCCM members verified back to an Indian ancestor also served as a successful subject in the random sample analyzed for the UHN proposed finding, and none of the 34 BCCM members who could not be verified back to an Indian ancestor were part of the UHN random sample. Of the 34 members not verified as having Indian ancestry, 32 lacked evidence to demonstrate their claimed Indian ancestry, one was verified as a descendant of individuals the Department has not confirmed as Indian (Joseph Gregoire and Constance Jaco), and one does not claim Indian ancestry but is married to a BCCM member.

⁵³ If the petitioner chooses to submit its complete membership documentation, the Department will evaluate it for the final determination.

⁵⁴ For example, the Laurence Verdin who married Eveline Crepelle on February 9, 1900, appears in the BCCM genealogical database as the son of Charles Delmas Verdin and Julie Lorine Honorine Naquin (a couple from whom both BCCM and PACIT members claim descent). However, this family's 1900 Federal census household shows Laurence as 10 years of age—obviously not the same Laurence who married four months earlier (U.S. Census 1900, LA, Terrebonne Parish, Sixth Ward, ED 74, p. 19-B, dwelling and family #337). UHN petition evidence suggests that the 1900 groom was Laurence Desire Verdin (b. 1878), son of George Henri Joshua Verdin and Rosalie

The amended proposed finding also analyzed the petitioner's genealogical claims.⁵⁵ Although the petitioner has not documented a historical Indian tribe, its database links its members to two historical individuals identified contemporaneously as "Indian": Houma Courteau and Marie Gregoire. Of the 2,545 total BCCM members, 99 percent (all but 33 members) claim to descend, according to the petitioner's submitted genealogical database, from one of these two, but the petitioner has not documented these claims (OFA n.d.(a)).

The genealogical selection analysis conducted for this amended proposed finding showed that only 51 percent of BCCM members born before 1930 could be documented as Indian descendants. The petitioner will want to consider providing or making available the documentation demonstrating, generation by generation, that the 34 remaining members in the genealogical selection also descend from Houma Courteau and/or Marie Gregoire. However, the petitioner has not demonstrated that these two Indians, or any other of the petitioner's ancestors, were a part of a historical Indian tribe. Evidence of Indian ancestry is not sufficient to meet this criterion. Criterion 83.7(e) requires the petitioner to demonstrate descent from a historical Indian tribe.

Conclusion

The BL, GCD, and IJC subgroups within the 2,545-member BCCM petitioner each provided a membership list, two of which were separately certified and included all of the categories of information required by 83.7(e)(2), although not universally completed. The GCD subgroup's membership list lacked certification and residential addresses, and the "Grand Council" governing body of the petitioner did not separately certify the three subgroups' lists, either individually or by a comprehensive certification. The regulations require that the petitioner's governing body separately certify its current, complete membership list.

An analysis of selected members demonstrates that more than half of them descend from at least one of two individual historical "Indians," but those historical individuals have not been shown to be a part of a historical Indian tribe, or of historical Indian tribes which combined and

Mathilde Billiot (another couple from whom both BCCM and PACIT members claim descent), but "Who's Who Houma" does not include Laurence Desire Verdin as a child of this, or any other, couple. Since the UHN petitioner's ancestry charts, individual history charts, and other genealogical materials depict ancestry claims that conflict in some cases with ancestry claims made by both the PACIT and BCCM petitioners and with the conclusions appearing in OFA-compiled evidence, the UHN petitioner should be prepared to provide genealogical evidence to clarify these apparent descent discrepancies as identified by OFA, if a connection to a historical Indian tribe is demonstrated.

⁵⁵ The petitioner requires its members to demonstrate descent from historical Indians who are not identified in the subgroups' membership criteria. Further, the petition submission did not include evidence relied upon for these membership decisions, so OFA was unable to determine the extent to which the members meet the subgroups' own membership criteria.

⁵⁶ The lowest percentage of descent from a historical Indian tribe demonstrated by a petitioner acknowledged through the 25 CFR Part 83 process is 80 percent.

functioned as a single tribal entity. The evidence in the record has not demonstrated that the BCCM petitioner's members descend from a historical Indian tribe. Therefore, the petitioner does not meet the requirements of criterion 83.7(e).

Criterion 83.7(f)

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.

The names of current Biloxi, Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogees, Inc. (BCCM) members do not appear on rolls of federally recognized Indian tribes reviewed for this amended proposed finding. Additionally, each of the BCCM subgroups requires its members to disavow membership in any other Indian group, and its submission included disavowals for 89 percent of the 2,545 BCCM members. No evidence in the record indicates that any of the petitioner's members are enrolled in any acknowledged North American Indian tribes.

For the United Houma Nation (UHN) proposed finding, the Department checked the names of all UHN members against available rolls of the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana and the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians federally recognized tribes, and found no matches. Rolls of the Chitimacha Tribe were available only for 1920, 1926, and 1959. Therefore, for the BCCM amended proposed finding, OFA checked the names of only the 50 BCCM members living prior to 1959 who were not members of the UHN petitioner (and therefore not checked at that time) against those rolls. No matches were found. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians rolls consulted for the UHN proposed finding were not available. OFA also compared the BCCM membership list to the membership lists prepared by two Louisiana tribes when they were federally acknowledged through the 25 CFR Part 83 process: the Tunica-Biloxi Indian Tribe of Louisiana (Tunica-Biloxi 1979) and the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians (Jena Band 1993). None of the current BCCM members' names appeared on those rolls.

Evidence in the record indicates that the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribes. Therefore, the petitioner meets the requirements of 83.7(f).

Criterion 83.7(g)

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

No evidence has been submitted or located that indicates the petitioner, its members, or their ancestors have been the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden a relationship with the Federal Government as Indians or as an Indian tribe.

Therefore, the petitioner meets the requirements of criterion 83.7(g).

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: AREA MAP

Source: Office of Federal Acknowledgment.

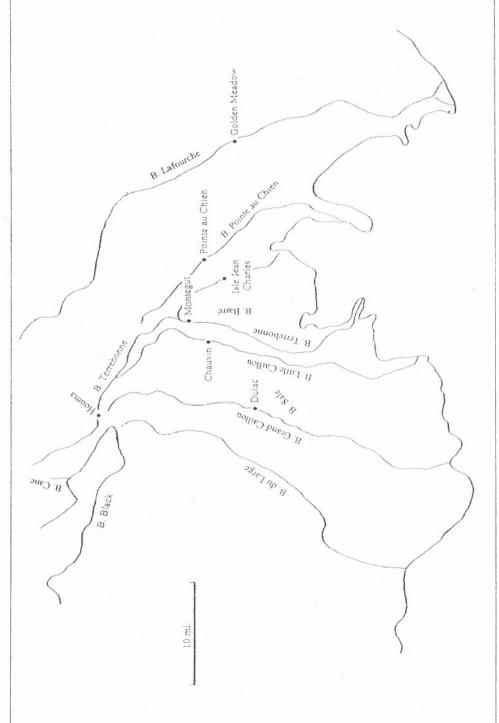


FIGURE 2: LOCAL MAP

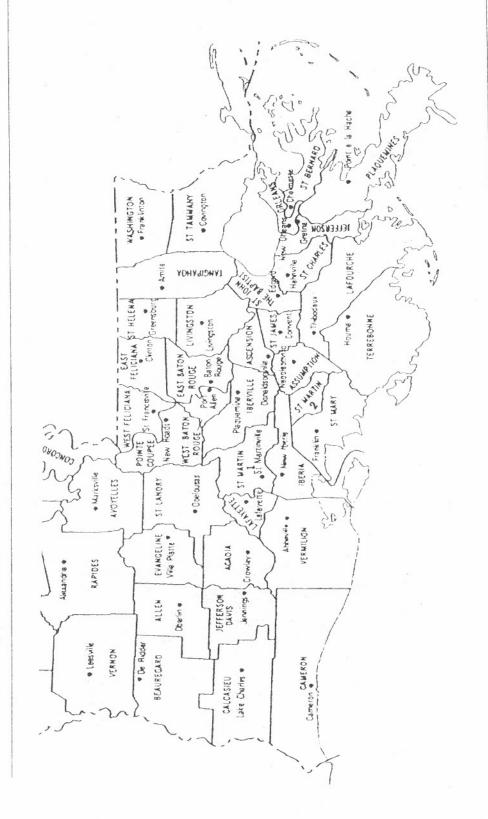


FIGURE 3: LOUISIANA PARISHES

Source: U.S. Geological Survey, Louisiana: Index to Topographic and Other Map Coverage (n.d.).

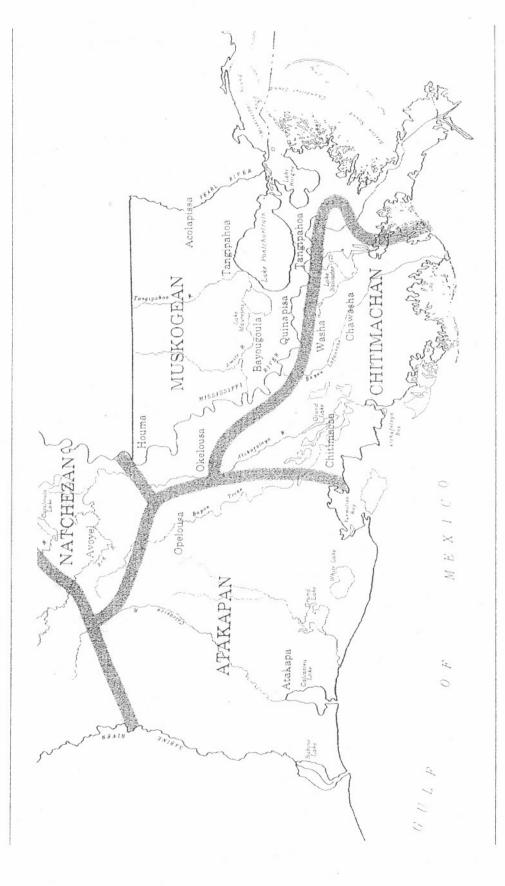


FIGURE 4: INDIAN LINGUISTIC GROUPS, circa 1700

Source: Charles R. Goins and John M. Caldwell, Historical Atlas of Louisiana (1995), #17,

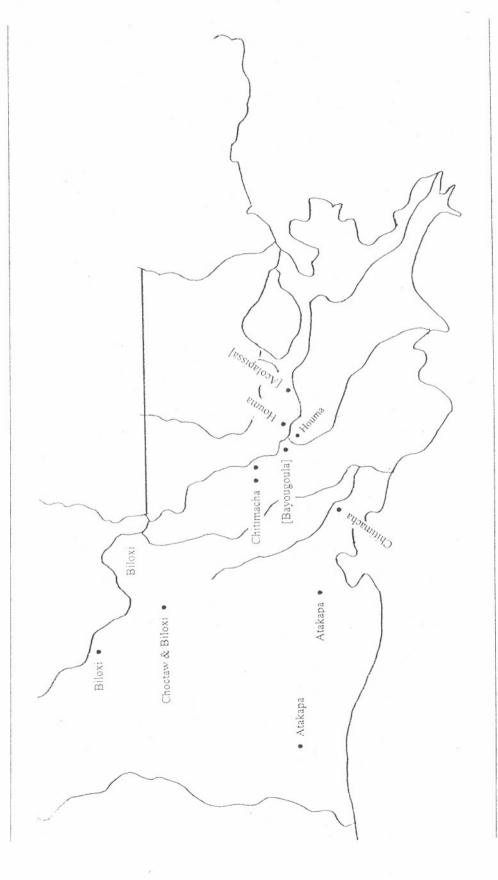


FIGURE 5: INDIAN SETTLEMENTS, circa 1763-1803

Source: Office of Federal Acknowledgment.

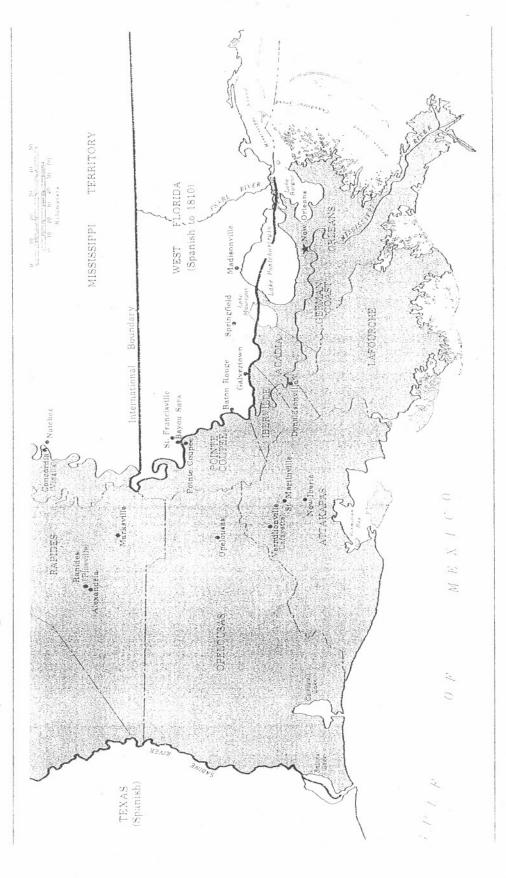


FIGURE 6: COUNTIES OF THE TERRITORY OF ORLEANS, 1805

Source: Charles R. Goins and John M. Caldwell, Historical Atlas of Louisiana (1995), #41.

| JP/B Billiot = Marianne Iris (d. bef, 1809) (b. ca. 1750) | (Touh-la-Bay/Al Houma Courte: [b. bef. 1771] | obe) (Nuyu'n/Marion) au = Marie Anne Pierre [←siblings→] I [b. ca. 1771] | Jouis Sauvage / le Sauv [b. bef. 1782] | age |
|--|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| _ | | | Alexandr | Alexandre Verdin = Marie Gregoire |
| | | | (b. 17 | (b. 1770) [b. ca. 1790?] |
| Jean/John | (m. ca. 1809) | 1809) Marguerite (b. bef. 1795) | none | (m. bef. 1806) |
| | | | | _ |
| Jacques (d. ca. 1858) (m. 1808) | 1 | Rosalie (b. 1787–d. 1883) | | Eulalie (b. ca. 1806) |
| 7 | | | | - : |
| Charles | _ | Antoine (b. ca. 1800) | | Pauline |
| Etienne (b. bef. 1786) | | | | - Transit |
| Michel (b. ca. 1780) | | Francois (b. bef. 1809) = Marie Mingoloi | 1 | Jean Bte. (b. ca. 1820) |
| Pierre (b. ca. 1794) | _ | | | |
| Joseph m.1 Jeanet | | | | Victor |
| m.2 Magdelaine Gregoire | Gregoire | | | |
| Adelaide | Arthemise | (ca. 1839) | | Ursin (b. ca. 1808) |
| Rosalia | Rosette | | | _ |
| Agnes/Francoise? | Alexandre | m.2 } (ca. 1836) | | Felicite Marg. (b. ca. 1818) |
| | | m.1 } (ca. 1833) {m.1 | 1.1 | |
| | Celestin | (ca. 1839) {m.2 | 1.2 | Melanie (b. ca. 1819) |
| | Jacques Const./Bartholemy? | lemy? | | |
| | Felicite (b. ca. 1829) | | | |
| | Jean Marcellus | | | |
| | Severin? | | | |

FIGURE 7: BCCM's and PACIT's Three Founding Families (earliest documented Indian individuals in bold)

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Report on Historical Tribes

Historical Tribes: Locations and Migrations¹

The historical tribes mentioned as possibly ancestral to Indians of Terrebonne Parish were located, at the time of contact with non-Indians, along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and the lower Mississippi River in modern Lousiana or Mississippi (see Figure 4). The available evidence about the existence, location, and migrations of historical Indian tribes, for the most part, was produced by officials of colonial governments. For south central Louisiana, colonial jurisdiction changed several times prior to the acquisition of this territory by the United States through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. The area of the lower Mississippi River valley and adjacent Gulf coast was administered by colonial French officials from 1699 until they transferred control in 1766 following the 1763 treaty which ended the French and Indian War. By that treaty, Spain acquired Louisiana west of the Mississippi River as well as an area east of the river south of Bayou Manchac, which is below modern Baton Rouge. Spain administered that colonial territory from 1766 until the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, even after Louisiana was secretly sold back to France and then soon sold by France to the United States. Although these historical circumstances of shifting jurisdiction complicated the creation of a complete and consistent record of the identification of tribes and their locations, various historical writers generally provided similar accounts of the historical tribes they encountered.

Historical Ouacha and Chaouacha Tribes

Scholars are in agreement that the tribes residing in south central Louisiana at the time of first contact with non-Indians in 1699 were the Ouacha (or Washa), the Chaouacha (or Chawasha), and the Chitimacha. This consensus derives from reliance both on early French accounts of contacts with Indians and the conclusions of previous scholars, especially John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology. In a 1911 publication, Swanton concluded, on the basis of his review of early French documents, that the tribes first encountered along Bayou Lafourche were the Ouacha and Chaouacha. He cited an account of a French expedition in July 1699 in support of his conclusion that a Ouacha village was located on Bayou Lafourche in the area of modern Labadieville, and noted that an Indian guide referred to the bayou as the "river of the Washas" (Swanton 1911, 297-298). He concluded that it was probable the Chaouacha also were located on the bayou at that time (Swanton 1911, 300; see also map). In addition to written accounts, several historical maps place the Ouacha on Bayou Lafourche and the Chaouacha west of the Mississippi along the Gulf coast during the early 1700's (Delisle 1702 and 1718, Moll 1720, Chambon 1750). Other scholars have agreed with Swanton's assessment of the French sources and found that the Ouacha and Chaouacha occupied the area along Bayou Lafourche or between Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River in the early 1700's (Kniffen 1935, 10; D. Hebert 1978, 1:xiv; Pearson et al. 1989, 21; Foret 1996, 14).

There also is scholarly agreement that the Ouacha and Chaouacha moved or were removed from the area of Bayou Lafourche to the lower Mississippi River. A memoir of French official Bienville records that he made the Chaouacha settle on the Mississippi River in 1712, below New Orleans, and the Ouacha settle

¹ See also an Appendix to the United Houma Nation proposed finding entitled, "Historical Indian Tribes in Louisiana: Background Paper," by BAR (BIA 1994), which also considers other historical tribes.

on the Mississippi in 1715, above New Orleans, and that they still were there about 1725, with reduced populations (Bienville 1726, 527). Some scholars noted accounts that placed both the Ouacha and Chaouacha on the Mississippi, in the vicinity of New Orleans, in the years after 1718 and before 1758 (Swanton 1911, 298-301; Pearson *et al.* 1989, 22; Usner 1992, 63, 73). Evidence of a 1744 sale by the Ouacha and Chaouacha of land along Lake Salvador, east of Bayou Lafourche, was cited by a U.S. Senate committee in 1854 (U.S. Senate 1/9/1854; see also Pearson *et al.* 1989, 22, 28), suggesting at least a reduced presence in that traditional location after 1744. Although a French official dispatched a group of armed slaves in late 1729 to destroy the Chaouacha village on the Mississippi downriver from New Orleans (Usner 1992, 73), the existence of a such a village in that location was noted by a French official as late as 1758 (Kerlérec 12/12/1758, 213; see also Swanton 1911, 301). The new Spanish colonial government invited Indian delegations to visit New Orleans in the fall of 1769, and there is evidence that these meetings included Ouacha and Chaouacha delegations (Usner 1992, 131).

After 1769, there are almost no historical references to the Ouacha and Chaouacha. Swanton concluded that a remnant of the Chaoucha "lasted into the latter half of the eighteenth century, when it must have declined slowly and disappeared" (Swanton 1911, 301). Although one scholarly report noted that an 1803 Spanish map showed the principal villages of the Ouacha and Chaouacha on the southern shore of Lake Salvador, the report also suggested that the map represented information from an earlier period (Pearson *et al.* 1989, 22-23). Soon after the United States acquired Louisiana, Indian Agent John Sibley reported in 1805 that the Ouacha had been "reduced to five persons only ... in French families," and concluded that they had "been many years extinct as a nation" (Sibley 4/5/1805). The available evidence contains no references to Ouacha or Chaouacha tribes or group settlements later than 1803. There is no evidence in the record that suggests that any petitioning groups from Terrebonne or Lafourche Parishes are derived from these aboriginal tribes of the area.

Historical Chitimacha Tribe

The Chitimacha were the third tribe living in the area of south central Louisiana at the time of first European contact. A map of 1718 placed the "Sitimachas" south of the "lacs des Sitimachas" [Grand Lake] and along the Gulf Coast east of a major river or bayou [Atchafalaya?] (Delisle 1718; see also Moll 1720). The Louisiana Supreme Court, in 1849, found that the Chitimacha tribe in 1699 had been located on Bayou Jacob near the Mississippi River, on Bayou Plaquemine, and on Bayou Teche (Louisiana Supreme Court 1849, 141-142), areas north and west of modern Terrebonne Parish. Albert Gatschet, the first ethnologist to study the Chitimacha, concluded in 1883 that the original territory of the "Shetimasha" was the banks of Grand Lake and Bayou Atchafalaya, and also suggested that they held all of Bayou Lafourche (Gatschet 1883, 1, 4). The Handbook of American Indians, published in 1907, stated that the known habitat" of the Chitimacha was the shores of Grand Lake and the banks of Grand River, and that at some time they had a village at the head of Bayou Lafourche (Hodge 1907, 286; see also Kniffen 1935, 10). John Swanton wrote in 1919 that the Chitimacha "lived about Grand Lake and on the lower parts of Bayou Teche and the Atchafalaya" (Swanton 1919, 8; see also Swanton 1911, 343-344 and map). A study by Hiram Gregory, in 1979, described the Chitimacha (or Chitmachan linguistic group) as having had a triangular territory between Bayou Lafourche, Bayou Teche, and the lower Atchafalaya Basin (Gregory 1979, 380-386; see also Davis 1975, 6).

Gatschet listed 15 aboriginal Chitimacha settlements (Gatschet 1883, 4). Swanton accepted 13 of Gatschet's 15 village locations, with slight revisions of some of the locations and descriptions, but disagreed with two other locations which he concluded had not been identified by native sources and were not supported by other evidence (Swanton 1911, 343-344). The locations on which Gatschet and Swanton agreed were those on Bayou Teche, at and near modern Charenton; on Grand Lake, and in its vicinity; at the junction of Bayou Atchafalaya and Bayou Teche, below Grand Lake; on Grand River; on Bayou Chene about 18 miles north of Charenton, and in its vicinity; and on Bayou Plaquemine near

Grand River about 42 miles north of Charenton (Gatschet 1883, 4; Swanton 1911, 343-344). They disagreed about Bayou Lafourche, which Gatschet suggested the Chitimacha held at the time of contact and Swanton contended they reached by expansion after contact. Except for lower Bayou Lafourche, these locations are not in the modern parishes of Terrebonne or Lafourche.

A variety of historical evidence confirms a historical Chitimacha presence on Bayou Teche and Grand Lake, west of modern Terrebonne Parish. The Spanish governor in 1777 issued an order directing local officials, as translated by a local historian, to protect "the Chitimacha of Grand Terre" from settlers and to preserve their land ownership (Taylor 1981, 68; see also Swanton 1911, 343). One or two Chitimacha villages on Bayou Teche were identified in 1784 accounts (Swanton 1911, 343), an 1803 report (Clark 9/29/1803), an 1814 lease (Conrad 1992, 2:363), two 1819 travel accounts (Cathcart 1819, 837; Taylor 1981, 67-68), and an 1892 history (Anonymous 1892, 21). The location was described, in the 1803 report and 1892 history, as 11 to 12 leagues or 36 miles north of the Gulf. A map by the General Land Office in 1827 noted the existence of an "Indian V[illage]" on Bayou Teche (T.13S., R.9E.), which is reasonable to consider a Chitimacha village (GLO 1827). An 1819 travel journal also referred to an Indian settlement on an island, which the editors of the journal identified as modern Berwick Island below Grand Lake (Cathcart 1819, 780-781). The Chitimacha filed a tribal land claim, about 1807, for lands (T.12S., R.9E.) running from Grand Lake across Bayou Teche (Taylor 1981, 64). In 1852, the Supreme Court of the United States confirmed the title of the Chitimacha Tribe to a 1,093-acre parcel of land, and in 1855 the tribe was issued a fee patent for that land, in St. Mary's Parish (Interior 7/14/1982; see also 131 U.S. lxx). The Chitimacha Tribe of Charenton, Louisiana, is a federally recognized tribe today.

Historical sources also place Chitimacha Indians on Bayou Plaquemine, well north of Terrebonne Parish. The aboriginal Chitimacha, Gatschet and Swanton agreed, had a Plaquemine village, whether on Bayou Plaguemine or near it on Grand River (Gatschet 1883, 4; Swanton 1911, 344). A more recent anthropological review concluded the Chitimacha had a village on Bayou Plaquemine in 1769 (Gregory 1979, 382). A scholar, relying upon English sources, placed an Indian group consisting of Chitimacha, Atakapa, and Opelousas Indians on Bayou Plaguemine and another band of Chitimacha near Point Coupee in 1771 (Rea 1970, 13). A historian, using a 1773 list of Indian tribes on the Mississippi, concluded that some Chitimachas and Atakapas were moving down Bayou Plaquemine at that time (Usner 1992, 169). Swanton suggested that the Chitimacha village on Bayou Lafourche in 1784 probably later removed to Plaquemine (Swanton 1911, 343). In 1803, according to an 1892 history, there were two Chitimacha villages on Bayou Plaquemine, 12 miles west of the Mississippi (Anonymous 1892, 21). An 1819 travel journal mentioned stopping at an Indian village on Bayou Plaquemine, which it did not call Chitimacha (Cathcart 1819, 760), while another 1819 travel account attributed a Bayou Plaquemine residence to the Chitimacha (Nuttall 1819, 264). The BCCM petitioner has noted that a series of land claims were filed with the U.S. Government based on the purchase or lease of land from the Chitimacha Indians on Bayou Plaquemine and Bayou Jacques in Iberville County (BCCM 2005, 221-224).

Scholars have disagreed about the extent and timing of a Chitimacha presence on Bayou Lafourche. Gatschet placed the Chitimacha along the entire bayou at the time of contact, while Swanton contended they occupied the upper bayou after first contact with the French and after the Ouacha and Chaouacha moved eastward (Swanton 1911, 297-298). Gatschet and some other researchers placed a Chitimacha village at the junction of Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River (Gatschet 1883, 4; Hodge 1907, 286, Molaison in Robichaux 1980, viii). A village on upper Bayou Lafourche, labeled on some early maps as "Yagenechitos," has been considered by some scholars to have been a Chitimacha village (e.g., Foret 1996, 13-14; see also Delisle 1702). Several 18th century maps appear to label Bayou Lafourche as the river of the Chitimachas (D'Annville 1732; Charlevoix 1747; Ross 1765; Roman 1790; see also Swanton 1911, 338). The 1732 map, however, showed only ancient villages along its banks (D'Annville 1732). Scholars have noted that the French made a military expedition against the Chitimacha on Bayou Lafourche about 1706 (Usner 1992, 24; Swanton 1911, 338), and Swanton concluded that historical

documents noted a Chitimacha village on Bayou Lafourche in 1784 (Swanton 1911, 343). While Gatschet listed an aboriginal Chitimacha village at the mouth of Bayou Lafourche on the Gulf (Gatschet 1883, 4), Swanton disagreed, saying that Gatschet had not obtained this information from Chitimacha informants and that it was not authenticated by any other evidence (Swanton 1911, 344).

A Chitimacha village on the banks of the Mississippi River, after 1718, was mentioned in historical sources. In a memoir, former French official Bienville said that at the end of a war with the Chitimacha in 1718 he made them settle on the Mississippi, and noted that about 1725 they were located on the west side of the river about 31 leagues [81 miles] north of New Orleans and 20 leagues [52 miles] south of the Red River (Bienville 1726, 528-529). A 1732 French map noted a "Chetimachas" location on the west bank of the Mississippi, above Bayou Lafourche and just below a "Plakemines" river (D'Annville 1732). Such a location also appears to be indicated on a 1750 French map (Chambon 1750). A Chitimacha village on the Mississippi was noted by a French census of the inhabitants of the river in 1731 (Maduell 1972, 119), a travel account in 1738 (Louboey 11/28/1738), a French military officer in 1739 (Swanton 1911, 342-343), a French governor in 1758 (Kerlérec 12/12/1758, 213), and a Spanish list of Indian tribes on the river in 1773 (Usner 1992, 169). The 1739 account of this village observed that most of the Chitimacha resided at that time with the Atakapa, while the 1758 account commented that this village contained the "remnants of a numerous nation" (Swanton 1911, 343; Kerlérec 12/12/1758, 213). Historians have noted the existence of a Chitimacha village on the Mississippi, at least between 1718 and 1773 (Swanton 1911, 342; Usner 1992, 62-63, 130, 169; and possibly Kinnaird 1949, 2:154; Brasseaux 2003, 37).

Historical observers, therefore, noted a Chitimacha presence at Bayou Teche, Grand Lake, and the Atchafalya River basin, west of modern Terrebonne Parish, in a location where a federally recognized Chitimacha Indian tribe still resides. There also were historical accounts of the Chitimacha extending to upper Bayou Lafourche and the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Bayou Lafourche, areas north of modern Terrebonne Parish. It is possible, especially after the removal of the Ouacha and Chaouacha from the Bayou Lafourche area, that some Chitimacha used the coastal marshes and bayous later associated with "Houma" Indians and were present in the area at the time of the first Spanish land grants along Bayou Terrebonne. The available evidence, however, does not contain observations of historical Chitimacha settlements or any group of Chitimacha Indians in the vicinity of later historical settlements of the petitioner's claimed ancestors.

Historical Biloxi Tribe

There is a scholarly consensus that the Biloxi Indians lived along the Gulf coast, in modern Mississippi and Alabama, during the early years of contact with Europeans. Ethnologists and historians, relying upon French documents for the period after the first contact between the French and the Biloxi in 1699, have located the Biloxi on Biloxi Bay and the Gulf coast (Drake 1841, *vi*; Mooney 1894, 15; Hodge 1907, 147) or, more specifically, in a village on the Pascagoula River 4 to 6 leagues [10-16 miles] inland from the Gulf (Swanton 1912, 5-6; Usner 1992, 13, 17; Hunter 1994, 18; see also Gatschet 1884, 111). Other Gulf coast locations of the Biloxi between 1700 and 1760, noted by scholars, include the Pearl River and Mobile Bay (Swanton 1912, 6; Ellis 1981, 29; Usner 1992, 60, 199, 232; Hunter 1994, 19). One local historian claimed that some Biloxi were at Lake Pontchartrain on Bayou St. Jean by 1700 (Freiberg 1980, 26). Historian Daniel Usner concluded that the Biloxi lived, both on the Pascagoula River and Mobile Bay, in villages in the vicinity of the villages of other small tribes (Usner 1992, 17, 60). A close association with other groups also was noted by ethnologist John Swanton, who grouped the Biloxi with Pascagoula Indians in reporting their population between 1699 and 1758 (Swanton 1911, 41).

² A standard conversion is that 1 league equals 2.6 miles.

Historians have suggested that, after France lost this territory to England in 1763, many of the Biloxi and neighboring tribes began migrating to the west to Spanish territory. The Biloxi were listed in a 1764 Spanish report, but without specifying their location (Moore 1976, 85). An archaeological study suggested that the Biloxi may have migrated between 1766 and 1769, noting that the Biloxi did not appear on a 1766 census of Indians in Louisiana, but were mentioned in Spanish records in 1769 (Hunter 1994, 19). That the Biloxi were recorded as receiving gifts from the Spanish government in 1769 implied that some of them had by then moved into Spanish territory (Kinnaird 1949, 2:154; see also Usner 1992, 131). Scholars have suggested that the Biloxi first located on the lower Mississippi River (Usner 1992, 130, 199-200), the Amite River west of Lake Pontchartrain, and then the Pointe Coupee district northwest of modern Baton Rouge (Hunter 1994, 19 and fig.1). A British official in 1771 referred to a village of Biloxi, Pascagoula, and Choctaw on the Spanish side of the Mississippi (Thomas 12/12/1771). There was a Spanish report, about 1780, that some Biloxi had "fled into the marshes of south Louisiana" (Hunter 1994, 22). A 1784 account mentioned a Biloxi village, below the Pascagoula, on the west side of the Mississippi (Hodge 1907, 147).

Historical accounts placed the Biloxi in the Avoyelles district, west of the junction of the Red River and Mississippi River, by the late 18th century. U.S. Indian Agent John Sibley suggested, in 1805, that the Biloxi had first settled there about 1763 (Sibley 4/5/1805; see also Mooney 1894, 15; Hodge 1907, 147). Swanton found that a 1784 account described the Biloxi as being west of the Mississippi near the mouth of the Red River (Swanton 1912, 8). In 1803, a report to Secretary of State James Madison by Daniel Clark noted a village of Biloxi on the Red River at Avoyelles, 19 leagues [49 miles] from the Mississippi, and another village on the Lake of the Avoyelles (Clark 9/29/1803, 63). This information was repeated in an 1806 account (Mooney 1894, 15; Hodge 1907, 147; see also Gatschet 1884, 111). Historical accounts indicated that some Biloxi continued to move farther northwest, up the Red River, and then south of that river. Agent Sibley's 1805 report implied that the Biloxi had left Avoyelles (Sibley 4/5/1805). His 1809 report, however, suggested that some of those Biloxi had returned from the west to the Avoyelles district, but did not have a fixed location there (Sibley 5/8/1809). An amalgamated Tunica-Biloxi group at Marksville, Louisiana, in the Avoyelles district, was acknowledged as a tribe in 1981.

The Spanish commandant at "Rapide" noted, in 1773, that some Biloxi were living in the vicinity of his post, near modern Alexandria (Hunter 1994, 19; see also 21). The 1803 report of Daniel Clark to the Secretary of State said that there was a Biloxi village "at the Rapide," perhaps 28 leagues [73 miles] from the Mississippi (Clark 9/29/1803, 63). Indian Agent Sibley's 1805 report appeared to place the Biloxi ("Boluscas") at Rapide Bayou, about 40 miles from Natchitoches, at that time. He indicated that this settlement consisted of about 30 people (Sibley 4/5/1805). Swanton's population estimate for 1805 again grouped the Biloxi and Pascagoula together (Swanton 1911, 41). Sibley's reference to the Biloxi having moved "higher up" from Avoyelles implied that he placed their 1805 location on the Red River 40 miles downstream of Natchitoches. Swanton interpreted Sibley as having said that the Biloxi moved from Avoyelles up the Red River (Swanton 1912, 8). Frederick Hodge, in his 1907 *Handbook of American Indians*, added language to Sibley's published report to indicate that in 1805 the Biloxi had moved from Rapide Bayou to "the mouth of Rigula de Bondieu," which he defined as a division of the Red River (Hodge 1907, 147). A more recent survey simply cites Sibley as having reported that the Biloxi were living on Bayou Rapides in 1805 (Hunter 1994, 24).

About 1795 or 1796, according to a congressional committee report in 1817, the Biloxi and Pascagoula settled with the approval of the Spanish government on Choctaw land along Bayou Boeuf, which flows into Bayou Teche south of the Red River (U.S. House 1/29/1817, 276; see also Swanton 1912, 8; Hunter 1994, 23). A Spanish official in the Red River Valley in 1796 referred to Biloxi being located on the "Bayou de los Bueyes" in his territory (Kinnaird and Kinnaird 1983, 192). A GLO map, dated 1827 but revising an earlier map, indicated an Indian settlement (T.3S., R.3E.) on Bayou Boeuf (GLO 1827). A

Spanish plat map of Bayou Boeuf in 1803 showed a Biloxi village separate from neighboring Pascagoula and Choctaw villages (Trudeau 1803; Hunter 1994, fig.2; see also Anonymous 1892, 21). A GLO report on land claims in 1813 noted this map as relating to a claim in the County of Rapides (GLO 6/9/1813). In 1802, the congressional committee found, the Spanish government had approved a sale by the Biloxi and Pascagoula tribes of their land on Bayou Boeuf in order to satisfy debts they had incurred (U.S. House 1/29/1817, 276; see also Swanton 1912, 8; Hunter 1994, 23). Agent Sibley said in 1809 that the Biloxi who lived on Bayou "Beauf" in the County of Rapides in 1805 had been removed by those who claimed to have purchased their lands, and that many returned to Avoyelles (Sibley 5/8/1809). There also were reports, in 1803 and 1806, of some "wandering" Biloxi and Choctaw on Bayou Crocodrie, which flowed into Bayou Teche (Clark 9/29/1803, 63; Gatschet 1884, 111).

The available historical evidence indicates the Biloxi were not located in southern Louisiana at the time of contact with Europeans, but later migrated from an area along the Gulf Coast to various locations west of the Mississippi River and along and south of the Red River. All of these small historical Biloxi settlements were well north of modern Terrebonne Parish. Some of the historical descriptions placed some Biloxi in an area which currently contains a federally recognized Tunica-Biloxi tribe. A 1780 Spanish report that some Biloxi had gone south to the marshes, in an unspecified area, was the only reference to a possible account of migration by some Biloxi to the area of modern Terrebonne Parish. The available historical evidence contains no descriptions of historical Biloxi settlements or any group of Biloxi Indians in the vicinity of later historical settlements of the petitioner's claimed ancestors.

Historical Atakapa Tribe

Atakapa territory at the time of contact has been described as southwestern Louisiana and southeastern Texas, west of the Chitimacha. Frederick Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* described Atakapa territory as bounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Vermillion, Red, and Sabine Rivers (Hodge 1907, 114). Ethnologist John Swanton said that the Indians called Atakapa lived between Vermillion Bay on the Louisiana coast and Galveston Bay on the Texas coast. Until the late 18th century, according to Swanton, there were three main bands of Atakapa in Louisiana, each occupying a principal river valley. He said that the easternmost Atakapa band, in the late 1700's, was located on Vermillion River and Vermillion Bay, with a principal village above modern Abbeville (Swanton 1911, 360; see also Butler 1970, 169). Swanton also said that some Atakapa were on the Sabine River, the modern border between Louisiana and Texas (Swanton 1911, 362). Anthropologist Fred Kniffen described the Atakapa, about 1700, as having occupied "the prairies of southwestern Louisiana, from Bayou Teche to the Sabine, and from Opelousas to the coastal marshes" (Kniffen 1935, 10; see also Usner 1992, 100).

Several historical accounts indicated there were connections between the Atakapa and the Chitimacha. The memoir of former French official Bienville, written about 1726, referred to the Atakapa as allies of the Opelousas, and to the Opelousas as allied with the Chitimacha (Bienville 1726, 528-529). In 1739, a French military officer claimed that most of the Chitimacha were residing with the Atakapa at that time (Swanton 1911, 342-343). From historical sources, one historian has identified a group on Plaquemine Bayou in 1771 consisting of Chitimacha, Atakapa, and Opelousa Indians (Rea 1970, 13), and another historian has referred to "some Atakapas" with the Chitimacha on that bayou in 1773 (Usner 1992, 169). A historical account also indicated ties connecting the Atakapa with the Houma. In 1805, Indian Agent John Sibley wrote that Tunica and Houma Indians had married into the Atakapa tribe, and his estimate of their numbers revealed that those married into the group constituted more than a third of the group's population (Sibley 4/5/1805).

By the beginning of the 19th century, references to Atakapa territory and population were more limited than before. According to Hodge's *Handbook*, a tribe representing a remnant of the original Atakapa linguistic group had its chief habitat in Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana, in the early 1800's (Hodge 1907,

114). A report by Daniel Clark to Secretary of State James Madison in 1803 referred to the "Atacapas" as located chiefly on Bayou Vermillion, with a population of about 100 (Clark 9/29/1803; see also Anonymous 1892, 21). In 1805, Agent Sibley estimated the Atakapa group, with its intermarried Tunica and Houma, as numbering about 80, which others have interpreted as referring to 80 men (Sibley 4/5/1805; see also Drake 1841, *vi*; Swanton 1911, 43, 362). This represented a decline from an estimated Atakapa population of 180 men in 1779 (Swanton 1911, 43). Sibley made the point, however, that the Atakapa remained at or near the locations they had occupied at the time the French arrived (Sibley 4/5/1805). Thus, the available evidence contains no historical account of any Atakapa presence in the area of modern Terrebonne Parish.

Historical Choctaw Tribe

The Choctaw at the time of contact were described, in Frederick Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians*, as occupying middle Mississippi, with their territory extending into Alabama, and as having a population of 15,000 to 20,000 (Hodge 1907, 288-289). There is evidence that "Houma" or "ouma" was used as a Choctaw title or name, which complicates any interpretation that a historical individual named or called "Houma" must have been a member of the historical Houma tribe. During the late 18th century, some Choctaw migrated across the Mississippi River, into Spanish Louisiana (Hodge 1907, 288). About 1777, a committee of the House of Representatives concluded, some Choctaw received an allotment of land from the Spanish government on Bayou Boeuf, south of Red River (U.S. House 1/29/1817). Later, groups of Biloxi and Pascagoula settled on that bayou near the Choctaw. A "Chocto" village on Bayou Boeuf was shown on an 1803 Spanish plat (Trudeau 1803). In 1805, Indian Agent John Sibley referred to "Chactoos" who lived on Bayou Boeuf, 10 miles south of Bayou Rapide on Red River, apparently distinguishing them from Choctaw (Sibley 4/5/1805). In 1809, however, Sibley referred to "Huani Choctaws" as having settled on "Bayou Beauf" with the Biloxi, and he distinguished them from "Chactoos" (Sibley 5/8/1809).

Choctaw also settled, at least temporarily, in a variety of other locations in central and northern Louisiana. A Choctaw group at Jena, Louisiana, was acknowledged as an Indian tribe in 1995. Daniel Clark, in his report to Secretary of State Madison in 1803, referred to Choctaw on Red River at "the Rapide," possibly referring to the village on Bayou Boeuf in the County of Rapide; Choctaw "wanderers" on Bayou Crocodile which flowed into Bayou Teche; and perhaps as many as 500 Choctaw families "dispersed on the West side of the Mississippi" (Clark 9/29/1803). Agent Sibley, in his report to the Secretary of War in 1805, said that there were "a considerable number" of Choctaw west of the Mississippi. He referred specifically to a village on "Bayou Chico" in the northern part of the district of Opelousas, south of Red River, and a small village on the Ouachita River, north of Red River (Sibley 4/5/1805). Hodge's Handbook also referred to a Choctaw village on "Bayou Chicot" in Opelousas Parish in 1809 (Hodge 1907, 288). In 1809, Agent Sibley referred to a settlement of Choctaw at Cooks Prairie, 40 miles south of Natchitoches (Sibley 5/8/1809), a description similar to other reports of Choctaw at "the rapide." Sibley also referred vaguely, in reports in 1805, 1809, and 1810, to "rambling hunting parties," "rambling tribes." and "Vagabond parties" of Choctaw west of the Mississippi River in Louisiana (Sibley 4/5/1805. 5/8/1809, 11/30/1810). None of these historical accounts placed any group of Choctaw in the vicinity of modern Terrebonne Parish.

³ Historian Patricia Galloway has argued that "mingo ouma (red chief)" was a Choctaw title of office, although the French mistook it for a personal name (Galloway 1985, 123). A British treaty with the Chickasaws and Choctaws in 1765 at Mobile was signed by eight individuals with a name ending in "Houma" (Rowland 1911, 253, 254). "Homma" appeared as a family name on the Choctaw portion of the Dawes Roll of 1903 (see *Final Rolls* 1903, notes).

Historical Acolapissa and Bayougoula Tribes

A Bayougoula Indian village on the Mississippi River was noted by historical sources and later scholars. A memoir by former French official Bienville mentioned the "Bayagoula" as the first tribe the French encountered in 1699 (Bienville 1726, 528). A 1702 map showed a village of "Bayogoula" on the west bank of the Mississippi north of "la Fourche," the river's fork with Bayou Lafourche (Delisle 1702; see also Delisle 1718). Historian Daniel Usner noted that the French visited a Bayougoula village in 1699. Usner placed the village on the west bank of the Mississippi River, just above the junction with Bayou Lafourche (Usner 1992, 21-22, 244; see also Kniffen 1935, 10). Noting a French account from 1700 that the Bayougoulas had recently accepted members of a neighboring tribe into their village. Usner concluded that the Bayougoulas at that time already were assimilating refugees from other villages (Usner 1992, 22). Bienville's memoir, however, said that the Taensa "massacred" the Bayougoula, an event which ethnologist John Swanton concluded occurred in 1706 (Bienville 1726, 528; Swanton 1911, 270, 278). Bienville placed the Bayougoula population, circa 1726, at about one-fourth of what it had been in 1699 (Bienville 1726, 528). A continuing Bayougoula village on the Mississippi River in 1718 has been noted by historian Usner (Usner 1992, 63), about 1726 by Bienville's memoir (Bienville 1726, 527-528), in 1731 by a census of the population along the river (Maduell 1972, 119), and in 1732 by a map of that date (D'Annville 1732).

Scholars have referred to the Acolapissa (or Colapissa) as living along Lake Pontchartrain and the Pearl River at the time of first contact with Europeans. They have not all agreed, however, that the Acolapissa were a distinct historical tribe. Ethnologist Albert Gatschet was of the opinion that the name Acolapissa or Colapissa was used for several tribes or villages rather than for a specific tribe (Gatschet 1884, 112). Frederick Hodge's *Handbook of American Indians* referred to the Acolapissa as an "indefinite group, of Choctaw lineage," and ethnologist David Bushnell contended that the Acolapissa could not be distinguished from the Choctaw (Hodge 1907, 9; Bushnell 1909, 1). Gatschet, Hodge, and Bushnell agreed that the Acolapissa were found along Lake Pontchartrain at the time of contact (Gatschet 1884, 112: Hodge 1907, 9: Bushnell 1909, 3). Swanton, however, said the Acolapissa were living on the Pearl River when first visited by Europeans (Swanton 1911, 281), and anthropologist Fred Kniffen said they had six villages in the vicinity of that river (Kniffen 1935, 10). A local historian, relying upon French documents, noted that French colonial officials found an Acolapissa village in 1699 in the vicinity of Lake Pontchartrain, 8 leagues [21 miles] inland from the Gulf, and in 1700 the relocated village 7 miles from the Pearl River and 40 miles upriver from the Gulf (Ellis 1981, 20-21). Relying upon early French accounts, Gatschet said the French found an Acolapissa village in 1699 or 1700 on the Mississippi River 25 leagues [65 miles] from its mouth (Gatschet 1884, 112; see also Hodge 1907, 9).

Bushnell and Swanton cited a French account that indicated that the Acolapissa moved from the Pearl River to a bayou on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain in 1705, although Swanton believed the correct date to be 1702 (Bushnell 1909, 2; Swanton 1911, 281; see also Ellis 1981, 20-21; Usner 1992, 151). A local historian says that Biloxi occupied the abandoned Acolapissa village on the Pearl River about 1722 (Ellis 1981, 29). A French account also stated that the Acolapissa moved from their Lake Pontchartrain location to the Mississippi River in 1718, 13 leagues [34 miles] above New Orleans, although a local historian contended they returned in 1725 (Hodge 1907, 9; Ellis 1981, 27). Other scholars noted continuing settlement on the Mississippi River. Historian Daniel Usner placed the Acolapissa on the Mississippi in 1718, saying that they were on the east bank about 30 miles above New Orleans (Usner 1992, 63). An 1841 history placed the Acolapissa on the east bank of the Mississippi opposite Lake Pontchartrain in 1720 (Drake 1841, *vii*). Swanton, citing a French source, placed them on the Mississippi in 1722 (Swanton 1911, 283, see also 41). An Acolapissa village on the Mississippi was noted on a colonial census of 1726 (Maduell 1972, 52), and a 1732 map indicated two "Colapissa" locations on the east bank of the Mississippi (D'Annville 1732).

There is evidence that the Bayougoula and Acolapissa tribes historically amalgamated with the Houma. In 1739, a French military officer wrote, as translated, that "the Houmas, Bayagoulas, and Colapissa are but one and the same nation in different settlements" (Swanton 1911, 278). Relying upon this account, Swanton concluded that the Bayougoula and Acolapissa had been "fused" with the Houma by 1739 (Swanton 1911, 44, 279, see also 41). An 1892 history of Louisiana also concluded that these three groups "were a united people in 1739" (Anonymous 1892, 23). In 1758, French governor Kerlérec referred to the Bayougoulas and Acolapissa in the past tense, and implied that they were two of several historical tribes that no longer remained in existence (Kerlérec 12/12/1758). Swanton concluded that the history of the Bayougoula was "that of the Houma" after 1739, and that the Acolapissa had "united with the Houma" before 1758 (Swanton 1911, 279, 284; see also Ellis 1981, 27).

Although the Acolapissa were mentioned on a 1764 list of tribes, that list identified the tribes that had received presents from the French colonial government in the past (Moore 1976, 85). The Bayougoula, however, were mentioned as one of the tribes visiting the new Spanish colonial governor in 1769 (Usner 1992, 131, citing Kinnaird 1949, 2:101-2, 154). The evidence available does not include references to the Acolapissa after the 1760's. The last reference to the Bayougoula is from 1774, when the appointed "chief" of the "Bayou Goula and Houma" Indians sold land on the east bank of the Mississippi River to non-Indian purchasers with Spanish approval (Calazare 10/5/1774; U.S. Senate 3/23/1860, 1; GLO 10/10/1882; U.S. Supreme Court 4/21/1884, 322). Although ethnologist David Bushnell in 1909 speculated that the "Choctaw" on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain might actually be Acolapissa (Bushnell 1909, 3), there appears to be a scholarly consensus that the Bayougoula and Acolapissa no longer existed as distinct Indian tribes at the time the United States acquired the Louisiana territory in 1803.

Historical Houma Tribe

When the Houma Indians were first visited by French colonial officials, in 1699, they were living in the vicinity of the junction of the Mississippi and Red Rivers. Early French accounts described a Houma village as being located east of the Mississippi River, north of the junction with Red River, and about 2½ leagues [6 miles] from the river on a hill or high bluff (Gatschet 1884, 113; Hodge 1907, 577; Swanton 1911, 285-286; Kinffen 1935, 10; Curry 1979a, 11; see also Montigny 1699 in Calder 1935, 207; La Harpe 1971, 19). A 1702 map noted a "village des Ouma" in this location (Delisle 1702). Scholars have described this location as near the modern border between Louisiana and Mississippi. French officials again visited this village in 1700 (Swanton 1911, 287-288; Giraud 1974, 38; see also Du Ru 1934, 26, 32; La Harpe 1971, 33). They found, according to ethnologist John Swanton, "that half of the tribe had been destroyed" by disease (Swanton 1911, 287-288). In November 1700, Father Gravier visited a Houma village that he described as located on the south, or west, side of the Mississippi, and on the crest of a steep mountain at least 1½ leagues [4 miles] from the river (Swanton 1911, 288; see also Curry 1979a, 11). This implied the existence of two Houma villages at that time. Frederick Hodge's *Handbook of* American Indians classified the "Huma" as "[a] Choctaw tribe," and they have been considered part of the same Muskogean language group as the Choctaw (Hodge 1907, 577; Harrington 1908, 657; Swanton 1911, table of contents and map; Kniffen 1935, 9; Underhill 10/25/1938, 1; Davis 1975, 5).

Some scholars have agreed with Swanton that the Houma moved from this location after 1706. One explanation for this relocation is that the Houma were attacked by the Tunica, having more than half of their number killed, and were forced to move (Hodge 1907, 577; Swanton 1911, 289). An alternative explanation is that the Houma merely moved farther downriver, after which the Tunica occupied their previous location (Swanton 1911, 289). Hodge's *Handbook* said that after 1706 the surviving "Huma" settled near the site that would become New Orleans (Hodge 1907, 577). Swanton said that the surviving Houma settled on Bayou St. John, which ran to Lake Pontchartrain (Swanton 1911, 289-290). This location may be indicated on a 1718 map which showed "Oumas" south of Lake Ponchartrain (Delisle

1718; see also Moll 1720). Swanton concluded that the Houma remained at Bayou St. John only for a few years before moving again (Swanton 1911, 290). A French official in 1803, however, while referring to the Houma as having "formerly lived" at the site of the Canterelle plantation in St. James Parish, said that ten or twelve families had remained until "a few years ago" and that he saw two of the four families still on the plantation (Laussat 1978, 68).

Swanton concluded that the Houma moved to a new location on the Mississippi River below the junction with Bayou Lafourche (Swanton 1911, 290). This location is in modern Ascension Parish. It has been described as near the modern town of Burnside (e.g., *Houma Courier* 4/12/1981). Swanton noted that the Houma were established in this location by 1718, because of a French account of a visit there in that year. Citing French sources, Swanton concluded that there were two Houma villages, the smaller village on the Mississippi 2 leagues [5 miles] below the junction with Bayou Lafourche, and the larger village ½ league [1 mile] inland from that point (Swanton 1911, 290). A 1722 travel account also has been cited as revealing that the Houma, or "Oumas," had two villages on the east bank of the Mississippi near Bayou Lafourche, ½ league [1 mile] apart, but with eight French settlements between them (Drake 1841, *x*; Curry 1979a, 13, and 1979b, 7). The memoir of former French official Bienville put the village of the "Humas," about 1726, on the east side of the river about 25 leagues [65 miles] north of New Orleans and 26 leagues [68 miles] south of the Red River (Bienville 1726, 528). A French census in 1726 noted a "Villages les Oumas" on the Mississippi (Maduell 1972, 52). Some historians, therefore, have concluded that the Houma were settled on the Mississippi, several miles below Bayou Lafourche, in the 1720's (e.g., Usner 1992, 62).

A French map of 1732 appears to show three Houma locations on the east bank of the Mississippi, two villages downstream from Bayou Lafourche and one "Petits Houmas" village just north of Bayou Lafourche (D'Annville 1732). The 1732 map also showed Houma, Bayougoula, and Acolapissa villages in the vicinity of each other. A 1739 account by a French military officer suggested that these three locations, rather than villages of distinct groups, were just different settlements of one nation (Swanton 1911, 278, and 41, 44; Anonymous 1892, 23). The Houma, however, continued to be identified with a location on the Mississippi. Governor Kerlérec's 1758 report placed the Houma 22 leagues [57 miles] above New Orleans and stated that their population had been "greatly reduced" to about 60 men (Kerlérec 12/12/1758, 212). The Houma were included in a 1764 list of tribes that had been dealt with by the French colonial government, although their location was not stated (Moore 1976, 85). A 1765 map noted a Houma location on the east bank of the Mississippi near Bayou Lafourche (Ross 1765). Thus, there is evidence that the Houma inhabited a village on the Mississippi at the end of the French colonial period in 1763 (see also Usner 1992, 130).

Some scholars have noted evidence of a continued Houma presence in Ascension Parish and on upper Bayou Lafourche during the Spanish colonial period from 1766 to 1803 (e.g., Brasseaux 1987, 182-184; Foret 1996, 17). A Spanish census listed two villages of "Humas" on the Mississippi in 1766, one on the east bank and one on the west bank (Voorhies n.d., 164). This evidence revealed that some Houma had moved across the river and established a new location. The larger village, on the "left" [east] bank, was listed on the 1766 census with a population of 58, while the smaller village, on the "right" [west] bank and 2 leagues [5 miles] closer to New Orleans, had a population of 14 (Voorhies n.d., 164; see also Curry 1979a, 13). Historian Daniel Usner cited a 1773 list of Indian tribes which put the main village of the

⁴ The usual convention is that the left and right banks are determined while descending a river. Some colonial accounts, however, specified the left and right banks while ascending the river from New Orleans. The conventional understanding based on directions while descending the river makes the left bank of the Mississippi the east bank and would mean that the larger Houma village remained on the east bank of the river. This convention appears to have been followed in 1766, for Plaquemine River and False River, west of the Mississippi, were on the "right" bank, while the "left" bank appeared to be described as the "same bank" as New Orleans, east of the river.

Houmas, consisting of about 40 men, on the east bank of the Mississippi, with another Houma village on the opposite bank (Usner 1992, 168). A historian, citing a British source, described the Houmas as being located on the Mississippi in 1771 (Rea 1970, 13; see also Thomas 12/12/1771), while another historian, citing a Spanish letter, referred to "the Houmas of the upper Lafourche Valley" in 1772 (Brasseaux 1987, 182). In 1773, Spanish commandant Louis Judice reported that he expected the Houmas to settle on Bayou Lafourche, three-quarters of a league [2 miles] from the Mississippi (Judice 3/2/1773 *in* PPC 1772-1797).

In 1774, the appointed "chief" of the "Bayou Goula and Houma" Indians sold land on the east bank of the Mississippi River to non-Indians. Land claims by non-Indians based on this purchase, which became known as the "Houmas Grant," were the subject of extensive litigation during the 19th century. Those claims were not made on behalf of a tribe or Indian descendants. The U.S. Supreme Court stated that the two tribes making the sale in 1774 had settled on that land by permission of the Spanish governor, and the sale agreement indicated it had Spanish approval. The tract was described as being 22 leagues or 75 miles north of New Orleans (Calazare 10/5/1774; U.S. Senate 3/23/1860, 1; GLO 10/10/1882; U.S. Supreme Court 4/21/1884, 322; Swanton 1911, 290).⁵ According to a GLO map of 1830 and a map in a U.S. Treasury report of 1845, the tract was located on a bend in the Mississippi below the junction with Bayou Lafourche and extended (from T10S, R3E) to the east and north of the river (GLO 1830; Treasury 1/8/1845, at 132/133). This tract was in Ascension Parish (GLO 10/10/1882, 11). These descriptions match the historical accounts of the location of the main Houma village prior to 1774. Janel Curry, a researcher for the UHN petitioner, asserted that the Houma already had vacated the land at the time of this sale (Curry 1979a, 15). The sale agreement itself, however, referred to "huts" at or adjacent to the site as the place in which "the said two nations of Indians now live" (Calazare 10/5/1774). After this 1774 sale, observers continued to describe Houma Indians at this location.

Spanish commandant Louis Judice reported in 1775 that after the Houma tribe "sold its village site" it "divided to the point that it currently consists of three villages." He identified a group that remained on the land that had been sold; a group that had moved $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues [6 miles] upriver; and a group that had "withdrawn to the Lafourche" (Judice 10/1/1775). He said the group that moved to the Lafourche contained eight families. A 1784 travel account by Thomas Hutchins referred to a village of "Humas," which he described as "reduced" to about 25 men, about 60 miles from New Orleans, a location consistent with the village site prior to the 1774 sale. He referred to another village, of about 27 men, "near" the fork (the "Fourche") of the Mississippi and Bayou Lafourche. He also said the "chief" of the "Humas tribe" inhabited the banks of a creek known as the "Chetimachas fork," which appears to refer to Bayou Lafourche (Hutchins 1784, 39-40; see also Swanton 1911, 290-291; Curry 1979a, 15). Thus, both Judice and Hutchins identified three Houma settlements in the vicinity of the junction of the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche between 1775 and 1784. Ethnologist Albert Gatschet cited a French source to conclude that the Houma lived on Bayou Lafourche "after the Revolution" (Gatschet 1884, 114). The Spanish commandant reported conflict between Houma Indians and Acadian settlers between 1778 and 1788 (Brasseaux 1987, 183, and 2003, 37), indicating a continued Houma presence on the upper Lafourche.

In 1803, Daniel Clark reported to Secretary of State James Madison that the "remains" of the "Houmas," not exceeding 60 persons, were located on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River about 25 leagues [65 miles] above New Orleans. He said there were no other Indian settlements on the east side of the river (Clark 9/29/1803, 62). This information was repeated by President Jefferson in a message to Congress (Jefferson 11/14/1803), and cited by Swanton (Swanton 1911, 291; see also Anonymous 1892,

⁵ Although a standard conversion is that 1 league equals 2.6 miles, in this instance this historical document used a conversion of 3.4 miles per league. By these alternate measures, 22 leagues were 57 or 75 miles.

21). In 1805, Indian Agent John Sibley reported to the Secretary of War that "a few of the Humas [are] still living on the east side of the Mississippi ... below Manchac, but scarcely exist as a nation" (Sibley 4/5/1805). This report also was cited by Swanton (Swanton 1911, 291; see also Curry 1979a, 9, who mistakenly dates this report as 1803). Territorial Governor Claiborne noted in an 1806 report that a tribe "called the Hamos ... reside on the waters of the Mississippi in the County of Acadia" (Claiborne 4/4/1806 *in* Rowland 1917, 3:347). That county spanned the Mississippi River at Donaldsonville and included the junction with Bayou Lafourche. Thus, several historical observers noted that some portion of the historical Houma tribe remained on the Mississippi River, near Bayou Lafourche, as late as the first decade of the 19th century.

Since the early 20th century, when ethnologist John Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology postulated a link between contemporary Indian residents of Terrebonne Parish and the historical Houma tribe, these people have been known as "Houma" Indians. This identification has been repeated, and thus has persisted, despite the limitations and qualifications Swanton noted to this identification. Swanton did his field work among the "Houma" Indians in the spring of 1907. At that time, the *Handbook of American Indians*, prepared by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1905 and first published in 1907, contained only a brief paragraph on the "Huma" Indians. Although the *Handbook* suggested that the "Huma" surviving after 1706 had "lived along Bayou La Fourche and in the neighborhood of the present Houma, La., which bears their name," it concluded that, "[t]hey are now supposed to be extinct" (Hodge 1907, 577).

Swanton found that his Indian informants in Terrebonne Parish in 1907 "call themselves 'Houmas'" or "Hômas" (Swanton 1911, 292). He concluded, however, that his informants were "the descendants of only a part of the ancient Houma" and, further, that the "remains of several other tribes ... have been incorporated with them," noting ancestry claimed from at least ten other historical tribes (Swanton 1911, 292). Perhaps it was because he found that "remnants of all sorts of tribes joined the Houma" (Swanton 1911, 292) and that Houma descendants had intermarried with non-Indians, of both European and African descent (Swanton 1911, 291), making the contemporary "Houma" population different from the historical population, that Swanton wrote that the Houma "at the present time are almost a new race" (Swanton 1911, 45). He concluded, without explanation, that "the Houma was always the dominating element" in "this tribal complexity" (Swanton 1911, 292). Swanton stated that he had visited "the remnant of the tribe" (Swanton 1911, 291). He was interested in the question of how these Houma had arrived on the bayous along the coast, but had no clear explanation for such a population movement. Swanton wrote in 1911 that he was "in doubt when the bulk of the [Houma] tribe moved from Ascension into Terre Bonne parish," and suggested that "possibly it was drift rather than a regular migration" (Swanton 1911, 291).

Many writers after Swanton repeated the possibility he suggested that a portion of the historical Houma tribe had drifted to the south, but without Swanton's doubts and qualifications about them having joined or intermarried with descendants of many other ethnic populations. Later writers also did not perceive that the "drift" mentioned by Swanton could have referred to individual migrations, rather than a collective or tribal migration. Anthropologist Frank Speck contended in 1943 that the historical Houma "drifted to the bayous of La Fourche and Terrebonne" parishes, a distance he described as 130 to 150 miles (Speck 1943, 137). Despite asserting that this migration was "well established historically," Speck cited no historical documentation to support his contention. Indeed, Speck claimed that "little ... has been recorded concerning the [Houma] tribe" by historians and ethnologists (Speck 1943, 136). A variety of writers in the 20th century, accepting that the contemporary Indian residents of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes were "Houma," assumed that they had gradually "drifted" towards the seacoast of Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes after the land sale of 1774 (Albrecht 1945, 57; L.C. Bourgeois 1957, 3; see also WPA 1941, xxvii; L.T. Bourgeois n.d., 3; Gregory 1985, 106).

Carl Brasseaux, a historian of Acadian settlement rather than Indian migration in Louisiana, concluded that "a smallpox epidemic forced the [Houma] tribe to migrate to the lower Lafourche Valley" (Brasseaux 1987, 184). He also referred to "the departure of the Houma from the upper Lafourche Valley in 1788." citing a report of the Spanish commandant in 1788 (Brasseaux 2003, 37). The report he cited, however, mentioned a move by Indians back to their former village ("leurs encien village"), and described them locating on the land of an individual landowner, not moving beyond Acadian settlement to lower Lafourche (Judice 5/4/1788). Noting that after 1789 official correspondence rarely dealt with Indian problems, Brasseaux argued that there was an immediate lessening of Acadian-Indian conflict. He assumed that this situation followed "closely the Houma migration from the primary areas of Acadian settlement" in the Lafourche Valley (Brasseaux 1987, 185). Alternatively, this situation might have been a result of the effect of a smallpox epidemic on the Indian population. Brasseaux relied upon contemporary Spanish accounts for the timing and rationale for a move by the Indians, but not for their destination, which he assumed from Swanton's 1911 publication. A migration down the Lafourche valley, or to the bayous of modern Terrebonne Parish, was not the only possible direction, or distance, of a move away from the primary areas of Acadian settlement, and the cited report implied a different pattern of Indian migration.

Researchers in the 20th century have noted that modern "Houma" informants claim that their ancestors once occupied the site of the modern town of Houma and received an extensive Spanish land grant for that location. In 1938, BIA researcher Ruth Underhill noted that informants claimed that a Spanish land grant extended for a hundred miles from Barataria [Lake Salvador] below New Orleans on the east to the Athchafalaya River on the west, and consisted of all the land in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes (Underhill 10/22/1938, and 10/25/1938, 8). Since she could find no evidence of such a grant, Underhill stated, "I fear the grant is a myth" (Underhill 10/22/1938). Janel Curry, a researcher for the UHN petitioner, contended, citing four oral history interviews, that a settlement at or near the current town of Houma was made with Spanish approval and constituted a Spanish land grant of all the land between the Atchafalaya and Barataria (Curry 1979a, 15). Only one of the four cited interviews, however, mentioned a land grant, and that was a claim that the father of Rosalie Courteau had a Spanish grant (Ch. Billiot 2/21/1978; see also 9/5/1927). Curry admitted there is no documentary evidence of a tribal land grant. She asserted that the historical Houma tribe filed a claim for this land with the United States Government, but she identified no claim that remotely matches such an expansive grant of land and no claim based on the receipt of a Spanish land grant.

Citing the "oral tradition" of the "Houma," researchers for the UHN petitioner contended that, at some indefinite time after 1766, "at least one of the Houma villages moved" (Campisi 1990, 3) or that "the village" moved (Curry 1979a, 15)⁸ south from a location at the fork of the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche to the present site of the town named Houma. Curry cited four oral histories to support this contention. The notes or excerpts from these oral histories in the available record, however, do not support this claimed tribal migration. All four of these oral histories referred in some way to Indians historically having lived in the vicinity of the site of the town of Houma (F. Gallet 1/-/1978; Ch. Billiot 2/21/1978; J. Courteaux 7/20/1978; Cy. Billiot 7/26/1978). Two of these oral histories appeared to refer to "Houma" Indians as having lived at this location, but one oral history explicitly denied that these

⁶ His account, however, appeared to date such a departure after an event in early 1789 (Brasseaux 2003, 37; compare the dates in n.37 and n.39).

⁷ Another possible source for his conclusion, a letter from Theriot to Miró, January 2, 1789, is not in the record.

⁸ It is unclear whether it is Curry's contention that only the "petite" Houma village moved. She has cited evidence of a Houma settlement on near the Mississippi in 1784, apparently after her dating of an alleged migration.

Indians were "Houma," saying that the Indians were named for the town after they arrived there (F. Gallet 1/-/1978). One interviewee referred to a move "down" to Houma, but the context left unclear whether this was a reference to a move by the Courteau family or a tribal group (J. Courteaux 7/20/1978). Another interviewee described the individual migration of Rosalie Courteau from the State of Mississippi to Louisiana, referring to a move across the lake [Pontchartrain] to Metairie rather than a move south from the fork of the Mississippi River and Bayou Lafourche (F. Gallet 1/-/1978). None of these oral histories mentioned a "village" or any migration by a village.

Some historical accounts referred to migrations of portions of a historical Houma tribe, but none of those descriptions referred to any move to Bayou Terrebonne or locations in modern Terrebonne Parish. The latest accounts by colonial officials placed Houma settlements on the Mississippi River and on upper Bayou Lafourche, and the earliest reports to the American government in 1803 indicated that some Houma remained on the Mississippi. They were there when claimed Indian founding ancestors of the petitioner were at Bayou Terrebonne. Available examples of Spanish reports which may have referred to further migrations did not describe moves to the vicinity of actual or claimed historical settlements of the petitioner's claimed Indian ancestors.

The "Homas" Claim (ca. 1813-1816)

A claim of the "Homas" tribe of Indians to 12 sections of land was submitted to the U.S. General Land Office (GLO) sometime between 1813 and 1816. The register and receiver of the land district for the Eastern District of Louisiana in New Orleans recommended against confirmation of such a claim in a report prepared in November 1816. These officials submitted this report to the Commissioner of the General Land Office who, in turn, forwarded it to Congress in January 1817 (GLO 1/16/1817, claim #625 at p.265). This report was prepared and submitted to Congress in accordance with the Act of February 27, 1813 (2 Stat. 807), which extended the time period for the submission of land claims in the State of Louisiana, a process which originally had been authorized for the Territory of Orleans by the Act of March 2, 1805 (2 Stat. 324).

The Federal land office officials categorized the "Homas" claim as one "not embraced by existing laws" (GLO 1/16/1817, 264). They explained that, "[w]e know of no law of the United States by which a tribe of Indians have a right to claim lands as a donation" (GLO 1/16/1817, 265). By describing the claim as one for a "donation" of land, they distinguished this claim from one based on a "grant" of land from a previous government. This distinction appears to be based on the Act of 1805, which referred to a "grant" from a colonial government in section 1 and a "donation" by the United States Government in section 2 (United States 3/2/1805). Because the Act referred to a donation of land to a "person" who had made an actual settlement with Spanish permission, it is not clear whether this language precluded an Indian tribe from receiving a donation of land. Because the Act provided that a "donation shall not be made to any person who claims any other tract of land ... by virtue of any French or Spanish grant" (United States 3/2/1805, 326), Federal officials revealed, by characterizing the "Homas" as having claimed a "donation" of land, that the "Homas" had not claimed land based on their receipt of a Spanish land grant.

The "Homas" claim was described only as "a tract of land lying on bayou Boeuf, or Black bayou" (GLO 1/16/1817, 265). The GLO report indicated that claims in this class of those "unsupported by evidence" were claims that "in many instances, exhibit no description of the land claimed" (GLO 1/16/1817, 268). A GLO ledger of these private land claims contains no legal description of the "Homas" claim (GLO 1885). Historical maps reveal that there were several bayous known as bayou Boeuf or bayou Black. The map evidence which best matches the description in the GLO report, because of possible confusion over the bayou's name as either Boeuf or Black, appears to be a "Bayou Boeuf" located just south and east of the "Attackappas" [Grand Lake]. This Bayou Boeuf was shown on several early maps (GLO n.d., maps 1, 2; GLO 1827; Anonymous 1806, 1824, 1839). In the earliest GLO map, this "Bayou Beauf"

[sic] ran only between Berwick's Bay and "Lake Pollourd" (GLO n.d., map 1; see also Anonymous 1824). A second GLO map showed "Bayou Boeuf" in the same location (T.16S., R.12E. and 13E.), but also connected it with a bayou further to the east (T.16S., R.14E.) labeled "Bayou Black" (GLO n.d., map 2). A linkage of bayous Boeuf and Black also was shown on an 1827 GLO map (GLO 1827; see also Anonymous 1826), although it was unclear on some other maps. In 1941, anthropologist Frank Speck reported that a few "Houma" families were living on "Bayou Boeuf" east of Atchafalya Bay or River (Speck 1941a, 14), which was this possible location of the "Homas" claim.

Another "Bayou Boeuf" existed north of Opelousas (see Figure 1). An 1803 map by a Spanish surveyor reveals that this location contained four Indian villages (Trudeau 1803). An 1827 map by the GLO also showed a location of "Indians" (T.3S., R.3E.) on this bayou (GLO 1827). This is the only available evidence that Indians were located on a Bayou Boeuf or Bayou Black about the time of the "Homas" claim. This evidence of Indian settlement on Bayou Boeuf prior to acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States would have provided a basis for claiming a land donation because of existing settlement with Spanish permission. This location, however, would have been in the Opelousas rather than the New Orleans land district, and should not then have been included in a report by the New Orleans officials. Researcher Janel Curry, though, for reasons she did not explain, described the "Homas" claim as having been filed at the Opelousas land office (Curry 1979a, 16).

An 1817 map shows both a "Bayou Black" west of Bayou Terrebonne that passed near the location of the future town of Houma and a "Bayou Black" east of and parallel to Bayou Terrebonne (Ludlow 1817). It is not clear, however, that either of these bayous matches the description of a bayou known by two names, as "bayou Boeuf, or Black bayou." An early GLO map shows the eastern Bayou Black running between "Solet Lake" and "Tembelie Bay" (GLO n.d., map 2). On an 1827 GLO map, however, this bayou was named "B[ayou] Blue" (GLO 1827; see also Anonymous 1826, 1839), a name which appears to have persisted to the present. A modern map representing historical locations included a "B[ayou] Boeuf" northeast of Thibodaux, and thus east of Bayou Lafourche (West 1986, fig.3). The western Bayou Black may have given its name to the earlier Bayou Boeuf near the Atchafalaya River, but the available map evidence does not show that this Bayou Black was known as Bayou Boeuf in the vicinity of the town of Houma at the time of the "Homas" claim.

A possible "Homas" claim for land on the Bayou Black west of Bayou Terrebonne would be consistent with some oral history statements by contemporary "Houma" individuals that a previous Indian settlement existed in the vicinity of the town of Houma and the belief of some non-Indian amateur historians that an Indian settlement had once been located at the junction of Bayou Cane and Bayou Black at Ouiski [Whiskey] Point before or at the time of the founding of the town of Houma in 1834. Randolph Bazet, parish clerk of court and amateur historian, identified the Ouiski Point site as a location where Indians had "camped" (Bazet 1934, 15). Bazet apparently relied upon his discovery at this site of Indian artifacts and community opinion. One informant who specifically referred to Ouiski Point and 22 sections of land (T. Dion 6/27/1980, 1/23/1981) may have acquired this detail from historical research about the "Homas" claim rather than from oral tradition. Although many oral histories of individuals identifying themselves as Indian descendants reflected their belief in the previous existence of a Spanish land grant and a settlement of their ancestors in the vicinity of the modern town of Houma, they did not specify a Bayou Black or Bayou Boeuf location.

⁹ In a 1979 oral history interview, however, a woman referred to the residences of her grandfather as Bayou la Carpe and "Bayou Boeuf, near the Intercoastal" (J. Wilson 7/30/1979). On the southern edge of the town of Houma, Bayou la Carpe crosses and Bayou Black turns near the modern Intercoastal Waterway (see GLO 1974, "Houma Quadrangle"). Thus, Bayou Black may have been popularly known as Bayou Boeuf at some time in the 20th century.

Summary

A review of the available primary historical documentation and secondary historical literature finds no identification of a historical Indian tribe existing in present Terrebonne or Lafourche Parishes about the time of United States acquisition of this territory in 1803 (see Figure 5). The Ouacha and Chaouacha tribes, described as residing in this area at the time of first contact with non-Indians, also have been described as migrating east to the Mississippi River and then disappearing from the historical record. The Chitimacha tribe, sometimes described as having a presence on upper Bayou Lafourche during the 18th century, was described about 1803 as having settlements on Bayou Teche to the west and Bayou Plaguemine and the Mississippi River to the north of Terrebonne Parish. The Atakapa retained several settlements in their traditional territory west of the Chitimacha. Groups of Biloxi and Choctaw have been described as migrating into Louisiana from the east, with villages of each existing on Bayou Boeuf until at least 1802 and a group of Biloxi residing even later in the Avoyelles district, and being located, therefore, well to the north of Terrebonne Parish. Bayougoulas of the Mississippi River and Acolapissa from north of Lake Pontchartrain have been described as losing their tribal distinctiveness, perhaps by merging with Houma survivors who moved down the Mississippi to a location near the junction with Bayou Lafourche. The Houma were mentioned there by Spanish officials as late as 1788 and noted, as remnants of an earlier tribe, on the Mississippi by American officials in the early 1800's.

No satisfactory explanation of the migration of a tribal group or portion of an Indian tribe into Terrebonne Parish exists in the available record. Ethnologist John Swanton speculated that some Houma Indians, intermarried with people from other Indian tribes, must have migrated to the lower bayous of south central Louisiana, but he could offer no evidence or explanation of how or when this migration occurred. While the available evidence provides possible scenarios for possible migrations to Terrebonne Parish—the Houma sold their village site in 1774, a Spanish official in 1780 mentioned Biloxi fleeing south into the marshes, another official described Indians leaving the upper Lafourche about 1788, and the Biloxi sold their village site on Bayou Boeuf in 1802—they do not demonstrate that a tribal migration to Bayou Terrebonne actually occurred.

Appendix B: Individuals Claimed as "Indians" in the BCCM Genealogical Database

The BCCM petitioner's genealogical database tagged 33 historical individuals' names with the description "Indian," sometimes ascribing tribal affiliations to them. This total includes Houma Courteau (and two of his children, Rosalie and Marguerite Courteau), Marie Gregoire, and Jeanet, all of whom are described in the Summary under the Criteria under criterion 83.7(e). The petitioner's identifications and OFA's analyses of the 28 remaining claimed historical individuals are presented here, arranged chronologically by their approximate birth dates. The names are presented here, in **bold**, as they appear in the BCCM genealogical database.

In addition, this appendix includes three entries for individuals whom the petitioner describes as "Indian" although they were not specifically tagged as "Indian" in the genealogical database—Marianne Iris (b. ca. 1750), Marie Anne Pierre (b. ca. 1771) (wife of Houma Courteau), and Louis Sauvage (b. before 1782) (brother of Marie Anne Pierre), the last of whom does not appear at all in the BCCM genealogical database. Since these claimed Indian historical individuals may also be ancestral to the PACIT petitioner, the analysis is provided to both the BCCM and PACIT petitioners, even though it is a direct response to BCCM's submission.

All references pertain to lineage information and "Notes" field entries as found in the BCCM genealogical database unless otherwise cited. If approximate birth dates were not given in the database, OFA estimated birth dates (in brackets) as being 16 years before a known marriage date or a child's known birth date. If death dates were not given in the database, OFA estimated death, or "last known living," dates (in brackets). OFA also used brackets when evidence supported a date other than the one in the BCCM genealogical database. Many of the claimed Indian historical individuals are presented by the BCCM petitioner as interrelated. Charts A, B, and C, found at the end of this appendix, provide drop line charts illustrating the claimed interrelationships of three family groups represented here.

The evidence cited in the BCCM petitioner's genealogical database appears to verify Indian ancestry for five historical individuals: Marie Anne Therese [b. ca. 1709], Catherine (b. ca. 1740), "Marie"/Catalina [b. ca. 1745], Juana Carriere (b. ca. 1758), and Fanchon [b. ca. 1763]. The BCCM genealogical database indicates that one of these, Catherine, has four descendants in one subgroup of the BCCM petitioner, and the other four Indians do not have descendants in the BCCM or PACIT petitioners. Three other historical individuals, Marianne Iris [b. ca. 1750], Marie Louise St. Germaine (b. ca. 1779) and Auguste Jaco [b. before 1813], have claimed descendants in both BCCM and PACIT petitioners, but have indirect or ambiguous evidence of Indian ancestry.

The petitioner(s) should provide the evidence cited in this genealogical database that supports the claims that these were Indian individuals, and provide evidence that these claimed Indian ancestors, or their descendants, were associated with the petitioner's other claimed ancestors.

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¹ Some of those individuals in the database who are identified as "Indian" may not be intended as part of the BCCM petition, insofar as the database submitted by BCCM includes all of the client work of the group's genealogist.

Woman, "Indian" [b. ca. 1705 – d. before 1731]; [child born circa 1721 in Biloxi, MS]

The BCCM genealogical database for Marie St. Estef (Estel/Esteve/Estere) (born circa 1721), the only claimed child of "Indian woman" by Chevalier de St. Esteves, cites published abstracts of church records and other published sources not found in the current record. The BAR genealogist for the UHN petition obtained the published church records which show that Marie St. Estef's 1737 marriage in Pointe Coupee Parish (about 100 miles northwest of Montegut) and the subsequent baptism records for her children do not identify her parentage or Indian ancestry, but refer to her as "of Biloxi," and an orphan from the Urseline Convent (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1978, 1:142, 219). No document in the record shows an Indian mother for Marie St. Estef or Indian wife for Chevalier de St. Esteves as claimed by the petitioner. The database presents the claim that "Indian woman" has 124 descendants in all subgroups of BCCM, 122 of whom claim descent from her 4th great-granddaughter Elizabeth Liner who married Pierre Gregoire in 1882. The database does not include any PACIT members as descendants of "Indian woman."

"Chitimacha Indian" [b. ca. 1706 – d. ?]

The BCCM genealogical database clearly warns that evidence thus far does not document "Chitimacha Indian" as the paternal grandmother of **Marianne Iris** [b. ca. 1750]. This warning appears in the entry for "**Francoise 'Fanchon'/St. Therese,**" who is presented as the putative mother of Marianne Iris in the database: "There is no proof yet found to establish parentage of Marianne IRIS but only circumstantial evidence..." (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK, notes on "Francoise 'Fanchon' St. Therese"). The database presents the claim that "Chitimacha Indian" was the first wife of Jacques Herisse, who emigrated from France in 1719. The petitioner ascribes four Herisse/Iris children to this couple, but the evidence cited for each of them does not identify their parents. One of these claimed children, Jean Baptiste Iris, was enumerated in a circa 1770 census of settlers on "English Turn," on the Mississippi River below New Orleans, as then being age 36 (i.e., born circa 1734), although the database lists him as born "about 1724" (Voorhies n.d., 260). A 1770 census of habitations in a different location recorded his putative wife Fancon as the head of her household at age 60 (i.e., born circa 1710), although the database lists her as born "about 1720" (Robichaux 1973, 109). If both censuses were taken in 1770, and both ages are correct, Jean Baptiste Iris was 24 years younger than his putative wife Fanchon.

No document in the record shows this person as Indian or as Chitimacha, as claimed by the petitioner. The database presents the claim that this theoretical grandmother of Marianne Iris has more than 2,500 descendants in BCCM and 682 descendants in PACIT. All current PACIT members and all but 16 BL and GCD members who claim descent from Marianne Iris' grandmother also claim Indian descent from other known Indians.

Susanne, "Choctaw Indian" (b. ca. 1707 – d. ?); [daughter born on Pascagoula River, MS]

The BCCM genealogical database cites the will of Susanne's Canadian-born husband, Jean Baptiste Baudreau dit Graveline (d. ca. 1750), which referred to Susanne as the "daughter of a great chief." The database presents the theory that Susanne "is probably the Marie Susanne, a little Paniouacha slave (age 3) of the Apalache chief, who was baptized at Mobile in 1710," and cites other evidence stating that the

² The evidence used for "Fanchon" and her children is a 1770 census entry, including all given names, ages, and relationships (Robichaux 1973, 109). No surname is used for "free Negress" Fanchon, who heads the "habitation."

"slave belonging to the chief of the Appalaches, in 1710, was of the village or tribe Paniouacha Mob" (citation appears to be "Black Books I:13"). To this is added, "Perhaps the Concha (Coosa?), a CHOCTAW tribe, allies of the French." The will may provide identification of Susanne as Indian, but thus far her "Choctaw" affiliation remains undocumented. The petitioner has not submitted a copy of the cited will. The database presents the claim that Susanne has 36 descendants in the BL and GCD subgroups of BCCM, and 12 in PACIT, all of whom descend from her 3rd great-grandchild, Genevieve Durocher, who married Francois Andres Dubois in 1819 in Assumption Parish, adjoining modern Terrebonne Parish to the west.

Marie Anne Therese, "Chitimacha" [b. ca. 1709 – d. 1740 in Natchitoches, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database cites published records that identify Marie Anne Therese as an "Indian de la grande terra" in the 1743 Natchitoches marriage of her daughter, and as "a Chitimachas" in the church record of her 1740 burial in Natchitoches, located about 215 miles northwest of Montegut (Mills 1977, 28, 43). The petitioner did not submit copies of these church abstracts, photocopies of which were obtained by OFA. The database links this woman to a French husband Jacques Guedon dit Nantois. The most recent descendant of Marie Anne Therese in the database is a great-grandson baptized in 1788 in Natchitoches, Louisiana. The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of Marie Anne Therese, whom contemporary evidence confirms as an Indian.

Catherine, "Chitimachas Indian" (b. ca 1740 – d. 1780 Ascension Parish, LA)

The BCCM genealogical database cites the published church record abstract of the baptism of Catharine's granddaughter as evidence that Catherine was Indian and Chitimacha ("BRDA 2-289"). The petitioner did not submit a photocopy of the published abstract or a certified transcript of the baptism record. The published church record abstracts in BAR's files show Catherine married Nicolas Joseph Daublin, the son of French émigrés. Their descendants resided in Lafourche Parish before 1800, according to the petitioner. The church abstracts identify Catharine as an Indian, or "free Indian," and her daughter as "Catharina Daublin of Chetimachas" (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1980, 2:223a-224, 289, 570). The use of the term "of Chetimachas" may refer to her birthplace or to her tribal ancestry. The database presents the claim that the first marriage of a descendant of "Catherine" to a descendant of Houma Courteau or Marie Gregoire was in 1980 in the Bayou Lafourche subgroup of the BCCM petitioner. The database includes four current BCCM members and no PACIT members as descendants of Catherine, whom contemporary evidence confirms as an Indian.

"Marie"/Catalina, "Indian" [b. ca. 1745 – d. after 1763 birth of son in Attakapas Dist., LA]

See Chart A. The BCCM genealogical database cites published church record abstracts for the identification of "Marie"/Catalina as a "free sauvagesse." The published St. Martinville church record abstracts include the 1772 baptisms for "griffe libre Gregoire" (b. 1760-1761) and his probable brother "griffe libre Paul" (b. 1763-1764) (Hebert 1996; 365, 612). [St. Martinville is about 90 miles northwest of Montegut.] These baptisms do not identify their father, and describe their mother as a "sauvagesse libre" without naming her. The same church's 1797 baptism of Honorato, a child of "griffe libre Paul,"

³ The baptism record abstract (for daughter Rosalia) that describes "Catharina Daublin of Chetimachas" describes her husband as "Joseph of Picardy" (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1978?, 2:289). A certified transcript of the original 1803 baptism may reveal whether "Chetimachas" was intended as Catharina's place of birth or tribal ancestry.

identifies Paul's parents as "Andres Mas, negre libre & Catalina, sauvagesse" (Hebert 1996, 423). The abstract further notes that Honorato's baptism took place "on the farm of Jupiter, the captain of the Indians" (Hebert 1996, 423). The 1772 baptism of a Paul and the 1797 baptism of the son of a Paul occurred at the same church, and each record identified Paul as a "griffe libre" and his mother as a "sauvagesse." For these reasons, the Department views both records as likely pertaining to one "Paul."

The database attributes five children to Catalina and her "free black" husband Andre Masse (as his name appears in the database). However, the baptisms for the other three children identify their mothers as a woman or women named Marie, not Catalina, and as either "free black" or as a slave belonging to Mrs. DeVaugine (Hebert 1996, 14, 25, 529). No father was listed for the child of the enslaved Marie. The database does not show any descendants for these three children.

One of these five children, Gregoire, may have a link to the Billiots on Bayou Terrebonne (see entry for **Magdelaine Gregoire** (b. ca. 1806)), although there are no known descendants from that possible Billiot marriage. Further, both the petitioner and "Who's Who Houma" mention the possibility that Gregoire may have been the father of Marie (Gregoire) Verdin. If evidence can demonstrate such a connection, then Marie/Catalina would be considered an Indian ancestor of most members of BCCM and PACIT petitioners. The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of "Marie/Catalina, Indian," who contemporary evidence confirms as an Indian.

Marianne Iris [b. ca. 1750 – d. 1822]

The petitioner's database identifies parents and grandparents for Marianne Enerisse/Iris, but notes in her mother's entry, "There is no proof yet found to establish parentage of Marianne IRIS but only circumstantial evidence..." (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK, notes on "Francoise 'Fanchon' St. Therese"). Even though evidence found to date does not document the names of Marianne Iris' parents, evidence does raise the possibility that one parent of Marianne Iris may have been considered Indian.

The Department's "Who's Who Houma" referred to the December 29, 1792, baptism in New Orleans of a daughter born to Jean Baptiste/Pierre Billiot and Marianne Iris (BIA 8/28/1994, 4). The UHN petitioner submitted a certified photocopy of the original baptism record during the UHN comment period (Biau 12/29/1792). The BCCM petitioner supplied a photocopy, transcription, and translation of the microfilmed original record of the December 29, 1792, baptism, as well as a photocopy, transcription, and translation of the March 11, 1784, last will and testament (written but not probated on that date) of Marianne's "husband" Jean Billiot ("Juan Villaud") (Villaud 3/11/1784), both documents having been recorded in New Orleans.

Jean Billiot's 1784 will names "Mariana Grifa libre" (Marianne, free griffa) as his executrix and his "only and true heir." The 1792 baptism of this couple's child Rosalia describes the parents as "Juan Biau" and "Maria Inys, free, grifa," both of the parish. The petitioner's submission of the 1792 baptism

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⁴ One of Rosalia's godparents identified in the baptismal record was "Alexandro Verdue" "of this city" whom the petitioner believes to be Alexandre Verdin. The UHN proposed finding also shared that interpretation (UHN PF, HR 34). Alexandre Verdin stated in his 1829 will in Terrebonne Parish that he was a native of what in 1829 was called Jefferson Parish, one and a half leagues from New Orleans (equivalent to less than five miles if a league equaled three statute miles). Further, his 1770 baptism was recorded at St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, thus Alexandre Verdin had a connection with New Orleans. Without an every-name index to the abstracted church records, it was not possible to determine whether "Alexandro Verdue" served as a godfather or was named as the father for other New Orleans infants at baptism, and, if so, in what years, and under what other possible spellings of his name, which evidence could help support or disprove the interpretation that "Alexandro Verdue" was in fact "Alexandre Verdin."

transcription included a definition of "griffe" found in a Spanish-American dictionary: "child of a Negro and Indian (America)" (Bettag 8/7/1997). The UHN proposed finding provided a similar definition: "the offspring of Indians and blacks or mulattoes" (*UHN PF*, HR 22, citing Webre 1984, 120). However, the Webre article cited by the UHN proposed finding indicated that this was not the exclusive definition. The passage referenced in the UHN proposed finding that defined "griffe" (in French) or "zambos" (in Spanish) as the offspring of Indians and Blacks or mulattoes included a footnote that adds, "The word 'griffe,' in fact, was also used to describe the offspring of the union between a black and a mulatto" (Webre 1984, 120 fn 6).

In a 1978 article, Elizabeth Shown Mills, a genealogist with experience in translating Louisiana church records and documenting ancestry, stated that the term "grifa" (or "griff," "griffe," or "grifo") was "used within Louisiana to indicate individuals of mixed Indian and Negro ancestry" (Mills 1978, 14). However, her *Natchitoches 1729-1803* — *Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana*, published in 1977, provided a slightly different definition of the French term "griffe": "Some authorities define a 'griffe' as the offspring of a Negro and a mulatto, others as the offspring of a Negro and an Indian. Natchitoches records use the term in both meanings—apparently as a 'catch-all' phrase to indicate any individual who was not Black, yet was darker than the usual mulatto" (Mills 1977, 418). The Rev. Donald Hebert, in his 1996 "complete revision" of *Southwest Louisiana Records, Church and Civil Records (1750-1800)*, defined "griffe" as the "racial mixture between Negro and mulatto; also refers to the mixture or combination of Indians and Blacks" (Hebert 1996, 57).

In their abstracts of church records created contemporaneously with the 1792 New Orleans baptism of Rosalia Biau/Viaud, both Mills and Hebert provided two definitions of "griffe," the first of which did not include Indian ancestry. It is not clear whether the church records themselves provided those definitions, or whether the modern abstractors of the records presented their understanding of the term's historical usage. However, in the absence of an actual contemporary definition, the term "griffe" appears to have been ambiguous, as were the terms "mulatto" and "free person of color." All of these terms may have been used historically to describe persons with Indian ancestry, but Indian ancestry was not a requirement, according to information available at this time. For the researcher, the appearance of the descriptive term "griffe" certainly encourages further research for evidence of parentage and for possible contemporary identification of one of the parents as Indian. For the purposes of this amended proposed finding, the term "griffe" is not understood to denote Indian ancestry.

The term "griffe," or "grifa," did not appear in any of the sources cited for Marianne Iris in the UHN proposed finding. The "griffe" term appeared once in the Department's "Who's Who Houma" manuscript compilation, in a footnote describing an undocumented note, unrelated to Marianne Iris (BIA 8/28/1994, 186).⁵ The 1784 will and 1792 baptism photocopies involving Marianne Iris were not part of the record reviewed for the UHN proposed finding. A published abstract of the 1792 baptism, that did not include the "grifa" description, was cited in the proposed finding as evidence of Marianne Iris and Jean Billiot's probable residence at that time in New Orleans rather than on the Bayou Terrebonne tracts warranted to them separately in 1787 and 1788 (UHN PF, HR 34).

⁵ The footnote described a non-Departmental genealogist's file on a Verdun family, reviewed for the UHN proposed finding. The file contained an "undocumented note" in which an unknown author identified certain Verdun free people of color who were possibly residents of St. Mary Parish and not claimed as ancestors by the UHN, BCCM, or PACIT petitioners. This note, reiterated in the "Who's Who Houma" footnote, used the term "griffe" to when describing six individuals as "the children of Therese, a Griffe, never a slave, daughter of a Negro father and Indian mother."

For the UHN proposed finding, the evidence evaluated for Marianne Iris included her description as it appeared in three oral histories (two of which claimed she was Spanish and the other claimed she was "pure Indian"), field data (Spanish), Jean-Baptiste Billiot's 1809 probate records and 1810 Federal census ("free negress"), and the 1917 *Billiot v. Board of Education* case (native of Santo Domingo).

For the BCCM and PACIT amended proposed findings, the evidence evaluated for Marianne Iris consisted of additional evidence that included, among others, two documents that were created earlier than those previously evaluated, included identifications made either by her husband (in his will) or by Marianne Iris herself (at the baptism of her child) as opposed to identifications made by others, and used the term "grifa" which had not been used in describing Marianne Iris in the documents evaluated for the UHN proposed finding. Although use of the descriptive term "grifa" may have denoted possible Indian ancestry for Marianne Iris, neither of these records, nor any others in the record, identify Marianne's parents by name or describes a parent of hers as Indian.

Since evidence reviewed for the 1994 UHN proposed finding and for the BCCM and PACIT amended proposed findings did not reveal Indian ancestry for Marianne Iris (UHN PF, GR 54-58), none of her children by Jean Billiot are considered Indian, and the descendants of only those Billiot children or grandchildren who married known Indian descendants, such as Rosalie Courteau, Marguerite Courteau, or Verdins are considered Indian at this time.⁶ New evidence concerning the parentage or origins of Marianne Iris may alter this conclusion.

"Biloxi Indian" Courteau [b. mid-1700's – d. after 1810?]

The BCCM genealogical database, and a narrative in the BCCM submission (Westerman 1997, 17-19), present "Biloxi Indian Courteau" as a contemporary of Houma Courteau. The database credits "Biloxi Indian Courteau" as the individual represented in the 1810 Federal census of Lafourche Interior Parish as "Courto a savage," and speculates that he may have been the purchaser of the Bayou Lafourche land forfeited for taxes in 1808, although the 2005 BCCM submission includes a narrative ("Core Families of the Indian Community of Terrebonne Parish") that attributes the 1808 land, 1810 census, and two of "Biloxi Indian Courteau's" alleged children to Houma Courteau (Westerman n.d., 2-3). The database attributes six children to this "Biloxi Indian Courteau," and claims that he has eight descendants in the GCD subgroup of BCCM, all through his alleged son Pierre (see entry for **Pierre Courteau** (b. ca. 1792)). The database does not include any PACIT members as descendants of "Biloxi Indian Courteau."

Juana Carriere, "Indian" (b. ca. 1758 – d. 1808 St. James Parish, LA)

The BCCM genealogical database cites a published church record as the source for some evidence used for "Juana Carriere" ("BRDA 3-197 She is aka Jeanette"). The petitioner did not submit a photocopy of this record abstract. OFA obtained a photocopy of this and other church record abstracts, including one baptism and two marriages for offspring of Francisco Croiset [var.] by a woman described variously as "Juana, free Indian," "Juana Carriere, an Indian," and "Juana Carriere," respectively (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1980, 2:208). The church death record abstract states, "Carriere, Jeanne, age about 50 yrs wife of

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⁶ Only 22 of the 2,545 combined BCCM current members do not claim descent from Marianne Iris per the OFA-enhanced BCCM genealogical database, and many of those may be Marianne Iris's descendants but their ancestry information was not submitted. All current PACIT members claim descent from Marianne Iris, according to the genealogical claims submitted. All current PACIT members and all but 16 BL and GCD members who claim descent from Marianne Iris also claim Indian descent from other known Indians.

Francois Croizet, bur 31 July 1808" (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1982, 3:197).

The most recent descendant of Juana Carriere in the database is a granddaughter baptized in 1817 in St. James Parish, Louisiana, adjoining modern Terrebonne Parish to the north. The database does not link Juana Carriere's descendants by her French-descent husband Francois Croizet, Jr., to any members of BCCM or PACIT.⁸ Nevertheless, contemporary evidence confirms Juana Carriere as an Indian.

Fanchon, "Chitimacha Indian" [b. ca. 1763 – d. ?; grandchild baptized in Attakapas Dist. in 1797]

See Chart A. The BCCM genealogical database does not cite evidence in her entry, or in entries for her husband and child, that identifies Fanchon as a Chitimacha Indian. The one child ascribed to this couple, Francisca, married "Marie/Catalina's" son Paul. The published abstract of the 1797 baptism of Paul and Francisca's son "Honorato" identifies Francisca as "griffe libre," and identifies her parents as "Jupiter, grife & Fanchon, an Indian" (Hebert 1996, 423). This provides identification of Fanchon as an Indian, although it is not known whether Fanchon was alive or present when this description was made. The most recent descendant of Fanchon's in the database is this grandson Honorato who was baptized in 1797 in St. Martinville, Louisiana. The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of Fanchon, whom contemporary evidence confirms as an Indian.

Marie Anne Pierre [b. ca. 1771 – d. before 6/30/1854, Terrebonne Parish, LA]

The 1994 UHN proposed finding described the evidence for Marie Anne Pierre and stated that, "even when taken collectively, this circumstantial evidence is not sufficient to credit Marianne with Indian ancestry at this time" (*UHN PF*, GR, 46). Terrebonne Parish land records show that Houma Courteau's wife, Marie Anne, was the sister of Louis Sauvage, a landowner on Bayou Terrebonne who died without surviving issue (Courteau to Courteau 12/15/1841; Courteau *et al.* to Carlos 6/30/1854). The UHN proposed finding mentioned the oral history given by Felicite Billiot that described her grandmother Marie Anne, said to be from Mobile, as having an Indian name of "Nuyu'n" and receiving adult baptism (Swanton 1907, MS 4201), Marie Anne's marriage to Houma Courteau "of the Beloxy nation," and the fact that her brother Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage's name "could be translated as Louis, 'the Indian,'" as indicators of possible Indian ancestry (*UHN PF*, GR, 45-46). The Summary under the Criteria, the Historical Report, and the Genealogical Report of the UHN proposed finding described the contemporary context and non-contemporary oral history for Marie Anne and her brother Louis Sauvage as indications that they were possibly or even probably Indian, yet did not find that the reasonable likelihood standard had been met (*UHN PF*, 26; HR, 35-36; GR 44-46).

⁷ "Jeanne" could easily be an incorrect recording or an incorrect transcription of "Juana."

⁸ Evidence in the record does not document a relationship between Juana Carriere and Lise Carriere, the mother of two claimed "Indians" discussed in this appendix: **Rosalie-Florestine Ramagos** (b. ca. 1817) and **Marie Madeleine Joseph/Alexander** (b. ca. 1829). See Chart B for Lise Carriere's family.

⁹ However, Appendix B to the UHN proposed finding's Genealogical Report lists Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage's "ethnic/racial origin" as "Indian," citing an *American State Papers* volume ("1834a") of land claim records (*UHN PF*, GR, app. B). Although references to Louis Sauvage were not located in the cited volume, a later *American State Papers* volume ("1834b") contains references to "Louis Sauvage" in two land claims. The Louis Sauvage who held claim #339 on Bayou Terrebonne, or "bayou Darbonne," is not identified as Indian, and the Louis Sauvage mentioned in Joseph Ennet's rejected claim #154 in Pointe Coupee Parish is identified as Indian. Evidence does not link the two references as pertaining to one man (see entry for "Louis Sauvage [b. before 1781]").

The BCCM genealogical database also cites the Felicite Billiot oral history that described the red crawfish as the "badge" of Marie Anne's people, and cites a published reference to "an Acolapissa subgroup" that lived in St. Tammany Parish (about 60 miles northeast of Montegut, above Lake Ponchartrain) described as "the Crayfish people" (Bushnell 1909, 16). The database entry for Marie Anne and a narrative submission (Westerman n.d., 2, 4) also raise the possibility that she was an Ouacha Indian, if her husband Houma Courteau was the "Courtien Sauvage" who forfeited land on Bayou Lafourche in 1808, because modern excavation shows this area as the historical site of Ouacha Indian villages, and, the narrative claims, "[i]n 1780 a band of Biloxi Indians moved to Bayou Lafourche near the Ouacha Indians." Thus, the additional information reviewed for the amended proposed findings provides background information which may or may not pertain to Marie Anne but no contemporary identification of her as Indian.

The BCCM genealogical database shows that Marie Anne Pierre has 2,441 descendants who are current members of BCCM and 681 descendants who are current members of PACIT. All descendants of Marie Anne Pierre have Indian ancestry from her husband Houma Courteau.

Francoise, "Chitimacha" [b. ca. 1774 – d. before November 1822, Terrebonne Parish, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database cites an oral history that, the petitioner states, "appears to be indirect evidence that Francoise was Indian." The database shows that Francoise's husband was Joseph Jeanne/Ghianne/John/Dion, whose 1822 death record gave his birthplace as Campeche.¹⁰ The petition stated, "His wife is reported to be Francoise, an Indian." The deductive process used to conclude that Francoise must have been Indian appears in the genealogical database:

Felicite Billiot in Swanton's notes said that an Indian Billiot married a Roubion. The only such marriage was the grandson of FRANCOISE and Joseph Jeanne, Joseph Rene Billiot who married Valentine Roubion. This appears to be indirect evidence that Francoise was Indian; his other grandparents were Jean Bte. Louis Billiot and Marianne Iris, a griffe. [Emphasis in original.] (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK, notes on "Francois, Chitimacha")

However, the genealogical database shows that the petitioner considers one of those "other grandparents" to be Indian as well: "Marianne IRIS (per OH) was a Chitimacha Indian" (the source abbreviation "OH" is believed to denote "oral history") (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK, notes on "Marianne Iris"). Two records submitted by the BCCM petitioner in 2005 contain descriptions of Marianne Iris as a "griffe" or "grifa," defined by the petitioner as the child of one Indian parent and one Black parent. Therefore, the deduction that the other grandmother, Francoise, was Indian does not necessarily follow.

No contemporary evidence supporting this person's Indian ancestry was found in the current record. The database presents the claim that Francoise, by Joseph Jeanne/Dion/John, has 1,339 descendants in BCCM, and 440 descendants in PACIT. All 440 current PACIT members and all but 19 BL and GCD members who claim descent from Francoise also claim Indian descent from other known Indians.

¹⁰ Correspondence sent to the Department claims that Campeche, Mexico, in 1822 was located in what is now known as Galveston Island, Texas, rather than the city or state on the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico (Revelle 1994).

¹¹ These records are described and analyzed more fully in the Summary under the Criteria, under Criterion 83.7(e).

Marie Louise St. Germain, "Indian" (b. ca. 1779 Natchez [now Mississippi] – d. after 1808)

Marie Louise St. Germain appears in the BCCM petitioner's genealogical database as the mother of nine children by Joseph LaForce/LaForce. The database notes Jean Billiot's identification of a "Joseph LaForce" as both his pre-1803 neighboring landowner on Bayou Terrebonne, and as a grantor of land to Jean Billiot in the latter's private land claims #369 and #484 (ASP 1834: 432-433). The BCCM petitioner cites the 1792 baptism record for Maria's first child, Domingo, at St. Gabriel Church in Iberville Parish (about 60 miles northwest of Montegut) as the source of the notation that Maria was "Nache on the Coast of the Mississippi." Two others sons of "Josef [Laforce] of Quebec & Maria St. Germain of Natchez" were baptized on May 3, 1800, in the church parish of "Assumption of Plattenville" (about 50 miles northwest of Montegut): "Josef" and "Santiago" (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1980, 409). Santiago's baptism record identifies his maternal grandmother as "Maria (Mestiza), an Indian," according to the published abstract. The term "mestiza" (or "mestizo") denoted a "Louisianan with one parent Indian and one parent Caucasian," and "[s]eldom was this term applied to anyone who bore less than one-half Indian blood" (Mills 1978, 14). Thus, Maria St. Germain appears to have described her mother as being the offspring of an Indian parent.

The BCCM petitioner asserts the belief that the "Josef Laforce," the son of Joseph Laforce/Laforce and Marie St. Germain, baptized in 1800 at Assumption of Plattenville church parish (Diocese of Baton Rouge 1980, 490), is identical to the "Joseph Foret" who was the father of Francois Foret, born circa 1827 (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK Francois Foret). The petitioner has not concluded or documented that the two references are to the same Joseph, which is necessary to establish the link to Indian ancestry. The BCCM petitioner's genealogical database shows the earliest marriage of a descendant of the Foret line to a descendant of Houma Courteau or Marie Gregoire occurred between the aforesaid Francois Foret and Marie Eulalie/Euzalie Dion circa 1864. 12

The evidence Marie St. Germain gave, at the time of her son's 1800 baptism, about her grandparent being an Indian is not known to have been given during that grandparent's lifetime or consist of first-hand knowledge. However, the bigger problem is a genealogical one, in that the evidence linking Marie St. Germain's son "Josef Laforce" to his alleged grandchildren born in Terrebonne Parish around the time of the Civil War is insufficient. Either petitioner may identify and provide the document(s) that may support the descent as presented in the genealogical database. The database presents the claim that Marie St. Germain has 584 descendants in BCCM, and 28 descendants in PACIT.

Louis Sauvage / le Sauvage [b. before 1782 – d. after 12/20/1803, Lafourche Parish, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database does not include "Louis Sauvage," so the petitioner's claims as to his possible Indian ancestry are found in the petitioner's textual submissions rather than as citations in the genealogical database. The UHN proposed finding described the evidence reviewed at that time which was found to be insufficient to identify "Louis Sauvage" as Indian (*UHN PF*, HR 35-36, GR 44-46). The circumstantial evidence did not rise to the level of reasonable likelihood of Indian ancestry, and the UHN proposed finding stated that "additional work needs to be undertaken before Indian ancestry can be regarded as established for this Louis Sauvage or, by extension, for his sister [Marie Anne Pierre]" (*UHN PF*, HR, 36). ¹³

¹² Their first child was born in 1865, but their official marriage was in September 1871 (Hebert 1981, 159).

¹³ Appendix B to the UHN proposed finding's Genealogical Report lists Louis Sauvage/le Sauvage's "ethnic/racial origin" as "Indian," citing an *American State Papers* volume ("1834a") of land claim records (*UHN PF*, GR, app. B). That appendix entry conflicts with textual statements in the UHN proposed finding (that the evidence was

The private land claim on Bayou Terrebonne identifies the claimant as "Louis Sauvage" (ASP 1834, 2:432, No. 339), although the deed in which his sister Marie Anne conveys his land to her daughter Rosalie (Courteau) Billiot identifies him as "Louis le Sauvage," a styling that may denote his possible Indian ancestry (Courteau to Courteau 12/15/1841). Records involving "Louis Sauvage" submitted for evaluation for this amended proposed finding that were not in the record for the UHN proposed finding included 1807 survey records for his tract on Bayou Terrebonne and the 1812 "Certificate 339" entitling him to a patent, but those records do not refer to Louis Sauvage as "le Sauvage" or as Indian.

Both the UHN proposed finding's Historical Report and the Genealogical Report made reference to an Indian Louis Sauvage in Pointe Coupee Parish (about 100 miles northwest of Montegut), although the Department did not find any evidence of his connection to the Bayou Terrebonne claimant of the same name. The Indian Louis Sauvage was mentioned in Joseph Ennet's rejected claim for land in Pointe Coupee Parish in 1806 (ASP 1834, 2:388, No. 154). OFA obtained a photocopy of the Pointe Coupee Parish deed recording, written in French, which shows that the land was sold to Joseph Ennet on September 22, 1806, by Louis Sauvage, "grandson of Chief Pirrecqueis [?], on behalf of himself and his sisters, named Henriette, Therese, Cecile, and [Vi_ire/ice or Pirrire/Pirrice]" (Sauvage to Ennet 9/22/1806). The fourth sister's name is not clear, but does not appear to refer to Marie Anne, the only known sibling of the Bayou Terrebonne land claimant Louis Sauvage. By 1806, Marie Anne had been with Houma Courteau for more than a decade, so she was alive and was an adult at the time of the sale of Pointe Coupee Parish land, yet was not named as a sister by the grantor Louis Sauvage. Louis Sauvage of Bayou Terrebonne left no descendants.

Francoise Tacalobe, "Indian" (b. ca. 1787-1796 – d. ?)

The BCCM genealogical database concludes that "Francoise Tacalobe" was a daughter of Houma Courteau (and, therefore, an Indian), and the wife of "Pierre Courteau," conclusions not shared by the UHN proposed finding or "Who's Who Houma." No evidence is cited that identifies Francoise Tacalobe as an Indian. The database shows all eight current members of the GCD subgroup who claim to be descendants of "Francoise Courteau" and her alleged husband "Pierre Courteau" descend from that

insufficient to establish Indian ancestry for Louis Sauvage) and apparently cited a reference belonging to a different Louis Sauvage. Although references to Louis Sauvage were not located in the cited volume, a later *American State Papers* volume ("1834b" or, in the current bibliography, ASP 1834) contains references to "Louis Sauvage" in two land claims. The Louis Sauvage who held claim #339 on Bayou Terrebonne, or "bayou Darbonne," is not identified as Indian, and the Louis Sauvage mentioned in Joseph Ennet's rejected claim #154 in Pointe Coupee Parish is identified as Indian. The appendix entry appears to have either cited the wrong man's Indian identification, or the entry reflects an assumption, not supported in the text, that both land record abstracts pertained to the same man. Evidence obtained for this amended proposed finding does not link the two references as pertaining to one man (see later in the above entry).

¹⁴ The first three sisters listed have French female given names, so it does not appear likely that the fourth female given name was "Pierre," a surname attributed to Houma Courteau's wife in their daughter Rosalie's 1867 baptism record abstract (Hebert 1978, 1:161). It is possible that the name on the deed was intended to be "Pierrice," but the evidence in the record does not include a contemporary record in which Houma Courteau's wife appeared with that same name, and evidence in the record shows that the Bayou Terrebonne land belonging to Louis Sauvage, at his death, passed solely to his sister Marie Anne rather than being divided among four sisters or their survivors.

¹⁵ Louis Sauvage's land claim overlapped part of the land claim of the three Verdin brothers. The land office records showing how and when the dispute was settled could contain important detail on Louis Sauvage, such as whether he was Indian, where he resided when the dispute was settled, or even when he died.

couple's grandson "Casimir Jackson Courteau." The "Who's Who Houma" compilation also claims "Casmore" Jackson Courteau as a descendant of Houma Courteau, only through son Antoine. The database does not include any PACIT members as descendants of "Francoise Tacalobe." See the entry for "Pierre Courteau" (b. ca. 1792) for more information.

Marianne, "Chitimacha Indian" [b. ca. 1790 – d. after 1806]

See Chart A. The BCCM genealogical database relies upon two records to reconstruct a family in which Marianne is a wife and mother, but does not cite any evidence identifying Marianne as Chitimacha or Indian. The first record is the 1772 baptism, described earlier, from the St. Martinville church (about 90 miles from Montegut) of "Gregoire" (b. 1760-1761), an 11-year-old "griffe libre" whose mother is described simply as a "sauvagesse libre," or free Indian (Hebert 1996, 365). The second record is the 1826 marriage in Terrebonne Parish of 46-year-old Joseph Billiot, "free man of color," to **Magdelaine Gregoire** (b. ca. 1806, place not given; see her entry) in which her parents were recorded as Gregoire and Mariane, followed by "a free woman of color too" which likely refers to the bride (Biliot to Gregoire 1826). The dates and locations make it feasible but not obvious that both events referred to the same "Gregoire." Neither record identified Marianne as a Chitimacha Indian or as an Indian. The most recent descendant of Marianne in the database is her daughter **Magdelaine Gregoire**, and records reviewed for this amended proposed finding do not refer to Magdelaine Gregoire as Indian.

The Department's "Who's Who Houma" (p. 229) speculates that Marianne and her husband Gregoire may also be the parents of Marie Gregoire (ancestral to most of the BCCM and PACIT members) and of **Joseph/Jean Baptiste Gregoire**. A note in the BCCM genealogical database for "Gregoire, griffe," similarly speculates that Marie and Joseph Gregoire were the children of Gregoire and Marianne, although "[o]nly [the] parents of Magdeleine [sic] are proven." A note in the database for **Jean Baptiste Gregoire** (who may or may not be identical to Joseph Gregoire) stated that Jean Baptiste Gregoire and Marie Gregoire "could have both been children of 'Pierre' [identification not clear] in an earlier marriage." The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of Marianne.

Jaco/Jacques, "Indian" (b. before 1791 – [d. after 1806, Lafourche Interior Parish/County, LA])

See Chart C. The BCCM database entry for "Jaco/Jacques, Indian," warns, "There is no proof yet that the children and wife listed here belong to this Jaco." Here the petitioner theorized that Jaco, the father, "is probably the Jacques Sauvage who owned land on Bayou Lafourche that was sold for unpaid taxes in 1808, having lived there from at least 1806, but given as a non-resident proprietor in 1808." Evidence in the current record does not identify landowner Jacques Sauvage as Indian, or as the father of Jaco individuals in Lafourche Interior County/Parish. If "Jaco/Jacques, Indian" is the father of Auguste Jaco and Constance Jaco, then he has 1,198 descendants in BCCM and 27 descendants in PACIT, according to the petitioner's database.

Pierre Courteau, "Indian" [b. ca. 1792 or earlier? – d. ?]

The BCCM genealogical database and "Who's Who Houma" do not agree on the identity of Pierre Courteau. "Pierre Courteaux" and wife "Francoise Courteaux" are identified as the parents of Joseph Antoine Courteau in the record of his adult baptism, when Joseph was 66 years old (Hebert 1978, 1:161). Due to the lack of corroborating evidence for Pierre Courteau, the "Who's Who Houma" compilation placed Pierre Courteau among "unconnected" Courteau individuals (BIA 8/28/1994, 184). The database does not cite evidence identifying Pierre Courteau as Indian. As father of Joseph Antoine Courteau, Pierre Courteau appears in the petitioner's database with eight descendants in the GCD subgroup of BCCM, all of whom descend from a UHN member who died in 1984. The database does not include any PACIT members as descendants of "Pierre Courteau."

Jean Baptiste Gregoire, "Indian" (b. ca 1794 – d. after 1859, Terrebonne Parish, LA)

See Chart C. Evidence for Jean Baptiste Gregoire's identity is ambiguous. Houma Courteau's 1844-1846 succession (probate) records include an August 27, 1845, record in which "Josephe" Gregoire, as guardian of the three minor heirs of Houma Courteau's son Francois and the two minor heirs of Houma Courteau's daughter Marguerite, acknowledges receipt of the heirs' shares of the estate which "Josephe" will hold until their majority (Iacalobe 1844). On April 20, 1846, "Jean Baptiste Gregoire" takes his oath that he will fulfill and discharge his duties as tutor of the late Francois' two children, Julien and Josephine (Iacalobe 1844). Church records of baptisms and marriages variously identify the father of Constance Jaco's offspring as either Joseph Gregoire or Jean Baptiste Gregoire (BIA 12/15/1994, 230, 232).

The petitioner and the Department's "Who's Who Houma" speculate that Joseph/Jean Baptiste Gregoire may have been a brother of Magdelaine Gregoire and possibly Marie Gregoire (BCCM 4/21/2005 BK, notes on "Jean Baptiste Gregoire," and on "Gregoire, griffe;" BIA 8/28/1994, 229), but evidence of his parentage has not been identified. The BCCM database presents Constance Jaco's husband as "Jean Baptiste Gregoire, Indian." However, evidence supporting his identification as Indian does not appear in his database entry, which instead reports Jean Baptiste Gregoire's racial description as "mulatto" in the 1850 Federal census and as a "free man of color" in land records of 1824 and 1858. As discussed in the UHN proposed finding, both designations could be used to describe individuals who had Indian ancestry, but the terms do not require Indian ancestry. Other evidence supporting this person's Indian ancestry was not found in the current record. The database presents the claim that Jean Baptiste Gregoire has 992 descendants in BCCM, and 26 descendants in PACIT.

Rose Aimee Cayard, "Choctaw Indian" [b. ca 1795 – d. after 1815, New Orleans, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database cites an 1847 court judgment in St. Tammany Parish (about 60 miles northeast of Montegut, above Lake Ponchartrain) that the children of Rose Aimee were of Indian blood. A photocopy of that record was not submitted, but a published abstract was located (Nolan 1995, 104). The database does not link this woman's three children by her New Orleans husband Francois Cousin to any members of BCCM or PACIT. The most recent descendant of Rose in the database is a daughter baptized in 1815 in New Orleans, Louisiana. No members claim descent from Rose Aimee Cayard.

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¹⁶ The petitioner notes that the clerk seems to have reversed the information: François left two heirs and Marguerite left three heirs (Westerman 1997, 83).

Shulu Shumon, medal chief from Biloxi [b. before 1802? – d. after 1818?]

In the BCCM genealogical database entry for "Barthelemy Jacques Billiot" (b. April 1834), the petitioner cites the oral history of "Bartholemy Billiout," a Swanton informant in 1907, who stated that his grandfather was Shulu Shumon, a medal chief from Biloxi, and that Barthelemy's mother (although the petitioner concludes that Barthelemy intended to refer to his grandmother) was an "**Attakapas Indian**" from Texas.

The BCCM genealogical database presents "Barthelemy Jacques Billiot's" parents as Leon Florentin Billiot and Caroline Frances Gregoire. The Department's "Who's Who Houma" compilation presents a different ancestry for Barthelemy Billiot, whom it identifies as "Jacques Constantine/Constance Barthelemy Billiot," the son of Jean Billiot and Rosalie Courteau. ¹⁷ If Barthelemy were the son of Jean Billiot and Rosalie Courteau, then the "Shulu Shumon" name would pertain to Houma Courteau, and the "Attakapas Indian from Texas" would pertain to either Houma Courteau's wife Marie Anne Pierre or to their daughter Rosalie Courteau.

Oral histories submitted for the UHN proposed finding claimed that "Jacques Constant Billiot" changed his name (presumably to "Barthelemy") after his father Jean Billiot was murdered, and ancestry charts submitted for the UHN proposed finding showed that "Barthelemy" died on July 20, 1911. Without better evidence of the parentage of the 1907 Swanton informant "Barthelmy Billiout," it is not possible to know which individuals he intended to identify as his grandfather "Shulu Shumon" or as his mother/grandmother, the "Attakapas Indian from Texas." The petitioner located (but did not submit) the 1905 church burial register entry for Barthelemy's wife Anne Damas (Billiot) Billiot, but did not indicate whether that record documented her parentage or whether a burial register entry for Barthelemy Billiot was sought.

The BCCM genealogical database cited no documentary evidence to corroborate the Indian identifications made by Barthelemy Billiot in 1907, and did not cite sufficient evidence of Barthelemy Billiot's parentage. As currently construed, the BCCM database presents the claim that "Shulu Shumon" has 1,230 descendants in BCCM and 187 descendants in PACIT.

"Attakapas Indian" [b. before 1802? – d. after 1818?]

See above entry for "Attakapas Indian's" putative husband **Shulu Shumon**.

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¹⁷ "Jacques Constant Billaux," born April 7, 1835, son of Jacques Billaux and Rosalie Courteau, is the published birth record cited by "Who's Who Houma" (Hebert 1978, 1:68).

¹⁸ The specific oral histories claiming this were not cited in "Who's Who Houma," but the transcription of an interview with "Barthelemy's" great-granddaughter Elvira (Molinere) Billiot conducted on July 26, 1979, shows that she described her great-grandfather as "Barthelmy, who was the son of Rosalie" (E. Molinere 7/26/1979, 1).

Marie Mingoloi, "Chitimacha Indian" [b. ca. 1805? – d. after 1870?, Terrebonne Parish, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database presents the claim that Marie Mingoloi first married Francois Courteau (son of Houma Courteau) and second married a son of Jean Billiot and Marianne Iris. ¹⁹ The BCCM genealogical database cites Marie's "color" descriptions, as "Indian," in her entries in the 1860 and 1870 Federal census as evidence she was Indian, and also states, "She was reported to be a Chitimacha Indian." ²⁰ The discussion of possible Indian ancestry of Marie Mingoloi in the UHN proposed finding did not mention this evidence (*UHN PF*, GR 62). However, these current claims are not persuasive for the following reasons.

Even when sources of information are considered "original" rather than "derivative"—and oral history interviews and Federal census schedules may be either—the information contained in them may be "primary" (first-hand knowledge) or "secondary" (second-hand knowledge). The identity of the person or persons whose oral testimony attributed Chitimacha affiliation to Marie Mingoloi is not provided in the narrative or in the genealogical database entry for her, so OFA cannot determine the format of the source or whether the informant(s) had first- or second-hand knowledge. The enumerators of the Federal census may not have obtained information directly from each person recorded, so these records also remain ambiguous as to the identity, and therefore the reliability, of the informants. If other documentary evidence led the BCCM petitioner to conclude that Marie Mingoloi had Indian or Chitimacha ancestry, the petitioner may identify and provide that documentation. The database presents the claim that Marie Mingoloi has 550 descendants in BCCM, and 180 descendants in PACIT.

Magdelaine Gregoire, "Chitimacha" (b. ca. 1806 – d. after 1826 Terrebonne Parish, LA)

See Chart A. The BCCM genealogical database does not cite the evidence identifying Magdelaine Gregoire as Indian or Chitimacha, nor does it ascribe any children to this woman by her only known husband Joseph Billiot (who first married "Jeanet, Indian"). Their 1826 Terrebonne Parish marriage record states that Magdelaine was the daughter of "Gregoire and of Mariane." The document's awkward phrasing appears to identify Magdelaine (rather than her mother) as a "free woman of color," but does not identify Magdelaine as Indian or Chitimacha. Earlier UHN submissions and the Department's "Who's Who Houma" estimate Magdelaine's birth year as circa 1786. The BCCM database estimates her birth year as circa 1806, although the fact that she married in 1826 suggests that she would not have been born much later than 1806. If Magdelaine's father "Gregoire" is identical to the "Gregoire" baptized at age 11 in 1772 in St. Martinville (which would make him about 45 in Magdelaine's estimated 1806 birth year), then Magdelaine's grandmother was a "sauvagesse libre" or "free Indian," but this has not been demonstrated. See the entry for her mother "Marianne, Chitimacha Indian" (b. ca. 1790) for further information. The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of "Magdelaine Gregoire."

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¹⁹ The petitioner's "Core Families" narrative identified Marie Mingoloi's second husband as Jean Billiot (born ca 1780 – died before 1870), but the petitioner's genealogical database places her as the wife of Jean's brother Pierre Louis Billiot (born 1779 – died 1860). The published abstracts of Thibodaux, Louisiana, church baptisms for two of her children record the parents' names as "Jean Billot" and "Marie May Glouha").

²⁰ Marie's "color" in the 1850 was "mulatto" (U.S. Census 1850, Terrebonne Parish, Bayou Terrebonne, dwelling and family #228).

Constance Jaco, "Indian" (b. ca. 1807 – d. 1850)

See Chart C. The BCCM genealogical database does not cite documentation supporting Indian ancestry for Constance Jaco, present as an adult in Terrebonne and Lafourche Parishes from about 1824 to at least 1850. Establishing Constance Jaco as another Indian would not provide Indian ancestry for any of the four current BCCM members of the petitioner lacking Indian ancestry. If the contention is that identification of Constance Jaco as the sister of **Auguste Jaco** (b. before 1813) and as Indian would help identify the historical tribe, then either petitioner would want to identify and provide the document(s) relied upon to conclude this person had Indian ancestry. The database presents the claim that Constance Jaco, by her husband **Joseph/Jean Baptiste Gregoire**, has 992 descendants in BCCM and 26 descendants in PACIT.

Auguste Jaco, "Indian" [b. before 1813 – d. after July 1835]

See Chart C. The BCCM genealogical database and textual submissions presented abstracted land record evidence that the petitioner feels identifies Auguste as an Indian, described and discussed further below. The database shows Auguste Jaco with one wife only, "Teonise Verdin" (probable daughter of Jean Baptiste Verdin II dit Cadet by his slave Rosalie), and daughters Rosette and Roseline (birth dates not given in the database).²²

The BCCM petitioner provided two transcriptions of one document dated May 13, 1840, in which the New Orleans land register certified that Fortunate Vito and "A. Savage" had purchased two tracts totaling 409 acres of U.S. land on June 18, 1834 or 1836 (U.S. to Vito and Savage, 7/6/1840(a) and (b)). One tract of 82+ acres was located in Terrebonne Parish and the other tract of 326+ acres was in Iberville Parish according to the BCCM petitioner.

The BCCM petitioner described the deed book record of a deed brought to the Terrebonne Parish courthouse and recorded on December 13, 1837 (BCCM 2005, 2; Westerman 1997, 21). OFA obtained a photocopy of this brief deed book entry, written in French (Le Sauvage to Vito 1835). It appears to state that "Auguste le Sauvage" (who signed by making his mark) and his wife "Theonnise" (who also made her mark) sold something in Terrebonne Parish on July 18, 1835, to "Fortunade Vito" for 20 piasters. Following Vito's name is a parenthetical remark, "les dits sauvages," that appears to translate to "the said Indians." The author and subjects of the parenthetical remark are not clear, but, in plural form, the statement likely describes the grantors or even the grantors and grantee together. The recording does not indicate whether grantors Auguste or "Theonnise," or the witnesses Nicholas Thibodaux or "Benjamin T." [Thibodaux?], were then present to acknowledge or prove the deed.

The text of the deed does not mention acreage or arpents. A notation of "112A" appears above the text of the deed, but it neither matches the 82+ acres Auguste purchased with Vito, nor does it appear to represent the arpent equivalent of 82+ acres, which, if an arpent equaled 5/6 of an acre, would have been about 99 arpents. No other deed in the BCCM petition accounts for Auguste owning land there other than the 82+ acres he purchased with Fortunate Vito. A patent for the 82-acre Terrebonne Parish tract was

²¹ A total of 24 current BCCM members do not claim descent from Houma Courteau or Marie Gregoire, but ancestry is not presented for 20 of them. The other four have claimed ancestry, but their ancestors do not include Courteau or Gregoire.

²² Published church records show Roseline born March 15, 1835, and Rosette born January 19, 1836 (Hebert 1978c, 321).

issued on January 29, 1845, to Fortunate Vito and Auguste Savage (U.S. to Vito and Savage 2/18/1852). The comment period will provide either petitioner the opportunity to transcribe and translate the 1835 deed, recorded in 1837, between Auguste le Sauvage (with wife "Theonnise") and Fortunate Vito.

Evidence to date does not support Teonise Verdin's ethnicity as Indian, ²³ and evidence contemporary with Fortunate Vito's lifetime indicates he was a native Italian and not Indian (U.S. Census 1850, 332). The brief deed recording establishes that somebody described more than one of these three people—then living but perhaps not then present—as Indian, but the ambiguity of authorship, the lack of recording in the deed book as to who was present to prove or acknowledge the conveyance, and, based on other evidence, the apparent inaccuracy of the plural form in the identification tend to make this document unreliable as an identification of Auguste le Sauvage as an Indian. On the plus side, Auguste's name was recorded as "le Sauvage," which the petitioner and OFA interpret as a description of him as an Indian. One might expect that the grantors, the grantee, and/or the witnesses personally appeared at the courthouse to acknowledge or prove and record the deed, any of whom should have had knowledge of whether the grantors were Indian.

Even if identification of Auguste as Indian is established, the significance of his inclusion as another historical Indian ancestor of the BCCM and PACIT petitioners may be minimal. His record trail, based upon transcriptions at this point, is a short one. The land records and the published abstracts of the Thibodaux, Louisiana, church records of 1835 and 1836 listing the births of his daughters Roseline and Rosette "Jaco" document that Auguste was in the presence of Teonise and of Fortunate Vito, presumably in Terrebonne Parish, for a total of 13 months (June 1834 – July 1835), or possibly 2 years if the original land purchase date is actually June 1836 rather than June 1834. This is well after the appearance in the Lafourche/Terrebonne Parish area of the other historical Indian ancestors claimed by the petitioner.

The BCCM petitioner's genealogical database shows that 650 current BCCM members and 17 PACIT members claim descent from Auguste Jaco a.k.a. Auguste le Sauvage. All of those 650 BCCM and 17 PACIT members also descend from Houma Courteau and/or Marie Gregoire. For purposes of evaluating this evidence under criterion 83.7(e), inclusion of Auguste Jaco as another Indian ancestor of the group would not provide Indian ancestry for any additional members of the petitioner. Neither does Auguste Jaco's possible identification as Indian identify a historical tribe, or tribes that combined, from which the BCCM and PACIT petitioners descend.

Modeste Abbe Courteau, "Indian" [b. before 1815 – d. after 1836 Terrebonne Parish, LA]

The BCCM genealogical database entry for "Modeste Abbe Courteau" did not cite evidence that she was Indian. The entry did refer to the fact that, in 1836, "Modeste Abbey" and "Julien Houma" of Terrebonne Parish jointly purchased U.S. land in both Terrebonne Parish and Pointe Coupee Parish. ("Joseph Houma and Antoine Houma" jointly purchased land in those two parishes as well.) The BCCM genealogical database presents Modeste as the wife of Julien Courteau (also known as Julien Houma), and "Who's

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²³ The BCCM petitioner does not claim Indian ancestry for Teonise Verdin, whose parents appear in the BCCM genealogical database as Jean Baptiste Verdin and his slave Rosalie. The Department-produced "Who's Who Houma" concurs with that probable parentage for Teonise Verdin (BIA 8/28/1994; 34, 227).

²⁴ The "Jaco" surname is not one that Auguste used himself in his land dealings, according to the land record transcriptions and photocopy, and may or may not be how he was recorded in the original church record births of his daughters, but this surname, spelled in various ways, does appear for those daughters in records generated in their lifetimes.

Who Houma" indicates that "Modeste Abbey" may refer to the wife of Antoine Courteau. The BCCM genealogical database does not attribute children to Julien's wife Modeste Abbe Courteau. The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of "Modeste Abbe Courteau" as the wife of Julien Courteau. However, if this Modeste were the Modeste married to Antoine Courteau, then the database does attribute two children to her, from whom eight current BCCM members claim descent.

Rosalie-Florestine Ramagos, "Indian" (b. ca 1817 – [d. after 1844 Terrebonne Parish, LA])

See Chart B. The BCCM genealogical database cites Rosalie's adult baptism record as being "in file." Although it was not found in the record, a published abstract of it documents her mother as Lise Carriere, whose two younger daughters, by a different husband, were identified as Indian (see entry for **Marie Madeleine Joseph/Alexander** (b. ca. 1829)) (Hebert 1978, 445). The petitioner's submission included a description of Lise Carriere: "Two of her children described as Indian. She could be Choctaw because of Rouquette's relationship to Carrieres (Terence and Francois) and [the] fact that his bro[ther] Felix had Indian wife and children" (Westerman 1997, 31). The database presents the claim that Rosalie married Etienne "King" Billiot, Jean Baptiste Verdin, and Charles Frederic, and has 534 descendants in the GCD and IJC subgroups of BCCM and no descendants in PACIT.

Roberts, Indian (b. ca. 1829 – d. 1/13/1924 Terrebonne Parish, LA)

The BCCM genealogical database cites "church records, not published" (not found in the current record), as evidence for "Indian Roberts." It is not known whether those are the records used to conclude that he was Indian. The database presents the claim "Indian Roberts" had a daughter by Manette Seven Dardar in 1881. "Who's Who Houma" does not confirm or refute that claim. No document in the current record shows this person as Indian, as claimed by the petitioner. The database presents the claim that "Indian Roberts" has 154 descendants in the GCD subgroup of BCCM and no descendants in PACIT.

Marie Madeleine Joseph/Alexander, Indian (b. ca. 1829 Terrebonne Parish, LA – d. aft. 1858)

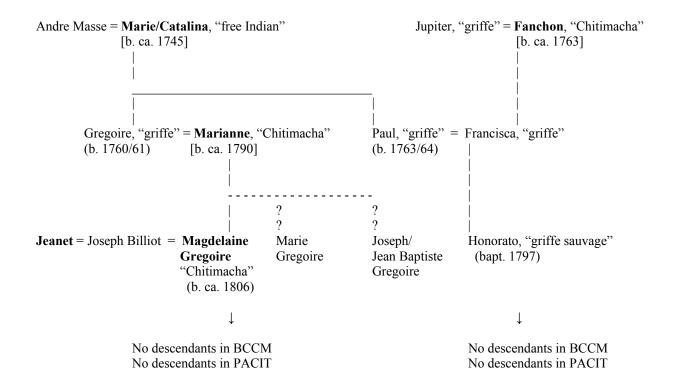
See Chart B. The BCCM genealogical database cites this woman's marriage record (not found in the current record) for her identification as Indian: "Her marriage identifies her as an 'Indian native of the parish of Houma,' ... (Marriage SM ch. 9-#208 and St. Martin CtHse Vol. 1 #1330 [copy in file])." The database does not link this woman's descendants by her Chitimacha husband **Ursin Senette** (b. ca. 1833) to any members of BCCM. However, Marie Madeleine's sister Susanne Elisabeth Joseph/Alexander resided in a Frederic-Billiot household in the 1880 Federal census (identified as "Indian"), and their half-sister **Rosalie-Florestine Ramagos** (b. ca. 1817) married a Billiot, a Verdin, and a Frederic. The most recent descendant of Marie Madeleine in the database is a daughter baptized in 1858 in St. Mary Parish, Louisiana (which adjoins modern Terrebonne Parish to the west). The database does not include any BCCM or PACIT members as descendants of "Marie Madeleine Joseph/Alexander."

Ursin Senette, Chitimacha (b. ca. 1833 St. Mary Parish, LA – d. 1873 St. Mary Parish, LA)

See Chart B. The BCCM genealogical database identifies this man as the husband of "Marie Madeleine Joseph/Alexander, Indian" (b. ca. 1829). The database cites his participation in the 1857 distribution of funds by the chief to members of the Chitimacha tribe for land sales and leases as evidence that he was "Chitimacha." No members claim descent from Ursin Senette.

Chart A

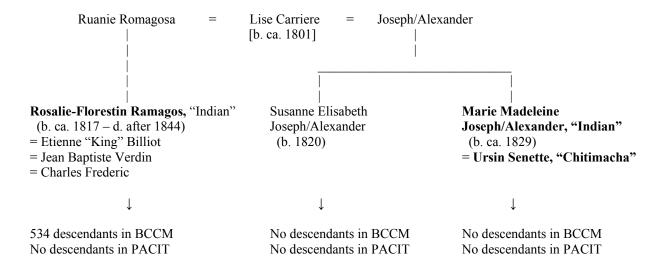
This chart illustrates the petitioner's interpretation of interrelationships among various historical individuals the petitioner claims as Indian. The Department's analysis of these claims appears in the text of Appendix B.



Sources: BCCM 4/21/2005 BK; OFA n.d.(a)

Chart B

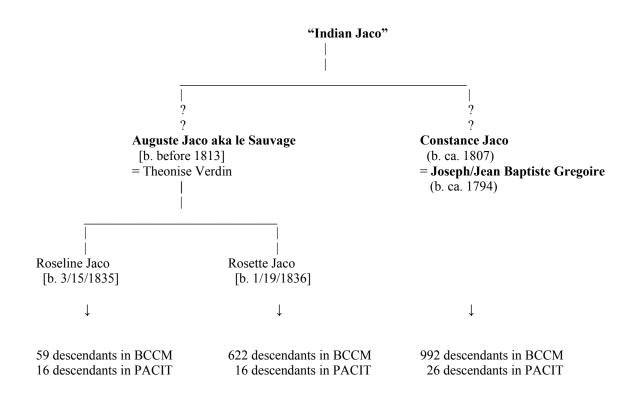
This chart illustrates the petitioner's interpretation of interrelationships among various historical individuals the petitioner claims as Indian. The Department's analysis of these claims appears in the text of Appendix B.



Source: BCCM 4/21/2005 BK; OFA n.d.(a)

Chart C

This chart illustrates the petitioner's interpretation of interrelationships among various historical individuals the petitioner claims as Indian. The Department's analysis of these claims appears in the text of Appendix B.



Source: BCCM 4/21/2005 BK; OFA n.d.(a)

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Courteau to Verdun

6/1/1829 Conveyance, Toup-la-bay dit Courteau to Alexandre Verdun (French transcript and English translations). Terrebonne Parish courthouse, Book E, p.108. BCCM, PACIT, UHN, and BAR exhibits.

Courteau to Verret

11/8/1838 Conveyance, Houma alias Courteau and his wife Marie-Anne to Louis Verret, and Verret to Courteau. Terrebonne Parish courthouse, Book H, p.110. BCCM, UHN, and BAR exhibits.

Courteau et al. to Carlos

6/30/1854 Conveyance, Julien Courteau *et al.* to Clement Carlos. Terrebonne Parish courthouse, Book Q, p.217. BCCM, UHN, and BAR exhibits.

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Coycault, Ernest

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4/13/1979 "Merger of Houmas Means Progress." UHN exhibit.

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Dardar, Oneziphor

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4/27/1931 Letter to Indian Office. [National Archives.] BAR exhibit.

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4/20/1977 Letter to Representative David Treen. ACR exhibit.

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Ellender, Allen. U.S. Senator

6/25/1942 Letter to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. [National Archives.] UHN and BAR exhibits.

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1/9/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

3/2/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

Grand Caillou/Dulac Band (GCD) (cont.)

3/25/1996 "Election Guidelines." BCCM exhibit.

5/11/1996a Constitution. BCCM exhibit.

5/11/1996b Constitution, received April 19, 2005. BCCM exhibit.

7/1/1996a Bylaws. BCCM exhibit.

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9/7/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

10/5/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

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- n.d.(b) "Terrebonne Parish Registration" (B-S; S-W). UHN exhibit.

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| 4/18/1971 | "Accent on Pointe-Aux-Chenes, Isle de Jean Charles." BCCM exhibit. |
| 8/21/1972 | "Facts Scarce on Houmas," by Sherwin Guidry. PACIT exhibit. |
| 4/25/1974 | "Dulac Indians Splinter for State Tribal Group." PACIT and ACR exhibit. |
| 7/19/1974 | "Tribal Meetings Slated July 29-30." PACIT exhibit. |
| 8/18/1974 | "Indian Group Holds Benefit For Students." PACIT exhibit. |
| 4/26/1976 | "Indians of Jean Charles." PACIT exhibit. |
| 5/10/1976 | "Houmas Indians Will File Suit." PACIT exhibit. |
| 7/18/1977 | "Houmas Indians Recognition Could Lead to Federal Funds." PACIT exhibit. |
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| 5/6/1979 | "Houma Indians Prepare for Tribe Merger." PACIT and UHN exhibits. |
| 5/7/1979 | "Tribe Gets Energy Rebate." PACIT exhibit. |
| 5/13/1979 | "Houma Indians Unite In Merger Ceremony." PACIT and UHN exhibits. |
| 3/25/1980 | "Houmas Indians Apply for Housing." PACIT exhibit. |
| 3/26/1980 | "Emergency Utility Bill Program Set for Houmas Indian Tribe." PACIT exhibit. |
| 4/12/1981 | "Hazardous Waste Dump May Cover Indian Site." UHN exhibit. |
| | |

"Disgrunted Indians Seek Financial Help From Tribe." UHN and PACIT exhibits.

"Houma Nation Gets Ready for First Election." UHN exhibit.

| Houma Courier (cont.) 2/25/1982 "Houmas Indians Applying for Federal Block Grants." PACIT exhibit. | | |
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| 3/4/1982 | "Houmas Indians Plan Dulac Day Care Center." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 7/9/1982 | "Tribal elections on agenda for Indian meeting." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 11/18/1984 | "The Plight of the Houmas Indians." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 7/10/1990 | "Indian's petition might be helped." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 8/16/1991 | "Houma Nation has new meeting place." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 8/10/1992 | "Houmas elect Laura Billiot as chairwoman." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 4/25/1993 | "Grant frozen on ouster of tribe's leader." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 5/30/1993 | "Houma Nation grant unfrozen after probe finds no wrongdoing." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 7/1/1993 | "Tribal elections are scheduled." PACIT exhibit. | |
| 7/11/1993 | "Three win seats Saturday on Houma Tribal Council." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 7/27/1993a | "Hurricane grant beset by controversy." PACIT, BCCM, and ACR exhibits. | |
| 7/28/1993a | "Tribal leaders argue Houmas' status with IRS." PACIT, BCCM, and ACR exhibits. | |
| 7/29/1993 | "Tribal Council the Key to Houmas." PACIT, BCCM, and ACR exhibits. | |
| 8/18/1993 | "Tribal officials, local hospital OK health bus." PACIT and BCCM exhibits. | |
| 1/8/1994 | "Houmas divide into factions" [1/8/1995?] BCCM exhibit. | |
| 6/10/1994 | "Houma Indians get ready for June 25 election." BCCM and PACIT exhibits. | |
| 8/16/1994 | "Appeal rejected; suit to continue." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 9/29/1994 | "Exhibit captures the flavor of Houmas." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 10/28/1994 | "Organization is needed for Houma Indian[s]." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 12/6/1994 | "Recognition still eludes Houmas." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 12/18/1994 | "Houmas discuss options today." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/5/1995 | "Faction wants to decentralize tribe." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/12/1995 | "Group seeks confederation of tribes." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 10/15/1995 | "Two local Indian groups vie for federal recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |

| Houma Courier (cont.) 2/15/1996 "Houma Indians seek tribal participation." BCCM exhibit. | | |
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| 2/22/1996 | "Indian tribe to hold 'Q&A' meeting." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/14/1996b | "Tribes prepare for spring powwow." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 6/27/1996 | "Senator raps head of new tribe." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 6/28/1996 | "Tribe chief reacts to criticisms." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 7/7/1996 | "Busy week ahead for Parish Council." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 7/9/1996 | "Parish president defends Billiot." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 7/10/1996a | "Tribal infighting threatens future of local Indians." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 7/17/1996 | "Panel eyes Houmas' plea for recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 11/13/1996 | "Houmas lose 2,700 members." BCCM and ACR exhibits. | |
| 2/23/1997a | "Tribes struggle toward federal recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/13/1997 | "Don't fight Indian wars in school." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/19/1997 | "All 3 local Indian groups may get federal recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 5/14/1997 | "Indians submit request for recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 4/30/1999 | "Two Terrebonne tribal groups seek state recognition." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 5/5/1999 | "Indian groups say they'll try for recognition again." BCCM exhibit. [Note: The same article is found in the <i>Daily Comet</i> 5/5/1999.] | |
| 5/12/1999 | "Tribal groups put on hold for two years." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 6/13/1999 | "United Houma Nation discusses legislation." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 1/23/2002 | "Parish recognizes Isle de Jean Charles." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 3/31/2002 | "Residents hope levee will bring salvation to island." BCCM exhibit. | |
| 11/16/2003 | "Tribal council gets new officers" [11/16/2003?]. PACIT exhibit. | |
| 3/14/2004 | "For local Indians, recognition as much about identity as it is about aid." BCCM and PACIT exhibits. | |
| 5/27/2004 | "Local tribes advance toward grants." BCCM and PACIT exhibits. | |

Houma Courier (cont.)

7/5/2004 "Local Indians celebrate recognition." BCCM and PACIT exhibits. [Note: The same article is found in the *Daily Comet* 7/5/2004.]

3/13/2005 "Local Indian tribes continue quest for recognition." PACIT exhibit.

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1/24/1990 Council resolution, no. 90-16. BAR exhibit.

IJC

See: Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi/Chitimacha/Choctaw.

Ind.Cl.Comm.

See: Indian Claims Commission.

Indian Claims Commission (cited as: Ind.Cl.Comm.)

11/–/1959 Motion to dismiss the petition, by U.S. Assistant Attorney General Perry Morton, in *Pascagoula, Biloxi and Mobilian Consolidated Band of Indians v. U.S.*, Docket 170. BAR exhibit.

Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana (cited as: ITCL)

n.d. "Indians of Louisiana." PACIT exhibit.

Interior

See: U.S. Department of the Interior.

Isle de Jean Charles Band of Biloxi/Chitimacha/Choctaw (cited as: IJC)

11/5/1995 Meeting minutes. ACR exhibit.

ca. 1996 Constitution, received May 15, 1997. ACR exhibit.

9/1/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

Isle de Jean Charles Band (IJC) (cont.)

9/11/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

9/29/1996 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

10/27/1996 Membership list and certification. BCCM exhibit.

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4/3/2005 Meeting minutes. BCCM exhibit.

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See: Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana.

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2/20/1938 Letter to Dear Sir. UHN exhibit.

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5/5/1942 "Notes on Louisiana Indians." File 10179-1943, General Service #042, Central Classified Files, RG 75, National Archives. UHN and BAR exhibits.

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10/1/1775 Letter to Unzaga. [Translated from *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba*, 189B:284-285.] UHN and BAR exhibits.

5/4/1788 Letter [to Miro]. [Cited as *Papeles Procedentes de Cuba*, 201:599.] UHN exhibit. OFA translation, in OFA historian's documents.

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2/14/1990 Council resolution. BAR exhibit.

10/12/2004 Council resolution. PACIT exhibit.

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n.d. Land index [State of Louisiana], by township, range, and section. Copies of photostatic copy at Terrebonne Parish courthouse. BAR exhibits.

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"The Cajuns of Canal Yankee: Problems of Cultural Identity in Lafourche Parish," in Dean R. Louder and Eric Waddell, eds., *French America*. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press.

Laussat, Pierre Clément de

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9/4/1979 Letter to Gary Catron, Department of the Interior. ACR exhibit.

Ledet, Laise M.

10/16/1979 Oral history interview (#43). BCCM exhibit.

n.d. Indians of Pointe-aux-Chenes and Isle a Jean Charles. Manuscript. PACIT and BCCM exhibits.

Lee, Harry. Sheriff, Jefferson Parish

2/16/1987 Letter to Whom It May Concern. UHN exhibit.

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7/18/1835 Deed, Auguste and Theonnise Le Sauvage to Fortunade Vito (in French). Terrebonne Parish, [Conveyance?] Book G:494, recorded Dec. 13, 1837. OFA historian's files.

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n.d "Among the Indians of Louisiana" [1936?]. UHN exhibit.

LLB

See: Lower Lafourche Band.

LL&E

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| 8/28/1994 | "Who's Who Houma?: Background Reference for UHN Proposed Finding," by Dr. Virginia Easley DeMarce. OFA files. [Note: Not in "FAIR"] |
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| 5/23/1996 | Letter from Director, Office of Tribal Services Deborah Maddox to Reginald T. Billiot. OFA files. |
| 3/3/1997 | Letter from Branch Chief, Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, to Rosalie Billiot. OFA files. |
| 3/27/1997 | Letter from Acting Branch Chief, Branch of Acknowledgment and Research to Steve Cheramie. OFA files. |
| 10/15/1997 | Letter from BAR staff Steve Austin to Steve Cheramie. OFA files. [Note: <i>In</i> "FAIR" as Austin 1997.10.15.] |
| 5/1/1998a | Letter from BAR staff Steven L. Austin to Reggie Billiot. OFA files. [Note: <i>In</i> "FAIR" as Austin 1998.05.01.] |
| 5/1/1998b | Letter from BAR staff Steven L. Austin to Mark C. Tilden. OFA files. [Note: <i>In</i> "FAIR" as Austin 1998.05.01.] |
| U.S. Census 1810 | Federal population census, Lafourche Interior Parish. Roll 10, microfilm M-252, RG 29, National Archives. |
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U.S. Census (cont.)

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- 12/22/1994 Proposed Finding on the United Houma Nation. OFA files.
- 6/14/1996 Letter from Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs Ada E. Deer to Mark C. Tilden, Staff Attorney, Native American Rights Fund [granting extension to UHN petitioner]. OFA files and ACR exhibit. [Note: *In* "FAIR" as Deer 1996.06.14.]
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 - 2/3/2006 Extension of deadline for publishing amended proposed findings on BCCM and PACIT petitions, by Associate Deputy Secretary James E. Cason. OFA files.
- 6/30/2006a Letter from Associate Deputy Secretary James E. Cason to Randy Verdun [extending the deadline for publishing an amended proposed finding on BCCM petition]. OFA files.

U.S. Department of the Interior (Interior) (cont.)

| 6/30/2006b | Letter from Associate Deputy Secretary James E. Cason to Charles Verdin [extending |
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| | the deadline for publishing an amended proposed finding on PACIT petition]. OFA |
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| 2/16/2005b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 11/23/2005 | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Brenda Dardar. OFA files. |
| 2/3/2006a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 2/3/2006b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 5/3/2006a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 5/3/2006b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 5/26/2006a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 5/26/2006b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 8/7/2006 | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 1/25/2007a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 1/25/2007b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
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| 11/27/2007b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 1/28/2008a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
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| 2/27/2008a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 2/27/2008b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
| 3/26/2008a | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Randy Verdun. OFA files. |
| 3/26/2008b | Letter from Director R. Lee Fleming to Charles Verdin. OFA files. |
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- U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) (cont.)
 - n.d.(a) "OFA Enhanced BCCM" genealogical database in Family Tree Maker™ program. OFA genealogist's files.
 - n.d.(b) "Who's Who Houma" genealogical database in Family Tree Maker™ program. OFA genealogist's files.
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- 11/23/1933 Decree for Permanent Injunction, in *Louisiana Land and Exploration Company v. Cheramie et al.* PACIT exhibit.
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 - Map, "Louisiana and Mississippi / Improved to 1827" [map, "Louisiana 4"]. Old Map File, RG 49, Cartographic Branch, National Archives II, College Park, Md. OFA historian's documents.

U.S. General Land Office (GLO) (cont.)

- 8/31/1830 Map of T10S, R3E, dated Aug. 31, 1830. BAR exhibit.
- 3/20/1831 Map of T19S, R19E, dated Mar. 20, 1831. BAR exhibit.
- ?/?/1832 Map of T17S, R18E [date obscured]. BAR exhibit.
- 4/5/1832 Map of T18S, R19E, dated Apr. 5, 1832. BAR exhibit.
- 9/27/1855 Map of T17S, R18E, dated Sept. 27, 1855. PACIT and BAR exhibits.
- 8/21/1856 Map of T19S, R19E dated Aug. 21 and/or Aug. 30, 1856. BAR exhibit.
- 8/30/1856 Map of T19S, R19E, dated Aug. 21 and/or Aug. 30, 1856. BAR exhibit.
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- 10/10/1882 Report of Commissioner N.C. McFarland to Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller. [Louisiana P.L.C. 2310, Private Land Claims, RG 49, National Archives.] BAR exhibit.
 - Copies of the ledgers of land commissioners. [The "Homas" claim, no. 625, is at p.57 (frame 253).] National Archives microfilm, M-1382, roll 8, vol. 110.
 - 1964 Map, "Dulac Quadrangle," 15 minute series. OFA files.
 - 1964 Map, "Lake Felicity Quadrangle," 15 minute series. OFA files.
 - Map, "Houma Quadrangle," 15 minute series (photorevised from 1963 ed.). OFA files.
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