

History of the Maliseets

In Aroostook County, Maine

Compiled by James Wherry



Photos courtesy of Fox Hollow Photography & Design



Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians

INTRODUCTION

Maliseets continue to live in their aboriginal homeland in Maine. For North American scholars have universally held the view that Maliseet aboriginal territory consisted of the entire region drained by the Saint John River in Maine and New Brunswick. Despite an international boundary that divided their land into American and Canadian segments, Maliseet occupation of their aboriginal homeland represents an unbroken continuum.

The Maliseets and Micmacs have a unique relationship with the United States, Massachusetts and Maine. For in 1777, Col. John Allan, the Congressionally appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Eastern Department, negotiated and signed a treaty with the Passamaquoddies and Maliseets at Aukpaque on the Saint John River (near the present site of Fredericton, New Brunswick). This treaty was subsequently adopted by both the Penobscots and Micmacs. For the Indians, it provided: "That they should be forever viewed as brothers and children, under the protection and fatherly care of the United States and enjoy every right and privilege, according to the difference of situation in proportion with others" (Kidder 1867: 311-312). And it also promised: "That in times of difficulty and distress, or by any unforeseen calamity those who live within the territory of the United States, should be furnished with ammunition

for fowling and in proportion as their necessities" (Kidder 1867: 312). In return for extending their "Fatherly care" to the tribes in the northeast, the United States received Maliseet and Micmac support during the Revolutionary War. And without this support, Col. Allan reported that the most of northern and eastern Maine would have been lost to the British Provinces. This treaty also recognized that the Maliseets, like the Passamaquoddies, were divided between United States and British spheres of influence. And that they would be recognized for services, rights, and etc. when they come to the United States whether as individuals or bands.

At least the British have recognized the two political spheres of influence for the tribes in the northeast for they had established three reservations at Milltown, Canoose, and Saint Croix for the Canadian side Passamaquoddy. Neither the United States or the state governments of Maine and Massachusetts have followed similiar policies with regard to the United States side Maliseets despite the existence of the treaties. This remains a bit of unfinished business for the United States.

The Houlton Band, which emerged from the family hunting groups during the 1870's, exhibits an autonomy equal to the other nine bands of Indians in Canada and United States who call themselves "skijin" or "the humans". The social organization of the Houlton band is similiar to the other Maliseet and Passamaquoddy bands. In fact, the social organization of the Houlton Band may in fact demonstrate aspects which are more characteristic of the aboriginal

social organization since they have existed outside the framework of non-Indian laws and regulations. Where as, the differences between modern Passamaquoddy and Maliseet political organization can be attributed to the differences between United States and Canadian Indian law, the deme/kin community organization with leadership in the consensus group of the Houlton Band approximates a type of organization that has been attributed to the tribes of the northeast for an earlier period.

The Houlton Band of Maliseets are ethnically and culturally Indian. For the use of the native language is still intact, which clearly strengthens the Indian identity. To both the Indian and non-Indian residents of Houlton, there is no confusion about who is and is not Indian. And traditional Indian economic activities work to reinforce the internal and external perceptions of Indian identity. In sum, emic and etic perceptions of the members of the deme/kin community work to make them a bounded conceptual and political unit, the Houlton Band.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Gregory Buesing played an especially important role in the development of this report. For, the Revolutionary War history has come from his earlier work on this period, and his critical comments on the entire report have helped to shape it into its present form.

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1. MALISEET ABORIGINAL TERRITORY IN MAINE.

North American scholars have universally held the view that Maliseet aboriginal territories extended into Aroostook County and adjoining areas of Maine. This consensus of scholarly opinion has also maintained that the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy were virtually identical people who differed primarily in their economic adaptation. The Maliseet hunted inland and lived on the lakes and rivers of the Saint John River drainage in New Brunswick and Maine. The Passamaquoddy exhibited a strong orientation toward a coastal resource exploitation along the coasts of Maine and New Brunswick.

The period of recorded contact between the Maliseet/Passamaquoddy and Europeans began in 1604 with Champlain's exploration of the Maine coast. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, European knowledge of the interior regions began to increase and French traffic between Acadia (New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) and Quebec was conducted over the old Indian routes of travel. It was during this period that Cadillac (in 1692) presented a fairly detailed account of settlements in what was then called Acadia. His "Memoir" provides one of the earliest European accounts of an Indian settlement on the upper Saint John River:

At 44 leagues higher (than Meductic) is another fort which is the usual retreat of the canibas or abenakis when they fear something in their own country. It is on the shore of a little river which

discharges in this one (St. John), and which comes from a lake called madagouasca (Madawaska), which is 12 leagues long and one in width... This river and lake turn up to the north and it is the route that is taken to reach the river kebeq opposite tadoussac (Ganong 1930:32).

The next important reference to Indian settlements on the upper St. John River and in northern Maine is found on a 1699 map by De Rozier (see below) which was published by William Ganong (1906). The importance of this map for this study is that De Rozier seems to be indicating four separate Indian settlements on what appears to be the Aroostook River. William Ganong has supplied what information which appears to be available on this map:

It (the De Rozier map) is among the Parkman papers in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and I am indebted to Dr. S. A. Green, the librarian of the Society, for the copy and for permission to publish it. It does not include the whole map, but the parts of interest to New Brunswick. While containing some curious errors, it is at the same time wonderfully accurate in the St. Croix-Magaguadavic-Oromocto region, far more accurate indeed than any other map for nearly a century thereafter. The map produced no effect upon any other later maps that I have been able to trace, and it seems itself to have been made quite independently of any others. Apparently it was made entirely from the personal observation of its author. Presumably the circles indicate Indian camping grounds (Ganong 1906:59).

The De Rozier map may possibly be the only European map to detail the location of Indian camps in Aroostook County and for that reason it is unique. But because of its accuracy in detailing other regions of the Maritimes, it seems possible to assume that his locations of Indian campsites

are correct and based on personal observation.

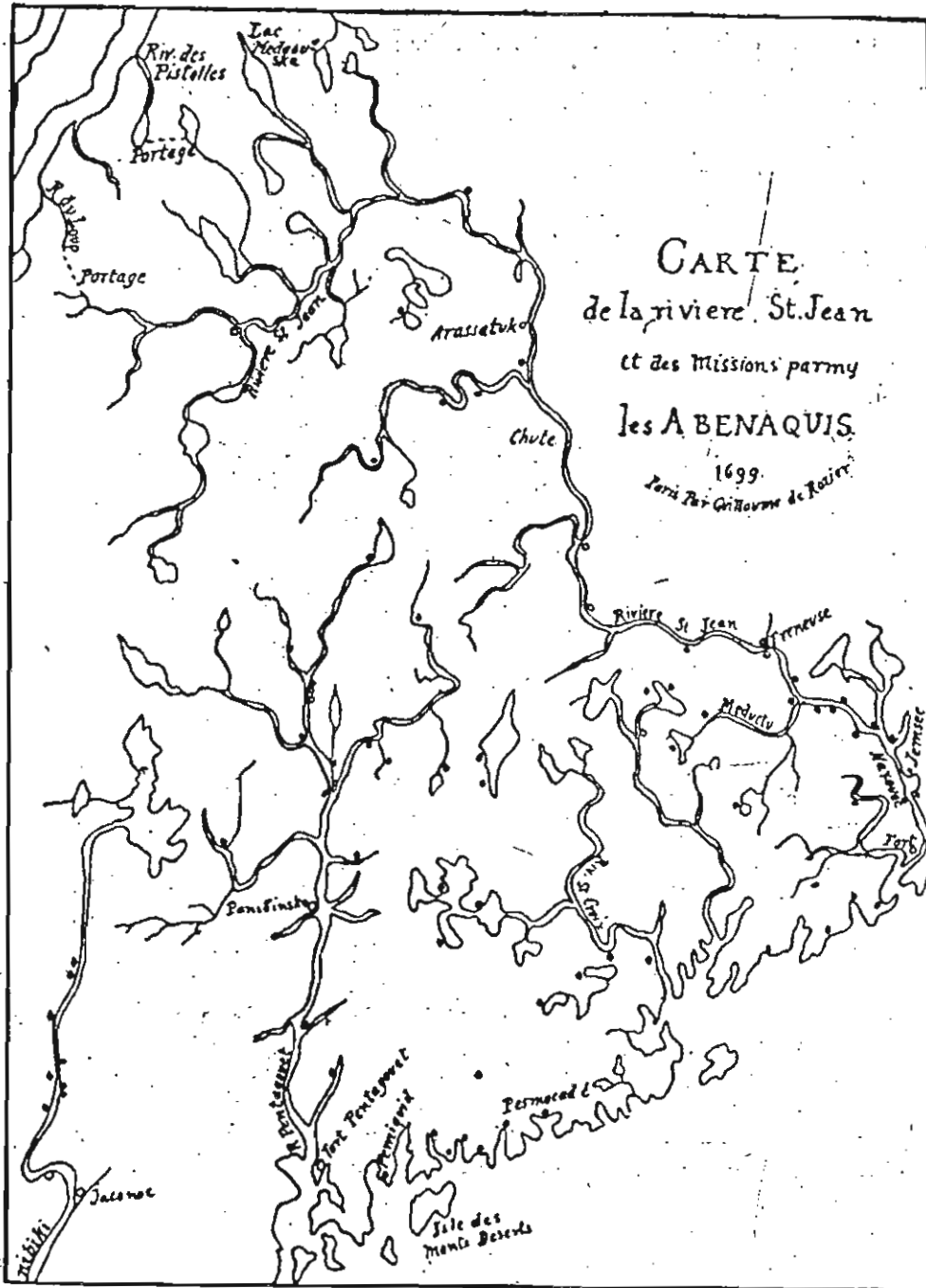


Figure 1. The De Rozier map of 1699.
(from Ganong 1906:60)

The next series of maps which suggest Maliseet use of Aroostook County are based on the observations of modern scholars. This group

includes some of the foremost students of the history and ethnography in the northeast. The first of this group was published by William

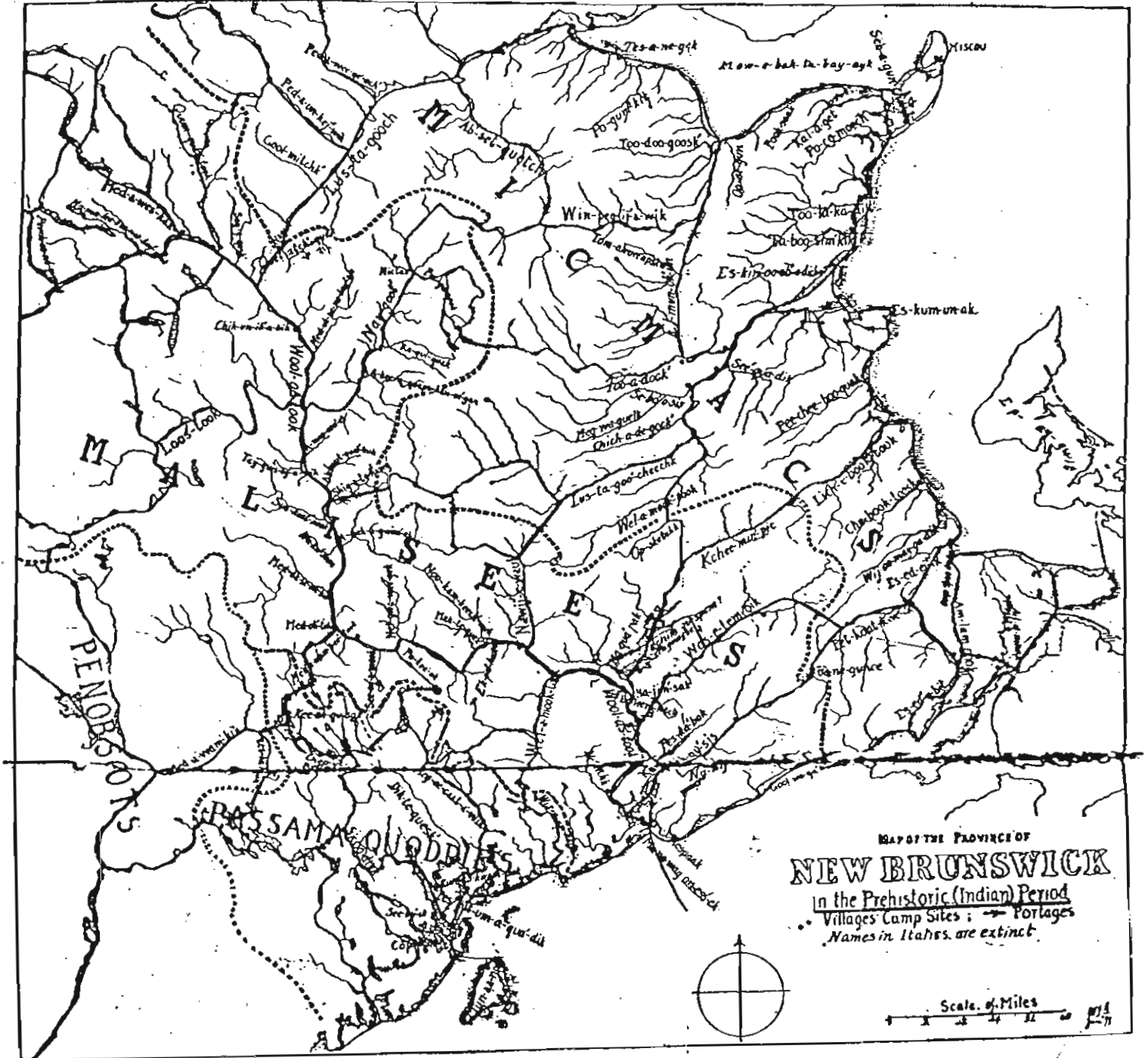


Figure 2. MAP OF NEW BRUNSWICK IN THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.
(from Ganong 1899: facing p. 330)

Ganong (1899). This map, besides showing the boundaries of Maliseet territory, gives Indian names for the rivers and also attempts to show the Indian routes of travel. Ganong has unfortunately used solid lines to indicate the Indian routes of travel which causes the rivers to appear to run together across the portages. Clearly, Ganong has shown Maliseet territory extending well into Maine. Ganong (1901) also published a

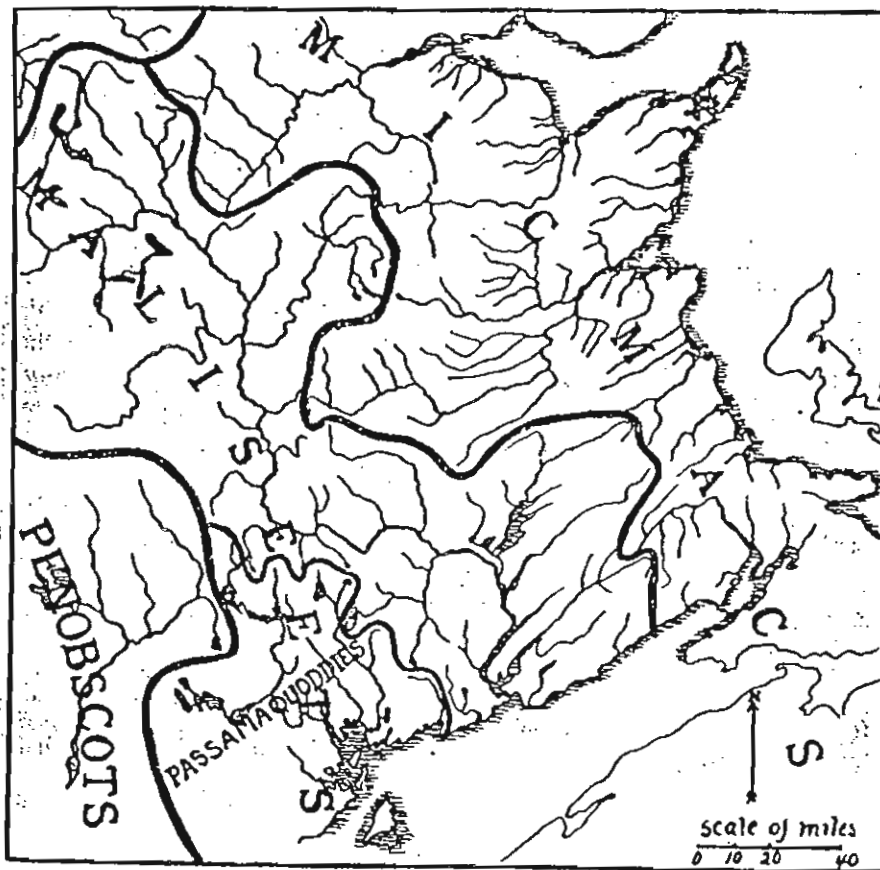


Figure 3. TO ILLUSTRATE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE INDIAN TRIBES.
(from Ganong 1901:153)

smaller map but which is possibly clearer for showing the boundaries. He gave a brief statement on the basis of his evidence: "The traditions of those Indians, and such other evidence as we possess, agree that each tribe was considered to possess as hunting-grounds all the rivers on which they lived, even to the headwaters, and hence the boundaries between

between the tribes were formed by the watersheds, as is brought out by the accompanying map" (Ganong 1901:154).

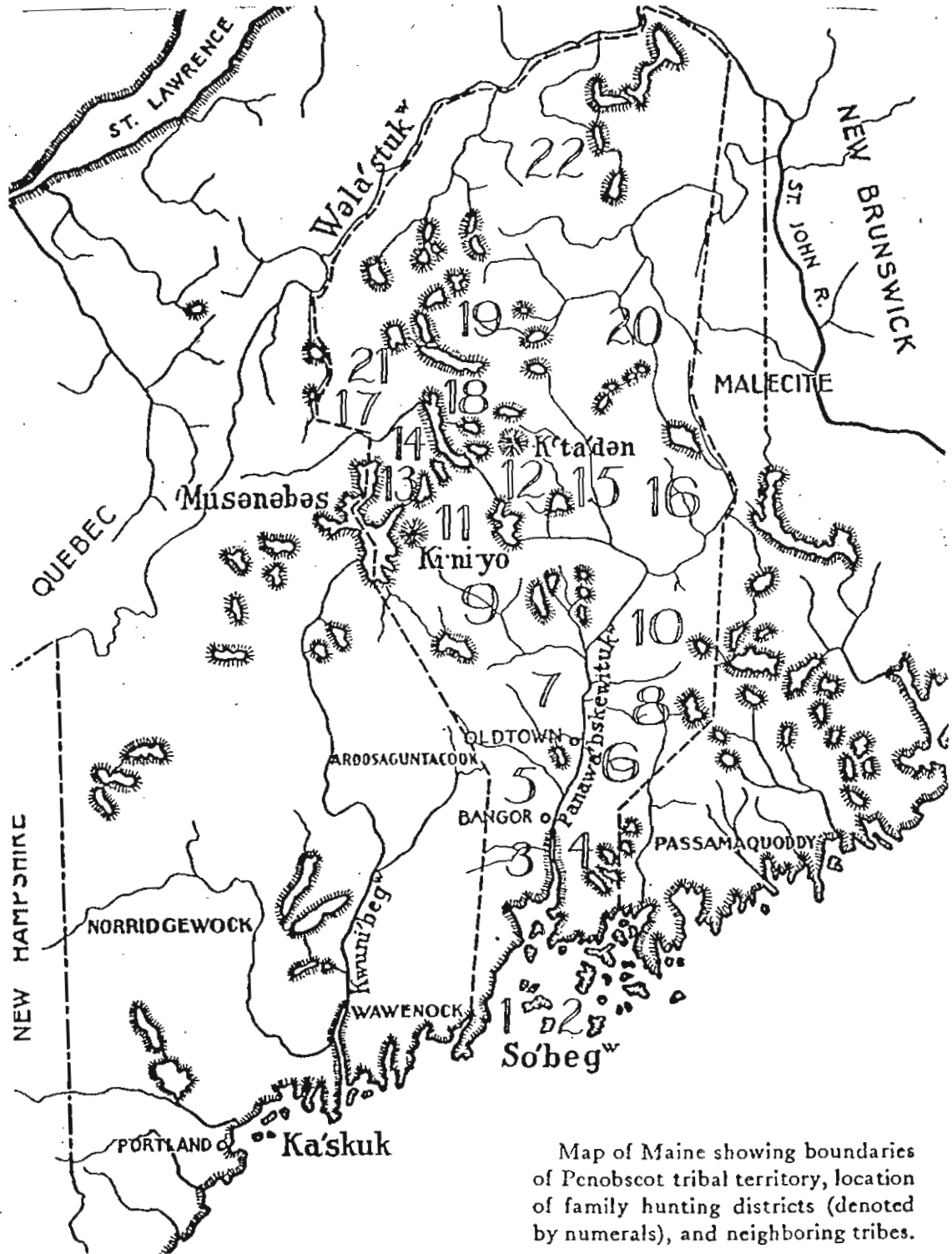


Figure 4. PENOBSCOT TRIBAL TERRITORY.
(from Speck 1940:6)

The next two maps must be considered as a pair for they are from the work of Frank Speck. The first of these maps is taken from Speck's book, Penobscot Man. He has stated that this map delineates Penobscot territory in the period (circa 1910) upon which his study was based (from Speck 1940:9). A striking feature of this map is that it extends Penobscot territory farther east and north into Aroostook County than is usually found among the authorities. The second Speck map purports to delineate Maliseet hunting territories based on the memory of informants from Speck's 1917 fieldwork (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:364). This map

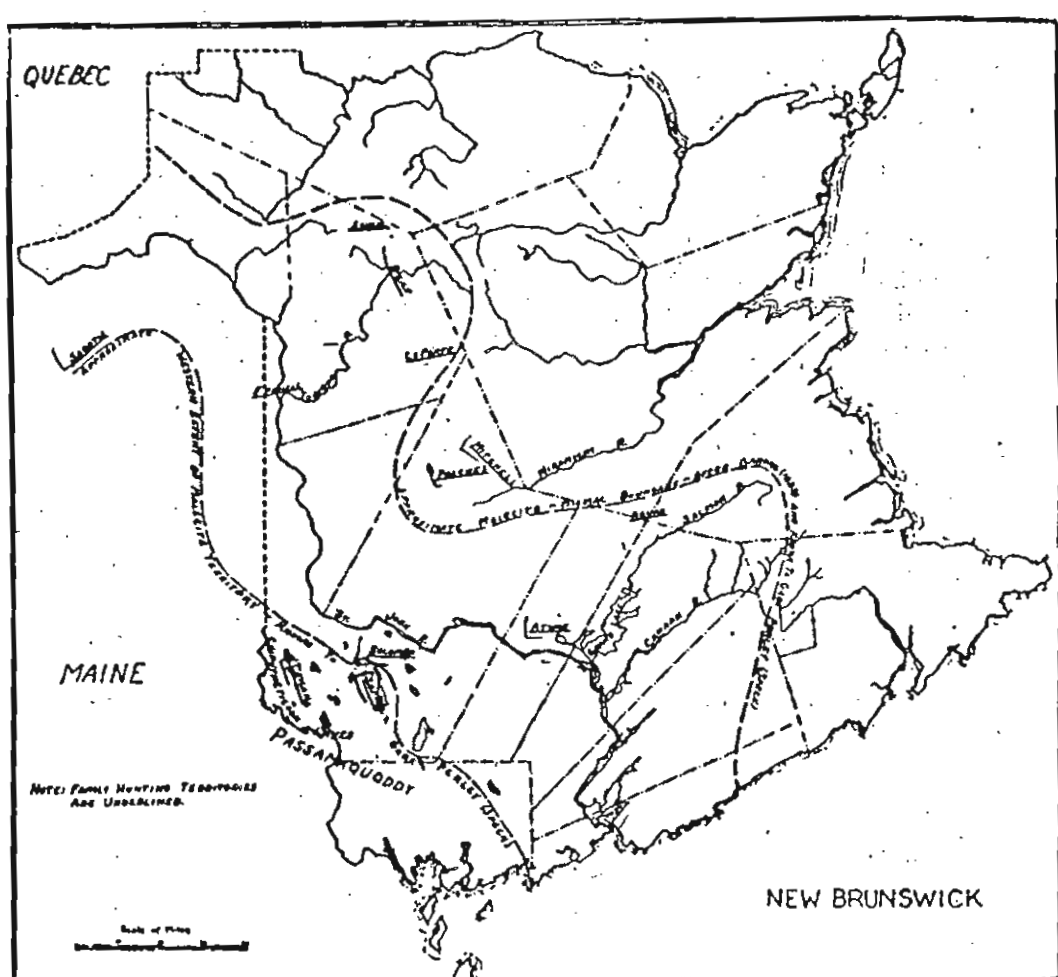


Figure 5. MALISEET HUNTING TERRITORIES.
(from Speck and Hadlock 1946:356).

(figure 5) would seem to be in rough agreement with Speck's (1940) map for at least a part of the Maliseet western boundary, but the northern segment of that boundary would seem to overlap territory that Speck's earlier map had given as Penobscot territory. In searching for a reason why Speck's two maps would have tended to limit the western range of Maliseet territory, we are confronted with two equally possible explanations. It is possible, though not patently evident, that Speck may have been recording a period when Penobscot hunting territories were expanding into traditional Maliseet territory. This might also help to explain why Speck's two maps delineate overlapping territories. But, it is also possible that Speck may have developed a Penobscot bias from his earlier and more extensive research among that group. The available evidence leaves open the possibility for either of these two explanations to answer the incongruity of the Speck maps.

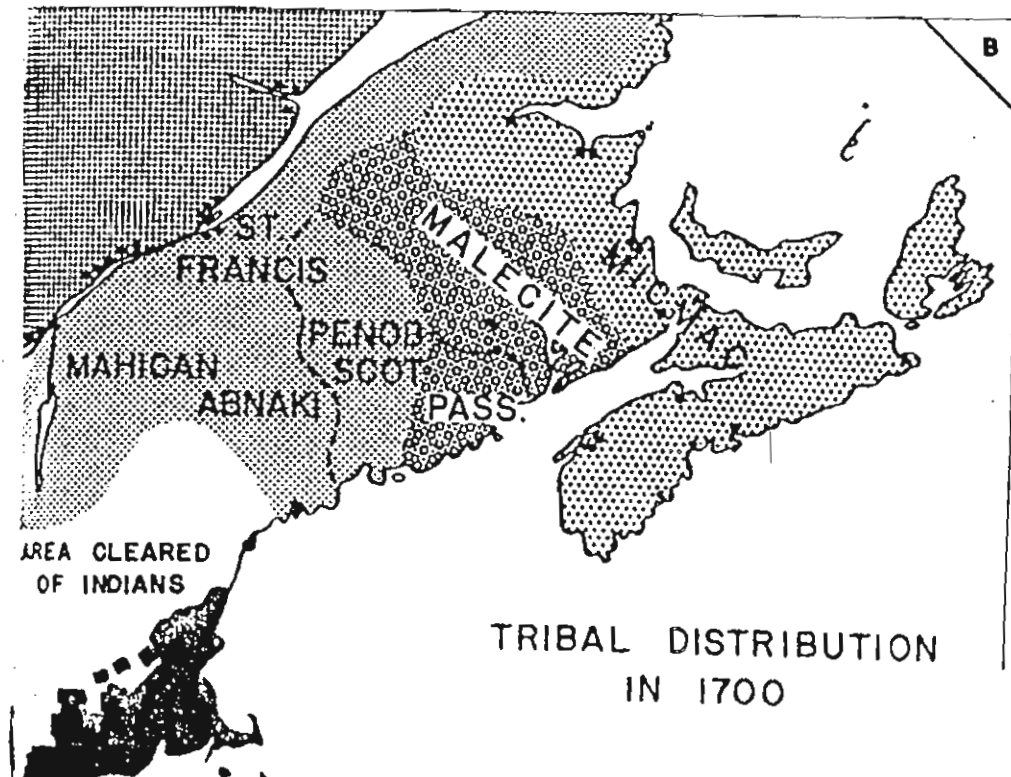


Figure 6. TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS.
(from Hoffman 1955:71)

An additional map of particular interest for our present purpose was produced by Bernard Hoffman (1955) and purports to represent the distribution of the northeastern tribes in 1700. Although, modern political boundaries are not included in this map (figure 6), Hoffman clearly has Maliseet tribal territory extending into sections of Maine. Hoffman's ranking, as one of the leading ethnohistorians of the eastern Algonquian tribes, works to supply his map with particular importance.

Finally, Vincent Erickson (1978) has published in the Handbook of North American Indians a very clear map (figure 7) that delineates ^{outline} Maliseet territory through an extensive area of northern Maine. Erickson, in a discussion on Maliseet settlements, points out that reservations were not always established everywhere that the Maliseets camped. And of course, one of Erickson's examples of a locale where Maliseet families were living during the nineteenth century without the benefit of a reserve is to be found in Aroostook County, Maine (from Erickson 1978:125). For although, various reservations have been established during the nineteenth century for the Maliseets in New Brunswick and Quebec by various Canadian governments, governments in the United States have never established reservations for the Maliseet bands living in Aroostook County. Yet, this curious lacuna of government involvement in Indian affairs did not affect the conceptions of common folk who applied the term, "Indian reservation", to the settlements of the Maliseet bands in Aroostook County.

Clearly, professionals in the fields of anthropology and history have found it necessary to include sections of northern Maine within what they understood from their research to be Maliseet tribal territory. Major writers in ethnography and history, such as William Ganong,

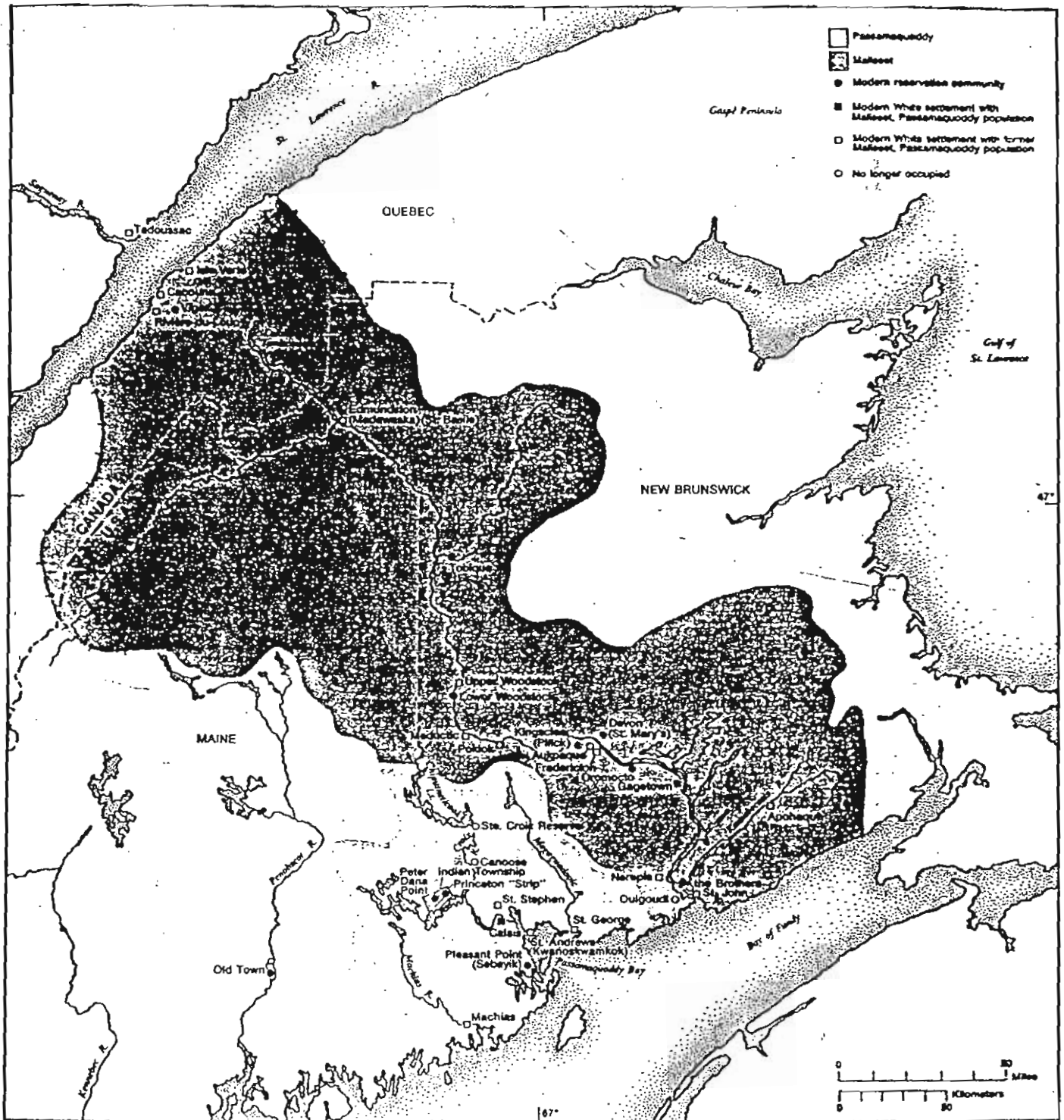


Figure 7. TRIBAL TERRITORY ABOUT 1890.
(from Erickson 1978:124)

Frank Speck, Bernard Hoffman, and, most recently, Vincent Erickson, have included similiar segments of northern Maine within Maliseet tribal territory. This list of the professional opinions that have concurred on the subject of Maliseet territories is not meant to be an all inclusive list. But, rather we have attempted to choose a sample of the larger body of material on this subject that best represents the consensus.

2. THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND THE AFTERMATH¹

During the American Revolutionary War, a trust relationship was formed between the United States and the Maliseets and Micmacs. This trust relationship was founded on Maliseet and Micmac participation in the American Revolutionary cause and was embodied in treaties with the American government that the Maliseets and Micmacs signed in good faith.

The United States was obligated to the Maliseets and Micmacs for their friendship and military support during the American Revolution. Along with the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots, they protected American's claim to all of northern and eastern Maine. This fact is clearly stated in Col. John Allan's letter of 1793 to Sam Adams:

How far these people have complied with their engagements our present possessions, Eastward of Penobscot might be a sufficient proof, as it is acknowledged by all acquainted with that country that their assistance was a principal support in its defense.

Their zeal and attention during the war.... is so well known in that country that it needs no comment. Their uniform conduct both in respect of humanity, as well as submitting

¹With the kind permission of Mr. Gregory Buesing, much of this chapter has been taken directly from his paper, "Maliseet and Micmac Rights and Treaties in the United States".

with patience under every difficulty was not inferior to the most disciplined troops, and even when imposed on at a time of intoxication and fleeced of the little they had, they always sat down contented and resigned without any appearance of resentment or malice (Kidder 1867:313).

Allan reported that the Micmac Tribe, the largest and most powerful of the Wabanaki Tribes, alone could have defeated the Americans in the region, had they sided with the British. Yet they remained faithful to their commitments to the Americans, despite the fact that they were alternately cheated and raided by American traders and privateers (from Kidder 1867:294):

I would only observe that had the Indians followed the example of these plunderers and illicit traders...the whole Eastern Country as well as Nova Scotia, would very probably been in a state of ruin and desolation or lost to the United States. (Kidder 1867:295).

From the beginning of the War in 1775 the disposition of the four Wabanaki Tribes, as well as their western allies', was of considerable interest to both the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and to the Provincial Congress in Massachusetts, for the Indians held the balance of power on the northern and eastern frontiers. To the great surprise of the rebels, the Indians responded favorably to American appeals and from the outset provided valuable support to their cause. In September of 1775, after the Penobscot Governor, Joseph Orono, had returned from Massachusetts where he signed a treaty with the government there, Maliseet Governor Pierre Tomah and Second Chief Ambrose St. Aubin Bear declared

their support for the Americans, agreeing to the same terms the Penobscots had reached. Soon afterwards, a delegation of Maliseets and Passamaquoddies traveled to Massachusetts where they met with General Washington (from Kidder 1867:54-55).

In early 1776 these delegates returned to their home with a letter from Washington and a "Chain of Friendship". The letter and chain were received by the Maliseets in April or early May. The Whigs residing at Maugerville on the St. John River reported that "General Washington's letter set them on fire" (Kidder 1867:66). The Maliseet reaction was so favorable that Major Francis Shaw was dispatched from the Fort at Machias in the District of Maine to negotiate a treaty with them in June of 1776. Washington's correspondence was forwarded to the Micmacs by the Passamaquoddies during the spring of 1776. In answer to the letter, the Micmacs and Maliseets sent a delegation of 10 members to sit down with the American Leaders in Watertown, Massachusetts in July of 1776. During their visit they met several times with the Massachusetts Council and concluded a treaty of friendship and military alliance (Baxter 24:188-93). The agreement was ratified by the Maliseets but did not meet with the approval of the Micmac General Council at this time for they felt that the Americans were unable to provide the support promised. Nevertheless, when the American Col. Jonathan Eddy attacked the British Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia in the fall of 1776 he was accompanied by both Micmacs and Maliseets (Baxter 14:375-6).

The Micmac's fear that the Americans would not be able to live up to their side of the various treaties was not ill-founded. Throughout the second half of 1776 and for the rest of the war, the Americans were rarely able to provide a sufficient quantity of fairly priced trade goods, upon which the Indians were dependent. Therefore Governor Pierre Tomah of the Maliseets

traveled to Philadelphia with a delegation of his own Tribe and of Penobscots to meet with Washington. In March of 1777 Ambrose St. Aubin Bear traveled to Boston also to complain about this situation before the Massachusetts Court. Sensing the potential danger of the situation, Washington urged Congress to appoint an agent to deal with the Wabanaki and to insure their trade, for if the Americans could not live up to their trade agreements, the Indians would be forced to turn to British for necessary goods. In response to rising tensions the Continental Congress commissioned John Allan, a Nova Scotia farmer and fur trader, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Eastern Department. In his 1793 letter to Adams, Allan described the post:

as the nature and extent of the business was fully understood by the several official departments to whom it was communicated, the agency appointed for this purpose comprehended the whole Eastward and Northward of Connecticut River, making no exceptions in what Nation or Country the Indians resorted (Kidder 1867:311).

Congress also gave Allan instructions respecting trade with the Indians (from Kidder 1867:181).

Early in 1777 Allan left Philadelphia for Boston where he began to formulate plans for the invasion of Nova Scotia. First he would secure the St. John Valley with a force of 900 colonists and with the assistance of the Indian people. Here he would set up his agency, build two forts, and attack the eastern portions of the Province (from Kidder 1867:181). A key part of his plan was to make a strong treaty with the Wabanaki Tribes. This he accomplished with the Maliseets and Passamaquoddies at a treaty convention at Aukpaque, a major Maliseet village at the present site of Fredericton, N.B. between July 12th and July 23rd, 1777 (from Kidder 1867:105-6).

In September 1777 the Penobscots also entered into this treaty (Kidder: 121, 234-5). Although the treaty document, itself, is lost, Allen described its contents to Samuel Adams in 1793: (from Kidder 1867:121 and 234-5).

It was agreed and concluded that peace and friendship be now established permanent and lasting between the United States and the several Tribes that such of them as were in the vicinity of the States should immediately withdraw and assist in the defense of the country which lay within the jurisdiction of the United States. That any Indian individual belonging to those Tribes whose situation would not permit them publicly to take an active part were admitted to join with those who did. That those employed should be supported during their service and the widows and children of such as died in the time, to be taken care of till otherwise provided for. That they should be forever viewed as brothers and children, under the protection and fatherly care of the United States and enjoy every right and privilege, according to the difference of situation in proportion with others. They should enjoy the free exercise of religion agreeable to their profession, a clergyman of that denomination be furnished and a suitable residence be provided for him, on which a place of worship was to be erected. They were to have exclusive right to the beaver hunt, or if not consistent with the rights of others, necessary steps were to be taken, as to prevent a destruction of the game and other enormities committed by the white hunters, by which conduct a great diminution of that ancient and profitable support has been the consequences. That in times of difficulty

and distress, or by any unforeseen calamity those who live within the Territory of the United States, should be furnished with ammunition for fowling and in proportion as their necessities. That trade was to be so regulated as to prevent imposition, that an agent should constantly reside as near them as possible, to whom they might apply for redress and to assist in transacting of business among the inhabitants and such other necessary matter as their situation required. (emphasis added) (Kidder 1867:311-12).

These were the major agreements of the Treaty of 1777. Allan reported that both the Passamaquoddies and Maliseets agreed to enter further agreements with the United States during the course of the war. Such agreements laid the groundwork for future land cessions to the United States in return for "the ancient spots of ground, which they have hitherto occupied, and a Suitable tract for the use of all Indians, which might have occasion to resort there" (from Kidder 1867:312). There is no evidence to suggest that the Treaty of 1777 or any of the subsequent agreements were ever formally ratified by the United States Congress. Allan, however, did negotiate with the consent of Congress and it is quite clear, as is shown below, that the Indian people acted in all faith, believing that their treaties with America carried the weight of law. Letters from General Washington, Col. Allan, the Massachusetts Council, and reports about the stands taken by the Continental Congress could only confirm their belief.

The Treaty of 1777 was entered into under the threat of British warships anchored at the mouth of the St. John River. Governor Pierre Tomah argued against the treaty, citing the America's inability to keep their part of the bargain; he argued for a stance of neutrality, for fear that the

the people would lose their land completely should the British decide to invade. Allan countered that the Maliseet homeland could be taken back when the army being raised in Massachusetts to invade Nova Scotia arrived. Immediately after the treaty was signed, the British invaded and the Maliseets were compelled to evacuate their homeland, making a retreat up the St. John and over into Maine. Allan wrote "It is incredible what difficulties the Indians undergo in this troublesome time rather than become friends of the Tyrant of Britian" (Kidder 1867:117). After they reached Allan's headquarters in Machias the Maliseets were instrumental in defending the town against a British invasion. Shortly thereafter, they learned that General Washington had cancelled the plans to retake and fortify the St. John River. For his part in the Battle of Machias, Allan was made a Colonel in the Massachusetts militia. For their part in the Battle, the Maliseets received the praise and thanks of the Massachusetts Council.

In the summer of 1778 the Micmacs declared for the Americans, after hearing that their old ally, France, was entering the War. On July 14, Col. Allan received a message from the Micmacs:

three strings of Wampum, one from the Civil Chiefs, one from the Warriors to the Warriors of the United States, one for the King of France, welcoming him into the country, to be an ally of America. They declared their zeal and attachment...
and stated that they were ready when called upon to take up the hatchet (Kidder 1867:250).

A week later, three Micmac messengers arrived; and Allan held a Grand Council with them and with the leaders of the Maliseets, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots. An attack was planned on the new British Fort that had been constructed at the mouth of the St. John. Allan dispatched a force of 90

canoes under the Maliseet Captain Nicholas Hawwawesh in August (from Kidder 1867:254). At the same time a force of 200 Micmac canoes was assembling in the Restigouch and Miramichi areas (from MacDonald 1912:36). The attack was diverted by British troop movements and diplomatic maneuvers and by the forceful leadership of Governor Pierre Tomah, who interceded for the British, again arguing for neutrality. To make his point stronger, Tomah signed a peace treaty with the British in September. Most of the Maliseets and Micmacs returned either to their villages or to Allan's camp, uncommitted to Tomah's treaty.

The Micmacs and Maliseets continued to launch raids on British shipping and trading posts. The Micmacs, being more distant from the Americans than the Maliseets, were more easily punished by the British. In August of 1779 the British attacked the Micmac Village on the Miramichi River, killing or capturing a large portion of their fighting men. The chief fled and was declared a rebel. A new chief, sanctioned by the British, was then installed, whereupon a peace treaty was signed. The capitulation of the Miramichi's band led to a similar agreement signed in September of 1779 by delegates from Richibucto, Restigouche, Windsor, and Shediac (from Schoolcraft V.6 1857:677 and Gesner 1847:48).

In 1780 the British were able to bring even more pressure on the Maliseets and Micmacs. In June of 1780 a Grand Council was held on the St. John attended by Mohawks, Montagnais, St. Francis Abenakis, Ottawas, and Hurons as well as the Wabanaki Tribes. The Maliseets, Micmacs, Penobscots and Passamaquoddies were told about the great suffering caused by Schuyler's campaign in the West. The Western Tribes were planning reprisal raids against the Americans, and warned them that they should "withdraw immediately, for they will be treated like the enemy if they remain with them" (Raymond 1905:229). The Micmacs and Maliseets, however, refused to dissociate

themselves from the Americans. Rather, in July of 1780 all the Indians in Allan's Superintendency sent a large wampum belt to the Congress in Philadelphia and to the King of France, "as a pledge of their friendship and fidelity" (Kidder 1867:286). The belt was actually presented to the Provincial Congress in Massachusetts and to the French Consulate there by Allan's representative, who stated that "the Belt is to be returned to them again with medals at each end, as tokens of accepting their alliance and friendship". (Papers of the Continental Congress, roll 71, 58:59).

Until the end of the War, the Indians were swindled by the American Traders and raided by American privateers; but they continued to defend the American cause. Governor Michael Augustine of the Micmac village of Richibucto was a good example; in 1782 Allan wrote:

The conduct of this Chief and the Villages under his immediate care, is well known to many besides myself, during the War in opposing and threatening upon all occasions the British Government when attempting to employ the Indians and do much in his zeal, that even in the Country where the Britons have the Preminance, no trader dares go among them, who does not express sentiments in favor of America (Kidder 1867:294-5).

On June 3, 1783, the Eastern Indian Superintendency was placed on a peace footing by Congress and shortly thereafter the military post at Machias was closed (Papers of the Continental Congress, roll 26, V. 19 p. 53). Allan reported that:

At the close of the war, a circumstantial account of the proceedings was laid before the Government of Massachusetts

and Congress and approved by them. As the constitution invested the latter with the management of Indian Affairs, they of course fixed the agency on a peace establishment which comprehended as before the whole tribes Eastward of Connecticut River, the plan adopted would have prevented much trouble and expense and given security to the country, this appointment took place in June, 1783. In September it was communicated to the Indians in the several parts who signified their satisfaction. The treaty of 1777 was then confirmed and an arrangement for future conduct (Kidder 1867: 313-14).

Months passed however and no progress was made toward settling the Indian claims that had been confirmed by the Treaty of 1777. So on Christmas Day of 1783, a meeting was called at the Passamaquoddy village on the Schoodic (St. Croix) River. Attending were "several of the chiefs and young men of the St. Johns and Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians. A number of Micmacs and Penobscots...being present, and John Allan Superintendant of Indians, Eastern Department" (Papers of the Continental Congress, roll 71, v. 58, p. 59). Captain Nicholas Hawwawes, A Maliseet who appears to have ascended to the leadership of the "American party" after the death of Ambrose St. Aubin Bear, addressed the assembly. He recounted the role that his people had played during the war and asked that they now be treated justly. Captain Hawwawes made it clear that all the Wabanaki people were united in this plea: "Brother, you know that messages have lately come from our brothers on the River St. John [and] in the Micmac Country and you must know their minds. We don't meet here as ourselves, but speak with the voice of all our brothers in those distant parts."

Allan left Maine shortly thereafter to report back to Congress. In February of 1784 he wrote a letter of encouragement to the Wabanaki people encamped at Passamaquoddy:

Brothers: I have transmitted to Congress the Great Council of this Nation, your last speech, as well as what passed at our several conferences when last at Passamaquoddy: they received it with glad hearts, and expect every hour an answer, which will be delivered you early in the Spring. Also the Great Council of the Massachusetts, and all your Brothers Westward, has a love and regard for you. They feel the affection of Brothers, and desires and wishes nothing but your welfare that you may enjoy all your rights and privileges in as full and ample a manner as any of your Brother citizens of the United States; and are determined to see justice done in your claims, as far as is consistent with their power and authority (Kidder 1867:297-8).

In January of 1784, however, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts began to undermine Allan's Superintendency, protesting to Congress its reestablishment on a peace footing. For reasons that are not entirely clear, the Agency was dissolved in March of 1784. The Massachusetts government immediately set out to obtain a land cession from the Penobscots. The Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Micmacs, however, were ignored; as Allan wrote to Sam Adams in 1793: "It does not appear that any notice has been taken of them Eastward of Penobscot"(Kidder 1867:314). Allan stated that this treatment was very costly to the Maliseets and Passamaquoddies: The Indians notwithstanding the treatment and neglect, continued sometime in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy expecting

when the confusion and hurry arising from the war were subsided, notice would be taken of them; but nothing encouraging coming to view they began to withdraw in small bodies to their former settlements, destitute of necessaries to subsist, and of friends to protect them. In this indignant state, those of St. Johns suffered much and they felt the resentment of the loyalist, for their attachment and assistance to the United States (Kidder 1867: 314).

Thus both the United States and Massachusetts ignored the various treaties of the Revolution period.

This situation was of course very disquieting to the Indian people and Allan reported they began to hold councils "respecting their situation still attached to this country, they repeatedly applied to me for a settlement." (Kidder 1867:314). The Indians anger was also apparent to the settlers who began to invade the Indian's territory; in 1786 a rumor spread throughout Eastern Maine "that the Northern Indians meditated a blow upon our young Settlements" (Lincoln 1787). Each year Indian protests became louder; Allan reported: "That in January 1791, a message came from the several villages on the St. Johns and repeated their demands and delivered it in such a manner as alarmed me." (Kidder 1867:315). This ultimatum resulted in a letter to the General Court of Massachusetts calling for a settlement and to the Bishop of Baltimore requesting a priest. A priest arrived in October of 1792 and in March of 1793 the Massachusetts General Court appointed Commissioners to meet with the Indians East of Penobscot. The meeting was held in October 1793, but Allan wrote that the Commissioner's power was limited and that no satisfactory agreement could be made. In

November of 1793 Allan, who was one of the Commissioners, was summoned to the St. John for further consultations. The Indians recounted that:

"...their Treaties and the promises made them...they demanded a fulfillment of these promises; particular lands for settlements, which if refused they should view themselves free from all engagements and be at liberty to treat and accept of any proposals made to them by any other power and in future to pursue in their own way what they thought consistent with their rights and interest" (Kidder 1867:315-16).

They agreed however, to wait until February, 1794 for Massachusetts' answer (from Kidder 1867:316).

On September 23, 1794 the final negotiation session for the 1794 treaty were begun in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy Bay. On that date "the Indians assembled to the number of forty, comprehending principle characters of the Maliseets, Passamaquoddies and Micmac Tribes, and some belonging to Canada" (Campbell, Allan, and Stillman 1799:1). The Indian solidarity was complete:

the Chiefs of Passamaquoddy and Maliseet Tribes, delivered their speeches alternately. No distinction was observed, nor would they allow any settlement wherein they were not equally concerned, as well more residing in the Micmac Country and confines of Canada (Campbell, Allan and Stillman 1794:2).

Again their principal complaints were put forth; in particular they complained:

That the promises made in time of War, were not fulfilled particular that of lands, for improvement and residence; tho

they had resigned to the United States all claims within the several haunts, on condition of enjoying an equal right with others (Campbell, Allan and Stillman 1794:2).

They decried their treatment by traders, the destruction of the beaver hunt (to which they had been promised exclusive rights) and the deprivation of the "Rites of their Religion." The treaty that was concluded was acceptable to the delegates present. They then withdrew to the St. John to deliberate with those not present at the convention. Allan reported that "since this conference, a large Council of several Tribes have met at a distant Village, and in solemn manner, confirmed what had been done at Passamaquoddy, which proceedings were accomplished with strings of Wampum" (Report of the Commissioners). Allan reported that representatives of this Council returned to Passamaquoddy on November 24th. Three speeches were delivered by the Indian representatives: Jack Querrien, an old chief spoke for "the Indians of the Maliseet and Micmac Tribes, residing on St. John River and other parts adjacent;" Johnnot Dennie of Passamaquoddy spoke, stating that they had been unable to confirm the treaty until going to the St. John, "because it is our custom never to do it without the knowledge of all the young men, as well as Chiefs;" finally, Francis Joseph Neptune, the Passamaquoddy Governor and Revolutionary War Hero, spoke "for all the Tribes" (Allan Ms).

It is clear from the various speeches that the 1794 treaty was seen by the Indians as a confirmation and elaboration of previous treaties with the United States and Massachusetts. Over and over the delegates expressed their desire to maintain peace and friendship with the United States. The Massachusetts Commissioners viewed the treaty as providing considerable military protection for the Eastern settlements from British supported, Indian raids.

The officially recorded parties to the Treaty of 1794 are the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Passamaquoddies and "all those connected with them". That this phrase included Micmacs and Maliseets is incontrovertible from the evidence presented above. Indeed, Allan reported after the 1793 conferences:

it may be seen that there is no distinction to be made between the various tribes⁷, but if there was, the Passamaquoddy Tribe comparatively have the least claim, both as to numbers and attention in time of difficulty, and in the late transaction there were five others to one of them (Kidder 1867: 317).

The names of the Maliseet and Micmac Tribes were left out of the 1794 treaty because the majority of Massachusetts commissioners believed they had "no right to negotiate with Indians, that don't live within the jurisdiction of the States;" it was probably this belief that stymied the negotiations of 1793 (Kidder 1867: 317). By a resolve of June 26, 1794 however, their authority was clearly expanded to include other Indians connected with the Passamaquoddies (from Wright and Potter 1895: 197).

It is clear that the jurisdictional concern of the commissioners arose partly out of their lack of knowledge of Maliseet territory and residence within the areas claimed by the United States. More significantly, it failed to deal realistically with the greater Indian body politic which both the United States and Massachusetts had previously recognized by treaty, and with which they now needed to secure a lasting peace. In 1793, Col Allan was the only one of the Commissioners who denied the relevance of the jurisdictional element. He explained in a letter to Samuel Adams the position that was soon adopted by the Massachusetts General Court:

But this sentiment I never heard advanced before, either by the French, English or any other nation. Indians are not

subject to, or amenable to any power; they have been always viewed as a distinct body, governed by their own customs and manners, nor will they ever tamely submit to any authority different from their own, while, they remain in the present uncivilized state.

Their mode of life leads them thro' the Territory of different nations, their residence uncertain and changeable, that it can not be known where they really belong except that they were born in such a district and may be called by the name of the Tribe.

I presume that at every treaty and conference with the United States a large proportion live upon lands, to which our Government have no claim, and I know this to have been the case with the French and English.

It is not the right of soil or the claiming a jurisdiction that should be contended for, nor to prompt them to acts of hostility against any nation or people; but to secure their amity and interest to prevent those horrid scenes of revenge and cruelty to which they are accustomed. I am fully persuaded that every Nation who are subject to depredations from them have a right and authority to cultivate their friendship, and pursue for that purpose every measure by negotiations or other methods, either in the country where they reside, or any other place agreed on (provided it does not disturb the peace and quiet of the civilized subject), in order to guard against and ward off such evils, as much as to defend themselves against the wolf or bear. For should the former doctrine be established, the Eastern Country must be in a

ruinous situation, as there can be no Indians to treat with in the Eastern Department, but those of Penobscot, for even those of the Passamaquoddy Tribe now reside mostly within the British lines. (Kidder 1867: 317-318).

The 1794 Treaty was intended to be more than a land cession. It was intended to join two people in friendship irrespective of any "international border". It provided safety to the colonists in return for certain rights for the Indians whenever they were in the United States.

The jurisdictional issue has been largely irrelevant to the Wabanaki, themselves in terms of their international organizations. The Micmacs, Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, and Penobscots are culturally and linguistically very similar, both because they historically come from the same "proto" - organization and because they have had extensive relations with one another. At the time of the Revolutionary War, Col. Allan described their organizations as:

A correspondence and intercourse have been opened a long time, though the several Tribes....and I can assert from authority that an Indian can hardly be found past 30 years of age but is acquainted and known within this circle. The very easy conveyance by the Lakes, rivers and streams so interspersed in this Country, they can easy take their women, children and baggage, where ever their interest, curiosity, or caprice may lead them, and their natural propensity for roving is such that you will see families in the course of a year go through the greatest part of this extent. This is course brings on a nearer connection

by intermarriages which is now become universal, particular as far as Merrimichi and St. Francis so much that I well know that numbers which I had in the War are now residents in Canada and other distant parts, and many from thence are now living at St. Johns, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy. Thus connected there appears no distinction in the right of the several hunting grounds, for all by some tie or other have an equal claim, are fully domesticated as if natives of the district (Kidder 1867:307-308).

This social cohesiveness was reflected in a political union known as the Wabanaki Confederacy which united the various Wabanaki Tribes: (there is considerable literature on this subject, see Bear 1966, Prince 1897 and 1921, Speck 1915). Allan noted that: "The same privileges are observed in Council in peace or war, whether in a local or general assembly, the result you will hear of at a most distant part in a short time" (Kidder 1867:308). The Wabanaki Confederacy had a comprehensive set of laws that were designed to insure the continued political and social cohesiveness of the Wabanaki Tribes. These laws provided for the installation of chiefs (which required the participation of distant villages), the arrangement of marriages, the declaration of war, and the regulation of hunting territories. The Wabanaki Confederacy continued to be a viable organization well into the 19th century. In 1847, for instance, Gesner reported:

The Chiefs and Delegates of the Penobscots, Micmacs, and Maliseets hold a council annually at Point Pleasant Passama-
quoddy Reservation on the Saint Croix, where they renew

their friendship and establish regulations for the public weal (Gesner 1847: 115-116).

The Confederacy remained active throughout the 19th Century despite attempts by government officials to break it up and despite the lack of assistance that might have been expected from the various treaties. In 1852, Governor Hubbard of Maine urged the Passamaquoddies to sever their relationship with the other tribes. He wrote that the Indians in Canada:

are controlled by the British Government, and their interests are different from yours and from ours....If you ask their advice and assistance, will they not ask you go give them some pay for it?....They but men, they cannot heal your difficulties (Record of Council Letters 4: 222-226).

The Passamaquoddies did not find the Governor's argument to be convincing. At the Indian Township Passamaquoddy Reservation the Wampum laws and treaties were recited as late as 1892 (from Brown 1892: 58) and as late as 1915 among the Micmac (from Speck 1915: 506).

3. MALISEET USE OF AROOSTOOK LANDS 1790-1870.

The period from 1790 to 1870 appears to have been a time when increasing outside pressures worked to make it increasingly difficult for the Maliseet people to continue living their lives as had been traditional. Before this time, the lower Saint John Valley had only been sparsely settled by Europeans. But, the period immediately following the Revolutionary War wrought drastic changes for the Maliseets and for the white settlers who had been living on the lower Saint John Valley. For these earlier inhabitants were faced with a relatively vast immigration of new residents. These new immigrants were made up of those individuals who had remained loyal to the British Crown and who were viewed as turncoats to the American Revolutionary cause. Despite the pressures for change, the Maliseet people clung tenaciously to the vestiges of their traditional lifestyle. It would seem coherent to view the end of this period as the time when the Maliseet are becoming increasingly sedentary. And as this happens, the tendency emerges for the family bands to locate in areas not far off the traditional tracts of each family band.

The surrender of Cornwallis's army rendered the condition of the British Loyalists in the revolting colonies extremely precarious. To check farther American expansionism, British authorities in North America found it prudent to accomodate the Loyalists in situations that would be apropos to their designs. And filling the Saint John Valley with a loyalist population fit the British designs as well as possible. Of course, to expedite this process, some of the pre-Revolutionary War inhabitants would have to be

removed.

To make way for the loyal populace, the French Acadians were forced out of their settlements on the lower Saint John Valley. The Acadians were promised government grants if they would only settle on land in the upper Sain John Valley. At that time, it did not at all seem odd to the Acadians, who knew nothing of the Peace Treaty signed by the warring parties, that their grants were made in territory claimed by the Americans.

The Maliseet people seemed secure in their village sites for they had received a pre-Revolutionary War grant to their major village at Aukpaque (near modern day Fredericton, New Brunswick). They felt secure enough to allow a lease of their lands at Aukupaque for nine years, but as tradition asserts, that lease somehow became recorded for 999 years. The Maliseets had also received a pre-loyalist grant to their ancient village of Meductic which was later "mistakenly" granted to loyalist settlers. Meductic continued to be occupied by the Maliseets with the so called sufferance of the loyalist grantees, down to 1851, in which year the Woodstock reserve was purchased for them. At the time of the coming of the loyalists, the Maliseets secured a grant to their village at the mouth of the Madawaska River. This village at the mouth of the Madawaska became for a time the major village of the Maliseets on the Saint John. In 1821, for instance, Jedediah Morse conducted

a survey of all the Indians residing in the United States for the Department of War. He recorded that there was a village of "St. John Indians" living at Madawaska, which was then (1822) in territory jointly claimed by the United States and Great Britian (from Morse 1822: 64). As of 1825, Schoolcraft also reported the existence of some 300 "St. John Indians" in the United States, although he had "no information as to their lands".

British authorities well knew that this grant to the Maliseets at Madawaska and the Acadian grants on the upper Saint John were lying within territory claimed by the United States. William Ganong has analysed the period of the boundary controversy and he has found that the British claim to the upper Saint John River drainage did not develop until 1814 (from Ganong 1901: 306). From the preceeding, it seems clear that the British authorities were attempting to place the Maliseets and the Acadians in a region outside of the territory claimed by Britian. Despite these pressures, it would seem evident that the Maliseet presevered in situations thaat were their traditional resorts. Until 1805, the Acadian settlers who had British grants to lands on the south side of the Saint John River remained the only white settlers in what would become Aroostook County (see Figure 8).

The New Salem Academy of Massachusetts received in 1799 a

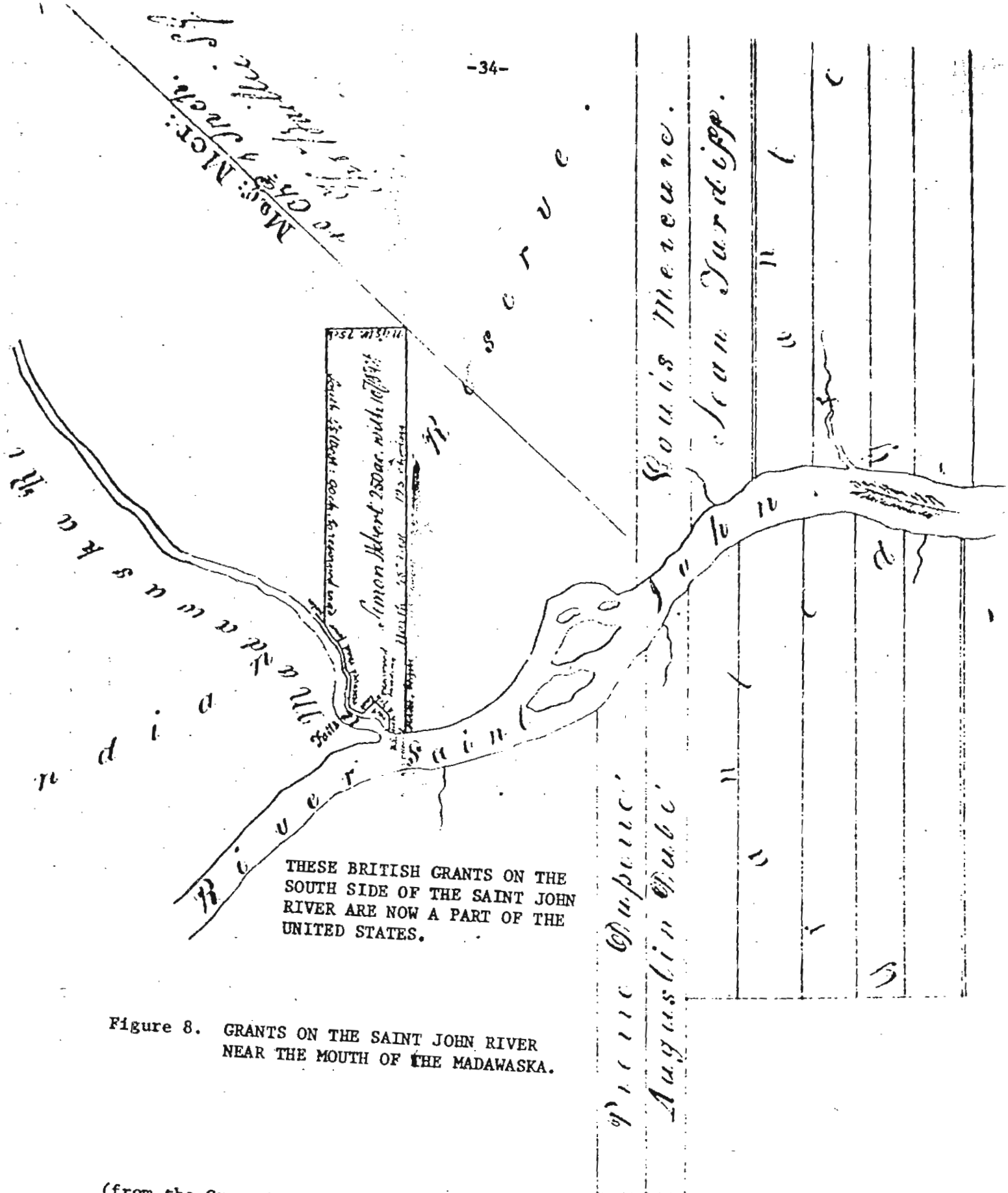


Figure 8. GRANTS ON THE SAINT JOHN RIVER NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE MADAWASKA.

(from the Crown Lands Office, Fredericton, New Brunswick - as part of a document recording the lease of part of the Madawaska Indian Reserve to Simon Herbert for 21 years. Dated: 18 June 1821.)

grant to one half a township in any part of the unappropriated lands of Maine. In 1801, the half township was selected in the region of what would become Houlton by Joseph Houlton and surveyed by Park Holland. In the summer of 1805, Aaron Putnam with his family came to Woodstock, New Brunswick where they remained until 1809. While the family stayed in Woodstock, the younger men began the process of clearing the land in the Houlton region. In 1807, Joseph Houlton, Samuel Cook (his son-in-law), and James Houlton (a married son) were the first families to become permanent settlers of Houlton. When these settlers came to Houlton, they found, of course, Maliseets there to welcome them to their new home.

A few references to the pervasiveness of the Indian presence can be found in a few of the histories of Houlton. In an early history which purports to describe the condition of Aroostook County, we find that: "No Anglo Saxon settlements, of any consequence, existed anywhere within its borders, away from the coast line. It was all a wild unknown region, still in the possession of the Indians (emphasis added), except the Acadian refugee settlement of Madawaska" (Barnes 1889: 3). Joseph Kendall, who was an early settler of Houlton, has written one of the early histories of Houlton. He provides a few interesting references to the Indians.

Mr. Putnam made a location of rare romantic beauty; surrounded as it is on the east, south and west by the waters of the Meduxnakeag, the aboriginal name, but which is now familiarly called the creek. The north branch empties in on the west, which contributes about one-third to its waters. The elevated bank, which rises rather abruptly, following the creek, upon which Mr. Putnam built a log house, affords a fine view of the opposite surrounding localities. Here the Indians frequently passed up and down, with their bark canoes deeply laden with their valuables, such as a variety of game, "squaws" and "papooses" (Kendall 1884:10-11).

Although Kendall has written with an intimacy of one who was there, he fails to offer any names for the Indian families that he saw.

Cora Putnam, who wrote a modern history of Houlton, recounts much the same detail and offers an explanation why the early settlers were apprehensive about the Indians:

The first fact to remember is that Houlton was surrounded by Indians. The two tribes coming in contact with early settlers were the Micmacs and the Malicites, who had a roaming permit allowing them free access to the hunting grounds in Aroostook and New Brunswick. One of their hunting grounds was said to be on the Meduxnekeag River, which flows through the center of Houlton. Often the settlers saw these Indians going up or down this stream, their bark canoes laden with their trophies of the hunt, their squaws, and their papooses. The Indian frequently showed the settler the way of the forest, how to track the bear and the timber wolf, how to tan hides, and how to run down the giant moose when the snow was deep and crust-coated. They proved to

be friendly and helpful neighbors, and relations with them were on the whole cordial, with the exception of a brief period during the War of 1812 (Putnam 1958:32).

The striking feature of this Putnam narrative is the generally friendly relations that were maintained between Indians and whites.

The period of discord for which Putnam has alluded to would seem to have been more of a general panic brought about by the news of the outbreak of war. Samuel Kendall has supplied some of the intimate detail for this period:

At the news of the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britian in 1812, of which the inhabitants of Houlton were apprised on the fourth of July, being panic struck, in view of their exposed situation, in the heart of the wilderness, surrounded by savages- on the morning of the fifth, Samuel Haskell, a visitor from New Salem, (who informed the writer,) was dispatched as messenger to Woodstook to consult some of the principal inhabitants of that place concerning what could be done to secure these defenceless families from insult and plunder by the Meductic tribe of Indians. But before Mr. Haskell reached Woodstook he met three Provincials on the way to Houlton upon a message of amity.

Soon after, George Morehouse, Esq., authorized by the Provincial government, came and informed the people of Houlton that they might remain unmolested as in time of peace, that the arms of the Indians had been secured, and the inhabitants forbidden to sell them ammunition; the government was supplying them with provision. Thus their defence was guaranteed, provided, however, that the citizens of Houlton should neither bear

arms, aid nor assist in any military operation or designs against His Majesty's subjects; and in case of any hostile movements on the line or in the vicinity of Houlton, either from the American government or by the Indians, they were forthwith to notify the citizens of New Brunswick thereof (Kendall 1884:13-14).

It would seem from this narrative that the British government was more concerned with the Indian peril than the citizens of Houlton. This British reaction may have been unjustified but it was undoubtedly generated by the memory of the Revolutionary War when the Maliseets and Micmacs sided with the Americans. During the War of 1812, the British secured the neutrality of the Maliseets and Micmacs with the simple expedient of taking their arms. Kendall has also supplied information on additional preparations: "The first sparse settlers upon the banks of the St. John were fearful of the Indians in both governments; and males from sixteen years of age and upwards, that were able to bear arms, were furnished with them by the government" (Kendall 1884:14).

Despite these preparations for war, Kendall's History of Houlton generally creates the impression that Indian/white relations remained on a good footing. For a frontier settlement like Houlton, ready cash was always in short supply. The early settlers were apparently able to barter with the Indians for furs which they could exchange for currency. We find from Kendall that in 1813 a group of Houlton residents carried to Massachusetts packs of furs which they had traded from the Indians (from Kendall 1884:17). Kendall has also related an early tale concerning a hunting trip taken by two young men, one Indian and the other white:

A young Indian invited a youth of Houlton to accompany him on a hunting

expedition. The young man, pleased with this son of the forest, accepted the invitation, delighted as he was with the prospect of such a novel excursion; with spirits buoyant with the anticipation of inexperienced youth, on a beautiful September morning started off, with his Indian friend, for the hunt, with the entire equipage for the outfit, with gun, hatchets, knives, blankets, and provision (Kendall 1884:24).

Finally, Kendall relates that the Indians found a ready market in Houlton for selling game to the white settlers (from Kendall 1884:27).

Clearly, Indian/white relations in Houlton were common and cordial. But, it is both odd and frustrating that the writers of these histories of Houlton rarely mention the names of the Indian families or the locations where they camped. The one exception to this apparent trend gives both the names of the Indian and the location of their camp within the modern limits of Houlton. William J. Thibadeau, writing on the first Irish settler to come to Aroostook county in 1811, mentions the camp of Ambrose Bear:

It (Aroostook County) was all a wide, unknown region, still in the possession of Indians, except the Acadian refugee settler of Madawaska. There was at that time an Indian living with his family on the north side of the Meduxnekeag Stream, near the Cold Spring, on land now owned by M. D. and Albert Putnam, directly west of the Bowdoin Street schoolhouse. To this day, remains of the old Indians, works and camps, can be found on the spot. The Indians name was Ambrose Bear, and to this Indian camp Squire Cook and John Mullen made their way, and had their supper, lodging and breakfast. At that time, Newell Bear, son of Ambrose, was eleven years of age, and he personally told the

writer that he remembered the occasion, and also remembered the appearance of the two men. Newell Bear died in 1908 in Westfield, Aroostook County, at the age of 108 years (Thibadeau 1910:11). This old Newell (or Noel) Bear (see figure 9) was a well known figure



Figure 9. NEWELL BEAR
(from Thibadeau 1910: facing 11)

throughout northern Maine and western New Brunswick. He was a famous hunter who reported hunting with his father all through the eastern part of Maine and accross into New Brunswick (from anonymous n.d.:200). Although Thibadeau gave Newell Bear as the son of Ambrose Bear, the informants that Speck and Hadlock (1946) spoke to reported that Newell Bear was the younger brother of Ambrose Bear and that the two worked their hunting territories together (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:364). And with information from Andrea (Bear) Nicholas, we find that this is much more in line with traditional opinion on the genealogical connection of these men.

It was Newell Bear's skill as a hunter that made him famous over the years. The Northeastern boundary of Maine was not decided until the signing of the Webster-Asburton Treaty of 1842. Tensions grew between America and Britian during the 1820's and 1830's and troops were for a time stationed at Houlton and Fort Fairfield. This period has come to be known as the "blood-less Aroostook War". And we find that Newell Bear's hunting ability was found useful to the American troops stationed at Fort Fairfield: "At the time of the Aroostook War, which arose out of the boundary dispute between Maine and New Brunswick, he (Newell Bear) was engaged by the soldiers garrisoned in Fort Fairfield to bring moose meat for them out of the woods, and he made many acquaintances then from all over the states, as well as among the regular army officers" (Anonymous n.d.: 201). If we remember the strong support that Ambrose St. Aubin Bear, as second chief of the Maliseets, had given to the American Revolutnary cause under Col. John Allen, Newell's supportive work at Fort Fairfield seems to fit into a family tradition. For it is possible to posit that Ambrose St. Aubin Bear was the grandfather of Newell Bear. This posited relationship of the Bear men is, at least, roughly in line with the family traditions of the Bear family. And men of the Bear family will occur again through this history. Ever since the days of Ambrose St. Aubin Bear. This Bear family seems to show a strong pro-American orientation.

Another, Maliseet family name that occurs often and early in Houlton history is Tomah. The earliest white settler in the Island Falls area was a family named Sewall. During the first winter in their new home (1843), the only neighbor that they had was an Indian, named Tomah, and his family. Apparently, they quickly established a division of labor that was commonly found between whites and Indians: "Father furnished the Indian with flour,

vegetables and cornmeal, and the Indian (Tomah) furnished the meat" (Harmon and Miller 1972:9). This is a fascinating reference for it fits nearly perfectly into our conceptions of the Maliseet Family hunting territories as supplied to us by Speck and Hadlock (1946). For they state that Captain Tomah hunted the region of Grand Lake and its headwaters (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:372). And as can be seen by the sketch map of the Houlton region waterways (see Figure 10) Island Falls is at the headwaters of one of the streams flowing into Grand Lake. Speck and Hadlock (1946) also supplied information on another family group whose hunting territory was located in Aroostook county:

Wapasokes, "White Hair," Sabatis, who died about eighty years ago, hunted in the regions of Black river, Fish river, and the Allegash river. Louis Sabatis, son of "White Hair," hunted the Little river region about French lake. Louis died forty-two years ago at the age of 85. His son subsequently hunted fur-bearing animals over this same territory and at the present time descendants of the Sabatis family carry on extensive trapping in this area. (Speck and Hadlock 1946:372).

Although not shown on the sketch map (Figure 10), the rivers of this hunting territory were within short portages of the Aroostook River.

The material for Speck and Hadlock's (1946) report is based on informant's statements that relate to a period before the 1870's.

For it was the decade of the 1870's that the Maliseet hunting economy climaxed (from Speck and Hadlock 1946: 360-361).

The occasion for this change in Indian settlement regarding conservation was made plain by the informants' declarations

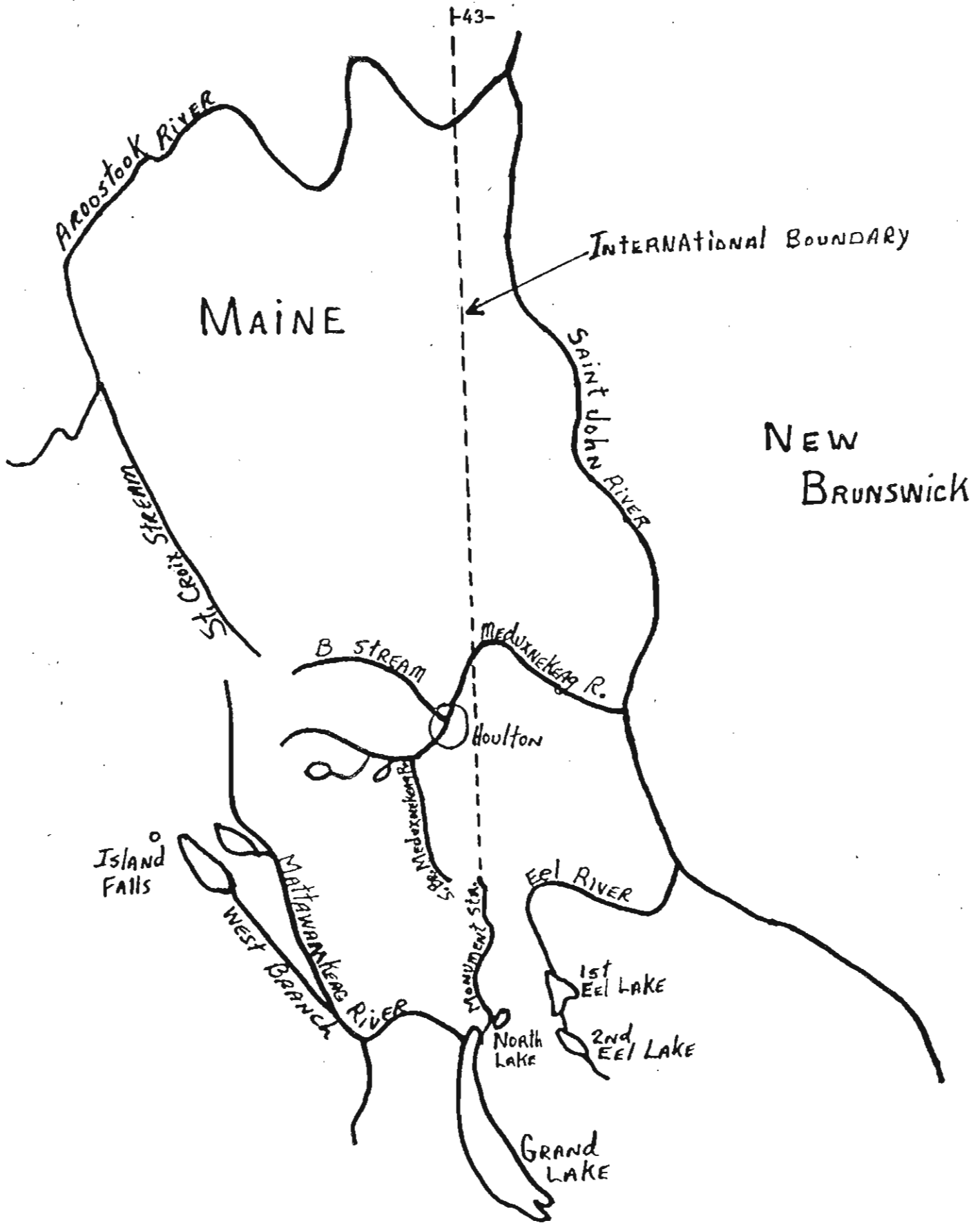


Figure 10. SKETCH MAP OF THE HOULTON REGION.

that the native hunters, seeing that the whites were bent on wholesale destruction of the game animals and fur-bearers, deliberately decided to take their share and profit from the forests before it became too late, and did so. And thus the epoch of conservative, regulated hunting by the Malecite who worked the wild woods of New Brunswick east of St. John toward the hunting grounds of the Micmac, came quite abruptly to an end (Speck and Hadlock 1946:361).

The decades that follow will find the Maliseets becoming increasingly sedentary in locations that were usually not far off from their traditional haunts.

Houlton, then, seems to have been a common resort for Maliseet Indians. And, Peter L. Paul, a Maliseet from Woodstock, New Brunswick, has suggested a reason for this apparent Maliseet orientation to Houlton. For, the Houlton region, if viewed from the perspective of a Maliseet hunter, traveling by canoe, represents a geographic nexus. The Maliseet did not carve out well worn passages through the forest as the Iroquois did for they were master craftsmen at building a light, dependable water craft, the birch-bark canoe and they were fortunate to live in a region literally filled with a tight network of streams and rivers. With relatively short portages, the rivers and streams were the routes of travel for the Maliseet people. Peter L Paul suggested that the travel north by canoe would have been better accomplished through Houlton than staying on the Saint John River. For, travel north on the Saint John River would have entailed moving against the current. On the other hand, a journey from Grand Lake to Northern Maine could have been accomplished by canoeing up Monument Stream, portaging to the South Branch of the Meduxnekeag River where downstream travel could have been taken to Houlton or on to the Saint John River. From Houlton, canoeing up 'B' Stream,

and portaging to the St. Croix Stream would have led to downstream travel through much of Aroostook County (see figure 10). This posited position of Houlton as a geographic nexus for the Maliseet canoeman, would help to explain the common sightings of Indian travelers on the Meduxmekeag by Houlton's white settlers.

4. ECONOMIC CHANGE IN AROOSTOOK AND
THE EMERGENCE OF THE HOULTON RESERVATION

1870-1920

As a location commonly visited by the Maliseet hunters, Houlton early developed into a focus for settlement. For as the family hunting groups that made up the Maliseet Nation became increasingly sedentary, the Houlton Band emerged out of the hunting economy as an autonomous and stable community. Over time, the band grew as individuals married into the community. The members of the band adjusted to the changing ecology by a mixture of Indian and non-Indian endeavors.

As late as the last half of the nineteenth century, the economy of the Maliseets was based on an annual cycle of subsistence activities. In the spring, corn was planted at central villages along the Saint John River. In June, at least some of the Maliseets might have traveled to one of the islands in the Saint John River to spear bass and sturgeon. Some of the people would have made trips back to the garden plots during the summer. Once the corn was hilled, the Maliseets would resort to convenient locales to spear salmon and other fish. Falls and rapids in the streams and rivers would probably have been ideal locations to spear salmon. Once the corn was harvested and dried, a portion was stored in subterranean pits lined with bark which served as the Maliseet grain silo. The remainder of the dried corn was taken along on the migratory winter hunt. During the winter hunt, the Maliseets broke into family bands and resorted

to the Family hunting territories. Under the direction of a patriarch, the family hunting bands would have been made up of a number of individuals linked by affinal and consanguineal ties. As ownership of the hunting territory was in the hands of the family group and as the rights to the district were transferred to the lineal descendants, hunters practiced conservation techniques to insure continuing supplies of game.

The change from this conservation ethic was brought by the frustration of the Maliseet hunters who felt that their white neighbors were intent on destroying all of the game (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:361). Speck and Hadlock (1946) have posited the 1870's as the watershed date for this change. More than ever, the decades that followed would lead to economic pursuits that were more sedentary. And increasingly, the Maliseets took up farming on land near their villages and searched for various types of employment by whites. It should be recognized however that the aboriginal land-use pattern continued well into the 20th century for the traditionally oriented Maliseet. (See chapter 5 below).

Interestingly, 1870 also seems to represent a watershed date for the white communities in Aroostook County. For this was the date that the Canadian Pacific Railroad ran a spur line into Houlton. To the Aroostook County businessman and farmer, this new rail line meant having comparatively fast and economical access to a large commercial market. This greatly improved the economy of Aroostook County.

The opening of the Rail line was also important to the development of Aroostook County as a major producer of potatoes. For although potatoes had been grown since the beginning of the white settlement of

Houlton, the commercial production of potatoes did not become important until after the Railroads had entered Houlton and Aroostook County. Aroostook County soon became one of the major potato producing regions of the United States.

These historical developments led to a change in the white community's attitude regarding the Indians of Aroostook County. For following on the climax of the Maliseet hunting economy, the introduction of the railroads, and the development of Aroostook County as a major potato producing region; the Maliseets began to settle permanently in Houlton. We find in the Houlton Town Reports from the 1870's that the Maliseets are referred to as nameless Indians:

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.	
S.H. Powers for coffin for Indian,	\$5.00
P. Lavelle for burial of Indian,	<u>\$3.00</u>
	\$8.00

(Anonymous 1872:5).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.	
J.S. Putnam, burying Indian.	\$4.00

(Anonymous 1873:5).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.	
Indians.	
Lysander Putnam, for supplies	\$18.28
Trafton and Clough, for supplies	\$13.26
A. Weeks, for supplies	\$ 3.14
W.S. Vanwart, Coffin,	<u>\$ 2.00</u>
	\$36.68

(Anonymous 1874:4).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.	
Indians.	
Laurel Monson, for supplies,	\$ 6.93
H.T. Frisbie, for supplies,	\$ 3.68
E.C. Blake, for supplies,	\$ 1.75
Syphers Bros., for supplies,	\$12.01
H.A. Mansur, for 3 coffins,	<u>\$ 9.00</u>
	\$33.37

(Anonymous 1875:6).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.

Indians.

B.H. Putnam, Supplies, \$ 4.80

(Anonymous 1877:6).

One of the town's major expenses in support of the Indian population was for costs incurred in burying them. Clearly, "Indians" were present in Houlton throughout the 1870's. The Town reports are unavailable for the years preceeding the 1870's, but it is interesting to note that when town records begin, "Indians" are present.

The search for additional materials that would indicate who these "Indians" were has proven to be a low yield project. The United States Census report for Houlton does not enumerate Indians in the census of 1870.

The Baptismal Records of Saint Mary's R.C. Church of Houlton yield the only evidence for the names of the Indians present in Houlton during the 1870's. Additional information on these individuals has not been forthcoming so it will be necessary to quote the bare details of the church records:

born - Peter Sebatís in Houlton on 8 March 1871.

Baptized - 9 May 1871

Parents - Joseph Sebatís

Sarah Francis

Sponsors - Lewis Francis

Sarah Francis

(Baptismal Records Saint Mary's R.C. Church, Houlton.)

This may represent a traditional family unit for it used to be the custom for a newly married man to live with and work for his wife's parents, at least, until the first child was born. It is interesting to note that Speck and Hadlock had located the Sebatís hunting territory on the Black, Fish and Allegash Rivers (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:372). Figure 11 represents an attempt to combine all of our material on the locations of the Maliseet families. From this array of information, we should expect to find

the Tomah, Bear, Newell, Lacoote, Paul, Sebattis, Devou and Moulton families in the Houlton region. As was discussed earlier, the Houlton Town Records prior to 1880 do not indicate the names of the Indians. And it seems possible to suggest that only the Sebattis family chose to use the Houlton church for their Baptisms.

From the very beginning of the 1880's, Indians became named individuals to the white community. For on the United States census for 1880, individuals identified as Indians are listed as named individuals:

<u>Houlton 1880 census</u>	<u>Age</u>		<u>Place of Birth</u>		
			<u>self</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
Stevens, James	48	Head	Can.	Can.	Can.
Susan	29	wife	N.B.	N.B.	N.B.
John	13	son	N.B.	N.B.	N.B.
Lizzie	9	dau.	N.B.	N.B.	N.B.
Mary	6	dau.	N.B.	N.B.	N.B.
Solis, Sally	55	Mother	Maine	Maine	Maine
Lolar, Nicholas	53	Head	Maine	Maine	Maine
Francis	64	wife	Maine	Maine	Maine
Eunice	14	dau.	Maine	Maine	Maine

Also, beginning with the 1880's, the Houlton Town Reports identify individuals as Indians and refer to them by name:

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.
 Nicholas, Indian.
 C.D. Tenney, supplies \$1.05
 C.J. Hatheway, medicine \$2.25
 \$3.30

(Anonymous 1881:5).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.
 Nicholas Loolar and family.
 C.P. Tenney, dry goods, \$13.60
 Page & Madigan, flour, \$ 1.00
 A.H. Fogg & Co., hardware, \$.78
 T.M. & J. Bradbury, supplies, \$61.11
 H.B. Cressey, shingles, \$ 5.62
 Freeman Hiscock, wood, \$ 2.25
 Gilbert Thibadeau, \$ 3.00
 John M. Rice, coffin and box, \$ 6.00
 Willard H. Putman, attending funeral, \$ 5.00
 \$98.36

(Anonymous 1882:5).

TO 1869

Captain Tomah
Noel
Peter
Andrew
(Speck and Hadlock)

Ambrose Bear
Newell Bear
(Thibadeau)

Newell (Rabbit)
incorporated into Penobscot
circa 1870
(Speck)

Ambrose Lacoot
(Speck and Hadlock)

Newell Paul
(Speck and Hadlock)

Wapasokes Sabatis
(Speck and Hadlock)

Newell Moulton
headwaters of St. John
(Informants)
(Alex Polchies)

Joseph Devou
(Ellen Devou)

HC - Saint Mary's R.C. Church Records, Houlton.

HT - Annual Report of the Town of Houlton.

1870's

"INDIANS"
HT 1872,3,4,5,7

Joseph Sabatis
Mary (Denie) Sabatis
son Peter
HC 1871

Lewis Francis
Sarah Francis
HC 1871

Figure 11. Indian Families in the Houlton area.

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.

Mrs. Loolar and Tomah.	
T.M. & J. Bradbury, supplies,	\$17.65
Lysander Putman, wood,	\$ 5.75
B.H. Putman, wood,	\$ 2.00
B.L. Staples, expenses home,	<u>\$ 3.50</u>
	\$28.90

(Anonymous 1883:4).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.

Mrs. Lolar, Indian.	
T.M. & J. Bradbury, supplies,	\$11.00
Mrs. Polis and family	
T.M. & J. Bradbury, supplies	\$ 4.16
J.W. Sampson, professional services,	\$ 5.00
J.M. Rice, coffin and c, for boy and child	\$14.00
Amos Belonga, digging grave,	\$.75
Willard Putnam, burial,	<u>\$12.00</u>
	\$35.91

(Anonymous 1884:5).

Paid on Account of Paupers off the farm.

Frances Lolar	
Henry C. Bradbury, supplies	\$2.00
Daniel V. Helmes, ticket and etc.,	<u>\$2.00</u>
	\$4.00
Mr. Tomar	
Joseph A. Browne & Co., Dry Goods,	\$.50

(Anonymous 1886:5 and 7).

Pauper Account. Paupers off the farm.

Indians.

Cash for ticket home,	\$3.10
-----------------------	--------

Joseph Paul.

John M. Rice, coffin and Box	\$8.00
E. Murritt & Sons, supplies,	\$1.00
Dr. T.J. Fitzmaurice, medical services	\$5.00
W.S. Perks, Sunds.,	<u>\$2.75</u>
	\$16.75

Sara Toma

Cash for ticket home,	\$5.00
-----------------------	--------

(Anonymous 1887:9 and 11).

Pauper Account. Paupers off the farm.

Joe Sapier's child.

E.C. Young, coffin and c.,	\$4.00
P. Powers, digging grave,	.50
M. Lawliss, Burying Expenses,	<u>\$3.00</u>
	\$7.50

Newell Tomer.	
E. Merritt & Sons, supplies,	\$3.00
A.A. Burleigh, supplies,	<u>\$2.00</u>
	\$5.00

(Anonymous 1888:8).

Clearly, the Houlton community was becoming more familiar with the Indians living in town. A few additional names are found in the Baptismal Records of Saint Mary's R.C. Church. Figure 12 combines material from the 1880 U.S. Census, the Houlton Town Reports, and the Baptismal Records of St. Mary's R.C. Church. The small number of entries in the Baptismal Records of Saint Mary's R.C. Church would seem to suggest that not many of the Indian families were using the services of this church for their baptisms.

At this time, the location of their homes and the structure of this newly sedentary Indian community are unknown. But, one hint that may suggest the answer to these questions was given by Ralph Williams, an elderly white citizen of Houlton. For Mr. Williams remembered hearing from the "oldtimers" when he was a young man, that a site along the Meduxnekeag River lying west of the Military Road was known as the "Indian Reserve". This use of the term, Indian Reserve, would seem to be an emic category meaning 'the location where a group of Indians reside'. Lawrence Bear, a Maliseet who lived in Houlton for a period following the turn of the century, further refines this category by including the stipulation that a specific locale must have at least five families before it can be considered an Indian Reserve. To his thinking, Houlton always had an Indian Reserve because there always were at least five Indian families living together in the Houlton area.

The records for the decade commencing in 1890 yield surprisingly sparse data. One problem is that there are no census records for 1890. The Baptismal Records of Saint Mary's R.C. Church do not provide a single

1880's

"INDIANS"
HT 1887

HC = Saint Mary's
R.C. Church Records,
Houlton

HT = Annual Report
of the Town of
Houlton.

WC = Church Records,
Woodstock, N.B.

U.S. = United States
Census

Noel Tomah
Sarah (Paulis) Tomah
Dau - Susan
HC 1884
HT 1886, 1888, 1883

Julia Tomah
HC 1884

Peter Paulis
Mary Paulis
HC 1884
HT 1884

Nicholas Lolar
Frances Lolar
Dau - Eunice
U.S. 1880
HT 1881, 2, 3, 6

Peter Sapia (Sapier)
+ Eunice (Nicholas)
Andrew b. 1884 HC
+ Eliza (Oxford)
Thomas b. 1887 HC
Joseph b. 1889 HC

Joe Sapier
HT 1888

Mary Sapie
HC 1887

John Stevens
Susan Stevens
John
Lizzie
Mary
U.S. 1880

Sally Solis
U.S. 1880

Michael Paul
HC 1887

Joseph Paul
HT 1887

1890's

Noel Tomah
HT 1890

Newell Sapier
HT 1890

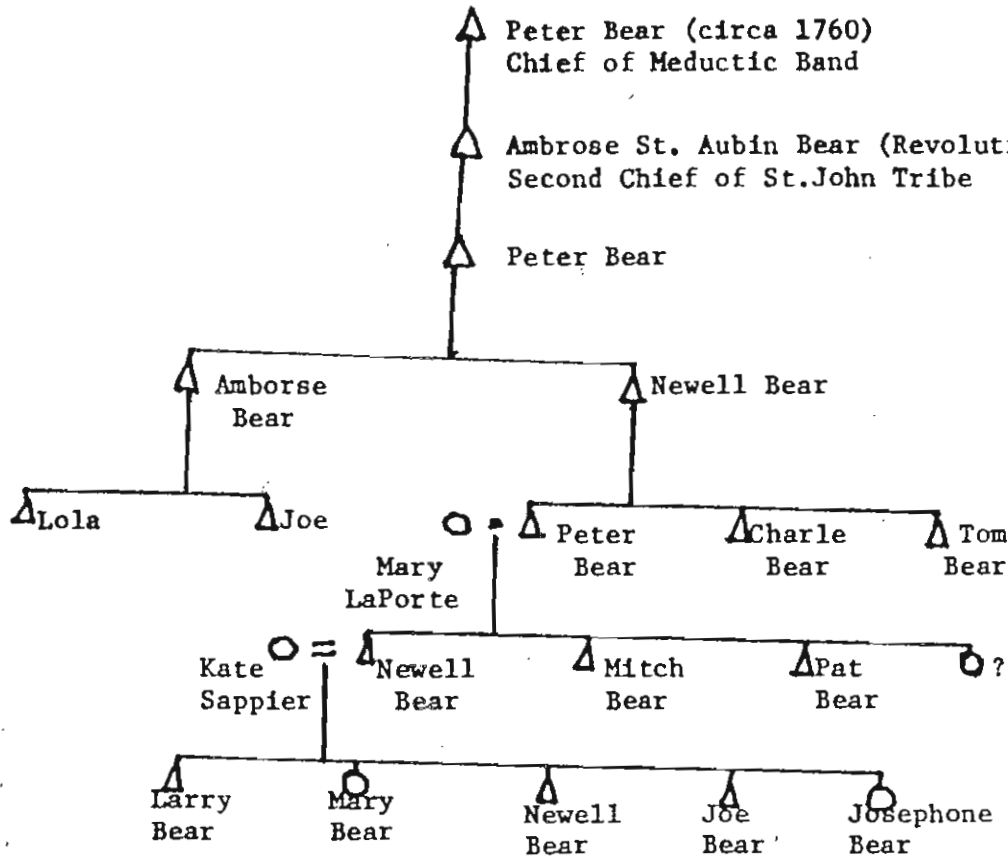
Louis St. Pierre (Sapier)
"of Houlton"
married Elizabeth Devou
WC 1897

Louis Sopiell (same as above?)
HT 1899

Solomon Devaon
HT 1899

Figure 12. Indian Families in the Houlton area.

Figure 13. BEAR KIN DIAGRAM



name that is obviously of Indian origin during this decade. But, the Church Records in Woodstock, New Brunswick do give, at least, one entry that is of direct interest to the Houlton community:

1897 January 18th. Married Louis St. Pierre (Sapier) of Houlton, Maine and Elizabeth Devou. Presence of Joseph Devou and Martha Devoe.

Chapman

The Houlton Town Reports provide a little additional information:

Pauper Account, Paupers off the farm.
 Newell Toma.
 Lumber for camp \$3.00

Newell Sapier	
H.J. Hatheway, medicine,	\$1.00
W.S. Perks, medicine,	<u>\$1.75</u>
	\$2.75

(Anonymous 1890: 5 and 7).

Pauper Account. Paupers off the farm.
 Louis Sopiell. (Indian).
 Williams, C.E., medical attendance, \$2.50
 - This bill has been paid by Charles
 A. Rolfe, Ag't Passamaquoddy Indians.

(Anonymous 1899:7).

It would seem that the town of Houlton was, for a time, adverse to providing monetary support to its Indian population. For data following the turn of the century yields numerous references to the same family names that we have previously found.

Figure 15 represents a compilation of data from the Church Records, the Town Reports and the U.S. 1900 Census. The Tomah, Sapier, Bear, Paul and Stevens family names persist over the decades. Noel Tomah is remembered by Louise (Tomah) Polchies as her father's father's brother (see figure 14). Louise was uncertain, but she felt that the descendents of Noel Tomah may now be among the Passamaquoddies. Speck and Hadlock (1946) supplied information

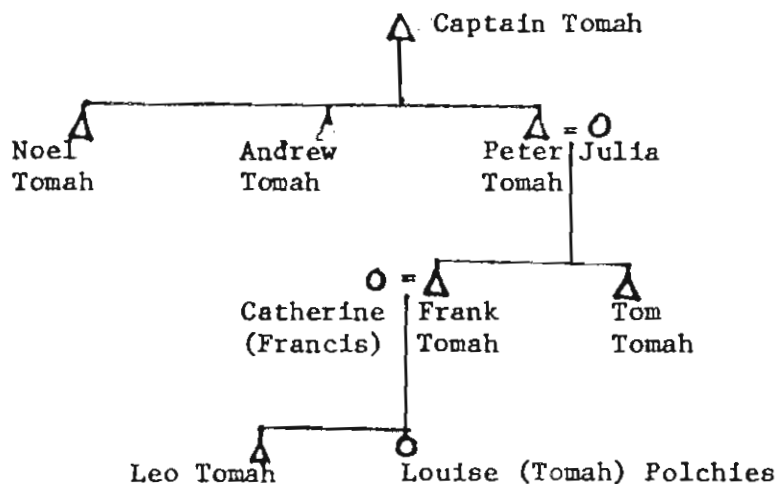


Figure 14. TOMAH KIN DIAGRAM

1900's

Noel Tomah HT 1907	Frank Tomah Katherine (Francis) Tomah HC 1905 HT 1907, 08, 11	Tom Tomah Ellen (Paul) Tomah HC 1901, 07 HT 1908, 09, 10, 11, 14, 15
Newell Bear Peter Bear Mary Bear Thomas Bear U.S. 1900	Peter Tomah HT 1907, 11, 15 Frank Francis Mary Paul HC 1905 HT 1905, 06, 07, 11, 13, 14	Andrew Tomah HT 1908, 09, 10 Thomas Forlis Agnes Forlis HT 1903 Mike Fauls/Forlis HT 1905
Newell Bear Kate (Sappier) Bear Foxcroft Road (Louise Tomah Polchies)	Louis Sappier HT 1907, 08, 11, 12, 15, 16 Simon Atwin HT 1914 Sappier, Sappier, HT 1908, 09	Louis Sopiell HT 1902, 13, 15 Matthew Sopier HT 1905
Newell Paul U.S. 1900 HT 1909, 10, 11	Isaac Sappier HT 1909	Frank Sappier HT 1906, 08
William J. Paul HT 1914	John Stevens Josie (Denie) Stevens U.S. 1900 HT 1902	Joseph Sappier HT 1914, 15
Edward Paul HT 1914	Solomon Devoe HT 1912	Thomas Joseph Mary (Stevens) Joseph U.S. 1900 HT 1901, 06, 08, 15
Peter Paul HT 1914	Joseph Devoe Jr. HT 1912	Joe Gabriel (Gabriel Joe?) HT 1909
John Bernard HT 1913, 14, 15	Gilbert Devoe HT 1912	Peter Neptune Mary Neptune U.S. 1900
Frank Bernard HT 1914	Peter Lolar HT 1911	Joseph Devoe Susan (Paul) Devoe HT 1906, 07, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16
Joe Bernard HT 1914	Peter Polshies HT 1905	Wilmot Devoe Alice (White) HT 1904, 14, 16
John Bolus HT 1913, 14		
John Solis HT 1914, 15		

Figure 15. Indian Families in the Houlton area.

which would seem to confirm the kin relationships given by Louise. For they relate that Noel Tomah had two brothers, Peter and Andrew, and that these men were the sons of Captain Tomah (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:372). And apparently, one of their informants was Louise's father, Frank Tomah (from Speck and Hadlock 1946:355). Louise also remembers her father telling her that Captain Tomah was known by the sobriquet, Bok-chi-na-kw. This can be translated as "stump" and it apparently referred to Captain Tomah's diminutive stature. Many of the modern descendents of Captain Tomah live in Houlton. Although none of them could be really called short, they are still referred to as Bok-chi-na-kw.

Louise (Tomah) Polchies also remembers life in the Houlton band in the years immediately following the turn of the century. She was born on 12 November 1893, yet she maintains a very clear mind and a fit body, performing much the same household tasks as someone half a century younger. She remembers that around 1901, they lived in apartments over a store in Paddy Hollow. Her earliest recollections of Indian neighbors are of the John Stevens family who lived next door. Louise does not remember well what Frank Tomah did to earn a living during this period. But, sometime early on, Frank Tomah got a job working for the Houlton Water Company. Louis Sappier may have helped Frank to find this job for Louis had been with the Water Company since about 1900. These jobs with the Water Company must have been subject to seasonal lay-offs, for we find Frank Tomah and Louis Sappier occasionally picking up work with the town of Houlton (see Anonymous 1907: 32 and 33; 1908: 35; 1911: 43).

The Frank Tomah family lived in the Paddy Hollow apartment for about five or six years and then moved to the Foxcroft Road. Here, Frank Tomah built a clapboard house on the un-used pasture land of the Kenney Farm. At some point, the Foxcroft Road settlement developed into a small congregated Indian settlement with five families living there from about 1906-1908. Besides Frank Tomah's family, there were the families of Tom Tomah, Newell Bear, Frank Francis, and Louis Sappier. It is possible to schematically demonstrate the kin relationships of these people living at the Foxcroft Road settlement, circa 1906-1908.

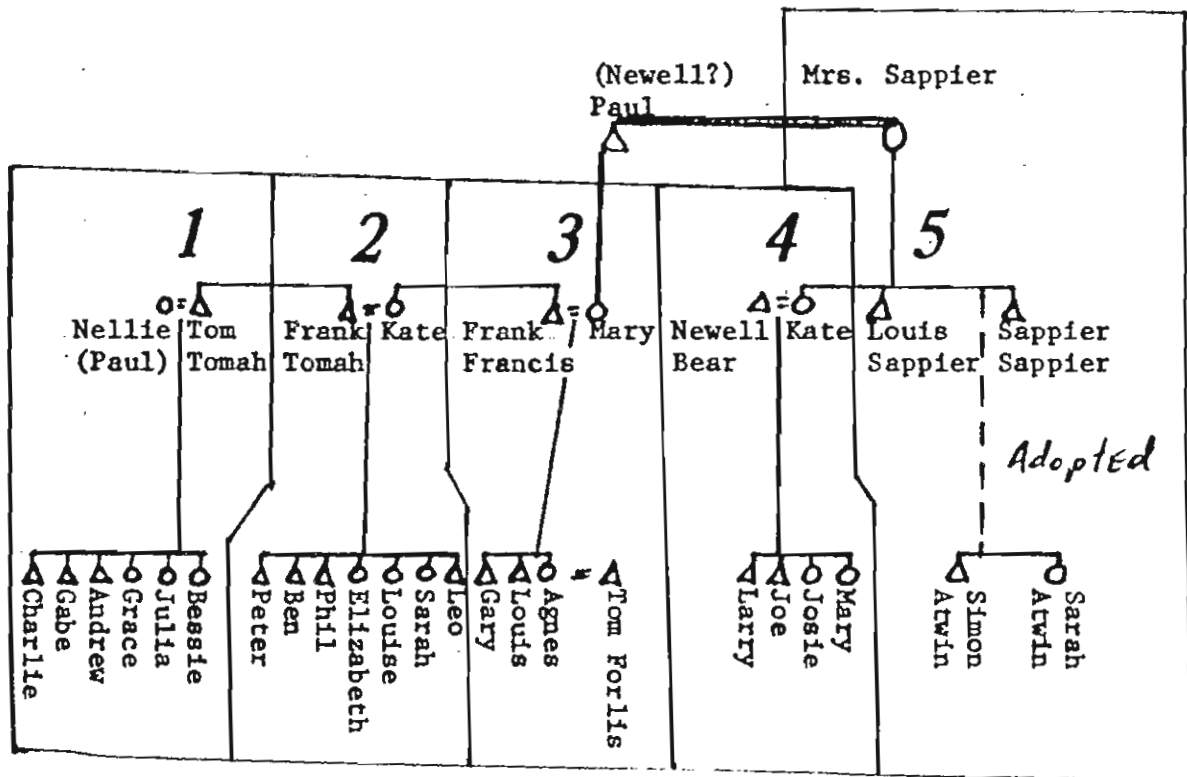


FIGURE 16. KIN RELATIONS AT THE FOXCROFT ROAD SETTLEMENT.
 (Households numbered one through five.
 Informants: Louise (Tomah) Polchies and Leo Tomah.)

This schematic drawing appears to be representative of a Deme community. And by definition, a deme community would be a group of individuals

living in close proximity who would be related by a series of bilateral kinship relationships. A Maliseet community so structured would fit well into the general theoretical conceptions that researchers have held concerning the social organization and band structure of the northeastern Algonquian Tribes.

A brief review of the anthropological literature suggests that a bilateral kin type has been an enduring theoretical conception of anthropologists who have taken a view on the Algonquian speaking tribes of the northeast. Since the work of Frank Speck, the northeastern Algonquian speaking groups have been viewed as being non-exogamic and non-totemic bands with patrilineal descent (from Speck 1917: 82-84). But, anthropologists have come to find terms such as non-exogamic and non-totemic to be cumbersome explanatory models. And, George P. Murdock (1949) has introduced the Deme concept to define a non-western community related by consanguineal and affinal ties (from Murdock 1949: 63). Massey and Driver (1957) have found the Deme concept to be an appropriate model and they have submitted the possibility that the social unit of the Micmac, Maliseet, and Abenaki was the patrideme (from Massey and Driver 1957: 388 and 415). And finally, Harold F. McGee concluded for the Micmac that a deme kin/community organization with minimal social stratification in the political structure would provide the most parsimonious interpretation of the ethnohistorical data (from McGee 1977;112). The Foxcroft Road Settlement fits this theoretical model for it looks like a deme community and social stratification appears to have been minimal.

Three individuals (Leo Tomah, Louise (Tomah) Polchies and Larry Bear) are still alive from this community and they have been consulted for information on the social make-up of the Foxcroft Road Settlement.

No individual was known as chief, yet group functions were conducted under the direction or leadership of the consensus group. Around 1908, the Foxcroft Road Settlement was abandoned and, except for Newell Bear's family, they moved as a group to a new location closer to Town. The informants were not in agreement concerning the reason for this move. Apparently, it was either because the pasture land was needed for other purposes by the owners or because the men wished to be closer to Town since most were finding work in Houlton. Appropriate land for a new settlement was found just east of the Houlton Protestant Cemetery along the County Road. This new settlement which developed became known as the "Indian Reservation". The important point that needs to be stressed is that the move was made as a group - a fact which suggests the functioning of a political authority.

An interesting photograph which records a group of the residents living at the Foxcroft Road Settlement around 1907 can be found appended to this chapter. Tom Bear, who was visiting the Foxcroft Road Settlement at the time of the photograph, was Newell Bear's uncle and was known to the informants as a hermit. Tom Bear apparently lived and hunted in Aroostook County. The arrangements for the photography session were somehow made by Mary (Paul) Francis. Little else is remembered concerning the circumstances surrounding this photograph except that the men dressed in their "Sunday" clothes.

At the "Indian Reservation" along the County Road, Frank Tomah seemed to feel secure in this location to build what Louise (Tomah) Polchies remembers as a fairly substantial house. Various informants (Louise (Tomah) Polchies, Leo Tomah, and Louse (Saulis) Joseph) agree that seven or eight Indian families lived at the Indian Reservation from about 1908 to 1916. But, total agreement is not forthcoming on

the identity of those families. The consensus of opinion suggests that the families of Frank Tomah, Tom Tomah, Louis Sappier, and Frank Francis were living at the "Indian Reservation". For the other houses, the lack of consensus may suggest that there was a certain amount of movement in and out of the Reserve. The other possible families given mention are John Bernard, Thomah Joseph, John Stevens, Louis Sopiell and possibly for a time, Newell Bear.

The sources of income were fairly varied for these families. At least, Louis Sappier and Frank Tomah worked for the Houlton Water Company. Tom Tomah worked at the Lumber Mill which was located on the "Flats" (Bridge Street). The mill was owned by Mr. Wilson. Peter Tomah worked at the Woolen Mill which was located along the Meduxnekeag River and later was promoted to foreman. Many of the women and older girls worked as house cleaners for local households. Many of the men also received jobs as day-laborers for the Town of Houlton (see Figure 16). Many of the men would supplement their income by making axe-handles) which sold for 5¢ a piece and potato baskets which sold for 25¢ to 50¢ a basket. Louise (Tomah) Polchies remembers Newell Bear as being pretty clever for he continued to make his living the old "Indian" way. And clearly, one had to be pretty clever to make a living in that manner at this late date.

From the statements of informants, it has been possible to outline the life of the Maliseets of the Houlton Reserve. But, the larger part of the Houlton Indian population was never mentioned by our informants. For example, Louise (Tomah) Polchies remembered the older Newell (or Noel) Bear who was the grandfather of the Newell Bear of the Foxcroft Road Settlement. And although he appears on the United States census for

1900 with two grown sons, no information is now available that would provide the slightest indication to where they lived in Houlton. But, clearly Figure 13 provides information that indicates that a larger number of Indian families were living in Houlton. Although we do not know where they were living, these individuals were linked by kinties and were a part of the larger Houlton band/deme community.

In 1916, the Putnam Brothers (Aaron and Fred) expelled the Indians from the County Road "Indian Reserve". With the break-up of the "Indian Reserve", a number of the families went to reserves in Canada and at least one family may have settled in Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy Reservation. But others familiar with this kind of forced removal but never growing regrouped on the Flats (Bridge Street). Frank Francis moved to Kingsclear Reserve in New Brunswick. John Bernard may have died around 1916. By 1917, Frank Tomah quit his job with the Houlton Water Company and moved to Kingsclear apparently to care for his aged mother-in-law, Margaret Francis. Frank's son, Peter Tomah, was by this time married to Elizabeth Paul of Woodstock Reserve, New Brunswick and was working as a foreman in the woolen mill. Although they were married in Woodstock, Peter and Elizabeth apparently met when Elizabeth's father, Newell Paul, came to Houlton to work. Peter's young brothers, Phillip and Leo, were also working at the woolen mill. They stayed in Houlton. About 1920, Leo, on a visit to Kingsclear Reserve, met and married Ellen Paul. He would return to Houlton, but only after many years and with a family of his own. Phillip Tomah later married a younger sister of Peter's wife, Louise Paul. Thomas Joe (Joseph), who had been living in Houlton since the late 1890's, moved into a house on the Flats built for him by Wallie Putnam with the agreement that Thomas Joe would work for the Putnam's.

Thomas Joe, ultimately, worked about thirty years for Wallie Putnam.

For the next period, the "Flats" becomes the focus for Maliseet settlement and it too comes to be called the "Indian Reservation".

FIGURE 17. WORK BY INDIANS LISTED IN THE HOULTON TOWN REPORTS.

Roads, Bridges and Sidewalks. Stevens, George,	Labor (Anonymous 1904:22).	\$ 7.50
Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Francis, Frank Polshies, Peter Sopier, Matthew	Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1905; 32 and 34).	\$43.75 \$ 7.00 \$ 3.50
Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Devou, Joseph Francis, Frank, Joe, Tom,	Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1906: 27 and 28).	\$ 7.50 \$42.15 \$20.40
Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Devou, Joseph Francis, Frank Sappier, Louis Sappier, Sappiel Tomer, Frank Tomer, Peter	Labor Labor Labor Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1907: 30-33).	\$25.00 \$85.51 \$ 9.00 \$49.88 \$55.88 \$31.13
Schools. Tomer, Frank, Tomer, Tom,	Baskets Baskets (Anonymous 1908: 20).	\$ 2.50 \$ 4.00
Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Sappier, L., Sappier, S., Tomer, Andrew Tomer, Tom	Labor Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1908: 35-36).	\$33.25 \$96.25 \$77.00 \$140.00
Road, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Francis, Frank Joe, Gabriel, Sapier, Isaac, Sapier, Sapier, Tomer, Andrew, Tomer, Tom,	Labor Labor Labor Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1909: 14-18).	\$ 7.50 \$10.50 \$12.00 \$21.00 \$12.00 \$ 7.50
Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks. Devoe, Joe Tomer, Andrew Tomer, Thomas	Labor Labor Labor (Anonymous 1910: 44-49).	\$30.50 \$37.63 \$15.76

Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks.

Francis, Frank,	Labor	\$43.93
Paul, Newell,	Labor	\$ 4.37
Tomer, Frank,	Labor	\$195.70
Tomer, Peter	Labor	\$25.81
Tomer, Thomas,	Labor	\$.88
Joe, Thomas,	Laobr	\$27.12

(Anonymous 1911: 39-43).

Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks.

Devoe, Gilbert,	Labor	\$ 5.25
Devoe, Joseph,	Labor	\$21.01
Devoe, Joseph,	Labor	\$ 4.28

(Anonymous 1912: 40).

Road, Bridges, and Sidewalks.

Devoe, Joseph,	Labor	\$15.75
Sapael, Louis,	Labor	\$18.38

(Anonymous 1913: 36 and 40).

Road Account.

Barnard, Frank,	Labor	\$ 3.00
Barnard, John,	Labor	\$51.00
Devoe, Joseph,	Labor	\$ 4.00

(Anonymous 1914: 30-31).

Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks.

Devou, Jos.,	Labor	\$ 4.00
Devou, Gilbert,	Labor	\$ 2.00
Devou, Wilmot,	Labor	\$14.00
Francais, Frank,	Labor	\$ 7.00
Keachum, Paul,	Labor	\$ 6.00

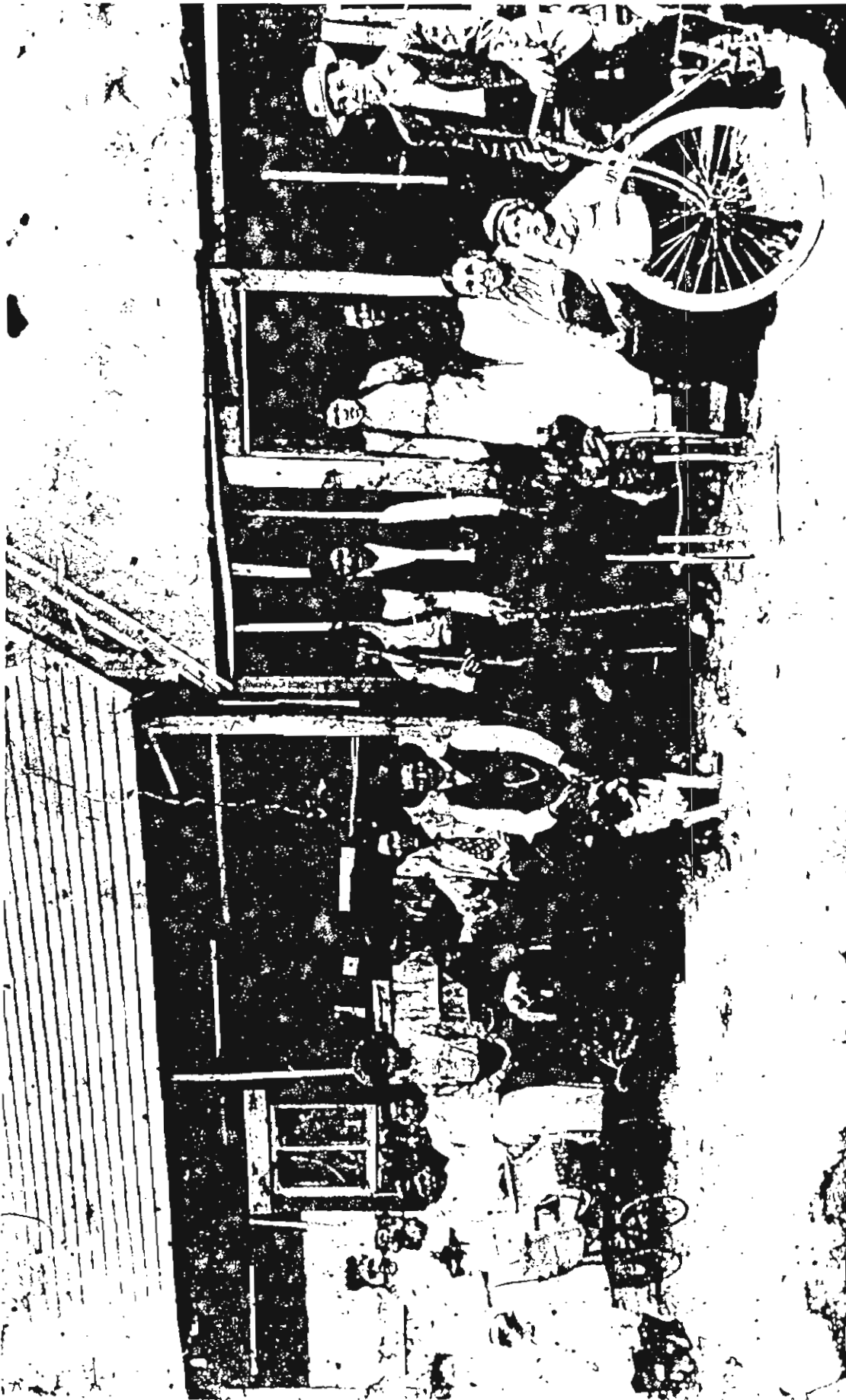
(Anonymous 1916: 40-42).

Roads, Bridges, and Sidewalks.

Joe, Peter,	Labor	\$20.00
-------------	-------	---------

(Anonymous 1917: 50).

Figure 17 continued.



Peter Tomah

Leo Tomah

Mrs. Sappier

Mary (Paul) Francis

Agnes (Francis) Forlis

Gary Francis

Frank Francis

Sappier Sappier

Tom Forlis

Frank Tomah

Tom Bear

Simon Atwin

Sarah Atwin

Benny Tomah

Elizabeth Tomah

Louise Tomah

Phillip Tomah

Sarah Tomah

5. THE NEW RESERVATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
ASSOCIATION OF AROOSTOOK INDIANS: 1920-70

Because the research effort to date has been primarily directed toward defining the early history of the Houlton Band, the following sketch which is based on the recent history, lacks the kind of detail which will be possible with further research. This chapter attempts only to provide an overview of Maliseet residence in West Houlton, near the confluence of the Meduxnekeag and B Streams, to describe briefly a sample of representative Indian families and to give a brief notice of the emergence of The Association of Aroostook Indians and its relationship to the Houlton deme community.

The West Houlton Reservations

With the break-up of the County Road Reservation, a new Indian Reservation emerged on the area known as the "Flats" - a flood plain of the Meduxnekeag just south of the previous reservation. The Flats is within the west Houlton area which had been the primary focus of Maliseet settlement since the early 1800's.

Figure 17 is a sketch map which presents the west Houlton settlements of the Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians. In chapter 3, page , (from Thibadeau 1910: 11), the earliest historic reference to an "Indian settlement" was provided. Central to locating that Indian settlement was the geographic definition which suggested that the 1811 camp of Ambrose Bear lay on "the north side of the Meduxnekeag Stream, near the Cold Spring, on land now owned by M.D. and Albert Putnam, directly west of the Bowdoin

Street schoolhouse" (Thibadeau 1910: 11). Although the remains of Ambrose Bear's camp would have been known in 1900, to Newell Bear who lived in Houlton throughout the 100 year period, it is **not** remembered today. With the services of an archaeologist, we now find that there are two locations that more or less fit Thibadeau's (1910) description. For due west of the Bowdoin Street schoolhouse, there is a spring on "B" Stream. There is also a spring that is just north of the County Road and just east of the Protestant Cemetery. Both springs fit Thibadeau's (1910) requirements. And both are within several hundred yards of the current "reservation".

The next locale for which we have information of Indian settlement lies between the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad and the Meduxnekeag River. The informant for this data was Ralph Williams who reports that he had heard from old-timers when he was a young man that this area was the Indian Reservation. Since Ralph Williams is now well into his seventies, this statement would seem to temporally place the Indian occupation of this locale into the pre-1900 era.

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, one focus of Maliseet settlement has been identified by living informants to be across town, on the east side of Houlton. The known locales were on the Foxcroft Road and nearby Paddy Hollow. Figure 17 provides the relative locations of these settlements. As noted above, the residents of the Foxcroft Road settlement returned as a group to west Houlton in 1908. This settlement on the County Road received additional affinal kin from other areas of Houlton. And this enlarged version of the Foxcroft Road Deme also was known as the "Indian Reservation". When forced from the County Road in 1916, a segment of this deme/community formed the core of the modern Indian Reservation on the Flats.

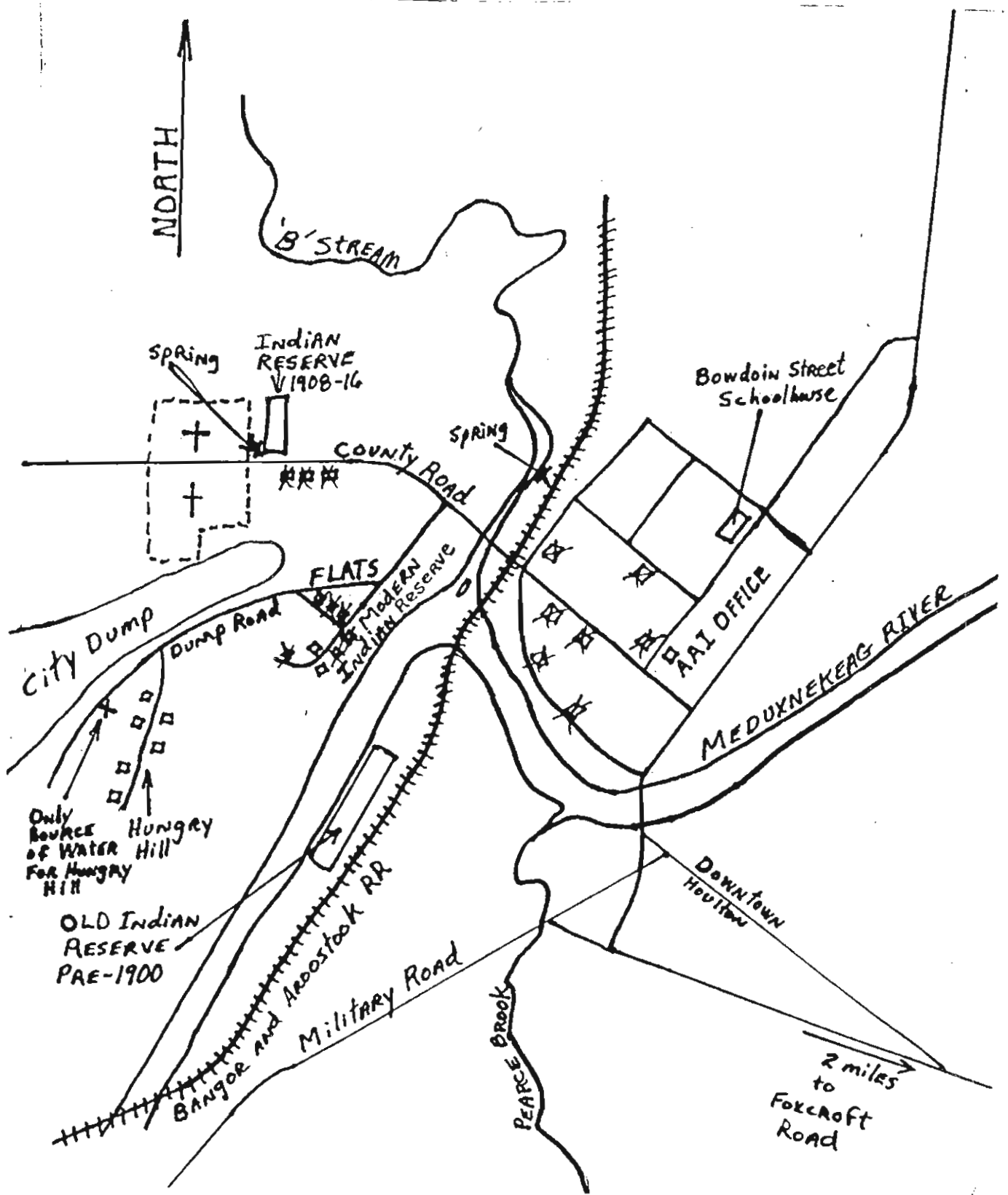


Figure 18. WEST HOULTON SKETCH MAP.

During the 1920's and 1930's, the area known as the Flats was tightly packed with the houses of Indian families. Some of the overflow Indian population lived in rudely constructed houses across the road from the town dump. Because of the frequent moves within the Flats and the recombination of households, efforts to map the locations of Indian occupancy through time has led to some confusion.

Figures 18 through 20, provide an example of a neighborhood that represents relatively greater stability. The Tomah, LaPorte, Joseph, Sabattis, and McKee households, shown in these figures, are Indian. This neighborhood was built in the 1930's by the town of Houlton, under Town Manager Tom Packard. There were six low-rent houses on a hill over-looking the Town Dump. Because the houses were built under the management of Tom Packard, the street became known as Packard Avenue. The street also received the sobriquets of "Hungry Hill" and the "Indian Reservation". The first nickname connoted the relative poverty of the residents and the second became applied as the racial make-up of the occupants swung in favor of the Indians. The houses were without running water and during some winters the town did not bother to plow the road. The distances from Hungry Hill to the "Flats" and from there to the County Road Reservation can be measured in hundreds of yards. Today, all the houses on Hungry Hill have been torn down.

The "Flats" continues to be settled largely by Indian families. And there are three houses on the County Road that lay approximately across from the old Indian Reservation and which continue to be occupied by Indian families. One lot on the Flats has traditionally been used by Indian men as a common area for pounding brown ash to produce splints to make baskets. This area was not only of economic importance but also a significant social focus, for as men gathered to make baskets they also had an opportunity to

HUNGRY HILL

1940's

Sam Brown
Fred Sewell

Lloyd Esteys & wife
2 boys
&
2 girls

Frank & Louise Joseph & family
1941-
Fred Sewell & big family

PACKARD AVENUE



Andrew &
Sarah Tomah
-moved out &
lived with
Louis Sappier

ARAHIE
A. HANSON



Bessie (Tomah)
LaPorte
&
Gabe Tomah
&
Richard Tomah
&
June



Clarence Sewell &
Mary Hall & Children
Viola Hall
Eva Hall
Sterling Hall
Gordon Hall
Abe Hall



James Haney
Haney's
James
Richard
Charlie
& Leland Lennon
Archie Lennon

DUMP ROAD

TOWN DUMP

Figure 19.

HUNGRY HILL

1950

None of these houses had running water.

(Houses on this side had: 4 rooms,
(Foundations and Finished interior.)

Viola Albrite
moved in 1955
Clarence Sewell

Frank & Louise
Joseph & family

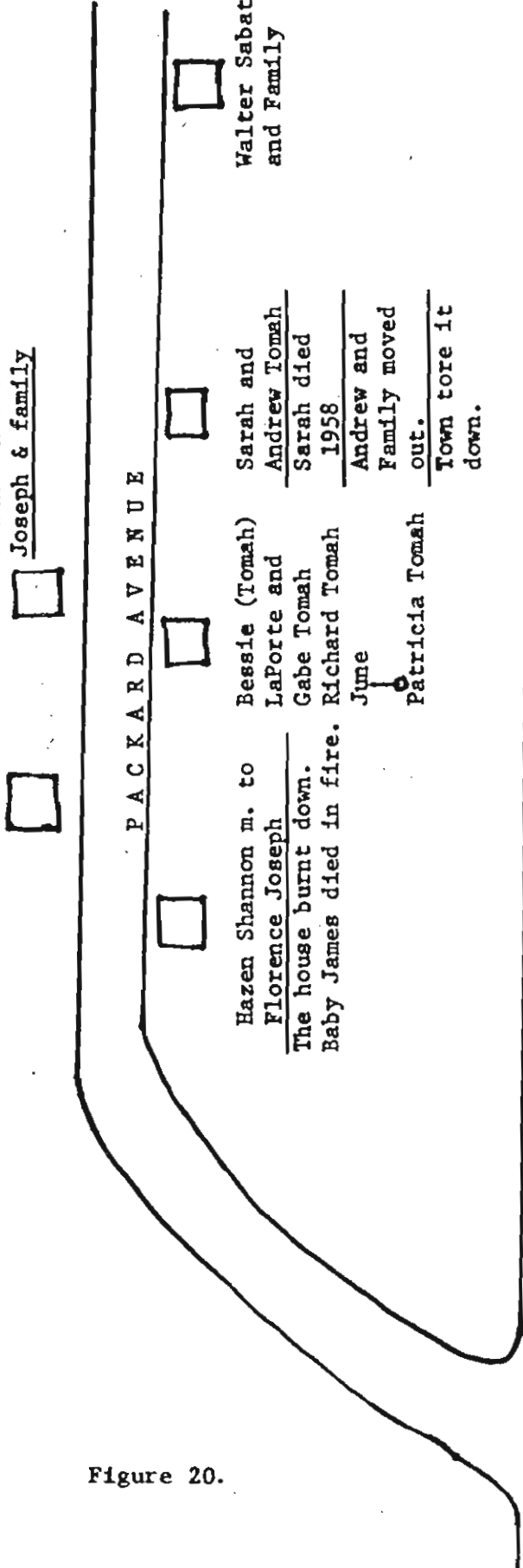


Figure 20.

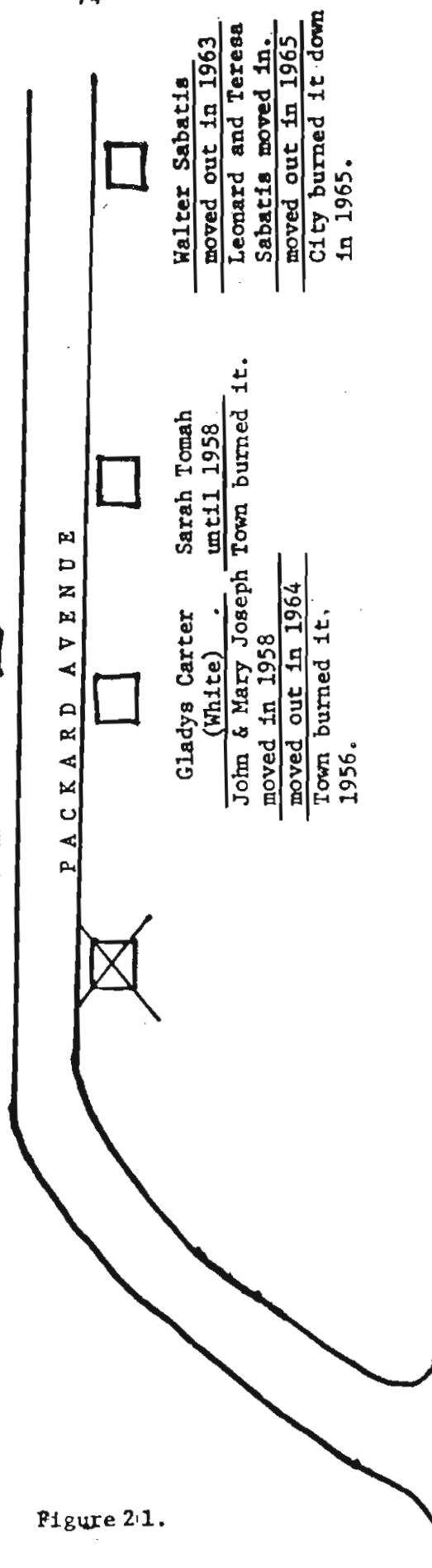
(Houses on this side had: 4 rooms,
(no foundations, card board and paper interior)

HUNGRY HILL

1957

Grace McKee
moved out in 1956
City wouldn't let
anyone in.
then bulldozed it

Frank & Louise
Joseph
moved out in
1967.



Gladys Carter Sarah Tomah
(White) until 1958
John & Mary Joseph Town burned it.
moved in 1958
moved out in 1964
Town burned it,
1956.

Walter Sabatis
moved out in 1963
Leonard and Teresa
Sabatis moved in.
moved out in 1965
City burned it down
in 1965.

Figure 2.1.

socialize. Since the 1960's this lot has housed the ash pounding machine which is used communally.

The Houlton Office for The Association of Aroostook Indians, although east of the railroad tracks, is also in west Houlton. In recent years, especially since the formation of The Association of Aroostook Indians, the condition of Indian families has improved and Indian families have began to move into the area surrounding the AAI Office. And keeping with this west Houlton settlement pattern, AAI is now in the process of moving their offices down the street to the newly acquired Bowdoin Street schoolhouse.

Typical Families of the Houlton Band

The following brief family histories attempt to relate what life was typically like for Houlton Band members during the first half of the Twentieth Century. These histories also attempt to locate those families within specific areas and to show the interlocking kin relationships, which are a characteristic of Maliseet bands. The changes in the Houlton deme community reflect similiar patterns in the neighboring Maliseet, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot reservations as family names and family leadership ebb and flow. This pattern of movement may be based on the older practice of uxori-local residence, whereby a man moves to the residence of his wife's parents, at least, until the birth of the first child. By this time, one of the major Nineteenth Century families (the Bear's) had already left Houlton. Yet, they continued to live in Aroostook County for a while until some remooed to the Tobique Reserve and others to Connecticut.

Characteristic Indian economic activities continue to play an important role, especially basket and snowshoe making. Other "Indian activities" less

noted are: fur trapping, guiding sportsmen, and fiddlehead gathering. The basket trade has continued largely because of the mutual dependency of Indian craftsmen and non-Indian farmers which is an economic relationship not unlike the earlier barter of Indian game meat for non-Indian grain. It remains a widely accepted right of Indians in Aroostook to be able to go onto private land to remove brown and yellow ash - the principle components of Indian baskets. It would appear that ash is the only product of their aboriginal territory to which Maliseets have retained an unregulated and unrestricted right.

As an aid to following the sometimes complex family relationships, discussed below, a compilation of family kinship charts is appended at the end of this chapter.

JOSEPH'S

The Joseph's joined the Houlton band by marriage when Thomas Joe (Joseph) married Mary Stevens in 1893 (see Figure 21 for a late photo of this couple).



Figure 22. MARY (STEVENS) AND THOMAS JOSEPH

The Stevens family had been living in Houlton since, at least, 1880 for they appear on the United States census for that year. Thomas Joe was the son of Peter Joe - a Pleasant Point Passamaquoddy who had come to live at Woodstock, New Brunswick by 1889 (see Figure 22).

Figure 48

"PETER JOE AT WORK." Drawing by Adney for his article "How an Indian Birch-Bark Canoe is Made" (*Harper's Young People*, supplement, July 29, 1890).

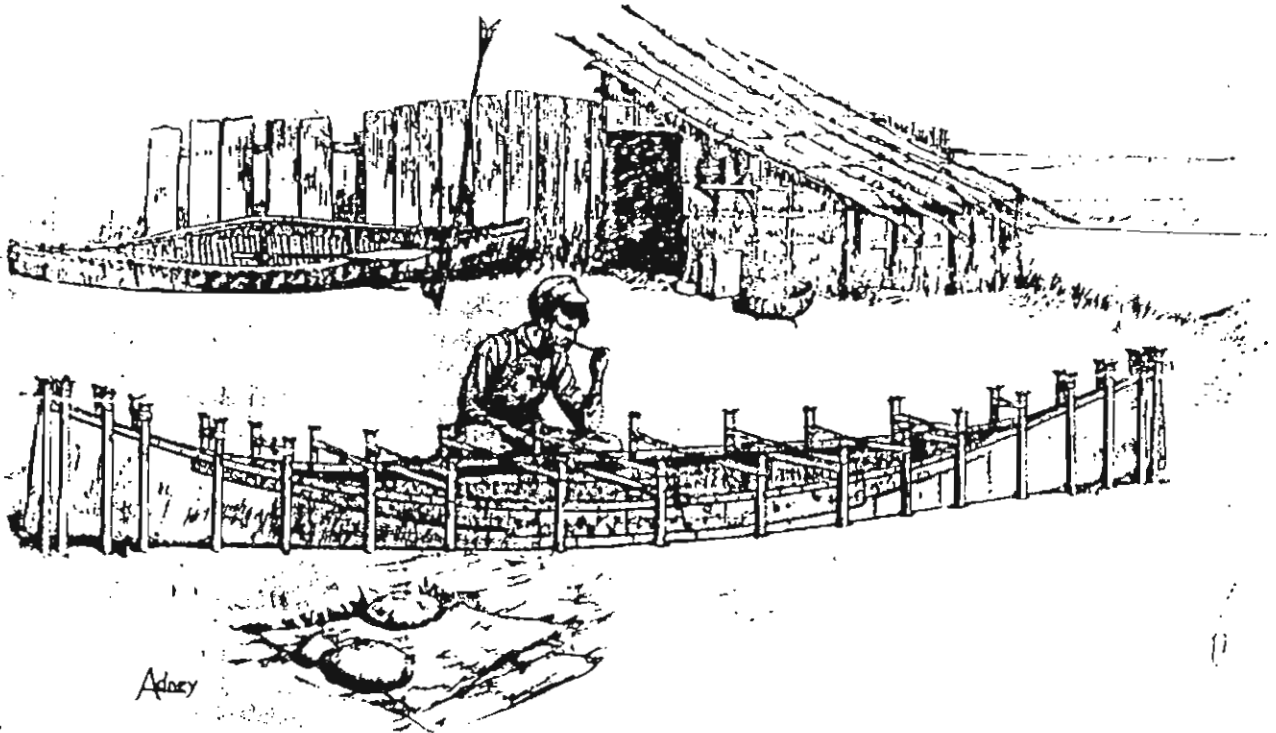


Figure 23. PETER JOE
(from Adney and Chappelle 1964: 57)

In the years that followed the break-up of the County Road Indian Reserve, Thomas Joseph worked for a local farmer, Wallie Putnam, while his son, Frank, worked at the lumber mill located on the Flats for about nine dollars a week. During the summer of 1928, Frank Joseph married a Maliseet girl from the Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick, Louise Saulis, a neice of Tom Tomah.

Since, Frank's job at the lumber mill was seasonal and the salary was

too little to properly support a family, Frank and Louise decided to leave Houlton to search for better employment. Thomas Joseph also decided to go with them and so the house on the Flats was sold. In 1928 then, Thomas and Frank Joseph, with their wives, moved temporarily to Madison, Maine in search of better employment. That trip proved to be unsuccessful and they came home to Houlton in late 1928 or early 1929.

On their return, they moved into another house on the Flats. During this period, the area known as the Flats was fairly filled with houses closely spaced. Most of the occupants were Indian families. The Josephs lived in that house on the Flats for three or four years until it was destroyed by fire. The Joseph's then moved several hundred yards to a small house across the road from the Town Dump. There were three small houses along the Dump Road at this time and the other two were also occupied by Indian families. A Maliseet family by the name of Phillips lived next door and Gabe Tomah lived in the last house. Before the second World War, Gabe Tomah moved to Packard Avenue and another Maliseet family, the Pelkey's moved in.

TOMAH

The Tomah family is one of the oldest documented families in the Houlton region. For the Tomah's living in Houlton today are the direct lineal descendents of Captain Tomah whose pre-sententary use of Aroostook County pre-dates the 1870's. One of the earliest named Indians, actually settled permanently in Houlton was Captain Tomah's son, Newell Tomah who resided there until his death in 1907. Although Newell's brother, Peter, hunted with Captain Tomah, he maintained a seasonal residence at the Kingsclear Reserve, New Brunswick. When Peter's sons, Frank and Tom, were

married and had begun families, they moved to Houlton to join their uncle, Newell in 1901. 1906 and 1908 the two brothers lived on the Foxcroft Road Settlement and subsequently moved to the County Road Indian Reservation.

After the break-up of the County Road Reservation Tom and his family remained on the Houlton Flats and his direct descendents make up a sizable proportion of the Houlton band, today. Tom, who was married to Nellie (or Selaphie) Paul, had six children, Charlie, Gabe, Andrew, Grace, Julia, and Bessie. Gabe Tomah and Julia Tomah never married. Andrew Tomah married Sarah Sappier. In the 1950's their children left Houlton for Bangor, Maine where they continued to identify as Houlton Maliseets. Grace Tomah married Stanley Attean, a Penobscot, of Old Town and no children came from that marriage. Bessie Tomah married Charlie LaPorte, another Maliseet, and had two children. Charlie Tomah married a white woman, Minnie Clark; most Tomahs in Houlton are descended from this marriage. Charlie and Minnie had ten children, John, Gloria, Geridine, May, George, Roy, William, Dean, Paul and Deborah. Except for George who is deceased and William who now lives in Hartford, Connecticut, they all have families and live in Houlton.

The break-up of the County Road Reservation had a different effect on Tom's brother, Frank, and his descendents. A year after the break-up of the reserve Frank Tomah quit his job with the Houlton Water Company. He and his wife, Catherine Francis, decided to move to the Kingsclear Reservation. Four of his children remained in Houlton on the Flats. Peter Tomah, the oldest boy was already married to Elizabeth Paul and they had a house on the "Flats". Phillip Tomah and Leo Tomah both had jobs at the Woolen Mill and they stayed with Peter. Leo Tomah remained in Houlton until 1922, when on a visit to Kingsclear, he met and soon after married Ellen Paul. Leo and his new wife stayed on at Kingsclear until 1940, when he returned to

Houlton, his family nearly all grown.

In 1924, Phillip Tomah married Louise Paul who was a sister of Peter's wife, Elizabeth Paul. In 1928, the Woolen Mill was moved to Wilton, Maine. Peter and Phillip decided to move also. These two Tomah families never returned to Houlton. Peter and Elizabeth Tomah never had any children. Phillip and Louise Tomah had a family of six, who continue to identify themselves as Maliseets of the Houlton band.

When Leo Tomah first returned to Houlton in 1940, he was only accompanied by his oldest son, Walter James Tomah. Over the years Leo held a variety of jobs in Houlton, including work in the woods and on the railroad. Throughout this period, like other members of the Band, he supplemented his income making baskets, snowshoes and other Maliseet crafts. Following the war, Jim left Houlton to marry his second cousin, Muriel Paul. That marriage did not prove to be successful, and Jim returned to Houlton in 1950 to live on the Flats. Jim has never remarried and now works for The Association of Aroostook Indians as the wood's crew foreman. Jim and his father, Leo, who is now in semi-retirement, continue to make baskets during the summer month.

After Leo's wife died in 1944, his other children, Aubrey, Eleanor, and Robert, come to live in Houlton. Eleanor married a Maliseet, Levi Brooks, and with their one child, Brenda, they came to live in Houlton following the war. When Levi died, Eleanor married a Maliseet, Fred Perley. Fred and Eleanor are retired and live in Houlton. Aubrey Tomah also married a second cousin, Gloria Tomah, Tom Tomah's granddaughter; they have five children and live in Houlton. Aubrey is self employed and has his own monument business and also makes baskets. And finally Robert, the youngest, was brought up by Eleanor after Ellen had died. He lives

in Houlton and works for The Association of Aroostook Indians as the Drug and Alcoholism Counselor.

POLCHIES

The Polchies family became members of the Houlton Band through marriages at two successive generation levels. As early as 1905 there was a Peter Polshios employed by the Town of Houlton but it is not certain whether this was Dr. Peter Polchies who was the patriarch of the current Houlton Polchies family. Dr. Peter Polchies carried the title of Doctor because he reportedly had special healing powers from being the seventh son of a seventh son. Although he lived in Woodstock, New Brunswick, he came to Houlton to sell to John Watson the snowshoes that he made. Dr. Polchies married Seraphyne Paul, the sister-in-law of Gabriel Joe, in 1895. They had six children, all born in Woodstock. His two boys, Joseph and Alex, started coming to Houlton around 1923 to pick potatoes. They would continue to come to Houlton each fall to pick potatoes.

In 1928 Dr. Polchies' daughter, Mary married Newell Moulton, whose grandfather Newell and father Azawis had held hunting territories in Aroostook County before 1870. Newell Moulton was born at his father's camp on Moosehead Lake around 1898. After Alex's first wife had died in 1949, he moved permanently to Hodgdon, Maine, just south of Houlton where he lived with his sister, Mary, and her husband, Newell Moulton. Alex produced an income for himself from various kinds of activities. During the winter, he ran trap lines along both sides of the Meduxnekeag River. He made potato barrels for the farmers in Aroostook County and he even made money from taxidermy. Around 1952, he designed and built an ash pounding machine from junk parts.

The ash pounding machine was first set up in Hodgdon, where he had a profitable basket making industry.

In 1954, Alex moved into a house on the County Road across from the old reservation. He stayed there for one year and then bought the house next door, from his nephew, Sanford Moulton. In 1960, he started buying baskets from other Indian families in the Houlton area. He attempted to pay them a better price than they could receive from local store owners or farmers. With his ash pounding machine, Alex could supply numerous individuals with all the ash splints that they would need to make baskets. Alex, in turn, would buy back the finished products which he would wholesale to the Beal Company of Bucksport. Alex was able to continue these entrepreneurial activities, however, for only two winters before his Indian suppliers balked at the employee/employer relationship that they saw developing between themselves and Alex. Even after this development, Alex continued to supply major wholesalers with the baskets that he made himself. Ultimately the ash pounding machine was bought by The Association of Aroostook Indians and then by Alex's sons Terry and Maynard. The machine is now available free of charge to all members of the Houlton Band. Property taxes associated with the machine are paid for by the Polchies family.

After Alex's second wife (Grace Paul) died, the three oldest children, Maynard, Terry and Valentine, and their cousins, Joyce and Cleo Sappier with them, went to Hodgdon to live with their aunt and uncle, Mary and Newell Moulton. These Polchies and Sappier children stayed in Hodgdon until Mary Moulton died around 1952. They, then, went to Oakfield, Maine to live with another aunt, Agnes Francis, who was married to Roland Francis, a Penobscot. When the Francis family moved to the Flats in the following year, the Polchies and Sappier children moved with them. The oldest boy, Maynard Polchies, had quit school by this time, but Terry Polchies continued

with his schooling and became the first Indian student to graduate from Houlton High School.

The membership of the Polchies family in the Houlton Band was sealed when two of Alex's sons, Terry and Valentine married into the Tomah family. Terry married Brenda Brooks, Eleanor (Tomah) Brook's daughter. Valentine married Deborah, Gloria Tomah's sister.

Two of Alex Polchies siblings continue to live in Houlton, Joe Polchies and Clara (Polchies) Robicheau, Joyce (Sappier) Tompkins mother. Agnes (Polchies) Francis is deceased. Her daughter Shirley (Francis) LeVasseur, like other members of the Polchies family, has had considerable influence in the Houlton Band. Another sister, Elizabeth (Polchies) Paul died shortly after childbirth; her son, Roy Paul, is also a member of the Houlton Band.

SOLOMON

Leo Solomon, and his wife, Ester, and their family came to Houlton during the Second World War. It has been reported that Leo Solomon was a m'dewolin, (ic shaman). As such, he was a man to be feared and respected. Leo and his wife lived on the "Flats". After he died, Ester Solomon lived with Shirley (Francis) LeVasseur. This was a household that raised many Indian foster children.

SABATTIS

Like the Polchies, the Sebattis family became members of the Houlton Band through a series of marriages. Although we know that there were Sabattis households in Aroostook County prior to 1870, we do not know their relationship to the current Sabattis family. In 1926 Ellen Atwin, the elder half sister

of Walter Sabattis, the current patriarch of the Sabattis family, married a Maliseet, Mitchell Devou who was born in Houlton in the 1860's. In 1940 Walter married Mitchell's granddaughter Frances Devou. After his marriage Walter moved for a short time from the Oromocto Maliseet Reserve to the Indian Township Passamaquoddy Reserve before joining his half-sister in 1943 in Houlton.

Walter had other kin in Houlton as well. His aunt, Florence Pelkey and his wife's uncle, Louis Sappier, were both living on the "Flats" at this time. In the early 1950's, the Sabattis family moved into a house on Packard Avenue (Hungry Hill). Walter and Frances Sabattis ultimately had fourteen children. Three of their daughters married sons of Frank and Louise (Saulis) Joseph and one son married a daughter of the Joseph's, further strengthening their affinal ties to the Houlton deme community.

OTHER FAMILIES

There are many other families in the Houlton Band which this paper cannot fully address. The Devou's, for instance, continue to be a major family group, related not only to the Sabattis family, but also to the Paul, Hanning, Hardy, Sacobie and other families. The Devou's are descended from Joseph Devou who settled permanently in Houlton prior to 1860. Some Devous are now connected among the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Canadian side Maliseets.

The Polis or Bolus family was part of the Houlton Band from the late 1800's to the 1940's when that line died out. This family may have lived on the Flats before 1916.

The Sappiers were a major family in the Houlton Band during the late 1800's and early 1900's. Lewis Sappier's sister Katherine married Newell Bear, the younger. There are now Sappiers living among the Passamaquoddies,

Penobscots and Canadian side Maliseets. The last Houlton Sappier, Lewis died at age 87 in 1966. His wife Florence (Devou) Sappier continues to live in Houlton.

Other Maliseet families such as the Pelkey's, Perley's, and LaPortes, are no longer living in large number in Houlton.

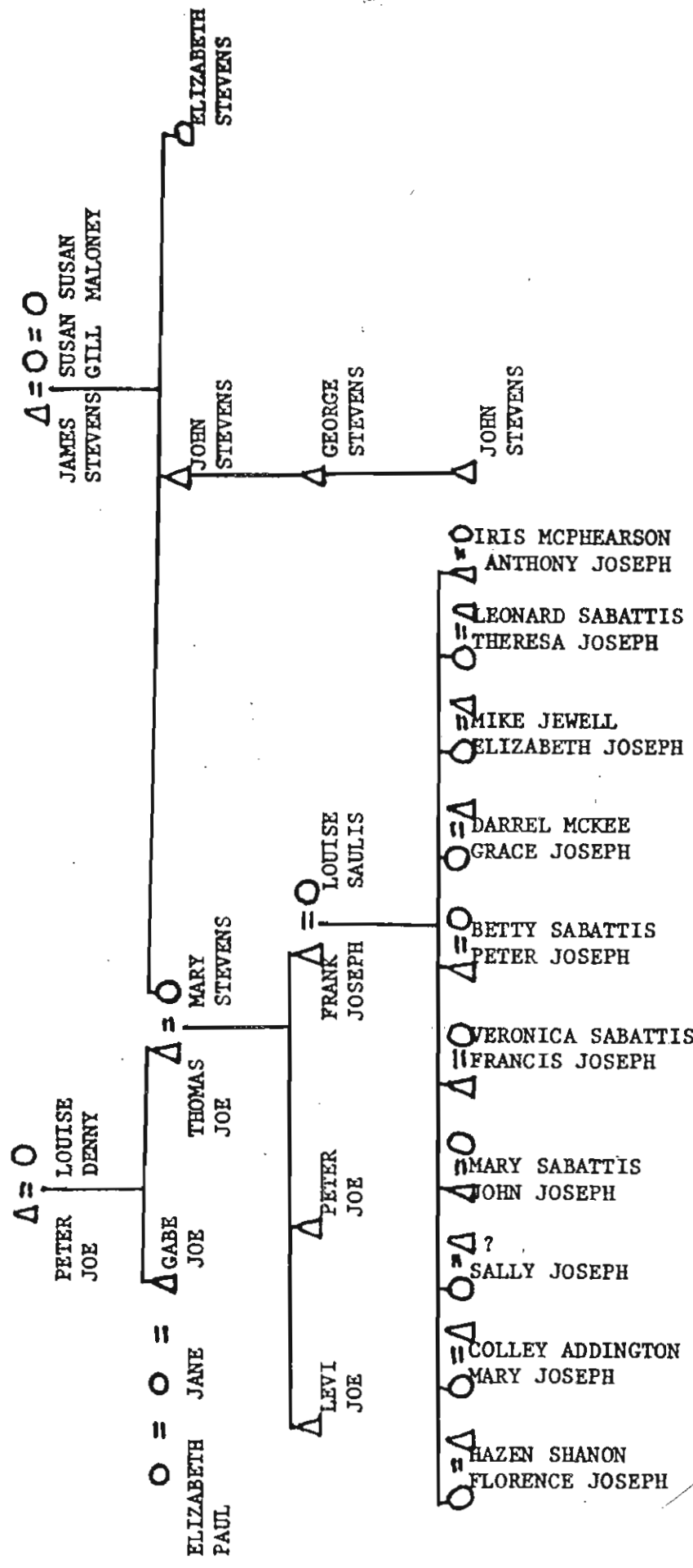
A BRIEF NOTICE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AROOSTOOK INDIANS

The Association of Aroostook Indians (AAI) was established in the late 1960's to deal with the many social problems facing the Indians of Aroostook and to achieve Federal and State recognition. The Association is of interest to this narrative primarily because it is an expression of the long held aspirations of the Houlton Band who brought about its creation. It is also of note that the Indians of Aroostook, whether members of the Band, resident Micmacs or Maliseets who identify primarily with the Canadian side, have consistently returned members of the Houlton Band of Maliseets to the AAI Executive Board, where ever the elections are held in the County.

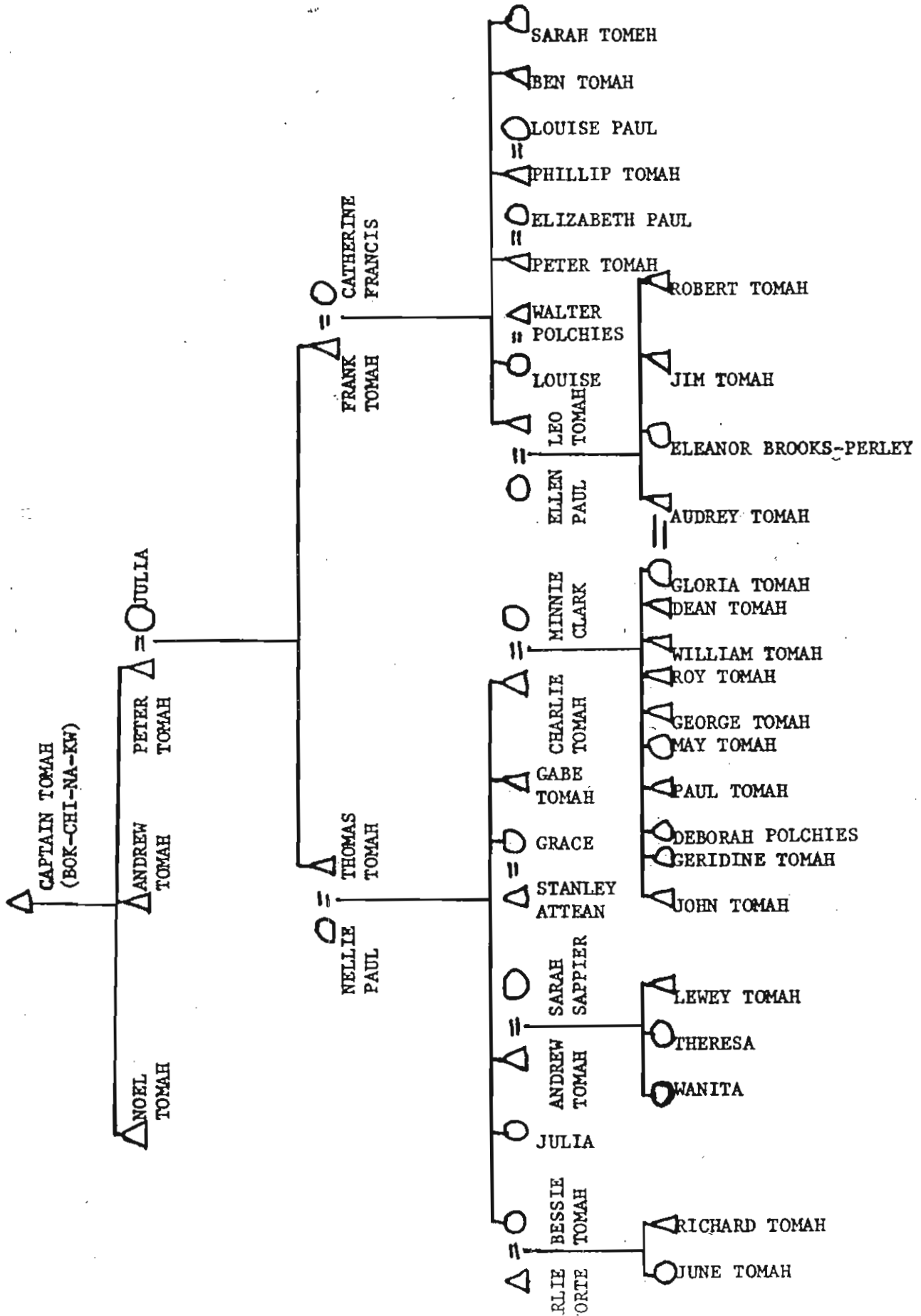
Since its creation, there have been twenty individuals who have served in various capacities on the AAI Executive Board (President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer); of these twelve have been part of the Houlton deme community. Three others, two Passamaquoddies and one Micmac are long term Houlton residents, socially integrated into the Houlton Band. Otherwise only five, four Micmacs and one Maliseet of the Tobique Band have held Executive Board positions during AAI's eleven year existence. And the terms of office for non-band members have tended to be relatively short. Figure 23 shows the consanguinal and affinal ties

between the Houlton Band members who have served on AAI's Executive Board. The formation of the entire AAI Board of Directors has tended to follow the same pattern.

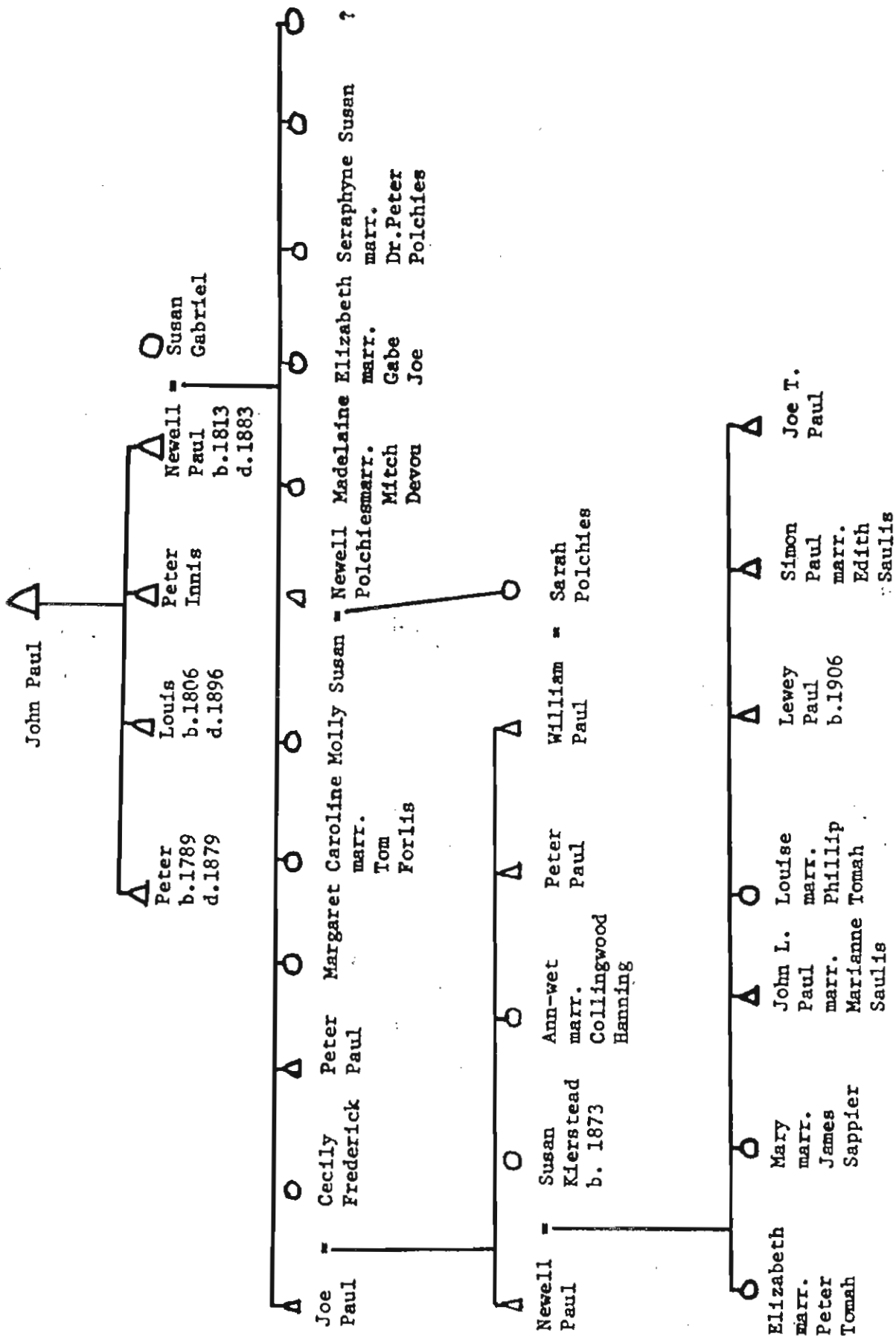
APPENDIX



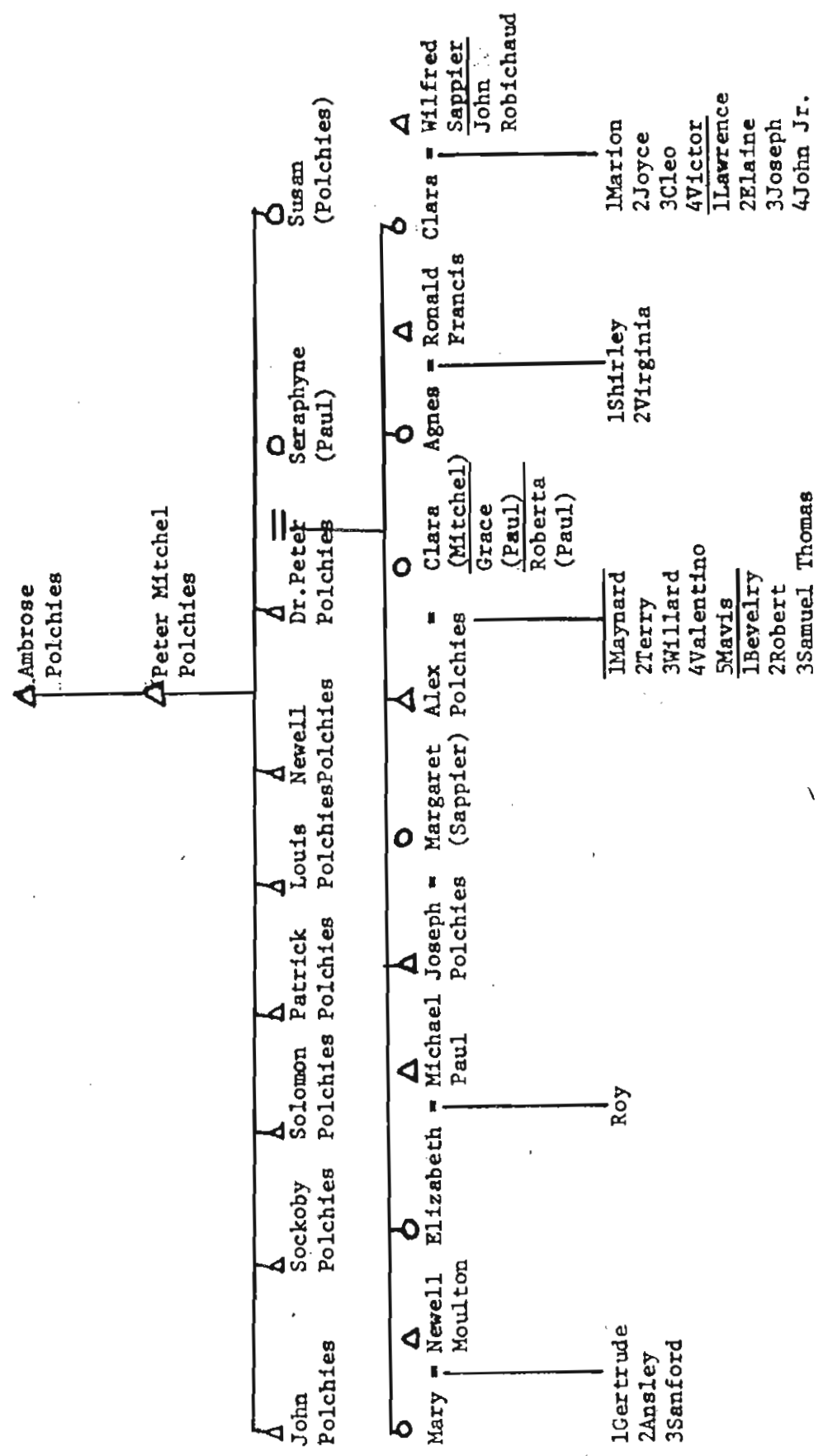
JOSEPH KINSHIP DIAGRAM



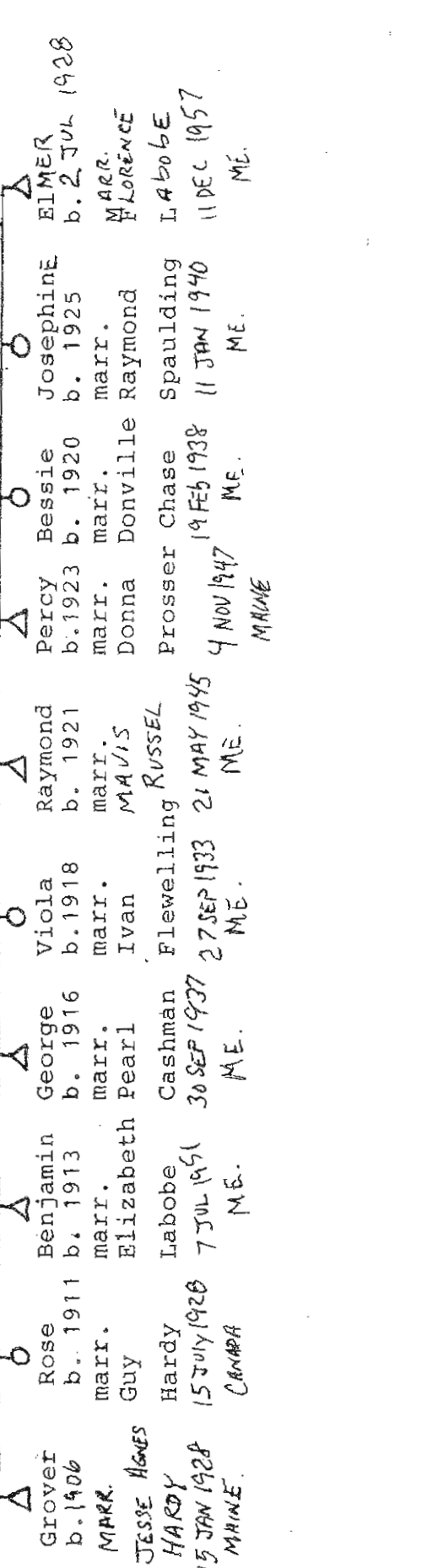
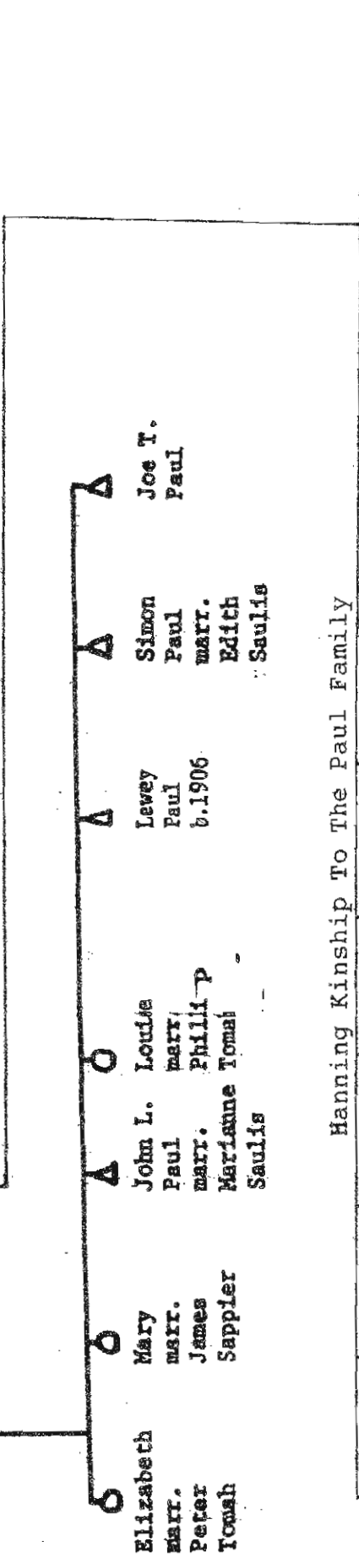
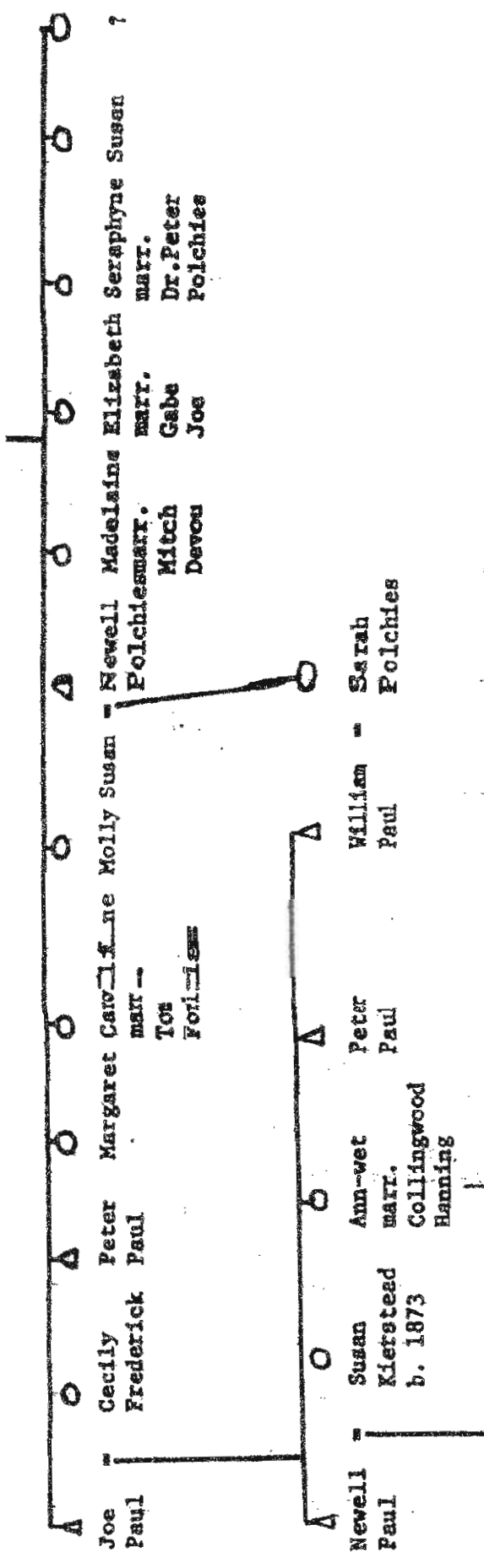
TOMAH KINSHIP DIAGRAM



PAUL KINSHIP DIAGRAM



POLCHIES KINSHIP DIAGRAM



Hanning Kinship To The Paul Family

SYNONYMY

St. Pierre	Debou	Polchies	Thomas
Sappiere	Devou	Polchis	Thoma
Sapiere	Devoe	Polshies	Toma
Sapier	Deveau	Poulshisse	Tomah
Sopiel	Devoux	Paulsis	Tomar
Sopier	Davoux		Tomer
Sappier		Polis	
Sapael	Sebatis	Bolus	Forlis
Sapia	Sabatis	Polus	Folis
Sapie	Sabatis	Paulis	Fauls
	Sabadis		
Francis		Bernard	Bear
Frances	Attwan	Barnard	Bare
Francais	Atwin	Belnard	Baer
Denie	Saulis	Ketchum	Newell
Denney	Solis	Keachum	Noel
Denis			

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Registered/Enrolled members are listed to the far left. To the right is a listing of their parents. Parents are not necessarily enrolled unless their name is also listed on the left.

APPENDIX 2
UPDATED ROLL RECEIVED AFTER INITIAL SUBMISSION
MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF THE Houlton Area of Maligiers AS OF September 20, 1980
(month, day, year)

NOIA Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Blood Type	Name of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribal	Race
	Boyce, Beverly Bridge Street Houlton, ME	F	1-11-59	Houlton, ME	Maligier		Fa. Alexander Polchies	8-21-09	Woodstock, ME	Mal.	
	Boyce, Maurice, Jr. Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	9-13-73	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Roberta Paul	1-27-40	Malabar, ME	Mal.	
	Boyce, Roberts Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	9-2-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Maurice Boyce	11-7-55	Houlton, ME	White	
	Boyce, Thomas Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	10-20-78	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Beverly Polchies	1-31-59	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Boyce, Danya Marie P.O. Box 504 Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-12-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Maurice Boyce	11-2-55	Houlton, ME	White	
	Boyce, Jeffrey S. P.O. Box 504 Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-30-68	Southington, Conn.	Mal.		Mo. Beverly Polchies	1-31-59	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Boyce, Jerry P. P.O. Box 504 Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-4-71	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Jerry Boyce	1-12-48	Houlton, ME	White	
	Boyce, Joanne M. P.O. Box 504 Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-9-70	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Nancy Tomah	1-12-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Dandridge, Suzanne M. 358 Pleasant Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	12-21-56	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Jerry Boyce		Houlton, ME	White	
	Deroo, Branda Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-1-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Nancy Tomah	1-12-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Dvoce, Angela Gail Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-12-79	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Anthony Tomah	11-9-26	Wingsfield, ME	Mal.	
	Dvoce, Gerald Lee Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-22-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Claudia Rosa Tomah	9-20-36	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Dvoce, Gilbert, Jr. 74 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-7-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Dvoce, Jr.	4-7-27	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
							Mo. Grace Paul	1-24-38	Frederickton, ME	Mal.	
							Fa. Gerald Roger Hamline	12-18-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
							Mo. Branda Deroo	3-1-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
							Fa.				
							Mo. Bertha Jane Deroo	10-12-37	Woodstock, ME	Mal.	
							Fa. Gilbert Dvoce	7-1888	New Brunswick	Mal.	
							Mo. Hazel Doty		Houlton, ME	White	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree
	Devos, Grace 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-23-38	Fredericton	Maliseet		Fa. John C. Paul Mo. Frances Scobie	2-29-08 5-12-20	Fredericton Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Paul, Basil Fredericton, New Brunswick	M	8-31-59	Fredericton	Mal.		Fa. Mo. Grace Paul				
	Devos, Debra 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-17-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, John E. 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-27-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Josephine 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-27-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Leonard 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-16-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Roland J. 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-26-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Timmy 34 Franklin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-19-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Gilbert Devos Mo. Grace Paul	6-7-27 5-24-38	Houlton, ME Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Thomas Gilbert Green Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	12-21-33	Woodstock, NB	Mal.		Fa. Michael Devos Mo. Helen Scobie (Atwin)	11-188 3-25-10	New Brunswick Oromocto, NB	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Ellen Green Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-22-10	Oromocto, NB	Mal.		Fa. Mo. Louise Atwin				
	Scobie, Bairdlovcha Box 208 Oakfield, ME	F	11-13-38	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Franklin Oakfield, ME	M					Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Scobie, James	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother
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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree
	Devos, Patricia	F			Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Susan California	F			Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-22-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Scobie, Nora Jane Bangor, ME	F	5-21-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	
	Devos, Wanda 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME 04401	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Andrea Toms Mo. Sarah Arwin		Kingsclear	Mal.	
	Devos, James Andrew 490 Sydney Street Bangor, ME 04401	M	1-8-56	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Devos Mo. Wanda Toms		Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Devos, Martha Gerard 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME 04401	F	7-28-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Devos Mo. Wanda Toms		Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Flewelling, Bertha Ann Bangor Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Fredericton	Mal.		Fa. Michael Scherfs Mo. Mary Jane Scobie		Canada	Mal.	
	Forlis, Oliver Francis Kingsclear, N.B.	M	10-38-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Forlis Mo. Agnes Francis	1854 1894	New Brunswick	Mal.	
	Forcier, Jacqueline Virginia 2 Second Street Somersworth, ME	F	3-11-38	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Donald Francis (Adams) Mo. Agnes Christian Polchick	11-1-18 11-2-21	Oakfield Woodstock, NB	Mal. Mal.	
	Forcier, David 2 Second Street Somersworth, ME	M					Fa. Mo. Jacqueline Therese Francis				
	Forcier, Elene 2 Second Street Somersworth, ME	F					Fa. Mo. Jacqueline Virginia Francis				
	Forcier, Wilfred 2 Second Street Somersworth, ME	M					Fa. Mo. Jacqueline Virginia Francis				
	Foster, Gail M. Spring Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	8-9-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Gilbert Devos Mo. Patricia Mary Scobie	12-21-33 3-19-36	Woodstock, NB Fredericton	Mal. Mal.	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother
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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF ROULTON BAND OF MALIBETS AS OF Sept. 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree
	Hardy, Lorraine Callahan Road Houlton, ME	F	2-28-80	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinel Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-28-24 6-9-25	Houlton, ME Fredericton, N.S.	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Guy William Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-18-76	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Hardy, Sr. Mo. Carol Clements	3-24-23 6-22-45	Houlton, ME Bridgewater, N.S.	Mal. Mic.	
	Shannon, Lisa Marie Box 503 Woodstock, NB	F	8-1-69	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Austin Shannon Mo. Carol Shannon	8-1-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Shannon, Wade Austin Box 505 Woodstock, NB	M	6-11-70	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Austin Shannon Mo. Carol Shannon	8-1-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Shannon, Michelle Florence Robin Box 505 Woodstock, NB	F	1-8-72	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Austin Shannon Mo. Carol Shannon	8-1-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Greenlaw, Aaron Ray Box 133 Oakfield, ME	M	2-2-75	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Laurence Greenlaw Mo. Ursula Shannon	8-19-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Greenlaw, Ryan Keith Box 133 Oakfield, ME	M	1-4-78	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Laurence Greenlaw Mo. Ursula Shannon	8-19-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Greenlaw, <u>name 04/10/80</u> Box 133 Oakfield, ME			Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Laurence Greenlaw Mo. Ursula Shannon	8-19-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Gore, Chad P.O. Box 902 Shillboro, N.C. 28659	M	8-17-75	North Carol.	Mal.		Fa. Louis Gore Mo. Elaine Towah	10-6-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
							Fa. Mo. Fa. Mo. Fa. Mo.				

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF ROULTON BAND OF MALIBETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree
	Scobbe, Shelley Spring Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	10-6-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Mo. Carl W. Scobbe				
	Francis, Robert Richard 8 Second St. Somersworth, NH s/o Virginia Fortier	M	1-22-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Jacquelin Virginia Francis Mo. Jacquelin Virginia Francis	5-20-38	Woodstock, NB	Mal.	
	Francis, Jeffery C. 8 Second St. Somersworth, NH s/o Virginia Fortier	M	1-9-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Jacquelin Virginia Francis Mo. Jacquelin Virginia Francis	5-20-38	Woodstock, NB	Mal.	
	Haley, Deborah J. 21 Golden Gate Trailer Park, P.O. 1313 Trenque Isle, ME 04789	F	1-18-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Lee Joe Towah Mo. Bonnie L. Clark	2-1-00 4-23-07	Kingstons, NB Pockland, ME	Mal. White	
	Haley, Christel Lynn 29 Golden Gate Trailer Park, P.O. 1313 Trenque Isle, ME 04789	F	10-6-78	Trenque Isle	Mal.		Fa. Larry H. Haley Mo. Deborah J. Towah	1-18-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Haney, Anna Marie Hartford, Connecticut	F	2-26-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Richard Haney Mo. Julia Geraldine Towah	6-10-31	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Haney, Joseph Richard US Army	M	4-15-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Richard Haney Mo. Julia Geraldine Towah	6-10-31	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Haney, Pamela Jean Bristol, Connecticut	F	10-15-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Richard Haney Mo. Julia Geraldine Towah	6-10-31	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Haney, Timothy South Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-2-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Richard Haney Mo. Julia Geraldine Towah	6-10-31	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Haney, Anton Bristol, Connecticut	M		Connecticut	Mal.		Fa. Mo. Pamela Jean Haney				
	Haney, Terry Bristol, Connecticut	F		Connecticut	Mal.		Fa. Mo. Pamela Jean Haney				
	Hardy, Joseph (Jack) Sr. Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-24-35	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Guy Hardy Mo. Anne Manning		Sayreville, ME	White	
	Hardy, Carol Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-22-45	Bridgewater, N.S.	Mic.		Fa. Mo. Nancy Clements Cuppe		Houlton, ME	Mal.	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Stand Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Stand Degree
	Hardy, Joseph Jr. Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-21-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Hardy, Sr. Mo. Patricia Estabrook	3-28-33 3-5-62	Houlton, ME Houlton, ME	Mal. White	
	Hardy, Remlin Charles Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	10-26-74	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal		Fa. Joseph Hardy, Sr. Mo. Carol Clements	3-28-33 6-22-52	Houlton, ME Bridgewater	Mal. Mic.	
	Hardy, Dorothy Rose Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-12-78	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal		Fa. Joseph Hardy, Sr. Mo. Carol Clements	3-28-33 6-22-52	Houlton, ME Bridgewater	Mal. Mic.	
	Hardy, Nancy Lynn Birmingham Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-15-79	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal		Fa. Joseph Hardy, Sr. Mo. Carol Clements	3-28-33 6-22-52	Houlton, ME Bridgewater	Mal. Mic.	
	Hardy, Vinal Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-25-34	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Guy Hardy Mo. Rose Manning			Sacoye Mills Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Hardy, Audrey Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-9-35	Frederickton	Mal.		Fa. Arthur Paul Mo. Cecile Sandler			New Brunswick	Mal.
	Hardy, Brenda River Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-10-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Benjamin River Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	9-28-79	Bangor, ME	Mal.		Mo. Brenda Hardy	4-10-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Hardy, Celvia Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	7-15-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Diana Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	12-22-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Carl Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-12-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Gerald Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-24-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Jeffrey Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	6-15-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Stand Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Stand Degree
	Hardy, Lisa Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	12-32-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Patrick Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-28-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Paul	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hardy, Timothy Callahan Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-27-56	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Vinal Hardy Mo. Audrey Hardy	7-26-34 6-9-35	Houlton, ME Frederickton	Mal. Mal.	
	Hendings, Carol Ann 45 Irving Street Bristol, Connecticut	F	4-10-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia Mo. Frances E. Dupon	6-11-19 10-22-27	Cagatom, ME Lakeville, ME	Mal. Mal.	
	Hendings, Beth 45 Irving Street Bristol, Connecticut	F		Bristol, CT	Mal.		Fa. Gary Hendings Mo. Carol Sabatia			White	
	Hendings, Amy 45 Irving Street Bristol, Connecticut	F		Bristol, CT	Mal.		Fa. Gary Hendings Mo. Carol Sabatia			White	
	Ivey, Rosemary 55 Pleasant Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-2-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Donald Keller Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah			Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Hiscoe, Daniel 45 Pleasant Street Houlton, ME 04730	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. George Hiscoe Mo. Rosemary Kelley			White	
	Jewell, Elizabeth Regina Scarlon Road Monticello, ME 04760	F	10-22-44	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louisa Smith	1-10-89 5-25-10	Woodstock, VT Kingsbury	Mal. Mal.	
	Jewell, Allan Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	M	11-4-43	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	4-12-34 10-22-14		White	
	Jewell, John Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	M	3-16-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	4-12-34 10-22-14		White	
	Jewell, Michael, Jr. Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	M	2-28-54	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	4-12-34 10-22-14		White	
	Jewell, Myra Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	F	11-12-42	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	4-12-34 10-22-14		White	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEET AS OF Sept. 28, 1980
 (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribal	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribal	Blood Degree
	Jewell, Norma Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	F	11-27-70	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	4-13-36 10-22-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Jewell, Rodney Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	M	11-29-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	1-13-35 10-22-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Jewell, Steven Station Road Monticello, ME 04760	M	6-19-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Jewell Mo. Elizabeth Joseph	7-13-24 10-22-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Anthony 15 Columbia Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-24-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Florence Green Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Anthony Joseph Mo. Yris McPherson	4-24-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Rebecca Ann Green Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-16-76	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Anthony Joseph (2) Mo. Yris McPherson	4-24-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Arthur 447 Lisbon Street Carrollton, Ohio	M	8-3-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Coleman W. Addington Mo. Mary Anne Joseph		Maine	White	
	Joseph, Arthur, Jr. Oakfield, ME	M	12-18-67	Inland Falls	Mal.		Fa. Arthur Joseph, Sr. Mo. Linda Cross		Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Carl Patrick 1936 East Albert Street Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)	M	12-11-46	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Alverta 1936 East Albert Street Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)	M			Mal.		Fa. Carl Joseph Mo. Alverta Forster	12-14-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Carl Jr. 1936 East Albert Street Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)	M			Mal.		Fa. Carl Joseph Mo. Alverta Forster	12-14-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Jessica 1936 East Albert Street Philadelphia, Penn				Mal.		Fa. Carl Joseph Mo. Alverta Forster	11-14-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, 1936 East Albert Street Philadelphia, Penn				Mal.		Fa. Carl Joseph Mo. Alverta Forster	12-14-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	White

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEET AS OF September 28, 1980
 (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribal	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribal	Blood Degree
	Joseph, Francis James 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	12-14-36	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Veronica Mary 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	11-7-42	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia Mo. Frances Devon	8-31-19 10-23-24	Gaugtown Linkville	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Ann Maria 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-20-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Donald Leonard 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Erica 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Francis James, Jr. 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	8-26-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Judy Lynn 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-17-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Kylie 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Mae 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Robert R. 82 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-10-69	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, John Lawrence 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-2-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Francis James Joseph Mo. Veronica Mary Sabatia	12-14-36 11-7-42	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Mary Louise 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-17-34	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, Carolyn R. 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	9-4-40	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia Mo. Frances Devon	8-31-19 10-23-24	Gaugtown Linkville	Mal.	Mal.
	Joseph, John Lawrence 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-23-72	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatia	4-17-36 2-4-60	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	Mal.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; Mo. Mother

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(month, day, year)

NAME	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Blood Group	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Rel.
	Joseph, David L. 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-28-73	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatis	1-12-36 9-4-40	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	
	Joseph, John Lawrence, Jr. 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-9-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatis	1-12-36 9-4-40	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	
	Joseph, Patrick A. 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	9-25-69	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatis	1-17-34 9-4-40	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	
	Joseph, Sally Ann 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-28-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatis	1-17-34 9-4-40	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	
	Joseph, Tina Louise 2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-26-59	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. John Lawrence Joseph Mo. Mary Louise Sabatis	1-17-34 9-4-40	Houlton, ME Woodstock	Mal.	
	Joseph, Louise 15 Columbia Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-25-10	Kingsclear	Mal.		Fa. Minnie Paul Mo. Joseph Saulis	10-27-1893	Kingsclear Houlton	Mal.	
	Joseph, Ronald 15 Columbia Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	6-21-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	
	Joseph, Pacer 15 Columbia Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	5-15-37	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	
	Joseph, Betty Jane 12 Avon Street Houlton, ME	F	8-15-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatis Mo. Frances Bureau	8-31-19 10-23-23	Gagetown Lakerville	Mal.	
	Joseph, Amy Rose 12 Avon Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	8-2-72	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Peter Joseph Mo. Betty Jane Sabatis	3-15-37 8-15-48	Houlton, ME Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Joseph, Catherine Marie 12 Avon Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-13-71	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Peter Joseph Mo. Betty Jane Sabatis	5-15-37 8-15-48	Houlton, ME Houlton, ME	Mal.	
	Joseph, Luke Edward 12 Avon Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-26-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Peter Joseph Mo. Betty Jane Sabatis	3-15-37 8-15-48	Houlton, ME Houlton, ME	Mal.	

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(month, day, year)

NAME	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Blood Group	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Rel.
	Joseph, Sally (Sarah) Mary Lewiston, ME	F	7-28-12	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	
	Joseph, Thomas 9 Court Street Belfast, ME	M	4-22-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Frank Joseph Mo. Louise Saulis	1-20-00 5-25-10	Woodstock Kingsclear	Mal.	
	Joseph, Amanda 9 Court Street Belfast, ME	F	7-11-76	Belfast, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Joseph Mo. Elaine Mae Keene	4-27-61 47	Houlton, ME Hazardia, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Frank 9 Court Street Belfast, ME	M	3-16-73	Belfast, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Joseph Mo. Elaine Mae Keene	4-27-61 47	Houlton, ME Hazardia, ME	Mal.	White
	Joseph, Thomas 9 Court Street Belfast, ME	M	12-20-61	Seagor, ME	Mal.		Fa. Thomas Joseph Mo. Elaine Mae Keene	4-27-61 47	Houlton, ME Hazardia, ME	Mal.	White
	Kaye, Linda Ann Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME - Canada	F	1-3-53	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatis Mo. Frances Bureau	2-23-19 10-23-23	Gagetown, NB Lakerville, NB	Mal.	
	Kaye, Christopher Franklin Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME - Canada	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Christopher Kaye Mo. Linda Ann Sabatis			Mal.	White
	Kaye, Gregory Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME - Canada	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Christopher Kaye Mo. Linda Ann Sabatis			Mal.	White
	Sabatis, Jennifer Lynn Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME - Canada	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Linda Ann Sabatis Mo. ?			Mal.	
	Kelley, Mary Ruth 15 Bowdoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-1-28	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Charles Walter Sabatis Mo. Minnie Louise Clark	1-23-1898 6-23-07	Kingsclear Rockland, ME	Mal.	White
	Kelley, Heidi 15 Bowdoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-26-87	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Donald Kelley Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah			Mal.	White
	Kelley, Jennifer 15 Bowdoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	11-9-70	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Donald Kelley Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah			Mal.	White

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF

ROULTON BAND OF MALISEETS

43 OF

September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Religion	Name of Parents	Date	Birth Place	Race
	Kelley, Maurason 15 Bowdoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Donald Kelley			White
	Kelley, Patrick 15 Bowdoin Street Houlton, Me 04730	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah	5-1-28	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Kelley, Michael Cary Street Houlton, ME 04730	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Donald Kelley			White
	Kelley, Tara Cary Street Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah	5-1-28	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Lachance, Holly Mae 305 Sea Street, #6 Quincy, Mass 02169	F	10-30-51	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Michael Kelley		Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Lachance, Jason Stephen 305 Sea Street, #6 Quincy, Mass 02169	M	10-30-51	Massachusetts	Mal.	Mo. Justice Comprehensio			White
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F	3-10-25	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Donald Kelley			White
	LaFontaine, David 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah	5-1-28	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Reault, Linda 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Gary Stephen Lachance			White
	LaFontaine, Mark 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Holly Mae Kelley	10-30-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Lablanc, Sheila 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah	6-1-03	Kingsclear	Mal.
	LaFontaine, Wallace 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Louise Paul	7-17-03	Windsor, VT	Mal.
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Wallace LaFontaine			White
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Audrey Marie Tomah	3-10-25	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	LaFontaine, Wallace 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Wallace LaFontaine			White
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Audrey Marie Tomah	3-10-25	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	LaFontaine, Wallace 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Wallace LaFontaine			White
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Audrey Marie Tomah	3-10-25	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	LaFontaine, Wallace 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Wallace LaFontaine			White
	LaFontaine, Audrey Marie 13 Cushman Road Winslow, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Audrey Marie Tomah	3-10-25	Houlton, ME	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF

ROULTON BAND OF MALISEETS

43 OF

September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Religion	Name of Parents	Date	Birth Place	Race
	Lavasseur, Shirley Jeanette Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-26-33	Woodstock	Mal.	Fa. Macain Sappier			Mal.
	Lavasseur, Donald James Audley Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-8-36	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Agnes Christina Polchies	10-2-21	Woodstock	Mal.
	Wright, Suzanne Darlene River Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-20-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Louis Edward Lavasseur	4-10-12	Houlton	Mal.
	Wright, Barbara Ann River Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	8-23-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Shirley J. Francis	4-26-33	Woodstock	Mal.
	London, Mary Jane Conroy Lake Monticello, ME 04760	F	19-3-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Louis Edward Lavasseur	4-10-32	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	London, Rhonda Conroy Lake Monticello, ME 04760	F	11-7-79	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Shirley J. Francis	4-26-35	Woodstock	Mal.
	McKee, Joan Marie Stockholm, ME	F	5-6-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Robert Wright	5-8-58	Houlton, ME	White
	McKee, Grace Route #1 Ludlow, ME	F	9-4-58	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Suzanne D. Lavasseur	3-30-67	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McKee, Annette Jeanne RFS #1, Box 131 Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-17-89	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. John Lawrence Joseph	1-17-36	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McKee, Anthony Route #1 Ludlow, ME	M	2-2-69	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Mary Louise Sabatin	9-8-40	Woodstock	Mal.
	McKee, Darrel Jr. Route #1 Ludlow, ME 04730	M	3-19-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. John London			White
	McKee, Darrin Route #1 Ludlow, ME	M	11-67	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Mo. Mary Joseph	9-26-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.
						Fa. Alexander Polchies	11-24-09	Woodstock	Mal.
						Mo. Huberta Carl	1-27-01	Waltham, MA	Mal.
						Fa. Frank Joseph	2-20-06	Woodstock	Mal.
						Mo. Louise Saults	4-26-20	Kingsclear	Mal.
						Fa. Darrall McKee			White
						Mo. Grace Joseph	3-4-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
						Fa. Darrall McKee			White
						Mo. Grace Joseph	3-4-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
						Fa. Darrall McKee			White
						Mo. Grace Joseph	3-4-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
						Fa. Darrall McKee			White
						Mo. Grace Joseph	3-4-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Religion	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	McKee, Karen Route #1 Ludlow, ME	F	2-10-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Darrell McKee Mo. Grace Joseph	7-4-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McKee, Kristy Route #1 Ludlow, ME	F	4-8-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Darrell McKee Mo. Grace Joseph	7-4-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McKee, Norma Route #1 Ludlow, ME	F	11-2-69	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Darrell McKee Mo. Grace Joseph	7-4-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McKee, Thomas Route #1 Ludlow, ME	M	11-24-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Darrell McKee Mo. Grace Joseph	7-4-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Mills, Jean Ann Benton New Brunswick	F	2-24-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Darrell McKee Mo. Grace Joseph	7-4-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Mills, Andrew Benton New Brunswick	M			Mal.		Fa. Glenn Mills Mo. Jean McKee	2-24-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Mills, Anthony Benton New Brunswick	M			Mal.		Fa. Glenn Mills Mo. Jean McKee	2-24-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Moran, Gertrude 2 Pennington Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-22-22	Woodstock	Mal.		Fa. Noel Houlton Mo. Mary Fulchison	1-8-1899	Woodstock	Mal.
	Moran, Christopher 2 Pennington Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-14-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Percy Moran Mo. Gertrude Houlton	4-7-07	Crystal, ME	White
	Moran, Herman 2 Pennington Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-26-41	East Haddam	Mal.		Fa. Percy Moran Mo. Gertrude Houlton	4-22-22	Woodstock, NB	Mal.
	Moran, Linda Ann County Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	9-4-68	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Percy Moran Mo. Gertrude Houlton	4-22-22	Woodstock, NB	Mal.
	Moran, Phillip Hiram 73 Franklin Avenue Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-7-44	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Percy Moran Mo. Gertrude Houlton	4-22-22	Woodstock, NB	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Religion	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Moran, Richard California	M	8-12-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Percy Moran Mo. Gertrude Houlton	4-27-07	Crystal, ME	White
	Moran, Robert 73 Franklin Avenue Houlton, ME	M	8-4-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Phillip Moran Mo. Linda Hayward	4-22-22	Woodstock, ME	Mal.
	Moran, Sherry 73 Franklin Avenue Houlton, ME 04730	F	11-11-76	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Phillip Moran Mo. Linda Hayward	4-22-22	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Paul, Mary Theresa 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	F	12-25-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Andrew Tomah Mo. Sarah Atwin		Kingsclear	Mal.
	Paul, Peter Andrew 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	M	12-29-48	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Edmund Paul Mo. Mary Theresa Tomah	12-21-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Kennedy, Marie Bernadette 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	F	5-12-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Edmund Paul Mo. Mary Theresa Tomah	12-21-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Kennedy, Jennifer 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	F			Mal.		Fa. Robert Kennedy Mo. Marie Paul			White
	Kennedy, Ellen 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	F			Mal.		Fa. Robert Kennedy Mo. Marie Paul	5-12-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Loring, Christie Marie 90 Sydney Street Bangor, ME	F			Mal.		Fa. Marie Paul Mo. Adrian Loring	5-12-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Paul, Roy A. 82 Main Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-26-21	Bowdoinville, ME	Mal.		Fa. Michael Paul Mo. Elizabeth Poichies		Frederickton	Mal.
	Felkey, Thomas Albert Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB Canada	M	12-16-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Andrew Felkey Mo. Florence Mary Atwin	1977	ME	Mal.
	Felkey, Mary Lorraine Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB Canada	F	5-12-46	Woodstock, NB	Mal.		Fa. Florence Mary Atwin Mo. Howell Paul	3-18-00	Oromocto, NB	Mal.
							Fa. Mary Agnes Devoe	2-5-05	Woodstock	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Parent(s)	Parent(s) Birth Date	Parent(s) Race
	Folchies, Deborah 40 High Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	8-26-66	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal	Fa. Valentino Folchies Mo. Rose Silliboy	1-30-37 Devon, NB 3-26-43 Danforth, ME	Mal. Mic.
	Folchies, Marie Ann 40 High Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-11-61	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal	Fa. Valentine Folchies Mo. Rose Silliboy	1-30-37 Devon, NB 3-26-43 Danforth, ME	Mal. Mic.
	Folchies, Mary Delores 40 High Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	8-11-65	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal	Fa. Valentine Folchies Mo. Rose Silliboy	1-30-37 Devon, NB 3-26-43 Danforth, ME	Mal. Mic.
	Folchies, Valentine Joseph, Jr. 40 High Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-12-63	Houlton, ME	Mic/Mal	Fa. Valentine Folchies Mo. Rose Silliboy	1-30-37 Devon, NB 3-26-43 Danforth, ME	Mal. Mic.
	Folchies, Terrance Clayton Bangor, ME 04401	M	11-21-43	Woodstock NB	Mal	Fa. Alexander Folchies Mo. Grace Paul	8-29-09 Woodstock, NB Maliseet, NB	Mal. Mal.
	Folchies, Brenda J. P.O. Box 345, Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-21-44	Fredericton	Mal	Fa. Levi Brooks Mo. Eleanor Tomah	4-12-24 Kingsclear, NB 4-12-24 Kingsclear, NB	Mal. Mal.
	Folchies, Vincent P.O. Box 345, Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-6-73	Bridgewater CT	Mal	Fa. Terrance C. Folchies Mo. Brenda Brooks	11-21-4 Woodstock, NB 4-21-44 Fredericton	Mal. Mic/Mal
	Folchies, Valentine Joseph Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB	M	12-19-47	Woodstock NB	Mal	Fa. Alexander Folchies Mo. Grace Paul	8-29-09 Woodstock NB Maliseet, NB	Mal. Mal.
	Folchies, Joseph Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB	M	03-06-78		Mal	Fa. Valentino Folchies Mo. Shirley Smith	12-19-47 Woodstock, NB 6-19-55	Mal. White
	Folchies, Nicole Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB	F			Mal	Fa. Valentino Folchies Mo. Shirley Smith	12-19-47 Woodstock, NB 6-19-55	Mal. White
	Folchies, Lovi Ann Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB	F	10-7-73	Houlton, ME	Mal	Fa. Valentino Folchies Mo. Deborah Tomah	12-19-47 Woodstock, NB 3-18-52 Houlton, ME	Mal. Mal.
	Folchies, Valerie Jean Woodstock Indian Reserve Woodstock, NB	F	1-13-72	Houlton, ME	Mal	Fa. Valentino Folchies Mo. Deborah Tomah	12-19-47 Woodstock, NB 3-18-52 Houlton, ME	Mal. Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Parent(s)	Parent(s) Birth Date	Parent(s) Race
	Richardson, Mary RFD #1 Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal	Fa. Earl Richardson Mo. Julia Geraldine Tomah	6-10-31 Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Richardson, Sally RFD #1 Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal	Fa. Earl Richardson Mo. Julia Geraldine Tomah	6-10-31 Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Richardson, Tracy RFD #1 Houlton, ME 04730	F		Houlton, ME	Mal	Fa. Earl Richardson Mo. Julia Geraldine Tomah	6-10-31 Houlton, ME	Mal.
	(Deceased)							
	Robichaud, Lawrence Charles Portland, ME	M	6-11-49	Avon, ME	Mal	Fa. John Robichaud Mo. Clara Folchies	5-25-14 Woodstock, NB	Mal.
	Robichaud, Lawrence Charles, Jr. Pleasant Point, ME	M	6-25-77	Pleasant Pt	Mal/Pass	Fa. Lawrence Sumner Robichaud Mo. Angelina Mae Sockahasin	6-11-49 Phillips, ME 1-10-54 Pleasant PT	Mal. Pass.
	Robichaud, John Charles Oklahoma	M	8-19-53	Rumford, ME	Mal	Fa. John Robichaud Mo. Clara Folchies	5-25-14 Woodstock	Mal.
	Robichaud, Eve Oklahoma	F			Mal	Fa. John Charles Robichaud Mo. Sylvia	8-19-53 Rumford, ME	Mal.
	Dashier, Elaine Marie	F	3-8-50	Rumford, ME	Mal	Fa. John Robichaud Mo. Clara Folchies	5-25-14 Woodstock	Mal.
	Allen, Buffy	F			Mal	Fa. John M. Allen Mo. Elaine Marie Robichaud	9-8-50 Rumford, ME	Mal.
	Dashier, Denis M. III	M			Mal	Fa. Dennis M. Dashier, Jr. Mo. Elaine Marie Robichaud	9-8-50 Rumford, ME	Mal.

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ROULTON BIRTH OF MEMBERS AS OF September 28, 1980
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Member	Name and Address	Sex	Date	City	State	Parents	Date	Birth Place	Race
Sabatia, Clair Allison	Ludlow Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	6-12-46	Woodstock	ME	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	Mal.
Sabatia, Clarissa Elizabeth	Ludlow Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	10-31-36	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Frances Devoe	10-23-25	Lakeville, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Elissa Marie	Ludlow Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-9-78	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Clair A. Sabatia	6-12-46	Woodstock	Mal.
Sabatia, Debra Marie	45 Irving St. Apt. 2 Bristol, Conn.	F	12-27-55	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Wendy D. Romea	12-1-51	Houlton, ME	White
Sabatia, Shann Jason	45 Irving Street, Apt 2 Bristol, Conn.	M	7-10-76	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	Mal.
Sabatia, Douglas	School Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	10-21-50	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Frances E. Devoe	10-23-25	Lakeville, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Allison	School Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	11-16-73	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Douglas Sabatia	10-21-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Amanda	School Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-8-79	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Shirley Cole	10-21-50	Houlton, ME	White
Sabatia, Sarah	School Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-22-72	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Douglas Sabatia	10-21-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Joseph Walter	2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	NB	Mo. Shirley Cole	10-21-50	Houlton, ME	White
Sabatia, Leonard Joseph	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-5-45	Woodstock	ME	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	Mal.
Sabatia, Theresa	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	F	5-23-47	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Frances Devoe	10-23-25	Lakeville, ME	Mal.
						Fa. Frank Joseph	3-29-00	Woodstock, ME	Mal.
						Louise Saulis	5-21-10	Kingclear, NB	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF ROULTON BIRTH OF MEMBERS AS OF September 28, 1980
(Continued, Page 120)

Member	Name and Address	Sex	Date	City	State	Parents	Date	Birth Place	Race
Sabatia, Bobbi Ann	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-2-49	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Leonard Joseph Sabatia	3-2-45	Woodstock	Mal.
Sabatia, Frances Louise	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	F	7-3-72	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Theresa Joseph	5-23-47	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Shaw Marie	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-14-67	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Leonard J. Sabatia	3-2-45	Woodstock	Mal.
Sabatia, Leonard James	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-23-76	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Theresa Joseph	5-23-47	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Mack	23 Aurora Drive Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-15-63	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Leonard J. Sabatia	3-2-45	Woodstock	Mal.
Sabatia, Margaret Lynn	Box 106 Houlton, ME	F	4-8-57	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Theresa Joseph	5-23-47	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Thary	Box 106 Houlton, ME	F	1-3-79	Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Leonard J. Sabatia	3-2-45	Woodstock	Mal.
Sabatia, Nicholas	Box 106 Houlton, ME	M	9-29-77	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Theresa Joseph	5-23-47	Houlton, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, Paul	2 Park Street Houlton, ME 04730 (US ARMY)	M		Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	Mal.
Sabatia, Walter Eugene	Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME	M	6-7-47	Houlton, ME	ME	Mo. Frances E. Devoe	10-23-25	Lakeville, ME	Mal.
Sabatia, April	Richmond Corner Woodstock, ME	F		Houlton, ME	ME	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatia	2-23-19	Gagetown, NB	Mal.
						Fa. Joseph W. Sabatia	3-2-47	Houlton, ME	Mal.
						Elizabeth Simpson			White
									Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALTSHETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Parents	Parents' Birth Dates	Parents' Birth Places	Race
	Shannon, Austin Box 505 Woodcock, ME	M	8-1-48	Houlton	Mal.	Fa. Hazen Shannon Mo. Florence Joseph	10-13-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Shannon, Hazen Jr.	M	3-24-56		Mal.	Fa. Hazen Shannon Mo. Florence Joseph	10-13-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Screenlaw, Ursula (Shannon) Box 133 Orfield, ME	F	8-19-54	Houlton	Mal.	Fa. Hazen Shannon Mo. Florence Joseph	10-13-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	James, Rosamary 95 Irving Street Winchester, Mass	F	5-16-58	Houlton	Mal.	Fa. Hazen Shannon Mo. Florence Joseph	10-13-29	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Shannon, Michael 95 Irving Street Winchester, Mass	M		Houlton	Mal.	Fa. ? Mo. Rosamary Shannon	5-16-58		Mal.
	Sutton, Martha Jane 140 Military Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	10-12-37	Woodstock	Mal.	Fa. Michael Boyce Mo. Ellen Atwin	31-1865	New Brunswick	Mal.
	Thiele, Catherine Gardiner, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Donald Kelley Mo. Mary Ruth Tomah	5-2-30	Dorchester, ME	Mal.
	Thiele, Michael Gardiner, ME	M	7-30-71	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Lawrence Shea Mo. Catherine Kelley		Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Daniel (Dean R.) 3 Salem Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	8-30-44	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Charles Walter Tomah Mo. Minnie Louise Clark	11-28-98	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Tomah, Joey Dean 3 Salem Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-9-70	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Dean E. Tomah Mo. Joyce Boyce	8-30-44	Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Michelle 3 Salem Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	7-31-71	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Dean E. Tomah Mo. Joyce Boyce	8-30-44	Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Sarah 3 Salem Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	6-13-78	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Dean E. Tomah Mo. Joyce Boyce	8-30-44	Houlton, ME	White

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALTSHETS AS OF September 28, 1980

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Parents	Parents' Birth Dates	Parents' Birth Places	Race
	Tomah, Frederick Darrell Country Road, P.O. Box 951 Houlton, ME 04730	M	5-24-51	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick Lawrence Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	11-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Holly P.O. Box 951 Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-13-76	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick Darrell Tomah Mo. Dianna Tibbotts	5-29-51	Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Frederick Lawrence Nelson Street Houlton, ME	M	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Charles Walter Tomah Mo. Minnie Clark	11-28-98	Kingsclear, ME	White
	Campbell, Anthony School Street Houlton, ME 04730	M		Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Bonnie Campbell	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	White
	Mulhern, Carol 164 Taft Drive Clarksville, Tenn 37040	F	2-20-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Mulhern, Larrri 164 Taft Drive Clarksville, Tenn	F	5-25-70	Forest Heights Maryland	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Carol Ann Tomah	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	McGowan, Nancy Alice Cesterbury Apts. 9-2 Hopkinsville, Kentucky 42240	F	2-30-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	David, Andrea Cecile 713 Beecher Hill Road Clarksville, Tenn 37040	F	1-8-57	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Helen 304 Appleton Avenue Clarksville, Tenn 37040	F	8-11-56	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Michael 504 Appleton Avenue Clarksville, Tenn 37040	M	12-16-57	Clarksville	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Gore, Elaine Elizabeth P.O. Box 982 Shelbota, N.C. 28459	F	10-4-50	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Gore, Christopher P.O. Box 982 Shelbota, N.C. 28459	M	2-1-74	Pt. Campbell KY	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	White
	Gore, Christian P.O. Box 907 Shelbota, N.C. 28459	F	10-17-78	Clarksville, TN	Mal.	Fa. Frederick L. Tomah Mo. Lorraine Dumont	12-5-24	Houlton, ME	White

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Blood Group	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Tomah, Berold Box 934 Houlton, ME 04730	M	1936	Kingsclear	Mal.		Fa Phillip Tomah Mo Louise Paul	6-1-01 7-17-01	Kingsclear Woodstock	Mal.
	Tomah, Joseph Aubrey 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	11-9-26	Kingsclear	Mal.		Fa Leo Leo Tomah Mo Ellen Paul	2-1-00 1902	Fredericton Kingsclear	Mal.
	Tomah, Gloria Rosa 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	9-20-34	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Charles Walter Tomah Mo Winnie Louise Clark	11-28-98 4-21-07	Kingsclear Rockland, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Anthony Joseph 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	7-24-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Joseph A. Tomah Mo Gloria Tomah	11-9-26 9-20-34	Kingsclear Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Randa Louise 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	10-2-61	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Joseph A. Tomah Mo Gloria Tomah	11-9-26 1-20-34	Kingsclear Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Lisa Marie 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	12-30-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Joseph A. Tomah Mo Gloria Tomah	11-9-26 1-20-34	Kingsclear Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Jody Ann 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-29-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Joseph A. Tomah Mo Gloria Tomah	11-9-26 9-20-34	Kingsclear Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Samantha Jo 6 West Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-21-70	Eastfield	Mal.		Fa George T. Tomah Mo Virginia Cloddy	2-22-27	Houlton, ME	White
	(deceased)						Fa [redacted] Mo [redacted]	1868		Mal.
	Tomah, Walter James Bridge Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	9-24-21	Kingsclear	Mal.		Fa Leo Leo Tomah Mo Ellen Paul	2-1-00 1905	Fredericton Kingsclear	Mal.
	Tomah, Louis Merlin Rt. 1, Box 90 Clifton, ME	M	1-14-34	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Andrew Tomah Mo Sarah Lewis		Fredericton	Mal.
	Tomah, Rose Marie Rt. 1, Box 90 Clifton, ME	F	10-4-46	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Michael Raymond Sacobie Mo Mary Paul		Fredericton	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Blood Group	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Tomah, Ann Marie Rt. 1, Box 90 Clifton, ME	F	9-12-64	Houlton	Mal.		Fa Louis Merlin Tomah Mo Rose Marie Sacobie	1-14-36 10-4-46	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Barbara Rt. 1, Box 90 Clifton, ME	F	5-6-68	Bangor	Mal.		Fa Louis Merlin Tomah Mo Rose Marie Sacobie	1-14-36 10-4-46	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Michelle Rt. 1, Box 90 Clifton, ME	F	9-18-75	Bangor	Mal.		Fa Louis Merlin Tomah Mo Rose Marie Sacobie	1-14-36 10-4-46	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Leroy Patrick 12 Starris Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-10-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Charles Walter Tomah Mo Winnie Louise Clark	11-28-98 4-23-07	Kingsclear Rockland, ME	White
	Tomah, Alicia Katherine 12 Starris Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	2-1-80	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Leroy P. Tomah Mo Diane Faulkner	4-10-39 10-5-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Amy Louise 12 Starris Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-18-77	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Leroy P. Tomah Mo Diane Faulkner	4-10-39 10-5-52	Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Michael Francis 12 Starris Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-15-75	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Leroy P. Tomah Mo Diane Faulkner	4-10-39 10-5-52	Houlton, ME	White
	Tomah, Leroy, Jr. Bangor Road Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-1-70	Bangor, ME	Mal.		Fa Leroy Tomah Mo Nancy Bragdon	4-10-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Paul Eugene 39 Riverside Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	3-4-26	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Charles Walter Tomah Mo Winnie Louise Clark	11-28-98 4-23-07	Kingsclear Rockland, ME	White
	Young, Caroline Ann Florenceville, New Brunswick	F	3-11-55	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Paul E. Tomah Mo Lorraine Gravel	2-4-26	Houlton, ME	White
	Young, Laura Florenceville, New Brunswick	F	7-29	New Brunswick	Mal.		Fa Paul E. Tomah Mo Lorraine Gravel	2-4-26	Houlton, ME	White
	Ellis, Janice Marie New Brunswick	F	7-30-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa Paul E. Tomah Mo Lorraine Gravel	2-4-26	Houlton, ME	White

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF Houlton Band of Halibuts AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Spouse	Name of Partner	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Ellis, Amanda c/o Paul Tomah New Brunswick	F		Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Donald Ellis			White
	Tomah, Richard 30 Grace Street Hartford, Connecticut 06106	M	9-21-27	Old Town, ME	Mal.		Mo. Janice M. Tomah	7-30-52	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, June 30 Grace Street Hartford, Connecticut 06106	F	6-21-19	Kingsclear, ME	Mal.		Mo. Elizabeth Tomah	9-16-24	Frederickton	Mal.
	Tomah, Patricia Anne 30 Grace Street Hartford, Connecticut 06106	F	7-17-65	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Elizabeth Tomah	9-16-24	Frederickton	Mal.
	Tomah, Richard M. 293 Northern Avenue Augusta, ME	M	8-18-32	Woodstock, ME	Mal.		Mo. Frances June Tomah	6-21-19	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Tomah, Sandall 293 Northern Avenue Augusta, ME	M			Mal.		Fa. Phillip Tomah	6-1-03	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Tomah, Lynne 293 Northern Avenue Augusta, ME	F			Mal.		Mo. Louise Paul	7-17-00	Woodstock	Mal.
	Tomah, Scott 293 Northern Avenue Augusta, ME	M			Mal.		Fa. Richard M. Tomah	8-18-32	Woodstock	Mal.
	Tomah, Ronald James 374 Skylar Avenue Belmont, NY 14813	M	11-25-21	Woodstock, ME	Mal.		Mo. Yvette Blouchette			White
	Tomah, Kim 374 Skylar Avenue Belmont, NY 14813	F			Mal.		Fa. Richard M. Tomah	8-18-32	Woodstock	Mal.
	Tomah, Karen 374 Skylar Avenue Belmont, NY 14813	F			Mal.		Mo. Yvette Blouchette			White
	Tomah, William 154 Hungerford Street Hartford, Connecticut	M	6-1-40	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Phillip Tomah	6-1-03	Kingsclear	Mal.
							Mo. Louise Paul	7-17-00	Woodstock	Mal.
							Fa. Ronald J. Tomah	11-25-29	Woodstock	Mal.
							Mo. Gertrude Hopkinson			White
							Fa. Ronald J. Tomah	11-25-29	Woodstock	Mal.
							Mo. Gertrude Hopkinson			White
							Fa. Charles Walter Tomah	11-28-08	Kingsclear	Mal.
							Minnie Louise Clark	4-25-07	Rockland, ME	White

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF Houlton Band of Halibuts AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Spouse	Name of Partner	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Tomah, Brian	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. William Tomah	6-1-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Big Cove, NE	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Theresa Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Jason	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. William Tomah	6-1-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Big Cove, NE	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Theresa Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Snow	F		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. William Tomah	6-1-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Big Cove, NE	F		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Theresa Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Barry	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. William Tomah	6-1-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Big Cove, NE	F		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Theresa Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Eric	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. Robert A. Tomah	3-6-51	Frederickton	Mal.
	Big Cove, NE	M		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Doris Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Marianne 352 Needham Street Frederickton, ME	F		Hartford, CT	Mal/Misc		Fa. Robert A. Tomah	3-6-51	Frederickton	Mal.
	Tomah, Robin 352 Needham Street Frederickton, ME	F		Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Mo. Doris Miller		Big Cove, ME	Misc.
	Tomah, Alina Mary 294 Park Terrace Hartford, CT	F	1-20-29	Houlton, ME	Mal/Misc		Fa. Robert A. Tomah	3-6-51	Frederickton	Mal.
	Tomah, Christopher Lee 294 Park Terrace Hartford, CT	M	7-6-77	Hartford, CT	Mal/Misc		Mo. Charlotte Gary Robson	7-24-44	Ferry, ME	Misc.
	Tompkins, Joyce Nadine Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	4-6-38	Woodstock, ME	Mal.		Fa. Edward Sawyer	8-03-04	Woodstock	Mal.
	Tompkins, Richard Lee Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-24-72	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Clara Polchies	6-23-28	Woodstock	Mal.
	Tompkins, William Clayton Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	2-22-65	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Fa. Richard Tompkins	4-5-32		White
	Tompkins, Sarah Lee Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	3-8-56	Houlton, ME	Mal.		Mo. Joyce W. Sawyer	4-6-38	Woodstock	Mal.
							Fa. Edward Tompkins	4-5-32		White
							Mo. Joyce W. Sawyer	4-6-38	Woodstock	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF Houlton Band of Musicians AS OF September 28, 1980 (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Name of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Trecartin, Albert Donald Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	4-28-66	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. William Trecartin Cleop P. Sappier	10-6-41	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Franklin Lee Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	M	1-1-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. William Trecartin Cleop P. Sappier	10-6-41	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Tracy Lee Houlton, ME 04730	F	9-13-63	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. William Trecartin Cleop P. Sappier	10-6-41	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Tara Marie Indlow Road Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-18-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. William Trecartin Cleop P. Sappier	10-6-41	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Kelli Eliza Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	1-10-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Richard Tompkins Joyce H. Sappier	4-9-37	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Eliza Jane Boudoin Street Houlton, ME 04730	F	11-27-78	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Ronald Trecartin Kelli E. Tompkins	1-10-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Chabot, Cleo P. 94 Knox Street Lewiston, ME	F	10-6-42	Woodstock	Mal.	Fa. Wilfred Sappier Clara Tompkins	10-13-34	Woodstock	Mal.
	Trecartin, Tina Marie 94 Knox Street Lewiston, ME	F	73	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Cleo P. Sappier	10-6-42	Woodstock	Mal.
	Valentine, Josune 1800 West Main, Lot #95 Lowell, Michigan	F	8-18-62	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Joseph Walter Sabatis Frances Devoe	2-23-19	Cagetown, NB	Mal.
	Valentine, Michelle 1800 West Main, Lot #95 Lowell, Michigan	F			Mal.	Fa. Douglas Valentine Joanne Sabatis	10-23-74	Lakeville, NB	Mal.
	Valentine, Joy 1800 West Main, Lot #95 Lowell, Michigan	F			Mal.	Fa. Douglas Valentine Joanne Sabatis	8-18-69	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Violette, Diane Guerrette, ME	F	11-28-60	Houlton, ME	Mal.	Fa. Dagrell McKee Grace Joseph	8-18-49	Houlton, ME	Mal.
	Violette, Erin Guerrette, ME	F			Mal.	Guy Violette Diane McKee	4-7-39	Houlton, ME	Mal.
							11-28-64	Houlton, ME	Mal.

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MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF Houlton Band of Musicians AS OF September 28, 1980 (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race	Name of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Race
	Welch, Ramona A. 36 Langley Street Bangor, ME 04401	F	5-24-41	Kingsclear	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Lester Paul	6-1-03	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Welch, Karen 26 Langley Street Bangor, ME	F	5-11-65	Waterville	Mal.	Fa. Merritt Welch D. Ramona A. Tomah	7-17-03	Woodstock	Mal.
	Welch, Kathy A. 26 Langley Street Bangor, ME 04401	F	5-22-63	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Merritt Welch D. Ramona A. Tomah	4-26-33	Wilton, ME	White
	Welch, Emily A. 26 Langley Street Bangor, ME 04401	F	10-24-68	Waterville	Mal.	Fa. Merritt Welch D. Ramona A. Tomah	5-26-41	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Whitten, Fay Joan 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	2-23-34	Woodstock	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Lovine Paul	4-26-33	Wilton, ME	White
	Whitten, Sarah Joan 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	6-15-72	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Donald Whitten	5-25-51	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Whitten, Debora Louisa 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	6-12-62	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Donald Whitten	6-1-03	Kingsclear	Mal.
	Whitten, Susan Kaybell 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	4-6-60	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Donald Whitten	7-12-03	Woodstock	Mal.
	Whitten, Rebecca Ann 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	1-5-65	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Donald Whitten	2-23-34	Woodstock	Mal.
	Whitten, Barbara Lynn 19 Myrtle Street Augusta, ME	F	5-21-61	Augusta, ME	Mal.	Fa. Phillip Tomah D. Donald Whitten	2-23-34	Woodstock	Mal.

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The following names were accepted for adoption into the Houlton Band Membership by the Houlton Band Council on Sept. 28, 1980

MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Sex
	Parley, Fious 14 Venice St. Presque Isle, ME 04969	M			Mal.		Fa.				
	Quitter, Bertha Cook 140 Millbrook St. Houlton, ME 04750	F			Mal.		No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				
							Fa.				
							No.				

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS: Fa. Father; No. Mother 181 (1980-12) Page 1

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The following names were accepted for adoption into the Houlton Band Membership by the Houlton Band Council on Sept. 28, 1980.

MEMBERSHIP ROLL OF HOULTON BAND OF MALISEETS AS OF September 28, 1980
(name of group) (month, day, year)

Roll Number	Name and Address	Sex	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Blood Degree	Names of Parents	Birth Date	Birth Place	Tribes	Sex
1	Beor, Clarence 4 Academy St. Presque Isle, ME 04969	M			Mal.		Fa.				
2	Demarchant, Geyle 22 Presque Isle St. Fort Fairfield, ME	F			Mal.		No.				
	Demarchant, Martina 22 Presque Isle St. Fort Fairfield, ME	F			Mal.		Fa.				
	Devon, Gordon Houlton	M			Mal.		No.				
1	Everett, Pamela 38 Corderview Lane Fort Fairfield, ME	F			Mal.		Fa.				
2	Everett, Winifred 1441 Street Fort Fairfield, ME	F			Mal.		No.				
1	Hewes, Patrick 604 St. Fort Fairfield, ME	M			Mal.		Fa.				
1	Mitchell, Mary Canaanlope Trailer Park Combs, ME 04963	F			Mal.		No.				
1	Paul, Annie Box 14 Fort Fairfield, ME 04963	F			Mal.		Fa.				
	Paul, Goldene Lyden Fort Fairfield	F			Mal.		No.				
	Paul, Clark Houlton	M			Mal.		Fa.				
	Parley, George 14 Venice Presque Isle, ME 04969	M			Mal.		No.				
	Parley, Everett 14 Venice St. Presque Isle, ME 04969	F			Mal.		Fa.				
							No.				

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Kingsclear First Nation

77 French Village Road
Kingsclear First Nation, N.B.
E3E 1K3
Phone: (506) 363-3028; 3029
FAX: (506) 363-4324
Language:Maliseet; English

Madawaska Maliseet First Nation

1771 Main Street
Madawaska Maliseet First Nation, NB
E7C 1W9
Phone: (506) 739-9765
FAX: (506) 735-0024
Language:Maliseet; French, English

Oromocto First Nation

P.O. Box 417
Oromocto, New Brunswick
E2V 2J2
PH: (506) 357-2083
FAX: (506) 357-2628
Language:Maliseet; English

Saint Mary's First Nation

35 Dedam Street
Fredericton, N.B.
E3A 2V2
Phone: (506) 458-9511
FAX: (506) 452-2763
Language:Maliseet; English

Tobique First Nation

13156 RTE. 105,
Tobique First Nation, NB,
E7H 5N7
Phone: (506) 273-5400; 5490; 5499
FAX: (506) 273-3035
Language:Maliseet; English

Woodstock First Nation

3 Wulastook Crt.
Woodstock, N.B.
E7M 4K6
Phone: (506) 328-3303
FAX: (506) 328-2024
Language:Maliseet; English