

CREATING A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG THE CAPITAL CITY
CHEROKEES

by

Pamela Parks Tinker
A Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts
Interdisciplinary Studies

Committee:

Director

Program Director

Dean, College of Humanities
and Social Sciences

Date: _____

Spring 2016
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Creating a Sense Of Community
Among Capital City Cherokees

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts Interdisciplinary Studies at George Mason University

By

Pamela Parks Tinker
Bachelor of Science
Medical College of Virginia/Virginia Commonwealth University
1975

Director: Meredith H. Lair, Professor
Department of History

Spring Semester 2016
George Mason University
Fairfax, Virginia

Copyright 2016 Pamela Parks Tinker
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgements

Thanks to the Capital City Cherokee Community for allowing me to study the formation of the community and for making time for personal interviews.

I am grateful for the guidance offered by my Thesis Committee of three professors. Thesis Committee Chair, Professor Maria Dakake, also served as my advisor over a period of years in planning a course of study that truly has been interdisciplinary. It has been a joyful situation to be admitted to a variety of history, religion and spirituality, folklore, ethnographic writing, and research courses under the umbrella of one Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies program.

Much of the inspiration for this thesis occurred at George Mason University in Professor Debra Lattanzi Shutika's Folklore class on "Sense of Place" in which the world of Ethnography opened up for me. Her book, *Beyond the Borderlands*, explored the difficulties of finding a sense of place and community in a migrant population. This class explored issues important to this thesis regarding identity and creating and maintaining a sense of self and community.

Professor C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa guided my exploration of the complicated Cherokee history. His book, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War*, clarified the devastating effects that United States policies had on the Native American population in general and on my own family's history in particular.

In addition to my Thesis Committee, I would like to thank Professor Julia Coates, for an enlightening online course through UCLA on Cherokee Culture and Government. This UCLA course was funded through a scholarship made possible by a community assistance grant from Councilman Jack Baker to the *Cherokee PINS Project: Education for Sovereignty*. I am grateful for the assistance of Polk County Tennessee Historian, Marian Presswood, of the Polk County Historical and Genealogical Society and to Melanie Gillette for touring me through the Cherokee homelands. Pam Chase and Maggie Parks have been my role models for life long learning. My Cherokee father, James T. Parks and his sisters, Maggie Parks Hayes and Ruth Parks Wagaman, all ancestors, have been my mentors in Cherokee values and culture. And finally, I thank my patient and loving husband, Bruce P. Tinker, who is also a “ruthless editor,” for his ongoing support.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Abbreviations-----	vi
Abstract-----	vii
Chapter One-----	1
Why Create Capital City Cherokee Community?	
Introduction to the CCCC Project	
Chapter Two -----	13
Who Are We and How Did We Get Here?	
Literature Review, Definitions, and Historical Background	
Chapter Three -----	42
Researching the Problem of Cultural Isolation and How It Is Being Addressed	
Methodology	
Chapter Four-----	49
Meet the Members of the Capital City Cherokees	
The Members	
Chapter Five-----	67
Progress Toward Forming a “Sense of Community”	
Analysis, Functional Benefits, Significance	
Appendices-----	87
References-----	126

List of Abbreviations

Capital City Cherokee Community-----CCCC

Cherokee Nation Community Association-----CNCA

Cherokee Nation-----CN

National Museum of the American Indian-----NMAI

Abstract

CREATING A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG CAPITAL CITY CHEROKEES

Pamela Parks Tinker, MAIS

Medical College of Virginia/Virginia Commonwealth University, 1975

Thesis Director: Dr. Maria Dakake

This ethnographic thesis describes the attempt to create a sense of community among strangers who have a common ancestry and who live in a geographic region distant from their common ancestral homeland. The author describes the two-year process of forming a Cherokee Nation satellite community, from the first organizational meetings with representatives from the Cherokee Nation to the final announcement of official status. The author documents and assesses the progress of becoming a true “community” and creating a “sense of community” among the members, previously strangers, who live in the Washington Metropolitan region and who have common ancestry. In researching and writing this thesis, the author conducted a literature search and interviewed members of the new organization. The timeline matrix of historical Cherokee events and histories of members’ families will become a tool for the CCCC to assist new members in creating a sense community through knowledge of common heritage and shared history.

Chapter One: Why Create Capital City Cherokee Community? Introduction to the CCCC Project

In June of 2014, the National Museum of the American Indian held a gathering entitled *Cherokee Days*. This was the first joint gathering of representatives from the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, the United Keetoowah Band of Oklahoma and the Eastern Band of Cherokee of North Carolina. At that celebration, a meeting was hosted by the museum and led by representatives from Tahlequah, Oklahoma, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, to look into whether there was adequate interest in creating an official Washington, D.C. Metropolitan area outreach community.

This meeting sparked the interest of a group of local Cherokees. The process of creating an official outreach community requires specific steps to be taken. Local meetings were held, Leadership Council officers were elected and bylaws were written. And now, as my research concludes, this outreach community has become official.

This group of Cherokees has named themselves the Capital City Cherokee Community (CCCC). It is an official outreach community designated by the Cherokee Nation Community Association (CNCA). The purpose of my ethnographic research is to document and study the process of creating this community. There are questions to be answered. Can this group of strangers who have a common heritage and family culture but are spread out over the Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D.C. region, properly be

called a “community”? What constitutes a community? What constitutes a cultural community? What were the paths of migration of our Cherokee ancestors that eventually placed our members in the DC metropolitan area? What forces caused the displacement of the ancestors of the members of this new community? What scars remain in current members from a history largely untold and sometimes intentionally hidden? What are the parallels between the historical oppression and terrorism acted out on the Cherokee people, and the refugees and migrants of today’s hostile polarized political scene? What can we learn from our stories that will bring light and healing in today’s world?

In discussing the need for creating this new community, Maggie Knisley, Professor of Sociology at UMBC and Capital City Cherokee founding Vice-President, so profoundly expressed to me, “It is not that I don’t have a sense of culture. I grew up in Oklahoma surrounded by the culture. After moving here, it is the lack of a cultural community and the sense of isolation that is the problem.” This problem of cultural isolation is what is being addressed by the formation of the Capital City Cherokee Community.

In order to address this problem, more questions must be asked. What are our common heritages and family stories? How did we all come to live in the Washington, D.C. region? What process will facilitate and maintain a sense of community among a group of people who, at the start, are strangers to one another? How will we know when we achieve our goals?

Three goals of this study are:

1. documentation of the historical process of displacement;

2. documentation of the process of forming a contemporary cultural community; and
3. analysis of the progress during the first two years toward the formation of a “sense of community” among the members.

Entering the Field (author identification)

As a child, I was raised to have pride in my Cherokee heritage. But in elementary school, a playmate did not believe me when I said I was “part Indian.” I was quite shocked when he said, “Indians are extinct. We killed them all.” Since then, I have continued to be somewhat mystified by prevailing attitudes toward this continent’s original inhabitants. Over time I have learned about my identity and the Life Ways that I practice as a result of my upbringing that are different from the dominant Euro-American society. Since I have a mixed heritage of Irish, Scot, English and Cherokee, the dominant society also had a large influence on my cultural upbringing.

It was my father who carried the Cherokee family heritage. He was raised in Chelsea, a small community in northeast Oklahoma, near the home of Will Rogers, another American with Cherokee heritage. Following World War II, he went to law school in Washington, D.C. on the G. I. Bill, where he met my mother. Although she was of Irish and English heritage, we have recently learned that her grandfather was a Native American of an as yet unidentified tribe, whose identity was intentionally hidden from subsequent generations.

My parents settled in the Virginia suburbs where I was born, and my father never returned to live in Oklahoma. He, like many other Native Americans, moved from his

home community to an urban area for education and opportunity. Therefore, we were isolated from the Cherokee culture and community. He typifies those discussed by Nicholas G. Rosenthal, who studies migration of native Peoples that occurred in the twentieth century in his book, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in the Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. There were multiple waves of emigrants who moved from Indian country to urban regions due to the depression, the dust bowl, poverty, the Indian Relocation policies and, as in the case of my father, opportunities following World War II due to the GI Bill. This benefit package for veterans made higher education and purchase of a home possible for a young newlywed Cherokee attending Law School in Washington, D.C. He had completed undergraduate school at Oklahoma State University prior to the war. It is notable that during wartime in the United States, men of Native origins enlist at greater percentages than the White population. The responsibility of protection of homelands as warriors is a deeply held cultural value. As such, Veterans are routinely honored at public gatherings and holidays. Although this service is greatly honored in the Cherokee culture, my father never spoke of his service in the military. I believe it was an experience that was very traumatic for him. This is something I wish I had asked him about prior to his death.

Although I grew up in the Washington, D.C. area, we kept contact with our family in Oklahoma. Each summer we made our non-air conditioned annual car trip back to the hot and humid “Indian Country” in Oklahoma. While we rode for three days in the back seat of the car, my brother and I would be quizzed on the names of the Cherokee Clans,

the “five civilized tribes,” the names of relatives we would be visiting, and how they were related to us. Our knowledge of Cherokee heritage would be tested along with knowledge of multiplication tables or presidents of the United States.

While we were at my father’s home place, we tried to keep cool by playing in the pond and eating meals outside on folding tables to avoid the stifling heat in the tiny house. I especially remember the garden fresh dinners and blackberry crisp for dessert. I also have fond memories of sitting on the front porch swing visiting with relatives. After my father’s death in 1986, I lost my direct lines of connection to Chelsea, Oklahoma, and the Cherokee “home place.”

The loss of the lines of connection with the home place in Chelsea created a sense of cultural isolation. Since I live on the east coast, I thought this could be addressed by connecting with Eastern Band Cherokees in North Carolina on the Qualla Boundary, a federally recognized tribal community of Cherokees. Years ago, there were few books and resources to fill in the knowledge gaps for me. I would drive to Cherokee North Carolina to a book store called Talking Leaves to find Cherokee authors. This was before the age of internet. While in Cherokee, my attempts to connect with folks on the Quallah Boundary were failures. My physical appearance leans more toward my Irish, Scot and English heritages than the Cherokee, so I was immediately pegged as a white tourist or Cherokee “wannabe.” When I undertook registering as a citizen there, my efforts in the late 1980’s were also failures. Cherokees working in the tribal registrar’s office were unresponsive and said they were too busy to help with explaining the registry procedure. So I turned to the help of my Cherokee aunt, Ruth Parks Wagaman, who lived in Elkton,

Maryland. I proceeded to do the documentation to get blood quantum and Cherokee tribal membership cards for my children and myself through the registrar's office at Tahlequah Oklahoma. After my Aunt Ruth died, my only living contact from my father's generation was their younger sister, Maggie Parks Hayes, who lives in Oklahoma City. With two small children and a full time profession, I was rarely able to make the long trip to visit her to get the benefit of her Cherokee knowledge and experience.

Around that time I started reading extensively about Cherokee heritage and culture. This study delved deeply into what it is to "be Indian." I examined the contrast between the dominant Euro-American culture, and the culture of the Cherokee and the larger collectivity of Native American traditional cultures.

In *Our Elders Lived It*, Deborah Davis Jackson discusses the subtleties of self-identification and the differences between the elder generation of Anishinaabes who grew up on the reservations or in rural Indian communities, and the younger generation who grew up in urban communities. Jackson's book describes the discomfort of the Elders with other members of their association who have only recently identified and claimed their Native American heritage. Her observations prove useful in understanding the road blocks that I faced as a young adult and also assists in understanding issues that arise in my current study of the local Washington Metropolitan Cherokee community as well. Her book makes it clear that defining self is a difficult matter, and that the issues of identity are complex.

Although I have been a Physical Therapist by profession since 1975 and I am the Founder and President of Frog Pond Early Learning Center, a nature-based non-profit

early childhood program in Alexandria, Virginia, I am also a graduate student at George Mason University in the Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies program concentrating in Religion, Culture and Values.

It was in a class instructed by Professor Debra Lattanzi Shutika titled “Sense of Place,” that I was awakened to the nuances of how people view their identities, homes, homelands, ancestral lands and personal space and place. In a special project on “Comparing Sense of Place in the Cherokees from Eastern Band North Carolina and the Cherokee Nation and Keetoowah Band in Oklahoma,” I began a journey of exploration. The timing was fortunate in coinciding with the *Cherokee Days* at the NMAI which brought Cherokees from these regions to Washington D.C. where they were available to be interviewed for the project.

The interviews were powerful. The responses were unexpected and challenged my assumptions about Cherokee identity. The project was submitted to the American Folklore Society as an abstract that was later accepted to be presented in Santa Fe, New Mexico, at their Annual Conference in November 2014. These are the background and the circumstances that led me to further explore the issues of identity, place, and community, taking the incubation of a cultural community among Washington, DC region Cherokees as the primary focus of the study.

As a Cherokee Nation Tribal Member and a founding member of this newly forming Capital City Cherokee Community, I have been pleased to be on hand to witness and document the process of creating a new and local cultural community by strangers who share this common heritage.

So now, at age 63, the time has come to explore my heritage from a place of deeper awareness. The danger and secrecy, in times past, of being a Cherokee is over. There is beginning to be a more inclusive definition of Cherokee identity amongst the Cherokees. The Elders of the Cherokee Nation are opening their teachings to those who grew up distant to the traditional communities. As Spiritual Elder, Bennie Smith, states, “Sacred no longer means Secret.” Others are also waking up and acknowledging their First Nation heritages and seeking to learn the true histories of their families. There is less fear of repression, and we are looking for connection.

Overview of Thesis Plan

After introducing my own background and my “insider observer” perspective as ethnographer, along with the broader problem of cultural isolation (Introduction). Chapter Two includes the historical context of the multiple displacements and migrations (History/Literature Search). This is followed by defining the problem and how it is addressed (Methodology). I next proceed in Chapter Three to define and discuss the concepts of “cultural identity,” “cultural community,” and what we expect to see as markers of formation of a true “sense of community” which will help to determine the success of this venture. The members and other local people with Cherokee ancestry are introduced in Chapter Four. Finally, I conclude with an analysis of the process and offer reflections on the importance of documenting this story in the context of today’s world. The following chapter outline of Chapters Two through Five, details how the thesis will address the issues:

Chapter Two: Who Are We and How Did We Get Here?

Literature Search: Definitions and Historical Background

In this chapter, I present working definitions of Cherokee “identity,” “sense of place,” “sense of culture,” and “sense of community,” through an examination and analysis of the subject literature. Next I summarize the history of the Cherokee people through the multiple displacements, genocidal attacks, and oppressive governmental policies that threatened total destruction of the people and their culture. Through an extensive literature search, I document and summarize the tragic history and the cultural resurgences of the Cherokee people drawing from historiographies, autobiographies, journal articles, archival documents, memoirs, family archives, and newspaper articles. The period of documented events begins with pre-European contact and continues through to contemporary issues. From interview data that has been collected, the family archives and memoirs of informants are woven into the history to create an enriched and personalized ethnographic history of our community.

Chapter Three: Methodology:

Researching the Problem of Cultural Isolation and How It Is Being Addressed

My methodology for collecting information on the current state of the Cherokee community relies heavily on individual interviews; informal interactions; field observations at gatherings; in addition to literature and archival research. Field observations document the ongoing process of community formation and the progress

toward attainment of official outreach community status and beyond. Field observations include attendance at the annual *Cherokee Days* Smithsonian event, picnics, meetings, cultural/educational events and holiday gatherings. Markers are determined, using ethnographic cultural indicators of identity and community affiliation, that are used to evaluate the level of success in reaching the goals of “creating community,” and creating a “sense of community.”

The second section of this chapter addresses the process of the structural formation of our affiliate group and the reasons why this process has been undertaken. I document how the affiliate group is created in a culturally appropriate way while meeting the requirements of the governments of the Cherokee Nation and the United States, and while incorporating new societal norms and technology.

Chapter Four: The Members:

Meet the Capital City Cherokees

Personal interviews and membership observations document the hopes, histories, needs, concerns, commonalities and goals of members in this group. One outcome of the research is to provide a service that is helpful to the Capital City Cherokee Community. I intend that the information gathered will be beneficial in guiding us on the path to successful formation of a “sense of community” and that it might be useful in the development of other cultural communities and identities. The interviews also provide archival information regarding the historical backgrounds of our members. The documentation of the historical backgrounds of several of our members’ identities brings together their

accounts of their individual personal lineages to expose common ancestral lines and experiences.

Interviews also explore and document individuals' geographic family roots as well as their present day status. In the process of conducting interviews, I also document and describe photographs, writings and other artifacts that are owned by members that are of historical and/or cultural interest. Following the completion of the thesis, this information can also be presented to the membership in a format of their choosing (online website link, presentation at a cultural education meeting, mailed in document form, etc.).

Chapter Five: Conclusion:

Analysis and Report on Progress Toward Forming a Sense of Community

At the conclusion of the time span of the thesis research, I summarize the progress to date of the formation of the community. The ethnographic process of participation in and witnessing of the endeavor through the stages of development are described. Using ethnographic markers of success that I defined in Chapter Three, I analyze the successes and failures of the process of creating a "sense of community" among strangers who have a common heritage.

The evaluation process undertaken in this thesis also serves, on a practical level, as a source of guidance for the CCCC Leadership Council in addressing unmet needs, and in celebrating successes. The members' interviews and archival data may be made available to membership through a membership publication or through a website, and the

Leadership Council may wish to publish some of the data to be publicized in appropriate newspapers such as the *Cherokee Phoenix* or the *Washington Post*. The broader observations and conclusions drawn from the ethnographic interviews may be appropriate to publish in professional journals such as the *Journal of American Folklore*.

Significance

The lack of a sense of community due to cultural isolation is a much broader issue than this Cherokee sample population who live in the Washington, D.C. region. The United States has always been a destination of refuge for displaced immigrants. At the same time it has caused internal displacement of indigenous and other populations. The process of settling has taken many paths, some more successful than others. The problem of societies who are oppressed and displaced within their own homeland is also common throughout the world.

By creating a sense of community amongst strangers who have a common heritage, the problem of cultural isolation can be addressed. The recording of personal family histories may provide an interconnected and shared story among the members that helps to expose and heal deep wounds that have not been adequately addressed over generations. This process may be generalized both to refugee populations and those who are displaced within their own homelands.

The problems noted in attaining some of the goal markers point out some difficulties and may guide further efforts. The extent to which the endeavor is successful may present a model for addressing these issues in broader populations.

Chapter Two: Who Are We and How Did We Get Here? Literature Review, Definitions, and Historical Background

As an “insider ethnographer,” I am writing this research from my own set of biases and life experiences. As I interview members of the Capital City Cherokee Community (CCCC), they too have their own biases and understandings of their identity and families’ history. In order to provide context to our stories, it is necessary to research and summarize the documented historical events of Cherokee society. As the major events and places are organized within a time structure, the individual ethnographic histories can be situated into place and time.

The thesis draws upon scholarly works in the fields of ethnography, folklore, history, sociology, and anthropology to help us understand and define people’s sense of identity, place, culture, and community. Next, literature specific to Cherokee historical and cultural background is explored. The background segment of this chapter briefly summarizes major points of the complex history of the Cherokee from pre-European contact to today’s contemporary Cherokees with an emphasis on the events and policies that caused displacement and disruption to the culture. The timeline that is to be an ongoing project within the Capital City Cherokee Community attempts to place CCCC members and their Cherokee family history into context with the larger historical markers. The relationship of events taking place politically and socially in the colonies

and later in the United States and individual states will add a deeper understanding of the world in which they lived and the pressures to which our ancestors were responding.

I have compiled an extensive library of Cherokee books, articles and periodicals over a number of years. Excellent new additions to the library were suggested by my advisor and new Professor at George Mason University, C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa. In addition, the recent participation in an online webinar course by Cherokee citizen and professor, Dr. Julia Coates, on Cherokee Government and Culture provided in depth reviews of literature and weekly live interviews with leading authorities. This online course from UCLA was a valuable resource and provided the opportunity for critical analysis and feedback regarding many of my main topics.

Defining Identity, Culture, and Community

Identity. Eva Marie Garrouette, in *Real Indians, Identity and the Survival of Native America* (2003) addresses the many issues faced by Native Americans as they balance their indigenous heritage and culture with those of the dominant surrounding society. She explains the difficult variety of perceptions and misconceptions faced by contemporary American Indians regarding such concepts as phenotype, blood quantum, tribal recognition, tribal sovereignty, reservation Indians, card holding Indians vs. “Wannabes,” assimilated vs. traditional, and “mixed blood” vs. “full blood.” Julia M. Coates, in her article entitled “This Sovereignty Thing: Nationality, Blood, and the Cherokee Resurgence” (*Who Is an Indian: Race, Place, and the Politics of Indigeneity in*

the Americas edited by Maximilian C. Forte) explains the difficulty in determining identity as it relates to tribal law. She states:

While it may appear that the emphasis on a legal or political identity is exclusionary to those making claims on cultural or racial bases, which many academics view as more valid locations of sovereignty than the “settler” legal realm, in the case of the Cherokee Nation the privileging of legal identities has become critical in deflecting the literally hundreds of thousands of spurious claims made by individuals with no perceived racial, cultural, or community affiliation. But rather than being exclusionary of those who have legitimate claims, the Cherokee Nation’s own particular history ensures that the privileging of a legal Cherokee identity is, in fact, highly inclusive of hundreds of thousands of other Cherokees who might be marginalized by other definitions (p. 126).

Coates goes on to explain that the majority of tribal citizens (about 62%) live outside the Nation’s jurisdiction. These Cherokees are called the “At Large” Citizens, most of whom live in the western and Pacific states (p. 127). Julia Coates describes a “resurgence of identity that emphasizes the specific Cherokee history of national identity and cultural adaptation, while rejecting twentieth century constructions of blood quantum and static cultural markers.” This new identity resurgence began during the term of Principal Chief Chad Smith who supported this concept during twelve years of tribal government from 1999 to 2011 (Coates p.130-131). Unlike many other tribes, there is no blood quantum requirement for being a citizen. If a person can demonstrate a Cherokee ancestor, then

they can be recognized as a citizen “as long as the historical political citizenship of one’s immediate ancestors can also be demonstrated” (Coates p.132).

The Cherokee people have regulated their own definition of who is or is not considered Cherokee. This official definition has changed over the years but, at all times, the Cherokee people have determined the definition for themselves. There is a major difference in qualifying aspects of identifying as Cherokee by having Cherokee heritage or being raised as a Cherokee and the requirements to qualify as a citizen of one of the three federally recognized tribes. This definition of citizen, using federal roles, was seen as a necessity during a time when there were thousands of imposters claiming Cherokee identity in order to qualify for land that was reserved for Cherokees. The current definition of citizenship identity contrasts greatly with the inclusive matrilineal system that existed prior to European contact. At that time matrilineal clans solely defined who was Cherokee. A child of a Cherokee mother was automatically considered Cherokee and a member of the mother’s clan regardless of who the father was. Children of Cherokee fathers and non-Cherokee mothers were considered to be in the clan or society of the mother, so were not considered Cherokee (Purdue, 1998). However, there was a ceremonial process of adoption into a clan that could transcend the matrilineal lineage system.

As white trappers and traders first came into contact, they often married Cherokee women. Their children then would be considered members of the mothers’ clans and would be full Cherokee since their mothers were Cherokee. There were no concepts of race and blood degree. Phenotype appearance was not an issue until that issue was forced

upon them by the Euro-American society that slowly surrounded them (p. 46-47, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, Purdue and Green, 2007). Even with the many laws and discriminatory policies of the dominant society, the Cherokee have never used phenotype appearances or percentages of blood quantum as a definer of who is Cherokee.

Julia Coates explains that political definitions of Cherokee citizenship were inclusive of a White non-Cherokee spouse only while that spouse had a 'blood' relationship through marriage or children. If he became widowed or the marriage dissolved and he had no Cherokee children, he would no longer be considered a Cherokee citizen. If he had Cherokee children, that blood relation would qualify him for continued citizenship. She states that "it is likely the Cherokee understanding of "blood" had more to do with familial relationships than it did with Euro-American constructs of race " (Coates, p.133).

A further redefining of who is Cherokee evolved due to the location of the Cherokee Nation in the American South and the power dynamics that were in force. "Categorized along with free Blacks in the Southern states as second-class 'free persons of color', the restrictive category meant that under the laws of Southern states, Cherokees could not vote (probably of negligible importance to them), but also that the Cherokee land titles were denied, as free persons of colour were restricted from landholding" (Coates, p.134). Coates cites Purdue, (2003) and Yarbrough (2008), in asserting that the passage of Cherokee anti-miscegenation laws of the 1820's were the ugly, pragmatic result of nationalist concerns to conceptually separate themselves from Blacks as a defense against being placed in their category of second class citizens who could not hold

land during the period when pressure for removal of the Cherokee and other tribal nations was building. In addition to this nationalist pressure, the lack of inclusion of Blacks also had to do with the traditional customs of the Cherokee. Since most liaisons involved a Cherokee man and a Black woman, the children would not be considered Cherokee under the old traditional system either (Coates, p.135).

In summary, the definition of Cherokee identity has evolved over time but has always remained under the control of the Cherokee people. The present day definition of a Cherokee citizen is one who can demonstrate that they are direct descendants of documented historical political citizens and who applies and is accepted by the governing body of one of the three federally recognized tribes. Although many others may have Cherokee heritage, if they were not documented on federal rolls, they are not eligible to be citizens.

In addition to the preceding definition of Cherokee identity, there has always been a very deep connection between identity and the land. Although the Cherokees resisted removal longer than any other southeastern tribal group due largely to their restructuring as a national constitutional government, they were eventually forced from their homelands. The geographical ethnic cleansing that took place in the Southeast United States has been referred to as the Trail of Tears. This forced relocation caused a re-consideration of the residency requirements for citizenship.

Sense of Place. As an essential component of the sense of community, the study of the significance of homeland, ancestral lands, home place and being displaced must be

addressed. Historically, sense of place among the Cherokee people derived from deeply held traditional values of homeland, clan, culture and ancestry.

The culture of modern day Cherokees and how their views of place have evolved over recent generations is chronicled in, “The Evolving Sense of Place among Eastern and Western Cherokee People.” Over time the Cherokees’ physical land boundaries have been altered by the dominant culture. This resulted in a physical separation from the traditional homeland for most of the Cherokees, thereby presenting the opportunity for an interesting study of the evolution of “sense of place” by a displaced and politically dominated culture. A new concept of place and homeland had to be formed. During that inquiry, I reviewed ethnographic and other writings on the subject. I will highlight a few that help to explain new ways to conceptualize homeland and place.

Doreen Massey states in *Space, Place, and Gender*, that place “can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings” rather than by boundaries. According to Debra Lattanzi Shutika in *Beyond the Borderlands*, “Sense of place also recognizes that locales are not necessarily limited by the physical world but can be bounded cognitively through perceptions of belonging and exclusion” (p.11). In her book *for space*, Doreen Massey contemplates ordinary space as “the space and places through which, in the negotiation of relations within multiplicities, the social is constructed” (p.13). The complexities of defining home and place through the multiple strands of experiences, places and relationships over time became evident in the wide variety of views that were expressed by contemporary Cherokees that I interviewed.

In *Beyond the Borderlands*, Debra Lattanzi Shutika looks at a group of Mexican migrant workers in the mushroom industry who settle in a small town in Pennsylvania. Their ongoing and evolving sense of home is studied as the migrants struggle to maintain connections with the people and land they left behind and create connection in the new land surrounded by a foreign culture. Professor Shutika explains, “Sense of place is the product of ongoing negotiations, and as such, when it is assumed that places are stable, it effectively diminishes the role of power relations and the ways in which conflict, hierarchies, and exclusion are created and maintained. In new destinations, it is common for longer-term residents to accuse newcomers of changing their communities, often for the worse” (p.13-14). This phenomenon, as seen in the history of the Cherokee displacement, becomes evident when the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party, and the National Cherokee groups find themselves “placed” in shared space in Indian Territory. Their different life experiences and political views have an effect on their “sense of community” even while sharing the same geographical space and common heritage.

When the Cherokees were forcibly removed on the Trail of Tears to the region that later became Oklahoma, several waves of emigrations had preceded them in response to pressures from the Euro-Americans. In general, previous emigrations away from the homelands resulted in a loss of citizenship in the Cherokee Nation since there was a direct relationship in defining identity not only with blood kinship but also with the homelands. These homelands had been continually shrinking in size causing multiple dislocations and relocations of Cherokee communities within the ever-shrinking boundaries. The definition of homeland had been continuously reshaped since first

contact with Europeans. Therefore, the historical home that Cherokees experienced prior to removal, and the homeland after displacement, are two different entities. The second homeland was defined by altered space, repeated destruction of villages and farmland, and an overriding sense of repeated losses.

A component of creating a sense of community in the Capital City Cherokees will be the creation of sense of common historical homeland. The ancestral homelands of the Cherokees are well described through *Footsteps of the Cherokees: A Guide to the Eastern Homelands of the Cherokee Nation*, by Vicki Rozema, who reviews historical sites and the ancestors who lived there. Many of these sites and ancestors are directly tied to our Capital City Cherokee Community members' family histories. One of the ways this common homeland will be explored is a planned "West to East" seven-day bus tour that will begin in Oklahoma and follow the Trail of Tears backwards to the Eastern Cherokee homeland. In an upcoming CCCC gathering, Ryan Mackey, Cherokee History and Cultural Specialist, will be traveling from Oklahoma to join the group for a weekend of teaching that will further connect members to their historical homeland.

Community and Sense of Community. Following the exploration of the "sense of place," we look at how the Cherokee "sense of community" has been challenged, repeatedly re-created, and maintained in adapted form. The importance to people of having a "sense of community" is illustrated in various ways. The Cherokees experienced an ongoing struggle between maintaining their communities and adapting to the larger community of dominant White culture.

The conscious decision to educate some Cherokee children in English speaking schools had a significant effect on the society's sense of community and shared cultural values. In addition, interactions and intermarriage with Whites had a continuous influence on world-views and life-ways which included a steady progression of change from a matrilineal clan-based society toward a patrilineal centrally governed society.

One of the strategies of the Cherokee people to retain their control over homelands and communities was through education and assimilation of many of the European systems of trade and government. This was a delicate line to walk since the tools that they needed to combat the dominant society were taught by that society. While learning the tools and acquiring the skills, their traditional world-view was in danger of being compromised. The effect of removing some Cherokee children from their home communities to residential schools had a devastating effect on the ability of parents and communities to impart the values, language and cultural knowledge and heritage to their children. The assertion that "American Indian education was inextricably linked to land policies the United States exploited for the enrichment of its citizens" (p. v), is explored through *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families* by Brenda J. Child. She reviews issues of homesickness, illness and death, runaway boys and resistant girls and the long-term repercussions of US policies on Indian education. In *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* by David Wallace Adams, the three goals of education of the Indian are discussed. These three goals include giving the Indian child academic education; teaching them to become

individualized rather than prioritizing concern for the tribal community; and Christianizing them (p.21-23).

In *Kill the Indian, Save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools*, Ward Churchill describes the conditions of children in the boarding schools in the United States and Canada and the outcomes in terms of psychological and cultural damage as well as disease and death. One of our Leadership Council Officers in the Capital City Cherokee Community, Verlin Deerinwater, introduced himself to the group as the son of a father who spent his life in an Indian boarding school from age six until he left at the age of 18. This brief introduction gave the group immediate awareness of the complexities of Verlin's family and their sense of self as Cherokees.

However, the Cherokee narrative in regard to boarding schools is somewhat different than many tribal experiences, since the Cherokee had a high regard for education and the necessity of education in defending themselves.

The Cherokees consciously invited the missionaries to build schools on Cherokee land under Cherokee supervision. Since the Cherokee children were excluded from education provided by White society this was a means to provide important survival tools of education and to have some control over the governance of the schools. While this did not change the goals of the missionaries in "civilizing" (meaning Christianizing, emphasizing English language, and changing world views), the cruel and unhealthy conditions described in many tribal experiences were not normally the case with Cherokee missionary schools. The families were not forced to send their children to them. The families sent their children to the missionary schools because they felt their

children would be better prepared to deal with the challenges they would be meeting as adults in a complicated world.

Although the use of European-style missionary schools to educate their children was a mixed blessing, many of the highly educated Cherokees became leaders of the Nation. They had the background knowledge and skill sets to lobby in Washington, D.C., for sovereign rights by navigating the legislative and judicial systems of the dominant society. The historical progression of the changing communities and sense of community among Cherokees and the pressures that influenced them will follow this discussion of ways in which the Cherokees balanced the need to maintain a sense of community while adapting to the dominant culture. As an end result of these pressures, in contemporary Cherokee culture, many Cherokee citizens and people of Cherokee heritage are living far removed from physical connection with others of their heritage.

In today's world there are many resources for At-Large Cherokees to learn the background and history of Cherokee culture including texts such as *Every Day is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women* by Wilma Mankiller, *Learning Cherokee Ways* by the Venerable Dhyani Ywahoo, and *Cherokee Women* by Theda Purdue. At the March 2015 meeting of the CCCC, Dawneena "Dawni" Mackey, Cherokee Community and Cultural Outreach representative, provided background on current cultural issues and presented a list of traditional Cherokee values and a traditional Cherokee Prayer that had recently been released by Cherokee Elders.

The renewal of Cherokee culture up to present day is discussed by Chad "Corntassel" Smith, past Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, in his book entitled,

Leadership Lessons from the Cherokee Nation: Learn from All I Observe. In this book, Chief Smith describes his approach to bringing transparency and respect for cultural values into the governmental offices in Tahlequah. The cultural importance of maintaining the ancestral language of the Cherokees is one of his main areas of emphasis. He describes efforts to promote immersion language schools for children and adult language learning opportunities. He also discusses ways to incorporate traditional values into community activities through a series of articles in the Cherokee Phoenix Newspaper and in his annual State of the Nation speeches. Speeches made by contemporary leaders including Chief Bill John Baker and general news from the Cherokee TV series titled *OSIYO!* and the Cherokee Phoenix Newspaper provide information on current cultural trends and progress.

In *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*, Sarah H. Hill describes how basket weaving has changed with each stage of Cherokee culture and upheaval stating, “basket materials correspond to chronological periods. The rivercane period extends from the earliest contact with Europeans until the removal, encompassing an era when Cherokees depended most on cane as a basket source. Prior to removal, the Cherokee society appears as an integrated whole, richly textured and densely interwoven. Women played complex roles in a matrilineal, matrilocal society that depended on agriculture, gathering, and hunting” (p. xvii). She weaves an intricate story of the Cherokee women and their changing roles and status in their communities and culture before and after removal as she tells the history and tradition of basket weaving.

While these resources assist At-Large citizens in knowing the history, values, and current issues of the culture, they do not address the issue of cultural isolation. The lack of a community and sense of community is the reason for the creation of the Capital City Cherokee Community. The Cherokee Nation Community Association (CNCA) serves as the “connection” between the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma and its many At-Large citizens who actually are the majority of citizens. The CNCA is the agency that assists in the creation of newly forming At-Large communities, and they provide resources for the ongoing maintenance of “community” in scattered geographical locations.

Historical Background

In creating a summary of the history of displacement and forced acculturation of the Cherokee people, I have reviewed texts from the fields of history, political studies, Indian law, sociology, ethnography and Indian cultural studies as well as personal memoirs and autobiographies. This brief summary of a very complex history touches upon some of the main events that occurred from the pre-Columbian state of the indigenous peoples of the North American hemisphere to present day Cherokees.

In writing the historical background of displacement, I have taken an ethnographic approach in order to enhance the commonly known historical facts with some depth and context of individuals’ stories. In particular, I followed the ancestral lines of my own Cherokee family members in gaining a better understanding of their story of displacements. This involved traveling to the present day counties in southeastern Tennessee where my ancestors lived in what was then the Cherokee Nation.

Through assistance by Marian Presswood, Tennessee award-winning teacher, historian and administrator (and locally described as “a hoot”) of the Polk County Historical and Genealogical Society, I was provided access to records of the Parks family and ancestors of Nancy Ward, The Beloved Woman. My father, now deceased, was James T. Parks, who is a direct descendant of Nanyehi (later in her life referred to as Nancy Ward) and the Parks family that later relocated to northeastern Oklahoma. Nancy Ward is well-known as the Beloved Woman or Warrior Woman of the Cherokees. She was honored with this title after the 1755 Battle of Taliwa. In this battle, her husband, Kingfisher, was killed. At the time of his death, the Creeks were defeating the Cherokee war party. Nancy took up her husband’s weapon and entered the battle. This caused the Cherokee warriors to be inspired to turn from retreat and reenter the battle with new determination. The result was a Cherokee victory. Following this battle she was honored with the title of Ghi ga u, or Beloved Woman. This title bestowed certain powers and responsibilities including deciding the fate of captives; the right to participate and speak in council meetings; the preparation of the Black Drink that prepared warriors for battle; speaking on behalf of the Women’s Council; and the right to speak at negotiations with Whites at treaty meetings. She was awarded with a cape of white swan feathers and was presented with black slaves that were captured from the Creek battle. Later in life, she and these slaves raised many orphaned Cherokee and mixed blood children. In her older years she was referred to as “Granny Ward.” The Polk County Historical and Genealogical Society provided a treasure trove of historical literature on Nancy Ward and the Parks family that proved to be a valuable resource in answering complicated questions.

I am one of the many the seventh generation granddaughters of Nancy Ward. Since Nancy Ward is very well documented in White and Cherokee historical documents, the location of Nancy Ward information is not difficult. She was well respected as a peacemaker between the White and Cherokee people. In fact, there was an entire room devoted to her documentation in the Polk County Historical Society building. Polk County is also the location of Nancy Ward's grave and the memorial garden built and maintained by the Tennessee Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

My maiden name descending from the Nancy Ward Cherokee side of the family is Parks. Marian had a folder in her bottom file drawer that she pulled out marked "Parks." It contained personal memoirs of Parks family members, copies of documents regarding land, pensions, military service, etc. that she had compiled over many years. This was a critical source of leads that directed me to further exploration of the conditions of my family before and after the Trail of Tears. I learned that there was a nearby town called Parksville, and Marian personally guided me to the location of the mill, post office, and general store complex that my Great Great Grandparents, Samuel and Susannah Parks, owned on the Ocoee River. A dam now exists at that exact location. These clues helped me to begin to understand the reasons why my descendants were not on the Trail of Tears and were able to take a different path and move to Indian Territory on a different time schedule than the majority of Cherokees.

As I became more familiar with Cherokee history through my own family's story, I also researched and learned from others' stories. Published personal narratives can be interwoven along with stories from our members to add depth and a more intimate

connection with the past. *Black Indian Slave Narratives* by Patrick Mingos and *Ties that Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* by Tiya Miles are two such narratives. In *Ties that Bind*, first hand accounts illuminate issues of slavery. She states, “Even as we know more about the conditions and cycles of female enslavement from an ever-growing and important body of scholarship, we seem to perceive less about the raw and utter evil that was chattel slavery in America” (p. 26). This history of the enslavement of Native Americans captives is a story that is largely unknown to the general public. Colonists instigated clashes between the tribes and created alliances where it was agreed that captives would be brought to the tribes’ White allies. The captives were sold as slaves by the colonists as an important income source. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, this finding presents another route of displacement of the Cherokee and other tribal nations that would be difficult but fascinating to research.

Thomas Corbit, Chair of Communications, in the Leadership Council of the Capital City Cherokee Community, recommended the memoirs of his ancestor, Narcissa Owen, in *A Cherokee Woman’s America: Memoirs of Narcissa Owen, 1831-1907* edited by Karen L Kilcup. These memoirs provide historical background about one of our members’ direct ancestors. In my father’s archives, I found what seemed to be an antique book with damaged binding that had been repaired by tape. It was published by the authority of the National Council entitled *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation* printed in Tahlequah, Indian Territory in 1881 by National Advocate Print. Another old family owned book published in 1948 is entitled *Lieut. Henry Timberlake’s Memoirs: 1756-*

1765 by Timberlake. This memoir gives a window into Cherokee history during this time period from a British military officer's point of view. While attending the funeral of my Aunt in Oklahoma recently, I was given her documents to review for the family. Among many other documents, I found the original allotment papers for my Grandfather and Great Grandfather, both of whom were born in Tennessee and moved to Oklahoma after the Trail of Tears. All of these personal accounts and family historical documents helped to build the story.

Cherokees were located in the Southeast portion of the continent, so they were one of the earliest Nations to come into contact with Spanish and English explorers and settlers (or invaders, depending on your outlook). This contact had a devastating effect on the Cherokee and other First Nations populations due to the outbreaks of diseases for which the indigenous people had no immunity. The British, French, Spanish and United States governmental policies and events of history continuously and gradually forced acculturation and deviation from matrilineal clan culture toward a patrilineal one with a centralized government. The repeated invasions of Cherokee lands by White settlers in violation of treaties and the lust for gold on Cherokee lands all resulted devastating losses of culture, homeland, and population. This was made possible, in part, by portraying the Cherokee and other Native American peoples in a manner that presented them as less than fully human and destined to extinction. In *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power*, C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa asserts that dominance of the White society in the capital city of Washington, D.C., was promoted through "the public discourse, a term to denote artwork, drama, newspaper rhetoric,

guidebook language, reiterated spatially, in the capital, the evolving notion of ‘two worlds’ by presenting Indian people as primitive, mystified by ‘modern’ (especially urban) life, and at the most basic level, curiosities to be beheld by an urban and sophisticated audience” (p. 119). This “two world” concept assisted the Euro-American invaders of this continent to obscure unfair and condescending nature of interactions between the Cherokee and Whites.

The removal of the people of the Cherokee Nation from their homelands in Southeastern United States to Indian Territory in present day Oklahoma is a major catastrophic event in the history of the Cherokee people. This removal, even after the Cherokees took their case to the United States Supreme Court and won, is a complex and painful chapter in the historical heritage of all Cherokee people and a shameful period in American history. Current research has provided new documentation of the transfer of wealth that took place as white lottery winners moved onto prosperous Cherokee farms and land holdings containing mineral wealth.

The removal policies resulted in three different federally recognized Cherokee groups. These groups are today titled the Eastern Band of the Cherokee, the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band. The Eastern Band of the Cherokee reside in what is referred to as the Quallah Boundary. Citizens of this group are the descendants of Cherokees who hid in the mountains to avoid removal and those who agreed by treaty and negotiations as individuals and small communities, prior to removal, to become Americans and remain on their land without the citizenship or protection of the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation and the Keetoowah Band in Oklahoma are the other two

recognized groups. Oklahoma Cherokees are comprised largely of the descendants of Cherokee citizens who were forcibly removed on the Trail of Tears and the Old Settlers who moved prior to the Trail of Tears, many of whom were displaced a second time from Arkansas to the Indian Country in Oklahoma.

Those removed forcefully on the Trail of Tears were considered to be Cherokee Nation citizens who as a majority had, under the leadership of Principal Chief John Ross, agreed to refuse to leave their eastern homelands. Descendants of this group comprise the present day Cherokee Nation that resides in a 14 county region in NE Oklahoma. There were Cherokees who preceded the forced removal in cooperation with federal policies that awarded them with assistance and land in return for their agreement to resettle in western lands largely in Arkansas and northeastern Oklahoma. This group was referred to as the “Old Settlers.” The later immigrants of the “Old Settlers” were considered by the Cherokee Nation to be traitors since the Cherokee National Council had decreed it to be unlawful to sell or cede Cherokee land and that breaking this law was punishable by death. These Cherokee Nation and the Old Settlers, understandably had much ill will between them that resulted in a civil war and the assassination of some of the Old Settlers, considered traitors by the majority Cherokee Nation citizens. The Keetoowah Band in Oklahoma have their roots in the traditionalist Old Settlers and were recognized by the federal government as a result of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934.

In more recent history, public discourse that promotes the “two world” concept and dominance of the white society continues. The United States government continued to have a key role in undermining the Cherokee culture. According to Deborah Davis Jackson in her book entitled, *Our Elders Lived It: American Indian Identity in the City*, the United States government “acted overtly to break up tribal communities through the allotment policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.” This trend was briefly interrupted when “in 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which provided a mechanism for the reestablishment of tribal governments that would be officially ‘recognized’ by the federal government” (p.11). Deborah Davis Jackson continues by explaining that the federal government reversed this in the 1940’s with the policy to dissolve tribal governments “and all the responsibilities and obligations the federal government had toward them.” Since the 1960’s the newest policy trend is labeled “self-determination” and gives tribes greater freedom to control their economic and political actions. But this new control was given after most of their lands had been redistributed and their resources taken by the dominant culture.

Issues of Indian Law and governmental policy are important in understanding the historical and cultural events. The legal ramifications of treaties, British and United States policies, and illegal actions by citizens that were not addressed by the legal system have had a devastating effect on the sovereignty and wellbeing of the Cherokee people over centuries. A study of the allotment policies gives further insight.

Research completed by C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, in his book entitled, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy After the Civil War*, explains

the policies and their effects. In 1823, a 32-page justification of a land case called *Johnson v. M'Intosh* became known as the "discovery doctrine". Genetin-Pilawa points out that "the Court ruled that Native people (in this case the Piankeshaw Nation) held a 'right of occupancy' but not the ultimate title to their homelands and therefore could not sell land to private citizens" and that "as 'discoverers,' European nations assumed free title to the land, while the Native occupants they encountered were never really considered 'land owners,' but tenants. Further, he declared that tribes could relinquish their 'occupancy right' only by selling it to the 'discovering sovereign' (a status the United States inherited in the aftermath of the Revolution.)" (Genetin-Pilawa, p. 18)

In assessing this document, it has been suggested that John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was "attempting to provide a mechanism by which the veterans of Virginia's Revolutionary War militia - his friends and former colleagues - could receive the bounty lands promised to them. In addition, the land speculators in the case bribed and colluded with powerful politicians and leading members of the early republic (Genetin-Pilawa, p. 18)." A recent, thoroughly documented book by journalist Steve Inskeep entitled *Jacksonland*, backs up these suggestions with detailed information regarding the stock holdings of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and others in land speculation companies that were rapidly surveying land and pushing the British government to reverse their policies protecting Native land boundaries. Genetin-Pilawa asserts that,

the legacy of the decision and the establishment of the doctrine of discovery cannot be understated. Marshall's short-sighted ruling provided

the legal basis upon which the state of Georgia attempted to impose its law on the Cherokee Nation; it also provided the basis for Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Although Marshall attempted to repudiate it in his 1832 Worcester decision, subsequent cases ignored it in favor of the earlier ruling, thereby institutionalizing a legal regime based on a wrongly decided case. (Genetin-Pilawa, p. 18)

This very important information about motives and actions of our “Founding Fathers” was instrumental in laying a foundation that explained what happened during this time period and why Cherokees were displaced so many times. This also led to a search through southwest Virginia to ascertain the motive for the first acquisition of Cherokee Nation land by the Virginia colony in 1772 which closely followed the Cherokee relinquishment of lands in the southwest Virginia made by the British Indian Superintendent in 1768 and 1770. Since that region is rugged and not the most valuable farmstead land, there had to be another motive to coerce the Cherokee to cede this portion of their land. This line of inquiry led to the locating of Saltville, Virginia, in whose museum I learned that the town has the largest salt marsh in the region.

According to the Museum of the Middle Appalachians, “two of Patrick Henry's sisters moved into the Saltville Valley in the 1780's and began the commercial production of salt. This production continued unabated for the next 200 years.” After the Cherokee ceded this land, the salt flats later supplied the entire southern Confederacy with salt to preserve meats to supply the troops. The Union troops were successful in destroying the salt works after several failed attempts. This land had been an important regional Native

American source of salt for thousands of years prior to this acquisition. Given the value of this resource, it seems likely that it played an important part in the motivation of Virginians to acquire this land from the Cherokee Nation.

In addition to the removal policy that resulted in the well-known episode of the Trail of Tears, federal policies of “expansion with honor,” creation of reservations, “Peace Policy,” allotment, “Indian New Deal,” “Termination and Relocation,” and “Self Determination,” all had impacts on the Cherokees that resulted in further displacements and loss of land base and sovereignty.

The reservation policy presented the opportunity for Cherokees to apply for a “reservation” of land where they could remain as an American, no longer under sovereignty of the Cherokee nation. Several communities in North Carolina opted for this. As a variation of this, in Tennessee, when the land above the Hiwassee River was ceded, certain notable families were allowed to remain on their land by treaty. This did not involve losing their Cherokee citizenship. My ancestors were one of the families that were named in the treaty as eligible to remain on their lands at the intersection of Mouse Creek and the Hiwassee. They were allowed to stay because they had demonstrated the ability to “manage their affairs” in a responsible way. Although allowed to remain, in their documents I found an application to move to a reservation of 640 acres below the Hiwassee River because living among the Whites had become intolerable. This was when they moved to the land on the Ocoee River where they built the mill, general store and post office. Samuel Parks became the Postmaster in that area, called Parksville. The

reservation was approved under the name of his wife, Susannah Parks, who was a Cherokee descendant of Nancy Ward.

The policy of “expansion with honor” was administered in the late 18th century, under Secretary of War, Henry Knox, appointed by George Washington. According to the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790, the Cherokee and other Nations were considered sovereign governments and as such, only the Federal government could buy land from them or enter into treaties with them. Indians were allowed to sell their land, but only to the Federal government, not to individuals or states. At the time, there were many complaints from Indians about unfair trade policies and loss of land through trade debt. This policy prevented Indians from being cheated out of their lands by settlers, traders or land investment companies but did not stop the continued push by governments for more land.

Between 1869 and 1881, President Grant initiated the Peace Policy which involved providing agents from the Office of Indian Affairs and dividing the Indian Territories between various religious groups. The goal was to teach Christianity, educate and promote agricultural and “civilized” pursuits. By teaching White values and agricultural practices, the Peace Policy was intended to break up the culture of communal living. The close supervision by each agent and the assigned missionary group’s instruction in English, education, Christianity, and the White style of agriculture was intended to eventually correct the “savage” behavior of the Indians. The assignment of regions to different Christian groups caused dissent from missions that preceded the arrangement and had long-standing relationships with indigenous groups. This policy

was ended in 1881 under pressure from religious organizations that had been forced to move due to other organizations being assigned to their regions.

The General Allotment Act of 1887 began converting Tribal Lands into 160-acre plots that were owned by individual Indians. The surplus of the communally owned lands could then be offered to White settlers or used for railroad rights of way and other projects of the United States government. One of the purposes of this Act was to force assimilation upon the Indians. By placing them on tracts of land in primary family units, the extended family living and communal lifestyle were extinguished in favor of a more isolated form of single family units that were distributed among Whites.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was the centerpiece of what has been referred to as The Indian New Deal, that had the goal of reversing previous laws and policies that forced assimilation by returning control of mineral rights and lands back to the Indians on reservations and promoting the preservation of cultural and tribal traditions. The Cherokees of Oklahoma were not subject to this law since their lands had already been allotted and they no longer had a reservation, lands or mineral rights to protect. They were subject to a later law in 1936. This Act was called the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. According to the Oklahoma Historical Society website, this legislation “dealt with how individual Indians could obtain land and how tribes could adopt constitutions and obtain credit and lands.” The act laid the foundation for re-creating the constitutional government and maintaining sovereignty into the 21st Century.

Drastic cuts in Social Services, including the funding of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, were the result of World War II and the necessity of increasing funding of war

industries. Donald. L Fixico, in *Termination and Relocation*, explains, “that Congress began recklessly entertaining a rash of minor bills and major legislation to terminate Indian services” (p.21). In response to this, the National Congress of American Indians was formed in 1944 at a convention in Denver Colorado. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was supportive of tribal rights under John Collier. He resigned in 1944 and was followed by William A. Brophy as the new Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Eventually, the Indian Claims Commission was approved in 1946. This provided a pathway for filing claims against the United States government by Native Americans. Brophy resigned in 1947 due to poor health from tuberculosis. In 1954 the termination and relocation phase of the Allotment Act was implemented under the Department of the Interior that ended tribal governments by dismantling them and ending the gains that had been made in reorganizing the tribes under the 1934 IRA. The termination and relocation phase continued amongst many objections by Native Americans. Assimilation was the main goal. This lack of self-determination began to be addressed by a change in policy in 1975 following vocal protests and lawsuits by American Indian advocacy groups including the American Indian Movement. According to Oklahoma Historical Society’s website, “Congress passed the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (PL 93-638) and approved the popular election of each tribe's principal officers. This necessitated the revision of each nation's constitution.”

In 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act was instituted. This protected Indian children from being removed from their communities without proper process and legal representation. It forced the honoring of Indian community standards rather than the

United States or State standards determining appropriate settings for Indian children. Prior to this Act, many Cherokee and other Indian children were removed from their communities and adopted by White families without proper protections for the birth families and communities. This is one way, historically, that many Cherokees and other Indians have been displaced from their communities. The adoptions are a big industry where, in today's world, adoption attorneys make over \$15,000 per adoption. One of our CCCC members is an attorney who deals in Indian Child Welfare Law through the Department of Justice. He recently presented a case at our meeting involving a Cherokee child who was removed from the birth parent to be adopted by White parents in another state.

Since the Cherokee history of dealings with Whites throughout wars and multiple treaties is quite complex, I created an Excel chart using the common Wikipedia dates and events from two sources titled Cherokee Treaties and Cherokee History Timeline. After checking the dates and events for accuracy and adding other resources as noted, the next step was to add more information that situates our CCCC members' histories within the larger context. The timeline illustrates many of the events, policies, and treaties that caused disbursement of the Cherokee people across the continent. The chart is to be used for the purpose of understanding the chronology of Cherokee history and situating our Capital City Cherokee Community and their ancestors within this context. The Timeline will continue as an ongoing project post-thesis as new members of the Capital City Cherokee are interviewed and their historical family members and events can be placed on the chart within the context of the larger historical events of the time. This tool for

building a record of our common historical and geographical heritages will enhance the development of a “sense of community” and will help to educate us on the many challenges that our ancestors faced in attempting to maintain their communities and sense of identity. See Capital City Cherokee Community Historical Timeline (Appendix 1).

I have begun inserting information into the timeline regarding our members from the interviews that I have conducted. The manner in which Cherokee families were displaced or remained in place in terrorized conditions is well documented in the historiographies. The attempt here is to give this documentation some personal connection and meaning to our membership. The human story of the consequences of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Civil War and the many treaty negotiations and illegal disregard for those treaties will be illustrated by some of our members in the family histories they related to me in interviews which are detailed in Chapter 4.

Chapter Three: Researching the Problem of Cultural Isolation and How It Is Being Addressed Methodology

The Problem

The problem of cultural isolation is widespread. This work explores different approaches to community building to address this issue among Cherokees. Many of the Cherokee people who live in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Region experience a sense of isolation due to the geographical and cultural disconnect with people of similar background. Although there are other people with similar backgrounds in this region, there has been no method for them to find and connect with one another. This is a consistent theme discussed amongst the people who are involved in the formation of the Capital City Cherokee Community (CCCC).

Research Questions

The following questions are the focus of this thesis that is concerned with documenting the development Capital City Cherokee Community and assessing the level of success that is attained by the end point of the research period:

The Questions:

How do we create a sense of community among a group of strangers who share a common heritage but are displaced from homeland and cultural connections?

What previous or ongoing efforts have been/are being made to accomplish this?

What are the strategies for creating the community?

Have they been successful in creating a “Sense of Community”?

Methodology

In addition to online searches and the acquisition of books recommended by Professor Genetin-Pilawa, this thesis makes use of texts and articles from a previous course on “Sense of Place” and from my personal library collection of Cherokee and Native American texts, articles, and personal historical artifacts, memoirs, etc. The literature search provided additional resources that assisted in defining terms and creating a summary of the historical timeline of events that caused the displacement and loss of connection to Cherokee cultural community.

A study of the viewpoints, family history, and places of origin of informants who are Capital City Cherokee Community members and/or have Cherokee heritage and who live in the metropolitan D.C. region is conducted through interviews, informal conversations and field observations of local events and gatherings. The interview responses are further described in Chapter Four, “Members.”

One goal of the thesis research is to document the formation of the “sense of community” by collecting data on informants’ family histories, artifacts, goals, and concerns. It is hoped that this data will ultimately assist in developing a database and website links that will demonstrate the commonalities of backgrounds, concerns, and life ways which may be a future applied purpose of this research. Demonstrating the common threads of connection between members provides a basis for forming closer

interpersonal relationships. As I analyze whether the markers for achieving “sense of community” are achieved, the actual study will be providing a service that assists in the process.

The process of developing the official satellite organization (Capital City Cherokee Community) and applying for approval has been completed. Methods have been put in place for identifying people who are appropriate for this community; contacting them; bringing them together for events and gatherings; creating a leadership and member structure; and determining the types of events the formative community would like to host or promote.

The success the CCCC achieves or has achieved in creating community is evaluated by assessing the attainment of markers including those in the following checklist of attributes offered by Professor Debra Lattanzi Shutika and paraphrased from her 2015 Writing Ethnography course.

The markers of success in community creation include evidence that the group has:

Self-identified by defining lines of demarcation between community insiders and outsiders;

Events that are at the center of the culture;

Activities that the group does together;

Places where the subculture can be found;

Shared language: insider terminology, ways of speaking, knowing what can be said and what should not be said.

Stories: told and repeated as a way to hold the culture together, to express the values of the culture, to record the history of the culture;

Values: ideas, world views, perspectives that people in the culture share;

Behaviors: ways of dressing, manners and mannerisms, skills most possess;

Rules: those that are explicit and those that are implicit, those which can be broken and those which cannot;

Identifies the gatekeepers for the culture; and

Rituals: repeated behaviors, ways of enacting cultural values.

Creation of a “sense of community” is considered to be successful if the following markers are reached:

Members begin visiting and communicating with each other outside of official events;

Membership grows;

Members begin celebrating individuals’ rites of passage such as birthdays, new babies, or weddings;

Members support each other in times of need or sorrow such as deaths in families, family crises, and job losses;

Members identify with each other as relatives acknowledging common ancestors;

Gatherings and meetings are accompanied by social time and shared meals or refreshments;

There is continued willingness of members to step forward to serve on the Leadership Council.

Interview process

Interviews of people over age 18 who have Cherokee heritage and/or are Cherokee citizens were recorded. A brief overview of the project was presented to the Capital City Cherokee Community at one of their bi-monthly meetings at which a sign up sheet was available for volunteer informants to leave their contact information if they would be willing to be interviewed. A majority of those attending volunteered. An effort was also made to interview informants who were of Cherokee heritage but not affiliated with the new group in order to gain a broader sense of those who may be potential

members but have not had a way to learn about the organization's existence. One such informant was contacted through the informal social connections of the investigator.

Common themes, family histories, geographical locations and culturally important stories are highlighted in Chapter Four. The important people and events noted during the interviews have been added to the Capital City Cherokee Community Historical Timeline. The intention is to provide an important learning tool for members by situating their family stories within the wider time and place in history where those stories took place.

The same questions are asked of each informant. Since this is an ethnographic study, the interview questions are intended to be open ended and may lead to other topics of interest to the informant. Stories illustrating family culture or describing artifacts that they possess are encouraged. A list of the questions asked of the informants is found in the appendix.

Analysis

In Chapter Five, I analyze the information gathered from interviews; field notes from events and gatherings, reports from the Leadership Council; and the reports regarding the process and assessment by the Cherokee Nation Community Association in the acceptance or non-acceptance of our application. From this analysis I describe which of the above markers for success have been met fully, partially or are not being met. This will hopefully be the basis of a helpful analysis for the subject of inquiry in this thesis and may additionally be utilized by the Leadership Council to determine areas of success and areas that require more attention as relates to building a sense of community among the members. In Chapter Five I also summarize the common threads and themes that were noted among the interviews. These commonalities will be of interest to the community members and will be a starting point for shared interaction and building of sense of community.

Chapter Four: Meet the Members of the Capital City Cherokees The Members

At the time of writing this chapter, I am grieving the loss of my Aunt Maggie Parks Hayes, who was the last of my father's Cherokee siblings. I had been gathering up my unanswered questions as a result of this thesis research. I planned to ask her these questions about our family history during a visit this month. Since her health had been failing, I moved the plane tickets earlier than planned, but even so, I waited too long. I learned that she had passed on the week before our planned visit was to take place. There are some questions that may not be answerable now. This regrettable experience emphasizes the importance of recording and sharing our stories. Our children may also not think to ask the questions until after we are gone. The recording of some of the stories of Capital City Cherokee Community members will assist in connecting this generation and the next with their roots. It is common in Capital City Cherokee Community gatherings to hear conversations where the members are trying to recall their family histories and place their childhood remembrances into context with others in the group. Many of the members talk about the secrecy around their Cherokee heritage and the fears that the older generations had regarding being identified as "Indian." This fear resulted in the omission of family stories that serve to ground us.

In this Chapter, the origin story of Capital City Cherokee Community is begun with the introduction of some of the members and their reasons for becoming a part of this community. This member introduction is compiled from summaries of the data from member field observations and interviews. I introduce some of the informants with some excerpts quoted from the transcriptions. I then review the commonalities and differences of interview responses. Archival or historical artifacts that members wish to share through photos, exhibits, or descriptions are also documented.

The current president of the CCCC is Mike Beidler. Mike was one of the core four people who met with representatives from the Cherokee Nation at the first *Cherokee Days* celebration at the National Museum of the American Indian. He served on the provisional Leadership Council as the Chairman and later was voted President in an official election that was one of the requirements in the formation of the affiliate. I met Mike and his family at our first picnic held at a park in Arlington. There we shared a potluck meal followed by self-introductions of all the attendees and discussion regarding the process that would be required to become an official satellite community. At this early meeting, Mike was welcoming, confident and inclusive of all the members who had been in the core working group, making sure that all were given a chance to speak, even those who were shy of public speaking. Mike had recently retired from the Navy and was considering becoming more involved in the Cherokee community while he investigated options of post-retirement professional positions.

When asked what activities are fulfilling to him, he replied that he wants to leave a legacy beyond his family and to make an impact on other people. In addition to the

impact he has made professionally, his goal is to make a positive impact with the Cherokee community and through his participation in the local chapter of the American Scientific Affiliation. He has a passion for faith and science and their intersection. He recently spoke on this subject at the Smithsonian. Mike has been researching Cherokee spirituality and recently had the opportunity to listen to one of the Cherokee National Treasures, Crosslin Smith, for about an hour. He feels the better he understands Cherokee spirituality the better he will understand the people and where he comes from. Mike feels the journey should not be taken alone, he hopes to “Share the journey. Have a positive impact on people.”

As a child of a military family, Mike lived in several Midwest locations growing up. Mike went into the Navy after college and then used the military-funded opportunities to acquire his higher education. He earned a B.A. in Political Science, an M.S. in Global Leadership, and in 2009 he completed an A.A. in Persian-Farsi. Following his recent retirement from the Navy, he now works as a civilian employee of the Navy. He has a family that includes his wife, Christal, one daughter and two sons.

Mike spoke about his Cherokee heritage. There was a man named John Jordan who was white and married a half-Cherokee woman, Nancy Love, Mike’s Great (x5) Grandmother. They were from Chattanooga area of Tennessee. He saw the proverbial writing on the wall and decided to move out to Arkansas. They were treated badly in Arkansas and wrote letters that got Presidential attention that led to some changes to the 1828 Treaty with the Western Cherokee. They were invested in maintaining good relations with Whites. John Jordan was murdered in 1834 by a Cherokee member of the

famous Ward family. They had been in Arkansas for six years before he was killed. Mike is exploring with some of the ancestors of the Ward family the reasons for this murder. After Mike's Great (x3) Grandmother's husband died in the late 1800's, she moved to Oklahoma. A later generation of Mike's Cherokee family moved from Oklahoma to California during the Dust Bowl. His Grandmother was born in Oklahoma but moved to California as a child. She fell in love with a grandson of the owner of the orchards where her family worked. This orchard was owned by the Beidler family. Even at that point it was an era of discrimination. So his Cherokee grandmother was not inclined to mention her Cherokee heritage. Her husband was a military man and she moved frequently, never returning to Oklahoma, while all of the rest of her siblings eventually returned to Oklahoma. Mike's father was born in California and became a Naval officer. As the son of a Naval Officer, Mike also moved frequently. Mike began to research his history about ten years ago and applied to become a Cherokee Citizen. As a linguist, he has a great interest in the Cherokee language. He hopes that we can find folks in the local area that can talk about history, language and culture in addition to the resources from Oklahoma.

Another person, who was in the core group of four founders, is Maggie Grieves Knisley. Maggie is an Adjunct Professor of Sociology and Anthropology. She serves at present as the Vice President of the CCCC Leadership Council. She is a descendant of Nancy Ward. She expressed in an early conversation that her reason for working to create the CCCC is not the absence of culture, since she feels she embodies the culture, but instead it is the absence of a cultural community that leaves her with a sense of

isolation. Maggie grew up in Oklahoma City, visiting every weekend in Cherokee County, Oklahoma, but left when she was 13 so that her mother could attend college out of state. She never moved back after that but kept contact with many relatives living within the territory of the Cherokee Nation. Her mother's sister lives near Salisaw, Oklahoma. Her family has land from the allotment. When Maggie's mother left Oklahoma, there was much social pressure to return, given the common view among the Cherokee that "good Cherokees stay at home." In 2003, Maggie moved to Maryland to attend University of Maryland Baltimore County and later become an Adjunct Professor at area universities and colleges. After a long search, she and her husband Matt recently moved to a rural setting in Maryland that they chose for the many oak trees and the peaceful natural setting. They look forward to gardening in the first Spring in the new home. They also plan to build a shed, compost bins, and a chicken coop to raise chickens.

Ian Everhart resides in a high-rise apartment in Arlington. I met him at his apartment one morning and found him steaming an Asian dumpling for breakfast. Ian is the Events Coordinator for the CCCC and has hosted several gatherings in the large comfortable party room in his apartment building. The location works well for the group due to the central location. He took over the Events Coordinator position from his mother, Suzanne, when she moved to Florida. Ian graduated last year from George Washington University with a dual bachelor's degree in Economics and Chinese and a minor in Political Science. As part of his education, he had a two-month Fulbright seminar on the urban-rural education divide in China, where he taught three classes on

Native American History, English and Baseball. During a two-year study abroad period, Ian lived in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore, and traveled to Vietnam, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, and Malaysia. He recently began a new position at a real estate tax consultancy in Crystal City. He often laments that he is geographically isolated from the two heartlands of the Cherokee Nation, but takes solace in the CCCC, where he resolves to remain an active and engaged community leader.

Ian's Mother, Suzanne Geyer, is one of the core founders of CCCC. She recently moved to Sarasota Florida. She was the Events Coordinator during the initial stages of creating the CCCC. She says she was thrilled to participate in a group who shares common ancestors. She is looking forward to more emphasis on the Cultural and Spiritual background that we share, with less emphasis on the structure that supports our existence, now that the formation of the affiliate group is official. She knows her ancestral family was in Georgia but senses that the North Carolina mountains were also important. Her lineage is in the prominent Raincrow family. She says she has much to discover about this lineage. Suzanne has a B.A. in Mass Communication, Goucher College and studied Music Performance at the School of Music, Birmingham England. She also has a certification in Massage Therapy from the Baltimore School of Massage. The activities that she finds most fulfilling are using her hands for healing and Music. She uses her musical ability to play piano in concert and to accompany soloists, lead choirs, and assist in fundraisers. She keeps in touch with the Cherokee Nation and has visited Cherokee, North Carolina but has no regular connection with the Eastern

Cherokees. She has a few photographs that she would be willing to share for a CCCC archive.

Verlin Deerinwater served as the Secretary of the Capital City Cherokee Community until recently. He resigned due to an upcoming move to Arizona and ultimately to settle in New Mexico where his wife's family resides. He joined the effort to form the group as one of the core founders because he has always been interested in maintaining his Cherokee contacts and in learning more about Cherokee history. He states he can track his Cherokee lineage back to the 1890's and the Dawes Rolls, but loses the genealogy prior to that period. His Cherokee family names are Hughes and Falling Pot. Verlin is an attorney for the Department of Justice and currently works half time in the Department of Tribal Justice and half time in Indian Child Welfare for the Civil Rights Division. He recently made a presentation at one of our CCCC meetings on important current legal issues. His father grew up in an Indian boarding school from the age of 6 until graduation. Due to this institutional upbringing, there are very few artifacts from his Cherokee lineage. He has two photos of his father, one at age 5 prior to being taken to the boarding school and one as a teenager. He also has a hand-knitted chicken that one of the women Elders in the family made for his father that he kept during all of his years at the boarding school. Verlin keeps up with Cherokee news through Google alerts and the weekly updates online from the Chief.

Joel West Williams lives in the Trinidad district of Washington DC with his wife and infant son. Joel traces his lineage back to Nancy Ward and Kingfisher through his

West family lineage. His infant son has “Kingfisher” as his middle name. In explaining his lineage, he says that Sarah Harlan, who was a descendant of Nancy Ward and Kingfisher, was born in Chota and married Jacob West who was born in Virginia. His father, John W. West was a negotiator of the New Echota Treaty. Jacob and Sarah were married in Locust Grove and later removed to Salina in 1887. The Wests ran salt works in Salina until they were confiscated. Jacob West was hung at the Salina courthouse due to a fight at the polling place in which Bushyhead was killed. Joel possesses a large scroll of this and other ancestry relating to the West family.

One of Joel’s passions is his work as an attorney in Federal Indian Law for the Native American Rights Fund. He identifies with his work and takes great pleasure in being able to make a difference in peoples’ lives through the work he does. He previously worked for the Cherokee Nation as a lobbyist and liaison in Washington DC. He worked under three Chiefs, Chad Smith, Joe Crittenden and Bill John Baker until the DC office was closed in December of 2012. He feels that this was one of the greatest privileges of his life. He keeps contact with Cherokee Nation news through online Cherokee Phoenix and Tulsa World. He also watches the Cherokee Nation Council meetings online. He says his daily activities include changing diapers, bike riding and outdoor activities. He shares a common trait with other members in having a need to be outdoors every day. He runs 1-2 times per week and swims 2-3 times per week. He also enjoys reading and writing which includes law related non-fiction, personal memoirs and creative writing. Artifacts include some digitized photos. He expresses his inheritance in terms of “ways of thinking” and “value system.” He told a story of his father’s

instruction regarding the respect for living beings and the earth. This is a partial transcription of that story.

The Crawdad Story

“There were definitely ways of thinking and viewing life that my dad passed on to me and really talked to me about. He taught me, ‘This is the way we do things’. That part is really strong for me, very fundamental rules about life and about death. You know, one of the most powerful and instructive experiences of my life was one time when I was a little kid and I caught this crawdad in the creek and I brought it home. It was huge. I showed it to my dad, I had it in this bowl. He said ‘That’s real nice, now take it back out to the creek and throw it back in.’ I didn’t do that and it died and I dumped it over the back fence. So, I guess he found it. And so few days later he said ‘Did you take that crawdad back and throw it back in the creek like I told you to?’ And I said ‘Yeah’. He said “Then why is it sitting out behind the back fence?” Well, so I had go dig a grave and bury this thing. And I think he told me it had to be 4 foot square. That’s what he told me it had to be. And so I was out there digging for a long time. I kept digging and I kept digging. I was out there at what seemed like forever. I was only about ten years old, out there with a shovel in the clay. He came out there and we sat down and he talked to me about how, as Cherokee people, we relate to the earth and relate to other animals, and that we have a responsibility to them. He explained to me how letting this thing die and throwing it over the back fence is not the way to do things. We take care of life and we nurture life and we don’t arbitrarily extinguish life just because we can. And so, that probably, I think I can name two or three things that have guided my life. I wouldn’t say

I think about it every single day. I think I somehow practice it. I would say I think about that experience weekly and reflect on it in some way” . . . “There was a very strong teaching that wasn’t just about animals, but that we had a responsibility to the earth that we lived on, the place where we live” . . . “I was raised to believe you had a responsibility to the place that you lived. That idea that I had a responsibility to other creatures and the place that I lived, and that wasn’t just not throwing bottles out of the car window but also to contribute to my community. All of that really informed my life path and my career path that I chose to take. I went to law school to do public service work and to work on Indian issues and environmental issues. And that is what I have been able to do. I have never been on the for-profit side of practicing law.”

Thomas Corbit is the Public Relations Chair of the CCCC. He has a dry wit that we have all come to enjoy. He is pleased about the formation of the group and says there is no other way to connect with other Cherokees in the area. He likes the idea of creating a community family. As a child, he lived the longest in Wisconsin and Oregon, then went from high school into the Military for six years. He told me the story of how he was suspended in High School for not wearing socks and for wearing moccasins. “I was always more comfortable outside. I spent more time off the grid outside of the city. I used to get expelled from high school on a regular basis. You had to wear socks and I would wear moccasins with no socks”. He went into the military from high school and then went to college on the G.I Bill. He earned an associates degree in Business Management in addition to training that he received in the Military and with IBM. He

retired in 2007. Thomas says that one of the things that he has found fulfilling was being involved in pioneering the space and communications infrastructure in private and military life. He worked at one time on a project to provide keyboards to Native American students. I know from informal conversations outside of our interview that Thomas builds bluebird houses and enjoys photographing and keeping track of the nestlings in his birdhouses each year. His Cherokee ancestors were from Weber Falls, Indian Territory in Tennessee. His Great Grandfather was The Honorable Robert Latham Owen and his Great Great Grandmother was Narcissa Clark Owen. Thomas recommended a published memoir written by Narcissa Owen, a well-known artist and author. Robert Latham Owen was one of the first two Senators of Oklahoma when it became a State. Thomas' Great Grandfather, Thomas Chisholm, also known as "Little Rusty Knife," was the third Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Thomas Jefferson awarded Chisholm with a Peace Medal that is on loan to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He states he has photographs that he could share for our archives and that his family has had a \$5 gold piece passed down through the family since 1876.

Thomas told a story about how his mother, the parent with the Cherokee heritage, orchestrated their lives in a way to honor Native American culture without teaching about it overtly since that would have opened them up to teasing or ridicule. "There was a lot of secrecy. Which I think pervades a lot of the memories. They seemed to be very sensitive to what information they shared through the generations" . . . "When I was growing up my mother had gotten a painting of two tribal Native Americans sitting on horses overlooking a canyon. But that painting was hung in our closet in our bedroom so it

couldn't have been more out of the way. But every time I looked in the closet I would see that painting.” “Wherever we moved there was a Native American influence.” “My Aunt taught in Native American schools.” “We also spent summers at an area called Devil’s Lake which was a very spiritual Native American lake that was formed by glaciers with 500 foot drop-offs on all four sides. So when I am looking back, all of my connections can be traced back. We lived in Smectin, Wisconsin, and Devils’ Lake outside of Wisconsin Dells hills which was a very spiritual Native American place, also. So I believe that my mother, without being direct, was trying to give us that Native American heritage. Because of the ridicule. It was unpopular back then. If you were Native Americans you were discriminated against, I guess. It is not as much now. They have made a lot of progress. But I am sure it is still there. She did not want that to happen to us, although she went out of her way to make sure we viewed all people as being equal and we did not discriminate against anybody anywhere.”

Naazima Ali is a personal friend who has told me stories about her Cherokee heritage. I asked to interview her to get a perspective from someone who is not connected with the Cherokee Nation or a member of the CCCC but is a person of Cherokee heritage in the Washington, DC area. Her ancestors were on the Dawes Rolls and were from Tennessee in addition to African and White ancestors. Her Cherokee heritage involves memories from childhood. Her Grandmother Leola, whose mother was full-blood, died when Naazima was six. She has childhood memories of cornbread cooked in a skillet and succotash made by Leola. Stories by her grandmother referred to

the full blood Great Grandmother Tainite as “A mean old thing”. The children would be prohibited from sleeping late. Great Grandmother Tainite was adamant that the sun should not rise and shine on sleeping children who were still in bed. She would “Raise Cain until all of the children were out of bed.” When she became feeble, she moved to live with her daughter Leola in New Jersey. They remembered Tainite eating her meals from a tea cup. Naazima does not have contact with many Cherokees other than me and was not aware of ways of keeping up with Cherokee activities in Oklahoma or North Carolina. If she becomes involved in the CCCC, she would like to learn more about Cherokee spirituality and crafts and trades such as beading and quilling with porcupine quills. When asked what is most fulfilling for her, she told about an apprenticeship with a traditional African drum-maker. He recognized and honored her First Nations connection and taught her how to make a First Nations frame drum. Since her apprenticeship, she has found satisfaction in doing clearing and healing ceremonies. Most recently she drummed for a friend’s wedding. Naazima also enjoys art and creative writing.

Summary of Interviews

While each interview was prompted by the same open-ended questions, sometimes the interviews went “off script” leading to some interesting side stories. Archival or historical artifacts that members wish to share through photos, exhibits, or descriptions are also documented. Questions that were asked in open-ended interviews included:

What is your reason for joining this affiliate group?

What kinds of activities, workshops, or gatherings would you like the Capital City Cherokee Community to do?

What family history do you know or hope to learn more about?

Where were your Cherokee ancestors originally from?

Do you keep abreast of activities going on in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Keetoowah Band, or in Cherokee, North Carolina? If so, how do you access information?

Do you contact other members of the Capital City Cherokees in person, by email, or phone or other methods at times that are not official gatherings of the group?

Where do you live now?

What type of work, professional or volunteer activities have been most important during your life?

Are there particular foods or other family customs that your family shares from your Cherokee heritage?

What are your typical daily activities and interests now?

What is your educational background?

In answering the question regarding why the informants joined this group, there was a trend of responses stating that they want to maintain historical and cultural preservation and that they joined due to a feeling of cultural isolation. Comments such as “Now that the Elders are gone, it feels kind of lonely,” “I had always wished that I had a way to connect with other Cherokees. I feel a sense of isolation in the Washington DC culture,” and “there is no other way to connect to other Cherokees in the Washington

area.” Several of the founding officers said they had received a notice from Roy Hamilton in 2013 about a meeting to investigate the possibility of forming such a group and they felt it was important to contribute to the effort.

When asked, “What kinds of activities, workshops, or gatherings would you like the Capital City Cherokee Community to do?” there were also some common trends in answers. Presentations on History, Language and Culture were the top suggestions. Also some interest was expressed in workshops to teach traditional crafts and trades such as quilling with porcupine quills, beading, and cooking. Other suggestions included spiritual teachings and ceremonies, cultural presentations by Dawni Mackey of the Cherokee Nation Community Outreach Department, presentations on Native American rights, and guest speakers from other American Indian cultures.

The majority of the informants traced their ancestors back to the region of present-day southeastern Tennessee. Others knew where their families originated in Indian Territory but not as far back as the original homeland in the East. There were varying degrees of knowledge regarding informants’ family history. Nancy Ward was a common ancestor of three of the informants. Most informants knew history to the level of Great or Great Great Grandparents. One person was unable to trace ancestry back before the 1870’s other than the names of Hughes and Falling Pot. Another informant spoke of ancestors moving to California in the 1890’s due to the Dust Bowl and not discussing their heritage due to fear of discrimination.

The informants’ most common way to keep abreast of Cherokee news was through the Cherokee Phoenix and online email and Facebook notices from the Cherokee

Nation. Also mentioned was keeping up through talking to friends and family members in Oklahoma. One member made periodic visits to Cherokee, NC but the rest did not have a source of contact with the North Carolina Cherokees. The informant who has Cherokee heritage but is not a citizen or a member of CCCC was not aware of a way to keep up with Cherokee news.

Several informants mentioned that the wide geographic span of the group makes it more practical to follow each other on Facebook or by email. Phone contact between official meetings is also common. While two of the members of the CCCC said they had gotten together for some outings, most are not getting together with each other for functions outside of community meetings and events. While the informants usually do not see each other outside of CCCC events, they mention that they were getting to know each other and feel “like family” as a result of the many organizational meetings and other events.

The informants live in the Washington, DC region other than one who recently moved to Florida. Their homes are located in Kings Park, Arlington, Alexandria, and Falls Church Virginia; the Trinidad section of Washington, DC; and Olney, Fort Washington, and Reisterstown Maryland.

In discussing what life experiences have been most fulfilling, there was a common expression of the importance of “giving back” as a cultural value. The common outlook on their concept of “fulfilling” was about what they contribute to the community or larger world. No informant described fulfillment in terms of monetary or material wealth or rising to a place of authority or power. Several spoke of wanting to leave a

legacy, or, if discussing their professional accomplishments, they spoke about work that they have done that aided society in some way. Ranks, titles, or salaries were not mentioned.

Most informants used their education and professions as vehicles to follow passions leading to fulfilling life experiences. All have had at least some college and spoke about their professions as they relate to “giving back.” There are two lawyers who work in Native American Rights issues, two retired military service members, three educators, and four in the healing professions (Massage Therapist and Physical Therapist) and/or practice spiritual healing including Ceremonial Drumming. One is particularly interested in the interface between science and religious faith. All had at least some college. Of the two lawyers, one works for the Department of Tribal Justice half time and Indian Child Welfare the other half. The second lawyer works as an attorney in Federal Indian Law for the Native American Rights Fund. One informant is a PhD adjunct professor in Sociology and Anthropology at University of Maryland and specializes in diversity issues, one enjoys creative writing while working as a manager of office services for a labor organization, one is a Massage Therapist and Musician, one has a B.S in Physical Therapy and is a Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies candidate in Religion, Culture and Folklore, two have retired from the Navy one of whom now works as a civilian for the Navy, one is the founder of a non-profit nature-based preschool and previously directed a rehabilitation program.

Typical daily activities varied greatly and most did not have family traditions or foods that had been passed down from their Cherokee families. Foods that were

mentioned were cornbread, succotash, corn chowder, corn pudding, spoon bread, blackberry crisp, and biscuits and gravy. Family traditions, rather than rituals or activities, were more commonly explained as “a way of thinking,” or values that were practiced and expected in the family.

Photographs and documents made up the majority of artifacts that informants shared or described. Items of monetary value were uncommon. Items that showed family connection were valued, such as the knitted chicken that had been made for Verlin Deerinwater’s father and the two photographs of his father at age five and as a teenager. Thomas Corbit’s family had the Peace Medal given to Thomas Chisholm by Thomas Jefferson on loan to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Items of historical significance such as allotment papers, Dawes Rolls applications, deeds to land, letters, or genealogical studies are also valued artifacts. Several members pulled out genealogy charts during their interviews as important artifacts.

The meetings up to this point have brought together people who have an awareness of their Cherokee heritage and we have begun relating together on a personal level. Common themes and values were identified through the interview process. One common theme was the need to be outside every day. Values, in particular, “Giving Back” and a priority on education as seen by educational levels, seem to be strong within the group.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Reports on Progress Toward Forming a Sense of Community

As this thesis concludes, the process and success level of the Capital City Cherokee Community in forming a community and in creating a “sense of community” thus far is described. The time period studied is the two years prior to receiving official status as a satellite community of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. The study is concluding as the official recognition is received from the Cherokee Nation Community Association, the official agency that serves as the liaison between the Nation and the Associations. It was announced by President Mike Beidler on Saturday, February 27, 2016 that the CCCC is official. Mike received an email that morning stating that the board had approved our application at a meeting the night before on February 26th. Therefore, this is an early analysis of the success and challenges of forming a sense of community since official recognition is just now being approved. Further documentation over a period of years would be required to evaluate the full impact of this effort.

At this time, the Leadership Council has been officially elected; bylaws have been written and approved by the CNCA; and other structural requirements have been met. The satisfaction of requirements and the acceptance of the CCCC as an official “outreach community,” confers the nominal status of “community” to members. This study

evaluates the success of creating a true social community and a “sense of community” by the members.

I have completed interviews and analysis of informants’ common threads of concerns, hopes and needs. This information will be provided to the Leadership Council for their potential use. In addition, a listing of members’ artifacts, photos, ancestral homeland locations, and historical data have been compiled. This information may be used in the future by the Leadership Council to further assist in providing the membership with information about their shared family heritages and historical backgrounds. It has the potential to be compiled as a publication to be made available to members, a link on a website, or a presentation to the membership at one of the gatherings.

I have made observations in field studies and have documented cultural events, gatherings, holiday parties and meetings. These recorded observations are used to analyze the success level of attempting to form a “sense of community” among strangers who have a common heritage. Photographs and a history of the formation years and the initiation of the first year of official outreach community status will be made available to the Leadership Council for use on their website, newsletters or other media.

The thesis methodology has guided a process of evaluating the progress to this end point in March 2016. It is hoped that in addition to the research analysis for my thesis, the evaluation will be of use to the Leadership Council to identify areas of concern, the needs and goals of individuals, and how well these needs and goals are being met so far. The evaluation identifies areas of greatest success. Using the markers of

success, I analyzed each area to document whether or not the CCCC had acquired a “sense of community.”

The following section documents markers of “community” as defined in the section on Methodology. Each marker is listed followed by examples illustrating whether or not the CCCC is meeting the criteria.

Self-identified by defining lines of demarcation between community insiders and outsiders:

The group self identifies as insiders by being Cherokee or being a family member of a Cherokee. The official Capital City Cherokee Community Membership rules are determined by the bylaws in conjunction with the requirements of the Cherokee Nation Community Association. Officially there are three categories of members, Citizen Membership, Associate Membership, and Honorary Membership. They are defined as follows:

Citizen Membership: A Citizen Member shall be a registered member of the Cherokee Nation. The Membership Coordinator will verify the applicant’s status via the Cherokee Nation Citizenship Card (aka Blue Card) or new Cherokee Nation photo ID. At least sixty percent (60%) of all CCCC members must be Citizen Members.

Associate Membership: An Associate Member is not a registered member of the Cherokee Nation. Associate Members include enrolled citizens of any of the two other Federally-recognized Cherokee tribes: United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma and Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Associate Members will not exceed forty percent (40%) of memberships.

Honorary Membership: Honorary members include the Principal Chief and Deputy Chief of the Cherokee Nation, At-large members of the Tribal Council of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee Nation Community Association (CNCA) Board of Directors and other select community leaders and representatives at the Leadership Council's discretion.

Members over 18 years of age and who are listed on the CCCC membership rolls as a Citizen or Associate Member have the right to vote. Honorary members do not have voting rights. Family members are registered under the member's name as a household membership. There is a non-voting, non-household category called Friends. Within this group are people who have Cherokee heritage but do not qualify as citizens of one of the three federally recognized tribes or who qualify but have not applied for citizenship.

In field observations, I have observed that the manner in which members of the group identify themselves does not include mentioning their citizenship status. Instead, they introduce themselves in relationship to kinship and place. The usual introduction starts out with their name, where their family is from in Oklahoma and who in their family is Cherokee and any historical information that is of interest regarding their Cherokee family. They will then proceed to the usual White society introductory remarks such as profession, where they are from and where they presently live, and who are their family members.

Events that are at the center of the culture/Activities that the group does together:

The Leadership Council created a circular yearly predictable calendar that includes a combination of social gatherings, educational gatherings, and an annual gathering on the

same weekend as the National Museum of the American Indian *Cherokee Days* celebration. The intent is to create an expected sequence of events that are repeating and dependable for the membership. They are roughly scheduled every two months. This creates a sense of stability and structure. Each year there is a December holiday party and a June gathering in conjunction with *Cherokee Days*. In between there are educational or social gatherings in February, April, August, and October. The CNCA has been a great support in providing educational presentations on culture, history, language and traditional crafts. Some examples include a presentation by Daweena Mackey from CNCA on Cherokee language and values. Cherokee National Treasure, Tommy Wildcat, a well-known Native American Flute performer, attended a picnic and played under a large oak tree in addition to participating in informal discussions about current news, culture, and history. The title of National Treasure is an esteemed honorary title bestowed by the tribal government upon citizens who carry and teach traditional cultural knowledge. The CNCA has also sent videos for our programs. One video was on former Principal Chief Wilma Mankiller and another was on Heirloom Seeds and the Cherokee seed bank. The holiday party includes a gift sharing game and an update from the President, as well as potluck food and social time. There is talk of a future trip to the Eastern Band Cherokee Nation and an historical tour of the eastern homelands.

Places where the subculture can be found:

This group has members that are spread as far as Maryland towns of Reisterstown, Owens Mills and Fort Washington; Virginia towns of Arlington, Alexandria, Winchester, and Bristow; and Washington, DC. Therefore the meeting places are carefully chosen to

be centrally located or to alternate between geographical regions. Although they alternate, we are beginning to find venues that work well and are repeated when the meeting is in that region. An example of this is the classroom of Maggie Knisley at UMBC. The room is a comfortable size. There is space for signing in, mingling, and for potluck food to be set up. The seating is auditorium style with desk space in front of each seat. This makes it convenient for viewing videos or live presentations while having a comfortable spot to take notes, read handouts, or place food and drinks. The party room at Ian Everhart's high-rise in Arlington has become a familiar spot for our holiday and other gatherings. The central location and proximity to public transportation are plusses. In warm weather the group meets in outdoor settings and has been trying out different parks to find the best gathering place with pavilions that is near public transportation for the members who do not have cars. This Spring we will be initiating an overnight camp weekend at my mountain retreat called Wolf Run. There will be a historian from Tahlequah provided by the CNCA who will present workshops on Cherokee history as we enjoy fellowship in the mountain setting, outdoor cooking, and tent camping for those who wish. I am hoping that, as my way of "giving back," this will be an annual event that will become part of the CCCC traditions.

Shared language: insider terminology, ways of speaking, knowing what can be said and what should not be said:

It is unheard of to publicly speak about Cherokee politics or to publicly take sides on political races occurring in Oklahoma. There may be vague references to concerns about issues that are occurring but party affiliation and bashing or support of candidates does

not happen. Quiet discussion on issues and candidates may happen between members informally. Announcements about absentee ballots, voting procedures, and deadlines will be distributed by email but not candidate support or criticism. I have noted that members who have been adversely affected when there is a turnover in political control of the Cherokee Nation, do not mention this. They tend to move on with the next phase of their lives. At one of the last gatherings, a member was wearing a t-shirt in the colors of the Washington football team. At first glance it looked like a fan T-shirt but then as you read the logo, it said “CHANGETHENAME” and on the back there was the website “changethename.org” for contacting the group that is lobbying against the racial slur name of the Redskins. Disgust that the Redskins name has not been replaced is common among the members.

While there are a handful of Cherokee “speakers” in the Washington metropolitan area, most of the members do not speak the Cherokee language. However there are phrases that are commonly used among the group that are specifically Cherokee. A common greeting in person or in writing is “Osiyo!” The Cherokee word for thank you is “Wado.” It is commonly used among the group and is a typical closing in emails. In the interviews, many expressed interest in learning the language by creating conversation groups who will meet with one of our Cherokee speakers if they are willing. The language is quite complex. Intonation can completely change the meaning of the word. So enlisting a Speaker who demonstrates the cadence and intonation will be critical to the learning process.

Stories: told and repeated as a way to hold the culture together, to express the values of the culture, to record the history of the culture:

Cherokee National Treasure, Robert Lewis, performs at the annual *Cherokee Days* at the NMAI. He has a seemingly unending supply of traditional Cherokee folk tales. The stories become more familiar to our members each year. Some are told to impart knowledge about the Cherokee value system and others impart our history to the largely non-Cherokee tourists in the audience. Within the CCCC group, Mike Beidler will usually open meetings with acknowledgement of the core working group who initiated the planning and the progress made up until that point regarding the steps to become an official affiliate of the Cherokee Nation. As he recites the history of our genesis, it imparts a “creation story” for the group. During the informal social time at each gathering, many members share their memories of Cherokee places and people from their childhoods. Those who have common ancestors try to put the pieces together to place the ancestors within points of time and place. The historical timeline matrix that I have created (see appendix) places CCCC members’ family historical information in context with major American and Cherokee historical events to give members an understanding of the environment in which our ancestors lived. While this is new and is limited to information provided in interviews conducted for the thesis research, as we add more members’ information it will present a story of our people.

Values: ideas, world views, perspectives that people in the culture share:

As noted earlier, informants had common expressions of the importance of “giving back.” One of the differences in world view from the dominant White society is the

value on what a person has given rather than what a person has accumulated. In each interview, individual skills, professions, talents and education were referenced as to how these resources were used to improve community, society or the earth. This giving back was seen as a source of fulfillment. I noted that the list of artifacts that were mentioned did not include items of monetary value. Instead they were items that represented kinship connections such as genealogical charts, memoirs, awards, letters, allotment or census documents, military documents and photos.

Behaviors: ways of dressing, manners and mannerisms, skills most possess:

It is common for speakers to first honor members who have provided work or resources. Dress is casual among this group. Usually jeans and a shirt or top, sometimes with Cherokee related logos. When one young couple arrived with the man dressed in a suit and tie and the woman in heels and hose, there was immediate discussion about where they had been. Everyone in the group knew that professional dress was not the expected protocol. As it turned out, they had been to a funeral prior to arriving at the CCCC gathering. There is a little more sparkle at the December holiday party but it is still expected that clothes will be casual and comfortable. T-shirts logos have included the *Cherokee Days* logo from the NMAI annual gathering; “Association of Ancestors of Nancy Ward”; T-shirts honoring Cherokee warriors, “Homeland Security since 1492” logos showing a photo of Red Cloud and warriors; and “CHANGETHE NAME” logo referring to the offensive name of the Washington Redskins.

Rules: those that are explicit and those that are implicit, those which can be broken and those which cannot:

As mentioned earlier, public expression of political support or criticism of Cherokee Nation candidates or officials is not permissible by implicit understanding of the membership. When we have guest presenters from CNCA, they are also very careful not to present personal views on candidates or political parties. The rules of membership and who can vote are rules that cannot be broken. It is customary to bring a potluck dish to share at gatherings but if a person is unable to do this for some reason, that would not be frowned upon. Membership dues must be in good standing in order to participate in voting. The election committee has a specific protocol for creating and distributing mailed ballots and in counting and announcing new officers. These rules are not breakable.

Identifies the gatekeepers for the culture:

The Spiritual Elders are the acknowledged experts and holders of the culture. Crosslin Smith presented a talk on Cherokee spirituality at the annual Cherokee conference in Tahlequah that Mike Beidler attended. There is a group of Elders who work with the CN in recording medicinal plants and traditional formulas for treatment of different diseases and additionally there is an heirloom seed program. There is a group of people who carry the knowledge of traditional crafts and arts, who have been awarded the title of National Treasure. We have hosted one of them, Tommy Wildcat, Native American Flute artist, at one of our gatherings. For CCCC, the Cherokee Nation Community Association (CNCA) is the guide for our cultural connection and education. They provide the resources to give us access and connection to the Cherokee Nation in the 14 county jurisdiction in Oklahoma.

Rituals: repeated behaviors, ways of enacting cultural values:

The Leadership Council has created a structure of a repeating annual calendar that is predictable and provides gatherings with a variety of social, historical and cultural emphasis. The format of a time of sharing potluck food at the beginning of each gathering has become a ritual. It is becoming more rich with members beginning to bring traditional dishes. The most recent potluck included food made from traditional crops of corn and root vegetables in the form of spoon bread and carrots. Venison in the form of ground patties were shared and labeled with the Cherokee language name for venison. Tom Corbit has incorporated a tradition of custom-made sandwiches wrapped in foil with coded letters marked on the foil with a marking pen. Alongside the sandwich platter is a key with the code definitions. For example, ham sandwich with mayonnaise, tomato, lettuce and pickle would be marked with H, M, T, L, P. The first time we encountered these foil wrapped, coded sandwiches there was much discussion and explanation. Now it is considered part of the expected menu and all members understand the code key. In the category of enacting cultural values, we are creating a relationship with a community in Oklahoma that has become our sister community. There are many at-risk youth, elders and low income Cherokees in this community that we are planning to serve in some way. This will allow us as a community to “give back” and to have direct communication and build relations with folks in Oklahoma.

In the Chapter Three Methodology section, criteria were set that are to be used to determine if the CCCC members have incorporated a “sense of community.” The

creation of “sense of community” is considered to be successful if the following markers are reached:

Members begin visiting and communicating with each other outside of official events:

This is an area where there is limited activity. Informants described the geographic size of our community as an obstacle due to long driving distances between their homes and the always present traffic in the DC region. Members tended to communicate outside of events using media such as Facebook, email, phone, texting and the CCCC website. Up to this point, much of the outside contact has been in regard to tasks related to the formation of the affiliate and organizing events.

Membership grows: This marker has been met. There has been a steady growth in membership since the first meetings of the four core founders. As we approach the membership renewal deadline, there are officially 40 paid members. Now that the group has official CNCA status, we will have access to contact information to communicate our existence to other Cherokee Citizens in the region. This year the annual *Cherokee Days* celebration will be followed by the At Large community hosting an event to welcome all area Cherokees and their families.

Members begin celebrating individuals’ rites of passage such as birthdays, new babies, or weddings: This marker has been met in a limited way. One of the young couples recently birthed a new infant son. He has been brought to two events and much attention has been directed toward our newest Cherokee member. There have been no weddings and the group does not celebrate individual birthdays. I have received encouragement,

interview time, and inquiries on how the thesis work is going, as a major rite of passage in my educational life.

Members support each other in times of need or sorrow such as deaths in families, family crises, and job losses: This marker has been met in a limited way. While there have been few instances for this behavior to be enacted, there has been one family tragedy during our two-year period. The members experiencing this tragedy expressed gratitude for the support from CCCC members that was given during this time. They appreciated the fruit basket and the messages that they received.

Members identify with each other as relatives acknowledging common ancestors: This marker has been met and is increasing in compliance as the members have more time to explore with each other. An upcoming event that will host a history expert will further cement the feeling of kinship and common ancestors. We have three members who have a common ancestor, Nancy Ward, the Beloved Woman of the Cherokee. In discussions there are some awkward and funny “aha!” moments when connections are realized and it becomes evident that our ancestors were on opposite sides of issues, such as “one of my ancestors assassinated one of your ancestors.” The members seem to take these realizations in stride and strive to gain a better understanding of the complicated history.

Gatherings and meetings are accompanied by social time and shared meals or refreshments: This marker has been fully met. This is an area that the group has incorporated from the time of the first picnic introductory gathering. All gatherings to date have incorporated and valued shared meals and social time.

There is continued willingness of members to step forward to serve on the Leadership

Council: This marker has been fully met. The election committee was able to present a full slate to the membership at the last meeting. We had one resignation due to an upcoming move of our Secretary and there was no difficulty in locating interested members to complete the duration of the term.

In summary, this thesis addresses the problem of cultural isolation and the efficacy of one form of community-building designed to remedy it. The research asked the questions:

How do we create a sense of community among a group of strangers who share a common heritage but are displaced from homeland and cultural connections?

What previous or ongoing efforts have been/are being made to accomplish this?

What are the strategies for creating the community?

Have they been successful in creating a “sense of community”?

I have described the efforts made by a small core group of local Cherokees who have worked with the Cherokee Nation Community Association over the past two years. With the guidance of the CNCA, the Leadership Council and the growing number of members have satisfied all requirements. We now have official recognition as an affiliate community of the Cherokee Nation. The council has created a predictable, regular annual schedule of events that allow Cherokees residing in the Washington Metropolitan region to gather with others of the same heritage. In interviews, the desire to belong to a Cherokee cultural community to combat the feeling of cultural isolation was repeatedly presented by informants. In addition to creating regular events that create the opportunity

for social contact, carefully planned presentations and activities offer a variety of community building topics. The informants expressed the desire for educational opportunities to learn more about Cherokee history, language, culture and traditional skills such as basket weaving or beading. The council, with the support of the CNCA, has provided a variety of events that meet these desires. In addition, they have future events planned that will further fulfill their requests. The commitment of the NMAI to host the annual *Cherokee Days* gathering is a wonderful opportunity to connect local Cherokees to representatives from the three federally recognized tribes. The strongly expressed value of “giving back” has been honored by the creation of a relationship with a “Sister Community” in Oklahoma where there are at-risk youth and elders in low-income households who are in need of assistance. In turn, this Sister Community will provide the means to fulfill a need expressed by many of the informants to have a personal connection with Cherokees in Oklahoma. In addition to this, we plan to survey needs of Cherokee community at-large members in our local region to see if there are needs that we can fill. In reviewing all of the markers of community and sense of community, we have met most of the requirements. Two area of weakest fulfillment were in celebrating rites of passages and supporting members in times of need. These markers were likely weak due simply to only two of such events occurring during the two years of our formation. Another weak marker was in the area of members visiting and communicating with each other between events. It appears that the large geographical spread of members and the metropolitan area traffic will continue to inhibit members from visiting with each other between events. However, there were reports of a gradual

increase of using Facebook, texting, emailing, and phone calls for communication. These appear to be more likely tools for deepening relationships among the members between events. After reviewing the research, I conclude that the Capital City Cherokee Community has been quite successful in creating a community and in facilitating a “sense of community” among its members. Although the affiliate has just reached official status, the groundwork over the past two years has been effective in proceeding toward the goal of removing the sense of cultural isolation of members of this group of Cherokees in the Washington DC, Maryland and Virginia metropolitan area and will benefit others as they learn about the group and become members.

And finally, the thesis results are intended to benefit the CCCC. The documentation of the formation process, interviews with members, the historical background, and listing of artifacts, photos, family history and homeland locations will facilitate creation of a record of the shared heritage of members. The documents will further assist in building a strong sense of community amongst the newly formed Capital City Cherokee Community. The history timeline matrix will be made available to the CCCC as a resource to assist members in learning more about Cherokee history and where their ancestors interfaced in time and place with the larger events of various time periods. As information is entered on the matrix from members’ genealogical records, the matrix will become rich with overlapping stories, people and places

Significance

This study is about a specific group of people living in the Washington Metropolitan region who have Cherokee ancestry. The problem that was identified was the sense of

isolation due to not having access to others of similar background. The process that was taken to provide a community for this group of people who have common ancestry but are living far from the traditional homeland and who do not know each other can be generalized. Globally there are many displaced persons of ethnic minorities who have fled their countries or have been displaced within their countries. It can be assumed that they also suffer from feelings of cultural isolation. The model presented serves as a template for use in various settings to form communities and facilitate development of a “sense of community” among the members. Counteracting the great sense of isolation theoretically could assist people in times of difficult transitions that require them to live among a dominant society of an unfamiliar culture.

Appendices

Interview Questions-----	88
Historical Timeline Matrix-----	89
Photos of Members' Artifacts -----	109
Capital City Cherokee Community: Photos from Formation Years -----	120

Interview Questions for Thesis Informants:

What is your reason for joining this affiliate group?

What kinds of activities, workshops or gatherings would you like the Capital City Cherokees to do?

What family history do you know or hope to learn more about?

Where were your Cherokee ancestors originally from?

Do you keep abreast of activities going on in the Cherokee Nation or in Cherokee, North Carolina? If so, how do you access information?

Do you contact other members of the Capital City Cherokees in person, by email or phone or other methods at times that are not official gatherings of the group?

Where do you live now?

What type of work, professional or volunteer activities have been most important during your life?

Are there particular foods or other family customs that your family shares from your Cherokee heritage?

What are your typical daily activities and interests now?

What is your educational background?

Do you have Cherokee artifacts that you would like to tell about?

Historical Highlights 1400-Present					
Period	Cherokee Events	CCCC Ancestors' Historical Events	CCCC Historical Family Events/People		
	[Cherokee Treaty summaries and events are excerpted from Wikipedia "Cherokee Treaties" and "Timeline of Cherokee History" and confirmed through multiple references including the Cherokee Nation website History section and review of the full treaties in many cases.]		[Derived from interviews with Cherokee informants as well as online genealogical resources]		
1400-1450	Pre-contact, Matrilineal Clan System, No centralized government, 124,000 square mile region				
1663	1663 birth of Nancy Ward's grandmother, second daughter of Moytoy. She and her husband, The "Raven" of Chota were Nancy's grandparents.		Ancestors of Members "Maggie" Margaret Grieves Knisley, Pamela Parks Tinker and Joel West Williams		
1684	Agreement made between Cherokees and the S. Carolina Colony to protect Cherokees from being sold into slavery by Catawbans, Shawnees, and Congarees. Charleston at this time is an active center of traffic of black and Indian slaves (Thornton <i>The Cherokees</i> , 1990, p.19)				
1693	Delegation of Cherokees sent to Charleston again to complain regarding Cherokees captives being sold to English as slaves. They were informed that the prisoners were gone and could not be returned. (Most to West Indies, a few to northern colonies.)(Thornton, <i>The Cherokees</i> p. 19-20)				
1721	First "voluntary" land cession Treaty with South Carolina	Group of Cherokees led by Yunwi-usgaseti (dangerous man) moved west of the Mississippi in order to not have to avoid relations with Whites. Later sent word they were living at the base of the Rocky Mountains.(Thornton, p.43			

1730	Moytoy of Tellico served as Supreme Chief 1730 --1760 Attakullakulla visited England while in his 20's with a Cherokee delegation.	Moytoy Grandfather of Nancy Ward . Attakullakulla is uncle of Nancy Ward. Both are said to have had influence on her negotiation and oratory skills.	Ancestor of Joel West Williams, Pamela Parks Tinker and "Maggie" Margaret Grieves Knisley
1730	Treaty of Nikwasi Trade agreement with colony of N. Carolina through Alexander Cumming		
1730	Treaty of Whitehall, between the Cherokee and English colonies signed by 7 Cherokee chiefs (including Attakullakulla) and George II of England		
1738	Birth of Nanye-hi (later Nancy Ward) her brother was Tuskegeeteehee or Longfellow		Ancestor of members Margaret "Maggie" Grieves Knisley, Pamela Parks Tinker
1750 circa	Nanhe-hi married Kingfisher, noted war leader of the Deer Clan		Kingfisher is 7th generation grandfather of members Pamela Parks Tinker, Joel West Williams
1752	Katie (Daughter of Nanyih and Kingfisher) born at Cherokee Nation E. Tenn (Her son was Hiskyteehee, or Fivekiller)		GGGG Grandmother of member Pamela Parks Tinker and ancestor of Joel West Williams
1755	Battle of Taliwa between Creeks and Cherokees Death of Kingfisher in Canton Co. Georgia	Nanyih's husband Kingfisher is killed in battle, Nanyih joins the battle inspiring victory and thereafter is honored with title of Beloved Woman	
1755	Treaty with South Carolina, 24 November 1755	By 1755 a group of Cherokees were residing on the Ohio River at the mouth of the Kentucky River.	
1756	Treaty with North Carolina (Treaty of alliance during the French and Indian War)		
1759	Nanyih married Trader named Bryant Ward who later returned to his white wife and children in S. Carolina by 1760.		Ancestors of Margaret "Maggie" Margaret Grieves Knisley
1761	Treaty of Long-Island-on-the-Holston, 20 July 1761 Ended the Anglo-Cherokee War with the Colony of Virginia Treaty of Charlestown 18 December 1761 ended Anglo-Cherokee War with the Province of South Carolina		
1763	Proclamation of 1763 British declared there was to be no English settlement west of the Appalachians	Thomas Fox-Taylor born circa 1763 Charleston, Bradley Co. Tennessee	G.G.G Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker

1763	End of the French and Indian War				
1768	Treaty of Johnson Hall 12 March 1768 Guaranteed peace between the Cherokee on one side and the Iroquois, the Seven Confederate Nations and the Caughnawaga on the other.				
1768	Treaty of Hard Labour 14 October 1768 Ceded land in southwestern Virginia to the British Indian Superintendent John Stuart				
1770	Treaty of Lochaber 18 October 1770 Ceded land in the later states of Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky to the Colony of Virginia				
1771	Jennie Walker daughter of Katie and John Walker born at Cherokee Nation (now Tennessee)	Later died at Cherokee Nation Indian Territory (Date unknown)		G.G.G Grandmother of Member Pamela Parks Tinker	
1772	Treaty with Virginia early 1772 Ceded land in Virginia and eastern Kentucky to the Colony of Virginia (seems to be an arrangement rather than a bona fide treaty).				
1773	Treaty of Augusta 1 June 1773 Ceded Cherokee claim to 2,000,000 acres to the Colony of Georgia.				
1775	Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, 14 March 1775 Ceded claims to the hunting grounds between the Ohio and Cumberland Rivers to the Transylvania Land Company.				
June 1776	British, Tories, and Cherokees attacked Charleston SC. Several thousand American troops sent to destroy the Cherokee. Cherokees were left with to starve with 50 towns, orchards, livestock destroyed. Survivors fled to mountains to live on acorns, chestnuts and wild game (Thornton).	Col. Rutherford attacked from NC destroying 36 towns on Oconaluftee, Tuckaseegee, and upper Little Tenn. Rivers Col. Williamson attacked from SC destroying all Lower Townsand burning all corn Then Rutherford and Williamson joined to attack Middle Towns scorching settlements and destroying food. Col Christianson from Va attacked Overhill Towns destroying towns, horses, cattle, hogs, dogs, fowl, 40-50,000 bushels of corn, 10-15,000 bushels of potatoes (Thornton, p.37-38).			

1776	Attack of Western settlements including Watauga in E. TN by Dragging Canoe, Abraham and Raven with 250 warriors each at the instigation of the Brittish. Nancy Ward warned settlers. Saved Mrs. William Bean from burning at the stake.	Mrs. Bean was tied to stake on a mound in the center of Tuskegee above the mouth of the Tellico or Little Tennessee River. Nancy Ward had the power to pardon her. Due to this and other attempts at peace between Whites and Cherokees, she was honored by Daughters of the American Revolution	Descendants of Nancy Ward are eligible to apply for membership in the Daughters of American Revolution.
1776	Cherokees sided with the British in Revolutionary War, prepared to attack simultaneously frontier settlements of VA, the Carolinas and GA. Nancy Ward again warned the Wataugans before 700 warriors from Chota struck that area	Established Nancy Ward's reputation as a friend of the settlers. In October 1776 Col. William Christian led nearly 2,000 troops in a devastating raid but spared Chota out of respect for Nancy Ward.	
1777	Treaty of DeWitts' Corner, 20 May 1777 Ceded the lands of the Cherokee Lower Towns in the State of South Carolina except for a narrow strip of what is now Oconee County. Treaty of Fort Henry, 20 July 1777 Confirmed the cession of the lands to the Watauga Association with the States of Virginia and North Carolina		
1780	Nancy Ward supplied frontier rear guards with beef when the became short on rations. She warned the whites a second time about an impending attack but this time they set out to teach the Cherokees a lesson despite Nancy Ward's pleas for mercy and friendship. Chota was destroyed along with other towns. She and her family were placed in protective custody. When released they returned to help rebuild the town.		
1781	Nancy Ward was the featured speaker on July 20, 1781 when the Cherokees reluctantly accepted a peace treaty with the Wataugans.		
1781	Treaty of Long-Island-on-the-Holston, 26 July 1781 Peace treaty between the Overhill, Valley, and Middle Towns, and the Over Mountain settlers that confirmed former cessions but gave up no additional land.		
1783	Treaty of Long Swamp Creek, 30 May 1883 Confirmed the northern boundary of the State of Georgia with the Cherokee, between the latter and that state, with the Cherokee ceding large amounts of land between the Savannah and Chattahooche Rivers to the State of Georgia.	By 1783 a group of Cherokees had joined the Mingo and Wyandot on the upper Mad River (present Zanesville, OH) Another group was granted permission by Gov. of Louisiana/ Spanish govt. to move to Arkansas country (Thornton p.44)	

1784	Treaty of Pensacola, 30 May 1784 For alliance and commerce between New Spain and the Cherokee and Muscogee.				
1785	Treaty of Dumplin Creek, 10 June 1785 Ceded the "territory south of the French Broad and Holston Rivers and west of the Big Pigeon River" and east of the ridge dividing Little River from the Tennessee River to the State of Franklin Treaty of Hopewell, 28 November 1785 Changed the boundaries between the U.S. and Cherokee Lands. Nancy Ward was successful in improving the conditions of the treaty with her speech.	Nancy Ward speaks at Treaty of Hopewell. Chota remained a city of refuge and Nancy Ward took into her home orphaned and homeless children including mixed breeds. Nicknamed "Granny Ward" A group moved to Spanish territory on St. Francis River then later to White River in eastern Arkansas (Thornton p.44)			
1771	Jennie Walker daughter of Katie and John Walker born at Cherokee Nation (now Tennessee)	Later died at Cherokee Nation Indian Territory (Date unknown)	G..G..G. Grandmother of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
1783	Smallpox outbreak				
1786	Treaty of Coyatee, 3 August 1786 Made with the State of Franklin at gunpoint, this treaty ceded the remaining land north and east of the Little Tennessee River to the ridge dividing it from Little River.				
1789	Henry Knox, George Washington's Secretary of State articulated the "Civilizing" policy, recommending missionaries, implements and livestock be sent among the Indians, (later adopted in 1819 by Congress with Civilization Fund, \$10,000 annual sum)				
1789	Samuel Parks born January 12, 1789 at Blount Co. TN siblings were William, John, Robet, Absolum, Samel, Pollie Frazier, Ruth Hall and Becky Coulter	Son of Joseph and Ruth Parks. (Sam may have been born in Federick Maryland before the family moved to Blount Co)	G. G. Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
1791	Treaty of Holston, 2 July 1791 Established boundaries between the united States and the Cherokee. Guaranteed by the United States that the lands of the Cherokee have not been ceded to the United States.				
1792	Treaty of Philadelphia, 17 February 1792 Supplemented the previous Holston Treaty regarding annuities, etc. Treaty of Walnut Hills, 10 April 1792 Between the Spanish governor in New Orleans and the Cherokee, Muscogee, Choctaw, and Seminole in which the former promised the later military protection. Treaty of Pensacola, 26 September 1792 Between the Chickamauga Cherokee (or Lower Cherokee) under John Watts and Arturo O'Neil, governor of Spanish West Florida, for arms and supplies with which to wage war against the	Most Chicamaugas are living on lower Tennessee in villages known as the Five Lower Towns separated from other Cherokees who no longer took part in hostilities.(Thornton, p.39)			

		United States.				
	1794	Treaty of Philadelphia, 26 June 1794 Reaffirmed the provisions of the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell and the 1791 Treaty of Holston, particularly those regarding land cession Treaty of Tellico Blockhouse, 8 November 1794 Peace treaty of the U.S. with the Lower Cherokee ending the Cherokee-American wars.	Maj. James Ore's troops destroyed the Five Lower Towns, killed Nicajack and Running Water, many Indians killed or taken prisoner. Cherokees under the Bowl fled to St. Francis River in Arkansas (Thornton, p.44)			
	1798	Treaty of Tellico, 2 October 1798 The boundaries promised in the previous treaty had not been marked and white settlers had come in. Because of this, the Cherokee were told they would need to cede new lands as an "acknowledgment" of the protection of the U.S. The U.S. would guarantee the new Cherokee Nation could keep the remainder of its land "forever" (Treaty between the United States and whole Cherokee nation at council house near Tellico on Cherokee Ground Oct 2, 1798 Signed by Thos. Butler and Geo. Walton and 19 Cherokee representatives and many witnesses including Chas. Hicks, and James Cazeay, interpreters)	Ceded land to US in return for goods, wares and Merchandise to the amount of \$5,000 and annually other goods to the amount of \$1000 in addition to the existing annuity and continued the guarantee of the remainder of their country for ever, as made and contained in former treaties			
	1798		Susannah Taylor born Feb 15, 1798 Daughter of Jennie Walker and Thomas Fox-Taylor (Cootequeskee) at Charleston, Bradley Co. TN Thomas Fox Taylor is said to be son of Lord Fox Tayler of England. Jenny Walker later married John MacKentosh son of the Great Mackentosh	G.G. Grandmother of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
	1801	1801: The Moravian Brethren established Spring Place Mission on land given to them by James Vann from his Diamond Hill plantation, the most important feature of which was a school. Moravian Mission, Springplace, remained in operation until 1833 teaching plow cultivation and raising of livestock				

1803	Louisiana Purchase provided an alternative of removal rather than "civilizing"				
1802	Jefferson signs the Georgia Compact which includes support of removal. (Stanford Ethnogeriatrics website)				
1804	Treaty of Tellico, 24 October 1804 Ceded land. Daniel Smith and Return J. Meigs acted on behalf of The US commissioned by Thomas Jefferson, President of the US.				
1805	Treaty of Tellico, 25 October 1805 Ceded land including that for the Federal Road through the Cherokee Nation Treaty of Tellico, 27 October 1805 Ceded land for the state assembly of TN, whose capital was then in East TN, to meet upon.				
Early 1800's	Discovery of gold on Cherokee land; Invention of Cotton Gin; Emergence of Scientific Racism; Issues of States Rights				
1806	Treaty of Washington, 7 January 1806 Ceded land	Another severe small pox epidemic (Thornton, p.47)			
1808-1810	Some Cherokees relocated west under US auspices	Meigs census enumerated 12,395 Cherokees in the east, 583 slaves and 341 whites (Thornton, p.47)			
1811-12	Earthquake along the St. Francis River caused much flooding, Cherokees who had been early immigrants there fled to area between Arkansas and White Rivers joining the new immigrants there. (Thornton, p. 59)				
1812	The War of 1812 was a military conflict, lasting for two and a half years, fought by the United States of America against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, its North American colonies, and its Native American allies including the Cherokee .In September 1814 the British burned the US Capitol and the White House.	Result of the treaty was that parties returned to pre-war status but the strength of Cherokees' ability to negotiate was greatly weakened due to loss of the foreign threat to the U.S. that required Native American allies. Many were promised bounty land as payment for their service in the war which increased demand for Cherokee land.		Samuel Parks volunteered under Capt. Walker Served under Samuel Cowan's Co of Light horse commanded by Maj. James P. Porter in the War with the Upper Creek Indians, War of 1812. Took part in the battle of the Hillobee's His widow received a pension of \$12/mth for his service.	
1813-1814	Creek War ended threat of Indian Confederation against whites Weakened Cherokees' negotiation position.	Western or Arkansas Cherokees under Takatoka who succeeded "the Bowl " John Bowles as Chief created capital in Takatoka's village. (Thornton, p.60)			

1814	Treaty of Fort Jackson, 9 August 1814 Ended the Creek War, demanded land from both the Muscogee (Creek) and the Cherokee)			Sam Parks married Susannah and "disgraced" his family since she was Cherokee. Moved to Mouse Creek from Monroe County. Sam was a wagonmaster between Baltimore (Philadelphia?) and TN, Raised stands of bees, 100 geese, Slaves Gim, Winny, Bass Back, Ann, Mary, Barbara, Carolina and Dot lived in houses behind Sam's house and raised 12 children	
1815	First gold discovered in the upper Georgia area (more discovered in 1828 near present day Dahonega.				
1816	Treaties of Washington, 22 March 1816 Ceded the remaining lands within the territory limits claimed by South Carolina to the state. Treaty of Chickasaw Council House, 14 September 1816 Ceding land				
1817	Brainerd mission in Chatanooga created by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission educated fundamentals of writing, agriculture and industry, White male role models taught cropping, livestock care, gristmills, dams, blacksmithing and mechanics. Operated until 1833				

1817	Treaty of the Cherokee Agency, 8 July 1817 Acknowledged the division between the Upper Towns, which opposed emigration, and the Lower Towns, which favored emigration, and provided benefits for those who chose to emigrate west and 640-acre reservations for those who did not, with the possibility of citizenship of the state they are in. (First US treaty that included a provision for removal, exchanging Cherokee Land for land west of the Mississippi and assistance in resettling. Between 1,500 and 2,000 Cherokees relocated in spite of intense opposition of the majority of Cherokees. Those who chose to stay on ceded land could apply for a 40 acre reserve and citizenship. Cherokee Council denied citizenship in tribe to those who emigrated west or accepted a reserve. Cherokees on the Oconaluftee River in NC elected to receive reservations severing legal relations with Ch. Nation)	Samuel and Susannah Parks took a reservation of land under the Treaty of 1819. They were permitted to stay on the ceded land because they were "able to handle their affairs responsibly" and because Sam Parks was white. They later submitted an application for a 640 acre reservation below the Hiwassee river because "it has become too difficult to live among the whites." This was approved by John Ross, Cherokee Principle Chief.			
1819	Treaty of Washington, 27 February 1819 Reaffirmed the Treaty of the Cherokee Agency of 1817, with a few added provisions specifying land reserves for certain Cherokee. (Treaty enabled communal ownership of 10 million acres in the east ceding 4 million acres, vowing to not cede any more land. Now had 17,000 square mile region Hiwassee Purchase-Land above the Tennessee River was purchased by the United States. Many Cherokees then had to move below the Hiwassee River.)	Samuel and Susannah Parks later moved to a 640 Reserve in Ocoee Land District (present day Parksville, TN in Polk County.) They owned a mill, post office, and general store as well as farmland on the Ocoee River. Samuel was the Post Master for the area.			
1819	Nancy Ward moved to Polk County to live with her son Fivekiller from the land where she was born when Cherokee land above the Hiwassee River was sold. (Hiwassee Purchase)				
1819-20	The Bowl led 60 families to Texas because the land where they had settled was outside the boundary of land ceded to Cherokee by the Treaty of 1817 (Thornton, p.62)				
1820's	Sequoyah invented syllabary enabling Cherokees to read and write. Cherokees established a bilingual newspaper, Supreme Court and constitution				
1822	Nancy Ward Died at Polk County, TN at her home at Womankiller Ford. Gravesite is in Benton TN	Buried in Benton alongside her brother Longfellow and her son Fivekiller			

1822	Treaty of San Antonio de Bexar, with the Spanish Empire, 8 November 1822 Granted land in the province of Tejas in Spanish Mexico upon which the Cherokee band of The Bowl could live. Though signed by the Spanish governor of Texas, the treaty was never ratified, neither by the Viceroyalty of New Spain nor by the succeeding First Mexican Empire of Republic of Mexico.	Cherokee and their associated bands under Colonial Bowles' leadership lived in Texas along with Shawno, Delaware, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Choctaw, Biloxi, Iawanie, Tahookatookie, Alabama, and Cooshatta. Cherokee numbered 300-400. Sold agriculture and livestock in Nacogdoches. (Thornton, p.84)			
1823	Small pox, measles, "consumption" 1823-1824 (Thornton, p.49)	Richard Taylor Parks born August 26, 1823 at Monroe Co TN (son of Susannah Taylor and Samuel Parks) Studied Ministry at Cumberland Presbyterian Married Sarah Elizabeth Day March 12, 1829 Married Sara Elizabeth Grigsby Feb 24, 1863	Great Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
1824	Cherokee lands in the west are divided into 4 districts, national capital was Piney Creek north of the Arkansas River in Arkansas. Now called Cherokee Nation West (Thornton, p.62)				
1827	Cherokees implemented a constitutional system				
1827	Cherokee Constitution claimed sovereignty over tribal lands, Georgians said this violated states rights. Passed a series of state laws that abolished Ch. Gov't, enforced Ga. State law in Indian country and authorized survey of land to be distributed by lottery to Georgia citizens. U.S. Supreme Court in Worcester v. Georgia supported Cherokee rights				
1828	Treaty of Washington, 6 May 1828 Cherokee Nation West ceded its lands in Arkansas Territory for lands in what becomes Indian Territory.	Cherokee Phoenix reports 14,972 Cherokees living in the East, 3,750 in the West (Thornton, p.50)			
1828	431 Cherokees and 79 slaves emigrated. Nine months later 346 emigrated in large part because of conflicts with Georgia. (Thornton, p. 63)				
1829	Sarah Elizabeth Day 1829-1858 first wife of Richard Taylor Parks She was daughter of Martha Johnson and Isaac Day an appraiser of Indian improvements and one of the leading men in the organization of Bradley Co TN	Five Children of Sarah Elizabeth Day and Richard Taylor Parks Almira 1848 died at 9 months, Robert Calhoun Parks 1851-1926, Isaac Day Parks "Bud" 1853-1897, Martha "Mattie" Ann Trout, 1855-1933, Susan Salina Parks, 1856-1865			
1830's	Great strides toward "civilization"				

1831			Narcissa Chisholm Owen born on October 3, 1831 at Webber Falls, Indian Territory	Narcissa Chisholm Owen is member Thomas Corbit's G.G. Grandmother	
1832			Petition of Samuel and Susan Parks to leave their land reservation granted in Treaty of the 27th of February 1819 "but finding it impossible with any degree of Satisfaction to reside among the whites we petition.." Were granted benefits & privileges of citizenship on the lands of our Common Country on October 19, 1932, granted Red Clay, Oct. 23, 1832 Signed by Richard Taylor, Pres. National Committee, Going Snake, Speaker of National Council and John Ross		
1833		Minority party developed led by Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot			
1834		Thomas Chisholm, who married Malinda Wharton, was elected Third Chief of the Western Cherokees on 16 July 1834, under the Principal Chief John Jolly		Thomas Chisolm is G.G.G. Grandfather of member Thomas Corbit	
1835		Treaty of New Echota, 29 December 1835 Surrendered to the United States the lands of the Cherokee Nation East in return for \$5,000,000 dollars to be disbursed on a per capita basis, an additional \$500,00 is for education funds, title in perpetuity to an equal amount of land in Indian Territory that given up, and full compensation for all property left in the East. The treaty is rejected by the Cherokee National Council but approved by the U.S Senate. (Unauthorized, fraudulent Treaty of New Echota signed. US removal treaty exempted NC Cherokees and their descendants who had received reservation in 1817.)	Henderson Roll census taken of Eastern Cherokees 16,542, possibly 5000 West of Mississippi. Cholera outbreak (Thornton, p. 50)		
1836		Treaty of New Echota ratified by US in spite of petition with over 15,000 protesting Cherokee signatures. Given 2 years to emigrate or face forced removal			

	1836	Treaty of Bowles Village with the Republic of Texas, 23 February 1836 Granted nearly 1,000,000 acres of east Texas land to the Texas Cherokees and twelve associated tribes. (Violation of this treaty led to the Cherokee War of 1839, during which most Cherokees were driven north into the Choctaw Nation or who fled south into Mexico. Following this bloody episode, remaining Texas Cherokees under Chicken Trotter joined the Mexican forces in a guerrilla war, culminating in the invasion of San Antonio by Mexican General Adrian Woll. Cherokee and allied Indians saw action at the Battle of Salado Creek and against the Dawson regiment. Following this conflict, it was apparent that Mexico's intervention was not going to provide the remaining Texas Cherokees with any stability or lands in the Republic of Texas. This led to a push by newly re-installed Texas President Sam Houston for a peace treaty in 1843.			
	1838	Only 2,000 of the 16,000 had moved. Seven thousand militia and volunteers sent to remove those remaining	Samuel Parks was contracted to provide supplies for the Cherokee removal, his brother-in-law Richard Taylor led a detachment and his sons drove wagons. After the removal, Samuel sued to receive payment from John Ross. The case went to US Supreme Court which ruled in Sam's favor several years after his death.	Over time, all but one of Sam and Susannah's children moved to Indian Territory. Sam and Susannah are buried at Henegar's Chapel at Mouse Creek , Bradley Co. TN.	
	June 1838	First detachment departed from Tennessee. High death rate. Arrived in state of shock,			
	1839	Texas Cherokees not killed in the Texas War of Independence scattered to refuges including Indian Territory and Coahuila Mexico (Thornton, p.86)		Land Record entry Samuel Parks Tract #270 (160 acres) and # 76 (160 acres)	
	Dec 1841		Samuel Parks land record Tract 4236 (40 acres) and 4234(80 acres)		
	1841	Sarah Elizabeth Grigsby born Feb 24, 1841	Second wife of Richard Taylor Parks Ten children (Richard Baxter Parks 1865-1940, Maggie Mary Magdalene parks 1868-1952, Sam Samuel Frazier Parks 1871-1949, John Calvin Parks 1873-1944, George Boudinot Parks 1875-1933, Ruth Ella Parks 1877-1055, "Thad" Thaddeus Theodore Parks 1879-1950, "Wayne" Oscar Wayne Parks 1881-1916, "Bess" Sarah Elizabeth Parks 1884-1970	G. Grandmother of Member Pamela Parks Tinker	

	1843	Treaty of Bird's Fort with the Republic of Texas, 29 September 1843 Ended hostilities among several Texas tribes, including the Cherokees. The Treaty which was ratified by the Congress of the Republic of Texas, recognized the tribal status of the Texas Indians as distinct, including the Cherokees that would later become known as the Texas Cherokees and Associate Bands-Mount Tabor Indian Community. President of Texas Sam Houston, adopted son of former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation West John Jolly, signed for the republic. This treaty, honored by the State of Texas following annexation, has never been abrogated by the Congress of the United States and in theory is still valid.		Sequoya died on a trip to locate the Cherokees who had fled to Mexico during the Texas War of Independence.		
	1844	Treaty with the Republic of Texas, 1844 An additional treaty was made in which Chicken Trotter and Wagon Bowles were involved, but his was never ratified.				
	1846	Treaty of Washington, 6 August 1846 Ended the covert war between the various factions that had been ongoing since 1839 and attempted to unite the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party, and the Latecomers (or National Party).				
	1846	Factionalism and civil war ended on paper. Civil war brought reemergence of Factionalism. Whites continued to interfere				
	1851	Eastern Cherokee population is 1,981 according to Census				
	1852	Numbers of deaths from pneumonia, smallpox due to a wet spring and summer. 1855 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs listed population of Cherokee west of Arkansas as 17,530		Charles Andrew King 1852-1929 (Father of Leona King Parks who married Thaddeus Theodore Parks)	G. Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker	
	1853			Narcissa Chisolm married Robert Owen, a European-American railroad tycoon, and the couple eventually moved to Lynchburg, Virginia		
	1858			Susannah Taylor received a Land Warrant as widow for 160 acres No. 78107 Dated Feb. 25, 1858		
	1858			Sarah Elizabeth Day(daughter of Isaac and Martha Johnson Day died Sept 10, 1958 (1st wife of Richard Taylor)		

1859	Agent Butler reported 21,000 Cherokees, 100 Whites and 4,000 Slaves. No major epidemics. Most slaves were owned by wealthy mixed bloods or whites in the fertile farm lands or salt spring areas along the Arkansas River along the Arkansas border and along the Grand River. (Thornton, p.88)	Keetoowah Society was formed or renewed secretly in western Cherokee Nation to preserve ceremony and traditions and oppose other secret societies (primarily mixed-blood slave holders) that might weaken Cherokee national self-government. (Thornton, p.94)			
1861-1865	Cherokees resisted involvement of Civil War as long as possible with the exception of Stand Watie who joined the Confederacy early in the war. Treaty signed Oct.7, 1861 with the southern confederacy. 300 siding with the north took refuge in Kansas. By 1862 2000 Cherokees had taken refuge in Kansas after their homes had been ravaged repeatedly. Many died of exposure in winter with no shelter, food and little clothing. (Thornton, p.90) Population at end of war in Indian Territory of Cherokees was 14,000 and did not include those who had fled and later returned. (Thornton, p.99)	By 1863 "Northern Cherokees" abrogated the treaty with the Confederacy and abolished slavery. Thomas Pegg became acting Chief since John Ross was prisoner of war in Philadelphia or Washington. (Thornton, p.92) As punishment for supporting the Confederacy, the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) were forced to give up the western half of the Indian Territory (Stanford Ethnogeriatrics website)			
1862	400 Eastern Cherokees, nearly all able bodied men, joined the Confederacy under Agent, Col. William Thomas. Mostly used as guards and scouts in eastern Tenn. and western NC. Some later switched sides causing much bitterness when returning home. (Thornton, p. 97)				
1864-1867	500 former slaves moved from Kansas to Ft. Gibson, at the end of Civil War others followed. By 1867 the total number of Freedmen, was estimated 2,000-2,500 mostly in Illinois District where Ft. Gibson was located. Many unauthorized Whites also lived in Cherokee Territory in breach of US promise to remove them. (Thornton, p. 103-104)				
1865	Treaty of Fort Smith, Arkansas, 13 September 1865 Recognized the claims of the John Ross party as the legitimate Cherokee Nation vis-a-vis those of the Stand Watie party as well as recognized a temporary cease-fire between the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Comanche, Creek, Osage, Quapaw, Seminole, Seneca, Shawnee, Wichita, and Wyandot, with the United States.				

1866	Treaty of the Cherokee Nation, 19 July 1866 Annulled "pretend treaty" with Confederate Cherokees; granted amnesty to Cherokees; established a US district court in Indian Territory; prevented the US from trading in the Cherokee Nation unless approved by the Cherokee council or taxing residents of the Cherokee Nation; established that all Cherokee Freedmen and free African-Americans living in the Cherokee Nation "shall have all rights of native Cherokees"; established right of way for rivers, railroads, and other transportation their Cherokee lands; allowed for the US to settle other Indian people in the Cherokee Nation; prevented members of the US military from selling alcohol to Cherokees for non-medicinal purposes; ceded Cherokee lands in Kansas (Cherokee Strip); and established boundaries and settlements for various individuals.	Cherokee Union soldier's funeral was widely attended after he returned home and died. As the pox pustules had not yet appeared, it was not suspected that he had smallpox. This initiated a new epidemic of smallpox throughout the Eastern Cherokee communities. (Thornton, p. 97-98) In 1966 Cherokee Nation treaty agreed to settle several tribes into Cherokee territory. These included Sacs and Foxes from Missouri, Delawares, Munsee-Delawares, and Shawnees all then in Kansas. Several groups were settled to west of Cherokees: Osages, Kaws, Pawnees, Poncas, Otos and Missouris, Tonkows and for a time, a group of Nez Perces under Chief Joseph. (Thornton, p.101)			
1868	Treaty of Washington, 29 April 1868 Supplemented the treaty of 1866 and also ceded the Cherokee Outlet in Indian Territory				
1876		Susannah Taylor died Dec 12, 1876 on Mouse Creek. Buried at Henegar's Chapel			
1870's	Census report in 1873 numbered Cherokees in Indian Territory at 17,217 probably including 130 Eastern Cherokees who immigrated to Indian Territory in 1871	Children of Susannah Taylor moved to the old Indian territory where they took reservations and then scattered to various parts of the United States. They shared in the distribution of the Cherokee allotments.			
1879		Thaddeus Theodore Parks born August 15, 1879 Cleveland Bradley Co. TN (son of Richard Taylor Parks and Sarah Elizabeth Grigsby)	Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
1880	Cherokee Nation Census total population was 25,438 not including 5,352 noncitizens: 521 rejected for citizenship, 265 claims pending, 2745 permitted individuals and 1,821 classified as intruders (boomers). (Thornton, p. 105-106)	Eva Leona King born June 1880 at Illinois, later married Cherokee Thaddeus Theodore Parks.	Grandmother of Member Pamela Parks Tinker		

1880	Narcissa Chiholm Owen moved back to Indian Territory (her husband Robert died in 1873) with Robert Latham "Oconostota" Owen, Jr., who served as one of Oklahoma's first US senators. Narcissa Owen taught music at the Cherokee Female Seminary, the first institution of higher learning for women west of the Mississippi.		Narcissa Chishom Owen is Member Thomas Corbit's G. Grandmother Robert Latham "Oconostota" Owen is Member Thomas Corbit's Grandfather
1883	Cherokees in Indian Territory number 22,000 including 161 Eastern Cherokee immigrants including a Chief John Ross (not John Ross of removal period) (Thornton, p.106)		
1883	Practicing Native American Religions became a Federal Offense (Stanford Ethnogeriatrics website)		
1887	Dawes Act approved by Congress to allow for allotment but did not include Cherokee or other Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory.		
1889	Wallace Roll of Freedmen listed 3,524 freedman claimants. (Thornton, p. 107) Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians is officially recognized by North Carolina general assembly. Thornton, p. 112)		
1890	Cherokees and all American Indians in the US included in US decennial census for first time pursuant to Census Act of March 1, 1889. Cherokees counted 20,624, Blacks 5,127, Whites 29,166, Chinese 1, total in Cherokee land 56,309 (Thornton, p. 107) Eastern Band Cherokee numbered 1,520, other Eastern Cherokee totalled 1,365: Ga. 936, Tenn. 318, Alabama 111 and a few living in Kentucky, Virginia and other states" incorporated into the White population." (Thornton, p. 112)	Of 22,015 American Indians in Cherokee Territory, 20,624 Cherokee, 754 Delaware (living mostly in Cooweescoowee and Delaware districts), 294 Shawnees (Thornton, p. 108)	
1893	September 16, 1893 at high noon, the former Cherokee Outlet was opened for settlement. "It resulted in perhaps the greatest land rush in the history of the United States. Many invaded the Outlet before the designated time to stake claims to the land-they became known as "sooners" (Thornton, p. 114)		
1894	Richard Taylor Parks pioneer settler in Chelsea OK Had moved to the old Cherokee Nation from Cleveland TN after the death of his mother Susannah Parks. First settled near Grove on Cowskin Prairie, late moved to Big Cabin area then Chelsea.	Richard Taylor Parks was a circuit-riding minister for the old Cumberland Presbyterian Church between Chelsea and Pryor Creek for many years	Richard Taylor Parks was G Grandfather of Member Pamela Parks Tinker

1898	June 28, 1898: The Curtis Act of 1898 abolished tribal constitutions and governments, in preparation the merger of Indian Territory with the Oklahoma Territory, to be admitted into the union as the state of Oklahoma.				
1902	The Act to Allot the Lands of the Cherokee Nation was approved. "A final tribal roll was to be established for the purpose of this allotment; the tribal government of the Cherokee Nation was not to continue past March 4, 1906." (Thornton, p. 116) 1902: In Eufaula, Indian Territory, various Indian nations including the Five Civilized Tribes began planning a separate state.	Cherokee Nation population estimated at 35,000 Total population residing in the Cherokee Nation in 1900 was 101,754 (Thornton, p.116) Full-bloods resisted placement on rolls, many joined Keetoowah Society, Redbird Smith formed the Nighthawk Keetoowah Society strongly opposing allotment.			
1905	August 21, 1905: A constitutional convention met in Muskogee to draft a constitution for the proposed State of Sequoyah and appointed delegates to Washington. Their efforts were rejected by President Theodore Roosevelt, but the constitution served as a basis for that of the state of Oklahoma in 1906.				
1906	March 3, 1906: The Cherokee Nation was officially dissolved, although some aspects of its government was retained to deal with land issues.				
1907	Oklahoma Statehood Dismantled Cherokee national government. "Cherokees in northern Oklahoma lost the strong presence of the tribal government that had enveloped their ancestors in highly supportive Indigenous republican systems throughout the 1800's" (Coates "Nationality, Blood, and the Cherokee Resurgence" p.129)	Rolls closed March 4, 1907. "Enrolled members were eligible for an allotment of land and a homestead since non-allotted land was to be opened for homesteading by anyone." (Thornton, p. 118) Cherokee Citizens by blood had to have approval of US government to sell allotment land within 5 years , homesteads within 21 years. Intermarried whites and freedmen could sell land without approval. (Thornton, p. 118)			
1910	US census lists 31,481 Cherokees "by blood" in 25 states. Largest group of American Indians. Only Oklahoma and North Carolina had greater than 1000 Cherokees 29,610 in Oklahoma, 1,406 in North Carolina. Census was not reported according to citizenship.				
1912		Richard Taylor Parks died May 13, 1912 at Chelsea			

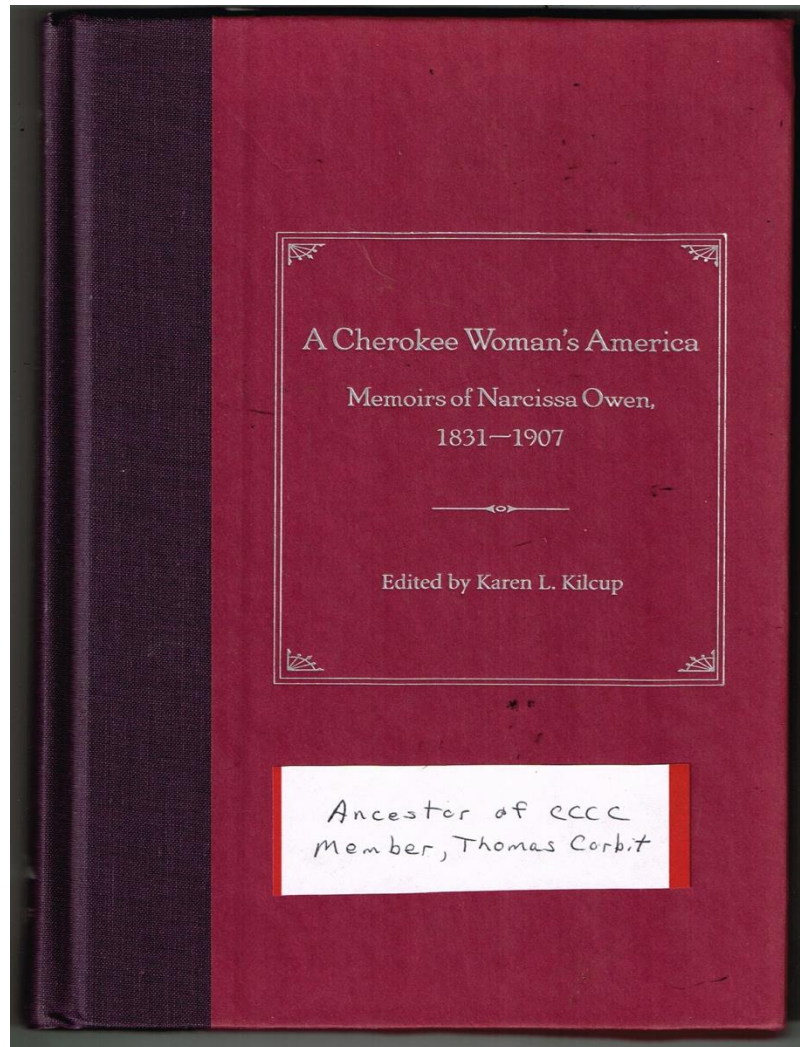
1912	Dr. Walter Plecker became the state registrar of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Richmond until 1946. By 1925 he decided there were no pure Indians in Virginia, altered birth certificates noting race as "colored." Believed in two races White and colored. (from Virginia Indian Heritage Trail edited by Karenne Wood, 2nd edition)				
1914-1918	World War I				
1921		Hattie Mae Owem married C.C. Corbit in Sequoyia Co		Grandparents of Member Thomas Corbit	
1923	Monument was placed on Nancy Ward's grave by the Chattanooga Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution				
1924	Citizenship Act of 1924 Indians were given full citizenship as US citizens.	James Theodore Parks Born February 25, 1924 at Chelsea, Rogers County, OK		James Theodore Parks (father of Member Pamela Parks Tinker) born February 25, 1929 in Chelsea Oklahoma (Son of Thaddeus Theodore Parks and Eva Leona (Snyder) Parks)	
1924	Virginia passed Racial Integrity Act prohibiting marriage to whites by people of color, including Indians (overturned in 1967 by U.S. Supreme Court)			Possibly the reason why Pamela Parks Tinker's maternal GG grandfather's identity has been so closely guarded. Tribal affiliation still unknown.	
1929		Ruth Elaine Sadler Born in Zuni, VA May 19, 1924 (Later married James T. Parks) (Daughter of Robert Lee Sadler and Edith Luter Sadler)		Mother of member Pamela Parks Tinker and wife of Cherokee James T. Parks	
1930	US Census reports the largest and most widely disseminated group of American Indians were the 45,238 Cherokees: 40,904 in Oklahoma, 1,963 in NC The rest were in 42 states particularly Alabama, Virginia and California. (Thornton, p. 129)				
1934	Indian Reorganization Act gained back some control by Cherokees over their own affairs				
1936	Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936				
1941-1946	World War II. In 1945 US Dept. of Interior reported 46,850 Oklahoma Cherokees and 3,795 North Carolina Cherokees (Thornton, p.133-134)			James Theodore Parks served in the Army Air Corp	

1950	May 8, 1950 – The constitution, bylaws, and corporate charter of the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians were ratified in accordance with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936.				
1953		Pamela Parks (Tinker) born January 18, 1953 at Arlington, VA	CCCC founding member and Daughter of James T. and Ruth Elaine Parks		
1970	US Census reports 66,150 with 5.5 living on reservations primarily in Eastern Cherokee reservation. (Navajos largest group by this time, Cherokee 2nd) (Thornton, p.136)				
1975	Congress passed the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (PL 93-638) and approved the popular election of each tribe's principal officers. This necessitated the revision of each nation's constitution. (Oklahoma Historical Society Website)				
1976	June 26, 1976 – The constitution of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, was ratified and the tribe gained federal recognition. It disfranchised the Texas Cherokee and Associated Bands, which had previously been represented on the national committee of the Cherokee Nation, and it recognized Cherokee Freedmen as historical members of the Nation.				
1978	Indian Child Welfare Act				
1980's	In 1988, a federal court upheld the right of the Nation to determine citizenship. The Cherokee Council redefined membership requirements as limited to those persons directly descended from Cherokee listed on the Dawes Rolls. As most Cherokee Freedmen were listed separately, even if descended from Cherokee, these definitions disfranchised them.	US 1980 Census listed 232,344 Cherokees in a widely disbursed geography. Okla 59,308, Calif 51,394, Texas 13,922, Mich 8,027, NC 7,775, Ark 6,386, Wash 5,201, Ohio 5,667, Miss 5,857, Fla 5,042, Oregon 4,864, Kansas 4,760, NY 4,587, Illinois 4,182, Colo 3,780, Indiana 3,265, Ga 2,855, Tenn 2,318, Penn 2,808, NJ 2,053, VA 1,836, Md 1,852, DC 221 Listed top populations in descending order plus DMV region. (Thornton, p.147-148.			
1986		James Theodore Parks died at Arlington, VA	Father of CCCC Member Pamela Parks Tinker		
2003	July 26, 2003: The electorate of the Cherokee Nation approved a new constitution.				

	2006	March 7, 2006: The Cherokee Nation Judicial Appeal Tribunal ruled that the Cherokee Freedmen were eligible for Cherokee citizenship				
	2007	March 3, 2007: The Cherokee electorate, excluding freedmen descendants, passed a constitutional amendment limiting citizenship to those Cherokee on the Dawes Rolls listed as Cherokee by blood, plus Shawnee and Delaware.				
	2014	January 14, 2011: The Tribal District Court ruled that the 2007 constitutional amendment was invalid because it conflicted with the 1866 treaty guaranteeing the freedmen's rights.[
	2015		Ruth Elaine Sadler Parks died in Arlington, VA		Mother of CCCC Member Pamela Parks Tinker	
	2016		Maggie Leona Parks Hayes died in Oklahoma City, OK		Sister of James Theodore Parks and Ruth Wagaman Parks	

Photos of
Artifacts of Capital City Cherokee Community
Thesis Informants

Memoirs of Narcissa Owen,
Ancestor of Thomas Corbit, Founding Member, CCCC

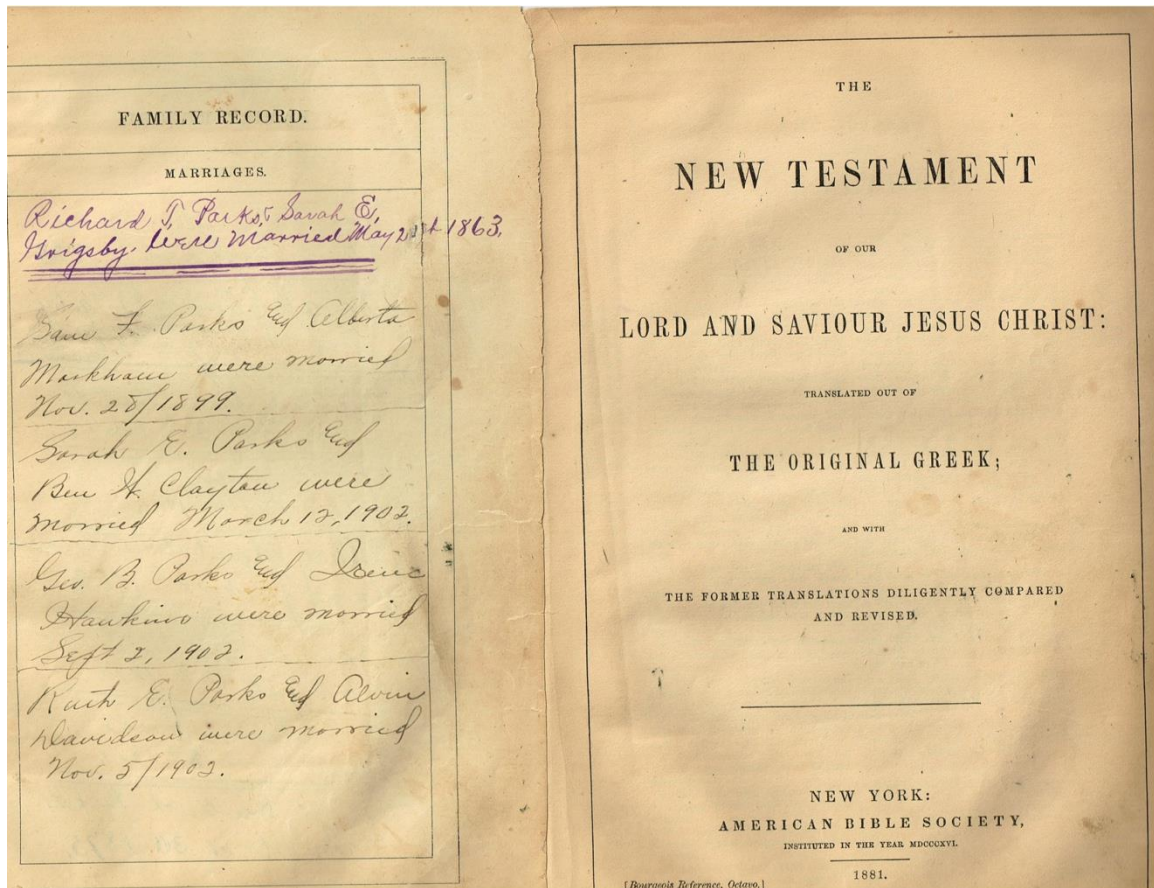


Thaddeus Theodore Parks and Leona King Parks
Grandparents of CCCC Member Pam Tinker



T. T. Parks, Descendant of Beloved Woman, Nancy Ward
Born August 15, 1879 in Cleveland, Bradley County, Tennessee
Died in 1950 in Chelsea, Rogers County, Oklahoma

Parks Family Bible



Genealogy CCCC Member Pam Tinker

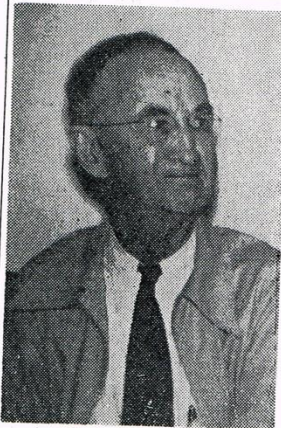
Page 2

- I - Ehi - ga - U. Kingfisher
 1. Cathrine
 2. Fwekiller
 Ehi - ga - U. - Bryan Ward - (Granine Ward)
 3. Elizabeth
- II - Cathrine Kingfisher - Samuel Candy
 1. Samuel
 1 - Cathrine Kingfisher - John Walker
 2. John
 3. Jennie
- III - Thomas Taylor - Jennie Walker
 1. Fwy
 2. Dick
 3. Susannah
- IV - Samuel Parks - Susannah Taylor
 1. Ruth 7 Calvin
 2. Almira 8 William
 3. Jennie 9 Mary Ann
 4. George Washington 10 Robert Calhoun
 5. Thomas Jefferson 11 John Ross
 6. Richard Taylor 12 Samuel
- V - Richard Taylor Parks - Sarah Elizabeth Day
 1. Isaac Day
 2. Martha Trout
 3. Richard Calhoun (East Inn)
 Richard Taylor Parks - Sarah Elizabeth Grigsby
 4. Dick ⁽⁷⁷⁾ 1863-1940 9 George ⁵³ 1873-1933
 5. James ⁶¹ 1865-1926 10 Ruth Ella ¹⁸ 1877-1955
 6. Maggie ⁸⁴ 1868-1952 11 Thad ⁷⁴ 1879-1950
 7. Samuel 1871 12 Wayne ³⁵ 1881-1916
 8. John ⁷¹ 1873-1944 13 Elizabeth ⁸⁶ 1884-1970

Heart Attack Fatal For T. T. 'Thad' Parks

T. T. 'Thad' Parks, 71, well known Chelsea pioneer died suddenly about 4 o'clock Sunday morning at the family home here. Parks suffered a heart attack early Sunday from which he never recovered. He was a member of one of northeast Oklahoma's oldest and most prominent pioneer families.

Mr. Parks was born at Cleveland, Tennessee August 12, 1879. He came to the Indian Territory with his parents and six brothers



T. T. PARKS

All Chelsea business houses were closed during the funeral hour Tuesday for T. T. Parks, Chelsea city clerk, who died at his home early Sunday.

and three sisters in 1881. The family first settled near Grove, moving later to Big Cabin and came to Chelsea in 1894. The family was prominent in affairs of the Cherokee Nation.

Parks was educated in early Oklahoma schools. He attended the old Presbyterian Academy here and went to school in Fort Smith, Arkansas, where he received a business education.

During the early days of Oklahoma Parks was cashier of banks in Big Cabin and Adair. He was at one time associated with both the Bank of Chelsea and First National Bank of Chelsea. He was engaged in the mercantile business here for a good many years, both as an individual and with his brother the late John C. Parks, a well known Chelsea merchant.

Served As State Bank Examiner

During his bank career, Mr. Parks served the state as Bank Examiner during World War I years. In his official duties as examiner he became well acquainted with bankers over the state.

At the time of his death he was serving his first term as city clerk of Chelsea, having been elected to that office two years ago.

In both county and state political and civic circles, Mr. Parks took an active part. He was a staunch supporter of the democratic party in Oklahoma. He attended the Presbyterian Church.

Prior to his being elected to the office of city clerk here he was for a good many years associated with the local post office, serving as a mail carrier in the city.

Mr. Parks has always been keenly interested in the betterment of his city and worked for the community good.

Six brothers of Mr. Parks have preceded him in death. The last being Judge Sam Parks of Vineta, who died about two years ago.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Leona Parks of the home address; three children, James Parks of Arlington, Va., Mrs. L. H. Wagaman of Elkton, Maryland, and Mrs. Larry K. Hayes of Little Rock, Arkansas. Three sisters, Miss Maggie Parks, Chelsea; Mrs. Bessie Clayton, Nowata; and Mrs. Ruth Davidson, Pryor, and three step-children, Mrs. John Steffensen, Chelsea; Mrs. Russell Galbreath, Ashmore, Ill.; and Ernest Snyder, Chelsea.

Funeral services were conducted Tuesday afternoon from the Presbyterian Church, organized by Parks' brother, the late Rev. R. C. Parks. Officiating was the Rev. M. O. Childress, pastor of Memorial Methodist Church. Funeral music was presented by Mrs. K. D. Jennings, pianist, and the church choir. Casket-bearers were D. C. Henry, Russell Hester, John Bickham, Lee Elgin, Harlan DeLozier, and Homer A. Frakes.

Burial was in Chelsea cemetery under direction of Benjamin Funeral Home.

KLA. THURSDA

Funeral Rites For Pioneer Woman Held Wednesday

Last funeral rites for Ruth Parks Davidson, 77, member of a pioneer Chelsea family, were conducted Wednesday afternoon from the First Baptist church by the pastor, the Rev. E. W. Miller, and the Rev. C. C. Meadows, Pryor.

Casket bearers were Alden Parker, Lonnie Thompson, George Parks, Henry Dick, K. C. Bennett of Miami, and W. B. Clayton, Nowata.

Burial was in Chelsea cemetery under direction of Benjamin Funeral Service.

Mrs. Davidson died about 6 p.m. Monday at the home of a daughter, Mrs. Hugh Morgan, in Pryor. She had been ill for some three months, in poor health for about a year.

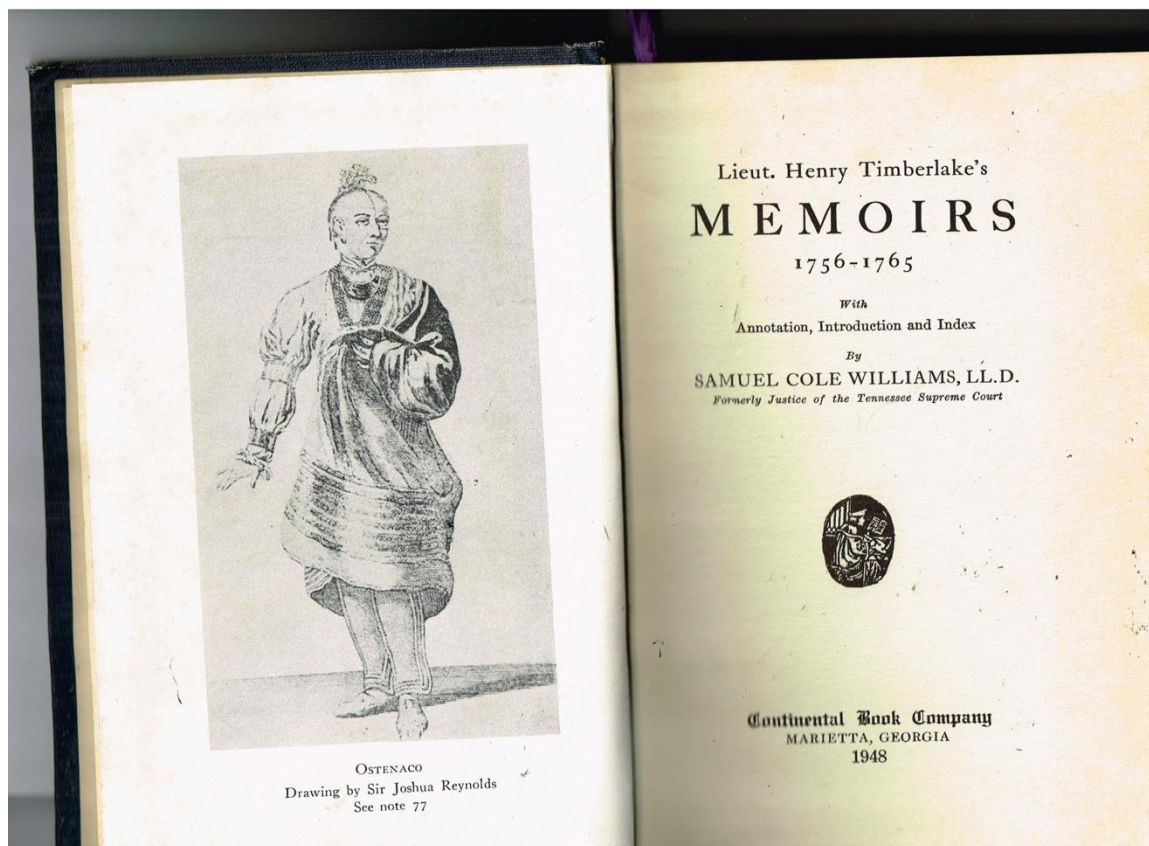
Daughter of the late R. T. Parks, Mrs. Davidson was a member of a prominent Cherokee Indian family.

She was born August 24, 1877 at Cleveland, Tenn., and as a child moved with her parents, in 1886 to the then Indian Territory. She grew up in this area, spending much of her life in Chelsea and community.

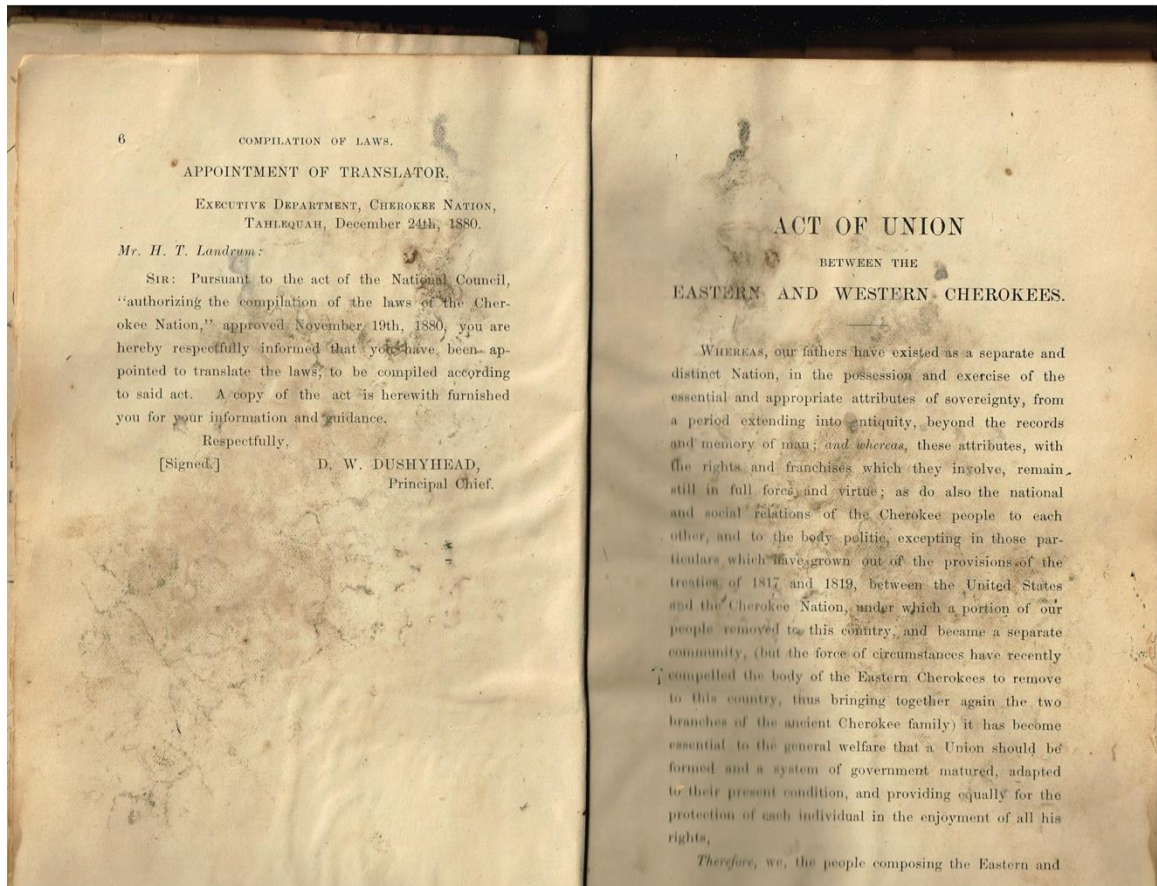
She was married in Chelsea on November 5, 1903 to Robert Alvin Davidson. He died in 1940 and since she had made her home with the Morgans, spending the past seven years at Pryor. Also preceding her in death was a son, Robert Donald Davidson.

She had been a member of the Baptist church for some forty years, continuing her membership in the Fairview church near the family farm home.

Surviving are three sons, John Davidson of Duncan, Marvin and Kenneth Davidson, Chelsea; three daughters, Mrs. Morgan, Miss Maggie Davidson of Tulsa, and Mrs. Verbal Carter, Chelsea; a step-son, Percy Davidson, Oakland, Calif.; 14 grandchildren; 10 great-grandchildren; and a sister, Mrs. B. W. Clayton, Nowata.



Artifact belonging to the Parks Family.
Published in 1948
Held by Pam Tinker, Founding Member CCCC



Artifact from Parks Family
Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation
Published Tahlequah, I. T, 1881
Held by CCCC Founding Member Pam Tinker

**Great Grandmother of Interview Informant
Naazima Ali**



Photograph of Leola Parks

(Leola Parks Genealogy Continued)
Descendants of Nida Inman

Generation No. 1

1. NIDA¹ INMAN was born 1860 in Tennessee, and died June 14, 1938. She married JOHN WESLEY THOMPSON 1892.

Notes for NIDA INMAN:

1900 census also lists an Althe Hutchinson (?) as a 25 year old grandson, which does not compute. Also, according to 1900 census, Nida was 51 when she got married and then proceeded to have 6 children of which 5 survived. Probably a mistake.

In 1910 census, widowed, age 50, living with 4 children in Bradley County, TN

Notes for JOHN WESLEY THOMPSON:

Leola's obit calls him Wesley Thompson. The 1900 census looks a bit like Willey.

Notes for WILLIAM GRADY BAILEY:

Served with the 813th Pioneer Infantry from 1918 to 1919.

Ohio Military Men, 1917-18

about Grady Bailey

Name: Grady Bailey

Serial Number: 3539169

Race: C

Residence: 27 N. Spring St., Springfield, O.

Enlistment Division: National Army

Enlistment Location: Springfield, O.

Enlistment Date: 05 Aug 1918

Birth Place: Eatonton, Ga.

Birth Date / Age: 12 March 1895

Assigns Comment: 158 Depot Brigade to 23 Aug 1918; Co I 813 Pioneer Regiment, Infantry to 6 Feb 1919; Co G 807 Pioneer Regiment, Infantry to Discharge Private Defensive Sector. American Expeditionary Forces 4 Sept 1918 to 3 July 1919. Honorable discharge 19 July 1919.

Volume #: 1

His obit says he lived much of his life in Springfield, OH.

Notes for LUTHER PARKS:

In 1910 census living in Bradley and owns his own farm.

In 1920 census living in Bradley County 2nd District. Without Leola, but with Chester, Benjamin, Gertrude, and Tila Mae?

Notes for CHESTER THOMPSON:

In 1930 census Leola is married to Chester A. Thompson and living in Hamilton Co., TN. She is 38 and he is 23. Four of her children live with her. He is a farmer.

Children of LEOLA THOMPSON and WILLIAM BAILEY are:

- i. MARY FRANCES BAILEY, b. November 10, 1921, Georgetown, TN; d. 2004; m. LEVI WIDEMON.

Notes for MARY FRANCES BAILEY:

In 1930 census Mary T. Grady is 9 years old and living with Leola and her new husband Chester Thompson.

In 1977 Frances Widemon is living in Quinton, NJ.

- ii. WILLIAM G BAILEY, b. 1923.

Notes for WILLIAM G BAILEY:

In 1930 census William G. Grady is 7 and living with Leola and her new husband Chester Thompson.

3. iii. LOIS G. BAILEY, b. December 1, 1925.

Children of LEOLA THOMPSON and LUTHER PARKS are:

- iv. CHESTER A.³ PARKS, b. 1907.
- v. BENJAMIN F. PARKS, b. September 29, 1908.
- vi. GERTRUDE PARKS, b. 1911.

Notes for GERTRUDE PARKS:

In 1977 living in Salem Co., NJ.

- vii. THIEDA MAE PARKS, b. 1913.
- viii. EDITH PARKS, b. Abt. 1918; m. PAUL TALIAFERRO.

Notes for EDITH PARKS:

In 1930 census "Edith A Pardes" is 12 and living with Leola and Chester Thompson.

In 1977 living in Cleveland, TN.

- ix. JOSEPHINE PARKS, m. COBBS.

Notes for JOSEPHINE PARKS:

In 1977 living in Salem Co., NJ.

- x. DELLA PARKS, m. SMITH.

Notes for DELTA PARKS:

In 1977 "Della Smith" is living in Cleveland, OH.

- xi. FLORENCE PARKS, m. THOMAS JOHNSON.

Notes for FLORENCE PARKS:

In 1977 Florence Johnson is living in Somersville, GA

Capital City Cherokee Community
Photographs from Formation Years

First Annual *Cherokee Days* Celebration
First meeting to explain Satellite Communities and to
assess local interest took place at this gathering.
National Museum of the American Indian, Washington D.C.
November 6, 2014



Friendship Dance in NMAI Atrium



Cherokee Nation High School Choir
First Annual Cherokee Days November 6, 2014
National Museum of the American Indian



Friday Night Buffet Awaiting Airport Delayed Dignitaries

Presentation of the Cherokee Nation Flag to
Capital City Cherokee Community Leadership Council

April 2015



Left to Right, Miss Cherokee 2015, Mike Beidler, Maggie Knisely,
Principal Chief Bill John Baker, Thomas Corbit, Joel West Williams,
Sherry Whitaker, Suzanne Geyer, Ian Everhart

At-Large Council Members Speak at NMAI Local Citizens Meeting



Julia Coates and Jack Baker

Cherokee National Treasure, Tommy Wildcat
Native American Flute Artist



Mike Beidler, President and Pam Tinker, Thesis Author



Celebration of Official Status announced at March 2016 meeting
Mike Beidler, President and Pam Tinker, Thesis Author

References

Adair, James, and Willena H. Robinson. *Out of the Flame: Cherokee Beliefs & Practices of the Ancients*. Tulsa, OK: Cherokee Language & Culture, 1998. Print.

Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence, Kan.: U of Kansas, 1995. Print.

Alderman, Pat. *Nancy Ward-Dragging Canoe*. 2nd ed. Johnson City, TN: Overmountain, 1978. Print.

Ali, Naazima. Provided from family archives, photo of Leola Parks and text Descendants of Nida Inman, (Author unknown).

Allen, State Chariman of Genealogical Records, Tennessee Society, D.A.R., Penelope Johnson. "Leaves From the Family Tree." (n.d.): n. pag. Rpt. in *Unknown*. By John Morgan Wooten, Historian of Bradley County, Tennessee. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Discusses the Parks family as one of the large and influential families of the pioneer period in Bradley County, Tennessee. Samuel Parks married Susan Taylor in 1814.

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006. Print.

Awiakta, Marilou. *Selu: Seeking the Corn-Mother's Wisdom*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub., 1993. Print.

Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: Basic, 2014. Print.

Beloved Woman of the Cherokees. N.d. Article written by Sandi Garrett who wrote a family history book "Cherokee & Pioneer Ancestry" in 1933.

Blankenship, Bob. *Cherokee Roots*. Cherokee, NC: B. Blankenship, 1992. Print.

Buss, James Joseph, and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa. *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*. Albany, NY: SUNY, 2014. Print.

Cannadine, David. *What Is History Now?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Print.

Carselowrey, James R. "Indian Pioneer History: Interview with Henry Trout." *Unknown* n.d.: n. pag. Print. Article by Carselowey, 437 N. Scraper, Vinita, Oklahoma Subtitled

"Giving Father's Experience as an Aid to General Stand Watie in Civil War"

Champagne, Duane, and Carole E. Goldberg. *Captured Justice: Native Nations and Public Law 280*. Durham: Carolina Academic, 2012. Print.

Champagne, Duane. *Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 1999. Print.

Child, Brenda J. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 1998. Print.

Chiltoskey, Mary Ulmer. *Cherokee Words with Pictures*. Cherokee, NC: M. Ulmer and G.B. Chiltoskey, 1972. Print.

Churchill, Ward. *Kill the Indian, save the Man: The Genocidal Impact of American Indian Residential Schools*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2004. Print.

Churchill, Ward. *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas, 1492 to the Present*. San Francisco: City Lights, 1997. Print.

Conley, Robert J. *Cherokee Dragon: A Novel of the Real People*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000. Print.

Conley, Robert J. *Cherokee Medicine Man: The Life and Work of a Modern-day Healer*. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 2005. Print.

Conley, Robert J. *Mountain Windsong: A Novel of the Trail of Tears*. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 1992. Print.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004. Print.

Danziger, Edmund Jefferson. *Survival and Regeneration: Detroit's American Indian Community*. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1991. Print.

Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998. Print.

Deloria, Vine, Barbara Deloria, Kristen Foehner, and Samuel Scinta. *Spirit & Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub., 1999. Print.

Deloria, Vine, Steve Pavlik, and Daniel R. Wildcat. *Destroying Dogma: Vine Deloria, Jr. and His Influence on American Society*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub., 2006. Print.

Duncan, Barbara R., and Davey Arch. *Living Stories of the Cherokee*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 1998. Print.

Ehle, John. *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*. New York: Doubleday, 1988. Print.

Faulk, Odie B., and Billy Mac. Jones. *Tahlequah, NSU, and the Cherokees*. Tahlequah, OK: Sponsored by Northeastern State U Educational Foundation, 1984. Print.

Feeling, Durbin, and William Pulte. *Cherokee-English Dictionary / Ed. by William Pulte; in Collaboration with Agnes Cowen*. [S.l.]: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, 1975. Print.

Feeling, Durbin. *Cherokee-English Dictionary*. Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, 1975. Print.

Fixico, Donald Lee. *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico, 1986. Print.

Galloway, Mary Regina Ulmer., and Mary Ulmer. Chiltoskey. *Aunt Mary, Tell Me a Story: A Collection of Cherokee Legends and Tales*. Cherokee, NC: Cherokee Communications, 1990. Print.

Garfield,, James R. *Allotment Deed 18021 to Cherokee Citizen Roll #13630*. 7 Aug. 1902. Homestead Deed Thaddeus T. Parks. Township 24 North and Range 17 East of the Indian Base and Meridian in Indian Territory, Department of the Interior.

Garrett, J. T., and Michael Tlanusta Garrett. *The Cherokee Full Circle: A Practical Guide to Ceremonies and Traditions*. Rochester, VT: Bear, 2002. Print.

Garrett, J. T. *The Cherokee Herbal: Native Plant Medicine from the Four Directions*. Rochester, VT: Bear, 2003. Print.

Garrett, Michael Tlanusta. *Walking on the Wind*. Santa Fe, NM: Bear, 1998. Print.

Genetin-Pilawa, C. Joseph. *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 2012. Print.

Gilliam, Frankie Sue. *Cherokee Ancestry Resource Guide*. Muskogee, OK: Twin Territories, 2000. Print.

Hampton, David K. *Descendants of Nancy Ward, A Workbook for Further Research*. Cane Hill, Ark: ARC, 1997. Print.

"Happy, Healthy People." *Cherokee Nation, 2010 Report to the Cherokee People* 2010 (2010): n. page. Print.

Hill, Sarah H. *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry*.

Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 1997. Print.

Hoig, Stan. *Night of the Cruel Moon: Cherokee Removal and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Facts on File, 1996. Print.

Hoig, Stan. *Sequoyah: The Cherokee Genius*. Oklahoma City, OK: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1995. Print.

Holton, Woody. *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the U of North Carolina, 1999. Print.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York: Oxford UP, 2007. Print.

Huhndorf, Shari M. *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2001. Print.

Jackson, Deborah Davis. *Our Elders Lived It: American Indian Identity in the City*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois UP, 2002. Print.

Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 1995. Print.

Jackson, Tesina. "Sequoyah Students Get Apple Laptops." *Cherokee Phoenix* [Tahlequah, Oklahoma] Jan. 2011: 16. Print.

Jefferson, Warren. *Reincarnation Beliefs of North American Indians: Soul Journeys, Metamorphoses, and Near-death Experiences*. Summertown, TN: Native Voices, 2008. Print.

Johnston, Carolyn. *Cherokee Women in Crisis: Trail of Tears, Civil War, and Allotment, 1838-1907*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama, 2003. Print.

Lobo, Susan, and Kurt Peters. *American Indians and the Urban Experience*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira, 2001. Print.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. New York: New, 1995. Print.

Mankiller, Wilma Pearl, and Michael Wallis. *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*. New York: St. Martin's, 1993. Print.

Mankiller, Wilma Pearl. *Every Day Is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub., 2004. Print.

Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus*. New York: Knopf, 2005. Print.

Massey, Doreen B. *For Space*. London: SAGE, 2005. Print.

McLoughlin, William Gerald. *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1986. Print.

Mihesuah, Devon A. *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909*. Urbana: U of Illinois, 1993. Print.

Miles, Tiya. *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom*. Berkeley: U of California, 2005. Print.

Minges, Patrick N. *Black Indian Slave Narratives*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 2004. Print.

Mooney, James. *Myths of the Cherokee*. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. Print.

Nagel, Joane. *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of*

Identity and Culture. New York: Oxford UP, 1996. Print.

"Nancy Ward Descendants Hold Annual Gathering." *Chelsea Reporter* 23 Apr. 1998: n. pag. Print. Meeting of The Descendants of Nancy Ward, Beloved Woman of the Cherokees was held March 28, 1998 at Dwight Mission near Sallisaw with over 90 attendees.

Obituaries Copies from Unknown Newspapers. N.d. J. C. Parks of Vinita, Richard B. Parks, Grant Wesley King. Richard C. Parks, pioneer northeastern Oklahoma came to Oklahoma in 1885 from Bradley Tennessee, attended the Male Seminary School at Tahlequah Richard B. Parks came from Tennessee in 1881 to Indian Territory. Attended the Male Seminary at Tahlequah. Grant Wesley King June 18, 1864-September 29, 1949

Obituaries. N.d. Bess Parks Clayton of Nowata and Maggie Parks of Chelsea.

Obituaries of Richard B Parks, I.D. Trout, Richard F. Parks, Maggie Parks, Sam F. Parks. N.d. Copies from newspapers ?date and name of newspapers.

Obituaries for Robert C. Parks, Judge Sam F. Parks, Sarah Elizabeth Parks Born 2/24/1841. N.d. Copies of obituaries from unknown newspapers. Judge Sam F. Parks graduated from the Male Seminary in Tahlequah in 1894, moved to Vinita in 1900 (became Mayor) was Craig County Judge for three terms. Sarah Elizabeth Feb 24, 1841

born, Married Rev Richard T. Parks came from Cleveland Tennessee in 1881 with 10 children participating in the Cherokee Estate land allotment. Robert C. Parks born in Vinita, Indian Territory, in 1880. Son of Calhoun Parks, early day Indian Territory minister and educator

Oskison, John Milton, Timothy B. Powell, Melinda Smith.

Mullikin, and Jace Weaver. *The Singing Bird: A Cherokee Novel*. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 2007. Print.

Owen, Narcissa, and Karen L. Kilcup. *A Cherokee Woman's America: Memoirs of Narcissa Owen, 1831-1907*. Gainesville: U of Florida, 2005. Print.

Parks. *Family Record from Family Bible Notations*. N.d. Record of marriages, births and deaths 1823-1902. Chelsea Indian Territory.

Parks, Isaac Day. *Origin of the Parks: Pedigree of the Family*. 8 Aug. 1877. Handwritten history (4 pages).

Parks, Richard Taylor. *Application for Appropriated Funds*. 30 June 1906. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC. Cherokee Nation Indian Territory, Chelsea. Cherokee name: Cha-wa-nas-ka Oo-ya-lu-ga Richard Taylor Parks born August 26, 1823 in now Bradley County Tennessee son of Samuel Parks and Susan Taylor Parks born in Old

Nation. Above date notes the date of the Act of Congress that approved the appropriations. Date of application is not found.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green. *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Penguin, 2008. Print.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005. Print.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green. *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Southeast*. New York: Columbia UP, 2005. Print.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women*. Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska, 1998. Print.

Pevar, Stephen L. *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

Ramirez, Renya K. *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and beyond*. Durham: Duke UP, 2007. Print.

Robinson, Prentice. *Easy to Use Cherokee Dictionary*. Tulsa, OK: Cherokee Language and Culture, 1996. Print.

Rosenthal, Nicolas G. *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration & Identity in Twentieth-century Los Angeles*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 2012. Print.

Rozema, Vicki. *Footsteps of the Cherokees: A Guide to the Eastern Homelands of the Cherokee Nation*. Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1995. Print.

Rozema, Vicki. *Footsteps of the Cherokees*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1995. Print.

Saunt, Claudio. *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family*. New York: Oxford UP, 2005. Print.

Selig, Ruth Osterweis, and Marilyn R. London. *Anthropology Explored the Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998. Print.

Shutika, Debra Lattanzi. *Beyond the Borderlands: Migration and Belonging in the United States and Mexico*. Berkeley: U of California, 2011. Print.

Smith, Chadwick Corntassel. *Leadership Lessons from the Cherokee Nation: Learn from All I Observe*. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Smith, Paul Chaat., and Robert Allen. Warrior. *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*. New York: New, 1996. Print.

TallBear, Kimberly. *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2013. Print.

Thrush, Coll-Peter. *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-over Place*. Seattle: U of Washington, 2007. Print.

Timberlake, Henry, and Samuel Cole Williams. *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoires*. Marietta: Continental Book, 1948. Print.

Tinker, Pamela Parks. "The Evolving Sense of Place Among Eastern and Western Cherokee People" presented at American Folklore Society National Conference, Santa Fe, New Mexico, November 2014.

The Trail of Tears: Cherokee Legacy. Dir. We Studi. Perf. James Earl Jones, Narrator, Voices of James Garner, Crystal Gayle, John Buttram, Gov. Douglas Wilder. Rich-Heape Films, 2006. DVD.

Trout, Martha Parks. *History of Parks*. N.d. History beginning with Susanna Taylor 1800. 7 page type written document.

Unknown, Dee. *Parks Family Roll Numbers*. 11 Sept. unk. Letter to Ruth from Dee

listing family members' Indian Roll numbers.

Unknown. *Family History Jan 12, 1789 to 1920*. N.d. Old memiographed document.

Begins with Samuel Parks (born Jan 12, 1789 died Jan 3, 1841) and Susan Taylor married in April 1814.

Watters, Elsa L. *Cherokee Woman: A Cry in the Wilderness*. Fowlerville, MI: Wilderness Adventure, 1992. Print.

Weibel-Orlando, Joane. *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society*. Urbana and Chicago: U of Illinois, 1999. Print.

Wilkinson, Charles F. *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. New York: Norton, 2005. Print.

Wilkinson, David E., and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. *Uneven Ground: American Sovereignty And Federal Law*. Norman: U of Oklahoma Press, 2001. Print.

Woodward, Grace Steele. *The Cherokees*. Norman: U of Oklahoma, 1963. Print.

Ywahoo, Dhyani. *108 Quotations*. N.p.: Venerable Dhyani Ywahoo, 2012. Print.

Ywahoo, Dhyni. *Voices of Our Ancestors: Cherokee Teachings from the Wisdom Fire*.

Boston and London: Shambhala, 1987. Print.

Biography

Pam Tinker is a Licensed Physical Therapist and Past Director of INOVA Mount Vernon Rehabilitation Program. She is the Founder and President of Frog Pond Early Learning Center, a nature-based preschool offering full day childcare. In addition, she works part-time as a Physical Therapist in Mount Vernon, Virginia. She graduated from Medical College of Virginia/Virginia Commonwealth University with a B.S. in Physical Therapy in 1975. Pam is a Citizen of the Cherokee Nation and is a frequent host of retreats at her mountain home, Wolf Run, in West Virginia. She resides in Alexandria with her husband, retired Cardiologist Bruce P. Tinker. They have two adult children, Robert, living in Medford Lakes, New Jersey, and Rebecca, living with her husband, Jacob Cummings, in Portland, Oregon.