PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In September 2005, two months before *Ties That Bind* was released, Diné historian Jennifer Denetdale invited me to give the keynote address at a conference on Native American and African American relations hosted by the University of New Mexico. The title of the conference was "Crossing Breath," a lovely evocation of spirit and interconnection. However, as I knew from researching *Ties That Bind* and from my own experience as a member of an Afro-Native family, the conference planners' focus on black-red interchange was in many ways aspirational. The reality of black and Native relationships, particularly within nations that had once owned black slaves, was rough, tumultuous, and in many ways characterized by conflict. The timing of Professor Denetdale's invitation and my awareness of tensions between black people, Native people, and self-identified Black Indians over issues of personal identity, cultural identification, indigenous authenticity, and political belonging led me to think about a different case of troubled waters and what is necessary to bridge the breach after a devastating storm.

The University of New Mexico conference took place just months after the natural and political disaster of Hurricane Katrina, which devastated the Gulf coast in the summer of 2005 and is now brilliantly captured in the National Book Award–winning novel *Salvage the Bones,* by Jesmyn Ward.[1] I was among the millions of people who saw that horror scene

unfold at a distance on my television screen, as the poorest, brownest people in the city of New Orleans and countless coastal parishes succumbed to the ravages of nature. I watched with mounting disbelief as the storm surged, as squalid floodwaters swallowed homes and public buildings, stranding people, taking lives. Women, men, and children directed to designated safe zones found themselves corralled without the basic necessities of life: food, water, or the governmental safeguards that are supposed to support all of this country's citizenry. The tragedy of thousands felled by nature and failed by civic leaders elicited the empathy of many others. It brought those of us who still had our family members near, who still had homes and dry land to stand on, to a point of epiphany: we are, all of us, human beings and therefore deserve compassion, good lives, and the respect of others.

The breach that characterized Hurricane Katrina was both natural and human-made. While the storm overwhelmed the structural defenses of settlements and cities, a slow and inadequate government response made matters worse. If people felt betrayed by nature in August 2005, they also felt abandoned by their political leaders who failed to stem the tide of human suffering. After the storm, there was, and still is, the need for repair on multiple levels: structural repair, political repair, economic repair, and emotional repair. Because it was raw and recent at the time of the New Mexico "Crossing Breath" conference, Katrina became more than the event itself in my mind; it became a metaphor for the storm of slavery in Native American history, for the betrayal of relationships, the devastation of lives, the complicity of tribal governments, and the necessity of repair in slavery's aftermath.

Six years later, I wrote in a *New York Times* Room for Debate forum on Cherokee citizenship conflicts that the history of slavery and racial prejudice in the Cherokee Nation calls for reparations, by which I meant a collaborative project of repair, reconnection, and healing. In closing that piece, I said, "The Cherokee people and the progeny of those once enslaved in their territory share a story. It is a story of colonialism, slavery, removal, Civil War, injustice, survival and resilience, yet and still, one that their ancestors shaped together."[2] My view, reflected in *Ties That Bind* and a second history of Cherokee slavery, *The House on Diamond Hill,*[3] is that historical understanding can contribute to bridging the breach caused by slavery—a social, cultural, economic, and political occurrence of natural disaster–like proportions for its victims as well as its perpetrators.

Ties That Bind is at heart the story of a family formed at the crossroads of colonialism, slavery, and gender domination in the nineteenth-century American Indian South. It is the story of a domestic unit created through

what was likely a coercive sexual relationship between a Native slaveholding man, Shoe Boots, and a black enslaved woman, Doll. This was a family whose members occupied vastly different power positions, a family shaped in the context of tremendous change, whose children tested the means and measure of belonging in the Cherokee Nation. In the book, I argue, in the dialogic form of questions, three main ideas: that slavery and anti-black prejudice existed in Cherokee society since at least the late 1700s, that slavery developed in tandem with a growing Cherokee nationalism and suppression of women's direct political influence, and that kinship mitigated the worst effects of slavery for Afro-Cherokee people, who were often accepted by community members. I stress that community acceptance of some Afro-Cherokee individuals occurred alongside the alienation and mistreatment of blacks who were not defined as Cherokee by descent or adoption. I also demonstrate through the pieced-together biography of Doll that the families of enslaved black women were doubly disadvantaged in this matrilineal society because they lacked crucial clan membership in a system in which the children inherited the mother's status.

My sense of the significance of the Shoeboots family story as a means of interpreting the workings of slavery in the Native South and Indian Territory was greatly influenced by the work of several scholars, mainly ethnohistorians, who studied slavery in the Five Tribes and published classic monographs from the late 1970s through the early 1990s. These include historians Theda Perdue, William McLoughlin, Rudi Halliburton, Daniel Littlefield, and James Merrell.[4] Anthropologist Jack Forbes's broad and detailed study of Africans and Native Americans in the colonial period was also highly influential. Anthropologist Circe Sturm's revealing book *Blood Politics* was crucial to my developing work, as she was the first scholar I had read who took up directly, through the use of interviews, the issue of anti-black prejudice among Cherokees.[5] Rather than go on at length about scholarly precursors here, I point your attention to historiographical essays and a database about Afro-Native histories at the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.[6]

I published *Ties That Bind* with a feeling of trepidation about how it would be received. Given that a Tuscarora academic had vehemently informed me of her disagreement with my argument that Cherokees in the 1800s had marginalized blacks, and a black woman at a public talk had heatedly told me she rejected the possibility that the black "wife" of Shoe Boots could have been a slave, I had reason for concern. In the end, I was grateful for such challenging comments.[7] This critical feedback pushed me

to work harder to understand the role of race in Cherokee legislation and to imagine the ways in which an unequal sexual union might at the same time involve intimacy and emotional connection. I was deeply relieved and grateful when the book garnered an overwhelmingly positive response. I also found that after hearing the story of the Shoeboots family, people often wanted to share their own family stories with me. One reader sent census information that by all indications traces the family of Lewis Shoeboots, one of Shoe Boots and Doll's twin sons who was lost to slavery in the Southeast.[8] I was moved to receive gifts of beaded jewelry, music, and books, as well as letters and emails, from other readers.[9] They seemed relieved to discover a complex, interracial family story discussed openly and with sensitivity to both African American and Native American experience.

Readers who had criticisms of the work voiced them respectfully and pointed out ways in which it could have spoken more powerfully to them. One Native high school student who read the book with eighty other Native and Latino teenagers in a program sponsored by Pomona College thought my chapter on Cherokee removal was far too short. A Seneca elder said he felt that the book was prescribing what the Cherokee Nation should have done in a way that diminished tribal authority. Most people who had critiques quibbled good-naturedly about genealogical details and the spelling of names. This is not to say that *Ties that Bind* is a perfect book. That is far from the case, and this new edition includes a few minor corrections. Rather, this is to say that the book seems to have met a desire held by many people at the start of a new century to read a documented story that reflects the racial travails of their own mixed-race black, Native, and white families. Because I had managed (after much labor, trial, and error) to relate the material in a narrative interpretive vein, *Ties That Bind* avoids the objectifying distance of a traditional social historical treatment and conveys the story of a Cherokee family, a black family, an American family, with empathy and directness. The book's subject matter, together with an increased public interest in mixed-race identities spurred by the multiracial movement and a new option on the 2000 U.S. census to check more than one box for racial identity, attracted an open-minded readership of scholars, students, and genealogists.

When the book was published in 2005, it was accompanied by a work on the Afro-Creek Grayson family, written by the award-winning historian Claudio Saunt.[10] Since the nearly in tandem publication of my book and Saunt's *Black, White and Indian,* a number of works have been published, symposia organized, and conference panels planned on subjects in the

subfield that is often referred to as Afro-Native studies, Black Indian studies, or indigenous slavery studies. These works span historical, anthropological, and literary fields but are situated for the most part in Native American history, ethnohistory, and, increasingly, African American history. Some of the most inspiring work published over the past decade includes Celia Naylor's unflinching look at Cherokee slaves and freedpeople in Indian Territory, Fay Yarbrough's detailed monograph on the racialized legislation of marriage in the Cherokee Nation, Barbara Krauthamer's bold book on slavery and the struggle for citizenship in the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, David Chang's innovative study of multiracial land use in the Creek Nation, Malinda Maynor Lowery's astute reconstruction of Lumbee history in the Jim Crow era, and Christina Snyder's comprehensive examination of Native slavery in the Southeast.[11] As a result of the visibility of strong work at this intersection of historical streams, numerous books on Native American history, African American history, and trans-Atlantic slavery outside this subfield now attend to interrelated black and Native issues. For instance, Ariela Gross's illuminating treatment of race trials and freedom suits demonstrates the degree to which claims of Native maternal ancestry were critical for blacks. And Rose Stremlau's engaging book on the impact of allotment on Cherokee families delves into the issues of family structure, differential gender ideals, and federal assimilation policy by following a selection of families, some of which were descended from slaveholders.[12]

A plethora of new scholarly work has helped us better understand the causes and effects of colonialism and slavery on Native communities and on the black communities within them. The more layered of these studies also include analyses of women's and gender history or issues of place and land. None of these books upholds the celebratory narrative about natural black and Indian alliance that has sometimes appeared in popular treatments and certainly maintains a place in the popular imagination. As historian James Hugo Johnston documented in the *Journal of Negro History* in the 1920s, relationships between people of African descent and indigenous people in what would become the United States were extensive, long-standing, and multifaceted, consisting of alliances and skirmishes, friendships and feuds.[13] Native Americans and African Americans were people, and they did what people do—made love and war, aided one another and injured one another, joined together and moved apart through the course of lives and generations.

At our present moment, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, the mood writ large of black and Native relations is sobering. Despite

the plentiful academic work just described and the pathbreaking *IndiVisible* exhibition coproduced by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian and National Museum of African American History and Culture, stories still circulate about Afro-Native people who find themselves questioned, criticized, and even ostracized by members of their families and communities.[14] This negative tone is exemplified in the public arena by the recent series of court cases and tribal elections in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma that turn on the political status of descendants of slaves within the nation. Historians Celia Naylor and Daniel Littlefield have documented the early struggles of former slaves of Cherokees to attain and maintain citizenship rights in the Cherokee Nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[15] The continuing conflict is over whether descendants of Cherokee-held slaves who cannot adequately demonstrate blood ties via the Dawes Rolls should receive standing and benefits in the nation equal to those of "Cherokees by blood."

Similarly, these descendants argue that the post–Civil War Treaty of 1866, the ties of kin relationships, a shared cultural past, and a moral code that recognizes the human rights abuse of slavery should guarantee their place in the nation. Some Cherokee citizens support this cause; others see the issue through a racial lens and feel that these descendants are "black" rather than "Indian" and therefore not entitled to hard-won resources distributed by tribal governments; some also feel that the descendants' appeal to the United States government for a remedy undermines tribal sovereignty and the right of the Cherokee Nation to determine who is Cherokee.

There were legal challenges to these freedmen and freedwomen descendants' citizenship status in 1997 and 2004, with membership appeals brought in the Cherokee courts by Bernice Rogers Riggs and Lucy Allen. Although Riggs lost her petition, Lucy Allen won in a 2–1 decision by the Cherokee Supreme Court.[16] Principal Chief Chad Smith was among numerous enrolled Cherokees who disagreed with this judgment. Matters came to a head in 2007 when a Cherokee Nation special election resulted in a constitutional amendment that barred approximately 2,800 freedmen and freedwomen descendants from citizenship. Representatives of the U.S. government responded swiftly. The Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior sent a letter to the Cherokee Nation stating that the descendants' citizenship could not be withdrawn. Representative Diane Watson, a Democrat from California, introduced legislation to block $300 million in federal funds earmarked for the Cherokees, and Representative Melvin Watts, a Democrat from North Carolina, submitted an amendment

to the federal housing bill to withhold funding from the Cherokee Nation. The Department of Housing and Urban Development suspended more than $37 million that would have been distributed to the nation.[17]

A media firestorm followed. Descendants of freedpeople—such as Marilyn Vann, president of Descendants of Freedmen of the Five Civilized Tribes—protested. Supporters inside and outside the Cherokee Nation argued the case for inclusion. Ojibwe literary scholar and *Indian Country Today* columnist Scott Lyons challenged the merits of the requirement in the new constitutional amendment that citizens be "Cherokee by blood" in a lineage traceable to the Dawes Rolls. He argued that "for well over a century the Cherokee Nation has been a multiracial nation, one whose sovereignty rests largely upon treaty-based relationships with others," and he urged the nation to protect "its hard-won national identity" by upholding its agreement in the Treaty of 1866. Osage literary scholar Robert Warrior wrote an opinion piece asserting that "the moral case against the Cherokees is straightforward" and asked "Native American writers, scholars, and artists, not to mention elected leaders, presidents, and chiefs, to stand up and be counted on the right moral side of this question."[18] A temporary agreement reached in federal court in September 2011 permitted freedpeople's descendants to vote for principal chief. Their participation likely contributed to the election of new principal chief Bill John Baker.[19] Currently, the Department of the Interior is pursuing a clear resolution to the Cherokee freedperson citizenship question through the federal courts.

In her article "Tribes and Tribulations: Beyond Sovereign Immunity and toward Reparation and Reconciliation for the Estelusti" (a term used to refer to Afro-Native people, especially in the Seminole Nation), legal scholar Carla Pratt outlines the histories of slavery in the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole tribes, arguing that slavery benefited these nations and individuals within them.[20] She calls for "micro-reparations" for descendants of these slaves from both the U.S. government and the tribal governments. I find her take on the cultural transformation and subjectivity of American Indian slaveowners too monolithic, and she feels that my representation of Cherokee slavery does not go far enough in condemning those who perpetuated it. I hold out hope for a multitribal or United Nations–arbitrated forum for hearing these disputes that is fair, ethical, and outside the bounds of U.S. courts, while Pratt focuses on strategies within the U.S. courts and the waiving of sovereign immunity by Native nations. Nevertheless, I was struck by her article—by her bold recognition that there

is a deep wound in black and Native relations. We agree on the need for a rebuilt relationship, for a repair, between former slaveholding nations and the progeny of their former slaves, lest the damage to the spirit of black and red communities continue.

The Cherokee court cases and the vitriol surrounding them are both signs and symptoms of a distance between peoples who at times have been close geographically, culturally, and relationally. This distance has been created and cemented, in large part, by policies of the United States government (such as civilization, slavery, racial color coding, and removal) imposed on these groups, rather than by long-standing cultural values and behaviors rooted in the groups themselves. The sensibility of separation that characterizes the citizenship cases stems from a time when intense racialization, the expansion of slavery, Indian Removal, Jim Crowism, and race-based vigilante terrorism were the norm and when people of color were propelled and sometimes compelled to participate in oppressive systems that left indelible marks on ways of thinking and being. We must not allow our hearts and thoughts to be mired there—to be stuck in a late nineteenth-century logic of race-based exclusion and hierarchy that did not originate in indigenous American or African diasporic communities. It is, I believe, to our detriment and to the detriment of healthy and whole communities to define ourselves and one another within such a frame.

The weight of race in U.S. history is bearing down on us, so much so that we have not escaped its mark. But instead of allowing ill-conceived ideologies and policies of the past to confine us in the present, we can turn to a people's history to aid us in struggles for justice: to provide models of inspiration, to document relational ties that may have been forgotten, and to map places in the landscape with communal significance. In order to move forward from here, we need a full view of the past: long, intricate, and joined to an ethos of healing. To quote Cherokee Nation Principal Chief Baker, who made this comment during the tumult of 2011, "It's time for the healing to begin."[21]

I am grateful for and surprised by the opportunity to issue a new edition of *Ties That Bind* a decade after its initial publication.[22] I hope the book will be viewed not only as a scholarly study but also as a work that furthers a project of relational reunion by telling the story of a shared past. I hope too that readers find within these pages an account that reveals an inspiring, though difficult, history, illustrates the storm of slavery in the Native South, shows causes for the breach in black-Native relations today, and fosters a spirit of reconciliation.

1. Jesmyn Ward, *Salvage the Bones* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010). For a study of Native people's experience with Hurricane Katrina, see Brian Klopotek, Brenda Lintinger, and John Barbry, "Ordinary and Extraordinary Trauma: Race, Indigeneity, and Hurricane Katrina in Tunica-Biloxi History," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2008): 55–77.

2. Tiya Miles, "Why the Freedmen Fight," Room for Debate, *New York Times,* September 15, 2011, www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2011/09/15/tribal-sovereignty-vs-racial-justice/wjy-the-freedmen-fight [*sic*].

3. Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

4. Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979); William McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Rudi Halliburton, *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokees* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977); Daniel F. Littlefield, *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979); James Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (New York: Norton, 1991).

5. Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

6. Tiya Miles and Barbara Krauthamer, "Africans and Native Americans," in *A Companion to African American History,* ed. Alton Hornsby Jr. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 121–39; Tiya Miles and Celia E. Naylor-Ojurongbe, "African-Americans in Indian Societies," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 14, *Southeast,* ed. Raymond Fogelson (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 2004), 753–59; Barbara Krauthamer, "African Americans and Native Americans," in *Origins,* Schomburg Studies on the Black Experience, ed. Howard Dodson and Colin Palmer (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2008), 91–135, and online at *African Americans and Native Americans in North America*, ed. Krauthamer (Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning, 2005), The Black Experience in the Western Hemisphere, http://bsc.chadwyck.com/search/displayEssayItemById.do?ItemID=10KRAU&ItemNumber=8&QueryName=essay&fromPage=essayList; Tiya Miles, "Native Americans and African Americans," in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture,* ed. Charles Reagan Wilson, vol. 24, *Race,* ed. Thomas C. Holt and Laurie B. Green (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 114–20; Sharon P. Holland and Tiya Miles, "Afro-Native Realities," in *The World of Indigenous North America,* ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge, 2014), 224–48.

7. I expect that the Native scholar mentioned here would want it known that she later read the book and expressed appreciation for the finished work. The chapter on Cherokee nationhood would not have been nearly so strong if not for her verbal pushback against my ideas.

8. The following censuses list a Lewis Shoeboots and his family members: 1870 U.S. Census, Colbert County, Alabama, population schedule, Townships Four Range Ten, Leighton Post Office, page 6, citing National Archives (NA) microfilm publication M593, roll 10; 1880 U.S. Census, Colbert County, Alabama, population schedule, Townships Four Range Ten, page 19, citing NA microfilm publication T9, roll 8; 1900 U.S. Census, Colbert County, Alabama, population schedule, Leighton Beat, page 26, citing NA microfilm publication T623, roll 26; 1900 U.S. Census, Concordia County, Louisiana, population schedule, Seventh Ward, page 8, citing NA microfilm publication T623, roll 562; all available as digital images at Heritage Quest Online (http://heritagequestonline.com), accessed May 23, 2014. Notably, this Lewis had a daughter named Elizabeth, as did Shoe Boots and Doll. I am grateful to Rodney Dillon for sharing this information with me.

9. It was through reader feedback that I learned about the existence of a novel that chronicles the experience of Shoe Boots's first wife, Clarinda Allington. See Ilene Shepard Smiddy, *Daughter of Shiloh* (Bloomington, Ind.: 1st Books Library, 2000).

10. Claudio Saunt, *Black, White and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

11. Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Fay A. Yarbrough, *Race and the Cherokee Nation: Sovereignty in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Barbara Krauthamer, *Black Slaves, Indian Masters: Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship in the Native American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); David Chang, *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832–1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

12. Ariela Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008); Rose Stremlau, *Sustaining the Cherokee Family: Kinship and the Allotment of an Indigenous Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

13. James Hugo Johnston, "Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians," *Journal of Negro History* 14 (January 1929): 21–43.

14. In July 2014, yet another development occurred in Washington, D.C., with

the formation of the National Congress of Black American Indians, an organization that aims to foster Black Indian cultural, spiritual, and historical affirmation.

15. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory;* Littlefield, *Cherokee Freedmen.*

16. See Miles and Naylor-Ojurongbe, "African-Americans in Indian Societies," 758–59; Adam Geller, "Past and Future Collide in Fight over Cherokee Identity," *USA Today,* February 10, 2007.

17. Evelyn Nieves, "Putting to a Vote the Question 'Who Is Cherokee?,' " *New York Times,* March 3, 2007; Murray Evans, "Cherokees Pull Memberships of Freed Slaves," Associated Press, March 4, 2007; Jeninne Lee-St. John, "The Cherokee Nation's New Battle," *Time,* June 21, 2007; Jerry Reynolds, "Housing Amendment Would Punish Cherokee over Freedmen," *Indian Country Today,* July 27, 2007, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2007/07/27/housing-amendment-would-punish-cherokee-over-freedmen-91190; Frank Morris, "Cherokee Tribe Faces Decision on Freedmen," NPR, February 21, 2007, www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=7513849; Alex Kellogg, "Cherokee Nation Faces Scrutiny for Expelling Blacks," NPR, September 19, 2011, www.npr.org/2011/09/19/140594124/u-s-government-opposes-cherokee-nations-decision.

18. Scott Richard Lyons, "Cherokee by Text," *Indian Country Today,* October 18, 2007, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2007/10/18/lyons-cherokee-text-91628; Robert Warrior, "Cherokees Flee the Moral High Ground over Freedmen," *News from Indian Country,* August 7, 2007, http://indiancountrynews.net/index.php/news/119-editorialletters/1106-cherokees-flee-the-moral-high-ground-over-freedmen.

19. Lenzy Krehbiel-Burton, "Cherokee Court's Ruling May Affect Baker's Apparent Election Win," *Tulsa World,* October 12, 2011; Brian Daffron, "Bill John Baker, Policy-Maker: An Interview with the New Cherokee Principal Chief," *Indian Country Today,* March 7, 2012, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/03/05/bill-john-baker-policy-maker-interview-new-cherokee-principal-chief-101239.

20. Carla D. Pratt, "Tribes and Tribulations: Beyond Sovereign Immunity and toward Reparation and Reconciliation for the Estelusti," *Washington and Lee Race and Ethnic Ancestry Law Journal* 11, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 61–132.

21. Krehbiel-Burton, "Cherokee Court's Ruling."

22. This new edition would not have been possible without the astounding research assistance of graduate students Emily MacGillivray and Michelle Cassidy. I thank them for their excellent work and support.