

Community Action on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina

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Abstract

The Great Society programs of the Lyndon Johnson Administration allowed the Cherokee Boys Club an opportunity to expand their operation and realize true self-determination. The local consequences of federal legislation are explored to reveal that the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina were able to maintain traditional socio-cultural institutions while leading the community toward self-sufficiency in a capacity similar to municipal governments. The Boys Farm Club was created in 1932, incorporated by the tribe in 1964, and since that time has experienced phenomenal growth. This study investigates the main reasons for the success and corresponding relationships between the Eastern Cherokees and federal, state, and local entities by offering reasons for the nations' success in assuming control of government programs and services that were once the domain of the Cherokee agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This view argues how the Boys Club navigated the ever-changing federal Indian policies to emerge as an inspiring example of self-determination.

More than directly targeting American Indian communities with economic development programs, the Lyndon Johnson Administration of the 1960s helped American Indians because they were poor, not because they were sovereign nations. Similar to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs, Indians were inadvertently eligible to receive federal aid by virtue of their residency in the United States.¹ In

August 1964, President Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act, which created the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), Operation Head Start, Community Action Agencies, and Volunteers in Service to America. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was created to coordinate these programs and allowed tribal governments to become eligible for administering poverty program grants.²

Proving their continuous adaptability, the Eastern Cherokee of North Carolina and the Boys Farm Club used these new programs for economic development. The Boys Farm Club was the original title of the club when it began in 1932; after incorporation by the tribe in 1964, the name was shortened to Boys Club. American Indians nationwide developed their own enterprises operated by the tribes. The managers, workers, and skilled people were American Indians, similar to the “Indian-owned and Indian-operated” business ventures advocated by Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner John Collier in the 1930s.

Raymond Kinsland, General Manager of the Cherokee Boys Club, explained that the first governmental poverty program that affected the Boys Club was the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In the early 1960s, the Club had between 100 and 150 participants during the summer. Through NYC funding, there was an in-school program and an out-of-school program with the in-school program conducted where boys and girls worked after school and on Saturday and full-time during the summer. They worked in the lunchroom, in the shops, in the office, and with construction workers.

Because the Boys Club was not able to handle them all, the NYC participants were loaned to other divisions of both tribal and federal governments such as the Cherokee Historical Association, the hospital, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) office, and throughout the community. Not only did the NYC program provide services, it also offered employment and a considerable amount of training. For many years, almost all of the permanent full-time staff at the Boys Club began with the NYC.³ This organization was highly successful because it encouraged high school dropouts to remain in school and even enticed some students who had dropped out to re-enroll. By providing constructive work projects to aid in their development, the Eastern Cherokees and the Boys Club were included in these new government programs and used them to aid in their development.

According to Ray Kinsland, the NYC program expanded so much that the tribe set up a department to oversee all the others. Then the program name was changed from the NYC to the Comprehensive Employment Training Administration (CETA) under Gerald Ford’s Administration.⁴ Operation Mainstream was a program that involved older adults, and CETA continued in the same manner. Over the years the NYC program positively affected the entire community. The North Carolina Employment Security Commission reported that the Cherokee was the most “progressive” tribe of American Indians. In fact, the Cherokee had difficulty finding enough Indians for all the available employment. Paul Felsburg, Manager of the Bryson City office, reported that from a slow beginning, the business activity on the reservation accelerated until it “now can be called phenomenal.”⁵

In August 1964, the Club was awarded their first school bus contract from the BIA. In a special session of the Tribal Council on September 4, 1964, the Club requested the purchase of 12 buses either by the tribe on behalf of the Club. The tribal business committee was also authorized to assist the Club in the fulfillment of this contract.

BIA bus drivers either resigned or retired from the Bureau in order to work for the Club. As the first employees of the Club, these men made a great leap of faith to leave their secure government positions. This action made a lasting impression on Cherokee youths who later became leaders and teachers for hundreds of Cherokee. The truck fleet also expanded as the Club accepted more road jobs from the BIA, including roadside mowing and paving. With the BIA contract and experienced bus drivers, the Cherokee Boys Club became the first non-governmental organization in the country to provide school bus transportation.

Cherokee Agency Superintendent Don Y. Jensen reported that the BIA officials in Washington were so pleased with the tribal-inspired enterprise that the BIA Commissioner made a personal report to President Johnson. The report mentioned the Eastern Cherokee were also the first American Indian nation to create and finance its own police, fire, and sanitary departments. Due credit was given to the Cherokee Boys Club as having provided the initiative for the transfer of responsibility from the BIA to the Boys Club. Ray Kinsland was also credited as having produced the proposal for taking over the school bus system.⁷

The Economic Opportunity Act afforded many opportunities for Indian reservations as target areas in benefits available. In order to take advantage of the new federal funding opportunities, a month after the bus contracts were signed and during a regular session of the tribal council meeting, the council voted to appoint a committee to administer the new programs. As the authority for the community and tribal government, the Tribal Council of the Eastern Band appointed three representatives for a period of one year to work with a committee of agency personnel in the coordination of programs of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Johnson Bradley, Luther Murphy and Johnson Catolster were empowered with the authority to act on behalf of the tribal council in recommending projects and programs to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).⁸

With all the changes occurring locally, new stipulations arrived from Washington that stated funds must be distributed through the Community Action Program (CAP) system. The tribe promptly created CAP boards to take advantage of this opportunity and a special session of the tribal council was called to address the issue. To fulfill the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act, the tribal council agreed to enter into contracts with and receive grants from the federal government. The act stressed that community action was a prerequisite for the approval of funding. The committee appointed by the tribal council requested that the Soco school building be leased or purchased for use by CAP system. They also requested that the budget be amended to provide \$20,000 for the lease or purchase, repairs, remodeling, heat and lights of said building, and if office space

could not be provided within 30 days, that the funding be made available for constructing a new office building.⁹

Six weeks later, the tribal council met once again to emphasize the importance of following the BIA guidelines on CAPs. Utilizing existing social structures such as church memberships, community clubs, and the *gadugi*, a traditional cooperative work group that practiced collective farming and provided aid to elderly tribal members, the local CAPs in Cherokee resulted in marked community growth and development.¹⁰ Suddenly empowered by these new opportunities and as their reputation for dependability and hard work became known, the Boys Club was enlisted to provide increasing services for several organizations in Cherokee. A restored sense of pride was beginning to emerge due to the expectation of quality service provided by the Club. This new sense of pride was not isolated to the Qualla Boundary, the name local residents have given to the Eastern Cherokee reservation.

At a national meeting of the OEO in Nashville in 1965, Clyde Warrior, co-founder of the National Indian Youth Council, delivered the following speech:

In a rich country like the United States, if poverty is the lack of money and resources that seems to me to be a very small problem indeed. So I cannot say whether poverty is a symptom or a cause or how one would go about solving it in pure economic terms. But of this I am certain, when a people are powerless and their destiny is controlled by the powerful, whether they be rich or poor, they live in ignorance and frustration because they have been deprived of experience and responsibility as individuals and as communities. In the modern world there is no substitute for this kind of experience....No amount of formal education or money can take the place of these basic life experiences for the human being....Handouts do not erode character, the lack of power over one's own destiny erodes character.¹¹

The importance of the National Indian Youth Council to the Cherokee Boys Club cannot be underestimated. The days of apathy and despair were over and pride was re-emerging as Indian people all over the country were reclaiming their heritage. National Indian organizations provided support for emerging tribal economies. While the Boys Club did not accept handouts, they did learn from experience that true strength of character comes from having power over one's own future.

The Economic Development Administration (EDA) took over the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) in 1965 and funded tribal programs, which provided tribes with experience in public administration and more positive local changes. The work also emphasized infrastructure development in order to support industrial growth. Industrial development loans were made to reservations with the provision that tribal nations form nonprofit development corporations chartered

by the states.¹² As the Eastern Cherokee became more confident in managing CAPs funds; the Boys Club accepted additional responsibility and contract work.

The success of the Boys Club is demonstrated by the degree to which they diversified after becoming incorporated by the tribe as a tribal enterprise. One such contract was awarded by the Cherokee Historical Association to provide shuttle bus service, parking, and traffic direction for the local historical outdoor drama, *Unto These Hills*. Already providing services for the tribe, the BIA, the Oconaluftee Job Corps, the National Park Service, and the Indian Health Service, the Boys Club was also asked to operate the Cherokee school system food service. *The Charlotte Observer* reported that with the new roads, a growing tourist trade, and new industries, the Eastern Cherokee had built a thriving community. "This place is like Utopia," said Don Jensen, Superintendent for the Cherokee Agency. "This is the first Indian reservation to be fully industrialized. There are more jobs here than there are qualified Indians to hold them."¹³

The tribe received a grant of \$484,000 from OEO in 1966, which began one of the most prosperous times for the community and the Boys Club. The funds were used in CAPs in Big Cove, Yellowhill (Cherokee), Paint Town, Wolf Town, and Bird Town; Cherokee County and the Snowbird community became involved in 1967.¹⁴ Various OEO programs employed hundreds of people and created a cash flow on several reservations. By June 1968, there were 63 Community Action Agencies serving 129 reservations nationwide.¹⁵ With the creation of the OEO, it was the first time that Indian tribes had discretionary funds available to them, and this led to a great change in the balance of power on reservations and in Washington.

Leadership training was one of the most important issues in Indian Country and many current Indian leaders gained valuable on-the-job training as program administrators for their communities. One of the best examples was found at the highest level. In 1966, when Robert Bennett, an Oneida from Wisconsin, became the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Johnson, he became only the second American Indian to hold the office since Ely Parker in the nineteenth century. As a career public servant, Bennett progressed through the ranks of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from a local agency administrator to the federal position of Commissioner.¹⁶

In the Boys Club, department managers and supervisors often worked their way up through the ranks of the Club and all students had an opportunity to work for promotions. The Club always stressed training and education of Cherokee youth as its main goals, and all departments emphasized these points in their work. Many board members and employees of the Club continued their careers in responsible positions within tribal government, the BIA, Indian Health Service, and other organizations due largely to the valuable leadership training provided by the Club.

The impact of federal contracting opportunities is evident through the expansion of the Boys Club into different areas. In 1966, the Boys Club purchased, painted, and equipped an ambulance for the Cherokee Rescue Squad, and Tribal Council obtained the funding through the Community Services Department.¹⁷ Just

two years after incorporation, the Club Newsletter reported that 20 buses had operated over 280,000 miles and 120 employees received Club payroll that exceeded \$60,000. Over \$20,000 worth of seeds and fertilizer was sold to area farmers on a nonprofit basis. By February 1966, 84 jobs were provided to Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees¹⁸ and in May the Club was awarded another BIA contract to provide charter bus service for boarding school students traveling from Oklahoma to Cherokee and back to Anadarko, Oklahoma.

In order to receive services, one does not have to be a Boys Club member. Several students from the Snowbird community went to school at Cherokee High School which made them eligible also.¹⁹ Even today, an important aspect of Club membership is that the Board of Directors is selected from among the members. After nominations are made in July, an election is held on the fourth Thursday in August. Any member can nominate himself or herself or anyone else, and all nominees are contacted to see if they are willing to run. A secret ballot is cast, and the top five candidates are elected.

Simultaneously, an election is held at the high school, and one student is elected as the Student Representative. The tribal council appoints one council member, who is the tribal representative on the board. The board members then select two outside local business people who do not work at the Club and are not directly involved with it. This board serves for two-year terms and they can be reelected anytime the members want to elect them. The tribal council authorizes the Boys Club to accept a contract or not. If the contract is over \$1,000, the Boys Club Board has to approve it. Once approved by the Board, the President and the Vice-president sign it.²⁰

Since 1966, the Club has provided trash removal for the Oconaluftee Job Corps and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina. On January 5, 1967, the tribal council authorized the tribal credit committee to initiate and process a loan application for \$20,000 to the Club from the tribal treasury funds.²¹ The following month, the Club Auto Repair Shop began providing three areas of services for the public: the automatic transmission department; the paint and body shop; and the wheel alignment and balancing department.²² They also secured land and began plans for a home for abandoned and/or neglected Cherokee youth.

The Qualla Housing Authority received a federal loan of \$182,400 from the FHA to construct 20 homes in the Big Cove Community. The "Mutual Help Housing Program," was designed for Indian families to help construct a home in which they acquired equity by donating 600 hours of manual labor.²³ In response to numerous requests from the local Cherokee community, the Boys Club soon began a building supply business and offered a complete line of general building and electrical supplies.

As the Club continued to expand its services in August of 1967, they moved into three new buildings on land leased from the White Shield Company.²⁴ In one of the new buildings the Club began a new warehouse and an office, with Norman

Maney as the manager. Herbert Burgess, the previous shop foreman, assumed all responsibilities for the automotive shop, while Clyde Owle served as its manager. Dewey Owle managed the paint and body shop, and Dan McCoy managed the automatic transmission department. Mike Walkingstick and Raymond Owle facilitated maintenance of Club vehicles as well as government and tribal vehicles. As a testament to the successful work conducted by the Club, they received the President's Council on Youth Opportunity Award by President Johnson in 1967.²⁵

Since its inception, the Boys Club regularly honored employees for their dedication and hard work. In February 1968, they honored three Club members who were drafted or enlisted into military service during the Vietnam War. David C. Owle graduated from Cherokee High School in 1965 and since graduation worked as a full-time employee of the Club. Hilliard Smith also graduated from Cherokee High School in 1965, was an officer in the Club, and since April 1967 had managed Mingo Falls campground for the Club. John Burgess was a senior at Cherokee High School that year and enlisted into the U.S. Army in February of 1968.²⁶

On February 14, Ray Kinsland was adopted as an honorary member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians for his hard work and dedication to the boys. He was given the Cherokee name, "*Di sde li sgi A ni wi ni*" (helper of young men) and accorded full rights and privileges reserved for chiefs. Kinsland first came to Cherokee as a BIA teacher, but soon directed all his energy into helping the young people in Cherokee. Lloyd C. Owle stated, "It was nothing unusual to see Ray sign his check and donate it to the Club. He sold his cattle and his car and who knows what else just to keep the Club going."²⁷

As homage to Raymond Kinsland, Owle wrote the following poem:

Cherokee Boys Farm Club

From the edges of ripe tomato fields, To a land of those distant hills,
Listening to the singing wheel hub, This is the life in the Cherokee Boys Farm
Club.

Taking up the hay in the golden valleys, Listening to the song of the bee.
It's wonderful to be with the boys, To share together the Farm Club joys.
There's a fellow who works through the day, You know his name, we call him
Ray.

Working for the best of Cherokee, To make better news and history.
Ray started such a wonderful thing, The Club started young men's bells to
ring.

It let them forget their old tears, And realize the Club is the best thing in years.
In Indian respect, we should all help the Club prosper.

It is good for the Indian and all is fair.

Ray has built the Club and worked for you, We can all help the organization,
me and you.

We must work together on Life's shelves, We will never go anywhere fighting ourselves.

We can't live and fight each other, We must learn to work and live with our brother.

Then as we walk back through the golden meadows, We will see happy people dancing on their toes, Because a little work has brought happiness to these hills,

It has turned sadness to bright new frills.

As we walk through good old Cherokee, We can all see how happy a tribe can be,

We have adjusted to the modern way, We are happy to live in this modern day.

By Lloyd Owle²⁸

This poem demonstrates key values held by Club members. The importance of sharing, cooperation, working for the good of the community, and the necessity of hard work were and still are encouraged within the Boys Club.

In order to more effectively and efficiently serve the Eastern Cherokee people, tribal council officials requested the CAPs be combined with the Social Service branch of the BIA in March 1968. During the previous five years, it was demonstrated in several pilot projects throughout the country that the worker from the population being served usually possesses a natural knowledge and understanding of the local society and that in many instances they are more effective than the professional worker in reaching the unmotivated person. Often there is a cultural gap between the people being served and people providing the human services.²⁹ Local workers combined with long-term planning greatly contributed to the growth and success of the Boys Club.

While national Indian groups played increasingly greater roles in tribal politics, a regional organization known as the United Southeastern Tribes (USET) also emerged in the late 1960s. The importance of long-term strategic planning was the topic presented at the third annual Inter-Council United Southeastern Tribes meeting, held on May 15, 1968, in Nashville, Tennessee. Wayne V. Zunigha, Executive Director of the Eastern Cherokee Planning Board, presented a speech which stressed the concept of nation-building: "One of the tribal planning board objectives was to promote the welfare of the people on the reservation by helping to create an increasingly better, more healthful, convenient, efficient, and attractive environment. Vitalized planning takes the reservation or the community from where it is to where it wants to be. The plan itself proves effective only as long as the people understand it and keep it accurately up to date, so that continually it will be in harmony with the goals and desires of the people it is designed to serve."³⁰

With strong efforts already being applied in the area of employment and training, tribal council voted to upgrade the inadequate educational program in

1968. Educators devoted special attention to remedial work in an innovative program, where a group of boys spent half of the day in the classroom and the other half applying their knowledge in special arrangements with the Boys Club. The Club was involved in adult education programs offering training opportunities contracted from the Manpower Development and Training Act. Taking advantage of every opportunity and noting the potential in the construction industry, the Club created a construction division within its operations.³¹

While the tribal enterprise had numerous supporters, there were critics of the War on Poverty programs. A major criticism of the OEO program was the tremendous tendency for nepotism in the distribution of the jobs created.³² Jeff Muskrat, Agency Superintendent, believed it was undeniable that tribal politics and preferential treatment on job selection occurred and the most qualified applicants usually did not get hired.³³ Tribal councils often designated themselves as the Community Action Agency board. According to Anthropologist George Castile, what began with the good intentions of providing "maximum feasible participation" by those affected by the programs, the OEO became "a federally funded and sponsored revolutionary movement against local and state governments."³⁴

The discussion persists regarding devastating socio-cultural effects caused by federal money on the reservations, yet complaints arise when the money is diminished. The newly created tribal bureaucracies affected all aspects of Indian life. Tribal governments often became the dominant employers on the reservations, dealing with the *symptoms* of poverty rather than providing the funding necessary for infrastructure development and for the permanent solution of reservation poverty.³⁵ The Eastern Cherokee, with a strong emphasis on leadership training and promoting from within the Boys Club, have demonstrated proactive measures when dealing with bureaucratic systems.

While the most obvious positive factors of the OEO were Project Head Start and Legal Services, one of the best consequences was that it strengthened tribal government by attracting more highly trained Indian professionals as administrators.³⁶ In spite of internal factionalism and uncertain federal policies and funding, Indian entrepreneurship was increasing and demonstrated the self-determination of the Eastern Cherokees by pursuing tribal control through the administration of federal programs.

Most Cherokee were active participants in Johnson's War on Poverty programs. Historian John Finger boldly suggested that the Eastern Band "eagerly embraced even more federal dependency." The local response to the Community Action Programs demonstrates, however, the willingness of individuals in Cherokee to assume responsibility for the management of tribal program services.³⁷ The three major income producers in Cherokee during the 1960s were tourism, industrial employment, and the federal and tribal governments. The Eastern Cherokees were one of the first tribal communities in the United States to begin contracting for BIA programs, and since 1964, the Boys Club provided many community-building contract services.

Perceived as good or bad, one cannot deny that Economic Opportunity Act programs allowed the Eastern Cherokee to become recognized by federal agencies as a legitimate government. According to Economist Alan Sorkin, the goals of Indian community action programs under the OEO were no different than in other poverty areas; to develop remedial programs, to more efficiently deliver health, legal, and other services, and to enhance their economic status. A key distinction is that Indian nations were able to construct tribal enterprises to function on behalf of the tribal members, yet funded through federal grants and contracts.³⁸

Notes

1. Vine Deloria Jr., *The Nations Within*, 216. Deloria maintains that Indian Nations paid a high price for inclusion in the War on Poverty programs. Instead of receiving funding in order to fulfill treaty obligations, Indians received funds because they were another "American domestic racial minority."

2. Paul Boyer, *Promises to Keep: The United States Since World War II* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1995), 219. A key section was the expansion of the 1962 Manpower Development and Training Act, which focused on providing job training to the poor. See also, Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian*, Vol. II, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 1093; George Pierre Castile, *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960-1975* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 27; Peter Iverson, "*We are Still Here*": *American Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1998), 144; for a further discussion of Community Action Program effects on tribal leadership at the local level see Daniel M. Cobb, "Philosophy of an Indian War: Indian Community Action in the Johnson Administration's War on Indian Poverty, 1964-1968," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 22, no. 2 (1998): 71-102.

3. Personal interview by author with Raymond Kinsland, General Manager of the Cherokee Boys Club, Cherokee North Carolina, March 7, 2001; John Finger, *Cherokee Americans: the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in the Twentieth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 150; Prucha, *The Great Father, Vol. II*, 1094; see also, Alan L. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971), 165-69.

4. Kinsland interview, March 7, 2001; Castile, *To Show Heart*, 164.

5. "Boom at Cherokee Brings Need for More Indians," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, Asheville, North Carolina, May 24, 1964.

6. Tribal Council Minutes, September 4, 1964, Resolution #772, Special Session, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Cherokee, North Carolina, Microfilm Collection, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

7. John Parris, "Cherokees Establish First Tribal Bus System in the U.S.," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, Asheville, North Carolina, September 10, 1964.

8. Tribal Council Minutes, October 19, 1964, Resolution #886, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Cherokee, North Carolina, Microfilm Collection, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina. For a Southern Appalachian study of the War on Poverty Programs, see David E. Whisnant, *Modernizing the Mountaineer: People,*

Power, and Planning in Appalachia, (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1994.)

9. Tribal Council Minutes, September 21, 1965, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Cherokee, North Carolina, Microfilm Collection, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina.

10. John Witthoft, "Observations on Social Change Among the Eastern Cherokees," 218. Sociologist Laurence French asserts that the Cherokee Boys Club is an outgrowth of the aboriginal *gadugi* system. French maintains that the conservative Cherokees and Whites were convinced that the tribal ownership was Communism. The Cherokee *gadugi* was more a communal lifestyle than a political ideology. Laurence French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds* (Lewiston, ID: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 105 and 162. Anthropologist William S. Gilbert, conducted field studies in Cherokee in 1931 and 1932 and discovered the *gadugi* to be a major feature of the community. The *gadugi* hired out its services and divided any profits among the members. According to Gilbert, one fourth of the Big Cove residents belonged to the cooperative, including women. William S. Gilbert, *The Eastern Ethnology Bulletin* 133 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), 87, 96-97, 100-101. See also, Hester A. Davis, "Social Interaction and Kinship in Big Cove Community, Cherokee, North Carolina," M.A. Thesis (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1957), 56. Anthropologist John Witthoft described the *gadugi* as a work company comprising a voluntary association of men and women drawn from one neighborhood. They met almost every day as a group and worked a full day as a labor gang on the land of each member in succession. The economic functions of the old Cherokee towns were preserved within the *gadugis*. John Witthoft, "Observations on Social Change among the Eastern Cherokees," in Duane H. King, Ed., *The Cherokee Nation: A Troubled History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 204-205. Historian Charlotte Neely argues that post World War II-era government funding created factionalism among the residents of the Snowbird community. The White Cherokee, light-complexioned but tribally enrolled, joined newly formed community clubs, while the full-bloods continued the *gadugi* tradition. Neely contends that *gadugi* is still alive in Snowbird, as former *gadugi* members provide assistance to those who are unable to care for themselves. Charlotte Neely, *Snowbird Cherokees: People of Persistence* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 35 and 58.

11. Jack D. Forbes, *Native Americans and Nixon: Presidential Politics and Minority Self-Determination, 1969-1972* (Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1981), 22. The National Indian Youth Council was created at the 1961 Chicago Conference, reflecting a renewed interest in unity and national organizations for Indian activism. *Declaration of Indian Purpose*, Chicago: American Indian Chicago Conference; Deloria, *The Nations Within*, 198.

12. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, 91-93; Prucha, *The Great Father, Vol. II*, 1092; Paul Stuart, "Financing Self-Determination: Federal Indian Expenditures, 1975-1988," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 14, no. 2 (1990): 2. A full account of the ARA is found in Sar A. Levitan, *Federal Aid to Depressed Areas: An Evaluation of the ARA* (1964.)

13. Richard C. Bayer, "Cherokees Joining White Man's World," *The Charlotte Observer*, Charlotte, North Carolina, October 10, 1965.

14. Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 147.

15. Prucha, *The Great Father, Vol. II*, 1094; *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1965 contains Indian participation in the OEO programs, 20-22.

16. Richard N. Ellis, "Robert L. Bennett, 1966-1969," in Robert M. Kvasnicka and Herman J. Viola, Eds., *The Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1824-1977* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 325; similarly, the Boys Club members often remained with the organization after graduating from high school and became teachers, drivers, and/or managers.
17. *The Cherokee One Feather*, January 21, 1966.
18. "Cherokee Boys Farm Club Reports," *Indian Truth*, Vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 1965-66, 6-7.
19. Kinsland interview, March 7, 2001.
20. Ibid.
21. Tribal Council Minutes, January 5, 1967, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Cherokee, North Carolina, Microfilm Collection, Hunter Library, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, North Carolina.
22. *The Cherokee One Feather*, February 3, 1967.
23. Laurens Irby, "Cherokees Receive Federal Housing Loan," *The Asheville Citizen-Times*, Asheville, North Carolina, October 4, 1967; John Witthoft, "Observations on Social Change Among the Eastern Cherokees," 218.
24. "Farm Club Changes Name," *The Cherokee One Feather*, July 28, 1967. The Club Board of Directors voted to drop the word "Farm" from the name of the club in 1966. The members believed the name change was necessary because the club was becoming more involved in offering services to the community that were not provided by any other businesses in Cherokee.
25. *Cherokee Boys Club Scrapbook, 1965-1969*, Cherokee Boys Club, Cherokee, North Carolina.
26. *The Cherokee One Feather*, February 23, 1968.
27. Lloyd C. Owl, "Ray Kinsland Adopted as Honor Member," *The Cherokee One Feather*, February 23, 1968.
28. *The Cherokee One Feather*, August 5, 1966.
29. "CAP and BIA Combine Social Services," *The Cherokee One Feather*, March 21, 1968.
30. "Reservation Planning," *The Cherokee One Feather*, June 25, 1968.
31. *Cherokee Progress and Challenge*. Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, (Cherokee, North Carolina, 1971), 26-37.
32. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, 168.
33. Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 167.
34. Castile, *To Show Heart*, 28.
35. Phillip S. Deloria, "The Era of Indian Self-Determination: An Overview," In Kenneth R. Philp, Ed., *Indian Self-Rule: First Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995), 199.
36. Castile, *To Show Heart*, 35.
37. Finger, *Cherokee Americans*, 147-150.
38. Sorkin, *American Indians and Federal Aid*, 168; Deloria, "The Era of Indian Self-Determination," 197.