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MIAMI INDIAN LANGUAGE SHIFT AND RECOVERY

VOLUME I

By

Melissa A. Rinehart

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
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ABSTRACT

MIAMI INDIAN LANGUAGE SHIFT AND RECOVERY

By

Melissa A. Rinehart

Indigenous language shift has remained a common feature for multiple native communities throughout North America over the past five centuries. Currently, 80 percent of all native languages are moribund (Krauss 1992:5), while other language communities have shifted to English. The socio-historical processes leading to linguistic dormancy remain unknown for many of these native communities; therefore, it is the primary goal of this project to examine the historical contexts surrounding language shift in a specific native community – the Miami Indian communities in Indiana and Oklahoma. Specifically, this project examines how certain historical events premised upon nation/state ideologies that consistently devalued native languages and those language ideologies within Miami Indian communities, both contributed to language shift over the past 300 years. This project also examines the relevancy of historical contextualization for contemporary implementation of language reclamation programming including Miami language reclamation efforts. In summation, societal and personal ideologies affected Miami language maintenance and the fallout from these processes continues today.

The fieldwork for this project included ethnohistoric and ethnographic methodologies. Various archival documents were examined which illuminated, either directly or indirectly, the status of the Miami language. Close analysis was made regarding the language and physical presentation of these documents, especially

concerning the fluency and literacy of tribal members in order to determine their educational and class standings. The ethnographic fieldwork for this project included participant/observation research conducted at Miami language camps held in Indiana and Oklahoma, and other Miami cultural gatherings. At these events I was able to observe various methods of language instruction, adult student responses, and ideological perspectives about the language. Also, by interviewing adult tribal members I was able to gather their thoughts about language shift and reclamation.

This project contributes to anthropological research in that it addresses fundamental deficiencies in our knowledge of the complexities of native language shift and how this can affect language reclamation. This project also contributes to the field on the importance of the more intangible aspects of language shift, such as language ideologies, or the ways in which people think and feel about language. History and language ideologies played definitive roles in the decisions the Miami and other non-Miamis made about the maintenance of their language and it is these same processes which continue to affect the efficacy of their language recovery efforts today.

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For Sedona, my tower of strength.

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of his many responsibilities he always made time for my, often too numerous, inquiries.

My nee.

I also want to acknowledge the support of my family. I want to recognize my father, James, for taking me to numerous forts, historical sites and living re-enactments as a child. If I had known then these vacation spots would some day become my professional calling I would have paid more attention. I also want to thank my mother Patricia. Without her help in the care of my daughter, my returning to graduate school would have never been possible. I also want to thank my brother and sister, Ben and Aimee, my maternal grandparents, Frank and Phyllis, my friends Tammy, Shelly and Phyllis for their encouragement. They were some of my most vocal cheerleaders and they all know how special they are to me. And, finally I want to thank my daughter Sedona. This whole process began with her in diapers and she has now become quite a little girl. Hopefully, some day she will understand why mommy read all those “Indian books.”

PREFACE

Several Miami individuals, both historical and contemporary, are included in this research. When possible I have incorporated their Miami names and birth and death dates. I did this to demonstrate that Miami naming practices have remained fairly consistent from contact forward in spite of language shift. Miami naming rituals serve as one of the remaining traditions that have consistently relied on the Miami language. Some Miami names are not provided because various individuals for whatever reasons never received a Miami name. In some instances Miami names have been purposefully deleted out of respect for tribal members still living today who wish their Miami name to remain private. In some cases, Miami names are in English and in other cases there is no available data regarding Miami names. Approximate birth and death dates are also provided. Many individuals are mentioned multiple times throughout this research; however, their Miami names and dates are only detailed the first time they appear within the text.

I cite one particular tribal member, Daryl Baldwin (Kinwalaniihisia, 1962-) throughout much of this dissertation. Through Daryl's personal and professional commitment he has revitalized a once dormant language of 30 plus years from seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuit records. His role as the Director of the Myaamia Project at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, involves him in many projects related to Miami language and culture; hence, his scholarly contributions and contributions to Miami communities are numerous. Many of his conference papers and articles from the tribal newspaper are utilized in this research, as well as my observations

of his language classes. Additionally, several ethnographic interviews, and phone and email conversations with Daryl are included herein.

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***Images in this dissertation are presented in color.**

INTRODUCTION

The Miami language story, a story involving linguistic vitality, shift, dormancy and revitalization, is unique for many reasons. This language story is unique because Miami communities found new ways to adapt to their surroundings culturally, while remaining linguistically conservative for over three hundred years. In spite of cultural contact with Europeans from the late seventeenth century on, the Miami continued to work, live, marry non-Indians and Indians alike, and convert to Christianity, while retaining their language. Many adapted to these changing social environments by becoming bilingual, Miami and French, and even tri-lingual, Miami, French and English. These historical relationships, however, changed with persistent American settlement during the nineteenth century. Dispossession of Miami lands and eventually tribal removal forever changed the ways the Miami managed their lives. Out of economic necessity, this estrangement from the land facilitated increased intermarriage to non-Indians. Furthermore, traditional economies and education through oral tradition became nearly obsolete and new traditions evolved including the transition to a formal economy and formalized schooling respectively. Although Miami remained the preferred language, maintained through limited intermarriage, persistent Miami women, and residential segregation until the 1880s, English monolingualism was impressed upon them from many directions. Intergenerational transmission of the language ceased circa 1870, and by the turn of the twentieth century only twenty speakers remained. Remaining speakers, three whom were still monolingual, reserved their discourse for social events such as the Annual Miami Reunion, but rarely spoke at home. The last native speaker passed on in 1963, just before the Bureau of Ethnology could reach him,

and with his passage the Miami language became officially dormant (Costa 1991:365).

The losses signified by Miami language shift did not go unnoticed and in 1995, language revitalization programming was initiated by Daryl Baldwin, Julie Olds (1962-) and others. Language programming has remained steadfast over the past eleven years and during its course many students of the language have come and gone, some tribal members continue to work with the language, while others continuously grow more interested. Various educational formats to teach the language have been developed including language classes in the form of language and immersion camps, the completion of their first dictionary (Baldwin and Costa 2005), and language curricula in written, media and musical formats (Johnson, C. 2003, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma 2002, Baldwin 2003d, Miami Nation of Indiana 1999, Myaamia Project 2004). Language recovery programming has been labor intensive, however, these efforts have begun the process of reversing language shift. For the first time in forty years, the Miami language is now heard, read and written by Miami community members.

Miami language revitalization has been a learning experience for everyone involved and a number of projects incorporating traditional knowledge through the language such as mapping, ethnobotany and cookbook projects have emerged, as well as more traditional language tools such as the dictionary, various workbooks and multimedia, and language camps. In this sense, language revitalization has inspired significant cultural revitalization in Miami communities. However, some of the most revealing observations made by language programmers and language teachers have been about the complexities of language acquisition for adults and ways to serve them better. When Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds began language programming in 1995, there were a

substantial number of adult tribal members who proposed their commitment to recovery efforts, however, their commitment declined from year to year. Interestingly, many of these same adults no longer participate in language activities, but are now encouraging their children to do so, while other adult students continue to learn the language, yet cite numerous reasons why their acquisition is not what they feel it should be. Whatever the reason may be, adult language ideologies are paramount in understanding why, what they say, versus what they do, is different.

Behavior such as this is not unique to the Miami because it has been observed in many other communities such as the Northern Arapaho (Anderson 1998), Haida and Tsimhshian (Daehauer and Dauenhauer 1998), Cree (Burnaby, MacKenzie, Salt 1999), several groups (Hit'an, Holikachuk, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, and Lower Tanana) in Western Interior Alaska (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999), Mexicano elites (Silverstein 1998) and among the well-documented language revitalization efforts of Māori and Hawaiian peoples. However, what is unique about this research is that those ideologies that surface today among adult Miami community members are actually manifestations of more historical ideologies held by the nation/state and the community which together led to Miami language shift. As Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:55) contend, language worked and continues to work as a “social process”; therefore, to create more effective language programming language shifted should be examined. With a better understanding of Miami language shift, perhaps language programmers will be better equipped to serve adult students of the language now and in the near future.

The Miami language story is also unique because the language has been reclaimed solely from the historical record. With the passing of the last native speaker in 1963, and

no audio recordings of Miami, the language has been reclaimed through numerous language materials. In fact according to Miami linguist Wesley Leonard (Kinoosaawia, 1977-), Miami language programming is often cited alongside other well-documented language recovery programs such as Hawaiian and Blackfeet (Leonard, W. 2006). Additionally, their efforts are tribally supported and produced, hence, there are no conflicting agendas regarding the course of language programming, unlike those described by Collins (1998:256) among the Tolowa where funders, linguists, tribal leaders and tribal members all held conflicting ideas about the directions language programming should take. Although tribally led language programming initiatives do not always lead to programming success, like that experienced in Tolowa communities, it does empower the Miami by leading their own initiatives.

A thorough investigation of Miami language shift is warranted here because it has never been investigated until now. In spite of fifteen years of cumulative research by Daryl Baldwin and linguist David Costa, this particular chapter of the Miami language story was never researched. In fact, there is very little in existing scholarship about the investigation of language shift in native communities of the lower Great Lakes. While many native communities have initiated language programming throughout the region, particularly in Canada (Ojibwa, Iroquoian, Cree) and Michigan (Ojibwa, Iroquoian), few scholars have looked at language shift in these respective communities. This research therefore contributes even more broadly to regional as well as individual native language stories.

Furthermore, the approach taken for this research illustrates the distinctiveness of the Miami language story, in that Miami language shift was both intentional and

conditional. Miami language shift was partly intentional because many societal influences including discriminatory legislation, dispossession, removal, changes in the formal economy and boarding school education emphasized the English language as keys to their survival. However, Miami language shift was not solely resultant from these outside forces, as Miami peoples were ultimately responsible for the maintenance of their language. This paradox required a more thorough investigation of various hypotheses for language shift.

Hypotheses for Language Shift

Language shift, or the voluntary or involuntary process of a minority language supplanted by a more dominant language (Hinton 2001a:3), is typically addressed in an abridged manner in language endangerment and revitalization scholarship. Research tends to favor either macro or micro-oriented reasons when investigating causes of language shift. Grenoble and Whaley (1998:36) assert that both macro and micro-oriented variables affect language maintenance. More macro-oriented variables, or those external pressures on a language community (Ibid.) Fishman (1991:57) refers to as external variables, are resultant from physical/demographic, social and cultural dislocations due to coercive governmental policies (Fishman 1991:57-65). In the United States, this included the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 and the establishment of boarding schools. Some native peoples resisted by transmitting the language intergenerationally, in spite of potential punishment and discrimination, while others conformed linguistically to outside pressures. Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore (1999:40) attribute the English-only policies of schools and missions, coupled with the effects from crippling disease, as having the biggest impact among the Hit'an, Holikachuk, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim,

and Lower Tanana Athabaskan language communities. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:64) found similar results for the Haida and Tsimshian of Southeast Alaska, and Warner (2001:134) for native Hawaiians. While Bunte and Franklin (2001:256-257) found that language shift among the San Juan Pauite occurred only after contact was made with governmental officials, attorneys and anthropologists, who were contracted to help them gain federal recognition in the late 1980s.

Another hypothesis for language shift states that it is more an internal process within language communities (Crawford 1997:56-57, Palmer, S. 1997:263) or what Grenoble and Whaley (1998:36) refer to as micro-oriented variables. Crawford (1996:62-63) surmises that the Mississippi Choctaw exemplify the power of personal agency in the maintenance of native language use as they continue to maintain stable bilingualism in Choctaw and English. Crawford (1996: 59-60) also finds in Navajo communities an emphasis on individualism where attitudinal differences between generations has had a significant influence on language maintenance. In Hualapai communities standardization and dialectical issues have become problematic due to the breakup of familial residential patterns that have influenced personal decisions about the course of language recovery programming (Crawford 1996:61-62). Outside influences such as boarding schools, economics and the media are not ignored by proponents of this hypothesis, however, the greater focus is on individual or community choice in language maintenance. In other words, it is one's decision to speak and teach the language. "Ultimately speakers themselves are responsible, through their attitudes and choices, for what happens to their native language. Families choose to speak it in the home and teach it to their children, or they don't" (Crawford 1996:57). Individuals shape their social

environments, not necessarily out of coercion, but out of habitual accommodation. One Miami tribal member concurred with this hypothesis when he stated, “The Miami did not lose their language because of boarding schools. They chose not to speak it” (Rinehart 2004a). The agency of community and personal choice goes both ways. Nevins’ (2004:282) work among the White Mountain Apache has determined that they attribute language loss in their community to the weakening of kinship relations, as found in young and elderly populations. And, for the Arizona Tewa, Kroskrity (1998:104) determined that communal decisions made by the Tewa community enabled significant linguistic conservatism since the colonial era, as demonstrated in both everyday conversation and kiva ceremonial talk.

A third hypothesis describes internal shift, but claims language shift is more profound because it reflects certain changes in social and cultural values (Crawford 1997:58). Essentially, this hypothesis states that personal and community choices regarding language maintenance are in response to greater societal influences, or that both micro and macro-oriented variables are responsible for language shift. Today, many native communities uphold Robin Williams’ (Williams, R. 1970) fifteen modern American values including individualism, external conformity, materialism, efficiency and practicality (pragmatism), achievement and success. These various American values have had a significant influence in smaller language communities because within these contexts, “The encroachment of ... Western ways of thinking, the dominant thought patterns in U.S. capitalism society, have a great deal to do with language shift in native communities” (Crawford 1997:58). Western values based on capitalistic enterprise have forced native peoples to engage in the formal economy in multiple ways which brings

their languages under greater threat. Palmer's (Palmer, S. 1997:263) "language of work hypothesis" links a shift in the types of work to language shift in the home. In the United States, the language of the workplace, or the national language for most professions, remains English, and when a native person enters the workplace, this new trade language returns home with him/her and quickly supplants indigenous language use. Additionally, the majority of occupations today require an increased reliance on English literacy, so not only is a different language spoken in the workplace, but also read and written.

Some authors explore both macro and micro-oriented variables, although do not necessarily label it as such. Anderson's (1998:70-82, 97-103) work with the Northern Arapaho demonstrates that societal influences including increased contact with English speakers, shifts from seasonal hunting to agriculture and eventually wage labor, boarding/missionary school admissions, and exogamy, influence language usage as do personal choices involving generational attitudes and concerns. Sims (2001:66-68) explores this dialectic through her critical investigations of historical, societal and personal influences on Acoma language maintenance and recovery efforts. And, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:64-66) explore among the Haida and Tsimshian the psychological fallout from historical events including pervasive missionary influences that convinced many to believe their language and religion were inferior. As a result of this indoctrination, tribal members today still feel shame and embarrassment over the stigmas associated with their language, while others believe they are not intelligent enough to learn or relearn their language. Because of these ideological conflicts, parents often send mixed messages to their children about the importance of heritage language use; hence, intergenerational dislocation of the language becomes more commonplace.

Through careful analysis of language endangerment scholarship, I have found the majority of authors favor more macro-oriented explanations for language shift. Many of the contributing authors in Hinton and Hale's *Green Book of Language Revitalization* (2001) cite macro-variables for language shift such as nation/state language policies (Hinton 2001d, King 2001, Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001, Warner 2001), the influences of boarding schools (Arviso and Holm 2001, Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001, Wilson and Kamanā 2001) and missionaries (Warner 2001), dispossession (Pecos and Blum Martinez 2001, Warner 2001), removal (Hinton 2001d, Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001), economic changes (Ash, Fermino and Hale 2001, King 2001, Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001, Warner 2001), land improvement projects (Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001), disease (King 2001, Warner 2001), housing projects (Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001), the media (Bunte and Franklin 2001, King 2001) and war (Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001, King 2001). However, while the focus of these authors is on the struggles and triumphs of contemporaneous language maintenance and recovery efforts, which to a certain extent makes sense given the nature of this volume, virtually no connection is made between the brief introductory paragraphs on language shift and how the ideological fallout from these pivotal events and choices continue to affect language maintenance and recovery efforts today. Their overviews serve as mere historical explanations of the status of the language today and any problems associated with language planning are somehow different and unrelated from the past.

The trickling effects from both external and internal changes have been and continue to be important to the vitality of heritage languages of native peoples. It is easy to blame those historical figures who created discriminatory policies, or certain socio-

historical events and subsequent practices that prohibited native language usage, or even those parents who did not and still do not teach native languages to their children.

However, the goal of this project was not to determine who or what is more at fault. The socio-historical events cited in much of the literature as macro-variables for language shift were used as a springboard for my research, and the research herein supports the correlation of macro and micro-oriented variables that specifically affected maintenance of the Miami language for over three hundred years. Christianity slowly changed worldviews that placed the Miami language to the periphery. Isolation from the land through dispossession, removal and environmental concerns altered traditional economies, all which required heritage language use. In response to these changes, exogamous marriage practices to American settlers increased where the social expectation was for Miami women to conform to American customs and the English language. Formalized education, first with missionary schools and then public and boarding schools, had profound effects on Miami language maintenance. And, ultimately, the influences of modernity including new technologies such as television served as the final pushes toward dormancy. In all, these more deterministic events were premised upon nation-state ideologies that hallmarked the English language as the path to assimilation.

The impact of these various historical events in Miami social environments was critical for the development of personal choices regarding the language. These choices contributed to language shift as much as removal or a shift away from traditional economies. Miami language ideologies, or the ways they think and feel about the language, have continuously varied according to gender, generation and class status

(Kroskrity 2000:24, Woolard 1998:3-9). The changed economic value of the language is often mentioned by tribal members today who cite former boarding school practices and changed workplaces that had no use for the Miami language. Many also profess their own biological limitations, saying the language is too difficult to learn. Some cite that dead languages should stay that way or that they do not have the time to learn the language. Others feel that without language classes or lack of daily communication, their efforts are ultimately in vain. So, to suggest only more deterministic forces caused Miami to shift to English, marks them as unfortunate linguistic victims who had no choice but to abandon certain language and cultural practices. This is refuted by those families who maintained the language albeit in a limited manner throughout the earlier part of the twentieth century and those families today who are actively learning the language. On the other hand, to suggest only personal decisions made by the Miami placed their language to the periphery ignores larger societal forces that readily nudged this along.

The Miami were never held hostage to the language of the majority, and language shift was not complete because community members made choices regarding their ethnic and linguistic reorganization. Nagel and Snipp (1993:204) contend that ethnic reorganization, or what Fishman (1991:29) refers to as re-ethnization, is strategic in understanding how communities like the Miami coped with certain forced changes and in turn permits one to understand the processes of ethnic change. In many families, the decision to stop speaking Miami was made because of ideological influences, largely negative in nature, from dominant society. In other families, more positive language ideologies, in spite of societal influences, created an environment amenable to Miami

language maintenance, even if spoken Miami was selective or fragmentary. Miami language ideologies such as these are complex and multifaceted and to suggest one or more events or choices led to language shift seems unlikely and simplistic. Instead, Miami language shift was the synthesis of both macro and micro-variables that incorporated societal and personal ideologies about language value and use.

Some Miami feel that language shift was a matter of personal choice (Rinehart 2004a) while others like Daryl Baldwin feel language shift was more deterministic in nature from active nation/state ideologies that devalued native languages such as boarding school policies (Baldwin 2005i). Baldwin (2003d:17-18) contends

our people were psychologically coerced into believing that being Indian was something to be ashamed of, that their cultures had no future, and that speaking a native language, considered by many to be a simple barbaric language, had no future. Our ancestors from previous generations repeatedly received these kinds of messages, as we still do to some extent today. The most damaging aspect of this kind of psychological warfare is that children who grow up with these messages eventually believe them to be true. Even today we find these misconceptions lingering among our own tribal members, but I don't criticize them for they are, like all of us, products of our past.

Even though tribal members' opinions vary, it is this variability that demonstrates the diversity and agency of language ideologies, as well as the complexities involved in trying to rearticulate Miami language shift. It is because of this dialectic in both scholarship and Miami communities that both paradigms are explored in this research.

Ethnohistoric Methodology

As my research details, Miami language shift has been and continues to be reflective of societal, community and personal language ideologies. Colonial and post-colonial contact experiences of Miami communities laid the groundwork for the

articulation of these ideologies and because of this complex nature I analyzed historical and anthropological lines of evidence. More specifically, an ethnohistoric approach emphasized how history can be utilized to understand language shift in Miami communities and its relevance for contemporaneous pursuits like language reclamation. To reconstruct this part of the Miami language story, those events that affected language vitality such as the introduction of Christianity, changed relationships with the land and economies, altered marriage practices, formalized education and modernity, were identified and analyzed (Dark 1957:231). More specifically, to understand the course of linguistic dormancy and contemporary language recovery efforts supports Euler's (1972:201) argument regarding the importance of ethnographic field work and historical research when assessing these types of processes. Trigger (1986:263) asserts that in order to integrate the voice of both American Indians and ethnohistorians multiple lines of evidence including archaeological, linguistic, ethnographical, archival, and oral historical records, create more holistic perspectives. He refers to this approach elsewhere as "eclectic" (1982:15) where Washburn more refers to it as "history in the round" (Washburn 1961:31). Their compelling arguments encouraged me to investigate a variety of materials which revealed the nature of Miami language shift.

A significant portion of this project involved archival research at several locations. A thorough investigation of the historical record was critical for this dissertation project because more anthropological questions could be asked of these records. Additionally, the presentation of these documents was examined. The Miami language was never a written language; therefore, only English literacy was examined. The anthropological study of literacy has demonstrated that it is "not an autonomous,

neutral technology, but rather is culturally organized, ideologically grounded, and historically contingent, shaped by political, social, and economic forces” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994:65). English literacy and the lack thereof in Miami communities revealed much about community, familial and personal discourse including socio-economic standing. The purposive choice of language and presentation of these documents demonstrated several interesting trends. First, increased English literacy typically reflected formal schooling which itself demonstrated a person’s economic standing and social (class) position within the community (Kroskrity 2000:12, Woolard 1998:6-7). Second, English literacy permitted tribal members from a great distance to communicate with one another which became particularly useful for maintaining familial and social relations after the 1846 removal. Additionally, English literacy permitted family, clan or tribal leaders to represent their positions during legal proceedings including treaties and court proceedings. Documents told by their content, or lack thereof, as well as the presentation of the text, many complex and multifaceted stories about language shift. (For further details on the archival research completed for this project refer to Appendix A. Archival Research).

The ethnographic fieldwork for this dissertation project included different methods of anthropological investigation. A significant portion involved participant/observation research in Miami communities in Indiana and Oklahoma. Both tribal communities held summer language camps; therefore, I conducted qualitative research in Indiana and Oklahoma during the summers of 2003 and 2004, and in Oklahoma in 2005. At language camps I observed various methods of adult language instruction, as well as the ways adult learners responded to instruction. I also took

fieldnotes and photographed several individuals and cultural events. I was an active participant at both language camps where I worked on written exercises, speech events, game and role playing, and went on fieldtrips. During these activities I experienced the difficulties of learning the Miami language first-hand, however, my participation strengthened my abilities as a researcher in understanding the difficulties other adult students were having with language acquisition. I also participated and observed at other tribal functions including pow wows in both Indiana and Oklahoma, and Family Day and the annual tribal meeting in Oklahoma. These settings were conducive to participant/observation research because individual attitudes and beliefs regarding Miami culture and language became apparent. These venues also afforded less stressful environments for tribal members to discuss informally their ideas about language shift and recovery efforts. I also conducted interviews under formal consent with adult tribal members on different occasions. These interviews proved critical for my research because much information was revealed regarding language shift and recovery efforts. (For further details of the ethnographic research conducted for this project refer to Appendix B. Ethnographic Research).

The employment of historical and anthropological methodologies further substantiates the application of ethnohistorical analysis even for socio-linguistic projects such as this. Scholarship dealing with language shift and ideologies is not reserved for linguists, but is open to ethnographers and ethnohistorians as well. Every community has a unique language story to tell, and for this reason I do not believe the Miami language story mirrors or is representative of others. Instead, I believe those individuals interested in language use should engage themselves more critically with the historical implications

for contemporaneous language reclamation efforts. The ethnohistorical methodologies employed for this dissertation enabled me to integrate both historic and ethnographic data. While the data agreed on many occasions, at other times they did not, but these associations or disassociations led to valuable observations and conclusions regarding Miami language use at a particular time. From careful examination of multiple records and research sites, I traced linguistic shift from Miami to English, and how this was spurred by various historical events and choices. Throughout this course, I followed the development of changed language ideologies, both inside and outside the community, and how these processes influenced language use and how they continue to affect language reclamation efforts today. Proper assessment of societal, community, and personal ideologies fills in critical voids of the Miami language story, and perhaps with future investigations the ideological outcomes among struggling adult students of the language will be better understood and, therefore, addressed more specifically.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces language shift as a cultural process accelerated by colonization in native North America; and chapter two discusses the relationships between language, culture and identity, and the ways native communities revitalize these relationships with language recovery programming efforts today. Both chapters include a literature review of various language endangerment issues including language contact, shift, and revitalization. The following five chapters describe the status of the Miami language over time. These chapters, chapters three through seven, include the influences of Christianity on Miami worldviews, increased isolation from the land and traditional economies, increased

Miami marriages to non-Miamis, formalized education, and modern influences from the post World War II era. The final chapter, chapter eight, analyzes Miami language reclamation efforts. More specifically, programming achievements over the past eleven years as well as certain language ideologies that continue to impede language acquisition among adult community members are assessed.

“I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me nor I them, nor does anyone on board. And these Indians whom I took along I often misunderstood, taking one thing for the opposite, and I don’t trust them much...”

**Christopher Columbus
(As quoted in Morison 1963:93)**

“The American Indian can not [sic] compete with the liars and thieves in this Country, old Christopher Columbus should have been killed before he got of [sic] that boat.”

**Elijah Shapp Marks, Miami Indian
(Marks 1930)**

Chapter One: Language Endangerment: Prehistoric, Historic and Contemporary Language Encounter

Language shift on various levels has occurred for millennia. Based on the linguistic diversity found in modern hunting and gathering societies, it is estimated that hundreds if not thousands of languages were replaced by larger language families around five thousand years ago (Ash, Fermino and Hale 2001:19). These larger language families include Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, Khoisan, Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Caucasian, Dravidian, Uralic-Yukaghir, Altaic, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Miao-Yao, Austro-Asiatic, Daic, Austronesian, Indo-Pacific, Australian, Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene, and Amerind languages (Ruhlen 1987:291-299). Archaeologists link this replacement pattern with the development and expansion of agriculturalism and pastoralism (Ash, Fermino and Hale 2001:19).

Pre-contact multilingualism was the norm in North America. Trade languages were utilized by native peoples as well as linguistic borrowing between groups and linguistic domination of one group over another. This diversity became apparent as colonizers found diverse native populations living in close proximity that spoke different

languages, yet also spoke one another's languages. During these initial contact situations colonizers linguistically accommodated native peoples, however, over time they began to push their own linguistic agendas onto native populations. The end result was rampant language shift in many host communities, a trend that has unfortunately continued until today. Thus, while language contact, shift and dormancy have been a human reality, these processes were accelerated considerably during various colonial pursuits throughout the world. The following chapter illustrates these scenarios for native North America.

Prehistoric Language Encounter in North America

The relationships or lack thereof between language families in the Americas suggests the length of time these communities interacted with one another. Languages from different language families implies that interactions between various groups took place in the past, prior to their migration, and that they have little in common with any proto (parent) language; whereas languages that appear or sound similar suggest commonality of location, hence, closer relationships to one another and a parent language. The relationships between language families in native North America have been (re)organized by several individuals over the past one hundred years. Edward Sapir (1963[1929]) based his creation of six superstocks from John Powell's (1966[1891]) earlier classifications of fifty-five language families. Although Powell's and Sapir's methodologies varied, much of their work remains unchallenged today (Hoiyer 1973:657, Haas 1966:115). However, what is debated at times is the degree of relatedness between sub-families, or daughter languages, under certain classification schemes (Mithun 1999:297-298, 300). Linguistic and statistical analysis shows that the relatedness of

daughter languages in the Uto-Aztecan and Eskimo-Aleut language families suggests two parental or proto languages which existed prior to European contact, but this is still debated (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965:136-137). Arguments over relatedness continue because of the difficulties in assessing which daughter language influenced another and become even more complicated when migration patterns and intertribal assimilation are considered. The North American language families most readily recognized by linguists today include the Algonquian family consisting of Algonquian and Iroquoian languages, Athabaskan, Caddoan, Chiimakuan, Chinookan, Chumashan, Comecrudan, Coosan, Eskimo-Aleut, Iroquoian, Kalapuyan, Kiowa-Tanoan, Maiduan, Muskogean, Palaihnihan, Pomoan, Sahaptian, Salishan, Shastan, Siouan-Catawban, Tsimshianic, Utian, Uto-Aztecan, Wakashan, Wintuan, Yokutsan, Yuman-Cochimi and Zuni (Mithun 1999:326-586).

The complexities involved with articulating North American language classifications demonstrates, at least theoretically, that native languages were not immune to change prior to European contact. Intertribal language contact resulted in the borrowing of certain words and cultural practices from which either trade languages, pidgins, bilingualism, or multilingualism evolved (Thomason and Kaufman 1991:192-193). At times language communities were dominated by larger language communities and either multilingualism or monolingualism resulted. Native language environments changed, expanded and contracted. These influences and shifts were common, unlike contemporaneous language shift which tends to be less mutually accommodative than in the past. Language shift in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in North America has involved, and continues to involve, the omnipresence of English, whereas before

language shift was variable and often incorporated many languages.

Written records from the Old World confirm the earlier presence of languages not spoken there today, but the New World does not have, at least outside Meso America, similar offerings. Linguistic studies nevertheless were undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries largely involving the comparison of lexemes and grammars (Pratt 1971, Powell 1966[1891], Sapir 1963[1929], Gallatin 1836). Many of these studies presumed degrees of linguistic relatedness and the evolution of parental or proto languages. Pre-contact languages are also determined through other forms of analysis. Historical, archaeological and ethnographic analysis indicates that language in pre-Columbian native societies of the Lower Antilles served as a “cultural filter which...set boundaries outside of which its speakers are unable to go...at the same time, constraining or dictating the specific social-cultural choices that members of the group may make” (Granberry and Vescelius 2004:xiii). The minimal variation of artifacts recovered from several Lower Antillean Archaic sites demonstrates that acculturation or diffusion were most likely normative.

Within any well-defined geographical area the expectation and norm is that people speaking the same or closely related languages tend to intermarry...to participate in a common, highly specific gene pool... and...show similar socio-economic and related nonmaterial culture traits and common artifactual preferences (Granberry and Vescelius 2004:xiii).

In other words, people during the Archaic period of the Lower Antilles married within, resided in the same area and shared similar life situations; hence, the greater the likelihood they spoke the same or closely related languages (Granberry and Vescelius 2004:xiii).

Languages, such as Classic Taíno, were utilized as *linguae francae* between culturally and linguistically distinctive groups of the Lower Antilles, and trade languages were common in native North America as well, especially in areas where cultural diversity was normative and intertribal communication was necessary. Numerous jargons also existed throughout North America prior to European contact. Delaware Jargon was spoken on the middle Atlantic Coast and Broken Oghibbeway was spoken throughout the Great Lakes region (Mithun 1999:324). Mobilian Jargon evolved as a trade language between Choctaw and Chickasaw speakers and spread throughout present-day Louisiana, eastern Texas, Alabama, the Gulf Coast of Florida and the Mississippi corridor as far north as Illinois (Drechsel 1983:167). In fact, after European contact the Spanish, French, English, German and African peoples spoke Mobilian because it became essential for everyone's survival as well as for the establishment of a frontier exchange economy in the lower Mississippi Delta (Usner 1992:258-259).

Native peoples' linguistic capabilities were exploited during European exploration in many areas throughout the Americas. Areas with noted chiefdoms, such as those in the Southeastern United States during the sixteenth century, fostered multilingual environments where interpreters were readily needed (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:401). For some groups the language of the dominant native group supplanted another. An example of this is with the extinct Californian language, Giamina, classified as a linguistic and geographic intermediate between two Uto-Aztecan daughter languages, Tubatulabal and Luiseño (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965:139). Even though many indigenous languages in California were consumed by Spanish and/or English by the turn of the twentieth century, Giamina speaking communities were not affected, for

reasons unknown. Instead, Giamina was replaced by one of the languages of the Yokut family, and linguistic analysis suggests that this shift took place either for the socio-economic prestige associated with it or by intermarriage between these communities, or a combination of both (Ibid.).

During the pre-contact era increased multilingualism occurred where daughter languages and new dialects split continuously through each successive generation. Trade languages continued to develop and linguistic borrowing occurred, as did linguistic conquest. The complexities of these linguistic processes have only begun to be understood, but what is known is that linguistic diversity in North America slowly began to fade after European contact, and for many native communities “wholesale language extinction” occurred (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965:144). While this is a strong statement made by the Voegelins over forty years ago, many believe it to be true today, particularly those who subscribe to statistical analyses of the vitality of native languages in the Americas. Krauss’ (1992a:5-7) predictions regarding the status of native languages in 1992 set off a flurry of scholarship concerning language endangerment. Nevertheless, European contact affected some native language communities more so than others; while many succumbed, others persevered. The variation of native language stories is in direct response to the historical events that spawned these changes and the ways native communities responded to these events varied by time and geographic location.

Historic Language Encounter in North America

As Bright (1973:713) points out, the linguistic norm for contact between Indians and non-Indians was for Indians to learn European languages instead of the reverse. While traders, missionaries and explorers often learned native languages initially, the

expectation was for Indians to adopt European languages and customs eventually.

Spanish prevailed in parts of the Southeast, the Southwest and California, Russian in Alaska and northern California, French in Canada, the Old Northwest and Louisiana, while English swept in from the Northeast and spread westward with European and American expansion.

Initial language contact experiences produced great frustration between Indians and Europeans, however, from these experiences sign language flourished. Verrazzano and his crew in 1524, found Maine natives “so barbarous that we could never make any communication with them, however many signs we made to them” (Wroth 1970:140). While signing was a common form of communication in native North America prior to contact there was no single system which explorers could learn. “Since body language, no less than verbal ones, are culturally variable, the opportunities on both sides for ambiguity and misinterpretation were legion” (Axtell 2003:18). New and borrowed signs were adopted which facilitated communication, but this system was not fool-proof because of the difficulties in communicating abstract concepts like “soul” or “religion”. This proved extremely frustrating for Jesuit missionaries who noted in their relations that signing abstract notions could take all day (Thwaites 1899:Vol. II). Recollect friars in Canada (LeClerq 1881:221-222, 295) and early Dutch Reformed ministers in New Netherland (Jameson 1909:245-246, 396) noted the same, and the efforts by missionaries throughout MesoAmerica and into the Southwest proved equally exasperating (Lerner 2003:285-286). Signing as a form of communication was not void of intentional exploitation either, as both Indians and non-Indians used it to serve their own purposes. In 1607, a Paspahegh chief on Jamestown Island used sign language to convey his protest

of the erection of James Fort, however, the English thought he was communicating they had free rein on the land (Axtell 2003:24). Colonists were sadly mistaken because these gestures were actually warnings of aggressive retaliation and as a result several violent attacks erupted. Nonetheless, this form of communication eventually led to different forms of exchange that were beneficial for both parties. In 1673, Gabriel Arthur, a Virginia trader, taught the trade value of beaverskins to a group of Shawnee in Ohio through signing (Ibid.). The exchange of wampum symbolized peace in the Northeast, the calumet ceremony communicated peace in other parts of North America (Ibid.), and tobacco ceremonies embodied honor, respect, and good relations between different peoples (Leahey 2003:110). These kinesic exchanges conveyed more easily what could not be communicated verbally.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europeans relied on Indians for their physical and economic survival in the New World and learned native pidgins as well as formerly established trade jargons. At times new trade jargons were established by combining linguistic elements from both European and native languages such as that established between Basque fishermen and local Micmacs and Montagnais from the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the early eighteenth century (Axtell 2003:30). Other pidgins and jargons created or utilized by traders and Indians included Pidgin Massachusett, Delaware Jargon, Broken Ojibbeway, Apalachee-Spanish, Inuktitut trade languages, Jargon Loucheux, Slavey Jargon and Haida-English Jargon (Goddard 2003:64, 71, Mithun 1999:324). Communication was essential for early European enterprise, so significant time was expended by Europeans to become fluent in various Indian dialects (Karttunen 2003:216-221). The French went so far as to send young French men to

native villages for the purposes of acquiring indigenous languages (Axtell 1993:41) and British colonizers sent their children to neighboring Indian camps to learn languages as well (Axtell 1993:47). Those with significant linguistic training were often given public or military rank.

As colonization began to dominate the early American landscape, the longterm linguistic expectation held by Europeans was for native speakers to accommodate Europeans, instead of mutual linguistic accommodation. Pidgin English became commonplace in New England by the time the first English settlements were made in 1620; while pidgin Spanish crept into the Carolinas, only to be displaced by English in the latter part of the century; and French supplanted many native languages of Quebec and Mobilian in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Axtell 1993:33, 39, 43, 46). This permitted natives to serve not only as interpreters for certain expeditions or trading, it also gave them a new way to represent themselves. This proved especially beneficial during treaty negotiations. Throughout these processes words were learned, new words were created, while others were borrowed from Indian and non-Indian languages.

Linguistic contact between natives and non-natives had several effects on native languages. Words from within the existing native language were created in new combinations or doubled in meaning to refer to new concepts, commonly referred to as set (semantic) extension (Basso 1967:471). Semantic extension preserved the integrity of several native languages and for many continues such as the Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity 1998:107-109) and Miami. Language communities also adopted certain lexemes from foreign languages which led to eventual bilingualism and language shift. Considerable historical materials exist on the lexemic influences of Spanish in the Southwest and in

California, Russian in Alaskan Inuit language communities, and “layers of French loans” in the North, Northeast, Louisiana and Mississippi corridor (Mithun 1999:312-313). Interestingly, in spite of lexemic borrowing, these contact situations produced little to no phonological or grammatical borrowing by native language communities (Bright 1973:717).

Contemporary Language Encounter in North America

Colonial expansionist programs were widespread by the seventeenth century. French, English and Spanish speakers overwhelmed much of the continent, especially the coastal and peripheral areas. These three linguistic groups found themselves among scores of indigenous languages in which, as previously described, interesting hybridized languages evolved. Linguistic borrowing was mutual as Europeans adopted the Indian words for potato, maize, cocoa, persimmon, pecan and wigwam, but natives were far more linguistically accommodative to Europeans. Linguistic shifts among the Yaqui and Tewa coincided with specific historical time periods in their respective territories (Dozier 1956:146). Or, in other words, borrowed lexemes were determined by socio-cultural shifts more so than by linguistic factors. With unrelenting colonial domination many indigenous languages succumbed to European languages, but in varying degrees. English proved to have the most penetrating effects on native languages, particularly in the East. The dominance of the English language quickly followed British and American military victories as the country’s borders pushed further westward. This linguistic shift varied little from language shift that occurred in England prior to colonization when English slowly replaced Norman French and Latin by the eighteenth century (Heath and Mandabach 1978:88-89). While linguistic diversity was still more the norm in native

America than not, English monolingualism slowly crept in, especially with continued English speaking immigration and American expansionism.

The ethnic reorganization from colonial practices varied throughout North America and is critical in understanding how native communities understood and coped with certain forced changes (Nagel and Snipp 1993:203). “Ethnic reorganization occurs when an ethnic minority undergoes a reorganization of its social structure, redefinition of ethnic group boundaries, or some other change in response to pressures or demands imposed by the dominant culture” (Ibid.). These changes in social structure can be cultural, economic or political in nature, and because each native community had different needs they were selective in how they reorganized themselves. Accommodation differed because the socio-historical factors responsible for its encouragement varied; therefore, communities reorganized in ways that best suited their needs. For some communities, ethnic reorganization equated to significant linguistic and cultural accommodation as was the case for the Miami, but for others, like the Arizona Tewa, it did not (Kroskrity 1998:105-110). Nevertheless, every community responded differently, making the language story of each community unique.

Ethnic cultural and linguistic reorganization is apparent today when assessing the number of surviving, moribund and dormant languages of native North America. Numerous scholars have reported on the vitality of indigenous languages throughout the world over the past fifteen years, but none have had the effect of Michael Krauss’ (1992a). In 1992, Krauss (1992a:4) estimated that half of the world’s six thousand languages would be lost during the twenty-first century and that remaining languages would become endangered and lost by the next century. More specifically, in Alaska and

the Soviet North, ninety percent of native languages were determined to be moribund; and in North America and Mesoamerica eighty percent and twenty-seven percent of indigenous languages respectively were deemed moribund (Krauss 1992a:5.). Even more distressing is that eighty-nine percent of endangered indigenous languages in North America are in the United States (Krauss 1996:18), and only forty-five of 175 native languages are still spoken in thirty of the fifty states (Ibid.). This situation is most critical in California where in 1800 over one hundred native languages were spoken and now only fifty remain, and of these fifty none are being taught to children (Hinton 1994:21). Similar trends are found in Alaska. Out of twenty indigenous languages there are only two, Siberian Yup'ik and Central Yup'ik, that are actively learned and spoken by children (Krauss 1992:5). Other languages in Alaska such as Haida and Tsimshian, are expected to die out within the next fifteen to twenty years (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998:57). Krauss' (1996, 1992a) predictions and estimates, as well as those by others, have had a profound effect in both academic and non-academic circles.

The alarming nature of these statistics is powerful, however, one needs to recognize that Krauss' research assumes those individuals from certain language communities feel their language is endangered as well (Hill, J. 2002:122). This paradox reveals the language ideologies held by those outside the community who make such statistical claims and even more broadly at the rhetoric concerning language endangerment (Ibid.). An example of this paradigm was revealed in an article in *News from Indian Country* in 1999, which stated the Miami language was extinct (Ruble 1999:A1-A2). This prompted a quick response from tribal member, George Strack (\$ikaakwa, 1947-). He (1999:A2) remarked:

We feel the use of the term “extinct” in reference to the Miami language is both offensive and inaccurate. The Miami Language did fall into a near dormant state for approximately 40 years. Today the language is used in prayer, naming, social songs and opening invocations. There are children who can use the language to express basic wants and needs. We would prefer the term “partially reclaimed” be used when speaking about our language.

Strack’s commentary suggests that there is a certain responsibility associated with making claims about a language. Placing stigmatizing labels on a language that does not accurately reflect the reality of its status lends others to believe it is the truth. These same inaccuracies continue in other forms as well. A primary reference for the status of numerous languages in the world is *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005). The Miami language is still referred to as “extinct” in this volume and on-line (Ibid.) in spite of an eleven year tenure for Miami language recovery efforts. Wesley Leonard has informed the editors at *Ethnologue* differently, however, this blatant inaccuracy remains (Leonard, W. 2006). And, in a recent review of linguist David Costa’s book *The Miami-Illinois Language* (Costa 2003) the reviewer referred to the Miami language as “extinct” (Berardo 2006:138) even though Costa never referred to the language as such in his book. He even refers to Miami language recovery efforts, but somehow this escaped the reviewer’s attention (Costa, personal communication, 6 June, 2006).

Krauss (1992a:8) describes indigenous languages as “national treasures for the people whose languages are thus preserved”, but does the community value the language in the same way? Even the phrasing *endangered languages* marginalizes or puts language into a category of the other (England 2002:141). Furthermore, this rhetoric is fundamentally premised upon the idea that language is a human right, which again may or may not reflect the language ideologies held by the community. For example, the

Hopi do not conceive language as a right, instead it is something that is just “done” (Whiteley 2003:716-717), but Daryl Baldwin does refer to languages and language reclamation as human rights issues (Price 2002). His assertions become apparent in his reaction to the proposed Oklahoma legislation, HB 1020, the Oklahoma English Act, which attempted to establish English as the official language of the state in 2003.

Baldwin (2003c:3) stated:

This is nothing short of more government control and insensitivity to differences, not to mention a human rights issue. Is it not a basic human right of any person to be allowed to express him or herself in their native language both legally and politically? How can that be against the law in a free country inhabited primarily by descendents of foreigners who, at one time, spoke many different languages. Today, English may be the prominent language of America, but I will remind you that it is a foreign language to this country only having recently been introduced [sic] in the last few hundred years.

Although Baldwin clearly feels the inherent right of linguistic expression is something everyone shares, he also indicates the conflicting nature of language ideologies held by those in power, who themselves are descended from many linguistic stocks.

While the rhetoric surrounding language endangerment reveals the conflictive nature of language ideologies held by those outside and inside the language community, it also reveals the presumptive notion that the English language has become the linguistic standard in the United States. Today, language shift throughout the world does not equate to multilingualism as it once did, but equates to rampant language loss in a generic growing monolingual world (Crawford 1998:161-163). Hale (1992:1) puts it this way:

Language loss in the modern period is of a different character, in its extent and in its implications. It is part of a much larger process of LOSS OF CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a condition which can only be described as embattled.

The continuous socio-political domination of indigenous peoples has acted in conjunction with “linguistic imperialism”, two patterns that continue today (Phillipson 1997:239). Linguistic imperialism continues due to the political dominance of nations with representative languages like Spanish (Krauss 1996:19), Russian (Krauss 1992a:5) and English (Skutnab-Kangas 2000:46, Krauss 1992a:5). Krauss (1992a:5) attributes English as having “the highest documented rate of destruction” in these [neo-] colonial domains, and I would add Spanish in the Southwest. However, given current pending immigration and English-only legislation, the English language will most likely become the only officially recognized language in the United States; and undoubtedly, lead to future legislation that infringes upon the linguistic integrity of native communities further.

Native language policy in the United States has been both prohibitive and encouraging. The former was commonplace throughout the nineteenth century with passage of the Civilization Fund Act in 1819 (Prucha 1990:33) and Grant’s Peace Policy in 1869 (Prucha 1990:127-129). Both asserted the benefits of civilizing Indians through various means, including agricultural training and formalized education that utilized English “as the principal means of pacification” (Wiley 2000:76). For the latter to occur, learning to read, write and speak English was deemed essential. Formal mandates forbidding native languages directly were introduced through boarding school policies initiated in the late 1870s which continued into the twentieth century. English was believed to be the pathway to success and the only way to civilize Indians (Spack 2002:14-15); to break the Indian, his/her language had to be broken first. Although these policies eventually gave way after the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act (Indian Reorganization Act) in 1934 (Prucha 1990:222-225), the wounds associated with such

mandates were long felt throughout Indian country. The stigmas Indian children experienced at school in regard to their languages, many of whom were punished for breaching such mandates, proved paralyzing to language maintenance.

It was not until 1990 and 1992, that governmental policy in the United States was officially reversed to protect instead of threaten native languages with the passage of the Native American Languages Acts (NALA), however, this was not accomplished easily. Significant coordination and creativity between native and non-native individuals, organizations, scholars and Senator Daniel Inouye (Hawai'i) was necessitated in order to thwart congressional opposition by those who feared the English language was under threat (Arnold 2001:45-46). Not surprising, funding for language programming has been slow and somewhat limited, and bureaucratic coordination has proven frustrating to native communities (Crawford 1998:160-161). However, this reversal in policy marks an important beginning in attempting to undo nearly two hundred years of discriminatory de facto language policy. In essence, native languages are encouraged and supported by governing institutions today that formerly forbid such expressions. This has not only elevated the social status of native languages, but also continues to support language maintenance and reclamation programming throughout the United States, if even haphazardly.

Chapter Discussion

Language shift is a common human occurrence readily found throughout pre-history and history, and in all societies. Language contact was nothing new for most native communities when Europeans reached the New World. Existing trade languages and pidgins were utilized, while new hybridized languages developed, and eventually

bilingualism, and in many cases multilingualism, evolved prior to and after European contact. While linguistic borrowings were mutual, over time European notions of linguistic and cultural superiority presumed Indians would find European ways of living and means of communication more favorable. As the fur trade weakened throughout the Great Lakes region and American expansionism firmly took hold by the early to middle nineteenth century, those non-Indians, settlers and bureaucrats alike, living east of the Mississippi River found it unnecessary to speak Indian languages because it served them little economic benefit. These complicated processes affected tribal communities differently for some language communities were more quickly consumed by a dominant foreign language than others.

Even though the Miami language became dormant in the early 1960s, their language story was not one of rapid linguistic subordination. Instead, it encompassed linguistic persistence until the end of the nineteenth century. The Miami mitigated many social forces through their consistent linguistic and cultural accommodation including conversion to Christianity, dispossession, partial removal from their ancestral landscape, entry into the formal economy, increased exogamous marriage practices and educational placements. Without linguistic and cultural accommodation perhaps the Miami language would have languished sooner. Nevertheless, Miami language programmers and tribal leadership alike, value the language as an important tool for understanding Miami worldviews and traditions. Their language, as attested by language programmer Daryl Baldwin, is a fundamental human (Miami) right and an important way to demonstrate their Miami identities

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons. States shall take effective measures, whenever any right of indigenous peoples may be threatened, to ensure this right is protected...

Part III, Article 14: Language
(Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1994[1945])

Chapter Two: Language and Meaning

The relationships between language and culture are complex given the breadth of linguistic variability and different socio-histories that affect the status of languages throughout the world. However, in spite of these variabilities, they all share the common denominator of language as a cohesive cultural identifier. Language reflects community history, or those events that influence a community, and it is through these reflections where culture is revealed. Language exposes the extent of culture and even more specifically defines community identity. Oklahoma Miami Chief Floyd Leonard (Waapimaankwa, 1925-), as quoted in Kohn and Montell (1997:142), puts it this way:

A lot of traditions fade away because of the lack of language. Some of the traditional mores ...begin to fade...Some of the identification, that 'something' that identifies you as a Miami. Without the language it is hard sometimes to make the identification as to The People. The People are scattered. When it's not there, you don't know what you haven't got. When it's lost, you don't know what you've lost.

Through these relationships the complexities of language and its agency beyond the literal word surface, all of which have real and varied meanings for native communities. Today, native communities in the United States continue to thrive as recognized sovereigns without substantial native language abilities, such as the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, or as unrecognized communities, such as the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., while other communities have maintained their identity in spite of

significant historical disruption such as the Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity 1998:105-110). The transformation of native languages, whether literal or ideological in nature, reflects community and personal language ideologies about language value and use. The agency of language is revealed through these processes.

Language and Culture

Numerous indigenous peoples, academics and non-academics alike, assert the essentiality of language for native culture to exist (Greymorning 2004, Kohn and Montell 1997). Greymorning's and Kohn and Montell's compilations of written oral histories by multiple native peoples suggest repeatedly "You lose the language, you lose the culture." While these statements are reductionistic in nature, they also reveal a great deal about community and personal ideologies regarding language. On a community level, language shift and ideologies demonstrate the level of historical accommodation to English juxtaposed against certain bureaucratic and social policies that devalued native languages. Yet, language shift and ideologies also reveal the complexities of who or what is responsible for language shift, without specifically placing blame on personal choice or more deterministic forces. Language shift and ideologies also demonstrate notions of fluidity between language and culture which underscores the idea that without intervention language shift will continue as well as possible cultural disintegration.

The relationship between language and culture is powerful. In fact as Ahlers (2006:61) reports, language revitalization and cultural revitalization often work together in native Californian communities. Many native Californians become involved with language learning through their participation in other tribal traditions like ceremonies, basketmaking, beadmaking, singing and naming practices.

This is both because language has a place as a practice of traditional culture, to be valued and revived along with those practices, and also because it is intimately involved in learning many of these other practices (Ahlers 2006:61).

Daryl Baldwin (2004b:2) asserted this relationship in a paper he gave at the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference in 2004, where he said, “We can talk about language separately from culture and we can talk about culture separately from language, but these two elements cannot be lived to their fullest extent separately.” Linguist Joshua Fishman (1996:81) claims:

The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way.

Miami worldviews, or the ability of language to sum up their life experiences (Fishman 1996:81), reveal that language and culture work better together than apart. The structural nature of these relationships articulates meaning, or worldview according to Hill and Manheim (1992:381). “‘Meaning’ can only be known in another language through social action and speech, and the relevant units for analyzing these in another culture can only be worked out through their language” (Hill and Manheim 1992:382). Every community uses language to convey social realities and at this fundamental level they are alike. For Miami communities, “language and culture ...express those ways of knowing...[it] all takes places as one interrelated process” (Baldwin 2004b:2). However, the ways communities, like the Miami, utilize language vary and are unique, or what Sapir and Whorf referred to as linguistic relativism (Sapir 1963[1929]). Simply put, language defines culture and experience relative to the community, and for the Miami

these reconnections are made daily.

Language and Cultural Identity

The boarding school era, from the 1880s until the early twentieth century, directly affected the relationships between language and cultural identity. American prejudices and discrimination premised upon certain fears of what language reflected resulted in the widespread monolingual education of Indian children. Bureaucratic opinion demonstrated repeatedly, with the passage of various acts intended to civilize Indians, that language marked Indian identity, and even more specifically one's degree of civility.

In 1887, Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.D.C. Atkins (H.R. Exec. Rep. 1 1887) contended

nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language...[for if] This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man.

Atkins continued that English-only would be the language of instruction in all missionary, government and contract Indian schools. "The instruction of Indians in their vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization" (H.R. Exec. Rep. 1 1887). English language and literacy were not only used to stifle native language usage in boarding schools, but also served as ways to pacify children and their respective communities (Wiley 2000:76).

Mandatory schooling for Indian children was firmly set in place by the 1880s and soon thereafter students told stories of horrific physical and emotional abuse. Cobb (2000:79) points out that at the Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw girls, heritage languages became "an obvious cultural marker" and one that was erased in whatever way possible. For a child to be told in a language she did not understand that she could never

spoke her own language again had numerous psychological and social effects. Spack (2002), Cobb (2000), Child (1998), and Lomawaima (1994) discuss these painful experiences of Indian children who lost in one way or another, their language as a result of boarding school education. Social stigmatization also continued once children returned home from school. Child (1998:97) describes the virtual banishment of one Puebloan who returned home without fluency in his heritage language. Yet, these authors also demonstrate language loss was not necessarily homogenous either. Spack (2002:7) highlights many notable examples including Zitkala-Ša and Luther Standing Bear, who not only retained their native language but also learned English “to further their own political and cultural agendas.” Most Miami attended boarding schools to polish existing English skills or to learn a new trade, and for the most part they used school to their advantage, however, this did not mean they were immune from the harsh punishment other Indian children received because of their inabilities in English.

Boarding school policies purposefully placed the difficult task of ethnic reorganization onto children. While boarding school officials felt assured they were creating new and improved Indian identities among students, students actually reorganized their identities on their own terms. The decimation of native languages and cultural identities was never consummate. Early forms of Indian self-determination such as language maintenance through private meetings between students went largely unnoticed by observers because boarding schools wanted to create the illusion that they were, without fault, successful. Indian children were punished if caught speaking their languages, but this only created an environment that encouraged more surreptitious socialization. Although many language communities suffered considerably because of

boarding school policies, the effects from boarding school did not manifest the same in every community.

Today, concerns dealing with the relationships between language and identity in native North America, outside of boarding schools, are no less complex. Ethnic reorganization abounds among native communities irrespective of the status of their language. Some communities remain linguistically conservative, while others continue to experience language shift. Other communities assert their Indian identity in spite of language loss, while others actively reclaim or maintain their native language in order to (re)connect to worldviews. Theories of linguistic determinism and linguistic relativism shed light on concerns dealing with ethnic identity, but they also lead to several questions. Does knowledge of the language assert unique Indian identities like that observed among the Arizona Tewa or fluent Western or Eastern Cherokee speakers, or can an individual or a community still be Miami or Arapaho without their native language? There are examples that respond to both propositions.

Sturm's (2002:121-123) analysis of Cherokee identity in Oklahoma determined that language serves as a marker of Indian identity, often conveying ideas of authenticity (Goldstein and Rayner 1994:368) or community identity. However, Cherokee identity becomes more individualized for those Cherokee who consider non-fluent Cherokee as being less Cherokee due to their inabilities with the language. Bender's (2002:59) analysis of the importance of the Cherokee syllabary and how knowledge of this writing system is as prestigious as speaking the language, also conveys the importance of language marking identity on a community level. Arizona Tewa take pride in the fact that their language has remained linguistically conservative as compared to neighboring

Navajo speakers (Kroskrity 1998:109). For the Tewa, their language sets apart a distinctive community identity, but also asserts individual identities particularly for those who carry on everyday conversation in the language as well highly specialized kiva talk (Kroskrity 1998:112). Mexicano elites suppress anything outside pure or more authentic Mexicano register because it represents a collective Mexican identity, however, they use a mixed register themselves (Silverstein 1998:401). These examples iterate the complexities of language as a cultural identifier, and even more specifically notions regarding cultural authenticity and social position within the community, how these relationships are organized and maintained, and how distinctive every language story is.

Many linguists including Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:82), Crawford (1998:154), Hale (1992:1-2) and Krauss (1992a:7) suggest that languages die out as any other living species, from which new languages or species evolve, or what is referred to as linguodiversity. For language shift in native North America this concept suggests that even though languages die, community identity remains. Anderson's (1998:74) work with Northern Arapaho language shift and recovery efforts has found that a social divide exists in the community. Some Arapaho argue their culture can be kept alive in English as well as in Arapaho. Anderson (1998:74) explains:

Because meaning does not just derive from language in itself, but from how people relate to each other and experience the world...by participating in kinship relations, community life, and ceremonies, non-fluent Arapahos can experience the sense of the situation and thus keep the culture going.

Other Arapaho feel one is more Arapaho if one speaks the language. Many Tlingit, with ten percent of the tribe being native speakers, contend that their culture can still be experienced without the language, while others disagree (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer

1998:73). Many more Cherokee are not fluent in the language than those who are, nevertheless both groups self-identify as Cherokee and are subsequently recognized by tribal leadership as Cherokee (Sturm 2002:121-122). One Miami tribal member contends that if a Miami learns an introduction in Miami other non-Miami do not question his Indian identity (Rinehart 2004a). In this sense, language for this Miami has become what Cobb (2000:79) refers to as “one of the most basic aspects of an individual’s personal and cultural identity,” and one that is not easily denied whether spoken publicly or privately.

The implications for language and cultural identity are relative to the community because each has a unique language story to tell; therefore, community needs and expression of these needs will vary. Those communities who fear language shift is approaching, or for communities like the Miami who are reclaiming their heritage language, language maintenance and revitalization programming serve as important links for them to preserve, rearticulate, or reclaim their identities. Through these efforts community and personal worldviews can be reestablished while enhancing distinctive native identities. Because of the complex nature of the relationships between language and cultural identity, the ways native North American communities have organized language revitalization programming are equally dynamic.

Language Recovery Programming

The goals and approaches taken with language recovery programming vary from community to community. Some communities desire fluency while others want to curtail further intergenerational dislocation of the language. Communities may prefer classroom language instruction while others prefer more natural immersive environments such as language camps or apprentice programs. Some individuals may wish to learn the

language to better understand more traditional worldviews and cultural practices, while others want to maintain the language for specific speech acts such as healing rituals. Regardless of the goals or methods applied, language recovery programming differs between communities because the meanings of language respective to the community vary.

Most generally, language revitalization refers to the “the development of programs that result in reestablishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life” (Hinton 2001b:4). This definition best suits Miami language recovery programming. However, language revitalization also encompasses concerns for language maintenance in communities where some shift in the language is apparent. One example is Navajo. Navajo is still the first language for many Navajo children, but there are concerns that intergenerational dislocation of the language has begun (Ibid.). Whether a community’s language is dormant or closely approaching dormancy, understanding its needs is essential in creating effective language programming.

Another important consideration prior to implementing language programming is goal-setting. Fluency is not always the only goal for communities desiring, developing or implementing language recovery programming. Northern Arapaho language maintenance programmers not only desire increased fluency, but also preservation of storytelling and sign language as other forms of communication (Anderson 1998:58-59). And, again with Eastern and Western Cherokee language maintenance and cultural revitalization language is more than a speech form (Bender 2002:59, Sturm 2002:121-122). Its written form also holds meaning in ways unlike other native language

communities where knowledge of either or both can significantly elevate a person's status in the community. Karuk scholars and speakers, Terry and Sarah Supahan (2001:195), repeatedly ask themselves before they teach a lesson,

Do we want our students to be able to have a phone conversation in the language with their peers? Do we want them to be able to understand a traditional Karuk story told in its original language? Do we want them to be able to use the language in the classroom? In their home?

These are important questions to ask in the classroom, but even more importantly they should be asked by the community at the developmental stage of language recovery programming.

For language revitalization to be effective, language programming must accommodate the specific needs of the community. If a community is geographically dispersed then daily language classes or ready conversation between speakers may not be possible; both of which often require significant time and financial expenditures for language students and programmers. Multimedia productions may not be the best alternative for language recovery programming if a community lacks funds for large-scale computer applications let alone funds to utilize community or outside assistance for such efforts. Individuals may not have the funds and/or knowledge to access certain computer programs from home, and additionally, although dictionaries are worthwhile investments in the long-run they are costly and time-consuming ventures. These types of projects also presume literacy in a language that was not necessarily meant to be written. Language programming roadblocks to a certain extent are unavoidable, however, customized programming can be created if the needs of the community are initially assessed.

Communities such as the Acoma Pueblo (Sims 2001:68) and the Rock Point Navajo (Hinton 2001c:180) prefer to educate their children in bilingual school programs because making connections between language, culture and community history for children is particularly effective in these environments. Other communities such as the Northern Arapaho (Greymorning 2001:290) and the Fort Defiance Navajo (Arviso and Holm 2001:204) implement immersion schooling for children and/or adults; and the Wampanoag Reclamation Project offers two, one-hour language classes a week (Ash, Fermino and Hale 2001:30). Language camps have also grown in popularity and tend to be favored by geographically dispersed communities, as well as those who lack a reservation or a tribal school system. The Jicarilla Apache language summer day camp program works in conjunction with an immersion teaching model in order to improve fluency of elementary students (Olson 2002:99), and the Pueblo de Cochiti have successfully implemented a six-week immersion summer language program for ten years (Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001:80). Some programmers utilize multiple language learning environments such as Karuk language programmers. Immersive school programs for young children, immersive language camps for families, and weekend college courses provided to families have proven highly effective for Karuk acquisition (Supahan and Supahan 2001:197-197).

In many native communities visualization of the language through multimedia formats is another way to connect with the language. Programmers can video record or tape record language and cultural activities for documentary purposes (Hinton 2001b:11-12). Multi-media technology permits tribal ingenuity to bridge past and present language landscapes for more educational purposes agreeable to computer literate children and

adults. Although these productions are costly and labor intensive they are useful. Kroskrity and Reynolds (2001:328) found the CD-ROM production of four Mono performances and demonstrations extremely beneficial for the Mono community. These “verbal performances were combined with the scanned images of her beadwork [Rosalie Bethel]. So, verbal art was linked with a different kind of Western Mono artistic tradition” (Kroskrity and Reynolds 2001:325). Stephen Greymorning (2001:288), although initially turned down by Disney executives, eventually translated the Disney movie *Bambi* into the Arapaho language for kindergarteners. Nishinaabe Language Programming utilizes CD-ROM technology for crosswords, word searches and anagrams in Ojibwe (Williams, S. 2002:219), and Tlingit language recovery involves an interactive CD-ROM of language learning materials (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998:70). Internet technology has afforded these communities and many others the ability to utilize CD-ROM productions, as well as audio and video recordings for students. Additionally, live video broadcasting of cultural and linguistic events offers an additional way for students to learn more about language and culture without being present (Buszard-Welcher 2001:337).

Approaches to native literacy also demonstrate interesting connections between language and meaning, and the many options language communities have in learning or maintaining their community history, culture and identity. Dictionary projects are not necessary for language revitalization to take place, but serve as another resource or tool for students to learn about the language, particularly for geographically dispersed or non-reservation based communities. Communities such as the Kaska (Kaska Tribal Council 1997), Hopi (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998), Nez Perce (Aoki 2002:290), and Mono

(Kroskrity 2002:179) have found dictionaries helpful. These projects can be challenging at times especially when native communities work collaboratively with linguists who often have different goals and methods in mind (Frawley, Hill and Munro 2002:3-22). This occurred with the Hopi Dictionary Project (Hill, K. 2002:299) which was delayed for some time because of contested control over the project. Other types of dictionary projects including working and talking dictionaries, and searchable on-line dictionaries including West Virginia Mingo, Cheyenne, Lakota, Cherokee (White Dove Dictionary) and Chinook Jargon (Shaw's Dictionary) (Buszard-Welcher 2001:335). Another on-line dictionary by the Tohono O'odham is an easily accessible working dictionary where students can input words and receive immediate translations in return (Mizuki and Moll 1999:113). Multimedia productions enable on-line talking dictionaries for the Arikara, Assiniboine, Pawnee (Parks, et al. 1999:59), and Potawatomi (Buszard-Welcher 2001:335). Multiple interactive on-line dictionaries have been created such as a Nahuatl traditional word dictionary and root dictionary (Canger 2002:197).

Native communities find unique ways to teach literacy outside traditional formats like those just described. While some communities like the Cherokee have retained a writing system, other native writing systems have been recently produced such as in Hopi, Kaska, Mono, and Miami communities. However, outside these texts written languages can also be used to articulate or rearticulate other forms of knowledge including oral histories full of cultural knowledge and practices. The production of these texts is no less laborious than dictionaries, but is vital in the preservation of oral histories particularly in those communities where the language is moribund or dormant. Although stories cannot be read by pre-literate children, children can still be read to. This provides

them with concurrent language and cultural lessons, while also reinforcing the utility of the language to the reader. Puppetry in several Californian native communities re-enacts oral histories because it is believed puppetry goes “hand-in-hand with traditional stories...because reading traditional stories can get learners close to the rhythms of their oral language” (Bennett 2002:151). Puppetry is also utilized as well as hands-on demonstrations and modeling for immersion schooling of Karuk children (Supahan and Supahan 2001:196); and song and dance projects have proven beneficial for White Mountain Apache kindergartners (Shanklin, Paciotto and Prater 1997:77). Additionally, the use of theatre as a literate form, proposed by Qwo-Li Driskill (Driskill 2003:161), is a unique way “to promote language acquisition through total physical response, address issues of historical trauma, and communicate effectively across differences.”

Interesting uses of new and old technologies help some communities significantly with language recovery programming. Beyond on-line dictionaries the internet is a valuable tool for language recovery because it affords communities access to language materials and puts them into contact with others who seek similar information. Cheyenne and Cherokee language revitalization projects have implemented various uses of the internet including on-line databases, vocabulary sets and phrases, native language texts, language lessons and games (Buszard-Welcher 2001:335-336). Additionally, the internet provides a language community alternative ways to visualize the language like in Yup'ik and Tlingit communities where it has proven “useful and symbolically important” (Cazden 2003:53). Language recovery efforts among the Deg Hit'an of Western Central Alaska take place over the telephone due to population dispersion (Taff 1997:40), while more centrally located communities such as the Navajo, find radio an important way to

connect the community to their language (Peterson, L. 1997:214).

Language schooling does not have to be communal or formalized. Nor are multimedia productions, dictionaries or the internet necessary for language learning and maintenance to take place. Hinton (2002:1-5) suggests alternative methods for language learning particularly if a community is small and cannot support such programming. Instead, language instruction can take place at home in family-based programs or what she refers to as the Master Apprentice Language Program (MALP). The MALP is a four-year program where students shadow a speaker daily at the speaker's home. Language lessons include everyday (immersive) activities such as doing laundry, cooking, cleaning, eating and shopping. While little to no funding is necessary for the MALP there is potential economic hardship for the apprentice if she is of working age and has to give up employment in order to apprentice. Nevertheless, this program demonstrates that extensive language planning is unnecessary if a community or individuals from a community wish to learn the language. Daryl Baldwin (2001:2) implemented a family-based program, similar to the MALP, and commented: "It's not an easy task. I have had to alter my lifestyle, way of thinking and doing things, and even rid myself of a few bad habits. My personal commitment has strained my marriage and dented my checkbook." Whether an apprentice or family based program, significant personal discipline is required to create these language environments.

Efficacy of Language Recovery Efforts

Language revitalization programs such as Welsh (Morgan, G. 2001), Māori (King 2001) and Hawaiian (Wilson and Kamanā 2001, Warner 2001) are often cited as some of the most successful efforts in recent times. While it is important and necessary to

applaud such efforts, it tends to silence those programming efforts made by other, typically smaller native communities. Crawford (1998:160, 1996:65) contends that the best gauge for language recovery success must come from within the community and not be assigned by others. Programming deemed successful or unsuccessful by outsiders to the community can lead to significant political, social and economic disenfranchisement for everyone involved (Peter, et al. 2003:7). Success is variable and always relative to the needs of the language community; therefore, language programming development, implementation and assessment of these processes must be initiated by the community itself. The Western Cherokee recognize the need for internal assessment of their language revitalization efforts and developed a tool referred to as the Culturally Responsive Evaluation which measures their efforts in a more culturally sensitive manner (Ibid.). Other language communities find programming assessment can successfully involve both internal and external collaboration such as one Apache community that authorized assessment of a kindergarten-based song and dance project (Shanklin, Paciotto and Prater 1997:77).

Although tribally led language programming initiatives do not always lead to programming success, like that experienced in several Cree communities (Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999:1), leading their own initiative empowers them, irrespective of the final outcome. The Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona found that by assuming responsibility for coordinating, developing, and directing all language and cultural programs, even with outsourced assistance, they were better able to serve the “needs and interests of the tribal community” (Trujillo 1997:10). Language programmers from the Cree Way Project in Quebec and Peach Springs Hualapai attribute their successes to

community and governmental support (Stiles 1997:148). While these programs were community-led, the additional financial, legal and social support received from their respective national governments championed these efforts further. Hualapai language recovery was a community effort that also incorporated outside linguistic expertise (Watahomigie and Yamamoto 1992:10). Throughout this collaborative effort many goals were accomplished, including the revelation of pervasive language ideologies that reinforced the inutility of the language, the linguistic training of native-speakers and parents, and the development of curricula. Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore (1999:37) also iterate the importance of a community-based approach among five Athabascan communities in Western Interior Alaska where tribal members and non-Indian experts were both welcomed to roundtable discussions. This balancing of power proved effective because community members became experts in one way or another; therefore, these communities maintained power in the course of their language programming, while utilizing the expertise of others.

Programming efforts can be stalled in some communities when language ideologies held by funders and language programmers from inside and outside the community vary. This in some form has occurred among the Northern Arapaho (Anderson 1998:70-82), Haida, Tsimshian, Tlingit (Dauenhauer and Dauenhaer 1998:82-85, 91-96), Tolowa (Collins 1998:356) and White Mountain Apache communities (Nevins 2004:282-284). In several of these communities negative language ideologies abound concerning the inutility of the language including the stigmatization of Indian languages and accents, the effects Christian missionaries had on language maintenance, as well as former boarding school experiences that bandished native language usage. For

many, particularly elders, they cite these reasons for their inability to learn the language, or why they choose not to learn or relearn these languages, and/or why they do not teach the language to younger generations. Aside from the biological difficulties post-pubescent students experience (See Gass and Selinker 2001:341-342, 344, Lightbrown and Spada 1997:54-55, 59, 61-65, Lenneberg 1967:168-170, 178-181, 153-158), negative ideologies can be debilitating for many adult language students which can profoundly affect language programming efforts. While seemingly frustrating, these concerns actually shed light on the importance of knowing how a community thinks and feels about the language, or their language ideologies, throughout the recovery process.

Even more successful language revitalization programs such as the Welsh, Māori and Hawaiian projects continue to encounter certain ideological constraints within these respective communities that stalls continued growth. Many parents remain reluctant to speak the native language to their children at home; therefore, when children return from school they often encounter conflicting ideologies and sometimes unsupportive language environments (Morgan, G. 2001:112, King 2001:126, Warner 2001:141, Wilson and Kamanā 2001:155). In spite of successful language maintenance and/or reclamation efforts by Athabaskan, (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999:50-53), Navajo (Platero 2001:92, Arviso and Holm 2001:214-214, Peterson, L. 1997:214), Apache (Shanklin, Paciotto, and Prater 1997:77), and Hualapai communities (Watahomigie and Yamamoto 1992:11), they are not immune to familial and personal ideologies that can stall or prevent the creation of language nests (King 2001:119), or those safe places for immersive learning at home.

Additionally, societal ideologies which continuously place English as the linguistic norm can have profound effects on language recovery programming. Warner (2001:141) describes the difficulties second language learners in Hawai'i have to immerse themselves in their new language environment outside school when others at home or in public have limited proficiency in the language or do not speak Hawaiian at all. An English dominated media in its various forms including newspapers, television, radio, and the internet constantly bombard native speakers with non-native imagery and expression. Other modes of life are not exempt from monolingual intrusion including economic and social arenas where English is the dominant language of the workforce, particularly in larger metropolitan areas. Additionally, public events are held largely in the dominant language which can easily undermine language revitalization and maintenance efforts.

Chapter Discussion

Language is important for interpreting and translating culture. Language is much more than a structural form; it also holds significant ideological value in all areas of human life. Cultural rituals, relationships with others and the landscape are best understood through language. Any changes in these language environments can have varying effects on worldview and identity construction. The ways in which native communities mitigate these issues demonstrates differential accommodation in a growing monolingual world. In some communities native languages have languished, in others languages near dormancy, while in other communities native languages remain vital. Those communities where the language is dormant or threatened assert they are no less Indian without their language, while others feel it is essential in preserving their Indian

identities.

In response to the alarming rates of language shift in native North America, numerous communities have initiated language revitalization programming to revitalize or maintain heritage languages. Language programming strategies vary because language holds different meanings in each community. In some communities, language recovery supports existing cultural traditions while also revitalizing older traditions, which together create a deeper sense of identity. Other communities wish to maintain these viable connections especially as fluent speakers become increasingly marginalized or as elders pass on. Because of these differences language recovery efforts have produced many varieties of immersion schooling, language curricula, dictionaries, media and performance productions. Other efforts have been more low-scale such as family-based and apprentice language programming, yet require significant personal discipline. Some community projects are more successful than others, but nevertheless all share the beliefs that the language is valuable enough to revitalize or maintain. Native language communities also have the right to take leading roles in program development, organization, implementation and evaluation of their efforts. For language recovery to take place today, a community's linguistic needs must correspond to their respective language story, and without an investigation of language shift, recovery efforts may diminish.

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MIAMI INDIAN LANGUAGE SHIFT AND RECOVERY

VOLUME II

By

Melissa A. Rinehart

A DISSERTATION

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“Their wars are nearly always between language and language.”

**French Jesuit
(Thwaites 1899:Vol. 3)**

Chapter Three: The Influences of Christianity on Miami Worldviews and Language

Miami spiritual and ritual organization before contact is not well known.

However, there is evidence that the sun was significant (Bacqueville de la Potherie 1911-1912:332), as well as a Master of Life deity (Kinietz 1940:211-212), a Great Hare deity and several other manitous representing animals and other natural phenomenon (Rafert 1996:15). Vision quests were common among adolescents, warrior societies incorporated significant ritual, and death was ritually mourned, celebrated and marked by adoption ceremonies (Callender 1978:684-686), however, the content of these rituals remains largely unknown, as any surviving descriptions of these ceremonies are too poor for adequate recreation (Rafert 1996:19). This early documentation of Miami spiritual life was done by Jesuit missionaries during the seventeenth century in Wisconsin, whose primary mission was to convert Miami peoples.

Missionary influences in Miami communities did not shift the language directly, however, missionaries influenced traditional Miami worldviews with the introduction of Christianity. Although mutual linguistic accommodation was intentional initially, as more Miami converted, missionary ideologies shifted toward less accommodation. Over time contact situations between Miami and foreign peoples, whether with French Jesuits or English Protestants, slowly displaced Miami worldviews. New ways of perceiving the world evolved in Miami communities which I contend laid the first seeds necessary for language shift. The remainder of this chapter describes certain events concerning

Christianity and Miami reactions to these events that slowly shifted their worldviews and how these changes served as a precursor for further linguistic change to occur in Miami communities throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Miami-French Encounter

French Jesuit missionaries were attached to several native communities throughout the Great Lakes region as well along the Mississippi corridor from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. They were far more linguistically and culturally accommodative to Indian communities than other missionaries. “To gain these savages, it was first necessary to know them intimately – their speech, their habits and manners of thought” (Yazzie 2003:38). Missionary accommodation was no simple feat. One missionary described the difficulties he had learning the language of his host community as they purposefully instructed him incorrectly in their language (Thwaites 1899:Vol. 7). This, coupled with the difficulty of the language and his defective memory, admittedly hampered his work in the community. Although his admissions serve as a gauge to the linguistic complexity at hand, it was more common for Jesuits to learn the language of Indian peoples, no matter how difficult, than the reverse. In fact, Jesuit accommodation was often ridiculed by Recollect friars (LeClerq 1881:399-403) and future bureaucrats, who themselves refused to learn native languages or to live among Indian communities. Jesuit linguistic and cultural accommodation lent to their successes throughout the region for several centuries, unlike the Recollects who left for various political reasons and reassembled three different times over the course of three hundred years (Ibid.).

During the 1630s, French missionary contact was made with the Illinois, a closely related tribe to the Miami who spoke nearly the same language, in the St. Lawrence River

and Lake Huron regions (Blasingham 1956:195). The first contact with the Miami proper was not made until August of 1654, in Green Bay, Wisconsin, by Pierre Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law LeSieur Des Groseilliers (Thwaites 1899:Vol. 42). The Miami, as well as a host of other native communities, took refuge from Iroquoian tribes who had displaced them from their ancestral landscape; therefore, several multilingual, largely Algonquian communities lived in the Green Bay region. At Green Bay missionaries felt they had a great opportunity for mass conversion and by 1668, the St. Francis Xavier Mission was founded by Father Claude Allouez. In his relations Allouez noted Indian indifference to his efforts, however, when he visited a Miami village on the Upper Fox River he found them to be particularly pleasant, more civil, and more likely to convert (Thwaites 1899:Vol. 54). Marquette later made the same observations. Communication between Allouez and the Miami was strained and rudimentary at best. This was evident in his description of a hostile incident resulting from miscommunication between Allouez and two Miami men over ownership of an erected cross (Ibid.).

Over time, relationships fostered between Jesuits and the Miami-Illinois led to a certain level of facility by both in Miami-Illinois and French respectively. This proved effective when Jesuits and Miami-Illinois contextualized Biblical and Miami creation stories, as well as prayers, catechisms and other religious texts. Through these collaborative translations missionaries attempted to contextualize (Yazzie 2003:166) or compartmentalize (Anderson 2001:692) their proselytizing with concepts to which Indians could relate. This was their way of “draw[ing] the line between the culture and religion of converts” (Yazzie 2003:166). Claude Allouez was the first missionary to document Illinois speaking communities during his missionary efforts at Kaskaskia from

1677 to 1688, where he collected and translated several prayers and catechisms (Costa 2003:10). Another more extensive collection of Illinois prayers was made by Father Jacques Gravier, a Jesuit missionary who worked among the Illinois from 1689 until 1705 (Costa 2003:11). A few years later Father Antoine-Robert Le Boullenger also worked with Illinois communities from 1719 to 1744, and created an Illinois-French dictionary as well as several religious texts, including a thirty-five chapter translation of the Book of Genesis (Costa 2003:11-12). Additionally, a short word list was made by Constantin-Francois Chasseboeuf Volney in Illinois through Miami interpreter William Wells in 1795, and from this a helpful vocabulary was made (Costa 2003:14-15.). Furthermore, in 1999, another French-Illinois dictionary of Miami lexemes and cultural practices was found in a tin box that sat undisturbed for nearly three hundred years at the Archives des Pères Jésuites de la Fontaine in Saint-Jérôme, Quebec (Costa 2004, Costa 2003:12, Baldwin 2002c).

While these translated works are extensive and have notably benefited contemporary language recovery efforts, they also provide insight to the kinds of relationships that existed between Jesuits and the Miami-Illinois. First, these records detail the complexity of the language as well as linguistic similarities to neighboring Algonquian languages. Missionary difficulties in translating Miami concepts are evident in the records in that “we find the old stuff [missionary writings] not only reflects the struggles that can occur at the cultural crossroads, but we also find that much of the traditional ways of thinking and the use of ‘old language’ are still present” today (Baldwin 2002c:10). A Recollect once recounted, “‘I know not whether their ancestors knew any divinity, but the fact is that their language, natural enough for anything else, is

so sterile on this point that we can find no terms to express the Divinity nor any of our mysteries, not even the most common” (LeClerq 1881:221). Religious contextualization and syncretism became the mainstay between French Jesuits and Miami-Illinois communities. This is demonstrated by the language itself where “God” became “kichemanet8a” or “great spirit,” “Jesus Christ” became “adkima8a” or “our chief,” “church” became “araminanghiki” or “house/place of prayer/spirits” and “sin” became “kiask8enghira” or “bad things” (Lavelle n.d.:15, 20, 24, 25). These translations reveal the extent missionaries went in order to convert the Miami-Illinois. Self-trained linguist Jacob Dunn (c. 1909) noted upon analysis of these Jesuits texts:

The difficulties under which the early missionaries labored, with no Indian that understood any European language, no interpreter that understood the Indian language outside of its application to ordinary things, and trying to give comprehension to people who had not word for “God”, “worship”, “angel”, or any of the metaphysical concepts that enter so largely into Christian theology.

Tribal assistance with these translations was essential for subsequent conversions to take place in Miami-Illinois communities. Without their assistance missionary efforts would have been futile such as that experienced by Mohawk communities in New York during the first half of the eighteenth century (Hart 2003). Miami-Illinois texts reveal the ardent tactics of proselytizing missionaries, yet also reveal how the Miami-Illinois made “Christianity their own, to shape the Christian faith and traditions to their evolving experiences, distinctive cultural requirements, and specific spiritual needs” (Lavelle n.d.:41). However, linguists David Costa and Daryl Baldwin believe these translations were more the creations of missionaries than of Miami peoples (David Costa, personal communication, 5 July, 2005, Baldwin 2005f). Jesuits texts were not pure indigenized texts, but Miami assistance does offer insight into their understandings of the super-

natural. Even though missionaries were “critical of our traditional culture and they...misinterpreted what they saw...they did know how things were said and done and those observations, along with the language, are very valuable to us today” (Baldwin 2002c:10).

Through syncretization of two different traditions, Jesuit missionaries gave the Miami a spirit “who was not bounded by time or place...and yet bound all these other spirits together..it [Catholicism] sort of melted in with what we had already” (Tippmann 2005). Another example of blending traditions includes a silver cross of Lorraine with an attached moon at the bottom (See Figure 1. Fort Wayne Cross).

Figure 1. Fort Wayne Cross



Courtesy of Robert Tippmann, 5 Jan., 2006

According to Dani Tippmann (Rambling Rose, 1959-) missionaries found that by creating a silver cross with a moon, spirituality became complete for Miami communities (Tippmann 2005). Tippmann (2005) believes this was created

because we have an affiliation with the moon. Miami women do at least...I think they're puttin'...them together...and recognizing that there are some beliefs there that need to be shown or they're saying the cross is definitely above the moon...I don't know if...they were tryin' to honor both...thoughts of sacredness or they were tryin' to say that the cross is definitely above the moon. But, it is for us anyway.

Both parties recognized this material manifestation of Christianity. "The two are...separate and incomplete without each other, but once you put the cross inside of that circle then you have a totality of understanding and you could understand life as it should be" (Tippmann 2005).

Missionaries feared whether Indians actively lived their lives as Christians once they returned home. They "recognized the simple fact that they lost control of the concepts they presented from the moment they left their mouths" (Lavelle n.d.:40). This fear became pervasive when Miami-Illinois communities left their summer camps for winter camps. But, whether from fear of syncretism, religious contextualization, or the level of adherence to Christianity, Jesuits remained steadfast in their pursuits. "Mutual understanding [eventually] grew out of the new connections that people made in these linguistic exchanges, new associations that created shared meaning or that encompassed and contextualized multiple meanings" (Lavelle n.d.:41). Jesuit records rarely detailed how many Miami converted; compared to the distantly related Illini who converted en masse, the Miami numbers must have been inferior to Illinois communities. Yet, there remain a large number of Catholic Miami in Indiana today, particularly the Richardville and Godfroy families living in the Fort Wayne and Huntington areas (Greenbaum 1990:28). Testimonies such as Dani Tippmann's (2005) recognize that syncretization of both traditions defined Miami Catholicism.

Miami-Illinois communities were in support of missionization efforts, although to what extent can be debated, demonstrated by their assistance in translation work and increased conversion. But, the cultural and linguistic price they paid was high. Increased conversion led to numerous cultural changes for the Miami-Illinois. Missionaries transmitted diseases and resultant epidemics including smallpox, measles and pneumonia devastated native populations. With a substantial loss of life came a loss of traditional ritual practices particularly among healers who were not equipped to handle introduced diseases. As Miami-Illinois communities fled to missionaries for help, this change resulted in the silencing of many specialized (ritual) speech events. This is significant because it reveals an ideological shift in Miami communities from traditional methods of healing and ritual to consideration of alternative methods of healing and ritual.

The Jesuit mission in Illinois in 1699 was well known throughout the lower Great Lakes because many Illini converted, although this was, in part, directly related to several concurrent epidemics (Blasingham 1956:382). Missionary contact for many native communities produced a “generation of [linguistic] orphans” (Blasingham 1956:40). Largely due to disease and famine, deathbed conversions were normative and continued well into the nineteenth century (Kinsella 1921:232, Thwaites 1899:Vol. 58). By the turn of the eighteenth century, a slow shift from traditional subsistence practices to an increased reliance on trade goods became prevalent. Famine also indicates that natural resources were taxed to a point where local environments could no longer support native communities. Sometimes entire communities sought refuge with missionaries and overnight conversions became commonplace. The level of personal conviction among Indians is difficult to assess given these circumstances and missionaries cared very little

why natives converted. However, it is probable that native reasons for conversion were highly variable. Some Indians most probably converted out of some belief, while others utilized Christianity to make sense of the changing world around them. Many may have allied themselves with Christianity out of a sense of hopelessness in regard to the preservation of traditional beliefs, while others may have converted out of personal interest for food, trade items (Abing 1998:137) or certain protections from disease (Blasingham 1956:382). For missionaries conversion equated to salvation and for Indians it potentially meant a host of other things.

Other cultural practices such as polygyny were silenced because of conversion to Christianity. Catholic doctrine enforced strict monogamy and faithful marriage practices. These changes led to a small surplus of Miami women of marriageable age which opened the doors for marriages between French traders and Miami-Illinois women. Missionary priests in the early eighteenth century encouraged these French-Indian marriages because “the offspring of a solemnized French-Indian marriage were potentially more to France than the offspring of [such] unsolemnized alliances” (Blasingham 1956:388).

Monogamous marriages, whether these marriages were among community members or to French men, also led to slower population growth; therefore, kinship patterns changed from matrilineal to bilateral descent. Changing kinships patterns illustrates that Miami-Illinois communities were beginning to reconceive social relationships in new ways. Rituals demarcating special relationships and stages of life, as well as changed regional demographics, began to fade; therefore, the need for the language slowly declined.

New Miami-Illinois worldviews were emerging because they made contact with missionaries who conceptualized and articulated the world differently. The Miami-

Illinois language accommodated multiple cultural changes, but these new practices decontextualized the function of their language; or in other words the structure of the language remained intact, but its function was changing. These social processes were complex and although the language mediated these changes as much as possible thereby contributing to a “uniquely Illinois form of Christianity” (Lavelle n.d.:41), the seed for language shift was carefully planted through clever contextualization of Christian philosophies and Miami traditionalism. For language shift to occur, new Christian worldviews were created first from which European civilization including the adoption of various customs and languages (French and later English) could take hold. Missionary tactics were some of the most destructive of Indian culture and language. Their presence changed native worldviews because communal responses led to significant ethnic reorganization (Nagel and Snipp 1993:203). This reorganization resulted from social, economic and demographic changes imposed by missionaries. While Christianity was never forced onto the Miami, it did impose new ways of looking at the world; and the ways in which these orientations were articulated evolved from a language contact situation that involved Miami-French bilingualism and eventually trilingualism including English. As a result of these processes, the Miami language began its slow journey to dormancy, if even at this early, impressionable stage.

Pre and Post Removal Missionary Efforts in Indiana

After Claude Allouez died in 1689, the Jesuit Relations say little about the Miami because so few had converted in contrast to neighboring Illinois (Mather 1992:3). After the Iroquois Wars ended, the Miami began to migrate back to their ancestral homelands by 1701 (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997, Anson 1970:28),

and at that point there were no active missions in pre-territorial Indiana. However, with the establishment of a new trade post, Fort Miami in 1722, French Governor de Vaudreuil felt it could be a “potential center of Christian missionary activity” (Mather 1992:4). Although Vaudreuil requested four missionaries to report to the fort no record exists that a priest was ever stationed at Fort Miami in the early eighteenth century (Ibid.). The only Catholics in the region were those already converted and French Catholic traders who married Miami women. In essence, these marriages, which will be examined more thoroughly in chapter five, introduced not only new forms of exchange, but also a new spiritual orientation to the world articulated through the French and eventually English languages.

Even with a British takeover from the French in 1760, not much changed in early Indiana (Glenn 1994b:59). No missionaries were sent to the region and French traders who married into Miami communities remained. In many respects present-day Fort Wayne was a French-Indian community. Even though British traders held an even larger presence in the Wabash-Maumee valley and their goods were noted to be of better quality and sometimes price (Woehrmann 1971:5), they failed to earn Miami support. The British were not willing to break into kinship networks established by the French and Miami, and create new kinship networks of their own (Rafert 1996:36). Furthermore, although trade was established between the Miami and British at various times prior to 1760, the British centralized the trade to fort outposts and were less willing to accommodate the Miami culturally (Woehrmann 1971:13). They did not gift the Miami as did the French and their inconsistent support of Miami war exploits frustrated the Miami (Rafert 1996:41). The British were also less accommodative linguistically

through their insistence on speaking English; therefore, the Miami often felt socially slighted by the British. As growing dependencies evolved between the Miami, French and English, Fort Miami became a multi-lingual trading post, however, this post quickly earned a bad reputation. Indians were grossly exploited, economically and socially, by greedy traders. These multicultural and often socially unstable environments strengthened the desire for Christianity and eventually attracted missionaries from many religious denominations to Indiana.

By 1774, British Parliament passed the Quebec Act which extended to Fort Miami, or Miamitown as the British referred to it, guaranteeing religious freedom for resident French Canadians, most of whom were Catholic (Anson 1970:93). It was not until 1781, that Reverend Louis Payet, originally from Montreal, traveled to Vincennes and Miamitown to conduct services. His services remain the earliest account of Christian worship in the region (Mather 1992:67, 69). The American takeover of Fort Miami in 1794, now referred to as Fort Wayne, moved trading with the Miami away from the French and British (Anson 1970:134), yet the French remained in the region because so many had married into Miami communities. French Catholicism flourished through French traders who acted as lay Catholic leaders (Ibid.). Rose Carver's (1885-1982) mother was the product of a Miami-French marriage (Carver 1968). Catholicism was introduced to her family as a result of this marriage and noted that both the Miami and French languages were maintained. Rose claimed that Catholicism enabled her mother to become a "good Christian" and future employee of the French Catholic Church (Ibid.).

Even with the development of the first American diocese in 1808, where Indiana fell under the jurisdiction of Kentucky, there still was no permanent priest in the region

until after 1826. Instead, visiting priests like Louis Payet traveled throughout the region during the 1830s, often giving services along river routes between Ohio and Indiana.

Father Stephen Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, traveled throughout the region as well. His writings reveal the linguistic diversity of northern Indiana for he gave services in English and French, but more often in English (Mather 1992:69).

Mather (1992:17) attributes this to the decline of the French language where it was

no longer universal [although still common] among the local Catholic population; the Fort Wayne congregation now blended Americans, Irish, and Germans with the old families of French-Canadian heritage -and if their children attended the local school, the instruction was in English.

Mather's claim is somewhat debatable since the French language still persisted in Miami communities well until the latter part of the nineteenth century in Indiana and Oklahoma, however, it does suggest that French influences in the region, outside Miami communities, were declining.

The Miami accepted the American takeover of former Fort Miami, however, what concerned them the most was continued non-Indian immigration to the region (Anson 1970:134). Canal work attracted Irish, German, Dutch and American workers to Indiana during the first three decades of the nineteenth century and alcohol often served as partial payment for their services. The subsequent debauchery attracted greater Catholic attention to the region with the hopes of mass conversion (Poinsatte 1969:41, 43). Furthermore, the Sabbath was not legally recognized in Indiana and instead became a quasi official day for trading (Furman 1979[1830]). Trading coupled with Indian annuity payment transactions, made trading towns like Fort Wayne ripe for conversion. Annuity payments drew "merchants, tradesmen, harpies, idlers, jockeys, gamblers, the

debauchee and the man who deals in grog” most of whom smirked at any missionary attempts to stop these practices in hopes of converting and educating a few souls” (Post 1979[1833]). In fact, one spectator at an annuity payment noted the majority of problems related to drunkenness and violence was among non-Indians who were not Christians. “Horse-racing, drinking, gambling, and every kind of debauchery, extravagance and waste, are the order of the day, and night, too; and in my opinion, the savages themselves are the most Christianized” (Warren 1946:6).

By the 1830s, missionary pursuits in Indiana paralleled the temperance movement and Roman Catholicism gained significant ground, particularly in Peru and Fort Wayne, where many Miami resided. Lay French Catholic traders were replaced by French Catholic priests who had much success in their efforts among the Miami (Mather 1992.:70). These successes were attributed to earlier interactions between Miami and French Jesuits in Wisconsin, and extensive intermarriage between Miami women and French Catholic traders. Catholicism was a more familiar fit with the Miami, plus Catholic priests contextualized their teachings, sometimes in Miami and other times in French and English, in a way that other missionaries had not; therefore, Miami families continued to convert to Catholicism. As more Miami converted, missionaries of other faiths grew concerned about the dominance of Catholicism in Indiana. Missionary Asa Johnson (1979[1839]) was especially troubled about Jean Baptiste Richardville (Peshewa, 1761-1841), Principal Chief of the Miami from 1818 to 1841, who was a Catholic Miami. Richardville was reportedly the “richest Indian, so far as known, in this country” (Meginness 1975[1891]:206) with estimates of his property exceeding a million dollars (Trowbridge 1855:530). His wealth was attributed to his successes with trade,

treaty stipends, and his tri-lingualism (French, Miami and English), education and socio-political connections. Johnson's (1979[1839]) fear was that Richardville would leave his property to the Catholic Church instead of neighboring churches which were struggling financially. As feared, Catholic Reverend Julian Benoit, along with attorney Allen Hamilton, were named co-executors of Richardville's last standing will (Abstract of Title 1983[1841a], and both became the future co-executors of Richardville's children (Abstract of Title 1983[1841b], Abstract of Title 1983[1841c]). In both wills (Abstract of Title 1983[1841c]:17), Benoit and Hamilton were to

sell and dispose of all the residue of my [LaBlonde, Richardville's daughter] lands and tenements which I will die possessed of....to be disposed of by such directions as they may think best calculated to sell well, and for such prices as they may deem a fair value, and such terms of payment for such lands thus sold.

For their assistance, substantial money and property were bestowed upon Benoit and Hamilton. This same scenario was repeated with the passing of Richardville's successor, Chief Francis La Fontaine (Topeah, 1810-1847), six years later (Johnson 1979[1847]).

With inconsistent funding to establish separate Catholic parishes accommodating multilingual Catholics, Father Louis Müller cared for German, English and French speaking Catholics in the area (Mather 1992:78). By the late 1830s, he found himself quickly overextended and grossly underfunded, but it was his love for alcohol that brought his demise (Ibid.). Reverend Julian Benoit, a French trained priest who studied English, replaced Müller in 1840 (Mather 1992:79). Benoit's vision included the introduction of Catholic education in the area and within seven years of his appointment, in 1844, the first Catholic school was opened (Ibid.). His presence was important

because he helped remove scandal associated with the Church, he established an organized Catholic dominance in the region, and most importantly he earned the respect of Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville. In fact, Benoit was requested to accompany the Miami by Richardville's successor Francis La Fontaine during their removal to Kansas in 1846 (Blanchard 1898:195). A federal officer told Benoit, "Unless you go with them, they will not go and I will be obliged to hunt them down like wild beasts and kill them" (Ibid.).

The French presence in Fort Wayne, although declining, remained visible and was supported by Benoit. Certain areas of Fort Wayne were designated as French Town where French architecture, language and culture abound (Glenn 1994b:65-66, Mather 1992:4). The majority of Catholics were French speaking, but there were also a healthy number of Irish and German speaking Catholics that flocked to the region for work. In spite of certain successes made by the Catholic Church, inconsistent funding was problematic as was a shortage of multilingual priests. Canal work attracted peoples of various backgrounds as did the eventual opening of Miami lands for settlement, however, the need for an increased Catholic presence outweighed the ability to provide it without controversy. In these difficult times, Protestant missionaries often became more attractive to the Miami, offering them additional ways to conceive their spirituality and gain access to other benefits.

Competition for native conversion among Christian missionaries of various denominations was common from the 1830s to the late nineteenth century in Indiana. Christian missionaries including Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptist, Methodist, Campbellites, Universalists and Deists, had similar goals in mind, yet their strategies

varied. The Christian fervor at this time is best described by two contradictory statements made about Catholics by Presbyterian missionary Asa Johnson in 1841. In May, he reports that the Catholic congregation in Peru was growing, yet he advocated “kind feelings toward one another since all Christians have a common enemy” (Johnson, A. 1979[1841a]), however, three months later he mentioned a visit from a Vincennes priest and stated “We have much to fear from this people [Catholics] in Indiana” (Johnson, A. 1979[1841b]). Missionaries of several denominations continuously found their skills put to the test as lay people from multiple linguistic backgrounds came to the region with different agendas in mind. Coupled with various methods of missionary instruction, this made Indiana no less a holy battleground for souls than other regions of the country (Abing 1998:118-119).

One of the most profound attempts to Christianize and educate northern Indiana residents, including the Miami, was made by Baptist missionary, Isaac McCoy and his wife. In 1820, with the urging of Indian agent William Turner and support of the Department of Indian Affairs, McCoy established a mission school in Fort Wayne (Mather 1992:9). His students consisted of ten English speaking Americans, six French children, eight American Indians and one African American (Slocum 1997[1905]:406). The Indian children were largely Miami and Potawatomi, but there were also Shawnee and Iroquois children. Miami children were fed and clothed as their mothers were instructed in domestic labors. All instruction was done in English and school days were long. Children often did not return home until after dark, but it was these long school days that McCoy attributed his successes. For example, two Potawatomi boys were reportedly spelling three and four letter words after only two weeks of instruction

(Herrling 1940:4). McCoy's mission and conversions were most successful among Miami-French children and within a year of its establishment the school enrolled forty-two pupils. However, with the chaos created by increased alcohol consumption of Miami men and women and various epidemics, McCoy's success in retaining and recruiting more students diminished much to his frustration (Carmony 1998:460, Slocum 1997[1905]:408-409). McCoy

gained the confidence of the Indians and learned several of their languages; he won the respect of the settlers and equally important, he earned the confidence of federal officials and established a viable church-state partnership for the spiritual and material betterment of the native American (Mather 1992:14).

Nonetheless, his school was closed and a demoralized McCoy and his wife moved to southwest Michigan two years later.

Continued non-Indian immigration to northern and central Indiana steadily increased inflation throughout the 1830s and into the 1840s. The high cost of living had an adverse effect on the attempts of missionaries to establish and/or maintain mission churches and schools (Chute 1979[1831], Newbury 1979[1836], Johnson, A. 1979[1838]). Those missionaries who survived such financial strife gave services in multiple languages; although the preferred language of communication according to a Huntington, Indiana, church missionary in 1845 was "beautiful phonetic but orthographic hoosier English" (Steele 1979[1845]). While "Hoosier English" may have been the preferred language at the time, Indiana remained multilingual, and Dutch, French, Irish English, English, German, Miami and Potawatomi could be heard throughout many parts of northern and central Indiana. Given this diverse language environment, Indiana residents found different ways to adjust. The daughter of a German immigrant family,

Matilda Nuck, recalled, as a child in the middle to late 1840s, a number of languages spoken in the Huntington area. "The Indians lived all around us. I played with their children day after day... They could speak some English and French. We knew a mixture of German, English and Indian, so we managed to make each other understand" (Welches 1994:137).

Various missionaries continued to fight for Miami souls in Indiana until the middle 1840s, however, their efforts on the Miami Reserve were curtailed in 1846, with the spread of disease and new settlement (Gilbert 1979[1846]), as well as the removal of half the Miami tribe in October. These historical events changed the demographics of northern Indiana. While many Miami were granted permission to remain in Indiana, traders grew fearful of the fate of their enterprise among those Miami who had to leave. On the other hand, missionaries rejoiced because they believed once the Miami were gone, traders would follow and those settlers (and Miami) who remained would be more amenable to continued conversion (Johnson, A. 1979[1845]). By 1848, missionaries were meeting on the Miami Reserve in a barn where hundreds of Miami and settlers convened. According to missionary correspondence (Rudolph, Wimberly and Clayton, eds. 1979) services were largely held in English, but there were calls for services in other languages such as German. With a growing settler population, the need for missionary assistance, as had long been experienced, far outweighed the capacity to serve everyone (Hawes 1979[1848]).

The fallout from these early missionizing efforts is demonstrated today as tribal membership in Indiana remains equally Catholic and Protestant (Greenbaum 1990:27). Baptist missionaries had varying successes with the tribe, but the American nephew of

adopted Miami tribal member and former captive, Frances Slocum (Maconaquah, 1773-1847), George Slocum, successfully converted several Miami in the 1850s (Nesper 2001:142, Rafert 1996:132). Those he converted included Jean Baptiste Brouillette (Tahquahkeah, 1796-1867) and Peter Bondy (Wapapetah, 1817-1867); two tribal leaders who became future Baptist preachers (Rafert 1996:132). On the Meshiongomiesia Reserve, Wahcaconah (Waucoon, c. 1825-1880) had a small Baptist church next to his home and Peter Bondy pastored at Antioch Missionary Baptist Church (also known as the Indian Village Baptist Church, the Miami Union Baptist Church, and the Miami Union Missionary Baptist Church) built in the early 1860s, along with a one-room schoolhouse (Nesper 2001:137). Both the church and school were used until the early 1900s.

Miami converts and ministers, like Bondy and Brouillette, preached in Miami as well as English and most probably French, and Bondy was reportedly the last to preach in the Miami language (Greenbaum 1990:27). Other important leaders and converted religious leaders included Pimyotamah (c. 1815-1889) and Meshingomesia (c. 1782-1879). Miami men like Brouillette, Bondy, Wahcaconah, Pimyotamah and Meshingomesia achieved the combined roles of pastoral and tribal leadership (Ibid., Rafert 1984:46, 47, 100), and because of their efforts the Baptist faith firmly planted itself in the Wabash Valley among Miami communities. Even today, tribal member Jay Hartleroad (1952-) refers to the Christian presence in the Wabash River corridor as “the Baptist Belt” (Hartleroad 2005). Joseph Mongosa (Pemichewah, 1874-1949) lived in this Baptist Belt where he placed his spiritual tradition in Christianity. He once said, “Someone has preserved the Holy Bible for us and I have accepted it as the word of God. Without it I would like to see anyone prove anything” (Mongosa and Mongosa 1939:7).

Peter Bondy corresponded with fellow Baptist minister and tribal leader Thomas Richardville (Wapamungwah, c. 1830-1911) who lived in the West for thirty-five years. Their correspondence, relating largely to church and other Miami affairs, demonstrates their reciprocal facility in English literacy (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985). Other tribal members eventually became pastors such as George Bundy (or “Bondy”, also known as Shapenemah, 1856-1920) who became a Methodist minister for a church in Hancock County, Indiana. Paul Walters (1903-1981) pastored at a Methodist Church in Marion, Indiana, from the 1920s to the 1960s, to a congregation of non-Miami English speakers (Greenbaum 1990:27). These Miami church leaders “served as intermediaries with white society” with the hopes that the church would be able to assist them to “to live more successfully in the larger society” (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985:46-47). In these capacities, Miami religious leaders demonstrated their facility in the English language and American customs. Additionally, Miami involvement with the Church also meant, for ministers and followers alike, access to education in Baptist and other Christian academies (Ibid.) which typically reinforced more English dominated language environments.

Post Removal Missionary Efforts in Kansas and Oklahoma

About half of Miami communities in Indiana were forcibly removed to Kansas in 1846. Through careful political leadership they successfully remained on their ancestral landscape far longer than their former Delaware, Wea and Potawatomi neighbors who were removed years earlier. In fact, the Miami were successful in delaying removal six years after several delegates signed the 1840 treaty calling for removal (Berry and Rinehart 2003:102). The missionary fervor in Kansas during the removal era was no

different than that in Indiana. Kansas was at the heart of a missionary battle during the 1820s, as Catholic, Methodist, Baptist, and Quaker missionaries continued to employ various strategies to convert native souls (Abing 1998:120). Although their methodologies varied, they agreed that “White, Christian society was superior to Native American culture” (Ibid.) and “English was a superior form of communication” (Abing 1998:123). Missionaries educated emigrant tribes through interpreters because they felt that learning English initially proved too difficult for Indians. Eventually though, missionaries replaced interpreters with direct English instruction so potential Indian converts could understand the tenants of Christianity better.

Missionaries followed the Miami from Indiana to Kansas, and both Baptists and Catholics held missions among the Miami in Kansas (Connelley 1928:249). The Wea, a community related to the Miami who spoke a Wea dialect of Miami-Illinois (Callender 1978:681), ceded their reservation along the Wabash and removed from Indiana in 1820, much earlier than the Miami proper (Anson 1970:189). The Wea were then joined by the Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibwe who ceded a small slice of land in northern Indiana one year later (Ibid.). They, like neighboring Shawnee, Peoria and Potawatomi, were instructed in Wea and eventually a primer was published by the Mission Press of the Cherokee Nation in 1837. This primer contains a hymn, reading lessons and wordlists in Miami-Illinois (Costa 1993) and similar to those works completed by the Jesuits and Miami nearly two hundred years earlier, demonstrates the level of commitment by Baptist missionaries to convert the Miami. Missionary successes in Kansas are gauged by the large number of Miami who converted to the Baptist faith after their arrival. In fact, many followed Reverend Thomas Richardville, who converted from Catholicism to

the Baptist faith while in Kansas, to Oklahoma in the early 1870s. Richardville was successful in baptizing many Miami as well as other Indians and non Indians in Kansas and Oklahoma. He was effective in his teachings and practices because he was educated in both Miami and non-Miami culture and language.

Bushaville [Richardville] was a good preacher either in English or Indian...and when he got going on high as most of them did in the early days, he could get the squaws to screaming and shrieking as well as any of the white women of that day, and he had many converts among the little folks (Lowe 1936).

As a result of Richardville's efforts and the work of other Baptist missionaries during the last half of the nineteenth century, a significant number of Baptist Miami, including adherents and leaders of the faith remain in Miami, Oklahoma, today (Olds, J. D. 1997).

The Miami forcibly removed from Indiana in 1846, found themselves amongst their former relatives and neighbors - the Wea, Potawatomi, Peoria and Shawnee. Upon emigration, the Miami first settled along the Marais des Cygnes River in Kansas and within a year of their removal the Miami Mission was created. This mission and manual labor institute were established to encourage continued conversion (Garraghan 1938:231), but also to maintain Indian civilization through Catholicism. Instruction, as with neighboring tribes, was probably done in Miami initially and eventually moved to English. Within two years the institute was deemed a failure by the church and although its demise evolved from organizational problems, missionaries and Indian agents attributed it to the Miami's propensity for alcohol and violence. One report in 1849 describes them as, "less intelligen[t] among these Indians than any in my agency; indeed, there is scarcely a sensible man among them" (Garraghan 1938:233). Without a Catholic mission, the Miami requested the establishment of another, however, their request went

unfulfilled.

According to Garraghan (1938:234), several mixed ancestry Miami were in favor of a continued Catholic presence in Kansas, however, full blooded Miami showed no preference. In spite of prompting by both missionaries and converted Miami, the Catholic Mission was never reopened; therefore, the Miami found other ways to keep their children in Catholic institutions. By treaty, they had the right to send their children to any school with guaranteed access to a \$50,000 education fund. Some elected to send their older children to Catholic mission schools already established among neighboring Indian tribes such as St. Mary's Mission created for the Potawatomi (Ibid.). Educational consolidation at St. Mary's Mission was agreed upon by the tribes and the Church. Missionaries believed that "the best way to learn English is to have children of the different tribes together, then they must speak a common language" (Garraghan 1938:235).

While missionaries had become permanent fixtures in many Indian communities throughout native North America prior to the Civil War, their presence became more extensive with the building of the reservation system under President Grant's post-war Peace Policy in 1869. This policy was supposed to place Indians on reservations, ensure fair and humane treatment of Indians, and supply them with essential goods and funding. This policy established the official presence of Christian missionaries to make sure the development and maintenance of Indian reservations went smoothly and fairly (Prucha 1986:153). Missionaries were also given the responsibility "to uplift the Indian's culture" by establishing schools and churches that would show them the benefits associated with Christian civilization; thereby, making them ready for citizenship (Ibid.).

In essence, missionaries were given official sanction to continue doing what they had been doing since the sixteenth century. In 1888 alone, Congress spent a million dollars on the education of Indian children with half of these funds dispersed to missionaries (Yazzie 2003:165). In spite of substantial federal backing, Indian agency operations under the direction of churches proved an unsuccessful resolution to the Indian problem. Given this, Grant's Peace Policy, or Grantism, was largely ineffective and soon became analogous to fraud and corruption (Prucha 1986:163). By 1882, churches formally withdrew from their Indian agency affiliation and federal financial assistance to churches ceased by the 1890s (Yazzie 2003:165).

With or without official federal support, the underlying sentiment shared by missionaries was to create good English speaking Christians out of Indians. Baptist and Catholic missionaries experienced continued success among Miami communities in Kansas. They recognized that through the Miami, English and most probably French languages, as well as the purposive contextualization of Christian and Miami belief systems, Miami peoples would continue to gravitate to their proselytizing. Many of these same missionaries followed the Miami during their last removal to Indian Territory in 1873. Quaker missionaries had been in Oklahoma since the early 1860s, so by the time the Miami removed there, missions were ready for new Indian souls. Dave Geboe (1861-1946) noted that even though the preacher spoke in English at the Friends Church, "the Indians sang in Indian and the white people in English and at the same time" (Geboe, D. 1937). Catholic and Baptist missionaries continued to find success among the Miami and Peoria in Indian Territory. It also helped that the quasi-official (unelected) tribal leader, attorney and Reverend Thomas Richardville continued as an acting Baptist minister.

By the 1890s, other Christian churches within the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency, including Methodist, Mormon, Quaker and Presbyterian were established (Nieberding 1983:207). Although some of these church services were given in languages other than English, this was done to cater more so to immigrant European settlers, not Indians. By this time, the Miami were largely English speaking, although many were still bilingual and fewer who were trilingual. Neighboring Indian communities were also largely English speaking; hence, there was the Eurocentric expectation the Miami and others would attend English services. Although Richardville notably preached in Miami as well as English from the 1870s to the turn of the twentieth century, future Miami preachers gave services mostly in English. Even near the end of Richardville's career, the majority of his sermons were conducted in English and his only surviving sermons are those he gave in English (David Costa, personal communication, 12 Sept., 2005, Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985).

Not only did the English language continue to push Miami to the periphery, but now the Miami found themselves living among several other Indian communities in Kansas and Oklahoma, who were facing similar linguistic fates. While the Miami had been exposed to linguistic diversity before in Indiana, the linguistic diversity found in the West was altogether different. Many native languages could be heard in heavily populated areas and once squatters began to flood the region, linguistic diversity increased even more so. Mission schools offered the best way to linguistically homogenize Indians while various missionaries professed conflicting doctrine. Many Miami remained Catholic while others converted to the Baptist faith. Most had some knowledge of English, but they were still some who did not.

Chapter Discussion

Early Jesuit missionaries and lay French Catholic traders were more linguistically and culturally accommodating than future Protestant missionaries, and because of this accommodation the Miami language and certain Miami traditions remained in place. During these early years an ideological shift placed the Miami into a new world, a world they were told was riddled with sin and required daily worship to one God. Missionaries and the Miami alike, developed interesting ways to syncretize Christianity, and ways to put these beliefs into action.

For many Miami, Catholicism became the synthesis of two complimentary belief systems. Catherine Nagy Mowry (1954-) a Catholic Miami woman in Indiana explains, “The spirit is just one. They come together. It doesn’t matter what religion you are, it’s all there. It’s not the religion, but the spirit behind it” (Scarlett 2005:4D). Christianity necessitated ethnic reorganization (Nagel and Snipp 1993:203) that took place at familial and community levels. Some Miami families gravitated toward Catholicism while others to various Protestant sects, but for Miami communities it rarely supplanted traditional belief systems entirely. Jean Baptiste Brouillette is a good example of this. Although a convert and future Baptist preacher, Brouillette was also a healer and treated wounded people with Miami medicines throughout the first half of the nineteenth century (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997).

Some Miami, although professed to be Christian to missionaries or priests, never believed themselves to be. Swan Hunter’s (1898-1986) father, Gabriel Godfroy (Wapanakekapwah, 1834-1910), came from a long line of French Catholics and was baptized as such, but reportedly “never believed” in Catholicism (Hunter and Bossley

1978). Eva Bossley (Noahcomoquah, 1893-1980) continued, “He [Godfroy] just believed like the Indian. Believed in the Great Spirit, that was the Indians belief” (Ibid.). The way Jay Hartleroad’s (2005) father lived his life versus the way he wanted his children to be raised was very different. Hartleroad’s father lived his life as a non-Christian Miami, yet wanted his children to be raised as Christians because it became analogous to “having a [social] chance” in a Christian dominated world (Ibid.).

Hartleroad (2005) recalls:

He [Hartleroad’s father] made sure that we went to church so that we would have a chance....because when I was growin’ up...in...Peru...if you weren’t a Christian...nobody wanted anything to do with you...it’s the Baptist belt right down there. Very few of my friends would have been allowed to play with me if...I hadn’t been Christian [and] goin’ to church.

In 1909, Sarah Wadsworth (Wiikapimiša, c. 1847-after 1889) exemplified this idea of professing one thing, but believing or doing another, in a commentary she once made.

Wadsworth noted that regardless of church affiliation, many Miami still believed in the lingering spirit of the dead and that before one’s spirit made its journey to “the spirit land it may be tempted by evil spirits along the way” (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). Yet, other Miami from the same generation as Sarah like William Peconga (Chinguasah, 1844-1916) referred to the spirit land as “heaven” and evil spirits as “devils” (Ibid.). This dialectic between Wadsworth and Peconga illustrates that regardless of time and place, syncretism of Miami and Christian belief systems varied in structure and function, and from family to family.

Although the French language via Jesuits and traders never corrupted the Miami language, nor did the English language, the loss of Miami cultural practices and the language necessary to transmit these beliefs and rituals was significant. Jay Hartleroad

(2005) offers, "Certain ceremonies ...would be considered...evil. So...those things [Miami ceremonies] start bein' put onto the side. They're not talked about and....they just go away...they're gone." Although polygamy was still practiced until the 1860s (Rafert 1996:135), it had become more a discretionary practice than in years past. Marriage practices to non-Indians also influenced kinship practices which moved them away from matrilineal descent to bilateral descent rules, which all but extinguished the clan system in Indiana, Kansas and Oklahoma. Additionally, daily mass, prayer and confessional devotions undoubtedly took time away from other more traditional ceremonies and most probably "The church [Catholic Church] discouraged speaking Miami" (Tippmann 2005).

Religious syncretism integrated new ideologies about traditional and non-traditional ritual practices and where they fit in the Miami world, but through these processes their worldviews and linguistic orientation were slowly beginning to change. Although Lora Siders (Maankwa, 1919-2000) once noted she felt a Miami person should get an education in both the Miami language and spirituality (Siders 1997), most Christian Miami during the nineteenth century used languages outside Miami to convey their beliefs, while traditional rituals continued to fade among Christian and non-Christian Miami. By the time Siders made this comment, the Miami language was already dormant. Today, most Miami are Christians and their first language is English, although certain rituals utilizing the language persist such as men's longhouse, the Mother Moon ceremony and naming rituals (Dani Tippmann, personal communication, 13 April, 2005). English remains the primary ritual language for Miami communities today and the linguistic losses due to the influences of Christianity can only be presumed

at this point. What has been demonstrated here, though, is that the loss of various rituals and beliefs that relied on the Miami language, coupled with non-Indian Christian biases for English, marked a pivotal ideological break in Miami language maintenance.

“You need land, it’s important.”

**Oliver Godfroy, Miami Indian
(As quoted in a recollection by Stewart Rafert during an interview
he conducted with Swan Hunter and Eva Bossley in 1978)**

Chapter Four: Isolation from Miami Landscapes and Traditional Economies

At contact Miami communities were comprised of six distinctive groups, the Atchatchakangouen, Kilatika, Mengakonkia, Pepikokia (Tepicons), Piankashaw and Wea (Callender 1978:681). These groups were collectively referred to as “Miami” since they spoke mutually intelligible languages, recognized one another’s clan leadership and intermarried. Their origin story begins with their emergence from a pool of water known as the “Coming Out Place” located at the portage between the Kankakee and St. Joseph Rivers in South Bend, Indiana (Rafert 1996:16, Roberts 1963:7). Miami emergence from these rivers explains their settlement patterns along Indiana rivers, then and today. Although not expert canoers like their northern Ojibwe neighbors, Miami peoples lived in riverine areas throughout the southern Great Lakes region (southern Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois) because of good soil fertility. This soil was ideal for a mixed economy including horticulture, hunting, and gathering, fishing, sugaring and ricing in some areas (Rafert 1996:12, Tanner 1987:59, 123, Callender 1978:682). The map represented by Figure 2. Myaamiaki Eehi Mihtoseeniwicki, is where Miami culture was practiced and maintained circa 1650 to 1850. Daryl Baldwin (n.d.:8) describes the importance of rivers to Miami communities:

River systems were central to our ancestors’ place of being. These river systems formed the heartland of our ancestral territory. Within this landscape existed a multitude of villages that continually negotiated space and land use among each other since time immemorial.

The wooded areas surrounding rivers were equally important and in 1790, British traveler Henry Hay (1955[1790]) reported, “For it must be observed that they have nothing here to live upon – everything they possess & have is in the woods” (34). Miami knowledge of trails and river systems throughout this region far exceeded that of any non-Indian (Paul Strack, personal communication, 13, April, 2005).

Figure 2. Myaamiaki Eehi Mihtoseeniwiciki



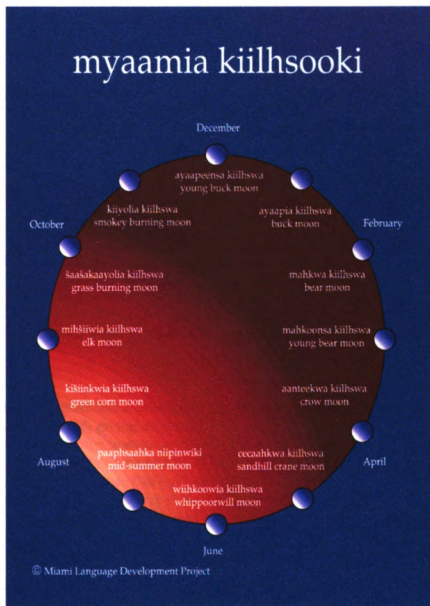
Courtesy of Thomas Klak, Jan. 21, 2006

The Miami knew where to plant their crops, where to pick wild fruits and tubers, the best season to hunt bear, what plants produced better dyes and which provided the best medicines, when and where to employ swidden horticulture, what streams and rivers connected them with other peoples, and where the best toolmaking materials could be found (Rafert 1996:12-14, Tanner 1987:19, Callender 1978:682, Anson 1970:20-21). The Miami lunar calendar, Myaamia Kiilhsooki, embraced these various interactions with the environment by describing seasonal changes, plant and animal life (See Figure 3. Myaamia Kiilhsooki). Miami economies relied on this cumulative ecological knowledge and to leave such an environment was equated to losing a vital part of their identity.

Aggressive politicians at both the state and federal levels supported American settlement desiring fertile lands for agricultural pursuits (Harrison, W. 1922[1803]). Although the Miami used the land similarly, American politicians and settlers did not like how Miami horticulture was the domain of women (Rafert 1996:65). The ideological and physical competition for land between Americans and the Miami was inequitable, and from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, thirteen treaties were signed that diminished the Miami landbase (Kappler 1904). With each cession an important cultural and linguistic disconnect was made with Miami communities. Rituals that incorporated the Miami language for hunting, fishing, sugaring, ricing and gathering became increasingly more difficult to conduct, and these practices were supplanted further with increasing frontier capitalism. Changes in the workplace placed Miami men and women in English dominated environments that pushed usage of the Miami language further to the periphery, both at work and at home. Miami lifestyles relied on their ancestral landscape and once these disconnects were made, the specialized knowledge

and language associated with the landscape was threatened for Miami communities (Berkes 1999:23). Detachment from the land proved detrimental to Miami communities and their abilities to maintain their language and traditions.

Figure 3. Myaamia Kiilhsooki



Courtesy of the Myaamia Project, April 17, 2006

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The landscape was not only important for what it yielded but also served as the Miami ancestral geography (Berkes 1999:5-6, 8, 168) or those “maps in our minds” (Basso 1996:43). The environment shaped Miami values and beliefs (Baldwin 2005i). As Basso (1996) asserts with the Western Apache, wisdom, including its content, meaning and translation, was found in the placement of certain rivers, floodplains, mountains, bluffs and trails.

What people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice (Basso 1996:7).

This example demonstrates that ecological aspects of tradition cannot be separated from more social and spiritual elements. “Stories and legends are part of culture and indigenous knowledge because they signify meaning. Such meaning and values are rooted in the land and closely related to a ‘sense of place’” (Berkes 1999:6).

Relationships with the environment provided history, place and meaning to Miami worldviews.

From the land, our traditional beliefs and knowledge systems developed and evolved, giving meaning to our ancestors’ lives. It was within this landscape that our ancestors witnessed life, and living and over hundreds or thousands of years established themselves among the network of interdependent relationships that surrounded them. Over the course of their lives they worked diligently to maintain a relationship with the land and all its inhabitants. Their relationships were based on mutual respect not superiority (Baldwin n.d.:8-9).

Native understandings of the environment created a mutually symbolic relationship which manifested through the maintenance of ritual practices and disconnect with these relationships proved disastrous for Miami language maintenance.

Oral and written histories capture the interrelatedness of the environment and Miami worldviews. Oral histories like *Lennipinjakami* collected by Jacob Dunn (c. 1908) convey the importance of Miami respect for the landscape and what happens when cultural norms and tobacco offerings are not made to manitous like Leenipinjakami (David Costa, personal communication, 29 Dec., 2005). The story of *Wiihsakacaakwa Aalhsoohkaakana* obtained by linguist Albert Gatschet (1895) in Oklahoma describes Wiihsakacaakwa's desire, believed to be a human with shapeshifting abilities, to interact, feast and exploit other animals (David Costa, personal communication, 24 Jan, 2006). This story demonstrates that the blatant errors Wiihasakacaakwa made with other lifeforms, such as not properly returning beaver bones to the river, violated cultural norms.

In other words, if you don't show respect to the animals they will "go away." Many old Algonquian people interpret today's biological loss as a direct outcome of "not showing respect to the animals"... hence they go away (Baldwin 2005d).

Additionally, this story mentions the habits of "white men" who exploited the environment much like Wiihasakacaakwa - without forethought and solely for their own gain. Miami creativity in this story demonstrates that even in a changing world, Miami worldviews were still intact in many ways. More contemporary stories including the children's story *Little Heron at Seven Pillars* (Tippmann and Lester 2004) continue in this tradition of narrating these important relationships with certain plants, animals, fish, and land formations today.

Historically, the Miami relied on the relationships they had with the living environment; through these relationships they maintained their cultural and linguistic cohesiveness. The Miami language served and continues to serve as a "reflection of

...people's knowledge of and relationship with the landscape. Without the original landscape, some of the practices associated with it ceased, and so some contexts for the Miami language were lost" (Baldwin as quoted in Taylor 2002:52). Separation from the landscape or environment, whether physical or ideological in nature, was detrimental to the preservation of the Miami language. Linguistic and cultural isolation from the landscape was accomplished through dispossession, removal, changed economies and the division of families throughout these processes.

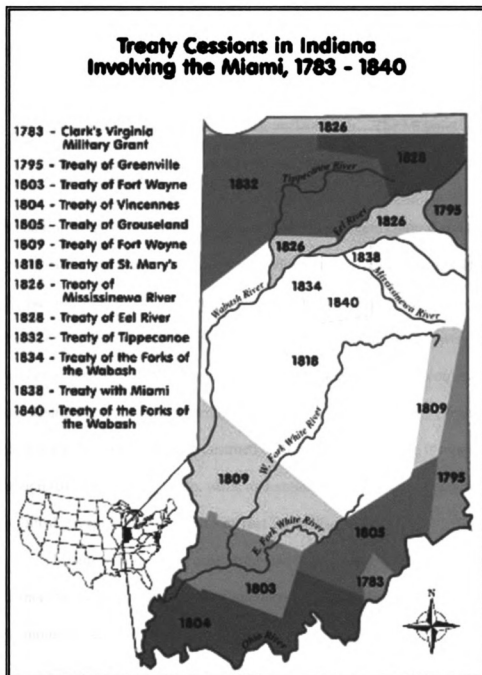
The Treaty Era in Indiana

From 1700 until the first few decades of the nineteenth century, battles and violent confrontations over access to the land and resources occurred between the Miami, British, French and American militaries. The Miami became increasingly reliant on the fur trade during the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, a profession in which many participated. Trade goods including cloth, flour, housewares, guns and alcohol became commonplace (Woehrmann 1971:90) and while these purchases increased so did the accumulation of debt to manipulative traders. Debt was typically paid off with Miami land cessions. The fur trade fell during the 1830s and 1840s as a result of the cession of Miami lands because "inasmuch as the Indians were becoming accustomed to living more and more from the government annuities rather than by trapping" (Poinsatte 1969:23). For many Miami an ideological detachment with the land had been made. While they utilized what land remained in their possession, they were also taking advantage of government annuities that afforded them various goods. Dual modes of subsistence, although accommodative, also proved detrimental to the vitality of the Miami language because the accumulative knowledge supported by the language was shifting slowly to

something outside a traditional Miami worldview. Modes of exchange were altered in response to changed interactions with the environment and because of this Miami culture and language were threatened. Future treaties with the federal government only accelerated these processes.

Early federal policies through treaties, however, had the most profound effect on the Miami ancestral landscape. The “territory sufficient to support a thousand Indians by hunting and fishing, would furnish homes for hundred of thousands of industrious white men” (McCulloch 1888:103). Furthermore, it perturbed missionaries and officials that horticulture remained, in spite of their efforts, the domain of Miami women (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997, Rafert 1996:132). Americans did not understand the relationship Miami communities held with the land, especially what it meant to them beyond its physical yield. Their desires for Miami lands became insurmountable as demonstrated by six treaties before Indiana became a state in 1816, and seven additional treaties (Kappler 1904) signed after statehood was achieved (See Figure 4. Map of Miami Treaty Cessions). Therefore, for a period of fifty-seven years the Miami were involved in multiple treaties which continuously diminished their landbase. In spite of this slow but steady dispossession, the Miami were still, at least in part, able to remain on some of their ancestral landscape. They continued to plant corn and other crops, hunt, gather, spearfish and sugar – traditions that still required specialized ritual usage of the language. However, hunting practices became strained as many game species, including bear and deer, were declining in number (Rafert 1996:65). With continued dispossession and shrinking natural resources perhaps this was added incentive for Miami men to consider agricultural pursuits (Baldwin 2005g).

Figure 4. Map of Miami Treaty Cessions



(Berry and Rinehart 2003:98)

With the passage of the Removal Act in 1830, the Miami were well aware of the pressures that would soon come their way; therefore, they “resisted agreeing to any specific mention of removal in treaties with the federal government” during the 1830s

(Berry and Rinehart 2003:98). The possibility of removal haunted Miami leadership.

Civil Chief Jean B. Richardville (1832) stated the tribe's refusal to remove in the following speech.

Father, I have told you I do not speak for myself but for my people
...I told you that your red children would not go to the Mississippi
country-they wish to stay on their ancient lands...The Miamies will
never consent to leave the homes of their fathers. I also as an
individual will never consent to do so. We have answered more than
once that we will not sell, and still you ask us for land.

Retention of the ancestral landscape was crucial for Miami cultural and linguistic preservation and Richardville knew this. However, in spite of his formidable declaration, Richardville and others were eventually persuaded to sign another treaty in 1834, at the Forks of the Wabash. Unlike previous treaties, seven tracts of land were ceded in exchange for patents in fee simple and six small land grants were converted to individual ownership for several tribal members and leaders like Richardville (Senate Exec. Rep. 25-1-2 1837). This treaty was destructive for the Miami because it supported American notions of property ownership, while undermining Miami ideas of usufruct rights and political governance (Berry and Rinehart 2003:98).

Miami willingness to cede more land in this treaty is not clear, but Article Six demonstrates their concerns with numerous cultural changes taking place in their community (Kappler 1904). Their

increased sensitivity to changing cultural values and vanishing tribal identity...[was demonstrated through their announcement that] only members could share in the land or annuities of the tribe; individuals who were permitted to live among them or married into the tribe could secure membership only by adoption through the tribal council...[and] that no Miami could contract individual debts which would have the status of a lien on the tribe's lands or annuities (Anson 1970:201).

It grew increasingly difficult for tribal leadership to manage scattered Miami communities. The warrior society had weakened since the turn of the nineteenth century (Anson 1970:201) and accompanying leadership positions were no longer necessary in times of peace. Many Miami had daily contact with non-Indians and intermarriage with non-Indians was common by the early to middle nineteenth century. Additionally, annuities and the fur trade offered the Miami alternative methods for survival which drew them further away from traditional practices. Those who were most successful in the trade were typically of mixed ancestry, educated, bilingual, if not trilingual, and assumed leadership roles of various capacities. Although they acted as tribal or clan representatives they did not necessarily act on everyone's behalf. There were jealousies between many clans and families due to the economic prowess of successful trading families like the Richardvilles (Berry and Rinehart 2003:100-101); so to state that the Miami agreed to land cessions, does not necessarily represent tribal sentiment, only that recognized leadership approved such transactions.

The Treaty of 1834 did not pacify President Andrew Jackson's desire to move the Miami westward so another treaty was negotiated in 1836 and passed in 1838 (Berry and Rinehart 2003:98). This treaty never called for Miami removal and so settlers soon began lobbying state legislators to formally petition Congress to remove the Miami. The Office of Indian Affairs quickly set in motion another set of treaty negotiations later that same year which called directly for Miami removal. This treaty eventually ceded 170 thousand acres of Miami land and left only the winter hunting grounds in the Big Miami Reserve to be held collectively (Kappler 1904). Land grants and payments were made to Chiefs Richardville and Francis Godfroy (Palonsawa, 1758-1840) and their families, but

to the detriment of the tribe this treaty called for guaranteed lands west of the Mississippi River for the Miami “upon their approval” (Ibid.). Still, settlers were not satisfied with the terms of this agreement for they felt the Miami still had an out from removal. If they did not approve of the lands out West, they could remain in Indiana; hence, their land would not fall into American hands.

Therefore, a new treaty was negotiated in 1840, which clearly designated Miami removal to a 500 thousand acre reservation in Kansas within a five year period. This treaty ceded all remaining tribal lands in Indiana to the United States including the last 177 thousand acres of the Big Miami Reserve for \$550,000 of which \$325,000 was used to pay off existing tribal debts (Senate Exec. Rep. 26-2-3 1841). Miami landholdings in Indiana now only stood around fifteen thousand acres in the Peru-Wabash-Marion region of the West-Central corridor of Indiana (Rafert 1996:118). Several families, through Richardville’s careful negotiation, were exempt from removal including his, the Godfroy and Metocina (Metosenyah) families. Another official exemption was made for Frances Slocum and her family. Slocum, a captive originally from Wyoming, Pennsylvania, was found in 1835, by her Slocum siblings through the assistance of trader George W. Ewing. Although they tried to persuade her to return to Pennsylvania she refused. Understanding her resolve to remain on her land grant her American family petitioned for Frances to be excluded from removal and was successful (Senate Doc. 122 1845, H.R. Doc. 620 1848).

The five year period after the ratification of the 1840 treaty was to give the Miami time to prepare for removal. While they sold off many of their goods and individual land titles, paid off debtors, and removal contractors were hired and provisions procured by the Indian agent, nothing could have prepared them for the cultural and linguistic changes

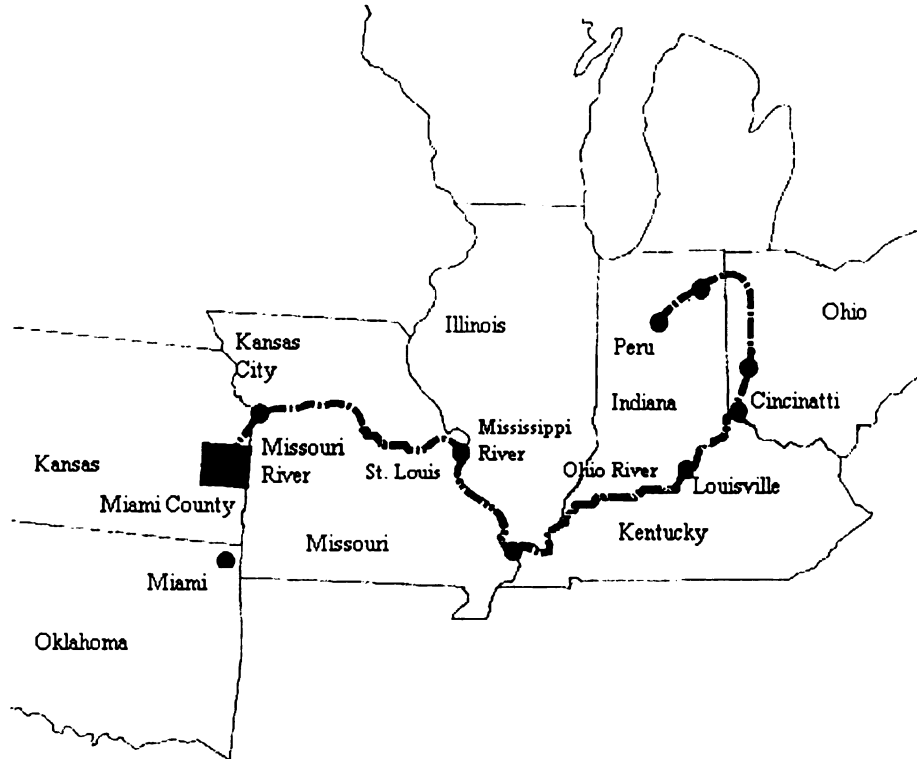
that would follow. Furthermore, upon inspection of their lands in Kansas in 1845, they were deeply saddened by the landscape. The heat was deemed unbearable and the soil was “poor and unfriendly, it [would] be impossible to raise corn on more than one tenth of the land, and only land on which we could raise corn would be the bottoms” (Manzo 1981:252). Further delays from removal were successful by both tribal representatives and traders (Gernhardt 2006:189, 191-192, Berry and Rinehart 2003:103), however, removal became a reality on October 6, 1846.

Removal took about a month to complete and most of it was conducted over water on canal boats and steamboats (See Figure 5. Removal Route of the Miami Tribe, 1846). The deportation site was chaotic. Miami were “clutching handfuls of earth from their ancestors’ graves and remaining relatives and settlers were moved to tears at the sight” (Wirtner 1994:122). They “didn’t want to leave their land...they just picked up a little handful of dirt and put it in a tobacco sack and take that with ‘em” (Carver 1968).

Our ancestors were defined by their experience within this landscape, with their very lives woven into the fabric of the land. When they looked into their place of being they saw themselves and all of that which they were kin to. They could not imagine the land void of their presence (Baldwin n.d.:10).

With Indiana soil in one hand and their belongings in the other, nearly half the tribe left the only place they recognized as home. The end destination was the Sugar Creek on the Marais des Cygnes River in Kansas, the future home of Miami County and Linn County, Kansas.

Figure 5. Removal Route of the Miami Tribe, 1846



(Berry and Rinehart 2003:105)

Although the Miami lived in riverine environments primarily for large scale horticulture, they were not “water people,” instead “we were runners” (Dani Tippman, personal communication, 13 April, 2005). Chief Francis La Fontaine (1846) recalled after the emigrating party reached Kansas, “This country does not please me. It would have been much better if my people had moved by land – moving by water doesnot suit the habits of my people.” When they finally reached their new reservation on November 5, a trader recalled, “I amunused to the melting mood, but when the young braves at my parting with them burst into tears and begged like children to be taken back to their old home. I could not help crying also” (McCulloch 1888:110). An actual number of

the emigrating party is difficult to determine, however, more Miami remained in Indiana, whether through official exemption or by fleeing, than were removed to Kansas (Sinclair 1846a, 1846b, 1846c, Ewing 1846). Kansas became the new home for 323 Miami, but it would never replace the value their ancestral landscape held. Although Miami communities ethnically reorganized to the best of their abilities in Indiana and Kansas respectively, changes in personal and physical landscapes decontextualized many linguistic and cultural practices.

Early Estate and Land Claims

Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville's family was exempt from removal because they were "considered important members of their white communities" (Anson 1970:210). Their dual heritage, Miami-French, permitted them to live in both worlds, and with this came many privileges. Their class status was often envied by Indians and non-Indians alike. Richardville's children were all formally educated yet two of his daughters, Maria Louisa Richardville (LaBlonde, 1792-1854) and Susan Richardville (Asawsommaquah, 1801-c. 1842), professed their inabilities in American customs and the English language in 1841 (Abstract of Title 1983[1841b]). Both received land from their father after he died, but it proved too difficult for them to manage; therefore, they granted their land in counsel to their father's attorney Allen Hamilton. LaBlonde and Susan (Abstract of Title 1983[1841b]) state:

We are illiterate Indian women, unacquainted with the manners, customs & business transactions of the civilized life, & entirely incompetent to manage, dispose of or preserve our said estate, or to judge of the real estate of the estates so devised to us by our said father...and being apprehensive that if we or either of us keep & retain in ourselves the power to alienate, dispose of or incumber said property, we will be overreached, become a prey to base and designing men, & lose our said patrimonial estates, & become beggars.

This self-professed ignorance is interesting because it was common knowledge by Miami and non-Miami alike, that Richardville's family valued formal education.

Additionally, Jean Baptiste Richardville's economic prowess as a trader introduced many commodities to the familial household; therefore, all of his children most certainly had exposure to certain "manners and customs...of the civilized life" (Abstract of Title 1983[1841b]). Furthermore, they signed with 'X' marks and LaBlonde relied on an interpreter for these negotiations (Ibid.). It is unknown whether they did this out of ideological resistance like their father did by shunning French/American dress, languages, and customs during the latter years of his life, but it is known that Hamilton squandered much of their land away using their perceived illiteracy to his advantage as noted below.

She [LaBlonde] put all her money and business in the hands of the said Hamilton...an uneducated Indian woman, living in the woods, who cannot speak a word of English, and having no associations with the whites, and an utter stranger to their laws, customs, habits and language, and benefit of near kindred in her tribe...put her entire trust and confidence in said Hamilton, and she invariably signed by her mark... without knowing its contents or its purposes, that he could not speak a word of her language, nor she of his (Godfroy v. Joseph K. Edgerton, et al., Allen County, Allen County Circuit Ct., Feb. term, 1868).

It is interesting that Hamilton (Abstract of Title 1983[1841b]) regarded her as an

illiterate Indian of no business capacity whatever, a stranger to our laws, with mental powers far below the lower and uneducated classes raised in civilized social systems, and...[who] could only speak and understand a little English, and then only on terse and simple subjects familiar to them,

yet he looked up to her father enough to successfully gain his trust and become his attorney and financial advisor for several years (Anson 1970:204). Clearly, Hamilton involved himself in these transactions for his own gain, while ignoring the social standing

and intelligence of those whom he was dealing with.

Land claims negotiated after the post removal era reveal the extent of Miami language maintenance for formal proceedings. In 1868, D.H. Colerick assisted the Miami with several land claims in Huntington and Allen counties. One of the claims included the following signators, James Godfroy (or Godfrey, Lumkecumwah, c. 1822-1894), Sarah J. Sheridan (Kahtahkamungoquah, c. 1833-1881), Archangel Godfroy (Mongosacquah, c. 1826-1885), Sago and others. These three signators either wrote alongside their French names or their English names, or synthesized both names, which suggest varying levels of linguistic accommodation. Another claim petition signed by several Godfroy's in 1897 demonstrates this same feature, but to an even larger extent (H.R. Doc. 2306 1940[1897]). The syncretism of personal names on the Godfroy petition included Miami, French, and English names, and eleven of twenty-six signators signed with an "X" mark. Although the English language may have been spoken by many Miami at this time, English literacy as detailed by these land claims varied considerably.

Early land transactions demonstrate even more profoundly that the Miami were not a homogenized community. Some had more access to education, interaction and exposure with non-Indians than others, and for many this came down to the familial or individual level. Additionally, the Godfroy claim noted that Archangel and Sago did not understand English so their power of attorney was explained by, Mary Strack (Wahpemunquah, 1860-1909) and Louisa Cass (Pungeshenoquah, c. 1847-1908), Archangel's daughters (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1868]). Written and verbal knowledge of the English language varied among the Godfroys and Richardvilles for the next seventy years, as it continued to do so in other

families well into the twentieth century. The shift to English manifested differently by region, family, class and generation, and by no means was universal. Ultimately, this transition was determined by the person and not by the community, but what they had in common was that they were now living among a growing English-speaking majority.

Post Removal Miami Land Use and Economies in Indiana

The Miami exempt from removal were largely of mixed ancestry and successful traders; therefore, they avoided the accrual of significant debt unlike other Miami. Furthermore, “The state legislature petitioned Congress not to disturb these men in Indiana under the rationale that they could continue to pay taxes on their farming lands” (H.R. Doc. 620 1848), and they also continued to receive their annuity payments in Indiana.

It was much easier for state government to endorse individual Miami who were viewed as assimilated, in the sense that their behaviour conformed to American norms by farming, earning an income, and paying taxes (Berry and Rinehart 2003:107).

In other words, they were not deemed as much as threat as other less assimilated Miami. This is ironic given the primary goal of Miami leadership at the time was to gain some sort of legal status for remaining tribal members in Indiana, and not just recognition as a mixed group of Indian descendants (Rafert 1996:121).

The desire to remain on the Miami ancestral landscape and avoid removal is revealed further by the astute negotiating skills of four Miami leaders, Louis Richardville (Miaquah, 1790-1856), Rivarre (Shapenemah, c. 1816-1853), Coesse (born before 1819-died before 1856), and White Loon (Wapamungwah, c. 1804-1876). These four men made an unusual agreement with the federal Indian agent prior to removal to help remove the tribe to the West in exchange for returning temporarily to Indiana to join their

families in the harvest. Upon harvest they would then dispose of their lands and return with their families at their own expense to Kansas (Berry and Rinehart 2003:106). However, shortly after these four leaders returned to Indiana they immediately lobbied the Indiana state legislature to plead for their right to remain there, and while it ultimately fell on deaf ears in Congress, it was

recognized that these tribal leaders and their families could not be forced to remove west because they had rightfully retained lands granted by early treaties, the federal government refused to pay them a share of tribal annuities (Berry and Rinehart 2003:107).

In essence, Meaquah, Rivarre, Coesse, and White Loon were allowed to remain in their ancestral landscape, but would not be considered Miami by the federal government.

Removal split the Miami community on an ideological level. Exempt Miami were somewhat relieved because they were able to maintain a connection with the land, but on the other hand many “experienced deep-rooted grief about their separation from other tribal members” (Berry and Rinehart 2003:108). This separation from kin and friends proved detrimental to Miami language and cultural maintenance. With Miami tribal populations nearly split in half, new geographic boundaries not only separated the Miami from their physical landscape, but displaced them from their cultural and linguistic landscapes. Not long after removal existing Miami lands in Indiana fell under the same threat they had been prior to removal. By 1850, the Miami still owned over twelve thousand acres (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997), however, over the next few decades Miami lands were sold due to existing debts, illegal taxation of these lands until 1891, and questionable land transfers. Traditional subsistence methods did not pay off existing debts, so the quickest way to resolve these financial matters, as before, was by selling off Indian lands and/or supplementing

incomes with entry into the formal economy. Many Miami migrated to neighboring towns and cities looking for work, and while this was done out of economic necessity, certain disconnects from the land were deepened further by this slow transition to a formal wage economy.

The Meshingomesia and Godfroy families moved to towns near former treaty grants. Many of these families remained in close proximity to one another, however, their displacement from the land undermined traditional Miami Indian culture.

While the move to a town environment from a quasi-reservation and rural environment acted to weaken aspects of a more traditional Miami Indian culture (language, foodways, hunting, and fishing), tribespeople placed greater emphasis on formal leadership and legal means to preserve a Miami community (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985).

In 1867, Meshingomesia attempted to have his reserved land proportioned because “a large majority of the tribe have abandoned altogether the habits of their ancestors, and are disposed to adopt themselves to our civilization” (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984[1867]). Abandonment of certain cultural practices was more in response to those settlers who crowded around reserved lands and scared off most of the game (Gilley 1972:6D). Although these changes were experienced in Miami communities throughout Indiana, the courts did not agree they had abandoned traditional practices. One judge held “they settle their troubles among themselves, without restoring to our courts. In their intercourse with each other they speak their own language [Miami]...their tribal organization still remains” (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984[1871]). Nonetheless, by the early 1870s tribal leadership encouraged male agriculture (Rafert 1996:143), children were rallied for schooling and adults were encouraged to attend church on Meshingomesia’s Reserve.

In 1872, Congress passed legislation permitting allotment of the Meshingomesia Reserve into ninety farms for any eligible Miami, most of whom were female and children (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). Although these allotments were created to encourage male, cash crop agriculture and discourage more traditional methods of subsistence; it became a bone of contention between many Miami and American settlers. This legislation turned reserved lands into legal private property and displaced traditional cultural practices, including usufruct rights and traditional female horticulture. American farming was an expensive trade to participate in, as farming equipment, draft animals, and seed were costly. As a result, many Miami men went into debt. Debts also accrued because the Miami were expected to pay taxes on these lands, as they were considered by the government as individual Indians and not a tribe. This was clearly not the way the government had treated the Miami in the recent past and it would take nearly a hundred years for the Miami to settle claims over these fraudulent tax collections (Rafert 1996:255). Additionally, Miami men attempted to turn to American settlers for assistance with farm management, but were economically exploited; thus, spawned a vicious cycle of poverty (Ibid.). These scenarios compounded with infertile soil, drought, falling farm prices and an economic depression by the early 1890s forced many such as William Peconga (Chingwasah, 1844-1916) and Gabriel Godfroy, from the field to pursue other lines of work (Ibid.).

The Miami landbase after the 1870s became what Rafert (1996:147) refers to as a “checkerboard pattern.” Jay Hartleroad (2005) exclaimed, “The landbase [was] becoming smaller, the game [was] becoming more scarce...if they [couldn’t] 100% ...support themselves in the old way...they have to offset some how...they have to work...they

have to start findin' odd jobs." Many Miami sought employment in an area called Squawtown near Peru which became the winter quarters for the Hagenbach-Wallace, Sell-Floto and other traveling circuses (Rafert 1982:204). Tribal members like Charles Marks (Assonzongah, 1870-1946) and Lamoine Marks (1907-1997) often worked for these circuses while still trying to succeed as farmers (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). Circuses provided much needed employment for many Miami who worked as animal caretakers and trick riders, some even traveled by rail and became performers.

Contractual employment such as circus work was very different from earlier, more traditional methods of work. The Miami were now working in a formal economy that relied on variable English literacy, they were handling new, foreign animals, as well as working with ethnically diverse peoples. This, compounded with marriage between many Miami and other non-Indian circus workers (Rafert 1996:166), influenced a changing Miami worldview. The Miami were still working on the land, but in new ways and in new places. The majority of this work was considerably more sedentary, so family sizes increased as did the overall tribal population. In spite of these many changes, those language bearers who worked the circuses became creative with the language. Miami names were given to foreign animals such as "waapinkolookia" for "gray skinned animal" or "elephant," and "eelaalaahšiwia" for the "animal that is always hunting lice" or a "monkey" (Baldwin and Costa 2005:153, 167). Even more importantly, Miami circus workers were a part of the last generation where the Miami language was transmitted intergenerationally.

In spite of circus workers' attempts to keep the language alive, language shift was becoming increasingly apparent as revealed by a growing linguistic minority and increased intergenerational dislocation of the language. Self-trained linguist, Jacob Dunn took notice of this situation. He wrote to James Mooney at the Bureau of Ethnology in 1888 about documenting the Miami language. Mooney's reply was probably much starker than Dunn expected. Mooney (1888) says:

While the life or death of a few thousand savages is of very little moment in the development of a state, their history is important as a link in its history, their mythology & religious practices give us the starting point in the development of human thought, & their local & personal names –correctly stated–afford valuable material to the linguist. To the philologist Tecumthe means a good deal, Tecumseh means nothing.

While the Bureau of Ethnology supported scholarly missions such as Dunn's, his opinions of and approaches with the Miami were far less biased and perfunctory than Mooney's. In fact, Dunn grew quite close to many Miami even though their demise, according to Mooney, was of little consequence to the development of an agricultural economy in the state. Dunn collected what he could from individuals like Gabriel Godfroy as his approach was typical for salvage anthropology at the time (Boomhower 1997:115), however, in spite of his efforts, the socio-political establishment was slow in realizing the need to document the Miami language further.

A diminishing landbase was due to many variables. "The deaths of many allottees had done its part in breaking up the reservation" (Rafert 1996:158). In fact, from 1873 to 1890, over half the allottees had perished. Land also quickly passed to American husbands, or Squawmen, "who married women for their farms, while creditors-local attorneys and merchants – ended up with much of the rest" (Ibid.). The Depression

of 1893 and its aftermath affected Miami landscapes and economies further. Three sizeable reserves remained including the Meshingomesia, Ozahshinquah, and Godfroy Reserves, although parcels from each were slowly sold off. From 1890 until 1900, those Miami living in Peru lost 850 acres, or about half their landbase (Rafert 1996:196). After 1891, remaining tribal lands became tax exempt, as they should have been all along. From that time forward, Miami treaty rights and their rights as an established governing body were recognized, as long as they were not citizens. Unfortunately, this victory was quieted six years later with a surprise decision by Assistant Attorney General Willis Van Devanter. In 1897, Van Devanter stated that the Miami living in Indiana were not protected by federal law since the distribution of their capital fund began in 1881, even though this fund was guaranteed by their last treaty ratified in 1854 (Ibid., Kappler 1904). In essence, those Miami who still retained treaty rights were considered the same as allotted Indians after 1881; hence, they were citizens and not recognized as Indians by federal law. This loss of federal recognition was devastating to the Miami for it left them few legal alternatives to pursue existing treaty rights. The “Miami’s attempt to regain taxes in the 1890s, led instead to the complete loss of treaty rights and tax exemption, further weakening the economic base of the Miami” (Rafert 1996:196).

The many uncertainties which followed Van DeVanter’s decision affected the security of the Miami landbase. Debt accrued through taxation and the expenses related to farming led to the sale of remaining Miami lands in Indiana. Those who held onto their land supplemented their livelihoods with hunting, gathering and spearfishing, while others sought work elsewhere. Some Miami were more successful in maintaining their land such as James Godfroy (Shequeah, 1886-1958) as he was considered by his

extended family as “well to do up in Fort Wayne. Big farms up there” (Hunter and Bossley 1978). But, Godfroy’s farming success was not the norm for the majority of Indiana Miami. Railroad towns in north central Indiana were industrializing; therefore, there was an abundance of railroad as well as factory work that required unskilled labor (Greenbaum 1990:20-21). In fact, the railroad became a major source of employment for men leaving the Miami Reserve such as Rose Carver’s father (Carver 1968). Some of those Miami who retained remaining tracts of land on the Godfroy and Ozashingquah Reserves, as well as some Richardvilles living in Fort Wayne and Huntington, maintained the language through oral and ritual traditions like naming practices during the 1890s (Greenbaum 1990:10). In part, their geographic isolation ensured the vitality of the Miami language, even if no longer transmitted intergenerationally. By the turn of the century, Dunn noted that there were still several Miami whose first and perhaps only language was Miami (Dunn, C.1937:34, 37), however, there were far more who did not speak the Miami language at all.

Many Miami found themselves “caught between two cultures” (Rafert 1984:198-199). Their options were to either mitigate two cultures through syncretism as they had long done, to wholly acculturate or to maintain some semblance of traditionalism. The majority chose to adjust and mitigate these two cultures in spite of shifting cultural and linguistic traditions, but they did not “surrender [their] identity only to disappear within the larger society” (Rafert 1982.:199). These choices were difficult to make, however, speaking the English language became equated to economic survival. Former Chief Francis Shoemaker (Papaquan, 1912-1996) noted that even though he repeatedly asked his father to teach him Miami, his father felt it unnecessary, “No use in teaching you the

language, son...because the time that you're my age, there won't be no Indian language left" (Shoemaker in Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985). When other Miami children similarly pressed their parents "they felt strongly that the young should just learn to speak English... 'Life would be too hard for you if you learned to speak Indian'" (Baldwin 2002c:17). For Shoemaker's father as well as others, learning Miami had become moot as it was unnecessary in order for one to maintain his livelihood. Shoemaker remarked, "He [Francis' father] said it would have been all mixed up with the whites... That's the language that goes with the culture of the people" (Shoemaker in Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985).

The social pressures the Shoemakers experienced occurred in other Miami families as well such as the Strack family. According to Dani Tippmann (2005), geographical separation occurred among several Strack siblings who were placed into an orphanage, while other siblings were permitted to live with their biological father and step-mother in Chicago circa 1908. The step-mother divided her new family because some children looked "too Indian" while those who looked "less Indian" were allowed to relocate with her and their father to Chicago (Ibid.). Separation from one another changed family dynamics significantly. The Stracks were physically, socially, culturally and linguistically divided. Tippmann (2005) surmised, "From the land, from nature, from everything that is sacred, or has special meaning and they move to Chicago where things were in the city, and... definitely less Miami and I don't know how the language would have done then."

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Miami continued to work the railroads, some even becoming engineers and conductors. Railroad work was valued among many

Miami because it allowed them to maintain a home along the upper Wabash River (Rafert 1982:205). Fewer Miami were farmers and those who still farmed ran small-scale operations. Other professions such as work in auto factories, construction, carpentry, plumbing and glassworking were sought (Ibid.). Varied workplaces offered the Miami needed incomes, yet proved harmful to Miami language maintenance. Written and spoken English, for the most part, was the dominant language in most professions, not Miami. Additionally, English proficiency became necessary at this time because several Miami were pursuing treaty claims. While early claims work proved to be successful decades later, much debt was incurred from accumulated legal fees and only through the sale of remaining Miami lands and personal heirlooms was this debt reconciled (Rafert 1996:206-207).

Economic hardship, from the 1920s forward, led to a great exodus of Miami families to other towns in Indiana such as Elkhart, South Bend and Indianapolis, to Chicago and Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, and to Toledo, Ohio. There were many changes as a result of the shifting workplace and the migration of Miami families. The tribal population was now more dispersed than before and as a result the language community received another blow to its vitality. More than ever before language maintenance rested solely with ten tribal elders and their families (Greenbaum 1990:9). Language retention took a definitive turn from community practice to familial effort and with continued out-migration from Miami communities “a speech community could not be maintained and knowledge of the language rapidly faded” (Ibid.). In short, the rapid loss of land along with the ending of federal guardianship, encouraged, according to Rafert (1984:124) many “disruptive forms of acculturation.”

Certain disconnects from the land and the rippling effects from these events, including migration, entry into new forms of employment and the formal economy, fostered growing demoralization among Miami communities in Indiana. As a result, during the 1920s the Miami organized the Maconaquah Pageant, named after Francis Slocum, to revitalize several cultural traditions (Rafert 1996:212) as well as a way to educate non-Indians about their ancestry. In 1929, one article in the *Peru Republican* (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984:93) announced the pageant as follows:

These Indians are proud of their ancestry and therefore they are pleased to maintain, by presenting the Ma-con-a-quah pageant, the traditions and customs of their forefathers, in a manner that will greatly please and entertain their friends the white folks.

The Maconaquah Pageant was an important source of social cohesion and distinctiveness for the tribe. Its fourteen year tenure, from 1923 to 1937, is significant given the “tremendous pressure to assimilate and of overt racism” held by non-Indians at the time (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985:3-4). Miami from several clans and families participated in the pageant and traveled throughout northern Indiana, western Ohio, and southern Michigan. One popular performer was elder J. Clarence Godfroy (Kapahpwah, 1880-1962). He was well known for his storytelling (Rafert 1996:212), but also held many other positions including factory work and vaudeville, and he served as a researcher and writer for the Indiana Federal Writer’s Program (IFWP) from 1935 to 1942 (Blakey 2005:126). His variety of work experiences exemplified continued Miami accommodation in a changing world. In fact, Godfroy was noted to be one of the best IFWP fieldworkers in Indiana because of his ability to capture oral histories (Ibid.). Most of Godfroy’s stories were published verbatim in *Miami Indian*

Stories in 1961 (Godfroy, C.), a year before he passed on.

The preservation of cultural traditions through pageantry and oral narrative demonstrate many things. First, these cultural traditions illustrate that the Miami asserted their identity, in spite of waning cultural and linguistic traditions, and that they were different from neighboring non-Indians. These differences were not something to be feared, but to be celebrated. Second, the pageant generated money for the tribal organization, while providing a unique line of work which served as a viable connection to the past, and coincidingly inspired many Miami to learn more about their culture and history. This pageant's tenure also demonstrates that a viable Miami community remained in the region, whether they looked or spoke Indian, or not. Today, according to Jay Hartleroad (2005), pageantry remains strong in Indiana Miami communities, as parades are common in cities like Peru, Wabash, Rochester and North Manchester.

The 1930s proved difficult as the Great Depression took an economic toll on Miami communities. Factories laid off many Miami workers and circus work was declining. Claims petitioning became increasingly important in these financially tough times, however, the money needed to fight claims was something most did not have. Out of necessity, many Miami returned to hunting, spearfishing and gathering plants for foods and medicines to supplement existing economies (Rafert 1996:182, 184). This reveals that enough traditional knowledge had survived until this time, some of which was maintained through some usage of the language. Miami words for certain plants and animals could be recalled, as many still are today, but accompanying rituals in association with these plants and animals had largely disappeared. Knowledge of these cultural traditions rested primarily among older generations, however, with the continued

passing of elders, linguistic and cultural practices became increasingly marginalized.

While the Indiana Department of Conservation had given unofficial permission to the Miami to hunt and spearfish out of season since 1919, it became a subject of contested debate during the 1930s (Rafert 1996:216). This assuredly was in response to the high numbers of Miami who returned to subsistence practices during this time. Some Miami were arrested, found guilty and fined, but most cases were dismissed. The court found Lamoine Marks guilty of a fishing violation in 1941. The court (State of Indiana v. Marks, Miami County, Miami Circuit Court, April term, 1941) remarked:

The court instructs you, that if you believe from the evidence, that the defendant has lived after the manner of a civilized white citizen, has exercised the right to vote, has registered as a citizen, has taken advantage of the rights of the high courts of the state, has taken advantage of the protection and adventures of civilization, has sent his children to the schools of the state, then the court instructs that such acts place him in the same position as any citizen of the state subject to the same laws and entitled to the same rights.

The risks involved with these traditional subsistence practices were a far better fate than starvation. Again, the Miami found themselves in a peculiar situation - they were no longer recognized as a tribe by the federal government, yet the state government refused to help them because they were considered Indians. Therefore, their quest for federal recognition to reverse this political paradox began as attachments to claims work from 1938 until 1942 (Rafert 1996:223). Although these pursuits for federal recognition were unsuccessful, Miami leadership realized they were a governing body which held the capacity to fight the federal government, whether they were formally recognized or not.

Between World Wars I and II, English monolingualism had become the linguistic norm in American society in both work and social spheres, however, written, and to a lesser extent spoken, English literacy still remained differential among the Miami

depending on the individual, the family or residence. In 1929, Francis Godfroy wrote to President Herbert Hoover regarding a land claim, and in this correspondence his English literacy was inconsistent and he signed the letter with both his Miami and English names (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985[1929]). Although he may have spoken English, his written skills were lacking which is indicative of the limited formal schooling he received. Furthermore, he was also one of few remaining Miami whose first language was Miami, not English. Godfroy lived and mediated in two worlds during one of the most perilous times for Miami language maintenance.

Other legal documents throughout this period show varied written English literacy as well. The employment contract for Nettie White, an attorney hired to settle land claims, was signed by Elijah Marks (Mecotamungwah, c. 1864-1948) and Milton Shapp (Wahpemungwah, 1879-1952), both with their 'X' marks (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985). Several council meetings during this time were also signed in the same manner, or with the Miami name and/or accompanying English name only (Ibid.). At council meetings limited usage of the language could still be heard such as one held on October 31, 1937, where Ross Bundy (Wapshing, 1879-1963) entered the meeting and greeted everyone in the "Indian language and [was] intrupted [sic] in English" (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985[1937]).

Miami involvement during World War II proved another point in the Miami language story. Miami participation in the war confirmed their support for the cause, but it also served as a platform to air their own grievances. Frank Tom-Pee-Saw, Secretary of the League of Nations of North American Indians (Rafert 1996:234) wrote on behalf of the Miami to the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes in 1943 regarding treaty

claims, “Our Boys are fighting for Liberty and Justice on foreign soils, Why can WE not have Legal re-dress before the Court’s at Home?” (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985[1943]). The fight for treaty claims necessitated the sale of few remaining Miami lands and by the end of World War II only 150 acres of Miami land remained east of Peru. In a post war economy, many Miami continued to move to larger cities in pursuit of more gainful employment and this migration has not ceased over time. One tribal member related at the 2003 Indiana language camp that he left Peru in 1994, due to a lack of steady employment and because locals in Peru “had little use for the Miami” (Rinehart 2003d).

Miami connections to the land were put to the test in the early 1960s, with a proposed mile-long dam project that was only two miles upstream from the sacred Seven Pillars site, projected to flood fourteen thousand acres, or twelve miles of the lower Mississinewa River, when full (Rafert 1996:251). In effect, this affected two-thirds of the former Miami Indian landbase between Peru and Marion. Even more controversial was the relocation of the Bundy or Frances Slocum cemetery which stood in the way of its construction. The Miami refused to move the cemetery and although this warranted much press, a new removal of sorts proved inevitable and the cemetery was eventually moved less than two miles away. Although many Miami were involved with cemetery removal, it proved a significant blow to community morale. This new removal, coupled with the passing of the last fluent speakers of the Miami language, Clarence Godfroy and Ross Bundy in the early 1960s, affected community morale further.

In spite of these setbacks, the social activism inspired by the cemetery relocation, inspired many Indiana Miami. From the 1960s forward, the preservation of land through

whatever means remained important to many. In 1977, Oliver Godfroy (Swimming Turtle, 1898-1977) wanted to purchase former Miami land with his annuity money which he thought he would lease back to “white farmers so there would be some land for the Miamis and then that way there would always be some land. You need land, it’s important” (Rafert in Hunter and Bossley 1978). Even though Godfroy passed on before his dream was realized, it demonstrates that his connection to the land had not disappeared and that he wanted others to experience similar relationships. Repatriation of the old Miami schoolhouse to the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. on the former Meshingomesia Reserve further reconnected the Miami to former landscapes. Anthropologist Larry Nesper (2001:139), who was present at the Miami reunion held at the schoolhouse in 1998, remarked, “The schoolhouse would become a sign of the fact that personal memories of relationship and community existed. The indefinite quality of its own objectivity indexed the ramifying nature of those personal memories.”

Separations from the land, whether they took place in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, were nonetheless critical for cultural and linguistic maintenance. Although the Miami language became dormant in the 1960s and much knowledge was lost, knowledge of the environment and the interconnectedness it continues to share with the language remains, and is collected, recovered and shared with others today like that demonstrated by Tippmann and Lester’s book (2004). Elders still retain knowledge of the landscape. In much the same way Keith Basso (1996, 1990) gathers information from Western Apache speakers about connections between landscape and language, similar relationships can still be elicited from Miami elders today. Dani Tippmann (2005)

offered, “if you go on a ride with an elder in a car they’ll point out, ‘Well, that’s a buffalo wallow,’ and ‘There’s a weir’...Those ties are there even though we’re not using the land the way it was intended.” For many community members today, knowledge of the landscape remains and the language validates these relationships further. The Miami language talks about those places and provides meaning to the sacredness of the Miami ancestral landscape.

Miami Land Use and Economies in Kansas

Removed Miami families found it difficult to adjust in Kansas, resenting those who were permitted to remain in Indiana, and many of these resentments are heard today in both Indiana and Oklahoma communities (Berry and Rinehart 2003:107). Removal split Miami communities demographically. Those Miami living in Kansas and Indiana quickly found they had fewer people, whether friends or family, to speak with, and the number of potential Miami marriage partners dwindled as well. With this came a further loss in the practice of surviving rituals related to kinship and marriage, as well as rituals interconnected with the land, and everyday conversation. Any surviving traditional knowledge had little context for the Miami in Kansas, but was adapted as much as possible to their new surroundings. Rose Carver (1968) reflected on the conflicting landscapes of Indiana and Kansas recalling that Kansas was an altogether different cultural and linguistic landscape, “They [the Miami] don’t have opportunity to pick up this other language.” Carver felt that a person was the product of his environment and if that environment was changed, his language and culture would change thereafter.

The Miami carried various seeds, like *miincipi* (corn) and *leninši* (milkweed), with them to Kansas and resultant crops provided some cultural consistency. However,

the landscape these seeds were planted in was altogether different. In Kansas, Miami physical, social and linguistic landscapes were vastly different. The reservation in Kansas, as promised by the Treaty of 1840, was to be half a million acres, but the actual size was less than 325 thousand acres (Berry and Rinehart 2003:106). Miami lands were described as arid, desolate and unwelcoming (McCulloch 1888:110), and within three weeks after removal, a group of Miami tribal leaders wrote to President Polk over their disappointment of these lands. “Dear to us was that home of our children, still dearer to us were the ashes of our forefathers, and how could we expect to find anywhere the aught that would compensate for such a loss (Toh-pe-ah, et al. 1846). Miami disappointments, however, were overshadowed by problematic American settlers who squatted illegally on their lands. Miami lands in pre-territorial Kansas was superior to the lands held by surrounding Indian communities as there was a steady water supply and timber on the Miami Reservation (Murray 1956). However rich these lands may have been, Kansas land was no replacement for the riverine environments of their ancestral landscape. As a result, several Miami returned to Indiana. Sixty Miami returnees, mostly from the Mezequah family, returned and even petitioned Congress in 1850 to continue receiving their annuities there (Rafert 1996:124). Twelve individuals and their families were given official exemption to remain in Indiana, as well as the families of several other village chiefs. As a result, over one hundred additional Miami were permitted to stay which increased the Indiana Miami population (Ibid.)

The Miami Treaty of 1846 guaranteed certain annuities which supported various pursuits in Kansas. These annuities offered formal educational opportunities for Miami youth, however, the funds also financed a growing dependence on the alcohol trade in

neighboring Missourian grog shops (Rinehart and Berry 2002:36). By 1848, school administrators blamed the failure of the first Miami mission on unsupportive, alcoholic parents who found farming secondary to alcohol consumption. Subsistence practices supported Miami annuities and were based largely on hunting and fishing (Gene Hayward, personal communication, 6 Oct., 2005). Buffalo hunting, a practice once common in Indiana during the seventeenth century (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997), was resumed in Kansas to supplement Miami diets during winter and spring months while extra buffalo robes and wolf pelts were sent to market in St. Louis (Moore 1908[1854]:407). Although the Miami were living off the land, they were not utilizing the land in the ways the government had hoped. By 1848, only one field was tilled and many Miami were notably “starving for bread” (Foreman, G. 1946:201). Mary Baptiste Peoria, a Mohegan who married a Wea and then a Peoria, commented to Hiram Beckwith in 1884 (115):

Strong men would actually cry when they thought about their old homes in Indiana, to which many of them would make journeys barefooted, begging their way and submitting to the imprecations hurled upon them from the door of the white man as they asked for a crust of bread. I saw fathers and mothers give their little children away to others of the tribe for adoption, and then singing their funeral songs and joining in the solemn dance of death. Afterward go calmly away from the assemblage, never again to be seen alive.

By 1850, notable improvements were made on the land by several Miami families. This was attributed by Indian agents to one-year abstinence pledges made by thirty tribal members (Foreman, G. 1946:202). During the middle nineteenth century Indian agents often made conflicting reports about the Miami. One would claim they were making improvements, therefore showing signs of their continued acculturation, while another felt they were inferior to their Wea, Piankashaw, and Peoria relatives

because of their desire for liquor (Ibid., Pritzker 1998:623). Nonetheless, some Miami managed to support themselves, in part, by farming where they raised wheat, corn, millet, beans, squash and melons (Pritzer 1998:623, Gene Hayward, personal communication, 6 Oct., 2005). Stockraising was often done in conjunction with farming. Mary Willhoit (c. 1832- unk.) held stock, mostly ponies, on her prairie lands (Lowe 1936). By 1865, all stock, including horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, were branded and lived on the open range until new laws curtailed open ranging. But, even with these changes the Miami profited from the land by selling timber for fencing, but “Only when the Indians were in need of money could you buy rail timber” (Ibid.). The Blystone family erected a successful saw mill and sold timber for fencing, home and farm construction (Turtle/Wells Collection 1858). In addition to hunting, variable farming, and stockraising the Miami also made use of their landscape in other ways. In 1855, oil or “rock tar”, was discovered at Wea Creek on the Miami Reservation (Blackmar 1912:384-385). Oil surfaced through rock and porous soil and they gathered it by “placing blankets on surface of spring, and in a few hours using the blankets to secure much oil” (Moore 1909). This oil was quickly adapted as a lubricant for cuts, sprains, and other human ailments, as well as for sores on animals (Ibid.).

The increased variability in the ways the Miami utilized the land suggests they were quite knowledgeable about market enterprise and to do this successfully they must have held a certain proficiency in English language and customs. Agricultural pursuits in Kansas were somewhat consistent with those pursuits in Indiana, and rituals that accompanied agriculture were most likely held in the Miami language while in Kansas, but to what degree remains unknown. However, it is less difficult to ascertain that with

burgeoning Miami enterprise into other domains like stockraising, timber and oil – these pursuits offered little context for usage of the Miami language. The language although utilized when possible was quickly falling into a state of growing isolation.

The value of Miami Reservation lands was envied by many non-Indians and as a result, the Miami were pushed to the treaty table once again in 1854. This treaty was signed by five Kansas and five Indiana Miami signators, and of these signators, only one from each community voluntarily demonstrated English literacy by signing his name. This demonstrates that either formal schooling was not enforced or available to these individuals, or that any schooling received had little effect on these delegates. It is no coincidence that this same year numerous other Indian tribes in the Kansas/Nebraska region signed treaties relinquishing their lands in response to the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Act. For the Miami, the Treaty of 1854 reduced their reservation from 324,796 acres to 70,640 acres, and two hundred allotments were selected for each tribal member (Anson 1970:239-240). Six hundred and forty acres and \$50,000 were set aside for the construction of a school and in exchange the Miami received \$200,000 (Ibid.). Allotments were held by Indian patent; therefore, lands were not subject to sale, but a clause was added to the treaty which stated these restrictions could be removed by Congress if so desired. In other words, secured Indian lands were not secure at all. Within two years, 205 individual tracts of allotted land were allotted for the Miami, and communal land was reserved for those who missed their allotments or for those who recently migrated from Indiana (Ibid.).

As the territory officially opened, squatters in Kansas became extremely problematic for the Miami and other native communities. State politicians supported

American settlement with the idea that civilized men were far better cultivators of the soil than uncivilized Indians. An article from *The Herald of the Kansas Freedom* (Brown 1854:2) in 1854 reported, “The red man is fixed to the soil by a fragile and precarious tenure, while the civilized man seizes it with a grasp that defies displacement.” Squatters built permanent buildings such as barns and houses on Miami lands, and they selected the best portions of Indian land for agriculture and orchard development (Olds, F. 1969).

Miami tribal members Thomas Miller (Metocinyah, 1834-1886) and David Geboe remarked in 1872 before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (Sen. Misc. Doc. 1872):

And thus our people alone paid the price demanded by the treaties of '38 and '40, they yielded to the influence of the promised land...and a slight application of the military in the rear, and left the scenes of their childhood, the homes, however humble, yet dear to them; a country, climate and seasons to which they had long been accustomed, and marched toward a country about which they knew nothing, excepting that it was offered to them as a reward for going to it, and that the United States had guaranteed them against ever being molested there.

Although the Indian agent on behalf of the Miami called for military assistance to remove squatters on more than one occasion, military arrival typically coincided with the harsh winter months, and the Miami, in good faith, would not permit removal in such inclement weather. Agreements were then made where squatters agreed to move off Miami lands by spring, however, this never happened and as a result many continued to squat for several years (Anson 1970:242).

A frustrated Chief John Roubideaux (Acheponquah, 1828-1879) proclaimed:

What rights have the settlers upon our lands? The answer is plain none in justice or equity. But politically they have votes, and in this they are stronger than we. Our claims and rights are nothing, and the promised protection of the Government idle words...Time after time have we made application to the Department to have them [squatters] removed....Time and time again were they warned to leave the Reservation...Does the continued evil doer for that reason, in time,

have full liberty to transgress the law without fear of punishment? ... Many of them have resided on our lands for ten and twelve years. Have they paid to any one?...Much is said about the hardships endured by the old settler. How is it with us? Were we not forced, years ago, to remove to this land, and told by the Government that it was to be our future home forever? How many of our fathers and mothers lie buried along the streams and on the hilltops? How many of our children sleep quietly beneath the trees that shade our homes? ...The Government has lands upon which no Indian has claims; let these settlers remove thither, but give us this, our last home, in peace and security (Roubideaux 1871).

Roubideaux' statement reveals much about Miami peoples in Kansas during this time.

First, he speaks as the recognized leader of the tribe to the public through an editorial written in English, most probably written by someone else (Baldwin 2005g), hoping to invoke some empathy and perhaps assistance from non-Indians. Second, Roubideaux reveals the Miami' continued frustrations with squatters who remained for over a decade on Miami lands, with no protection from the government. He then questions the government's promises made to the Miami and why the illegal practices of squatters seemed to be upheld more so than those guaranteed by treaty with the Miami. Yet, in spite of these problems Roubideaux attests that the Miami consider Kansas their home. "There [Kansas] we had nice farms, nice homes, good furniture and lots of good stock" (Geboe, D. 1937). More than one generation had been born in Kansas since the 1846 removal and to leave those who died there, let alone the lands they had grown accustomed to, seemed unjust.

The Miami made a connection with their lands in Kansas, however new and inhospitable this landscape was for them. Even more importantly they survived during socially troubled times that included neighboring grog shops which took advantage of their growing dependency on alcohol, increasing racial hostilities, the outbreak of the

Civil War, and Kansas entering statehood in 1861. In spite of surrounding “guerilla” warfare associated with the Civil War (Anson 1970:242), the Miami and other tribes managed to stay out of these conflicts. Not only was the land becoming more difficult to maintain during the 1860s, but wildlife was also beginning to disappear which had a huge impact on Indian communities who relied on hunting, fishing and trapping to supplement their diets. By 1865, only a few deer remained and sandhill crane, geese, ducks, prairie chickens, wild turkey and other fur bearing animals had all but disappeared (Lowe 1936). Even though the Miami managed to stay out of this politically charged environment and adapted to the changing landscape, the larger power structure pushed them to the treaty table once again.

Miami Land Use and Economies in Oklahoma

By 1867, the tribe agreed, in their last treaty with the federal government, to remove from Kansas to the new Indian Territory, or present-day Oklahoma. Two Miami men signed this treaty, Thomas Richardville and Thomas Miller, both whom signed with an “X” mark (Kappler 1904). Miami Chief John Roubideaux also served as the United States interpreter for these treaty negotiations and ably placed his “X” mark on the treaty. It is unknown if Thomas Miller and John Roubideaux had written literacy or not, but Thomas Richardville did. Perhaps like his grandfather, Jean B. Richardville, he willfully disregarded his education during this important, but unhappy occasion. This treaty created a fifty thousand acre reservation that awaited them and the Peoria (Ibid.). Only sixty-five Miami decided to move in the early 1870s, for which 12,878 acres were allotted, while 30,455 acres were set aside for 153 Peoria (Anson 1970:244). The Miami who opted to stay in Kansas on the remaining ten thousand acres of land (Nieberding

1983:255) received fee simple patents to their allotments, forfeited their affiliation with the tribe and became American citizens.

Individual ownership of the land became the cultural norm for Kansas and Oklahoma Miami, as it had for Indiana Miami. Although their presence in Kansas was brief, enough connection with the land was made for some Miami to want to stay, however, the majority chose to relocate to Oklahoma. This removal to Indian Territory, similar to the Removal of 1846, divided the tribe again, and remaining feelings of disappointment between those who stayed behind in Kansas and became citizens, and those who left for Indian Territory prevailed well into the twentieth century (Beck 1969). This final removal created a third Miami group (Anson 1970:244).

Much of remaining Miami lands in Kansas went unsold or were unallotted and the *La Cygne Journal* in Kansas promptly began publishing headrights with descriptions of these lands (Anson 1970:247). Miami headrights detail that nearly half of 262 individuals still only used their Indian names while several Richardvilles and La Fontaines used their French surnames (Ibid.). This suggests that Miami naming practices were still prevalent, but also that in spite of increasing intermarriage to non-Indians and Christian conversion, one's Indian name served as an important marker of one's Miami identity. Most importantly, the language was still being used in some capacity by at least half the tribal population in Kansas during this time in spite of growing English proficiency.

Those Miami who relocated to Indian Territory reported to the new Quapaw Agency and their adjustment was not as difficult there as when they had moved from Indiana to Kansas. The Peoria sold the Miami additional land; therefore, the west end of

the Peoria Reservation and over seventeen thousand additional acres were allocated for the new Miami Reservation (Olds, F. 1969). Miami lands in northeast Oklahoma were similar to their Kansas lands so farming and stockraising became their primary economic endeavors. Miami farms were noted by Indian agents to be “as good as those of white settlers across the borders in Arkansas and Kansas” (Anson 1970:251). Additionally, Indian agents noted they were better farmers than cattlemen as disease had devastated many of their herds. In these circumstances farming often became the economic default for many Miami (Anson 1970:251, 253).

Indian lands served as an attraction for American settlement. The American desire for land and even more specifically for the appropriation of Indian lands was a trend that haunted the Miami from earlier times. By 1879, much Indian land in Indian Territory was rented illegally, but with Indian sanction, by American settlers who signed contracts with native landholders to let their cattle graze while they worked on Indian farms (Wickett 2000:107). Settlers who lived on Indian lands in Northeast Oklahoma were supposed to purchase permits and some did, while others did not. These men labored as tenants or farm laborers for Indians and preferred these arrangements because Indian lands were void of taxation since the territory was not a state yet. Whether renting or working on Indian lands, these practices became so common that the physical and social landscapes were described by one Indian agent as having ““very much the appearance of a white man’s country”” (Ibid.).

Between American tenants, licensed traders, federal officials, railroad employees and squatters the total non-Indian population in Indian Territory stood at ninety thousand by 1879 (Wickett 2000:146). Lands reserved for Indians were not used entirely; hence,

the federal government saw this as curtailing their efforts at separating, yet civilizing, Indians. When the federal government announced in 1879, that it wanted to prohibit American renters from working on or renting Indian lands, many Indian communities complained. Communities like the Miami came to rely on the rent obtained from lessees and without this financial assistance they knew they would struggle financially. Miami Chief Dave Geboe (1878) wrote to President Rutherford Hayes in 1878 and said:

For the past two years we have by yearly permits allowed white persons to aid us to cultivate our lands and to their experience, example, advice, honesty, and industry we owe all the knowledge which we possess of farming and other industrial pursuits and our advanced state of civilization. If our tribes by so doing would have become dependent and idle they would by this time have been demoralized beyond redemption. On the contrary the practice of granting yearly permits to honest, industrious white person has increased the area of our arable and tillable land redoubled our energies increased our prosperity enhanced and improved our lands and has attained for us that degree of civilization which is the true policy of the government to have us achieve.

In fact, the mayor of Fort Smith, Arkansas, also wrote to President Hayes on behalf of the Miami and Peoria pleading that these tribes would suffer significant economic hardship if American lessees would not be permitted to occupy their lands. The government never made an official declaration either way, probably because officials realized that the “tide of white immigration into the Indian lands under the permit system” would not be readily slowed (Wickett 2000:109).

The number of allotments on the Miami Reservation increased over time. Sixty-seven original allotments were made after the Treaty of 1867 was signed, and this tally eventually grew to seventy-two (Olds, F. 1969). By 1894, eighty-five Miami had received land allotments (Anson 1970:244). The splintering of the landbase through allotment broke up families as one tribal member once told me, “Your mother, father and

kids ...will live here...Don't worry about anyone else" (Rinehart 2003f). In effect, this not only physically divided families, but broke up many remaining language nests. Land allotment practices eventually became a tribal trend which displaced cultural and linguistic practices further. The Western Miami population stood at seventy-five in 1891, and due to this low population base they were deemed by the Indian agent as self-sufficient (Anson 1970:253). At first appearance, in spite of a long-standing problem with alcoholism, the Miami appeared to be doing well in their new homes. They were also probably described by the Indian agent as self-sufficient because surrounding groups like the Wyandot, Peoria and Ottawa, were more populous groups, hence, more problematic. However, like their neighbors, the Miami were also considered "'practically white people'" (Anson 1970:251). In 1887 alone, fifty Miami were noted by day school officials to wear American clothing and to speak and read English (Anson 1970:253). In 1892, Reverend A. J. Essex, a missionary, made the following statement in the *Home Mission Monthly* (Wyeth 1896:173):

The Miamis have 50,000 acres or more of land allotted in the Northeast part of the Territory....the Peorias lie adjoining having nearly as much land...the Ottawa's are adjoining also on the South...and all these fragment tribes speak English, but about ten persons.

In fact, an Indian agent noted in correspondence to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that within "three or four more generations we can write the Miamis off. They will be an extinct tribe" (Olds, F. 1969).

The Miami were a small group, which translated to non-Indians as assimilated, but their Miami identity was still very much intact as demonstrated by varied continuity in their usage of the language as well as certain cultural practices. Rosa Boington Beck (1894-1969) once reported that her mother exemplified such diversity because she knew

both Miami and English, but lacked literacy skills in both languages (Beck 1969).

Nevertheless, she made a successful business career for herself which involved working as a boy's matron at the Wyandotte school. "She could do very well in business contact though because it seemed like that kind of come natural for her...she done very well in that" (Ibid.).

The Miami practiced stockraising in Indian Territory (Geboe, D. 1937), but as before they had varying successes with this enterprise. During the early 1880s, there were two large cattle ranches held by non-Indians and both leased several hundred acres to Miami who wanted to raise cattle (Ibid.). Economically, times were difficult though during the 1880s. Adeline Leonard (1884-1971) revealed, "We didn't have much to go on...And I tell you when I got big enough I'd be eating the daubing out of the walls...Mud, just dig it out of there of them logs and eat it...we just liked it" (Leonard, A. 1969). The Miami relied on the physical landscape for their survival. Water for drinking, cooking and washing was retrieved from creeks, Miami diets were supplemented with hunting, trapping, gathering and fishing, as well as agricultural produce. Potatoes were common as were pumpkins and beans (Carver 1968). They butchered their own animals, including cattle and pigs (Ibid.). Rosa Beck (1969) recalled as a child that her family never bought anything outside flour and sugar, everything else they provided for themselves including prairie grass as coverings for small out buildings. Rose Carver's (1968) mother covered her shed with grass as an arid place to dry her corn. By the late 1880s, individual families like the Beck and Carver families, and other Miami generally held a few acres "just enough to raise their food" (Carver 1968).

Congress intended to break up Indian reservations into allotments with the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. This act also ended recognition of tribal authority and granted American citizenship to Indians, although it did not apply to tribal lands in Indian Territory initially. Indian lands were not legally recognized as reservations since Oklahoma had not become a state yet; therefore, Indians were allowed to hold their lands communally (Wickett 2000:52). In spite of this, Indian tribes like the Ottawa allotted their tribal lands (Geboe, D. 1937), whereas others like the Miami and Peoria held onto their exemptions as long as they could. Congress eventually amended the Allotment Act in 1893, to apply to Oklahoma (Hamill 2000:295), and Miami allotments and annuity payments began the following year (Beck 1969). During the first year, there were eighty-five allotments made, however, these were gradually sold off to many lessees/settlers for various reasons over the next few decades. “And they had a little land, some fractions here and there and one thing and another. And they were all lumped together and sold to a man that lived in Fort Scott, Kansas, and then he parceled it out to the settlers within the area” (Olds, F. 1969). By 1900, the number of American farmers alone quadrupled in Indian Territory and many Indians began to seek work elsewhere (Wickett 2000:110).

With the breaking-up of Miami lands “they found themselves under the control of European American political and social institutions (Hamill 2000:296); therefore, the Miami had to diversify their economies. Employment varied among the Miami during this time. Miami women became matrons at Indian schools (Beck 1969, Leonard, A. 1969), while other Miami men and women became storekeepers (Beck 1969). Miami men also worked the oil fields (Leonard, A. 1969). Lead, zinc and silicate mining in Ottawa County began in 1877 and boomed in 1907 (Carver 1968). This attracted many

American settlers and prospectors to the area even though mining was a costly venture (Ibid.). Sharon Burkybile's (1943-) father worked in the mines as she grew up in Picher, Oklahoma, just outside Miami, Oklahoma (Burkybile 1994). Although the actual number of Miami Indian employees in these mines remains unknown, Rose Carver (1968) felt assured that Miami men probably did not participate to a great extent. "I've often wondered if they thought much about going underground that way" (Ibid.).

Dave Geboe worked in many positions around the turn of the twentieth century including employment as a government police officer at the Seneca Agency in Missouri (Geboe, D. 1937). Indian police forces organized by Indian agents were paid by the federal government because they believed it "could be a great civilizing agent" (Wickett 2000:130). In fact, their manners and habits were highly controlled by host agencies including personal grooming, dress, marital practices and speech. Police work was not lucrative for Indian men, however, additional opportunities including extra rations and contractual side-work could be secured (Ibid.). Dave Geboe's service did not stop there. He later took the Civil Service Exam and became a disciplinarian, and eventually a contractual farmer for the Indian school in Darlington, and later at the Indian school in Fort Sill (Geboe, D. 1937). Geboe finally returned to Ottawa County, Oklahoma, where he retired as a farmer.

Within a short time of their removal, the Miami were perceived by Indian agents as successful on their new lands. By 1891, through the assistance of Thomas Richardville and Peoria tribal member "Colonel" Lykins, the Miami Town Company, or the future town of Miami, Oklahoma, was formed (Foreman, G. 1946:347). Miami Town boasted a population of eight hundred only four years later (Nieberding 1983:25-26).

The establishment of present-day Miami, Oklahoma, attracted even more settlers to the area which resulted in the development of several towns thereafter. The incorporation of the territory laid the ground for statehood and once statehood was achieved in 1907, the total Oklahoma population stood at 1.7 million, with 1.4 million classified as *White*, 137,612 classified as *Negro*, and 74,825 classified as *Indian* (Wickett 2000:65). During this period a migration of Miami from Indiana to Oklahoma took place, some choosing to enroll on the Oklahoma rolls while others did not (Baldwin 2005e). The Carver family moved to Indian Territory in 1893, and lived near the Peoria Indian community where the Miami-Illinois language, according to Carver (1968), brought Miami and Peoria speakers together. “You could understand ‘em just the same” (Ibid.). Indiana Miami Clarence Godfroy walked away with a different feeling about the language environment in the Oklahoma Miami community. He returned to Indiana and said, ““They [the Miami] all speak Peoria out there, they are not Miamis anymore”” (Recollection by Rafert in Hunter and Bossley 1978). Although Carver and Godfroy’s statements conflict, their inconsistencies suggest that intertribal relationships were still important, as were intertribal marriages between both communities. Most importantly their declarations demonstrate that communication in both Miami and Peoria was taking place between these groups in spite of the cessation of intergenerational transmission of the Miami language several years earlier.

The turn of the twentieth century was particularly difficult for the Miami. The Oklahoma Enabling Act of 1906 promised American citizenship to all Oklahoma Indians not yet citizens and although most Miami either were or became citizens, it did not end their relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Wickett 2000:65). According to

former Chief Forest Olds (Metekyah, 1911-1974) the primary concerns the Miami had during the early 1900s involved

the long hard battle of just having a chief—mostly making a living and educating their children and up until just prior to World War I, the Miamis were losing their land pretty fast anyway because as the young allottees became young men and began to think about looking for a life partner, he needed transportation; and many forty acres of land of the Miami young folk—young men went for a \$29 buggy (Olds. F. 1969).

Olds' statement reveals much about this transitional period for the Oklahoma Miami.

Inconsistent tribal leadership was difficult to maintain as the Miami landbase was disappearing rapidly. Miami "young folk" were pursuing other opportunities which were funded, in part, by selling off their lands. There were individual families who held allotted lands in the early 1900s, however, there was no landbase the Miami formally controlled (Baldwin 2002c). This formal separation from the land was viewed by Indian agents at the Quapaw Agency as a good thing, for the Miami were deemed a self-sufficient tribe who did not present any problems. However, this proved destructive for the survival of community traditions including language and cultural activities.

By 1926, the agency reported that the Miami no longer held formal reservation lands, received agency rations or tribal funds, nor were a reservation school or health services facility established. "The Miamis were the only one of the agency tribes to achieve this degree of emancipation from Bureau services by 1926" (Anson 1970:260). The 1930s through the 1960s were a demoralizing period for the Miami living in Oklahoma. The Miami Reservation was gone. Treaty claims issues consumed much of the tribal council's time and although five million dollars was eventually awarded, funds were not dispersed until the late 1960s and early 1970s (Nieberding 1983:256-257). "I

don't think Indian heritage could get any lower than it did in the '30s, '40s, and '50s when it was nearly lost...it began to come back in the '60s and '70s when people became conscious of their culture and involved in its preservation'" (Feuer 1986:15). For tribal members like Rosa Beck (1969), Oklahoma was her only home. "I've got just enough Indian in me that I want to stay at home...I'm very satisfied here." She ignored her family's pleas to leave the area.

Nadine don't want me to stay here. None of them do. Didn't want me to come home this last time...But I'd just get so lonesome to come home I don't know what to do. And I think I know every crook and turn from Chou-tah-pah to Miami. I think I do. Cause I've traveled the road a good many time (Beck 1969)

With the exception of Charles Demo (1888-1969), all other original Miami allotments were sold (Demo 1969). In 1969, Demo was recognized as the last Miami to still reside and farm an original Miami allotment over one hundred acres of the original two-hundred acre allotments.

Miami Communities and their Relationships with the Landscape Today

Miami recognition of the invaluable relationships between land, language and culture is pervasive today. Both communities are actively trying to rebuild a landbase to strengthen their language and cultural reclamation efforts. In Oklahoma, trust land still exists on the Dave Geboe farm and on it a new burial ground, or Ciipaayaahkionki, was created and dedicated in the fall of 2003 (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2005:3). Chief Floyd Leonard reported in his annual address in 2006 that the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma now owns 1,794.18 acres of land in Oklahoma, Ohio and Illinois.

The need for land ranges from the importance of having a communal place for cultural activities to a growing and pressing issue relating to the determined efforts of the United States toward extinguishing the trust relationship and responsibility it has toward Tribal nations (Leonard, F.) 2006).

As Chief Leonard suggests, rebuilding a landbase is crucial for linguistic and cultural revitalization and continuity. Compared to forty-three years earlier when no tribal or allotted lands remained (Reddy 1993:101), the Oklahoma community has come a long way in rebuilding their landscapes.

Today, the Oklahoma Miami remain a scattered population, however, the largest concentration of tribal membership resides in Oklahoma, with 792 members (Baldwin 2005). There are other sizeable Miami populations living in Kansas, Missouri, Indiana, Texas, and Washington, and smaller populations continue to live in Illinois, Ohio, Iowa, Michigan and Colorado (Ibid.). A former allotment property was purchased in 2004 in Oklahoma to be used as the future “cultural grounds” for various tribal events. It is hoped that this eighty acre property, full of native plants and waterways (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2005), will reconnect Miami communities with a more traditional landscape where the language can flourish. Upon the dedication of the new cultural grounds, one observer (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2005:3) remarked in 2005:

Chief Leonard recently spoke of the memories he has of the area and recalled hunting on the west end of the property as a young man. [He] also spoke of the importance of buying land within the Nation’s jurisdiction area and the honor of again owning land that once belonged to the original allottees following the removal from Kansas.

The establishment of the cultural grounds is also critical for providing a special place where Miami peoples from anywhere can enjoy.

Today, very little land is owned by the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., and most Miami living in Indiana are not working the land as they once did. However, Indiana Miami are still connected to the landscape in various ways. Nineteenth and early twentieth century historian Thaddeus Butler (c. 1880) believed “the name of Miami Indians will only live in the names of streams, treaties and history. But, the name will not die in Heaven,” however, this could not be further from the truth. The sacredness of certain locations remains strong for many and they continue to gather for longhouse and other language and cultural activities at various times of the year. The majority of the Miami population in Indiana still reside today along major waterways, including the Wabash, Mississinewa, Maumee, St. Joseph and St. Mary’s Rivers (Tippmann 2005, Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985), although some of these areas are becoming more urbanized (Reddy 1995:241). Additionally, oral histories endure as does hunting and gathering which, in part, reflects the prevalence of some cultural and linguistic knowledge.

The geographic dispersion of Miami communities resultant from earlier disconnects from the land, makes it all the more important for language students to attend annual language camps. Language camps serve as social venues to reconnect with friends, family and the land yearly (Rinehart 2003b). Both in Oklahoma and Indiana this became apparent as relatives and friends greeted one another, chatting before and after class to catch up on their life’s happenings over the past year (Rinehart 2005a, 2004a, 2004f, 2003b, 2003e). One Miami male was noticeably saddened at the conclusion of the 2003 Indiana language camp and readily admitted so. At camp he felt extremely connected to fellow Miami, the landscape, and to the language, and to leave made him

feel somewhat disconnected from everything (Rinehart 2003g). The number of returning adults to language camps annually suggests that there is a common interest in “talking about the language” which is an important step in the language learning process. And, it is important for tribal members to reconnect with others at camp because language is not easily learned in isolation. In fact, group assistance is helpful for language learning. Today, there are about five families that actively integrate the Miami language in their daily lives and some of the older students have become language teachers.

Chapter Discussion

The Miami were intimately connected to their lands and remained a formidable presence in Indiana until removal of half the tribe in 1846. Due to shrewd political leadership several remained in their ancestral landscape well beyond that of other native communities in the region. However, land cessions that continued after the removal changed this for Miami communities. As a result, the momentum for continued linguistic shift increased due to dramatic changes made in their environment and the ways they supported themselves. Paul Strack (Waawaahsamwa, 1951-) blames the destruction of Miami culture on capitalism (Paul Strack, personal communication, 13 April, 2005) because participation in the formal economy resulted in increased migration to cities throughout the region that took Miami peoples away from traditional landscapes and one another. This social and physical separation led to increased linguistic isolation and fewer opportunities to gather for social and ritual purposes. In addition to these changes, notions of time, methods of exchange, and an increased reliance on formal education pushed Miami worldviews and their language further to the periphery.

The language environment for the Miami removed to Kansas and then Oklahoma grew increasingly complicated for several reasons. In Kansas and Oklahoma, linguistic diversity became more complex because the Miami were now living with or near multiple Indian communities who spoke different languages and often intermarried (to be examined further in the following chapter). Varied English proficiency helped the Miami adjust to their new surroundings, but the land out West was vastly different from their ancestral landscape. In spite of their disappointments they managed to work somewhat successfully as agriculturalists and stockraisers in spite of problematic squatters and settlers who in the long-run managed to exploit the Miami economically, culturally and linguistically. As in Indiana, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Miami in the West began to diversify their economies by entering local private and public industries. These changes were made in direct relationship to the loss of their lands and the formation of territories and states.

The economic and social inutility of the Miami language influenced by federal policy, a changed workplace and social pressures throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is still cited by tribal members today as reasons for their passive or non-participation in language recovery efforts. Miami communities continue to work predominantly in the service, manufacturing and professional industries which are all English-dominated environments (Reddy 1995:769, 773, 775, 780, 783). Societal English-only ideologies pervade now as they have over the past one hundred years, whether in the workplace, at home or in school. However, adult Miami community members have the power to change their ideologies and language camp attendance is critical for this to begin, even if some who attend do more so for social reasons. As

Miami communities continue to shape their landscape by acquiring new lands and rebuilding existing lands, new connections and reconnections will strengthen language and cultural reclamation efforts. In the past, the Miami language was capable of translating Miami worldviews based upon their interactions with the landscape, and the language has the ability to do so today. By changing and creating new environments, the Miami language will become more relevant and more meaningful to adult students of the language.

“You can’t marry family.”

**Miami Indian elders’ explanation for marriage to non-Indians
(Rafert 1984:115)**

Chapter Five: Miami Marriage Patterns

Miami marriage patterns prior to contact were both intertribal and intratribal. Marriage within a clan was taboo and marriages were either made by individuals or arranged by families typically when both adults were in their late twenties (Anson 1970:17). The responsibilities held by Miami women included child rearing and domestic obligations such as cooking, cleaning and mending, general house maintenance, agriculture and gathering (Anson 1970:19). Miami women and elders were also responsible for oral instruction to their children while Miami men fulfilled hunting and warrior roles. Kinship patterns are described differently depending on the source. In historical records, the Miami are often described as patrilineal. Charles Trowbridge (1938:18) bases this assertion on evidence of five patrilineal clans including Little Turtle, Snow Thaws, Raccoon, Turkey and Moon; while Lewis Henry Morgan found evidence of ten patrilineal clans including Wolf, Loon, Golden Eagle, Turkey Buzzard, Panther, Turkey, Raccoon, Snow, Sun and Water in Kansas (Morgan, L. 1993[1860]:86). There is some evidence that male civil and female chiefs inherited their positions which may suggest both patrilineal and matrilineal descent were followed, or minimally that descent was flexible depending on the circumstances (Baldwin 2006c, Trowbridge 1938:14-15, 29). Children generally recognized their mother’s line (Baldwin 2006c, Baldwin 2005n, Leonard, F. 1996, Leonard, F.1995, Morgan, L. 1993[1860]:87); hence, there is evidence of matrilineal descent as well. Traditional kinships patterns changed with increased

intermarriage to non-Indians and the resulting disappearance of clan and moiety systems circa 1860 were both supplanted by bilateral descent (Morgan, L. 1993[1860]:88, Callender 1978:684).

Miami marriage practices greatly influenced language maintenance in familial homes for over three hundred years. Marriage traditions were unique for several reasons. Prior to contact intermarriage with other Indian communities was culturally sanctioned, although never the dominant marital practice; therefore, a cultural precedent was established for intermarriage with French fur traders and American settlers. Marriages to non-Indians were done for many of the same reasons as intertribal marriages, including the insurance of certain socio-economic and socio-political statuses. French cultural and linguistic accommodation to Miami women was similar to the accommodation made by other Indian (non-Miami) spouses, however, these patterns were curtailed as a result of intermarriage to American settlers which became the predominant marital practice by the middle to latter part of the nineteenth century. Marriages to American settlers were in direct response to changed relationships the Miami had with the land. Dispossession of Miami lands due to illegal taxation and growing American settlement left Miami women few economic alternatives but to marry those who now held part of their former land base, while many Miami men remained bachelors. Events such as these permitted Miami communities to continuously redefine intermarriage as a culturally sanctioned practice offering some cultural continuity, but because of these accommodations, the language languished in many Miami homes.

Intertribal Marriages

Historically, marriage in Miami communities built relationships and maintained existing relationships between Miami bands and clans (Baldwin 2005a). These practices strengthened intra-tribal cooperation which became especially important when Iroquoian war exploits, from 1649 until the latter part of the seventeenth century, drove Miami peoples from their ancestral landscape to Green Bay, Wisconsin (Callender 1978:686). Intermarriage with other Indian communities like the Illinois, Sauk, Fox, Mascouten, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Shawnee and Delaware prior to European contact in 1858 (Thwaites 1899:247) built relationships in much the same ways as marriages within Miami communities. Intertribal marriages brokered important socio-economic ties that led to mutual access to natural resources and the creation of wartime alliances needed to thwart continued Iroquoian threats (Anson 1970:7), as well as future battles with the French, British and Americans. The value of intertribal relationships is exemplified further through the language. The mutual intelligibility of the Miami and Illinois languages indicates strong kinship ties between Miami and Illini communities (Costa 2003, Baldwin 2003d:6). And, biological and social relationships in Miami communities held equal value in recognition of personal relationships. For example, the Miami word for “my elder brother” or “nihseensa” was formally used to describe male siblings older than one’s self, but was also used to describe relationships between the Miami and the Three Fires, or Ojibwe, Potawatomi and Ottawa, communities (Baldwin 2005a). Daryl Baldwin (n.d.:12-13) says:

When we say ceeki eeweemakiki “all my relations” we are in essence talking about all of that which we interact with, including all living things. Being related is NOT based solely on a genetic or blood relationship, but is based on a shared physical “life” experience.

Relationships were defined by varied interactions of Miami peoples with one another and with other communities whether through blood, marriage, friendship, or political/economic solidarity - all of which relied on the respect and sharing of various resources.

Extended kin networks based on intertribal marriages becomes apparent through family surnames, oral tradition and historical records. Family surnames like “Goodboo” link the Miami not only with a French trader but also with the Potawatomi (Sammye Darling, personal communication, 2 Sept., 2005, Strack, G., personal communication, 1 Sept., 2005, Rinehart 2004a, Hunter and Bossley 1978, Myaamia Collection n.d.). Even after the 1846 removal intertribal marriage in Kansas continued between the Miami and Potawatomi as observed by Lewis Henry Morgan (Morgan, L. 1993[1860]:87). The Shawnee and Miami often intermarried and one tribal elder told me she believed they always made a good pair because the Miami used more pepper in preparing *leninši* (milkweed) while the Shawnee used more salt (Rinehart 2004c). Miami recognition of the important relationships created by intertribal marriages whether through the language, the historical record or oral tradition addresses the significance and acceptance of such practices because “marriage has never been an issue for us, as alliances were often formed historically through marriage into other bands or tribes” (Baldwin 2003d:6-7). With these cultural traditions firmly in place, intermarriage and other types of relationships with non-Indians post contact were not such unusual prospects.

Miami–French Marriages

French and British fur traders were attracted to the riverine environments of the Great Lakes region because of substantial beaver and other fur-bearing species. They

also realized the Miami ancestral landscape was in a strategic location. Although the pelts from Indiana were of lesser quality compared to those from other places, it served as a corridor to more profitable areas (Glenn 1994a:10). Whoever controlled this region was guaranteed economic success elsewhere and to gain this control, socialization with native populations became necessary. The French were willing to take this step and the British were not. The French realized that employment of native peoples in the trade would facilitate their enterprise, however, their efforts would be aided further if they learned Indian languages and traditions, as well as married into Indian communities. In essence, intermarriage between Indian women and French men forged alliances with Indian communities that became analogous to personal, social, economic and political success for both spouses (Sleeper-Smith 2001:19).

Intermarriage between Miami and French traders required significant cultural and linguistic accommodation. French traders learned Miami traditions such as appropriate gifting and courting, and the Miami language before marriage negotiations could take place. Traders like Antoine-Joseph Drouet de Richardville, Peter La Fontaine, John Beaubien and James Godfrey actively sought Miami wives and were successful. One marriage between a French trader and a Piankeshaw woman during the middle seventeenth century in the Illinois-Indiana borderlands was believed to be the reason the Piankeshaw held a “peaceful inclination toward the whites” where “begat a generation that united them all in a common interest” (Beckwith 1884:111). European encroachment into the region equated to “setting up trading houses and building relationships with the tribe for economic and religious reasons” (Baldwin 2002c:4), and for this to be done successfully they “were almost exclusively acquainted with the Indian

languages, and no negotiation could be accomplished without their aid” on the Indiana frontier (Trowbridge 1855:529).

Although French words were never absorbed by the Miami, the language nonetheless accommodated many changes resulting from the fur trade. Miami words for money evolved including “nkoti amehkwa” or “one beaver” to mark “one dollar,” and “nkoti eehispana” for “one raccoon” or “a quarter” (Baldwin 2005f). French may have been the dominant language for trading between French traders, but the Miami language remained the more common trade language between Miami peoples and traders in both public and private spheres. To trade successfully inside and outside the home French men had to learn Miami, Miami women chose to learn French, while their children were raised bilingually.

Religion also played a role in marriages between Miami women and French men. Although Catholic missionaries had long been active in Illinois, no Catholic priest was permanently placed in Indiana until after 1826 (Mather 1992:67, 69). Therefore, frontier Catholicism spread via French traders who built extensive affinal and fictive kin networks in Miami communities (Sleeper-Smith 2001:21, 33). Christianity emphasized strict monogamous marriages; therefore, polygynous marriages declined in Miami communities as a result of Miami-French marriages. Although this marriage form did not disappear entirely it did decrease the size of Miami families and consequently tribal populations (Rafert 1996:135, Rafert 1984:106).

Changes which occurred for Indian women as a result of intermarriage with French traders varied. French men supplied trade goods to their Indian wives which changed their familial responsibilities and also increased their social status within the

community (Van Kirk 1980:4-6). Miami wives served as interpreters, language teachers to their husbands, diplomatic agents, geographical experts and trappers alongside their husbands (Ibid.); and with mixed descent, marriages to French men did not upset kinship or descent rules. French men became “less an individual and more a member of a larger kinship group” where their “lives were intricately woven into densely constructed webs of kinship” (Sleeper-Smith 1998:54). Former Oklahoma Chief Forest D. Olds (1969) described these marriages as:

The French fur traders, of course became better acquainted with the Miamis and traded with them. And they settled...with the Miami. They ...fell in love with the beautiful Miami Indian maidens and stayed there, and lived their lives out and raised their families. So the Miami blood lines started thinning out nearly some three hundred years ago. The French were very good to the Miamis for...better than a hundred years.

Extensive mixed ancestral and extended family networks not only facilitated successful ventures in the trade, but produced several future civil and religious leaders like Jean Baptiste Richardville, Francis La Fontaine, Francis Godfroy, Peter Bondy, Thomas Richardville and others. The perseverance of mixed ancestral families can be observed today by surviving French surnames in various spellings such as Richardville, La Fontaine, Beaubien, Godfrey, Bourrie, Goodboo, Rivarre, Brouillette, Bruell, Lavonture and Roy (Glenn 1994b:58).

Children from marriages between Miami women and French men were in a unique position because their mixed ancestry enabled them to live in two worlds. Dual heritage accommodated both Miami and French languages and customs. Children learned European ideas about education, exchange, rules of descent and spirituality; whereas their Miami upbringing entailed different traditions, seemingly contradictory, yet carefully integrated in their enculturation. These marriage practices flourished and within

these marital middle grounds (Sleeper-Smith 2001:3, White 1991:17-19) the Miami language remained viable because of mutual cultural and linguistic accommodation by both parents. As adults, bilingualism made children from these marriages desirable for various pursuits including the fur trade, as well as future missionary and bureaucratic exploits. Many children, like their parents, became traders such as Jean Baptiste Richardville. Richardville was educated in Quebec, tri-lingual (Miami, French and English) and financially backed in the trade by his parents, Antoine and Tacumwah (c. 1720- c. 1790). In fact, his success as a trader often instilled jealousies within the tribe (Berry and Rinehart 2003:100), and this did not cease once he became principal chief. As chief, he was able to exert considerable diplomatic and economic control over the tribe that benefited the community, but he also retained his trading business while profiting from several treaty provisions.

Miami fluent in French or English often served as interpreters at treaty negotiations like former Miami captive William Wells (Epiikanita, 1770-1812). Wells served as chief interpreter at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795 and at official meetings between Miami delegates and Presidents George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson (Hutton 1978:199). In fact, Wells was appointed the Indian agent for the Miami, Delaware, Wea, Eel River and Potawatomi Indians only after he was re-educated on “the customs and manners of white people” (Hutton 1978:204). Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison described him as “a sober, active and faithful public Servant [whose] knowledge of the Indian language and manners, is much greater than that of any other person” (As quoted in Dawson 1824:467).

Mixed ancestral heritage was not always a blessing, as illustrated by Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville's remaining years. Richardville struggled with his multi-ethnic identity and by 1818, he refused to speak English and spoke only Miami through interpreters during American treaty negotiations (Headings 1998:16, Anson 1970:189). He also chose to wear only traditional Miami clothing and ignored his written English and French literacy skills. Fellow tribal member and leader, Francis Godfroy often wrote Richardville's correspondence that Richardville signed with an 'X' (Godfroy, F. 1829). This is also the way he signed the Treaties of 1826, 1838, and 1840 (Kappler 1904). It is uncertain why Richardville went to such extremes to shun his French heritage, however, the historical record reveals that he believed the "greatest mistake of his life was made...when he yielded his own judgment to that of a Catholic priest...and sent two boys away from home to be educated" (McCulloch 1888:110). While his sons did extremely well in school, when they returned to Fort Wayne "they had lost their taste for Indian life, and they had no disposition to engage in the pursuits of white men" where "they soon passed from listlessness to dissipation" (Ibid.). Richardville proclaimed, "Education very good for white boys; bad, very bad for Indians" (As quoted in McCulloch 1888:110). While his 'X' mark on the Treaty of 1840 sealed the fate for removal of 323 tribal members, from which he and his family were exempt, this final act of resistance came from his education in three worlds. Richardville's fluency in three languages and literacy in two enabled him to negotiate personal choices including dress, language and literacy, as well as negotiate professional choices that stalled dispossession and removal of the entire Miami community sixteen years after the passage of the 1830 Removal Act.

Dual heritage offered the Miami different ways to remain connected to the landscape as well as to other people, and these options came by birthright and personal choice. Jean Baptiste Richardville took advantage of these options. His personal successes, as well as the successes of fellow tribal members and leaders from the Godfroy and Bundy/Bondy families were often attributed to their French heritage by outsiders. Gabriel Godfroy's "appearance and decorum" reminded Otho Winger (1935:21) of the "French nobility of which he was a direct descendant"; while Peter Bundy's (Waupopetah, 1820-1890) success was believed to be reflective of his "French blood" (Ibid.). Regardless of how others perceived these Miami leaders of mixed ancestry, Richardville and others knew their successes were not resultant solely from their French ancestry, but because of their multi-ethnic ancestry.

The French presence in Miami communities was undeniable and went unmatched by the British as the latter was consistently unwilling to accommodate the Miami in any way. Simply put, French men made far more attractive marriage and business partners to Miami women.

The French people when they came over...at least saw a different kind of an opportunity here than the English people did. And, I think that they tried to marry in and part of the Miamis rather than in contrast to what the English did. I think that's why we accepted the French people more than we did the English. And, they wanted us for different reasons ...The French wanted the Miami for the furs that we could get off the land and the English wanted us for the land itself. They just wanted the land (Tippmann 2005).

This sentiment toward the British did not change much in spite of certain military defeats after the French and Indian War. Although the British captured French forts in Indiana in 1760, French traders remained in the region largely due to intermarriage with the Miami, as indicated by the first census of Indiana in 1769 (Glenn 1994a:14-15). In fact,

communities like Fort Wayne were noted to resemble French enclaves. One traveler, William Keating, referred to it as a “French town.” Keating (As quoted in Peterson, J. 1982[1823]:23) described it as:

The inhabitants are chiefly of Canadian origin, all more or less imbued with Indian blood...The sudden change from an American to a French population, has a surprising, and to say the least, an unpleasant effect; for the first twenty-four hours, the traveler fancies himself in a real Babel...The business of a town of this kind differs so materially from that carried on in our cities, that it is almost impossible to fancy ourselves still within the same territorial limits.

French architecture was common including verandas, shingled roofed homes and public buildings, and streets and fenced-off gardens were erected (Glenn 1994b:58, 65). Even British trader George Croghan in 1765 concurred that Miami villages had both log and French homes (McCord 1970:23). French influences on the Miami ancestral landscape had become apparent whether through French architecture, formalized education, clothing styles or Catholicism.

The Miami language remained steadfast during the heyday of fur trade marriages in Indiana. First, it benefited French traders to learn the language if they were to maintain their livelihood, therefore ensuring their survival. Marriage to Miami women also allowed them greater access to physical resources without Indian interference, while fostering frontier Catholicism. Knowledge of the language was necessary for such marriages to take place, plus traders gained additional familial assistance through marriages to Miami women. Speaking the Miami language also gave traders an edge over competing British and future American traders. In addition, an understanding of the Miami language offered traders and their wives the option to retain French and Miami on an ad-hoc basis in commerce and in private. It was the wife’s responsibility to raise her

children and if Miami was her primary language, the Miami language became the language of socialization and education in the home; therefore, intergenerational transmission of the language remained unchanged. Rose Carver (1968) recalls her mother spoke Miami and most probably French because Rose's grandmother was Miami and her father was a "full-blooded Canadian French...merchant." In fact, retention of the Miami language until the turn of the twentieth century is attributed to Miami women, like Carver's mother, who reserved Miami for private usage in the home (Baldwin 2005h). Distinctive Miami identities were maintained in Miami-French marriages due to mutual linguistic accommodation, varied cultural accommodation and the will of Miami women, and because intermarriage with French traders was never the preferred marital practice – it was simply an option for Miami women at this point in time.

Post Removal Miami Marriage Patterns in Indiana

Miami marriages to the French prior to removal became increasingly "ethnically complex, [where] they adopted some lifestyles from dominant white society, yet maintained a separate political and social identity, in part, through the retention of Miami language and culture" (Greenbaum 1990:1). Marriage patterns, particularly for those Miami living in rural areas, were still endogamous, but exogamous at the clan level (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1990, Greenbaum 1990:6). Marriages took place between rather than within subgroups due to the closeness of kinship networks within subgroups. Clan exogamy was based on unilineal descent on the father's side prior to removal, however, with the adoption of bilateral descent after the 1846 removal, extensive kinship links between subgroups and their leaders were complicated further (Greenbaum 1990:6). Children born during the first generation of the post removal era learned the Miami

language from infancy on, a key element for language continuity and vitality, however, American settlement into the region soon changed this.

American traders had the support of a newly established federal government after the Revolutionary War era and were supported further by Indiana territorial officials in nudging the Miami and others to cede more of their lands for the sake of settlement and eventual statehood by the turn of the nineteenth century (Gernhardt 2006:189, 191-192). American traders were no less corrupt than their British counterparts, and like the British they were not accommodative to the Miami. Because of this they were not considered attractive marriage partners during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. To make matters worse, establishment of the American factory system attempted to sever the Miami's trading relationships with competing French and British traders further, who by this time were slowly becoming "alien traders" (Woehrmann 1971:85). One Indian factory established in Fort Wayne, which operated from 1802 to 1812, was patronized heavily by the Miami. At this factory the Miami purchased several items including tools, weapons, hygiene products, house wares, food items and cloth (Woehrmann 1971:92). While some of these products may have eased certain modes of living, while complicating others, these purchases also equated to considerable debt that was never completely balanced (Woehrmann 1971:94) and to the displacement of multiple cultural traditions. As before, during regular interactions with the French, Miami speakers did not incorporate English words from their varied interactions with British and American traders. However, Miami speakers managed to capture these exchanges utilizing the existing language where new words evolved such as "kociihsaapowi" for "bean drink" or "coffee" and "pimi" for "grease," later used to describe "butter" (Baldwin and Costa

2005:148, 145).

As the United States assumed control of the Old Northwest following the British American War of 1812, American settlement boomed in the region, but in truth it began in territorial Indiana in 1783 (Glenn 1994b:64) and lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1786, there were four hundred American settlers living among the Miami and French on the lower Wabash River near Vincennes, Indiana (Anson 1970:101). Land sales in Indiana soared by fifty-seven percent in 1813, and after statehood was declared in 1815, settlers came in droves (Mitchell 1914:375). One year later the settler population was sixty-five thousand and within four years it had more than doubled to 147 thousand (Anson 1970:191). By 1830, Indiana's non-Indian population reached over 340 thousand (Ibid.). With increased American expansionism, the Miami understood they were not going to escape American settlement; therefore, many realized the need to increase their knowledge of American customs and the English language.

Early Indiana historian John Dillon (1897:138) noted:

The knowledge of letters serves as the means of entering into secret arrangement with the whites to supply the means of their own destruction; and within the limits of my intercourse, the principal use of the knowledge of letters or civilized language has been to obtain liquor for themselves and others. This has made it proverbial among them that the knowledge of white people makes very bad Indians.

This passage suggests that Miami knowledge of English, although utilized for the purchase of liquor, was increasing steadily. Interestingly, although the English language equated to civilization, the Miami were also scolded for learning and using it to their advantage. The following quote from John Dillon (1897:138) summarizes this irony:

The general aversion to the habits, manners, customs and dress of civilized people; and in many cases an Indian is an object of jealousy for being acquainted with the civilized language, and it is made use of as a subject of reproach against him.

In spite of these conflicting statements by Dillon, a transition from Miami to French and then to English, not necessarily in that order for all Miami, was well underway.

The burgeoning frontier exchange economy slowly displaced traditional female horticulture which put Miami men in the fields. As Miami men began to lose their land through illegal taxation, corrupt land brokerage and farming schemes, and increased debt, their economic losses made them less desirable marriage partners for Miami women.

Aside from dispossession of Miami lands, there was also a deficit of Miami males indicated by the 1854 roll (Rafert 1984:106). Post-war fallout after 1812, and violence associated with removal from the late 1830s until 1846, affected Miami male populations (Ibid.). Miami females outnumbered Miami males by three to two which meant many Miami women married outside the community, primarily to American men (Ibid.).

“Even so simple a matter as speaking the Miami language was becoming tenuous as more women married outside the tribe and as the Miami-speaking community shrank in size and became split apart” (Ibid.). From 1837 to 1864, forty-four out of eighty-one recorded marriages took place with non-Indians, however, the majority of marriages, with the exception of Catholic Miami, were still conducted by Indian custom and polygamy was practiced, although minimally (Ibid.). Marriages between Miami women and Catholic German and Irish immigrants were recorded more consistently than traditionally sanctioned marriages (Anson 1970:267), especially after the 1850s when the Catholic Church became particularly powerful in Indiana (Mather 1992:90, 92).

The 1870s proved important because the transition from traditional to Christian marriages not only affected the language of the home, but also the clan system (Leonard, F. 1995). Miami women held a key role in redirecting tribal marriage patterns from mutual economic benefit, like those marriages between other native communities and French traders, to marriage as more an individualistic act done for their own economic security. In marriages to American settlers, cultural and linguistic accommodation by both partners was no longer mutual. Miami women remained accommodative in this regard, but their American spouses did not because they did not have to – they already owned the land. Therefore, in many marital homes the integrity of the Miami language was threatened. The accommodation of Miami wives is also demonstrated by the ready adoption of Anglo names, the integration of Miami and English names indicated in various marriage records, and the borrowing of deceased leaders' names (Rafert 1996:136) – trends that continued well into the twentieth century. For the generation born between 1864 and 1881, only thirteen Miami, or eight percent, of 157 recorded marriages were with other Miami (Rafert 1984:20), while the remainder was with American settlers (Rafert 1996:135).

For the generation born between 1881 and 1907, marriage within the tribe dwindled further, where only ten percent of all marriages took place within the Miami community (Bureau of Indian Affairs 1990:5). There was a slight increase of endogamous marriages between 1891 and 1907, where fifteen of 123 recorded marriages, or twelve percent, were with other Miami (Greenbaum 1990:21). Nonetheless, marriage outside the tribe remained the cultural norm

because tribespeople held strictly to group exogamous marriages, marriages to non-Indians were bound to increase quickly as the tribe lost most of its land base late in the nineteenth century. In a fashion somewhat analogous to the decline in speakers of the Miami language, marriages to whites increased as the native population became more dispersed spatially and the “marriage community” became scattered (Rafert 1984:115).

American traders and contract workers who worked with and for the Miami, many of whom spoke some Miami, were welcomed more so than other non-Indians as potential marriage partners (Rafert 1984:115). “Acculturation was a two-way street, and whites who knew Miami ways were more acceptable as marriage partners” (Rafert 1984:148). Very few American husbands, however, chose to learn Miami. The only known example of this was Lora Siders’ father who was raised among the Miami and spoke the language (Baldwin 2006b). According to Siders (1997), “The only thing that wasn’t Indian about him was his skin color and eyes.” In fact, his sister threatened to banish him if he married Lora’s mother, however, he chose to marry her regardless. Lora herself was treated differently by her maternal Miami aunt when she married a fellow Miami because they were from the same clan, the Turtle Clan. Interestingly, this demonstrates that even though clan exogamy was no longer practiced during this time, traditional Miami marriage and descent rules remained important to some elders. Beliefs and practices such as these continued into the twentieth century as well. When Jay Hartleroad’s (2005) American stepmother and Miami father separated, and eventually divorced, his stepmother was shunned by his aunts “in traditional Indian style...mom just wasn’t welcome.” He attributes this as the reason why he “never got a chance to be around” his family as a child (Ibid.).

Children from marriages that took place between 1864 and 1881, formed the last generation who spoke various dialects of Miami (Rafert 1982:188). This is confirmed by a census taker's report from 1880, who stated, "The Reservation is yet pretty wild, although quite a number of Indians have erected good houses and are comfortable circumstanced...The conversation was always in Indian and the jargon sometimes almost made one's head swim" (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1880b]). At this time, Chief Meshingomesia, who died in 1879, was one of many who "never mastered the English language" (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1880a]).

Social pressures also played a role in the number of exogamous marriages. The dominant marriage practice between Miami women and non-Indian men instead of the reverse was acceptable because there was a significant stigma associated with marriages between Miami men and non-Indian women. Miami men who did marry were more than twice as likely as Miami women to have Indian spouses, or nineteen percent to nine percent respectively (Greenbaum 1990:21). By 1900, eighteen Miami males of marriageable age remained bachelors, or thirty percent, whereas only three to four percent of Miami women remained single (Rafert 1996:185, Greenbaum 1990:21). Other social pressures contributed to the Miami bachelor society. Growing racial intolerance in Indiana due to state level and nationally recognized Ku Klux Klan (KKK) activities created a social environment non-conducive to intermarriages between Indian men and local non-Indian women; even though marriages between non-Indian men and Indian women were long considered acceptable (Greenbaum 1990:21).

Ku Klux Klan chapters throughout the state evolved in the 1920s, in response to increased European immigration, African American migration, Judaism and Catholicism. Members felt Protestantism and Hoosier patriotism were under threat and as a result rallies, torchlight parades and cross burnings were commonplace throughout Indiana (Madison 1982:44, 46). Although the Klan claimed over four hundred thousand in membership, there were probably more like 250 thousand white males, or thirty percent of the male population in Indiana affiliated with the KKK (Madison 1982:45). Reportedly, there were more Indiana klansmen than Methodists (Indiana State Museum n.d.). Nearly half of all white males in Kokomo alone, where many Miami resided, were KKK members (Ibid.). A large number of elected state officials were Klan members, including Governor-elect Ed Jackson, Indianapolis Mayor John Duvall, judges, lobbyists, as well as county clerks and wealthy businessmen (Ibid., Martin 1947:198-199). Although isolated violence did occur throughout the state as a result of Klan activities, it was never commonplace, however, this was not enough assurance for Miami community members to feel free from potential harm.

The Klan's ability to induce such fear and anxiety was exacerbated by the element of secrecy. Because many Hoosiers were never certain who belonged to the Klan and who did not, they feared talking openly with neighbors or even family members...wild rumors spread through Hoosier communities:the Klan was going to burn the Catholic church or lynch an individual Catholic or black (Madison 1982:48).

Catholic Miami most assuredly were alarmed at the potential threat of harm from the Klan. One elder from Indiana in 2004 offered that his non-Indian stepfather forbade any recognition of his stepchildren's Miami heritage with one firm statement, "No more Indian" (Rinehart 2004a). When asked why his stepfather made such a declaration he remarked, "It wasn't okay to be an Indian then" (Ibid.).

Because of these additional stresses Miami “men bore the brunt of the pressure from the dominant society to change their ways of livelihood, while women’s roles were much less changed” (Rafert 1996:185). Miami women’s roles as domestic providers may not have changed much, but there were still changes taking place. Marriage to non-Indians led to greater linguistic and cultural accommodation on the part of Miami women which lent to increased intergenerational dislocation of the language. Most Miami women chose to minimize their heritage language and culture to protect their children from possible discrimination, from their American fathers and from society. Lora Siders (1997) commented on her grandmother’s choice to halt Miami language usage in the home:

The only thing she [Siders’ grandmother] wouldn’t let them do, and this is where my family lost their Miami language. When you go to school you don’t speak Miami at home anymore because you have to learn to live with the white man and you need to know what he knows as much as you can. I think that Uncle Joe and Uncle Clarence continued to speak the Miami language but since all of the girls married white men, uh, it was just as easy for them not to go back to it.

Lora indicates here the accommodation her grandmother made for herself and for her children with the rationale that it was in everyone’s best interests. The Miami language would not serve them in the same way English could. Yet, interestingly two of her children did not agree with this sentiment and continued to speak the language and most likely she continued to speak it among her peers. Jay Hartleroad’s (2005) father refused to talk about their Indian heritage while Hartleroad’s birth mother, although warned repeatedly to not disclose her Miami identity “told everyone I [Hartleroad’s birth mother] was Indian anyways, I didn’t care.” Hartleroad attributes economic and social survival as reasons why his family was not allowed to talk about their Indian ancestry.

Ross Bundy, from the same generation as Lora Siders' grandmother, noted to a friend once that only Indian was spoken in his home as a child, but when he married Hila Elston in 1908, English became the language of their marital home (Lamb and Shultz 1993:114). Bundy reserved his Miami proficiency for speaking with his pets; a practice since resumed in several families today. Bundy, unlike other Miami men from his generation, married a non-Indian woman, and like many Miami women had been doing for years, he made the decision not to make the Miami language the primary language of his marital home. This is not surprising given the racial climate and gender politicking of the time that did not favor such marriages. Bundy's accommodation did not equate to the loss of his speaking abilities though, however, over time his Miami proficiency shifted more to an English orientation (Baldwin 2005g).

In spite of Bundy's dilemma, the choice of Miami language transmission lay largely with Miami women who held the greatest influence over their children. Their decision to transmit the language undoubtedly proved difficult. In these marriages, Miami women made "pressured choices" (Baldwin 2005i). Their decisions rested on speaking the language at home or not, in fear of potential isolation from her husband. She also feared societal isolation from those who continued to hallmark English, while marginalizing native languages. Miami women acted as the language bearers of their families, as many had long been, but were constantly scrutinized by pressures from a growing monolingual state. Given these social constraints, the choices made by Miami women were not true choices. Their choices were not made freely or easily in their marriages to American settlers. This explains why there were fewer Miami women who chose to speak Miami to their children than those who did not. Individuals like

Kilsoquah (1810-1915) and Polly Mongosa Wildcat (1834-1917), both whom never spoke English, were a rarity at the turn of the twentieth century (Rafert 1996:186). Children rarely heard Miami, or French for that matter, and instead the dominant language of the home became English. "English became more and more the language of communication across boundaries of family and tribe" (Anderson 1998:80). During the first two decades of the twentieth century there were only twenty-four to thirty-six native speakers of the language left, many of whom were female (Rafert 1996:192), and for the most part they conversed in Miami only during social gatherings like the annual Miami Reunion. Swan Hunter (Hunter and Bossley 1978) relayed to historian Stewart Rafert, "they didn't want the young kids to know what they were saying...they wanted to tell some gossip or something. The kids wouldn't know what they were saying. Couldn't go and tell what they were saying."

Jacob Dunn described the perilous state of the Miami language to William Henry Holmes at the Bureau of Ethnology in 1909. He (1909a) wrote:

Miami is more nearly extinct than any of the great languages of the Middle West. Practically, it can hardly be called a spoken language today-I think it is talked less in Oklahoma than in Indiana, and everyone I have worked with complains of forgetting words on account of disuse...Whatever is done with the language must be done soon.

While Dunn was clearly stating the obvious, he brought national attention to the peril of the Miami language. Through his work with individuals such as Gabriel Godfroy, described as the best interpreter in Indiana, and Kilsoquah, the 105 year-old granddaughter of Little Turtle, Dunn salvaged what he could of the Miami language. Dunn was passionate about his work with the Miami and as his biographer states, it would have been "disgrace[ful] for the entire nation to 'let the languages of Pontiac,

Tecumseh, Little Turtle, and the rest, perish from the face of the earth; but that is what is rapidly approaching” (Boomhower 1997:111). Dunn’s vast manuscript collection, currently housed at the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis, Indiana, has proven especially useful to language programmers over the past eleven years.

It is estimated that in 1910, there were thirty speakers of the Miami language left and by the 1930s, there were only fifteen to twenty remaining Miami elders living in Indiana who held some fluency in Miami (Rafert 1996:194). Some of the last speakers include Ross Bundy, Clarence Godfroy and Anthony Goodboo (1862-1951). In a recorded interview done with Goodboo in 1949, he was asked to say “goodbye” in English and then in Miami, however, this question confused him (Goodboo 1949). For clarification he asked “In my language?” The interviewer affirmed Goodboo and from there he says goodbye in Miami. For Goodboo, Miami was his first language and was an integral part of his worldview and identity. His fluency in the language held on by speaking Miami to his animals, a skill Ross Bundy retained as did Charles Lewis Strack (Sunfish, 1897-1973) (Tippmann 2005). However, with Goodboo’s passing in 1951, there remained only a handful of Miami speakers by middle twentieth century who held some fluency in the language. And, unfortunately none of them, including Ross Bundy and Clarence Godfroy, were ever recorded.

Miami Marriage Patterns in Kansas and Oklahoma

The 323 Miami removed in 1846, found their new homes in Kansas rife with political hostilities. With unpredictable politics, scheming traders, an active alcohol trade and a steady flow of squatters, the Miami quickly found their new surroundings inhospitable. Homesickness, infrequent dispersals of rations and increased numbers of

violent deaths due to excessive alcohol consumption resulted in attrition back to Indiana. A year after removal the Miami population decreased to 250 as reported by the Osage agent (Senate Doc. 122), and in 1848 their population was estimated at 157 and by 1852, it dwindled to ninety-seven (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984). By 1868, the population rose by three with only twelve adult males at this time (Rafert 1996:124). Attrition from Kansas and Indiana was common in the late 1840s and 1850s, and continued after the outbreak of the Civil War and well into the twentieth century, so the number of Miami living in Kansas was rarely a steady figure. However, one trend remained constant – the Miami population base in Kansas was shrinking, as were marriage options for Miami men and women; therefore, the community's abilities to maintain the language was weakening.

With only twelve adult men in 1868, Miami women were left with few alternatives but to marry outside the community. By 1871, full-blooded Miami were noted to be a “minority of the tribe, and ruled by the French portion” (Sen. Misc. Doc. No. 66 1871). Although some French traders followed the Miami to Kansas, Miami men and women typically married into other native communities or with non-Indians. Of the twenty-four Protestant marriages Thomas F. Richardville presided over from 1866 to 1878, eight were between Miami and four between Miami and non-Indians (Richardville, T. 1847-1912). The Indian communities the Miami married into included the Potawatomi, Peoria and Ottawa. For example, Dave Geboe's (1937) father was Miami and his mother was Ottawa, and T. Richardville blessed four marriages between Miami and Peoria (Richardville, T. 1847-1912). Additionally, an argument made by Thomas Miller, David Geboe and Baptiste Peoria (a Peoria Indian Chief) to the Committee on

Indian Affairs, in April, 1872, mentions extensive intermarriage between the Miami and Wea, Peoria and other neighboring Indian groups (Sen. Misc. Doc. 1872). Marriage into other native communities built socio-economic and socio-political ties as before, however, these practices were now more out of demographic necessity than to end competition over resources, or to maintain and/or foster intertribal relationships.

During Lewis Henry Morgan's visit to the Miami in Kansas in 1860, he found intertribal marriages normative (Morgan, L. 1993[1860]:87). Although clear patterns of descent remain uncertain, Morgan found relatedness, defined patrilineally for the Kansas Miami, had digressed to bilateral descent after removal, as it had among Indiana Miami. The clan system also ceased to exist after removal in both Indiana and Oklahoma Miami communities (Leonard, F. 1995). Morgan (1993[1860]:87) was surprised that in spite of extensive intermarriage between Miami, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Wea, Piankeshaw and Potawatomi peoples "their system of consanguinity [was] still alive in all its forms and fullness." Morgan (1993[1860]:88) noted that because of this "indiscriminate" form of marriage each of these communities understood one another because "most of their words being the same, and but a few in which there is any discernible difference." Linguist David Costa (2003:19-20) attributes this to a time in Kansas when Miami-Illinois groups except for Miami proper were slowly shifting to a pan-Peoria dialect and that Morgan's work was "at a time when the different Miami-Illinois sub-groups were probably more intermarried and more familiar with one another's dialects than at any time in the past."

Irrespective of the normalcy of intertribal marriages in Kansas, these marriages proved problematic at times. Intermarriage between the Five Tribes of Indians, or the Miami, Wea, Peoria, Kaskaskia and Piankeshaw with the Osage and Pottawatomi, often

led to violent hostilities. The Five Tribes notably protested against intermarriage with “their young squaws...[and] resulted in many encounters and the spilling of much blood” (Moore 1907:2). The level of these hostilities is difficult to determine, however, one can assuredly say that with multiple Indian communities such as the Five Tribes of Indians all of whom were forcibly removed, now living near one another and sharing resources undoubtedly became contentious. The actual bloodiness of these encounters remains unknown.

By the late 1860s, violence associated with squatters in Kansas left many tribes little option, but to consider another removal. The Miami agreed to this final removal under the Treaty of 1867 (Anson 1970:243-244) and at this time Miami women, as other Indian women, were depicted as primitive creatures. One observer (Lowe 1936) noted:

I don't think any of the squaws ever went along. In fact the squaws were not very much in evidence and if you met up with them they barely spoke to you. I don't think they talked much English to any one. They dressed in civilian clothes but I've seen some wearing buckskin moccasins.

While this depiction is not laudatory it suggests Indian persistence of certain traditions, and that through the determination of several Miami women, the language remained viable, at least for now. Miami removal to the new Indian Territory during the early 1870s further fractionalized this already small community. In Oklahoma, Thomas Richardville continued to preach in Miami to fellow Miami and Peoria for “we talk the same language and it is their desire as well as our desire to be together” (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1877]). Trilingual like his grandfather, Jean B. Richardville, most probably retained French as did other tribal members like Frank Geboe (Geboe, D. 1878).

The list of headrights issued to the Miami in Kansas in 1871, demonstrates that of 262 registered names only half used their Miami names which suggests that intermarriage with non-Indians was persistent just as much as intertribal marriages (Anson 1970:247). By 1885, the Indian agent at Quapaw Agency reported that all Indians under his supervision were civilized because of intermarriage with non-Indians (Foreman, G. 1946:346). "They were so intermarried with their white neighbors that in some of the tribes white blood predominated" and by 1887 "sixty white persons had been admitted into the Quapaw and Miami tribes" (Ibid.). While these marriage patterns increased the Miami tribal population to seventy-five in 1891, and to eighty-five three years later, it still was not a very large community for the language to thrive (Anson 1970:253). As in Indiana, non-Indian partners were not as willing to learn the language, while Miami women continued to be accommodative linguistically and culturally. From 1883 to 1902, Thomas Richardville presided over another ten marriages where four of these marriages involved Miami, two marriages between Miami, one between a Miami and non-Indian, and one between a Miami and an Ottawa (Richardville, T. 1847-1912).

As in Indiana and Kansas, Miami women held the discretion to speak and teach their language in the home or not. Many more Miami women were described as acculturated, indicated by appearance and speech, than not. "The Miamis, Wyandots, Peorias, and Ottawas at the agency were 'practically white people' in their dress and speech" (Anson 1970:253). General Oliver Howard (1907:525), a former Civil War hero, traveled through Indian Territory in the early 1890s and commented, "I have seldom visited a tribe of Indians without finding at least one white man married to an Indian woman." Miami women married American settlers because they had few

demographic alternatives, aside from marriage to other natives; and settlers, when they came to Indian Territory unaccompanied had even fewer options (Wickett 2000:37). Additionally, through intermarriage American settlers stood to gain treated lands held by Indian women. "For many landless white males, marrying an Indian bride was the quickest way to gain land on the frontier" (Ibid.) – a trend not terribly different from earlier French traders who desired greater access to Miami lands in Indiana.

By the early 1890s, intermarriage between Oklahoma Miami and American settlers became even more commonplace and was due, in part, by endorsement from the eight tribes, Miami, Shawnee, Quapaw, Modoc, Wyandot, Peoria, Ottawa and Seneca-Cayuga communities. In 1890, only fifty-seven American settlers were reported by the agency to live within its jurisdiction and four years later it jumped to 2,500 (Anson 1970:256). "Much of the white influx was due to increasing white-Indian marriages" (Ibid.). With only around a 101 Miami under the jurisdiction of the Quapaw agency by 1900 (Foreman, G. 1946:348), "Miami marriages into other tribes [and to non-Indians] at the agency were ...inevitable" (Anson 1970:256).

The decisions for Miami women to suppress their Miami identities or not, were difficult ones to make. Some chose to speak Miami to their children in spite of outside or spousal pressures to conform to English, and in these homes the Miami language was preserved. An example of this is with a Miami woman, whose name was lost, interviewed by Charles Hockett in 1938 (1). She recalled using Miami as a child and supplied him with many word lists, but Hockett was surprised by her rural accent and seemingly limited proficiency in English. Additionally, certain features of the Miami language were beginning to disappear such as "the absence of expected preaspiration and

vowel length” which, according to linguist David Costa, is indicative of the adaptation to an English sound system (Costa 2003:28). Hockett reasoned she was part of the group who was “forced to make a shift of language under such unfavorable circumstances that they end up ‘speaking no language well’” (Hockett 1938:1). Although this woman was not a fluent Miami speaker, it demonstrates, as Costa points out, that by the 1930s, the Miami language was moribund and not used with much regularity among surviving speakers.

Far more common were those households where Miami women chose not to speak, teach, or maintain the language in their homes. Rosa Beck (1969) recalled:

I could speak English. Course I was taught that, my father and my mother both spoke English. Mama kind of got out of the way of speaking Indian. She did speak Indian for awhile but them getting away from the tribe like she was, you know, that she just talked the English language. But she couldn’t read or write.

Beck suggests here that although her mother once spoke Miami, English replaced her heritage language which correlated with her isolation from the tribal community. Rosa then reveals her mother could not read or write which either demonstrates she had little to no schooling, or that possibly speaking English was enough accommodation on her part in this marriage. Beck’s mother was one of many Miami women for whom the Miami language grew increasingly isolated. Whether their decisions were made under societal or spousal pressures, or due to movement away from the tribal community, Miami language maintenance was declining rapidly.

A new dialect of Miami was established in Oklahoma by the turn of the twentieth century, or what was referred to as a Western dialect of the Miami language. Dunn noted this evolution in his work with Sarah Wadsworth in 1909, and more specifically

regarding the particle “isa.” He (1909b) said:

The Western Miamis use it much more than the Eastern, and by the way I am satisfied that they are nearer the original Miami, as the tendency with our Indians is to translate English forms direct, and to lose Indian idioms.

Daryl Baldwin (2005i) attributes the development of a Western Miami dialect to the “new items that were coming into their world.” The Western word for “pencil” became “awikaakani,” but in Indiana it became “awikataakani.” In Oklahoma, the word for “glass” was “sakinteeui,” but in Indiana it was “waapamooni” (Ibid.) These different lexemic choices suggests that Indiana and Oklahoma Miami communities were not talking to one another in Miami “when they needed to describe things” (Ibid.). It also demonstrates that the Miami’s continued capacity for semantic extension, even in an environment where English was becoming the dominant language and most Miami had exposure to both languages. These changes also indicate the persistence of the Miami language through some Miami women and men who utilized it in various capacities.

Linguist Albert Gatschet’s work in Oklahoma at the turn of the twentieth century alluded to these changes based upon his work with Elizabeth Vallier (c. 1830- unk.) who was originally from Indiana and moved to Oklahoma as an adult where she married a Peoria man (Costa 2003:21). Elizabeth’s first and only language was Miami; therefore, Gatschet employed Wea interpreter Sarah Wadsworth. Their work resulted in the compilation of six narratives, including a trickster story (Ibid.). Dunn later worked with Sarah in the re-elicitation of Le Boulenger’s Illinois dictionary where she commented, “This is real Indian; like I used to hear my mother and aunt talk when I was a child, in Indiana” (Dunn, C. 1937:40). According to Costa, Sarah’s recollections of “old Indian” and “new Indian” were most likely indicative of earlier conservative speech patterns

indicated by extensive use of independent verbs and deletion of initial and final vowels (David Costa, personal communication, 31 May, 2006, David Costa, personal communication, 26 January, 2006, Baldwin 2006b). Gatschet valued Sarah's opinion because she was a "bright, and fairly educated-reads English very well and showed intelligence in the grammatical inquiries I made of her" (Dunn, C. 1937:38) and was "probably the best living authority on that dialect" (Dunn, C. 1937:39).

The Enabling Act of 1906 led to Oklahoma statehood a year later (Wickett 2000:63). The Miami, as well as other Indian tribes, were against the passage of this act, but withdrew their opposition when they understood that American citizenship would be granted to those who had not already received it. Children from thirty-two Miami marriages, where sixteen spouses were non-Indian and male, and the other half were non-Indian females who married tribal members, did not have citizenship (Leup 1910:328, 335, 344). This is substantial given that the total Miami population stood at one hundred only six years earlier. Intermarriage with non-Indians continued throughout the twentieth century and quickly became the marital norm for Oklahoma Miami. The number of Miami intermarriages becomes evident as the censuses of 1885 to 1900 demonstrate (Indian Census Rolls 1885-1892, Indian Census Rolls 1893-1900). These censuses also reveal that intertribal marriage was still practiced with the Peoria and Quapaw as indicated by familial names (Ibid., Beck 1969). The census of 1910 also showed that more Miami men of marriageable age (in both Indiana and Oklahoma) remained single than married Miami men, and the reverse trend was found among Miami women (Reddy 1995[1910]:203, 209). Perhaps the bachelor society persisted in Oklahoma as well.

It was uncertain whether children from these unions would be enrolled on tribal rolls. Typically, marriages done traditionally prescribed enrollment based upon the mother's tribe, however, there was a slow digression from this practice to one based on choice dictated by whose interests it best served. For example, William Henry Froman (Nipenezah, 1870-1905) attended the Carlisle Industrial School in the early 1890s, and was enrolled there as Miami, but changed his enrollment to the Peoria Tribe before the end of the nineteenth century (Sammye Darling, personal communication, 18. Aug., 2005). Tribal affiliation was variable both then and today depending upon individual preference, and in either scenario this has led to slight increases or decreases in the tribal population. However, throughout these processes the Miami language and other cultural practices suffered.

Miami Marriage Patterns Today

Elders today explain the pattern of exogamous marriages to non-Indians by saying "You can't marry family" (Rafert 1984:115). And, although intermarriage may "have blurred physical distinctions between the Miami and others...Miami identity is partly a matter of 'blood' and partly a matter of culture and commitment" (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). This is best revealed by the number of Miami-only marriages, which are estimated at five of a total Miami population of eight thousand (Baldwin 2005j). And, among these marriages only one partner is actively learning the language (Baldwin 2006a). This reveals many things. First, intermarriage with non-Miami, and more commonly non-Indians, is clearly the marital norm in Miami communities today. It also reveals that while one might expect Miami-only marriages would "naturally" support language and cultural reclamation efforts, this is not the case.

However, this does reveal in an interesting turn of events that non-Miami partners are more active with language reclamation efforts today, than were their predecessors. In fact, in those families where language recovery efforts are most active, the female spouses are non-Miami. Here, we see that culture and commitment far outweigh blood relationships, but even more importantly these relationships are more supportive of such activities than in the past. This has occurred because adult language ideologies tend to uphold the value of heritage languages due, in part, to the passage of time and the realization of what was lost when the language became dormant. This new sense of awareness would not have been possible without the rigorous efforts of language programmers like Daryl Baldwin who persistently emphasize the relationships between language and culture. And, unlike the past, legislation now ensures the protection instead of the prohibition of American Indian languages. While societal pressures to eradicate native languages have abated, a growing English-only movement in response to increasing Spanish-speaking populations in the United States has sparked interest in English-only and other discriminatory legislation that once targeted American Indians.

In spite of a high degree of intermarriage since the nineteenth century in Miami communities, linguistic and cultural knowledge never ceased entirely. Elders still reveal knowledge of certain linguistic and cultural traditions. For example, one elder reported at the 2004 Oklahoma language camp that her maternal aunt always referred to her as “nintaane” or “daughter” when she was a child (Rinehart 2004b). This designation also appeared on the tribal rolls as well. Intermarriage with other tribal communities remains more common for the Oklahoma Miami than for others. Although these marriages are not arranged as before, they still build relationships between tribal organizations in

northeast Oklahoma and allow for flexibility with tribal enrollments. Many tribal members whose Indian parent or parents have different affiliations can readily change their affiliation, or if a tribal group was never selected after birth, as adults they have the opportunity to do this for themselves. Some tribal members maintain political affiliation with one tribe but “still maintain kinship associations with families who are enrolled in other tribes” (Baldwin 2003d:6). In fact, due to intertribal marriages “many people in the area consider the high degree of intermarriage to be the major reason why NEO [northeast Oklahoma] is the Oklahoma ‘hot bed of intertribalism’” (Hamill 2000:297).

Chapter Discussion

Marriages between Miami and the French were not deemed unusual because these practices fostered relationships in much the same way as marriages with other native communities did prior to European contact. And, these marriages did not result in language shift directly although shifts in worldviews continued to change. But, why did these changes manifest differently in marriages between Americans and the Miami? The answer is not so simple. Even though intermarriage was a well-established cultural practice, it became the predominant form of marriage in the middle to latter parts of the nineteenth century, instead of an alternative form of marriage. These marriages outnumbered those marriages between Miami and with continued dispossession of Indian lands, multiple removals, and a change in traditional economies few economic opportunities existed for Miami men and even fewer for Miami women. Dwindling population numbers also left few marriage opportunities for Miami communities in Indiana, Kansas and Oklahoma, as did increased settlement of non-Indian women. Miami women found economic stability for themselves where they could and this no

longer resided with Miami men as it once had. "Miami women were marrying...white men...to survive" (Hartleroad 2005). Without a landbase, Miami women would have otherwise been left with nothing. Dani Tippmann (2005) describes this scenario as "sex for meat" or the "idea that the man who hunts the best or...brings in the most meat, has the most sex," or in this context, "a good provider is, is one your gonna hook up with."

In marriages to American settlers, Miami women held the majority of the power in the household when it came to issues concerning child rearing and the household, however, their decisions and familial responsibilities became increasingly more complicated. While some Miami women in Indiana, Kansas and Oklahoma chose to utilize the language in the home, particularly during the first two decades after removal, many more did not. Dani Tippmann (2005) said, "If your mother doesn't speak Miami around you at home, you're not goin' to learn it." Free choice in the language of the home was no longer the norm in these marriages as it had been with the French for nearly 180 years. Miami marriage practices were no longer negotiated through linguistic and cultural accommodation because Miami women were faced with "pressured choices" (Baldwin 2005i). A Miami woman's choice to speak her heritage language was clearly within her right as dictated by Miami custom, but now she found herself in an environment where the economy, government, media, education, and religion were conducted in the English language. Additionally, her American husband did not need to broker these relationships in the same ways as early French traders had done; therefore, American husbands did not conform in similar ways. Miami and French were both spoken out of necessity in order to co-exist and survive socio-economically, but this was not the case with Miami and American marriages. Some American husbands learned the

language, but this was not done out of necessity, only out of interest and by no means normative. Instead the expectation was for Miami women and their children to use the English language in public and private spheres. Free choice became pressured choice.

The increased numbers of marriages outside the community created an environment where “too many marriages ‘into’ the community ...flood[ed] the cultural continuity and the ‘stronger’ language eventually [took] hold and [became] dominant” (Baldwin 2005h). In fact, Rose Carver (1968) blames intermarriage for the potential economic upset of the Miami in regard to claims negotiations, “If the government don’t pay us pretty soon. They ain’t gonna be many even half-breeds to pay because they married the Germans, the Russians and all them people that comes here and they ain’t gonna be many full-bloods.” Here Miami cultural, linguistic and economic integrity were vulnerable to American cultural and linguistic practices. Perhaps, most importantly what these comments demonstrate is that the nature of these relationships changed. While marriage was traditionally arranged and practiced as a way to build relationships within the Miami community and with other communities, by the turn of the twentieth century this tradition incorporated other considerations such as economic viability, thereby making marriage as an “individual” versus “communal” act (Baldwin 2005i). Marriage united two people and not necessarily extended kin groups (Ibid.), and these changed patterns created an environment that was no longer conducive to bilingualism and biculturalism. While the turn of the twentieth century equated to times of prosperity for others, it led to a substantial loss for Miami peoples.

Today, exogamous marriages in Miami communities remain the cultural norm, however, this has not weakened Miami identities. This is best exemplified by the

historical ironies of Miami marriage patterns where former intermarriage practices after the fur trade era eventually led, in part, to the demise of the Miami language, but now support the language. Intermarriage in Miami communities today, unlike the past, is done by choice and the decisions to learn the Miami language in these partnerships are also done by choice. Language and cultural reclamation are now optional, and while more Miami spouses want this for their children than for themselves, it nonetheless indicates recognition of the importance of language and culture today for Miami identities.

**“I have got no learning. I have no education. I cannot talk to you like the white man.
I can only tell you of things that I have seen and that have been told to me.”**

**Gabriel Godfroy, Miami Indian
(As quoted in Lamb and Shultz 1993[1907]:125-126)**

Chapter Six: Miami Schooling Experiences

In addition to the introduction of Christianity, changed interactions with the landscape, a move away from traditional economies, and increased exogamous marriage practices, the Miami language was pushed closer toward dormancy through formal schooling. Schools typically mandated English-only and although many Miami were already fluent in English by the time they entered schools, they were still subjected to the harsh punishment other Indian children experienced because of their inabilities in English. Individual treaties attempted to assimilate the Miami through education such as the Treaty of 1826 that enabled several Miami children to attend the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (Kappler 1904), and the Treaty of 1840 that guaranteed an educational fund for those Miami removed to Kansas (Ibid.). However, outside individual treaties, the first official attempt to encourage schooling for all American Indians was done through the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, briefly mentioned in chapter two. This act fostered a continuing paternalistic relationship with the federal government that utilized English literacy “as the principal means for pacification” (Wiley 2000:76). Little progress in this endeavor was made because schools were too few, student enrollment was low and the transitioning process of students upon graduation was non-existent (Prucha 1986:55).

The apparent failures of the Civilization Act, however, did not terminate the government’s goal to civilize Indians through English literacy and education. The Removal Act of 1830 picked up, in part, where the Civilization Fund Act left off (Prucha

1986:71). Removal treaties not only guaranteed land for American settlers and new land for emigrant tribes, but also provided cattle, agricultural equipment, blacksmiths, other tradesmen and certain food commodities, so Indians were more prepared for American lifeways. And, for Indian communities like the Miami, removal treaties also provided educational funds for the establishment of schools. By 1869, Grant's Peace Policy used English unequivocally as a way to civilize native peoples (Yazzie 2003:165). They believed that the key to transforming the Indian was by isolating him onto reservations and then instructing and proselytizing to him in English so as to make them "one homogenous mass" (H.R. Exec. Rep. 97 1868:15).

The white and Indian must mingle together and jointly occupy the country, or one of them must abandon it...by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once...Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought ...Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialects should be blotted out and the English language substituted...The object of greatest solicitude should be to break down the prejudices of tribe among the Indians; to blot out the boundary lines which divide them into distinct nations, and fuse them into one homogenous mass. Uniformity of language will do this- nothing else will (H.R. Exec. Rep. 97 1868:15-17).

This federal endorsement of education, and even more specifically Christian education, straddled the line in separation of the church and the state, and because of it, fell under much scrutiny. Additionally, the misappropriation of federal funding and internal fraud by Grant's administration doomed his Peace Policy, and by 1900 all federal funding of mission schools, both Catholic and Protestant, came to an end (Yazzie 2003:165, Reyhner 1993:43).

Early Miami Schooling Experiences in Indiana

There were many efforts to establish schools in the Fort Wayne area in the early nineteenth century. Reverend Isaac McCoy's Baptist mission and school in 1820, discussed in chapter three, was the first attempt Christian education was formalized in the region. Missionaries had a two-fold agenda; they not only desired religious conversion, but also cultural and linguistic conversion of native peoples. Reverend McCoy's tenure in Fort Wayne was brief, but many followed who had similar interests in converting and educating Indians. Those Miami who wanted their children to attend private schools had to seek educational opportunities elsewhere until Catholic, Baptist and public schools were established throughout Indiana. In 1844, Gabriel Godfroy was sent by his father at the age of ten, to Vincennes, Indiana, where he was instructed by a "village pedagogue" (Dunn, C. n.d.). However, Gabriel was so homesick he returned home after only a week. Gabriel's homesickness helped save him from losing his language skills and his proficiency in the language became extremely valuable during Jacob Dunn's work linguistic work among the Miami from 1906 to 1924 (Ibid.).

The Roman Catholic Church had a great effect on the education of many Miami families, particularly trader families of mixed ancestry. Affluent Miami families like the Richardvilles could afford Catholic school education. Tuition in the 1840s, ranged from \$.25 to \$2.00 a month according to grade (Herrling 1940:12). The first Catholic school opened in Fort Wayne in 1845, the St. Augustine's Academy of the Sisters of Providence, for girls (Mather 1992:86, Anson 1970:267, Herrling 1940:12). The first Catholic boys school was established a year later under Reverend Benoit's direction. Church records note that sixty students alone were enrolled in St. Augustine's Academy within the first

year and that French and German were the primary languages of instruction, with religious instruction in Latin (Mather 1992:82). St. Augustine's was reportedly the best school in the state (Benoit 1847). Archangel La Fontaine Engleman (1844-1927) attended St. Augustine's for ten years where she purportedly learned "refined and gracious manners" that she maintained until the end of her life (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). By the turn of the twentieth century, Catholic school instruction was conducted largely in English with the exception of Latin requirements for mass. According to Dani Tippmann (2005), the tide of religious instruction changed because "there was...a general feeling...in the nation that if you couldn't speak English you were not American."

Baptist missionary schools were particularly effective among the Miami residing along the Wabash Valley because of those Miami leaders who converted to the Baptist faith, many became preachers themselves. Meshingomesia permitted not only the construction of the Antioch Missionary Baptist Church in the early 1860s, on his reserve but also a Baptist school (Nesper 2001:137). This school was effective in congregating many Miami on the reserve for religious and educational purposes, held in both Miami and English. Political and social meetings also took place there such as those conducted in the summer of 1873, where the Miami along with federal congressional commissioners divided up the Meshingomesia Reserve (Ibid.). The slow dispossession of Miami lands affected the future of the school, and although still in operation until the early 1900s, its doors soon closed. "Meshingomesia's school served as an acculturating influence so long as there was a landbase. When that Miami landbase disappeared, the school lost its Indian students" (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985:49).

Public school education did not arrive in northern Indiana until 1848, when Indiana citizens voted for its approval in Fort Wayne (Herrling 1940:5). Yet, in spite of public support for schooling, the state legislature did not move on it until 1851, when the state constitution was revised (Ibid.). New laws declared schools would be under township supervision and supported by local taxes, and only if the tax base was insufficient the state would assist (Ibid.). Available land for school construction, as well as inconsistent funding led to the opening, closing and re-opening of many schools throughout the 1850s (Ibid.). Once land and financial issues were resolved, schools were able to stay open, however, adequate equipment, regular attendance, underenrollment and appropriately trained teachers constantly proved problematic.

Even more perplexing was the language of instruction in public schools. Canal and road construction, as well as agriculture, drew many immigrants to Indiana; therefore, many languages such as German, Irish English and Dutch were spoken on a daily basis. In larger cities like Fort Wayne, this became even more apparent. Public schools had to serve diverse speaking populations or face closure, and as a result schools were often established upon the demands of certain ethnic groups. For example, two German school districts were established in Fort Wayne in 1858, and remained in full operation until 1901 (Herrling 1940:6). Public schools linguistically accommodated, some begrudgingly and others more willingly, many of these ethnic groups. Instruction in an Indian language such as Miami, which was still the preferred language for most Miami at the time, was not a consideration by school officials. The linguistic expectation was one of conformity to the dominant language and this expectation grew more rigid once English became the linguistic norm throughout Indiana by 1885.

The Stony Point School, or what was also known as the Indian School, was built in the 1880s, on the Godfroy Reserve in Squawtown (Rafert 1996:186). Many Godfroy-Mongosa Miami went to Stony Point, including Swan Hunter, Eva Godfroy Bossley, (Hunter and Bossley 1978) and Clarence Godfroy (1880-1962), as well as the children of several non-Indians. Hunter and Bossley (1978) enjoyed Stony Point School so much “We used to beg to take our dinner to school.” Clarence Godfroy eventually married a teacher from Stony Point (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). A former non-Indian student reflected on his experiences at the Indian School circa 1900, stating that only one-tenth of the student population was “white” (Hundley 1939:49) and that those Miami who attended Stony Point “ranged from pure Indian blood to quarter-breeds, [and were] mostly girls.” School instruction at Stony Point was in English and “school progress was measured by [English] readers, not grades” (Hundley 1939:54).

Indian schools like Stony Point also served as marriage brokers. Many Miami who attended Stony Point met their non-Indian or Indian spouses there (Greenbaum 1990:10). In all, two generations of Miami living in Butler Township attended this school and its doors closed for the last time in 1910 (Ibid.). Stony Point School and the Baptist School on the Meshingomesia Reserve were reportedly the only two Indian schools in the Wabash Valley region (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985). In spite of these schools reputations as Indian schools, not all Miami revered them in the same way. Eva Bossley (Hunter and Bossley 1978) notes, “The tribe went west you know, of course we were here and we were just like white people because we had to go to common schools. We were like white kids. We weren’t like Indians.”

What was an Indian school to some, was also known as a common (white) school to others.

Private and public school education affected the Miami differently depending on where the family lived and whether they chose to attend school or not. Some Miami, like Gabriel Godfroy, did not have formal education, yet spoke English. His written literacy consisted of only his name. His daughter, Swan Hunter (Hunter and Bossley 1978), once commented, “I never knew of him to lie about anything, but he was cheated out of an awful lot simply because he could write his name. That’s all he could do...but he didn’t know and have the education.” Miami living in the Wabash Valley who attended schools had the option of attending Baptist-run schools or other private schools. The Miami language was more commonly heard in rural schools than schools found in larger communities like Fort Wayne. Smaller schools enabled an educational environment that was more flexible than larger public and private schools. Not only did retention of the Miami language discourage educators in rural schools, so did retention of Miami pupils. As a result of haphazard attendance, English literacy varied considerably among students indicated by the 1895 census where only half those over the age of twenty-one could sign the roll (Rafert 1982:201). There would be no Miami high school graduates in the Miami and Wabash County region until Lamoine Marks’ graduation in 1928 (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997), as most quit school when they attained the legal age of sixteen (Rafert 1982:201).

Whether a Miami child graduated from a larger or smaller public or private school, they were exposed to the growing dominant American English language and culture. This exposure came through instructors and non-Indian students who shared the

ideology that English was not only necessary, but essential for one's success in life. Their methods may or may not have been as readily or harshly enforced as those of boarding school officials, they nonetheless encouraged the Miami to think and orient their lives in a different way.

Boarding School Experiences of Indiana Miami

Governmental support of religiously based schools was replaced with federally controlled schools, or boarding schools, operating under the ideology that for civilization to take place among Indians, the language barrier must first be broken. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, J.D.C. Atkins (H.R. Exec. Rep. 1 1887) contended in 1887 that

nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language...[for if] This language, which is good enough for a white man and a black man, ought to be good enough for the red man.

Atkins' declaration called for English to be the language of instruction in all missionary, government and contracted Indian schools. "The instruction of Indians in their vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization" (H.R. Exec. Rep. 1 1887). Missionaries objected to Atkins' statements saying he was not familiar with their successes which they attributed to linguistic accommodation (Reyhner 1993:37-40). They believed their "system of prosthytizing and education...was more immediately responsive to the values and traditions of the Indians they were educating" (Provenzo, Jr. and McCloskey 1981:2). However, their ideas and varied successes with Indian education were not appreciated in Washington, and the only thing everyone agreed on was the need to assimilate Indians.

The Miami took advantage of treaty clauses that guaranteed educational funds. Teenage children of tribal leaders like Richardville and Godfroy reaped the benefits of

such education (Foreman, C. 1928:474). Four Miami children from Indiana were sent to the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky in 1830 in fulfillment of the Treaty of 1826, and within five years ten Miami were enrolled (Foreman, C. 1928:475). An additional six Miami students were sent to the Choctaw Academy as well (Foreman, C. 1932:81, 85). Some of the students included boys from the Richardville, Godfrey and Lasselle families. Immersion in the English language was emphasized at the Choctaw Academy particularly for Choctaw children, whereas other students like the Potawatomi and Miami were reportedly fairly fluent upon their arrival. While English instruction and comprehension were deemed essential at the academy, school officials accommodated those who had little to no exposure to English; for example Cherokee teachers were employed to teach Cherokee students. Additionally, the “singing department” and “speaking society” were reportedly very effective in facilitating the English language in that by

having some different nations together...in the most favourable [sic] consequences; it has a tendency to promote union & brotherly affection among the different tribes and gives great facilities in learning them to speak English as they have necessarily to converse in our language (Foreman, C. 1928:394).

In other words, by promoting the English language through certain speech events, it pacified and unified all Indian children in a less challenging and more interesting manner; and although the majority of Miami children were already fluent in the English language, they were still vulnerable to coercive curricula.

A Quaker-run boarding school was established on part of the Meshingomesia Reserve in 1852. The land for the establishment of “White’s Manual Labor Institute” was either sold (Rafert 1996:171) or donated (Anson 1970:268) by Chief Meshingomesia himself. Indian children as young as six years of age from the Plains region were brought

to White's who knew "nothing of civilization and make them over into civilized Americans'" (Weesner 1914:299). This included many Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho children, including Zitkala-Sa, or Gertrude Bonnin (Spack 2002:13-14, Rafert 1996:171). Historical records state that students at White's were unaware of neighboring Miami Indians (Rafert 1996:171), however, Miami oral histories dictate otherwise. Two tribal members once shared in 2003, that the Miami provided many Siouan children blankets, clothing and additional food while they were at White's (Rinehart 2003e). These same Miami families did not enroll their children at White's because they lived too close to the institute. For more effective civilization to take place Indian parents were encouraged to enroll their children at schools further away in order to reduce the likelihood of recidivism. Only one Miami boy attended White's in 1896, however, his tenure was brief and was transferred to the Haskell Institute a year later (Rafert 1982:199).

By the late 1880s and early 1890s, the Miami language found itself in a transitional, almost amorphous state. With continued changes in the physical landscape and traditional economies, substantial increases in marriage to non-Indians, and varied religious practices, the English language became analogous to survival. Some chose to speak English only when necessary, others opted to speak only English, while some still refused to learn English at all. For those who chose to speak the language or refine their language or literacy skills, boarding school became a place where this knowledge could be obtained, as well as a place to learn a new trade. As one Miami put it, "They [the Miami] embraced education. Education, at that time [turn of the twentieth century], was a fundamental tool for basic survival in this ever-changing society" (Tom LeVonture as quoted in Nesper 2001:145). For these reasons, the Miami living in Indiana had a very

different boarding school experience as compared to other native communities at the time.

Indiana Miami who attended boarding schools tended to be older, often in their late teens and early twenties (Rafert 1996:171), while younger children attended local public and private schools, if they went at all. Typically, young adults were from families whose fathers were Miami leaders, so there was considerable knowledge of English language and customs, as compared to other Western tribal communities and even some rural Miami families. Varied facility with the English language eased their transition to boarding schools (Ibid.). As early as 1882, Thomas Richardville inquired to see if Miami children from Indiana could attend schools at the Quapaw Mission in Indian Territory (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984[1882]:33). Initially, Indiana Miami were authorized by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hiram Price, to attend federally operated boarding schools during the 1890s, and requests such as these continued until after the turn of the twentieth century (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984[1901]:37).

In 1922, Raleigh Felsinger (1902-1982) discussed how all he ever wanted was an education.

I graduated from public schools at the age of 13 years, and attended high school there until I was 14 years of age. I then went to work in a factory for \$5.50 a week. That was 6 years ago but I will say that if I had a chance now I sure would go back to school and finish my education. My one ambition has always been to attend school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania (Rafert 1982:208).

Education at schools such as Carlisle was viewed superior by Indiana Miami, plus there were no high schools yet, so these two things combined made boarding schools attractive.

In 1894, George Bundy wanted a boarding school education so that he could become a

teacher in an Indian school some day, in order to be “helpful to the people of my own race” (Rafert 1982:203). Even though Bundy failed the teacher’s exam it did not deter him from submitting his student application to a boarding school where he hoped to further his education. He was denied on account of his age of fifty years (Rafert 1982:203-204).

The first federally supported Indian boarding school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1879, under the supervision of Captain Henry T. Pratt. Pratt solicited many native communities from the Plains region by telling them that the acquisition of English literacy skills would enable their children to return and help their communities. Many parents volunteered their children to go to Carlisle and other boarding schools, some children were sent by their parents because of the harsh conditions of reservation life, while others were kidnapped by federal officials. Carlisle’s apparent success prompted the Indian school superintendent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to predict that with enough boarding schools, all school-age Indian children could be educated to a point where the Indian problem would be fixed (Oberly 1885). In all, over eight thousand students attended Carlisle during its operation of which only seventeen were Miami (Carlisle Indian Industrial School n.d.), and six of these seventeen were from Indiana (Sammye Darling, personal communication, 18 Aug., 2005). Those Miami who lived in Indiana and attended Carlisle found their experiences different than those from other tribal communities. This was, in part, due to earlier exposure to English language and customs. Henry Pratt noted that previous English instruction was an advantage for those with exposure such as the Miami, compared to Indian students with no prior knowledge of the English language (Witmer 1993:26).

The language barrier was difficult for many Indian students to overcome, but the majority of Miami did not experience this. Two Godfreys, Frank (PaloZWah, 1861-1938) and John (Awansappeah, 1884-unk.) attended Carlisle (Carlisle Indian Industrial School n.d.), and the latter graduated in 1908. John eventually became a disciplinarian at an Indian boarding school in Pipestone, Minnesota, and later became a police officer in Fort Wayne; reportedly the first Indian police officer in the state (Rafert 1996:176). William Callahan (c. 1889-unk.), Willis Pecongá (c. 1888-1925), Harvey Ward (Wahpenocsha, 1866-1934) and Elizabeth White (Kilsaquah, c. 1873-unk.) also attended Carlisle. Many Miami children from Indiana, at least thirteen including Ross Bundy in 1904, attended the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas (Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art 1997). Anthony Walker (Pimyoatamah, 1858-1918), an Indiana Miami who moved west, sent his boys to Chilocco (Carver 1968) and ultimately seven of his children attended Haskell (Greenbaum 1990:19).

With loss of formal recognition in 1897, rumors surfaced thereafter that Indiana Miami who attended federal boarding schools like Haskell and Carlisle, might be asked to leave. The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, W. A. Jones, in 1901 found that the “government has served its connections with the Miami Indians in Indiana” and it would be disadvantageous to them “to take a backward step” by keeping their children in Indian schools (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana 1984[1901]:46). This rumor became policy, although not readily enforced. Few Indiana Miami left Haskell or Carlisle in compliance of this order and their presence in federal schools was rarely challenged (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984:55). The migration of Miami from Indiana to Kansas and Oklahoma continued, and although the

children of these families technically were not qualified to enter these schools, they were given unofficial permission by school administration to continue enrolling (Rafert 1996:176).

Regardless of the differential experiences Indiana Miami had with their education, Miami language and culture were quickly dying. By 1900, “even sympathetic friends of the tribe did not see how a separate Indian identity could long survive” (Rafert 1982:197-98). Indiana Miami did find room to survive and as Rafert states, they were a persistent people (Rafert 1996), who although hidden (Rafert 1982) from the dominant culture, held onto certain cultural traditions, including the language, if even minimally. The difference now as compared to years earlier, was that cultural and linguistic continuity became the domain of elders, while younger generations became more captivated with the influences of the dominant culture. Their vulnerability was taken advantage of during their formative years and the fallout from variable academic indoctrination, whether harsh or not, left a significant ideological mark in the minds of many Miami.

Schooling Experiences of Kansas and Oklahoma Miami

With Reverend Benoit accompanying the Miami westward during their removal in 1846, it is no surprise that the Miami immediately sought a Catholic mission and school once they reached their final destination. A mission and manual labor institute were established, but failed within two years (Garraghan 1938:229). Missionaries blamed this failure on the Miami’s propensity to drink, but its demise evolved from organizational problems. However, alcohol continued to be problematic for the Miami. Anne Blystone (Poconyequah, c. 1793-unk.) was disgusted by the drunkenness of fellow Miami (Turtle/Wells Collection 1858). In a letter she wrote to her cousin Mary Anne

Wolcott (1827-1891), on March 6, 1858, she notes how Miami boys became inebriated and begged at her house late in the evening hours. They would call out her English name, either “Blindstone” or “Grindstone,” and then defaulted to her Miami name “Po-con-ye-quah” when she did not acknowledge them. Although her story is not entirely laudatory of these Miami lads, it demonstrates several things. It shows that Blystone, a Miami herself, did not approve of these boys’ actions, thereby a potential indicator of differential class standing. It also reveals a definitive shift in courting patterns and the overall difficulties in post removal adjustments on their new lands. Blystone’s correspondence also illustrates English was not the default language of these young Miami men. Although they held a certain command in English, under certain circumstances, albeit drunkenness, their native language still served as the primary way they organized their worldviews.

Blystone also commented further in her correspondence on the education of fellow Kansan Miami (Turtle/Wells Collection 1858). She equates their intelligence by their knowledge of reading and writing in the English language, while admitting her own weaknesses in such practices. “I do hate to write I am sutch [sic] a poor writer I hate to take hold of a pen and if I did not think I aught to write to you I would not write now” (Ibid.). Even though Blystone is not confident of her writing abilities, they nonetheless demonstrate her education, and most probably her reading and writing skills were superior to neighboring non-Indians. In either case, her English literacy skills are indicative of a differential class standing among the Miami and in the greater community. Perhaps, Blystone’s embarrassment stemmed from the fact that Miami was never a written language and for her writing in a language was not a simple pursuit. And,

perhaps English was not the language she felt most comfortable with, yet chose to ignore her heritage language for whatever reason.

The Miami quickly requested the establishment of another mission, however, their requests were ignored and the education of many lay dormant for several years. Some sent their children to a federally supported mission school, St. Mary's, located at the nearby Potawatomi Reserve (Garraghan 1938:235). In effect, these mission schools became subscription schools for the Miami, or schools where payment was required, instead of attending a school guaranteed by treaty (Demo 1969, Lowe 1936). Subscription schools proved problematic, however. If certain teacher's demands were not met such as their boarding and salary, they threatened to quit; therefore, the integrity of the school's future was often threatened (Wickett 2000:81). Monthly subscription fees were also difficult for native parents to meet so many Indian children sat out of school for months at a time. Subscription schools were risky at best and costly.

Once the last Miami removal to the new Indian Territory took place, facility in English became more necessary. Miami multilingualism was no longer of service to them as in years past because English was slowly becoming the language of state and commerce. By the time the Miami reached Indian Territory, they were described as "civilized and self-sustaining" and as "sufficiently educated to become citizens of the United States" (H.R. Doc. 1682 1886). However, Miami opinions on this varied as described by Thomas Metosanyah, David Geboe and Baptiste Peoria when they argued before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1872 against Bill No. 777 that proposed the abolishment of tribal relations (Sen. Misc. Doc. 1872).

While a large portion of our people are women and children, wholly unfit for citizenship, and cannot even speak or understand the English language, and who not only do not ask, but are anxious to remain under the care of the United States and move to and unite in the Indian territory with their friends and relations the Wea, Peoria, &c. Indians (Sen. Misc. Doc. 1872:1).

Clearly, the social constructs held by bureaucrats and Miami communities varied regarding the reality of their identities.

Schooling was more organized in Indian Territory than it had been in territorial Kansas. The Miami and other native communities could choose to send their children to mission schools, manual labor schools and eventually boarding schools. Mission schools continued to incorporate basic learning skills with “Christian morality” (Wickett 2000:81), while manual labor schools promoted American work values such as agriculturalism. Some schools were more effective in transforming Indian children into American citizens than others, and it bothered educators that children would return home after a long day at school where they would revert to their barbarous ways (Spack 2002:35, Cobb 2000:82, Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984[1901]:46). To counter these setbacks, subscription and boarding schools were deemed the best way by educators and a supportive bureaucracy to encourage consistent refinement.

Quaker missionary schools had been in place since 1868, in Ottawa County in present-day Northeast Oklahoma. Ottawa County contained seven reservations on 212 thousand acres with an Indian population of around one thousand (Nieberding 1983:360). Two missionary boarding schools were established there including the Seneca, Shawnee and Wyandot School (also known as the Wyandot Mission, Seneca Indian School or Friend’s Church), and the Quapaw Boarding School (also known as the Old Government

School or Quapaw Mission School) under Catholic jurisdiction. Charles Demo (1969) attended the Wyandot School as did several other Miami children. Dave Geboe (1937) remarked in 1937 on the number of students from different Indian communities who attended the Quapaw Mission School before the end of the nineteenth century.

We had children from the different tribes including the Quapaws, Peorias, Miamis, Modocs, Ottawas and Shawness...for one tribe does not like another and often had fights...It was not successful to put children of the different tribes to sleep in the same bed (Geboe 1937).

Little did children like Geboe know, the placement of children from multiple tribes under one roof was intentional. Here, the English language would become the *linguae franca* for Indian children and the social difficulties arising from these living arrangements was inconsequential to school officials.

There were also four day schools established in Ottawa County including the Miami, Peoria, Modoc and Ottawa schools. The Miami Day School was established in March, 1876, on the Wilbur Ranch, west of Commerce, Oklahoma, and on average enrolled twenty students (Nieberding 1983:360-361). Some Miami and Peoria boarded at homes near these schools because the daily commute would have proven difficult and officials believed it would encourage greater attendance. However, this scheme was done to drain the education fund more quickly and to curtail the cultural and linguistic reversion of Miami children (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1876]). With boarding fees set at \$2.50 per student per week, boarding school debts quickly accumulated (Ibid.). Funds were also used to “properly and decently clothe their children and send them to school in good condition” (Ibid). Even though Miami education funds were often abused by school officials, several children managed to receive some education.

Oscar Lafalier (1867- unk.) attended the Miami Day School at the age of nine in 1885, and recalled “the government paid Indian families one dollar per month for keeping their children in schools” (Nieberding 1983:360); obviously this did not cover the boarding fees for any given month. For the years 1879 and 1880 alone, boarding bills for Miami children stood over \$800.00 (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1989[1876]). The total education fund guaranteed by treaty was \$10,000, yet a Miami only received a dollar a month for educational purposes, while boarding fees totaled \$10.00 a month (Ibid.). The inequities here are evident. Nevertheless, Miami parents wanted their children to receive an education in order for their children to learn.

Other schools on the Miami Reservation included the Drake and Labadie subscription schools (Nieberding 1983:367). Many Miami children also attended the Peoria Day School which was reportedly comparable to other prominent schools in the country at the time (Nieberding 1983:360). Several Miami children also attended the Ottawa Day School or the Ottawa Mission School. Dave Geboe (1937) attended this school several years in the late nineteenth century which is where he believed he learned the English language.

Many of the children were like myself and could not speak English. At home we talked Indian although my father spoke French well, English was too much for me; in fact, the first whipping I received was for talking Indian ...It took me five years to learn to speak good English (Geboe, D. 1937).

Geboe’s statement demonstrates that while some Miami had English speaking and literacy skills, others like himself did not. Although Indian agents, local settlers and tradesmen believed that the Oklahoma Miami were assimilated by this time, this did not readily describe the entire tribal community. Individuals like Geboe had little to no

familiarity with English, which suggests that Miami still served as the primary language in his home and most likely in the homes of others.

While the Quaker Missionary schools had faded during the late 1870s, other Christian based schools continued including Catholic and Methodist missions. Miami children, as well as numerous other Indian and non-Indian children attended St. Mary's of the Quapaws, a Catholic mission school constructed in the middle 1890s and closed in 1927 (Nieberding 1983:362). By the turn of the twentieth century there were twenty-five Indian boarding and day schools in Oklahoma, some which were federally and church supported, or both (Nieberding 1983:368). Once statehood was achieved in 1907, rural schools were created by districting. Early schools such as Spring River, Solid South, Miami, Four Mile and Lincolnville School Districts were modest in nature, however, many Miami children attended these schools (Cook and Reeves 1980, Reeves 1993). The quality of education received by Miami students at these schools varied. In 1910, of 171 Miami four were unable to speak English, or 2.3 percent, and seventeen were deemed illiterate (Reddy 1995:97). During the 1920s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs strongly encouraged mixed heritage children under the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency to attend public schools, while those of higher Indian blood quantum were to be sent to boarding or day schools, either in the region or elsewhere.

Some Miami preferred to send their children to boarding schools outside the jurisdiction of Indian Territory and territorial Oklahoma. Similar to Indiana Miami, education at these facilities was often deemed superior to that of local boarding, day or subscription schools (Rinehart 2004b, Rafert 1996:176, Rafert 1982:203, 208). Many Oklahoma Miami began their schooling careers in Ottawa County, but opted to go to

boarding schools for better educational opportunities (Geboe, D. 1937, Mullin 1996, Beck 1969, Leonard, A. 1969). Most Miami parents had the choice of sending their children to boarding schools. Additionally, many parents had a choice of which school to send their children, which subsequently led to extensive educational careers, or education in several schools over a long period of time, for many Miami (Rinehart 2004d).

Dave Geboe (1937) attended many schools throughout his educational career including the Quapaw Mission School, the Ottawa Mission school, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School for two years, and then ended his education at the Haskell Indian Institute. Ethel Evelyn Goodboo (1891-1985), attended the Wyandot School, the Chilocco Indian School (where Ethel received the harshest treatment) and then Haskell (Mullin 1996). Ethel's boarding school stories were typically gloomy, in contrast to the stories told by her sister, Mary Goodboo (1889-c. 1966), who had a much better experience at Riverside Indian School in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Adeline Leonard (1969) and her siblings attended the Quapaw Mission School, and then went to the Chilocco Indian School for two years, while their mother was a school matron at Wyandotte. Although education was clearly important for Adeline's parents, as demonstrated through their children's multiple school enrollments and their mother's employment, it did not ease her homesickness when she was at Chilocco (Ibid.).

Like Adeline, Rosa Boington Beck (1969) attended Wyandotte School, the Quapaw Mission until the fourth grade and then Chilocco for grades five to eight (Beck 1969). Her half-brother and half-sister also attended Chilocco. In contrast to the aforementioned accounts of boarding schools, Beck found Chilocco agreeable because they held parties, dances, sports, and she made many friends. Beck (1969) once said:

I enjoyed going to school there. It was nice. And we had quite a few visitors that used to come to see us from the eastern part of the countryWanted to see how we did and how we acted. And if we talk English and everything like that...I think it [Quapaw Mission School and Chilocco] the Indian children just a lot of good. It did me anyway, because that's about where I got my education was from there at the school.

Yet, she admits bureaucratic inconsistencies bothered her as did their English-only rules:

But they never allowed them to talk Indian. They couldn't talk their Indian language out there. Everything had to be English. And sometimes I think that was kind of bad because it got them away from their Indian language, their own tongue you know. I think we ought to kind of had some of that left to us. But they didn't. They took it away from us.

Beck's memories illustrate that boarding schools were not always grim places, but places to learn and even places where one could have some fun, however, she also realized what was given up in place of the education received. Beck's conflicting memories of boarding school were by no means unusual. Tribal member Bob (no last name given) experienced this ideological battle in regard to his experiences at Haskell (Beck 1969). Although he felt his educational experiences there were good for him in the long run, he still felt like he was in "jail" (Ibid.).

Not all Miami parents and children living in Oklahoma had a choice about sending their children to boarding schools. Rosa Beck and her siblings were all forced to attend the Chilocco Indian School (Mayfield n.d., Mayfield 1996). They were boarded onto a train and sent to Chilocco. Rose Carver recalled in an interview in 1968 about her and her sisters apprehension by the Superintendent of the Quapaw Nation, two soldiers and a hack driver: "We've [Superintendent representing himself and others] been informed that you've [Rose's father] got two girls here that needs to be in school." Her father replied, "Well, now I have two little girls and they need to be in school, but I didn't

think it was any concern of the government.” The superintendent responded, “It never was where I come from and they went to school ever’ day.” Rose and her sister never finished their dinner. “They picked us up and took us off” (Carver 1968). In spite of their kidnapping, Rose managed to find her education at Quapaw Mission School beneficial. “But I don’t see why that the Indians hated to put their children in school for the government give them a good opportunity to be somebody and learn to be somebody if they would do it, just like they are today going to white schools” (Ibid.).

Boarding schools also became a refuge for parents struggling to provide for their families. Rose Carver (1968) comments further:

The government schools, the Wyandotts’s, the Quapaw Mission over here, was the way then, they took the kids as quick as they was big enough to feed theirself, because I think their parents wasn’t reliable enough to take care of them. Maybe their mother was a very dirty squaw Indian and maybe their man wasn’t worth killin.

Although the local economy was beginning to improve by the late nineteenth century, largely due to mining operations, the Miami did not necessarily reap the benefits of such endeavors. They were busy managing their land, while fighting off aggressive American settlers and mining operators. While the number of parents who chose to send their children to boarding schools as a way to provide for them is unknown, it does seem probable that such decisions, as Rose Carver suggests, were made at various times.

Several Oklahoma Miami attended different boarding schools. Eleven Western Miami attended Carlisle including Frank Aveline (Pecongeoh, c. 1858-c. 1900), William Henry Froman who was well-known for his athletic abilities, John Gokie (1900- unk.), Fred Jones (1877-c. 1895) , Isadore Labedie (Labadie) (Kilsoquah 1870-1948), James (1902- unk.) and Joseph McCoontze (1900-1967), Edwin (c. 1870- unk.) and Esther

(Assonsonkwa, 1869-1936) Miller, and Charles Dagenette (1864-1951). Dagenette eventually became the Supervisor of Indian employment in the Office of Indian Affairs (Dunn, C. 1937:41) and his future wife, Esther Miller, was part of the first graduating class from Carlisle (Witmer 1993:32). Only one Miami tribal member, Frank Goodboo (Mongosa, 1861- unk.), is known to have attended Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia from 1883 to 1886 (Hampton Institute n.d.).

Overall, school enrollment of Miami children at the aforementioned boarding schools was relatively low and this is attributed to location. Carlisle was a well-known school, as was Hampton, but there were other notable schools closer to northeast Oklahoma. Both the Haskell Indian Institute and Chilocco Indian Agricultural School were only a little over two hundred miles away. This undoubtedly eased parental decisions about where to place their children and they did not receive much friction from Indian agents or school officials in their choices to keep children closer to home. As long as their children were in school that was all that mattered to school officials and bureaucrats.

Teachers at most of the boarding schools that the Miami attended were non-Indian and readily employed the strict English-only mandate. "Cause you weren't allowed to speak Indian and they teach, the Indians then probably didn't know a lot of the things they had to teach the kids anyway" (Mayfield 1996). But, this presented few problems, at least directly to the Miami, for most already spoke English (Baldwin 2002c), although some siblings still spoke the Miami language in private at these schools such as one tribal member's mother and maternal uncle who attended Haskell (Rinehart 2004b). However, Indian and non-Indian women employed as school matrons provided some comfort for

Indian children. Rosa Beck (1969) still held fond memories of her matron at Quapaw in 1969 when she stated, “I always liked her she was a good mother.” The trades Miami girls learned typically consisted of sewing, cooking, cleaning, laundering, and waitressing (Beck 1969, Leonard, A. 1969, Mayfield 1996, Mullin 1996); while boys participated in agricultural work, stockraising, landscaping, sports and military drilling (Beck 1969, Leonard, A. 1969, Mayfield 1996, Mayfield n.d.).

The Ideological Fall-out from Formal Schooling

With no existing tribal schools today, Miami children either attend public or private schools, or are home schooled. Although home schooling is one option where Miami language and culture can be integrated, and two families are doing this, formal classroom education remains the experience for most Miami children. In these schools, the English language serves as the primary language of communication and the subjects taught incorporate Western themes once foreign to Miami communities. While this does not appear so unusual given the history of Indian education in the United States, it proves particularly difficult for those communities trying to reclaim their heritage language. Even if there were tribal schools that offered classes more amenable to language and cultural recovery efforts, the dispersion of Miami populations would make attendance at any one school difficult. This concern is also observed with attendance at the annual language camps. Camp attendance has declined over the years, in part, due to the difficulties in traveling to camp sites. Those who continue to come are usually, young families, retired couples or retired individuals.

Many returning adult students have commented to me over the years how boarding schools “took” the Miami language away from them. Their obvious resentment,

ranging from one to five generations removed, indicates how profoundly affected their families were by boarding school rules that forbid native languages. Sharon Burkybile (1994) revealed that she used to beg her grandfather, who attended boarding school, to teach her to “talk Indian.” She said:

And he’d just kind of looked at me. He taught me a few things...but ...he didn’t talk too much. I really feel like, back then that was their way of protecting the younger generation, because they were shielding us from the past. I’ve always felt like that (Burkybile 1994).

A tribal member in Oklahoma in 2004 relayed that several of her ancestors attended various boarding schools and she unequivocally blamed these schools for familial language shift (Rinehart 2004d). Another tribal member admitted to a newspaper reporter that boarding schools “were teaching us to be white. They couldn’t change our color, ut they could certainly not let us speak Indian” (Walker as quoted in Harrison 1999:3). Lora Siders (1997) grandmother chose not to teach the Miami language in her marital home because “When you go to school you don’t speak Miami at home anymore because you have to learn to live with the white man and you need to know what he knows as much as you can.”

The fact that former boarding school experiences such as these are cited today as reasons for familial language shift suggests the agency of national language ideologies which placed native languages to the periphery. And, even more importantly these national language ideologies altered those of multiple Miami graduates who disregarded the language and chose not to speak it thereafter. The psychological fallout from this indoctrination remains prevalent in Miami communities today. Although many tribal members place value on language recovery efforts, they often default to earlier boarding school experiences as reasons for language shift in their families. In other words,

because boarding schools left such an impression in their families, this historical trauma justifies the status of the language and, therefore, their lack of participation with the language today. This ideology is probably not much different than their ancestors who did what it took to get by in school.

Attendance at children's language camps has remained fairly consistent and immersion camps for children have been popular. Miami language programmers are specifically targeting Miami children so that future speakers and teachers will evolve, with the hopes that their enthusiasm will displace the negative language ideologies held by adult community members. Former Indiana Miami Chief, William Francis Hale (Mongozah, 1891-1983) once said, "I think if we start with the schools and have young people growing up learning to appreciate the Indian heritage, then it will not die out as it seems likely to now" (As quoted in Gilley 1972:6D). Chief Hale's comment from 1972 reiterates what Miami language programmers are attempting to do today. By teaching Miami language and culture at language camps and through various curricula, there is a greater appreciation of Miami heritage today than in year's past.

Chapter Discussion

Although strict boarding school rules did not shift the Miami language for the majority of Miami students, these schools fostered an environment where English was epitomized at the expense of other native languages. The Miami were not immune from the linguistic isolation other Indian children, with little to no exposure in English, experienced. At Carlisle, reportedly no two members of the same tribe were allowed to room together (Witmer 1993:26-27); therefore, this made it more difficult for children to speak their languages covertly with one another. Other school policies reinforced the

repudiation of native languages and cultures through curricula. Curricula emphasized

the accomplishments and sophistication of white society and minimized the contribution of others. Students were taught that whites had been responsible for the advancement of mankind while Native American cultures had been retarding influences which had to give way before the onslaught of a superior civilization....The textbooks...were full of descriptions of savage Indian fighting and displayed pictures of naked forms with ugly features proudly displaying their scalp locks (Wickett 2000:73).

Jacob Dunn partially blamed boarding schools for linguistic shift of native languages (Boomhower 1997:110-111), and, Daryl Baldwin feels it was a “beginning point for the loss of our [Miami] language...It was the educational institutions at the time that started to begin to wipe the Indian off of many of the people” (As quoted in Nesper 2001:145).

In part, both Dunn and Baldwin are correct. While graduates held the decision to utilize, let alone teach their language to future generations, the underlying ideology was that it was useless and, therefore unnecessary to transmit intergenerationally. Boarding schools instructed students at a very impressionable age, where any breach of policy, particularly English-only mandates, often resulted in severe punishment. Dave Geboe (1937) recalled the superintendent at Haskell “did not like the Quapaws” and went to extreme measures to make sure his Quapaw friend would never graduate. In Oklahoma, native adults reported the terrible abuse they experienced for speaking their native languages. Children were forced to eat red pepper or bars of lye soap, they were flogged and whipped, or sentenced to additional physical labor around school (Wickett 2000:76).

By 1887, fifty to sixty-five Miami in Indian Territory could speak and read English (Anson 1970:253). Although Anson attributed this to the efforts of the only day school under the jurisdiction of the Quapaw Agency, Miami exposure to English in several families predated their first removal from Indiana. Personal and professional

transactions in Indiana had been carried out in English prior to 1846, like that demonstrated by the Wolcott family papers written in English circa 1820 to 1880 (Turtle/Wells Collection n.d.), and these skills were refined while in Kansas, and even further in Oklahoma. While English literacy undoubtedly improved in schools, English fluency for many was well underway prior to their final removal to Oklahoma, and most likely before the 1846 removal from Indiana. English had become the language of settlement and economic survival in the West as in the East. By 1910, Indian literacy rates in Oklahoma alone stood at seventy-five percent (United States Bureau of the Census 1910).

English fluency and literacy varied though. Unlike the Wolcott family, other Miami families, particularly those who remained in more rural areas, were able to maintain the Miami language. School dropout rates tended to be high, enrollment was inconsistent, and underenrollment was common; therefore, English literacy varied considerably. There were disparities in English literacy between those Miami living in larger metropolitan areas like Fort Wayne as compared to those Miami living in more rural areas such as Peru. For many Miami children who attended Indian schools in the Wabash Valley region English literacy was sparse. Rafert (1982:201) surveyed the 1881 and 1895 Miami rolls, and found that few Miami in this region were able to write. Although there was exposure to English and many were bilingual, written literacy varied.

Miami children and adolescents who attended boarding schools underwent a “translingual” or “transculturation process” that helped them serve in different capacities upon their graduation (Spack 2002:111-112). New skills were learned that made them more employable in the formal economy and although many went with these objectives

in mind they were nonetheless affected by stringent English-only mandates. Miami children and young adults witnessed the harsh punishment and ridicule of other Indian children who spoke their native languages, and for many Miami, although they spoke and most likely read and wrote some English, this instilled a sense of shame (Baldwin 2002c). These experiences enabled many to leave school confused about the value of their language and culture which accelerated language shift in many families.

The “effectiveness” of boarding school rules like the English-only policies remains clear for many Miami families today as several continue to blame boarding schools for the loss of the Miami language in their families. And, many of these Miami indicate that although this was a tragic loss for future generations, it was something their ancestors had no control over. But, in fact, Miami communities did have control over these processes. Perhaps not while they were in school, but after their educational careers they had the choice to speak the language or not. This dichotomy is best illustrated by the participation of several adult tribal members who blame boarding schools for familial language loss, yet are participating in language recovery efforts today. Language ideologies then and now indicate the agency of such constructs and the profound effects they have on language maintenance and recovery.

“When people come to America, they need to speak American”

**Anonymous Miami Indian elder
(Rinehart 2004a)**

Chapter Seven: Final Pushes to Miami Language Dormancy

After the turn of the twentieth century, the Miami language hovered closely to dormancy. With no more than a dozen or so speakers left, the language became increasingly isolated. Linguistic moribundity occurred because social, physical, and economic environments changed in the nineteenth century, and these processes were accelerated even more so after World War II. This coupled with burgeoning media technologies such as television, pushed languages like Miami further to obsolence.

The World Wars

American Indian participated in both world wars in record numbers. The large numbers of enlistees for World War I, or twelve thousand out of a total population of 250 thousand (Naval History Center n.d.), contributed to the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 (Prucha 1986:273). In World War II, over forty-four thousand Indian men and women from a total population of 350 thousand participated in the European and Pacific fronts (Naval History Center n.d.). An additional forty thousand American Indians left reservations to work in war related industries (Ibid.). The Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., even put aside claims work in 1942, in order to pass a resolution officially supporting the war.

The Miami Nation of Indians ...have nothing in mind but to win this war, and Indian boys are serving this Country. And every family is represented by our boys at the front, Forgetting for the time the Obligation the United States of America has promised us. We are in to win this war at all cost, and not stop till it is won and in no way to put a block or a hindrance in the way of successful ending of the conflict. We are 100% Americans (Miami Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1985[1942]).

Although there were not enough Miami speakers to warrant specialized code talking training, many other Indian men were recruited for such purposes. Serving in these highly specialized roles permitted these men to utilize their native languages during the war effort, however, the majority of other American Indian enlistees did not work in such capacities. Dani Tippman (2005) comments on the isolation her grandfather Charles Lewis Strack experienced while serving in the Navy during World War I, "He had to speak English there and probably had no contact with any Miami at that point." As Tippmann proposes, the warfront enabled linguistically and culturally isolating environments where the English language and Western lifestyles supplanted Miami traditions.

Returning soldiers often championed new ideas about modernity and how their communities could benefit from certain technological and material changes. Dani Tippmann (2005) comments, "The government gave 'em all ...a different way of lookin' at things that they had to push older things back and out of the way." Anderson (1998:80-81) found these same trends among the Northern Arapaho during the post-war era; processes that undoubtedly occurred in many native language communities, whether they were reservation based communities like the Northern Arapaho or reservation-less communities like the Miami.

The “opening up” of the Northern Arapaho world...when large numbers of veterans left to enter the “white world”...young men went out and experienced Euro-American society for the first time. Radios, televisions, and telephones also began...to replace traditional storytelling sessions...Automobile transportation and better roads followed...more modern housing on the reservation (Anderson 1998:80).

Jay Hartleroad (2005) asserts that the Miami propensity to accommodate certain societal changes was not new during the post-war era, but perhaps accelerated. He says, “Society [was] basically coming faster...When somethin’ new came along we used it...why would you go huntin’ with a bow, and why don’t you go huntin’ with somethin’ antiquated when you can get somethin’ much better [and] much easier” (Ibid.). Tippmann (2005) supports this same notion in that Miami women “wanted... labor saving devices, you wanted a house...all those things that go along with it [marriage to non-Indians], the iron, or the, whatever situation you were in. That has never changed.” While the desire to accommodate greater societal changes did not wane in Miami communities, the linguistic and cultural environments in which these traditions once thrived fell under greater pressure than before.

Additionally, returning veterans sought work outside their communities in order to obtain or take advantage of certain modern conveniences. When Miami servicemen returned home they caught up on things they felt they missed. Dani Tippmann (2005) imparts, “They had to come back and make up for that.” She even experienced this with her sons who recently returned from the war in Iraq. “When they came back, they kissed me and hugged me and they were gone. They had to make up for all that time they were gone...They don’t want to miss anything, they came too close to dying and death” (Ibid.).

Amidst the many social changes that followed Miami veterans home, others felt bothered by their experiences from the war and their subsequent hero status upon their return. Social adjustments became very difficult for some Miami men to negotiate. Dani Tippmann (2005) describes how her uncles and father, all of whom participated in World War II, were bothered by this new status. They felt they were defending American land and not the American government, and that death should not be celebrated. "I think a lot of 'em saw things that they should never seen and they came back and...used alcohol...as a way to forget all that" (Ibid.). Sharon Burkybile (1994) recalls that after her father's participation in World War II he came home with a drinking problem. "Mom said that when he came back it was not the same person she sent away. I guess when I think about the Viet Nam [sic] vets, well I imagine that happened in WWII" (Ibid.). Jay Hartleroad's (2005) father was in the Glider Corps during World War II and when he was in Germany he carried

a little 2-shot derringer...in his boot...just in case...the deer...were just so tame they would walk right up to you...this little one walked to him one time and says "I don't know why but I just pulled out my derringer and shot him. And...he...fell and he...looked up at me...like -why did you do that?...I could never go hunting again after that."

Hartleroad's father became a "drinker" and had an abusive personality. He explains the paradox concerning his father, "He could put six cops through a picture window...[but he] couldn't go huntin"(Hartleroad 2005). His father straddled the line between Miami traditionalism and modernity. He wanted his children to become Christians, but remained non-Christian himself. His beliefs in certain omens and traditions, and the privacy he maintained regarding his heritage revealed a very different story than what he wanted for his children.

The experiences Miami men had during the war reshaped their worldviews, whether for the better or for the worse. Veterans found themselves at a peculiar crossroads. They either chose to live in the “here and the now” (Tippmann 2005) which often involved increased activity outside the tribal community or they lamented these changes with increased alcohol consumption and abusive behavior. In either scenario, many cultural and linguistic traditions were subsequently silenced. These men fought bravely in the wars, but perhaps their biggest battles involved their re-entry into American society where more personal battles emerged.

Post War Influences on the Miami Language

In Indiana, for the generation born from the 1940s and 1950s, traditional naming practices lapsed in several families (Greenbaum 1990:9), but not all (Tippmann 2005). Although this practice was resumed in various families during the following decades this marked a definitive break from a ritual that had always relied on the language. More Miami than ever before were participating in the formal economy in factory and railroad employment, which often required migration to larger cities. “We [had] to work ...and the community is breaking up... people are starting to move away...we’re not in one small community together...it’s just a whole change in society” (Hartleroad 2005). Changes in the environment resultant from industrialization polluted the landscape during this period; therefore, it became even more difficult for Miami communities to participate in traditional subsistence activities. The Wabash and Mississinewa Rivers were heavily polluted from farm and factory runoff to a point where, by the 1950s, according to Stewart Rafert, the fish tasted bad (Rafert 1996:232). Many fish varieties died and migratory bird populations suffered due to continued draining of wetlands and the

spraying of dichloro diphenyl trichloroethane, commonly known as DDT (Ibid.).

Furbearing animals also declined as a result of these environmental changes and the last crop of traditionally dried Miami corn occurred in the post-war era (Ibid.). Altogether changes in the landscape and economies during the post-war era quickly displaced Miami speakers and families from their language and culture.

In Oklahoma, the period from the 1930s through the 1960s, was a particularly difficult time for the Miami. As in Indiana, treaty claims issues were pursued at various times. Oklahoma Miami were eventually awarded money, as were several Indiana Miami, on three different occasions by the late 1960s and early 1970s (Olds, F. 1969). Miami allotments were nearly all sold with the exception of Charles Demo's. Much of this, as detailed in chapter four, was done so that young Miami men could seek modern conveniences such as vehicles. With the selling of agricultural and grazing lands, the Miami sought other forms of employment which necessitated increased employment in the formal economy. They pursued various professions including mining and other industries in Miami, Oklahoma, and surrounding areas. Mining took a toll throughout northeast Oklahoma as it scarred much of the physical landscape and contaminated extensive land and water resources. Areas such as Picher, Oklahoma, were often deemed inhospitable and dangerous. Northeast Oklahoma had become a difficult place to live.

The Miami in Indiana and Oklahoma found themselves in a rapidly changing world. Work and social spheres became almost entirely English-only and this was not eased as the mass production of television emerged by the early 1950s. Television, in part, has been blamed by many scholars as submerging native peoples, particularly younger generations, further into English dominated domains (Hinton 2001b:4, Anderson

1998:101-102, Crawford 1997:57). Now, English-only news and entertainment could be readily found in print, radio and television mediums which placed native languages further from the mainstream. In 1969, Rosa Beck attributed television as the reason why people seemed less friendly and sociable to her. “Now they set and look at that television. And I don’t know what good that does them...I sit here and watch it. Why is anyone so dumb to sit and watch something like that that can’t talk back to you?” (Beck 1969). Beck, who readily admitted her propensity to watch television, also appeared disappointed in how television changed the way her community interacted. Her resignation also suggests that she was not thrilled about these technological advances either, yet took advantage of them at times.

Much like Beck, Rose Carver (1968) attributed modernity to the “ways of the white people.” Her recognition of American conveniences such as stoves, prefabricated clothing, shoes, and bedding afforded the Miami different ways of living, but she also credits it with the “crowd[ing] out...[of] the Indian ways...they don’t have Indian ways anymore...But they are goin’ farther and farther away—oh, there’s a few that’s gonna stay with the way they was taught and raised, but very few” (Ibid.). Joseph Mongosa’s (Mongosa and Mongosa 1939:3-4) comments sound hauntingly similar.

They [his Miami ancestors] did a great deal of work for fun such as rolling logs, building log cabins, and chopping wood. Those were happy days no one had to worry about a job the world was all before them...it saddens my heart to see all the crude things pass away such as cooking by the fireplace, going to church at a log cabin and see them cry for joy...What is our world today [1939]? Our cities are all built up, the streets are paved, the old lamp posts are all gone. We have electricity to do about everything. We have advanced in everything. Only in knowledge we are slaves to our modern machinery. We have the finest churches and school buildings. What good are they to us? Only to tell us how poor and miserable we are. What pleasure do we have now? What can we look for?

Clearly, Mongosa was not impressed with the technological advances made during the first half of the twentieth century. He did not find these developments beneficial but detrimental to Miami traditions. New kinds of slavery evolved from employment in the public sector because it equated to scanty pay and increasing debt. Taxes burdened the Miami even more that often resulted in the impoverishment of many. For Mongosa, modernity did not result in simpler living, but instead created more difficult living. These difficulties resulted in the near abandonment of more traditional practices for foreign practices that did not produce much benefit for the Miami people - only social, economic and political hardship.

Joseph Mongosa (Mongosa and Mongosa 1939:20) also remarked about changes in the Miami language which he felt were both structural and social in nature. A structural change he observed was the increasing difficulty to translate back and forth from English to Miami. He also commented on the social acceptance of English. "It seems as though all languages will come to the English language some day," yet refers to writing these very thoughts in the "universal language," or English, in the same document (Ibid.). Irrespective of the conflictive nature of Joseph's language ideologies, his views reflect a great frustration undoubtedly felt by other Miami at the time.

American technology strained and continues to strain social relations. In some Miami families, as in other non-Miami families, the advantages associated with technology are taken for granted. Sharon Burkybile noted in 1994, that although her children are aware and proud of their heritage they are "not as appreciative of what they had as I was. I guess that always bothered me." This lack of appreciation suggests that modern influences enabled certain material expectations by Burkybile's children that she

once considered luxuries fifty years earlier. Chief Floyd Leonard (1996) of the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma notes the difficulty of maintaining tribal traditions in the modern era:

It is difficult in this day and age to preserve the heritage... It is very difficult now a days, because we live in such a busy world. People are busy doing everything else, but I think that most Indian people whether they are Miami or whatever tribe are proud of their heritage and want to know more about it. It is something that we're losing I think, it's difficult to hang on.

Leonard's statement suggests although the preservation of Miami traditions is important, it is also difficult to do as technology and societal pressures continue to impede on private and public language and cultural domains in new kinds of ways. He is careful not to suggest that modernity should be pushed aside and replaced with Miami traditions, but perhaps recognizes both can co-exist if people make time for learning and preserving their heritage.

Other Personal and Societal Influences on the Miami Language

Other personal and societal stresses influenced the decline of the Miami language. According to Dani Tippmann (2005) physical separation of her extended family at the will of her step-great grandmother displaced her extended family geographically and socially. Those children selected to go to the orphanage lived in an isolating environment where Miami language and cultural traditions were no longer supported. The time her grandfather, Charles Lewis Strack, spent in this orphanage generated the biggest loss of linguistic and cultural traditions in Tippmann's family. Nevertheless, upon adulthood he was able to recall and share with his own children some Miami language and traditions, thereby making him the sole cultural and linguistic bearer of the family.

Another tribal member (Anonymous Tribal Member 2005) offered that language shift took place in his family because of concerns regarding the familial language bearer.

As a result, several family members chose to limit their interaction with him, both physically and socially. In this precarious context, even though the patriarch of the family was their link to Miami traditionalism, his inappropriate behavior became analogous to something bad or corrupt. Although this tribal member has since reconnected with the language and other traditions, the disconnect he experienced as a child because of strained familial relations was critical for language and cultural shift in his family (Ibid.).

Jay Hartleroad (2005) attributes social discrimination as the final push to language shift for Indiana Miami communities. Jealousy from non-Miami who felt “we’re getting somethin’ they’re not” is still very prominent in Peru today. “We’re light enough complexed, we could blend...why would you do anything in front of a bunch of rednecks and ...they would beat you up?...They will torture you” (Ibid.). Mary Swenda (Wild Rose, 1926-) was victimized by discrimination when she was at school as a child. Although her daughter, Dani Tippmann (2005), exclaims her mother was proud of her Miami heritage “it was still a thing you kept within your family. It wasn’t something that my mom would talk about outside of there.” By the end of the nineteenth century and into the middle twentieth century, it was unsafe for people to pass on Miami language and customs (Baldwin 2003b). Jay Hartleroad’s (2005) grandmother reportedly entered the back door of restaurants in Peru because “they’ll give you the raw, not the guts....the least they could give you.” In Hartleroad’s and Swenda’s families hiding their Indian ancestry became normative.

Chapter Discussion

Miami participation in World War II marked a continued shift in the language where enough returning Miami veterans championed new ideas about modernity which pushed linguistic and cultural concerns further to the periphery. Many participated in new types of employment, which often required out-migration, and these working environments no longer supported the Miami language they once did. The language ideologies held by Miami men and women did not reflect an abhorrence of the language, but the language was devalued enough for any possible transmission to take place regularly. These changes combined with their wartime experiences reshaped worldviews. These worldviews either embraced burgeoning technologies and conveniences which claimed to ease one's life or pushed many Miami toward maladaptive habits after their observations of how technology hurt others. Alcoholism and abusive behavior often stigmatized these men and the larger Miami community, and as a result Miami men, women, and children became targets for discrimination.

Societal pressures to conform to English out of fear of discrimination supported community and personal ideologies further regarding the value of the Miami language. Language usage was a definitive marker of Indian identity and if speaking it meant potential victimization then the choice of whether to speak it or not was not always so difficult to make. Racial intolerance in Indiana due to state level KKK activities at the turn of the twentieth century until the pre-World War II era was still fresh on the minds of many Miami. Racism created a social environment non-conducive to marriages between Miami men and women with local non-Indians. And, in marriages between Miami women and non-Indian men, the women suppressed their Indian identities to

protect themselves and their children from possible discrimination. The ideological outcomes of these pervasive fears were that Miami Indian identities were often suppressed at the sake of linguistic and cultural maintenance. Fears of discrimination are still pervasive today as many Miami or their parents experienced it first hand. The fallout from the psychological and sociological fears associated with this can be enough to limit one's decision in openly identifying as a Miami Indian, however, this varies from community to community. In Fort Wayne, facets of Miami history are often celebrated, but in smaller communities like Peru they are not (Hartleroad 2005). What this suggests is that depending on where one is from and their personal experiences, these two things combined can have limiting effects on those wanting to learn the Miami language or from moving forward with language learning.

Additionally, the media continues to bring the English language directly into Miami homes, which made it virtually impossible for Miami speakers, albeit few, to maintain the language. The United States became a fast-paced society where Miami communities either kept up or fell back, and this has not changed over time. Elders such as Joseph Mongosa, Rosa Beck and Rose Carver observed and became disillusioned with these changes, yet readily admitted how they took advantage of certain modern advances – whether utilization of the universal English language or watching television. Today, many elders recognize what linguistic and cultural traditions were lost with modernity and they often participate in language activities. But, others do not. Elders today can also easily recall when there were only five speakers around at mid-century. Whether they knew some of the last speakers, like Clarence Godfroy and Ross Bundy, or not, it became common knowledge that the Miami language became officially dormant with

their passing. Any residing knowledge of the language was fragmentary. In families like the Stracks geographical separation prevented such knowledge to be conveyed fully, while in others familial politics prevented language and cultural transmission. Conversations in Miami would not be possible for another thirty-five years. Among those elders who observed these changes, some have since joined language reclamation efforts, while others remain silent.

“...Because the language reflects traditional beliefs and values, it begins to bring many community elements back together. The language is truly the glue that holds us together in our thoughts and in our hearts.”

**Daryl Baldwin, Miami Indian
(Baldwin 2003d:18-19)**

“History reveals that dead languages are almost impossible to resurrect and reclaim...I don’t think I’m going to try Miami. English will do I think.”

**Joe Don Olds, Miami Indian
(Olds, J. D. 1997)**

Chapter Eight: Miami Language Reclamation

The Miami were never held hostage to the language of the majority and language shift was never consummate in Miami communities. Miami peoples made choices regarding their ethnic and linguistic reorganization (Nagel and Snipp 1993:203). In many families, the decision to stop speaking the Miami language was made because of ideological influences, largely negative in nature, from dominant society which utilized the English language in various ways. In other families, more positive language ideologies, in spite of societal influences, created an environment amenable to Miami language maintenance, even if spoken Miami was selective or fragmentary. Miami ideologies regarding the changing nature and status of the language, or those micro-level forces, coupled with more macro-level forces, influenced the trajectory of their language story; and together these language ideologies remain pervasive today. The agency of more social than structural concerns regarding Miami language shift, also reveals the power Miami peoples have had during the course of their language story, particularly with reclamation efforts.

Miami language recovery programmers over the past eleven years have revitalized a dormant language without the aid of fluent or native speakers. This is due to the dedicated efforts of several individuals who have worked with numerous language documents and taught themselves Miami. Sixteenth century Jesuit materials and other language documents continue to reveal the intricacies of the language, Miami worldviews and cultural traditions; therefore, programmers like Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds have recovered multiple cultural practices that would have otherwise lain dormant. Language curricula have been produced over the years and many language classes have been held, however, the most important achievement is that the Miami language is no longer dormant. Retention of adult language students continues to be problematic and as a result recovery efforts have focused more on children. Adult students cite numerous explanations for their passive interest or lack of participation in recovery efforts and it is these ideologies that programmers are currently trying to deal with. Since Miami language reclamation efforts are tribally led, this enables them to make the needs of the community priority. Their accommodation also helps mitigate some of the most commonly reported language ideologies that influence adult language acquisition.

With small, scattered Miami populations and without native speakers, language reclamation programming, initiated in 1995, began from “ground zero” (Baldwin 2003d). The original goal for Miami language programmers at this time was to create fluent speakers (Olds, J. 1999), however, they recognized that the path toward fluency would be slow. Within a short period of time, Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds observed that adults were having more difficulty with language acquisition than children. They anticipated this, given the differences for language learning between adults and children. It is

commonly held that children have the ability to learn languages more quickly because they fall within a certain “critical time period” for language acquisition (Lenneberg 1967:175-178). Two versions of this hypothesis state that “children must acquire their first language by puberty or they will never be able to learn from subsequent exposure...[or] that language learning will be more difficult and incomplete after puberty,” but is still possible (Lightbrown and Spada 1997:10).

Several adult tribal members allude to the first version of the Critical Time Period Hypothesis stating their own biological limitations in language learning. One Miami elder, who was attending his first language camp in 2004, indicated that language learning was far too difficult for adults like himself, but children such as his grandchildren, could learn more easily because they were “like sponges” (Rinehart 2004a). This same elder revealed in a conversation we had about increasing ethnic diversity in the United States that “when people come to America, they need to speak American” (Ibid.). In one brief moment, this elder described dueling language ideologies. For him, one should speak “American” if he/she resides in the United States, yet the prospect of learning a native language other than English is beneficial as demonstrated by his unprecedented attendance at language camp, even if it is far too difficult for him versus his grandchildren to learn. Another tribal member introduced himself at the Oklahoma language camp in 2003 as “a slow learner” (Rinehart 2003b). His self-professed biological limitation for language learning suggests that although he may value the language, ascertained by his presence at language camp, the difficulty in learning the Miami language outweighs his desire to commit to language learning more fully.

In the aforementioned instances, negative ideologies about self-perceived (in)abilities creates passive language learning, if any learning at all. Given these variables language programmers dared not switch their focus exclusively to children and since the 1990s, instruction to adults has continued particularly with the training of future language teachers. “Our young people need the support and encouragement of parents and the community as a whole if language is ever going to be heard outside the language learning programs and in the daily lives of Miami People” (Baldwin 2002c:13).

By 2000, language programmers realized that in addition to biology, something more culturally derived was affecting language acquisition through various language ideologies held by adults. This became apparent in November, 2001, when the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc., and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma language committees met for their annual review of community-wide language efforts at Miami University (Baldwin 2002b). At this meeting, Baldwin (2001:1) noted the “signs of frustration, lack of direction, uncertainty, and powerlessness” of concerned tribal members. Language programmers noted, “It didn’t take us long to realize that we were up against something social in nature not something linguistic. This realization forced us to abandon early ideas of ‘success’ and reexamine community needs” (Olds and Baldwin n.d:1).

Adults often mention certain ideological leftovers, or those historically based and culturally oriented opinions concerning inutility of the language, which they believe hinders their language acquisition, where others remark on the difficulty of the language. In many families, the decision to stop speaking Miami was made because of ideological influences, largely negative in nature, from dominant society. Because of these forces,

replacement of the Miami language by English was natural. Some elders note that the course of the Miami language story was natural; therefore, it should not be revived (Baldwin (2002a:3). Joe Don Olds (1933-) admits to having “mixed emotions” about community-wide language revitalization. He (Olds, J.D. 1997) says:

History reveals that dead languages are almost impossible to resurrect and reclaim...If they want to do it, I'll let them do it. More power to them...And now at my age I don't think I'm going to try Miami. English will do I think. But I have no problem with those who want to reclaim, that's fine. Those who want to reclaim the past and do that, I have no problem with that. I probably will not, and though members of my family are teaching it. Secondly, I don't have time to do it right now.

Sharon Burkybile's (1994) reflections are reminiscent of Olds' declaration. “They're working on renewing our language, but I'm not sure it really can be done. In my heart I think it's great, but I don't really feel that it will sound like it is supposed to. When I did hear Grandpa, he had a certain brogue” (Ibid.). Daryl Baldwin (2002a:3) has also heard from elders that if the Miami language “cannot be maintained as an oral language....it should....not be revived.” For these elders, language learning in a classroom environment or through language curricula is an unnatural response to a natural process that the Miami, in part, chose to let happen.

Joseph Mongosa (Mongosa and Mongosa 1939:20) predicted in 1939, that “all languages will come to the English language some day,” yet his declaration was written in the “universal” or English language. His conflicting ideologies regarding the Miami language suggest, as those of the previous elders, although not necessarily desired by Miami communities, language shift nonetheless occurred. It also suggests that language shift was a reality for the Miami and to reverse its status requires substantial (re)learning of the value of the language as well as (re)learning the language itself.

Other Miami families, albeit the minority, maintained more positive language ideologies during the latter part of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century. In spite of societal influences, they created an environment amenable to Miami language maintenance, even if spoken Miami was selective or fragmentary. In these families, elderly members, largely female, spoke the Miami language at social gatherings as did some Miami male speakers. Nevertheless, the Miami language was no longer transmitted intergenerationally and the personal and community choices made that enabled these changes reveals the agency of more social than structural concerns regarding the language. For Daryl Baldwin (2004b:2), language reclamation is not about language fluency, but about “cultural fluency.” These relationships between language and culture were exemplified by a garden analogy, created by Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds (Olds and Baldwin n.d.). This linguistic garden represents the connection of several interdependent relationships between people, plants and the landscape. For Baldwin and Olds, language bridges these relationships, and therefore reflects community structure and function. For these relationships to become healthy, the garden must be maintained through constant tilling, planting, weeding and harvesting, as well as respected through prayer and ceremony.

Daryl Baldwin and Julie Olds believe that with increased cultural fluency, children will take the language home where it will then displace their parents’ ideologies, thereby inspiring their parents to take similar initiatives. In this sense, multiple goals have been established by language programmers, with a greater emphasis on children, in order to reach community-wide fluency some day. “A full-scale community effort is simply not a possibility for us at the moment. So we need to create these home ‘nests’

where both parents and children can reinforce each other” (Baldwin 2002c:19). Although the goals of Miami language programmers have changed somewhat over the past eleven years, this has been in direct relationship to the changing needs of the community.

Because of their accommodation, Miami language recovery efforts have warranted much success. In fact, it is due to these successes that Miami language programming is held in high regard (Leonard, W. 2006).

Miami Language Reclamation Strategies

The first Miami language camp was held in Indiana in 1995, and was open to all interested community members. After an Administration for Native Americans grant was awarded to the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma in 1996, a summer language camp was held in Oklahoma with the specific purpose of training future language teachers (Baldwin 2005m). Daryl Baldwin was the only tribal member who could teach Miami at this time, so he and others felt it best to begin training other teachers in the community (Olds, J. 1999). Since this time, week-long language camps, designed to encourage family participation, continue to be held in Peru, Indiana, and Miami, Oklahoma, every year in August and June respectively. At some of the earlier language camps, Baldwin (2002c) quickly observed the differences between adult and children learning styles. “Adults like to be able to see the language written...with adults...there is a visual connection with language” (2002c:15)...“they like to talk about it” (2002c:13). Whereas, “kids are much more prone to use the language. Kids like games, and they like to be active. Kids don’t want to sit in class. They don’t want to study linguistics” (Ibid.). Baldwin realized early on that different approaches had to be taken in regard to younger and adult students of the language if language reclamation was to be successful.

The language camps I attended at the Miami longhouse outside Miami, Oklahoma (2003, 2004, 2005), involved an average of fourteen adult students, ranging in age from their middle twenties to late eighties, while a separate children's language camp was held outdoors. For each camp, Baldwin prepared a brief curriculum and adapted his lesson plans when students had questions. Several adult students during the 2004 Oklahoma language camp noted that they had difficulties with the language when practicing at home, but that language classes made the language come to life for them (Rinehart 2004c). For example, they were especially interested in discussions about kinship terminology in 2004, as well as the distribution of a map, *Myaamiaki Eehi Mihtoseeniwiciki* (See Figure 3. *Myaamiaki Eehi Mihtoseeniwiciki* on p. 86). This map served as a backdrop to the importance of the Miami ancestral landscape in relationship to the language and after Baldwin talked about it, we made a fieldtrip to the Oklahoma countryside. Traditional plants like *leninši* (milkweed) and *wiinhsihsia* or (wild onion) were located and harvested, and eventually taken back to the longhouse for preparation and consumption. Students were able to connect this fieldtrip to prior language lessons and this is where the language and cultural connection noticeably came alive for them. Several students remarked how beneficial they felt this fieldtrip was for language learning. For myself, I have never forgotten these two terms and I attribute this to learning and using the language in a more applied fashion, than if I had just learned the terms in class.

I also attended two language camps held outside Peru, Indiana, in 2003 and 2004. These camps were attended on average by thirteen adults, many of whom brought their families. Camp was held at a Miami campground directly across from the Seven Pillars

along the Mississinewa River. At camp, language learning was a familial effort; therefore, parents and children were not separated but encouraged to speak Miami together. Language lessons were often contextualized with the natural landscape, so fieldtrips were common and included visits to a Mississinewa Battleground Memorial site (Rinehart 2003a), canoeing trips down the Mississinewa River (Rinehart 2003g, Rinehart 2004b), different Miami cemeteries (Rinehart 2003a, Rinehart 2004e), hiking through a nature preserve (Rinehart 2004b) and tree planting by children (Rinehart 2003g). Formal language lessons were also held at various times and even one at the old Miami schoolhouse on the former Meshingomesia Reserve (Rinehart 2003a). Irrespective of the activity, the Miami language was defaulted to whenever possible and without reservation where speakers were consistently naming features from the landscape, as well as making commands and praying in Miami (Rinehart 2004a). Most importantly, holding camp at the Seven Pillars site strengthened the connection between the language and landscape for Miami peoples. The Miami language reflects this landscape and for community members still living in the region those connections are clearer; hence, the language has more meaning to them.

In June, 2005, the first language immersion camp for children was held on the Cultural Grounds outside Miami, Oklahoma. At this camp, former adult students of the language became teachers and Daryl Baldwin and his older children taught as well. These efforts proved successful in that many children, all from Oklahoma, arrived hesitant and frustrated, yet by the end of the week were able to use the language with little effort (Baldwin 2005b). While this immersion camp was extremely successful for younger students of the language, Baldwin realizes they are not ready for community

adult immersion programs yet. “For right now, what is really vital is having some ability to speak, to teach, and to recognize our future needs” (Baldwin 2003d:19). Nevertheless, the successes achieved at this first immersion camp were attributed to the steadfast abilities by language teachers to speak only Miami (Wesley Leonard, personal communication, 14 Sept., 2005). Additionally, this camp was held outdoors; therefore, several important connections were readily made by students between the language and their historical and traditional landscapes.

Language lessons at the non-immersive language camps often incorporated various games and activities such as the moccasin and plumstone games (Rinehart 2003c), and lacrosse (Rinehart 2003d, Rinehart 2004b). “Eenihelankoki” or “one who wins/beats everyone,” commonly known as “bingo” also found favor among adults and children (Rinehart 2004d, Rinehart 2003c). Although everyone who played eenihelankoki appeared to have a good time one tribal member later admitted to me that she had binged more than once, but was reluctant to speak up because she was not confident of her language abilities (Rinehart 2004b). This same pattern was observed at the other two Oklahoma language camps I conducted fieldwork at in 2003 and 2005 (Rinehart 2005b, Rinehart 2003c), but was not observed at the Indiana language camps in 2003 and 2004 (Rinehart 2004a, 2003a, 2003d). Fortunately, Daryl Baldwin has noticed a decline in hesitation among Miami undergraduate and graduate (tribal) students at Miami University. He feels they appear less timid or embarrassed to speak the language (Rinehart 2005a). This suggests a greater acceptance and confidence among younger generations than older generations of their language abilities; and perhaps those tribal students who live in the ancestral landscape find the language resonates with them

differently (Rinehart 2005a). This also implies that adult tribal members continue to hold onto various negative language ideologies that infringe on their language learning.

Language learning remains creative. During the Oklahoma language camp in 2003, a children's skit incorporated language through puppetry, storytelling, singing and dancing (Rinehart 2003f). One adult student learned Miami numbers on his own by applying them to the song *Frère Jacques* (Baldwin 2003c). Again, whether through games, performances, songs or athletic events, these language environments provide unique understandings of Miami culture that facilitates language learning. Through these processes, the language is reclaiming its rightful place back in the community (Baldwin 2002c:14). Creative language learning has also occurred by chance. Daryl Baldwin (2002c:17) once asked a tribal elder if she remembered planting corn when she was younger and she responded, "'It's been over 50 years since I planted Miami corn, but I remember'...She [then] proceeded to take a handful of corn from my [Daryl's] hand and demonstrate how she was taught to plant." For Baldwin and others that day, they "not only had a language activity...but we also had historical and cultural activity all wound together" (Ibid.). This cultural event became "a physical expression of language" (Baldwin 2004a:8) which further indicates that those complex relationships between language, landscape and culture have not been lost.

Although camp and classroom education is beneficial and optimal, actual language learning takes place at home or in more natural environments such as those activities just described. Language camps serve as safe places for learning about the language, but the real work occurs once community members return home. However, it is at home where familial responsibilities often take time away from language learning.

Jay Hartleroad (2005) admits that he would like to be fluent one day, “but that will never happen...not unless I really start devoting a lot of time to it.” One tribal member’s wife offered at the 2003 Indiana language camp that language learning in her family waned somewhat when she returned to work full-time (Rinehart 2003a). Dani Tippmann (2005) revealed, “I don’t know that I have the time and the effort...time to put the effort into...learnin’ a new language.” Daryl Baldwin (2001:3) acknowledged it was a difficult task for him and his family to learn and eventually only speak the Miami language at home. He said, “I had to alter my lifestyle, ways of thinking and doing things, and even rid myself of a few bad habits” (Ibid.). Items around the Baldwin home and farm were labeled so that immersion became more possible. Significant personal sacrifices were made in the Baldwin family, but these sacrifices were made in order to create a more immersive environment. As a result, his four children learned Miami in their early, pre-pubescent years and Miami remains the first language of his youngest son. Although Baldwin’s fluency is self-described as functional and has never dreamed in the Miami language, he knows that his children have “because I have heard them talk in their sleep” (Baldwin 2003d:19).

When he [Baldwin] walks into the bedrooms of his sleeping children,
he witnesses the slim, stubborn promise that remains: young lips
moving in dream, mouthing a language not heard in 40 years
(Price 2002:2).

Baldwin’s children are the first generation to have exposure to the language since infancy and many more generations will follow. “We just hope that the bottom has been reached. And maybe, just maybe, we’ll be able to climb up (As quoted in Price 2002:2).

Multiple language materials have been produced over the years often created by community demand. Language instructional booklets and wordlists evolved during the

earlier years of recovery efforts, as did several early versions of the dictionary. Playing cards using Miami names for numbers, colors and face cards (Olds, J. 1999), and flashcards, word searches and crosswords were developed as well (Rinehart 2003b). An interactive CD-ROM was also created by the Miami Nation of Indiana (1999) entitled, *Myaamia Ilaataweenki*. Dispersion of the tribal population is frustrating to language students who lack daily interaction with other speakers. Except for those students who attend Miami University and those families who actively integrate the language, language students find it difficult to bounce questions and ideas off one another, as well as someone to practice with. With these concerns, adult students voiced their desires to hear more of the language (Rinehart 2004c) and by the fall of 2002 the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma produced an audio compact disc (CD) with a companion booklet, *Myaamia Ilaataweenki Audio CD & Audio Lesson 1* (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma 2002). And, in 2003, another CD and companion booklet was created for children, *Myaamiaki Piloohsaki Amahsinaakanemawe Ilaataweenki. A Miami Children's Language Curriculum* (Johnson, C. 2003). Students quickly noted improvement of their language acquisition after receiving these language materials. One tribal member observed how playing the CDs in his car improved his facility in the language considerably (Rinehart 2004a). Computer programs are popular with younger students. Dani Tippmann (2005) says, "With the computer games [in the aforementioned CD-ROM productions]...I think that they [her children] have the time to play with the language....I think it's important to play with it some."

Miami language programmers published their first edition dictionary in 2005, *Myaamia Neehi Peewaalia Kaloosioni Mahsinaakani* (Baldwin and Costa 2005). This

dictionary was the culmination of significant collaboration between Daryl Baldwin and David Costa. With proprietary rights held by the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, the dictionary is the direct result of collaboration through “building long-term meaningful relationships with people and institutions outside our community” (Baldwin 2002c:2) as well as from inside the community. Although the dictionary was not created to teach the Miami language, it remains an important resource for language students, plus, as Baldwin pointed out at the 2005 Oklahoma language camp, it reveals the depth of the language - “it’s not a simple language” (Rinehart 2005a). Baldwin (2005e) is hopeful that a searchable and perhaps interactive version of their dictionary will be placed on-line some time in the future.

Musical CD’s have been created by Miami language programmers to offer an additional way to learn Miami linguistic and cultural traditions. In 2003, Jay Hartleroad, lead singer at the time of the Twightwee Drum, recorded several traditional and contemporary Miami drum songs. This compilation continues to serve as a “coaching CD for learners” (Baldwin 2003b) where audio and video files of drumming were produced along with translations (Baldwin 2003d). Although Hartleroad (2005) enjoyed learning and drumming these various songs in Miami, he revealed that he still has difficulty understanding the meaning of the words. Additionally, the *Lord’s Prayer* was musically recorded in the Miami language sung acapella by tribal member, Ivala Allen (1958-) along with pianist Patricia Gibson in early 2003. A year later Allen recorded a children’s song entitled *PawPaw* (Baldwin 2005d, Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2004:8) which was performed publicly by Miami children that same year (Rinehart 2004c). Perhaps Jay Hartleroad’s difficulty in understanding the meaning of the songs, versus those children

who sang *PawPaw* publicly, suggests that acting out the words provided the children an additional way to use and understand the language. It also supports the Critical Time Period Hypothesis that suggests language learning is biologically easier for children than adults.

Other unique projects have evolved from language recovery efforts. A mapping project of the Miami ancestral landscape, circa 1650 to 1850, was created from a combination of sources including historical records, oral histories and academic scholarship (Myaamia Project 2004). This map utilizes the Miami language in the naming of rivers, state boundaries, cities and other important locations. Additionally, this map not only reveals the extensiveness of the Miami ancestral landscape, but also the knowledge the Miami had of their environment, as well as how they described it (Baldwin 2005k). Another project related to language recovery efforts is an active ethnobotany project. Baldwin collected plant names from language records throughout the 1990s, including various uses of and stories regarding plants, and from this he created a Miami-Peoria plant names list in 2000. Within two years the Myaamia Ethnobotany Project was launched with the help of ethnobotanist Mike Gonella and since this time their ethnobotanical database has become quite extensive (Baldwin 2002a). Harvesting experiments have also been conducted on milkweed, arrowhead and Indian hemp (Baldwin 2003a). Today, as a result of the ethnobotany project, several Miami plant gardens incorporating traditional plants. In the spring of 2006, the Oklahoma community had two thousand kernels of Miami eight-row corn planted with plans to plant even more by the spring of 2007. The Oklahoma Miami want to eventually “distribute seed upon request to tribal members from the stock and to grind a good

amount into Miami white cornmeal for sale to tribal members through the gift shop” (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2006a:9). Accessibility to Miami traditions like this is crucial for encouraging other tribal members to implement traditional gardens (Tippmann 2005); and most importantly it is throughout these processes that many Miami are learning important cultural and linguistic traditions.

(Re)Planting Miami Worldviews

Dormancy of the Miami language did not equate to the loss of traditional worldviews. For Daryl Baldwin, linguistic dormancy and an absolute loss of Miami understandings of the world was never the same thing. “We’ve lost the ability to see the world....but those things still exist...‘dog’ is more than a lexeme it has meaning...things haven’t disappeared” (Baldwin 2005a). Reclaiming the linguistic garden will require reclamation of “traditional ecological knowledge, which forms the basis of our understanding of life” (Olds and Baldwin n.d.:3). Miami community members still identified as Miami, even without the language when and where they could, because they have long held:

[on] to as many Indian ways as they can within the context of modern American society. Their community is not a specific place but is a specific human organization, based on tribal cemeteries and sites, oral tradition, reverence for their elders, and a concern that the young continue their Indian identity (Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. 1984a:124).

The Miami language reflects these physical, cultural, social and ideological spaces.

Miami language and culture cannot “be practiced and maintained in the absence of a landbase...[for] the knowledge imbedded in our language and culture was born from an ecological place, and so...our language, culture, and land are inseparable” (Baldwin 2004b:2). For Dani Tippmann (2005), language revitalization has deepened her

appreciation of the connections between language and ecological knowledge. Language recovery “really brought the tribe together ...[and] it also brought together an interest in...foods...medicines, and technologies that would have passed away otherwise” (Ibid.).

Scott Shoemaker (1976-) has a greater understanding of traditional Miami worldviews through the language. He says, “The language is part of who we are. When you speak Miami, you think Miami. By learning the language, you learn about our ancestors’ views of the world and their place in it” (As quoted in Harrison 1999:2). This sense of place and worldview, although conceived and conveyed in English in most Miami families for several generations, is slowly being displaced by those like Shoemaker who want to learn older forms of knowledge through the language. For Joshua Sutterfield (1973-), language classes have provided him different ways to maintain meaningful relationships with his family. “My greetings and phrases [in Miami] are coming along nicely, and when I call my mother, I feel a connection 800 miles away...I can tell her I love her. It’s very emotional” (As quoted in Price 2002:2). Jay Hartleroad (2005) reveals the more he learns about the language, the more he “can see...the difference in view...from different cultures...cause you’re talking to the ancestors, they didn’t speak English.” The Miami language is important in various ways for Sutterfield, Baldwin and Hartleroad because “it embodies our values and belief system and generations of accumulated human knowledge” (Baldwin as quoted in News and Public Information Office 2005). And, most importantly it is the sum of this knowledge, or those worldviews articulated through the language “that are important to our identity as a Miami people” (Ibid.).

Daryl Baldwin (2003d:2) feels that for long-term language and cultural survival a community needs three things: a large enough population, a sizable landbase to support everyone and a positive attitude about the language. Indiana and Oklahoma Miami communities have a combined total eight thousand in membership, which is more than enough to reclaim and sustain a language. The biggest drawback is that these populations, particularly those outside the Midwest, are scattered. While the Miami were dispossessed of their landbase there are efforts to reclaim some of these lands, as described in chapter four. While these programming roadblocks slow language acquisition, they do not deter it entirely, however, personal attitudes can have some of the most harmful effects on language reclamation efforts. "A positive attitude is reflective of an understanding about the role of language in maintaining traditional beliefs and values" (Ibid.). These attitudes are essential for effective language programming. Language recovery must be a community-wide effort and when this happens "the garden [the language and cultural knowledge] will be ripe and able to nourish the community for generations" (Olds and Baldwin n.d.:2).

In a 1987 survey conducted among the Miami living in Indiana, it was determined that of the 62.5% response rate, 1,133 of 1,812 community members, or 66.4%, felt they would like to learn more about the language (Vargus, Lengacher and Sego 1987). And, while this interest was markedly high in the middle 1990s, as demonstrated by language camp attendance, it has waned considerably since then. To date, no such survey has been conducted by the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. However, both the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc. and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma tribal leadership supports language recovery efforts by providing access to a number of resources and funding for

such activities. Yet, interestingly, the majority of tribal leadership and adult tribal membership are not active students of the language. In both Miami communities the “linguistic attitudinal climate” (Hathorn 1997:231) for language reclamation suggests that saying and doing are often two different things whether from membership or leadership.

While tribal leadership financially supports language recovery efforts and tribal membership is aware of such efforts, both remain hesitant in their personal involvement. Social constructs regarding the language have varied throughout the years. Worldviews have changed considerably over the past three hundred years and throughout these historical processes those important linkages between culture and language have faded for most. Intergenerational transmission of the language ceased over a century ago and for many families there is little familial knowledge left of the language, aside from naming practices and perhaps some lexemes or phrases. Additionally, the majority of tribal members do not spend time with language documents like other students and language programmers; therefore, the cultural knowledge imbedded within this documentation remains largely untapped by the majority.

Miami language shift and current ideologies such as these reflect “a change in societal and cultural values” (Crawford 1997:58) where social shifts in community identity, social institutions, cultural practices and epistemologies continue to take place (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994:55-56). Conflicting language ideologies held by several tribal members supports Woolard and Schieffelin’s extended definition of language ideologies in that they serve as a “rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994:57). Baldwin (Olds and Baldwin n.d.:1) describes possible reasons for continued social change including

it may be that daily community interaction has decreased. Or maybe the community members themselves think and feel differently about their traditional ways and language. Maybe they struggle to maintain a traditional way of life in an environment that does not support 'another' language and culture. Or maybe it's some combination of all these and a few not mentioned.

Social change has been and continues to be real and omnipresent in Miami communities.

Miami language reclamation requires the community and its leaders

to initiate our own form of social change. Reclaiming and stabilizing our traditional language and culture will require us to initiate our own form of social change. We cannot, however, create the kind of change we desire unless we know and understand how we have changed socially from historic times...How we arrive at this understanding can be difficult, but it is essential if we are to move toward language and cultural stability with confidence (Olds and Baldwin n.d.:1).

Crawford (1996:9) surmises that if language shift reflects a change in societal and cultural values, or its ideologies, "then efforts to reverse language shift must also consider these same values." For Miami community members, according to Baldwin (2001:2), "that spark starts from within yourself, don't bother looking for it outside, it's right inside if you take a moment you can feel it."

Chapter Discussion

Miami language programmers affirm the importance of understanding the nature of language shift because with an understanding of these processes current language ideologies held by the adult tribal population can be better understood. Miami language ideologies are not recent developments, instead they are resultant from several inter-related historical events, community and personal choices. As presented in previous chapters, in most Miami families English infiltrated their lives from multiple directions. Their responses to use the language or not, given coercive political pressures, including removal and cession of their lands, were made at the familial or individual levels. Other

choices were made under increasing social pressures from within and outside the community such as formal schooling placements, conversion to Christianity, active discrimination and the influences of modernity. Choices were also made under economic duress for opportunity and/or survival such as Miami women who married French traders and American settlers, and those Miami who migrated to urban areas for employment. Furthermore, Miami communities no longer constituted the majority population both in the lower Great Lakes and northeast Oklahoma regions for several generations; therefore, the Miami language became even more isolated. Dani Tippmann (2005) explains, "If I went to a different country today I would try to learn what's there. The dominant culture's language would be important to know." This is precisely what Miami community members did as they slowly began to utilize the English language as their primary mode of communication even though they were not living on foreign soil.

The analysis of multiple historical and anthropological records herein reveals a compelling story about the Miami language. My research has determined that knowledge of the language community's ideologies through historical and contemporaneous analysis is an important part of the language planning process. Research elsewhere (Hinton 2001, Crawford 1997, Fishman 1991, Silverstein 1979) also supports the importance of understanding language ideologies as a necessary part of language analysis and reclamation. Positive attitudes held by language programmers, tribal leadership and the community are essential in "understanding ...the role of language in maintaining traditional beliefs and values" (Baldwin 2003d:2). These attitudes are essential for effective language programming. In Miami communities, there exists a deep desire to listen to the needs of the people and assist them in whatever ways possible, and in spite of

some programming setbacks, language programmers and community members alike have accomplished a great deal over the past eleven years.

Miami language programmers also recognize that reclaiming the Miami linguistic garden will be a long process because the ground

has become hardened and is held together by a network of root systems from both native and non-native plants [non-Indian language and customs]... These non-native plants do not spread or grow alike... Some spread by rhizomes.... Others have deep root systems and pulling them will be difficult. Still others have crossed with native plants to create new offspring who have characteristics of both their parents (Olds and Baldwin n.d.:3).

Revitalizing the Miami language garden requires constant tending and careful selection of certain seeds from more traditional plants, or traditional forms of knowledge. These efforts will not be easy as

frustration will be experienced and it will be important for the few gardeners available to help and learn from each other... after many seasons and careful observations, we will begin to feel the effects of our labor... When our relationship with the garden is strong then our people will never go hungry... Many will come home, some from great distances, to share in the harvest. And with them they will bring more gardeners (Olds and Baldwin n.d:4).

However, it is hoped that fluency will be “the outcome of the collective effort” (Baldwin 2004b:2) where the “language will find its rightful place in the community someday... as we rebuild the social, economic and political infrastructure in our community. We see this as an intergenerational process” (Ibid.). But first, several short term goals have been established such as the continued training of children and language teachers, and the production of specific language materials that enable students to live the language beyond the classroom.

Through this creation of a language-cultural foundation language programmers hope that Miami worldviews will be reestablished for Miami community members. With the continued production of language materials and concurrent projects like the mapping, ethnobotany and cookbook projects (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2006b:10), new connections and more traditional environments are reestablished that make the language more applicable in a modern context. “Our goal has always been to give direct support to families who have the motivation and interest to incorporate language into their lives” (Baldwin 2002c:14). “It is essential that projects “become more integrated with each other. Everything is getting more tied together which is what should happen when we reconstruct a ‘worldview’ and then try to express that worldview through the language” (Baldwin 2005c). The “layers of knowledge” (Baldwin 2005b) revealed through these related projects are essential for the language to hold any meaning and because of this fluency in the Miami language is not the sole focus of language programming efforts today. The creativity and ingenuity involved with these various projects demonstrates the Miami’s sense of resourcefulness and commitment to language recovery efforts, as well as their belief in making the language work outside language camps and curricula, while involving the help of as many tribal members as possible.

A writer (Aatotankiki Myaamiaki 2002:14) for the tribal newspaper once reflected:

Sometimes we [the Oklahoma tribal community] question, “Does anyone speak Miami?” Then we all point with confidence, at Daryl Baldwin, his family and those members who return year after year to the summer language program, and say ‘Yes-we have members who “speak” Miami.

Speaking Miami is more than whether a person can carry on a conversation in the Miami

language. It is about utilizing the language whenever possible – in greetings, in lexemic references, in commands and rituals. But, even more importantly it is about reestablishing traditional worldviews where Miami community members understand that “nipi” or “water” is more than a combination of elements, but a living entity that sustains other life forms. It is because of these relationships between language and culture language programmers recognize that reclaiming the Miami language garden will be a long process because many weeds, or those historically contextualized language ideologies, are continuously identified and pulled, as new seeds are planted everyday. The health of this garden though depends on its gardeners. When programming efforts began there were a substantial number of adult tribal members who proposed their commitment to recovery efforts, however, their commitment declined from year to year. Interestingly, many of these same adults are now encouraging their children to participate in language activities today, while they themselves are not. Although language programmers want both children and adults to participate, progress is being made with those parents who, although are not choosing to learn or immerse themselves with the language, want this for their children. With a stronger emphasis in working with Miami children, language programmers hope that children will be able to displace their parent’s ideologies and inspire their parents to take similar initiatives.

This investigation of past and present day Miami language ideologies demonstrates the multiple complexities of more socio-cultural concerns with language. As Ricento (2000:1) suggests, the roles of language cannot be determined without investigation of the “sociohistorical contexts within which it has evolved.” The Miami language has been and continues to be reflective of communal and societal language

ideologies, however, these contentious ideologies have had the most significant effect on the community itself. Colonial and post-colonial contact experiences laid the groundwork for the articulation of language ideologies that had a profound impact on Miami language maintenance. Both macro and micro-forces determined the course of the Miami language and through these processes the nature of certain language ideologies evolved. Proper assessment of these ideologies fills in certain pieces of the Miami language story, and perhaps with future investigations the ideological outcomes among struggling adult students of the language will be better understood.

APPENDIX A. ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Collectively, the data uncovered from various archival materials demonstrated several key features. Some of the materials, although very few comparatively, indicated language and cultural shift directly, especially those from the post removal era. The degree of literacy was apparent in many of these materials which were additional indicators of class standing and in some instances residence. Multiple effects on Miami language maintenance from the boarding school period were illuminated and references about the economic inutility of the language were made. Similar data was derived from school and missionary records. Correspondence from governmental agents, tribal members and settlers also alluded to certain cultural changes as well as indirect references made about language and culture. In many primary and secondary sources, the exclusion of the status of the language, depending on the time period and the document source “said” many things as well. Perhaps the language remained intact, hence, irrelevant, or that it was following suit with other waning cultural traditions. Or, perhaps the author did not include the language because he did not understand it, and therefore, did not include it. Irrespective of the source, multiple documents were analyzed, roughly one hundred seventy-five primary sources and two hundred secondary sources, that revealed many complex and multifaceted stories about language use and cultural changes.

A significant portion of this project involved archival research completed at several locations. The Allen County Public Library (ACPL) in Fort Wayne, Indiana, has the second largest genealogical collection in the country, including a great deal of

information on various regional histories especially regarding the Miami. Some of the collections assessed included *Abstracts of Letters from Missionaries on the Indiana Frontier to the American Home Missionary Society, 1824-1893* (Rudolph, Wimberly, Clayton and Conger 1979), the *Indiana Magazine of History* published by the Indiana Historical Society, numerous indexes for Catholic school records (Bantin and Thiel 1984) and Native American periodicals (Danky and Hady 1984). Several books were also referred to including *Miami Indian Stories* (Godfroy 1983), *Meearmeeear Traditions* (Trowbridge 1938), *Squawtown; My Boyhood Among the Last Miami Indians* (Hundley 1939), *The Last of the Miamis* (Winger 1935), *Miami Indians* (Mooney 1952), *The Miami Indians* (Hodge 1954) and *An Anthropological Report on the Miami, Wea, and Eel-River Indians* (Wheeler-Voegelin, Blasingham and Libby 1974).

The Indiana Historical Society (IHS) in Indianapolis, Indiana, stores many collections. Of particular interest was the Caroline Dunn Papers collection (C. Dunn, n.d.). The daughter of Jacob Piatt Dunn, whose work on the Miami language gathered in the earlier part of the twentieth century, wrote about her father's efforts. Her description of his work highlights language shift, particularly in contrast to the linguistic documentary efforts made by others. There is also a transcribed interview at the IHS of two Indiana Miami women, Swan Hunter and Eva Bossley, conducted by Stewart Rafert in 1978 (Hunter and Bossley 1978). This interview revealed significant information about linguistic and cultural shift particularly because Hunter and Bossley were just one generation removed from linguistic moribundity. The Indiana State Library (ISL) in Indianapolis, Indiana, also held several documents of interest, more specifically Jacob Piatt Dunn's (J. Dunn, n.d.) original works. This collection is vast and contains many

manuscripts and books of translations, personal correspondence between Dunn and the Bureau of Ethnology, and Dunn's journals. From this collection, I was able to make some inferences about the transitional period of the Miami language from the late nineteenth until the early twentieth centuries. Also, of particular interest was a recorded interview of Anthony Goodboo (Goodboo 1949) who spoke a little Miami during the interview. This is the only known audio recording of the Miami language (Baldwin personal communication, 20 July, 2005).

The tribal archives in Miami, Oklahoma, houses several transcribed interviews of several tribal members who were interviewed by various individuals over the past sixty years. These interviews revealed a great deal regarding Miami relationships with the land, changes in local economies and the effects from boarding schools. With special permission from the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma I utilized the tribal archives at the King Library at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. Some of the materials I reviewed there included official, public and private records that were extremely helpful in elucidating language shift and ideologies in Miami communities.

Numerous sources were helpful in writing chapters three through seven. One of the more useful collections for chapter three included *Abstracts of Letters from Missionaries on the Indiana Frontier to the American Home Missionary Society, 1824-1893* (Rudolph, Wimberly, Clayton and Conger 1979). This particular source revealed extensive historical and cultural information about the missionizing efforts of various Protestant missionaries to American traders, frontiersmen, immigrant canal workers and Indians throughout Indiana. Many of these records revealed church attendance as well as anecdotal information on Miami parishioners, students and non-Indians in the region.

Other useful collections for this chapter included Jesuit missionary records where the struggles in translating theological concepts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were noted, while various historical reports and oral histories revealed the influences of Christianity in specific families and clans.

Historical records that documented the ways Miami communities interacted with the landscape for chapter four, included traveler's reports, oral narratives, and contemporary literature (Tippmann and Lester 2004). Loss of the ancestral landscape was traced through specific cessions made in several treaties, especially the removal treaty of 1846, as well as who the signators and interpreters were at these negotiations and how tribal representatives signed these treaties. Chief Jean Baptiste Richardville, although trilingual, chose to sign the 1826, 1838, and 1840 treaties with only an "X" mark and requested a translator for these proceedings. This ideological resistance to further acculturation amidst these historical events was observed among his daughters who were formally educated like their father, yet professed their ignorance to "the white man's ways" and requested assistance for the settlement of their father's will (Abstract of Title 1983[1846a, b, c]). Several land claim documents were analyzed in the same manner. Additionally, newspaper articles and census takers' reports were assessed which illustrated how the Miami continued to use the land and where larger concentrations lived and at what times. Several interview transcriptions of various tribal members interviewed over the past sixty years also revealed economic inutility of the language.

For chapter five multiple census records were assessed for Miami marriage patterns. These records indicated whether a marital partner was white, Indian or Miami. Additionally, the context and presentation of marriage registries kept by Thomas

Richardville (1847-1912) were analyzed and several transcribed interviews relayed information about marriage partners as well. In preparation for chapter six on Miami schooling experiences many school, city and state records were analyzed. The analysis of multiple interview transcriptions was especially helpful for this chapter because several participants mentioned their or their relatives varied boarding school experiences. Finally, for chapter seven interview transcriptions proved extremely useful as did the Miami Nation of Indians of the State of Indiana, Inc.'s petition for federal recognition in determining those final pushes to linguistic dormancy. This petition contained significant historical and anthropological information gathered by several researchers over twenty years that was exceptionally helpful for many chapters herein.

My analytical approach to the archival materials utilized for this project is demonstrated best by example with Anne Blystone's correspondence in 1858 (Turtle/Wells Collection). Her disgust in the drunkenness of two Miami boys revealed a great deal about Miami linguistic and cultural practices in Kansas. The boys' pleas in English and then Miami suggested that English was not their default language, and Blystone's disapproval of these boys' actions indicated a different class standing, particularly in formal education. This encounter also suggests that changes were taking place in courting patterns and that some Miami were having difficulties in making adjustments on their new lands. As this example suggests, language ideologies influenced language use in Miami communities and depending on the situation, one's socio-economic standing, education and age could be determined as well.

APPENDIX B. ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

The ethnographic portion of this dissertation project included different methods of anthropological investigation. A significant portion of this research involved participant/observation methodologies. In both Indiana and Oklahoma, I participated and observed in many tribal activities, but the most beneficial events for this project were the annual summer language camps. At language camps, I observed various methods of language instruction, including formal and informal instructional methods, as well as the ways adult learners responded to this instruction. My participation during language activities at both language camps was expected; therefore, I was able to understand to a certain extent the difficulties adult tribal students were having.

At language camps, I observed various behaviors from adult students of the language ranging from frustration to joy. There were also noticeable differences between both language camps including location, approach and audience interaction. The language camp in Indiana was located on the Mississinewa River directly across from a sacred Miami site so the setting held historical and cultural value. Students at this camp were observably more open to language lessons and rarely vented their frustrations. Additionally, more of the language was readily heard at base camp, as compared to other language camps. Fieldtrips were especially popular at both camps where visual and experiential learning made Miami language lessons come alive and noticeably eased language acquisition.

I also conducted interviews with three adult tribal members. Two of these interviews were with students of the language and both had unique stories to share

regarding language shift in their families. The most important realization I made during these interviews was that while some of their stories corroborated my observations from language camp and interview transcripts of other Miami interviewed over the last few decades, they also shared other stories that I had not found or observed elsewhere. This suggests to me that each family had its own reasons for language shift, in addition to community and societal influences. And, most probably these micro-oriented decisions were highly variable in Miami families. Additionally, these interviews were critical for understanding how these two community members and subsequently their families feel about language reclamation efforts today. Their attitudes were mixed as they recalled their excitement over language programming, but proclaimed their own difficulties with the language, while remaining thrilled their children are learning the language.

My numerous interviews with Daryl Baldwin were strategic in getting me to think about the larger picture of Miami language shift. His own biases for language shift leaned more toward macro-oriented variables, but his passion led me to deeper analysis of societal causation for Miami language shift. Additionally, Baldwin's interviews were helpful in understanding his role as a language programmer and the struggles, epiphanies and joys he has had over the last eleven years. Altogether interviewing was critical for this project because the participants revealed individual, familial and societal ideologies regarding language shift and recovery efforts. Much of the data from these interviews corroborated my participant/observation work, but also led to new lines of investigation and most probably future projects.

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