



VERTICALIZATION AND LANGUAGE SHIFT AMONG THE EASTERN BAND OF CHEROKEE INDIANS

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GOALS AND ROAD MAP

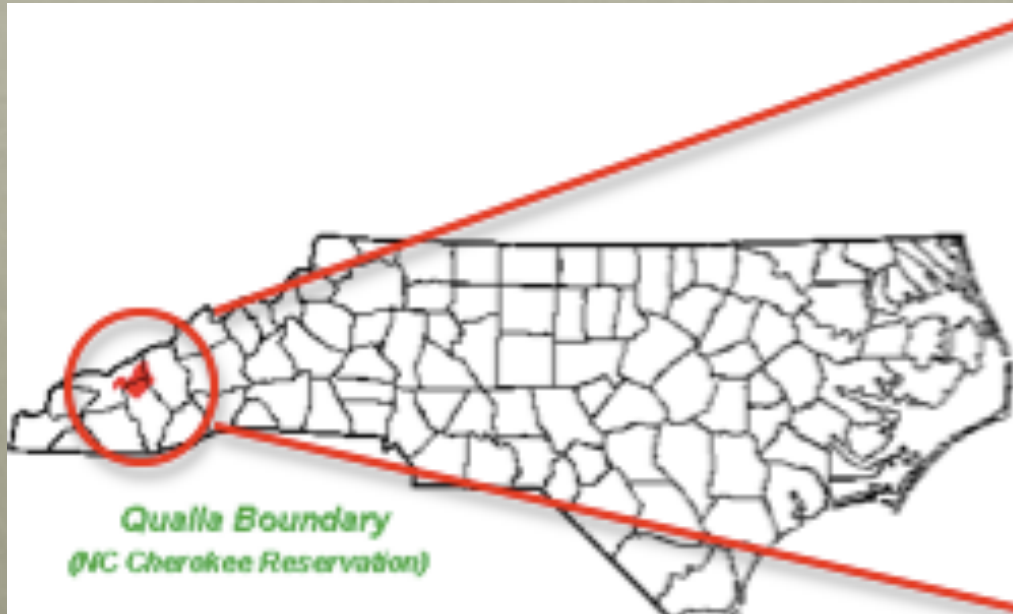
1. Introduce Cherokee language and the western NC Cherokee communities
2. Address existing account of Cherokee → English shift and offer counter-points
3. Introduce verticalization-based account and examine Cherokee community history through that lens
4. Show how Cherokees used internal verticalization to mitigate changes in community domains

CHEROKEE LANGUAGE

- Southern Iroquoian
- Formerly spoken in 8 states in the Southeast
- Originally 3 major dialects
- Middle Dialect is primary variety spoken in North Carolina
- N speakers estimated < 300; aging population of speakers
- Cherokee Nation (in OK) has ~6,000 speakers of Overhill dialect.



CHEROKEE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN NC TODAY



CHEROKEE TO ENGLISH SHIFT

1910 CENSUS

STATE North Carolina COUNTY Swain TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY Cornwall Township NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE Cornwall NAME OF INDIAN RESERVATION Cornwall Indian Reservation

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
THIRTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1910—INDIAN POPULATION

SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT No. 152 SHEET No. 10 B
WARD OF CITY 917
ENUMERATED BY ME ON THE 22 DAY OF April, 1910. John McRae ENUMERATOR

NAME OF INSTITUTION 6583

LOCATION.	NAME	RELATION.	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION.	NATIVITY.			CITIZENSHIP.	Whether able to speak English or French, or both, or other language spoken.	OCCUPATION.	EDUCATION.	INDIAN BLOOD.							
				Place of birth of this person.	Place of birth of Father of this person.	Place of birth of Mother of this person.												
1	Manor	Son	M. 22 S	North Carolina	Georgia	North Carolina		English	Labourer in lumber yard	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K	
2	Camble	Heidel	M. 21 M 1 2	North Carolina	Georgia	North Carolina		English	Farmer	General Farming	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
3	Minda	Wife	M. 20 M 1 2	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
4	Carie	Daughter	F. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
5	Arche	Heidel	M. 15 M 1 2	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	Labourer on Farm	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K	
6	Nicthe	Wife	M. 20 M 1 2	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
7	Lisic	Son	M. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
8	Flahy	Heidel	M. 39 M 1 1	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	Night Watch at Indian School	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K	
9	William	Wife	M. 32 M 1 1	South Carolina	South Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
10	Rennie	Daughter	F. 9 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
11	Mopai	Son	M. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
12	Samuel	Son	M. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
13	Aray	Son	M. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
14	Burtha	Daughter	F. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
15	Bythe	Heidel	M. 32 M 1 2	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	Labourer in lumber yard	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K	
16	Jer	Wife	M. 25 M 1 2	South Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
17	Jamson	Son	M. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
18	Bardie	Daughter	F. 15 S	North Carolina	North Carolina	South Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
19	William H	Heidel	M. 15 M 1 1	Georgia	Georgia	South Carolina		English	Farmer	General Farming	U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
20	Leiland	Wife	M. 33 M 1 2	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K
21	Syble	Daughter	F. 8 S	Georgia	Georgia	North Carolina		English	None		U	no	0	years	15	1	2	K

MONOLINGUAL CHEROKEE SPEAKERS IN 1910

Speaker Numbers in 1910 (U.S. Federal Census)

Swain County, NC...	English	Cherokee	Total
District 152	154 = 46%	184 = 54%	338
District 153	167 = 74%	58 = 26%	225

ABLE TO SPEAK CHEROKEE IN 2000

	Cherokee Speakers	% of Total	Total Surveyed
Cherokee County	40	0.09%	45,585
Graham County	90	0.61%	14,860
Jackson County	930	1.5%	62,160
Swain County	695	2.87%	24,245
North Carolina	1,415	0.02%	7,512,505

BOARDING SCHOOL:
“KILL THE INDIAN, SAVE THE MAN”
– COL. RICHARD HENRY PRATT



BOARDING SCHOOL AS SOLE EXPLANATION IS UNSATISFACTORY

- Founded 1875
- “Archaic, ritual expressions” lost ~ mid1920s (Finger 1991:60)
- “Tipping point” for shift ~1955 (Gulick 1958)



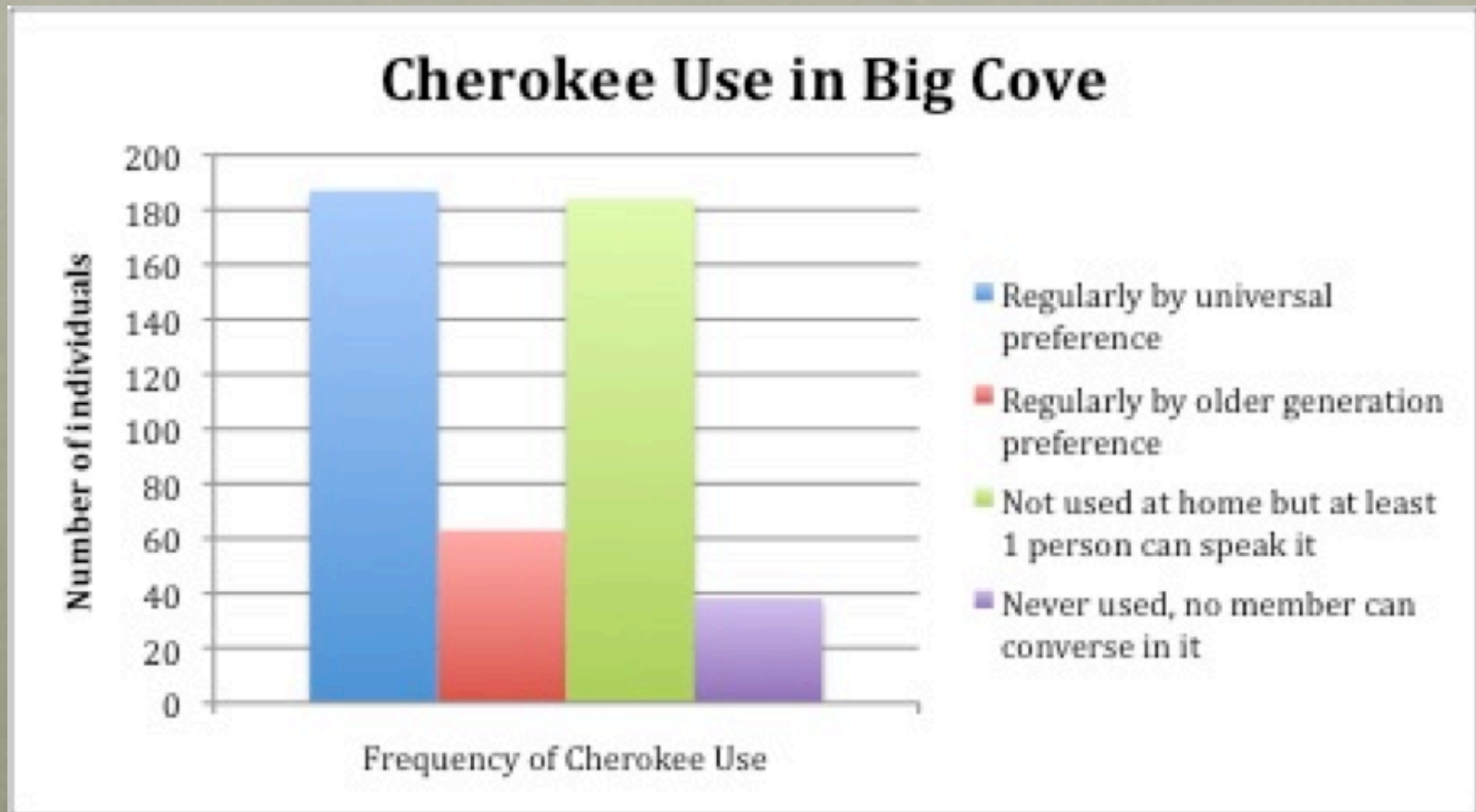
LOCAL DAY SCHOOLS

- **Attendance** at the day school in Bird Town “... **was irregular and dropped to about 50 percent** during the winter” (Finger 1991:61).
- At the Little Snowbird school, the **teacher spoke Cherokee**, and knew “... absolutely nothing about good methods of teaching” (Finger 1991:62).
- Even after World War I, “... Cherokee pupils frequently **appeared at school speaking only their native tongue**” (Finger 1991:73)



TIPPING POINT – NO HOME MONOLINGUAL IN CHEROKEE

Cherokee language use in Big Cove Township - 1958



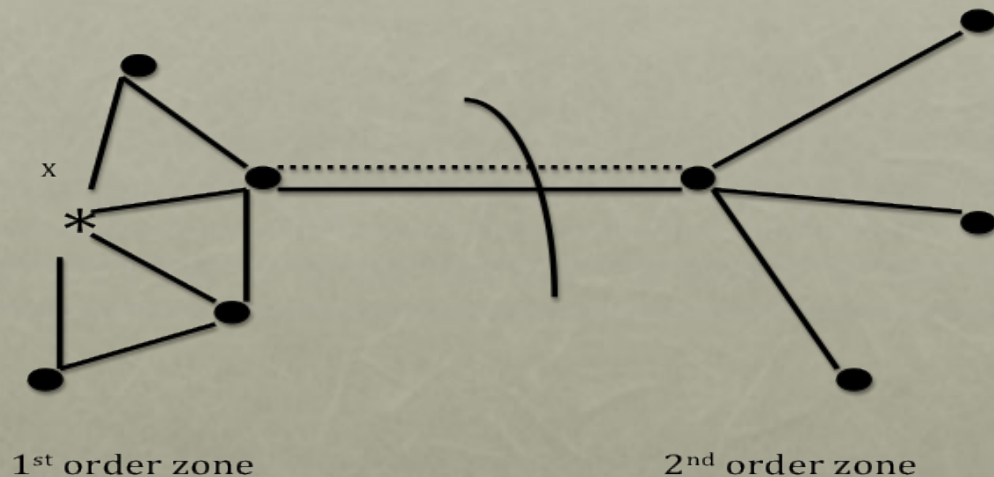
THE VERTICALIZATION ACCOUNT

VERTICALIZATION

- “ ... the increasing orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy”
- “... the ties between different local community units are weakened, and community autonomy, defined as control by local people over the establishment, goals, policies, and operations of local community units, is likewise reduced ” (Warren 1978:52).

SOCIAL NETWORK RESTRUCTURING DRIVES SHIFT

- Increasing connections with the external society break up local social networks.
- Changing social networks correspond with changing linguistic behavior.



VERTICALIZATION ACROSS MULTIPLE DOMAINS IN CHEROKEE, NC

- Religion
- Schooling
- Industry
- Tourism



RELIGION

- Christianity entered community ca. 1817
- By 1913, Baptist faith & intermarriage tied Cherokees to surrounding communities
- Many Baptist groups began instituting administrative bureaucracies



SCHOOLING

- Federal Boarding school founded 1875
- From 1954
Cherokees attend off-reservation schools
(Brown v. Board)
- Boarding school transitions to a day school under the BIA



CHEROKEE ATTENDANCE AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

	1954-1955 School Year	1964-1965 School Year	Percent Increase
Cherokee students at BIA schools	798	1,005	26%
Cherokee students at public schools	96	498	419%

INDUSTRY



- Lumber industry arises ~1904
- Focus on individual pay, individual effort
- Utilized railroad, connected Cherokees with outsiders, other workers
- Declined by ~1929

TOURISM



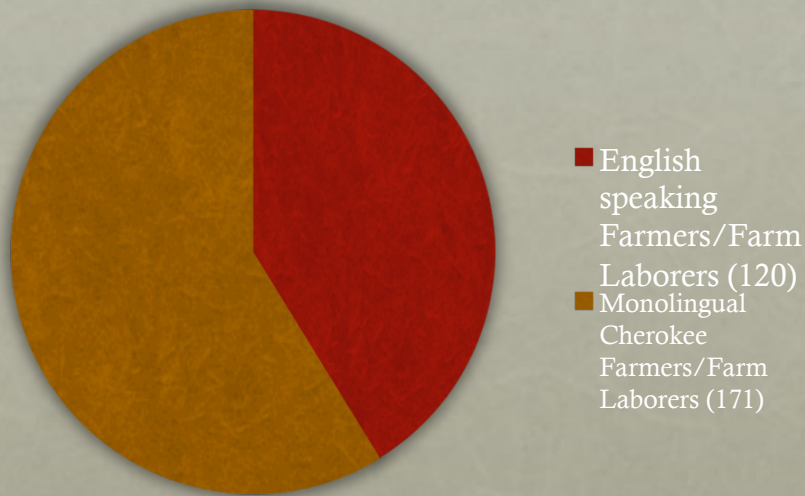
- Cherokee Fair in 1914
- National Park (from 1934)
- Paved roads, Highway 19

TOURISM

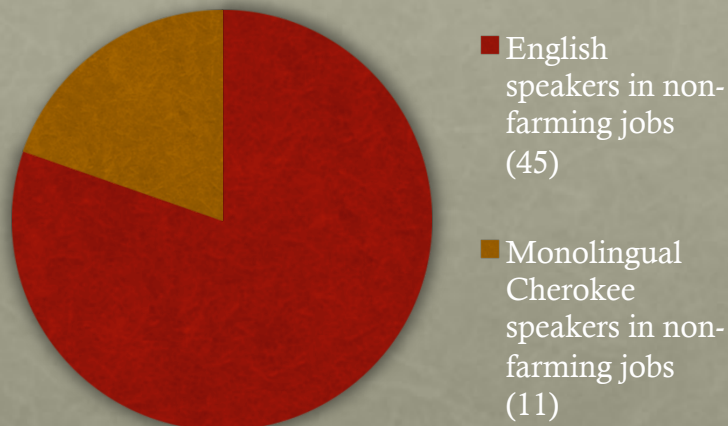


- Rise of hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops
- Contact with outsiders led to more English use in public domains
- Businesses subject to regulation – gas tanks, health codes, etc.
- Locally-owned businesses bought up by externally-based chains

DISTRIBUTION OF MONOLINGUAL CHEROKEE SPEAKERS & ENGLISH SPEAKERS IN FARM OR LABOR POSITIONS (1910 FEDERAL CENSUS)



Among those 291 people who reported farmer or farm laborer as their occupation, 171 (59%) were monolingual in Cherokee



Of the monolingual Cherokee speakers in non-farming occupations, only two held a job at all, while nine were unemployed or no longer working

NON-FARMING OCCUPATIONS (1910 FEDERAL CENSUS)

		English	Cherokee
Administrative	Agent, Inspector, Police	4	0
Professional	Contractor, Engineer, Preacher, Ranger, Teacher, Merchant	10	0
Skilled Labor	Blacksmith, Baker, Carpenter, Clerk, Cook, Dressmaker, Pottery, Furniture	13	0
Unskilled Labor	Farming and Trading Family, Gardener, Housekeeper , Living off rents on farm, Night watch, Servant, Washer woman	7	2

- Skilled labor correlates with more English use
- Only 2 monolingual Cherokee speakers held a non-farming job (and that was in the “unskilled” category)
- Education in non-farming trades may indicate increased connection with the external society, more English use

2000 CENSUS DATA ON HOME LANGUAGE USE

4 NC Counties

	Cherokee Speakers	Percentage of Total	Total Surveyed
Cherokee County	40	0.09%	45,585
Graham County	90	0.61%	14,860
Jackson County	930	1.5%	62,160
Swain County	695	2.87%	24,245
North Carolina	1,415	0.02%	7,512,505

4 WI Counties

	German Speakers	Percentage of Total	Total Surveyed
Calumet County	835	1.12%	74,799
Fond du Lac County	1,110	0.61%	181,934
Manitowoc County	1,625	1.05%	154,739
Sheboygan County	3,570	1.71%	208,999
Wisconsin	48,300	0.96%	5,021,690

INTERNAL VERTICALIZATION & GATEKEEPING



INTERNAL VERTICALIZATION: A CHEROKEE STANDBY

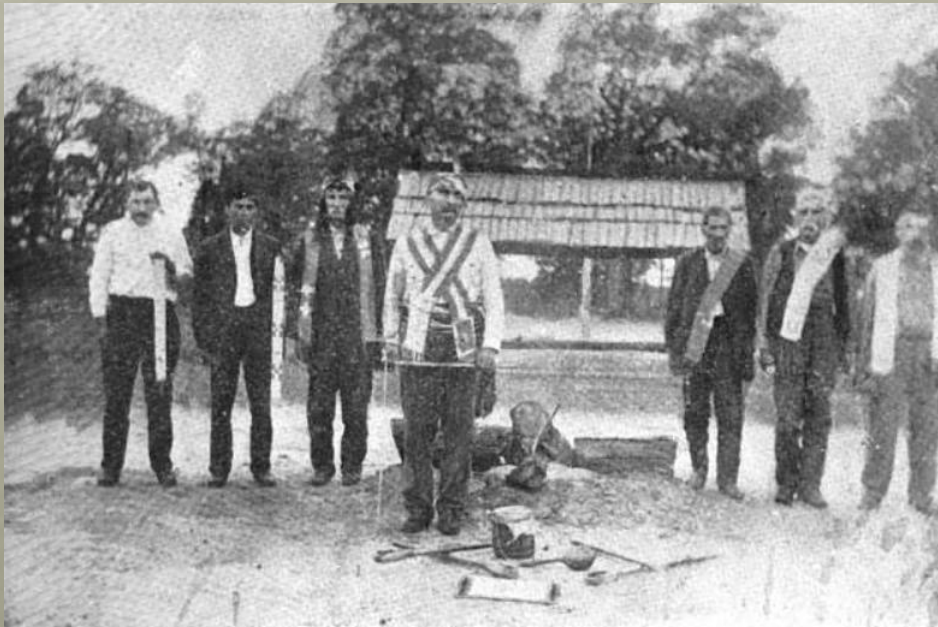
- Historical Cherokee towns were autonomous units
- Internal vertical structures
 - Chiefs acquired and *equitably* distributed wealth/knowledge
 - Distributed labor in form of ᏍᏍ (gadugi)



Model of prehistoric palisaded village on the banks of the Swannanoa River

INTERNAL VERTICALIZATION ACROSS DOMAINS

RELIGION



- 1890s –stomp dance religion resurfaces in Cherokee Nation (present-day OK) among Keetoowah Society
- 1988 – stomp dance re-started in NC
- 1996 – reclamation of Kituwah town
- Ca. 2000 – stomp dance at Kituwah

SCHOOLING

- 1879 - Carlisle Indian Industrial School founded in PA
- 1880s - Cherokees advocate for local boarding school, day schools
- 1970s - Tribal control of former federal schools
- 2004 – Opening of New Kituwah Academy



INDUSTRY



- Cherokee Boys Club
- Began as a federally-instituted initiative in boarding school to teach non-indigenous farming practices
- Integrated into tribal infrastructure
- Ray Kinsland, former boarding school teacher, adopted by EBCI in 1968 as honorary citizen

TOURISM



- Southern Highland Craft Guild → Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual Co-op
- Board of directors functions on model of ᏍᏍᏅ (gadugi) – traditional collective “free labor” group
- Co-op representatives deal with general public; artisans need not

CONCLUSIONS

- Verticalization correlates with shift in Eastern Cherokee
- It can be mitigated by regulating access to the community and maintaining dense, multiplex social networks
- The ability to mitigate has implications for language revitalization planning



oDY hSU!

Thank you everyone!

A MULTI-DIRECTIONAL APPROACH TO REVITALIZATION

- Immersion school
- Improved 2nd language classes
- Additional internal verticalization
 - Cooperation with new businesses
 - Employment of immersion school students
 - Increase of community use
- Community planning can help the language to continue

CHEROKEE STREET SIGNS



NEW KITUWAH STUDENTS

