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began this differend for the Haudenosaunee. Understanding the differend is to recover some previous injustice, in this case, misinterpreting Iroquois political operations.

Thus, the authors examine Sky Woman and Deganawidah, both familiar to any Iroquoianist, from a unique perspective. First, they argue the procedures and rituals that emerged out of these stories, including the condolence ceremony, are the “central condition of Iroquois intersubjectivity,” which produced a set of practices that allow the Iroquois to survive over the centuries. The rituals and the resulting philosophy they produced cannot be translated “into Western terms,” or more specifically, into “types” (83; emphasis in original). This is why the authors use the word “politology” rather than “political science” throughout the work. The threads surrounding the Iroquois cannot be separated out if one hopes to truly understand how differently the Iroquois constructed their governmental structure from the western theories used to describe the system.

The second perspective the authors ask the reader to consider is the importance of “withdrawal” to the stories. Fenton’s discussion of these stories focused on notions of power, responsibility, and kinship. The book under review is more interested in the notion of “withdrawal” and “outsider” in the story. Whether it is Sky Woman’s withdrawal from the oldest twin, Deganawidah’s decision to withdraw after providing the “Great Message” or Hiawatha’s flight into the wilderness, we are asked to ponder the importance of withdrawal to the story being told and how it might impact the Iroquois community. Here is one place where Seitz and Thorp would have been advised to think more closely about some of Fenton’s arguments since they might have provided some historical detail that readers of this text might be missing.

A word of warning to the reader of this book: the prose is difficult and dense. There are many unnecessary parentheticals and detours into philosophy that take the reader away from the point the authors are trying to make. Nevertheless, if readers endure the prose, they are rewarded with an interesting interpretation of the meaning of the Iroquoian stories they thought they knew. One will not read or study any Iroquoian narrative without thinking about some of the points Seitz and Thorp have made. What the authors have done is provide a new window for reading, and perhaps understanding, the creation of the Iroquois League.

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Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation: 1820–1906. By James W. Parins. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. 304 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

As a cofounder, with Daniel Littlefield, of the Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas, professor emeritus James W. Parins has drawn upon the Center’s trove of journalistic and literary materials to write a definitive intellectual history of the Cherokee Nation’s struggle to maintain cultural survivance over nine perilous decades. In this synthesizing, tightly organized book he fills a gap in

readers'—and perhaps most significantly, Cherokee readers'—understanding of what being “civilized” meant for pre- and post-removal Cherokees.

Producing almost a century's overview of the features of the intellectual life of a beleaguered nation might seem a dauntingly prodigious undertaking, but Parins succeeds because of his felicitous choices in highlighting relevant events, players, and cultural outcomes. In concise chapters that cover the roughly ninety-year period from Sequoyah's invention of the Cherokee syllabary to the federal dissolution of Indian Territory and Oklahoma's statehood, he delineates the circumstances which produced, as he asserts, a degree of literacy and intellectual productivity among the Cherokees unsurpassed by any other indigenous group and by “most other communities of similar size on this continent and beyond” (xiii). This is no small claim, but by the book's conclusion, Parins has made his case convincingly.

Beginning with a brief survey of the history of written communication, Parins quickly zeroes in on Mesoamerica, correcting the pernicious misconception that indigenous peoples of the so-called “New World” had no writing. Mayans had very quickly recognized the value of literacy—as the Cherokees were to do later—as a tool of resistance, in both their own syllabic writing system and that of the invader. For the colonizers of North America, Native languages were quickly identified as crucial to the two driving forces of nationalist expansion: trade and religious conversion. Among the missionaries enlisted to convert the “heathens” were unresolved debates about whether English or indigenous languages could be deployed more efficiently to “civilize” and proselytize. The Cherokees comprised a successful, established nation secure in its own civilization, but after colonial contact, they engaged in a life-or-death struggle to retain homeland and tradition. In both languages, literacy, education, and varied forms of public intellectualism became survival strategies to hold off dispossession and cultural dissolution.

The most compelling topic of Parins' cumulative account of Cherokee intellectual attainments during this critical period of upheaval derives from the genuinely extraordinary achievement of Sequoyah, the illiterate, sometime silversmith who is apparently the only person in history to singlehandedly create a successful writing system. Observing the “talking leaves” of written English, a language he did not speak, Sequoyah invented an eighty-six-character syllabary based on syllabic sounds rather than alphabetic letters. By about 1821, after several years of work, Sequoyah was able to provide his people with a writing system so simple to learn that within months any Cherokee speaker who wished to write in his or her own language was able to do so. Suddenly, Cherokees were able to correspond with near and distant kinsmen; create signage naming, and therefore claiming, their own home places; conduct tribal business and politics; and even foment rebellious activity, all in their own language. This new and widely accessible literacy allows Parins to open a revealing window that explains much more—about Cherokee class and economic power structures, the inexorable pressure for removal that resulted in forced relocation in Indian Territory, and the roots of factionalism that haunted Cherokee intellectual and political life for the next ninety years.

As Parins notes, Cherokee citizenship had never been determined by blood quantum. Instead, “mixed-bloods” were mostly made up of a minority group of Cherokees who accepted assimilation as an economic and political necessity. Many were large-property cotton farmers and slave owners who spoke English rather than Cherokee and saw themselves as members of an emerging political elite. “Full-bloods” were mostly subsistence farmers who spoke (and now read) Cherokee rather than English, and who believed that assimilation was a threat to the traditional values and practices they lived by. No matter what their differences, however, both groups were committed to resisting removal from their traditional homelands. For a time, the literacy that resulted from Sequoyah’s syllabary shifted dynamics of power between them, imbuing the traditionalist majority with new self-confidence and clout. White missionaries and politicians, however, swiftly reacted with alarm to this new obstacle to their “civilizing” goals and soon attempted to appropriate or subvert Sequoyah’s achievement for their own purposes. In the end, nothing could avert the Cherokees’ forced removal in 1838 to the Indian Territory, now eastern Oklahoma.

Any intellectual history of the Cherokees during the subsequent decades of Parins’ attention must be contextualized by hugely disruptive events: the internecine factionalism which for decades poisoned communal life; the divisiveness of the Civil War and its embittering aftermath; and new onslaughts of disenfranchisement that resulted in allotment and the abolishing of tribal government in 1906, which made way for Oklahoma statehood a year later. In the remainder of his study, Parins wisely keeps these events as context or backdrop, and foregrounds the varied and tenacious efforts of Cherokees to employ education and forms of public intellectualism, at first in order to reestablish a stable cultural environment, and then to hold onto it.

Parins’ focus in subsequent chapters on the forms these efforts took supports a principal argument of his study: that education and its fruits increasingly came to represent in the minds of Cherokees their best hope for cultural survival. In post-removal Indian Territory, prodigious resources and energies were devoted to the ideal of universal education. Bilingual public schools were established in almost every Cherokee community. Male and female seminaries (which two of my own grandparents briefly attended) were set up, in part to create a pipeline of well-educated Cherokee teachers. And so that schools could be as free as possible from federal influence, for as long as possible funding was almost entirely derived from tribal sources. Tribal dissolution in 1906 radically interrupted these initiatives, as Parins points out, but the resulting almost-universal literacy and literary productivity was unmatched by any other indigenous group.

In two other chapters, Parins lays out another remarkable expression of Cherokee intellectual energy. The establishment of a national press began with the founding of the first Native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, in 1828, and decades of a rich journalistic tradition followed as local newspapers sprouted up all over Indian Territory. The editors and translators of these newspapers consistently included sections in both English and Cherokee. Not merely educating and entertaining their avid audiences, this press also shaped public opinion and policy in dangerously contentious times; brought the wider world into Indian Country; demonstrated deep resources of

intellectual professionalism, as represented by the scores of Cherokees who worked on them as publishers, editors, translators, and in other capacities; and provided an important medium for nurturing and disseminating the works of Cherokee writers and thinkers.

The last chapters of *Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation* are devoted to a survey of the works of several of those writers and thinkers, among them the author of one of the first novels written by a Native American, the controversial John Rollin Ridge. Parins pays special attention to three others—essayist and poet DeWitt Clinton Duncan (Too Quah-stee); William Eubanks (Unenudi), whose writings on a Cherokee version of theosophy were both wildly eccentric and wildly original; and Edward Bushyhead, a journalist who helped to establish the *San Diego Union* and later became San Diego police chief. These, and others who produced fiction, poetry, drama, and philosophical and polemical writings, may not be household names, and some writers deserving attention may have been overlooked.

In sum, however, both the breadth and depth of Professor Parins' research recreates the history of a people's intellectual vitality that has, until now, been obscured. More stories remain to be told, such as the contributions of women to Cherokee intellectual life, the complexities of Cherokee and African American interactions, and the personal and communal consequences of factional violence. For more about these topics, see, for example, Tiya Miles' *Ties That Bind* (2005) and *The House on Diamond Hill* (2010), and John Milton Oskison's *The Singing Bird* (2007). Professor Parins' scholarship in this volume and the Sequoyah Center's unique archives are welcome resources stimulating further research on these topics and others.

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Making Marriage: Husbands, Wives, and the American State in Dakota and Ojibwe Country. By Catherine J. Denial. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013. 208 pages. \$19.95 paper.

In *Making Marriage: Husbands, Wives, and the American State in Dakota and Ojibwe Country*, Catherine J. Denial, associate professor of history at Knox College, compares and contrasts ideals and experiences of marriages among the diverse residents of the Upper Midwest between 1820 and 1845. Denial examines the rhetoric and the reality of marriage among Native, French Canadian, mixed-ancestry, white American, and African American people, which she argues provides a way to measure and understand the expansion and development of the American state in this region.

Denial's introduction explains how the legal and social purposes of marriage varied among indigenous and settler populations. White Americans understood civic responsibility to extend from male-dominated households, a belief that clashed with Native economic and sociopolitical systems organized through kinship, the pervasive practice of reciprocity and hospitality among extended relations. Influenced by Enlightenment