

The *Cherokee Phoenix* Newspaper:  
Traversing Frontiers in Journalism and Shattering Stereotypes  
with Every Word Printed

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Throughout American history, Native Americans were simultaneously denied a voice in American society and stereotyped as “Silent Indians.” However, Native Americans were extremely vocal in protecting their personal freedoms and property rights. The *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, demonstrates how the Cherokee used their voice to fight for their rights and garnered national support to protect their nation from the abuses of both state and federal governments. The *Phoenix* crossed frontiers in journalism and expertly contradicts stereotypes about Native Americans with every word printed.

In the early 1800’s, at the time of the *Cherokee Phoenix*’s founding, the Cherokee were under pressure from the U.S. government and religious organizations to become a “civilized” nation by adopting U.S. values and customs.<sup>1</sup> No matter what they did to emulate American notions of civility, the U.S. still claimed the Cherokee were “uncivilized,” out of greed for their land and deepening prejudice against Native Americans.<sup>2</sup> Preexisting tensions between Georgia and the Cherokee were exacerbated when gold was discovered on Cherokee land.<sup>3</sup> Georgian lawmakers also falsely claimed the Cherokee were “savage” and “uncivilized,”<sup>4</sup> in an effort to convince the federal government they were unworthy of protection and land. In 1828, when the *Phoenix* was founded, Georgia refused to acknowledge Cherokee sovereignty and extended jurisdiction over Cherokee domain.<sup>5</sup> The *Cherokee Phoenix* was born out of the need to refute false claims of savagery.

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Young, “The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic,” *American Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (Winter 1981): 504.

<sup>2</sup> Young, “The Cherokee Nation,” 505.

<sup>3</sup> “Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate,” *Chronicling America*, accessed January 17, 2022, <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83020874/>.

<sup>4</sup> Henry T. Malone, “The Cherokee Phoenix: Supreme Expression of Cherokee Nationalism,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (September 1950): 169

<sup>5</sup> Arnold Krupat, “Representing Cherokee Dispossession,” *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 18.

On October 15th, 1825, the Cherokee Council commissioned a weekly newspaper, called the *Cherokee Phoenix*.<sup>6</sup> In Cherokee, *Cherokee Phoenix* translates to *Tsalagi Tsu-le-hi-sa-nu-hi*, or “I will arise.”<sup>7</sup> The name was chosen in the hopes of having all Native American tribes “arise, *Phoenix* like, from their ashes.”<sup>8</sup> They founded the *Phoenix* to express Cherokee voice and transform Cherokee society. However, the Cherokee would be unable to protect their transformed society unless they voiced their opinions throughout American society rather than limiting circulation to the Cherokee people. By reaching a larger audience, they hoped to gain a wide array of political supporters. They believed American supporters would be allies in the fight for Cherokee rights, protecting Cherokee sovereignty and land. At the same time, the newspaper aimed to disprove racist claims of Cherokee “savagery,” showing that the Cherokee were an advanced nation. Prominent Native American historian Mary Young emphasized that “Cherokee improvement was widely regarded as a measure of their qualifications for keeping their land.”<sup>9</sup> The Cherokee trusted that if they were deemed “civilized,” they could defeat growing calls for removal that would ultimately result in the Indian Removal Act of 1830.<sup>10</sup> The controversial Removal Act displaced Native Americans from their Eastern homelands, relocating them to Oklahoma.

Amidst rising tension between the Cherokee and Georgia, and with the imminent threat of Cherokee removal, the Cherokee Council selected Elias Boudinot as the first editor of the *Phoenix*.<sup>11</sup> Boudinot founded the paper alongside missionary Samuel Worcester,<sup>12</sup> who

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<sup>6</sup> “About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate.”

<sup>7</sup> Krupat, “Representing Cherokee Dispossession,” 16.

<sup>8</sup> Theda Perdue, “Rising from the Ashes: The Cherokee Phoenix as an Ethnohistorical Source,” *Ethnohistory* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 207.

<sup>9</sup> Young, “The Cherokee Nation,” 505.

<sup>10</sup> Indian Removal Act, vol. 4 *United States Statutes at Large* 411 (1830).

<sup>11</sup> Malone, “The Cherokee Phoenix,” 164.

<sup>12</sup> Malone, “The Cherokee Phoenix,” 164.

purchased the *Phoenix's* printing presses in Boston.<sup>13</sup> The *Phoenix* would be a bilingual newspaper, sharing Cherokee voice by printing in their own language as well as English, to simultaneously educate and inform Cherokee, while also winning white supporters to protect the Cherokee from removal.<sup>14</sup> The first edition of the *Phoenix* was published on March 6, 1828, in New Echota, Georgia.<sup>15</sup> The paper was four pages long, with five columns on each page. In total, the *Phoenix* printed 84 issues.

Intending to present a full representation of their advanced society to a broad American audience, Boudinot included Cherokee laws, education, religion, art, and current news in the *Phoenix*.<sup>16</sup> Sections on religion and Cherokee laws, which were often on the *Phoenix's* front page, were featured to win support from religious groups and whites. A subscription to the *Phoenix* cost less for subscribers who only read Cherokee.<sup>17</sup> *Phoenix* editors believed they could afford discounts for Cherokee readers because they would gain enough support from white subscribers to support themselves financially. On average, only 25% of a *Phoenix* edition was written in Cherokee.<sup>18</sup> Like other papers of the era, the *Phoenix* traded articles with other newspapers in order to bring Cherokee opinions to white communities.<sup>19</sup> Exchanged articles came from other newspapers like the *London Magazine Diary*,<sup>20</sup> *Northern Whig*,<sup>21</sup> *N.Y. Observer*,<sup>22</sup> and the *Exeter Gazette*.<sup>23</sup> The *Phoenix* routinely featured articles dealing with issues threatening the Cherokee Nation, hoping to educate political supporters. On the first

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<sup>13</sup> Frank Brannon, "Metal Type from the Print Shop of the Historical 'Cherokee Phoenix' Newspaper," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 103, no. 3 (September 2009): 320.

<sup>14</sup> Theda Perdue, ed., *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 50. (Sequoyah, a Cherokee, invented Cherokee syllabary used for *Phoenix's* printing press).

<sup>15</sup> "About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate."

<sup>16</sup> Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 90.

<sup>17</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Brannon, "Metal Type from the Print Shop of the Historical 'Cherokee Phoenix' Newspaper," 333.

<sup>19</sup> "About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians Advocate."

<sup>20</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 3, 1828, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 3, 1828, 4.

<sup>22</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 10, 1828, 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 10, 1828, 3.

page of the *Phoenix*'s first edition, they included an article on Cherokee removal, explaining with the United State's own Charters of Freedom that the Cherokee rightfully owned their land.<sup>24</sup>

The *Phoenix* achieved its goal of raising supporters, influencing many Americans to oppose removal. The *Vermont Chronicle* featured an article included in a *Phoenix* edition, disputing Cherokee removal, stating: "To remove them would be to overthrow their incipient establishments, and to check their progress in those arts, institutions, and habits which give to civilized and Christian life, its charm--its dignity and worth."<sup>25</sup> The *Phoenix* editors and writers undermined Georgia's claims of jurisdiction over the Cherokee, proving the Cherokee had sovereignty and rightful title to their property, often invoking laws and values set forth in the U.S. Constitution and state law. The *Phoenix* pointed out American hypocrisy in Georgia's law preventing them from defending their land titles in court. The law stated: "No Indian or descendent of Indian [...] shall be a competent witness, or a party to any suit, to which a white man is a party."<sup>26</sup> Cherokee were denied a voice in court under state law, so the *Phoenix* became their voice. Through journalism, they endeavored to overcome unfair laws.

The *Phoenix* found its central purpose in combating Cherokee removal.<sup>27</sup> In one edition, the *Phoenix* included a letter to the *Charleston Observer*, informing the *Observer* that the Cherokee would not benefit from removal, contrary to the *Observer*'s claim.<sup>28</sup> This is but one of many fabrications from U.S. newspapers, designed to raise support for Cherokee removal. The *Phoenix* boldly confronted such attempts to steal Cherokee sovereignty. Removal

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<sup>24</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828, 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 24, 1828, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 2.

<sup>27</sup> William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 56. ("The *Phoenix* served for six years as an effective propaganda tool promoting Cherokee resistance to removal.")

<sup>28</sup> Jack Kilpatrick and Anna Kilpatrick, eds., *New Echota Letters* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968), 56.

could only be supported if Cherokees were viewed as savage or inhuman, but the *Phoenix* would not allow that falsehood to pass. The *Phoenix* printed a letter from a subscriber declaring that sending the Cherokee west is an “attempt to drive them into darkness again” and removal would amount to them being “driven like a great herd of Antelopes.”<sup>29</sup> The *Phoenix* illustrated its opinion on Cherokee removal, calling out the U.S. for dishonoring laws and treaties. In the March 4th, 1829 edition, the *Phoenix* argued that any land title is worthless if the United States can later ignore it.<sup>30</sup> In a powerful letter written by a tribal council leader, addressed to the Cherokee public and published in the *Phoenix*, the leader dismantles negative Native American stereotypes as follows,

The Indians were represented as incapable of learning the arts of civilized life, and at the same time, treated in the most uncivil manner. There were savagely revengeful, because they had the spirit to resent the murder of their friends & relations. There were rogues and thieves, because, not knowing the method of legal processes to obtain justice, and if they did, their oath decreed to be non-availing, they retaliated in the same way [...] They were stubborn because they loved the land that had been endeared to them as an inheritance of their fathers.<sup>31</sup>

Voices as impactful as this would have been silenced if not for the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Tragically, the *Cherokee Phoenix* ended in 1834, six years after its founding. Boudinot, the *Phoenix*'s influential editor, was originally against Cherokee removal, fighting it through the newspaper.<sup>32</sup> However, after a fundraising trip to Mississippi, Boudinot's views on removal changed.<sup>33</sup> He came to believe that removal was inevitable, and if the Cherokee wished to remain sovereign, they must move as far away from the U.S. as possible.<sup>34</sup> After his change in thinking, Boudinot could no longer write articles fighting Cherokee removal. Instead, Boudinot

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<sup>29</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 2

<sup>30</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 1

<sup>31</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 1

<sup>32</sup> Bethany Schneider, “Boudinot’s Change: Boudinot Emerson, and Ross on Cherokee Removal,” *The Johns Hopkins University Press* 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 152.

<sup>33</sup> Schneider, “Boudinot’s Change,” 152.

<sup>34</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate*, 1

sought to write articles convincing Cherokee to accept removal. Cherokee Chief John Ross, fervently opposed to removal, decided to censor Boudinot's articles on the removal issue,<sup>35</sup> triggering Boudinot's resignation. With such a prominent figure in the paper lost, the *Phoenix* struggled with funds and declining interest.<sup>36</sup>

Believing he acted in the Cherokee's best interest, Boudinot signed the Treaty of New Echota, even though he represented a minority amongst Cherokee, and not the true will of the Cherokee Nation.<sup>37</sup> The Treaty removed the Cherokee to modern day Oklahoma.<sup>38</sup> This led to the Georgia guard moving into Cherokee land, evicting Cherokee citizens and later, destroying the printing press.<sup>39</sup> Being forced off their lands, the Cherokee were unable to reorganize the *Phoenix*. The *Phoenix* also lost an integral political function, with many subscribers suddenly gone. The Cherokee's voice was wrenched from them. Seeing Boudinot as treasonous, the Cherokee Council ordered his assassination along with other signers of the Treaty of New Echota. On June 22, 1839, Elias Boudinot was assassinated.<sup>40</sup> The last issue of the *Phoenix* was released on October 19, 1833. It finishes by printing a letter from a devoted subscriber, reading,

Sir, I have been a subscriber to your paper [...] and it was with a feeling of regret and sorrow that I read several weeks since a notice in one of our papers, that the [sic] *Cherokee Phoenix* had stopped [...] When I think of the wrongs of the Cherokees, I am grieved-but when I think of Him whose throne is the habitation of judgment and justice, though clouds and darkness surround him, and read that the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous man availeth much [...] I do not give up all for lost.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Daniel Smith, *An American Betrayal: Cherokee Patriots and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011), 144.

<sup>36</sup> "About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate."

<sup>37</sup> Young, "The Cherokee Nation," 520.

<sup>38</sup> Treaty of New Echota, vol. 7 *United States Statutes at Large* 478 (1836).

<sup>39</sup> Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate, 1.

<sup>40</sup> The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 19, 1833, 4.

The letter finishes with, “P.S. Please consider me a subscriber for life, and when my remittances cease I shall have gone to my final home.”<sup>42</sup>

While the *Cherokee Phoenix* ended abruptly, it left a lasting impact, changing many people’s perspectives on Native Americans and removal. It expressed Cherokee identity and opinions around the U.S., revealing to Americans that Cherokee and other Native Americans were human and cultured. While *Phoenix* supporters couldn’t prevent Cherokee removal, they made it a national issue, even debating removal in Congress.<sup>43</sup> In the Senate debate on April 17, 1830, Maine Senator Peleg Sprague argued against removal,

Whither are the Cherokees to go? [...] They now live by the cultivation of the soil, and the mechanic arts. It is proposed to send them from their cotton fields, their farms, and their gardens, to a distant and an unsubdued wilderness [...] to remove them from their looms, their workshops, their printing press, their schools, and churches, near the white settlements, to frowning forests, surrounded with naked savages--that they may become enlightened and civilized! [...] And what security do we propose to them? A new guarantee!! Who can look an Indian in the face, and say to him, we and our fathers, for more than forty years, have made to you the most solemn promises: we now violate and trample upon them all; but offer you, in their stead, another guarantee!<sup>44</sup>

Through a newspaper, the Cherokee used their voices to influence American society, causing citizens to doubt and openly oppose the cruel treatment of Native Americans.

The *Phoenix* disproves many damaging Native American stereotypes, including the racist cliché of the “Silent Indian” that emerged later in cultural representations of the American West. While the *Phoenix* ended before the stereotype became prevalent in American frontier stories, it serves as historical evidence that the prejudiced stereotype had no validity. The “Silent Indian” stereotype was a common belief in the U.S. that Native Americans were

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<sup>42</sup> *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 19, 1833, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Malone, “The Cherokee Phoenix,” 182.

<sup>44</sup> 21 *Cong. Deb.* Senate 1st Sess. 356 (1830).



illiterate and unable to speak.<sup>45</sup> It appeared in literature, entertainment,<sup>46</sup> marketing,<sup>47</sup> and sports, especially with respect to myths about the American frontier.<sup>48</sup> This stereotype was created in order to portray Native Americans as savage or voiceless. Due to its large presence in society, Americans were influenced to believe Native Americans were apolitical, and thus, effectively unopposed to removal. The stereotype first appeared in popular literature about Western expansion, and when popular books were brought to the cinema, they reinforced and gave new life to the “Silent Indian” stereotype.<sup>49</sup> These movies influenced Hollywood and Wild West cinema depicting Native Americans as silent.<sup>50</sup> For Native Americans, transitioning from silent movies to movies with sound made little difference, for they were refused a voice either way.<sup>51</sup> When Native Americans spoke English dialogue for a movie, it was often played in reverse to make an artificial “Indian” language.<sup>52</sup> Thus, when Native Americans saw these movies, it was not any Native American language they recognized, but a manufactured gibberish. The stereotyping appeared throughout entertainment, convincing the public that Native Americans were “uncivilized” because they couldn’t speak. However, as evidenced by the *Cherokee Phoenix*, this stereotype is easily debunked.

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<sup>45</sup> “Stereotyping Native Americans,” Ferris State University (website), accessed January 16, 2022, <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/native/homepage.htm>.

<sup>46</sup> *The Lone Ranger*, season 1, episode 3, “The Lone Ranger’s Triumph,” September 29, 1949 (Introduces “Tonto Talk.”); *Stagecoach*, directed by John Ford (1939; Los Angeles: Walter Wanger Productions, 2010), DVD (Native American actors dehumanized and silent).

<sup>47</sup> “The Crying Indian,” 1971, Courtesy of Ad Council Archives, University of Illinois, record series 13/2/203.; “Native American group gets rights to famed ‘Crying Indian’ ad,” *CNN*, February 28, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/2023/02/28/us/crying-indian-ad-campaign-ccc/index.html>.; “‘Crying Indian’ Ad That Targeted Pollution to Be Retired,” *New York Times*, February 27, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/27/us/native-american-pollution-ad.html>.

<sup>48</sup> “Stereotyping Native Americans”.; *Reel Injun*, directed by Neil Diamond (2009; Toronto: Rezolution Pictures, National Film Board of Canada, 2010), Amazon Prime.

<sup>49</sup> John A. Price, “The Stereotyping of North American Indians in Motion Pictures,” *Duke University Press* 20, no. 2 (Spring 1973): 158.

<sup>50</sup> “Stereotyping Native Americans”.; *Reel Injun*.

<sup>51</sup> Martin Berny, “The Hollywood Indian Stereotype: The Cinematic Othering and Assimilation of Native Americans at the Turn of the 20th Century,” *Angles*, (2020): 13.

<sup>52</sup> Berny, “The Hollywood Indian Stereotype,” 13.; *Reel Injun*.

Each edition of the *Phoenix* disproves many prejudiced views of Native Americans, including the baseless stereotype of the “Silent Indian.” The Cherokee were extremely vocal, sharing their Nation’s voices in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. As the mouthpiece of the Cherokee Nation, expressing a deeply informed Cherokee opinion, the *Phoenix* used its voice to fight removal and refute claims of Cherokee savagery. The paper, printed in both English and Cherokee, confirmed that Cherokee could read and write in multiple languages, dispelling the myth of illiteracy.<sup>53</sup> Cherokee voice was constantly present in the *Phoenix*, advocating not just for themselves, but Native Americans around the country.

Today, the Cherokee are still using their voice to advocate for indigenous people and the Cherokee Nation. In January 2007, the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper was revived by the Cherokee as an online and print newspaper.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, part of the Treaty of New Echota granted Cherokee a nonvoting seat in the House of Representatives,<sup>55</sup> but the U.S. never fulfilled their promise. Now, nearly 200 years later, the Cherokee are pushing for the U.S. to honor their agreement.<sup>56</sup> If the Cherokee can secure the seat, they will be able to voice their opinions before Congress. Kimberly Teehee, nominated delegate for the seat, says, “We have priorities that are similar to other tribes when it comes to deployment of dollars, accessing healthcare, public safety, preserving our culture. This treaty right allows us to have a seat at the table.”<sup>57</sup> The Cherokee still fight for their voice today, embodying the promise of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The Cherokee used the *Phoenix* as a voice for the Nation, and the seat, if granted, will be used similarly.

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<sup>53</sup> Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, *New Echota Letters*, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Cherokee Phoenix (website), ed. Thomas Tyler, accessed January 17, 2020, <https://www.cherokeephoenix.org/site/about.html>.

<sup>55</sup> “Cherokees Ask U.S. to Make Good on a 187-Year-Old-Promise, for a Start,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2022, 1.

<sup>56</sup> “Cherokees Ask U.S. to Make Good on a 187-Year-Old-Promise, for a Start,” *New York Times*, 1.

<sup>57</sup> “Cherokees Ask U.S. to Make Good on a 187-Year-Old-Promise, for a Start,” *New York Times*, 4.

As the first Native American newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix* challenged views disparaging Native Americans as “uncivilized.” It speedily rose to become a prominent newspaper, garnering supporters worldwide. It accomplished its intended purpose to express Cherokee opinion, culture, and endeavors to wide audiences,<sup>58</sup> while confronting stereotypes and masterfully demonstrating that Cherokee were extremely vocal. In only six years, the *Cherokee Phoenix* broke barriers in journalism and society, defending Cherokee against prejudiced beliefs designed to alienate and dispossess Native Americans.

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<sup>58</sup> Perdue, “Rising From the Ashes,” 216.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

Boudinot, Elias. *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot*. Edited by Theda Perdue, Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 1996.

This book is a collection of writings by Elias Boudinot, edited by Theda Perdue and published in 1996. This book had information about Cherokee opinions, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, and Elias Boudinot. Through it, I learned about the history and purpose of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 6 Mar. 1828. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-03-06/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-03-06/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This is the first edition of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, published March 6, 1828. This source showed what languages were used in the paper, the paper's layout, and the paper's intended audience. The first edition of the *Phoenix* helped me formulate arguments concerning how the *Cherokee Phoenix* was used to express voice.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 20 Mar. 1828. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-03-20/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-03-20/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This edition of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper was published March 20, 1828. It presents information on Cherokee laws, civilization, patriotism, and poetry. This edition allowed me to formulate arguments about the *Phoenix's* purpose and content.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 3 Apr. 1828, p. 4. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-03/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-03/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper was published on April 3, 1828. I found information on the paper's content, audience, and purpose. This allowed me to determine who the *Phoenix's* intended audience was as well as the types of articles published in the paper.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 24 Apr. 1828, p. 1. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-24/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-24/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

Released April 10th, 1828, this *Cherokee Phoenix* issue contains information on Cherokee laws, Georgia's claimed jurisdiction over Cherokee land, and poetry. From this edition I better understood the paper's content, purpose, audience, and languages used.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 10 Apr. 1828, p. 4. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-10/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-04-10/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

Published on April 24th, 1828, this edition taught me about the author, languages, purpose, and voice, as well as information on advertisement costs, Cherokee laws, the Cherokee Constitution, the issue of Cherokee removal, and poetry.

Cherokee Phoenix. (Echota, GA) 14 May. 1828, p. 4. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-05-14/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020866/1828-05-14/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This *Cherokee Phoenix* edition was published on May 14th, 1828. There is information on subscription payments, Cherokee laws, and articles traded with other newspapers. This supported my analysis in understanding the Cherokee voice.

Cherokee phoenix, and Indians' advocate. (Echota, GA) 4 Mar. 1829. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1829-03-04/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1829-03-04/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This *Cherokee Phoenix* issue was published on Mar 4, 1829. It contained sections on religion, the Cherokee Nation's with Georgia, and letters from readers. This taught me about the purpose and content of the *Cherokee Phoenix* as well as public opinion and challenges facing Native Americans.

Cherokee phoenix, and Indians' advocate. (Echota, GA) 18 May. 1833. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1833-05-18/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1833-05-18/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This is the second to last edition of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, published on May 18, 1833. It references Cherokee removal and Georgia law. This issue helped me understand the nature of the end of the newspaper.

Cherokee phoenix, and Indians' advocate. (Echota, GA) 19 Oct. 1833. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1833-10-19/ed-1/](http://www.loc.gov/item/sn83020874/1833-10-19/ed-1/). Accessed 5 Mar. 2023.

This is the final issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, published in October of 1833. This edition includes sections on Cherokee removal and concludes with a letter to the editor about the upcoming end of the paper. From this issue, I grasped the purpose and challenges of the paper, as well as how the *Phoenix* ended.

“The Crying Indian,” 1971, Courtesy of Ad Council Archives, University of Illinois, record series 13/2/203.

This was a famous public service television advertisement from 1971 to promote awareness of pollution. This is a primary example of the “Silent Indian” cliché that appeared in media and marketing. This ad supports my argument as to the pervasiveness of the “Silent Indian” stereotype in American culture.

*The Lone Ranger*, season 1, episode 3, “The Lone Ranger’s Triumph,” September 29, 1949.

This is an episode of a popular television show called *The Lone Ranger*. The show introduces “Tanto Talk,” a damaging stereotype that Native Americans spoke broken and childlike English to cast Native Americans as illiterate and unable to understand language. This show demonstrates the pervasive use of the “Silent Indian” stereotype in popular entertainment.

"New Echota Letters." *New Echota Letters*. Originally published in *New Echota Letters*, edited by Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1968.

New Echota Letters, edited by Jack and Anna Kilpatrick, is a collection of letters to and from Samuel Worcester, a missionary who assisted the founding of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. I learned information on the *Phoenix*'s founding, impact, and supporters. This allowed me to support my claims about the paper's purpose.

United States, Congress. Indian Removal Act. *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 4, 28 May 1830, p. 411. *Library of Congress*,  
[memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=004/llsl004.db&recNum=458](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=004/llsl004.db&recNum=458).  
Public Law 21-148.

This statute was passed by the 21st United States Congress and signed into law by President Andrew Jackson on May 28, 1830. Allowing for the forcible removal of Cherokee and other tribes from their lands, it forced the Cherokee to march in a journey later called the Trail of Tears.” This document is important because the threat of removal of the Cherokee from their lands was of constant concern to the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the Trail of Tears led to the demise of the *Phoenix*.

*Register of Debates*. Statement of Sen. Sprague. Vol. 6, Government Publishing Office, 17 Apr. 1830, pp. 343-57. *Library of Congress*, [memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llrd&fileName=008/llrd008.db&recNum=359](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llrd&fileName=008/llrd008.db&recNum=359). Accessed 22 Jan. 2023.

This is a Congressional debate in the Senate by Senator Sprague of Maine, that occurred on April 17, 1830. Sprague argues against Cherokee removal, mentioning the *Cherokee Phoenix* in his speech. This supported my claims of the *Phoenix* influencing Cherokee removal in Congress.

*Stagecoach*, directed by John Ford (1939; Los Angeles: Walter Wanger Productions, 2010), DVD.

*Stagecoach* is a film directed by John Ford in 1939. It is an influential American-Western film about a group of travelers traversing the Western frontier with an imminent threat of assault by Native Americans. It is a primary demonstration of the use of the “Silent Indian” cliché in cinema.

Treaty of New Echota. *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, 23 May 1836, p. 478. *National Museum of the American Indian*.



The Treaty of New Echota was signed on December 29, 1835, in New Echota Georgia by the U.S. government and a Cherokee minority called the Treaty Party. It became the legal basis for Cherokee removal. This is important to my research because Elias Boudinot, the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, signed the treaty which led to the Cherokee being displaced to Oklahoma, as well as Boudinot's resignation as editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and his later assassination.

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