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. 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. Preexisting tensions between Georgia and the Cherokee were exacerbated when gold was discovered on Cherokee land. Georgian lawmakers also falsely claimed the Cherokee were “savage” and “uncivilized,” 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. The Cherokee Phoenix was born out of the need to refute false claims of savagery.

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2 Young, “The Cherokee Nation,” 505.
On October 15th, 1825, the Cherokee Council commissioned a weekly newspaper, called the *Cherokee Phoenix*. In Cherokee, *Cherokee Phoenix* translates to *Tsalahti Tsu-le-hi-sa-nu-hi*, or “I will arise.” The name was chosen in the hopes of having all Native American tribes “arise, Phoenix like, from their ashes.” 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.” 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. 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*. Boudinot founded the paper alongside missionary Samuel Worcester, who

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6 “About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate.”
7 Krupat, “Representing Cherokee Dispossession,” 16.
9 Young, “The Cherokee Nation,” 505.
10 Indian Removal Act, vol. 4 *United States Statutes at Large* 411 (1830).
purchased the *Phoenix’s* printing presses in Boston. 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. The first edition of the *Phoenix* was published on March 6, 1828, in New Echota, Georgia. 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, Boudinout included Cherokee laws, education, religion, art, and current news in the *Phoenix*. 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. *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. Like other papers of the era, the *Phoenix* traded articles with other newspapers in order to bring Cherokee opinions to white communities. Exchanged articles came from other newspapers like the *London Magazine Diary*, *Northern Whig*, *N.Y. Observer*, and the *Exeter Gazette*. The *Phoenix* routinely featured articles dealing with issues threatening the Cherokee Nation, hoping to educate political supporters. On the first

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15 “About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate.”
16 Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 90.
17 *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828, 1.
18 Brannon, “Metal Type from the Print Shop of the Historical ‘Cherokee Phoenix’ Newspaper,” 333.
19 “About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians Advocate.”
20 *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 3, 1828, 2.
21 *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 3, 1828, 4.
22 *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 10, 1828, 2.
23 *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.\(^{24}\)

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.”\(^{25}\) 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.”\(^{26}\) 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.\(^{27}\) 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.\(^{28}\) 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

\(^{24}\) *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828, 1.  
\(^{25}\) *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 24, 1828, 3.  
\(^{26}\) *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 2.  
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.”

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.

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.

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. However, after a fundraising trip to Mississippi, Boudinot’s views on removal changed. 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. After his change in thinking, Boudinot could no longer write articles fighting Cherokee removal. Instead, Boudinot

29 *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 2
30 *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 1
31 *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, 1
33 Schneider, “Boudinot’s Change,” 152.
34 *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,\textsuperscript{35} triggering Boudinot’s resignation. With such a prominent figure in the paper lost, the \textit{Phoenix} struggled with funds and declining interest.\textsuperscript{36}

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.\textsuperscript{37} The Treaty removed the Cherokee to modern day Oklahoma.\textsuperscript{38} This led to the Georgia guard moving into Cherokee land, evicting Cherokee citizens and later, destroying the printing press.\textsuperscript{39} Being forced off their lands, the Cherokee were unable to reorganize the \textit{Phoenix}. The \textit{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.\textsuperscript{40} The last issue of the \textit{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] \textit{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.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{36} “About Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate.”
\textsuperscript{37} Young, “The Cherokee Nation,” 520.
\textsuperscript{38} Treaty of New Echota, vol. 7 \textit{United States Statutes at Large} 478 (1836).
\textsuperscript{39} Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate, 1.
\textsuperscript{40} The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, 1.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{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.”

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. 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! 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 cliche 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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42 Cherokee Phoenix, October 19, 1833, 4.
illiterate and unable to speak.\textsuperscript{45} It appeared in literature, entertainment,\textsuperscript{46} marketing,\textsuperscript{47} and sports, especially with respect to myths about the American frontier.\textsuperscript{48} 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.\textsuperscript{49} These movies influenced Hollywood and Wild West cinema depicting Native Americans as silent.\textsuperscript{50} For Native Americans, transitioning from silent movies to movies with sound made little difference, for they were refused a voice either way.\textsuperscript{51} When Native Americans spoke English dialogue for a movie, it was often played in reverse to make an artificial “Indian” language.\textsuperscript{52} 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 \textit{Cherokee Phoenix}, this stereotype is easily debunked.

\textsuperscript{48} “Stereotyping Native Americans”; \textit{Reel Injun}, directed by Neil Diamond (2009; Toronto: Rezolution Pictures, National Film Board of Canada, 2010), Amazon Prime.
\textsuperscript{50} “Stereotyping Native Americans”; \textit{Reel Injun}.
\textsuperscript{52} Berny, “The Hollywood Indian Stereotype,” 13.; \textit{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. 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. Additionally, part of the Treaty of New Echota granted Cherokee a nonvoting seat in the House of Representatives, 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. 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.” 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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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, 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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58 Perdue, “Rising From the Ashes,” 216.
Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources


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*.


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.


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.

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.


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.


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.


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.
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.

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.

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.

This was a famous public service television advertisement from 1971 to promote awareness of pollution. This is a primary example of the “Silent Indian” cliche 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, 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.

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.


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” cliche in cinema.

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.

**Secondary Sources**

"About Cherokee phoenix, and Indians' advocate." *Chronicling America*, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83020874/. This is a source from Chronicling America. It had information on Elias Boudinot and the origins of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. From it, I learned about how the newspaper was founded and its intended purpose.

Anna Eddings, "Boudinot, Elias," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=BO025. This web page was written by Anna Eddings and published by the Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture. This web page was written about Elias Boudinot as the prominent editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. This helped me learn about the *Cherokee Phoenix's* editor and founding of the newspaper.

This is an article written by Martin Berny and published in 2020. It is about Native Americans and Native American stereotypes in Hollywood and cinematography. This supported my claims about the Silent Indian stereotype in American film.


This is a website about Samuel Worcester published by the School of Theology and written by Henry Warner Bowden. I learned about Samuel Worcester, a missionary who was influential in the founding of the Cherokee Phoenix newspaper. This supported my writing about the newspaper's founding.


This article, published in 2009, was written by Frank Brannon. It contained information about the printing of the Cherokee Phoenix. From this publication, I learned about the origins of the paper, the languages used, and the paper's end.


Under an Open Sky is a book written by William Cronon and published in 1992. It contains information on the Silent Indian stereotype and the Cherokee
Phoenix. This taught me about how the Cherokee used their voice and the purpose of the Cherokee Phoenix newspaper.


This is a news article published by the New York Times on February 27, 2023. It discusses the ‘Crying Indian’ ad which was recently retired with the rights given to a Native American organization. This article demonstrates how the ‘Silent Indian’ stereotype was used in marketing and media.


This is an article written by Arlene Hirschfield and published in 2018. From it, I learned about the Silent Indian stereotype, which helped me write about how the Cherokee Phoenix was a voice for the Cherokee Nation and informed me about the stereotyping of Native Americans.

Inskeep, Steve. Jacksonland: President Andrew Jackson, Cherokee Chief John Ross, and a Great American Land Grab. 2015.

Jacksonland is a book written by Steve Inskeep in 2015. It is about Andrew Jackson's conflict with Native Americans, specifically the Cherokee Nation. I learned about the purpose of the Cherokee Phoenix and the reason behind its founding from this book.

This article, written by Arnold Krupat, was published in 2005. It taught me about the origins of the *Cherokee Phoenix*’s name and the Cherokee relationship with Georgia. This aided me in writing about the paper's purpose.


This source, written by Henry T. Malone in 1950, contains information about the content and founding of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. It helped me understand why the paper was founded and the type of material contained in editions of the Cherokee Phoenix.


This is a CNN online news article published February 28, 2023. It is about the transitioning of rights of the ‘Crying Indian’ ad to a Native American organization. It demonstrates how the ‘Silent Indian’ stereotype was used in media and marketing.

This is an article written by Theda Perdue and published in 1977. This article provided information on the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s founding, the paper’s content, and its editor. This allowed me to understand how the *Phoenix* was founded and operated.


This is an article published by Duke University Press and written by John A. Price in 1973. It contains information on the “Silent Indian stereotype.” This article helped to learn about how the *Cherokee Phoenix* disproved the stereotype of the “Silent Indian.”

*Reel Injun*, directed by Neil Diamond (2009; Toronto: Rezolution Pictures, National Film Board of Canada, 2010), Amazon Prime.

This is a documentary film written and directed by Neil Diamond in 2009. It tracks the representation of Native Americans in film from the silent film era to modern Hollywood. It explained how the “Stoic” or “Silent” Native American stereotype evolved in cinema.


*The New York Times*, 3 Nov. 2022,


This is a New York Times news article published in 2022 and written by Simon Romero. The article examines the Cherokees' fight for the U.S. to comply with a promise of representation in the Treaty of New Echota. This taught me about
how the Cherokee use their voice today as well as the right to representation that the Treaty offered them.


This article, written by Bethany Schneider and published in 2008, contains information on Elias Boudinot and the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The article helped me learn about the Phoenix's end and the views of Elias Boudinot, the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.


The book *An American Betrayal* was published in 2011. It includes information about Elias Boudinot, Samuel Worcester, and the purpose of the Cherokee Phoenix. It helped me understand the background and views of the Phoenix’s founders, as well as the purpose of the paper.


This is a web page on the modern *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper website, published in 2007 by Tyler Thomas. It discusses the history of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and its modern revival. This helped with my research about the revival of the *Cherokee Phoenix* after a long period of dormancy.


This book, written by Richard White, was published in 1991. From it, I learned about Native Americans during western expansion. This book helped me learn
about the founding of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the events occurring around its establishment.


This source is an article about the Cherokee written by Mary Young and published by John Hopkins University Press in 1981. This article offered information on the *Cherokee Phoenix*’s end in 1834, the paper's founding, and the paper's editor and writers. With the information gained from this source, I was able to explain why and how the paper was founded and discontinued.