

Georgia State University
ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University

Communication Theses

Department of Communication

11-21-2008

Georgia Newspaper Coverage Discovering Conventional Practices of the 'Cherokee Question': Prelude to the Removal, 1828-1832

James Hollister Hobgood, Jr.

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication_theses

 Part of the [Communication Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hobgood, Jr., James Hollister, "Georgia Newspaper Coverage Discovering Conventional Practices of the 'Cherokee Question': Prelude to the Removal, 1828-1832." Thesis, Georgia State University, 2008.
https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication_theses/44

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Communication at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Communication Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gsu.edu.

GEORGIA NEWSPAPER COVERAGE
DISCOVERING CONVENTIONAL PRACTICES OF THE 'CHEROKEE
QUESTION': PRELUDE TO THE REMOVAL, 1828-1832

by

JIM HOBGOOD

Under the Direction of Dr. Leonard Teel

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the specific journalistic conventional practices of newspapers in Georgia as they focused on the “Cherokee Question” in 1828-1832, the critical period during which the state considered the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia. The research compares news and opinion texts in five Georgia newspapers with news and opinion texts in the newspaper launched by the Cherokee nation in 1828, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. While the conventional practices in the white-owned press tended to legitimize removal, the *Phoenix* adopted some of the same conventions in order to defend and negotiate Cherokee culture and issues.

INDEX WORDS: Elias Boudinot, Cherokees, Cherokee Phoenix, Conventional journalistic practices, Georgia, Indians, Indian Removal, New Echota, Newspapers, Nineteenth century, White press

GEORGIA NEWSPAPER COVERAGE
DISCOVERING CONVENTIONAL PRACTICES OF THE 'CHEROKEE
QUESTION': PRELUDE TO THE REMOVAL, 1828-1832

by

JIM HOBGOOD

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2008

Copyright by
James Hollister Hobgood, Jr.
2008

GEORGIA NEWSPAPER COVERAGE
DISCOVERING CONVENTIONAL PRACTICES OF THE 'CHEROKEE
QUESTION': PRELUDE TO THE REMOVAL, 1828-1832

by

JIM HOBGOOD

Committee Chair: Leonard Teel

Committee: Mary Stuckey
James Darsey
Kathryn Fuller Seeley

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies
College of Arts and Sciences
Georgia State University
December 2008

DEDICATION

To my late father James H. Hobgood, Sr., who was a true newspaperman in the best sense of the word; and my lifelong friend Jule Medders of Calhoun, Georgia, who has Cherokee ancestry and enlightened me on the rich history of Native Americans and their love of the land.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Dr. Leonard Teel. One would be hard pressed to find a better mentor. He is a gentleman and a true scholar of Media History.

To Dr. Michael Bruner, for his kindness and attention directing me toward enrollment in graduate school and through my first year.

My appreciation also goes out to Dr. Mary Stuckey, Dr. James Darsey and Dr. Kathy Fuller-Seeley. Their guidance with an older journalist new to academic writing was invaluable. Dr. Stuckey's expertise about Native Americans and political communication, along with Dr. Darsey's in Rhetoric, is amazing. Dr. Fuller-Seeley's knowledge and enthusiasm about media history, along with her love for academics, is always encouraging.

Lastly, to my family. To my wife Lou Ella for her constant support and the idea that the time had come for graduate school. And my daughters Mary Nevin and Hollis Rose for their joy- along with some technical support to help ol' Dad finally transition to the 21st century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
CHAPTER	1
1 INTRODUCTION & SIGNIFICANCE	1
Methodology, Research Questions	1
Terminology	3
Framing	4
Literature and Resource Review	9
2 THE CHEROKEE INDIANS-HISTORICAL SETTING	17
1821-1828	20
Governments of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia and United States	22
3 GEORGIA NEWSPAPERS	27
How the <i>Phoenix</i> Began	29
Operation of the <i>Phoenix</i>	31
White Newspapers	33
4 CONVENTIONAL JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES	37
White Press Conventions Adopted by the <i>Phoenix</i>	37
Reprinting of Articles from other Newspapers	37
Blending of News and Opinion	42
Government News and Printing of Laws	45
Religious and Moral Influence	53
Advocacy for a Cause-Opposing Removal	59

Conclusion and Limitations	72
WORKS CITED	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Cherokee Phoenix Newspaper	75
Figure 2: Cherokee Alphabet Chart	76

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION & SIGNIFICANCE

The struggle in Georgia between Indians and settlers of European descent became a subject of contentious press coverage during President Andrew Jackson's first term, 1829-1833, the critical period during which the state considered the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia. The views of the Georgia establishment were expressed in newspapers published in Macon and Milledgeville, then the state capital. In 1828, the Cherokee Nation in Georgia adopted the practice of journalism and began publishing news and opinion in its own newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Research for this thesis compared news and opinion texts in five Georgia newspapers with news and opinion texts in the *Phoenix*, revealing two significant characteristics of Cherokee journalism. First, the *Phoenix* adopted several journalistic practices, or conventions, used in existing establishment newspapers. Second, while the journalistic conventions in the white-owned press tended to legitimize removal, the *Phoenix* employed some of the same conventional practices to defend Cherokee issues and culture. This perspective of the Cherokee Nation seeking to negotiate for its rights and culture by adopting the other culture's means of communication, its journalism, provides a new perspective upon this struggle of Indians before the removal.

In the context of this clash of cultures, this study attempted to understand how, and then conclude why, the editor of the *Phoenix* made the decision to contest the establishment press in the field with similar weapons. Was the effort a failure because of the outcome of Removal?

Methodology, Research Questions

This study is guided by the historical methodology described in James D. Startt and William David Sloan's *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*. Their work has helped me

understand the significance of studies of this nature. They point out the importance of studying communication history:

Historians are interested in communication history for many reasons. Just as the media today help the public to gain understanding of current issues, so the media of the past enlighten historians about past public problems.¹

and the value of interpretation in history:

The most valuable historical writing is, in a sense, always interpretive. Every time a historian selects material and advances a generalization based on that material, interpretation occurs. Every time one attempts to probe the nature of change, one interprets. Without interpretation, historical study remains superficial, with no probing beneath the surface of facts to determine why events occurred and why people acted as they did. With no attempt to determine why, historical study provides mere chronology.²

The study of media and communication history and its interpretation, then, provides interesting reading for some, and provides the rest of us with one more path to obtain knowledge of our past and apply it to issues of the present. Other scholars recognize the value of historical interpretation. In *Practicing History*, Barbara Tuchman's recognizes the value of interpretation as an actual narrative, integrated themes, and analysis.³ Startt and Sloan argue that good communication history does not use a theory to choose a topic, but rather the topic chooses the theory, based on initial research of primary sources.⁴ This thesis uses the context of framing theory (as discussed in the section that follows) to analyze articles in newspapers from 1828 to 1832.

The following research questions will guide this thesis:

¹ James D. Startt & Wm. David Sloan. *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*. Northpoint, Alabama: Vision Press, 2003, p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 22.

³ Barbara Tuchman. *Practicing History*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1981, p. 5.

⁴ Startt & Sloan. *Historical Methods*, p. 206.

- 1) What journalistic conventional practices, used by the white-owned newspapers to legitimize Indian Removal, did the *Cherokee Phoenix* adopt?
- 2) How are those same conventional practices, in contrast by the *Phoenix*, used to oppose Indian Removal?

This thesis includes framing analyses of more than 300 articles primarily from four weekly newspapers, one in Macon and three in Milledgeville, one bi-weekly in Macon and the *Phoenix*. Excerpts from other Georgia newspapers in secondary sources were also studied. The Milledgeville papers were selected because they were published in the state capital, and Macon papers were chosen because it was a large and established city with two competing newspapers representing a section of the state close to Cherokee lands.

In Milledgeville, the weekly newspapers were the *Southern Recorder*, *Statesman and Patriot*, and *Federal Union*. The *Statesman and Patriot* published until July 1830 when it became the *Federal Union*. In Macon, the newspapers were the weekly *Georgia Messenger*, and bi-weekly *Macon Advertiser*. Every article from these newspapers viewed on microfilm from the period that included the word “Cherokee” was copied. Many others regarding the Creeks in Georgia and other Native Americans were copied, along with a sampling of articles about contemporary concerns such as European affairs, shipping reports, military and government news. These articles aid in determining major journalistic conventions and practical, economic and social context from 1828-1832.

Terminology

Native Americans were called Indians in the 19th century. Research for this study also found them referred to as Aborigines, Red Men, and occasionally as farmers and slave owners. Unfortunately, they were also called savages. Presentism in this thesis or any historical study

accords the present a privileged status and confuses reality, therefore the term Indian is used here.

Framing

Framing is a classic mass communication theory used for investigating and understanding communication and communication-related behavior across a wide range of disciplines. A media “frame” has been defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to reports about an issue,”⁵ a pattern for interpretation^{6a} means by which to classify and process information⁷ and make sense of events.⁸ While these definitions are similar, there is not one central definition for framing,⁹ and Robert Entman considered framing theory a “fractured paradigm” because of its many definitions.¹⁰

Current media framing literature proposes two levels of frame analysis: the individual, psychological frame, described as “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information,”¹¹ and a macro-level frame that describes the central idea of news stories. Essentially, there are two ways to analyze news frames: from the perspective of the news receiver (audience interpretation); and from the perspective of the news creator (the communicator). This thesis uses framing theory from the point of view that examines frames in texts, from the point of view of the communicator¹² as described earlier. These definitions of

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Scheufele, 2004

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ William A. Gamson & Andre Modigliani. “Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 1989, 95, 5.

⁹ Hallahan

¹⁰ Robert M. Entman. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication*, 1993, 43(4): 53.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² This method locates frames in texts for interpretation rather than examine the media- audience relationship part of framing.

framing are important because this thesis focuses particular attention to the ways in which the press framed Cherokees and Indians in news reports. Framing can be an organizing device that can help journalists present information in ways that give salience to some news and events over others. For Entman, framing as an organizing device essentially involves “selection and salience – to frame is to select some aspects of reality and make them more salient in communicating texts.”¹³ According to Entman, framing is the selection of a perceived reality “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”¹⁴ Thus, if this is the case, a frame has an ability to determine how people understand and interpret an issue.

According to Carragee and Roefs, framing theory emphasizes the ways in which frames organize news stories by their patterns of selection, emphasis, interpretation, and exclusion.¹⁵ Tuchman first applied a frame analysis to the study of news reporting, and believed that frames organize everyday reality for people.¹⁶ She also felt that the mass media set frames of reference that readers and viewers use to interpret and discuss public events.¹⁷ Pan and Kosicki viewed news texts as “systems of organized signifying elements that both promote the advocacy of certain ideas and provide devices to encourage certain kinds of audience processing of the texts.”¹⁸ Entman believed that, texts contain frames that provide sense and give coherence to symbolic information in texts.”¹⁹ Tuchman even suggested that the act of framing the news not only shapes

¹³ Entman. "Framing: Toward Clarification," 52.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Carragee and Roefs 2004, 215-216.

¹⁶ Gaye Tuchman. *Making news: A study in the construction of reality* (New York: Free Press, 1978).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Pan & Kosicki. "Framing analysis," 55.

¹⁹ Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification", 53.

people's perceptions of events,²⁰ but also ultimately constructs reality in a society.²¹ Clearly, the applications of particular frames in the news are an important part of the news making process.

Understanding how newsmakers frame information is an important part of communication research. According to Paul, in the process of framing news, journalists give stories meaning.²² Framing is about the choices that journalists make in the reporting of stories, and these choices affect the ways in which stories are interpreted.²³ A key part of news reporting is a journalist's "selective perception" – what he or she chooses to describe to audiences.²⁴ Liebes describes selective perception as a process which leads to alternative framings of news stories that are tainted with ideology, wittingly or unwittingly.²⁵ Gamson also points out that there may be no motive other than a conscientious effort to frame events in a way that the sponsor considers most meaningful.²⁶ He also recognizes that at other times, news framing can favor the interests of a particular organization that the source represents, helping it to further its programs or agendas.²⁷

Although the specific reason behind framing choices, whether conscious or unconscious, are infinite, Scheufele names five factors that potentially influence how journalists frame issues: social norms, organizational pressures, pressures from interest groups, journalistic routines, and journalists' ideology or politics.²⁸ The ideas outlined are useful to this thesis because this investigation focuses on the historical events that contributed to the social climate leading up to 1832 and ultimately set the tone for stories about Cherokees and Native Americans.

²⁰ Gamson. "Media Discourse and Public Opinion," 5.

²¹ Tuchman. *Making news*, 11.

²² Pfau, 2004, 76.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Liebes, 2000, 297.

²⁵ Ibid, 297.

²⁶ Gamson. "XXXXXX" 158.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Scheufele, 1999,

Understanding the social and political climate in which journalists' reported these stories will be helpful in this framing analysis.

Several framing devices can help construct reality in a society. First, some research indicates that negatively framed messages may have a greater impact on judgments than positively framed messages, and messages emphasizing losses may be more persuasive than those emphasizing gains due to action.²⁹ Negative messages may be perceived as more “important, salient, vivid, fear-inducing, and/or consequential” in comparison to positive frames.³⁰ Second, repetition of frames can perpetuate certain images and ideas. Entman believed that, “messages that appear more often in the media become more salient for the public and determine political and social priorities.”³¹

Third, omitting certain facts/details while excluding others creates concepts that impact public opinion and audience interpretations.³² Entman points out: “audiences are clearly affected if they perceive and process information about one interpretation and possess little or incommensurable data about alternatives- this is why framing devices is important in understanding how the Georgia and Cherokee press framed issues in the context of the movement toward Indian Removal.

Conclusively, framing is an especially useful concept in the study of media, politics and public opinion. Doris Graber defines a media frame as “reporting the news from a particular perspective so that some aspects of the situation come into close focus and others fade into the background.”³³ Nineteenth century newspapers were decidedly the major source of information

²⁹ Joel Davis. “The effects of message framing on response to environmental communications,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 1995, 72(2), 286.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Michael Delli Carpini, *Framing American Politics*, 2005. Doris Graber, *Processing the News: How People Tame*

on policy debates and served as important forums, and one could argue the central forum for issues to be discussed. Although this analysis is limited to conventional practices, an understanding of all facets of framing helps in the historical analysis of the articles making up the major conventional journalistic practices of this study. Conventional practices examined are as follows:

White Newspapers

- (1) Reprinting of articles from other newspapers
- (2) Government news and printing of laws
- (3) Religious and moral influence
- (4) Blending of news and opinion
- (5) Advocacy for a Cause
- (6) Commerce
- (7) European news
- (8) Political news

Cherokee Phoenix

- (1) Reprinting of articles from other newspapers
- (2) Government news and printing of Cherokee laws
- (3) Religious and moral influence
- (4) Blending of news and opinion
- (5) Advocacy for a cause

In addition, two other generic conventional practices adopted by the Cherokees should be noted. The very fact that a newspaper was started in the first place in 1828 is one, and the

the Information Tide, 1984.

printing of the English language edition of the *Phoenix* in addition to the native language edition is another.

Literature and Resource Review

The Cherokee Indians were among the five largest tribes residing in the Southern states in the early 19th century. (The others were the Creeks, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Choctaws.) The Cherokees lived in the upland and mountainous regions of what are now Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Although the vast majorities were eventually removed in the clash of the cultures of the white settlers and natives, the experience of the Cherokees has been recorded as the most infamous. The U.S. Federal Removal Act of 1830 and the events leading to its implementation aroused contemporary debate, and the removal of the Cherokees has engaged scholars and commanded public attention. Reasons include the fascination of the success of the Cherokees in adapting to Euro-American modes of life, their eloquence in attempting to forestall removal, and their enormous suffering in their forced emigration west over the “Trail of Tears.”³⁴

As reflected in newspapers of the era, the whole population in Georgia basically had two objectives regarding Native Americans. One was to “civilize” them. The civilizing movement began in the 1790s with an ambitious federal program to educate, Christianize and remold the American Indians into “civilized” people. The second objective was to acquire their lands. The two objectives often worked hand in hand for speculators, with one used to justify the other.³⁵ “Civilizing” Cherokees meant there was no need for vast territories of tribal land. Without the

³⁴ Raymond D. Fogelson, *The Cherokees, A Critical Bibliography*, pp. 19-20.

³⁵ John R. Finger, *The Eastern Band of Cherokees 1819-1900*, pp. 6-7.

need, their land could be acquired. The movement was supported by many thoughtful and well meaning settlers in addition to speculators with purely selfish interests. Many settlers felt that “civilizing” people to give them an opportunity to live as they did and learn about Christianity was the right thing to do.

National expansion soon became a fact of life, and a persistent and dominating force that was too strong to be checked. In Georgia, white settlers and the federal and state governments eventually abandoned the civilizing mission. Acquiring the land became the single focus. Defining and reducing Cherokee lands began during the colonial period and continued under the new national and state governments. The first treaty was with the colony of South Carolina in 1721. The first involving land in the colony of Georgia was in 1773 between the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs and the Cherokees. The initial treaty with the state of Georgia was in 1783. The first federal treaty with the Cherokees was at Hopewell, South Carolina in 1785, involving a tract in western North Carolina.³⁶ This was followed by a number of others during the next decade. Following the pattern that became a tradition with treaties between the new and indigenous Americans, nearly all reduced the tribal homeland a bit more. Treaties were the tool giving advantage to the white settlers, who were often the ones who later broke them. Employing the convenient logic of civilization, if the American Indians would just settle down to farming they wouldn’t need so much land to roam, leaving the extra land for the needs of an expanding white population.³⁷

Thomas Jefferson was the first President to suggest removal as a solution to the problem of Native Americans and whites living among each other. He originally believed the American

³⁶ www.tngenweb.org. Cherokee Land Cessions, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute 1884.

³⁷ Finger, pp.6-7.

Indians could make the change to “civilized” but later acknowledged that white society could not patiently wait for that to occur. In July 1803, while writing a draft of a proposed constitutional amendment to approve the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson suggested that the U.S. government might exchange lands west of the Mississippi for the eastern states land occupied by the American Indians. Although he decided not to introduce the amendment, Jefferson gained authority through the Louisiana act of 1804 to effect Indian emigration.³⁸

The question of Indian Removal was a hot issue among white Americans from 1825-1838. Easterners and westerners tended to view it differently. Easterners tended to believe policy integrating Native Americans into white society through education, intermarriage and Christianization was the plan most consistent with biblical and republican ideologies. This policy dated back to President George Washington. Westerners, on the other hand, tended to believe the Native Americans could never be “civilized” or Christianized, and often felt the “savages” should be removed from the land that they had not made proper use of. Particularly for westerners, it was not uncommon for them to believe they were predestined by God to occupy the land.³⁹ Cherokee scholar William McLoughlin surmised that even though the nineteenth century missionaries were charged to perfect the world by converting all to Christianity, they ended up being so ethnocentric that their focus on Indians often was only about spiritual salvation. “The republican ideology ceased to be universal and became exclusionary.”⁴⁰ In McLoughlin’s view, helping the American Indian often took a back seat to lofty ideals.

But the Cherokees were different. They did not require new land to demonstrate their

³⁸ Annie H. Abel, “The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), I, pp. 241-42.

³⁹ William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees, Evan and John B. Jones*, p. 5.

⁴⁰ William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*, p. 16.

cultural adaptability. By the 1820s many had left their towns and were living as nuclear families in log cabins, tending to small farms, like many of their white neighbors. An important cultural difference was that their land still belonged to the tribe. Some Cherokees, particularly those who were mixed-race, developed entrepreneurial skills and a capitalist outlook, owning black slaves, farming large tracts of land, and living in big frame or brick houses. Mills, stores, tanneries and ferries were owned by a few. Protestant missionaries established schools among them and converted a number to Christianity. Sequoyah's invention of the syllabary or alphabet brought about an increase in literacy, and the educated and articulate Elias Boudinot was a spokesman for progress as editor of the tribal newspaper, the *Phoenix*.⁴¹

By 1827 the Cherokees had established their own nation modeled on that of the United States. It was complete with a constitution, courts, and system of representation. They had a capital at New Echota, Georgia, in present day Gordon County near the city of Calhoun. They had a Principal Chief, John Ross, basically their president. One issue very important to Chief Ross was enforcing a tribal law against further sale of their lands. This outraged many white Georgians, who claimed the tribal government was unconstitutional. In the minds of these Georgians, the state government and constitution were the only ones that legally existed. The fact that many Cherokees did adopt ways esteemed by the white society did not necessarily mean there was a fundamental shift in their own values and culture. An example was Principal Chief John Ross.⁴² He was only one-eighth Cherokee and had the possessions of "civilized" life. Yet he was as steadfast as any "full blood" traditionalist Cherokee in resisting dispossession and removal. If a Native American retained such values, they were likely called "uncivilized" and

⁴¹ Finger, p.8.

⁴² Ibid., p.8.

⁴³ Ibid., p.9.

much worse by whites.⁴³ Scholars William McCloughlin and Walter Conser noted that the outward changes did not mean “that the Cherokees were assimilationist or decultured. In many respects they were strongly resistant to deculturation-as their determined opposition to removal indicated. What was taken by contemporary white observers as ‘civilization’ was simply the acquisition of sufficient skills for economic survival and for political self-government-part of a conscious strategy to resist removal and maintain autonomy.”⁴⁴ The Cherokees were simply doing what they felt they had to do to adapt in this new world brought about by white settlers.

The presidency of Andrew Jackson, an Indian fighter, inaugurated a foreboding time for the Cherokees. Jackson assumed office on March 4, 1829. His first annual message to Congress on December 8, 1829, reviewed the history of federal Indian policy, and he commented on the Cherokee constitutional government. Interpreting the political structure as an attempt to erect an independent state within an already existing sovereignty, Jackson asserted that the Cherokee Nation was unconstitutional. He proposed that an area be set aside west of the Mississippi for all tribes to occupy in peace. Although President Jackson seemingly allowed that Indian removal should be voluntary, he qualified his position by noting that if Cherokees remained in the East, they would have to become subjects of the various states. Thus, the choice was either to move west or stay put within the states as individual citizens without their traditional tribal life and laws. It was soon apparent that Jackson was determined to force the Cherokees to accept his decision.⁴⁵

This emigration should be voluntary, for it would be cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land,” Jackson stated. “But they should be distinctly informed that if they remain within the

⁴⁴ William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Cosner, Jr. “The Cherokees in Transition.” p. 702.

⁴⁵ Richardson, *Papers of the Presidents, II*, pp. 456-59.

limits of the states they must be subject to their laws.⁴⁶

While Jackson's stance on American Indian Removal gave Georgia free reign over the Cherokees, a study of his papers has revealed that he believed removal was preferable to inevitable warfare and annihilation. Jackson scholar, Robert Remini, has been viewed as an apologist for the President and Removal. Remini analyzed how Jackson made his decision.

It is difficult to believe--indeed mind-boggling--that Andrew Jackson, the Indian fighter, the stern commander of the Creek Indian War, actually acted out of concern for the well-being of the Indians and their civilization. Of course, it is unquestionable that he also responded to what he knew the American people demanded. But he could have sat on his hands, done nothing and let nature take its course, which undoubtedly would have meant annihilation for the Indian. Instead, as his private letters and official papers and messages repeated many times, he was most anxious to preserve Indian life and culture, and the only way he felt it could be done was to separate the races--separate them forever.⁴⁷

The Cherokees could not expect the federal government to protect them from the laws of Georgia. In December, 1828 Cherokee laws were declared void by the Georgia legislature. In 1829, eleven days after Jackson's address, Section Twelve in the December 1829 Georgia law also made it virtually impossible for an Indian to be protected from unscrupulous whites. The Cherokees were subject to Georgia's laws but could not use its courts.

Sec. 12: And be it further enacted, that no Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee nations of Indians, shall be deemed a competent witness in any court of this state to which a white person may be a party, except such white person resides within said nation.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, the first gold mines opened in the summer of 1829, and by the autumn prospectors flooded the region. The discovery of gold in north Georgia made Cherokee land even more valuable. The gold rush further undermined state and federal prohibitions against claims of

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 458-59.

⁴⁷ Robert V. Remini, *The Revolutionary Age of Andrew Jackson*, p. 111.

⁴⁸ Louis Filler and Allen Guttman, *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or*

American Indian lands.⁴⁹ Historian Althea Bass concluded that the discovery “determined the expulsion of the Cherokees.”⁵⁰ The economic value of the gold to white prospectors and settlers and the “get rich” mentality proved to be a powerful force. During this time the Cherokees’ newspaper, the *Phoenix*, was published weekly, with some exceptions, from February 21, 1828 until May 31, 1834. The editor declared in the prospectus: “It must be known that the great and sole motive in establishing the paper is the benefit of the Cherokees.”⁵¹ The paper published numerous letters from sympathetic whites, demonstrating support outside of the Cherokee Nation, mostly from the northern United States.

The paper printed stories of Southern support whenever possible. On July 3, 1830 one notable story reported that U.S. Congressman Davy Crockett of Tennessee led a small group of Southern legislators in voting against the Indian Removal Bill in the House of Representatives. Crockett called removal “oppression with a vengeance.”⁵² Crockett had his own love for the land and simply did not think removal was the right thing to do to the indigenous people.

The newspaper also included anti-Cherokee viewpoints. In doing so, Editor Elias Boudinot presented removal as a moral and political question facing Cherokees and whites. The paper countered stereotypes of Indians as uncivilized savages as well as those portraying whites as being superior. Boudinot was a missionary, college- educated school teacher and clerk of the Cherokee National Council. Boudinot hoped the paper would improve both the living conditions and image of Indians. The concept of improving a people’s image through a newspaper had become a common premise of frontier journalism.

National Dishonor? pp. 19-21.

⁴⁹ David Williams, *The Georgia Gold Rush, Twenty-Niners, Cherokees and Gold Fever*, p. 28.

⁵⁰ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger*, p. 108.

⁵¹ *Cherokee Phoenix*, prospectus. October, 1827.

⁵² *Phoenix*, July 3, 1830.

While newspapers promoted expansion, the assumption in the publications in the East was that “civilized” white settlers had a right to the land in America and were superior to the “savages.” As evidence given of this superior culture, papers contrasted address, religion, social habits and advanced weaponry.⁵³ This somehow made the argument that the occupation by the whites was both deserved and inevitable.

Between 1828 and 1832, newspapers in Georgia numbered around a dozen at any given time. These included the *Athenian* in Athens, *Augusta Chronicle*, *Augusta Constitutionalist*, *Columbus Democrat*, *The Enquirer* in Columbus, *Macon Telegraph*, *Savannah Mercury*, *Daily Georgian* in Savannah, *Southern Recorder* in Milledgeville, *Statesman and Patriot* in Milledgeville, *Federal Union* in Milledgeville, *Georgia Messenger* in Macon, the *Macon Advertiser*, *Rural Cabinet* in Warrenton, and *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*, usually called the *Cherokee Phoenix*. In Atlanta, founded in 1837, newspapers appeared in the 1840s.⁵⁴

⁵³ Wm. David Sloan, *The Media In America, A History*, p. 178.

⁵⁴ <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org> New Georgia Encyclopedia, 19th Century.

Chapter 2

THE CHEROKEE INDIANS-HISTORICAL SETTING

By the nineteenth century the Cherokees had lived in the interior Southeast, including north Georgia, for hundreds of years. Settlers of European ancestry began moving into Cherokee territory in the early eighteenth century. When James Oglethorpe and his men came from England in 1733, it is said that he was greeted with gifts from the Cherokees he met. When a chief appeared, Oglethorpe said to him “Fear nothing. Speak freely.” “I always speak freely,” answered the Cherokee chief. “Why should I fear?”⁵⁵

There was little reason for them to be fearful. They had to be fierce fighters to control their hunting territory which covered not only the Appalachian Highlands in the western extremities of the Carolinas and the northwest portion of Georgia, but also northern Alabama; the Cumberland Plateau in Tennessee- west to Muscle Shoals and north to Ohio- and even the interlocking borders of Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky. The Cherokees proved to be valuable friends to Oglethorpe’s colony, particularly in wars with France and Spain. On numerous occasions England would have lost her colony except for the unswerving fidelity of the Indian allies.⁵⁶ By the time the Revolutionary War was about to begin in 1775, the British were trying to get the Cherokees on their side. They passed out guns, hatchets, and gifts to the Cherokees.⁵⁷ The Cherokees did join the Brits against the colonies, but it was more due to resentment over the encroachment of white settlers on Indian land, not loyalty to England. This allegiance proved to be a mistake. The Cherokees suffered heavy losses and had many of their

⁵⁵ Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor*, p. 257.

⁵⁶ Marian L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation*, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Irwin M. Perthamm, *Red Men of Fire*, pp. 29-30.

towns burned.⁵⁸

From that point forward, the colonial governments in the area began demanding that the Cherokees cede their territory. By the end of the Revolutionary War (1775-83), the Cherokees had surrendered more than half of their original territory to state and federal governments.⁵⁹

In the late 1780s U.S. officials began to urge the Cherokees to abandon hunting and their traditional ways of life and to instead learn how to live, worship, and farm like white men. Many Cherokees embraced this "civilization program." The Cherokees established a court system, formally abandoned the law of blood revenge, and adopted a republican government. A Cherokee man named Sequoyah created the Cherokee alphabet, or syllabary to be more precise, which enabled the Cherokees to read, write, record their laws, and publish newspapers in their own language.

The Cherokee government maintained that they constituted a sovereign nation independent of the American state and federal governments. As evidence, Cherokee leaders pointed to the Treaty of Hopewell (1785), which established borders between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, offered the Cherokees the right to send a "deputy" to Congress, and made American settlers in Cherokee territory subject to Cherokee law.⁶⁰ Of course peace was not the result. In 1791 a second agreement was made with the signing of the Treaty of Holston. President George Washington's policy of "civilizing" Indians was in effect Article XIV of the treaty read in part:

That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry, and further to assist the

⁵⁸ R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians*, p. 38.

⁵⁹ Ibid., <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org>.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

said nation in so desirable a pursuit.⁶¹

After the treaties of Hopewell and Holston the Cherokees were forced by advances of white settlers to cede more and more of their land. Further “agreements” were made in 1798, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1816, 1817 and 1819 in which the Cherokees gave up some of their land across Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Thomas Parker describes what was left for the Cherokees in Georgia:

Of their original country a tract in the northwest corner of Georgia about a hundred miles square, or a little more than half the size of the original tract in that state. Slice by slice, according to the voracious appetite of the whites, the land went until the helpless Indian saw the mere remnant of what had been his.⁶²

The Cherokees had exchanged some land east of the Mississippi for land west of it (from the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase) in the treaty signed in 1817, and more of the same in 1819. Some Cherokees (estimated at less than 3,000) moved west while most increased their resolve to remain.⁶³ The Cherokee government, especially its principal chief, John Ross, took steps to protect its national territory. He then continued his work by making legal moves for the Cherokees as president of the constitutional convention. In 1820 the Cherokees formed the General Council (similar to a state legislature) whose consent was required for land sales or cessions. A law was also passed which provided the death penalty for the unauthorized sale of land or negotiation of land cessions. Indeed, they were tired of giving up their land, which at one time consisted of 40,000 square miles. In 1820 it had become 200 miles wide and only 120 miles long, the majority of it lying in Georgia.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Senate Document No. 542, 57th Congress, 1st Session, p. 25.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963, p. 69.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

1821- 1828

The Cherokee alphabet was invented by Sequoyah in 1821. Technically the system of writing he devised was a syllabary, or a set of written characters for a language, each representing a syllable. All Cherokee sounds were represented by 84 characters.⁶⁵ The Cherokees were also making educational advances in the English language. Protestant missionaries set up both schools and churches for the Cherokees. By 1826 there were 18 mission schools.⁶⁶ A few of the students attended the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut. Among those were future Principal Chief John Ross and *Phoenix* Editor Elias Boudinot.

Many missionaries were described as dedicated to the transformation of American Indian life. In an 1823 statement, the United Foreign Missionary Society Board of Managers looked forward to the time when “the savage shall be converted into a citizen; when the hunter shall be transformed into the mechanic; where the farm, the workshop, the schoolhouse and the church shall adorn every Indian village.”⁶⁷ Government policy and financial support was linked to this missionary outreach. Berkhofer explains that “Americanism rested upon a firm religious and moral groundwork in the opinion of all policy makers, and so naturally religion, preferably Protestantism, was presumed to be an inextricable part of the acculturation process for Indians.”⁶⁸

It is clear that the Cherokees came the closest to adopting the ways of whites as any Indian tribe. In addition to agriculture and commerce, various trades were encouraged by the Cherokee Council. *The Missionary Herald* published a list of possessions held in the Cherokee

⁶⁵ Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, *New Echota Letters*, Dallas: Southern Methodist Press, 1968, p. 9.

⁶⁶ Woodward, p. 140.

⁶⁷ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage*, New York: Atheneum, 1976, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁸ Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978, p. 150.

Nation, presumably to demonstrate the level of culture to which the Cherokees had risen. In 1826, the Cherokees held 22,000 cattle; 7,600 horses; 46,000 swine; 2,500 sheep; 762 looms; 2,488 spinning wheels; 172 wagons; 2,943 plows; 10 saw mills; 62 blacksmith shops; and 8 cotton machines. In addition, there were 18 ferries in operation and a number of public roads had been built.⁶⁹

An account of a journey through Cherokee territory in an 1827 issue of *Niles' Register* read:

We saw many Indians and half-breeds, who live in comfort and abundance, in good houses of brick, stone and wood. We saw several houses of hewn stone, superior to any we had ever seen before. The people seemed to have more money than the whites in our settlements; they were better clothed. The women were weaving, the men cultivating corn, and raising beef and pork in abundance; butter and milk everywhere. (later) We were at an election for delegates among the Cherokees to form a constitution. They were orderly and well behaved. No whiskey was allowed.⁷⁰

The first issue of the *Phoenix* newspaper, printed in the town of New Echota, appeared on February 21, 1828. The weekly four-page paper had columns in Cherokee and English. Cherokee leaders had begun planning a newspaper since 1825, when Elias Boudinot solicited funds to buy a printing press.⁷¹ A Boston missionary organization, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, sponsored Boudinot's efforts.⁷² The newspaper changed its name to the *Cherokee Phoenix* and *Indian Advocate* in 1829 to emphasize a desire to represent all Native Americans.

⁶⁹ *The Missionary Herald*, XXIII, p. 116, quoted in the *Niles' Register*, Feb. 13, 1830, 411.

⁷⁰ *Niles Register*, XXXII, July 7, 1827, 309.

⁷¹ Theda Perdue, editor, *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot*, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983, pp. 12-13.

⁷² Jill Norgren, "Lawyers and the Legal Business of the Cherokee Republic in Courts of the U.S., 1829-1835," *Law*

Governments of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia and United States

In charge of the first official Indian policy of the United States was President George Washington's first secretary of war, Henry Knox. Knox had experience in Indian matters and a clear idea about what relations with tribes should be. He believed the tribes were sovereign, independent nations and that the United States should recognize and respect their rights to self-government within their borders. He also believed the federal government had a moral obligation to preserve and protect Native Americans from extinction, but they should surrender their lands over time to accommodate increasing numbers of white settlers. Knox's approach was condescending and one-sided. The use of the term extinction points thoughts to animals. What if white settlers determined this policy was unreasonable? The policy boiled down to white expansion without detriment to the Indians.

With changes in their way of life on the horizon, namely a new country dominated by the white man, the Cherokees moved to organize politically. By 1792, the chiefs from the various Cherokee tribes had organized the Grand Cherokee National Council. By 1808, this system had been formalized and the Cherokee Nation emerged.⁷³

Despite these efforts, white people in Georgia and other southern states that abutted the Cherokee Nation refused to accept the Cherokee people as social equals and urged their political representatives to seize the Cherokees' land. The purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 gave U.S. President Thomas Jefferson an opportunity to implement an idea he had contemplated for many years—the relocation of the eastern tribes beyond the Mississippi River. There, Jefferson suggested, Indians could acculturate at their own pace, retain their autonomy, and live free from the encroachment of American settlers. Although most Cherokees rejected

and History Review, Fall 1992, v 10, n2: 260.

⁷³ Theda Perdue & Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal*, Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1995, pp. 9-10.

Jefferson's appeal, small groups moved west to the Arkansas River area in 1810 and 1817-19.⁷⁴

After the War of 1812, southerners like General Andrew Jackson called for the United States to end what he called the "absurdity" of negotiating with the Indian tribes as sovereign nations. The Cherokees fought with Jackson against the Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814. In spite of their help, he confiscated 6,000 square miles of Cherokee land. In 1817, the Cherokees enacted articles of government giving only the National Council the authority to cede lands. Georgia politicians, including Governors George Troup, George R. Gilmer, and Wilson Lumpkin increasingly raised the pressure on the federal government to fulfill the Compact of 1802, in which the federal government had agreed to extinguish the Indian land title and remove the Cherokees from the state. However, no president had indicated forced removal was a justifiable action.⁷⁵

In 1825 New Echota, the Cherokee capital was established near present-day Calhoun, Georgia. In October, 1826, the Cherokee National Council passed a resolution calling for election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The delegates met at New Echota on July 4, 1827 and by July 26 the constitution had been approved. Much like the United States, it divided the Cherokee government into an executive, legislative, and judicial branch. Of course the formal process and adoption of a constitution further antagonized removal proponents in Georgia. Georgia officials quickly attacked the formation of the new government as a violation of Article IV of the U.S. Constitution which forbids the erection of a new state within the bounds of an established state without permission.⁷⁶ The Cherokee National Council had advised the United States that it would refuse future cession requests and enacted a law prohibiting the sale of

⁷⁴ Ibid., www.georgiaencyclopedia.org,

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 13-16.

⁷⁶ Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956, pp. 84-87.

national land upon penalty of death.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected president of the United States, and he immediately declared the removal of eastern tribes a national objective. Forced removal had become a justifiable action by the words of the President of the United States, particularly in the case of Jackson, a frontiersman and a man who had been to battle both with and against Indians. Mary Stuckey describes his role:

Andrew Jackson spoke for “the people” as one of them. His rhetorical authority stemmed from his ability to articulate a view of history in which they could see themselves. The nation existed for them and those like them. This ideologically driven sense of “people-hood” was profoundly satisfying to those Jackson most needed to satisfy, facilitating the political work of nation building. In addition, this narrative, like Jefferson’s, placed events outside the government’s control. In advocating removal, Jackson believed he was advocating the only policy option that would not lead to the destruction of the American Indians. Jackson thus positioned himself as the guardian and protector of American Indian peoples.⁷⁷

In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which authorized the president to negotiate removal treaties. While the Removal Act did not specifically call for the use of force to advance relocation, the tide of popular demand that it be implemented immediately gave Jackson the power to withdraw federal protection of Indian boundaries. Although Jackson’s Indian Removal bill met with arrant criticism from the likes of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Davy Crockett, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Chief Justice John Marshall, it had the strong support of the settlers in the South.⁷⁸

In the meantime, there had been two important occurrences in Georgia that intensified the state’s march toward removal.

First, by an act of December 20, 1828, the Georgia Legislature provided that all white

⁷⁷ Mary E. Stuckey, *Defining Americans, The Presidency and National Identity*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁸ William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokees, Evan and John B. Jones*, Princeton: Princeton University

persons residing in Cherokee territory should be subject to the laws of Georgia after June 30, 1830. Furthermore, all Indians resident therein should be subject to such laws by the State, declaring that all laws made by the Cherokee Nation should be null and void after June 30, 1830.

⁷⁹ Basically Georgia had extended its jurisdiction over Cherokee territory and abolished the Cherokees' laws and government, along with setting a process in motion to seize the Cherokees' lands, divide it into parcels, and offer those in a lottery to white Georgians. Second, in July, 1829 deposits of gold were found in the northeastern corner of the state, in Habersham County. Auraria in Lumpkin County became an instant boomtown, reaching a population of 1,000 by 1832. The county seat of Licklog became the center of commerce, and it was renamed Dahlonega, for the Cherokee word *tahlonega*, meaning golden. ⁸⁰ Despite the popularity of other claims and the assumption that the Cherokees and other Native Americans before them certainly were aware of the gold, no documented evidence is found until August 1, 1829, when the

Georgia Journal newspaper in Milledgeville ran the following notice:

GOLD.—A gentleman of the first respectability in Habersham county, writes us thus under date of 22d July: "Two gold mines have just been discovered in this county, and preparations are making to bring these hidden treasures of the earth to use." So it appears that what we long anticipated has come to pass at last, namely, that the gold region of North and South Carolina, would be found to extend into Georgia. ⁸¹

With Congress and the president pursuing a removal policy, the Cherokee Nation, led by John Ross, asked the U.S. Supreme Court to intervene on its behalf and protect it from Georgia's trespasses. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, John Marshall, chief justice of the court, wrote that the Cherokees were a "domestic dependent nation" under the protection and tutelage of the

Press, 1990, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁹ Louis Filler and Allen Guttman, editors, *The Removal of The Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or National Dishonor?* Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1962, p. 5.

⁸⁰ www.georgiaencyclopedia.org, New Georgia Encyclopedia.

⁸¹ David Williams, *The Georgia Gold Rush, Twenty-Niners, Cherokees and Gold Fever*, Columbia: University of

United States. The court, however, did not redress the Cherokees' grievances. A year later, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, (missionary Samuel Worcester) the Supreme Court declared that Georgia had violated the Cherokee Nation's sovereign status and wrongfully intruded into its special treaty relationship with the United States. President Jackson, however, refused to enforce the decision and continued to pressure the Cherokees to leave the Southeast. The Cherokee Nation subsequently divided between those who wanted to continue to resist the removal pressure and a "Treaty Party" that wanted to surrender and depart for the West. This was the time leading up to the "Trail of Tears."⁸²

South Carolina Press, 1993, p. 24.

⁸² Ibid., www.georgiaencyclopedia.org,

Chapter 3

GEORGIA NEWSPAPERS

Although the *Phoenix* was not printed until 1834, the critical period of the “Cherokee Question” had ended in 1832. Evidence indicates removal was inevitable long before the first issue was printed in New Echota, capital of the Cherokee Nation, on February 21, 1828. The inevitability was demonstrated by numerous treaties since 1785, the election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States in 1828, and the white man’s discovery of gold in northeast Georgia in 1829. On the other hand, a serious struggle ensued over this issue from 1828-1832. A study of specific journalistic conventional practices of the *Phoenix* and white-owned newspapers in Georgia provides insight into the “Cherokee Question” and other subjects. The conventional practices in the white press that were adopted by the Cherokees in the *Phoenix* are the primary focus. While the conventions in the white-owned press tended to legitimize removal, the *Phoenix* adopted some of the same conventions in order to promote, defend and negotiate Cherokee culture and issues.

The news and opinion texts in five Georgia newspapers, along with news and opinion texts in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, were analyzed. The five white-owned publications include four weekly newspapers, one in Macon and three in Milledgeville, and one bi-weekly in Macon. Some excerpts from other Georgia newspapers featured in secondary sources were also studied. Milledgeville was the state capital, and Macon was a large and established city with two competing newspapers. In Milledgeville, the weekly newspapers were the *Southern Recorder*, *Statesman and Patriot*, and *Federal Union*. The *Statesman and Patriot* published until July, 1830 when it became the *Federal Union*. In Macon, the newspapers were the weekly *Georgia Messenger*, and bi-weekly *Macon Advertiser*.

As one media historian noted, white superiority was the prevailing view of the nineteenth century press regarding settlement by white people and the status of Indians.

Newspapers promoted expansion. The most basic assumption of frontier promotion in eastern newspapers was that white settlers had a right to the wilderness. British colonists, in particular, considered themselves “civilized” and, therefore, more qualified to manage the land than the “savages” who occupied the continent. Contrasts in dress, religion and social habits were seen as evidence of white superiority. A more destructive weaponry gave further evidence of a more advanced, superior culture. Even natural disasters or plagues that affected the Native Americans often became evidence of God’s displeasure with them and support for white control.⁸³

From 1828-1832, some exceptions to these attitudes are pointed out in this study, but the prevailing view of superior and “civilized” white settlers is evident in the newspapers in Milledgeville and Macon. Excerpts from opinions by *Phoenix* Editor Elias Boudinot demonstrate the other side. The Cherokees had pursued a “civilized” life and nation under the protection of the U.S.

It appears now that the illustrious Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe were only tantalizing us, when they encouraged us in the pursuit of agriculture and government, and when they afforded us the protection of the United States, by which we have been preserved to this present time as a nation. Why were we not told long ago, that we could not be permitted to establish a government within the limits of any state?⁸⁴

There are also some exceptions to the prevailing attitude at the Phoenix, but the general view of Indian life amongst the settlers is demonstrated by the actions and inactions of the federal and state government. Georgia’s legislature voted in December 1828 to extend its laws over Cherokee territory effective June 1, 1830. Boudinot assesses this activity as force and oppression.

⁸³ Wm. David Sloan, *The Media In America, A History*, Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005, p. 176.

⁸⁴ *Phoenix*, June 17, 1829, p.2.

This is no great matter of surprise when it is known that some of the officers of the United States have been clandestinely encouraging intruders into the nation. (Cherokee Nation)...and this encouragement was given upon authority of a letter from the President of the United States. (Jackson) The design is the same with that kept in view, if not avowed, by the proceedings of the State of Georgia, and the General Government: (US) the forced removal of the Cherokees. They will not effect this by open force, but they will wear them out by permitting, yea encouraging intruders to come in their midst, and by harassing them in other innumerable ways. This is what we call force—this is what we call oppression, systematic oppression.⁸⁵

How the *Phoenix* Began

In late 1825 the Cherokee Council appropriated \$1,500 for the purchase of a printing press and type, half of which was to be cast in Sequoyah's characters. At this early stage of planning for a national newspaper entered two men whose lives would become entwined in this project: Samuel A. Worcester, a recently arrived missionary to the Cherokee who had printing experience in his father's print shop in New England, and Elias Boudinot, a young Cherokee schoolmaster who had been educated at Cornwall, Connecticut, and at Andover Theological Seminary. It was through Worcester's intercession that the American Board in Boston agreed to help finance the Cherokee press. Boudinot, who had been tutoring Worcester in Cherokee, was sent north on a speaking tour to raise additional funds. Boudinot told his audiences of Sequoyah's alphabet, of the recent translation of the New Testament into Cherokee, of the tribe's adoption of a constitution and legislature modeled after those of the United States.⁸⁶

The name chosen for the paper at Worcester's suggestion, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was symbolic of the tribe's desire to rise Phoenix-like from its own ashes and join the white man on equal footing. At the center of the paper's masthead was the picture of a Phoenix, which looked rather like an Austrian eagle with outstretched wings, rising from a fiery launching pad. On both

⁸⁵ *Phoenix*, April 7, 1830, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Sam Riley, "The *Cherokee Phoenix*: The Short, Unhappy Life of the First American Indian Newspaper,"

sides of his wings was Cherokee characters that meant “The Cherokee Will Rise;” and below these characters, on either side of the Phoenix, the words "Cherokee Phoenix" appeared in English. On a scroll between the wings appeared the word "Protection." In February of 1829 the picture of the Phoenix was removed from the masthead and the words "and Indian Advocate" were added.⁸⁷

Two white printers, Isaac Harris and John F Wheeler, and a young Cherokee assistant, John Candy, were hired; and while they awaited the arrival of their press and fonts of type, the printers studied the Sequoyah syllabary. To house the press, the Cherokees had constructed in New Echota a one-story log building about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide. The simple cast-iron hand press and the fonts of type arrived from Boston in mid-January 1828, and from the first issue Boudinot editorialized against the growing specter of Indian Removal to the west, a threat so well reflected in the words of a song popular among Southern whites at that time:

All I ask in this creation
Is a pretty little wife and a big plantation
Way up yonder in the Cherokee Nation.’⁸⁸

The *Phoenix* prospectus announced some of the journalistic conventional practices it adopted. Those included laws and public documents of the Cherokee Nation and articles calculated to promote religion.

Prospectus October, 1827

As the great object of the Phoenix will be the benefit of the Cherokees, the following subjects will occupy its columns.

1. The laws and public documents of the Nation.
2. Account of the manners and customs of the Cherokees and their progress in Education, Religion and the arts of a civilized life; with such

Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 53-4, 1976, p. 667.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 669.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 669.

notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.

3. The principal interesting news of the day.

4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote Literature, Civilization, and Religion among the Cherokees.⁸⁹

Operation of the *Phoenix*

The paper was meant to serve the dual purpose of enlightening the Cherokees and pleading the tribe's cause by maintaining ties with sympathetic readers, mostly in the North. Reports on church news, farm news, politics, medicine, marriages, deaths, and accidents regularly filled the pages of the *Phoenix*. Perhaps as many as one-hundred other papers exchanged news with Boudinot.⁹⁰ News of other American Indian tribes was stressed, and substantial coverage was given the activities of the U.S. Congress and presidency. Human-interest was not neglected. For example, stories appeared about Sam Patch, a notable daredevil of that era; riverboat races, and cannibalism in the Sandwich Islands.⁹¹ Considerable attention was paid to the American West. Little humor appeared in the *Phoenix*, but in the custom of the day, essays and poems often did.

Unlike most other papers of its era, the *Phoenix* carried no patent medicine advertising. And aside from personals, legal advertisements, and ads for other publications, the paper's ad lineage (number of inches devoted to advertising) was inconsequential. Like most other periodicals having meager advertising content, the *Phoenix* had financial difficulties. An earlier account of the paper relates a wry comment by which Boudinot urged his subscribers to pay what they owed him. Subscriptions cost \$2.50 if paid in advance, \$3.00 in six months, or \$3.50 if paid

⁸⁹ Robert G. Martin, Jr. digital.library.okstate.edu, *The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism*, University of Oklahoma, 1947.

⁹⁰ "Letter from Benjamin Gold, Boudinot's father-in-law, to Gold's brother in Massachusetts," reproduced in the bulletin of the Georgia Genealogical Society, Indian Issue, 1968. p.450.

⁹¹ Riley, p. 669.

at year's end. To subscribers who could read only Cherokee, the rates were \$2.00 in advance or \$2.50 if paid within the year. Any person procuring six other subscribers could get his copy free of charge. Ad rates were listed at 75 cents per square for the first insertion, and 37 cents for each continuance. He quoted the publisher of another paper who had said that "many of his patrons would make good wheel horses, they hold back so well." Sickness of editor and printers as well as shortages of ink and paper hampered the regularity of the paper's publication. Some issues were short on news due to mountain travel conditions that delayed mail delivery.⁹²

In 1831, new difficulties arose due to the new Georgia law stipulating that no whites were allowed to reside in Cherokee territory after March 1 unless they took an oath to the laws of Georgia and were licensed by the governor. The law directly affected the *Phoenix* on February 19 because one white printer resigned under the threat of the new law and another, John Wheeler, was threatening to do the same. The February 19, 1831 issue was half its normal size (two pages). Boudinot explained to his readers how the residency law abridged "liberty of the press."

This week we present to our readers but half a sheet. The reason is, one of our printers has left us; and we expect another who is a white man to quit us very soon, either to be dragged to the Georgia penitentiary for a term not less than four years. And our friends will please to remember, we cannot invite another white printer to our assistance without subjecting him to the same punishment; and to have in our employ one who has taken the oath to support the laws of Georgia which now oppress the Cherokees is utterly out of the question. Thus is liberty of the press guaranteed by the Constitution of Georgia.⁹³

Shortly thereafter Wheeler was arrested, convicted and jailed in Milledgeville, Georgia. He was soon pardoned, however, after agreeing to leave the Cherokee Nation. The eleven

⁹² Ibid., p. 669.

⁹³ *Phoenix*, February 19, 1831.

missionaries then residing on Cherokee land refused to take the loyalty oath and were taken into custody by the Georgia Guard. Nine later relented and took the oath, and only Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler chose to remain imprisoned. Upon appeal, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in February 1832 in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia* that only the federal government had jurisdiction over Indians that Georgia's acts involving the Indians were null and void, and that Worcester and Butler must be freed. As aforementioned, with the support of President Jackson, the state of Georgia successfully ignored the Court's decision. There was a stronghold of prejudice and greed.⁹⁴

Finally Boudinot and many of the other “educated” Cherokees concluded that the cause was lost and that removal was the only possible course. In the *Phoenix* he had attempted to present a balanced view of the removal question, particularly as time passed, much to the displeasure of Principal Chief John Ross. Forbidden to publish any more pro-removal material, Boudinot resigned as editor in September, 1832 and was replaced by Ross' brother-in-law, Elijah Hicks. With this change, the editorials in the *Phoenix* became more forceful, but publication less regular. If the handwriting for removal wasn't on the wall when Jackson was elected in 1828, it certainly was in 1832.

White Newspapers

As Georgia entered the nineteenth century, whites published five newspapers—two in Savannah, two in Augusta, and one in Louisville.⁹⁵ An expanding democracy was bound to need more. By 1812 eighteen new papers had begun with varying success in newer communities as well as older, more competitive cities like Milledgeville and Macon. Political leaders required

⁹⁴ Richard Peters, editor, *Reports of the Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States*, Washington, 1857, VI, 515.

⁹⁵ Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism 1763-1950*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951, p. 30.

not only organs in which to publish their speeches and opinions, but also editors to advance their party's viewpoints and attack those of the opposition. The Troup Party represented a combination of coastal aristocrats and up-state planters who gave Georgia political leadership until 1830. The Clark Party, loosely organized of men from the frontier and pine barren communities, represented the opposition.⁹⁶

In 1824 the change from a legislative to a popular election of governors forced candidates to campaign in rural areas all over the state. Between 1820 and 1832 a number of politically oriented weeklies sprang up, including the five examined in this study. Politicians came to depend more heavily upon editors to rally voters to the new standards and organization. County committee meetings, personal appeals, campaign speeches and eventually state conventions were still the means of organizing political support. So the role of newspapers grew in importance as endorsement and publicity was continuously needed to further these activities.⁹⁷ This period also saw Georgia in conflict with Washington over the Federal Government's steady increase in tariff rates and its failure to remove the Creeks and Cherokees from the state. The Creeks were pushed out in 1827 and the peaceful Cherokees remained.⁹⁸

In *The Newspaper Indian*, John Coward describes the "pervasive ethnocentrism" of the antebellum era, beginning with prejudice.

In society and the press, Indians were routinely judged by Anglo-American standards, a practice that emphasized their perceived weaknesses and slighted their achievements. Racial prejudice, of course, helps explain such treatment. But prejudice alone does not account for the contrasting Indian identities found in the press in the antebellum era.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

⁹⁷ Ibid., Griffith and Talmadge, p. 31.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.32.

⁹⁹ John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian, Native American Identity In The Press 1820-90*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999, pp. 43-44.

The treatment of Indians was more complex, Coward explains, with the press taking on a variety of characteristics to explain the differences between whites and these “strange and exotic people.”

On one hand, Indians were regularly represented in the press as strange and exotic people, worthy of white attention-and even praise-precisely because they were so different. On the other hand, Indians were often explained as dangerously different, prone to irrational behavior and violence. Both identities were based on a popular racial determinism that assumed *cultural* differences between Indians and whites were inherently racial differences.¹⁰⁰

This representation by the press began with a premise that Indians belonged in a different category than whites, with distinctive traits that resulted in unpredictable behavior running the gamut.

Thus Indians were regularly and automatically placed in a different category than Euro-Americans; they were people trapped by a set of predetermined “Indian” characteristics-a unique set of qualities that caused them to be sometimes dignified, virtuous, and brave but also unreliable and violent. In other words, Indian identities in the early nineteenth century were arbitrary and unselfconscious, shaped by the racial ideology of the age as well as the particular historical circumstances that brought Indians into popular consciousness.¹⁰¹

The interpretation of Indians could be complex task. Not surprisingly, newspaper publishers varied in their approach. The non-urban newspapers, typically weeklies, reported on Indians more frequently than urban daily newspapers, but tended to highlight violence. On the other hand, the relatively open nature of news during the antebellum period allowed the diverse images of Indians described by Coward to emerge. Occasionally both rural and urban papers featured this range of ideas, including positive and sympathetic portraits. On a limited basis this was true of the newspapers in Georgia’s state capitol Milledgeville and the city of Macon.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Coward

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

The *Southern Recorder* started in Milledgeville on February 15, 1820. Seaton Grantland and Richard Orme were publishers. Grantland had previously published the *Georgia Journal*, the first newspaper in Milledgeville, and Orme had been a member of his staff. E.H. Burritt's *Statesman and Patriot* started five years later and lasted until the July 3, 1830 issue. Not coincidentally, John G. Polhill's *Federal Union* began publication in Milledgeville the following Saturday on July 10, 1830. He used the printing equipment of the discontinued *Statesman and Patriot*, so as aforementioned in most accounts the name of the newspaper simply changed, along with the publisher.¹⁰³ Major Matthew Robertson started the *Georgia Messenger* across the river from Macon at Fort Hawkins on March 21, 1823.¹⁰⁴ Eight years later, Marmaduke (M.J.) Slade printed the first issue of the *Macon Advertiser Mercantile and Commercial Intelligencer*, usually referred to as the *Advertiser*.¹⁰⁵ The excerpts included from three other Georgia papers included in the study are, along with its year of inception: *Columbus Democrat*, 1830; *Athenian*, 1828; *Augusta Chronicle*, 1789.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Griffith and Talmadge, p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

¹⁰⁶ Griffith and Talmadge, p. 31.

Chapter 4

CONVENTIONAL JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES

White Press Conventions Adopted by the *Phoenix*

The *Phoenix* adopted several primary journalistic or conventional practices used in white establishment newspapers. Also referred to as conventions, these practices included reprinting of articles from other newspapers; government news and printing of laws; religious and moral influence; advocacy for a cause; and blending of news and opinion. Before the focus turns to the advocacy for a cause convention relating to arguments against removal of the Cherokees, consideration and discussion will be given to examples of other conventional practices adopted by the *Phoenix*.

Reprinting of Articles from other Newspapers

Reprinting of news stories, letters of opinion and editorial comment from other newspapers was common in the Milledgeville and Macon papers. This was common practice, particularly in the time before the telegraph and news services emerged in the 1840s.¹⁰⁷ Editors shared subscriptions and chose copy to fill their pages, depending on how much state and local news was available. A publication could choose to reinforce its own editorial stance, provide readers with opposing viewpoints, or both. The *Phoenix* adopted these same practices, as in this 1829 reprint from the *Savannah Georgian* when Boudinot begins with an editor's note.

The following is from the *Savannah Georgian*. From what authority the editor of the Journal obtained his information we know not.

The Cherokees we learn from the Georgia Journal, by which it is stated of good authority, are making extensive arrangements to go west of the Mississippi. The whole of the Hicks family, are going. Charles Hicks, it will be remembered, was, previous to his death, the head Chief, or King of

¹⁰⁷ www.ap.org/pages/about/history , Associated Press.

the nation, a situation which he filled with great dignity, credit to himself, and usefulness to his people. His family connections still retain great weight in the councils of the nation; and when they go, the example, we think, will be extensively followed. The correct stand taken by the present administration with regard to the Indians within the limits of that states, must have the best effects, not only in establishing the rights of the states, but, by tending to induce the emigration of the Indians, eventually to secure the most permanent and greatest benefit to them.¹⁰⁸

The Cherokees often made up the subject matter of the reprinted articles chosen for the *Phoenix*, particularly regarding Indian Removal.

Reprints were often lumped together, as in a *Charleston (S.C.) Courier* story carried on the front page of Milledgeville's January 2, 1830 *Statesman and Patriot*. It was joined with other stories under the "DOMESTIC" headline

Caution to Masters of Vessels- Recently the officers of the Revenue Cutters in Chesapeake Bay, seized all the vessels found on that bay which had not their names and that of the port out of which they started, painted on their sterns in WHITE letters THREE inches in length, on a black ground. A Baltimore paper states, that the Secretary of the Treasury has offered all those vessels so seized, to be released, and their papers restored to them; but it is estimated in future, all vessels neglecting this requisition, will be dealt with according to the strict tenor of the Law.¹⁰⁹

Rather important news about an old navigation law, if one had any connection to activities up and down the east coast, such as the shipment of goods. The Charleston paper obtained the news from the Baltimore paper prior to its publication in Milledgeville. The article ends much as it began, in the form of an announcement.

It would therefore appear that any other colors than white and black would be no better security than having no name at all on the stern. This fact, we presume, is known to but few captains of vessels either in the European or Coasting trade. We therefore have thought proper to call their attention to it. It is an old law, but we believe has not before been enforced.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ *Phoenix*, June 24, 1829, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Statesman & Patriot*, January 2, 1830, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ *Statesman & Patriot*, January 2, 1830, p. 1.

Reprints about shipping and trade, along with business news from European newspapers, are also found in the other white papers. The newspaper's value for spreading news and information by reprints could be great. In this particular example the value is high for the captains at sea. In the case of the Indian Removal issue, the *Phoenix* and some other papers used the conventional practice advocating a cause through the practice of reprinting. The newspaper's value shifted to potentially influencing public opinion and possibly government.

Other examples of subjects covered are Milledgeville's *Southern Recorder* ran a story in its June 20, 1829 issue from the *Savannah Republic* that "Colonel Joel Bailey opened a large and extensive hotel in vicinity of Indian Spring, the water which, from its mineral qualities, has long since been considered beneficial to the relief of almost every incident of poor human nature. It is a healing situation, and the country around it is picturesque and romantic."¹¹¹

Other examples of reprints were those from the *Columbus (GA.) Enquirer* regarding the Creek Indians. A story from the *Enquirer* in an October 1829 issue of Macon's *Georgia Messenger* reported that the Indian Council met in the Creek Nation and that Governor Carroll of Tennessee had been appointed by President Jackson to visit both the Creek and Cherokee Nations to learn their views on emigration.¹¹² An example from the final white paper analyzed- *The Federal Union* in Milledgeville-comes from a reprint from the *New York Standard*. The June, 1832 article focused on inquiries into the depository for federal funds, the Second Bank of the United States.¹¹³ President Jackson opposed the concentration of national money and vetoed the renewal of its charter in November 1832. Along with removal, states rights and tariffs, the

¹¹¹ *Southern Recorder*, June 20, 1829, p. 3.

¹¹² *Georgia Messenger*, October 3, 1829, p. 3.

¹¹³ *The Federal Union*, June 7, 1832, p. 3.

bank was one of the most important issues of the day. News on states rights and tariffs primarily represent political conventions, along with government; and the national bank coverage represented both commerce and political conventional practices. Henry Clay supported the bank and challenged Jackson for President in 1832.¹¹⁴

More than any other reason, the *Phoenix* adopted the reprinting conventional practice to inform its readers, American Indians and whites, of what other publications were printing about the ‘Cherokee Question’ and the Cherokees. In this respect, reprinting worked hand in hand with the most important conventional practice adopted by the *Phoenix*-advocacy for a cause. The creation of the *Phoenix* during this time of struggle made it so, if the paper was to measure to its standard of being “a great object to be the benefit of the Cherokees.”¹¹⁵ Boudinot explained this responsibility in the *Phoenix* in February, 1829 after completing one year of publishing the paper.

The paper is sacred to the cause of Indians, and the editor will feel himself especially bound as far as his time, talents, and information will permit, to render it as instructive and entertaining as possible to his brethren, and endeavor to enlist the friendly feelings and sympathies of his subscribers abroad, in favor of the aborigines.¹¹⁶

Boudinot completes the succinct editorial with reference to the serious challenges Cherokees and other Indians face with the U.S. (General) Government. At this juncture it is decided to add the portion of the paper’s name to read *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*.

As the present policy of the General Government, the removal of all the Indians beyond the limits of organized States or territories, is assuming an important aspect, the editor will feel himself bound to lie before his readers all that may be said on this subject, particularly the objections against this measure of the Government.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945, pp. 89-91.

¹¹⁵ Martin, *Phoenix* prospectus.

¹¹⁶ *Phoenix*, February 11, 1829, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*.

When editorials espoused opposing views or Boudinot felt there were factual errors, the *Phoenix* editor often included editorial comment of his own, basically an editor's note. An October 1828 story regarding removal (emigration in this case) reprinted from the *Athenian* in Athens, Georgia caused Boudinot to offer these rather direct comments.

We are sorry that we Indians are so frequently misrepresented. The following is from the *Athenian*. The two commissioners in the service of the General Government are probably the two Arkansas Cherokees, James Rogers and Thomas Maw, for whom, for selling their country, poles have been erected on which to hang their heads--this is done by their citizens over the Mississippi. There are no poles here for them. Whether these men are entitled to the dignified appellation of Commissioners of the United States, we know not. They have not been introduced to us, by the General Government--they may, for aught we know, be secret agents, a fact the gentleman direct from Tennessee, probably was well acquainted. Those editors who exchange with us, and have copied the article in question, would do us a favor by making public this explanation.¹¹⁸

Boudinot answered the apparently outrageous charge of threats on the lives of the commissioners and requested that fellow newspaper editors print his explanation. The story written in the *Athenian* is represented as factual, based on the "authority of a gentleman, direct from Tennessee." Colonel Hugh Montgomery headed the Cherokee Indian Agency East based in Calhoun, Tennessee during this period.¹¹⁹ Boudinot identified the story with the first sentence.

The following is the story written in the *Athenian*:

It is reported on the authority of a gentleman, direct from Tennessee, that two Commissioners in the service of the General Government, and acting under its authority, are now executing their commission within the Cherokee Nation, in endeavoring to excite a spirit of emigration to the West. The effect is represented as being not only unpopular, but hazardous in the extreme, their lives having been threatened, and poles erected on which to exhibit their heads. The Agent, Colonel Hugh Montgomery, it is also stated, has received instruction from the War Department, to accompany them, and to protect them against the execution of the threat by which they are menaced. Should the measure be successful, which is

¹¹⁸ *Phoenix*, Wednesday, October 15, 1828, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Deborah L. James, "Hugh Montgomery and the Cherokee Indian Agency 1824-1834," Georgia State University, 1994.

highly uncertain, the names of those disposed to emigrate, will hereafter be enrolled, and measures taken for their removal.¹²⁰

Blending of News and Opinion

In the *Athenian* account above, along with Boudinot's response, the conventional practice of blending news and opinion is also used. This convention adopted from the white press by Boudinot gave him an avenue both to be positive about the Cherokees and to rebut those who were negative about the Cherokees and pushed for their removal. Boudinot was given such an opportunity in May 1828 when E.H. Burritt, editor of Milledgeville's *Statesman & Patriot*, charged a "system of thievery" and "frequent murders" existed among the Cherokees attempts to be "civilized."

"Though much has been said about the Cherokee civilization, we are of opinion that many strides must be taken before those Indians may with truth be termed a civilized people. The Phoenix of the 2d instant furnishes matter of ill omen as to the success of the new constitution. A system of thievery, by which property is run into the white settlement, is said to exist even around New Echota; and frequent murders are committed without the perpetrators being apprehended or brought to trial!"¹²¹

Boudinot's brusque response refutes Burritt and immediately uses his words from the Milledgeville paper to question the white men, not the Indians. The *Phoenix* editor wonders how many strides the white men must take "before they can with truth be termed a civilized people." Then Boudinot makes serious charges of his own, including the behavior of Georgia's civil officers.

This Editor, perhaps, is not aware that the instigators, leaders and principals, of this system of thievery are whitemen, citizens of Georgia. He will inform us how many strides, these must take "before they can with truth be termed a civilized people." We are told, (and we have no reason to dispute it) that our white neighbors, who have taken the place of our more honest neighbors Creeks, are continually trespassing on the rights of our

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ *Phoenix*, Wednesday, May 14, 1828, p.2.

citizens, by stealing every species of property, and they do it with impunity. Some of these men it is said are civil officers of the State of Georgia, the very same persons to whom the proclamation of his Excellency Gov. Forsythe is directed.¹²²

Boudinot closes with a question that rings of frustration with Burritt over the Milledgeville editor's apparent lack of understanding how the tribe felt about the land they occupied. The huge difference in cultures is demonstrated. The same Editor, speaking upon what we had formerly said, respecting the right of the Cherokees to the lands now in their possession, on the ground of occupancy, observes, "Strolling over a country is somewhat different from a permanent occupancy." Query. What kind of occupancy have those, who have never even strolled over a country?¹²³

On a different note, the *Phoenix* quickly disputed the notion that a second Native American newspaper was in the works. The *New York Advertiser*, a paper that supported the rights and independence of the Cherokee Nation, printed the article courtesy of the *Columbus Enquirer* (GA) in April 1828.

A MISTAKE CORRECTED

We notice the following in the N. Y Advertiser. "A second Indian newspaper is stated in the Philadelphia Democratic Press, to be published under the patronage of the Cherokee Nation. It is to be printed at Columbus, on the Chattahoochee River in Georgia, under the title of the "Columbus Enquirer."

The above is altogether a mistake, which probably originated from the establishment of the Cherokee Phoenix, the only Indian paper, we believe, in existence. - At present, Georgia would be quite an unfavorable place for publishing an Indian paper.¹²⁴

Many editorials reprinted from other newspapers opposed removal and were sympathetic to the Cherokee cause, particularly from northern states, such as the *Syracuse Advertiser* (NY) in September 1829. The editor reveals changes resulted after time for reflection on the issues and facts.

¹²² Ibid., *Phoenix*.

¹²³ Ibid., *Phoenix*

Indians and the Outrages. We have some reason or other heretofore been a little prejudiced against the aborigines; but since becoming acquainted with some facts, and witnessing repeated invasions of their rights, and a manifestation on the part of the whites of an entire disregard of their claims, our feelings have in a measure been enlisted in their behalf.¹²⁵

Following his assessment of the Cherokees, a major cultural argument for the times is proposed in strong words by the editor in Syracuse. The behavior of the Indians is not the problem; it is the “merciless and cruel” whites living nearby who are usually to blame for conflict.

Whatever their conduct was during the war, and whatever may be the prevailing opinion through the country relative to them, we cannot consider them otherwise at present than being very quiet and peaceable when left unmolested. That the character and disposition of this defenseless race of beings has been very much misrepresented will appear apparent by referring back to past difficulties and their causes. It is not the Indians that are so savage, quarrelsome and such lovers of blood. It is the whites who reside near them that are merciless and cruel. It is their meanness of spirit which causes in most instances what is termed the “Indian Outrages”--their skill in getting from the red man all he has that is valuable for a mere song.¹²⁶

Several editorials illustrate Boudinot’s stance on the rising state of “civilization” among the Cherokee. On January 21, 1829, he wrote an editorial describing the past, “savage” life of Cherokees, about which Boudinot says he knows not, since he was “born under an era of reformation.”¹²⁷ The article seems calculated to dispel prejudices against the Cherokees by claiming “a new order of things” has replaced the old. A reprint of a *New York Advertiser* editorial in April 1828 refers to these “advances” and “improvements” and reinforces this stance of the *Phoenix* editor, tied with opposition to removal.

¹²⁴ *Phoenix*, April 17, 1828, p. 3.

¹²⁵ *Phoenix*, September 23, 1829, p. 2.

¹²⁶ *Phoenix*, September 23, 1829, p. 2.

¹²⁷ Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, p.102-03.

A Second Troup - His Excellency Governor Forsyth, of Georgia, appears to possess a full portion of the spirit of his predecessor, in the office of chief magistrate of the above mentioned state. It is well known that the Cherokee Indians in the state of Georgia, have made such advances in civilization and the arts, as to have established over themselves a regular form of government, with tribunals of justice, &c. and that they are making rapid advances in every species of improvement in civilized life. Among other things they have established schools, and a printing press, and bid fair, in short time, to become a well ordered, respectable community.-- In this state of things, and with such a prospect before them, Governor Forsyth has issued a proclamation, the object of which is obvious. It is to break up this tribe, drive them away after the Creeks to the wilderness, crush every effort towards civilization, and destroy all the hopes of improvement which have thus far been entertained in behalf of this injured people.--N. Y. Daily Advertiser ¹²⁸

While Boudinot explicitly stated his wishes to avoid articles that were “too intemperate and too personal,” sectarian or doctrinal religious issues, and the politics and affairs of “the surrounding states,” including the Presidential election, he did declare his intention to “invariably and faithfully state the feelings of the majority of our people.” ¹²⁹ These principles devoted the paper to “national purposes,” including printing the public documents of the nation, and to “matters relating to the welfare and condition of the Cherokees as a people.”¹³⁰

Government News and Printing of Laws

The conventional practice of printing official government activities, including the passage of laws and the full text of speeches and letters by government officials, was quite popular in the white papers examined in Milledgeville and Macon. The *Phoenix* certainly adopted these practices as well. According to the prospectus, the first subject listed to “occupy its

¹²⁸ *Phoenix*, April 3, 1828, p. 3.

¹²⁹ *Phoenix*, February 18, 1828, p. 1.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

columns” was “the laws and public documents of the Nation.”¹³¹ It quickly became clear that government news would include Georgia and the United States when Boudinot wrote this ominous story about state government activity in just the second issue of the *Phoenix*, on February 28, 1828.

NEW ECHOTA We publish today a part of a Report of a joint Committee, in the Legislature of Georgia on the Cherokee lands. We think it proper that those of our readers in this Nation, who have not seen this extraordinary document, should be informed of the proceedings of some of those we are accustomed to call, elder brothers. This report is direct with very strong language, and had we never before realized a similar specimen of "moderation" roam that quarter, we should consider ourselves in a serious dilemma.¹³²

Seemingly surprised by the aggressive action by some on the committee of the Georgia Legislature, this early editorial reflected Boudinot’s ability to garner sympathy for his people. He was among those few that gave speeches about his tribe to help raise funds for the *Phoenix*, and some of those skills likely shaped his work when writing an opinion. Continuing to express disappointment in the next portion of the story, his appeal on humanitarian and religious grounds provides early insight into how he will embrace this issue personally and professionally.

The present would certainly be a troublesome time with us, if our welfare depended on the will of the Committee, we do not say the people of Georgia, for we are unwilling to suppose, that the principles contained in the report can ever meet with the approbation of the people of a Christian state. We have had our trials and difficulties never to find a resting place, never to enjoy a spot of ground which they can call their own, and which their white brethren will ever condescend to do them the kindness if not justice, to acknowledge as such.¹³³

The federal government is called the “General Government” by Boudinot. This article illustrates the hope of a fair outcome to the ‘question’ (especially with the General Government)

¹³¹ Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, p.89-90.

¹³² *Phoenix*, February 28, 1828.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, *Phoenix*.

and sets an early stage for the *Phoenix* to adopt the advocacy for a cause conventional practice used by the white press. That convention becomes the most important strategy in the paper's role against removal.¹³⁴

At such times as the present, we have been wont to look to the General Government for aid, and justice requires us to say, not in vain. We have full reason to believe that it will not now forsake us, and deliver us up to those who seek our hurt. -- We beg our readers to peruse the extract of the Report of the "Committee on Indian Affairs," in the House of Representatives which we publish today.¹³⁵

The example of the government news convention also includes editorial comments from Boudinot, adding the conventional practice of blending news and opinion. He expresses optimism for future dealings with the U.S. government, and asks *Phoenix* readers to hope for cooperation as well.

CONGRESS

We hope the kind feelings of the General Government towards the Indians will be continued, notwithstanding the hot talk of the Legislature of Georgia. Our readers may hope that this will be the case, from the following extract of the report of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives.¹³⁶

The second section of the story describes the activity of the federal (General) government, considering the emigration action by the committee of the Georgia Legislature in Milledgeville. Boudinot encouraged readers despite the recommendation that the "President be authorized and empowered" to extinguish the title of the Cherokees to land within the state of Georgia. The fact that Andrew Jackson had not been elected President yet may have influenced

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid., *Phoenix*.

Boudinot's optimism.

The committee recommend that a further sum of \$50,000 be made and placed at the discretion of the President, to aid such other Indians as may be disposed to emigrate to the west of the Mississippi; and that the President be authorized and empowered, out of said last mentioned appropriation, to extinguish the title of the Cherokee Indians to any land within the limits of the State of Georgia, at any time when he may be able so to do, "upon peaceable and reasonable terms."

Numerous official state government announcements appear in all of the newspapers examined in Milledgeville and Macon. The federal reports are numerous as well and almost exclusively related to the Cherokees, and on occasion the Creeks. Given that Cherokee removal was likely the biggest issue of the time in Georgia, it not only dominated the pages of the *Phoenix*, but appears to have done so in the white newspapers as well. An example is correspondence from the Secretary of War to the Cherokee Delegation regarding removal. Headings from "Indian Affairs," "Congress," "State Legislature," "Domestic," "Executive Department, State" all carried activities, speeches and correspondence on the part of government officials and committees relating to the Cherokee Nation. Reprints from the *Phoenix* regarding government meetings and correspondence of the Cherokee Nation also appeared in the white papers. In addition, the full text of President's Jackson's annual address is printed. State and federal activity regarding the gold in northeast Georgia also appear. Other federal meetings and business concerning tariffs and the National Bank of the United States are also featured. All of these totaled over 100 articles, with political conventions often in use within.

The following are portions of the message from Cherokee Chiefs William Hicks and John Ross on October 13, 1828 that was printed in its entirety in the *Phoenix* (approx. 2300 words, nearly half of the edition) on October 22 and reprinted in its entirety in the November 15 issue of the *Southern Recorder*. The issues covered are important in the context of the formation and

printing of the *Phoenix*. This is also an example of *Phoenix* copy reprinted in the white papers, somewhat surprisingly done on a fairly regular basis.¹³⁷

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHEROKEE NATION. MESSAGE OF THE PRINCIPAL CHIEFS, CHEROKEE NATION, TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

To the Members of the Committee and Council in General Council convened.

FELLOW CITIZENS: - In addressing you on this momentous occasion, we cannot, in justice to our feelings, forbear a solemn pause, and with grateful feelings immediate on the many blessings which a kind Providence has conferred on us as a people. Although we have had trials & tribulations to encounter, & in some instances, the sad effects of intemperance have been experienced within the circle of our citizens, yet, there is every reason to flatter us in the hope, that under wise and wholesome laws, the preponderating influence of civilization, morality, and religion, will secure to us and our posterity and ample share of prosperity and happiness. Occupying your seats by the free suffrage of the people, under the privileges guaranteed by the Constitution, the various subjects requiring your deliberation the present session, will necessarily be important.¹³⁸

Just as the *Phoenix* adopted journalistic conventional practices from the white press, some aspirations discussed by Chief Hicks and Ross reflect the strong influence of the ideals of the American republic formed by whites in 1776-to seek elections that are free of fraud and a judiciary system that offers a fair trial. On the other hand, the Cherokees certainly knew the injustices of the system in America unless one was white, or more specifically white and male. As part of a succession of acts of the Georgia Legislature commencing in December 13, 1828 all Indian laws were declared null and void and no Cherokee was allowed to appear as a witness in court cases involving whites.¹³⁹ Finally, one additional area of interest is the mention that laws should be “short, plain & suitable to the condition of the people, and to be well executed.” It

¹³⁷ *Georgia Messenger*, November 21, 1829, p. 2; *Statesman & Patriot*, November 28, 1829, pp. 2, 3; *Southern Recorder*, December 5, 1829, p. 1.

¹³⁸ *Phoenix*, October 22, 1828, pp. 1,2.

¹³⁹ *Phoenix*, December 29, 1828.

could be argued that, if the Cherokees accomplished this noble goal, they surpassed the “civilized” white culture they emulated in their newspaper and nation.

The organization of the new Government, the revision and amendments of the old laws, so as to make them in unison with the principles of the Constitution, will require your attention; & it cannot escape your wisdom, that the laws should be short, plain & suitable to the condition of the people, and to be well executed. The Judiciary system demands your serious deliberation, and the mode for conducting suits in courts should be free from all complicated formalities, and no other form should be required than, to let both parties know distinctly, what is alleged, that a fair trial may be had. A law should be passed requiring managers & clerks of all public elections to register the names of the persons voting as well as the names of the candidates to whom the votes are given, by observing such a course, illegal votes will be detected, and the elections conducted with more regularity, harmony, and satisfaction.¹⁴⁰

The message by the chiefs continues with an emphasis on the press, more central to theme of this study. This refers solely to the *Phoenix*, because it is the only “press” of the nation. The very fact that a newspaper was started in the first place several months before this message in 1828 is the adoption of a primary conventional practice of the whites.

The public press deserves the patronage of the people, and should be cherished as an important vehicle in the diffusion of general information, and as no less powerful auxiliary in asserting and supporting our political rights. Under this impression, we cannot doubt, that you will continue to foster it by public support. The only legislative provision necessary for conducting the press, in our opinion, is to guard against the admission of scurrilous productions of a personal character, and also against cherishing sectarian principles on religious subjects. The press being the public property of the Nation, it would ill become its character if such infringements upon the feelings of the people should be tolerated. In other respects, the liberty of the press should be as free as the breeze that glides upon the surface.¹⁴¹

The fact that the *Phoenix* is the property of the Cherokee Nation is an obvious difference. Their emphasis on its role of providing information and support of political rights is an adoption

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., *Phoenix*.

of the white journalistic practices, while the refrain from personal attacks and plea for public support illustrate differences. As for caution regarding religious subjects, this study confirmed that both the white papers and the *Phoenix* contained references to Christianity that are examined in the moral and religious influence conventional practices. The concern for people's feelings and "the liberty of the press should be as free as the breeze that glides upon the surface" is idealistic but refreshing. It seems to indicate sincere respect for fellow man and the institution of the press.¹⁴²

One example of an editorial dealing with the legal power of the tribe comes in the January 8, 1831 issue of the *Phoenix*. Boudinot gave an account of the trial and hanging of George Tassel, a Cherokee who was accused of the murder of another Cherokee within the boundaries of the Nation.¹⁴³ The sheriff of Hall County, Georgia arrested Tassel, transported him out of the Cherokee Nation into an adjacent Georgia county, and jailed him while he awaited trial. Not even a subsequent writ of error by Chief Justice John Marshall stopped the Georgians from hanging Tassel after they found him guilty. The editor threatens that "the Union is but a tottering fabric, which will soon fall and crumble into atoms" if the federal government could not assert its power over the individual states.¹⁴⁴

While the immediate issue for the tribe was its sovereignty, Boudinot realized that Cherokee political power relative to the United States also fit within the larger question of nullification, or states' rights.¹⁴⁵ The December 29, 1828 *Phoenix* featured the Georgia laws and consequences declaring Cherokee law null and void, and a portion follows. **GEORGIA AND THE CHEROKEES.** We give below some of the proceedings of the Legislature of the state of Georgia in regard to Cherokee lands.

¹⁴² *Phoenix*, General Council of the Cherokee Nation, Message of the Principal Chiefs, Cherokee Nation, To the General Council, William Hicks and John Ross, New Echota, C.N. Oct. 13, 1828, October 22, 1828, pp. 1, 2.

¹⁴³ *Phoenix*, January 8, 1831.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Riley, p. 669.

SATURDAY, Dec. 13. The bill to add the territory lying within the limits of this State and occupied by the Cherokee Indians, to the counties of Carroll, DeKalb, Gwinnett, Hall, and Habersham, and to extend the laws of this State over the same, for other purposes was taken up. The first five sections provide for the division of the territory and the addition of it to the frontier counties of Georgia.

Sec. 6. Provides that the laws of this State be extended over the territory, and white persons, residing, within the same, shall be subject to the operation of the said laws, as other citizens of said counties.¹⁴⁶

The official words of the law passed by the Georgia Legislature and printed in the *Phoenix* convey the effective date, June 1, 1830 when the Cherokees basically lose their rights. The fact that an Indian cannot testify in any state court is confirmed. Spelling out the details of the law and actions of the Georgia government to both Indian and white readers at the end of 1828 allowed them to begin to understand its ramifications and consider a response.

Sec. 7. From the 1st of June 1830, Indians in said territory, shall be subject to the operations of the said laws, and regulations as the Legislature may hereafter proscribe.

Sec. 8. No Indian or descendant of an Indian, residing within the Creek or Cherokee Nation, shall be a competent witness, or a party to any suit, in any court created by the constitution or laws of this State, to which a white man may be a party.¹⁴⁷

Commentary by Boudinot followed, in another example of the use of the conventional practice blending news and opinion. By directing readers to section 8, he lamented this loss of rights is “what is intended by securing civil rights to the Cherokees.” In this use of the journalistic conventional practice of blending opinion and news, the victimization of the Indians that Boudinot communicated throughout makes it clear how some white readers could sympathize with the Cherokee plight. In particular, their lack of support described in the last sentence could

¹⁴⁶ *Phoenix*, December 29, 1828, p. 2.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*

have been used to rally advocacy for the cause of the tribe.

A great deal of discussion took place, particularly on the section relating to the restriction to be imposed on the Indians, and on the bill generally. A number of amendments were offered. The proceedings terminated adoption of the provisions above stated. The bill was then read the 3d. In the eighth section of the above bill, our readers will learn what is intended by securing civil rights to the Cherokees. This Christian State, the State of Georgia, is, we believe, determined to oppress us. And what are the Cherokees, over whom these grave Counselors, representatives of an enlightened and republican people, are tyrannizing? A hand full of men, weak and oppressed, with no means to defend their rights. Is it magnanimous to treat such a people, in the manner that our neighbors are trying to treat us? Our hearts sicken; and our courage fails, when we consider the power and number of our enemies, and when we look around and see but few friends, and very few who will speak in our defense.¹⁴⁸

Boudinot was seemingly amazed, shocked and saddened by the actions of the Georgia Legislature. He refers to Georgia as a “Christian State” victimizing a “weak and oppressed” people with few friends. The use of the conventional practice of moral and religious influence, which follows, was also adopted here.

Religious & Moral Influence

The *Federal Union* in Milledgeville featured an opinion article in September 1830 headlined “The Evils of Drunkenness are various and many-I name a few only” reprinted from the *New Jersey State Journal*. There was no clever lead sentence or paragraph. It simply began with a numbered list.

1. It betrays most constitutions either to extravagance of anger, or sins of lewdness. 2d. It disqualifies men for the duties of their station, both by the temporary disorder of their faculties, and at length by a constant incapacity

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., *Phoenix*.

and stupefaction. 3d. It is an inlet to a thousand difficulties that cannot be named. 4th. It shortens life. 5th. It is a violation of God's Holy word, because it is written, 'Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess.'

¹⁴⁹Basically this is a moral lecture on the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption, with God's judgment included for good measure. Here is the final paragraph of the editorial: Take warning, O ye aged men, young men, and ye dear youth, though now free from the dreadful sin of drunkenness, beware lest ye form habits of this kind; in an evil hour become ensnared by the company of those addicted to it. Remember the sin of drunkenness degrades human nature, banishes reason from her rightful throne, insults the majesty of Heaven and Earth; exposes its victims to the greatest evils, and finally, if unrepented of, banishes the sinner from the presence of God and the glory of his power forever and ever; because it is written by an inspired Apostle 'Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Death-temporal, spiritual, and eternal, are the due wages of sin.'¹⁵⁰

Drunkenness and the general consumption of alcohol by men was definitely the most popular topic in the use of the conventional practice of moral influence by the white papers. Temperance societies were mentioned frequently. In this particular opinion piece, the conventions of religious and moral influence were combined to become a sermon. Not all the stories found recruited Temperance Society members. "A God send" caption led a story from the *New Bedford (MA.) Gazette* appearing in an April, 1832 edition of the *Macon Advertiser*:

Captain Glover, (or more familiarly termed by his acquaintances, Bean Glover) of the ship *Equator*, picked up a cask of rum on his passage...an account of which we give in this report. "Latitude 89, longitude 40, 30, received on board from the hand of *Neptune*, 1 hbd Rum, Jam. marked in two places, C. II. near the bung, by appearance had been at sea from six to twelve months, completely covered with barnacles; ten to twelve inches in length. (*Neptune*, we suppose had joined the Temperance Society)."¹⁵¹

Other than the rather frequent references to alcohol, other moral and religious influence topics found were marriage and the evils of slavery. Milledgeville's *Federal Union* espoused the

¹⁴⁹ *Federal Union*, September 18, 1830, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *Federal Union*.

¹⁵¹ *Macon Advertiser*, April 20, 1832, p. 2.

advantages of married life—for men that is—according a recent issue of the *Journal of Health*.

The last number of the *Journal of Health* is encomiastic of married life, as one of the means of preserving health and promoting longevity. It will, we apprehend, be found that the greater number of those distinguished men in arts and sciences, and in the liberal professions, who had to struggle the most under the pressure of poverty and other adverse circumstances, were married in the early part of their career, and during or before the seasons of their greatest trials.¹⁵²

The practice of slavery was widespread in Georgia and elsewhere, including some slave owners in the Cherokee Nation. Given the fact it would be over three decades before the banning of the institution, it was somewhat surprising that the Federal Union published an opinion in opposition. Three sentences in particular contributed a scathing condemnation printed in the September 8, 1831 edition.

Slavery is one of those evils which must be looked at in the face. No change can be made in our relation to these people suddenly. Ages must pass away and the fanatics, white and black, on this subject, must be numbered with the dead, before a change can happen.¹⁵³

Both of the moral influence convention articles in the Milledgeville paper also used the practice of blending news and opinion. In the case of the issue of slavery, the story gave an account of violence between whites and blacks in Virginia. The remainder of the story was an editorial on the issue of slavery. The *Phoenix* adopted the same conventional practices, often blended religion and morals, but with a greater emphasis on religious content. That said, a favorite topic was the evil of strong drink, and on June 24, 1829 anti-liquor appeals began appearing in a regular column headed "Intemperance" and a society was formed that held annual

¹⁵² *Federal Union*, September 8, 1831, p. 1.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

meetings at New Echota.¹⁵⁴ The highlights were printed a few months later, in November, when a constitution for the society was adopted. Noted among the charter membership were the names of Boudinot and Worcester.

TEMPERANCE

Agreeably to a previous notice, a respectable number of Gentlemen from various parts of the nation convened in the Council Room, on last Thursday evening, for the purpose of forming and organizing a general temperance society. After, an appropriate address delivered by the Rev. J. L. Trott, on motion of Rev. S. A. Worcester, Rev. Mr. Trott was called to the chair. Mr. E. Gunter and Mr. Boudinott then delivered addresses in Cherokee-after which, on motion of Mr. Boudinott, the constitution was read, interpreted, and adopted.

Forty gentlemen signed their names to the constitution that stated “members believing the intemperate use of ardent spirits destructive to their best interests do therefore resolve neither to introduce, distill, vend or give away ardent spirits, nor use them in any way except as a medicine, in cases of bodily infirmity, and to discourage, in every suitable way, the use of them in this country.”¹⁵⁵

A letter to Editor Boudinot in 1829 on the subject of temperance further illustrates the importance of the temperance issue in the *Phoenix* and concern in the Cherokee community.

MR. BOUDINOTT, I have seen a copy of the resolutions for the encouragement of temperance. I am much pleased with the object - it is worthy the attention of every friend to domestic peace and good order in the Society. For the purpose of more efficiently prosecuting the noble cause, I will take the liberty through the medium of your paper, or suggesting to such of the inhabitants of Oougillogy and vicinity as are friendly to the cause of temperance, the propriety of meeting at some suitable place and time, and organizing themselves into a Society. I think there are a sufficient number whose names are attached to the resolutions to render such

¹⁵⁴ Riley, p. 670.

¹⁵⁵ *Phoenix*, November 4, 1829, p. 2

a meeting interesting and profitable.¹⁵⁶

A FRIEND TO TEMPERANCE

Boudinot's closeness to the issue, and concerns and problems among the Indians, resulted in the *Phoenix* treating the issue of the effects of alcohol abuse in the Cherokee Nation very seriously. Portions of the regular column piece "Intemperance" on October 1, 1828 demonstrate the newspaper's coverage.

INTEMPERANCE

Intemperance is the curse of mankind. It spreads desolation to societies and families. It is the parent of strife, the cause of diseases, and almost every species of misery. To the Indians, intemperance occasioned by the use of ardent spirits has been pernicious. It has been our shame in the eyes of other people, and has planted the common opinion, that the love of whiskey is a necessary trait of the Indian's character. Though this opinion is erroneous, yet the fact that intemperance is sadly prevalent and its effects awfully great among the Indians, we cannot deny. Among us, it has been a wide spreading evil.¹⁵⁷

This editorial using the conventional practice of moral influence amounted to a call for self analysis for the tribe regarding this "train of troubles." While lamenting in the final sentence the fact that the white man should never have introduced "ardent spirits" to Indians, Boudinot pleaded with tribe members there and in neighboring states, "intelligent citizens", not to encourage its use.

It has cost us lives, and a train of troubles. It has been an enemy to our national prosperity, industry, and intellectual improvement. Even at this day, when it is generally conceded that we are the most civilized of all the Aboriginal tribes, we see this enemy of all good stalking forth in triumph, carrying desolation and misery into families and neighborhoods. The murders committed in this Nation, with very few exceptions, are occasioned by intoxication. The only two public executions by hanging originated from the

¹⁵⁶ *Phoenix*, July 1, 1829, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, pp. 100-101.

same cause. It is to be lamented that ardent spirits should have ever been introduced among the Indians by the white man, but more so, at this enlightened age, our intelligent citizens and the intelligent citizens of the neighboring states should encourage the worst of all poisons, by making it a subject of traffic.¹⁵⁸

Religious and moral issues appear to be the most prevalent content after the removal issue and coverage of government and laws. For example, in the March 20, 1828 edition, Boudinot defended the work of missionaries among the Indians. Christianity was an important part of Editor Boudinot's background and life. These reprints from two newspapers in New York that ran in the *Phoenix* in April 1828 and February 1829 are examples of regular religious content published by Boudinot.

SENECA MISSION

Extract of a letter from Rev. T. S. Harris, superintendent of the Seneca Mission, to the publisher of the *Rochester Observer*, dated. SENECA VILLAGE, Feb. 25, 1828.

You are already apprized that within the year past we enjoyed a little season of revival at the Seneca and Cataraugus stations:-the fruits of which are precious and still remain. It is, dear Brother, a consoling truth of the Bible, that "with God all things are possible." A number more at both stations of both sexes and of all ages are still inquiring "what must we do to be saved."

The moral influence of the Gospel on the hearts and habits of this people, since its entrance amongst them, is in many respects most cheering.¹⁵⁹

An assessment of how well the "Christianizing" is going among the Cherokees, reprinted from the *Missionary Herald* publication in Boston, also mentions the Phoenix and religious work by Worcester. Church membership and religious-based education of some Cherokees are quantified.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ *Phoenix*, April 17, 1828, p. 3.

MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD AMONG THE INDIANS.

Abstracted from the *Missionary Herald* for the *New York Observer*

CHEROKEES - Among the Cherokees there are seven churches, embracing 159 members, - and 174 children in the schools.

More than 100 of the scholars reside in the mission families, perform various kinds of labor, and are trained up like the children of Christian parents. About 150 have left the school at Brainerd alone, most of them having made considerable advance in knowledge.

The *Cherokee Phoenix*, a weekly paper, was commenced in February last. Many portions of Scripture, in the alphabet of Guess, have appeared in it. Mr. Worcester is now prosecuting the study of the language for the purpose of preparing school books, portions of Scripture, and other religious Tracts for the people.¹⁶⁰

Advocacy for a Cause-Opposing Removal

The political pressure for Removal had increased dramatically by 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elected president. It became a national issue and debate, building to its peak in 1830 when Congress debated and passed the Indian Removal Act designed to move all eastern Indians to the West. In addition to the Cherokees, this included the other four members of the "Five Civilized Tribes" from the South: Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles. The legislation provided for guarantees to western lands as well as funds to compensate Native Americans for improvements left behind.¹⁶¹

Phoenix Editor Elias Boudinot wrote a particularly strong editorial in 1828 regarding Removal after publishing only a few issues. His editorial contributions appeared in the *Phoenix* each week under the heading of "New Echota." On March 27, comments in the first paragraph directly addressed support of Indian Removal by editors of the *Southern Recorder* and the *Statesman and Patriot* in Milledgeville.

¹⁶⁰ *Phoenix*, February 18, 1829, p. 1.

¹⁶¹ Coward, pp. 66-67.

NEW ECHOTA

"Cherokee lands," "Georgia and the Cherokees," "Georgia rights" &c. are now becoming popular topics of editorial talk in some of the Georgia papers, and they are certainly well suited to that boisterous kind of genius, which has been frequently exhibited in Milledgeville. If the Editors of the "*Statesman*" and "*The Southern*" are to be taken as a fair specimen of the advocates of the right of Georgia to lands now occupied by the Cherokees, we should rather apprehend that this controversy will not be improved.¹⁶²

As aforementioned, advocacy for a cause was the most important conventional practice adopted by the *Phoenix*. Its responsibility spelled out in the prospectus being “a great object to be the benefit of the Cherokees”¹⁶³ during this time of struggle made it so. Following humorous criticism of two of the Milledgeville newspaper editors, Boudinot offered editorial advice to both sides of the Removal issue—rather than boisterous and futile attempts to answer the Cherokee ‘Question’ the issues should be approached in “the spirit of the times”.

And to suppose that the lands in question will be attained, by means of such language as has been exhibited in this report which we have published, and such language as we continually notice in the papers, would be to deceive oneself and to show an utter ignorance of the spirit of the times.¹⁶⁴

Boudinot argued against the use of force by a “great Nation” and predicted the issue wouldn’t come to that.

We are aware that force is talked of, but is nothing more as yet, and it is our opinion that it will not be carried into effect, either by the United States or the State of Georgia. This great Nation, this land of the oppressed, this land of civil and religious liberty, will not disgrace itself; by driving away with the point of the bayonet a few handfuls of Indians, and for what? For a small tract of country, and because these Indians, by their smallness, are unable to defend it.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² *Phoenix*, March 27, 1828, p. 3.

¹⁶³ Martin, *Phoenix* prospectus.

¹⁶⁴ *Phoenix*, March 27, 1828, p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ *Phoenix*.

He advocated an honorable path to conversation regarding the ‘Question’. Citing a just cause doesn’t call for “intemperate” language, Boudinot respectfully deemed the cause of pro removal forces unjust. His statement implied confidence on his part that the *Phoenix* advocacy for the cause against Indian Removal was indeed a just one.

It will be more honorable and highly more becoming, if those, who wish to make the Cherokee question a matter of private conversation, and public harangues, will pay attention to decorum and propriety of language. This would be the best course, for if their cause is just, it will not require intemperate language to disclose the truth, and if their cause is unjust, which we rather think is the case, they will be saved from much mortification.¹⁶⁶

Elias Boudinot’s editorials addressed a variety of issues relevant to the Cherokee people, and readers were given a telling introduction in the very first edition of the paper. At the beginning of the editorial, Boudinot asks for the readers' indulgence and that they would “keep out of view all failings and deficiencies of the Editor.”¹⁶⁷ Soon after he solicits support for the tribe's cause from “the Christian, the Patriot, and the Philanthropist.” This editorial lays out the general principles that Boudinot had in mind to guide the paper. Those principles devoted the paper to “national purposes,” including the aforementioned printing the public documents of the nation, and to “matters relating to the welfare and condition of the Cherokees as a people.”¹⁶⁸

Boudinot introduced a letter in 1829 to illustrate the mood among Cherokees; in his words the “prevailing sentiment of the Nation.” The writer’s assessment of President Jackson’s Message to Congress and the Secretary of War report identified the sentiment among the executive branch. Just as the language from newspaper editors in “this enlightened age”

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ *Phoenix*, February 18, p.1.

¹⁶⁸ Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, pp. 91-92.

surprised Boudinot, so was the writer over the language, new plans and environment out of Washington.

The following is extracted from a letter, addressed to the Editor by a particular friend. We insert it as conveying the prevailing sentiment of the Nation.¹⁶⁹

I have read with considerable interest, that part of the Message of the President of the United States to Congress which relates to Indian affairs, also the report of the Secretary of War on the same subject. You perceive that these executive documents, as usual, are prolific with new plans and sentiment, in regard to the Indians. I confess that I was surprised to observe such language from the executive of the United States- in this enlightened age.¹⁷⁰

The writer expounded on his attempts to understand the switch in attitude at the “General Government.” He determined that the sentiment changed “at the moment we refused to cede any more of our lands.”

The General Government has been very friendly to us, until within a few years past, when it is gradually assuming another character. Instead of protecting us in all our rights as secured to us by solemn treaties, every ingenuity is set at work to obtain our small tract of country. This state of things commenced at the moment we refused to cede any more of our lands. The professions of the General Government of her wish for our prosperity were then contrary to her real intentions. In other words, so long as land was to be had from us in exchange for a few blankets and tobacco the Government lavished its fair professions. But now when we have no more to spare, we become the objects of censure. Our Missionary friends also, who are teaching us the way to heaven, have incurred the displeasure of those who want our land."¹⁷¹

Several editorials illustrate Boudinot’s stance on advocating for the Cherokees by referring to advancing “civilization.” In January 1829, he wrote an editorial describing the past,

¹⁶⁹ *Phoenix*, February 4, 1829, p. 2

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Phoenix*, February 4, 1829, p. 2

“savage” life of Cherokees, about which Boudinot says he knows not, since he was “born under an era of reformation.” The point of the opinion piece seems to be to dispel prejudices against the Cherokees by claiming “a new order of things” has replaced the old.¹⁷² Later in the year, Boudinot countered an incorrect story in the *Georgia Journal* in Milledgeville by simultaneously addressing other white papers and referring to those advancements.

The eagerness which is manifested in Georgia to obtain the lands of the Cherokees has frequently led the journals of that state to deceive the people, by stating, that we are "making extensive preparations to remove to the west." So desirable it is to get rid of these troublesome Cherokees, that every flying report is grasped at as an undoubted fact, and spread abroad to the rejoicing of thousands. The late statement of the *Georgia Journal*, to which we have already referred, is a very good example.¹⁷³

One way that Boudinot used the *Phoenix* to address the controversy with Georgia and the federal (General) government on removal was reporting on the advancements that the Cherokees were making, and would continue to make, in their “civilizing” process. As he advocated this cause, he specified that these improvements can continue “in their present location.” When he refuted false articles regarding removal or emigration, typically he not only corrected the story but again used the opportunity to advocate those positives. In this section, his advocacy includes improving morals, education and successful farming and construction of houses.

No sooner does this statement makes it appearance before we had time to take breath, & certainly before we had the opportunity of contradicting it, it is copied into many papers, paper with which we have the honor of exchanging, but what has informed its readers that "the Cherokees are making extensive preparations to remove." We happen to know this to be an assertion without the least foundation. We hope the same papers will say on what they may consider "good authority," that the Cherokees are not making any preparations to remove, but on the contrary, that they continue to make improvements as heretofore. We see houses erecting wherever we go-they are enlarging their farms-the progress of education is

¹⁷² *Phoenix*, January 21, 1829, p.2

¹⁷³ *Phoenix*, July 15, 1829, p. 2.

encouraging, and the improvement in morals has never been so flattering.
- These are facts on which the public may depend, until we shall inform
them otherwise.¹⁷⁴

Boudinot signaled that although he can't be sure what path the Cherokees might
eventually take, the mind set of many is they would have to be under duress to emigrate to the
west.

We know not what course the Cherokees may finally determine to pursue,
but we have no hesitation in stating the above as being most correct in
regard to them at present. We'd not undertake to say that they will remain
here at all hazards, for "persecution-what will it not accomplish?" as the
Journal of Commerce remarks. We know, however, the feelings of many
individuals-in regard to them, we speak with confidence when we say,
coercion alone will remove them to the western country allotted for the
Indians.¹⁷⁵

Boudinot's editorials continued to address false claims and pressures for removal from
Georgians. He writes of the state's "infringing upon their rights—by disorganizing them and
circumscribing their limits." He responds that "While he possesses a national character, there is
hope for the Indian."¹⁷⁶ Boudinot was using the *Phoenix* to oppose those who wanted to strip the
Cherokees of all rights "divesting him of the last spark of national pride, and introducing him to
a new order of things, and investing him with oppressive laws." He ends with the hope that the
federal government will defend the tribe against Georgia's plans, but if not, that Cherokees could
not trust any promise made to the tribe "either here or beyond the Mississippi."¹⁷⁷ His words hold
out hope for the tribe's survival as a Nation while it identifies the stark reality of the 'Cherokee
Question.' He also continued to emphasize the tribe was "civilized." Perdue explains Boudinot's
intentions were twofold: to create rhetorical space from which to force white acknowledgement,

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., *Phoenix*.

¹⁷⁶ Perdue, p. 105

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

and because the arguments for removal often were couched in terms of civilization versus savagery.¹⁷⁸

Occasional letters to the *Phoenix* from citizens of the Cherokee Nation also helped the practice of advocacy for a cause.

COOSA RIVER, IN TURKEY TOWN
C.N. 9th February, 1829.
TO THE CHEROKEE PEOPLE

The undersigned in behalf of a long meeting, composed of the Citizens of Turkey Town, take the liberty of addressing you through the public journal of our Nation, on the subject of emigration to the west, to which the United States have their attention. The view we take of this measure, and the sentiments will take occasion to express, will be simple and plain, founded on truth as handed down to us by our ancestors. Limited in knowledge and possessing but a small share of experience, our apology in this attempt is in the interest we feel in everything that concerns the well being of our Nation. Our ancestors settled in this place at a period not now in our recollection.¹⁷⁹

The Cherokees represented their community with eloquence in this letter, demonstrating that, like Boudinot, they were effective advocates. They presented a thoughtful case in opposition to renewal. Even if the western land was superior, the fact that they were living where “our ancestors settled in this place at a period not now in our recollection.” was reason enough to remain.

The Cherokees closed with words that expressed a sincere love for the land where they lived-- on “the soil that gave birth” to them was another compelling reason to remain. This made a strong argument for sympathy and support against the Indian Removal.

From correct information we have formed a bad opinion of the western country beyond the Mississippi. But if report was favorable to the fertility of the soil, if the running streams were as transparent as crystal, and silver

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Perdue.

¹⁷⁹ *Phoenix*, March 4, 1829, pp. 2-3

fish abounded in their element in profusion we should still adhere to the purposes of spending the remnant of our lives on the soil that gave us birth and rendered dear from the nourishment we receive from its bosom.

MONEY HUNTER, his x mark. TAH-KA-HA-KEE, his x mark.
SCATTERED, his x mark. KUNG-WAS-SOO-LAS-KEE, his x mk.
KILLER, his mark. RICHD. RATLIFF, jr. his x mark.
CRYING SNAKE, his x mark. RESURRECTION, his x mark.
FOLLOWER, his x mark.

Another way Boudinot used the *Phoenix* to advocate the cause against removal was by promoting the widest possible circulation among whites and Indians in other parts of America. Agents for subscriptions and payments were listed in each issue. By December of 1829, there were agents in Boston, New York City, Utica, New York; Richmond, Virginia; Beaufort and Charleston, South Carolina; Statesville, North Carolina; Powal, Maine; Mobile and Bellefonte, Alabama; Augusta, Georgia; and in the Choctaw nation. Also listed was also "Mr. Thomas R. Gold, an itinerant gentleman."¹⁸⁰ Earlier in the debate, when Boudinot considered the topic of "Indian Emigration," he calculated the necessary cost and asked whether that sum could be put to "a better use," including books and publishing, schools and colleges. If this attempt at "civilizing" does not work, the editor concludes, "we will then agree to move."¹⁸¹

It is calculated upon probable suppositions, in order to remove the whole Cherokee Nation, it will require about Three Millions of Dollars, We should think with this sum every Indian tribe in the U. States might be civilized and rendered happy.¹⁸²

Boudinot wrote about the words of the head chieftain regarding Removal and the Cherokee people at an Indian Council meeting in 1829. Again, this was another opinion piece building on a cause, by gaining the interest and sympathy of readers. Some portions follow.

They are beginning to be oppressed and threatened, and when they have looked for protection and help, it has been refused. Already we begin to

¹⁸⁰ *Phoenix*, July 15, 1829, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ *Phoenix*, May 14, 1828, p. 2.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

hear them lamenting, that they must leave their home, their country, the land of their fathers, and all that is dearest to them on earth. At a late Indian council, after having been told by the agent of our government, that they no longer could be protected, the head chieftain thus replies in the language of sorrow and reproach.¹⁸³

The strongest cause for sympathy and support for the Cherokees against their Removal was illustrated in the words advocating the simple truth that this was their land.

We do not wish to sell our lands and remove. This land our Great Father above gave us. We stand on it. We stood on it before the white man came to the edge of the American land. We stand on it still. It belongs to us.¹⁸⁴

It belongs to no one in any place but ourselves. Our land is no borrowed land. White men came and sat down here and there and everywhere around us. When they wished to buy land of us, we have had good councils together. The white man always said "the land is yours-it is yours." We have always been true friends of the American people. We have not spoiled the least thing belonging to an American. Although it has been thus, a very different talk is now sent us.¹⁸⁵

The printing of the heartfelt words of an Indian, such as these, always had the potential to garner support for the Cherokee cause against Removal, if the audience was willing to be persuaded. That support was not necessarily in Georgia, but elsewhere, particularly the northern states. A story from the *New York Commercial Advocate* reprinted in the *Phoenix* early in 1832 described reactions to anti-removal speeches by Cherokee leaders (including Boudinot and John Ridge) who traveled there.

The simple stories of their wrongs, related in the unsophisticated language of nature, went to the heart with irresistible power. There was not an unmoved heart, nor an eye in the room, that did not glitter with tears of pity.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ *Phoenix*, February 4, 1829, pp. 1-2

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, *Phoenix*.

The Indian questions were recopied in publications all over the United States.”¹⁸⁷

The *Phoenix* even printed this sympathetic editorial piece, from a missionary publication in London by way of the *Vermont Chronicle*, condemning the direction of the U.S. in its treatment of both “the Aborigenes and the Slaves.” The editorial piece represents both the conventional practice of advocacy for a cause and moral and religious influence.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

The following remarks, from the London Missionary Register for February, will show how the Indian Question is regarded by the wise and good in Europe. The reader will notice the inaccuracy of calling these Indians "subjects" of the United States:-*Vermont Chronicle*.

The whole body of Indians within the United States appears to be, according to a late estimate of the War Department, 309,292. Efforts are making to remove the chief bodies further westward; but the measures in progress for this end, incur the severe reprobation of conscientious men. In truth, the United States, as it appears to us, are in a fearful crisis of their affairs. With respect to two large classes of their subjects--the Aborigines and the Slaves--they are on their trial before the Common Father and Lord of All; and their future condition will probably bear plain and undoubted testimony, either that their Injustice hath brought them under His avenging Hand, or their Equity hath conciliated His favor toward them as a Community.¹⁸⁸

Before the federal Indian Removal bill passed, the House Committee on Indian Affairs had a report providing some of the government’s reasons for removal. In the April 21, 1830 edition of the *Phoenix*, Boudinot had refuted this report in his editorial. The Committee claimed the Indians faced starvation because game was scarce, and they depended on hunting. Boudinot acknowledged the lack of game, but wrote that it posed no threat, because the tribe farmed and

¹⁸⁶ *Phoenix*, February 18, 1832, p. 1.

¹⁸⁷ Woodward, p. 161.

¹⁸⁸ *Phoenix*, April 21 1830, p. 1.

did not depend on the hunt for survival.¹⁸⁹ Two other primary points Boudinot answered were the prejudice that “an Indian cannot work” and the rate of alcoholism and resulting crimes. He argued that the Cherokees were just as civilized, maybe more so, than the whites who live around them.¹⁹⁰ In this argument, Boudinot must maintain that there is no difference between Cherokee and white, in order to claim legal protection against those who would force the tribe from its land. He invites comparison and observation by anyone who wishes to see the true condition of his tribe, and he responds to the Committee’s want of “statistical and accurate information” with an offer of the 1824 Cherokee Census and the 1810 Census ordered by the United States agent Return J. Meigs.¹⁹¹

The House passed the Removal Bill, and Boudinot must have expected the Senate to pass it too, judging from his editorial after the House vote for the May 15, 1830 *Phoenix*. He encourages his readers to be “firm and united,” and have hope in the third branch of the government, the “tribunal where our injured rights may be defended and protected.”¹⁹² He states the Cherokees “will demand justice, and before we give up and allow ourselves despondency we will, if we can, have the solemn adjudication of a tribunal, whose province is to interpret the treaties, the supreme law of the land.”¹⁹³

In May 1830 a letter from Samuel Worcester to the *Phoenix* provided evidence that the condition of the Cherokees was good and the answer to the ‘Indian Question’ was for the people to stay on their land.

INDIANS New Echota, Cherokee Nation

¹⁸⁹ Perdue, pp. 114-115.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

Dear Sir: - I cheerfully comply with your request, that I would forward to you a statement respecting the progress of improvement among your people, the Cherokees. Whatever might be said of the propriety or impropriety of Missionaries' discussing the question of the removal of the Indians, it can hardly be doubted that it is proper for any one to give a statement of what passes under his observation, in regard to the present condition of the tribes interested in that question. I shall not say any thing in this communication, which I shall be unwilling to have come before the public, accompanied with my proper signature, if occasion require. Whatever deficiencies there may be in my statements, I shall use my utmost endeavor that nothing colored, nothing which will not bear the strictest scrutiny, may find a place.¹⁹⁴

The conventional practice advocacy for a cause was strongly represented in this letter.

Two statements advocating opposition to Indian Removal and describing solidarity among the Cherokees on the issue stood out in the second half of Worcester's letter to Boudinot.

Nothing is plainer, than that it is the earnest wish of the whole body of the people to remain where they are. The whole tide of national feeling sets, in one strong and unbroken current, against a removal to the West.¹⁹⁵

In 1831 the *Phoenix* focused more on the legal status and standing of Cherokees and the Cherokee Nation. Boudinot's editorials often discussed the legal rights of the Nation and its members, as well as whites living within its boundaries. Noteworthy among this group were the missionaries, who later mounted one of the two Supreme Court cases challenging the constitutionality of Georgia's actions. The United States suspended payment on its annuities. The *Phoenix* was largely dependent on the annuity for its existence, so Boudinot went on a fund-raising trip in December 1831. His brother Stand Watie was acting editor in his absence.¹⁹⁶

The most important story in the *Phoenix* for the year 1831 was *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, a case that "was a request by the Cherokee Nation for an injunction against the State of

¹⁹⁴ *Phoenix*, May 8, 1830, p. 1.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Barbara F. Luebke, "Elias Boudinot and 'Indian Removal.'" *Outsiders in 19th-Century Press History: A*

Georgia for its many violations of Cherokee sovereignty.”¹⁹⁷ William Wirt was the Cherokees attorney and he argued that the Cherokee nation was “an independent nation and therefore could not be subjected to Georgia laws.”¹⁹⁸ Chief Justice John Marshall and a majority reached their decision in 1831, wherein the U.S. Supreme Court held that Indian tribes are not foreign nations but “domestic dependent” nations. President Andrew Jackson was often quoted, “John Marshall has made his decision; now, let him enforce it.” While the court case was going on, Boudinot and the Cherokees continued to make use of its newspaper to bring attention to the ‘Indian Question’. Woodward said it was “considered by the Cherokee Council to be very nearly as important to the Nation as legal counsel.” The newspaper was sent to a host of white American newspapers, including printing centers like New Orleans, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore.¹⁹⁹ While waiting on the Supreme Court Decision, Boudinot and Ridge had gone on the road to solicit funds, as the trials and withholding of American payments to the tribe had placed the Cherokees in financial straits.²⁰⁰

It was at this time that Boudinot, his cousin John Ridge, his uncle Major Ridge, and some other prominent tribal leaders became convinced that Removal was inevitable. Perdue believes Boudinot finally changed his mind because of “the federal government’s refusal to enforce a decision of the Supreme Court.”²⁰¹ Boudinot stepped down as editor in August 1832 and the August 11, 1832 edition of the *Phoenix* carried his letter of resignation, along with John Ross’s acceptance. Parts of it reflect his devotion to advocating the cause, as he repudiated the stated aims of the national press. Elias Boudinot’s letter of resignation read, in part:

Multicultural Perspective. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, 1995, 135.

¹⁹⁷ Woodward, p. 165.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., Woodward.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Perdue, p. 25.

Two of the great objects which the nation had in view in supporting the paper were, the defense of our rights and the proper representation of our grievances to the people of the United States. In regard to the former, we can add nothing..., especially after the decision of the Supreme Court, which has forever closed the question of our conventional rights. In regard to the latter, the public is as fully apprised, as we can ever expect it to be, of our grievances. It knows our troubles, and yet never was it more silent than at present.

The first object for the national paper, Boudinot said, was to seek and maintain national unity in order to defend Cherokee rights. He now believed that those rights could never be realized by the United States, and his desire to convince his people of the need to now remove was unacceptable to the leadership of the Nation. His adds “I do not know whether I could satisfy my own views and the views of the authorities of the nation at the same time.” The second aim of the Cherokee press was to attract support for Cherokee rights from the white audience surrounding the nation. Boudinot laments how that support failed to materialize following the travesty of justice he saw taking place after President Jackson’s refusal to support the Supreme Court and the State of Georgia’s actions. After Boudinot’s resignation, Elijah Hicks assumed his spot. Hicks was Chief Ross’s brother-in-law and considered quite capable.²⁰² After the change though, and the increasing turmoil within the Cherokee territory, publication of the newspaper became more sporadic.

Conclusion and Limitations

This thesis analyzes the specific journalistic conventional practices of newspapers in Georgia as they focused on the “Cherokee Question” in 1828-1832, the critical period during which the state considered the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia. The research compares

²⁰² Joyce B. and Paul Gary Phillips, eds. *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

news and opinion texts in five Georgia newspapers with news and opinion texts in the newspaper launched by the Cherokee nation in 1828, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. While the conventional practices in the white-owned press tended to legitimize removal, the *Phoenix* adopted some of the same conventions in order to defend and negotiate Cherokee culture and issues. With monumental issue of Indian Removal at stake, the most compelling conventional practices used by the *Phoenix* were advocacy for a cause and reprinting of articles from other newspapers. Considering such an issue or cause, it came as no surprise that advocacy for a cause was found to be the primary convention adopted by the *Phoenix*. Advocating the cause against removal was Boudinot's means to persuade, if the readers of the *Phoenix* were willing. The unexpected gem in this research was the importance of the conventional practice of reprinting articles from other newspapers. The adoption of this convention allowed the *Phoenix* to advocate the cause of the Cherokee and reprint news and opinion from white newspapers. At the same time, the editor often challenged and corrected those articles.

Limited evidence indicated the conventional practice of reprinting articles from other papers was critical in spreading the message of the Cherokee throughout the United States and even Europe. Further study of this practice and its role in gaining support for the Cherokee nation might prove interesting. The major part of this thesis was limited to five white newspapers in Georgia. Future studies could include researching the other papers in Georgia and the southern and northern United States. A future study on the role of mission newspapers and publications supporting the Cherokee cause might be enlightening as well. Further research into the travels to the north by Boudinot, Worcester and Ridge to solicit financial support could also prove informative. A study to determine any links between supporters and sympathizers opposing Indian Removal and aspects of the American Reform movement in the press, particularly

abolitionism, could be engaging. If such a connection was found, there could be further implications in publications, such as what newspaper was quoting who or what articles sympathetic to the Cherokees or the slavery issue were reprinted at which papers and to what end, and similar links. These kinds of evaluations could offer not only interesting findings, but historically revealing information as well.

Did the Cherokee *Phoenix* ultimately fail in its use of these conventional journalistic practices adopted from the white press? Given its mission stated in its prospectus and the apparent inevitability of Indian Removal, the answer is probably no.

The *Phoenix*, printed until 1834, was the newspaper of record for the Cherokees. As such, it becomes their historic text. At the same time, the white settlers had their newspapers, along with some magazines. Shared narratives, or hearing each other's stories, can illuminate both the past and the present.

Cherokee Alphabet					
D _a	R _e	T _i	Ꭰ _o	Ꭱ _u	i _v
S _{gu} Ꭰ _{ka}	F _{ge}	Y _{gi}	A _{go}	J _{gu}	E _{gv}
V _{ha}	Ꭲ _{he}	A _{hi}	F _{ho}	G _{hu}	Ꭳ _{hv}
W _{la}	Ꭳ _{le}	F _{li}	G _{lo}	M _{lu}	A _{lv}
S _{ma}	O _{me}	H _{mi}	Ꭲ _{mo}	Y _{mu}	
Ꭰ _{na} t _{na} G _{nah}	A _{ne}	h _{ni}	Z _{no}	A _{nu}	Ꭱ _{nv}
T _{qua}	Ꭱ _{que}	Ꭶ _{qui}	v _{quo}	Ꭲ _{qu}	E _{quv}
U _{sa} Ꭰ _s	A _{se}	b _{si}	F _{so}	S _{su}	R _{sv}
L _{sa} W _{sa}	S _{de} T _{te}	A _{si} A _{ti}	A _{do}	S _{du}	Ꭲ _{dv}
Ꭰ _{ala} L _{ita}	L _{te}	C _{ti}	F _{to}	V _{tu}	P _{tv}
G _{isa}	V _{te}	h _{ti}	K _{tsv}	J _{tsu}	C _{tsv}
G _{wa}	Ꭱ _{we}	Ꭰ _{ni}	Ꭱ _{no}	S _{ru}	Ꭲ _{wv}
Ꭱ _{sa}	B _{ye}	Ꭲ _{yi}	Ꭲ _{yo}	G _{yu}	B _{yv}

Sounds represented by vowels.

<i>a</i> as <u>a</u> in <u>father</u> or short as <u>a</u> in <u>trial</u> <i>e</i> as <u>a</u> in <u>hate</u> or short as <u>e</u> in <u>met</u> <i>i</i> as <u>i</u> in <u>pike</u> or short as <u>i</u> in <u>pit</u>	<i>o</i> as <u>aw</u> in <u>law</u> or short as <u>o</u> in <u>not</u> <i>u</i> as <u>oo</u> in <u>foot</u> or short as <u>u</u> in <u>pull</u> <i>y</i> as <u>y</u> in <u>but</u> , nasalized.
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Consonant Sounds.

g nearly as in English, but approaching to *k*. - *d* nearly as in English but approaching to *t*. - *h*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *q*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, as in English. Syllables beginning with *g*, except *s* have sometimes the power of *k*, *s*, *s*; are sometimes sounded to, *ti*, *tv*; and syllables written with *d*, except *L*, sometimes vary to *di*.

Printed and Lithographed by H. Davis, 1827

Drawn & Lithographed by H. Davis, 1827

Figure 2: Cherokee Alphabet Chart

WORKS CITED

(Primary Sources)

Bass, Althea. *Cherokee Messenger*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936.

Boudinot, Elias. *An Address To The Whites*. Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1826.

Hodgson, W.B. and Hawkins, Benjamin. *Creek Indian History*. Americus, GA.: Americus Book Company, 1938.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia. Milledgeville: Prine and England, 1828-1832.

Niles, Henry, *The Weekly Register of Documents, Essays and Facts. (The Niles' Register)* Baltimore, Maryland, 1827-1832.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Editor, The Writings of Elias Boudinot*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983.

Richardson, James D. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, Volume II*. Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1903.

(Newspapers)

Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate, New Echota, February 21, 1828- December 9, 1832. Digital Library of Georgia, Historic Newspaper Project, dlg.galileo.usg.edu.

Cherokee Phoenix Index, Western Carolina University, Hunter Library, [http://library.wcu.edu/Cherokee Phoenix](http://library.wcu.edu/CherokeePhoenix).

Macon Advertiser, Macon, Georgia, 1829-1832.

Southern Recorder, Milledgeville, Georgia, 1829-1832.

Statesman and Patriot, Milledgeville, Georgia, 1828-1830.

The Federal Union, Milledgeville, Georgia, 1830-1832.

The Georgia Messenger, Macon, Georgia, 1829-1832.

(Secondary Sources)

Allen, Ivan. *The Cherokee Nation*. Atlanta: Ivan Allen Company, 1959.

Anderson, William L. *Cherokee Removal Before and After*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Bassett, John Spencer. *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, Volume IV, 1829-1832. Washington, D.C: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1929.

Berkhofer, Robert F.Jr. *Salvation and the Savage*. New York: Athenaeum, 1976.

Berkhofer Robert F. Jr. *The White Man's Indian*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Callaghan, Karen and Schnell, Frauke, eds. *Framing American Politics*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.

Carlton, Andrew David. "The Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate: Its Response To Arguments For Cherokee Removal, 1828-1834." Georgia State University, 1996.

Carney, Virginia Moore. *Eastern Band of Cherokee Women*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

Cotterill, R.S. *The Southern Indians*. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1974.

Coward, John M. *The Newspaper Indian, Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-1890*. Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Davis, Kenneth Penn. "Ousting The Cherokees From Georgia." Georgia State College, 1968.

Dippie, Brian W. *The Vanishing American, White Attitudes & U.S. Indian Policy*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982.

Duncan, Barbara R. *Living Stories of the Cherokee*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Ehle, John. *Trail of Tears, The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*. New York: Doubleday, 1988.

Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal Of Communication*, 1993, 43(4), 51-58.

Evarts, Jeremiah. *Cherokee Removal: The William Penn Essays and Other Writings*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981.

Fairbanks, Charles A. and Goff, John H. *Cherokee and Creek Indians*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974.

Filler, Louis and Guttman, Allen, eds. *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or National Dishonor?* Boston: D.C. Heath, 1962.

Finger, John R. *The Eastern Band of Cherokees 1819-1900*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984.

Fogelson, Raymond D. *The Cherokees, A Critical Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.

Goffman, E. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1974.

Green, Michael D. *The Creeks*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

Gregory, Jack and Strickland, Rennard. *Sam Houston with the Cherokees, 1829-1833*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967.

Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891.

James, Deborah L. "Hugh Montgomery and the Cherokee Indian Agency 1824-1834," Georgia State University, 1994.

Kilpatrick, Anna Gritts and Jack Frederick. *New Echota Letters, Contributions of Samuel A. Worcester to the Cherokee Phoenix*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968.

Luebke, Barbara F. "Elias Boudinot and 'Indian Removal.'" *Outsiders in 19th-Century Press History: A Multicultural Perspective*. Frankie Hutton and Barbara Strauss, eds. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995. 115-144.

Lumpkin, Wilson. *The Removal Of The Cherokee Indians From Georgia*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1907.

Macenczak, Kimberly Portwood. "Educators to the Cherokees at New Echota, Georgia: A Study in Assimilation," Georgia State University, 1991.

Macon Telegraph, Macon, Georgia, 1828-1832.

Malone, Henry T. *Cherokees of the Old South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956.

Martin, Robert G Jr. *The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism*, digital.library.okstate.edu, University of Oklahoma, 1947.

- McLoughlin, William G. *Champions of the Cherokees, Evan and John B. Jones*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- McLoughlin, William G. and Cosner, Walter H. Jr. "The Cherokees in Transition." *Journal of American History* 1977, 64, 678-703.
- Norgren, Jill. "Lawyers and the Legal Business of the Cherokee Republic in Courts of the U.S., 1829-1835," *Law and History Review*, Fall 1992, v 10, n 2.
- Pan, Z. and Kosicki, G.M. "Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse." *Political Communication*, 10 (1993) 55-75.
- Parker, Thomas V., *The Cherokee Indians*. New York: The Grafton Press, 1907.
- Perdue, Theda and Green, Michael. *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*. New York: Penguin Group, 2007.
- Perdue, Theda & Green, Michael D. *The Cherokee Removal*, Boston: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Perthmann, Irwin M. *Red Men of Fire*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1964.
- Pessen, Edward. *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics*. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1978.
- Pessen, Edward. *New Perspectives on Jacksonian Parties and Politics*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969.
- Peters, Richard, editor. *Reports of the Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States*, Washington, 1857, VI, 515.
- Phillips Joyce B. and Paul Gary Phillips, eds. *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Phillips, Selene. *Elias Boudinot and the First Six Months of the Cherokee Phoenix: A Cherokee or Christian Newspaper?* Louisville, KY.: University of Louisville Press, 2007.
- Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*. New York: Penguin Group, 2001.
- Remini, Robert V. *The Revolutionary Age of Andrew Jackson*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.

- Riley, Sam. "The *Cherokee Phoenix*: The Short, Unhappy Life of the First American Indian Newspaper," *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 53-4, 1976, pp. 666-671.
- Scheufele, D.A. & Tewksbury, D. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of three media effects models," *Journal of Communication*, 2007, 57, 1-17.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. *The Age of Jackson*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1945.
- Sloan, Wm David. *The Media In America, A History*. Northport, AL.: Vision Press, 2005.
- Starkey, Marian L. *The Cherokee Nation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946.
- Startt, J.D. & Sloan, Wm.D. *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*. Alabama: Vision Press, 2003.
- Strickland, William M. "The Rhetoric of Cherokee Indian Removal From Georgia, 1828-1832." Louisiana State University, 1975.
- Stuckey, Mary E. *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004.
- Stuckey, Mary E., editor. *The Theory and Practice of Political Communication Research*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Tuchman, B. *Practicing History*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1981.
- Tuchman, G. *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press, 1978.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in History*. New York, 1920.
- Williams, David. *The Georgia Gold Rush, Twenty-Niners, Cherokees and Gold Fever*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1993.
- Woodward, Grace Steele. *The Cherokees*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963
- www.ap.org/pages/about/history , Associated Press.
- <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org> New Georgia Encyclopedia. 19th Century Newspapers.
- www.tngenweb.org, Cherokee Land Cessions, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, 1884.