

LOCATING THE RESILIENCY & SURVIVANCE IN THE *CHEROKEE PHOENIX*

by

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who came before me and those who will come after me. My ancestors are linked to this thesis in so many ways and the stories that I have from them are undeniably part of this thesis. My children will hopefully read this thesis and understand a little better their own history as well as the struggles that their ancestors endured. I know that I have. I especially want to dedicate this thesis to two of my female ancestors, Mariah Ross-Mulkey who died on the Trail of Tears along with her sister-in-law Quatie Brown-Ross. The strength and beauty of Cherokee women can be found in these two women. The way that they lived their lives will forever guide the way that I live mine. My life and this thesis have been inspired by all Cherokee people who struggled and won to remain Cherokee and this thesis is dedicated to those who did not make the *Nu-No-Du-Na-Tlo-Hi-Lu*.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a content analysis of the first phase of *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first American Indian newspaper started during a time of turmoil—the era of Removal. The *Cherokee Phoenix* began publication in New Echota, Cherokee Nation on February 21, 1828 with Elias Boudinot as the first editor. Its last publication in this location was on May 31, 1834. The paper was re-enlivened later as the *Cherokee Advocate* and again as the *Cherokee Phoenix*. This paper was meant to be printed weekly (on Thursdays), but this did not always happen. A content analysis looking for themes of ‘assimilation,’ endurance, ‘survival,’ resiliency, struggle, adaptation, and ‘peoplehood’ was undertaken. The goal was to ‘re-write’ the history that already exists about the *Cherokee Phoenix* and Cherokee people, by proposing and providing evidential support for a more complex and messy explanation as to why the *Cherokee Phoenix* started and continued to be published.

INTRODUCTION

The *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first American Indian newspaper, initially hit the Cherokee Nation press in 1828. This was 26 years after the United States made a compact with Georgia which promised the removal of all Indians and two years before President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act of 1830. However, with the help of the *Phoenix* and the support of many white missionaries the Cherokee people held off Removal for another eight years. The newspaper served multiple purposes, but the focus of this research is to see how the *Cherokee Phoenix* exemplified resiliency and survivance. This thesis presents a qualitative content analysis using the model of resiliency and survivance. Primary archival documents like the *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828-1834) and Chief John Ross's personal letters are used to explore these concepts. This thesis is innovative in that it moves past the theory of 'assimilation' and the misrepresentation of the vanishing Indian race. The *Cherokee Phoenix* functioned not only as a means of communicating important tribal and governmental information but it created a National pride and identity among Cherokees.

Cherokee People

The Cherokee people or Ani-yunwi-ya (The Real People) have existed since time immemorial according to creation stories. Throughout this thesis the term 'Ani-yunwi-ya' will be interchanged with 'Cherokee people' making the writing more Cherokee-centered. *Yoneg* (the Cherokee world for Euro-Western) is the other term that will be used in this thesis in an attempt to be Cherokee-centered (Justice, 2006). Cherokee people inhabited what are now the southeastern states of the United States before Hernando De

Soto arrived in 1540 and probably a long time before that. Cherokee history, Cherokee people, and anything involving Cherokee is complex and intricately tied to the views of outsiders looking in (Portwood, 1991, p. 116). The very term 'Cherokee' was either derived from the Spanish or from other American Indians in the area at the same time (1500s). The identities of Cherokee people were and still are deeply tied to the Appalachian Mountains through stories and ancestors, even if the majority of Cherokee people no longer live in the traditional homelands due to U.S. Federal policies like Removal and Relocation.

How the World Was Made

The earth is a great island floating in a sea of water, and suspended at each of the four cardinal points by a cord hanging down from the sky vault, which is of solid rock...

At first the earth was flat and very soft and wet. The animals were anxious to get down, and sent out different birds to see if it was yet dry, but they found no place to alight and came back again...they sent out the Buzzard and told him to go and make ready for them...

He flew all over the earth, low down near the ground, and it was still soft. When he reached the Cherokee country, he was very tired, and his wings began to flap and strike the ground, and wherever they struck the earth there was a valley, and where they turned up again there was a mountain. When the animals above saw this, they were afraid that the whole world would be

mountains, so they called him back, but the Cherokee country remains full of mountains to this day.

When the earth was dry and the animals came down, it was still dark, so they got the sun and set it in a track to go every day across the island from east to west, just overhead... The conjurers put the sun another handbreadth higher in the air, but it was still too hot. They raised it another time, and another, until it was seven handbreadths high and just under the sky arch. Then it was right, and they left it so...

When the animals and plants were first made;—we do not know by whom—they were told to watch and keep awake for seven nights, just as young men now fast and keep awake when they pray to their medicine. They tried to do this, and nearly all were awake through the first night...until, on the seventh night, of all the animals only the owl, the panther, and one or two more were still awake. To these were given the power to see and to go about in the dark, and to make prey of the birds and animals which must sleep at night...but to the others it was said: "Because you have not endured to the end you shall lose your hair every winter."

Men came after the animals and plants. At first there were only a brother and sister until he struck her with a fish and told her to multiply, and so it was. In seven days a child was born to her, and thereafter every seven days another, and they increased very fast until there was danger that the world

could not keep them. Then it was made that a woman should have only one child in a year, and it has been so ever since (Mooney, 1991, p. 239).

The history of Cherokee people could and has been turned into a whole book (e.g. Conley, 2005). What appears in Chapter 2 is nothing more than a reader's digest version of the story. Also a detailed timeline can be found in Appendix A.

The Cherokee Phoenix

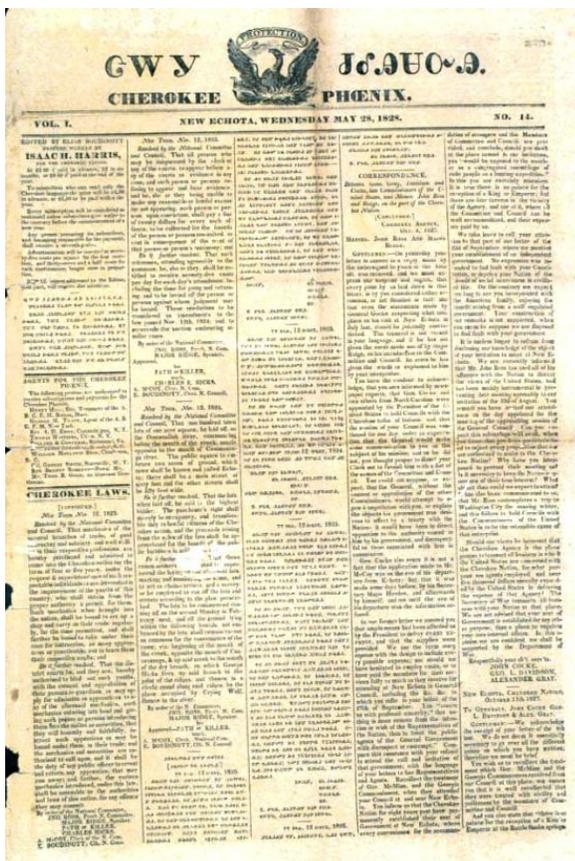


Figure 1 The Cherokee Phoenix

Newspapers among American Indian people are now 182 years old with the anniversary of the *Cherokee Phoenix* in 2010. Daniel F. Littlefield Jr. (1984) wrote “the press is a powerful tool in the hands of any interest group, including Indians” of which the Cherokee Nation was fully aware in the years leading up to removal (p. xi). The first tribal newspaper was the *Cherokee Phoenix*. It began publication on February 21, 1828 in New Echota, Cherokee Nation (now known as Calhoun, Georgia). The town of New Echota was named after the sacred peace town of Echota (or Itsadi, Chota, or Chote). This town was originally the ancient capital of Cherokee Country (Conley, 2005, p. 107) and when New Echota was named in the 1800s it served to reinforce a sense of group identity (Spicer, 1980, p. 311). New Echota was what Spicer (1980) would call an “ethnic space.” The fact that Cherokee people were creating this “ethnic space” defies the notion of ‘assimilation.’ The renaming of this new town is an act of survivance and an attempt to stay connected to the old traditions. The establishment of the *Cherokee Phoenix* in this town was, perhaps, a first indication of the concepts of resiliency and survivance manifested in this newspaper.

This newspaper emerged during a time when Cherokee literacy rates sky-rocketed with the invention of the Cherokee syllabary. The syllabary, created by Sequoyah, allowed the *Cherokee Phoenix* to be the first newspaper printed in an Indian language. The newspaper was bilingual which allowed for two audiences. In 1829 the name of the paper changed to the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians’ Advocate* which reflected an early version of the Pan-Indian movement.

The publication came to a temporary end on May 31, 1834 under the editor Elijah Hicks. Hicks was the third person to hold this title following Elias Boudinot (Buck Watie) and Stand Watie. In 1834 removal was starting to be seen as inevitable and funding for the publication was drying-up. However, even if funding could have been secured the Georgia Guard confiscated the press at New Echota, acknowledging the power that the paper had over Indians and non-Indians (Trahant, 1995, p. 12).

In 1844, west of the Mississippi the paper arose again as the *Cherokee Advocate* in Tahlequah, Oklahoma (Brannon, 2005, p. 81). In 1853 this publication also took a break, but it was revitalized in 1871 following the aftermath of the Civil War. This paper continued until 1906 when the Cherokee government was suspended by the U.S. government and Oklahoma became a state. Since then the *Cherokee Phoenix* has once again been revived (1999) and is now available on the Internet. The publication from 1828 till now is one long continuum of the same newspaper that adapted overtime and exemplifies survivance. Not to say there were not large breaks and significant change, but the mere fact that the paper is published today reflects larger trends for Cherokee people and those trends are survivance and resiliency.

Methodology

The field of American Indian Studies (AIS) is best served with an interdisciplinary approach that uses any and all theories that work for the research, but can also develop new theory from an Indigenous worldview. This thesis does just this by using theories from Anthropology, Sociology, American Indian Studies, Psychology, and

Mental Health fields. Not only does this approach serve to recognize the interdisciplinary approach of AIS it also represents a “theory triangulation” to increase the depth of understanding (Berg, 2007). In addition, it attempts to develop a theory of Cherokeeization (the ability to take new ideas from any culture/society and process them through a Cherokee filter resulting in an end product that is undeniably Cherokee) which is Cherokee-centered. This thesis is based on archival ethnographical research that aims to offer a new perspective on the *Cherokee Phoenix/Indians’ Advocate*, published from February 21, 1828 to May 31, 1834. This thesis is meant to be Cherokee-centered and as Justice (2006) described in his own work, this thesis is “an essentialist text, one that offers no apologies for placing Cherokees at the center” (p. 9). I cannot detach myself from this research nor pretend to be completely objective since my own family history is tied to this research. However, I believe that my connection to this thesis makes it even stronger, but as a scholar I still recognize the need to seek the truth and critique history (Justice, 2006).

The method of historiography “is a method for discovering from records and accounts, what happened during some past period, but it is not simply fact-centered; rather, historiography seeks to offer theoretical explanations for various historical events” (Berg, 2007, p. 264). The ultimate goal is to locate the resiliency and survivance in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The content of the newspaper and letters were analyzed by detecting concepts that supported resiliency and survivance.

Daniel Heath Justice (2006) describes an alternative binary perspective on Cherokee literature which he calls the ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ (red) and ‘Beloved

Path' (white). He believes that the two ways work together and "work toward the preservation of the spiritual commitments, physical bodies, and cultural lifeways of the Ani-Yunwiya, through the ever-fluid balance of strategic accommodation and tactical defiance" (p. 42). The 'Beloved Path' uses accommodation and cooperation while the 'Chickamauga Consciousness' uses physical and/or rhetorical defiance (p. 16). Both of these ways can be exhibited by one person during different periods in their life or from different sections of a society. With both paths a balance can be achieved. In regard to resiliency and survivance the 'Beloved Path' and 'Chickamauga Consciousness' demonstrates both of these methods. Through this model the text within the *Cherokee Phoenix* as well as the letters that are used in this thesis can be analyzed.

The goal is to better understand the Cherokee society through the use of primary documents. A straightforward textual analysis will be avoided because this research has already been accomplished (Landini 1990; Macenczak 1991; & Richards 1980). The conclusions that will be reached is admittedly only one reading of the data, but placing it within the 'Chickamauga Consciousness' (red) and 'Beloved Path' (white) theory provides a grounded Cherokee specific scheme. Further, this may help avoid the pitfall that Robert J. Thornton (1988) warns against when stating that sometimes the "text becomes the established 'truth' of the society. The text, rather than the society, becomes the object of knowledge" (p. 300).

Texts can be analyzed in a variety of ways; however, the reality that is represented in a text is not always void of deception, especially when the text in question was used as a form of propaganda as was the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

All of the *Cherokee Phoenix* publications were located. The ones reviewed were limited in order to be examined more effectively. Further, the publication is bilingual. Due to time constraints and my lack of proficiency in the Cherokee language, that part of the newspaper was not analyzed. However, past research on the *Cherokee Phoenix* seems to indicate that the words in Cherokee generally parallel the words in English (Perdue & Green, 2007; Jack Fredrick Kilpatrick, Anna Grits Kilpatrick, Samuel A Worcester, & Elias Boudinot, 1968). However, James Emmett Murphy and Sharon Murphy (1981) disagree and say that “[v]ery little of the content of the paper appeared in parallel Cherokee and English; some was only in Cherokee; some only in English” (p. 26). Either way what is written in the Cherokee language remains an important part of the publication and should be researched in the future by a fluent Cherokee speaker since so much can be lost in translation.

This thesis strives to look at concepts of resiliency and survivance as expressed in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. These concepts can be identified by looking for the ideas of resistance, change, survival, strength, the ‘Beloved Path’/‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ model and the ‘peoplehood matrix’ in the newspaper and other connected primary documents. The ‘peoplehood matrix’ is four interconnected components of land, language, sacred history, and ceremonies and the mere continuance of these four elements demonstrates resiliency and survivance. Frederick E. Hoxie (2001) coined the expression “talking back to civilization” which has been adopted in the analysis of the Cherokee newspaper. This was certainly one function of the publication. Talking back and resisting the preconceived ideas that Euro-Americans held about the Cherokee

situates this publication in the genre of propaganda on one hand and the pride of a Nation on the other.

Mass communication theory can be helpful in understanding the cultural element of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, but for the most part it is avoided in this analysis because much of what exists (McQuail's Reader, 2002) is written analyzes contemporary Euro-American newspapers. The ideas of the freedom of press or censorship are not equivalent to the reality of what was taking place among the Cherokee people during the early to mid 1800s. The term propaganda comes out of mass communication theory and is used in this thesis because the idea of using rhetoric to achieve an end goal was not a foreign concept to Cherokee people. In fact, it was used and highly prized by orators who could persuade people into a consensus (Reid, 1970, p. 49-55; Richards, 1998, p. 44). Reid (1970) writes "it [sagacity] was the means to leadership in the nation and made oratory the most valuable attribute an aspiring leader could possess" (p. 53). The ideas of censorship in the press and the freedom of the press are unique to post-contact time; however, censorship and freedom were not foreign ideas to Cherokee people. With that said, unlike the U.S. Constitution, the Cherokee Constitution did not guarantee the freedom of speech (Peyer, 1997, p. 204). Consensus in the political sense encompasses ideas like freedom of expression and the 'right' to have a say in decisions, but these ideas have a strong cultural context that ties back to Cherokee worldview and is not the equivalent to mass communication theory.

Writing is an act of colonization, in many respects, because it became a mark for 'civilization' among American Indian people. However, the *Cherokee Phoenix* used

writing to resist Removal and ‘assimilation’ (the wholesale rejection of one culture for another). Writing was seen by the ‘colonizer’ as a hierarchal process that ‘colonizers’ encouraged American Indian people to use in exchange for the vast oral tradition that had survived for so long. This was an approach of ‘erase and replace’ that very few Cherokee people bought into. This is evidenced by the fact that oral stories were written down after the introduction of the Sequoyah syllabary and even the *Cherokee Phoenix* used oral tradition to argue against removal (stories were told in the newspaper to help Cherokees stay unified). More proof exists in the fact that, in the early 1900s, James Mooney, an ethnographer, was still recording traditional Cherokee stories. This was over a hundred years after the introduction of writing among Cherokees. With this said, current writing can also be a decolonizing methodology for research (Deloria & Salisbury, 2002; Fixico, 1997; Smith, 2006).

The *Cherokee Phoenix* provides insight into how resilient the Cherokee Nation was during a period of hardship and heartache (1828-1834). It also emphasizes how the people used the newspaper to discuss issues, debate survival strategies, inform the Cherokee people of U.S. federal decisions, and record day-to-day events. Further, this paper can be read “as an instance of Indian resistance to white power...[and the] presentation of speech not as personal... but as a memorization of a community agreed-upon position” (Kroeber, 1994, p. 17). The history of the Cherokee Nation during this time period (1820s-30s) will be utilized to provide a more historical and complete context for this research.

The significance of this project is tied to the idea of voice, power, history, and to who has that power or who tells history. The *Cherokee Phoenix* is an actual document that contains the words of many people. It was not and is not now censored by the United States federal government. To utilize it allows us to look at Cherokee from the inside-out rather than the outside-in. However, this thesis is not an authoritative final analysis of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Don Fixico (2001) writes that “[j]ust as one cannot say that there is one European view, neither can one say that there is only one Indian view of history” (In Hurtado & Iverson, p. 8). This thesis is intended to be a contribution to the ongoing scholarship of the Cherokee Nation. Duane Champagne (1994) wrote that “[i]t is the task of social scientists to explore the ways in which Indian societies have responded with enduring forms of change and adaptation” (In Taylor & Peace, p. 222). It is this exploration that is undertaken in this thesis.

Theoretically, the publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix* will be analyzed using the concepts of resiliency and survivance (Vizenor, 1989) as opposed to ‘assimilation’ or the ‘vanishing Indian’ myth that is often used by scholars writing about the newspaper, given that its publication coincides with the Trail of Tears (Portwood, 1991). Scholars have seen the *Cherokee Phoenix* as a newspaper that disappeared shortly after its birth (Riley, 1976). But this conclusion is too simplistic and parallels the common misperception that American Indian Nations are fleeting.

Ethically, this research does not involve human subjects, thus exempting it from an Institutional Review Board (IRB) process. However, the legacy of inappropriate and unethical research with American Indian people prompted that a letter be sent regarding

the intent to study the *Cherokee Phoenix*. This letter was mailed to the Cherokee Nation Tribal Government of Oklahoma (see Appendix B). A complete copy of this thesis will also be sent to the Cherokee Nation. The reasoning behind this decision was full disclosure.

Research Questions

The first questions are general inquiries about the time period and the publication itself. These questions are informational and descriptive in nature but important to understanding the people involved in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. For example, who received the paper and how did they get it? Also, what did the Cherokee Nation look like during the time period? This was explored by using census records, government records, and letters. Who was involved with the paper and what were their positions in Cherokee society? Further, did the use of writing indicate a less ‘traditional’ Cherokee society and why were the tools of the colonizer used during this time period? These types of questions will be considered in the Cherokee History chapter (3) and the *Cherokee Phoenix* chapter (4).

The people involved with the publication were profiled in order to better understand the purpose behind the publication. Historical context played a role in the publication, but what role was that? As Linda Tuhiwai Smith said, “*Coming to know the past* has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization” (2006, p. 34).

Cherokee Worldviews

“The “worldview of many Native people tends to be circular and continuous rather than linear and concerned with ‘progress’” (Weaver & White, 1997, p. 70). This is in sharp contrast with Western thought of civilization that argues there is a progressive hierarchy that all people and cultures move along (Tylor, 1958). Another sharp division from Western thought is the idea of community. In Cherokee society individuality is respected but not if it comes at the cost of the whole community (Perude, 1996; & Strickland, 1975). Cherokee worldviews vary among Cherokee people due to the fact that Cherokee people are not all the same nor do all Cherokee people live within the same “reservation.” Further, different influences have mixed with Cherokee beliefs to create different and new Cherokee values. However, there are some basic tenets that shaped the way Cherokee people lived in the past which can be seen in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Richards (1998) states that Cherokee people search for order and then try to maintain that order (p. 45). The ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ and ‘Beloved Path’ are two ways to preserve order. Further, the perseverance of order, as seen in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, illustrates the continuance of traditional values.

Consensus and unity were important to Cherokee people during the years leading up to Removal and are revealed in the newspaper. Through these values the Cherokee people were able to band together even under the most stressful times (i.e. Removal). Weaver and White (1997) explain that decisions are made by consensus, power is decentralized, and cooperation is highly valued among American Indian people (p. 70). With this said, “[i]ntertribal struggle and warfare are not post-Contact phenomena” but a reality that required diligence on the part of individuals in order to preserve the

community (Two Horses, 1998, p. 36). Rifts and factionalism are long-established realities for Cherokee society and can be seen in the story behind the *Cherokee Phoenix* and with the Treaty of 1835 (Metcalf In Nichols, 1981, p. 25).

Another important idea that was argued during the split over the newspaper and Removal is the concept of withdrawal. Withdrawal was a tool used when a consensus could not be reached. Everyone had the right to voice their thoughts and opinions in a variety of different forums, but once a consensus had been reached those who did not agree with the consensus needed to withdraw either by no longer talking about the issue or, if the person could not support the consensus they might leave the community (Reid, 1970, p. 29-33).

The roles of men and women were also meant to achieve a balance. All work was viewed as equally important to maintaining the community. Later, with the introduction of intermarriage to non-Indians, the role of the woman and her clan became invaluable to maintaining order and the society. When a child was born, no matter who the father, the child belonged to the mother's clan and was considered Cherokee. Blood quantum was not a traditional ideological system among Cherokee people, nor for all American Indians pre-contact. As long as the mother was Cherokee the child was Cherokee. This is the reason why Chief John Ross, who was of Scottish and Cherokee heritage, was seen as Cherokee by his society. The way in which he lived his life showed that he was firmly Cherokee and it was this devotion to the people that kept him in the position of chief until his death in 1866.

The ‘blood law’ is tied to the concept of clan because it was enforced by clan members as well as preserving order and harmony by restoring balance. This law is not about ‘revenge’ in the Euro-American sense, but is about re-establishing order. The ‘blood law’ was enforced by clan members when a person was killed (Reid, 1970, p. 73). For example, if a member of the Bird Clan (Ani-tsisqua) was murdered by a person from the Deer Clan (Ani-kawi) it would be required for a member from the Ani-tsisqua to take the life of a person from the Ani-kawi. It did not have to be the same person who committed the act because it was not about revenge, as Reid (1970) saw it, but restoration. In 1839, under the ‘blood law’ Elias Boudinot and others were murdered for their role in Removal and the 4,000 Cherokees who died under this policy.

Social control is part of any society. The Cherokee people employed different strategies to achieve desired behavior from individuals (Reid, 1970, p. 63). The act of tricking was acceptable as long as it did not disrupt the harmony or order of the community (Thomas, unpublished, p.3). In fact, this strategy may have been used during the 1800s when Ani-yunwi-ya demonstrated that they were “civilized in the image of Euro-American” (Holland, 1956).

Theda Perdue (1996) proposed that moving west of the Mississippi River may have been strongly opposed by the majority of Cherokees since the west presented death. East (ka-lv-gv) is represented by the color red (gi-ga-ge) and signifies power, life, victory, and success. West (wu-de-li-gv) is represented by the color black (gv-ni-ge) and signifies death. The Trail of Tears forced Ani-yunwi-ya not only to leave traditional ancient homelands, but it also forced Cherokees to head toward the west which was

associated with death. These apprehensions deeply tied to Cherokee worldview may have contributed to Cherokee resistance to Removal; including the creation and maintenance of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Change and adaptation have long been part of Cherokee worldview because they have allowed for survival. Simply put, change and adaptation are key components in resiliency. “Cultures survive through continual readjustment, and...that readjustment had been part of human experience in North America for thousands of years” (Bowden, 1981, p. 24). The process of “readjustment” or adaptation must be considered in a Cherokee context which I will further illustrate through the term ‘Cherokeenization.’

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

As the first American Indian newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, has been studied previously from the perspectives of mass communication and journalism (Bittner, 1996; Dominick, 1996; Folkerts, Teeter, & Kincaid 2002; Kemper, 2006). It has also been used by historians to reconstruct the Cherokee's Trail of Tears/Removal (Jahoda, 1975; Perdue & Green, 2007; Rozemo, 2003). Other scholars have used the papers to focus on the paper's first editor, Elias Boudinot or Buck Oowatie (Gual & Boudinot, 2005; Kemper, 2006; Konkle, 2004; Luebke In Hutton & Reed, 1995; Perdue, 1983). One scholar (Minahan, 1996) has used this publication to argue that the Cherokee Indians became fully assimilated by choice and action. However, what does not exist is a scholarly or popular work that looks at the *Cherokee Phoenix/Indians' Advocate* through the lens of American Indian Studies.

Cherokee Literature

The forced journey to Oklahoma is similar to the relocations of many other American Indian people. It has also been the focus of scholarly research about Cherokee culture. The pushes and pulls that forced Cherokee people to leave traditional geographical spaces have been covered repeatedly by scholars and writers (Burgan, 2001; Ehle, 1988; Ellis, 1991; Jahoda, 1995; Perdue & Green, 2007; Rozema, 2003; Stephens, 1954). The Cherokee's Trail of Tears holds a special place in the heart of Cherokee people and the rest of the American population because it is readily apparent as one of the many images of Manifest Destiny. However, this interpretation represents just one side of

the tale, even though it is the one most commonly told in literature. The common knowledge that most people share about the Cherokee people is that they are the ones who were forced to walk The Trail of Tears (Burgan, 2001; Ehle, 1988; Ellis, 1991; Jahoda, 1995; Perdue & Green, 2007; Stephens, 1954). The image remains an image of a people who were powerless and non-actors in their struggles.

In the years leading up to forced removal nothing was simple or unidirectional for the Cherokee people (Justice, 2001, p. 266). The Nation was being harassed by the state of Georgia and the U.S. federal government to give up their lands and move to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. According to Trahant (1995) the 1820s through the 1830s were marked by Georgia creating laws to chip away at Cherokee sovereignty (p. 6). Georgia intended to destroy the Cherokee's right to self-governance (Mooney, 1975). Georgia's attacks on Cherokee autonomy were compounded and became more aggressive when gold was 'discovered' in 1828 (Mooney, 1975). When this occurred tribal members were forbidden to mine their own lands for a source of economic stability (Tranhant, 1995, p. 6).

Primitive accumulation, created by Marx and expanded on by Lenin (De Angelis, 2001; Loveman, 2005; McMichael, 1977) can also explain the actions of Georgia and President Andrew Jackson. President Jackson exerted this control by signing the Indian Removal Act of 1830, thus using the power of economics and force to remove American Indians from the southeast. Jackson was born in Tennessee and was a strong proponent of removing the "Five Southern Tribes" west of the Mississippi. He also supported the

concept of states rights. As a southerner himself, he knew there was a lot to gain economically with the removal of Indians from prime plantation lands.

Contact & the Literature

Another focus for scholars when it comes to Cherokee society are the different ways in which Cherokee people reacted to colonization. For example, a linear progression of civilization is used by Bob L. Blackburn (1980) when he looked at the “evolution” of the “Five Tribe’s” lighthorsemen (Cherokee police force). He refers to ‘blood law’ and hunting/agricultural lifestyles as “simple,” that only change with the external pressures of outsiders (p. 49). Further, this idea of civilization has also been used to study the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Brannon writes (2005) that the *Cherokee Phoenix* was “a logical step in its [Cherokee] cultural development” thus conforming to the idea of linear progression from savagism to civilized (p. 11).

Blackburn (1980) supports other scholars (Peyer, 1997; Woodward, 1963) who think that it was the ‘mixedbloods’ among Cherokees that directed most of the change (p. 50). Further, he uses Chief John Ross as a typical ‘mixedblood’ who took the power away from ‘fullbloods’ in order to enhance his own well-being. He does say that Ross was steeped in Cherokee heritage, but his argument that Ross was a rich ‘mixedblood’ who created the lighthorsemen to protect his personal property is unfounded since the lighthorsemen predated Ross.

Change has been a top focus of anthropologists and sociologists since the 1950s (Healey, 2009; Spicer, 1956). Edward H. Spicer (1956) edited a book titled *Perspectives*

in American Indian Culture Change which gives insight into the ways that American Indian people have changed; however, Cherokee is not one of the Indian Nations that was studied. Spicer (1956) concludes that change has varied among Indian people, but he also highlights that it was always in the face of contact (p. 519). However, this idea of change only in the face of contact deprives Indian Nations of the power to change on their own accord and for their own various reasons. Spicer identifies two types of change: non-directed contact and directed contact (p. 524). He writes “[t]he elements of a given cultural system, under conditions of contact, may be augmented, replaced, or combined in a variety of ways with elements of another system” (Spicer, 1959, p. 529). If “A” is the traditional Indian culture and “B” is the *yoneg* culture interesting things can occur when they come into contact. For example, when the Navajos (A) were introduced to sheepherding (B) ($A + B$) it resulted in A (a Navajo practice of sheepherding), thus, $A + B = A$. “What superficially appeared to be extreme change, such as adoption of a new subsistence pattern in sheepherding, turned out to be a reinforcement of the interest in hunting” (Spicer, 1959, p. 530). “Assimilative” ($A + B = B$) is the next type of change and it theoretically means that a culture comes in contact with a different culture and replaces everything to reflect the new culture. This pattern takes power away from American Indian people because as Spicer (1959) explains the persistence of some parts of the culture only remain because the “dominant” cultures have an interest in them (p. 532). The third type of change is called fusion ($A + B = C$) and the fourth type as coined by Dozier is called isolative integration or compartmentalization ($A + B = A \& B$). Fusion is a simple yet complex idea that two cultures can come into contact and create a

whole new culture that is not A nor B. For example, a Canadian Indian community can come into contact with a French community and instead of remaining French or Indian become Métis, who are neither Indian nor French but members of a new culture fused with elements from both. Isolative integration means that A and B may come into contact but each culture remains separate “lacking linkage” (p. 533). Spicer (1959) does not assume that these types of change are the only possibilities, and further concludes that they can all take place within one community at different periods. However, it is possible for more than one of these processes to take place at the same time, particularly as individuality exists within communities, especially the Cherokee community as seen in the analysis of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Overall, Spicer’s (1959) work has offered an important theory to understanding American Indian people. However, it could use some fine-tuning to adapt to each particular and unique Indian culture. While Spicer’s research has been vital to American Indian Studies, it has not been used to explore the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Duane Champagne (1992) also looked at social change, yet his work is different because it focused on Cherokees and concludes that:

The external threats of removal, pressures for land sales, and American intruders onto Cherokee land would seem to provide an explanation for Cherokee political unification and increased centralization and differentiation. Yet these threats were not unique to the Cherokee; the other southeastern nations faced similar threats, but did not respond by increasing political centralization, differentiation, or unification (p. 105).

Champagne acknowledges that the developments taking place in the Cherokee Nation since the early 1800s were not simply a response to outsiders or contact.

In the Image of White People

An overexploited point of interest for scholars, when writing about Ani-yunwi-ya, is to mention Cherokee's uncanny ability to 'civilize' so well and adopt the *yoneg* culture (Holland, 1956; Reid, 1970; Richards, 1998; Wirt, 1930). This focal point ignores the constant flexibility of Cherokee culture and assumes that Cherokees would 'civilize' as defined by *yoneg*. Further, the history told by many of these scholars recounts Cherokees as total victims, passive, or accepting of removal. Arrell Morgan Gibson (1981) writes, that in the early 1800s "Cherokees... elected to join their kinsmen in the West" (p. 47). Gibson (among others: Minahan, 2002; Wardell, 1938) also further perpetuates the idea that 'mixedbloods' were the main reason for 'civilization' and that the terms 'mixedblood' and 'fullblood' were indicators for the traits of Cherokee people (p. 64-65). In this analysis, 'mixedbloods' are viewed as 'progressive' while 'fullbloods' are viewed as 'traditionalist.'

The Cherokee Phoenix & the Literature

The *Cherokee Phoenix* was first published on February 21, 1828 under the editorship of Elias Boudinot with the support of Chief John Ross in New Echota, Cherokee Nation (Brannon, 2005; Littlefield Jr., 1984). When talk of Removal was at its peak and Georgia was passing laws to disband the Cherokee government the newspaper

offered an outlet for discussion. As Removal rapidly approached, the *Cherokee Phoenix* became a forum for protest and/or support (Lumpkin, 1907; Lumpkin, 1971; Riley, 1976; Trahant, 1995; Valliere, 1982). It is clear that Cherokee people were able to take the press and use it to convey and debate ideas to each other and to outsiders. However, what is unclear is the motivation behind the ideas of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. There is a great deal of literature regarding the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first American Indian weekly newspaper with neighboring columns of English and Cherokee, and even more literature where the newspaper is cited to argue a point or disprove one.

The position generally argued by scholars is that the paper was an ‘assimilation’ tool for one faction of Ani-yunwi-ya (Black, 2009b, 68; Portwood, 1991). Neal Salisbury (1984) wrote that “the *Cherokee Phoenix* was used to publicize assimilationist views” (p. 486).

The History Channel publishes a public website titled, “This Day in History” and on February 21, 2008 they wrote that “sadly, despite the Cherokee’s sincere efforts to cooperate and assimilate with the Anglo-Americans, their accomplishments did not protect them from the demands of land-hungry Americans” (para. 6). The “accomplishments” this site refers to are the *Cherokee Phoenix* and Sequoyah’s invention of the written language. Ethnohistorians Perdue and Green (2007) take a more complex view. They wrote that the two purposes of the *Cherokee Phoenix* were “to keep the Cherokee people informed on public issues and to demonstrate to the outside world the extent of Cherokee ‘civilization’” (p. 75). Whether this act of “civilization” was a

conscious effort to “civilize” or was a political front to circumvent removal will be analyzed in this thesis by using the *Cherokee Phoenix* itself and the 1835 Census.

The *Cherokee Phoenix* has been mined when it comes to books and articles about Removal and The Trail of Tears (Anderson 1991; Cashion, et al., 1970; Filler & Guttman, 1962; Fleischmann, 1971; Lumpkin, 1907; Lumpkin, 1971). Other scholars have used the *Cherokee Phoenix* to honor Sequoyah or to discuss American Indians with regard to journalism (Awtrey, 1941; Bass, 1936; Coblenz, 1946; Hoig, 1995; Littlefield Jr., 1984; Riley, 1976; Trahant, 1995). Another common use of this publication is to perpetuate the historical feud between the ‘Ross-Party’ and the ‘Treaty-Party’ (Dale & Litton, 1939; Wilkins, 1986).

Littlefield Jr. and Parins (1984) have written that “scholarship has demonstrated that the *Phoenix* does not represent a valid ethnographic statement about Cherokee society” (p. xii). Their argument is that only a faction with self-interests within the Cherokee Nation had a voice in this publication. Further, Edmunds (1995) argues that the intentions behind ‘mixedblood’ individuals are tied to the desire to “defend the retention of tribal homelands since they developed plantations, farms, or other enterprises in the region. In turn, their defense of the tribal estate attracted the support of the less acculturated members of their tribes and gave their centralization of power a veneer of legitimacy” (p. 731). Edmunds is not the only scholar who assumes that ‘mixedbloods’ were in control of the Cherokee Nation. Paul Murray (1948) wrote that by 1820 “the Cherokee Indians, under the lead of half-breed and white chiefs, steadfastly refused to give up the last remnant of their ancestral lands” (p. 16). However, there were wealthy

‘fullblood’ leaders like Major Ridge who signed the Treaty of New Echota and ‘mixedbloods’ like Elias Boudinot who also signed the treaty. The 1835 treaty fully authorized the wholesale removal of Cherokees which contradicts Murray’s statement. The truth is that the Removal issue was more complex than simple abstractions regarding ‘mixedbloods’ and ‘fullbloods.’

Littlefield Jr. and Parins (1984) stated that the *Cherokee Phoenix* “was a propaganda device established by, and reflecting the views of, Cherokee then in power” (p. *xii*). This propaganda idea also addresses the audience of the paper who scholars believe was mostly non-Cherokee people. Scholars generally state that the paper’s intended audience was non-native people who would hopefully sympathize with the Cherokee cause (The Hunter Library, 2009; Littlefield Jr., & Parins, 1984; Perdue & Green, 2005; Trahant, 1995; Riley, 1976). Some though, acknowledge that the newspaper may have been written for both internal *and* external audiences (Perdue & Green, 2005; Trahant, 1995). From the research, it is clear that the newspaper had a dual audience of American Indians and non-American Indians as most evident by the use of an American Indian language and English.

An Opening in the Literature

The popular view of ‘assimilation’ could easily be inverted to argue that this publication was an example of using the tools of the enemy to fight the enemy. This tactic to resist Removal may be seen as an act of resiliency and survivance. It could also be an illustration of accommodation to a new technology, yet not necessarily accepting

the values and norms. Further, “[t]he binary of colonizer/colonized does not take into account, for example, the development of different layerings which have occurred within each group” (Smith, 2006, p. 27). Jason Edward Black (2009a) wrote that when observing the Creek War (1813-14) the memories are tied up in “dominant and colonizing hero-villain and civilized-savage identities...thus allowing space for resistive indigenist reading of identities” (p. 201). The resistive reading that Black (2009a) attempts is also absent in the studies on the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

The *Cherokee Phoenix* and correspondence of that time (i.e. letters, speeches) offers insight on how Cherokee people felt about ‘assimilation.’ Weaver (2007) wrote that scholars need to “understand the material from the perspective of the Native” (p. 236) which is not an easy task, but one attempted here by ‘listening’ to the American Indians involved with this newspaper. The paper had ‘everyday’ American Indian contributors who sent in their opinion pieces and letters to the editors. These voices are included in the analysis.

This newspaper has received attention because it was the first American Indian periodical to be written. Another reason for the extensive scholarship is because it was also the first Indigenous bilingual newspaper, and used Sequoyah’s syllabary (Biggers, 2006, p. 40). The *Cherokee Phoenix* was also written during a very important historical moment for both Indians and non-Indians in the U. S., especially in the southeastern part of the country. While the publication was sporadic for the six years from 1828 to 1832, Riley’s (1976) assessment that the paper had a “short, unhappy life” (p. 666) and

Murphy's and Murphy's (1981) statement that the publication never resumed after 1834, (p. 31) overlooks the reality of the *Cherokee Advocate*.

The Hunter Library at Western Carolina University recently wrote on their website that "The *Cherokee Phoenix* did not survive to give an account of the Cherokee Nation's last days in the east. It had ceased publication on May 31, 1834" (para. 9). It is sadly true that there was no coverage of the Removal process in the newspaper, but the writer neglects to note that the Cherokee people kept struggling to publish, but to no avail since no issues were published after this date in New Echota since the press was confiscated by the Georgia Guard. Furthermore, the publication did continue again once in Indian Territory.

In the past, the *Cherokee Phoenix* has been seen as evidence of the 'vanishing Indian,' 'assimilation,' or 'Americanization,' but not change (Dudley, 1998; Gibson, 1981; Minahan, 2002; Pearce, 1988; King, 2005; Prucha, 1973; Reid, 1970; Wirt, 1930). However, all societies are subject to change and some must do so in order to survive as a society (Spicer, 1956). Change as a resiliency technique can be empowering. In this case change happened on the terms of the Cherokee people. Trahant (1995) wrote that "if there was to be civilization, a Republic, then it would come on Cherokee terms" (p. 3). Cherokee people have taken things and ideologies from various places and have filtered them through a Cherokee philosophical model. What matched with the model became 'Cherokeenization' and what did not was discarded.

By reconceptualizing or rethinking history (Fixico, 1997) the *Cherokee Phoenix* can be viewed in a new way. This new lens is the opening in scholarship because the

Cherokee Phoenix has not been studied for resiliency and survivance. In 2001 Hurtado and Iverson (Eds.) compiled a text that highlighted the “Major Problems in American Indian History.” In this book Donald L. Fixico writes that:

“Indian history mainly has been perceived from a white population, based on the idea that ‘the conquerors write the history’” (p. 3). Further, “[w]riting proper Indian history would include avoiding suppressing Indians, or writing from an Amerocentric view” which some of the scholars above have obviously done (p. 6).

However, the scholars who have focused on the *Cherokee Phoenix* hardly ever begin with a grounding in Cherokee history and culture.

With the ‘enduring people,’ (Spicer, 1961; 1962; 1969; 1975; 1988) ‘peoplehood’ models, (Holm et al., 2003) and ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ and ‘Beloved Path’ (Justice, 2006) as a theoretical framework Cherokee history can be understood from a Cherokee model instead of from the perspective of the ‘Indian problem.’ Centering Cherokee people and history in this thesis will be accomplished by using the words of Ani-yunwi-ya and with a ‘Cherokeenization’ framework.

CHAPTER 2: CHEROKEE HISTORY

The Ani-yunwi-ya had villages in the southeast of what is now the United States and fell within five different states: South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia. During the eighteenth century the Cherokee people also held claim to hunting lands that went into what is now the state of Kentucky (Perdue & Green, 2007, p. *xiii*). However, according to James Mooney the Cherokee lands before *yoneg* invasion extended much further, into the current states of Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee (Justice, 2006, p. *x*). The southern Appalachian Mountains are considered the homeland for Cherokee people. The area is called *sha-cona-ge* (land of the blue mist). The total area before contact was approximately 135,000 square miles (Todd, 2003, p. 9). By the Cherokee Removal period (1837-39) much of the lands had been stolen and sold to the point that only small tracts in eastern Alabama, western Georgia (the bulk), southeastern North Carolina, and southwestern Tennessee remained. The Cherokee people had flourished in these lands and today thrive in Oklahoma and North Carolina.

In the Beginning

Robert J. Conley (2005) states that the Cherokee weaving techniques have been likened to other indigenous people in South America while the language is said to be related to the Iroquois in the northeast. A traditional war story tells that Cherokees originally lived on an island off the coast of South America and were forced into the southeastern states of North America because of war (p. 5-7). Emmet Starr (1921) also

thought that the Cherokees came from Mexico before heading to Iroquois country (p. 22). Further, the Iroquois connection is supported by the Iroquois culture itself. Doug Geroge-Kanentiio (2000) reasons that from the Midwest of North America the Cherokee people broke off and headed into the southeast during a time where many subgroups split off from the Iroquois (p. 21).

The clans were very important to the function of the towns and even acted as the police and courts for the town. If a crime was committed by one clan against another person of another clan it would be expected that the victim's clan would do the same act to perpetrator's clan ("blood law"). This retribution would end the trouble and put the town back into harmony/balance. The importance of balance comes from the idea that there are three worlds (one above us and one below us), thus retaining balance is necessary for the survival of Cherokee people and really all human beings.

Harmony, balance, purity, interdependence, and ceremonial responsibilities were the most important aspects to the way that Cherokee people lived their lives. Related to ceremonial cycles were farming and hunting, which sustained the Nation. Given that women controlled the farms and garden, they held a great deal of power and responsibility in the Nation. Women owned these gardens and farms, thus the idea of "owning" was known the Cherokee people and the land was being "used" by being farmed. Elders were an important part of the community because the elders played an important role in the rearing of the children. "During ceremonies, the elders told legends, or stories, of times past. Most Cherokee stories include a moral, or lesson in the story" (Todd, 2003, p. 14). In this way (and others) elders were an important part of the

‘peoplehood’ model analysis because the sacred history and ceremonies were maintained and transmitted through them. Women and children created beautiful and functional basketry (Todd, 2003, p. 15) which further enhanced the family ties since basketry was knowledge transmitted from one generation to the next. Some ceremonial activities included stickball, making rain, stomp dance, green corn ceremony, the eagle-tail dance, and the physic-dance (Todd, 2003; Walker, 1931). These events brought the community together and reinforced tribal identity. It is clear from Charles R. Hicks that in 1818 at least some of these ceremonies were still taking place. Hicks mentioned that the making of a new fire each year in March was still being observed as well as the eagle-tail dance (Walker, 1931, p. 124-125). Fire was/is important to Cherokee people as is “going to water” which was done quite frequently. It is possible that this act of going to water was related to baptisms later when Christianity was introduced among Cherokee people.

Contact

The Cherokee first came into contact with immigrants in 1540 (Hernando De Soto’s expedition). This contact was brief, yet in 1566 the Spanish once again came into Cherokee land and set-up Fort San Felipe (in North Carolina). The Spanish were in Cherokee lands for the metal and gold mines until the late 1600s. In 1715 the Cherokee population was estimated to be at 11,000 but this was greatly reduced by smallpox epidemics to an estimated one half or 5,500 Cherokees (Starr, 1921, p. 25).

There were some *yoneg* who came, got what they needed, and left. However, others came into Cherokee lands and stayed. Christian Priber came into Cherokee land in

1736. He learned the language and adapted to the clothing and culture (Mooney, 1975, p. 26). Priber was a Jesuit from France, marking one of the earliest accounts of Cherokees with Christianity. However, at this point there was no effort to Christianize the Cherokees. It was not till forty-five years later that a mission church was erected in Cherokee Country. Through the end of the seventeenth century it seems that *yoneg* contact had little impact on the Cherokee Nation.

With the tension between the colonists and the Cherokee (due to land stealing, forced treaties, and diseases) it is easy to see why the Cherokee sided with the British during the Revolutionary War. The British and the Cherokees became solid allies during the eighteenth century, (Holm, 1997, p. 469) but when the British lost the war the Cherokee people lost an ally against the colonist.

Washington's and Knox's policy was the first shift in federal policy when it came to Indian people. As paternalistic as their policy was, it was an improvement to the squatters' out right killing and stealing that Cherokees were dealing with before that. The Louisiana Purchase would create a space and shift in Federal Indian policy. Further, the Cherokees would accept the "tools" of civilization on their own terms. For example, Cherokees wanted their children to receive an education, but had no need for the proselytizing (Mooney, 1975, p. 74).

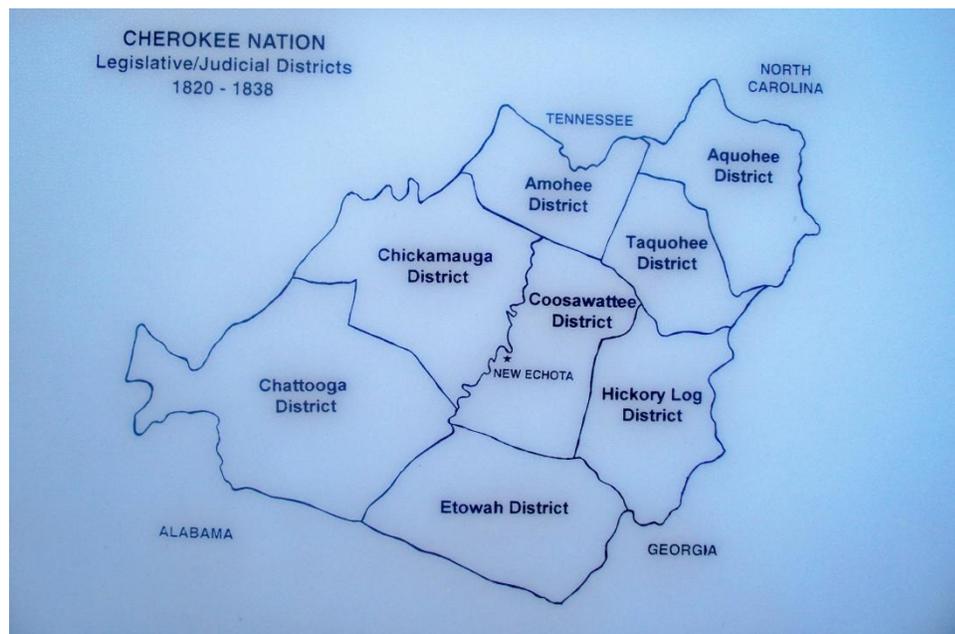


Figure 2 Cherokee Nation c. 1820

Pre-Removal

There were also policies, laws, court cases, and compacts that would forever have impacts on the Cherokee people and the history of Cherokee people. The first of these was the Georgia Compact of 1802. Thomas Jefferson entered into this compact with the state of Georgia. It stated that the U.S. would pay Georgia \$1.25 million dollars for the land that would become Alabama and Mississippi. In return, The U.S. would strip Cherokees of the lands in Georgia. This compact was not upheld by the U.S. government until thirty-six years later with the forced Trails of Tears. The reason for this late promise is because the Cherokee people fought for the lands and their ways of life.

Blackfox, Cherokee Chief, was active from 1805-1811, but then he was replaced by the Cherokee people after negotiating the removal of Cherokee people from the southeast (Conley, 2005, p. 244). Also during this time Doublehead, John Jolly, James

Vann, Tahlonteskee, and others signed a treaty in 1806 to cede more Cherokee land without the permission of the council. According to the law the punishment for treason (which the giving of any land was considered) was death, so James Vann, Major Ridge, and Alex Saunders were chosen to kill Doublehead for his role in the cession of land (Conley, 2005, p. 84; McLoughlin, 1975, p. 560). Major Ridge would later sign the Treaty of 1835; this was also seen as an act of treason. Doublehead's actions could have divided the Cherokee Nation, but instead it reunified and revitalized a people (McLoughlin, 1975, p. 580).

By the fall of 1820 the Cherokee Nation was functioning as a united whole as opposed to the town structure that previously existed (Mooney, 1975, p. 96). By this time the ABCFM was also operating a school in Cornwell, Connecticut which several Cherokees attended, including Elias Boudinot and John Ridge (both would sign the 1853 Treaty as adults). Sequoyah (or Sikwâ'yî) who had been working on the Cherokee syllabary for years presented it to the Cherokee Nation in 1821 and it was approved (Mooney, 1975, p. 99). Further, traditional ways of life were enduring in 1828 because "the *gadugi*, a system of mixed-gender, communal labor, persisted" (Sweet, 2002, p. 132).

The Cherokee population in the southeast alone had grown to 16,000 by 1835 (Tyner, 1974) making it the second largest Indian Nation in the southeast (Valliere, 1982, p. 143). At New Echota on July 26, 1827 the Cherokee Nation adopted a Constitution (Royce, 2007, p. 113; Mooney, 1975, p. 104). Also in 1827 the Nation decided to fund the publication of a newspaper that would be printed in the new Cherokee syllabary and

English. Elias Boudinot and Reverend Samuel Worcester worked together to secure the funding for this project. The first chief under this new united rule was William Hicks who served during 1827, but was followed by Chief John Ross, who would end up serving his people from 1828-1866 (Conley, 2005, p. 244).

In 1828 or early 1829 the “discovery” of gold was made on Ward’s Creek (a place now called Dahlonega), it also marked the official position of the Cherokee government to denounce any further land cessions (Mooney, 1975; Valliere, 1982, p. 145). In November 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected president of the United States. One month later Georgia passed legislation that stated that she believed she had the power to extend laws over the Cherokee Nation, thus trying to abolish the tribal government. According to Georgia’s new laws, the Cherokee Nation was considered null and void and Cherokee people were deprived the right to testify against Euro-Americans in Georgia courts. The act also developed the land lottery where *yoneg* citizens got a chance to receive 160 acres of land or 40 acres of “gold lots” all of which still rightfully belong to Cherokees (Mooney, 1975, p. 111). These actions of Georgia eventually led to *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) after missionary Samuel A. Worcester was sentenced to four years of hard labor because of his refusal to take an oath of alliance to Georgia. This oath was required by Georgia since he lived on Cherokee lands and President Jackson had stripped him of federal postmaster position that would protect him from Georgia’s laws. Justice John Marshall of the U.S. Supreme Court sided with Worcester and Cherokees by ruling that Georgia had no jurisdiction over Cherokee lands since this right was solely the power of the federal government. Unfortunately, this ruling was never enforced by President

Jackson. This ruling was followed by the Indian Removal Act, passed in 1830, with Andrew Jackson's signature.

***Nu-No-Du-Na-Tlo-Hi-Lu* or “the Trail Where They Cried”**

The Senator of Kansas, John J. Ingalls, wrote: “Some races are plastic and can be molded: some races are elastic and can be bent; but the Indian is neither; he is formed out of rock, and when you change his form you annihilate his substance...Civilization destroys the Indian” (Spicer, 1969, p. 236).

“Under the terms of the Treaty of New Echota, the Cherokees had two years to move to their new home in the West” (Perdue, 2005, p. 167). However, by spring of 1838 only 2,000 of the roughly 16,000 Cherokees had removed to Indian Territory (Gibson, 1981; Perdue, 2005). Chief John Ross and the majority of Cherokee people in 1838 still were fighting against removal, but the U.S. government “adopted the official policy of ignoring John Ross as the leading spokesman for the Cherokee nation” (Valliere, 1982, p. 240). In the end, this refusal to move west was answered with troops from the United States. The Trail of Tears began on May 26th by “rounding” up Cherokee people and placing them into stockades and “[b]y mid-June, the soldiers had captured most of the Cherokees” (Perdue, 2005, p. 167). During the time Cherokees were held in the stockades, on the march itself, and soon after arriving, 4,000 to 8,000 Cherokee people had died (Perdue, 2005, p. 168; Rozema, 2003, p. 40). However, those who escaped

removal were able to remain in areas like North Carolina where the current landbase of Eastern Cherokee Nation is today. Evan Jones, a Baptist missionary, wrote on June 16, 1838:

The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They have been dragged from their houses, and encamped at the forts and military posts, all over the nation. In Georgia, especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take any thing with them, except the clothes they had on... The poor captive, in a state of distressing agitation, his weeping wife almost frantic with terror, surrounded by a group of crying, terrified children” (Perdue, 2005, p. 172).

R.S. Walker (1931) remarked that “[t]he journey was made in the hottest part of the year and resulted in much sickness and many deaths” (p. 331). In the end it took about six months to complete the journey. Of those who died, Chief John Ross lost not only his wife, Quatie Brown, but also his baby sister, Mariah Ross-Mulkey.

Post-Removal:

In 1838 a handful of people who had signed the treaty were executed, including Elias Boudinot, (first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*) John Ridge, and Major Ridge (Perdue & Green, 2007). Major Ridge’s premonition about signing his own death warrant when he signed the 1835 Treaty had come true (Wilkins, 1986, p. 289). Rumors flew that Chief John Ross was behind the killings, but he always denied this claim. It is more likely

that the three lost their life in an attempt to restore balance under the ‘blood law’ for the thousands of people who died on the Trail of Tears.

November 16, 1907, when the state of Oklahoma was created, marked the end of the U.S. upholding the 1835 Treaty. To further demolish the Cherokee Nation the tribal government was abolished and it was not until 1971 that a chief was elected by the people (before which they were handpicked by the U.S. president). Self-Determination policies of the 1970s were the catalyst that revived the Cherokee Nation. Wilma P. Mankiller was the first elected Principle Chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1985. Her recent passing is a great loss to the Cherokee community.

Wrap Up & Back Around to the *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828)

While not all Cherokee people always agreed or always got along it is obvious from the research that there has always been a Cherokee society. The time period focused upon in this research was a time of heartache, adaptability, and survivance. It was also an exciting time because of new inventions, including the first American Indian newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. “Our literature is both a product and an extension of our nationhood; to assert oneself as a Cherokee is to locate oneself in relationship to all these complex and multidimensional discourses—stories—of community” (Justice, 2006, p. 209). The newspaper of the Nation and the people allowed Cherokee people to “assert oneself” and sustained the story of community.

CHAPTER 3: THE POWER OF TERMS & THEIR USAGE

Terminology and their definitions are vital to this research because they expose power differentiation. However terms can also work to close some of the power gaps between Indians and non-Indians, as demonstrated with the term ‘Cherokeenization.’ Gary E Moulton (1977) notes that “[c]olonizers defined natives as subjects and Europeans as masters, and part of that mastery was the power to make the definitions” (p. 9) Furthermore, words can be loaded and affect race relations (Hayakawa, 2008; 1963). The power in discourse is why this chapter was written where terminology and the definitions that were used in this thesis are discussed. First; however, we need to explore some common misrepresentations of Cherokee history that rely on incompatible and diverging binaries.

Justice (2006) writes that certain terms like “*fullblood, mixedblood, traditional, progressive, assimilation, and acculturation*, are quite a bit more unstable than they may initially seem by popular usage” (p. xv). Also these words carry attached meanings when they are used in scholarly writing and popular discourse that may or may not reflect reality.

‘Civilization’ & ‘Assimilation’

The foremost basis for Removal was the idea that the Indians could never be ‘civilized’ or fully ‘assimilated’ into Euro-American society. Thus, in the eyes of the United States as well as Georgia’s the Cherokee people were ‘civilized’ enough to be

held to a high standard of what all Indians should aspire to become, but also deemed 'uncivilized' thus incapable of living side by side with 'civilized' white Georgians.

'Assimilation' is the process to conform to the customs, attitudes, etc., of a group or a nation. Justice (2006) defines 'assimilation' as "the wholesale rejection of Indigenous values and their replacement with Eurowestern values, either through choice, coercion, or violence" (p. *xvi*). Further, it is expected by Euro-Americans that people of color should and want to 'assimilate' into the 'dominant' American culture (Edwards, 2005, p. 38). 'Acculturation' is an improvement from 'assimilation.' 'Acculturation' is defined by J. W. Powell (1883) as the psychological changes made by cross-cultural *imitation* [emphasis my own]. The term 'acculturation' was meant to put more power in the hands of the people becoming more 'assimilated,' but over the years these two words became interchangeable, thus belittling the complex process that Ani-yunwi-ya have gone through to survive. 'Acculturation' implies that any interaction with another society means the original person or culture is no longer pure but tainted, thus, in this instance not 'real' Indians. A more culturally appropriate word for this complex adaptation of Cherokee people is the term 'Cherokeenization.'

Terms like 'civilized' and 'civilization' are problematic since Euro-Americans clearly ignored the fact that Indians already had their own civilizations and were civilized. Cherokee people were agricultural people, had an organized religion, and governed themselves pre-contact. Given this traditional level of civilization, the differences between Euro-Americans and Cherokees had more to do with hierarchies than markers of civilization.

Iverson (2008) recognizes the need to get away from simplistic terms and spends more time focusing on themes like survival, adaptation, and continuity through change. Following his analysis we need to look at how Indian Nations have “employed a variety of means to transmit values, build communities, foster pride, and nourish families” (In Hurtado, p. 93). All of these concepts are examined for this thesis.

‘Cherokeenization’

The phenomenon of ‘Cherokeenization,’ is similar to terms like ‘Indianization’ and synthesizing. However it is very different in that it places the Cherokee people at the center of our own history. ‘Cherokeenization’ is similar to syncretic change in that it inputs new ideas (from any culture not just Euro-Americans) and considers if these ideas can harmonize with traditional and core Cherokee values. If it is decided that it can complement Cherokee culture it is digested further; however, if it cannot, it is tossed out. At this point it is absorbed totally into Cherokee worldview and comes out completely Cherokee. This process happens all the time, especially in regard to art. One example of this is the use of glass seed beads. Glass seed beads came from areas like Russia and China. Once in the hands of American Indian people they became an integral part of American Indian art and regalia. While these beads may have originated elsewhere, the product produced was uniquely and undeniably American Indian. The process of syncretism to describe American Indians has gained use in academia (Finger, 1984; McLoughlin, 1984) ‘Cherokeenization’ adds to that scholarship while making the

practice distinctively Cherokee. For these reasons, 'Cherokeenization' is the term used within this thesis and will be substituted for 'assimilation.'

'Peoplehood'

Another important concept or term important to this particular paper is the model of 'peoplehood' (Holm, et al., 2003). The term 'peoplehood' was created by Robert K. Thomas in regard to group identity, but Thomas built on Edward H. Spicer's model of 'enduring peoples' (1962; 1975; 1980; 1988). Holm et al., (2003) further built on this model and described it as having four factors: language, sacred history, religion, and land which are all interconnected and dependent on each other. These four elements are deemed necessary for the community/people to be maintained and survive. Further, no one element is more important than the other (p. 12). It is from these four factors that a people understand their identity in relation to the rest of the world. These four factors are not rigid, but instead can be renegotiated over time. The 'peoplehood' model represents what some Cherokee people during the Removal crisis saw as important to the identity of Cherokee and what they fought to maintain. Cherokee people clearly understood this complex relationship between language, territory, ceremonies, and history in the 1800s. The place/territory part of this model became extremely important to Cherokee people during the 1800s when Removal was being pushed by the U.S. government.

Resiliency

Resiliency is a common term used in the medical and psychological fields to describe American Indian people today (Caffo, Belaise, & Forresi 2008; Colleen Anne Dell, Debra E. Dell, & Carol Hopkins 2005; Edwards, 2005; LaFromboise, Hoyt, Oliver, & Whitbeck 2006; Weaver & White, 1997). Conner (1995) incorporates change, resiliency, and resistance as interconnected tools in order to achieve survival. Change is marked by two key features: resiliency and resistance. Both are vital to the process of change and are important for people to endure. Resiliency refers to the ability to quickly recover from change or misfortune. Dell et al., (2005) refer to the seven personal resiliency dynamics as: “morality, humour, creativity, initiative, relationships, independence, and insight” (p. 6). Morality is reinforced by American Indians’ traditional teachings of interconnectedness, respect, and faith; humour is reinforced by teasing and balances the seriousness of life; creativity is reinforced by survival; initiative is reinforced by integrity, freedom, autonomy, and promotes wholeness; relationships are reinforced by kinship, generosity and community; independence is reinforced by mastery, courage, and reciprocity; and insight is reinforced by fasting, strength, knowing self in relation to all else, and spirit name and clan (Dell et al., 2005, p. 6).

Peter Elsass (1992) suggests that “[c]ultural survival, therefore, does not imply conservation of a preconceived identity which once and for all is anchored in an objectively existing, reified culture. It implies that the agents of a particular culture remain in charge of the shaping of local history” (p. 233). Therefore, change can and does take place, and for Cherokees to control that process lends to the survival of the society.

This would mean that writing in English, as was done in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was an act of resistance and resiliency that was controlled by Cherokee people in an attempt to survive.

“Survivance”

Gerald Vizenor (2008) defines survivance as “an active resistance and repudiation of dominance, obtrusive themes of tragedy, nihilism, and victimry” (p. 11). The term is the blending of ‘survival’ and ‘resistance’ to create a holistic approach to challenging the colonizer. Not only is survivance present in the *Cherokee Phoenix* it is also embedded throughout Cherokee history. Cherokee people actively resisted the unfair treatment of Euro-Americans including Removal. The newspaper was one instrument to achieve resistance while avoiding “victimry” (seeing yourself only as victims). “Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction; however pertinent” (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1). Cherokee people actively avoided oblivion through different modes such as the continuance of stories and creation of new ones like the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The newspaper is similar to oral tradition in that it is recording and telling a story; however, because it is written *yoneg* gave it consideration. In fact, the mere creation of this newspaper is an act of survival and resistance against the colonizer and the culture of the dominant Euro-American society.

“Cultural Broker”

Intermediaries are seen as ‘true’ Indians who dealt with the outside culture(s) and were another line of resistance (Kehoe, 1994, p. 202). One such intermediary in Cherokee history during the early to mid 1800s was Chief John Ross who had a large role in resisting removal and publishing the *Cherokee Phoenix*. He fits within Cherokee society as one instrument of survivance described by Ferenc Morton Szasz (2001) as a “cultural broker.” In particular Szasz is talking about the Scoto-Indian that became common among the Five Tribes. There was a high level of intermarriage among Scottish men to Indian women and often the wives brought the men into the Indian culture by teaching them the language as well as the core values (Szasz, 2001, p. 30). This complex role of “cultural broker” was something into which people placed themselves or into which they were positioned by their families, communities, or other circumstances. This role proved very helpful to avoiding Removal at first.

Change/Flexibility

Change and/or flexibility existed among Native cultures before contact. However, one of the largest problems in American Indian history is the *yoneg* idea that change is foreign to indigenous people. “Native spirituality and intellectual traditions have a long history of inclusive flexibility... This flexibility is marked by an attention to relationships, which requires sensitivity and engagement to stay healthy” (Justice, 2006, p. 49). Change is a vital part to preserving order in an ever-changing world. Duane Champagne offers that “[c]hange in Native American societies is not reducible to assimilation or acculturation; it

is much more multidimensional and complex process” (In Taylor & Pease G.Y., 1994, p. 217). However, it is this way of thinking that is often ignored when it comes to Ani-yunwi-ya history, especially the publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

The pre-existing terminology (good and bad) and ‘Cherokeenization’ will appear throughout this thesis in order to get a better grasp on what was taking place during the 1800s within Cherokee society, especially with the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

CHAPTER 4: THE *CHEROKEE PHOENIX*

A complex system of native communications covered most of North America before white contact. It was a unique network of trails and footprints that crisscrossed the continent... Traversing these trails were Indian runners, known as tribal messengers (Murphy & Murphy 1981 Foreword)

Founding of the Newspaper

The *Cherokee Phoenix* was an extension of the mass communication that had been taking place among Cherokee people pre-contact. The people of the Bird Clan (Ani-tsisqua) were the original messengers found amongst Cherokees and it was through this clan that news traveled. Chief John Ross who had a large role in this publication was from that very clan. Further, word of mouth played a vital function in how information circulated among Cherokee people. Peyer (1997) wrote that in 1826 Elias Boudinot went on a tour to raise money for the creation of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Of all the money he raised Boudinot would be able to keep six percent of it for his troubles and hard work. He traveled mainly in the northeastern parts of the United States and stopped at Cornwell to marry his wife (p. 183). The publication quickly received the funded needed and the weekly newspaper began in 1828 at New Echota (now Calhoun, Georgia).

The *Cherokee Phoenix* dealt with the same issues that *yoneg* publications faced during the 1820s and 1830s including: “infrequent publication, primitive format and content, high mortality rates, and minimal staff and resources” (Murphy & Murphy, 1981, p. 16). Tribal publications of these times were often extensions of tribal governments. This too parallels the many interest group newspapers found in colonial American (i.e. Whig Party and Troup Party). Griffith and Talmadge (1951) wrote that

there were only five newspapers in Georgia in 1800 so the newspaper business was not only new to Cherokees, but to *yoneg* Georgians as well (p. 21). The news that was being produced in Georgia was “news of certain interest to Georgia’s political and intellectual leaders” (21). More similarities existed such as the question of the role of freedom of speech in newspapers and whether a publication should be a party organ (Griffith & Talmadge, 1951, p. 41). By the 1830s these questions had not been answered by Georgians and the publications continued to be propaganda tools that limited the voices that would be represented (Griffith & Talmadge, 1951, p. 41-44). Today only two of the Georgians newspapers that existed in the 1830s exist today. Three, if you count the *Cherokee Phoenix* even though it is now published in Oklahoma.

The 1825 Cherokee fall council “took a definite step toward establishing a Cherokee press. It resolved that fifteen hundred dollars should be allocated for that purpose from the next annuity payment” from the United States guaranteed by treaties (Wilkins, 1986, p. 192). Christian Missionaries also had a role in funding the *Cherokee Phoenix* which is illustrated in Walker’s (1931) book: “The American Board paid for the equipment of the Indians’ printing office, for which the Cherokee Nation fully reimbursed it” (p. 231).

The metal printing press arrived in New Echota, Cherokee Nation shortly before Christmas of 1827. “The press, a ‘union’ model of a size called ‘small royal,’ made of cast iron, with springs to hold the platen” (Wilkins, 1986, p. 196). The paper usually had to come from Knoxville, Tennessee and because of the distance this held up the first publication by a couple of weeks (Wilkins, 1986). As for other newspapers in the south

getting paper and ink was difficult since the paper mills in the south were not developed like in the north (Griffith & Talmadge, 1951, p. 20; Richards, 1998, p. 58). The building built for the press was about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide created from hewed logs (Brannon, 2005, p. 43). The newspaper itself was to be 22” x 30” in size and a “four-page spread of super-royal size, with five columns to the page” (Wilkins, 1986, p. 198; Brannon, 2005, p. 26). The press printed other materials besides the newspaper including a Cherokee translation of the Bible. Roughly, the printer could produce two-hundred copies a week of the publication (Richards, 1998, p. 58). However, Brannon (2005) asserts that about two-hundred to four-hundred newspapers were sent out each week (p. 29).

Elias Boudinot wrote that “the Indian must rise like the Phoenix” (Wilkins, 1986, p. 192) or “The Cherokee Will Arise” (Richards, 1998, p. 55). This imagery became the title of the publication when it was named *Tsalagi Tsu-le-hi-sa-nu-hi* (*Cherokee Phoenix*) “or something like ‘I will arise’ in the Cherokee language (Wilkins, 1986, p. 196). The image of the fiery bird (phoenix) may have been suggested by Samuel Worcester (Richards, 1998, p. 55). The successful labor that went into the creation and survival of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was seen as “probably the greatest expression of their [Cherokee] nationalism” (Malone, 1950, p. 165). There is no doubt that the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the creation of the syllabary created pride among Cherokee people. This also exemplified resistance to the idea of “assimilation.” Through the hard work of Cherokee individuals the realization of the first American Indian newspaper was possible.

Key Players in the Newspaper

Georgia thought in the 1830s that the *Cherokee Phoenix* was under the control of the Christian Missionaries. However, Walker (1931) clearly states that “[t]he management of the newspaper was under direct control of the Cherokees” (p. 232). Chief John Ross always supported the publication of the Nation and campaigned for the Cherokee government to fund the newspaper. Elias Boudinot became the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and has received most of the attention of scholars (Boyd, 1952; Dale & Litton, 1939; Gaul, 2005; Hutton & Reed, 1995; Perdue, 1996; Richards, 1998; Young 1984). Justice (2006) states that “[m]ost studies of the Cherokee voices of this period focus overwhelmingly on the writings of Elias Boudinot and John Ridge, who are generally depicted as tragic martyrs in a doomed battle for the survival of their people” (p. 56). According to some (Perdue, 1996) the Treaty Party (those who signed the Treaty of 1835) was not deceptive nor did it intentionally betray the Cherokee people. Instead, they had the best of intentions, but went about the process in an “un-Cherokee” way since the signing of the treaty was not reached by consensus. However, as Justice (2006) points out, the Treaty Party took the ‘Beloved Path’ in their approach to removal. He asserts, “[t]he Beloved Path is a sometimes-treacherous balance of Cherokee autonomy and adaptation to White assimilative demands, and the story of the Treaty Party is an example of this delicate negotiation” (p. 85).

Boudinot was followed for a short time by Stand Watie and then by Elijah Hicks. ‘Common’ Cherokee people, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and non-Indians also contributed to the publication through submitted articles. Samuel Worcester, Christian

missionary, contributed substantially to the publication with his invaluable work on the Cherokee language (Jack Frederick Kilpatrick & Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, 1968). Printers and apprentices, including John Candy (Dâguwadâ), Issac H. Harris, and John F. Wheeler, also worked on the *Cherokee Phoenix* during the years 1828-1832. However, for the focus of this thesis only a small amount of space can be devoted for the editors and Chief John Ross who secured the continuance of this publication. It is vitally, important to understand the family histories of Ross and Boudinot because this history directed their choices when it came to the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Even though they grew-up in the same time period their reactions to the newspaper and Removal were like night and day at times. These differences can be accounted for by looking at where they each grew-up and how they were raised, especially when it comes to Cherokee traditions and worldviews.



Figure 3 John Ross

The intermarriage of Ross's mother and father and grandparents, like many others during this time, was fostered by the fur trade along the water systems in the Cherokee Nation. There is no doubt that by 1790, ways of life were starting to shift and change. These Scots men who married Cherokee women undoubtedly had some influence over the upbringing of their children. However, Cherokee matrilineal traditions did not just disappear overnight (Perdue, 1998).

John McDonald, John Ross's maternal grandfather was Scottish, yet he became part of the Cherokee society in many ways. McDonald was a staunch supporter of the Cherokee people during warring campaigns even if it was against the Euro-Americans.

He also married a Cherokee woman, Anna Shorey, of the Bird Clan and had one known child, Mollie McDonald with her.

Mollie McDonald was seen as Cherokee because her mother was Cherokee. Mollie would pass that same Cherokee blood and clan onto her children. She eventually married Daniel Ross and lived along the Coosa River where Daniel set-up trading businesses for Cherokees. The two of them would have nine children. John Ross was the third child to be born.

John Ross was born in 1790 at Tahnoovayah (or Tah-na-hoo-yah or Logs-in-the-water) on the Coosa River. For a young Cherokee boy, like Ross, ordinarily the mother's brothers and sisters would have had a large impact on his rearing, but his mother was an only child. Still Mollie's mother, Anna Shorey, would have played a significant role in his life (Perdue, 1998). This clan relationship may have been the origin of Ross' Cherokee names.

Ross was nicknamed Tsan-Usdi (Little John), a word that expressed endearment for a Cherokee child. His first adult Cherokee name was Guwisguwi, which later became pronounced and written as Cooweescoowe (or Kooweskoowe). Guwisguwi was a rare migratory bird that appeared in traditional Cherokee storytelling. His mother's family was Bird Clan, so the name of a migratory bird connects well with this. In the late eighteenth century Cherokees' ideas about race were still extremely fluid and had more to do with clan than anything else (Yarbrough, 2008). Ross' world was one where his identity was connected to his mother who was Cherokee, thus he would have seen himself as Cherokee regardless of his amount of Cherokee blood.

Ross attended missionary schools during his adolescence which helped him master English as well as the colonizer's system of governance. However, his first experience with schooling took place in Ross's own house. Later he was sent to a school in Tennessee run by Protestants. It was not until he reached his middle-ages did he attend church. He wrote and spoke English. He also learned from his elders. He attended Cherokee ceremonies, and spoke and wrote Cherokee. Given these attributes, he acted as a cultural broker.

At the age of twenty-three Ross would again enter into a European institution when he joined the U.S. military. He would serve in the military, alongside General Andrew Jackson in 1813-1814. This service granted him the status of a Cherokee warrior and U.S. veteran. Furthermore, this role earned him the right in the Cherokee community to take on a political role.

When Ross married Quatie Brown, a nearly "fullblood" Cherokee it helped to create some of his popularity among the people (Wilkins, 1986, p. 205). As an adult, Ross was five feet inches tall with brown eyes. Wilkins (1986) further writes that Ross looked completely like a white man and was never fluent in Cherokee, but in spirit and sympathy he was Indian (p. 206). In 1828, at the age of thirty-eight, Ross was elected Principal Chief. Major Ridge supported who saw Ross as a cultural broker due to his knowledge of the English language coupled with his dedication to the Cherokee way of life. Chief John Ross was a Cherokee leader during two exceedingly devastating historical events: Removal (1838) as well as the Civil War (1861-1865).

Chief Ross is a complex historical figure. The facts that surround his life are highly debatable since for every scholar who writes one thing about Ross there are two more scholars who contradict that same fact. The evidence is; however, that Ross opposed Removal as did the majority (at least nine-tenths) of Cherokees, but like everything else the understanding of his motives vary among scholars. For example, Wilkins (1986) writes that “John Ross swayed the mass of the Cherokees, who accepted his word as gospel” (p. 247). This conclusion paints Ross as a herder of sheep as opposed to a great leader who shared in and supported the people’s wishes.

All 16,000 Cherokees in the southeast between 1800 and 1835 fought to retain the land; however, a few were persuaded that the Cherokee people could no longer exist where they were. These few thought that to save the Cherokee Nation removal was the only option. Those who fought to stay knew that the land was part of Cherokee identity. Ross saw the interconnections between land, history, ceremony, and language (‘peoplehood’) because like all Cherokees this concept of identity was ingrained in him by his elders, his parents, his fellow Cherokees, his friends, the stories, the ceremonies, and the landscape.

John Ross did not support Removal, but he did support his fellow Cherokee people. Three Cherokee men wrote to Ross stating, “We the great mass of the people think only of the love we have to our land. To let it go will be like throwing away... [our] mother that gave... [us] birth” (Wilson, 1998, p. 169). Ross understood the words of his fellow Cherokees and he also understood that the people gave him the power he had as chief. The theme of unity and consensus came out in Ross’s letters quite often. A

majority of these original letters can be found in a reference book compiled by Gary E. Moulten (1985). John Ross wrote on October 30, 1830 to William Wirt that “*our oppression* has only produced an unanimity of sentiment and action among the Cherokees thro out the Nation, and they have become more sensible of their *rights* and are determined to maintain them” (Ross & Moulten, 1985, p. 205).

By 1835 John Ross was still holding on to the hope that the Cherokee people would be able to remain on their ancestral homelands, but more than that he believed that the rift that had developed within the Cherokee Nation could be mended. In a letter to Major Ridge and John Ridge Chief Ross suggested a special meeting of beloved people, not of people influenced by greed or motives who were non-Cherokee at heart:

[R]estoring brotherly confidence and harmony among ourselves... a special meeting might be held... The conference should be purely Cherokee, and composed of a chose few, selected for their wisdom and moral worth, and whose devotion to the best interests and welfare of the nation alone will influence their deliberation” (Ross & Moulton, 1985, p. 349).

This letter was an attempt to stop a minority, including the Ridges and Boudinot, from signing the 1835 Treaty.

John Ross, during his time as chief, supported the use of a newspaper to call attention to the rights and needs of Cherokee people. The advancement of this medium allowed the Cherokee people to voice their opinions and learn about Cherokee and U.S. issues. The paper connoted the blending of two cultures, but always remained Cherokee

at heart. Chief John Ross “developed a style at once traditional and modern, religious and political, to win the devotion of his hard-pressed people. Ross syncretic style proved...effective” (Salisbury, 1984, p. 486-487). This is similar to the blending that Nancy Shoemaker (2001) talks about with in regard to clothing and the way that “Indians attached their own meaning to the European clothing they wore...[this] enabled each side to interpret the clothing from its own perspective yet still use it as an agent of cultural exchange and mediation” (p. 87-88). Wearing the clothes, becoming Christian, and creating a newspaper did not mean the submission of one culture to another (Shoemaker, 2001, p. 93).

John Ross saw the Nation’s newspaper as a powerful way to advocate against removal. He was also aware that the newspaper would be seen by two audiences: Cherokees and non-Cherokees. However, the stories that each of these groups got from this publication were very different. The Cherokee people saw this paper as a cultural artifact that exemplified their unity and National pride. The *yoneg* saw the Cherokee as a conquered people with no real traditional culture left, thus leading to the copying of *yoneg* culture. To be fair there were other *yoneg* who saw this paper as a cry for help. These people tended to be Christian missionaries who held out hope that the Cherokee people could be “saved” and “Christianized”.

Intentionally the *Cherokee Phoenix* and Chief John Ross hoped to paint a picture that the Cherokee people had become enlightened and Christianized. The question then is why such a picture would be painted for the *yoneg* culture if it was not altogether true? A form of resistance? Perhaps. Instead what actually occurred was a strong Nation that was

able to “Cherokeeize” new knowledge and mediums. Chief Ross’s main role in the creation of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was his continued support for this newspaper in the National Council by voicing the need for the Cherokee government to fund it and support it.

Chief Ross would recreate a tribal newspaper once in Indian Territory. This extension of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was named the *Cherokee Advocate*. Ross wrote that the paper was meant “to spread abroad a correct knowledge of the state of our affairs...In order that the rumors...often circulated through the press in the States by designing demagogues may be corrected” (Thomas Gilcrease Institute, Leaflet no. 4). This publication was to continue being bilingual as well. As found in the first publication, the slogan for the new *Cherokee Phoenix* was: “Our Right, Our Country, Our Race” (September 26, 1844). This declaration highlights the survival of a strong, proud, and distinctive culture, thus not “assimilated.”



Figure 4 Elias Boudinot

Elias Boudinot (Gallegina) was raised in a “progressive” town in what is now Georgia after his family left the more “traditional” town of Hiwassee (Peyer, 1997, p. 177). His parents were Oo-watie and Susanna Reese who had a total of nine children (Richards, 1998, p. 61). The name Elias Boudinot, after a New Jersey Philanthropist, was taken by Gallegina while receiving an education in Connecticut. He took the name of a New Jersey philanthropist. Boudinot was “a Cherokee schoolteacher, clerk of the Cherokee National Council, and a college-educated missionary,” who would become the first editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (Murphy & Murphy, 1981, p. 23). It is not clear if Boudinot really believed that the Cherokee ways were heathen-like and all Cherokees needed salvation, but this was the view that appeared in many of his editorials (Perdue, 1996). Peyer (1997) believed that Boudinot bought into the ethnocentric views of the *yoneg* (p. 187). If Boudinot did buy into this, Fay A. Yarbrough (2008) explains, some Cherokees “accepted wholesale white Americans’ racialized ideas about inferiority and superiority and resigned themselves to lower social status or struggled to assimilate into white society” (p. 9). This self-internalization did get reflected in the *Cherokee Phoenix* from Boudinot and others. Possibly, Boudinot did see “civilization” as a good thing for Cherokee people while also maintaining that the Cherokee Nation deserved respect and sovereignty (Gaul, T. S., Boudinot, E., & Boudinot, H. G., 2005). He may have also over-exaggerated the “civilization” taking place in Cherokee Nation in order to avoid removal (Boudinot, E., & Perdue, T., 1983). It is clear that most of the stories he wrote in the *Phoenix* reflects a society that had given-up everything traditional, but the 1835 census showed a very different situation. This census indicates that a majority of Cherokee

people still knew and spoke their language, and continued their traditional farming practices. For example, Boudinot wrote that “traditions are becoming unpopular, and there are now but a few aged persons amongst us who regard them as our forefathers did” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, July 30, 1828). Boudinot himself, attended traditional Cherokee ceremonies (Perdue, 1996). On the other hand, Boudinot was a devout Christian and even married Harriet Gold, a *yoneg* missionary from Connecticut. Harriet Gold would eventually move to Cherokee Nation where she became part of the Cherokee culture (Gaul, 2005).

At first Boudinot was an opponent to Cherokee removal, but eventually came to support the idea (Luebke In Hutton & Reed, 1995, p. 115). Luebke (1995) wrote that it may have been “Boudinot’s blind faith in ‘good Christian people’ [that] also contributed to his disillusionment” (In Hutton & Reed, 1995, p. 139) about the *yoneg* culture and their desire for all of the Cherokee lands. However, even though Boudinot leaned toward the pro-removal faction he still denied it: “We know of no such faction—we say to all, be *national*—look to the interest of the people—*nothing but the interest of the PEOPLE*” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, July 21, 1832). Boudinot was attempting to paint the people as unified even if he was starting to side with the ‘Pro-Removal’ side. He personally attacked Ross and the people for not seeing that Removal was best for the Cherokees in letters that were published in 1837:

He says he is doing the *will* of the people, and he holds their authority—*they* are opposed and it is enough. The will of the people! The opposition of the people!! This has been the cry for the last five years, until that

people have become but a mere wreck of what they once were—all their institutions and improvements utterly destroyed—their energy enervated—their moral character debased, corrupted and ruined. The whole of the catastrophe, I mean aside from the mere loss of the soil, a trifle in consideration with other matters, which has overwhelmed and crushed the Cherokees, might have been averted, if Mr. Ross, instead of identifying himself with the contemptible prejudice founded upon the *love of the land*, had met the crisis manfully as it became him to do, and unfolded to his confiding people the sure termination of all these things. They might now have been a happy and prosperous community, a monument of his forecast and wise administration as an Indian chief. But no Sir—he has dragged an ignorant train, wrought upon by near sighted prejudice and stupid obstinacy, to the last brink of destruction; and now, when he would take the same measures that he has so long discarded to save his followers from the dreadful dilemma in which he has placed them, he cannot even have that poor consolation. He stands surrounded by a hungry, naked and destitute people—surprised at his unwise course, and confounded at his near sighted policy (Boudinot, E., & Ross, J., 1837, p. 39-40).

Further, he did not withdraw emotionally or physically as it was expected of him by Cherokees who were against Removal (Luebke In Hutton & Reed, 1995, p. 139; Perdue, 1996). While Boudinot resigned as editor on August 11, 1832 he continued to speak

against the Cherokee majority/consensus through other means (Trahan, 1995). Mark Trahan (1995) wrote that “Boudinot believed in discourse, conversation in the printed columns that debated the merits of a policy, even a policy as controversial as removal” (p. 10). Boudinot wrote: “Consequently, when a portion of our people became convinced that no other measures would avail, they became the *advocates of a treaty*, as the only means to extricate the Cherokee from their perplexities—hence they were called the *Treaty party*” (Boudinot, E., & Ross, J., 1837, p.3-4). On the other hand, the Cherokee government, John Ross included, felt there were more appropriate forums for this discussion (like at council meetings). John Ross wrote on March 23, 1816:

We do not conceive ourselves authorized to sell those tracts notwithstanding we are of the opinion that the Cherokee Nation ought to dispose of them. Should it be desirable to your Government to make the purchase Colo. {Return J.} Meigs our agent may be authorized to make the proposition to our Chiefs at our National Council (p. 29)

It is in this forum (National Council) that Boudinot should have expressed his feelings and not in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. By using the newspaper Boudinot was helping prove to outsiders that the Cherokee people were not united, thus there became a justification to move Cherokee people out of the southeast. On the other hand, the National Council was a designated place for Cherokees to come together, discuss ideas, and decide on a course of action.

According to Bernd C. Peyer (1997), Elias Boudinot has either been hailed as the “Father of American Indian Journalism” or as a “traitor” to the Cherokees (p. 166). Peyer

himself defends Boudinot and his actions, typifying him as a confused person who did not understand that the majority wished to remain. “Boudinot simply made a major error in judgment when he assumed that a majority of the Cherokees would have favored removal ‘if the true state of their condition as properly made known to them’” (Peyer, 1997, p. 215). Others, like Valliere (1982) see Boudinot as a Nationalist who wanted to maintain the Cherokee Nation as a sovereign political entity. He writes, “Boudinot, both Ridges, and other members of the nation who joined them were concerned with preserving what remained valuable in Cherokee culture, and they thought that the best way to conserve the traditional Cherokee way of life was escaping the web of Georgia’s laws” (p. 155). Boudinot explained his actions of signing the treaty when he wrote: I may say that my patriotism consists in the *love of the country*, and *the love of the People*. These are intimately connected, yet they are not altogether inseparable” (Boudinot, E., & Ross, J., 1837, p. 15). The indications are that Valliere as well as many of those who signed the Treaty of 1835, did not believe that the traditional way of life was best preserved by remaining on the traditional homelands.

Stand Watie (Boudinot’s brother) became editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* for a few months beginning December 3, 1831 due to Boudinot’s absence for fundraising activities (Luebke In Hutton & Reed, 1995, p. 135). It is said that “Boudinot was still giving his brother instructions by mail concerning what should appear in the Cherokee national newspaper” (Peyer, 1997, p. 203); however, this correspondence was not located for this research. The first talk of Removal came up in the *Cherokee Phoenix* in the spring of 1832. Stand Watie is also said to have had a hand in the disappearance of the

Cherokee press which was taken by the Georgia Guard (Peyer, 1997, p. 206). The final location of the New Echota press is still unknown to this day.

After Boudinot's resignation in 1832, Elijah Hicks, John Ross's bother-in-law became the editor until it ceased publication on the eastern side of the Mississippi River. Scholars have assumed that Hicks was in collaboration with Chief Ross and would only print what Ross wanted since Hicks was married to one of Ross's sisters (Trahan, 1995; Richards, 1998). It was actually John Ross's own brother, Andrew Ross, who went against the consensus and signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, thus not guaranteeing Hicks loyalty to Ross. However, Hicks reprinted letters from the resigned Boudinot even when they advocated removal and injured Ross's beliefs and names. This included the letter of resignation that Boudinot wrote (*Cherokee Phoenix*, September 29, 1832):

Were I to continue as editor, I should feel myself in a most peculiar and delicate situation. I do not know whether I could, at the same time, satisfy my own views, and the views of the authorities of the nation. My situation would then be as embarrassing as it would be peculiar and delicate. I do conscientiously believe it to be the duty of every citizen to reflect upon the dangers with which we are surrounded; to view the darkness which seems to lie before our people—our prospects, and the evils with which we are threatened; to talk over all these matters, and, if possible, come to some definite and satisfactory conclusion.

Boudinot seems to be putting his own “views” and the need to state them above the Cherokee Nation. His need to “reflect” and come to a conclusion was something that John Ross agreed with too, but the majority of people at this point had already made up their minds and decided to fight Removal. Further, these issues were being discussed in council as shown in John Ross personal letters (Ross & Moulten, 1985).

Distribution

Unfortunately, no subscription lists for the newspaper survived removal so the information about the distribution of the paper must be reconstructed (Richards, 1998, p. 58). Murphy and Murphy (1981) wrote that the *Cherokee Phoenix* “brought advance subscription payments from as far away as Germany” (p. 25). Further, it is known that the newspaper was sent to the British since a complete copy of the publication can be found in a British Museum. When it came to the Cherokee community only one copy of the newspaper may have been found in each village (Murphy & Murphy, 1981, p. 25). However, one copy of the publication per village may have resulted in most people hearing the news since the Cherokee syllabary was taught in a similar fashion of one person to another. This publication was dispersed worldwide and it “had subscribers in Germany, Paris, and London. It had sales and advertising agents in Boston, New York, Richmond, and Troy (Alabama) and also in Beaufort, South Carolina, and Statesville, Tennessee. It exchanged issues with such newspapers as the *National Intelligencer*, the

New Hampshire Patent and State Gazette, Niles' Weekly Register, and the Milledgeville (Georgia) Journal (Murphy & Murphy, 1981, p. 27). Jason Edward Black (2009b) noted that the *Cherokee Phoenix* was also given to the U.S. Congress as well as “preprinted in major metropolitan newspapers during the 1830s” (p. 74).

The newspaper was not free for Cherokees or non-Cherokees, but those who only spoke Cherokee paid less than others. Subscribers paid “an annual rate for the weekly newspaper issued on Thursday for \$2.50 in advance, or \$3.00 after the first six months...If one were able to speak Cherokee and not English, the rates were \$.50 cheaper” (Brannon, 2005, p. 25-26).

Content

Elias Boudinot created a lot of the material found in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, but he also “welcomed communications from his readers. John Ridge, for instance, kept the nation posted on developments among the Creeks” (Wilkins, 1986, p. 199). The news about Creek Indians supported the goals of the newspaper which attempted to advocate for all Indians (On February 11, 1829 the newspaper began to be published as the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*). During the first couple of months, the content of the publication consisted of the Cherokee laws and Constitution agreed upon by the Cherokee people in council. Further, minutes from the General Council were also reprinted in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (Richards, 1998, p. 85). Elias Boudinot and Samuel Worcester published regular lessons in spelling, grammar, sentence structure, and conjugation (*Cherokee Phoenix*, September 3, 1828; March 18, 1829; December 23,

1829; & January 27, 1830). Boudinot usually did this in Cherokee but occasionally in English. This was done to create stronger Cherokee speakers within the community. The fact that these discussions were usually only in Cherokee illustrates that, at least, some of the content was meant only for Cherokees in order to build a group sense of identity.

Another common theme in the *Cherokee Phoenix* was found in the editorials and articles that presented Cherokee people as ‘civilized.’ Boudinot did this often because he knew that any hope of Cherokees staying in their homelands would depend on portraying Cherokees as ‘civilized.’ For this reason a lot of the content is focused on education, farming, Christianity, and the avoidance of alcohol (*Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828; October 1, 1828; February 18, 1829 & November 12, 1831).

In 1990 Ann Lackey Landini completed a PhD dissertation that broke down a lot of variables in the *Cherokee Phoenix* through a content analysis method completed on all six years under consideration in this thesis. Dr. Lackey Landini acquired the full run of the newspaper and counted every instance that Removal was talked about and the use of Cherokee language. What she found was that Boudinot printed 550 articles about removal while Hicks printed 140. Further, a total of 10.2% of the publication was dedicated to the removal issue. Another interesting finding was that the articles in the Cherokee language increased under the editorship of Hicks.

The *Cherokee Phoenix* also ran advertisements since subscriptions alone were not enough to cover the cost of the paper (Richards, 1998, p. 59). However, little space was dedicated to advertisements (Landini, 1990) and what was advertised was mainly the Cherokee syllabary and notices from Cherokee people. Landini (1990) studied the 260

total issues from the period in New Echota and found that the content of the newspaper included the following: education, miscellaneous, newspaper publishing, removal, religion, other Indian tribes, Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, foreign news, domestic news, community activities, official U.S. government documents, Cherokee Nation official documents, crime with the Cherokee Nation, corrections and clarifications, Cherokee culture, elections, slavery, Georgia official documents. There were no illustrations with any of the articles (p. 85).

Speeches made in the U.S. House and Senate regarding the Indian Removal Bill were also published in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (January 20, 1830). This may have been intended to inform Cherokees and non-Cherokees of issues pertaining to the Removal debate. For example, Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, made a speech that attacked Jackson's policy of Removal. This appeared in the *Cherokee Phoenix* during the winter of 1829. Sen. Ferlinghuysen also offered amendments to the Removal Bill that would have required the U.S. to honor all current treaties made with Cherokees but these were rejected by Congress (*Cherokee Phoenix*, May 15, 1830 & June 19, 1830).

Audience(s) & Intent

Before the *Cherokee Phoenix* started Major Ridge confided his feelings toward the possible newspaper to Reverend Daniel S. Butrick. Rev. Burtick wrote in his journal that Ridge completely understood the importance of a tool that could spread information about the Cherokee Nation and council (Butrick, D. S., 1998). Major Ridge made it clear that from the start that the publication was intended to be an extension of the Cherokee

government. Further, when Boudinot wrote about the content of the publication he acknowledged “[w]e believe it justly contains the views of the nation” (*Cherokee Phoenix* June 17, 1829). This statement shows that Boudinot always knew that the paper was meant to represent the voice of the Nation; however, when he no longer agreed with the nation he went against his own words. The prospectus that Elias Boudinot wrote for the *Cherokee Phoenix* stated that the primary reason for the newspaper was to support the Cherokee people. Chief Ross stated that the newspaper would be used as a political voice for the Nation (Richards, 1998, p. 71). Thus from the beginning, the newspaper had two audiences, one Cherokee and the other *yoneg*.

Murphy and Murphy (1981) wrote that “[o]ne of the primary tasks of the early papers was clearly education—to promote among Indian a better chance for successful encounters with a world increasingly populated by whites” (p. 16). Another reason for this publication was to give the Cherokee people a voice against the illegal actions that Georgia was taking and the unconstitutional removal that the United States was proposing (Murphy & Murphy, 1981, p. 28-29). Elias Boudinot wrote “*we will invariably and faithfully state the feelings of the majority of our people*. Our views, as a people, on this subject, [removal] has [*sic*] been sadly misrepresented” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828). Thus it was clear from the beginning that the newspaper was meant to fight against Removal and Boudinot supported that until his position on Removal changed in 1832. Further, the *yoneg* publications ignored the removal debate or spoke in favor of it. This made the Cherokee voice a very important one that could not be heard anywhere else in the presses (Murphy and Murphy, 1981, p. 32).

As stated in the prospectus written by Elias Boudinot and printed in the newspaper on February 28, 1828 this paper was intended to catch the attention and change the minds' of *yoneg*. For this reason open Cherokee discussions must have happened in a different forum like the council meetings. Scholars have written that Ross purposely attempted to keep the people in the dark by not talking about removal in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (Kemper, 2006). In actuality what took place was culturally appropriate because a public forum was encouraged within the Cherokee Nation, but was not to be seen by outsiders (Reid, 1970, p. 50). One place where this discussion took place was at the council meetings where the Chief also delivered annual messages (Perdue, 1996; Peyer, 1997). The next chapter will analyze what was printed in the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE *CHEROKEE PHOENIX*

The analysis of the *Cherokee Phoenix* is difficult and open to interpretation. Perdue (1974) warned that this publication could not be fully depended upon as an ethnohistorical source since the “facts” described about Cherokees contained inconsistencies and embellishments. Further, Boudinot played-down the traditional parts of Cherokee life in order to show Cherokee people as more “civilized” than they actually were (Richards, 1998, p. 7). However, this misrepresentation may be seen as a form of active resistance and the publication as a tool to avoid removal and not necessarily facts about what the Cherokee Nation and people looked like during that time.

Before the newspaper even began to be published the named-editor, Elias Boudinot, prepared the goals for the tribally-owned newspaper. It is with these goals in mind that he went about fundraising with the non-Indian community. These same goals would be printed in the first publication. Boudinot wrote in the *Cherokee Phoenix* that the main goal of the paper was to benefit the Cherokee people. To reach this goal they would publish:

1. The laws and public documents of the Nation
2. Account of the manners and customs of the Cherokees...
3. The principal interesting news of the day
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote Literature, Civilization, and Religion among the Cherokees (February 28, 1828).

These four areas of interest shows that Boudinot recognized that the paper was an extension of the Nation, his main focus was Cherokee people. Further, he had elements of

both the ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ (resistance and survival) and the ‘Beloved Path’ (accommodation).

Survivance & Resistance

Survivance (Vizenor, 2008) is the active resistance to dominance and blatant attacks on a people. It is the combination of the words survival and resistance. This concept can be illustrated in the *Cherokee Phoenix* published on February 25, 1829.

George (or Geo. as seen in the newspaper) Lowery wrote the following letter:

[C]itizens of the United States, on the frontiers of Georgia, have crossed over the national boundary line, and have entered the Cherokee nation...to annoy our citizens at their peaceful habitations, & to deprive them of rights and privileges secured and guaranteed to them...Of course you *will*, without delay take measures to have intruders ordered out of the nation (emphasis my own).

This letter was written to Col. H. Montgomery, agent of Indian affairs, and was answered right away. His response was that he had sent a subagent to order these non-Cherokee citizens off the land (*Cherokee Phoenix*, February 25, 1829). This passage reflects survivance because Lowery states that the U.S. agents *will* take care of this issue because it is promised to the Cherokee in treaties. This active resistance is in a form of a letter that was reprinted in the newspaper on February 25, 1829. It is highly effective since Montgomery pledged to deal with the issue. The non-Cherokees had committed blatant attacks on Cherokee citizens and the Cherokee officials demanded that this stop.

Unfortunately, it is known that little could actually be done to keep Georgians out of Cherokee lands and this only increased after the Georgia land lottery.

Resistance in the *Cherokee Phoenix* can be observed directly and indirectly by the contributors and supporters of the newspaper. On December 16, 1829 Boudinot wrote in response to the actions of Georgians: “After killing a hog, and robbing the Indians, and doing other insufferable acts, some of the Cherokees showed signs of resistance, & demanded of the savage invaders, that they should make remuneration for the hog” (*Cherokee Phoenix*). This account is interesting because it portrays the Georgians as the “savages” a term that was frequently being used to label the Cherokees during this time. Another tactic that Boudinot used in the newspaper was to question the U.S government’s behavior that seemed hypocritical to him. “Here is the secret. *Full license [sic] to our oppressors, and every avenue of justice* closed against us. Yes, this is the bitter cup prepared for us by a *republic and religious* Government” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, May 29, 1830).

Elijah Hicks also spoke out against the atrocities of Georgia and the U.S. Government. He frequently published the accounts of Cherokees who had been raped, murdered, or robbed by Georgia citizens. He also spoke out against the migration policy that the U.S. government was undertaking by 1833. In the *Cherokee Phoenix* on October 5, 1833 Hicks wrote:

[The] oppression and agents have increased to enable the Government to force a treaty while the former is pleading for relief the latter has likewise made it its object to beg and tease for a treaty. This is the disgusting fruits

[*sic*] of humane policy, and we hope the Commissioner may have full authority to remove the great encroachment on Cherokees in the honor of the Government.

In this passage Hicks is calling upon the U.S. Government to live up to its responsibility by removing the encroaching *yoneg* on Cherokee lands. He is also remonstrating the U.S. Government for trying to *force* a treaty. Furthermore, the Cherokees are *pleading* while the government agencies are portrayed as *begging* and *teasing*. This use of discourse depicts both sides as anxious for a “fair” conclusion to the removal debate, but the agents are desperate and childlike while the Cherokees are solemn but rational. Hicks would often use reference to the first U.S. presidents, including Washington and Jefferson, to try to persuade Jackson that his form of government flew in the face of the founding fathers’ original intent of two sovereign nations and treaty relationships (*Cherokee Phoenix*, October 5, 1833 & November 23, 1833).

On May 17, 1834 Hicks went after the U.S. government again by challenging their actions and judging them by their own standard, the U.S. Constitution. A few weeks before the press would come to a halt in New Echota, Hicks wrote:

It was this indulgence of their President to exercise unbridled power over the Indians, which has contaminated, [*sic*] the purity of their executive and an adequate constitution ordained for a salutary government. The signs we confess are ominous to the red man first, and to the great American people; but we humbly hope, there is sufficient wisdom existing to restore the constitution and laws to their manifest intentions.

Hicks identifies an imbalance of power in the U.S. Government as manifested by the Indian Removal Bill passed in 1830 and the ignoring of the decision in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). Further, he notes that the Indian Removal Bill mentions the need to have the tribes' consent before advancing with mass emigration. Neither of these was going to come freely from the Cherokee Nation, so instead President Jackson chose to ignore Justice John Marshall's decision in the *Worcester* case. He has been reported to have arrogantly suggested that Marshall could enforce his own decision. This breach between the judiciary and executive branch is precisely what Hicks is denigrating. The balance of power that was seen in the three branches of U.S. government was adopted in the Cherokee constitution, as it maintained balance as well as order. Additionally, after the fall of the Cherokee priest class due to too much power and abuse of that power Cherokees had become wise to the need to fragmentize political structures (Conley, 2005). Restoring the balance to the U.S. government is what Hicks calls for when he is the editor of the *Phoenix*. Hicks may have seen the restoration of a balanced U.S. government as one possible way to prevent future injuries against Cherokee people, including the future removal.

Resistance comes in many different forms and sometimes it can be as simple as clearing one's own name. Moses Parris (Cherokee) from the Cherokee Nation took great offense when his name was associated with giving-in to Georgia's fear tactics. On December 22, 1830, he took matters into his own hands by writing to the editor (Boudinot):

I understand that some person has taken the unwarrantable liberty of putting my name down as one willing to take a reservation and come under the laws of Georgia. I hereby inform the public that I have never put my name down for such a purpose, not authorized any person to do so (*Cherokee Phoenix*, January 22, 1831).

Parris's resistance manifested in his refusal to give up his citizenship in the Cherokee Nation in exchange for a piece of land and Georgia citizenship. This statement was important because the policy of trying to divide the Cherokee Nation had begun and Parris wanted to represent a united front against Georgia.

A lot of the resistance found in the newspaper deals with the issue of removal which is understandable since the newspaper began print during the time that serious consideration was being given to wholesale removal of Indians in the southeast. The editors of the paper were not the only ones who voiced their opinion and resistance to removal:

We...but common citizens of the country [Cherokee] wish to speak...We have listened with attention, to the proposal of our white brethren, on the subject of emigration, towards the setting sun...We have considered the plan; and we do not approve of it...Our creator gave us the lands which we now possess, long before the memory of man. Here he kindled our fires and fixed our homes: and among these healthful mountains and clear waters, our minds are at peace...We are attached to our country...In this, their own land, they wish to lay their bones; and desire, that their latest

posterity, may venerate and guard their dust...And for the information of those who are anxious to save us from the tyranny and oppression of our Chiefs we affirm that we are governed just as we wish to be; that we hold the power in our own hands...we will never part with [our land]

(*Cherokee Phoenix*, April 15, 1829).

This passage contains not only obvious signs of resistance, but also the concepts of ‘peoplehood’ and resiliency. Further, it speaks to the fact that Chief Ross and other elected officials were not controlling the Cherokee Nation, but instead were only voicing the wishes of the ‘common citizens’ who were willing to fight against removal. The reasons given in this passage for staying in the Cherokee Nation are tied to ‘peoplehood.’ The idea of heading to the west where the sun sets came up a few times in this passage. This reflects the core Cherokee traditional belief that the west represents death. Furthermore, the use of the word fire and the conversation about their bones suggests a reverence for traditions and a deep connection to the land. The land is in direct relationship to the ceremonies involving the renewal of fire as well as burials. The idea that they want their bones laid in this particular land where their future descendents can look after them not only highlights the interconnectedness between the land and the people, but also between different generations. The idea of interrelationships and respect (for the land and ancestors) is one trait of Wolin’s resiliency model. Morality is one type of resiliency under Wolin’s model and one traditional teaching that supports it is the theory of interconnectedness.

‘Peoplehood’

The ‘peoplehood’ model has four factors: language, shared history, religion, and land which are all interconnected and dependent on each other. These four elements are required for the community/people to be maintained and survive. However, no one element is more important than the other. Further, these four factors are not rigid, but instead can be renegotiated and change over time. A very important part of the ‘peoplehood’ model (Holm et al., 2003) is language. By preserving the four aspects of the ‘peoplehood’ model an American Indian community can endure as a people (Spicer, 1961; 1962; 1969; 1975; 1988). The first publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix* promoted the Cherokee syllabary created by Sequoyah (or Sikwâ’yî). In fact, the newspaper even notes that a Boston missionary’s, Mr. Pickersings, Cherokee alphabet was created, but the use of Sequoyah’s was preferable since it came from within the community (February 21, 1828). The first mention of the Cherokee syllabary fills up two and a half columns with pictures of the symbols and the sounds they stand for. The second publication printed on February 28, 1828 expanded on the syllabary by introducing Cherokee numbers, also created by Sequoyah.

Another element of the ‘peoplehood’ model includes shared history which is first displayed in the *Cherokee Phoenix* on February 28, 1828:

In the year 1762, Oganastota a distinguished chief and warrior of the Cherokee Nation, whose memory is held in great veneration amongst us all, made a visit to great Britain...[the] king was so pleased with the visit, as to furnish him with a certificate.

That certificate is transcribed and written just below this entry in the paper.

Further, this entry is written in both Cherokee and English. The remembering of this shared history worked to reinforce, among Cherokee people, their collective identity as a people. It also displayed the pride that they had for a former chief.

Secondly, the authors may have intended to influence the *yoneg* audience by recalling the honest and co-sovereign way in which Great Britain had dealt with the Cherokee Nation.

Another strong example of ‘peoplehood’ came on February 18, 1829 when a column written by Boudinot addressed the clan system and the ‘blood law’ that was administered through the clan system. This column represents shared knowledge and describes the way in which Cherokee people governed themselves before *yoneg* contact. Further, this information on the clan system showed how the community remained interconnected as a whole. Unfortunately, Boudinot concluded this section (*Cherokee Phoenix*, February 18, 1829, p. 2) with the statement that “we can now say with great pleasure...[that the ‘blood laws’ have been] repealed and are remembered only as vestiges of ignorance and barbarism.” Ironically, after the Trail of Tears, Boudinot and others would be executed under the ‘blood law’ for their part in the death of ¼ of the population during the removal process (Gaines, W.C., 1989, p. 4).

These four elements of ‘peoplehood’ that define a community of people must remain intact for Cherokee people to endure, which Chief John Ross clearly realized, and is demonstrated in his annual messages to the Cherokee people. Ross believed that the

Cherokee Nation existed before European contact and that Cherokees had an inherent sovereign power that came from the creator not the United States government. On October 14, 1829 Ross said:

This sacred privilege of assembling in general council of the nation, to promote interest and happiness of our citizens, is one, among the greatest blessings which we have derived from the Great Ruler of the Universe...Much, therefore, depends on our unity of sentiment and firmness of action, in maintaining those sacred rights, which we have ever enjoyed” (Ross & Moulton, 1985; p. 169-172).

These words were spoken when Cherokee Removal was being advocated by the southern states and the federal government. Ross and all the Cherokees in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee insisted on retaining the homeland and they even forbade the selling or cession of more Cherokee land. This was a struggle to retain sovereignty, their society, ‘peoplehood,’ and the essence of Cherokee identity. However, “the transformative and dynamic discourses of what it is to be Cherokee in various times and places” is flexible in order to survive (Justice, 2006, p. 7).

‘Beloved Path’/‘Chickamauga Consciousness’

The very first issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (February 21, 1828) shows the confusion that Boudinot may have been feeling between two cultures that he attempted to balance throughout the publication of the newspaper:

As the Phoenix is a national paper, we shall feel ourselves bound to devote it to national purposes...*a free paper*...shall always be open to free and temperate discussions on matters of politics, religion, and...we will invariably and faithfully state the feelings of the majority of our people...on this subject, have been most sadly misrepresented

With these words he is using the ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ of rhetorical resistance by noting that the *Cherokee Phoenix* will resist and provide a correct interpretation of Cherokee people; however he is also using the ‘Beloved Path’ of survival through shaping *yoneg* ideas (free press) to serve the interests of the Cherokee Nation.

The ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ can be seen as a defiant act to ensure survival. An example of this can be found in the *Cherokee Phoenix* dated February 28, 1828. Boudinot was no doubt in control of the layout of the newspaper and the fact that an article written by the *Western Review* is directly followed by the entry on the Cherokee numbers is no mistake. The article from the *yoneg* publication is titled “Indian Arithmetic” and calls Indians’ math abilities savage and asserts that Indians are incapable of understanding numbers past one hundred. The article written just below is primarily written in Cherokee, but it is clear that it is a list of Cherokee numbers from 1-1,000,000. The numbers are written in Cherokee, English, and Roman numerals. Not only is this column humorous, (one trait of resiliency) but it is also a clear defiant choice to prove the *Western Review* publication as wrong.

Boudinot tended to reflect both sides of the same coin in order to achieve a balance within. Boudinot asserted often in the publication how Cherokee people were

adapting to *yoneg* ways, but at other times he defiantly protested Georgia's extended jurisdiction over a sovereign nation (Cherokee) and against removal:

But the Governor [of Georgia] is widely mistaken if he supposes the white people are the cause of the opposition of the Cherokees to the laws of Georgia. It is well known here that those who have turned their heels against the interest of this nation and united themselves with Georgia, are *white men*. To have *them* out of this country, we believe, no one would object (*Cherokee Phoenix*, November 6, 1830).

Justice (2006) comments that the red and white path work together in “the preservation of the spiritual commitments, physical bodies, and cultural lifeways of the Ani-Yunwiya, through the ever-fluid balance of strategic accommodation and tactical defiance” (p. 42). Boudinot, through the use of confrontation with the Georgia Governor (George R. Gilmer) and the charge against “white men” in Cherokee country, tactically and intelligently resists what Georgia has been saying about Cherokee people.

Elijah Hicks, the third editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (following Stand Watie) took up where Boudinot left off with the use of both the ‘Chickamauga Consciousness’ and the ‘Beloved Path.’ He also tried to keep the readers informed on the emigration process and how to strive through the threats of Removal:

We are informed by the person who has been acting as linguist for an enrolling agent, that the president has again opened emigration for those Cherokees who may wish to join their deluded brethren west of the Mississippi. After giving the Cherokees a respite of 8 or 9 months, and a

failure at a treaty, the President has, after discharging the Mississippian warriors, thought proper to remove and add to our oppression by sending some pests, and [unreadable] to our society. It is needless for us to advise our brethren on this point. Improve your lands, educate your children, inculcate in them religion and morality, it will attain for you felicity unknown in the western wilds (*Cherokee Phoenix*, July 27, 1833)

Hicks's encouragement supports the continuance of Cherokee people in Cherokee Nation (now known as Tennessee and Georgia) no matter what the U.S. government throws their way. He promotes education, religion, morality, and the unbroken development of their lands because he sees these traits as important to the Cherokee identity and Cherokee survival. It can be assumed that he means *yoneg* education and religion, but he does not explicitly state that. Any faith and morality at that point could have improved the chance for Cherokee resiliency.

Resiliency

Resiliency has different components, three of which include: creativity, initiative, and independence. These three resiliencies are clearly shown in the first few publications of the *Cherokee Phoenix* when the Cherokee Constitution and laws were reprinted for publication. Creativity is a 'traditional tool' of survival, independence is a 'traditional tool' of mastery, and initiative is a 'traditional tool' of freedom and autonomy. The Cherokee Constitution and laws represent the survival of a Nation through adaptation. The people decided on this 'new' form of government that resembled some traditional

elements of Cherokee governance. It also acted as a resistance tool against *yoneg* who claimed that Indians were ruled by ‘savage customs.’ However, it was some of these ‘savage customs’ that influenced the U.S. Constitution (the Iroquois Confederacy which are relatives to Cherokees). Independence and the mastery of knowledge are quite evident in the Cherokee Constitution and laws. Initiative is marked by the traditional tools of freedom and autonomy at this is at the heart of having a published Cherokee Constitution and laws. Timothy Sweet (2002) writes that [t]he *Phoenix* points out that the Cherokees are a ‘community’ that has compacted itself politically, framing laws for the ‘mutual benefit’ and ‘happiness’ of the whole” (p. 137-8).

Insight is another trait of resiliency and can be found in traditional teachings of strength, fasting, and knowing oneself in relation to all else. Chief John Ross used this form of resilience on more than once occasion. The first occasion already discussed in this paper was when he called for a day of fasting from all Cherokees and those who supported the Cherokees. The second occasion came on July 17, 1830 in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Chief Ross sent a letter that was to be published in the newspaper for all people to read. He wrote:

Let us not forget the circumstance related in Holy writ, of the safe passage of the children of Israel through the chrsytal [sic] walls of the Red Sea and the fate of their wicked pursuers: let our faith in the unsearchable mysteries of an Omnipotent and all-wise Being be unshaken for in the appearance of impossibilities there is still hope.

Chief Ross called on the faith of the people to get through these hard times and advised them to never lose hope. Chief John Ross called upon the trait of insight when he asked the Cherokee nation to participate in a community-wide fasting in order to gain strength and prevent removal out of the southeast. Further, John Ross reminded the people of their relation to the Creator: that He could still provide for them and keep them in their land. The use of Christian ideas reflects the fact that missionaries had been active among the Cherokees since 1800 and the synthesization or “Cherokeenization” of John Ross’s approach to removal. It also appealed to the non-Cherokee audience. In this letter he carefully chose to remind people of what happened to the “wicked pursuers” who cast the people from their homes, thus warning Georgians and the U.S. government that their own consequences had actions.

Survival & Strength

Survival was often shown through traditional Cherokee values and when Boudinot reminded the Cherokee readers of these values he was providing hope: Let the Cherokees be *firm* and *united*...—We will no more beg, pray and implore, but we will *demand justice*” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, May 15, 1830). One year later Boudinot was still convinced that Cherokee people were unwavering and committed to surviving the Indian Removal Act of 1830: “We see nothing to alter their determination to remain and maintain their rights by all suitable means. The land is theirs” (*Cherokee Phoenix*, April 16, 1831). Sara Littlecrow-Russell (2006) writes that survival in English is a noun that is static and can be owned, but in Ojibway the word is a verb. “An act of motion. A choice

of direction. It cannot be owned, it must be lived... loosely translated as ‘the act of passing through intact’” (p. 73). Similarly, Cherokee people were determined to make active choices and move in a desired direction in order to survive. The Cherokee have passed through changed, but fully intact. The goal of a publication like the *Cherokee Phoenix* along with other forms of resistance like the creation of the Cherokee Constitution “was not assimilation, but rather the retention of an independent national identity by a group in control of its own destiny” (White, 1983, p. 321).

Action was also be taken by Cherokee women through Beloved Women Councils as well as through directly addressing the Cherokee Committee and Council. The voices of these women were sometimes also heard in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Elias Boudinot published a speech that had been given ten years earlier by a group of women from Salequoyee and Pine Log. He reminded the readers that the words of the women represented the majority of Cherokee people to that day. The strength of these women and the strength of all Cherokee people were used to fight removal and survive in the southeastern homelands. On November 12, 1831 this speech was shared with the *Cherokee Phoenix* audiences. This was also a time of great concern since Cherokees and missionaries alike were being rounded up and imprisoned in Georgia jails for trivial reasons:

We believe the present plan of the General Government to effect our removal West of the Mississippi and thus obtain our lands for the use of the State of Georgia, to be highly oppressive, cruel and unjust. And we sincerely hope there is no consideration which can induce our citizens to

forsake the land of our fathers of which they have been in possession from time immemorial, and thus compel [*sic*] us, against our will, to undergo the toils and difficulties of removing with our helpless families hundreds of miles to unhealthy and unproductive country (dated October 17, 1821).

Published in 1831, ten years after it was written, this quote echoes a similar time when “Old Settlers” left Cherokee Nation East for lands in the west. Boudinot is attempting to call on a shared history (part of the ‘peoplehood’ model) in order to try to avoid another split between the Nation, but he is also aiming to offer hope that, like the removal attempt thirteen years, before this too can be resisted if the people stand firm. Furthermore, Boudinot is sharing the voices of Cherokee women, and their words are very important in deciding on a course of action. There is an old Cheyenne saying that describes how an Indian Nation is not destroyed or conquered until the “heart of the women are on the ground.” Boudinot is asserting that there is a lot of fight left in the Cherokee women.

Elijah Hicks, the third editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* wrote on May 31, 1834 (the last publication in New Echota) “To our Cherokee readers we would say DON’T GIVE UP THE SHIP.”

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

The *Cherokee Phoenix* Today

In 1843 the *Cherokee Phoenix* was reestablished west of the Mississippi River as the *Cherokee Advocate*. This publication went to print in Tahlequah, Oklahoma under the direction of Chief John Ross. The first editor of this publication was William Potter Ross, Chief Ross's nephew, and a graduate of Princeton in New Jersey (then College of New Jersey). This publication was halted in the years leading up to the U.S. Civil War in 1853, but was reestablished once again in 1870. For more information on this version of the *Cherokee Phoenix* refer to C. Jeanette Jackson's thesis from Wichita State University published in 1980 or Cullen Joe Holland's dissertation from the University of Minnesota published in 1956. The newspaper would once again serve to fight for survival against the U.S. policies toward Indians when the Dawes Act was being considered in Congress at the end of the 19th century.

The current rendition of the *Cherokee Phoenix* is once again titled the *Cherokee Phoenix* and is still printed from Tahlequah, Oklahoma. This version of the newspaper went to print in 1999 which also coincided with another act of sovereignty. The Cherokee Constitution was revised in 1999 and included several changes. Possibly the most notable change is the removal of the need to ask the Bureau of Indian Affairs' permission to amend the constitution. These two actions are part of a process called self-determination. The *Cherokee Phoenix* today is now accessible in a variety of new ways that reflect technological change. For example, the newspaper itself can be viewed online at: <http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/>. The *Cherokee Phoenix* may also be 'friended'

through three social networking websites: Myspace, Facebook, and Twitter. These three websites are extremely popular among younger generations. With this, the *Cherokee Phoenix* has once again attempted to open up to an all new audience through the World Wide Web, but still remains Cherokee at heart. The publication remains bilingual and still uses the symbol of the rising phoenix. The *Cherokee Phoenix* will be celebrating 182 years of Cherokee journalism this year (2010).

The *Cherokee Phoenix* today is not the same newspaper that it was in 1828. The Cherokees are not the same people as in 1828. Changes have taken place, as they do in all living societies, but what is most important still remains intact. The Cherokee have survived some of the toughest moments in history and are stronger because of it. Through the process of “Cherokeenization” and thanks to holistic resiliency the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the Cherokee people still go on while remembering not only the past but looking forward to the future.

Conclusion

Out of Ashes Peace Will Rise

Our courage
is our memory.

Out of ashes
peace will rise,
if the people
are resolute.
If we are not
resolute,
we will vanish.
And out of ashes

peace will rise.

In the Four Directions...
 Out of ashes peace will rise.
 Out of ashes peace will rise.
 Out of ashes peace will rise.
 Out of ashes peace will rise.

Our courage
 is our memory.

(Awiakta, 1993, p. 7)

The *Cherokee Phoenix* used the Sequoyah's syllabary and written English alike to give the Cherokee powerful tools in their textual arsenal against Removal, but it also provided the People with a new way of communicating concerns other than in the political arena. This would continue beyond the Trail of Tears (Justice, 2006, p. 209-220). The *Cherokee Phoenix* was created for two purposes. The first purpose Littlefield Jr. (1984) identifies as "a response to outside pressures, most often U.S. policy toward the tribe" (p. *xii*). The second purpose which Littlefield Jr. and many other scholars overlook is the National pride that this newspaper created amongst Cherokee people.

Strickland (1975) Perdue (1980; 2005) and Reid (1976) have argued that consensus was an important part of Cherokee political society and this research agrees. Regularly held tribal council meetings welcomed all Cherokees to attend and speak their minds, but a long held tradition among Cherokee people was the idea of consensus. A consensus took place what could be long discussions of the issues. During this time people would stand up and share their feelings and discuss other people's feelings on the topic at hand. Once the discussion came to an end a consensus would be reached. In the event that some Cherokee still disagreed it would be expected of them to withdraw from

further conversation about the topic. If social withdrawal was not enough, the people who had not agreed with the consensus would sometime separate from the rest of the tribe, but this was rare (Thomas, 1958). The reasoning behind a consensus was unity, which Chief John Ross discussed frequently in speeches and in letters (Ross & Moulton, 1985). Boudinot and Perdue (1996) wrote in regard to the *Cherokee Phoenix* that “[i]n prohibiting dissent, Ross expressed the traditional Cherokee approach to political disputes. Bernd C. Peyer (1997) wrote that the Cherokee Nation remained relatively traditional up till the first decade of the eighteenth century, but even after the shift to a centralized government the idea of consensus remained firmly intact (p. 167). With this in mind, Chief John Ross’s decision to replace Elias Boudinot because of his refusal to publish the ideas reached in consensus was justified and supported by traditional values.

However, Boudinot and Ross can be seen as two parts of a whole. Not that they alone represented the Cherokee Nation during this time, but their ideologies fell in line with the ‘Beloved Path’ and ‘Chickamauga Consciousness.’ Through these two ways a balance could be achieved which was vital to Cherokee survival. Ross embodied outright defiance and refused to enter into treaty negotiations or authorize the sale of anymore Cherokee land. Boudinot represented a tactical rhetoric to prevent removal, but eventually gave up hope and signed the Treaty of New Echota. It would be easy to say that Ross was a great historical figure who understood what it meant to be Cherokee while Boudinot became too “assimilated” and was a traitor to his people. In fact, these very conclusions have been drawn in the past by scholars and the public alike. However, these deductions represent the *yoneg* system of dichotomies (assimilated vs. traditional,

evil vs. bad, primitive vs. civilized, etc.). Instead, the dualism that is important to Cherokee culture must be employed to understand what these two men were going through in the years leading up to removal. The reading of the *Cherokee Phoenix* given here gets us closer to seeing history through a Cherokee lens.

Through the use of the *Cherokee Phoenix* itself it has been shown that the story of the ‘assimilated’ Cherokee tribe misrepresents a much more complex and messy reality of a Nation that fought for survival. Against all odds the Cherokee Nation and the *Cherokee Phoenix* have survived. Through processes like ‘Cherokeenization’ and adaptation, survivance has taken place and continues to take place among Cherokee people. Holistic resiliency provided the foundation for the Cherokee culture to endure and the realization that all parts of the ‘peoplehood’ model needed to remain intact added to the perseverance of a people and of a Nation. Justice (2006) expresses these thoughts in relation to sovereignty and states:

Ross and his contemporaries asserted the inherent political right of Cherokees to be an adaptive, changing, and self-determining people fully within the flow of time, while still remaining true to their ancestral values and the land that was their inheritance (p. 75).

Through the use of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, an alternative viewing of the Cherokee people and the Cherokee Nation was completed. The lens used here examined the publication with theories and models created by impressive scholars of anthropology, history, ethnohistory, psychology, behavioral health, medicine, and American Indian Studies. The models, theories, and paradigms that came from these various fields were

adapted and created an interdisciplinary approach that analyzed the *Cherokee Phoenix* during the early to mid 1800s. These models, theories, and paradigms illustrated how ‘Cherokeenization’ of the newspaper and the words in the newspaper was possible.

The *Cherokee Phoenix* represents a strong piece of literature and history not only for Cherokees, but for America. For the Cherokee people the newspaper resisted removal, created pride within the community, and used ‘Cherokeenization’ This one example of Cherokee literature resists the notion of the ‘vanishing Indian’ and instead tells a story of resiliency and survivance.

So what makes a “real” Indian? David Baird (1990) thinks that:

the trauma of removal for their southeastern homelands; the golden years in Indian Territory when, as sovereign peoples they created... educational systems... the pain of allotment, and the demise of nationhood are events that have forged an identity far more permanent than could any biological or cultural tendency (p. 18)

It is this shared history that makes Cherokee people Cherokee. The story here of the *Cherokee Phoenix* is another part of that collective history that has aided in the resiliency and survivance of the Cherokee Nation.

APPENDIX A:
LETTER TO THE CHEROKEE NATION

Mikhelle Lynn Gattone
University of Arizona
American Indian Studies Department
Harvill Bldg. 340
Tucson, AZ 85721
May 11, 2009

Cherokee Nation
Attn: Cherokee Nation Tribal Government
P.O. Box 948
Tahlequah, OK 74465

Dear Cherokee Nation:

My name is Mikhelle Lynn Gattone. My mother is Stacye Lynn McGuire the daughter of Juanita Lorene Pico and Earl Marion McGuire. My maternal grandfather's parents are Leona Mae Mulkey and Hershell Marrin McGeryre. My maternal great grandmother's parents are Alice Evans and Alonzo Spencer Mulkey. My maternal family is a direct descendent of Mariah Ross, sister of Chief John Ross of the bird clan. I am in the process of becoming an enrolled Cherokee citizen since the last relative in my family to enroll was Alonzo Spencer Mulkey and while four of the five children he had with Alice Evans were enrolled, the last child, Leona Mae Mulkey, was not on the Dawes Roll due to her birthday being after the rolls closed.

The reason that I am contacting you is because I am working on my MA at the University of Arizona in Tucson. I am writing my thesis on the *Cherokee Phoenix* from 1828-1834. I plan to look at this publication from an American Indian Studies' lens by looking for surviance and "Cherokeenization" as opposed to assimilation and "Americanization." I feel strongly that the Nation should have the right to know what research is being done in academia that is tied to the culture. That is why I am composing this letter. I also feel that you have the right to review this thesis when it is complete, so if that is something you would like I would love to share it with you when it is done next May (2010).

If there is a more appropriate person or center that I should send this letter to please let me know. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Mikhelle Lynn Gattone
MA Candidate

APPENDIX B: HISTORY TIMELINE

10,000 -8000 BC: Indian Tribes are Present in North Carolina

8000 -1000: Trade networks are formed and pottery is being made, etc.

1000-900 AD: Agriculture is taken place, permanent log homes are being built, and ceremonial mounds are created.

900-1600 AD: Mississippian Period: Flat topped pyramidal mounds such as at Etowah are created during this time period.

1000-1500 AD: Pisgah phase — villages range in size from about one acre to more than five acres and typically include houses situated around an open plaza and encircled by a palisade (stockade). The Pisgah folk grow maize, beans, squash, and gourds but their diet is not limited to these domesticated crops. Wild plant foods including nuts, fruits, seeds, and greens, as well as animals, are important components of the Pisgah diet. The material culture utilizes clay, stone, bone, shell, and wood.

1500-1850 AD: Qualla Phase — Qualla is identified with the historic period Cherokee Indians. Because of similarities of artifact styles, house and village structure and burial patterns, it is quite clear that the Pisgah folk are direct ancestors of the Cherokee people. However, it is also likely that other peoples (from east Tennessee and north Georgia) also contributed to the historic period Cherokee culture. (Some sources: Cherokees are a branch of the Iroquois nation.)

1450: First Cherokee enter the state in the vicinity of Traveler's Rest. Tugaloo Old Town is the first major Cherokee village.

1540-1: DeSoto of Spain, enters Cherokee country, supposedly one of the first Yoneg (or the first) seen by the tribe. However, written descriptions of the tribe by the Spanish note a wide range of colors in the tribe, from "negro" (black) to light skinned and "fair," according to Moyano and Pardo (1567).

1629-73: Trading between the Cherokees and the English settlements begins.

1650: Cherokees commanded more than 40,000 square miles in the southern Appalachians.

1650: Population is estimated at 22,500.

1684: First treaty is made with the Cherokees.

1690: "Seraqui" captives are sent to the West Indies. Numerous records describe the activities of travelers and traders among the Cherokee.

1697: First smallpox epidemic among the Cherokees.

Early 1700s: British (South Carolina) government defines five Cherokee groups. The Cherokee live along the Tellico and Little Tennessee rivers, in what is called the Overhill Towns (east Tennessee). The Lower Towns (north Georgia) are found on the Tugaloo, Keowee and upper Savannah rivers. Three divisions are present in [North Carolina], including the Middle Towns, located on the headwaters of the Little Tennessee River; the Valley Towns, on the Hiawassee and Valley rivers; and the Out Towns on the Tuskaseegee and Oconoluftee rivers. The Cherokees are more favorably disposed

towards the French, who are less interested in land than trade; however, they often find themselves allied with the English against their traditional enemies such as the Tuscarora and Creek Indians.

1711: Tuscarora War

1715: Yamasee War. First massive uprising against North and South Carolina.

1721: The Cherokee or Charleston Treaty with the Governor of the Carolinas (South Carolina) involving first land cession. It is the first of ten treaties with Great Britain.

1725: Cherokees recognize their arrangement with *Yoneg* trade.

1730: Sir Alexander Cuming embarks on a mission to secure Cherokee allegiance to the British. He meets with several Cherokee chiefs at the town of Nequassee where he convinces them to submit to English rule. This first official treaty also establishes Chief Moytoy of Tellico (Overhill) as emperor and leader of the Cherokee Nation. Cuming takes a Cherokee delegation to England.

1738: Smallpox epidemic kills 25-50% of the Cherokee population. Nancy Ward is born.

1738-1743: First missionary, Christian Priber, comes to the Cherokees "to establish Utopia." However, Priber is still debated in scholarly circles and some believe he was not amongst the Cherokees.

1739: First porcelain made in English-speaking world with Cherokee clay.

1753: Fort Prince George is established and rebuilt in 1756. Some sources not another smallpox epidemic.

1755: Second land cession, 5,526,400 acres to South Carolina. Battle of Taliwa, the decisive battle between the Creeks and the Cherokees who had been fighting for 30 years.

The outnumbered Cherokees are at first overmatched and driven back, however, after her husband, Kingfisher, is killed, 16 year old Nancy Ward takes up his guns, and chanting a Cherokee war song, fights with such courage that the Cherokees rally. The victory is so complete and decisive that the Creeks abandon the whole upper portion of Georgia.

1756: Fort Loudoun established in Overhill Towns. (Other spellings: Fort Loudon, Fort Louden).

1759-60: Another smallpox epidemic.

1760-62: Cherokee War (first time Cherokee Middle Settlements are invaded).

1761-65: Timberlake takes Cherokees to London.

1767: Thomas Griffith expedition for Wedgewood to acquire Cherokee clay.

1768: Treaty made with British Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Land Ceded, 544,000 acres to Virginia.

1769: A large English force under Colonel Archibald Montgomery marches on and destroys all 15 of the Middle Towns.

A large English force under Colonel Archibald Montgomery marches on and destroys all 15 of the Middle Towns.

1770: Treaty at Lochabar, South Carolina. Land ceded, 5,888,000 acres to Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

1771: Sequoyah is born. Major Ridge is born.

1772: Treaty with Virginia. Land ceded: 6,986,800 acres to Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia.

1773: Land cession through treaty with British Superintendent of Indian Affairs. First land cession in Georgia of 672,000 acres. Treaties have now taken most of the traditional Cherokee lands.

1775: Henderson land cession which was sold to Henderson and Hart's Transylvania Company making it an illegal land transaction, but the U.S. held the Cherokees to it anyway. 17,312,000 acres ceded.

1776-83: Impressed by the British during the French and Indian war, the Cherokee side with them during the American Revolution. In 1776 General Griffith Rutherford leads a North Carolina militia against Middle, Valley, and Out Towns while South Carolina forces attack Lower Towns. Finally, a Virginia force destroys the Overhill Towns. The Cherokee attack settlers in retaliation, but are driven into the Smokies; their homes, crops, livestock, and towns destroyed by the Revolutionary War army, they are forced into more land cession.

1777: Treaty made with Georgia and South Carolina. 1,312,640 acres of land ceded to South Carolina. Two months later another treaty with Virginia and North Carolina: 1,126,400 acres of land is ceded to North Carolina and Tennessee.

1780: Another smallpox epidemic hits the Cherokee people.

1783: Treaty made with Georgia and 1,056,000 acres of land is ceded to Georgia.

1784: State of Franklin formed by *yoneg* settlers.

1785: Treaty of Hopewell, is the first treaty between the United States government and the Cherokees. 4,083,840 acres of land is ceded to North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. From here on there will be no more treaties with individual states. The

Cherokees think this will be the end of the settlers' invasion of Cherokee land. Within three years bitter fighting will erupt as settlers continued to move into the Cherokee Nation.

1786: Thomas Jefferson said: "It may be regarded as certain that not a foot of land will ever be taken from the Indians without their own consent."

1788: Cherokee Council meets at Oostanauleh. This location, about four miles east of New Echota (see 1825) will serve as a meeting place for councils until around 1816.

1790: John Ross is born.

1791: Treaty of Holston (includes land cession of 2,660,480 acres to Tennessee and North Carolina and civilization clause and annuities). Cherokee cede land in eastern Tennessee in exchange for President Washington's guarantee that the Cherokee Nation will never again be invaded by settlers. The treaty forces Americans to obtain passports to enter Cherokee lands, and grants Cherokee the right to evict settlers. It also includes a call for the U.S. to advance the civilization of the Cherokees by giving them farm tools and technical advice. It further provides that the Cherokee nation send a delegate to congress.

1792: The town of Hightower moves from the vicinity of Rome, Georgia to present-day Cartersville, farther east on the Etowah River after a brutal attack by Tennessee governor John Sevier.

1794: American Revolution ends for Chickamauga Cherokees (Lower Towns).

1798: 3rd Treaty of Holston. Land ceded: 984,960 acres to Tennessee and North Carolina.

1799: Arrival of Moravian missionaries. Formation of the Lighthorse, a loose knit Cherokee police force headed by The Ridge and James Vann.

1799-1804: Building of the Augusta to Nashville Road, later known as the Federal Road.

Early 1800s: By the end of, and throughout, the early 19th Century most Cherokees have adopted at least some *yoneg* ways. They establish businesses, farms, Christian churches, and a government similar to that of the United States. At the same time they are succeeding in maintaining their culture, preserving many traditional ways. Newly drafted laws uphold such tribal (national) traditions as land held in common and matrilineal power, even with the introduction of patrilineal heritage concepts. The Cherokee farmer using a plow works to produce the same crops his ancestors tended with digging sticks. The earlier Cherokee grew corn to insure a winter food supply. Now they grow that same produce, for example, not only for food but to fatten pigs to sell on a competitive market. Things are looking promising, but are about to turn dark.

1801: Return J. Meigs appointed "Indian agent." Moravians start mission at Spring Place.

1802: Georgia Compact (regarding future Indian land cessions). President Thomas Jefferson signs and agrees with the state of Georgia to removal of all American Indians in exchange for the state's claim of western lands.

1803: Louisiana Purchase by the United States.

1804: James Vann builds a showplace home on his property in the Cherokee Nation (today in Georgia).

1804-05: Treaties of Tellico (3 of them). 86,400 acres ceded to Georgia. 5,195, 520 acres ceded to Kentucky and Tennessee. 800 acres ceded to Tennessee. And a guarantee to Cherokees that no more land will ever be taken from them.

1806: Start of a complex series of events known as Revolt of the Young Chiefs. First Treaty of Washington (3 total). Land ceded: 4,397,440 acres to Tennessee and Alabama.

1808: First written laws. Formalized patrilineal inheritance.

1808-10: First major Cherokee migration west of the Mississippi.

1809: Death of Doublehead at the hands of Ridge, James Vann, and Alexander Saunders.

1810: Cherokees forbid blood vengeance in accidental deaths. Death of James Vann.

1811: New Madrid earthquake. Actually 3 separate earthquakes with an epicenter near the town of New Madrid, Missouri in the southeastern border with Kentucky. The quakes are felt throughout the Cherokee Nation and spark what is best described as a religious revival among the Cherokee. Writer James Mooney would call this movement the "Ghost Dance," after a similar western Indian revival.

1812: Shawnee warrior Tecumseh agitates American Indians on the frontier to rise up and destroy the settlers. A faction of the Creek Indians, the "Red Sticks," revolt, attacking Fort Mims, Alabama and massacre 250 men, women, and children.

1812-1814: Creek War (or Red Stick War). Cherokee warriors fight alongside future president Andrew Jackson during two campaigns (5 major battles) against the Red Sticks, saving both his army and his life in separate battles.

1814: Cherokees are instrumental in assisting General Andrew Jackson in defeating the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend. Jackson admits that the Cherokee were responsible for his victory. Jackson demands cessions of 2.2 million acres from the Cherokee.

1816: Treaty of Washington. Land ceded: 94,720 acres to South Carolina. Treaty of Chickasaw Council House. Land ceded: 2,197,120 acres to Alabama and Mississippi.

1817: Treaty of Cherokee Agency. Land ceded: 651,520 acres to Georgia and Tennessee. Treaty of Turkey Town, instead of the 2.2 million acres demanded by Jackson. Land cessions in exchange for land in Arkansas for land in the east. A 12-year old boy named William Holland Thomas moves to the Oconaluftee River region where he meets a Cherokee Chief named Yonaguska (Drowning Bear), who later adopts him. Some Cherokees, lead by Yonaguska apply for and receive reservations on recently ceded land (also apply for U.S. citizenship) and form the future basis of the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Cherokee "Old Settlers" begin voluntary migration and establish a government in Arkansas. In 1828, they are forced to move into Indian Territory.

1819: Final cession of land in Georgia, and part of a much larger cession, the Cherokee give up claims to all land east of the Chattahoochee River. A new council house, consisting of two open shelters facing each other with a log house at one end, is constructed at New Town and the seat of the Cherokee government moves there. Major Ridge leads the procession of Cherokee officials into the Council House for the first session.

1821: After 12 years of working on isolating each syllable in the Cherokee language, Sequoyah finishes and introduces a written syllabary (similar to an alphabet) of 86

characters. It is approved by the Cherokee chiefs (adopted by the council). Within six months more than 25% of the Cherokee Nation learns how to read and write in their own language. Within 10 years 90% can read and write the syllabary, leading to almost total literacy among the Cherokees.

1822: Cherokees establish a Supreme Court at New Echota. The Council authorizes the construction of a new council house to replace the one built in 1819. Georgia begins pressing for cession of remaining Cherokee lands, citing Jefferson's 1802 commitment to the state.

1824: First written law of Western Cherokees.

1825: November 12th, the council adopts a resolution selecting New Town as the permanent capital of the Cherokee Nation, and changes its name to New Echota (today in Georgia) in memory of the old, beloved town of Chota (today in Tennessee).

1826: In February, Cherokee surveyors divide their new capital into a series of streets and 100 one acre lots. A national press and newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, is approved by the National Committee and Council.

1827: At a convention, led by elected Chief John Ross, the Cherokees write and adopt a national constitution claiming sovereignty over their land. The modern Cherokee Nation begins. The Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, a missionary, arrives in New Echota. The Cherokee government constructs a Printing Office at New Echota.

1828: First edition (February 21st, some sources: February 8th) of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, is printed in both Cherokee and English. Elias Boudinot is editor. Andrew Jackson elected president of the United States. Gold is

discovered in Georgia (Duke's Creek ceded in 1817). However, it is soon found within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation as well. "Old Settlers" are forced to move from Arkansas into Indian Territory (today Oklahoma).

1828-30: Georgia Legislature abolishes ("outlaws") the Cherokee tribal government and expands their authority over the Cherokee nation located within their claimed boundaries.

1829: Jackson announces Indian removal policy. Georgia extends its laws over Cherokee Nation.

1830: Indian Removal Act passes U.S. Congress. Cherokee evict encroachers in Beaver Dam on Cedar Creek, a few miles south of present-day Rome, Georgia. Georgia laws require residents to swear allegiance to Georgia. Missionaries are arrested and imprisoned. New Echota now has about 50 residents, but during council meetings several hundred Cherokees fill the town.

1831: *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia* court case. Attempting to stop the State of Georgia's arrest and trial of a Cherokee named George Tassel for murdering another Cherokee man, William Wirt is hired to take the fight to the U.S. Supreme Court. Georgia refuses to wait for the case to run its course and convicts and executes Tassel. The Supreme Court eventually decides because the Cherokee Nation is a "domestic dependent nation," and not a foreign nation as outlined in the U.S. Constitution, it cannot present the case to the court. However, it leaves the door open when Chief Justice John Marshall instructs attorney William Wirt how to correctly file for someone else to present the case. Samuel Worcester, and others, arrested for violation of Georgia law requiring

Yoneg to get permits to work in the Cherokee territory. The Cherokee Council meets in [what is today] Alabama.

1832: In the *Worcester v. Georgia* court case, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds Cherokee sovereignty supposedly protecting Cherokees from Georgia laws. President Jackson ignores the court ruling quipping let the Chief Justice enforce it. Georgia begins land lottery and gold lottery, and the Cherokee land (including homes) is divided and deeds are distributed to Georgia citizens who registered for the lottery. Elias Boudinot resigns as publisher of the *Cherokee Phoenix* under pressure from John Ross because of his editorial support for voluntary removal to the west. The Cherokee Council begins meeting at Red Clay (where they will continue to meet until just prior to the removal in 1838 - Red Clay is in Tennessee today).

1834: Georgia (the Georgia Guard) confiscates the *Cherokee Phoenix* press, destroying it, declaring the newspaper to be subversive. The last issue is printed May 31st. Rev. Samuel Worcester and his family are forced from their house when it is confiscated by a Georgian who obtained title to it in the 1832 Land lottery. Worcester moves west to continue serving the Cherokee.

1835: A census this year shows 93 percent of the Cherokee are farmers who till their land. In October, at a full council (at Red Clay), a proposed treaty with the United States providing for the removal of the Cherokee to the Indian Territory is overwhelmingly rejected. (United States) General John Wool and his detachment of troops are camped about a quarter mile east of there to observe the meetings of the Cherokees in Council. November 7th, (Principal Chief) John Ross and John Howard Payne are illegally detained

by the Georgia Guard in Red Clay, Tennessee. The Treaty of New Echota (for removal) is negotiated and signed on December 29th in Elias Boudinot's home (at New Echota - today in Georgia) by 20 (some sources say 30) Cherokee without tribal authorization (thereafter referred to as the Treaty Party), among whom are Major Ridge and John Ridge. It gives up title to all Cherokee lands in the southeast in exchange for land in Indian Territory (Oklahoma today) and \$5,000,000 (plus \$300,000 for improvements on their new territory). Most Cherokees will consider the treaty fraudulent since it was never approved by the Cherokee Council.

1835-44: Acting as an attorney and advisor, William H. Thomas works on behalf of the Qualla Town (Oconaluftee) Cherokee, to have their "citizenship" status recognized.

1836: On May 23rd (some sources say May 17th) the U.S. Senate ratifies the fraudulent New Echota treaty by one vote. The Cherokees are given two years from this date to remove themselves to the Indian Territory. Federal enrolling agents and appraisers begin their work.

1837: In October the Cherokee Council meets again at Red Clay. Questions of the future loom large. More than 6,000 (some sources 4,000) Cherokee buildings now stand in the (claimed) Georgia section of the Cherokee Nation alone. With a typical Cherokee family now living on a farmstead, most farms include a dwelling house and a variety of outbuildings. Cherokees are excellent craftsmen and have used log construction for almost every building. The average Cherokee family (of 6) lives in a small log cabin (16'x18') and cultivates about 11 acres of land. However, some Cherokees own stores, taverns, and even large plantations.

1838: Only 2,000 of the nearly 17,000 Cherokees have departed their ancestral homelands. General Winfield Scott and 7,000 U.S. troops are dispatched with orders to "remove the Cherokee by any means necessary." Deadline for voluntary removal is May 23rd. The Georgia Guard begin the round-up five days early. The official round-up begins on May 26th and continues in Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina, where the Cherokee -- men, women, and children -- are forced from their comfortable homes and herded into "forts" (military stockades), gradually making their way north to the Cherokee Agency in southeastern Tennessee. Bad sanitary conditions, lack of privacy, non-existent washing and bathing facilities, foul drinking water, and unhealthy food, both demoralize the Cherokee and create serious health hazards. Sickness is widespread. The first detachment of Cherokees (2,700) leave for the west in June, but due to sickness and many deaths, removal is suspended until cooler weather. Most of the remaining 13,000 Cherokees spend the summer in the internment camps and finally leave by wagon, horseback, or on foot during October and November. June 19th the last groups of Cherokees leave New Echota (former capital of the Cherokee Nation). On November 25th Tsali is executed (martyred) halting the hunt for fleeing Cherokees (about 1,000 avoided Removal).

1838-39: The "Trail of Tears" roundup, imprisonment, and forced 800 mile march to Oklahoma causes the death of as many as four thousand or more of the 15,000 to 17,000 Cherokees removed. Two of these deaths include Chief John Ross's wife and baby sister, Mariah Ross.

1839: In the east, a dying Yonaguska is carried before his people, and in a dramatic whisper, he warns them never to forsake their mountains. In the west, Treaty Party leaders, Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot are executed (assassinated) for violating the Cherokee Constitution by signing the Treaty of New Echota. A new constitution is ratified at a convention in Tahlequah (today Oklahoma) uniting Cherokees arriving from the east with those in the west. However, strong factionalism continues until at least 1846.

1843-61: William H. Thomas purchases land for the Cherokees remaining in North Carolina and holds the deeds for them (Of 17,000 Cherokees, about 1000 had fled into the hills managing to escape removal – the execution of Tsali [mentioned above] stopped the search for them).

1844: Cherokee (west) Supreme Court building, the first public building in Indian Territory (Oklahoma today), opens. The *Cherokee Advocate* becomes the first newspaper in Indian Territory.

1851: Cherokee male and female seminaries open. Female seminary is the first institute of higher learning (secondary school) for girls west of the Mississippi.

1859: Original Keetoowah Society organized to maintain traditions and fight slavery.

1860: Tension mounts between Union Cherokees and Confederate Cherokees as the Cherokee Nation strives to remain neutral when the Civil War begins.

1861: Against his desires, Chief Ross is forced to side with the Confederacy as a foreign ally after Union troops abandon the Indian Territory and a treaty is signed at Park Hill between the Cherokee Nation and the Confederate government. The Cherokee nation is

torn by border warfare, plus a war within a war, throughout the "unpleasantness between the states."

1863: Cherokee Nation tribal buildings located on Capitol Square in Tahlequah are burned by Confederate Cherokees led by General Stand Watie.

1865-66: Cherokee must negotiate peace with the U.S. government. The new treaty limits tribal land rights, eliminates possibility of Cherokee State and is a prelude to the Dawes Commission, Curtis Act, and break up of Cherokee tribal lands by allotment.

1866: North Carolina finally acknowledges the Cherokees' right of residency. John Ross dies.

1867: Cherokee National Capitol is built in Tahlequah (today in Oklahoma).

1868: The U.S. federal government recognizes the Eastern Band as a distinct tribe under its guardianship and helps them establish a reservation from lands purchased by Thomas and from land obtained under the treaties of 1817 and 1819.

1876: Qualla Boundary (in east) formed and Cherokee lands secured.

1887: General Allotment Act passes; requiring individual ownership of lands once held in common by Indian tribes. Cherokee Nation successfully lobbies to be exempt from the act. Female Seminary in Park Hill is destroyed by fire on Easter Sunday.

1889: In the east, rights of Cherokees are established by the North Carolina Legislature. A charter is granted and The Eastern Band of Cherokees formed. In the west, unassigned lands in Indian Territory are opened to *yoneg* settlers known as "boomers." Thousands of non-Indian intruders move into the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation's attempts to have the intruders removed by the U.S. government, as required by treaty, are ignored.

1890: Oklahoma Territory is organized out of the western half of Indian Territory.

1892: Cherokee Senator Ned Christie assassinated by U.S. Marshals. New Female Seminary building opens north of Tahlequah.

1893: In a notorious land run, Cherokee Outlet opened for *yoneg* settlement. Dawes Commission arrives and lobbies Cherokee citizens to accept individual ownership of tribal lands. Cherokee traditionalists, including the Nighthawk Keetoowah Societies, adamantly oppose the commission and allotment.

1898: The Curtis Act is passed abolishing tribal courts. It mandates allotment of lands and the liquidation of assets of the Cherokee Nation.

1903: William C. Rogers becomes the last elected chief (Cherokee Nation) for 68 or 69 years (subsequently, seven individuals were appointed chief by the U.S. – for as little as one day).

1905: Land allotment begins after the official Dawes Commission roll is taken of Cherokee citizens. Many traditionalists were imprisoned and involuntarily assigned allotments.

1906: The five civilized tribes organize a convention for an Indian state, called the state of Sequoyah. Although the state of Sequoyah constitution was approved by popular vote, the United States Congress refused to consider it.

1907: Oklahoma statehood combines Indian and Oklahoma Territories. The U.S. attempts to dissolve Cherokee Nation government, but it survived in a modified and restricted form.

1909: Northeastern State Normal opens in Cherokee Female Seminary building. This building and many other tribal schools and government buildings were lost at Oklahoma statehood.

1914: Oklahoma's Second District voters elected William Wirt Hastings to the U.S. House of Representatives. He served in Congress from March 4, 1915, to March 3, 1921, and from March 4, 1923 to January 3, 1935.

1917: William C. Rogers dies.

1924: By petition of the tribal council, the United States Federal Government takes the lands of the (Eastern) Cherokees into trust.

1934: Indian Reorganization Act establishes a land base for tribes and legal structure for self government (on a corporate model). The Johnson O'Malley Act is approved, but all tribes in Oklahoma including Cherokees are excluded from the act.

1941: J.B. Milam is appointed principal chief by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1938, Milam had been elected chief by the Cherokee people.

1948: Chief Milam calls a Cherokee Convention; beginning of model tribal government of the Cherokee Nation. He helped revitalize the Cherokee government. In the east, the Museum of the Cherokee Indian opens. Also, the Cherokee Historical Association is conceived and launched.

1949: W.W. "Bill" Keeler is appointed chief by President Harry Truman.

Early 1950s: Realizing the historic value of New Echota, a group of Calhoun citizens purchases almost 200 acres of the old town. But, the only building not previously destroyed is the Worchester House.

1950: July 1st the outdoor drama "Unto These Hills" opens in Cherokee, North Carolina.

1952: Oconaluftee Indian Village opens in Cherokee, North Carolina.

1953: First Cherokee National Holiday held to commemorate 1839 Cherokee constitution.

1954: Archaeology excavations begin at New Echota showing actual locations of old buildings and roads.

1956: The local community donates the New Echota site to the State of Georgia.

1961: Cherokee citizens are awarded 15 million dollars by the U.S. Claims Commission for the forced sale of the Cherokee Outlet lands.

1962: May 12th, the restored New Echota is dedicated and opened to the public with many Cherokees visiting their former capital for the ceremony. As a healing gesture, the Georgia Legislature repeals the laws (still on the books) which had denied the Cherokees the right to freedom on their ancestral land.

1963: Cherokee National Historical Society founded (in west).

1967: Cherokee Foundation (in west) formed to purchase land on which tribal complex now sits. Cherokee National Historical Society opens Ancient Village.

1969: Cherokee National Historical Society (CNHS) opens Trail of Tears drama. In the east, a museum is added at New Echota.

1970: U.S. Supreme Court ruling confirms Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw Nation's ownership of bed and banks of a 96 mile segment of the Arkansas Riverbed.

1971: W.W. Keeler becomes first elected principal chief since statehood.

1975: Ross O. Swimmer is elected to the first of three terms as principal chief. The first Cherokee Tribal Council is elected (in west) since Oklahoma statehood. U.S. Congress passes Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. CNHS opens its museum (Cherokee National Museum).

1976: Cherokee voters (in west) ratify a new Cherokee Constitution outlining tribal government. (In east) Museum of the Cherokee Indian moves to a new (its present) location.

1979: Tribal offices are moved into a modern new complex south of Tahlequah. However, the Cherokee Nation regains ownership of the original Cherokee Capitol building, Supreme Court and advocate building, as well as the national prison.

1983: Wilma P. Mankiller is the first woman elected deputy chief.

1984: The first joint council meeting in 146 years between the Eastern Band of Cherokees, and the Cherokee Nation, is held at Red Clay, TN. Council meetings are now held bi-annually.

1985: Deputy Chief Mankiller fills remainder of Swimmer's term as principal chief. Tribal council member John A. Ketcher becomes deputy chief.

1985: Sequoyah Schools, an Indian boarding school, originated in 1871 when the Cherokee National Council passed an act setting up an orphan asylum to take care of the many orphans who came out of the Civil War. The Cherokee Nation resumed the operation of Sequoyah Schools. It is regionally and state accredited for grades 7-12. Today, Sequoyah Schools enrolls more than 300 students representing 42 tribes and 14 different states.

1987: Wilma Mankiller makes history and draws international attention to the Cherokee Nation as the first woman elected chief. Cherokee voters pass a constitutional amendment to elect the council by districts in 1991.

1988: The Cherokee Nation joins the Eastern Band of Cherokees in Cherokee, North Carolina, to commemorate the beginning of the Trail of Tears. A Cherokee Memorial Monument, originally built in 1931, is relocated to New Echota, Georgia and rededicated to "keep the memory of the Cherokee's triumphs and struggles alive in hopes that such injustices will never be repeated."

1989: The Cherokee Nation observes the 150th anniversary of the arrival in Indian Territory. "A New Beginning"

1990: Chief Mankiller signs historic self-governance agreement. The Cherokee Nation is one of six tribes to participate in the self-determination project (which ran for three years beginning October 1, 1990). It authorizes the tribe to assume tribal responsibility for BIA funds formerly being spent on the tribes's behalf at the agency area and central office levels.

1991: The July tribal election is the first council to be elected by districts since statehood. Wilma Mankiller wins a second term as principal chief with a landslide 82% of the votes cast.

1992: Chief Mankiller signs tribal-state tobacco compact. Law enforcement agreement signed which provides for cross-deputization between the Cherokee Nation Marshal Service and federal, state, and local governments.

1993: Cherokee Nation signs self-government compact with U.S. government.

1994: Chief Mankiller and Deputy Chief Ketcher announce they will not seek re-election.

1995: Joe Byrd and Garland Eagle are elected principal chief and deputy chief marking the first time in nearly 200 years that full blood bilingual leaders occupy the top positions of the Cherokee Nation.

1996: Cherokee Nation signs fuel tax agreement with Oklahoma. The agreement allows the tribe to receive quarterly fuel tax rebates from the state.

1997: Cherokee Nation receives 1.1 million dollars from the motor fuels tax agreement.

1999: Cherokee Nation reclaims jurisdiction over Cherokee Nation Capitol Building, establishes free press act, and publishes modern day Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate.

2001: Cherokee Nation issues automobile tags.

2009: Cherokee language for iPhone and iPod is created.

2010: Wilma Mankiller passes away.

Primary Sources: Cherokee Bill's Trading Center. Cherokee History: Text & Photo Timeline: <http://www.wsharing.com/WScherokeeTimeline.htm>, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma: <http://www.cherokee.org/>, and Robert J. Conley's *The Cherokee Nation: A History*, 2005.

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