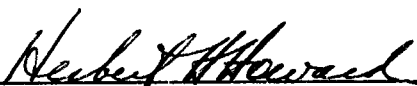
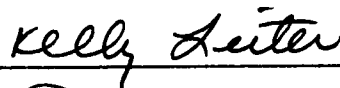


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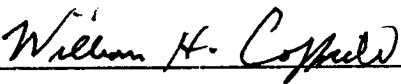
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Ann Lackey Landini entitled "The Cherokee Phoenix: The Voice of the Cherokee Nation, 1828-1834." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communications.


Herbert H. Howard, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX: THE VOICE OF THE
CHEROKEE NATION, 1828 - 1834

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Ann Lackey Landini
May 1990

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DEDICATION

For her patience, understanding, and assistance throughout the past seven years while I was involved in doctoral studies and research, this dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful and beautiful daughter, Leigh, who is now beginning her undergraduate studies in journalism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the course of my dissertation research, several individuals have provided me with invaluable assistance and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

Published from February 21, 1828, to May 31, 1834, by the Cherokee Nation at New Echota, Georgia, the Cherokee Phoenix was the first native American newspaper. The purpose of this study was to determine what information was disseminated by the newspaper and to determine if the editorial content followed the guidelines editor Elias Boudinot printed in both the prospectus and the first issue.

Data were collected on the entire universe of the editorial and advertising content of the 260 issues through content analysis. Editorial and advertising content categories were developed from references found in previous historical and qualitative studies.

Although the editorial content was varied, miscellaneous articles, education articles, untranslated Cherokee articles, and removal articles each accounted for more than 10 percent of the total content. The primary types of advertisements were for other publications, legal notices and announcements, and items the newspaper printed for sale to individuals. Except for the editorial content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and untranslated Cherokee articles, the editorial content followed the guidelines Boudinot had established.

Few differences were evident in the content of the newspaper under the two editors, Boudinot and Elijah Hicks. Hicks did print a larger percentage of articles in the education and religion categories. Both editors had little content outside the content categories of newspaper publishing,

miscellaneous, and untranslated Cherokee articles which did not follow the guidelines Boudinot had established.

Although the original intent was to publish materials in both Cherokee and English, 83.4 percent of the editorial content and 94.9 percent of the advertising content were printed in English.

The two areas of content which most directly affected the Cherokee Nation, removal and the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, were discussed in only 16 percent of the total articles printed in the newspaper. Advertisements which reflected the business and community life within the Cherokee Nation were few in the 260 issues. The newspaper published little information to readers outside the Cherokee Nation concerning the manners and customs of the Cherokees and their progress in civilization, and, thus, valuable ethnological information is not available in the newspaper.

Since only historical and qualitative studies of the Cherokee Phoenix existed, this content analysis provides a quantitative way to view the content of the Cherokee Phoenix. A number of statements made in earlier studies could not be substantiated with this study, but some of the qualitative statements were substantiated. These were unexpected findings of the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix, published on February 21, 1828, marked a major milestone in both American history and American journalism history because the Cherokee became the "first American Indian tribe to publish and edit their own weekly newspaper on their own printing press and in their own language." (Holland, 1956, p. 1) The Cherokee Phoenix was published weekly, with some brief lapses, at New Echota, Georgia, until May 31, 1834, four years before removal forced the Cherokee to embark upon their Trail of Tears.

In the Cherokee language, the name of the newspaper is Tsa'la-gi Tsu'le-hi-sa-nun, which translates as "I will arise." This translation is indicative of the cultural, economic and political changes which occurred among the Cherokee in the 50 years following the American Revolution as the Cherokee rose from the ashes of defeat to establish a nation based upon a written constitution within the boundaries of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Cherokee had sided with Great Britain during the American Revolution and had continued to wage war upon the white settlers who moved west of the Appalachian Mountains in the late 1700s. Two decades of war wrecked havoc upon the Cherokee population and resulted in the tribe losing almost half of its territory in treaties made with the federal government.

Because the white settlers continued to encroach upon their land, the Cherokee accepted President George Washington's plans in 1793 for

civilization of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River. The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of great cultural, economic and political change for the Cherokee. Their degree of acculturation resulted in the behavior patterns of the Cherokee closely resembling that of the Southern whites. The Cherokee lived on farms and plantations in homes ranging from log cabins to brick and frame mansions. They adopted the clothing of the white settlers. They cooperated with the white clergymen in mission stations and on circuits to bring religion and education to thousands of their people. In addition, Sequoyah, a mixed-blood Cherokee, developed a syllabary which transformed the tribe from the oral to written tradition. Following the adoption of Sequoyah's syllabary by the Cherokee national council in 1821, thousands of Cherokee learned to read and write in their own language within a few months.

Although it is not clear when, how, and from whom the Cherokee came up with the idea of a national press, Wilkins (1986) said Major Ridge, one of the Cherokee chiefs, mentioned it in conversations with missionaries as early as 1822. References to it can be found in journals kept by Butrick, a missionary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. According to a journal entry reprinted by Wilkins (p. 140), Butrick said "for the diffusion of council information . . . Major Ridge seemed sensible of the great benefit which might result from the circulation of a newspaper."

The first official reference to the establishment of a Cherokee press came from the Cherokee Legislative Council in 1825 which resolved

to receive donations in money from individuals or societies throughout the United States for the object of establishing and

supporting a national academy and for procuring two sets of types to fit one press, to establish a printing office at New Town (New Echota) . . . one set to be composed of English letters the other of Cherokee characters, the invention of George Guest (Gist), a Cherokee. (Woodward, 1963, pp. 143-144)

The Cherokee Council passed a resolution in October 1827, calling for the establishment at New Echota, Georgia, of a weekly newspaper to be titled the Cherokee Phoenix whose editor, Elias Boudinot, was to print translations in Cherokee of important news as well as official publications. (Malone, 1950) On February 21, 1828, Vol. I, No. 1, of the Cherokee Phoenix was published in New Echota, approximately three miles west of the present site of Calhoun, Georgia. Its circulation and influence was not limited to just the Cherokee Nation as it had subscribers in both the United States and in Europe. The nameplate on the first issue had Cherokee words Tsa'la-gi Tsu'le-hi-sa-nun printed above the English title The Cherokee Phoenix. Between the two Cherokee words was a woodcut of a phoenix which Holland (1956, p. 51) described as

looking a bit like a peacock with wings outstretched and rising from what appeared to be a nest or fire rather than ashes. Behind were the rays of the sun, and on a scroll between the wings was the word 'Protection.'

In the first column, below the dateline, the masthead of the first issue showed the names of the editor and of the official printer. The masthead also carried subscription and advertising rates. Subscription rates for English readers were \$2.50 a year if paid in advance, \$3 a year if paid in six months, and \$3.50 a year if paid at the end of a year, but subscription rates for

Cherokee readers were \$2 a year if paid in advance and \$2.50 a year if paid later. The masthead said subscriptions would continue until the subscriber notified the editor to "discontinue delivery." Individuals who obtained six subscribers and guaranteed their payment would receive a free subscription. The masthead listed advertising rates as 75 cents a square for the first insertion and 37 and one-half cents for each of the following insertions. The masthead said longer advertisements would be assessed "in proportion." The last item in the masthead was the editor's promise to give "due attention" to "postpaid" letters he received from readers.

Immediately below the masthead in the first column was an English reprint of an article titled "A Good Conscience" from Christian Philosophy. This article was followed by a one-paragraph filler titled "Flattery" in English.

The remaining four columns of the first page contained Articles I, II, and III of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation printed in parallel columns of English and Cherokee. Article III of the Constitution was continued to the second page of the first issue where it was printed in parallel columns of English and Cherokee. The remaining three columns of the second page contained portions of a letter dated November 29, 1827, from Thomas L. McKinney, an Indian agent, to the Secretary of War discussing Indian emigration. The letter, which was printed only in English, was followed by Boudinot's comments, in English, upon its contents.

In the first three columns of the third page of the first issue appeared a letter dated January 9, 1809, from Thomas Jefferson to the deputies of the Cherokee Upper Towns. The letter, which was printed in English followed by the Cherokee translation, discussed the progress of civilization among the

Cherokee. Boudinot's editorial column titled "New Echota" began in the lower portion of the third column. Boudinot's first editorial discussed the newspaper's philosophy, policy, and content and was printed in English followed by the Cherokee translation. The main editorial was followed by two short paragraphs in English on separate topics. The first paragraph was Boudinot's apology for the lack of national and international news because of the failure of the last two scheduled mail deliveries to the Cherokee Nation. The second paragraph thanked Samuel Worcester for his contributions to the first issue.

The only advertisement printed in the first issue appeared in the bottom of the fifth column of the third page. The advertisement was a legal notice in English from John Martin that he would not pay a "note of hand" for \$350 in favor of John McCarver and Monce Gore of East Tennessee.

The first column of the fourth page of the first issue was titled "Poetry." Under this heading was the Lord's Prayer printed in Cherokee followed by a literal translation of the Lord's Prayer from Cherokee to English written by Worcester. Beginning near the bottom of the third column was a reprint, in English, titled "George Washington's Escape" credited to the Manuscript. Beginning near the bottom of the third column and continuing through the remaining two columns of the fourth page was an essay, written in English by Worcester, on the Cherokee alphabet.

Holland (1956) said the content of the first issue presented two landmarks in journalism history: publication of the first tribal documents to appear in both Cherokee and English and publication of an editor's statement of policy. Although Boudinot's original intent was to publish parallel columns

of Cherokee and English, the first issue was the only one to attempt to print some items in parallel columns. Holland (1956) said that since two lines of Cherokee usually equal three lines of English, Boudinot printed Cherokee translations immediately following English beginning with the second issue.

The Cherokee Phoenix was published weekly, with some brief lapses, from February 21, 1828, until May 31, 1834, under two editors, Boudinot and Elijah Hicks. Hicks was appointed editor after the tribe split into pro-removal and anti-removal factions in 1832. Boudinot began to favor removal, and he believed the Cherokee Phoenix should be used to present both sides of the issue. His beliefs ran counter to those of Principal Chief John Ross who believed the newspaper should be used to present only the anti-removal arguments.

The content of the Cherokee Phoenix has been used by several historians in compiling histories of the Cherokee in the decade prior to removal. The newspaper has been mentioned in studies of native American newspapers and in journalism history texts. Qualitative discussions of its content can be found in a number of journal articles and books. But, no single source of information existed which provided a systematic and thorough discussion of the content of the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix. This study utilizes the mass communications method of content analysis to provide a systematic and thorough discussion of the advertising and editorial content of the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix. An unintended finding of this study is that some of the earlier research on the Cherokee Phoenix is questionable.

CHAPTER II

METHOD OF STUDY

This study concentrates on the history and content of the Cherokee Phoenix, the first native American newspaper, published in New Echota, Georgia, by the Cherokee Nation from 1828 to 1834.

1. BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Information concerning the purpose, influence, and content of the Cherokee Phoenix can be found in several sources. Woodward (1963) said the Cherokee Nation considered the newspaper as important as its legal maneuvers in conveying information concerning its stand on the removal issue. Starkey (1946) said the Cherokee Phoenix had two purposes: to acquaint the Cherokee with the state of the nation and to acquaint the world at large with the Cherokee. Starkey (1946) also said the newspaper played an important role in unifying and heartening the Cherokee in the long ordeal that lay ahead of them. Malone (1956) said the newspaper served as an advertisement of the nationalistic and intellectual growth of the Cherokee Nation, and it came into being at a time when Georgia was beginning to raise a particularly loud clamor for Indian removal

J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said the early Indian newspapers, including the Cherokee Phoenix, had three major purposes. The first purpose was educational: "to promote among Indians a better chance for successful encounters with whites." (p. 16) The early Indian editors were aware that it was only a matter of time before tribal lands were taken by the whites.

Therefore, the editors believed the newspapers would help the Indians survive the clash of cultures by helping to teach the Indians to read, write, and converse in English. Another purpose of early Indian newspapers was to offer news, information, and advertising to the Indians. The third purpose was to allow the newspapers to speak for specific Indian tribes because the early newspapers were official organs of tribal governments.

Van Every (1966) said the Cherokee Phoenix aroused intense and sympathetic interest in the United States and throughout the world. The newspaper, which was circulated in the United States and Europe, highlighted issues of interest to the Cherokee and presented them in a way understandable to both Cherokee and whites. Woodward (1963) said newspapers in New Orleans, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore reprinted its editorials citing Jackson's and Georgia's oppression. Carter (1976) said the Cherokee Phoenix was similar in appearance and style of writing with newspapers of its era in New York, Philadelphia, New England, and the South. Holland (1956, p. 56) said "few newspapers published and edited by white men of the same period could devote their attention and abilities to a greater purpose or demonstrate a superior literary excellence."

The influence of the Cherokee Phoenix stretched beyond the boundaries of the United States. C.T. Foreman (1936, p. xv) reported the Rev. Henry Cotton, sublibrarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, said of the Cherokee Phoenix: "A literary work coming from such a quarter is indeed a striking curiosity" Revue des Deux Mondes (Paris), in an article on the civilization of the Cherokee, wrote of the Cherokee Phoenix:

This paper being especially consecrated to the Indians, must necessarily have the happiest influence on their future civilization. The first twenty-seven numbers that we have seen, seem to us to be of a nature to hasten that result. All of the articles that compose it tend to show the advantages of the social life over the life of the savage and to inspire in the natives a horror of vice and the love of virtue. (C.T. Foreman, 1936, p. xv)

A prospectus circulated in 1827 and printed in the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix indicated the newspaper would contain

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation.
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
3. The principal interesting news of the day.
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees. (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

2. NEED FOR THE STUDY

Although the prospectus described what Boudinot said the content of the Cherokee Phoenix would be, research on the actual content of the newspaper is limited to qualitative discussions in several journal articles and books. Two separate computer searches revealed two doctoral dissertations and one master's thesis have been written about the content of the Cherokee Phoenix. While these studies are rich with historical information, they do not confine themselves to discussing specifically the content of the Cherokee Phoenix.

As the first American Indian newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix has served as a primary source for several historians compiling histories of the Cherokee. It has received some attention by journalists and historians who have chronicled the growth of native American newspapers. It has received brief mention in journalism history texts. However, information about the editorial and advertising content of the Cherokee Phoenix is scattered in a number of sources. No single source of information provides a systematic and thorough discussion of the content of the Cherokee Phoenix. Little attention has been given to the final years of its short existence and to the discussion of the content under the second editor, Elijah Hicks. Luebke (1981, p. 2) said that although the Cherokee are "one of the most extensively examined Indian tribes, there is little general knowledge of Cherokee journalism and Cherokee journalists."

Henry, in the foreword to J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. vi) addressed the general topic of lack of information on native American journalism by saying

There has been no serious study of American Indian journalism...The fascinating, profoundly moving nature of such a study has been generally overlooked. Indeed, few if any scholars have dared venture into the troubled waters of Indian history, culture, and politics that such a study entails.

Luebke (1981) also commented upon the general lack of information about native American journalism.

There is not a lot of information, scholarly or otherwise, about the American Indian and the mass media or about the

American Indians' own media. It should come as no surprise, then, that the 150th anniversary of the Indian press passed in 1978 with little fanfare, although one year earlier full-page newspaper and magazine advertisements had heralded the same anniversary of black publishing. (p. vi)

3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Since no single source now provides a systematic and thorough discussion of the content of the Cherokee Phoenix, this researcher examined both the editorial and advertising content of the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix to determine what information was disseminated by the newspaper and to determine if the editorial content followed the guidelines Boudinot printed in both the prospectus and the first issue. Editorial content refers to all printed articles. Advertising content refers to all advertising.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What information was disseminated through the advertising and editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix?
2. Did the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix follow the guidelines printed by Boudinot in both the prospectus and the first issue?
3. What differences, if any, are evident in the editorial content and the advertising content under the editorships of Boudinot and Hicks?
4. What was the primary subject matter of each article printed?
5. Which articles were printed in both Cherokee and English? Which articles were printed only in Cherokee? Which articles were printed only in English?
6. Which articles were reprinted from other newspapers, from books, and from magazines?

7. Which articles were written by Boudinot, Worcester, Hicks, and local contributors?

4. ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

In undertaking this study of the content of the Cherokee Phoenix, the researcher acknowledged three basic hypotheses:

1. Differences in content would be evident in the issues edited by Boudinot and Hicks. The reason for this assumption is that Boudinot espoused the libertarian theory of the press while Hicks echoed the authoritarian theory of the press supported by his brother-in-law, Principal Chief John Ross, after the tribe split in two factions over the removal issue.

2. The content of the early issues of the newspaper would follow the guidelines printed by Boudinot in the prospectus and the first issue more than the later issues of the newspaper. The reason for this assumption is that the content of the newspaper would focus more on the removal issue as both Georgia and the federal government increased its efforts in 1830 and thereafter for the Cherokee to relinquish title to their lands in East Tennessee and northern Georgia.

3. More of the content of the newspaper would be printed in English than in Cherokee although the original intent was to publish information in parallel columns of English and Cherokee. Holland (1956) said that in the second issue of the newspaper Boudinot explained to his readers that to save space and labor Cherokee translations would follow English material instead of being presented in parallel columns. Brown (1938, p. 483) reprinted a letter written by John F. Wheeler, one of the newspaper's printers, which said:

"Translation of English into Cherokee was a slow business, therefore we seldom made up more than three columns each week in Cherokee." Wilkins (1986) said columns in Cherokee averaged only three weekly compared to 17 in English, but that it was possible to express an idea in fewer words in Cherokee than in English because every Cherokee character except one represented an entire syllable and took up no more space than an English letter.

In order to examine the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix, the researcher had to use microfilm rather than original copies of the newspaper because no known complete file of original copies exists. By using microfilm obtained from the University of Oklahoma, the researcher was unable to use the column inch as a unit of measurement for either the articles or the advertisements.

Another limitation was the researcher's limited knowledge of the Cherokee syllabary. Instead of translating entire articles and advertisements, the researcher translated key words and phrases to determine which articles and advertisements had been translated into Cherokee from English.

5. METHOD

To determine what information was disseminated by the Cherokee Phoenix and to determine if the editorial content followed Boudinot's guidelines, the researcher chose the mass communications research method of content analysis.

6. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The census for this study was the entire universe of the editorial and advertising content of the Cherokee Phoenix. The Cherokee Phoenix consisted of 260 issues published weekly, with some brief lapses, between February 21, 1828, and May 31, 1834. In order to obtain access to the entire universe, the researcher purchased a microfilm copy of the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix from the University Libraries, Western History Collections, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

7. PROCEDURES

To examine the entire universe of the editorial content published in the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix, the researcher selected the individual article as the unit of analysis. To examine the entire universe of the advertising content published in the Cherokee Phoenix, the researcher selected the individual advertisement as the unit of analysis.

Since no other content analysis of the Cherokee Phoenix exists and since no existing set of content categories was applicable to this study, the researcher created content categories for both the editorial and advertising content which were based upon references to editorial and advertising content found in previous studies and cited in the review of literature.

The content categories for the editorial content were intemperance, crime, corrections/clarifications, newspaper publishing, slavery, elections, accounts of community activities involving citizens of the Cherokee Nation, official document of the Cherokee Nation, official document of the state of Georgia, official document of the federal government, removal (excluding

official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, and the United States), Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia (excluding official documents), foreign news, religion, domestic news, other Indian tribes, education, Cherokee culture, miscellaneous and article in Cherokee not translated. Each of the content categories was subdivided to reflect references to editorial content cited in the review of literature. Because of assertions made by Holland (1956) that the Cherokee Phoenix was the first native American newspaper which printed official documents in two languages, the content categories of official documents of the Cherokee Nation, official documents of Georgia, and official documents of the federal government were established in this study. Since the official documents could contain references to both removal and the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, two other content categories established in this study, these two content categories excluded official documents. All content categories with their subdivisions were compiled into the code book listed as Appendix A.

Each individual article was examined for its primary subject matter, as reflected by the content categories with their subdivisions, and for its authorship, source of origination, language used, type, and which guideline followed, as also shown in the code book listed as Appendix A. To facilitate the coding, a simplified coding sheet which is listed as Appendix B was used in conjunction with the code book.

The content categories for the advertising content were publications, legal, house, items for sale, schools, businesses open, stolen property, lost property, found property, and help wanted. Each of these categories contained subdivisions. Each advertisement was examined for its content,

issue date, and language used. The content categories for the advertising content were compiled into the code book listed as Appendix C.

The researcher coded the editorial and advertising content of the 260 issues of the Cherokee Phoenix between January 16, 1988, and June 13, 1988, using the microfilm readers in Pogue Library and Waterfield Library at Murray State University.

8. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF CONTENT DATA

In order to answer the research questions in this study, frequency counts and cross-tabulations were used with the nominal level of measurement of data and of variables. Since the data were based on all cases in the universe, the chi square significance level was meaningless and was not used in reporting the results. Instead, three other inferential statistics which can be used when the data are based on the entire universe were computed as estimates of the strength of an association between two variables.

The phi statistic was used with the two-by-two contingency tables. Phi has a value of 0 if no relationship exists and a value of +1 if the variables are perfectly related.

The Cramer's V statistic was computed for contingency tables with more than two rows and two columns. Its value ranges from 0 when no relationship exists to a +1 when a perfect relationship exists.

Although the contingency coefficient statistic cannot be directly compared to phi or Cramer's V since its maximum value varies with the size of the table, it was computed and reported for all contingency tables. The

contingency coefficient has a minimum value of 0 when no relationship exists, but its maximum value, which cannot reach an upper limit of +1 unless the number of categories for the two variables is infinite, varies with the size of the table.

9. RELIABILITY

To test the reliability of the content categories used in examining the editorial and advertising content of the Cherokee Phoenix, a purposive sample of both editorial and advertising content was coded by an undergraduate student during the week of July 18, 1988. The purposive sample consisted of the content of the twenty-sixth issue in each volume. This issue was selected because any changes in format and coverage for a particular volume would have been in place for at least several issues by the mid-point of the volume.

Cross-tabulation tables were established and examined for Coder 1 (researcher) and Coder 2 (undergraduate). Each item was analyzed, and the Scott's pi statistic was computed for each item in the area. A mean reliability score was tabulated for each overall area examined, and the mean reliability score exceeded chance (50%) in each overall area, as shown in Tables D-1 through D-7 in Appendix D..

As shown in Table D-1, Scott's pi was 90 percent or above for three of the five authors in the sample.

As shown in Table D-2, the Scott's pi computed for both coders on the source of origination of editorial content was above 90 percent in the five areas of the sample.

Coders 1 and 2 were in complete agreement on the language used in the articles in the sample as shown in Table D-3.

As shown in Table D-4, Scott's pi for four of the 10 types of articles was 90 percent or above, for five of the 10 areas between 50 and 90 percent, and zero for one area.

As shown in Table D-5, Scott's pi for the two coders in recoding articles for guidelines followed was 60 percent or above for four of the five guidelines.

As shown in Table D-6, Scott's pi was 50 percent or above for 13 of the 17 content areas. The content categories where Scott's pi was below 50 percent were intemperance, community activities, religion, and other Indian tribes.

As shown in Table D-7, complete agreement existed between the two coders in advertising content.

10. DATA PROCESSING

The data from the coding sheets were transferred to a computer disk which, in turn, was transferred to a permanent tape at the Murray State University Computer Center.

The researcher wrote computer programs to determine frequency counts and cross-tabulations which included phi, Cramer's V, and contingency coefficient statistics, for both editorial content and advertising content. The program for analyzing the editorial content is listed as Appendix D, and the program for analyzing the advertising content is listed as Appendix

E. The researcher used Statistical Analysis System 516 (SAS 516) as the computer software system for data analysis. All data processing was performed at the Murray State University Computer Center.

CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

When the American Revolution began in 1776, the Cherokee, as well as most Indian tribes west of the Appalachian Mountains, sided with Great Britain. Although England surrendered in 1783, the Cherokee and several other tribes continued the war against the white settlers who had moved onto Indian lands west of the Appalachians. Two decades of war brought devastation to many Cherokee towns, death or serious injury to hundreds of Cherokee men, and death, famine, and poverty to thousands of Cherokee women and children. The tribe's pattern of existence had been disrupted completely. In 1776, the Cherokee had claimed approximately 40,000 square miles of land from western Virginia and the Ohio River southward to the Coosa River in Georgia and from the upper reaches of the Savannah River in South Carolina westward to the Tennessee River. The Cherokee lost more than half of this territory in treaties made during the decade following the American Revolution.

In direct response to the depletion of their hunting areas and to the severe economic depression which confronted the tribe as a result of the treaties, President George Washington proposed a plan to civilize the Cherokee. In 1791 and 1792 Washington asked Congress to undertake experiments to civilize the Indians. Congress, in the Intercourse Act of 1793, provided that "in order to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes, and to secure the continuance of their friendship," the President might furnish them with "useful domestic animals, and the implements of husbandry," as

well as other goods and money. (Prucha, 1962, p. 215) The agents who were sent to civilize the Cherokee were told the principal object of their work was to introduce spinning and weaving to the women and agriculture and raising farm animals to the men. The Cherokee realized the white settlers would continue encroaching upon their land, and they were ready to learn to accept the whites and to live in peace with them.

Witthoft (1961) said when President Washington began the policy of civilization he expected the approximately 125,000 Indians in 85 different tribes east of the Mississippi River to be acculturated within 50 years. President Washington's goal was to teach them English, to make them farmers, and to change tribal ownership of land to individual ownership of land. Once the Indians could support themselves individually as farmers, they would be admitted as full and equal citizens, and the Indian nations would be denationalized with any tribal lands not under individual cultivation ceded to either the federal or state government.

Royce (1975, p. 74) said that from the beginning of its official relations with Indian tribes the federal government had encouraged and aided the individuals of those tribes

in grasping and accepting the pursuits and habits of civilized life, with a view to their preparation for the condition in which the rapidly encroaching white settlements would in a few years inevitably place them.

Malone (1950) and Marlin (1932) said the rapid advancement of the Cherokee could be attributed to three factors: a federal Indian policy which

encouraged agricultural and domestic stability, intermarriages with whites, and educational and religious opportunities offered by the missionaries.

McLoughlin (1984) said cultural transformation among the Cherokee from 1789-1839 took place in six major areas: economic, familial roles and kinship, social, political, religious, and the shift from an oral to a written tradition. He said that by examining each of these areas it is possible to ascertain that President Washington's goal of acculturation within 50 years was attained by the Cherokee.

The economic transformation from 1789-1839 showed a shift from fur trading to agriculture and included the emergence of an elite class who profited from owning slaves and developing commercial ventures such as trading stores, taverns, ferries, sawmills, gristmills, cotton gins, and turnpikes. Traditionally agriculture had been associated with the women of the tribe although the men would assist in clearing the land for cultivation. The main activities of the Cherokee men were hunting and fishing with the men considered meat-producers and the women vegetable-producers. With the loss of hunting areas and loss of game, the Cherokee men, with the instruction of the Indian agents and the availability of hoes, plows, rakes, and other agricultural implements provided by the federal government, began to take over more of the agricultural tasks traditionally reserved for women. The Indian agents instructed the Cherokee women in using the loom, the cotton card, and the spinning wheel. Cherokee families soon began producing enough foods and goods for their needs and using the surplus to trade for other goods. The business ventures in the Cherokee Nation served the needs of both the family farmer and the plantation owner.

By 1810, there were 19,500 cattle; 6,100 horses; 19,600 hogs; 1,037 sheep; 467 looms; 1,600 spinning wheels; 30 wagons; 500 plows; three sawmills; and 13 gristmills in the Cherokee Nation. (Boudinot, 1826, p. 8) An official census in 1824 by the Cherokee showed 22,400 cattle; 7,600 horses; 40,000 hogs; 3,000 sheep; 1,850 spinning wheels; 2,450 plows; 547 "wheels"; 475 goats; 700 looms; 120 wagons; 12 sawmills; 20 gristmills; 55 blacksmith shops; six cotton gins; 10 ferries; nine stores; six public roads; one turnpike; and one threshing machine, with a total value estimated at \$2,200,000. (Malone, 1956, p. 137) The census also reported 13,563 native Cherokee; 147 white men who had married Cherokee women; 73 white women who had married Cherokee men; and 1,277 Negro slaves. (Marlin, 1932, p. 11) In 1825, the Rev. David Brown toured the Cherokee Nation and submitted a detailed report of his findings to the War Department. In addition to reporting cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs being raised by the Cherokee, Brown reported that corn, tobacco, cotton, wheat, indigo, oats, and potatoes, along with numerous peach and apple orchards, were cultivated in the valleys and plains. (Royce, 1975, p. 112) Brown said that almost every family raised cotton sufficient for its own consumption, with the women using cotton cards and spinning wheels to manufacture materials for clothes. However, Brown noted that surplus cotton was shipped in Cherokee-owned boats to New Orleans to sell. Brown also reported that industry and commercial ventures owned by the Cherokee extended throughout the region.

The social transformation from 1789-1839 demonstrated a shift from a matrilineal clan system to a patriarchal nuclear family system brought about by both the intermarriages with the white settlers and the economic changes

with the Cherokee Nation. In the original matrilineal system, the female held title to houses and fields and her children were members of her clan. In the event of a mother's death, her brothers and/or uncles would assume the responsibility of caring for her property and rearing her children. Thus, the father would assume no responsibility for rearing his children, and he would not gain title of any of his wife's property. The same system was used in determining ownership of property and guardianship of children if a husband and wife decided to end their marriage. In that case, the wife would retain all property and rear all children with the help of her brothers and uncles.

The shift to a patriarchal nuclear family system began in the late 1700s as more and more white men married Cherokee women. The white husbands seldom acknowledged the matrilineal clan system, and by the early 1800s many white husbands began having Indian agents draw up wills leaving property to their children instead of allowing property to go to the mother's clan. In 1808 the Cherokee Council pledged to give protection to children as heirs to the father's property and to provide for the wife to receive a widow's share. (Perdue, 1979) McLoughlin (1984) said that mixed-blood Cherokees adopted the patriarchal system at a more rapid rate than the full-blooded Cherokees. Littlefield (1978) estimated that in 1809 approximately one-half of the 12,395 Cherokees were of mixed blood.

Another reason for the shift from the matrilineal clan system was the concurrent shift to an agricultural society. The women of a village originally had worked together cultivating vegetables on a common garden plot near the center of a village while the men hunted or fished to provide meats. In the late 1700s and early 1800s, as the Cherokee agents worked to instruct the

men in using implements to cultivate crops and vegetables, Cherokee families began moving away from the villages to farms large enough for them to cultivate a variety of crops and vegetables. The Cherokee thus left a communal lifestyle to live as nuclear families on scattered farms. As the nuclear family became self-sufficient, it became more important in the economic transformation than the clan.

The social transformation of the Cherokee from 1789-1839 was a natural outgrowth of both the economic and familial transformations. Patrilineal inheritance which began as early as 1804 by act of the Cherokee chiefs paved the way for the accumulation of private family wealth which, in turn, resulted in both class and educational distinctions among the Cherokee. The mixed-blood Cherokee appear to have taken advantage earlier than the full-blood Cherokee of both the economic and familial transformations. They spoke English and Cherokee and often assumed leadership positions because of their ability to communicate with both the Indian agents and the Indians. A number of mixed-bloods were sent outside the Cherokee Nation to attend schools, and the mixed-bloods welcomed the missionaries who intended to open schools within the Nation because they viewed an education as necessary in dealing with the whites who lived adjacent to their lands. With the shift to a patrilineal society, the mixed-bloods began accumulating private wealth. McLoughlin (1984) said many became traders and many owned black slaves. The census of 1835, the last census taken by the Cherokee Nation before removal, showed that slaveholders cultivated more acres and produced more corn than nonslaveholders. The slaveholders farmed an average of 75 acres, yielding approximately 1,040 bushels of corn,

and the nonslaveholders farmed an average of 11 acres, yielding approximately 141 bushels of corn. (Perdue, 1979, p. 60) Slaveholders also had money to invest in other businesses because they owned 75 percent of the mills and 42 percent of the ferries within the Cherokee Nation. (Perdue, 1979, p. 60) As conditions within the Cherokee Nation changed and as more Cherokees began accepting the process of civilization, the full-blooded Cherokees began accumulating some private wealth and began attending the schools established by the missionaries within the Nation.

As part of the civilization process, the Cherokee changed their internal political organization. This political transformation led to the centralization of authority, a definite shift from their traditional autonomy of each town. Until the early 1800s each town was independent and chose its own chiefs. The chiefs met periodically to make tribal judgements and pass tribal laws, but occasionally a group of chiefs would act independently in representing the interests of the Cherokee Nation. Even after the Indian agents moved into the Nation, there was no true tribal unity until 1810 when the Cherokee united under the leadership of Black Fox and Path Killer. The Cherokee then formed a 13-member executive committee which governed the Cherokee Nation between annual Council sessions which were attended by representatives from each town. (McLoughlin, 1984)

In 1820 the Cherokee adopted a republican form of government modeled after that of the United States. The Cherokee Nation was divided into eight districts with each district electing four representatives to the Cherokee legislature which would meet at New Echota, Georgia, the new capital of the Nation. The bicameral legislature consisted of the upper house,

the national committee, and the lower house, the national council. The principal chief of the Cherokee Nation was elected by the national council which also elected two members whose duty it was to express the will of the council. (Mooney, 1975) The national committee elected a clerk. Each district then established a council house for two meetings each year and elected a judge and a marshal to carry out the laws passed by the national council. In 1822 the national council established a Supreme Court. In 1827 a special constitutional convention approved a written constitution patterned after that of the federal government.

Although various Anglican, Presbyterian, and Moravian missionaries had visited in the Cherokee Nation since 1740, the Cherokee did not allow permanent mission stations in their land until 1801 when the Moravians established a mission at Spring Place, Georgia, in current Murray County. McLoughlin (1984) said the Cherokee admitted the Moravians because they expected the missionaries to teach their children to read and write and to provide them with useful information which would enable them to cope with and adapt to the rapidly changing Cherokee society. Within a few years other denominations sent missionaries into the Cherokee Nation to preach and teach. While many of the early missionaries were torn between their desire to convert the Cherokee and their need for acceptance by the Cherokee, most of the missionaries realized they were allowed to establish stations within the Nation because the majority of the Cherokee wanted them to provide an education for their children.

The Cherokee at first were reluctant to give up their traditional religious views based upon a full set of creation myths and the concepts of harmony

and balance between man and nature. (Marlin, 1932) The Cherokee gradually began to respond to the missionaries' efforts to convert them to Christianity. Malone (1956) said the presence of large numbers of Christians in the Cherokee government and the deference to religion found in their constitution and laws suggest an important influence on Cherokee affairs directly traceable to the missionaries' diligence in both teaching and preaching in all areas of the Cherokee Nation. Littlefield (1978) said upon removal approximately 2,000 Cherokee were Christians, primarily Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Thus, the religious transformation had a powerful effect upon the Cherokee because the missionaries brought education to the young people within the Nation, and the Cherokee did begin to accept Christianity in place of their traditional religious views.

Linton (1963) said the transfer of culture can be accomplished with surprising speed when an entire group becomes conscious of the advantages of writing and practically all its members learn to read and write within a few months. Linton said this happened among the Cherokee after the invention of Sequoyah's syllabary. Although some mixed-blood Cherokee were able to read and write English because they had either been taught by their English-speaking parent or been sent away to school, many Cherokee were unable to communicate in writing until the introduction of Sequoyah's syllabary transformed the tribe from the oral to the written tradition.

The remarkable transformation from the oral to the written tradition was the result of about 12 years of work by Sequoyah, a mixed-blood Cherokee also known as George Gist, George Guest, and George Guess. Born around 1760 to a Cherokee mother and an unknown white father, Sequoyah spent

his early years at Tuskegee town, outside old Fort Loudon. He never attended school, and he never learned to speak, read, or write English. He was a hunter, trader, and silversmith who fought with Andrew Jackson in the Creek Wars, and he was left a permanent cripple following a hunting accident. Moulton (1978, p. 101) said Sequoyah was

led by a chance conversation in 1809 to reflect upon the ability of the white men to communicate thought by means of writing, with the result that he set about devising a similar system for his own people.

Sequoyah's syllabary is phonetic with symbols representing the 85 different sounds found in the Cherokee language. Jones (1979) said the specific symbols were modeled after English, Greek, and Hebrew letters, but because Sequoyah could not read any of these languages he wrote some of the letters upside down and others sideways.

The Cherokee national council adopted Sequoyah's syllabary in 1821 and within a few months thousands of illiterate Indians learned to read and write in their own language. A statistical analysis of the Federal Cherokee Census of 1835 by McLoughlin and Conser (1977) revealed that 35.3 percent of the population read English while 67.1 percent read Cherokee. Less than 20 percent of the population read both Cherokee and English. About one-half (50.8 percent) of the families in the Nation had at least one member who read Cherokee.

The impact of Sequoyah's syllabary upon Cherokee life was profound.

Ignorant of the writings and teachings of white philosophers, Sequoyah hit upon the great truth, and what to him was an original discovery, that enlightenment and civilization of

a people would progress and develop in proportion as they were able to express themselves and preserve their ideas upon the written and printed page, and exchange these ideas, one with another by this medium. (C.T. Foreman, 1938, p. 74)

Fogleson (Fenton & Gulick, 1961) said Sequoyah's syllabary was a powerful instrument for cultural retention. Legends and myths were soon transcribed to paper as both young and old alike quickly mastered the syllabary.

Another direct effect of Sequoyah's syllabary was a resolution passed in 1825 by the Cherokee national council to solicit donations from outside the Cherokee Nation to use in purchasing two sets of type to fit one press and to establish a printing office at New Echota. (Woodward, 1963) The council allocated \$1,500 of its funds (one-fifth of the tribe's annual budget) for the purchase of the press and type fonts.

The cultural transformations the Cherokee experienced from 1789 could then be communicated to the rest of the United States and to Europe through the pages of its national newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix. The Cherokee had become acculturated within the 50 years President George Washington had set as the goal of his civilization project, and the Cherokee leaders believed the time was right to demonstrate to the outside world their degree of acculturation by publishing a national newspaper in both the Cherokee and English languages.

1. THE NEWSPAPER BEGINS

The council appointed its clerk, Elias Boudinot, as its official agent to solicit the additional funds from white communities outside the Cherokee Nation. Boudinot traveled from Charleston, South Carolina, to New York City

and raised slightly more than \$600 on his tour. (Wilkins, 1986, p. 195)

Boudinot published the text of his fundraising speech in a pamphlet titled "An Address to the Whites." The text, which is reprinted in Perdue (1983), says in part:

Such a newspaper, comprising a summary of religious and political events, etc. on the one hand; and on the other, exhibiting the feelings, disposition, improvements, and prospects of the Indians; their traditions, their true character, as it once was and as it now is; the ways and means most likely to throw the mantle of civilization over all the tribes; and such other matter as will tend to diffuse proper and correct impressions in regard to their condition -- such a paper could not fail to create much interest in the American community, favourable to the aborigines, and to have a powerful influence on the advancement of the Indians themselves. How can the patriot or the philanthropist devise efficient means, without full and correct information as to the subjects of his labour? And I am inclined to think, after all that has been said of the aborigines, after all that has been written in narratives, professedly to elucidate the leading traits of their character, that the public knows little of that character. To obtain a correct and complete knowledge of these people, there must exist a vehicle of Indian intelligence, altogether different from those which have heretofore been employed. Will not a paper published in an Indian country, under proper and judicious regulations, have the desired effect? I do not say that Indians will produce learned and elaborate dissertations in explanation and vindication of their own character; but they may exhibit specimens of their intellectual efforts, of their eloquence, of their moral, civil and physical advancement, which will do quite as much to remove prejudice and to give profitable information (p. 76)

In 1827, the Cherokee Council resolved to establish a weekly newspaper titled the Cherokee Phoenix at New Echota and appointed Boudinot editor at an annual salary of \$300 a year. The Council also elected William Hicks, son of the late Chief Charles Hicks, to fill out the term of the

deceased Path Killer. John Ross was elected second principal chief. In their first annual message to the Council, Hicks and Ross expressed concern as to the use of the newspaper and warned against the "admission of scurrilous productions of a personal character, and also against cherishing sectarian principles on religious subjects." (Moulton, 1978, pp. 36-37) Because the press was to be public property, it was to be as "free as the breeze that glides upon the surface." (C.T. Foreman, 1936, p. 26) In their annual message, Hicks and Ross expressed hope the public would patronize the newspaper.

Samual Austin Worcester, a missionary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is credited with suggesting the name of the newspaper, Cherokee Phoenix or Tsa'la-gi Tsu'le-hi-sa-nun , which translates "I will arise" in the Cherokee language. (Wilkins, 1986, p. 196) However, McLoughlin (1984, p. 351) said

Samuel Worcester was said to have suggested 'the Phoenix' because it was a bird which arose from the ashes of defeat to fly again -- a bird that could never die. Worcester probably also had other meanings which would be explained later to the Cherokees -- the Phoenix represented the rising of the sinner to sainthood, of the pagan people to a Christian nation, of the dead Jesus to the resurrected Christ. The Cherokee words which appear around the picture of the Phoenix on the masthead of the paper, literally translated, mean 'He has risen again.' The Cherokees undoubtedly read it, as Ross read Isaiah, to mean that the Cherokee people would rise again. In 1828, when the Cherokee Phoenix appeared, the Cherokees seemed to have risen from the cultural chaos of defeat in the American Revolution.

Wilkins (1986, pp. 195-196) said Worcester supervised the casting of type in Boston in a print shop owned by David Green (Greene), a commissioner of the American Board for Foreign Missions. Worcester was

familiar with Cherokee because he had worked with Boudinot on Cherokee translations of Scripture and hymns after he arrived as a missionary in the Cherokee Nation in 1825.

The press purchased by the Cherokee Nation was a "union" model of a size called "small royal," made of cast iron with spiral springs to hold up the plates. Frames were placed on its flat bed, and the type in them inked with wool-filled deerskin balls because rollers were not then in general use. Bass (1936) said the press, type, and printing supplies were transported in January 1828 by ship from Boston to Augusta, Georgia. From there the items were transported by wagon over mountain trails to the Conasauga valley. The items, accompanied by Green who was to assist in their installation, arrived in New Echota on February 1, 1828.

The two printers hired by the Cherokee Council had arrived in New Echota in December 1827. Neither Isaac N. Harris, the official printer of the Cherokee Nation, nor John F. Wheeler, his assistant, was familiar with the Cherokee language. While waiting for the press and type fonts to arrive, the two printers worked with Boudinot and Worcester in trying to learn the Cherokee syllabary. The Council also hired an apprentice, John Candy, a half-blood Cherokee, to learn printing skills from the two printers. Candy spoke and wrote both Cherokee and English. A letter written by Wheeler and reprinted in Brown (1938, pp. 482-483) explained what the printers, Boudinot, and Worcester had to do in preparation for printing the first issue:

We had nothing to do for three or four weeks but learn the alphabet. It was more and more incomprehensible to use

than Greek. For myself, I could not distinguish a single word in the talk of the Indians with each other. It seemed a continuance of sounds.

While we were waiting for the type and press it was ascertained that no printing paper had been ordered. A two-horse wagon was secured, and Harris started to Knoxville where there was a paper mill. The type did not arrive until the latter part of January, 1828. The house built for the printing office was of hewn logs 30 feet long, 20 feet wide.

Stands had to be made, a bank, and a case for the Cherokee type. The latter was something new, as no case to accomodate an alphabet containing 86 characters could be found. The press, a small royal size, was like none I ever saw before or since. It was cast iron, with spiral springs to hold up the plates, at that time a new invention. We had to use balls of deerskin stuffed with wool for inking, as it was before the invention of the composition rollers.

The first number of the Cherokee Phoenix was issued around the middle of February, 1828. Harris had abandoned the effort to learn the Cherokee alphabet, and the setting up of the type fell to my lot. We had no impression stone, and had to make up each page of the paper on a sled galley, put it in the press, take proofs on slips of paper, then correct it in the press, a very fatiguing way of correcting foul proof, which was the case of my first attempt to set Cherokee type. I did not know or understand a word of the language.

While the type was being cast in Boston, a building to house the new press was constructed by the Council in New Echota. The building has been described by Malone (1950, p. 165) as

20 by 24 feet, one story high, shingle roof, with one fireplace, one door . . . one floor and a window in each side of the house two (window) lights deep and 10 feet long . . . chinked and lined on the inside with narrow plank, with the necessary watering benches and type desk requisite for a printing office.

Before the first issue was printed Boudinot wrote a prospectus in late 1827 which he mailed to various publications and to influential individuals

outside the Cherokee Nation. The prospectus, which was reprinted in the first issue, said, in part:

The Editor would by no means, be too sanguine, for he is aware that he will tread upon untried ground; nor does he make any pretensions to learning, for it must be known that the great and sole motive in establishing this paper is the benefit of the Cherokees. This will be the great aim of the Editor, which he intends to pursue with undeviating steps . . . There are many true friends to the Indians in different parts of the Union, who will rejoice to see this feeble effort of the Cherokees to rise from their ashes, like the fabled Phoenix. On such friends must principally depend the support of our paper (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

The prospectus also explained what the content of the Cherokee Phoenix would be. Boudinot listed the content as:

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation.
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion, and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
3. The principal interesting news of the day.
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees. (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWSPAPERS (1801-1833)

From 1801 to 1833 most newspapers in the United States were either mercantile or political. (Mott, 1950) By 1820, 512 newspapers were published in the United States and were read primarily by the upper economic and social classes, the people who could read and who had the money to subscribe. (Tebbel, 1969) The 512 newspapers published in 1820 consisted of 24 dailies, 66 semi- or tri-weeklies, and 422 weeklies, and Tebbel (1969) said circulations were never large, not often above 1,500 except for big city dailies. Mott (1950) said subscription rates varied with weeklies priced at \$1.50 to \$2.50 a year, semi-weeklies and tri-weeklies at \$4 or \$5, and dailies at \$8 or \$10.

Newspapers of this period had no standard make-up. A typical newspaper might fill three-fourths of its front page with advertising and fill the other one-fourth with a political essay or a literary piece; the second page might contain foreign and domestic news along with a political letter or reprint of a political speech; the third page might contain an editorial column, local news, and advertising; and the fourth page was usually all advertising. (Mott, 1950) The typical newspaper devoted more than half of its total space to advertising, and the advertising looked similar to today's classified sections with type set in 6- or 8-point body type. (Mott, 1950) Considerable space was given to miscellaneous or feature articles throughout the typical newspaper, but little consideration was given to writing headlines above stories with most headlines being simple labels. (Mott, 1950) Politics dominated the news, served as the main subject matter of the essays and letters to the editor, and directed the slant of the editorials. (Mott, 1950) All newspapers recognized

the importance of news concerning the federal government and reprinted numerous articles from Washington's National Intelligencer, United States Telegraph, Globe, and Baltimore's American because those newspapers vigorously covered the events of Congress, the White House, and federal agencies. (Mott, 1950) Because most newspapers in cities relied on information from other newspapers and from ships arriving on the coast, Mott (1950) said local news which would have been easy to obtain remained largely untouched except by newspapers in smaller communities which did cover some local events. Editorial columns of this period were usually placed under a local heading on the second or third page and were a mixture of editorial opinion and major news items. (Mott, 1950).

3. FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

Moulton (1978) said the Cherokee Phoenix faced money problems throughout its short existence. Because the official printer received \$400 a year, Boudinot threatened to resign in November 1829 unless he was given a pay raise and an assistant. Moulton (1978) said John Ross took Boudinot's request to the Council and vowed that he would personally pay Boudinot an extra salary rather than see the national newspaper fail. The Council granted Boudinot a pay raise and hired an assistant.

Holland (1956) said the Council thought that once the newspaper was established it could pay for the paper, ink, and other printing supplies and could generate enough revenue to board and clothe the apprentices. However, in 1829 the Council had to appropriate \$60 for clothing for the two apprentices. (Holland, 1956)

Paper, ink, and other printing supplies had to be purchased from outside the Cherokee Nation, and Malone (1956) said shipping charges from Philadelphia, New York, Savannah, and Knoxville made printing in the wilderness an expensive undertaking.

The two sources of revenue, circulation and advertising, apparently did not sustain the newspaper. Both Malone (1956) and Luebke (1981) said that Boudinot frequently had to remind subscribers to pay their accounts in cash. While the number of subscribers outside the Cherokee Nation is not known, Luebke (1981) said one newspaper often served an entire Cherokee village. Holland (1956, p. 80) said the "eagerness of the Cherokees for printed matter in their own language gave the Cherokee Phoenix a high potential readership," but one newspaper was probably used by many individuals in the Cherokee Nation just as one newspaper served several individuals in rural areas in other parts of the United States. Delivery of the Cherokee Phoenix both inside and outside the Cherokee Nation was a responsibility of the U.S. mail service which had been established in the Cherokee Nation in 1817. Malone (1956) said the existence of a postal service was one of the favorable conditions to the success of the Cherokee Phoenix in its early years because a large number of subscribers lived outside the Cherokee Nation and because much of its copy came from exchange newspapers. Mott (1950) said more than 90 percent of the mail service by 1830 consisted of newspapers. Although mail service did assist the circulation of the Cherokee Phoenix, Holland (1956) said Boudinot complained about delivery problems to some subscribers and with exchange newspapers. In 1830, the newspaper's publication date was changed from Wednesday to Saturday to

take better advantage of the mail routes serving the Cherokee Nation.
(Holland, 1956)

Although J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said advertising was an important function of the newspaper, Malone (1956), Anderson (1977), and Holland (1956) said advertising supplied little income to the Cherokee Phoenix. Malone (1956) said the most predominant types of advertisements were legal and those which promoted other publications. By 1831, advertising brought in a small amount of revenue and occupied in total per issue little more than one full column. (Anderson, 1977)

4. INFLUENCE OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

Although the Cherokee Phoenix was not a financial success, its influence spread well beyond the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation. Halliburton (1977) said the Cherokee Phoenix had subscribers in the states and foreign countries. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said the Cherokee Phoenix had subscribers in Germany, France, and England, with sales and advertising agents in Boston, Massachusetts; New York, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Richmond, Virginia; Beaufort, South Carolina; and Statesville, Tennessee.

The presentation of Cherokee aspirations and current developments in their struggle for survival were published weekly in the Cherokee Phoenix and were reprinted not only in newspapers within the United States but also in newspapers in other parts of the world. (Van Every, 1966) King (1965) said the London Times exchanged with the newspaper on equal terms. Luebke (1981) said the newspaper exchanged with The Missionary Herald,

Niles' Weekly Register, and the Connecticut Observer, among others. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) added the National Intelligencer, New Hampshire Patent and State Gazette, and the Milledgeville Journal to the exchange list.

Holland (1956) said the Cherokee Phoenix reached its peak of influence outside the Cherokee Nation during 1831 and early 1832 as it detailed the arrests and detainment of various missionaries by Georgia. Newspapers, such as the New York Spectator, New York Daily Advertiser, New York American, and New York Observer, reprinted numerous articles from the Cherokee Phoenix concerning Georgia's actions against the missionaries and wrote editorial comments of their own. (Holland, 1956)

5. THE MEN WHO CONTROLLED THE CONTENT OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

During its six years of existence, five men directly or indirectly were responsible for writing, editing and/or influencing the content of the newspaper. Two men, Boudinot and Elijan Hicks, served as editors of the Cherokee Phoenix. Stand Watie, brother of Boudinot, substituted as editor while his brother was absent from the Cherokee Nation. Samuel Worcester, an American Board missionary, worked with Boudinot in translating materials for either publication in the newspaper or publication as separate items for dissemination in the Cherokee Nation. Principal Chief John Ross led the Cherokee Nation through its final years east of the Mississippi River and clashed with Boudinot over the position the newspaper should take on the removal issue.

Elias Boudinot

Elias Boudinot, born about 1800, was the son of David OO-Watie (Watie), the brother of Major Ridge. His Indian name, Gah-la-gee-nah, meant "young stag deer," and he was called Buck Watie during childhood. (Halliburton, 1977) The Watie family had large land holdings and a comfortable home and were among the earliest black slaveowners in the Cherokee Nation. Wilkins (1986, p. 4) said that although the family had some amount of white blood, the family members customarily styled themselves "full-blooded Cherokees." Boudinot was educated at the Moravian mission school at Spring Place, Georgia, before being sent to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. While in Cornwall, he was befriended by Elias Boudinot, a New Jersey statesman, philanthropist, and supporter of the school, and he adopted his name. (Halliburton, 1977, p. 24; Dale & Linton, 1939, p. 4) The original Elias Boudinot had served a term as president of Continental Congress and was the author of A Star in the West. (Williams, 1930)

While in school, Boudinot met Harriet Gold, the daughter of a prominent white Cornwall family. Despite initial opposition from her family, the couple married in 1826 and moved December 1, 1826, to High Tower, Georgia, 35 miles south of Spring Place, where Boudinot worked as a missionary and schoolmaster at a mission which had been established in 1822 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the same group which ran the school in Cornwall. (Gabriel, 1941)

Boudinot's career as a missionary and schoolmaster did not last long because in 1827 he was named editor by the Cherokee Council of the

Cherokee newspaper, and he and his wife moved to New Echota. While awaiting the press, type fonts, and materials, Boudinot and Worcester began their work together of translating religious writings. Gabriel (1941) said both Boudinot and Worcester believed their principal work in life was to make the white man's literature and knowledge available to the Cherokee. The first Cherokee book published was a 50-page hymnal translated by Boudinot and Worcester. (Gabriel, 1941; Wilkins, 1986) They also worked together on translations of the Bible. Boudinot's salary as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix was supplemented by \$100 a year from the American Board to help Worcester translate religious materials into the Cherokee language. (Holland, 1956)

Wilkins (1986) said Boudinot was devoted to his job as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix. Luebke (1981) said that since Boudinot had no formal training in journalism, he learned on the job and from the writings of the editors of the exchanges. Boudinot had several responsibilities as editor: writing the weekly editorial and translating it to Cherokee; selecting articles to reprint from other publications; writing feature articles and Cherokee news items; selecting Cherokee laws to print and translating them from English, the official language of the Cherokee Nation, into Cherokee; selecting items from the archives of the Cherokee Nation to print; encouraging Cherokee and English readers to submit items for publication; correcting proofs on printing days; and serving as business manager. (Gabriel, 1941; Anderson, 1977; Wilkins, 1986)

Gabriel (1941) said Boudinot's dream as editor of the newspaper was to help bring about a Cherokee civilization equal in intellectual and moral

achievement to that of the white man. J.F. Kilpatrick and A.G. Kilpatrick (1968) said that as editor Boudinot was painfully fair-minded and naively incapable of measuring the malice in the forces he opposed. Luebke (1981, p. 253) said during his time as editor of the newspaper he was "a thorn in the sides of Georgian and federal authorities who advocated Indian removal." Luebke (1981, p. 347) also said Boudinot showed steady growth in his position.

As he matured, so did the paper, from a medium of exchange clippings and an occasional Indian article to a true Cherokee advocate. As editor, he became not an emulator, but one to be emulated, an apt model for subsequent editors--Indian and non-Indian--of all times. Boudinot's was an intelligent voice, caring, providing piercing analysis . . .

Boudinot served as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix from 1828 to 1832 when he resigned because of the split within the Cherokee Nation over removal which also caused a confrontation over press freedom. In the spring of 1832, Boudinot, Major Ridge, and several other Cherokees served as delegates to Washington from the Cherokee Nation in an attempt to lobby against removal. While in Washington, the delegation realized the consistent pro-removal position of President Andrew Jackson had at last won and the anti-removal sentiment in Congress and among influential leaders in the North was eroding quickly. Boudinot and most of the other members of the delegation who had long fought against removal realized removal was inevitable and urged other Cherokee leaders to negotiate the best treaty possible for relinquishing the lands east of the Mississippi River.

During this same period John Ross was re-elected Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation by the Cherokee Council which was forced to convene

at Red Clay, Tennessee, near the present site of Cleveland, Tennessee, because Georgia laws forbade the Cherokee government from meeting in Georgia. At this council meeting the Ross (anti-removal) and Ridge (pro-removal) split developed within the Cherokee Nation as Ross tried to persuade the Red Clay delegates the Washington delegation had been bribed by the federal government to support removal.

The tribal split over removal evolved into an editorial policy battle over the Cherokee Phoenix as Ross forbade Boudinot from printing a detailed account of the Washington delegation's report because he (Ross) opposed publicizing any divergence from the anti-removal point of view, insisting on what he called "unity of sentiment and action for the good of all." (Wilkins, 1986, p. 244; Moulton, 1978, p. 51; Anderson, 1977, p. 103) With the press thus muzzled, Boudinot resigned "because he felt he had accomplished all he could in that position and partly in protest against the pressures brought against his speaking his mind in the present crisis." (Wilkins, 1986, p. 244) What ultimately persuaded Boudinot to resign was Ross's growing belief that "the toleration of diversified views" in the Cherokee Phoenix would create "fermentation and confusion" which would prove disastrous to the welfare of the Cherokee Nation. (Moulton, 1978, p. 51) Boudinot reasoned that the recent actions of Georgia and the federal government should compell the Cherokee to consider removal and that the newspaper would be the proper place to air all sides of the issue. (Gabriel, 1941) Ross, who was attempting to unite the Cherokee Nation against removal, insisted the Cherokee Phoenix should present only one argument -- anti-removal. (Davis, 1979) Ross forced

Boudinot to resign so news could be manipulated to boost the sagging Cherokee morale. (Reed, 1979)

Moulton (1978, p. 51) said Boudinot gave the following reasons for his resignation: the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in Worcester vs. Georgia; the lack of funds to print the paper; his health; and the conflict of views between himself and the "authorities of the nation." In his letter of resignation to Ross on August 1, 1832, Boudinot said he believed the Cherokee Phoenix had done all it was supposed to do in defending Cherokee rights and in presenting Indian grievances to readers outside the Cherokee Nation. (Woodward, 1963, p. 172) Boudinot said he was convinced the Cherokee people should be shown the dangers of their refusal to remove and that he could no longer edit the newspaper if he were denied the privilege of discussing such important matters. Boudinot's letter of resignation was published in the August 11, 1832, issue of the Cherokee Phoenix, and it said, in part:

Were I to continue as editor, I should feel myself in a most peculiar and delicate position. I could not consent to be conductor of the paper without having the right and privilege of discussing these important matters; and from what I have seen and heard, were I to assume that privilege, my usefulness would be paralyzed by being considered, as I have already been, an enemy to the interest of my country and my people.

Ross accepted Boudinot's resignation and asked Boudinot to remain on the job until a new editor was hired.

The conflict between Boudinot and Ross over freedom of expression in the Cherokee Phoenix could be expressed as a conflict between the

authoritarian and libertarian theories of the press. Anderson (1977) said Principal Chief John Ross advocated an authoritarian press while Boudinot advocated a libertarian press. Ross's authoritarian press would support the Cherokee Nation's policy against removal while Boudinot's libertarian press would allow individuals in the Cherokee Nation to examine both pro-removal and anti-removal positions and to make their individual decisions based upon examination of both sides. (Anderson, 1977)

In espousing the authoritarian view in 1832, Ross showed a dramatic shift in his views of press freedom which he advocated on October 13, 1827, when he addressed the national council and said: "The liberty of the press should be as free as the breeze that glides upon the surface." (Cherokee Phoenix, Oct. 22, 1828, p. 1) His insistence in 1832 of "unity of sentiment and action for the good of all" as reported by Moulton (1978, p. 51) is quite similar to how Rivers and Schramm (1969, p. 31) describe the authoritarian theory of the press: "To preserve unity of thought and action and to maintain continuity of leadership, the authoritarian state employs all the tools of persuasion and coercion it commands."

Boudinot, however, was consistent in his belief in the libertarian theory of the press. In the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix on February 21, 1828, Boudinot wrote "the columns of this paper shall always be open to free and temperate discussions on matters of politics, religion, etc." He still held these views when he wrote in his letter of resignation: "I could not consent to be conductor of the paper without having the right and privilege of discussing these important matters" (Cherokee Phoenix, Aug. 11, 1832) Boudinot's

views sound quite similar to this description of the libertarian theory of the press:

Let all with something to say be free to express themselves. The true and sound will survive; the false and unsound will be vanquished. Government should keep out of the battle and not weigh the odds in favor of one side or the other. And even though the false may gain a temporary victory, that which is true, by drawing to its defense additional forces, will through the self-righting process ultimately survive. (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956)

Elijah Hicks

After Boudinot's resignation, Ross expressed the need for an able editor for the Cherokee Phoenix who shared his anti-removal views, but because many of the educated Cherokees had joined with the pro-removal faction, the field of possible replacements was limited. (Wilkins, 1986) The Cherokee Council appointed Elijah Hicks, brother-in-law of Ross, as the editor of the newspaper. Ross asked Hicks to reflect the Cherokee views but urged that controversial news not be presented in the interest of "unity of sentiment and action." (Moulton, 1978, p. 51; J.E. Murphy & S.M. Murphy, 1981, p. 30)

Hicks, a mixed-blood Cherokee, was the son of Charles and Mary Hicks, two of the earliest Christian converts in the Cherokee Nation. (McLoughlin, 1984) His uncle, William Hicks, had served as Principal Chief before Ross was elected to office. Like Boudinot, Hicks was educated at the Moravian mission school at Spring Place, Georgia, and the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. McLoughlin (1984) said Hicks was a member of the Cherokee ruling elite who took an active role in the political life of the Cherokee Nation. He served as a delegate to the constitutional

convention in 1827, and in the same year was elected president of the national committee. While serving as president of the national committee, Hicks wrote a letter to the Cherokee Phoenix which was published July 21, 1828. In the letter Hicks said both the Principal Chief and the second chief of the Cherokee Nation should be educated men and that as many educated men as possible should work in all areas of the government. He indicated these men should not be "tools" to the missionaries. McLoughlin (1984) said Hicks criticized the missionaries although the 12 mission schools in the Nation provided the only education within the Nation.

Anderson (1977) said Hicks reflected his strong political and religious background as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix. Woodward (1963) said Hicks possessed depth of character, unquestioned integrity, and business sense, but he lacked Boudinot's newspaper experience. Holland (1956) said the quality of the Cherokee Phoenix declined rapidly when Hicks became editor. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said Hicks was a weak writer and editor. Starkey (1946) said Hicks had a rather pleasant style in spite of some tendency to grammatical lapses.

Ross expected Hicks to use the Cherokee Phoenix to fight removal, and Hicks did write numerous editorials denouncing Georgia's robbery of Cherokee mineral rights in gold region, Georgia's seizure of Cherokee land through the guise of the Cherokee Land Lottery, Georgia's harassment of the Cherokee through the Indian Codes, and the federal government's increasing demands for removal. (J.E. Murphy & S.M. Murphy, 1981) Hicks branded Major Ridge's involvement in the pro-removal faction as a "consummate act of treachery." (Moulton, 1978, p. 254) However, Holland (1956) said Hicks did

minimize the development of the split over removal from being brought into the open for all the readers to see by refraining from condemning Boudinot for his pro-removal stand and his resignation as editor. Anderson (1977) said Hicks's editorial policy of opposing diverse political opinion did not exclude a wide range of general information, foreign news, and human interest features from being published. Articles which were neither political nor religious in origin were often pro-Indian in content. (Anderson, 1977)

However, the newspaper did experience problems with Hicks as editor. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said the number of articles printed in the Cherokee language declined, and Holland (1956) said issues were published on an irregular basis. Holland (1956) said some of Hicks's problems stemmed from typographical changes he made. Hicks chose to use a smaller, more condensed body type which added almost two additional columns of body copy to be written and set each issue. The smaller type called for 130 lines rather than 120 lines to fill each column, thus increasing the wordage by about one-third. (Holland, 1956, pp. 97-98) By early 1834 the last two pages often used the same advertising and copy, with some copy in the Cherokee language used cumulative. (Holland, 1956) To fill space Hicks reprinted articles from a 12-volume set of Encyclopedia Americana, used a number of general essays clipped from various publications, and refrained from writing vigorous editorials because of his loyalty to Ross, his lack of emotional drive, and his lack of literary skills. (Holland, 1956) The appearance of the newspaper declined because the printers were not as experienced as Wheeler had been and because Hicks did little proofreading of copy.

(Holland, 1956) The Cherokee Phoenix under Hicks's control limped painfully along until it ceased publication in 1834. (Woodward, 1963)

Samuel Worcester and Stand Watie

Playing lesser roles in the publication of the newspaper while Boudinot was editor were Samuel Worcester and Stand Watie.

Worcester, the son of a printer and minister, learned how to set type before he became a missionary with the American Board. (Bass, 1936, p. 18) He supervised the purchase of the press and the casting of type for the Cherokee Phoenix. (G. Foreman, 1934; Moulton, 1978) He is credited with suggesting the name of the paper. (Moulton, 1978) Although no other source supports the idea, J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 25) said Worcester rather than Boudinot wrote the prospectus for the Cherokee Phoenix.

Born in 1798 in Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester was educated at the University of Vermont and Andover Theological Seminary. He was ordained in 1825 and sent to Brainerd Mission in the Cherokee Nation. Worcester moved from Brainerd Mission to New Echota to work with Boudinot on religious translations. In addition to his collaborations with Boudinot, he contributed articles in both Cherokee and English to the Cherokee Phoenix. The articles in Cherokee usually concerned religion and were usually Biblical translations, but the articles in English reflected his wide range of interest in Cherokee culture: social history, linguistics, mythology, and politics. (J.F. Kilpatrick & A.G. Kilpatrick, 1968, p. 3)

Worcester was arrested in 1831 by officers of the governor of Georgia for residing in Cherokee country without a permit from Georgia and was

sentenced to four years in the Georgia penitentiary. He was released in 1833, one year after the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in Worcester vs. Georgia. In 1835 he established Park Hill Mission in the Cherokee territory west of the Mississippi River. With a new press obtained from the American Board, he continued publishing religious translations, and he established the Cherokee Temperance Society and the Cherokee Bible Society. (Dale & Linton, p. 5)

Stand Watie substituted for his brother as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix while Boudinot served as a delegate to Washington in 1832. At the age of 23, Watie was appointed clerk of the Cherokee Supreme Court during the 1828 session and began his long career in legal work which eventually won him a license for practicing law in the Cherokee Nation. (Franks, 1979, p. 7) While he substituted as editor, he followed his brother's instructions on what to print and what to ignore. (Wilkins, 1986) Boudinot instructed Watie to print nothing concerning the upcoming presidential election or the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Worcester vs. Georgia, and Franks (1979) said Watie apparently followed Boudinot's instructions because no harsh editorial appeared on either subject during Boudinot's absence.

6. EVENTS AFFECTING THE CONTENT OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

Although the Cherokee Phoenix was a demonstration of the rapid advancement of the Cherokee in their adaptation to the white man's level of civilization, it was published at a time when both the federal government and the states of Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina were seeking to gain control of the tribe's lands. The events leading to the removal of the Cherokee were covered, primarily from the Cherokee point of view, in the Cherokee

Phoenix. King (1979, p. xvi) said despite the adoption of a constitutional government, a written language, a bilingual newspaper, and other tangible evidence of rapid acculturation, the Cherokee were subjected to relentless demands for their land. The Cherokee lands in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee had heavy timber, abundant water, and rich soil in the mountains, valleys, and plains, and Royce (1975) said the Cherokee were surrounded by white settlers who wanted their lands. Prucha (1962, p. 224) said the white settlers wanted the rich Cherokee lands and the states involved wanted to be relieved of the "embarrassment of independent groups of aborigines within their boundaries." In addition, Anderson (1977, p. 101) said the advancement of the Cherokee Nation was in direct conflict with the advancement of the United States through manifest destiny. The Cherokee, however, had an abiding attachment to their lands, were determined to hold their lands, and believed the original Indian policy of George Washington would be upheld by both the federal government and the states.

Although the federal government continued to work with the Cherokee until the late 1820s in learning the white man's ways, the first hint of removal originated while Thomas Jefferson was president. Prucha (1962, p. 226) said the purchase of the Louisiana Territory created conditions that would make removal feasible because the United States had acquired territory it could exchange for Indian lands east of the Mississippi River. The first official governmental action was contained in the fifth section of an act of Congress approved March 26, 1804, dividing the Louisiana Territory into two territories and appropriating \$15,000 to allow Jefferson to negotiate removal of Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River. (Royce, 1975, p. 74) This was

supplemented in 1808 when the Secretary of War, in a letter to Cherokee agent Return J. Meigs, gave permission for a Cherokee delegation to visit Washington and instructed Meigs to encourage the Cherokee to exchange their lands for a tract west of the Mississippi River. (Royce, 1975, p. 74)

Another event during the Jefferson administration led Georgia to begin a continued effort to force the Cherokee to remove to the west. With the Compact of 1802, Jefferson agreed the U.S. government would extinguish the titles of all Indian lands within the limits of Georgia if Georgia would relinquish its claim to the western lands included in its original charter. (Perdue, 1979, p. 61) Following the Compact of 1802 and during the second removal crisis in 1817-1819, some conservative Cherokees did elect to move west so they might continue their traditional patterns of behavior, but many of those who chose to remove were the "civilized" and relatively wealthy progressive Cherokees. (Perdue, 1979) The second removal crisis ended with the Treaty of 1819 when the Cherokee did cede some lands to the state but retained approximately 10 million acres, mostly in Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The federal government supported the concept that the Cherokee become citizens of the states where they lived, a restatement of President Washington's original policy, but the states continued to want the rich Cherokee lands but not the inhabitants. Franks (1979, p. 4) said in order to counter the demands of the states the Cherokee began a "phenomenal" economic and social advancement designed to adapt them to white culture and prevent expulsion from their homeland.

The stalemate between the Cherokee, the surrounding states, and the federal government ended when Andrew Jackson became president in 1828.

Prucha (1962, p. 235) said Jackson believed the Indians could no longer exist as independent enclaves within the states and the Indians must either move west or become subject to the laws of the states. In his first annual address to Congress, Jackson made clear his intention to fulfill the Georgia Compact of 1802 by extinguishing Indian land titles and removing the five civilized tribes west of the Mississippi River. (Perdue, 1979, p. 62) The Cherokee, however, resolved to resist any attempt on the part of either the U.S. government or Georgia to force them to leave their homeland.

Assured of Jackson's sympathy, Georgia began pressing the federal government to uphold the provision of the Compact of 1802 which called for the U.S. government to turn the Cherokee lands over to the state. The Cherokee feared Georgia's attempts to gain their lands, and the Cherokee continued to fight the U.S. government's attempts to develop a treaty to extinguish Indian claims. In its efforts to get the U.S. government to fulfill the Compact of 1802, Georgia argued that the Cherokee were "mere tenants at will who had only a temporary right to use the lands for hunting." (Prucha, 1962, p. 228)

Impatient with the federal government, Georgia began passing legislation in 1828 to assert its claims over the Cherokee lands. On December 20, 1828, the Georgia legislature voted "to add the territory within this State and occupied by the Cherokee Indians to the counties of DeKalb et al., and to extend the laws of this State over the same." (Royce, 1975, p. 132) This legislation was followed on December 19, 1829, by the passage of an act reasserting the territorial jurisdiction of Georgia and declaring all laws made by the Cherokee to be null and void. (Royce, 1975, p. 132)

This legislation, known as the Indian Codes, included seven areas:

1. confiscation of large tracts of Cherokee land;
2. nullification of all Cherokee laws after June 30, 1830;
3. prohibit anyone of Indian descent from presenting testimony in a court of law against any non-Indian;
4. immediate imprisonment of any Indian heard speaking against removal west of the Mississippi River;
5. confiscation of gold fields in the Cherokee Nation;
6. prohibit Indians from mining any precious metals from the land;
7. Cherokee lands to be surveyed and mapped out into homestead lots of 160 acres and gold lots of 40 acres for public distribution to Georgia citizens. (Collier, 1973, p. 65)

Additional legislation was approved on December 22, 1830, prohibiting the Cherokee from holding councils or assembling for any purpose; providing for the distribution of Cherokee Nation lands among Georgia citizens (Cherokee land lottery); and requiring all whites residing in the Cherokee Nation within Georgia's chartered limits to take an oath of allegiance to the State, making it an offense punishable by four years imprisonment in the state prison for refusal to do so. Anderson (1977, p. 56) said that in anticipation of adverse reaction from other states to the Indian Codes, Georgia tried to avoid publicity about the laws, and separate editions of many of Georgia's newspapers were printed with the text of the codes left out of those copies sent out of state. The Indian Codes and the Oath of Allegiance Act created chaos in the Cherokee Nation. (Anderson, 1977, p. 102) On December 26, the Georgia legislature passed a law "to lay out and organize a new county, to be comprised of all the lands lying west of the Chattahoochee River and north of the Carroll County line, within the limits of Georgia . . . to be called Cherokee." (Marlin, 1932, p. 14) With an area of 6,900 miles, its territory

comprised all the Indian lands then remaining in Georgia, but the Cherokee did not cede any of the land until 1835.

Other legislation concerning the Cherokee passed by the Georgian legislature included:

1. A penalty of forfeiture of all right to his land and improvements was denounced against any Cherokee who should employ any white man, or the slave of any white man, as a tenant-cropper, or assistant in agriculture, or as a miller or a millwright;
 2. Any Indian who should enroll for emigration and afterwards refuse to emigrate should forfeit all right to any future occupancy within the State;
 3. No Indian should be allowed the use of more than 160 acres of land, including his dwelling house;
 4. Grants were to be issued for all lots drawn in the late land and gold lottery, though they might lie within the improvements of any Indian who had by any previous Cherokee treaty received a reservation in Georgia or elsewhere;
 5. No contract between a white man and an Indian, either verbal or written, should be binding unless established by the testimony of two white witnesses;
 6. Any Indian forcibly obstructing the occupancy by the drawer of any lot drawn in the land and gold lottery should be subject to imprisonment in the discretion of the courts.
- (Royce, 1975, p. 133)

In 1830, the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act which gave Jackson the authority to negotiate with the Cherokee and other southern Indians for their removal west of the Mississippi River. Through the pages of the Cherokee Phoenix and in the U.S. Supreme Court, the Cherokee fought Georgia and Jackson. Thomas L. McKinney, superintendent of Indian trade and later head of the War Department's Office of Indian Affairs, saw

Elias Boudinot as a real threat to the government's efforts to persuade the southeastern Indians to move across the

Mississippi River. It was not so much that a few hundred readers would be fortified in their pro-Indian stance, but that the reprinting of the editorials in other publications would arouse the general public against removal. (Marlin, 1932, p. 254)

Holland (1956, pp. 141-142) said there are indications the Cherokee Phoenix was the catalyst that turned the removal question into a major issue in Congress in 1830, that made the Cherokee the spearhead of resistance to the government's removal policy, that whipped up a frenzy of support for their cause, and that succeeded in holding off the superior outside forces for several years. Holland also said the newspaper was a potent weapon recognized by scores of newspapers that quoted it, by Georgia officials who sought to control it, and by federal officials who tried to answer it. However, Holland said the complete effectiveness, as with any newspaper of the period, is difficult to measure since so many other forces were operating at the same time.

The Cherokee Phoenix stressed the defenses the Cherokee Nation used against removal. These defenses included:

1. The Cherokee had made great advancements under the encouragement of the federal government and missionaries until they were no longer savages;
2. The Cherokee Nation held legal and moral rights to their lands and were protected in these under treaty stipulations with the federal government;
3. The decision to remain in their homeland was the will of the entire tribe and not solely that of the chiefs;
4. Removal by coercion would be the rankest injustice to the Cherokee people who had worked hard to improve their homes and lands;
5. The peaceful Cherokees were beset by ruthless, barbaric intruders who robbed, beat, and murdered the

Indians, and the federal government would not protect the Indians according to treaty stipulations. (Holland, 1956, p. 143)

In addition to using the Cherokee Phoenix to counter the actions of Georgia and the federal government Principal Chief John Ross, in the name of the Cherokee Nation, made application in January 1831 to the U.S. Supreme Court for an injunction against the state of Georgia for its legislation. Royce (1975, p. 134) said the

application was based on the theory that the Cherokee Nation was a sovereign and independent power in the sense of the language of the second section of the third article of the Constitution of the United States providing for judicial jurisdiction of cases arising between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In Cherokee Nation vs. State of Georgia the majority of the court declared the Cherokee Nation was not a foreign nation in the sense stated in the Constitution and dismissed the suit for want of jurisdiction. (Peter's United States Supreme Court Reports, Vol. V, p. 1) Chief Justice John Marshall let it be known he fully sympathized with the tribe's arguments about federal supremacy and that if a suitable case could be brought, the Supreme Court would be happy to decide the issue on its merits. (McLoughlin, 1984, p. 258)

Within 14 months such a suitable case was before the U.S. Supreme Court. Two missionaries, Worcester and Butler, were indicted in the superior court of Gwinnett County, Georgia, for residing without a license in the part of the Cherokee Nation attached to Georgia by her laws which went into effect February 1, 1831. In his trial, Worcester argued he was a citizen of Vermont and had entered the Cherokee Nation as a missionary with permission of the

U.S. President and approval of the Cherokee Nation and Georgia ought not to maintain the prosecution since several treaties had been entered into by the United States with the Cherokee Nation, thus acknowledging the Cherokee Nation as a sovereign nation with its territory guaranteed by the United States. (Royce, 1975, p. 136) However, Worcester was convicted and sentenced to four years in the penitentiary. The case was carried up to the U.S. Supreme Court on a writ of error. (Royce, 1975, p. 137) In the majority ruling, Chief Justice Marshall wrote on March 3, 1832, that

the Cherokee Nation then is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves or in conformity with treaties and with the acts of Congress... The act of the state of Georgia . . . is consequently null and void The Acts of Georgia are repugnant to the constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States. (Peter's United States Supreme Court Reports, Vol. VI, p. 515)

This decision reversed the earlier Supreme Court decision in Cherokee Nation vs. the State of Georgia and the Indian Codes were unconstitutional.

However, both Georgia and Jackson ignored the ruling. Royce (1975, p. 138) said Georgia refused to submit to the decision, alleging the court had no right to pronounce it since Georgia was a sovereign state and no new state could be formed within it without her consent. Jackson was caught between Georgia demanding the force of his authority to protect her constitutional rights by refusing to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court and the Cherokee Nation demanding the maintenance of its rights as guaranteed under the Treaty of 1791 and sustained by the decision of the Supreme Court.

If he sided with the Cherokee, a civil war was likely with Georgia, and if he sided with Georgia and did not protect the Cherokee, the "faith of the nation would be violated." (Royce, 1975, p. 138)

Worcester and Butler remained in prison for a year following the Supreme Court decision. After consulting with their lawyers and other missionaries, they determined there was nothing to be gained by appealing to the Supreme Court to compel Jackson to enforce the Supreme Court's decision. (McLoughlin, 1984, pp. 297-298) On January 14, 1833, Governor William Lumpkin released them from prison. In the final months of their imprisonment, Principal Chief John Ross and a delegation tried to influence Congress and Jackson to support the Supreme Court decision. But support for the Cherokee was eroding, and Jackson believed a treaty for removal was the only alternative to the present dilemma. (Royce, 1975, p. 138) Within the Cherokee Nation a split had developed over removal. On December 3, 1833, Jackson told Congress the Cherokee were

established in the midst of a superior race and without appreciating the cause of their inferiority or seeking to control them, they must yield to the force of circumstances and ere long disappear. (Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1833, p. 14)

On December 29, 1835, Major Ridge, John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, Stand Watie, and others who favored removal met at New Echota and signed a treaty with General William Carroll and John F. Schermerhorn to cede from the Cherokee Nation to the United States all the land claimed east of the Mississippi River for \$5 million and seven million acres of land west of the Mississippi River. (Royce, 1975, p. 125) This treaty was fraudulent. (Perdue,

1979,. p. 67) Despite the intense efforts of Principal Chief John Ross who steadfastly opposed removal, the Senate ratified the Treaty of New Echota in 1836. (Royce, 1975, p. 307) Forced removal of the Cherokee began in 1838.

7. CONTENT OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

Anderson (1977, p. 72) said Georgia was never willing to admit the Cherokee were capable of the intellect to run and write a newspaper and believed the work was done by missionaries living within the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Phoenix was one of 18 newspapers published in Georgia in 1828. (King, 1965, p. 247) The name of the newspaper changed on February 11, 1829, to Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate. (G. Foreman, 1934, p. 15; J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy, 1981, p. 28)

Anderson (1977, pp. 43-44) said through the pages of the Cherokee Phoenix Boudinot hoped to educate his own people and to educate the whites because he placed a great deal of faith in the whites, believing them tolerant, just, and unable to deny others the rights they so vigorously protected for themselves. It is doubtful the Cherokee would have endured the hardships and resisted the many pressures as long as they did without the propagandizing efforts of the Cherokee Phoenix in its six years of existence. (Holland, 1956, p. 198) The straightforward presentation of material in the Cherokee Phoenix allowed readers to "assay an issue and to make a decision having all the information before them." (Anderson, 1977, p. 43) With the establishment of a national press and the publication of a weekly newspaper, the Cherokee posed a threat to the white society they had spent nearly 50 years trying to imitate. (Anderson, 1977, p. 101) The newspaper

served as an advertisement of the nationalistic and intellectual growth of the Cherokee Nation. (Malone, 1950, p. 180)

During its six years of existence, the Cherokee Phoenix published approximately 450,000 column inches of material for its readers inside and outside the Cherokee Nation, and the readers received a general report of information covering a wide range of topics from many different sources. (Holland, 1956, p. 139) The newspaper carried stories and articles on interesting matter from all parts of the globe. (Malone, 1956, p. 134) As the only newspaper in Georgia to protest the Indians' removal, its editorials were reprinted in numerous publications and were quoted by any ministers in the North and East. (Griffith & Talmadge, 1951, p. 33) The content of the Cherokee Phoenix in its early issues were more varied than in 1830-1834 when at times most of its content concerned Indian problems. (Woodward, 1963, p. 161; Luebke, 1981, p. 159)

Much of the news, comments, and essays were selected with the view of educating the Indian readers, of increasing their knowledge of Indian affairs, and of increasing their knowledge of the world outside the Cherokee Nation. (Holland, 1956, p. 139) The Cherokee Phoenix was at the center of Cherokee national life, portraying the standards of its civilization. (J.E. Murphy & S.M. Murphy, 1981, p. 27)

Information concerning the specific content of the Cherokee Phoenix can be found in a variety of sources.

Editorial policy

J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 41) said the editorial policy of the Cherokee Phoenix while Boudinot was editor was based on an equalitarian principle of providing information to the reader, and letters to the editor were rarely printed without a reply from Boudinot. Starkey (1946, p. 182) said it was not unusual for Boudinot to republish articles from the enemy press, but he always accompanied such articles with editorial comment. Holland (1956, p. 55) said the Cherokees used the newspaper as their weapon to combat misrepresentation and to cultivate a receptive attitude by the whites outside the Cherokee Nation. Anderson (1977, p. 41) said the materials were printed verbatim whether they were tribal laws, treaties, Department of Interior reports, public documents, speeches, addresses, or letters, and comment on the materials or interpretation of the materials was printed elsewhere in the paper. Although the placement of items was flexible in the newspaper, Anderson (1977, p. 40) said the format of the newspaper usually included the following items: editorial on page 3; local news on page 3; religious materials on page 1 or page 2; intemperance articles on page 1; cultural and historical articles on any page; correspondence with the U.S. government, Indian treaties, and Cherokee government documents on pages 1 and 2; poetry, literature, and biographical materials of various Americans and Europeans on pages 3 and 4; and reprints of filler material on any page.

Official documents

Holland (1956, p. 148) said during its first year the Cherokee Phoenix printed what may have been the Cherokee Nation's complete file of its

relations with the United States. Martin (1947, p. 111) said the Cherokee constitution was printed in the first three issues of the newspaper, and all the important laws passed in preceding years were published in the next 21 issues. Davis (1979, p. 129) said the publication of the Cherokee Phoenix brought the establishment of the Cherokee republic in 1827 based on a written constitution to the attention of readers outside the Cherokee Nation. Martin (1947, p. 111) said current actions of the Cherokee General Council were reported. Holland (1956, p. 116) said news of the Cherokee government, especially the legislation passed, was presented in document form. Holland (1956, p. 82) said readers followed the newspaper to stay abreast of legislation passed by the Council. Anderson (1977, p. 41) said official documents and speeches, especially those predating the publication of the newspaper, were given a great deal of space and provided background for current controversies, and the newspaper served as a repository for oral tribal history which otherwise might have been lost. Starkey (1946, pp. 331-332) said the Cherokee Phoenix served as a repository of early Cherokee laws; carried detailed accounts of Council meetings, Ross's speeches, and relations with both the federal government and Georgia; and chronicled the early stages of the tribe's split over the issue of removal.

Removal

Holland (1956, pp. 139-140) said the Cherokee Phoenix excelled in reporting the continuous story about Cherokee removal and the conflicts with both the federal government and Georgia. In the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix, Boudinot wrote:

We will invariably state the will of the majority of our people on the subject of the present controversy with Georgia, and the present removal policy of the federal government. (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 29) said the newspaper was established, in part, to fight removal and printed information on the early phases of the controversy.

Holland (1956, p. 54) said Boudinot indicated in the February 21, 1828, issue that the newspaper would be an active foe of removal when he wrote:

Our views, as a people, on this subject have been most sadly misrepresented. These views we do not wish to conceal, but are willing that the public should know what we think of this policy, which, in our opinion, if carried into effect, will prove pernicious to us.

Anderson (1977, p. 64) said the newspaper served as a vital channel between Washington and the Cherokee Nation because white readers wanted to know the response from within the Cherokee Nation to developments in Washington. In addition to printing the Cherokee government's official responses and editorials opposing removal, the newspaper often reprinted articles from northern newspapers supporting Cherokee claims to their lands. Malone (1950, p. 168) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted much of its space to fighting removal.

National, state, and local elections

Anderson (1977, p. 42) said the Cherokee Phoenix would not endorse candidates in national, state, or local elections. Dale and Litton (1939, p. 7) quoted a letter written by Boudinot to Stand Watie, who was substituting as

editor, and dated March 7, 1832, which said: "Publish nothing in regard to the Presidential election -- about Clay or Jackson A great deal will be said, but let us only look on and see" Dale and Litton (1939) said Boudinot evidently did not want the Cherokee involved in the political election between Jackson and Clay. On the local level, Malone (1950, p. 167) said although Boudinot encouraged participation in civic affairs, encouraged Cherokees to vote, and published lists of candidates in local elections, he did not want the newspaper used for "electioneering."

Slavery

Perdue (1979, p. 90) said the Cherokee Phoenix frequently addressed itself to the question of the international slave trade and came out in solid opposition to its continuation by condemning the techniques employed by traders to evade existing laws. Halliburton (1977, p. 56) said the newspaper printed news of the enactment of laws in the United States to control slavery and was instrumental in influencing the opinions which led to similar laws within the Cherokee Nation. Perdue (1979, p. 120) said Boudinot seemed to favor gradual, compensated abolition and voluntary manumission everywhere, and said the newspaper followed the activities of the American Colonization Society. Perdue (1979) said the Cherokee planters allowed their slaves to establish the African Benevolent Society, which was affiliated with the American Colonization Society, and said the Cherokee hoped the colonization movement would provide a solution to the problem of the continuing slave trade and would make it possible for blacks to establish their own political, social, and economic institutions apart from white and Cherokee

societies and lands. Although no Cherokee sent freed slaves to Africa, Perdue (1979) said the colonization movement must have had many supporters within the Cherokee Nation because endorsements of colonization appeared frequently in the newspaper. Halliburton (1977, p. 52) said the newspaper published news of abolitionist activities in the United States, including the trial of William Lloyd Garrison. Perdue (1979, p. 92) said in 1830 the Cherokee Phoenix labeled as a "queer doctrine" a speech by South Carolina Governor Stephen D. Miller in which he said: "Slavery is not a national evil; on the contrary, it is a national benefit."

Halliburton (1977, p. 52) said the newspaper regularly published notices of slave sales, rewards for runaway slaves, and announcements of marshal's sales. Under Cherokee law, slaves were considered property and the court could order slaves sold in order to satisfy debts and judgments to settle estates. However, Perdue (1979, p. 124) said the absence of advertisements for runaway slaves indicated that slaves within the Cherokee Nation were not as dissatisfied as slaves outside.

Although slavery had existed in the Cherokee Nation since colonial days, it was not widespread. Littlefield (1978, pp. 8-9) said the census in 1835 reported 1,592 slaves within the Cherokee Nation. Perdue (1979, p. 57) said slaveholders comprised less than eight percent of the heads of households.

Exchanges

Luebke (1981, pp. 168-169) said the pioneer press relied on major eastern newspapers and each other for much of their content, and the items

Boudinot chose from exchange papers reflected what was available and what he thought would appeal to his readers. Holland (1956, p. 125) said the Cherokee Phoenix exchanged with more than 30 newspapers, and from these newspapers Boudinot tried to give the Cherokee readers the same general news a white newspaper would give a white audience, but little material was translated into Cherokee. Holland (1956, pp. 131-132) also said Boudinot's moral values showed up in the articles he selected to reprint because in his first year as editor he often used reprints that "preached little sermons on personal conduct." Holland (1956) said foreign news, primarily from Europe and Latin America, was obtained by reprinting items from foreign exchange newspapers, such as the London Times, or by reprinting items from port city newspapers which had reprinted items from foreign newspapers. Holland (1956) said the main sources of both foreign and domestic news, especially news of Congress, the president, and the federal departments, came from the following newspapers: Daily Advertiser, Observer, and the Journal of Commerce, New York; National Intelligencer, Washington; Poulson's American Daily Advertiser and the National Gazette, Philadelphia; Columbia Sentinel, Boston; Commercial Register, Mobile, Alabama; Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock; the Nashville Banner, Nashville; and the Savannah Georgian. In addition to foreign and domestic news, news about Indians was reprinted from exchange publications. (Holland, 1956, p. 125) Near the end of his first year, Boudinot began combining some of the exchange materials into a section titled "Summary" which usually contained 15 to 20 paragraphs. (Holland, 1956, p. 128)

Intemperance

Malone (1950, p. 175) said Boudinot was disturbed over the existence of intemperance in the Cherokee Nation, and he wrote numerous editorials and articles and ran reprints concerning the evils of strong drink. Malone (1950, p. 177) said almost every issue contained at least one article on intemperance, and on June 24, 1829, the newspaper began running a special column under the heading "Intemperance" which contained reprints of anti-alcohol items. Holland (1956, p. 117) said intemperance received much attention in the newspaper, and Anderson (1977, p. 44) said one of the fiercest nonpolitical battles waged in the newspaper during its first year was against intemperance. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 27) said the newspaper reflected the persistent problem of alcoholism among the Cherokee.

Crime

Holland (1956, p. 104) said Boudinot was a strong supporter of law and order who was shocked by so much crime in the Cherokee Nation. Malone (1950, p. 175) said Boudinot was disturbed over the existence of crime in the Nation. However, Holland (1956, p. 107) said crime represented only a small portion of local news appearing in the Cherokee Phoenix which reported the same type of news with about the same treatment and emphasis as did newspapers in the white communities. Holland (1956, p. 103) did say that those tribal members who refused to adapt to white man's ways were generally ignored by the Cherokee Phoenix except when they broke the law.

Religion

Anderson (1977, p. 45) said the Cherokee Phoenix served as reinforcement for what the Cherokees were learning from the missionaries since the newspaper printed numerous articles and essays on becoming proper Christian men and women. Martin (1947, p. 110) said religious and moral issues were the second most prevalent type of editorial matter. Malone (1950, p. 172) said the newspaper served the purposes of a religious journal by chronicling routine events in Cherokee life reflecting the religious influence. Malone (1950, p. 171) said Boudinot, with the help of Worcester, routinely published hymns, portions of the Bible, sermons, and prayers.

Progress of civilization

Woodward (1963, p. 144) said Boudinot did not use restraint in publishing accounts of Cherokee progress. Holland (1956, p. 144) said Boudinot, Watie, and Hicks printed materials which showed the progress made by the Cherokee in reaching for the white man's civilization by writing about Cherokees engaged in economic, political, and social activities that closely resembled those of the white population. Holland (1956, p. 103) said a great portion of news about Cherokee activities concerned those Cherokee citizens who were trying to be civilized. Malone (1950, p. 168) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted much of its space to upholding Cherokee progress.

Cherokee customs

Holland (1956, p. 123) said that although one of the purposes of the Cherokee Phoenix was to relate the customs of the Cherokee it was never

done in any great degree and valuable ethnological data which could have been recorded was lost. However, Malone (1950, p. 170) said the newspaper devoted many of its columns to dissemination of the native culture. But, Perdue (1977, p. 212) said Boudinot either overlooked or ignored Cherokee culture and failed to publish an accurate account of Cherokee culture.

Local news

Martin (1947, p. 111) said local events seldom appeared in the Cherokee Phoenix. But, Malone (1950, p. 172) said the newspaper printed stories on marriages, deaths, church meetings, camp meetings, and mission work and accepted correspondents' accounts of local events. Holland (1956, pp. 103-104) said that life in the Cherokee Nation as shown through accounts in the Cherokee Phoenix seemed similar to that of white citizens living in neighboring states with the dramatic rather than the routine events receiving coverage. Starkey (1946, p. 62) said the newspaper published social notes of brides in white cambric and grooms in a "clean Northern suit" and was influential in ending polygamy in the Nation. Holland (1956, p. 107) said the newspaper printed articles about marriages in Christian ceremonies, deaths, school activities, church activities, sicknesses, accidents, local politics, and crop conditions.

Education

In addition to printing local news about schools and school activities, the newspaper printed articles to help educate the Cherokee. Malone (1950, pp. 170-171) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted many of its columns to improving Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary and said Worcester

wrote a number of instructive lessons in sentence structure, spelling, conjugations, and other areas of grammar and composition. Perdue (1977, p. 212) said the newspaper only partially fulfilled its promise to educate its readers. Holland (1956, p. 131) said that during its first two years at least a page of reprinted literature, including essays and poems, appeared in the newspaper. Anderson (1977, p. 46) said the newspaper often ran articles that gave practical information, such as how to make butter, to its readers. Holland (1956, pp. 132-133) said articles on farming reprinted from New England Farmer, Southern Agriculturist, and American Farmer, may have furnished new methods for the Cherokee farmers.

Current problems facing the Cherokee

Malone (1950, p. 168) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted much of its space in answering the demands of Georgia and the federal government that the Indians be removed west of the Mississippi River. Martin (1947, p. 110) said "column after column of straight news matter in the Phoenix discussed the Indian land problems." Holland (1956, p. 178) said the Cherokee Phoenix was the principal source of news and comment concerning the arrest of Worcester and Butler and was quoted widely in newspapers in the North. A brief report of the discovery of gold in the Cherokee Nation appeared in the February 24, 1830, issue. Holland (1956, p. 175) said the Cherokee Phoenix was the only newspaper in Georgia to speak out against the actions of the Georgia Guards and their enforcement of the Indian Codes and said the newspaper chronicled the problems the Cherokee Nation had with Georgia and the federal government.

Problems in publishing the paper

Both Boudinot and Hicks wrote articles describing problems they experienced in publishing a newspaper. Holland (1956, p. 74) and Malone (1950, p. 179) said Boudinot frequently had to remind subscribers to pay bills. Holland (1956, pp. 60-61) and Malone (1950, pp. 179-180) said Boudinot wrote articles explaining the shortages of materials, such as paper and ink, and the illnesses of printers when suspensions of the newspaper occurred. After March 1, 1831, all white citizens had to obtain a license to live in the Cherokee Nation and take an oath to support the laws of Georgia, and Holland (1956, pp. 60-64) said this led to a shortage of printers which was explained to the readers by Boudinot. Holland (1956, p. 66) said Boudinot would write explanations or apologies for errors which had been printed in the newspaper. Holland (1956) said both Boudinot and Hicks occasionally commented on problems with the mails in delivering newspapers or in receiving exchange newspapers. Boudinot also wrote articles explaining that the Cherokee Phoenix was the work of Cherokees, not whites who lived in the Cherokee Nation.

Miscellaneous articles

Humor could sometimes be found in the "Summary" column or as fillers in columns. (Holland 1956, pp. 128-129) Both Boudinot and Hicks printed letters to the editor. (Holland, 1956, pp. 66-67) Human interest articles were often reprinted from other publications.

Advertising

Martin (1947, p. 107) said advertising had not come into its own in 1828 as a primary source of revenue for newspapers, and what advertising the Cherokee Phoenix carried was placed at the bottom of the two right columns on page 4. Malone (1950, p. 177) said the advertising in the newspaper gave evidence of the routine business life of the Cherokees and served as an official organ of the Cherokee government by printing a number of legal advertisements in each issue. Holland (1956, p. 134) said advertising and public notices occupied little space in the Cherokee Phoenix.

Articles in Cherokee and English

Although Foster (1887, P. 65) said one-half of the Cherokee Phoenix was printed in Cherokee, very little material actually was printed in Cherokee. (J.E. Murphy & S.M. Murphy, 1981, p. 26; Wilkins, 1986, pp. 198-199; J.F. Kilpatrick & A.G. Kilpatrick, 1968, p. 3; and Holland, 1956, p. 122) Most issues had no more than three of the 20 columns printed in Cherokee, and a record was set May 15, 1830, with five columns printed in Cherokee. (Holland, 1956) Readers of English had an opportunity to be as well informed as the readers of many small newspapers in the United States of the same period, but readers of Cherokee were slighted for only through the Cherokee Phoenix were they able to obtain any printed news at all.

Perdue (1977, pp. 212-213) said that when the original plan of printing a complete bilingual weekly newspaper became unworkable, Boudinot deleted Cherokee translations of articles which would have most helped his readers. Perdue said the only items consistently translated into Cherokee were the laws of the Cherokee Nation, letters and articles concerning

removal, and Biblical passages. Perdue said people who read only Cherokee were denied access to articles that would have promoted the concept of "civilization."

8. CHEROKEE PHOENIX ENDS PUBLICATION

The last issue of the Cherokee Phoenix, Vol. V, No. 52, was published on May 31, 1834. In this issue, Holland (1956, p. 100) said Hicks announced the Cherokee Phoenix would cease publication because it needed money, but there was enough money due from subscriptions to keep it in operation. Davis (1979, p. 144) said Hicks cited his own poor health and lack of funds for the "temporary" halt in publication and indicated he would raise enough money to resume publication in July or August 1834. McLoughlin (1984, p. 304) said the Cherokees had to cease publication after Jackson ended their annuities. Wilkins (1986, p. 233) said the publication ceased operation because the Cherokee treasury was bankrupt. Mooney (1975, p. 103) said the Cherokee Phoenix was suspended because of the hostile actions of the Georgia authorities. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 31) said the Cherokee Phoenix was "born at a time of hope and enlightenment" and "ended in a period of tribal uncertainty, dissension, and unrest."

Seizure of the press

Franks (1979, p. 17) said that as early as March 1833, Boudinot had encouraged Stand Watie, his younger brother, to seize the press that printed the Cherokee Phoenix because Boudinot wanted the Cherokee to have a

clear understanding of what the pro-removal party was attempting to accomplish.

Franks (1979, p. 21) said Watie heard in August 1835 that Principal Chief Ross was constructing a building to house the press at Red Clay, Tennessee, where the Cherokee Council had to meet since Georgia law forbade the Council from meeting within the state. Franks (1979, p. 21) said Watie, knowing that if the press were moved to Red Clay it would be used to publish anti-removal propaganda, informed the Georgia Guard of Ross's intentions and gained their support in seizing the press. Watie, a lawyer, maintained that the press had been purchased by Boudinot through voluntary contributions from citizens outside the Cherokee Nation for the general benefit of all Cherokees.

He (Watie) justified his action by contending the press was to be used to convey the truth to all members of the tribe, and Ross would not use it in a fair, candid and impartial manner. Nor, Watie asserted, would Ross allow both sides -- those in favor and those opposed to removal-- to voice their opinions. Under the direction of Ross, he concluded, the press would be 'prostituted to party politics' and used to mislead the common people. Watie maintained that Ross was attempting to prejudice the minds of patriotic members of the tribe because they would not submit to his dictation. Claiming that the press should be restored to the hands of the original owner, Elias Boudinot, Watie went to the home of Hicks and demanded of his wife the return of the press, type, books, papers, and other articles which had been removed from Boudinot's home. These items were returned peacefully. (Franks, 1979, p. 21)

Wilkins (1986, p. 281) and Moulton (1978, p. 65) said Watie's seizure of the press and materials occurred hours before wagons sent by Ross arrived to remove the press to Red Clay for its protection. The breach between the anti-

removal and pro-removal factions widened with the seizure of the Cherokee national press.

Following the seizure of the press by Watie and the Georgia Guard, Watie informed Benjamin F. Currey, the Cherokee agent, that the press would be an open forum and publish everything relevant to the removal crisis. (Franks, 1979, pp. 21-22) Currey, who supported Watie's actions, informed Ross the press would be used "according to the original design of the donors" for the benefit of all Cherokees. (Franks, 1979, p. 22) Watie began printing circulars and handbills encouraging the Cherokee to accept the federal government's plan for removal. (Franks, 1979, pp. 17-18)

A letter dated April 22, 1836, to the Secretary of War from John Ross, Joseph Vann, and others said:

The Cherokee Council, held in the spring of 1835, resolved to remove the Nation's printing press to Red Clay and to issue a paper at that place, in as much as the Cherokees were prohibited from holding their councils at New Echota within the limits of Georgia, and Mr. Richard Fields was appointed editor. It became the duty of the Principal Chief to carry this resolution into effect. The press and materials were at New Echota, and he sent a wagon for them.

The messenger returned with information that before he arrived at that place, the whole had been seized by the Georgia guard, under orders from Rev. John F. Schermerhorn and the Cherokee agent with the assistance of Stand Watie. From that time the Cherokees were not only denied the use of their press, but it was used by the agents of the United States in the publication of the slanderous communications against the constituted authorities of the Cherokee Nation. (G. Foreman, 1934, pp. 15-16)

Holland (1956, p. 98) said the press was last known to be in the possession of Currey, the Cherokee agent. Moulton (1978, p. 65) said the

press was never returned to the elected representatives of the Cherokee Nation.

The final lot of the press is a mystery. (Wilkins, 1986, p. 281) Dr. Samuel George Morton, who spent two years with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles during the removal period, told the Boston Society of Natural History in 1842 that the Georgians destroyed the printing establishment of the Cherokees. (Holland, 1956, p. 199) More than 100 years after removal, some of the old Cherokee type was uncovered in a cotton field near the site of New Echota. (Johnson. 1954, pp. 502-503)

With the press seized and the elected Cherokee leaders either jailed or in hiding, Mooney (1975, p. 117) said "thus in their greatest need the Cherokee were deprived of the help and counsel of their teachers, their national press, and their chief."

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

1. EDITORIAL CONTENT

The editorial content, with the unit of analysis the individual article, was analyzed in eight configurations: editorial content for all 260 issues; editorial content with Boudinot as editor; editorial content with Hicks as editor; editorial content in Volume I; editorial content in Volume II; editorial content in Volume III; editorial content in Volume IV; and editorial content in Volume V.

As shown in Table 1, more than two-thirds of the articles did not credit any particular author. However, Boudinot was credited with more articles than any other specific writer.

TABLE 1
AUTHORSHIP OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX, VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
No author credited	4636	68.7%
Elias Boudinot	1020	15.1
Other	818	12.1
Elijah Hicks	197	2.9
Samuel Worcester	28	0.4
John Ross	27	0.4
Stand Watie	19	0.3
Total	6745	100.0%

More than half of the 6,739 articles printed in the Cherokee Phoenix were reprints from other publications as shown in Table 2. Approximately one-third of the articles were written locally with the remainder being primarily official documents of either the Cherokee government, Georgia government, or the federal government.

TABLE 2
SOURCE OF ORIGINATION OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX, VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
Reprint	3858	57.2%
Local	2451	36.4
Federal government	196	2.9
Cherokee government	140	2.1
Georgia government	66	1.0
Can't determine	34	0.4
Total	6739	100.0%

Less than 20 percent of the articles printed in the Cherokee Phoenix were in the Cherokee language. Very few of the articles were printed in both Cherokee and English in a format which the translation was adjacent to the original. Table 3 shows that English was the predominant language used in the publication.

TABLE 3

LANGUAGE USED IN EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX, VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
English	5619	83.4%
Cherokee	1112	16.5
English and Cherokee	14	0.1
Total	6739	100.0%

Approximately one-fourth of the articles printed in the Cherokee Phoenix could be classified as news with one-fifth classified as features. Slightly more than 12 percent of the articles could be classified as educational as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
TYPE OF EDITORIAL CONTENT IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX,
VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
News	1638	24.3%
Features	1375	20.4
Educational	814	12.1
Can't determine	680	10.1
Explanation of paper's policy, operation, endeavor, problem, etc.	520	7.7
Editorial	515	7.6
Religious	503	7.5
Letter to the editor	234	3.5
Official U.S. document	200	3.0
Official Cherokee document	142	2.1
Official Georgia document	66	1.0
Other	43	0.6
Correction/clarification	15	0.2
Total	6745	100.0%

Boudinot, in the prospectus and the first issue, said the Cherokee Phoenix would devote its space to articles which fulfilled certain guidelines. As shown in Table 5, approximately two-thirds of the articles printed in the newspaper did meet Boudinot's guidelines.

During the six years of its existence, the Cherokee Phoenix provided its readers inside and outside the Cherokee Nation with more than 6,700 articles on a variety of topics from a variety of sources. The articles in the newspaper were separated by a thin tool line.

Table 6, Tables 8-13, and Tables 16-17 will form the basis for the interpretation of data in the discussion of the editorial content sections which follow in this chapter.

Miscellaneous category

As shown in Table 6, the category of miscellaneous had the highest frequency with 1,074 articles (15.9%). Since the amount of space devoted to each article was not measured in this study, it would be incorrect to say that 15.9 percent of the approximately 450,000 column inches of material was devoted to the category of miscellaneous. However, it is correct to say that 15.9 percent of the total articles in the Cherokee Phoenix can be placed in the miscellaneous category. Most articles in this category were very short, ranging from a single paragraph to a partial column. Most of these articles were filler materials used to fill out a column or fill out the space between the end of an article and the beginning of an advertisement.

TABLE 5

GUIDELINES FOLLOWED BY EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX, VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
The principal interesting news of the day	2398	35.6%
None of the guidelines	2319	34.3
Miscellaneous articles calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees	1528	22.7
Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation	291	4.3
Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow	209	3.1
Total	6745	100.0%

TABLE 6

GENERAL CONTENT OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX, VOLUMES I - V

	Number	Percent
Miscellaneous	1074	15.9%
Education	818	12.1
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	713	10.6
Removal	690	10.2
Newspaper publishing	603	9.0
Religion	484	7.2
Other Indian tribes	391	5.8
Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia	388	5.8
Foreign news	343	5.1
Domestic news	247	3.7
Official document, U.S. government	221	3.3
Community activities	145	2.2
Intemperance	139	2.1
Official document, Cherokee Nation	128	1.9
Cherokee culture	96	1.4
Elections	71	1.1
Slavery	68	1.0
Official document, Georgia	61	0.9
Crime within Cherokee Nation	39	0.6
Corrections/clarifications	15	0.2
Total	6734	100.0%

The 1,074 articles in the miscellaneous category were subdivided into humor, human interest situation within the Cherokee Nation, human interest situation outside the Cherokee Nation, and poetry, as shown in Table 7. The majority of articles in the miscellaneous category, 774 articles, involved human interest situations outside the Cherokee Nation.

TABLE 7
MISCELLANEOUS CATEGORY AS PERCENT
OF TOTAL CONTENT

Miscellaneous	Number	Percent
Human interest situation outside Cherokee Nation	774	11.5%
Humor	178	2.6
Poetry	116	1.7
Human interest situation within Cherokee Nation	6	0.1
Total	1074	15.9%

A cross-tabulation of general content in Volume I - Volume V by author reveals that Boudinot wrote only nine of the articles in the miscellaneous category and Hicks, Worcester, Watie, and Ross wrote none of the articles as shown in Table 8. Forty-nine of the articles had other authors credited while 1,016 of the articles had no author credited.

TABLE 8

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT
IN VOLUMES I - V BY AUTHOR

Content	Bu	Hc	Wb	Wat	Rb	Oth	No author
Intemperance	11 0.16%	1 0.01%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	22 0.33%	103 1.53%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	22 0.33%	3 0.04%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	10 0.15%
Corrections/ clarifications	6 0.09%	4 0.06%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	4 0.06%	1 0.01%
Newspaper publishing	475 7.06%	86 1.28%	1 0.01%	3 0.04%	1 0.01%	1 0.01%	36 0.53%
Slavery	3 0.04%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	61 0.91%
Elections	19 0.28%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	47 0.70%
Community activities	74 1.10%	2 0.03%	1 0.01%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	31 0.46%	36 0.53%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	22 0.33%	41 0.61%	63 0.94%
Official document, Georgia	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	39 0.58%	22 0.33%
Official document, federal government	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	152 2.26%	68 1.01%
Removal	164 2.44%	67 1.00%	1 0.01%	7 0.10%	1 0.01%	140 2.08%	310 4.61%
Cherokee Nation's problems with Ga.	149 2.21%	26 0.39%	6 0.09%	6 0.09%	3 0.04%	63 0.94%	135 2.01%
Foreign news	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 0.09%	335 4.98%
Religion	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	6 0.09%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	70 1.04%	406 6.03%
Domestic news	6 0.09%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	8 0.12%	232 3.45%
Other Indian tribes	41 0.615%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	63 0.94%	285 4.23%
Education	8 0.12%	1 0.01%	4 0.06%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	75 1.11%	730 10.85%
Cherokee culture	23 0.34%	1 0.01%	5 0.07%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	38 0.56%	29 0.43%
Miscellaneous	9 0.13%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	49 0.73%	1016 15.09%
Article in Cherokee not translated)	5 0.07%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 0.09%	702 10.43%

Cramer's V = 0.394, contingency coefficient = 0.694

As shown in Table 9, 28 of the articles in the miscellaneous category were locally written, 1,039 were reprints, and seven had the source of origination not determined.

As shown in Table 10, 1,062 articles in the miscellaneous category were printed in English and 12 of the articles were in Cherokee. None of the articles in this category were printed in both English and Cherokee.

Boudinot, in both the prospectus and the first issue, said the content of the Cherokee Phoenix would follow these four guidelines:

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation.
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
3. The principal interesting news of the day.
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokee.

However, as shown in Table 11, 984 of the articles in the miscellaneous category did not follow any of the four above mentioned guidelines. One article followed the second guideline; 36 articles followed the third guideline; and 53 articles followed the fourth guideline.

TABLE 9

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT IN VOLUMES I - V
BY SOURCE OF ORIGINATION

Content	Local	Reprint	Ch. govt.	Ga. govt.	U.S. govt.	Can't determine
Intemperance	18 0.27%	118 1.75%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	30 0.45%	8 0.12%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Corrections/ clarifications	14 0.21%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Newspaper publishing	587 8.72%	15 0.22%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Slavery	4 0.06%	62 0.92%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%
Elections	48 0.71%	22 0.33%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Comm. activities	138 2.05%	7 0.10%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Document, Cherokee Nat.	4 0.06%	2 0.03%	122 1.81%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Document, Georgia	0 0.0%	4 0.06%	0 0.0%	56 0.83%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%
Document, U.S. govt.	2 0.03%	25 0.37%	7 0.10%	0 0.0%	186 2.76%	1 0.01%
Removal	352 5.23%	323 4.80%	2 0.03%	7 0.10%	5 0.07%	1 0.01%
Problems with Ga.	246 3.65%	139 2.07%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	1 0.01%
Foreign news	3 0.04%	340 5.05%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Religion	124 1.84%	355 5.27%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 0.07%
Domestic news	11 0.16%	236 3.51%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Other Indian tribes	71 1.05%	314 4.66%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	3 0.04%
Education	29 0.43%	785 11.66%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%
Cherokee culture	45 0.67%	48 0.71%	2 0.03%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Miscellaneous	28 0.42%	1039 15.44%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	7 0.10%
Article in Cherokee	697 10.36%	10 0.15%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 0.09%

Cramer's V = 0.713, contingency coefficient = 0.868

TABLE 10

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT IN VOLUMES I - V
BY LANGUAGE USED

	English	Cherokee	Both
Intemperance	137 2.04%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%
Crime within Ch. Nation	36 0.53%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%
Corrections/clarifications	15 0.22%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Newspaper publishing	393 5.84%	210 3.12%	0 0.0%
Slavery	67 1.00%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Elections	54 0.80%	14 0.21%	2 0.03%
Community activities	137 2.04%	8 0.12%	0 0.0%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	104 1.55%	24 0.09%	0 0.0%
Official document, Georgia	61 0.91%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Official document, U.S. government	214 3.18%	6 0.09%	1 0.01%
Removal	676 10.04%	14 0.21%	0 0.0%
Problems with Georgia	384 5.70%	4 0.06%	0 0.0%
Foreign news	338 5.02%	5 0.07%	0 0.0%
Religion	378 5.62%	106 1.57%	0 0.0%
Domestic news	246 3.65%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%
Other Indian tribes	388 5.76%	3 0.04%	0 0.0%
Education	805 11.96%	8 0.12%	5 0.07%
Cherokee culture	93 1.38%	3 0.04%	0 0.0%
Miscellaneous	1062 15.78%	12 0.18%	0 0.0%
Article in Cherokee	0 0.0%	713 10.60%	0 0.0%

Cramer's V = 0.465, contingency coefficient = 0.627

TABLE 11

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT IN VOLUMES I - V
BY GUIDELINES FOLLOWED

Content	None	Guideline 1	Guideline 2	Guideline 3	Guideline 4
Intemperance	0 0.05	0 0.05	25 0.375	105 1.56%	9 0.13%
Crime within Ch. Nation	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	36 0.53%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%
Corrections/clarifications	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	13 0.19%
Newspaperpublishing	0 0.0%	6 0.09%	53 0.79%	12 0.18%	531 7.89%
Slavery	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	61 0.91%	5 0.07%	1 0.01%
Elections	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	68 1.01%	1 0.01%	1 0.01%
Community activities	0 0.0%	13 0.19%	120 1.78%	11 0.16%	1 0.01%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	126 1.87%	0 0.0%	2 0.03%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Official document, Georgia	22 0.33%	1 0.01%	38 0.56%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Official document, U.S. govt.	120 1.78%	3 0.04%	97 1.44%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%
Removal	15 0.22%	1 0.01%	665 9.88%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%
Problems with Georgia	2 0.03%	3 0.04%	382 5.68%	0 0.0%	1 0.01%
Foreign news	1 0.01%	0 0.0%	305 4.53%	22 0.33%	15 0.22%
Religion	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	12 0.18%	458 6.81%	14 0.21%
Domestic news	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	236 3.51%	7 0.10%	4 0.06%
Other Indian tribes	1 0.01%	97 1.44%	226 3.36%	57 0.85%	10 0.15%
Education	0 0.0%	3 0.04%	13 0.19%	782 11.62%	20 0.30%
Cherokee culture	3 0.04%	79 1.17%	13 0.19%	1 0.01%	0 0.0%
Miscellaneous	0 0.0%	1 0.01%	36 0.53%	53 0.79%	984 14.62%
Article in Cherokee	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 0.07%	2 0.03%	706 10.49%

Cramer's V = 0.732, contingency coefficient = 0.853

During Boudinot's term as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, 954 (17.6%) of the articles published were in the miscellaneous category, while during Hicks's term as editor, 120 (9.1%) of the articles fell into the miscellaneous category as shown in Table 12.

As shown in Table 13, the percent of articles in the miscellaneous category was not constant in the five volumes of the newspaper. Volume I contained 376 miscellaneous articles (21.6%); Volume II, 267 (20.2%); Volume III, 111, (9.6%); Volume IV, 200 (16.9%); and Volume V, 120 (9.1%).

Education category

The category of education had the second highest frequency in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix with 818 articles (12.1%). This category was divided into 10 subdivisions, as shown in Table 14, and 329 of the 818 articles in the education category were articles written to improve or provide information for everyday living.

Additional examination of this category reveals that Boudinot wrote eight of the articles in the education category, Hicks wrote one, Worcester wrote four, other named authors wrote 75, and no authors were listed for 750 of the articles. Although Malone (1950, pp. 170-171) said the newspaper devoted many of its columns to improving Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary and that Worcester wrote a number of instructive lessons in Sequoyah's syllabary, this study indicates only 10 articles were written to improve Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary and that Worcester was listed as the author on only four of the articles in the entire educational category.

TABLE 12

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CONTENT OF EDITORIAL MATERIAL
WITH BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

Content	Boudinot		Hicks	
	No.	%	No.	%
Intemperance	122	2.3%	17	1.3%
Crime within				
Cherokee Nation	36	0.7	3	0.2
Corrections/ clarifications	11	0.2	4	0.3
Newspaper publ.	507	9.4	96	7.3
Slavery	62	1.1	6	0.5
Elections	58	1.1	13	1.0
Community activities	139	2.6	6	0.5
Official document, Cherokee Nation	133	2.1	15	1.1
Official document, Georgia	50	0.9	11	0.8
Official document, U.S. govt.	173	3.2	48	3.6
Removal	550	10.2	140	10.6
Problems with Ga.	319	5.9	69	5.2
Foreign news	283	5.2	60	4.5
Religion	319	5.9	165	12.5
Domestic news	181	3.3	66	5.0
Other Indian tribes	311	5.7	80	6.0
Education	653	5.7	165	12.5
Cherokee culture	92	1.7	4	0.3
Miscellaneous	954	17.6	120	9.1
Article in Cherokee	477	8.8	236	17.8
Total	5430	100.0%	1324	100.0%

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CONTENT OF EDITORIAL MATERIAL
IN VOLUMES I - V

Content	Vol. I # %	Vol. II # %	Vol. III # %	Vol. IV # %	Vol. V # %
Intemperance	54 3.1%	45 3.4%	9 0.8%	14 1.2%	17 1.3%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	22 1.3	9 0.7	4 0.3	1 0.1	3 0.2
Corrections/clarifications	5 0.3	3 0.2	1 0.1	2 0.2	4 0.3
Newspaper publishing	139 8.0	132 10.0	117 10.1	119 10.1	96 7.3
Slavery	27 1.5	21 1.6	6 0.5	8 0.9	6 0.5
Elections	22 1.3	1 0.1	21 1.8	14 1.2	13 1.0
Community activities	57 3.3	36 2.7	28 2.4	18 1.5	6 0.5
Cherokee document	66 3.8	18 1.4	25 2.2	4 0.3	15 1.1
Georgia document	7 0.4	3 0.2	19 1.6	21 1.8	11 0.8
U.S. document	46 2.6	36 2.7	50 4.3	41 3.5	48 3.6
Removal	68 3.9	162 12.3	203 17.5	117 9.9	140 10.6
Problems with Georgia	24 1.4	44 3.3	124 10.7	127 10.7	69 5.2
Foreign news	112 6.4	64 4.8	29 2.5	78 6.6	60 4.5
Religion	173 9.9	71 5.4	43 3.7	32 2.7	165 12.5
Domestic news	64 3.7	34 2.6	20 1.7	63 5.3	66 5.0
Other Indian tribes	80 4.6	92 7.0	68 5.9	71 6.0	80 6.0
Education	317 18.2	126 9.5	64 5.5	146 12.3	165 12.5
Cherokee culture	15 0.9	46 3.5	18 1.6	13 1.1	4 0.3
Miscellaneous	376 21.6	267 20.2	111 9.6	200 16.9	120 9.1
Article in Cherokee	70 4.0	111 8.4	201 17.3	95 8.0	236 17.8
Total	1744 100.0%	1321 100.0%	1161 100.0%	1184 100.0%	1324 100.0%

TABLE 14

EDUCATION CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Education	Number	Percent
Article written to improve or provide information for everyday living	329	4.9%
Other educational article	172	2.6
Essay on European history	75	1.1
Biographical sketch of an European	72	1.1
Essay on U.S. history	53	0.8
Excerpts from literature (excludes biography, historical essay, poetry)	49	0.7
Biographical sketch of an American	41	0.6
Essay on Latin American history	13	0.2
Article written to improve Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary	10	0.1
Article written to improve Cherokee literacy in English	4	0.1
Total	818	12.2%

The source of origination of the articles in the education category was as follows: locally written, 29; reprinted, 785; and unknown, two. Of the 818 articles in the education category, only five (0.07%) were written in both English and Cherokee, eight (0.12%) were written in Cherokee, and 805 (11.96%) were written in English. Since only 35.3 percent of the population of the Cherokee Nation by 1835 read English (McLoughlin and Conser, 1977), the articles in the education category did not reach two-thirds of the Cherokee Nation's population, and supports Perdue (1977, p. 212) who said the Cherokee Phoenix only partially fulfilled its promise to educate its readers.

In comparing the percentage of articles in this category under the terms of the two editors, Hicks and Boudinot carried similar percentages of articles. Boudinot printed 653 articles (12.1%) in the education category, and Hicks printed 165 (12.5%). The percent of articles in the education category ranged from 5.5 percent in Volume III to 18.2 percent in Volume I.

One of the guidelines Boudinot established for the Cherokee Phoenix was to print "miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees," and 782 of the 818 articles in the education category met this guideline.

Articles in Cherokee

Of the 6,739 articles in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix, 713 (10.6%) were in Cherokee and could not be translated by the researcher. Of the total content of the newspaper, 1,112 articles (16.5%) were in Cherokee, and 14 (0.1%) were in Cherokee and English within the same article. The category of articles in Cherokee which could not be translated by the

researcher was the third most prevalent type of article in the newspaper. Boudinot wrote five (0.07%) of the articles in Cherokee which could not be translated, other named authors wrote six, and no author was listed for 702 of these articles.

The percent of articles in Cherokee which could not be translated doubled with Hicks as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix. During Boudinot's term as editor, 477 articles (8.8%) were in Cherokee and could not be translated, but during Hicks's term as editor, 236 articles (17.8%) were in Cherokee and could not be translated. The percent of articles in Cherokee which could not be translated did not remain constant throughout the five volumes of the newspaper. The percent ranged from 4.0 percent in Volume I to 17.8% in Volume V. The highest percent during Boudinot's term as editor came in Volume III when 201 articles (17.3%) were printed in Cherokee and could not be translated by the researcher.

Removal category

The fourth highest content area in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix was the content area of removal with 690 articles (10.2%). The category of removal was subdivided into 12 areas and excluded official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, and the United States. As shown in Table 15, the largest number of articles in this category were articles which described the federal government's attempts to have the Cherokee removed. This subdivision with 197 articles was followed by the subdivision of "other" with 144 articles. Some of the articles in the "other" subdivision included excerpts of letters from missionaries, church leaders, and individuals

concerning removal and responses of other Indian tribes to the Cherokee's problems with the federal government and Georgia concerning removal.

Further examination of the removal category reveals that 352 articles (5.23%) were locally written while 323 (4.80%) were reprinted from other publications. Since 323 articles dealing with removal were reprinted from other publications, it is possible to say that the Cherokee removal question was of interest to readers in other parts of the country. Newspapers outside the Cherokee Nation were carrying items dealing with the removal question.

Most of the articles dealing with removal were printed in English (10.04%) while only 14 (0.21%) were printed in Cherokee. Thus, readers of newspapers which exchanged with the Cherokee Phoenix could read about the removal question in English. However, those readers who read only Cherokee were able to receive little information concerning the removal question.

During Boudinot's term as editor, 550 (10.2%) of the total articles printed dealt with removal, as shown in Table 16. This category was the third most prevalent type of material during Boudinot's term as editor.

TABLE 15

REMOVAL CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Removal	Number	Percent
Description of the federal government's attempts to have Cherokee removed	197	2.9%
Other aspects of removal	144	2.1
Description of Georgia's attempts to have Cherokee removed	98	1.5
Description of Cherokee Nation's efforts to oppose federal government's efforts to have them removed	82	1.2
General article opposing removal	62	0.9
Description of the efforts of Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina to have Cherokees removed	30	0.4
Description of Cherokee Nation's efforts to oppose Georgia's removal efforts	22	0.3
Account of Cherokee(s) who removed after Feb. 21, 1828	16	0.2
Pro-removal/anti-removal split within Cherokee Nation	13	0.2
Account of Cherokee(s) who removed before Feb. 21, 1828	12	0.2
General article favoring removal	11	0.2
Description of the Cherokee efforts to oppose efforts of Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina to have them removed	3	0.0
Total	690	10.2%

TABLE 16

GENERAL CONTENT OF EDITORIAL MATERIAL
WITH BOUDINOT AS EDITOR

Content	Number	Percent
Miscellaneous	954	17.6%
Education	653	12.1
Removal	550	10.2
Newspaper publishing	507	9.4
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	477	8.8
Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia	319	5.9
Religion	319	5.9
Other Indian tribes	311	5.7
Foreign news	283	5.2
Domestic news	181	3.3
Official document, U.S.	173	3.2
Community activities	139	2.6
Intemperance	122	2.3
Official document, Cherokee Nation	133	2.1
Cherokee culture	92	1.7
Slavery	62	1.1
Elections	58	1.1
Official document, Georgia	50	0.9
Crime within Cherokee Nation	36	0.7
Corrections/clarifications	11	0.2
Total	5430	100.0%

While Hicks served as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, 140 articles (10.6%) concerned removal, as shown in Table 17. Removal was the fourth most prevalent type of material while Hicks served as editor.

The largest percentage of stories dealing with removal came in Volume III with 203 (17.5% of the total content) discussing removal. The low came in Volume I with only 68 (3.9%) of the stories concerning removal.

If, as J.E. Murphy and S.E. Murphy (1981, p. 29) said, the Cherokee Phoenix was established, in part, to fight removal, one would expect a much larger percentage of the total articles printed in the five volumes to concern removal than 690 (10.6%). Of the 690 articles concerning removal, 352 (5.23%) were locally written and 323 (4.80%) were reprinted from other publications. Thus, little more than half of the articles dealing with removal provided readers outside the Cherokee Nation information concerning what was being discussed about removal within the Cherokee Nation.

TABLE 17

GENERAL CONTENT OF EDITORIAL MATERIAL
WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

Content	Number	Percent
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	236	17.8%
Education	165	12.5
Religion	165	12.5
Removal	140	10.6
Miscellaneous	120	9.1
Newspaper publishing	96	7.3
Other Indian tribes	80	6.0
Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia	69	5.2
Domestic news	66	5.0
Foreign news	60	4.5
Official document, U.S.	48	3.6
Intemperance	17	1.3
Official document, Cherokee Nation	15	1.1
Elections	13	1.0
Official document, Georgia	11	0.8
Community activities	6	0.5
Slavery	6	0.5
Corrections/clarifications	4	0.3
Cherokee culture	4	0.3
Crime within Cherokee Nation	3	0.2
Total	1324	100.0%

Newspaper publishing

Ranking fifth in the number of articles printed in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix were articles dealing with newspaper publishing with 603 articles (9.0%). However, this percentage is somewhat misleading, because approximately 499 of these articles were standing items in both English and Cherokee which listed the editor and printers, subscription policy, and advertising rates and appeared in every issue. Hicks dropped the portion in Cherokee during the last issues of his editorship. The remaining items in this category do deal with the trials and tribulations of newspaper publishing, as shown in Table 18. With only eight articles reminding readers about subscription payments, Holland's (1956, p. 74) and Malone's (1950, p. 179) statements that Boudinot frequently had to remind readers to pay for subscriptions cannot be substantiated. Boudinot and Hicks did write about shortages of materials, illnesses, and absences of printers and editors, mail delivery, subscription payments, translating items, the authorship and editorship of the paper and other aspects of newspaper publishing, but they did not do so with any regularity or with great numbers of articles.

TABLE 18

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING CATEGORY AS PERCENT
OF TOTAL CONTENT

Newspaper publishing	Number	Percent
Explanation of newspaper policy/ purpose	499	7.4%
Other	39	0.6
Explanation of authorship/ editorship of paper	10	0.1
Problems of mail delivery outside Cherokee Nation	9	0.1
Discussion of shortages of materials used to print the paper	9	0.1
Illnesses/absences of printers	8	0.1
Illnesses/absences of editor	8	0.1
Subscription payments	8	0.1
Problems of mail delivery within Cherokee Nation	8	0.1
Discussion of translating English into Cherokee	5	0.1
Total	603	8.8%

Religion category

The content area of religion accounted for 484 articles (7.2%) in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix, and the area of religion ranked sixth in the amount of stories published. Within the area of religion six subdivisions were examined: religious activities outside the Cherokee Nation, hymns, portions of the Bible, sermons, prayers, and other. As shown in Table 19, the largest number of articles in the religion category were classified as "other" and were primarily religious essays on such topics as the creation, Biblical figures, religious leaders in Europe and the United States, and morality messages.

TABLE 19

RELIGION CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Religion	Number	Percent
Other	303	4.5%
Portions of the Bible	57	0.8
Hymns	53	0.8
Religious activities outside the Cherokee Nation	47	0.7
Sermons	24	0.4
Prayers	0	0.0
Total	484	7.2%

In the five volumes of the newspaper, Boudinot wrote two (0.03%) of the religious articles; Worcester wrote six (0.09%) of the religious articles; other named authors wrote 70 (1.04%) of the religious articles; and no author

was credited for 406 (6.03%) of the religious articles. Three hundred fifty-five (5.27%) of the religious articles were reprinted from other publications, 124 (1.84%) were locally written, and five (0.07%) could not be classified as to source of origination. Less than one-third of the religious articles were printed in Cherokee. Three hundred seventy-eight (5.62%) of the articles were in English and 106 (1.57%) were in Cherokee.

During Boudinot's term as editor, 319 articles (5.9%) were religious in nature. As shown in Table 20, 213 (3.94%) of the religious articles were in English with 106 (1.96%) in Cherokee while Boudinot was editor. The percentage of articles in the religious category more than doubled during Hicks's term as editor with 165 (12.5%) of the articles published in the religion category. As shown in Table 21, all 165 articles in the religion category during Hicks's term as editor were printed in English.

TABLE 20

CROSS- TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT BY LANGUAGE USED
WITH BOUDINOT AS EDITOR

Content	English	Cherokee	Both
Intemperance	120 2.22%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	33 0.61%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%
Corrections/clarifications	11 0.20%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Newspaper publishing	314 5.81%	193 3.57%	0 0.00%
Slavery	61 1.13%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Elections	41 0.76%	14 0.26%	2 0.04%
Community activities	131 2.42%	8 0.15%	0 0.00%
Official document, Ch. Nation	89 1.65%	24 0.44%	0 0.00%
Official document, Georgia	50 0.92%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Official document U.S. govt.	166 3.07%	6 0.11%	1 0.02%
Removal	538 9.95%	12 0.22%	0 0.00%
Problems with Ga.	316 5.84%	3 0.06%	0 0.00%
Foreign news	279 5.16%	4 0.07%	0 0.00%
Religion	213 3.94%	106 1.96%	0 0.00%
Domestic news	180 3.33%	1 0.02%	0 0.00%
Other Indian tribes	309 5.71%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%
Education	641 11.86%	7 0.13%	5 0.09%
Cherokee culture	89 1.65%	3 0.06%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	943 17.44%	11 0.20%	0 0.00%
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	0 0.00%	477 8.82%	0 0.00%

Cramer's V = 0.455, contingency coefficient = 0.619

TABLE 21

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT BY LANGUAGE USED
WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

Content	English	Cherokee
Intemperance	17 1.28%	0 0.00%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	3 0.23%	0 0.00%
Corrections/clarifications	4 0.30%	0 0.00%
Newspaper publishing	79 5.97%	17 1.28%
Elections	13 0.98%	0 0.00%
Community activities	6 0.45%	0 0.00%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	15 1.13%	0 0.00%
Official document, Georgia	11 0.83%	0 0.00%
Official document, U.S. government	48 3.63%	0 0.00%
Removal	138 10.42%	2 0.15%
Problems with Georgia	68 5.14%	1 0.08%
Foreign news	59 4.46%	1 0.08%
Religion	165 12.46%	0 0.00%
Domestic news	66 4.98%	0 0.00%
Other Indian tribes	79 5.97%	1 0.08%
Education	164 12.39%	1 0.08%
Cherokee culture	4 0.30%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	119 8.99%	1 0.08%
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	0 0.00%	236 17.83%

Cramer's V = 0.911, contingency coefficient = 0.673

In comparing the religion content in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix, Volume V had the highest percentage of content of a religious nature with 16 articles (12.5%). Volume I had 173 articles (9.9%), Volume II had 71 articles (5.4%), Volume III had 43 articles (4.3%), and Volume IV had 32 articles (2.7%).

Several previous studies have discussed the religious content of the Cherokee Phoenix. Although Martin (1947, p. 110) said religious and moral issues were the second most prevalent type of editorial matter, this study shows religious material to be the sixth most prevalent type of editorial matter. Malone (1950, p. 171) said Boudinot routinely published hymns, portions of the Bible, sermons, and prayers. This study indicates that hymns were published 53 times, portions of the Bible were published 57 times, sermons were published 24 times, and prayers were not published. With the percentage of articles of a religious nature being highest in Volume I and Volume V, it does not appear these items mentioned by Malone were published on a routine basis.

Problems with Georgia category

The Cherokee Phoenix was published at a time when Georgia was aggressively seeking the removal of the Cherokee. Although the Cherokee Nation was experiencing many problems with Georgia, only 388 articles of the more than 6,700 published during the newspaper's six years of existence concerned the problems the Cherokee Nation was experiencing with Georgia. This content area ranked seventh in frequency with 5.8 percent of the total content . Within this category, nine areas were examined, as

shown in Table 22, and articles classified as "other" and articles discussing the arrest and/or imprisonment of Worcester and Butler had the highest frequencies.

Further examination of this category reveals that Boudinot wrote more articles on the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia than any other author. Boudinot wrote 149 articles (2.21%); Hicks wrote 26 articles (0.39%); Worcester wrote six articles (0.09%); Watie wrote six articles (0.09%); Ross wrote three articles (0.04%); other authors wrote 63 articles (0.94%); and no authors were listed for 135 articles (2.01%). More articles concerning the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia were locally written than were reprinted from other publications with 246 articles (3.65%) locally written, 139 articles (2.07%) reprinted from other publications, and three articles from other sources. All but four of the articles dealing with the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia were in English. Since the newspaper exchanged with newspapers in other parts of the United States and in Europe, the readers of the exchange papers could read about the the problems in English. However, Cherokee readers received little information concerning the problems the Nation was having with Georgia.

TABLE 22

PROBLEMS WITH GEORGIA CATEGORY AS PERCENT
OF TOTAL CONTENT

Problems with Georgia	Number	Percent
Other	86	1.3%
Arrest/imprisonment of Worcester and Butler	71	1.1
Article discussing Georgia's Indian Codes	57	0.8
Article discussing actions of Georgia Guards	48	0.7
Article discussing the Cherokee Land Lottery	44	0.7
Articles discussing gold within Cherokee Nation	33	0.5
Arrest/imprisonment of other missionaries	32	0.5
Article discussing the Oath of Allegiance	16	0.2
Arrest/imprisonment of other whites residing in Cherokee Nation	1	0.0
Total	388	5.8%

During Boudinot's term as editor, 319 articles (5.9% of the total content) dealt with the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, as shown in Table 23. The percent of articles dealing with the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia during Hicks's term as editor was similar to that when Boudinot was editor. During Hicks's term, 69 articles (5.2% of the total content) dealt with these problems. The percent of articles discussing the problems with Georgia did not remain constant throughout the five volumes of the newspaper. Volume I contained 24 articles (1.4%); Volume II contained 44 articles (3.3%), Volume III contained 124 articles (10.7%), Volume IV contained 127 articles (10.7%), and Volume V contained 69 articles (5.2%).

Holland (1956, pp. 175, 187) said the Cherokee Phoenix was the principal source of news and comment concerning the arrests of Worcester and Butler and was the only newspaper in Georgia to speak out against the actions of the Georgia Guards and their enforcement of the Indian Codes. Since more articles concerning the problems the Cherokee Nation had with Georgia were locally written than were reprinted from other publications, it appears that Holland's assessment of the effectiveness of the Cherokee Phoenix in discussing the problems was accurate.

Other Indian tribes category

Tying with the category of the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia was the category of other Indian tribes with 391 articles (5.8% of the total content). Within this category nine areas were examined, as shown in Table 23, and other Indian tribes' problems with the federal government had the highest frequency with 122 articles.

TABLE 23

OTHER INDIAN TRIBES CATEGORY AS PERCENT
OF TOTAL CONTENT

Other Indian tribes	Number	Percent
Problems with federal government	122	1.8%
Other	79	1.2
History	48	0.7
Religion	46	0.7
Customs	39	0.6
Problems with state government	30	0.4
Manners	15	0.2
Education	7	0.1
Internal government	5	0.1
Total	391	5.7%

Most of the articles in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix which discussed other Indian tribes were written without authors being listed. Boudinot is credited with writing 41 articles (0.61%) concerning other Indian tribes; Hicks, one article (0.01%); Watie, one article (0.01%); other named authors, 63 articles (0.94%); and no authors listed, 285 articles (4.23%). Most of the articles concerning other Indian tribes were reprinted from other publications. In this category, 71 articles (1.05%) were locally written, 314 articles (4.66%) were reprinted from other publications, and six articles were from other sources. All but three of the articles discussing other Indian tribes were printed in English. All but 10 of the articles discussing other Indian tribes followed the guidelines Boudinot had established for the newspaper.

The percent of total content devoted to discussing other Indian tribes was similar in the four volumes edited by Boudinot and the one volume edited by Hicks. During Boudinot's term as editor, 311 articles (5.7%) discussed other Indian tribes, and, during Hicks's term as editor, 80 articles (6.0%) discussed other Indian tribes. The amount of articles discussing other Indian tribes ranged from a low of 80 articles (4.9%) in Volume I to a high of 92 articles (7.0%) in Volume II. Volume III contained 68 articles (5.9%); Volume IV, 71 articles (6.0%); and Volume V, 80 articles (6.0%).

By printing articles concerning other Indian tribes, the Cherokee Phoenix provided its readers inside and outside the Cherokee Nation with information concerning the culture, history, and current problems of other Indian tribes. It also allowed its readers to see that other tribes were experiencing problems with the federal government and various state governments which were related to the concept of manifest destiny.

Foreign news category

Holland (1956, pp. 131-132) said foreign news was obtained by reprinting items from foreign exchange newspapers and by reprinting items from port city newspapers which had reprinted items from foreign newspapers. This statement is supported by this study which revealed that foreign news ranked ninth in the percentage of total content of the Cherokee Phoenix. In the five volumes of the newspaper, 343 articles (5.1%) discussed foreign news. As shown in Table 24, 280 of the 346 articles discussed European situations; 28 articles discussed Latin American situations; and 38 articles discussed situations from other foreign areas.

TABLE 24

FOREIGN NEWS CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Foreign news	Number	Percent
Article discussing European affairs	280	4.2%
Other foreign news	38	0.5
Article discussing Latin American affairs	28	0.4
Total	346	5.1%

Only two articles on foreign news (0.03%) were written by Boudinot; six (0.94%) were written by other authors; and 335 had no authors listed. Three hundred forty articles (5.05%) were reprinted from other publications while only three articles (0.04%) were locally written, and 338 articles (5.02%) were in English and only five (0.07%) were in Cherokee.

The Boudinot newspapers carried a slightly larger percentage of foreign news than did the Hicks newspapers. While Boudinot was editor, 283 articles (5.2%) concerned foreign news, and while Hicks was editor, 60 articles (4.5%) concerned foreign news. In comparing the content of each volume, Volume IV had the highest percentage of foreign news with 78 articles (6.6%) and Volume III had the lowest percentage with 29 articles (2.5%). Volume I had 112 articles (6.4%), Volume II had 64 articles (4.8%), and Volume V had 60 articles (4.5%).

Domestic news category

Ranking below foreign news in the percentage of articles was domestic news in tenth place. With 247 articles printed in the five volumes, domestic news accounted for 3.7 percent of the total content of the Cherokee Phoenix. As shown in Table 25, domestic news was categorized in six areas as relating neither to Cherokee affairs nor elections nor slavery. The area of news of national importance not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections, or slavery had the highest frequency with 114 articles.

Two hundred thirty-two articles (3.45%) had no authors listed, eight articles (0.12%) had other authors listed, six articles (0.09%) had Boudinot as the author, and one article (0.01%) had Hicks as the author. Only a small number of articles were locally written with the remainder being reprinted from other publications. In the domestic news category, 11 articles (0.16%) were locally written while 326 articles (3.51%) were reprinted from other publications. Holland (1956, pp. 131-132) said the main source for domestic news was newspapers on the East Coast and in major cities of the South. With most of the domestic news being reprinted from other publications, Holland's statement is substantiated.

TABLE 25

DOMESTIC NEWS CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Domestic news	Number	Percent
News of national importance not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections, slavery	114	1.7%
News of state importance not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections slavery	60	0.9
Congressional activity not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections, slavery	40	0.6
Federal department activities not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections, slavery	14	0.2
Presidential activities not relating to Cherokee affairs, elections, slavery	11	0.2
Other	8	0.1
Total	247	3.7%

Hicks had a slightly larger percentage of domestic news during his term as editor than did Boudinot. Sixty-six articles (4.5%) discussing domestic news were printed during Hicks's term as editor while 181 articles (3.3%) were printed during Boudinot's term as editor. In comparing the percentage of content in the five volumes, the highest percentage of domestic news articles can be found in Volume IV with 63 articles (5.3%). Volume I had 64 articles (3.7%), Volume II had 34 articles (2.6%), Volume III had 20 articles (1.7%), and Volume V had 66 articles (5.0%).

Official documents categories

Holland (1956), Davis (1979), Anderson (1977), and Starkey (1946) said the Cherokee Phoenix published official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, and the federal government in order to give readers outside the Cherokee Nation information about the relationship among the three groups concerning both removal and attempts of Georgia and the federal government to gain the Cherokee lands and in order to give readers inside the Cherokee Nation information about the current state of affairs. The Cherokee Phoenix did indeed publish official documents during the six years of its existence. In the five volumes, 221 articles (3.3%) were official documents originating from the federal government; 128 articles (1.9%) were official documents originating from the Cherokee Nation; and 61 articles (0.9%) were official documents originating from the state of Georgia. These categories ranked eleventh, fourteenth, and eighteenth, respectively. Table 26 shows that of the 19 subcategories examined in the five volumes, the

subcategory of "other" federal government official document had the highest frequency with 52 articles (0.7%).

The category of official documents of the Cherokee Nation ranked fourteenth in the percent of total content, and within this category the subcategory of correspondence from the Cherokee Nation to federal officials after February 21, 1828, had the highest frequency with 30 articles (0.4%), as shown in Table 27.

Ranking eighteenth in total content was the category of official documents of Georgia. In this category the subdivision of "other" Georgia document has the highest frequency with 18 articles (0.3%), as shown in Table 28.

Boudinot printed a larger percentage of official documents of the Cherokee Nation than did Hicks, but Hicks printed a larger percentage of official documents of the federal government than did Boudinot. They printed almost the same percentage of articles which were official documents of Georgia. During Boudinot's term as editor, he printed 133 articles (2.1%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation, 173 articles (3.2%) which were official documents of the federal government, and 50 articles (0.9%) which were official documents of Georgia. Hicks printed 15 articles (1.1%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation, 48 articles (3.6%) which were official documents of the federal government, and 11 articles (0.8%) which were official documents of Georgia.

TABLE 26

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CATEGORY
AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT.

Official documents, federal	Number	Percent
Other federal document	52	0.7%
Correspondence to Cherokee Nation after Feb. 21, 1828	38	0.6
Congressional account after Feb. 21, 1828	34	0.5
Speech given by federal official after Feb. 21, 1828	32	0.5
Correspondence to Cherokee Nation before Feb. 21, 1828	20	0.3
U.S. Supreme Court decision in <u>Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia</u>	11	0.2
Correspondence to Georgia after Feb. 21, 1828	11	0.2
Speech given by federal official before Feb. 21, 1828	8	0.1
Federal legislation involving Cherokees passed after Feb. 21, 1828	6	0.1
U.S. Supreme Court decision in <u>Worcester v. Georgia</u>	4	0.1
Treaty entered into with Cherokee Nation before Feb. 21, 1828	3	0.0
Federal legislation involving Cherokees passed before Feb. 21, 1828	2	0.0
Treaty entered into with Cherokee Nation after Feb. 21, 1828	1	0.0
Correspondence to Georgia before Feb. 21, 1828	1	0.0
Congressional account before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Other Supreme Court decision	0	0.0
Federal law involving Cherokees enacted after Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Federal law involving Cherokees enacted before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
U.S. Constitution	0	0.0
Total	221	3.3%

TABLE 27

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION CATEGORY
AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Official documents, Cherokee	Number	Percent
Correspondence from the Cherokee		
Nation to federal officials after Feb. 21, 1828	30	0.4%
Cherokee law enacted before Feb. 21, 1828	22	0.3
Account of Cherokee Council		
after Feb. 21, 1828	22	0.3
Other Cherokee Nation document	11	0.2
Correspondence from the Cherokee		
Nation to federal officials before Feb. 21, 1828	9	0.1
Speech given by Cherokee leader		
after Feb. 21, 1828	8	0.1
Cherokee Constitution	7	0.1
Speech given by Cherokee leader		
before Feb. 21, 1828	6	0.1
Cherokee law enacted after Feb. 21, 1828	5	0.1
Cherokee legislation enacted		
after Feb. 21, 1828	4	0.1
Cherokee legislation enacted		
before Feb. 21, 1828	3	0.1
Correspondence from the Cherokee		
Nation to Georgia officials after Feb. 21, 1828	1	0.0
Correspondence from the Cherokee		
Nation to Georgia officials before		
Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Account of Cherokee Supreme Court		
after Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Account of Cherokee Supreme Court		
before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Account of Cherokee Council before		
Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Total	128	1.9%

TABLE 28

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF GEORGIA CATEGORY
AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Official documents, Georgia	Number	Percent
Other Georgia document	18	0.3%
Correspondence to federal officials after Feb. 21, 1828	8	0.1
Speech given by Georgia official after Feb. 21, 1828	7	0.1
Account of Georgia court(s) after Feb. 21, 1828	7	0.1
Georgia legislation involving Cherokees passed after Feb. 21, 1828	5	0.1
Account of Georgia legislation passed before Feb. 21, 1828	4	0.1
Account of Georgia legislation passed after Feb. 28, 1828	4	0.1
Georgia law involving Cherokees enacted after Feb. 21, 1828	4	0.1
Correspondence to Cherokee Nation after Feb. 21, 1828	2	0.0
Speech given by Georgia official before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Georgia legislation involving Cherokees passed before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Georgia law involving Cherokees enacted before Feb. 21, 1828	0	0.0
Georgia Constitution	0	0.0
Total	61	0.9%

In comparing the content of each of the five volumes of the newspaper, it can be seen that Volume I had the highest percentage of official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Volume IV had the highest percentage of official documents of Georgia, and Volume III had the highest percentage of the official documents of the federal government. Volume I printed 66 articles (3.8%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation; seven articles (0.4%), official documents of Georgia; and 46 articles (2.6%), official documents of the federal government. Volume II contained 18 articles (1.4%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation; three articles (0.2%), official documents of Georgia; and 36 articles (2.7%), official documents of the federal government. Volume III had 25 articles (2.2%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation; 19 articles (1.6%), official documents of Georgia; and 50 articles (4.3%), official documents of the federal government. Four articles (0.3%) in Volume IV were official documents of the Cherokee Nation, 21 articles (1.8%) were official documents of Georgia, and 41 articles (3.5%) were official documents of the federal government. Volume V printed 15 articles (1.1%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation, 11 articles (0.8%) which were official documents of Georgia, and 48 articles (3.6%) which were official documents of the federal government.

None of the official documents of Georgia were printed in Cherokee and only six (0.09%) of the official documents of the federal government were printed in Cherokee. Twenty-four (0.36%) of the official documents of the Cherokee Nation were printed in Cherokee. It appears that the official documents of the Cherokee Nation, of Georgia, and of the federal government were used primarily to appeal to those readers outside the Cherokee Nation

who read only English since few of the documents were printed in Cherokee for those readers inside the Cherokee Nation who were unable to read English.

Community activities category

Malone (1950), Holland (1956), and Starkey (1946) said the Cherokee Phoenix printed local news on such topics as marriages, deaths, church meetings, camp meetings, mission work, school activities, sicknesses, accidents, and crop conditions. But, Martin (1947) said local events seldom appeared in this newspaper, and this study supports Martin's remark. The category of community activities contained 145 articles (2.2% of the total content) and ranked twelfth in all categories. As shown in Table 29, the subcategories in community activities show that no articles were published which were birth announcements, business activities, recreational activities or illnesses. Articles were printed which were obituaries, weddings, other social events, school activities, church activities, agricultural activities, accidents, weather, and other local events.

TABLE 29

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Community activities	Number	Percent
Other community activities	49	0.7%
Death announcement	32	0.5
Church activity	29	0.4
Wedding	18	0.3
School activity	10	0.1
Agricultural activity	2	0.0
Accident	2	0.0
Weather	2	0.0
Social event other than wedding	1	0.0
Birth announcement	0	0.0
Business activity	0	0.0
Recreational activity	0	0.0
Illness	0	0.0
Total	145	2.2%

Boudinot is credited with writing 74 articles (1.10%) which covered community activities; Hicks, two articles (0.03%); Worcester, one article (0.01%); Watie, one article (0.01%); other named authors, 31 articles (0.46%); and no authors were listed for 36 articles (0.53%). In the area of community activities, 138 articles (2.05%) were locally written and only seven articles (0.10%) were reprinted from other publications. Only eight articles (0.12%) discussing community activities were printed in Cherokee while 137 articles (2.04%) were printed in English.

A very small percentage of articles on community activities was printed during Hicks's term as editor. While Hicks was editor, only six articles (0.5%) concerned community activities, but while Boudinot was editor, 139 articles (2.6%) concerned community activities.

The percentage of content dealing with community activities declined steadily from Volume I to Volume V. Volume I had 57 articles (3.3%); Volume II, 36 articles (2.7%); Volume III, 28 articles (2.4%); Volume IV, 18 articles (1.5%); and Volume V, six articles (0.5%).

Intemperance category

Malone (1950, p. 175) said Boudinot wrote numerous articles and editorials and ran reprints concerning intemperance, and he said (p. 177) almost every issue contained at least one article on intemperance. Holland (1956, p. 117) said intemperance received much attention in the newspaper, and Anderson (1977, p. 44) said one of the fiercest nonpolitical battles waged in the first year of the newspaper was against intemperance. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981, p. 27) said the newspaper reflected the persistent

problem of alcoholism among the Cherokee. However, this study was unable to support the statements made by earlier researchers.

The category of intemperance contained 139 articles (2.1% of the total content) and ranked thirteenth in the amount of coverage. This number is well below the number required to have had an article on intemperance in all 260 issues of the newspaper, and this number does not reflect constant coverage of the topic. As shown in Table 30, the category of intemperance contained 18 articles which discussed the problems with drinking inside the Cherokee Nation and 109 articles which discussed the problems of drinking outside the Cherokee Nation.

TABLE 30

INTEMPERANCE CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Intemperance	Number	Percent
Problems with drinking outside the Cherokee Nation	109	1.6%
Problems with drinking inside the Cherokee Nation	18	0.3
Other	12	0.2
Total	139	2.1%

Further examination of the category of intemperance shows that Boudinot wrote 11 of the articles (0.16%); Hicks wrote one (0.01%); Worcester wrote two (0.03%); other named authors wrote 22 (0.33%); and no authors

were listed for 103 articles (1.53%). Few of the articles on intemperance were locally written. Of the articles on intemperance, 118 (1.75%) were reprinted from other publications, 18 (0.27%) were written locally, two were official documents of the Cherokee Nation; and one (0.01%) was unclear as to its source of origination. Only two articles on intemperance (0.03%) were written in Cherokee while 137 (2.04%) were written in English.

Although neither Boudinot nor Hicks devoted a large number of articles to intemperance, the percent of total content in the issues edited by Boutinot is slightly larger than the percent of total content in the issues edited by Hicks. While Boudinot was editor, 122 articles (2.3%) were printed on the topic of intemperance, but while Hicks was editor, 17 articles (1.3%) were printed.

Although Anderson (1977, p. 44) said one of the fiercest battles waged during the first year of the newspaper's existence was against intemperance, the percent of total content devoted to the topic of intemperance does not reflect this type of coverage. Volume I contained 54 articles (3.1%) concerning intemperance; Volume II, 45 articles (3.4%); Volume III, nine articles (0.8%); Volume IV, 14 articles (1.2%); and Volume V, 17 articles (1.3%). The percent of total content devoted to discussions of intemperance was greater in Volume II than in any other volume of the paper.

Cherokee culture category

Malone (1950, p. 170) said the newspaper devoted many of its columns to dissemination of the native culture, but Perdue (1977, p. 212) and Holland (1956, p. 123) said the Cherokee Phoenix published very little information concerning Cherokee customs and failed to fulfill one of the

guidelines Boudinot had established. The findings of this study reject Malone's statement and support Perdue's and Holland's statements. Only 96 articles (1.4% of the total content) concerned Cherokee culture. Within this category, nine subcategories were examined, as shown in Table 31. As this table shows, 74 of the 96 articles concerned tribal history.

TABLE 31

CHEROKEE CULTURE CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Cherokee culture	Number	Percent
Tribal history (excludes official documents)	74	1.1%
Other	17	0.3
Religious myths	1	0.0
Clan system	1	0.0
Native dress	1	0.0
"Ball play"	1	0.0
Ceremonies	1	0.0
Medical lore	0	0.0
Folklore	0	0.0
Total	96	1.4%

Twenty-three of the articles (0.34%) discussing Cherokee culture were written by Boudinot, one article (0.01%) by Hicks, four (0.06%) by Worcester, 75 (1.11%) by other named authors, and 29 (0.43%). More than half the articles discussing Cherokee culture were reprinted from other sources. Locally written stories accounted for 45 articles (0.67%), reprints from other

publications for 48 articles (0.71%), the Cherokee government for two articles (0.03%), and the Georgia government for one article (0.01%). Ninety-three of the articles (1.38%) were printed in English while only three articles (0.04%) were printed in Cherokee. All the articles discussing Cherokee culture followed the guidelines Boudinot had established.

A larger percentage of the total content of the Cherokee Phoenix was devoted to dissemination of information about Cherokee culture during Boudinot's term as editor than during Hicks's term as editor. Boudinot published 92 articles (1.7%) while Hicks published four articles (0.3%). The greatest percent of total content devoted to dissemination of information concerning Cherokee culture came in Volume II when 46 articles (3.5%) were printed. Volume I contained 15 articles (0.9%); Volume II, 46 articles (3.5%); Volume III, 18 articles (1.6%); Volume IV, 13 articles (1.1%); and Volume V, four articles (0.3%). The Cherokee Phoenix did not carry many articles which disseminated information concerning Cherokee culture, and a valuable ethnological source was not utilized by either Boudinot or Hicks.

Elections category

Placing sixteenth in the amount of articles published in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix was the category of elections. Seventy-one articles (1.1% of the total content) dealt with elections. Within this category, 11 subcategories were examined, as shown in Table 32, and 41 articles discussed election activities involving public office within the Cherokee Nation. No articles discussed election activities in Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina. No articles were published which

endorsed local candidates, Georgia candidates, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, or South Carolina candidates, presidential candidates, or candidates in other states. Anderson (1977, p. 42) said the Cherokee Phoenix would not endorse candidates in national, state, or local elections, and this study upholds this statement.

Malone (1950, p. 167) said that while Boudinot encouraged citizens to vote and to participate in civic affairs he did not want the newspaper used for "electioneering," and this study supports Malone's assertion about election coverage.

Boudinot wrote 19 articles (0.28%) concerning elections, Hicks wrote two (0.03%), other named authors wrote two (0.03%), and authors who were not credited wrote 47 articles (0.70%). More than half the articles concerning elections were locally written. Forty-eight articles (0.71%) were locally written and 22 articles (0.33%) were reprinted from other publications. Many of the locally written articles concerning elections were lists of candidates who were running for public office within the Cherokee Nation. Fifty-four of the election articles (0.80%) were printed in English, 14 (0.21%) were printed in Cherokee, and two (0.03%) contained both English and Cherokee in the same article.

TABLE 32

ELECTIONS CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Elections	Number	Percent
Election activities involving public office within Cherokee Nation	41	0.6%
Presidential election activities	17	0.3
Election activities involving public office in states other than Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina	10	0.1
Other	2	0.0
Election activities involving public office in Georgia	1	0.0
Endorsement of Georgia candidates	0	0.0
Election activities involving public office in Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina	0	0.0
Endorsement of local candidates	0	0.0
Endorsement of Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, South Carolina candidates	0	0.0
Endorsement of candidates in other states	0	0.0
Endorsement of presidential candidates	0	0.0
Total	71	1.1%

Boudinot and Hicks printed almost the same percentage of articles dealing with elections. During Boudinot's term as editor, 58 articles (1.1%) concerned elections, and during Hicks's term as editor, 13 articles (1.0%) concerned elections.

The percent of articles concerning elections was lowest in Volume II when only one article (0.1%) was printed which concerned elections. Volume I contained 22 articles (1.3%); Volume III, 21 articles (1.8%); Volume IV, 14 articles (1.2%), and Volume V, 13 articles (1.0%).

Slavery category

Although Perdue (1979) and Halliburton (1977) said the Cherokee Phoenix contained numerous articles discussing slavery, only 68 articles (1.0% of the total content) were published in the five volumes of the newspaper. The category of slavery ranked seventeenth in percent of articles. The category of slavery was subdivided into 12 areas, as shown in Table 33, and the area classified as "other" had 31 of the 68 articles concerning slavery. No articles were written on the following topics: support of international slave trade, activities of the African Benevolent Society, and discussion of slave auctions within the Cherokee Nation. Perdue (1979, p. 120) said the Cherokee slaveholders allowed their slaves to establish the African Benevolent Society, but no mention of it was made in the articles discussing slavery in the Cherokee Phoenix.

TABLE 33

SLAVERY CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Slavery	Number	Percent
Other	31	0.5%
Article reporting activities of the American Colonization Society	9	0.1
Article discussing laws regarding slavery outside Cherokee Nation	7	0.1
Article opposing international slave trade	7	0.1
Article discussing laws regarding slavery within Cherokee Nation	5	0.1
Article discussing slave auctions outside Cherokee Nation	3	0.0
Article discussing abolition activities in United States	3	0.0
Article discussing pro-slavery activities in United States	2	0.0
Article discussing runaway slaves	1	0.0
Article supporting international slave trade	0	0.0
Article reporting activities of the African Benevolent Society	0	0.0
Article discussing slave auctions within Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Total	68	1.0%

Boudinot wrote three articles (0.04%) discussing slavery, Hicks wrote one article (0.01%), other named authors wrote two articles (0.03%), and no authors were listed for 61 articles (0.91%). Only four of the articles (0.06%) discussing slavery in the five volumes of the newspaper were locally written, while 62 articles (0.92%) were reprinted from other publications and one article (0.01%) was furnished by the federal government. None of the articles discussing slavery were printed in Cherokee.

A larger percentage of articles concerning slavery were found in the issues edited by Boudinot than in the issues edited by Hicks. Boudinot printed 62 articles (1.1%) while Hicks printed six articles (0.5%). The percentage of articles concerning slavery was low in every volume. Volume I contained 27 articles (1.5%); Volume II, 21 articles (1.6%); Volume III, six articles (0.5%); Volume IV, eight articles (0.9%); and Volume V, six articles (0.5%).

Crime with the Cherokee Nation category

The category of crime within the Cherokee Nation ranked nineteenth in the percentage of content. Thirty-nine articles (0.6% of the total content) concerned crime within the Cherokee Nation, and this study supports Holland's statement (1956, p. 107) that crime represented only a small portion of local news appearing in the newspaper although Boudinot was a strong supporter of law and order and was shocked at so much crime apparent in the Cherokee Nation. As shown in Table 34, the crime category was divided into seven areas, and articles which reported murders appeared 18 times, the

highest frequency in the subcategories. No articles were written concerning assault, rape, or arson.

TABLE 34

CRIME CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL CONTENT

Crime	Number	Percent
Murder	18	0.3%
Other	10	0.1
Theft	8	0.1
Robbery	3	0.1
Assault	0	0.0
Arson	0	0.0
Rape	0	0.0
Total	39	0.6%

Boudinot wrote 22 articles (0.33%) discussing crimes; Hicks wrote three (0.04%); Watie wrote one (0.01%); other named authors wrote two (0.03%); and no authors were credited for 10 (0.15%) Thirty articles (0.45%) were locally written and eight (0.12%) were reprinted from other publications. Thirty-six of the articles (0.53%) were printed in English and only two (0.03%) were printed in Cherokee.

Although the percentages were very low, Boudinot devoted a larger percentage of the total articles published to crime than did Hicks. Boudinot printed 36 articles while Hicks printed three articles (0.2%). Volume I had the largest percentage of articles discussing crime. Volume I printed 22 articles

(1.3%); Volume II printed nine articles (0.7%); Volume III printed four articles (0.3%); Volume IV printed one article (0.1%); and Volume V printed three articles (0.2%).

Corrections/clarifications category

Ranking last in the percent of content was the category of corrections and/or clarifications. Holland (1956, p. 66) said Boudinot would write explanations or apologies for errors which had been printed in the newspaper. The study shows that both Boudinot and Hicks printed corrections and/or clarifications although on a very small basis. Fifteen corrections and/or clarifications (0.2% of the total content) were printed in the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix. During his term as editor, Boudinot printed 11 corrections and/or clarifications (0.7%) and during his term as editor, Hicks printed four (0.3%).

Variety of editorial content

During the six years of its existence, the Cherokee Phoenix did provide its readers with a wide range of subject matter from a variety of sources. By examining the content of the editorial material used in the newspaper, it is possible to say that the subject matter remained varied throughout its existence. Although Luebke (1981, p. 159) said the content in the Cherokee Phoenix in its early issues was more varied than in 1830-1834 when at times most of its content concerned Indian problems, this assertion cannot be upheld. A wide range of content appeared in each volume of the newspaper, and the topics dealing primarily with Indian problems did not increase substantially in the volumes which were published from 1830-1834. It would

be expected that the percent of content dealing with removal and the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia would increase significantly in the latter years of publication, but this did not happen.

2. ADVERTISING CONTENT

During the six years of publication, the Cherokee Phoenix published 954 advertisements. Martin (1947, p. 107) said advertising had not come into its own during these years as a primary source of revenue for newspapers. Holland (1956, p. 134) said advertising and public notices occupied little space in the Cherokee Phoenix. These statements are upheld by the findings of this study. Advertisements occupied little space in the Cherokee Phoenix, and advertisements probably provided little revenue for the newspaper because two of the most frequent types of advertising in the newspaper did not provide any source of revenue.

Malone (1950, p. 177) said the advertising in the Cherokee Phoenix gave evidence of the routine business life of the Cherokee and served as an official organ of the Cherokee government by printing a number of legal advertisements. However, few advertisements in the Cherokee Phoenix were business-related and did not reflect the business environment of the Cherokee Nation. Legal advertisements did appear frequently in the Cherokee Phoenix. Table 35, Tables 37-41, and Table 43 will form the basis for the interpretation of data in the discussion of the advertising content sections which follow in this chapter.

As shown in Table 35, the types of advertising carried in the Cherokee Phoenix, in decreasing order of frequency, included: publications, 262; legal, 256; house, 212; items for sale, 62; stolen property, 51; lost property, 36; found property, 27; schools, 19; businesses open, 12; help wanted, 10; and miscellaneous, 7.

Publications category

The area with the highest frequency, publications, did not provide any revenue for the newspaper. By printing advertisements for other publications, Boudinot was able to exchange with those publications. Individuals could receive information on how to subscribe to those newspapers whose advertisements he carried. Newspapers outside the Cherokee Nation could carry advertisements for the Cherokee Phoenix, thus allowing individuals in other areas information concerning how to subscribe to the Cherokee newspaper.

In the category of publications, the subcategory of general interest newspapers had the highest frequency with 71 advertisements, as shown in Table 36, and religious newspapers had the second highest frequency with 43 advertisements.

TABLE 35

GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS, VOLUMES I - V

General content	Number	Percent
Publications	262	27.5%
Legal	256	26.8
House	212	22.2
Items for sale	62	6.5
Stolen property	51	5.3
Lost property	36	3.8
Found property	27	2.8
Schools	19	2.0
Businesses open	12	1.3
Help wanted	10	1.0
Miscellaneous	7	0.7
Total	954	100.0%

TABLE 36

PUBLICATIONS CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Publications	Number	Percent
Newspaper, general interest	71	7.4%
Newspaper, religious	43	4.5
Magazine/journal, juvenile	23	2.4
Magazine/journal, medical	22	2.3
Magazine/journal, general interest	21	2.2
Magazine/journal, literary	17	1.8
Magazine/journal, religious	12	1.3
Magazine/journal, undetermined type	12	1.3
Book, medical	12	1.3
Book, history	10	1.0
Book, agriculture	8	0.8
Newspaper, political	6	0.6
Magazine/journal, temperance	5	0.5
Newspaper, temperance	0	0.0
Newspaper, literary	0	0.0
Newspaper, undetermined type	0	0.0
Magazine/journal, political	0	0.0
Magazine/journal, agricultural	0	0.0
Book, fiction	0	0.0
Book, reference	0	0.0
Book, political	0	0.0
Book, biography	0	0.0
Book, autobiography	0	0.0
Book, juvenile	0	0.0
Book, temperance	0	0.0
Book, essays	0	0.0
Book, poetry	0	0.0
Book, other	0	0.0
Total	262	27.5%

As shown in Table 37, the category of publications ranked third in frequency during Boudinot's term as editor. Legal advertisements had the highest frequency, 223 (27.1%) during Boudinot's term as editor.

Boudinot printed 180 advertisements (21.9%) for publications as compared to the 82 advertisements (62.1%) Hicks printed for publications during his term as editor, as shown in Table 38.

As shown in Table 39 and Table 40, neither editor published any advertisements for publications in Cherokee.

As shown in Table 41, the category of publications was highest in Volume V when 82 advertisements (62.1%) appeared for publications and lowest in Volume I when only 13 advertisements (8.0%) appeared. Volume II printed 73 advertisements (31.1%); Volume III, 42 (15.7%); and Volume IV, 52, (33.3%).

TABLE 37

GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS
WITH BOUDINOT AS EDITOR

General content	Number	Percent
Legal	223	27.1%
House	206	25.1
Publications	180	21.9
Items for sale	61	7.4
Stolen property	50	6.1
Lost property	30	3.6
Found property	27	3.3
Schools	19	2.3
Businesses open	12	1.5
Help wanted	10	1.2
Miscellaneous	4	0.5
Total	822	100.0%

TABLE 38

GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS
WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

General content	Number	Percent
Publications	82	62.1%
Legal	33	25.0
House	6	4.5
Lost property	6	4.5
Miscellaneous	3	2.3
Items for sale	1	0.8
Stolen property	1	0.8
Businesses open	0	0.0
Found property	0	0.0
Help wanted	0	0.0
Schools	0	0.0
Total	132	100.0%

TABLE 39

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS
BY LANGUAGE USED WITH BOUDINOT AS EDITOR

General content	English	Cherokee
Publications	180 21.90%	0 0.00%
Legal	190 23.11%	33 4.01%
House	206 26.06%	0 0.00%
Items for sale	60 7.30%	1 0.12%
Schools	17 2.07%	2 0.24%
Businesses open	12 1.46%	0 0.0%
Stolen property	46 5.60%	4 0.49%
Lost property	29 3.53%	1 0.12%
Found property	27 3.28%	0 0.00%
Help wanted	10 1.22%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	1 0.12%	3 0.36%
Cramer's V = 0.359, contingency coefficient = 0.338		

TABLE 40

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS
BY LANGUAGE USED WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

General content	English	Cherokee
Publications	82 62.12%	0 0.00%
Legal	31 23.48%	2 1.52%
House	6 4.55%	0 0.00%
Items for sale	1 0.76%	0 0.00%
Stolen property	1 0.76%	0 0.00%
Lost property	6 4.55%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	0 0.00%	3 2.27%
Cramer's V = 0.781, contingency coefficient = 0.615		

TABLE 41

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS,
VOLUMES I - V

General content	Vol. I # %	Vol. II # %	Vol. III # %	Vol. IV # %	Vol. V # %
Publications	13 8.0%	73 31.1%	42 15.7%	52 33.3%	82 62.1%
Legal	61 37.4%	40 17.0%	77 28.7%	45 28.8%	33 25.0%
House	23 14.1%	63 26.8%	99 36.9%	21 13.5%	6 4.5%
Items for sale	1 0.6%	31 13.2%	23 8.6%	6 3.8%	1 0.8%
Schools	9 5.5%	10 4.3%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Businesses open	12 7.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Stolen property	26 16.0%	1 4.7%	8 3.0%	5 3.2%	1 0.8%
Lost property	0 0.0%	6 2.6%	1 0.4%	23 14.7%	6 4.5%
Found property	15 9.2%	1 0.4%	11 4.1%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Help wanted	3 1.0%	0 0.0%	7 2.6%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%
Miscellaneous	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	4 2.6%	3 2.3%
Total	163 100.0%	235 100.0%	268 100.0%	156 100.0%	132 100.0%

Legal advertisements category

The category ranking second in frequency for the five volumes of the Cherokee Phoenix was legal advertisements. During the six years of publication, the newspaper printed 256 legal advertisements. The legal area with the highest frequency was notice of individual's refusal to pay notes with 50 advertisements, as shown in Table 42. This area was followed by appointments of administrators for estates, 39; candidates for political office, 38; legal announcements of the Cherokee Nation; and notices of mail not picked up at the post office, 33.

As shown in Table 43, 35 legal advertisements (3.67%) were printed in Cherokee while 221 (23.17%) were printed in English. More legal advertisements were printed in Cherokee than advertisements in any other category.

The percent of legal advertising was similar under the editorships of Boudinot and Hicks. Boudinot printed 223 legal advertisements (27.1%) which made this category have the highest frequency in the issues he edited. Hicks printed 33 legal advertisements (25.0%), the second in frequency in the issues he edited. Boudinot printed a larger percentage of legal advertisements in Cherokee than did Hicks. Boudinot printed 190 legal advertisements (23.11%) in English and 33 (4.01%) in Cherokee. Hicks printed 31 legal advertisements (23.48%) in English and two (1.52%) in Cherokee.

TABLE 42

LEGAL CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Legal	Number	Percent
Notices of individual's refusal to pay notes	50	5.2%
Appointment of administrators for estates	39	4.1
Candidates for political office in Cherokee Nation	38	4.0
Legal announcements of the Cherokee Nation	35	3.7
Notices of mail not picked up at post office	33	3.5
Public sales to satisfy debts of estates	31	3.2
Other	24	2.9
Notices of payment to tribal members from federal government	4	0.4
Legal announcements of the state of Georgia	2	0.2
Total	256	26.8%

TABLE 43

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS,
VOLUMES I - V, BY LANGUAGE USED

General content	English	Cherokee
Publications	262 27.46%	0 0.00%
Legal	221 23.17%	35 3.67%
House	212 22.22%	0 0.00%
Items for sale	61 6.39%	1 0.10%
Schools	17 1.78%	2 0.21%
Businesses open	12 1.26%	0 0.00%
Stolen property	47 4.93%	4 0.42%
Lost property	35 3.67%	1 0.10%
Found property	27 2.83%	0 0.00%
Help wanted	10 1.05%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	1 0.10%	6 0.06%
Cramer's V = 0.414, contingency coefficient = 0.383		

The percentage of legal advertisements was highest in Volume I when 61 (37.4%) legal advertisements were printed. Volume II had 40 (17.0%) legal advertisements; Volume III, 77 (28.7%); Volume IV, 45 (28.8%); and Volume V, 33 (25.0%).

House advertisements category

The advertising category ranking third in frequency was house advertisements with 212 house advertisements (22.2%) printed during the six years the Cherokee Phoenix was published. Since these advertisements provided no direct revenue, their inclusion in such large numbers did not increase the financial aspects of the newspaper. However, the items most advertised in this category, that of items for sale that were printed by the newspaper, did bring in some revenue to the printing shop. No advertisements were printed in this category which advertised the newspaper itself, as shown in Table 44.

TABLE 44

HOUSE CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

House	Number	Percent
Advertising items printed by the newspaper for sale to individuals (i.e., Cherokee Constitution, Cherokee laws, Cherokee alphabet, etc.)	197	20.6%
Statements of purpose	13	1.4
Subscription notices	2	0.2
Advertising the <u>Cherokee Phoenix</u> itself	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Total	212	22.2%

None of the house advertisements were printed in Cherokee during the six years of publication.

The number of house advertisements was much greater with Boudinot as editor than with Hicks as editor. Boudinot printed 206 (25.1%) house advertisements while Hicks printed only six (4.5%). The percentage of house advertisements was significantly greater in the volumes edited by Boudinot than in Volume V edited by Hicks. Volume I contained 23 house advertisements (14.1%); Volume II, 63 (26.8%); Volume III, 99 (36.9%); Volume IV, 21 (13.5%); and Volume V, six (4.5%).

Items for sale category

Ranking fourth, but at significantly fewer insertions, was the category of items for sale with 62 advertisements (6.5%). Having the highest frequencies in this category were items for sale by businesses outside the Cherokee Nation, 23 advertisements; personal property, 18; and items for sale by businesses within the Cherokee Nation. No advertisements were included for food items, property, slaves, or patent medicine, as shown in Table 45.

Only one advertisement (0.1%) in the category of items for sale was printed in Cherokee.

Only one advertisement in this category was printed during Hicks's term as editor. But, 61 (7.1%) were printed during Boudinot's term as editor. The number of advertisements for items for sale fluctuated in the five volumes. Volume I printed one advertisement (0.6%) for an item for sale; Volume II, 31 (13.2%); Volume III, 23 (8.6%); Volume IV, six (3.8%); and Volume V, one (0.8%).

TABLE 45

ITEMS FOR SALE CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Items for sale	Number	Percent
Items for sale by businesses outside the Cherokee Nation	23	2.4%
Personal property (jewelry, furniture, equipment, etc.)	18	1.9
Items for sale by businesses within the Cherokee Nation	16	1.7
Other	4	0.4
Livestock	1	0.1
Food items	0	0.0
Personal (businesses, houses, land, etc)	0	0.0
Slaves, by individuals residing within the Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Slaves, by individuals residing outside the Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Patent medicine	0	0.0
Total	62	6.5%

Stolen property category

Ranking fifth in frequency was the category of stolen property with 51 advertisements. Within this category, stolen livestock had the highest frequency with 25 advertisements. No advertisements for stolen personal property, money, or slaves appeared in the five volumes of the newspaper, as shown in Table 46.

TABLE 46

STOLEN PROPERTY CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Stolen property	Number	Percent
Livestock	25	2.6%
Other	14	1.5
Notes	12	1.3
Personal property	0	0.0
Money	0	0.0
Slaves from within Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Slaves from outside Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Total	51	5.3%

Only four (0.42%) of the advertisements for stolen property were printed in Cherokee, but 47 (4.93%) were printed in English.

Fifty (6.1%) of the advertisements were printed while Boudinot served as editor. However, only one advertisement for stolen property was printed with Hicks as editor. The percentage of advertisements for stolen property was highest in Volume I when 26 (16.0%) of the advertisements concerned stolen property. Volume II contained 11 (4.7%) advertisements; Volume III,

eight (3.0%); Volume IV, five (3.2%); and Volume V, one (0.8%). This accounted for a steady decrease throughout the five volumes.

Lost property category

The category of lost property ranked sixth and contained 36 advertisements (3.8%) during the five volumes. As shown in Table 47, most of the advertisements in this category concerned slaves. Twenty advertisements were for runaway slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation, seven advertisements were for lost livestock, six advertisements were for runaway slaves from within the Cherokee Nation, and three advertisements were for lost notes. No advertisements appeared for lost money or personal items.

TABLE 47

LOST PROPERTY CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Lost property	Number	Percent
Runaway slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation	20	2.1%
Livestock	7	0.7
Runaway slaves from within the Cherokee Nation	6	0.6
Notes	3	0.3
Money	0	0.0
Personal items	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Total	36	3.8%

Only one advertisement (0.1%) in the lost property category was printed in Cherokee, but 35 advertisements (3.67%) were printed in English. Thirty advertisements (3.6%) for lost property were printed while Boudinot served as editor, and six advertisements (4.5%) appeared while Hicks was editor. Volume I of the newspaper carried no advertisements for lost property; Volume II had six (2.6%); Volume III had one (0.4%); Volume IV had 23 (14.7%); and Volume V had six (4.5%).

Found property category

Ranking seventh in frequency was the category of found property with 27 advertisements (2.8%). All these advertisements were printed in English. Included in the found property category were 21 advertisements for found livestock and six advertisements for found slaves who had entered the Cherokee Nation from surrounding areas. No advertisements were printed for finding slaves from within the Cherokee Nation, personal items, money, or notes, as shown in Table 48.

TABLE 48

FOUND PROPERTY CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Found property	Number	Percent
Livestock	21	2.2%
Slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation	6	0.6
Slaves from within the Cherokee Nation	0	0.0
Personal items	0	0.0
Money	0	0.0
Notes	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Total	27	2.8%

All advertisements for found property were printed during Boudinot's term as editor. The last two volumes of the newspaper contained no advertisements for found property. Volume I printed 15 advertisements (9.2%) for found property; Volume II printed one advertisement (0.4%); and Volume III printed 11 advertisements (4.1%).

Schools category

Nineteen (2.0%) of the 954 advertisements printed in the Cherokee Phoenix were in the schools category which ranked eighth in the percentage of total advertising content. Included in this category were 17 advertisements which announced the annual examinations and two which announced new schools opened, as shown in Table 49.

TABLE 49

SCHOOLS CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Schools	Number	Percent
Announcement of annual examinations	17	1.8%
Schools established	2	0.2
Other	0	0.0
Total	19	2.0%

In the six years, only two advertisements for schools were printed in the Cherokee language while 17 were printed in English. All the advertisements for schools appeared in the issues edited by Boudinot. Advertisements for schools appeared only in the first two volumes of the newspaper. Volume I contained nine advertisements (5.5%) for schools and Volume II contained 10 (4.3%).

Businesses open category

Ranking ninth in frequency was the category of businesses open with 12 advertisements (1.3%). The businesses open category included 10 advertisements for home and/or business construction and two advertisements for boarding houses, as shown in Table 50. No advertisements appeared for other businesses which were located in the Cherokee Nation.

TABLE 50

BUSINESSES OPEN CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Businesses open	Number	Percent
Home/business construction	10	1.0%
Boarding houses	2	0.3
Cotton gins	0	0.0
Sawmills	0	0.0
Gristmills	0	0.0
Blacksmiths	0	0.0
General stores	0	0.0
Ferries	0	0.0
Inns	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Total	12	1.3%

All these advertisements were printed in English, and all these advertisements appeared in Volume I of the Cherokee Phoenix. As shown in Table 51, all the advertisements for businesses open were printed during Boudinot's term as editor.

TABLE 51

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CONTENT OF ADVERTISEMENTS
WITH BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

General content	Boudinot # %	Hicks # %
Publications	180 21.9%	82 62.1%
Legal	223 27.1%	33 25.0%
House	206 25.1%	6 4.5%
Items for sale	61 7.4%	1 0.8%
Schools	19 2.3%	0 0.0%
Businesses open	12 1.5%	0 0.0%
Stolen property	50 6.1%	1 0.8%
Lost property	30 3.6%	6 4.5%
Found property	27 3.3%	0 0.0%
Help wanted	10 1.2%	0 0.0%
Miscellaneous	4 0.5%	3 2.3%
Total	822 100.0%	132 100.0%

Help wanted category

Ten of the advertisements (1.2%) in the Cherokee Phoenix were for help wanted. As shown in Table 52, all these help wanted advertisements were for non-farm workers and other types of workers, such as apprentices for the printing shop.

TABLE 52

HELP WANTED CATEGORY AS PERCENT OF TOTAL ADVERTISING

Help wanted	Number	Percent
Other workers	7	0.7%
Non-farm workers	3	0.3
Farm workers	0	0.0
Total	10	1.0%

All the advertisements in the help wanted category were printed in English, and all were published while Boudinot was editor. Advertisements in this category were published in Volume I and Volume III. Seven advertisements (2.6%) appeared in Volume III, and three (1.0%) appeared in Volume I.

During the six years of publication, the Cherokee Phoenix printed seven advertisements (0.7%) which were categorized as miscellaneous.

3. COMPARISON OF BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

A. EDITORIAL CONTENT

More similarities than differences exist in comparing the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix under the editorships of Boudinot and Hicks. Some differences were apparent in the appearance of the newspaper under the two editors, but no major differences emerged in comparing the editorial content.

As shown in Table 53, both editors used almost the same percentages of content derived from the five sources examined. The percentage of locally written material is very similar with Boudinot publishing 36.4 percent and Hicks, 36.2 percent. Hicks used slightly more reprinted material than did Boudinot. Under Hicks, 59.2 percent of the editorial content was reprinted from other publications, and under Boudinot, 56.8 percent. Boudinot did use more content (2.3%) which originated with the Cherokee government than Hicks used. Hicks used 1.1 percent of the material which originated with the Cherokee government. The amount of content from the Georgia government and from the federal government were almost the same for the two editors. Boudinot used 1.0 percent of the content from the Georgia government and 2.9 percent from the federal government, and Hicks used 0.8 percent from the Georgia government and 2.8 percent from the federal government. In considering content as related to source of origination, the two editors printed a similar amount of material from each of the sources.

TABLE 53

COMPARISON OF SOURCE OF ORIGINATION OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
WITH BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

Source	Boudinot		Hicks	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Local	1971	36.4%	480	36.2%
Reprint	3073	56.8	785	59.2
Cherokee government	126	2.3	14	1.1
Georgia government	56	1.0	10	0.8
Federal government	159	2.9	37	2.8
Can't determine	27	0.5	1	0.1
Total	5412	100.0%	1357	100.0%

A few minor differences emerge in comparing the type of articles printed in the newspaper under the editorships of Boudinot and Hicks. As shown in Table 54, Boudinot published a slightly larger percentage of news stories than Hicks. Boudinot published 24.9 percent of the articles as news stories, and Hicks published 21.8 percent of the articles as news stories. A major difference can be seen in the percentage of feature stories published under the direction of the two editors. Boudinot published 22.0 percent of the articles as feature stories, while Hicks published 13.8 percent of the articles as feature stories. Hicks published a larger percentage of editorials (9.0%) than Boudinot published (7.3%). Letters to the editor fell from 3.9 percent in the Boudinot newspapers to 1.9 percent in the Hicks newspapers. The percent of religious articles almost doubled in the Hicks newspapers. Hicks published 12.0 percent of the articles as religious articles, and Boudinot published 6.3 percent as religious articles. The percent of articles which could not be classified as to type doubled under the editorship of Hicks to 17.6 percent, up from 8.3 percent under the editorship of Boudinot.

TABLE 54

COMPARISON OF TYPE OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
WITH BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

Type	Boudinot		Hicks	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
News	1349	24.9%	289	21.8%
Feature	1192	22.0	183	13.8
Cherokee document	127	2.3	15	1.1
Georgia document	55	1.0	11	0.8
Federal document	163	3.0	37	2.8
Editorial	396	7.3	119	9.0
Letter to the editor	209	3.9	25	1.9
Religious	344	6.3	159	12.0
Educational	652	12.0	162	12.2
Corrections/ clarifications	11	0.2	4	0.3
Explanation (newspaper)	455	8.2	75	5.7
Can't determine	477	8.3	233	17.6
Other	28	0.5	15	1.1
Total	5418	100.0%	1327	100.0%

In examining the subject matter of the articles in the newspapers published by the two men, differences are apparent in only a few categories. Articles discussing intemperance fell from 2.3 percent of the total content in the Boudinot newspapers to 1.3 percent in the Hicks newspapers. The percentage of articles discussing community activities declined sharply in the newspapers edited by Hicks. In the Hicks newspapers, 0.5 percent of the total content concerned community activities, but in the Boudinot newspapers, 2.6 percent of the total content concerned community activities. Although the forces calling for removal grew very strong in the years Hicks served as editor, he devoted only 10.6 percent of the total content to removal while Boudinot had devoted a similar amount, 10.2 percent. An area of marked difference was the area of religion. The Boudinot newspapers devoted 5.9 percent of the total content to religion, but the Hicks newspapers devoted 12.5 percent of the total content to religion. A similar increase was evident in the educational category. During Boudinot's term as editor, 653 educational articles (5.7% of the total content) were published, but during Hicks's term as editor the percentage of space more than doubled to 12.5 percent (165 articles). Domestic news had a slight increase in the newspapers edited by Hicks. Hicks did not devote as many articles discussing Cherokee culture as did Boudinot. Boudinot printed 92 articles (1.7%) compared to Hicks who printed four articles (0.3%). During Hicks's term as editor domestic news accounted for 5.0 percent of the total content as compared to 3.3 percent of the total content during Boudinot's term as editor. The percentage of miscellaneous articles dropped dramatically from 17.6 percent of the total content in the

newspapers editor by Boudinot to 9.1 percent in the newspapers edited by Hicks.

The percentage of articles in the remaining categories examined remained similar in the newspapers edited by the two men. During Boudinot's term as editor crime within the Cherokee Nation accounted for 0.7 percent of the total content, and during Hicks's term as editor, 0.2 percent of the total content. The two editors devoted similar percentages of total content to corrections and/or clarifications. Boudinot printed 11 corrections/clarifications (0.2%), and Hicks printed four, (0.2%). Articles concerning newspaper publishing fell slightly from 507 articles (9.4%) during Boudinot's years as editor to 96 articles (7.3%) during Hicks's years as editor. Boudinot printed 62 articles (1.1%) concerning slavery, and Hicks printed six articles (0.5%) concerning slavery. The percentage of content concerning elections was quite similar with the two editors. Boudinot printed 58 articles (1.1%), and Hicks printed 13 articles (1.0%). The percentage of content devoted to official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, and the federal government was relatively stable with the two editors. Boudinot printed 133 official documents of the Cherokee Nation (2.1%), 50 official documents of Georgia (0.9%), and 173 official documents of the federal government (3.2%) while Hicks printed 15 official documents of the Cherokee Nation (1.1%), 11 official documents of Georgia (0.8%), and 48 official documents of the federal government (3.6%). The percentage of articles discussing the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia dropped slightly from 5.9 percent (319 articles) during Boudinot's term as editor to 5.2 percent (69 articles) during Hicks's term as editor. The percentage of content

discussing foreign news dropped slightly from 5.2 percent during Boudinot's term as editor to 4.5 percent during Hicks's term as editor. A slight increase in the percentage of articles discussing other Indian tribes was evident in the newspapers edited by Hicks. Hicks printed 80 articles (6.0%) discussing other Indian tribes, and Boudinot printed 311 articles (5.7%) discussing other Indian tribes.

B. ADVERTISING CONTENT

Major differences do emerge in comparing the advertising content in the newspapers edited by Boudinot and Hicks. Little revenue could have been generated by the advertisements printed in the newspapers edited by Hicks because only 50 advertisements were in categories where payment would have been required. While the advertisements in the newspapers edited by Boudinot were only a small percentage of the total content, they were even smaller in the newspapers edited by Hicks. As shown in Table 51, page 161, Hicks tripled the percentage of advertisements for other publications. In the newspapers edited by Boudinot 21.9 percent of the advertisements were for other publications. But, in the newspapers edited by Hicks, advertisements for other publications were 62.1 percent of the total advertisements. The percentage of house advertisements was quite different with the two editors. Boudinot printed 206 house advertisements (25.1%) while Hicks printed six house advertisements (4.5%). During Boudinot's term as editor, house advertisements ranked second in frequency, but in Hicks's term as editor, house advertisements ranked third, tying with the category of

lost property. Hicks did not have any advertisements in the following categories: schools, businesses open, found property, or help wanted.

The percentage of total advertising devoted to legal advertising did remain stable with the two editors. Boudinot printed 223 legal advertisements (27.1%), and Hicks printed 33 legal advertisements (25.0%). Legal advertisements were the most frequent advertisements in the newspapers edited by Boudinot, but they ranked second in the newspapers edited by Hicks.

4. LANGUAGE USED IN EDITORIAL AND ADVERTISING CONTENT

Although Foster (1887, p. 65) said one-half of the Cherokee Phoenix was printed in Cherokee, other historians, such as J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981), Wilkins (1986), J.R. Kilpatrick and A.G. Kilpatrick (1968), and Holland (1956) said very little material actually was printed in Cherokee. This study revealed that of the 6,739 articles printed in the five volumes, 5,619 (83.4%) were printed in English and 1,112 (16.5%) were printed in Cherokee. Only eight (0.1%) of the articles were printed in a combination of English and Cherokee. A statistical analysis of the 1835 Federal Cherokee Census by McLoughlin and Conser (1977) revealed that 35.3 percent of the population read English while 67.1 percent read Cherokee with less than 20 percent of the entire population of the Cherokee Nation reading both Cherokee and English. According to their findings, about one-half (50.8%) of the families in the Nation had at least one member who read Cherokee.

With such a small percentage of the Cherokee Phoenix articles in Cherokee, approximately two-thirds of the citizens of the Cherokee Nation

were denied an opportunity to receive as much information about activities inside the Cherokee Nation and activities in the United States and Europe. Holland (1956, p. 139) said readers of English had an opportunity to be as well informed as the readers of many small newspapers in the United States of the same period, but readers of Cherokee were slighted because the Cherokee Phoenix was their only source of information.

Perdue (1977, pp. 212-212) said that when the original plan of printing a complete bilingual weekly newspaper became unworkable, Boudinot deleted Cherokee translations of articles which would have most helped his readers. Perdue said the only items consistently translated into Cherokee were the laws of the Cherokee Nation, letters and articles concerning removal, and Biblical passages.

In examination of the cross-tabulation of general content of Volume I - Volume V by language used, the categories of subject matter in which articles were printed in Cherokee show that no subject matter routinely appeared in Cherokee. Of the total content, 689 articles (10.24%) were in Cherokee and could not be translated into English by the researcher. In the category of newspaper publishing 210 (3.12%) of the articles were printed in Cherokee, but many of these articles were the standing items which appeared in each issue giving advertising and subscription information. The number and percent of articles in the remaining categories which were printed in Cherokee include: two articles (0.03%) concerning intemperance; two articles (0.03%) concerning crime within the Cherokee Nation; 16 articles (0.25%) concerning elections; eight articles (0.12%) concerning community activities; 24 articles (0.36%) which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation;

seven articles (0.10%) which were official documents of the federal government; 14 articles (0.21%) which concerned removal; four articles (0.06%) which discussed the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia; five articles (0.07%) discussing foreign news; 106 articles (1.57%) on religion; one article (0.01%) on domestic news; three articles (0.04%) on other Indian tribes; eight articles (0.12%) on educational topics; three articles (0.04%) on Cherokee culture; and 12 articles (0.18%) on miscellaneous items. Even taking into consideration the 689 articles which were not translated by the researcher, no apparent pattern in subject matter is present.

The cross-tabulation in Table 55 does show that religious articles may have been routinely printed in Cherokee. In considering the type of article, 108 (1.60%) were religious translations, usually portions of the Bible or hymns; 209 (3.10%) were explanations of newspaper policy; 35 (0.51%) were news stories; 34 (0.50%) were letters to the editor; 24 (0.36%) were official documents of the Cherokee Nation; 10 (0.15%) were educational articles; nine (0.13%) were editorials; seven (0.10%) were features; five (0.07%) were official documents of the federal government, and 14 (0.21%) were other forms of articles. In this consideration, only religious articles seem to have routinely appeared in Cherokee.

TABLE 55

CROSS-TABULATION OF TYPES OF EDITORIAL CONTENT
IN VOLUMES I - V BY LANGUAGE USED

Type	English	Cherokee	Both
News	1599 23.73%	35 0.52%	2 0.03%
Feature	1367 20.28%	7 0.10%	0 0.00%
Cherokee document	117 1.74%	24 0.36%	1 0.01%
Georgia document	66 0.98%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Federal document	194 2.88%	5 0.07%	0 0.00%
Editorial	504 7.48%	9 0.13%	0 0.00%
Letter to the editor	200 2.97%	34 0.50%	0 0.00%
Religious	395 5.86%	108 1.60%	0 0.00%
Educational	799 11.86%	10 0.15%	5 0.07%
Corrections	15 0.22%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Explanation (paper's policy)	311 4.61%	209 3.10%	0 0.00%
Can't determine	23 0.34%	657 9.75%	0 0.00%
Other	29 0.43%	14 0.21%	0 0.00%

Cramer's V = 0.457, contingency coefficient = 0.621

Table 56 shows that 1,055 locally written articles (15.66%) were translated into Cherokee and only 21 (0.31%) of the reprinted articles were in Cherokee. Twenty-three (0.34%) of the official documents of the Cherokee Nation were printed in Cherokee.

During Boudinot's term as editor, 4,538 articles (83.9%) were printed in English, 866 (16.0%) were printed in Cherokee, and eight (0.1%) were printed in a combination of English and Cherokee. As shown in Table 57, 812 (15.00%) of the locally written articles appeared in Cherokee, and 18 (0.33%) of the reprinted articles appeared in Cherokee. One-half of the articles concerning religious topics appeared in Cherokee with 106 (1.96%) in Cherokee and 213 (3.94%) in English. With the exception of the category of newspaper publishing, the only other category with a high frequency of articles in Cherokee was that of official documents of the Cherokee Nation with 24 (0.44%) appearing in Cherokee and 89 (1.65%) appearing in English.

During Hicks's term as editor, 1,081 articles (81.5%) were in English and 246 (18.5%) were in Cherokee, as shown in Table 58.

TABLE 56

CROSS-TABULATION OF SOURCE OF ORIGINATION IN VOLUMES I - V
BY LANGUAGE USED

Source	English	Cherokee	Both
Local	1388 20.60%	1055 15.66%	8 0.11%
Reprint	3837 56.94%	21 0.31%	0 0.00%
Cherokee government	117 1.74%	23 0.34%	0 0.00%
Georgia government	65 0.96%	1 0.01%	0 0.00%
Federal government	191 2.83%	5 0.07%	0 0.00%
Can't determine	21 0.31%	7 0.10%	0 0.00%
Cramer's V = 0.317, contingency coefficient = 0.481			

TABLE 57

CROSS-TABULATION OF SOURCE OF ORIGINATION
BY LANGUAGE USED WITH BOUDINOT AS EDITOR

Source	English	Cherokee	Both
Local	1151 21.27%	812 15.00%	8 0.15%
Reprint	3055 56.45%	18 0.33%	0 0.00%
Cherokee government	103 1.90%	23 0.42%	0 0.00%
Georgia government	55 1.02%	1 0.02%	1 0.00%
Federal government	154 2.85%	5 0.09%	0 0.00%
Can't determine	20 0.37%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Cramer's V = 0.306, contingency coefficient = 0.469			

TABLE 58

LANGUAGE USED IN EDITORIAL CONTENT WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

Language	Number	Percent
English	1081	81.5%
Cherokee	246	18.5
Total	1327	100.0%

As shown in Table 59, more of the locally written articles in the newspapers edited by Hicks appeared in Cherokee than in English. Appearing in Cherokee were 243 articles (18.31%) and appearing in English were 237 articles (17.86%) Only three (0.23%) of the reprinted articles appeared in Cherokee. None of the official documents appeared in Cherokee during Hicks's term as editor.

TABLE 59

CROSS-TABULATION OF SOURCE OF ORIGINATION
BY LANGUAGE USED WITH HICKS AS EDITOR

Source	English	Cherokee
Local	237 17.86%	243 18.31%
Reprint	782 58.93%	3 0.23%
Cherokee government	14 1.06%	0 0.00%
Georgia government	10 0.75%	0 0.00%
Federal government	37 2.79%	0 0.00%
Can't determine	1 0.08%	0 0.00%
Cramer's V = 0.622, contingency coefficient = 0.528		

During Hicks's term as editor, no articles in the religious category were printed in Cherokee, as shown in Table 60.

Very few of the advertisements printed in the five volumes were in Cherokee, as shown in Table 61. During the six years of publication, 905 advertisements (94.9%) were printed in English and 49 (5.1%) were printed in Cherokee.

Thirty-five legal advertisements (3.67%) were printed in Cherokee; one advertisement (0.10%) for items for sale was printed in Cherokee; two advertisements (0.21%) for schools were printed in Cherokee; four advertisements (0.42%) for stolen property were printed in Cherokee; one

advertisement (0.10%) for lost property was in Cherokee; and six advertisements (0.06%) in the miscellaneous category were in Cherokee.

Boudinot, in his years as editor, printed 778 advertisements (94.6%) in English and 44 (5.4%) in Cherokee. Hicks printed 127 advertisements (96.2%) in English and five (3.8%) in Cherokee.

Those readers in the Cherokee Nation, approximately two-thirds of the population, who read only Cherokee were indeed deprived of valuable news and educational material in the Cherokee Phoenix. The only category of editorial matter which appeared to have been routinely published in Cherokee was religious, and only during Boudinot's term as editor. The only category of advertising which had more than one percent of advertising in Cherokee was legal, and that figure was quite low at 3.67 percent.

TABLE 60

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT WITH HICKS AS EDITOR
BY LANGUAGE USED

General content	English	Cherokee
Intemperance	17 1.28%	0 0.00%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	3 0.23%	0 0.00%
Corrections/clarifications	4 0.30%	0 0.00%
Newspaper publishing	79 5.97%	17 1.28%
Slavery	6 0.45%	0 0.00%
Elections	13 0.98%	0 0.00%
Community activities	6 0.45%	0 0.00%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	15 1.13%	0 0.00%
Official document, Georgia	11 0.83%	0 0.00%
Official document, federal government	48 3.63%	0 0.00%
Removal	138 10.42%	2 0.15%
Problems with Georgia	68 5.14%	1 0.08%
Foreign news	59 4.46%	1 0.08%
Religion	165 12.46%	0 0.00%
Domestic news	66 4.98%	0 0.00%
Other Indian tribes	79 5.97%	1 0.08%
Education	164 12.39%	1 0.08%
Cherokee culture	4 0.30%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	119 8.99%	1 0.08%
Article in Cherokee (not translated)	0 0.00%	236 17.83%

Cramer's V = 0.911, contingency coefficient = 0.673

TABLE 61

LANGUAGE USED IN ADVERTISEMENTS, VOLUMES I -V

Language	Number	Percent
English	905	94.9%
Cherokee	49	5.1
Total	954	100.0%

5. GUIDELINES

In the prospectus and the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix, Boudinot said the content of the newspaper would be

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation.
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion, and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.
3. The principal interesting news of the day.
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees. (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

However, examination of the content of the Cherokee Phoenix reveals that more than one-third of the content of the newspaper in the five volumes did not follow the guidelines Boudinot had established. As shown in Table 5, page 84, 291 articles (4.3%) were laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation; 209 (3.1%) were accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees...; 2,398 (35.6%) were articles discussing the principal interesting

news of the day. 1,528 (22.7%) were miscellaneous articles calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees; and 2,319 (34.3%) did not follow the four guidelines.

Table 11, page 91, shows that the articles discussing newspaper publishing, miscellaneous topics, and articles in Cherokee which could not be translated were less likely to follow the guidelines than articles in any of the other subject areas. In the category of newspaper publishing 531 articles did not follow the guidelines while 71 articles did. In the category of miscellaneous topics, 984 articles did not follow the guidelines, but 90 articles did.

However, articles in most of the content areas appear to have followed Boudinot's guidelines. In the intemperance category 130 articles followed the guidelines while only nine did not. All 38 articles in the crime within the Cherokee Nation category followed the guidelines. In the slavery category, 66 of the 67 articles followed the guidelines. In the elections category, 69 of the 70 articles followed the guidelines. Only one article of the 145 articles in the community activities category did not follow the guidelines. Only one article of the 410 articles which were official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia, or the federal government did not follow the guidelines. In the removal category 681 of the 682 articles followed the guidelines. Of the 388 articles discussing the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, only one article did not follow the guidelines. In the foreign news category, 328 articles followed the guidelines while 15 did not. In the religion category, 470 articles followed the guidelines while 14 did not. Only four of the 247 articles in the domestic news category did not follow the guidelines. In the other

Indian tribes category, 381 articles followed the guidelines and 10 did not. Twenty of the 818 articles in the education category did not follow the guidelines. All articles in the Cherokee culture category followed the guidelines.

In comparing the editorial content in the newspapers edited by Boudinot and Hicks, both editors had approximately one-third of the articles in their issues which did not follow the guidelines established in the prospectus and the first issue, as shown in Table 62. Following Guideline 1 of laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation were 270 articles (5.0%) in the issues edited by Boudinot and 21 articles (1.6%) in the issues edited by Hicks. Following Guideline 2 of accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress . . . were 168 articles (3.1%) in the Boudinot issues and 41 (3.1%) in the Hicks issues. Following Guideline 3 of presenting the principal interesting news of the day were 1,932 articles (35.7%) in the Boudinot newspapers and 466 (35.1%) in the Hicks newspapers. Hicks surpassed Bodinot in following Guideline 4 of articles calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees by printing 357 articles (26.9%) to Boudinot's 1,171 (21.6%). Boudinot had a slightly larger percentage of articles which did not follow the guidelines than did Hicks, and this is listed as Guideline 5 in Table 62. Boudinot had 1,868 articles (34.5%) which did not follow his guidelines, and Hicks had 442 (33.3%) of the articles which did not follow Boudinot's guidelines. Thus, Hicks did a slightly better job at following the guidelines than Boudinot did.

TABLE 62

COMPARISON OF GUIDELINES FOLLOWED IN EDITORIAL CONTENT WITH
BOUDINOT AND HICKS AS EDITORS

Guidelines	Boudinot		Hicks	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	270	5.0%	21	1.6%
2	168	3.1	41	3.1
3	932	5.7	466	5.1
4	1171	21.6	357	26.9
5	1868	34.5	442	33.3

However, of the 34.5 percent of the editorial content which did not follow the guidelines in the issues edited by Boudinot, as shown in Table 62, 33.05 percent of those items were in the content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee which were not translated by the researcher, as shown in Table 63. Less than two percent of the articles in the other content categories did not follow the guidelines Boudinot had established in the prospectus and the first issue. In Table 63, Guideline 1 refers to the laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation; Guideline 2 refers to the accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress . . . ; Guideline 3 refers to the principal interesting news of the day; and Guideline 4 refers to articles calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees. Guideline 5 refers to not following the first four guidelines.

TABLE 63

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT WITH BOUDINOT
AS EDITOR BY GUIDELINES FOLLOWED

Content	1	2	Guidelines 3	4	5
Intemperance	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	22 0.41%	91 1.68%	9 0.17%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	33 0.61%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%
Corrections/ clarifications	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%	9 0.17%
Newspaper publishing	0 0.00%	6 0.11%	42 0.78%	9 0.17%	449 8.31%
Slavery	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	55 1.02%	5 0.09%	1 0.02%
Elections	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	56 1.04%	0 0.00%	1 0.02%
Community activities	0 0.00%	13 0.24%	115 2.13%	10 0.18%	1 0.02%
Document, Ch. Nat.	111 2.05%	0 0.00%	2 0.04%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Document, Georgia	22 0.41%	1 0.02%	27 0.50%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Document, fed. govt.	116 2.15%	2 0.04%	54 1.00%	0 0.00%	1 0.02%
Removal	13 0.24%	1 0.02%	528 9.77%	7 0.13%	1 0.02%
Problems with Ga.	2 0.04%	3 0.06%	313 5.79%	0 0.00%	1 0.02%
Foreign news	1 0.02%	0 0.00%	246 4.55%	22 0.41%	14 0.26%
Religion	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	12 0.22%	293 5.42%	14 0.26%
Domestic news	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	172 3.18%	5 0.09%	4 0.07%
Other Indian tribes	1 0.02%	61 1.13%	186 3.44%	53 0.98%	10 0.18%
Education	0 0.00%	3 0.06%	11 0.20%	621 11.49%	18 0.33%
Cherokee culture	3 0.06%	75 1.39%	13 0.24%	1 0.02%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	0 0.00%	1 0.02%	36 0.67%	50 0.92%	867 16.04%
Article in Cherokee	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	5 0.09%	2 0.04%	470 8.70%

Cramer's V = 0.734, contingency coefficient = 0.854

Less than one percent of the editorial content which did not follow the guidelines in the issues edited by Hicks were in categories other than newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee which were not translated by the researcher, as shown in Table 64. In Table 64, Guideline 1 refers to the laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation; Guideline 2 refers to the accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress . . . ; Guideline 3 refers to the principal interesting news of the day; and Guideline 4 refers to articles calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees. Guideline 5 refers to those articles which did not follow any of the other four guidelines. Slightly more than 12 percent of the religious content printed while Hicks was editor followed Guideline 4, and slightly more than 12 percent of the education content followed Guideline 4. Of the articles concerning removal, 10.35 percent followed Guideline 3.

TABLE 64

CROSS-TABULATION OF GENERAL CONTENT WITH HICKS
AS EDITOR BY GUIDELINES FOLLOWED

Content	Guidelines				
	1	2	3	4	5
Intemperance	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	3 0.23%	14 1.06%	0 0.00%
Crime within Cherokee Nation	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	3 0.23%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Corrections/ clarifications	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	4 0.30%
Newspaper publ.	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	11 0.83%	3 0.23%	82 6.19%
Slavery	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	6 0.45%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Elections	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	12 0.91%	1 0.08%	0 0.00%
Community activities	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	5 0.38%	1 0.08%	0 0.00%
Document, Ch.Nat.	15 1.13%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Document, Georgia	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	11 0.83%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Document, fed. govt.	4 0.30%	1 0.08%	43 3.25%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Removal	2 0.15%	0 0.00%	137 10.35%	1 0.08%	0 0.00%
Problems with Ga.	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	69 5.21%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Foreign news	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	59 4.46%	0 0.00%	1 0.08%
Religion	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	165 12.46%	0 0.00%
Domestic news	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	64 4.83%	2 0.15%	0 0.00%
Other Indian tribes	0 0.00%	36 2.72%	40 3.02%	4 0.30%	0 0.00%
Education	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	2 0.15%	161 12.16%	2 0.15%
Cherokee culture	0 0.00%	4 0.30%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%
Miscellaneous	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	3 0.23%	117 8.84%
Article in Cherokee	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	236 17.82%

Cramer's V = 0.870, contingency coefficient = 0.867

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

1. SUMMARY

During the six years of its existence, in its five volumes of 260 issues, the Cherokee Phoenix published 6,739 articles and 954 advertisements under the direction of two editors, Elias Boudinot and Elijah Hicks. Most of the content of the newspaper was printed in English with 83.4 percent of the editorial content and 94.9 percent of the advertising content in English. Thus, two-thirds of the individuals residing in the Cherokee Nation, those individuals who read only Cherokee, possibly were denied an opportunity to increase their knowledge of current affairs, especially those events which led to the removal of the Cherokee.

Although two-thirds of the editorial content of the newspaper did not list authors, both individuals residing inside and outside the Cherokee Nation contributed articles to the first native American newspaper. A variety of individuals inside and outside the Cherokee Nation wrote 12.1 percent of the total content of the newspaper, slightly less than Boudinot's 15.1 percent. Elijah Hicks, who served as editor during the newspaper's final volume wrote 2.9 percent of the total content, and John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, Samuel Worcester, an American Board missionary, and Stand Watie, Boudinot's brother, wrote a total of 1.1 percent of the total content. Thus, the individual whose writing made the most impact upon the content of the newspaper was Boudinot.

More than one-third of the content of the newspaper was locally written, allowing individuals inside and outside the Cherokee Nation to read the Cherokee reaction to and opinions of the events which were being played out by both the federal government and Georgia in obtaining the Cherokee lands and forcing the Cherokee to remove west of the Mississippi River. The existence of the newspaper and the use of locally written articles gave proof of the level of civilization and acculturation the Cherokee had attained since President George Washington began his program of "civilization" in the years following the American Revolution. More than one-half of the content of the newspaper was reprinted from other publications and provided those individuals within the Cherokee Nation, especially those who read English, access to information from surrounding states, from Washington, and from the world. The publication of official documents of the Cherokee Nation, of Georgia, and of the federal government made up six percent of the total content of the newspaper and provided all readers accounts of treaties, laws, court decisions, and correspondence.

The Cherokee Phoenix published little information to readers outside the Cherokee Nation concerning the manners and customs of the Cherokees and their progress in civilization although it can be argued that the existence of the newspaper was proof enough that the Cherokee had attained a high level of civilization. However, valuable ethnological information which would have enriched later generations was not used in the newspaper.

The newspaper did an excellent job of providing current information and education and religious information to its readers, both inside and outside the Cherokee Nation. Hicks doubled the percentage of both educational and

religious articles during his term as editor, but articles concerning both foreign news and domestic news remained relatively stable with the two editors.

The subject matter of the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix was varied. Its readers were provided with a variety of information on a wide range of subjects from several sources. However, the two areas of content which most directly affected the Cherokee Nation, removal and the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia, were discussed in only 16 percent of the total articles printed in the newspaper. Although the Cherokee Phoenix may have served as the primary source of information concerning removal and the problems with Georgia for its readers outside the Cherokee Nation, it did not devote itself entirely to discussing Indian problems. It did advocate the Cherokee position on these topics, but it did not exist only to present the Cherokee point-of-view. It remained a newspaper, although a Cherokee newspaper, throughout its existence.

The primary types of advertisements in the Cherokee Phoenix during its six years of publication were for other publications, legal notices and announcements, and items the newspaper printed for sale to individuals. The legal advertisements demonstrated attention the Cherokee paid to legal situations under its constitutional government. These advertisements provided individuals outside the Cherokee Nation proof the Cherokee had attained a level of civilization and governmental structure which was similar to that found in white communities in Georgia and in all parts of the United States. The legal announcements provided those readers inside the

Cherokee Nation an opportunity to see the lawfulness and organization of its people and government.

However, advertisements which reflected the business and community life within the Cherokee Nation were few in the six years of publication. The Cherokee census in 1824 showed cotton gins, ferries, blacksmith shops, sawmills, gristmills, and stores, but advertising related to these businesses was missing from the Cherokee Phoenix. While readers were able to learn of business and community life through the editorial content of the newspaper, they were severely limited in learning about business and community life through the advertising content.

2. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this content analysis of the Cherokee Phoenix was to determine what information was disseminated by the newspaper in its editorial and advertising content and to determine if the editorial content followed the guidelines Boudinot printed in both the prospectus and the first issue.

Although the Cherokee Phoenix was the first native American newspaper and was published by the Cherokee government, its content was varied. While its readers were provided information about the removal efforts of Georgia and the federal government, the Cherokee Nation's problems with Georgia with the discovery of gold within the Nation, the Cherokee Land Lottery, and the Indian Codes, news of other Indian tribes, and information concerning Cherokee culture, its readers were also provided information about current events in Europe and Latin America, about national events, and

about human interest situations both inside and outside the Cherokee Nation. In addition, the readers of the newspaper were provided with a large amount of material which concerned religion, literature, and history. The religious and education components of the newspaper provided a multitude of information to any reader, whether white or Cherokee, who wanted to further his or her intellectual growth. The subject matter covered in the five volumes was extremely varied, and the only readers who could not truly benefit from the content of the Cherokee Phoenix were those who read only Cherokee because less than 20 percent of the content of the newspaper was printed in Cherokee. English readers could benefit the most from the content of the Cherokee Phoenix, and since historians say the newspaper was the only one in Georgia to fully report on the Indian Codes, the actions of the Georgia Guards, and the Cherokee Land Lottery, the English readers outside the Cherokee Nation had an opportunity to read the Cherokee accounts of the actions being taken by Georgia, and by the federal government, to force them into giving up their homeland and remove to the area beyond the Mississippi River. The content of the Cherokee Phoenix indeed showed the Cherokee point-of-view for readers outside the Cherokee Nation, but it also remained a news paper for readers inside and outside the Cherokee Nation because its content was not limited to Indian affairs.

Holland (1956) said the Cherokee Phoenix was the first newspaper to publish its editor's statement of policy. In the prospectus and the first issue Boudinot said the Cherokee Phoenix would print

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation.
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and

their progress in education, religion, and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.

3. The principal interesting news of the day.

4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees. (Cherokee Phoenix, Feb. 21, 1828)

This study revealed that more than one-third of the content of the Cherokee Phoenix in its five volumes did not follow the guidelines Boudinot had established. Of the 6,739 articles published, 2,398 (35.6%) were concerned with the news of the day; 2,319 (34.3%) did not follow any guideline; 1,528 (22.7%) were miscellaneous articles which promoted literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees; 291 (4.3%) were laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation; and 209 (3.1%) were concerned with the manners and customs of the Cherokees and gave evidence of their progress in civilization and gave evidence of the progress of civilization of other Indian tribes. However, closer examination of the editorial content and the guidelines reveals that the editorial content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee not translated by the researcher accounted for almost all the content which did not meet one of the four guidelines. Therefore, with the exception of the editorial content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee not translated by the researcher, the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix did follow the guidelines Boudinot had set forth in both the prospectus and the first issue.

However, only 209 articles (3.1%) were concerned with the manners and customs of the Cherokees and gave evidence of their progress in civilization and gave evidence of the progress of civilization of other Indian

tribes. Valuable information, which would have enriched the lives of future generations and which would have provided valuable ethnological information was never used in any great degree in the newspaper.

Before beginning this study, the researcher acknowledged three hypotheses.

First, the researcher hypothesized differences in content would be evident in the issues edited by Boudinot and Hicks. However, few differences were evident in the content of the newspaper under the two editors. While Hicks used more religious and educational material than Boudinot, he used similar amounts of material in the other subject matter categories. The style of writing and the physical appearance of the newspaper might have differed with the two editors, but the basic content, the topics discussed, was basically the same.

The researcher also hypothesized the early issues of the newspaper would follow the guidelines printed by Boudinot more closely than the later issues of the newspaper. However, approximately one-third of the content of the newspaper under each editor did not follow the guidelines, and the content under each editor which did not follow the guidelines was in the content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee not translated by the researcher. No apparent differences could be observed in the issues edited by Boudinot and the issues edited by Hicks. Both editors had very little content outside the content categories of newspaper publishing, miscellaneous, and articles in Cherokee not translated by the researcher which did not follow the guidelines Boudinot had set forth in the prospectus and the first issue.

The third hypothesis was that more of the content of the newspaper would be printed in English than in Cherokee. This hypothesis was upheld as more than 80 percent of the content in the five volumes was in English while less than 20 percent was in Cherokee.

3. IMPLICATIONS

Since only historical and qualitative studies of the Cherokee Phoenix existed, this content analysis provides a quantitative way to view the content of the Cherokee Phoenix. A number of statements made in earlier studies could not be substantiated with this study, but some of the qualitative statements were substantiated with this study. These were unexpected findings of this study.

Earlier studies of the Cherokee Phoenix utilized historical and qualitative methods, but this study utilized quantitative methods, and this may be a reason that some of the statements made in earlier studies could not be substantiated. The amount of research material used in this study differed from that in some of the earlier studies because all 260 issues of the newspaper were examined in this study. It is evident that some of the earlier studies examined qualitatively only a portion of the newspapers printed between 1828 and 1834. No complete set of original copies of the Cherokee Phoenix exists except on microfilm, and some of the earlier studies were done before the complete set became available on microfilm in the 1950s. Some studies which have been done since the complete set became available on microfilm appear to have relied heavily on previous studies or appear to have examined only a portion of the content printed instead of examining the

content in all 260 issues of the newspaper. This does raise the issue of the care some historians may have taken in drawing conclusions concerning the content of the newspaper.

J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy (1981) said the number of articles printed in Cherokee declined when Hicks became editor. However, the percentage of articles in Cherokee increased when Hicks became editor. While Boudinot served as editor, 16.0 percent of the articles were in Cherokee, but while Hicks served as editor, 18.5 percent of the articles were in Cherokee.

Anderson (1977, p. 41) said official documents and speeches, especially those predating the publication of the newspaper, were given a great deal of space. However, less than one percent (0.6%) of the official documents of the Cherokee Nation were items which predated the publication of the newspaper while one percent of these documents were after the publication of the first issue. In both the categories of official documents of Georgia and official documents of the federal government more items were printed which were disseminated after the first issue of the Cherokee Phoenix appeared on February 21, 1821.

Perdue (1979, p. 90) said the Cherokee Phoenix frequently addressed itself to the question of international slave trade. However, only seven articles in the newspaper primarily discussed international slave trade, and only 68 articles on any aspect of slavery were published from 1828-1834.

Halliburton (1977, p. 177) said the Cherokee Phoenix regularly published notices of slave sales, rewards for runaway slaves, and announcements of marshal's sales. In the 954 advertisements published in the five volumes of the newspaper, no advertisements appeared for selling

slaves. Thirty-one advertisements appeared for public sales to satisfy debts of estates, and some of these advertisements could have included slaves in their listing of personal property for sale. Twenty-six advertisements concerning runaway slaves did appear in the newspaper, but only six of these advertisements were for slaves who ran away from owners who lived within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, and this did uphold Perdue (1979, p.58) who said the absence of advertisements for runaway slaves indicated that slaves within the Cherokee Nation were not as dissatisfied as slaves outside the Cherokee Nation.

Malone (1950, p. 177) said almost every issue contained at least one article on intemperance. Holland (1956, p. 117) said intemperance received much attention in the newspaper. J.E. Murphy and S.M. Murphy said the newspaper reflected the persistent problem of alcoholism among the Cherokees. Only 139 articles discussing intemperance were published in the five volumes of the newspaper (260 issues), and this does not support the idea that almost every issue contained at least one article on intemperance or the idea that intemperance received much attention in the newspaper.

Martin (1947, p. 110) said religious and moral issues were the second most prevalent type of editorial matter. However, articles concerning religion and moral issues ranked sixth in frequency in the five volumes of the newspaper.

Malone (1950, p. 171) said Boudinot routinely published hymns, portions of the Bible, sermons, and prayers. In the religion category, 58 hymns were published, 57 selections from the Bible were published, 24 sermons were published, but no prayers were published.

Malone (1950, p. 170) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted many columns to dissemination of native culture. Perdue (1977, p. 212) said Boudinot failed to publish an accurate account of Cherokee culture. Perdue's statement is more accurate because only 96 articles concerning Cherokee culture were published in the five volumes of the newspaper.

Malone (1950, p. 170) said the Cherokee Phoenix devoted many of its columns to improving Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary. However, only 10 articles which specifically demonstrated how to improve Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary were published.

Foster (1887, p. 65) said one-half of the Cherokee Phoenix was printed in Cherokee. But, 83.4 percent of the total content of the five volumes was printed in English and 16.5 percent of the total content of the five volumes was printed in Cherokee.

Other statements made in previous studies were substantiated by this study. Malone (1956) said the predominant types of advertisements were legal and those that promoted other publications. The category of publications ranked first in frequency with 262 advertisements (27.5%) and the category of legal ranked second in frequency with 256 advertisements (26.8%).

Anderson (1977, p. 42) said the Cherokee Phoenix would not endorse candidates in national, state, or local elections. Indeed, no endorsements of candidates were found in the content of the newspaper.

Holland (1956, p. 125) said Boudinot tried to give Cherokee readers the same general news a white newspaper would give a white audience in the information he used from exchange newspapers, but that very little

material from the exchange newspapers was translated into Cherokee. Only 21 of the reprinted articles were translated into Cherokee in the five volumes.

Martin (1947, p. 111) said local events seldom appeared in the Cherokee Phoenix, and community activities accounted for only 2.2 percent of the total content of the newspaper.

Another implication of this research is also related to the review of existing literature. As stated in Chapter II, the researcher created content categories for both the editorial and advertising content which were based on references to editorial and advertising content found in previous qualitative and historical studies and cited in the review of literature. This was done because no other content analysis of the Cherokee Phoenix existed and because no existing set of content categories was applicable to this study. Each of the content categories was subdivided to reflect these references. However, in six of the 20 editorial content categories, the subdivision of "other" ranked first in frequency, and in seven of the 20 editorial content categories, the subdivision of "other" ranked second in frequency. Since the editorial content categories and their subdivisions were based upon references found in existing literature, it appears the previous qualitative and historical studies did not thoroughly discuss the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix. Additional analysis of the subdivision of "other" in the editorial content categories would provide greater depth to the study of the editorial content of the Cherokee Phoenix.

Because more than 600 articles could not be translated by this researcher, the actual number and percentages for content categories may

not be exact. Additional study needs to be done of the articles printed in Cherokee.

While this study examined the content, it did not examine the amount of space occupied by the content. An item analysis would give more depth to the study of the actual content of the first native American newspaper.

Although this study examined the editorial and advertising content of the Cherokee's first newspaper, it did not examine newspapers published by the Cherokee Nation after removal. Qualitative research has been done on later Cherokee newspapers, but no quantitative research exists.

Other Indian tribes have published newspapers, and quantitative research should be done on these newspapers in order to examine the content of these newspapers and provide greater depth to the field of native American journalism.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

CODE BOOK FOR ARTICLES IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

CODER INSTRUCTIONS: For each article in the newspaper, answer sections A through E on the individual coding sheet.

A. AUTHORSHIP

1. Elias Boudinot
2. Elijah Hicks
3. Samuel Worcester
4. Stand Watie
5. John Ross
6. Named but not listed above
(specify name on coding sheet)
7. Can't determine authorship

B. SOURCE OF ORIGINATION OF ARTICLE

1. Locally written
2. Reprinted from another publication
3. Cherokee government
4. Georgia government
5. Federal government
6. Can't determine source of origination of article

C. LANGUAGE USED IN ARTICLE

1. English
2. Cherokee
3. Both English and Cherokee

D. TYPE OF ARTICLE

1. News
2. Feature
3. Official Cherokee document
4. Official Georgia document
5. Official federal government document
6. Editorial
7. Letter to the editor
8. Religious
9. Educational
10. Correction/clarification
11. Explanation of newspaper policy, operation, endeavor,
problem, etc.
12. Can't determine type of article
13. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

E. GUIDELINES

Into which of these guidelines would you place this article?

1. Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation
2. Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and

their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow.

3. The principal interesting news of the day
4. Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees.
5. None of the above

CODER INSTRUCTIONS: For each article, determine the primary content of the article. On the coding sheet, circle the double letters representing the content category and circle the numbers representing the specific subject matter.

AA. INTEMPERANCE

1. Problems with drinking inside the Cherokee Nation
2. Problems with drinking outside the Cherokee Nation
3. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

BB. CRIME

1. Report of a theft
2. Report of a robbery
3. Report of an assault
4. Report of a murder

5. Report of arson
6. Report of rape
7. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

CC. CORRECTIONS/CLARIFICATIONS

1. Article corrects materials printed in previous issue(s)
2. Article adds information which was inadvertently omitted from previously printed article(s)
3. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

DD. NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING

1. Explanation of newspaper policy/purpose
2. Discussion of shortages of materials used to print the paper (ink, paper, etc.)
3. Illnesses/absences of printers
4. Illnesses/absences of editor
5. Problems of mail delivery within Cherokee Nation
6. Problems of mail delivery outside Cherokee Nation
7. Subscription payments
8. Discussion of translating English into Cherokee
9. Explanation of authorship/editorship of paper
10. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

EE. SLAVERY

1. Article supporting international slave trade
2. Article opposing international slave trade
3. Article reporting activities of the American Colonization Society
4. Article reporting activities of the Afrian Benevolent Society
5. Article discussing laws regarding slavery within the

Cherokee Nation

6. Article discussing laws regarding slavery outside the

Cherokee Nation

7. Article discussing slave auctions within the Cherokee Nation
8. Article discussing slave auctions outside Cherokee Nation
9. Article discussing abolition activities in the United States
10. Article discussing pro-slavery activities in the United

States

11. Article discussing runaway slaves
12. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

FF. ELECTIONS

1. Account of election activities involving public office
within the Cherokee Nation

2. Account of election activities involving public offices in
Georgia

3. Account of election activities involving public office in
Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina

4. Account of election activities involving public office in states

other than Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, and
South Carolina

5. Account of presidential election activities
6. Endorsement of local candidates
7. Endorsement of Georgia candidates
8. Endorsement of Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, South

Carolina candidates

9. Endorsement of candidates in other states
10. Endorsement of presidential candidates
11. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

GG. ACCOUNTS OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES INVOLVING CITIZENS OF
THE CHEROKEE NATION

1. Birth announcement
2. Death announcement
3. Wedding
4. Social event other than wedding
5. School activity
6. Church activity
7. Business activity
8. Agricultural activity
9. Recreational activity
10. Illness

11. Accident
12. Weather
13. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

HH. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

1. Cherokee Constitution
2. Cherokee law enacted before Feb. 21, 1828
3. Cherokee law enacted after Feb. 21, 1828
4. Cherokee legislation enacted before Feb. 21, 1828
5. Cherokee legislation enacted after Feb. 21, 1828
6. Account of Cherokee Council before Feb. 21, 1828
7. Account of Cherokee Council after Feb. 21, 1828
8. Account of Cherokee Supreme Court before Feb. 21, 1828
9. Account of Cherokee Supreme Court after Feb. 21, 1828
10. Speech given by Cherokee leader before Feb. 21, 1828
11. Speech given by Cherokee leader after Feb. 21, 1828
12. Correspondence from the Cherokee Nation to Georgia officials before Feb. 21, 1828
13. Correspondence from the Cherokee Nation to Georgia officials after Feb. 21, 1828
14. Correspondence from the Cherokee Nation to federal officials before Feb. 21, 1828
15. Correspondence from the Cherokee Nation to federal officials after Feb. 21, 1828
16. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA

1. Georgia Constitution
2. Georgia law involving Cherokees enacted before Feb. 21, 1828
3. Georgia law involving Cherokees enacted after Feb. 21,
1828
4. Georgia legislation involving Cherokees passed before
Feb. 21, 1828
5. Georgia legislation involving Cherokees passed after
Feb. 21, 1828
6. Account of Georgia legislature before Feb. 21, 1828
7. Account of Georgia legislature after Feb. 21, 1828
8. Account of Georgia court(s) before Feb. 21, 1828
9. Account of Georgia court(s) after Feb. 21, 1828
10. Speech given by Georgia official before Feb. 21, 1828
11. Speech given by Georgia official after Feb. 21, 1828
12. Correspondence from Georgia to the Cherokee Nation
before Feb. 21, 1828
13. Correspondence from Georgia to the Cherokee Nation
after Feb. 21, 1828
14. Correspondence from Georgia to federal officials before
Feb. 21, 1828
15. Correspondence from Georgia to federal officials after
Feb. 21, 1828
16. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

JJ. OFFICIAL DOCUMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. U.S. Constitution
2. Federal law involving Cherokees enacted before Feb. 28, 1828
3. Federal law involving Cherokees enacted after
Feb. 21, 1828
4. Federal legislation involving Cherokees passed before
Feb. 21, 1828
5. Federal legislation involving Cherokees passed after
Feb. 21, 1828
6. Treaty entered into with Cherokee Nation before
Feb. 21, 1828
7. Treaty entered into with Cherokee Nation after
Feb. 21, 1828
8. U.S. Supreme Court decision in Cherokee Nation v. State
of Georgia
9. U.S. Supreme Court decision in Worcester v. Georgia
10. Other U.S. Supreme Court decision
11. Congressional account before Feb. 21, 1828
12. Congressional account after Feb. 21, 1828
13. Speech given by federal official before Feb. 21, 1828
14. Speech given by federal official after Feb. 21, 1828
15. Correspondence from the federal government to Cherokee
Nation before Feb. 21, 1828
16. Correspondence from the federal government to Cherokee
Nation after Feb. 21, 1828

17. Correspondence from the federal government to Georgia
before Feb. 21, 1828

18. Correspondence from the federal government to Georgia after Feb.
21, 1828

19. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

KK. REMOVAL (excludes official documents of the Cherokee Nation, Georgia,
and the federal government)

1. Account of Cherokee(s) who removed before Feb. 21, 1828
2. Account of Cherokee(s) who removed after Feb. 21, 1828
3. General article favoring removal
4. General article opposing removal
5. Article describing Georgia's attempts to have Cherokee
removed
6. Article describing Cherokee Nation's attempts to oppose
Georgia's removal efforts
7. Article describing Alabama's, Tennessee's, North Carolina's,
and/or South Carolina's efforts to have Cherokee removed
8. Article describing the Cherokee Nation's attempts to oppose
efforts of Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina and/or South
Carolina to have Cherokee removed
9. Article describing the federal government's attempts to
have Cherokee removed
10. Article describing the Cherokee Nation's attempts to
oppose the federal government's efforts to have Cherokee removed

11. Pro-removal/anti-removal split within Cherokee Nation
12. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

LL. CHEROKEE NATION'S PROBLEMS WITH GEORGIA (excludes official documents)

1. Arrest/imprisonment of Worcester and Butler
2. Arrest/imprisonment of other missionaries
3. Arrest/imprisonment of other whites residing in Cherokee Nation
4. Article discussing the Oath of Allegiance
5. Article discussing Georgia's Indian Codes
6. Article discussing the Cherokee Land Lottery
7. Article discussing gold within the Cherokee Nation
8. Article discussing actions of Georgia Guards
9. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

MM. FOREIGN NEWS

1. Article discussing European affairs
2. Article discussing Latin American affairs
3. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

NN. RELIGION

1. Religious activities outside Cherokee Nation
2. Hymns
3. Portions of the Bible

4. Sermons
5. Prayers
6. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

OO. DOMESTIC NEWS (excludes official documents)

1. Presidential activities relating neither to Cherokee affairs
nor elections nor slavery
2. Congressional activity relating to neither Cherokee affairs
nor elections nor slavery
3. Federal department activities relating to neither Cherokee
affairs nor elections nor slavery
4. News of national importance not relating to Cherokee affairs,
elections, slavery
5. News of state importance not relating to Cherokee affairs,
elections, slavery
6. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

PP. OTHER INDIAN TRIBES

1. Manners
2. Customs
3. Problems with federal government
4. Problems with state government
5. Education
6. Religion
7. History

8. Internal government
9. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

QQ. EDUCATION

1. Article written to improve Cherokee literacy in English
2. Article written to improve Cherokee literacy in Sequoyah's syllabary
3. Biographical sketch of an European
4. Biographical sketch of an American
5. Historical essay on U.S. history
6. Historical essay on European history
7. Historical essay on Latin American history
8. Excerpts from literature (excludes biography, historical essays)
9. Article written to improve or provide information for everyday living (such as agricultural methods, household methods, personal improvement, etc.)
10. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

RR. CHEROKEE CULTURE

1. Tribal history (excludes official documents)
2. Medical lore
3. Folklore
4. Religious myths
5. Clan system

6. Native dress
7. "ball play"
8. Ceremonies
9. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

SS. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Humor
2. Human interest situation within Cherokee Nation
3. Human interest situation outside Cherokee Nation
4. Other (please specify on coding sheet)

II. ARTICLE IN CHEROKEE NOT TRANSLATED BY RESEARCHER

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET

(to be used in conjunction with code book)

Coder # _____

Coding sheet for editorial materials in the Cherokee Phoenix

_____ Issue date

_____ Volume

_____ Number

_____ Boudinot, editor

_____ Hicks, editor

INSTRUCTIONS: Read each article in the newspaper. For each article, answer A through E.

A. AUTHORSHIP

_____ 1.

_____ 2.

_____ 3.

_____ 4.

_____ 5.

_____ 6. _____

_____ 7.

B. SOURCE OF ORIGATION OF ARTICLE

- _____ 1
- _____ 2.
- _____ 3.
- _____ 4.
- _____ 5.
- _____ 6.

C. LANGUAGE USED IN ARTICLE

- _____ 1.
- _____ 2.
- _____ 3.

D. TYPE OF ARTICLE

- _____ 1.
- _____ 2.
- _____ 3.
- _____ 4.
- _____ 5.
- _____ 6.
- _____ 7.
- _____ 8.
- _____ 9.
- _____ 10.

- _____ 11.
 _____ 12.
 _____ 13. _____

E. GUIDELINES

- _____ 1.
 _____ 2.
 _____ 3.
 _____ 4.
 _____ 5.

INSTRUCTIONS: Read each article. Circle the double letter indicating the category and circle the number indicating specific subject matter. If a specific subject matter is not contained in the category in the code book, use the space provided to the right to briefly describe the specific subject matter.

AA	1	Other
BB	2	
CC	3	
DD	4	
EE	5	
FF	6	
GG	7	

HH	8
II	9
JJ	10
KK	11
LL	12
MM	13
NN	14
OO	15
PP	16
QQ	17
RR	18
SS	19
TT	

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET FOR ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX

Coder # _____

Coding sheet for advertisements in the Cherokee Phoenix

_____ Issue date

_____ Volume

_____ Number

_____ Boudinot, editor

_____ Hicks, editor

INSTRUCTIONS: Use one coding sheet for each issue of the newspaper. If the advertisement appears in English, place an E in the blank spot by the content category. If the advertisement appears in Cherokee, place a C in the blank spot by the content category. If the advertisement contains both English and Cherokee words, place a B in the blank spot by the content category.

Content Categories

1. PUBLICATIONS

- _____ a. Newspaper, general interest
- _____ b. Newspaper, religious
- _____ c. Newspaper, political
- _____ d. Newspaper, temperance
- _____ e. Newspaper, literary
- _____ f. Newspaper, undetermined type
- _____ g. Magazine/journal, general interest
- _____ h. Magazine/journal, religious
- _____ i. Magazine/journal, temperance
- _____ j. Magazine/journal, political
- _____ k. Magazine/journal, literary
- _____ l. Magazine/journal, medical
- _____ m. Magazine/journal, juvenile
- _____ n. Magazine/journal, agricultural
- _____ o. Magazine/journal, undetermined type
- _____ p. Book, fiction
- _____ q. Book, reference
- _____ r. Book, religious
- _____ s. Book, political
- _____ t. Book, medical
- _____ u. Book, biography
- _____ v. Book, autobiography

- _____ w. Book, history
- _____ x. Book, agriculture
- _____ y. Book, juvenile
- _____ z. Book, temperance
- _____ aa. Book, essays
- _____ bb. Book, poetry
- _____ cc. Book, other

2. LEGAL

- _____ a. Legal announcements of Cherokee Nation
- _____ b. Appointment of administrators for estates
- _____ c. Notices of individual's refusal to pay notes
- _____ d. Notices of payment to tribal members from federal
government
- _____ e. Candidates for political office in Cherokee Nation
- _____ f. Public sales to satisfy debts or estates
- _____ g. Notices of mail not picked up at post office
- _____ h. Legal announcements of the state of Georgia
- _____ i. Other (please specify) _____

3. HOUSE

- _____ a. Advertising the Cherokee Phoenix itself
- _____ b. Advertising items printed by the newspaper for sale
to individuals (i.e., Cherokee Constitution, Cherokee
laws, Cherokee alphabet, etc.)

- _____ c. Statements of purpose
- _____ d. Subscription notices
- _____ e. Other (please specify) _____

4. ITEMS FOR SALE

- _____ a. Livestock
- _____ b. Food items
- _____ c. Property (businesses, houses, land, etc.)
- _____ d. Personal property (jewelry, furniture, equipment, etc.)
- _____ e. Slaves, by individuals residing within the Cherokee Nation
- _____ f. Slaves, by individuals residing outside the Cherokee Nation
- _____ g. Items for sale by businesses within the Cherokee Nation
- _____ h. Items for sale by businesses outside the Cherokee Nation
- _____ i. Patent medicine
- _____ j. Other (please specify) _____

5. SCHOOLS

- _____ a. Schools established
- _____ b. Announcement of annual examinations
- _____ c. Other (please specify) _____

6. BUSINESSES OPEN

- _____ a. Boarding houses
- _____ b. Cotton gins
- _____ c. Sawmills
- _____ d. Gristmills
- _____ e. Home/business construction
- _____ f. Blacksmiths
- _____ g. General stores
- _____ h. Ferries
- _____ i. Inns
- _____ j. Other (please specify) _____

7. STOLEN PROPERTY

- _____ a. Livestock
- _____ b. Personal property (jewelry, housewares, equipment, etc.)
- _____ c. Money
- _____ d. Notes
- _____ e. Slaves from within the Cherokee Nation
- _____ f. Slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation
- _____ g. Other (please specify) _____

8. LOST PROPERTY

- _____ a. Runaway slaves from within the Cherokee Nation
- _____ b. Runaway slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation

- _____ c. Livestock
- _____ d. Notes
- _____ e. Money
- _____ f. Personal items
- _____ g. Other (please specify) _____

9. FOUND PROPERTY

- _____ a. Slaves from within the Cherokee Nation
- _____ b. Slaves from outside the Cherokee Nation
- _____ c. Livestock
- _____ d. Personal items
- _____ e. Money
- _____ f. Notes
- _____ g. Other (please specify) _____

10. HELP WANTED

- _____ a. Farm workers
- _____ b. Non-farm workers
- _____ c. Other (please specify) _____

APPENDIX D

RELIABILITY TABLES

TABLE D-1

RELIABILITY: AUTHOR

Author	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
Boudinot	20	16	60%
Hicks	3	4	50%
Ross	2	2	100%
Other	16	15	90%
No author listed	89	93	92%
Mean			78%

TABLE D-2

RELIABILITY: SOURCE

Source	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
Local	39	38	94%
Reprint	78	79	96%
Cherokee government	5	5	100%
Federal government	7	7	100%
Unknown	1	1	100%
Mean			98%

TABLE D-3

RELIABILITY: LANGUAGE

Language	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
English	111	19	100%
Cherokee	111	19	100%
Mean			100%

TABLE D-4

RELIABILITY: TYPE

Type of article	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
News	27	26	92%
Feature	30	32	90%
Official Cherokee document	5	5	100%
Official federal document	9	7	56%
Editorial	10	10	100%
Religious	5	4	60%
Educational	18	21	72%
Explanation of newspaper's policy, operation, etc.	11	9	64%
Can't determine	13	16	64%
Other	0	2	0%
Mean			70%

TABLE D-5

RELIABILITY: GUIDELINES

Guidelines	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
Laws and documents of the Cherokee Nation	6	11	10%
Accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion and arts of civilized life; with such notices of other Indian tribes as our limited means of information will allow	4	5	60%
The principal interesting news of the day	43	35	62%
Miscellaneous articles, calculated to promote literature, civilization and religion among the Cherokees	23	22	92%
None of the above	54	57	90%
Mean			63%

TABLE D-6

RELIABILITY: CONTENT CATEGORIES

Content	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
Intemperance	3	2	34%
Crime	0	1	50%
Newspaper publishing	11	9	64%
Community activities	3	1	34%
Official document, Cherokee Nation	5	5	100%
Official document, Georgia	0	1	50%
Official document, federal govt.	9	7	56%
Removal	8	8	100%
Problems with Georgia	2	2	100%
Foreign news	6	6	100%
Religion	6	4	34%
Domestic news	4	5	60%
Other Indian tribes	7	11	28%
Education	15	16	90%
Cherokee culture	4	4	100%
Miscellaneous	32	33	94%
Article in Cherokee, not translated	15	15	100%
Mean			70%

TABLE D-7

RELIABILITY: ADVERTISING CONTENT

Advertising content	Coder 1	Coder 2	Scott's pi
Legal	2	2	100%
House	6	6	100%
Found property	2	2	100%
Mean			100%

APPENDIX E

COMPUTER PROGRAM FOR ANALYZING EDITORIAL CONTENT

DATA CHEROKEE;

INFILE DATAIN;

INPUT OBS 1-5 CODER 7 ISSUE 9-11 AUTHOR 13 SOURCE 15

LANG 17 TYPE 19-20 GUIDE 22 CONTENT 24-27;

IF CONTENT >=0101 AND CONTENT <=0103 THEN C='A';

IF CONTENT >=0201 AND CONTENT <=0207 THEN C='B';

IF CONTENT >=0301 AND CONTENT <=0303 THEN C='C';

IF CONTENT >=0401 AND CONTENT <=0410 THEN C='D';

IF CONTENT >=0501 AND CONTENT <=0512 THEN C='E';

IF CONTENT >=0601 AND CONTENT <=0611 THEN C='F';

IF CONTENT >=0701 AND CONTENT <=0713 THEN C='G';

IF CONTENT >=0801 AND CONTENT <=0816 THEN C='H';

IF CONTENT >=0901 AND CONTENT <=0916 THEN C='I';

IF CONTENT >=1001 AND CONTENT <=1019 THEN C='J';

IF CONTENT >=1101 AND CONTENT <=1112 THEN C='K';

IF CONTENT >=1201 AND CONTENT <=1209 THEN C='L';

IF CONTENT >=1301 AND CONTENT <=1303 THEN C='M';

IF CONTENT >=1401 AND CONTENT <=1406 THEN C='N';

IF CONTENT >=1501 AND CONTENT <=1506 THEN C='O';

IF CONTENT >=1601 AND CONTENT <=1609 THEN C='P';

IF CONTENT >=1701 AND CONTENT <=1710 THEN C='Q';

```

IF CONTENT >=1801 AND CONTENT <=1809 THEN C='R';
IF CONTENT >=1901 AND CONTENT <=1904 THEN C='S';
IF CONTENT = 2001 THEN C='T';

CARDS;

PROC FREQ DATA=CHEROKEE;

    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*CONTENT/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*CONTENT/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*CONTENT/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*CONTENT/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
    TABLES GUIDE*CONTENT/ALL;

```

TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE*LANG;
TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE*TYPE;
TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE*GUIDE;
TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE*C;
TABLES SOURCE*LANG*TYPE;
TABLES SOURCE*LANG*GUIDE;
TABLES SOURCE*LANG*C;
TABLES LANG*TYPE*GUIDE;
TABLES LANG*TYPE*C;
TABLES TYPE*GUIDE*C;
TABLES AUTHOR*LANG*TYPE;
TABLES AUTHOR*LANG*GUIDE;
TABLES AUTHOR*LANG*C;
TABLES AUTHOR*C*LANG;
TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE*GUIDE;
TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE*C;
TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE*C;
TABLES SOURCE*TYPE*GUIDE;
TABLES SOURCE*TYPE*C;
TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE*C;
TABLES LANG*GUIDE*C;
TITLE 'ALL ISSUES CHEROKEE PHOENIX';

```

DATA BOUDINOT;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE>=001 AND ISSUE<=208;
PROC FREQ DATA=BOUDINOT;
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL
    TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
    TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
    TITLE 'BOUDINOT AS CP EDITOR';
DATA HICKS;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE>=209 AND ISSUE<=260;
PROC FREQ DATA=HICKS;

```

```

TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TITLE 'HICKS AS CP EDITOR';

DATA VONE;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE>=001 AND ISSUE<=052;

PROC FREQ DATA=VONE;
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;

```

```

TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TITLE 'VOL ONE OF CP';

DATA VTWO;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE >=053 AND ISSUE <=104;

PROC FREQ DATA=VTWO;
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;

```

```

TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES TYPE *C/ALL;
TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TITLE 'VOL TWO OF CP';
DATA VTHREE;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE >=105 AND ISSUE <=156;
PROC FREQ DATA=VTHREE;
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;

```

```

TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TITLE 'VOL THREE OF CP';

DATA VFOUR;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE>=157 AND ISSUE <=208:

PROC FREQ DATA=VFOUR;
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL
    TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;

```

```
TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
TITLE 'VOL FOUR OF CP';
DATA VFIVE;
    SET CHEROKEE;
    IF ISSUE >=209 AND ISSUE <= 260;
PROC FREQ DATA=VFIVE:
    TABLES AUTHOR SOURCE LANG TYPE GUIDE CONTENT C;
    TABLES AUTHOR*SOURCE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES AUTHOR*C/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*LANG/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES SOURCE*C/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*TYPE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES LANG*C/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*GUIDE/ALL;
    TABLES TYPE*C/ALL;
    TABLES GUIDE*C/ALL;
    TITLE 'VOL FIVE OF CP';
```

APPENDIX F

COMPUTER PROGRAM FOR ANALYZING ADVERTISING CONTENT

DATA ADS;

```
INPUT OBS 1-4 CODER 6 ISSUE 8-10 LANG 12 CONTENT 14-17;  
IF CONTENT >=0101 AND CONTENT <=0129 THEN CONCOL='1';  
IF CONTENT >=0201 AND CONTENT <=0209 THEN CONCOL='2';  
IF CONTENT >=0301 AND CONTENT <=0305 THEN CONCOL='3';  
IF CONTENT >=0401 AND CONTENT <=0410 THEN CONCOL='4';  
IF CONTENT >=0501 AND CONTENT <=0503 THEN CONCOL='5';  
IF CONTENT >=0601 AND CONTENT <=0610 THEN CONCOL='6';  
IF CONTENT >=0701 AND CONTENT <=0707 THEN CONCOL='7';  
IF CONTENT >=0801 AND CONTENT <=0807 THEN CONCOL='8';  
IF CONTENT >=0901 AND CONTENT <=0907 THEN CONCOL='9';  
IF CONTENT >=1001 AND CONTENT <=1003 THEN CONCOL='A';  
IF CONTENT = 1004 THEN CONCOL='B';
```

CARDS;

PROC FREQ;

```
TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;  
TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;  
TITLE 'TITLE FOR ALL CP ADV';
```

DATA BOUDINOT;

SET ADS;

IF OBS <=0822;

```

PROC FREQ DATA=BOUDINOT;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR BOUDINOT PAPERS';
DATA HICKS;
    SET ADS;
    IF OBS >=0823;
PROC FREQ DATA=HICKS;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR HICKS PAPERS';
DATA VONE;
    SET ADS;
    IF ISSUE >=001 AND ISSUE<=052;
PROC FREQ DATA=VONE;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR ADV IN VOL ONE';
DATA VTWO;
    SET ADS;
    IF ISSUE >=053 AND ISSUE <=104;
PROC FREQ DATA=VTWO;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR ADV IN VOL TWO';

```

```
DATA VTHREE;
    SET ADS;
    IF ISSUE >=105 AND ISSUE <=156;
PROC FREQ DATA=VTHREE;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR ADV IN VOL THREE';
DATA VFOUR;
    SET ADS;
    IF ISSUE >=157 AND ISSUE <=208;
PROC FREQ DATA=VFOUR;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR ADV IN VOL FOUR';
DATA VFIVE;
    SET ADS;
    IF ISSUE >=209 AND ISSUE <=260;
PROC FREQ DATA=VFIVE;
    TABLES LANG CONTENT CONCOL;
    TABLES LANG*CONCOL/ALL;
    TITLE 'TITLE FOR ADV IN VOL FIVE';
```

VITA

Ann Lackey Landini was born in Stanford, Kentucky, on March 24, 1947. She attended elementary schools in Stanford and Somerset, Kentucky, and was graduated from Owensboro High School, Owensboro, Kentucky, in May 1965. She attended the University of Kentucky and was graduated from Kentucky Wesleyan College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English in 1970. She attended The University of Tennessee, Martin, to obtain her secondary teaching certification and was employed by the Henry County, Tennessee, Board of Education from 1973 to 1982. In August 1977 she was awarded the Master of Science degree in journalism from Murray State University where she served as an adjunct professor in the Department of Journalism and Radio-TV from January 1978 to December 1981.

In the fall of 1982 she was employed by The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, as an instructor in the School of Journalism and began her doctoral studies. She received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Communications in May 1990.

She has been employed as an instructor in the Department of Journalism and Radio-TV at Murray State University since August 1985. She is also the adviser to The Murray State News, the student newspaper.