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Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary

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The 1821 creation of a written syllabary for the Cherokee language by Sequoyah and its use in the Nation's newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, are routinely examined within the context of the tribe's discourse surrounding removal in the 1830s, but scholars often overlook the influence of the missionary Samuel Austin Worcester and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in shaping the parameters of that discourse by arranging the syllabary, typesetting the characters, and establishing the press. This article illuminates these significant historical and technical aspects of Worcester's influence on the creation of Cherokee print. Worcester's influence on the Cherokee syllabary is important, given the enduring nature of his influence and the rapid adoption of the written language: within fourteen years of its introduction, and seven years of the first printing, more than half of all households in the Cherokee Nation had a reader of Cherokee. Today, nearly 180 years after Worcester first standardized Cherokee characters in print, his forms of the syllabic characters guide instruction in reading and writing Cherokee, and his translation of the Bible into Cherokee persists in Cherokee homes.

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In 1821 a Cherokee man named George Guess, better known as Sequoyah, demonstrated the effectiveness of his syllabic writing system for the Cherokee language to members of his tribe. Within months, thousands of Cherokees could read and write in their own language. The numbers of literate Cherokees kept growing through the next decade, and within all geographic areas of Cherokee settlement.¹ By 1825, the Cherokee Nation was willing to put the power of the invention to their use. On January 14, 1825, Cherokee Chief Charles R. Hicks sent a copy of the syllabary to the head of the Office of Indian Affairs in the War Department² (See Figure 1). On October 15 of the same year, the Cherokee National Committee resolved to procure a set of Cherokee types and establish a printing office at their new capital, and the tribe soon began working with a white missionary, Samuel Austin Worcester, to accomplish this goal.³ By January 1828, all materials had arrived, and the following month, the tribe issued its first edition of its national newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, under the editorial leadership of a well-educated Cherokee man, Elias Boudinott. (His name will be spelled in this article as the editor spelled it during his life.) The paper’s ability to reach both American and Cherokee audiences successfully depended on multiple factors, not the least of which was the influence of Worcester.

To a large extent, Native American periodicals in general and the *Cherokee Phoenix* specifically, have been underrepresented in scholarly attention. Although Sally M. Miller recognizes that periodical literature “is the best primary source” for understanding the world views and experiences of non-English-speaking groups in the United States, *The Ethnic Press in*

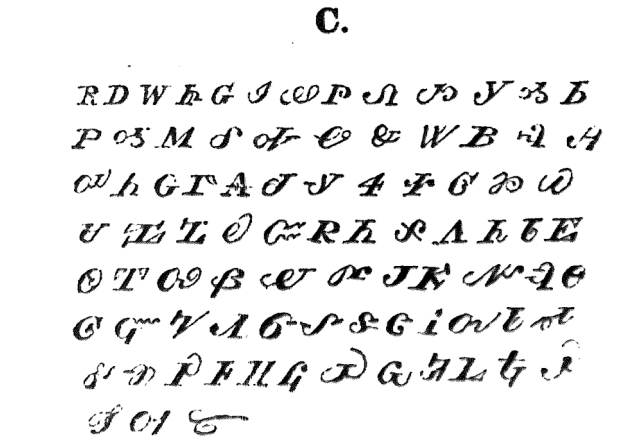


Figure 1

the United States focuses on voluntary immigrants, excluding Native Americans and African Americans because “their presses would not reflect the immigration and adaptation processes.”⁴ Scholars may certainly examine the same variables for the Native American presses that were considered for immigrant/ethnic presses: the involvement of clergy, level of literacy, and potential conflict between the intellectual elite (who were often the publisher/editors) and their public; the role of the press in carrying information, group values, heritage, and changing sense of identity; and the economic and political aspects of publication, especially in relation to the group’s assimilation with and/or independence from the American society at large.⁵ Indeed, all of these variables are directly relevant for the *Phoenix*: Samuel A. Worcester was a member of the clergy on a “civilizing” mission, and the rapid increase in the level of literacy in Cherokee is one of the factors in the initial success of the *Cherokee Phoenix* in drawing attention to the tribe. Literacy in Cherokee specifically became part of the politics of tribal cohesion to resist Removal rather than

assimilate—causing conflict with the editor who was himself a member of the intellectual elite.

Print Culture in a Diverse America also excludes Native Americans, but the theoretical approaches—and relevant findings—undergirding the included analyses of immigrant and African American presses inform this study of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Anxiety regarding the United States Constitution and justice system appears among the issues treated by the Chinese immigrant press, as well as in the African American press, and was certainly reflected in the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s articles addressing the issue of removal.⁶ Advocating education and political participation were also critical roles for all three ethnic presses. And just as Rudolph J. Vecoli points out for the Italian immigrant press, assimilation was a central issue to be taken up by the *Phoenix*, and one taken up by scholars of ethnic presses, which should also include the Native American press.⁷ Theda Perdue does, though, provide the same caution for scholars of Cherokee that Vecoli provides for ethnic presses in general: researchers should be sure they are not operating under “the assumption that the print culture is simply a mirror of the ethnic culture.”⁸ With that caution in mind, scholars can view “the press as a site of intense ideological struggle,” in their examination of topics like the tribe's anxiety over the U.S. Constitution and removal, concern for education, and the urge for political participation; all became causes of contest in the pages of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, making possible the same kind of analysis that Vecoli did, drawing on Gramsci and Stuart Hall.

Without that analysis, the *Cherokee Phoenix* largely remains, to use Hutton and Reed's term, an “outsider in press history,” notwithstanding Barbara Luebke's article about Elias Boudinott's editorial stands on Removal, Robert G. Martin's account of the “Pioneer of Indian Journalism,” or Sam G. Riley's description of the *Phoenix*'s “Short, Unhappy Life.” Historians Theda Perdue and William Mc-

Loughlin have most addressed the *Cherokee Phoenix*, focusing on the editor's life and writings, the evidence of civilization afforded by the paper, and the role of the *Phoenix* in shaping American and Cherokee perceptions during the Removal crisis. Althea Bass's biography *Cherokee Messenger* (1936) remains the touchstone for scholarly attention to Samuel Austin Worcester.⁹

Indeed, most scholars who have addressed Cherokee print history focus on the role of the *Cherokee Phoenix* in the tribe's discourse with the United States, overlooking the influence of the missionary Samuel Austin Worcester and the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in shaping the parameters of that discourse by typesetting the syllabary. What follows will illuminate the significant historical and technical aspects of Worcester's influence on the creation of Cherokee print through an analysis of letters between Worcester and the American Board, comparison of syllabic characters among early versions of the syllabary, and examination of Worcester's philological commentary in letters to Constantine Rafinesque. It is also significant that Worcester's impact on collective Cherokee consciousness extends to the present—contemporary anthropologists affirm that Worcester's arrangement guides teachers of Cherokee syllabics; his translation of the Bible rests in many Cherokee homes; and his Cherokee hymns have a place in churches and homes across the Nation.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) sent twenty-seven year-old Samuel Austin Worcester as missionary to the Cherokee Nation in 1825. He arrived at Brainerd Mission, in what is now southeast Tennessee, in late October with his wife Ann Orr Worcester. Nephew of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester, Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM, Samuel Austin had grown up in Vermont, and graduated from Andover Theological Seminary. Worcester's appointment as missionary was one for which he had trained since beginning work in the offices of the

American Board after his graduation from Andover in 1823. He was known for his linguistic skills, and knew about previous work translating the Bible and other religious materials into Cherokee.¹⁰ Worcester would work for the rest of his life among this tribe, translating most of the books of the Bible and many other materials into the Cherokee language.

From his arrival in late 1825 through the next two years, Worcester worked to learn the Cherokee syllabary and language, originally using Guess's 86 characters. He arrived in a nation excited about their new technology for sharing information. Contemporary accounts by Cherokee political leaders, the educated elite of the tribe, and missionaries trumpet the ease with which members of the tribe learn to read and write their native language, and the extensive network of letters between the Cherokee Nation in the East and its people in the West. Writing to the Indian Affairs Agent Thomas L. McKenney in January 1825, Chief Charles Hicks discusses the invention of the "alphabetical characters" for writing Cherokee within the context of the tribe's becoming a "civilized society," and the "considerable stimulus for learning among the young and old Cherokees" to acquire this ability over the course of a "few days."¹¹ Educated Cherokees John Arch and David Brown had already begun to translate the Bible, and their translations were being copied and circulated across the nation before they were even complete.¹² Worcester himself realized how quickly Cherokee literacy was spreading, and published a letter to that effect in the *Missionary Herald* of October 1828. With an account of the "Invention of the Cherokee Alphabet" and a side-by-side translation of the Lord's Prayer in Cherokee, Worcester makes these observations: "Probably no people in the world can learn to read their own language, when written, so easily as the Cherokees.... This is evident from the fact, that so large a portion of the people could read before the language was printed." Worcester goes on to say that "Probably at the present time, as

large a portion of the people can read, in the Cherokee nation, as in our own" and he affirms that the scripture and hymns printed in each issue of the *Phoenix* "are circulated, and can be read in all parts of the nation."¹³

Earlier, Worcester had forced the ABCFM to acknowledge the tribe's preference for their own invention over the "uniform orthography," developed in 1821 by John Pickering to translate multiple Indian languages. In correspondence published in the *Missionary Herald* in July 1827, Worcester bluntly comes to the point: "If books are printed in Guess's character, they will be read; if in any other, they will lie useless.... Of this I am confident."¹⁴ He goes on: "Whether or not the impression of the Cherokees is correct, in regard to the superiority of their own alphabet for their own use, that impression they have, and it is not easy to be eradicated. It would be a vain attempt to persuade them to relinquish their own method of writing." Worcester even reports the National Council's rejection of a proposal to use Pickering's method, and its appropriation for printing in Cherokee.¹⁵ That National Council action would soon bring Elias Boudinott together with Worcester to get the types cast for the founding of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Through a series of letters with the ABCFM, Worcester gives details of the characters of the syllabary so that the Board could have types cast by the firm of Baker and Greele of Boston.¹⁶ Worcester changed the appearance of several of the characters, and changed the order from their inventor into his own "systematic arrangement"—an arrangement which still guides teaching and learning the Cherokee syllabary. During this time, one of the characters also dropped out of use. Examination of Worcester's letters and comparison of the eighty-six-character "Hicks Syllabary" with Worcester's systematic arrangement reveals the missionary's influence on Cherokee print. While Walker and Sarbaugh in their analysis of the early history of the

The following is the proposed systematic arrangement.

D a	R e	T i	ᵐ o	ᵒ u	ᵓ
ᵑ ga ᵑ ka	ᵑ ge	ᵑ gi	ᵑ go	ᵑ gu	ᵑ
ᵑ ha	ᵑ he	ᵑ hi	ᵑ ho	ᵑ hu	ᵑ
w la	ᵑ le	ᵑ li	ᵑ lo	ᵑ lu	ᵑ
ᵑ ma	ᵑ me	ᵑ mi	ᵑ mo	ᵑ mu	ᵑ
ᵑ na ᵑ hna ᵑ nah	ᵑ ne	ᵑ ni	ᵑ no	ᵑ nu	ᵑ
ᵑ qua	ᵑ que	ᵑ qui	ᵑ quo	ᵑ quu	ᵑ
ᵑ sa	ᵑ se	ᵑ si	ᵑ so	ᵑ su	ᵑ
ᵑ da w ta	ᵑ de ᵑ te	ᵑ di ᵑ tih	ᵑ do	ᵑ du	ᵑ
ᵑ dla ᵑ tla	ᵑ tle	ᵑ tli	ᵑ tlo	ᵑ tlu	ᵑ
ᵑ tsa	ᵑ tse	ᵑ tsi	ᵑ tso	ᵑ tsu	ᵑ
ᵑ wa	ᵑ we	ᵑ wi	ᵑ wo	ᵑ wu	ᵑ
ᵑ ya	ᵑ ye	ᵑ yi	ᵑ yo	ᵑ yu	ᵑ

Figure 2

Worcester's systematic arrangement


syllabary conclude that “the original inventor ...was responsible for the printed forms of the syllabic characters,” this paper invites further speculation on the effects of type-casting wrought by Worcester and the ABCFM.¹⁷








Letters between the American Board and Samuel Worcester detail the arrangements of the Board in having Cherokee types cast. Appended to his letter dated December 22, 1825, Worcester copied all eighty-six Cherokee characters in the order Guess used, and mailed them to the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM.¹⁸ Worcester did promise the Secretary he would “write them again, on the other side of the leaf, in a different order with their sounds as nearly as I know, and can express them.” This is the beginning of Worcester’s systematic arrangement (See Figure 2).

Stating that George Guess’s arrangement of the characters is “entirely without system,” as it probably was placed in order of invention, Worcester suggests his own “systematic arrangement.” The letter describing this systematic arrangement was published in the first number of the *Cherokee Phoenix* (February 28, 1828), and reprinted by the *Missionary Herald* in May 1828. Worcester’s arrangement gathers the characters into six columns, and

includes English pronunciations of each syllable. Each column is headed by a character which represents a vowel sound, and the vertical members of the column are all syllables, which end in that vowel sound. Each descending row shares an initial consonant sound, in English alphabetical order. (For example, all sounds in the second row begin with |g|; all syllables in the third row begin with |h|, the fourth row |l|, then |m|, and so on.) Columns, arranged by vowel sound, are also in English order; there are the five English vowels and the |v| sound, not in English, which Worcester explains is similar to “u in *but*, made nasal, nearly as if followed by the French nasal n.”¹⁹ This pronunciation description is still used.²⁰ Worcester’s systematic arrangement, then, follows English alphabetical order along both of its two dimensions. Putting the Cherokee syllabary in English spelling order is no more systematic for the Cherokee than any other order, and may represent some subtle (perhaps even unconscious) appropriation of the Cherokee means of expression.

In other letters to the Board, Worcester clarified the forms of the syllabic characters and issues related to casting the type. In a letter dated September 2, 1826, Worcester specifies

his wish for the Cherokee types to correspond in size to the small capitals of the English small pica, “so that both [Cherokee and English characters] may be printed in the same line.”²¹ Chief Hicks agreed to Worcester’s suggestion for the sizes. Worcester continues: “Thus I think there will be no occasion for new matrices for sixteen of the characters, viz. R D W G P M B A Z E T J K S H L, as the small capitals of the English fount will answer every purpose.”²² One of the English capitals Worcester included was “S,” which he used to represent the Cherokee syllable |du|. The character which stood for this syllable in the Hicks Syllabary and in a syllabary ascribed to Sequoyah himself showed this character rotated 90° right [].²³

Worcester’s willingness to rotate a character 90° is striking considering the pains he takes in the same letter to differentiate five pairs of characters that are similar: R |e| and  |sv|, W |la| and  |ta|, J |gu| and  |tsu|, the number 4 from the Cherokee  |se|, and the characters  |ni| and  |yo|, both of which resemble the lower case “h” in English. “Nor would it be well,” Worcester continues, “to use an inverted V for  |do|, but rather to have a distinct type....” This insistence is ironic, since in a letter dated July 17, 1834, Worcester advised the Missionary Board that for this character he would begin using “the small capital Roman V”—a change that has continued to modern Cherokee.²⁴ (The letter ends with the numbers needed for each character of Cherokee type; interestingly, the syllabary is given in Guess’s order—not Worcester’s. Kutsche notes that this letter is not in Worcester’s usual hand, but does not venture to guess whose.²⁵ One possibility is the Cherokee printer John Candy, who was working with Worcester at that time.

The difficulties in casting types were compounded by the necessity of exchanging handwritten letters across hundreds of miles. Even with the iterative exchange concerning the shapes of the Cherokee characters, the foundry made some changes. A letter from the

Board to Worcester dated July 5, 1827, complains of the difficulty of uniformity between his earlier and later handwritten syllabary characters. The foundry had to cut “18 or 20 [punches] anew, and [have] nearly as many more altered.”²⁶ The founders are also concerned about Worcester’s directions for the size of the font: “Your first direction was small pica small caps. On this plan the punches were cut. You then direct to have the characters pica small caps on small pica body. This would be difficult perhaps impracticable; the small caps so filling the face as to make the letters touch each other or at least to appear very crowded without leads.” The Corresponding Secretary closes with his assurance of the willingness of the Board to revisit any necessary changes in types when Worcester has seen a specimen.

Despite Worcester’s confusing directions regarding size, the Cherokee characters were cast at a height to match the small caps of the English font used in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, on a substantial vertical face, with a variety of long, thin, flat serifs and rounded flourishes as part of the characters. How did that typeface influence the reception of the Cherokee syllabary? The relative size and weight of the Cherokee types cast by the ABCFM create a formal appearance, one with dignity and authority. This formal appearance of the Cherokee types may have influenced a Euro-American reception of the *Cherokee Phoenix* as a political tool of the Nation, or as a representation of Cherokees as civilized to readers across the United States and in Europe. It is possible that the formal appearance of the type also influenced the reception of the *Phoenix* and/or the printed Cherokee syllabary among native readers of Cherokee.

The ABCFM itself later expressed awareness that typography influenced acceptance by native readers of Arabic.²⁷ Dr. Eli Smith introduced a new form of Arabic type to the mission press in Syria in 1841. Smith’s type was “based on the perfect calligraphy of the smaller Koranic manuscripts” in order to

resemble local Arabic script. After being in use three years, the report to the Board praises the “vastly superior” typeface as more acceptable than any other printed in Arabic.²⁸ The first Cherokee types, then, were not made to correspond to the manuscript characters, but rather to conform to some degree with the appearance of already-respected typefaces used for English. That is, the *appearance* of the Cherokee types was not designed specifically with Cherokees in mind. How, then, might Cherokees familiar with handwritten versions of the syllabary adjust to the changes necessitated by casting it in type?

The handwritten version of the Hicks Syllabary, appended to Charles R. Hicks’s

CHEROKEE SYLLABARY
G W Y J S G T ∞ J

D a	R e	T i	∞ o	∞ u	i v
Ɔ ga ∞ ka	Ɔ ge	Ɔ gi	A go	J gu	E gv
Ɔ ha	Ɔ he	Ɔ hi	Ɔ ho	Ɔ hu	∞ hv
W la	Ɔ le	Ɔ li	G lo	M lu	Ɔ lv
Ɔ ma	∞ me	H mi	∞ mo	Ɔ mu	
∞ na	∞ ne	h ni	Z no	Ɔ nu	∞ nv
t hna	G nah				
T kwa	∞ kwe	∞ kwi	Ɔ kwo	∞ kwu	Ɔ kwv
Ɔ sa ∞ s	Ɔ se	Ɔ si	Ɔ so	Ɔ su	R sv
Ɔ da	Ɔ de	Ɔ di	V do	S du	∞ dv
W ta	Ɔ te	J ti			
∞ dla Ɔ tla	L tle	C tli	Ɔ tlo	∞ tlu	P tlv
G tsa	Ɔ tse	Ɔ tsi	K tso	J tsu	∞ tsv
G wa	∞ we	∞ wi	∞ wo	Ɔ wu	∞ wv
∞ ya	Ɔ ye	∞ yi	Ɔ yo	∞ yu	B yv

Figure 3

letter to Thomas L. McKenney, has not survived, but McKenney included the syllabary in a report to Secretary of War James Barbour in 1826. Barbour had this syllabary engraved and printed to accompany his report to Congress.²⁹ The Hicks Syllabary appears more flowing and lighter than the Worcester Syllabary, due in part to its thinner body, lighter flourishes, and slight italic lean. Whether this syllabary might be more inviting to persons

first familiar with Cherokee script is impossible to declare. The Hicks Syllabary is remarkably similar to a modern version of Cherokee type designed in 1962 by John K. White, who chose an italic face in part because “Cherokee handwriting is frequently written in a slanted fashion”³⁰ (See Figure 3).

These two examples of alternative approaches to casting Cherokee types invite further consideration on whether the American Board’s typesetting affected the way Cherokee print was received. It is important to note Worcester’s continuing influence, even on this 1962 revival: White’s syllabary retains Worcester’s arrangement and the same basic designs for the characters.

One of the readers of the *Cherokee Phoenix* did ask in 1828 about the appearance and order to the syllabary characters, and Worcester’s answers reveal much about not only his role in creating Cherokee print, but also his perception of that role. On April 5, 1828, Constantine Rafinesque, a noted naturalist and philologist, sent the editor of the *Phoenix* a series of questions regarding the Cherokee syllabary and its development. That letter was printed in the *Phoenix* for July 30, 1828. Under the heading “Questions on the Tsalagi Language,” Professor Rafinesque asks several questions that are pertinent to Worcester’s influence on and understanding of the Cherokee language:

1. Why is there such a difference between the alphabet published by the United States in Indian treaties, and that given in No. I. of your Journal or Guess and W. alphabets? I do not mean in the order or pronunciation, but in the forms, terms and nutations [*sic*]?
2. What mean the 3 letters all 3 pron. *un* (French) of Guess, & what is become of them? What is become also of Clough **P**, Cleegh **∞**, Clah **Ɔ**, Clegh **'L**, Cloh **∞**, and the nasal Gnaugh **'L**?³¹

Professor Rafinesque’s questions directly call into question Samuel Worcester’s influence




on the printed forms of the Cherokee syllabary. The second question also raises issues about the ability of the syllabary to be successful in its reduction of Cherokee dialects to printed forms. Worcester's answers indicate his influence on the printed forms of the syllabary, and his place within the philological studies of his time.


Worcester answers Rafinesque's first and second questions in the August 6, 1828, issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.³² Worcester replied to the question about the forms of the characters that "it is to be expected that the handwriting of different persons will vary; and especially that there will be a difference between ordinary handwriting, and a copy prepared as a pattern for types, or the printed characters. The printed letter is sufficiently like the original to be at once recognized, I believe, by every Cherokee reader." Worcester goes on to make a larger claim to authority: "Besides this, I suppose that whoever communicated the Alphabet to the War Department at Washington, was not perhaps entirely familiar with it, and may have made two or three mistakes."³³

Worcester's answer begins with the reasonable explanation that handwriting varies, and that handwriting varies from print. His implicit claim must be, though, that Worcester's handwriting is the authority. His handwriting, after all, is the one which supplied the pattern for the types. This claim to authority is supported in his charge of error for the writer who sent the syllabary to the War Department in 1825. Without here stating what the errors are, Worcester has claimed that, since the War Department syllabary contains mistakes, his own representations of the syllabary's characters—which become a de facto standard by being printed in the national paper—are the authoritative guide for other readers and writers of Cherokee.

Rafinesque's second question about the three characters with the same pronunciation indicates his familiarity with the 1825 Sylla-

bary that was sent to the War Department. Worcester's responses indicate that he is the person who omitted one of the original eighty-six characters, and recognize the imperfections in the syllabary's attempt to represent similar Cherokee sounds. The answers to this question also appear in the August 6, 1828, issue:

Only one of the three letters in question, viz. [v], has simply the sound *un* [in] French. The other two are aspirated, and differ from each other only in that the sound of  is more open than that of . This distinction has been regarded as of so little consequence, particularly by Maj. Lowrey, who has been the *oracle* on this subject, that the character  has been omitted, and as no type has been cast for it, your printers can only represent it, as I perceive they have done, by breaking the English capital G.³⁴

Once again, Worcester establishes himself as the authority in the written language—in this case, the one who was in the position to decide not to cast the type for the character —even though he supposedly rests his decision on Major Lowrey. Saying that no type had been cast for this character may not have been entirely accurate: Worcester's letter of September 2, 1825, includes this character, and none of Worcester's letters of 1825-1827 gathered in the *Papers of the ABCFM* direct the founders not to cast this type. The Kilpatricks also indicate their belief that Worcester deleted the eighty-sixth symbol of the syllabary in their note referring to this exchange.³⁵ Calling Major Lowrey an oracle on the subject recognizes his insight into his native language, while at the same time wresting intellectual authority away from this Cherokee man. Because an oracle is intuitive, or rests on divine revelation, it cannot be logical. Worcester's "perception" (see the last quoted sentence) and his logical arrangement and interpretation of Cherokee syllabics continue to support his role as the authority on the language.

The 1825 Syllabary, also called the Hicks Syllabary, is part of three government documents: House Document 102; American State Papers 08, Indian Affairs 232; and the War Department's letters. The letter appended to the War Department copy was to have the original handwritten syllabary; this letter actually attributes the syllabary copy to Captain Spirit (a Methodist convert and exhorter later renamed John Huss, who worked for the ABCFM to teach Cherokees reading and writing in their own language).³⁶ The other two documents include a letter from David Brown, and attribute the syllabary to him. The handwritten copy no longer exists, but the list of eighty-six associated "sounds" for the characters remains. There are obvious errors: number 70 has a line listed, rather than a pronunciation; for two of the characters (No. 77 and No. 84), the English letters suggest the same pronunciation "Clah;" and on three occasions (Nos. 27, 53, and 68) the sound is represented as "Un (French)." It was these three characters which Rafinesque asked about.

The rest of Worcester's answer to this second question provides additional insight into the missionary's understanding of, and perhaps influence on, changes in the forms of the syllabic characters. Worcester writes:

The character **ᄁ** has, through imperfect penmanship, taken the place of **ᄂ**, pronounced *Tli*, the sound represented in the United States document by *Cleegh*....The sound of **ᄃ** I represent *no*. It is often, perhaps more commonly, aspirated, as if written *hno*, and perhaps slightly nasal. I suppose *gnaugh* is used to represent precisely the same sounds which I would write *hno*.³⁷

Worcester's labeling of the changing form of a character due to "imperfect penmanship" may reflect simply the process of standardization to be expected early in the career of any symbol system. Or Worcester could be continuing his

claim to authority in representing Cherokee character. Of course, setting a character in print hastens standardization. Worcester later simplified the character for *Tli* by representing it with the English capital C.³⁸ This change from his letter of 2 September 1827 (in which C was not named among the 16 characters to be represented by English types) and the original type cast by the Board (**ᄁ**) has continued to modern Cherokee printing.

Worcester's answers to Rafinesque, the ones quoted here and the others, as well as his correspondence with the Board, indicate that he was working adequately within the philology of his time. There were two grammars of the Cherokee language published during the nineteenth century, and in many instances they agree with Worcester's remarks. These grammars were John Pickering's, *Grammar of the Cherokee Language*, published about 1830, and Dr. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz's "Kurze Grammatik der Tscherokeeischen Sprache," published in 1852.³⁹

To learn the language, Pickering worked primarily with a young Cherokee man named David Brown (whose sister Catherine may have been more famous for her conversion to Christianity than he was for his educational accomplishments). Gabelentz's sources included Pickering and a Baptist Cherokee newspaper, *The Cherokee Messenger*, which was published from 1844-1846 in what is now Oklahoma.⁴⁰ Another of Gabelentz's sources was *Archaeologia Americana*, where Samuel Austin Worcester published "Answers to grammatical queries" regarding the Cherokee language.⁴¹

Rafinesque had asked in a separate question, "Is the Tsalagi language totally deficient of the sounds B, D, F, J, P, R, V, X, Z, Th, and all the nasal sounds An, En, In, On, Un?" Worcester's answer was affirmative, but he did not address the nasals at that time.⁴² In his own grammar, Pickering states that Chero-

kee lacks the English sounds B, F, J, P, R, V, Z, and the double ones CH (as in church) SH and TH. He did not address the lack of an X sound because this spelling is “strictly speaking, superfluous in English.”⁴³ Worcester had in his same answer addressed the lack of an X sound as the lack of a combination of the sounds of CKS, and had noted that Cherokees would pronounce Ch as Ts, Z as Ts and Th as D “nearly.” Neither Rafinesque nor Worcester discusses the |sh| sound in this exchange. Pickering does describe a nasal |u| sound, and marks it in his grammar by a capital U with a cedilla beneath it.

Pickering states this character should correspond with “the English short *u* nasalised, which is heard in uttering the first part of the words *hunger*, *uncle*, and also in several words, which are written by the vowel *o*, as *among*, *mongrel*, *monkey*, &c.”⁴⁴ Pickering’s example for clarification draws on nasal pronunciation in French, which recalls Worcester’s own description of the |v| sound in his description of the systematic arrangement.⁴⁵

Another example of the shared context in which this grammatical work was taking place concerns Cherokee pronouns. Worcester wrote “Nouns of relationship are not used in Cherokee except in connexion [*sic*] with inseparable pronouns. Thus we cannot say *a* father, *the* father, *the* son, but [must say instead] *my* father, *thy*, *his*, *our*, father, etc....”⁴⁶ Pickering repeatedly uses the same phrase, “inseparable pronouns” in his descriptions of Cherokee nouns.⁴⁷ Gabelentz discusses what is translated as “bound pronouns,” as well.⁴⁸

Pickering’s grammar was incomplete; only the first four signatures were printed. John R. Krueger provides one possible reason from a handwritten note on the flyleaf of the copy he saw at Harvard:

This grammar was begun by the Hon. John Pickering, of Boston, with the help of Mr. David Brown, brother of Catherine (a half-breed Cherokee) & was so far printed, & at the expense of the American Board of

Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The work was discontinued by Mr. Pickering in consequence, I believe, of some distrust in the fulness and accuracy of David Brown’s knowledge of the language.

Rufus Anderson
Missionary House, April 27, 1850.⁴⁹

If David Brown were involved in the Hicks Syllabary (as claimed in House Document 102 and American State Papers 08, Indian Affairs 232), his inaccuracies might have occasioned Worcester’s responses. Worcester’s correspondence with the American Board shows his familiarity with Pickering’s work in his rejection of Pickering’s orthography for the Cherokees, and it is possible that the two wrote each other directly as well.

Pickering and Worcester were both influential for Gabelentz’s grammar. In December of 1826, Boudinott and Worcester had begun working together “systematizing the Cherokee language and forming rules for the formation of verbs.”⁵⁰ This work may foreshadow Worcester’s letter to the *Phoenix* concerning the intricacies of the Cherokee verb forms, specifically the “29 tenses in the Indicative mode” and “178 forms of the verb *to tie*.”⁵¹ Interestingly enough, similar language for the 29 tenses and 178 forms of *to tie* appear earlier, in a letter from Elias Boudinott to his brother-in-law, dated 5 January 1827.⁵² *To tie* is the same verb treated extensively in Gabelentz’s “Kurze Grammatik der Tscherokesischen Sprache,” published in 1852.⁵³ Pickering’s Grammar does not address verbs.

This discussion of Worcester’s philological work against that of Gabelentz and Pickering doesn’t suggest that one is more correct than another; the intention is to show that Worcester was working within an acceptable context of other philologists of his time. More specifically, his understanding of the language gives him some degree of authority in describing its grammar, translating and using

the syllabic characters—even in arranging them for his own use. One substantial concern, though, is the potential for appropriation of the forms and their transmission (in his systematic arrangement) this white missionary had on a native writing system. After all, Worcester’s forms and arrangement still guide the teaching of Cherokee writing today.

And Samuel Worcester was not only involved in arranging Cherokee characters and translating texts; he also worked with the printers for the Cherokees to get the print shop in order and produce the first books printed in Cherokee—books from the Bible and *Cherokee Hymns*. So the story of Cherokee printing has grown beyond just the missionary, to include the stories of several other people, the ones who produced texts, and the environment in which they produced them. These people include not only Worcester and the editor Elias Boudinott, but also the first printers for the Nation: Isaac Harris, John F. Wheeler, and John Candy.

On October 18, 1826, the National Council appointed Isaac Harris as the first printer for the tribe, and authorized him to procure a journeyman printer.⁵⁴ This white man from near Jasper, Tennessee, then traveled to Huntsville, Alabama, to persuade John Foster Wheeler to work with him, since the two had worked together there on the *Southern Advocate*.⁵⁵ Harris’s annual salary of \$400 was higher than the editor’s \$300 (also the salary for the principal chief!), and a cause of friction with the editor Boudinott.⁵⁶

Harris and Wheeler arrived at New Echota around December 23, 1827, and began to study the syllabary while they awaited the arrival of the press, type, and other materials. Their apprentice, a “half-blood” Cherokee named John Candy, also aided their study of the language. Wheeler wrote of Candy that he “was of great help to me in giving words where they were not plainly written.”⁵⁷ Wheeler believed Harris had a more difficult time than he learning the Cherokee characters, and wrote

1 ႠႢႣႤႥႦ ႧႨႩႪ ႫႬႭႮ ႯႰႱႲ
ႳႴႵ ႶႷႸ.
2 ႹႺႻ ႼႽႾႿ ႠႡ ႢႣႤႥႦ ႧႨႩ,
ႫႬႭႮ ႯႰႱ ႲႳႴ ႵႶႷႸႹ ႺႻႼႽ;
ႾႿ ႠႡႢႣႤ ႥႦႧႨႩ ႪႫႬႭႮ.
3 ႯႰႱႲႳႴ, ႵႶ ႷႸႹ, ႺႻႼႽ, ႾႿ
ႠႡႢႣ.
4 ႠႡ ႢႣႤႥႦ ႧႨႩႪ ႫႬ ႭႮ ႯႰ ႱႲႳႴ.
ႵႶႷႸႹ ႺႻႼႽ ႾႿ ႠႡႢႣႤ.
5 ႥႦႧႨႩ ႪႫႬ ႭႮ ႯႰႱႲ;
ႳႴႵ ႶႷႸ ႹႺႻႼႽ ႾႿ ႠႡႢႣႤ.

Figure 4

that Harris “abandoned the learning of the alphabet.” After that, Wheeler took charge of setting Cherokee type. Problems with the language were not the only difficulty Harris was to encounter; a variety of problems would eventually lead to Harris’s dismissal.

On November 8, 1827, ABCFM Secretary Jeremiah Evarts wrote to Worcester that the types and furniture had been ready for several weeks, but that the Board had been waiting to purchase a press until they could invite input from the printers. Waiting no longer, the Board had purchased a “union press” which “seems simple in its structure—easily set up—& not likely to get out of repair.”⁵⁸ Wheeler described their new press as “a small royal type,” which he had not seen before, and writes that it was “of cast-iron, with spiral springs to hold up the platen.”⁵⁹

Worcester had also sent the Board a translation of first five verses of Genesis in the syllabary, which the Board published in the *Missionary Herald* of December 1827, stating above their text that it “is printed from the fount of types lately cast for the Cherokee government”⁶⁰ (See Figure 4). In issues for May and October 1828,⁶¹ after shipping the types to New Echota, the *Herald* ran some articles using Cherokee characters, suggesting that they too purchased a set of Cherokee types.⁶² In fact, on December 21, 1827, the *Boston Recorder and Religious Telegraph*



Figure 5

published an announcement of the Cherokee press with Cherokee characters borrowed from the *Herald*.

When the press and types arrived, the printers discovered that there was no paper. Harris took a wagon to a paper mill at Knoxville, Tennessee, to gather separately molded sheets on which to begin their venture.⁶³ While he was gone, Wheeler set about solving an additional problem: the need for stands, a bank, and cases for the type. Since this was the first set of Cherokee type, it required the invention of new cases. Wheeler constructed cases of more than 100 boxes each, measuring three by three and one-half feet, to hold the types and points.⁶⁴ He arranged the types in them on the order of Worcester's

systematic arrangement, with the six vowels nearest to hand.⁶⁵ Wheeler recalls building boxes for eighty-six characters, an observation which is interesting given Worcester's assertion that no type was cast for the discontinued character.⁶⁶

Despite these problems, Boudinott, Harris, Wheeler, and Candy were able to produce their first edition within one month of getting all their supplies (See Figure 5). Dated February 21, 1828, the inaugural *Cherokee Phoenix* listed Elias Boudinott as editor and Isaac H. Harris as printer. Only one year later than *Freedom's Journal*, the first African American paper, the *Cherokee Phoenix's* editor was also committed to "plead our own cause" in the types in them on the order of Worcester's "liberation and advancement of the race."⁶⁷ The

Cherokee Phoenix was to run weekly, printed on super royal paper in five columns. The column width and length varied as the paper supply varied, in widths of 13 or 14 ems and lengths of 17 ½ inches to 22.⁶⁸ Most of the English articles were printed in a 10-point Long Primer type.⁶⁹ Advertising, which was generally restricted to the bottom of the two right columns on page four, was set in six-point type.⁷⁰ In addition to the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the printers produced three editions of the *Cherokee Hymns* over the next few years, as well as several books of the Bible and other religious works.

The role of religion and its relationship with the political arena created strife in the printing office. Within a year, Harris was relieved of his duties. Sources disagree on the reason, with some blaming religious denominational strife. Harris was Methodist, while Boudinott and Worcester were Presbyterian. Other writers say Boudinott's disagreement with Harris over wages spoiled their relationship, although Harris's qualifications and work ethic may have also been suspect: Worcester had twice written of these concerns.⁷¹

The most immediate cause, however, was Harris's spreading rumors to the effect that Worcester was the true editor of the *Phoenix*. All of the problems reflected in Harris's tenure at the paper are issues with which Cherokee printing had to contend: money problems, inter-denominational strife, and political issues, including repeated charges that Worcester was really the editor guiding Cherokee printing. Worcester emphatically denied these charges, writing on 12 November 1828: "I have never, in any single instance, given or intimated my opinion to the editor of the Phoenix....I have never suggested a single remark to the Editor of the Phoenix....I have never written or dictated one sentence...except the few sentences in No. 35, published during the late sickness of the Editor...."⁷² The missionary's strength of feeling might have been surpassed by the editor's, whose remarks were published in the

same number.

By the beginning of 1829, John F. Wheeler was the printer of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, and he would continue to work with the Nation for almost two more decades. Wheeler and the Cherokee apprentice John Candy also provide a graphic example of the interconnections among this small group of people: both were married to sisters of Elias Boudinot, Wheeler to Nancy Watie on April 23, 1829, and Candy to Mary Ann Watie in March 1832.⁷³

On October 19, 1828, the National Committee had resolved to procure, clothe and board, a Cherokee apprentice who "speaks and writes the same dialect with the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet."⁷⁴ A resolution was passed exactly one month later to acquire "another Cherokee youth of good qualities and capacity" as an apprentice printer. John Candy and Mark Tyger were those first two apprentices.⁷⁵ There was also a third Cherokee youth apprenticed to Wheeler: the editor's brother, Thomas Black Watie.⁷⁶ Watie isn't credited with any other imprints; Mark Tyger did some printing for the Cherokee tribe after Removal.

John Candy had been born about 1806 and educated at the Brainerd mission school.⁷⁷ On October 13, 1826, John Candy was named by the General Council as clerk of the election to the National Constitutional Convention, to serve the second precinct of the Chickamauga District.⁷⁸ He served his apprenticeship to Wheeler from 1828 until 1831, when he emerged as printer for the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Wheeler was unable to print for the Cherokees from 1831 until after he moved West in 1835 because of the increasing political tension with the State of Georgia over the Removal crisis. In March 1831, the Georgia Guard arrested Samuel Worcester, the printer Wheeler, and several other white men because they had not sworn an oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia or obtained a written permission from the state's governor to be in Cherokee Territory.⁷⁹ The men were marched more than one hundred miles and kept in

chains. They were offered their freedom in exchange for agreeing not to violate the laws of Georgia. Seven of the men, including Wheeler, agreed; Worcester and another missionary named Elizur Butler did not.⁸⁰ Wheeler moved to Tennessee for a time, then to the Cherokee territory in what is now Oklahoma.⁸¹ Boudinott passionately documented these imprisonments to inform not only the Cherokees, but also a wider American audience, to “induce” them “to feel and to act on this momentous subject.”⁸²

During the early 1830s, the Georgia Guard roamed the Cherokee Nation within the limits claimed by the state, instituting what John F. Wheeler called a “reign of terror.”⁸³ Political turmoil surged across the Cherokee Nation, and Boudinott resigned his editorial post in August 1832, because of his disagreement with tribal leadership over the issue of Removal. Financial problems, a lawsuit, and continued political pressures took their toll on the remaining staff. *The Cherokee Phoenix* limped through 1833 and published only seven issues in 1834, before ceasing publication in May. The press continued to turn out religious tracts, some of which were published by Boudinott and Worcester, who had been pardoned and released in March 1833.⁸⁴ The Georgia Guard seized the press in 1834, halting all Cherokee printing in the East. Worcester moved West in 1835, and began printing again. The ABCFM shipped a Tufts Standing Press, which Worcester set up in Union Mission, in what is now Oklahoma, and he soon began printing with the help of John Candy.⁸⁵

Samuel Worcester contributed articles and letters, and was the subject of articles within the *Cherokee Phoenix* for most of its seven-year career. His contributions to the paper occurred most before his 1831-33 imprisonment, although while confined he continued to send letters to be printed in the paper. Also during the period 1828-1834, Worcester and Boudinott used the press and printers of the *Cherokee Phoenix* to publish 14,650 copies (733,800 pages) of Christian books: there are

three editions of the *Cherokee Hymns*, totaling more than 4000 copies, two editions of the *Gospel of Mathew* totaling another 4000, the *Church Litany of the United Brethren*, religious inspiration *Poor Sarah*, and other *Scripture Extracts*.⁸⁶ Along with Worcester’s systematic arrangement, his translations of the Bible and the *Cherokee Hymns* were his greatest contributions to Native American publishing history.

A census of the Cherokees in the East taken in 1835 shows that the number of Cherokee readers (3,914) was nearly four times the number of readers of English (1,070), and that a little more than half of all families had a reader of Cherokee (1,341 out of 2,637).⁸⁷ Within a little more than a decade of its introduction, Guess’s syllabary—in forms fixed by Samuel Austin Worcester—had given the Cherokee people the means to produce and interpret a wide range of texts in their native language, from educational resources and religious matter to political statements. Indeed, the very production of Cherokee print was, and continues to be, a political act. The Cherokee syllabary provided the building blocks of the technology of literacy, and Samuel Austin Worcester most certainly influenced that technology in the standardization of forms and their arrangement. His influence continues to this day.

Margaret Bender conducted field research among the Cherokees in North Carolina in the 1990s with the intention of finding a “Cherokee ideology of literacy.”⁸⁸ To that end, she attended multiple Cherokee language classes, and she noted that in all settings for teaching the syllabary, as well as many homes, Worcester’s arrangement is present in a chart.⁸⁹ Bender also observed distinctions among the Cherokee for the appearance of written Cherokee corresponding with the context: officially-sanctioned, educational, and Christian-oriented texts are faithfully modeled on Worcester’s syllabary, while more individualistic, italic hands are associated with “conjuring” and/or witchcraft.⁹⁰

Tribal members writing in Cherokee within educational or Christian church settings overtly and laboriously attempt to match their character formation with the appearance of standardized Cherokee typefaces still similar to those first produced by the ABCFM, while conjurors are reported to have difficult-to-read, slanted handwriting, with variations among the formations of the characters. Bender's conclusions regarding specialized Cherokee writing by conjurors to preserve their formulae build on that conducted by Raymond Fogelson in the mid-twentieth century and James Mooney in the late 1880s. Mooney claimed that, while the syllabary was "in constant and daily use" among the Cherokee in the West and in North Carolina for "letter writing, council records, personal memoranda, etc.," it had also been enthusiastically adopted by "priests and conjurors" to preserve "ancient rituals and secret knowledge of the tribe."⁹¹ Theda Perdue also addresses this use of the syllabary to preserve traditional religious knowledge, and traces the divergence of this practice from the adoption of the syllabary by the elite for their own political ends.⁹²

Today's writers of Cherokee, then, maintain a "link with Samuel Worcester's primal act of 'codification' that prototypically established two elements of contemporary Cherokee writing: the chart as the key to the syllabic code, and the form of print to be considered standard."⁹³ Bender goes so far as to call Worcester's syllabary chart itself an "iconic capsule" referring to "the history of Cherokee writing, Cherokee civilization, and Cherokee cultural identity."⁹⁴ Accompanying the chart often are other icons of Cherokee writing that descend from Samuel Worcester's work among the tribe: the Cherokee New Testament and Cherokee Hymns. Worcester first worked with Elias Boudinott to publish the Bible and hymns in Cherokee between 1828 and 1834 in the East, and then continued to publish editions himself after Removal. Many individual hymns and chapters of the Gospels were first published in the *Phoenix*. Pamela Jean Owens

describes how Worcester's translation of the Bible became more accepted than earlier translations by Cherokees David Brown and John Arch, or those of other missionaries, and of course, Worcester's access to the press "eclipsed" all other translations.⁹⁵ Owens declares that Worcester's is the only Cherokee-language translation of the Bible widely available, and Bender's research indicates that the New Testament is still used as a rule for learning Cherokee.⁹⁶ Bender also finds Worcester's translation of the Bible has a continued presence in many Cherokee homes, and states that the Cherokee Hymnal was "carried around faithfully by most of the elderly Cherokees I know."⁹⁷

Samuel Worcester's influence on the standardization of the syllabic characters and the potential for appropriation of native means of expression certainly represent an addition to the scholarly record of Native American publishing history, but Worcester's translations of the Bible and publication of hymns in Cherokee should not be overlooked. They may not seem at first to be part of the tribe's discourse of sovereignty, but Pamela Jean Owens highlights the charged nature of these Christian texts and the importance of their being in Cherokee: "the various translation projects and the translations they produced became highly political and politicized acts which would help to ensure the survival of the Cherokee language and, ultimately, the continued sovereignty of the Cherokee people."⁹⁸ The Cherokee New Testament and the *Cherokee Hymns* deserve continued study within this context.

Although the first *Cherokee Phoenix* ceased publication in 1834, the tribe reestablished its own newspaper, the *Cherokee Advocate*, in 1844 under the editorial guidance of Chief Ross's nephew William Potter Ross, and with some interruptions and name changes along the way, the Cherokee tribe still publishes the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*. Samuel Worcester's impact on Cherokee consciousness was not defined by the *Cherokee*

Phoenix, although he did make significant contributions to the tribe and to Native American publishing history by standardizing the characters of the syllabary, helping establish the Cherokee press, and translating Christian texts into Cherokee.

Figures

1. Hicks Syllabary of 1825, which accompanied Thomas McKenney's "Preservation and Civilization of the Indians...." United States War Department. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1826. 19th Congress, 1st Session. House. Document 102.
2. Worcester's Systematic Arrangement, as published in the *Missionary Herald*, 24 (May 1828): 162.
3. 1962 Italic Syllabary, John K. White, "On the Revival of Printing in the Cherokee Language." *Current Anthropology* 3 (1962): 512.
4. First five verses from Genesis, submitted by Samuel Worcester and printed in the *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827), p. 382.
5. Detail from *Cherokee Phoenix*, 1 no. 4 (March 13, 1828), from Gabriel, 112.

Notes

¹ Willard Walker and James Sarbaugh, "The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary," *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993): 72.

² Charles L. Hicks to Thomas L. McKenney, 14 January 1825, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters received by Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, RG75, M-234, roll 71; frames 553-58. National Archives.

³ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Published by Authority of the National Council*. The Constitutions and Laws of the American Indian Tribes, v. 9. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1973), 47. This source is a reprint of *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Adopted by the Council at Various Periods*. (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation: Cherokee Advocate Office, 1852).

⁴ Sally Miller, introduction to *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. Sally M. Miller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), xii, xiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiv-xvi.

⁶ Yumei Sun, "San Francisco's *Chung Sai Yat Po* and the Transformation of Chinese Consciousness, 1900-1920," in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*, ed. James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 90. For a comparative study of the African American press, see in the same volume Violet Johnson, "Pan-Africanism in Print: The *Boston Chronicle* and the Struggle for Black Liberation and Advancement, 1930-50."

⁷ Rudolf J. Vecoli, "The Italian Immigrant Press and the Construction of Social Reality, 1850-1920" in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*, ed. James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 18-19.

⁸ Theda Perdue, "Rising from the Ashes: The *Cherokee Phoenix* as an Ethnohistorical Source," *Ethnohistory* 24 (1977): 207-18. Vecoli 18.

⁹ Barbara Luebke, "Elias Boudinot and 'Indian Removal'" in *Outsiders in 19th-Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives*, ed. Frankie Hutton and Barbara Straus Reed (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995). 115-44; Robert G. Martin, "The Cherokee Phoenix: Pioneer of Indian Journalism," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* XXV (1947): 102-118; Theda Perdue, ed., *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936).

¹⁰ Bass, *ibid.*

¹¹ Hicks to McKenney.

¹² James Mooney, *James Mooney's History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, ed. George Ellison (Asheville, NC: Historical Images, 1992), 110-11.

¹³ Samuel A. Worcester, "Invention of the Cherokee Alphabet," *Missionary Herald* 24 (1828): 331.

¹⁴ Samuel A. Worcester, "The Syllabic Cherokee Alphabet," *Missionary Herald* 23 (1827): 213.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees: The Brainerd Mission*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 245; Althea Bass, "The Cherokee Press," *The Colophon: A Book Collectors' Quarterly* 4 (1933-1934): n.p.

¹⁷ Willard Walker and James Sarbaugh, "The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary," *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993): 88. See also Willard Walker, "The Roles of Samuel A. Worcester and Elias Boudinot in the Emergence of a Printed Cherokee Syllabic Literature," *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 51 (1985): 610-612.

¹⁸ Samuel A. Worcester to [Rufus] Anderson, 22 December 1825. (Papers of the ABCFM 18.3.1 vol. 5 pt. 2, Item 229). From American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Unit 6: Missions on the American continents and to the islands of the Pacific* (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1984).

¹⁹ Samuel A. Worcester, "Cherokee Alphabet," *Missionary Herald* 24 (1828): 162.

²⁰ See Margaret Bender, "Note on Orthography" in her *Signs of Culture: Sequoyah's Syllabary in Eastern Cherokee Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), xix.

²¹ Samuel A. Worcester to Jeremiah Evarts, 2 September 1826 (Papers of the ABCFM 18.3.1 vol. 5 pt. 2, no. 232).

²² *Ibid.*

²³ See Hicks Syllabary, appended to his letter to McKenney, and Walker and Sarbaugh, Figures 4 and 5.

²⁴ Samuel A. Worcester to David Greene, July 17, 1834 (Papers of the ABCFM 18.3.1, v. 7, no. 234).

²⁵ Paul Kutsche, *A Guide to Cherokee Documents in the Northeastern United States*, Native American Bibliography Series 7. (Methuen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986), 246.

²⁶ Jeremiah Evarts to Samuel A. Worcester, July 5, 1827 (ABCFM 1.01 v. 7, no. 270).

²⁷ Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 5th ed. (Boston: The Board, 1862), 343.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ James Barbour, "Letter from the Secretary of War, to the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, accompanied by a bill for the preservation and civilization of the Indian tribes within the United States," Document No. 102, 19th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington City: Gales and Seaton, 1826).

³⁰ John K. White, "On the Revival of Printing in the Cherokee Language," *Current Anthropology* 3 (1962): 512.

³¹ Professor [Constantine] Rafinesque, "Questions on the Tsalagi Language," *Cherokee Phoenix* 1, no. 22 (30 July 1828): 2.

³² W. [Samuel A. Worcester], "Answers to Professor Rafinesque's Questions," *Cherokee Phoenix* 1, no. 23 (August 6, 1828): 2.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, *New Echota Letters: Contributions of Samuel A. Worcester to the Cherokee Phoenix* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1968): 32n12.

³⁶ For more information on Captain Spirit/John Huss, see William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), esp. 306.

³⁷ W. [Samuel A. Worcester], "Answers to Professor Rafinesque's Questions," *Cherokee Phoenix* 1 no. 23 (August 6, 1828): 2.

³⁸ Samuel A. Worcester to David Greene, 26 August 1836, quoted in Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 187-88.

³⁹ John Pickering, *Grammar of the Cherokee Language* [Boston: Mission Press, 1830?]; Gabelentz's Grammar is republished in John R. Krueger, "Two Early Grammars of Cherokee," *Anthropological Linguistics* 35 nos. 1-4, (1993): 291-358.

⁴⁰ Krueger, 293.

⁴¹ See Krueger and James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 170.

- ⁴² W. [Samuel A. Worcester], “Answers to Professor Rafinesque’s Questions,” *Cherokee Phoenix* 1 no. 23 (August 6, 1828): 2.
- ⁴³ Pickering, 10-11.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.
- ⁴⁵ Pickering, 14; Samuel A. Worcester, “Cherokee Alphabet,” *Missionary Herald* 24 (1828): 162.
- ⁴⁶ W. [Samuel A. Worcester], “Poetry” *Cherokee Phoenix* 1 no. 1 (28 February 1828): 4. Worcester had submitted a Cherokee hymn modeled after a “hymn to the Trinity,” and followed the Cherokee hymn with a loose English translation. Worcester’s comments regarding Cherokee pronouns were part of his note explaining the translation. See also Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 161-62.
- ⁴⁷ Pickering, 22 and ff., esp. 35-41.
- ⁴⁸ Krueger, 296-98.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 292.
- ⁵⁰ Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee and His America*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 99.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.* See also Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 59-69.
- ⁵² Elias and Harriet Gold Boudinot to Herman and Flora Gold Vaill, 5 January 1827, in Theresa Strouth Gaul, ed. *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 153-54.
- ⁵³ Krueger, 311-319.
- ⁵⁴ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws* 84-85.
- ⁵⁵ John F. Wheeler, “The Cherokees: Recollections of a Life of Fifty Years Among Them: No. I” *Indian Record* 1 no. 6 (October 1886): 1.
- ⁵⁶ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws*, 84-85, 110.
- ⁵⁷ Wheeler, 1.
- ⁵⁸ JE [Jeremiah Evarts] to Rev. Saml A. Worcester, 8 November 1827 (ABCFM 1.01, v. 8, p. 5).
- ⁵⁹ Wheeler 1.
- ⁶⁰ “Printing Press and Types for the Cherokee Nation” *Missionary Herald* XXIII no. 12 (December 1827): 382.
- ⁶¹ Specifically, these are XXIV no. 5 (see p 162) and XXIV no. 10 (see pp 331-32).
- ⁶² Cullen Joe Holland, “Cherokee Indian Newspapers, 1828-1906: The Tribal Voice of a People in Transition” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1956), 44-45.
- ⁶³ Wheeler, 1.

- ⁶⁴ Mary Ann Littlefield, "John Foster Wheeler of Forth Smith: Pioneer Printer and Publisher," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 44 no. 3 (1985): 266.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Wheeler, 1.
- ⁶⁷ Violet Johnson, "Pan-Africanism in Print: The *Boston Chronicle* and the Struggle for Black Liberation and Advancement, 1930-50" in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*, ed. James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 56.
- ⁶⁸ Holland 49. See also Martin, 107.
- ⁶⁹ Holland, 49.
- ⁷⁰ Martin, 107.
- ⁷¹ Worcester's words were "I have some fear that Mr. Harris will not prove so completely master of the art as is to be desired." S.A. Worcester to Jeremiah Evarts, 22 October 1827 (ABCFM 18.3.1, vol. 5, pt. 2, Item 240); Althea Bass "The Cherokee Press" *The Colophon: A Book Collectors' Quarterly* 4 (1933-1934): n.p.
- ⁷² This exchange took place in letters to and from the editor, *Cherokee Phoenix* I, no. 37 (November 12, 1828): 2; also in Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick, 38.
- ⁷³ See John Candy to Stand Watie in *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*. Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 32. See also Littlefield, 267 and Holland, 107.
- ⁷⁴ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws*, 86.
- ⁷⁵ James Larwood, *Georgia 1800-1900: A Series of Selections from the Georgiana Library of a Private Collection*. Series Ten: The Cherokee Indians of Georgia With Some Notice of The Timacuas and The Creeks. (Atlanta: Atlanta Public Library, 1956), 210.
- ⁷⁶ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws*, 145.
- ⁷⁷ Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1890* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951), 12; Joyce B. Phillips and Paul Gary Phillips, eds., *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), Table 4.
- ⁷⁸ Cherokee Nation, *Compiled Laws*, 73.
- ⁷⁹ William G. McLoughlin, "Cherokees and Methodists, 1824-1834" *Church History* 50, no. 1 (1981): 58.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., 61-62.
- ⁸¹ Littlefield, 270.
- ⁸² Elias and Harriet Gold Boudinot to Herman and Flora Gold Vaill, July 1, 1831, in Gaul, 175-76.

⁸³ John F. Wheeler, “The Cherokees: Recollections of a Life of Fifty Years Among Them: No. V.” *Indian Record* 1, no. 11 (February 1887): 5.

⁸⁴ Holland, 100.

⁸⁵ Littlefield, 270-71.

⁸⁶ Reported by Samuel Austin Worcester, noted in “Books in the Cherokee Language” *Missionary Herald* 29 no. 11 (November 1833): 424.

⁸⁷ William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Conser, Jr. “The Cherokees in Transition: A Statistical Analysis of the Federal Cherokee Census of 1835” *The Journal of American History* 64 (December 1977): 682, 692.

⁸⁸ Margaret Bender, *Signs of Culture: Sequoyah’s Syllabary in Eastern Cherokee Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), xii.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 56-57, 78, 90.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 68, 93-95.

⁹¹ *James Mooney’s History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, ed. George Ellison (Asheville, NC: Historical Images, 1992), 112.

⁹² Theda Perdue, “The Sequoyah Syllabary and Cultural Revitalization” in *Perspectives on the Southeast: Linguistics, Archaeology, and Ethnohistory*, ed. Patricia B. Kwachka. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 116-25.

⁹³ Bender 99.

⁹⁴ Bender 87.

⁹⁵ Pamela Jean Owens, “Bible Translation and Language Preservation: The Politics of the Nineteenth Century Cherokee Bible Translation Projects,” *Technical Papers for the Bible Translator* 57 (2006): 8-9.

⁹⁶ Owens 9; Bender 95, 99.

⁹⁷ Bender 95, 99, 54, 52.

⁹⁸ Owens, 2.