

fidelity: faithfulness

For more information see
Chapter 17 of Book 4, *The New Nation*.

oath of fidelity to it. The government of the United States, then, though limited in its powers, is supreme; and its laws, when made in pursuance of the constitution, form the supreme law of the land, "anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

33. James Monroe, *The Monroe Doctrine* (1823)

The Monroe Doctrine declared that the United States opposed the establishment of new European colonies and nondemocratic governments in the Western Hemisphere. President James Monroe proclaimed this principle in 1823, at a time when the United States was concerned about Russian and European activity in the Americas. British leaders suggested that the United States and Britain issue a joint statement against European intervention in Latin America, but Secretary of State John Quincy Adams recommended that President Monroe issue a unilateral statement. The President did. President Monroe announced that the United States would not interfere in European affairs and regarded the Western Hemisphere closed to future European colonization. He pledged that the United States would regard any European attempt "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

During the early 20th century, the Monroe Doctrine was often used to justify American intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. During the Cold War, it was used to justify U.S. support for anti-Communist governments in Latin America and opposition to unfriendly governments in Cuba, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and elsewhere.

At the proposal of the Russian imperial government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The government of the United States has been desirous, by this

amicable: friendly

acceded: agreed

friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal, to improve the condition of the people of those countries; and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare, that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But, with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing

manifesting: demonstrating

solicitude: care

cultivate: grow

colonization: made subservient to a foreign or distant land

commencement: beginning

derive: gain

comport: agree

hemisphere: half of the globe

impartial: not favoring one side or another

felicity: happiness

candor: honesty

interposition: getting involved with the affairs of another

oppressing: holding down or back

manifestation: sign
disposition: attitude
neutrality: lack of special favorites
adhered: stuck
competent: appropriate

adduced: shown

interposed: interfered

agitated: stirred up

de facto: in reality, but not by law

eminently: importantly
conspicuously: clearly

subdue: beat

them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between these new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government, shall make a corresponding change, on the part of the United States, indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal, shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact, no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question, in which all independent powers, whose governments differ from theirs, are interested; even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy, in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But, in regard to those continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern Brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States, to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

34. From *Memorial of the Cherokee Nation* (1830)

As late as the 1820s, the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees occupied much of the land that would become the South's Cotton Kingdom. After Andrew Jackson became President, Congress adopted the Indian Removal Act of 1830, providing funds to acquire tribal lands and relocate the tribes living there to Oklahoma and Arkansas. By 1840, almost all of these tribes had been moved west of the Mississippi River.

The Cherokees had little interest in moving west. In 1791, they had signed a treaty that recognized Cherokee territory in Georgia as independent. An 1832 Supreme Court decision, *Worcester v. Georgia*, ruled that "The Cherokee Nation is a distinct community occupying its own territory in which the laws of Georgia have no right to enter without the consent of the Cherokees." In 1835, however, President Jackson persuaded a minority of Cherokees to sign a treaty giving up their homelands in western Georgia for new Western lands. The tribe's leaders submitted the following *Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation* to Congress in 1836. It showed that President Jackson had obtained the 1835 treaty by fraud. Nevertheless, the army evicted the Cherokees from their land in 1838. Thousands of Cherokees died from malnutrition, disease, and physical hardship as they followed the "Trail of Tears" westward.

We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to remove beyond the Mississippi. We think otherwise. Our people universally think otherwise. Thinking that it would be fatal to their interests, they have almost to a man sent their memorial to Congress, deprecating the necessity of a removal. . . . It is incredible that Georgia should ever have enacted the oppressive laws to which reference is here made, unless she had supposed that something extremely terrific in its character was necessary in order to make the Cherokees willing to remove. We are not willing to remove; and if we could be brought to this extremity, it would be not by argument, nor because our judgment was satisfied, not because our condition will be improved; but only because we cannot endure to be deprived of our national and individual rights and subjected to a process of intolerable oppression.

We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of

For more information see
 Chapters 24 and 25, Book 4,
The New Nation.

deprecating: protesting against
oppressive: unjust in the application of power