
Andrew Jackson and Cherokee Removal

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INTRODUCTION

In the 1830s, the federal government of the United States forced most of the Native Americans living east of the Mississippi off their homelands. Ostensibly intended to relocate these Indians on sparsely populated and less desirable lands to the west; this massive “removal” resulted in the deaths of many. Because the justification for removal was often framed in terms of savage Indians and civilized whites, the forced migration of the Cherokee people earned the most attention at the time and since. Of the Native American people who were finally forced to leave their lands and migrate across the Mississippi River—Choctaw, Cherokee, Creeks, and others—the Cherokee made the most sustained and successful effort to accommodate to the white man’s ways. They aided Andrew Jackson in his victory over the Creeks at the pivotal Battle of Horseshoe Bend, 27 March 1814. They made rapid advancement in agriculture, education, and adoption of the Christian religion. In 1827, the Cherokee adopted a written constitution patterned after the Constitution of the United States and claimed to be a sovereign, independent nation with complete jurisdiction over their territory. Neither the federal nor state governments recognized that claim. Ultimately, their efforts to retain their land and freedom were to no avail.

Soon after the Cherokee adopted their constitution, the states in which they resided, especially Georgia, stepped up efforts to gain control of their land. When Andrew Jackson became president of the United States in 1829, he initiated the first major federal effort to relocate Native American populations. His policy, consonant with that of Georgia and other southern states and reflecting the opinions and desires of most white Americans, was

to clear the lands east of the Mississippi River for settlement and exploitation by whites.

Jackson's policy was a success. By the Treaty of New Echota, 29 December 1835, a small group of Cherokee leaders ceded the nation's land east of the Mississippi River to the United States for the sum of \$5 million and a promise of sufficient land for their resettlement in the west. The treaty bitterly divided the Cherokee into pro- and anti-removal parties and led to the murder, or execution, of John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Major Ridge, who favored the treaty, by members of their own nation.

In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which enabled President Jackson to exchange land west of the Mississippi River for tribal territory in the southeastern states. Almost sixteen thousand Cherokee were forced to emigrate, and, according to one estimate, about one-fourth of them died in concentration camps or along the "Trail of Tears," the Cherokee name for the terrible trek west.

How shall we understand what happened to the Cherokee, and indeed to all Native Americans, following the advent and expansion of Europeans in their land? Andrew Jackson has been accused of genocide, as have, of late, Christopher Columbus and all Europeans who invaded, settled, and conquered the Americas.

What is genocide? Webster's New World Dictionary defines it as: "first applied to the attempted killing or extermination of a whole people or nation." You see the key words: "killing," "extermination," "whole people or nation." Was that Andrew Jackson's intent? Or, if not his intent, was it in any case the result of his policy, abetted by the majority of white Americans? If not, why did what happened happen? Jackson himself believed that what happened was tragic but inevitable. So did many of his contemporaries, and so do many today. Jackson believed the removal and deaths of so many Cherokee was the result of the often-repeated clash between civilization and savagery; between a dynamic, superior culture and a backward, inferior one.

Was there no other, better, way? You decide.

JUDGING JACKSON: PRAGMATIC POLITICIAN OR SCHEMING HYPOCRITE?

Following are two views of Andrew Jackson's removal policy. They present differing, often conflicting interpretations of Jackson as a man and as a political leader, of the complex issues involved in Indian removal, and of the results of Jackson's policy and the related actions of Georgia and other southeastern states in relocating Native Americans west of the Mississippi River.

The first selection is an article written by Francis Paul Prucha, a professor at Marquette University. Perhaps no other scholar has published so extensively on Jackson and Indian removal as Prucha. This early article, published in 1969, clearly explains the position that Prucha has since maintained: that Jackson did not hate Native Americans, that he had no intent to destroy them, that he had the best interests of Native Americans at heart, although he firmly believed that America—the United States—was a white man's country. Edward Pessen, author of the second selection, takes a different view of Jackson's policy. He argues that Jackson zealously worked to bring about removal, regardless of the costs. Pessen questions Jackson's claims to have the best interests of the Cherokee at heart, claims which Prucha accepts at face value.

Jackson as a Pragmatic Statesman

Francis Paul Prucha argues that Jackson's policy toward the Native Americans was dictated primarily by considerations of national secu-

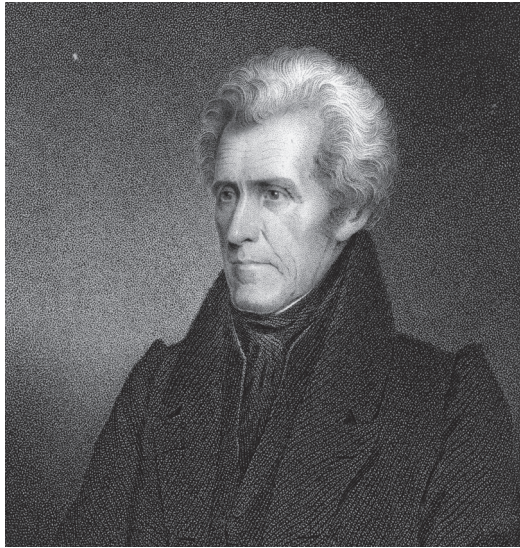
riety. In the following excerpt Prucha asserts that Jackson actually upheld the rights of Native Americans who lived peaceably with whites. Taken from F.P. Prucha "Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," *The Journal of American History* 56 (December 1969):527–28, 534–36.

A GREAT many persons—not excluding some notable historians—have adopted a "devil theory" of American Indian policy. And in their demonic hierarchy Andrew Jackson has first place. He is depicted primarily, if not exclusively, as a western frontiersman and famous Indian fighter, who was a zealous advocate of dispossessing the Indians and at heart an "Indian-hater." When he became President, the story goes, he made use of his new power, ruthlessly and at the point of a bayonet, to force the Indians from their ancestral homes in the East into desert lands west of the Mississippi, which were considered forever useless to the white man.

This simplistic view of Jackson's Indian policy is unacceptable. It was not Jackson's aim to crush the Indians because, as an old Indian fighter, he hated Indians. Although his years in the West had brought him into frequent contact with the Indians, he by no means developed a doctrinaire anti-Indian attitude. Rather, as a military man, his dominant goal in the decades before he became President was to preserve the security and well-being of the United States and its Indian and white inhabitants. His military experience, indeed, gave him an overriding concern for the safety of the nation from foreign rather than internal enemies, and to some extent the anti-Indian sentiment that has been charged against Jackson in his early career was instead basically anti-British. Jackson, as his first biographer pointed out, had "many private reasons for disliking" Great Britain. "In her, he could trace the efficient cause, why, in early life, he had been left forlorn and wretched, without a single relation in the world." His frontier experience, too, had convinced him that foreign agents were behind the raised tomahawks of the red men. In 1808, after a group of settlers had been killed by the Creeks, Jackson told his militia

"Andrew Jackson's Indian Policy: A Reassessment," by F.P. Prucha, as it appeared in *The Journal of American History* (formerly *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*), Vol. LVI, No. 3, December 1969. Copyright © 1969 by the Organization of American Historians.

troops: “[T]his brings to our recollection the horrid barbarity committed on our frontier in 1777 under the influence of and by the orders of Great Britain, and it is presumeable that the same influence has excited those barbarians to the late and recent acts of butchery and murder. . . .” From that date on there is hardly a statement by Jackson about In-



President Andrew Jackson (Courtesy of The Library of Congress.)

dian dangers that does not aim sharp barbs at England. His reaction to the Battle of Tippecanoe was that the Indians had been “excited to war by the secrete agents of Great Britain.” . . .

The removal policy, begun long before Jackson’s presidency but wholeheartedly adopted by him, was the culmination of these views. Jackson looked upon removal as a means of protecting the process of civilization, as well as of providing land for white settlers, security from foreign invasion, and a quieting of the clamors of Georgia against the federal government. This view is too pervasive in Jackson’s thought to be dismissed as polite rationalization for avaricious white aggrandizement. His outlook was essentially Jeffersonian. Jackson envisaged the transition from a hunting society to a settled agricultural society, a process that would make it possible for the Indians to exist with a higher scale of living on less land, and which would make it possible for those who adopted white ways to be quietly absorbed into the white society. Those who wished to preserve their identity in Indian nations could do it only by withdrawing from the economic and political pressures exerted upon their enclaves by the dominant white settlers. West of the Mississippi they might move at their own pace toward civilization.

Evaluation of Jackson's policy must be made in the light of the feasible alternatives available to men of his time. The removal program cannot be judged simply as a land grab to satisfy the President's western and southern constituents. The Indian problem that Jackson faced was complex, and various solutions were proposed. There were, in fact, four possibilities.

First, the Indians could simply have been destroyed. They could have been killed in war, mercilessly hounded out of their settlements, or pushed west off the land by brute force, until they were destroyed by disease or starvation. It is not too harsh a judgment to say that this was implicitly, if not explicitly, the policy of many of the aggressive frontiersmen. But it was not the policy, implicit or explicit, of Jackson and the responsible government officials in his administration or of those preceding or following his. It would be easy to compile an anthology of statements of horror on the part of government officials toward any such approach to the solution of the Indian problem.

Second, the Indians could have been rapidly assimilated into white society. It is now clear that this was not a feasible solution. Indian culture has a viability that continually impresses anthropologists, and to become white men was not the goal of the Indians. But many important and learned men of the day thought that this was a possibility. Some were so sanguine as to hope that within one generation the Indians could be taught the white man's ways and that, once they learned them, they would automatically desire to turn to that sort of life. Thomas Jefferson never tired of telling the Indians of the advantages of farming over hunting, and the chief purpose of schools was to train the Indian children in white ways, thereby making them immediately absorbable into the dominant culture. This solution was at first the hope of humanitarians who had the interest of the Indians at heart, but little by little many came to agree with Jackson that this dream was not going to be fulfilled.

Third, if the Indians were not to be destroyed and if they could not be immediately assimilated, they might be protected in their own culture on their ancestral lands in the East—or, at least, on reasonably large remnants of those lands. They would then be enclaves within the white society and would be protected by their treaty agreements and by military force. This was the alternative demanded by the opponents of Jackson's removal bill—for example, the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners

for Foreign Missions. But this, too, was infeasible, given the political and military conditions of the United States at the time. The federal government could not have provided a standing army of sufficient strength to protect the enclaves of Indian territory from the encroachments of the whites. Jackson could not withstand Georgia's demands for the end of the *imperium in imperio* [an empire within an empire] represented by the Cherokee Nation and its new constitution, not because of some inherent immorality on his part but because the political situation of America would not permit it.

The jurisdictional dispute cannot be easily dismissed. Were the Indian tribes independent nations? The question received its legal answer in John Marshall's decision in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, in which the chief justice defined the Indian tribes as "dependent domestic nations." But aside from the juridical decision, were the Indians, in fact, independent, and could they have maintained their independence without the support—political and military—of the federal government? The answer, clearly, is no, as writers at the time pointed out. The federal government could have stood firm in defense of the Indian nations against Georgia, but this would have brought it into head-on collision with a state, which insisted that its sovereignty was being impinged upon by the Cherokees.

This was not a conflict that anyone in the federal government wanted. President Monroe had been slow to give in to the demands of the Georgians. He had refused to be panicked into hasty action before he had considered all the possibilities. But eventually he became convinced that a stubborn resistance to the southern states would solve nothing, and from that point on he and his successors, John Quincy Adams and Jackson, sought to solve the problem by removing the cause. They wanted the Indians to be placed in some area where the problem of federal versus state jurisdiction would not arise, where the Indians could be granted land in fee simple [permanent transference of land without restrictions] by the federal government and not have to worry about what some state thought were its rights and prerogatives.

The fourth and final possibility, then, was removal. To Jackson this seemed the only answer. Since neither adequate protection nor quick assimilation of the Indians was possible, it seemed reasonable and necessary to move the Indians to some area where they would not be disturbed by federal-state jurisdictional dis-

putes or by encroachments of white settlers, where they could develop on the road to civilization at their own pace, or, if they so desired, preserve their own culture.

Jackson as a Scheming Devil

Edward Pessen contends that Jackson's hypocritical policy toward Indian removal, though couched in pious rhetoric, actually was intended to remove the Native Americans from their homelands at any cost. The following argument is taken from Edward Pessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Illinois, 1978), 296–301.

Jacksonian Indian policy was a blending of hypocrisy, cant, and rapaciousness, seemingly shot through with contradictions. Inconsistencies however are present only if the language of the presidential state papers is taken seriously. "The language of Indian removal was pious," observes [historian] Michael P. Rogin, "but the hum of destruction is clearly audible underneath." In [historian] Ronald Satz's phrase, such language provided a "convenient humanitarian rationale" for a policy of force. When the lofty rhetoric is discounted and viewed for what it was—sheer rationale for policy based on much more mundane considerations—then an almost frightening consistency becomes apparent. By one means or another the southern tribes had to be driven to the far side of the Mississippi. For as [historian] Mary E. Young has pointed out, by 1830 "east of the Mississippi, white occupancy was limited by Indian tenure of northeastern Georgia, enclaves in western North Carolina and southern Tennessee, eastern Alabama, and the northern two thirds of Mississippi. In this 25-million acre domain lived nearly 60,000 Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws." The Jacksonians invoked alleged higher laws of nature to justify removal. Thomas Benton [Senator from Missouri] spoke of a national imperative that the land be turned over to those who would use it "according to the intentions

Excerpt from *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics* by Edward Pessen. Copyright © 1969 and 1978 by The Dorsey Press. Reprinted with permission by Wadsworth Publishing Company.

of the creator." Jackson himself referred to the march of progress and civilization, whose American manifestation was "studded with cities, towns and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12 million happy people and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion," before which "forests . . . ranged by a few thousand savages" must give ground.

In Miss Young's laconic words, "such a rationalization had one serious weakness as an instrument of policy. The farmer's right of eminent domain over the lands of the savage could be asserted consistently only so long as tribes involved were 'savage.' The southwestern tribes, however, were agriculturists as well as hunters." The obvious proof that the federal government did not take seriously its own justification for removal is the disinterest it displayed in the evidence that Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were in fact skilled in the arts of civilization. That "the people it now hoped to displace could by no stretch of dialectic be classed as mere wandering savages," would have given pause to men who sincerely believed in their own professions that it was the Indians' alleged savagery that primarily justified their removal. There is every reason to think that the Jacksonians were fully aware that their doctrine—specious and arrogant at best, with its implication that a people living a "superior" life had the right to take the lands of "inferiors"—was all the more specious because its assumption of Indian savagery was untrue.

White speculators and politicians in the southern states had little interest in *theories* of removal. They wanted removal, however rationalized, and were not fastidious as to the means used to accomplish it. No issue was more important, certainly not in Mississippi, where "to most residents . . . the most salient event of 1833 concerned neither the tariff nor nullification," but the fact that that autumn "the first public auctions of the Choctaw lands were held." According to Edwin Miles, Mississippians were so "grateful to Old Hickory [i.e. Andrew Jackson] for making these lands available to them [that] . . . they were inclined to disregard differences of opinion that he might entertain on issues of less importance." That happy day came to pass in Mississippi and elsewhere only because of the total cooperation shown by the Jackson administration in helping the southern states separate the tribes from their lands. The federal government had to display

tact, cunning, guile, cajolery, and more than a hint of coercion. That it proved more than equal to the task was due in no small measure to Andrew Jackson's dedication to it. His performance was not that of responsible government official deferring to the will of constituents but rather that of a zealot who fully shared their biases and rapacity.

Before Jackson became President he had urged that the tribes not be treated as sovereign nations, and when he assumed the highest office he continued to feel that Indians were subjects of the United States, mere hunters who occupied land under its sufferance. A major difference between Jacksonian Indian policy and that of his predecessors lay in this fact. From Jefferson through John Quincy Adams, while national administrations had *desired* the removal of the southwestern tribes and countenanced threats and unlovely inducements to accomplish it, they had continued to treat the tribes "as more or less sovereign nations and to respect their right to remain on their own lands." And where Secretary of War Calhoun, for example, had hoped to accomplish Choctaw removal by "educating" the Indians to see the need for it, Jackson relied on more forceful means certain to work more quickly. In his first inaugural message he promised Indians a humane, just, and liberal policy, based on respect for Indian "rights and wants." A little more than one year later, Secretary of War Eaton induced the highly civilized Choctaws to sign a treaty removing them from their ancient homeland in Mississippi. Eaton succeeded through the use of hypocrisy, bribes, lies, suppression of critics, and intimidation, in securing approval of a treaty that, according to Colonel George Gaines who was present during the negotiations, was "despised by most of the Indians."

Jackson bypassed William Wirt for John Berrien as Attorney-General because he distrusted Wirt on Indian removal. When Wirt subsequently became the lawyer for the Cherokees, Jackson denounced the "wicked" man. He removed the knowledgeable Thomas L. McKenney as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs because McKenney, as a "warm friend of the Indians," had to be replaced by someone of sounder feelings. (Among McKenney's other flaws, he had been too close to Calhoun and served the Adams Administration too well.) Jackson regarded the practice of negotiating treaties with Indian tribes as an "absurdity" and a "farce." On more than one occasion the President reverted to the practice of his Indian-fighting days, personally dealing with "re-

luctant tribes" in order to bring about their acquiescence to an agreement detrimental to their interests. He hated [politician William H.] Crawford in part because the latter had exposed the inequity and fraud in the Creek Treaty Jackson had negotiated in 1814. In the judgment of one modern student, Jackson, prior to the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* in 1831, "threatened the Supreme Court with a refusal to enforce its decree." The Court in that case sidestepped the issue of the constitutionality of Georgia's Indian laws. But when the following year the Court ruled, in *Worcester v. Georgia* that the State of Georgia had no right to extend its laws over the Cherokee nation, the Indian tribes being "domestic dependent nations," with limits defined by treaty, the President refused to enforce this decision. Unfortunately for the Cherokee, some of their best friends in Congress and on the high court now urged them to sign a removal treaty. . . .

The actual procedures used to accomplish the desired end were numerous, ingenious, and effective. Simple force was eschewed, "forbidden by custom, by conscience, and by fear that the administration's opponents would exploit religious sentiment which cherished the rights of the red man." But as Miss Young points out, "within the confines of legality and the formulas of voluntarism it was still possible to acquire the much coveted domain of the civilized tribes." A kind of squeeze was directed against the Indians. On the one hand state governments refused to recognize tribal laws or federally assured rights, bringing Indians under state laws which dealt with them as individuals. Only Indians who chose to become citizens could hold on to what their skill and industry enabled them to accumulate and develop. The federal government continued the earlier policy, begun late in the Madison Administration, of offering reservations or allotments to individual Indians who cultivated their lands and wished to become citizens, while encouraging the trans-Mississippi migration of the others. When a Congressional measure appropriating \$500,000 and authorizing the President to negotiate removal treaties with all the eastern tribes was under debate in 1830, even administration critics agreed that the "Indian's moral right to keep his land depended on his actual cultivation of it." In some cases the removal treaties were negotiated after sufficient pressure had been exercised by private individuals or government officials, who resorted to physical threats as well as to more subtle

means. Jacksonian emissaries carried money and liquor in ample quantities.

In the case of the Creeks, who refused to agree to emigration, their chiefs were persuaded in March, 1832, to sign an allotment treaty. Ostensibly depriving the tribe of none of its Alabama territories, in fact by allotting most acreage to heads of families, it not only reduced the tribal estate but it made the individual owners prey to thieves and corruptionists in civil or public garb, who took advantage of Indian innocence and ignorance concerning property values and disposal. Advised that speculators were defrauding the Indians, among other ways by simply "borrowing" back the money they had paid for individual allotments without any intention of paying back the "loans," Secretary of War Lewis Cass enunciated the interesting doctrine that the War Department had no authority to circumscribe the Indian's right to be defrauded.

The deception practiced by the government in the Creek Treaty may have been as much self-deception as anything else. Certainly many federal agents were honest. Nor was the government's objective profit through fraud. From the Indians' viewpoint however, as from that of moralistic critics, the federal purpose was even more terrible. Mere corruptionists could have been bargained with; zealous believers in their own superiority and their God-given right to Indian lands, could not. In any case, "the disposal of Creek reserves exhibited an ironic contrast between the ostensible purposes of the allotment policy and its actual operation. Instead of giving the tribesmen a more secure title to their individual holdings, the allotment of their lands became an entering wedge for those who would drive them from their eastern domain."

. . . Probably the worst treatment of all was reserved for the Cherokees. They had balked at moving to a region their own surveyors described as "nothing but mountains and [a] huge bed of rocks." In 1838 General Winfield Scott began their systematic removal, more than 4,000 out of 15,000 of them dying, according to one estimate, in the course of "the Trail of Tears." One judgment is that "at their worst the forced migrations approached the horrors created by the Nazi handling of subject peoples."

Men like Edward Everett and [Ralph Waldo] Emerson [nineteenth-century writers] recoiled in horror, the New England press was sickened at the reproach to our national character in this

"abhorrent business." But not Andrew Jackson. In his last message to Congress, he complimented the states on the removal of "the evil" that had retarded their development. He also expressed pleasure that "this unhappy race—. . . the original dwellers in our land—are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization and be saved from the degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening while they remained in the states." This bewildering combination of sentiments seemed to mean, as John W. Ward has observed, that "America would save the Indians for civilization by rescuing them from civilization." Jackson's certainty that "the philanthropist will rejoice that the remnant of that ill-fated race has at length been placed beyond the reach of injury or oppression," may have been warranted although one suspects that this monument of self-deception might have been chagrined to discover philanthropy's estimate as to the true source of Indian oppression.

Henry Clay and other Whigs opposed particular removal treaties on constitutional and humanitarian grounds. And yet the Whig party position should not be misconstrued. For, as Satz observes, while the Whigs "found it expedient to condemn the Jacksonian removal policy when they were struggling to gain political control of the government," once in power they followed the very same policy. The Harrison and Tyler administration did not allow "Indians still east of the Mississippi River to remain there." In 1842 it was to a Whig Administration that the War Department reported that in the North as in the South, there was no more Indian land "east of the Mississippi, remaining unceded, to be desired by us." As was true too of the "spoils system," a policy begun by the one major party was continued by the other. Individual Whigs may have been more sensitive than their Democratic counterparts but the policies of their parties were at times remarkably similar.

Questions

1. *What kinds of evidence and arguments do Prucha and Pessen use to make their cases? Which do you think is the most convincing? Why?*
2. *Jackson's Indian policy has been characterized as wrong, ill-conceived and poorly carried out, inevitable, or tragic. If any of these accusations are true, what, according to these writers, explains the shortcomings of the policy?*
3. *Why was Jackson's policy successful? Why were Native American efforts to resist that policy unsuccessful?*

THE CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Although a number of historians have used the word “inevitable” to describe the final victory of Jackson’s removal policy, it is important to realize that Indian removal was vigorously debated at the time. For over a decade, the white citizens of the United States, the spokespeople for the federal and state governments, and Native Americans bitterly contested every aspect of state and national action regarding removal and every encroachment of whites into territory claimed by Native Americans. The issues involved in this extended debate—among them the status of Native American nations in the polity of the United States; the constitutional division of power between states and the federal government; the binding nature of treaties between the colonies, states, federal government and Native American peoples; and the moral and ethical nature of removal—remain a focus for often emotional, even violent, disagreement. We who live in the United States of America have not escaped or outlived the consequences of what happened to the Cherokee and their kin. The following selections provide an introduction to the range of opinions, the depth of emotion, and the breadth of significance for this country occasioned by Indian removal in the nineteenth century.

A Benevolent Policy

In his second annual message to Congress, on 6 December 1830, Andrew Jackson explained and defended his policy of Indian removal. Excerpted from A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897, ed. James D. Richardson (Washington, 1896), 2:519–23.

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community. These consequences, some of them so certain and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.

Toward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits and make them a happy, prosperous people. I have endeavored to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and powers of the General Government in relation to the State authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the States within the scope of their reserved powers they are not responsible to this Government. As

individuals we may entertain and express our opinions of their acts, but as a Government we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws for other nations.

With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw tribes have with great unanimity determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi River. Treaties have been made with them, which in due season will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these treaties they were made to understand their true condition, and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the Western forests to submitting to the laws of the States in which they now reside. These treaties, being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterized by great liberality on the part of the Government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the West, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated or has disappeared to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does Humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds and almost thousands of miles at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government when, by events which it can not control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement. . . .

It is, therefore, a duty which this Government owes to the new States to extinguish as soon as possible the Indian title to all lands which Congress themselves have included within their limits. When this is done the duties of the General Government in relation to the States and the Indians within their limits are at an end. The Indians may leave the State or not, as they choose. The purchase of their lands does not alter in the least their personal relations with the State government. No act of the General Government has ever been deemed necessary to give the States jurisdiction over the persons of the Indians. That they possess by virtue of their sovereign power within their own limits in as full a manner before as after the purchase of the Indian lands; nor can this Government add to or diminish it.

May we not hope, therefore, that all good citizens, and none more zealously than those who think the Indians oppressed by subjection to the laws of the States, will unite in attempting to open the eyes of those children of the forest to their true condition, and by a speedy removal to relieve them from all the evils, real or imaginary, present or prospective, with which they may be supposed to be threatened.

A Divisive Policy

The Congress of the United States provided a national forum for debate over the Indian Removal Bill of 1830. Here follows an excerpt from written records of debate in the House of Representatives, presenting the views of Wilson Lumpkin, a Democratic Representative from Georgia and an advocate of removal. The following material is taken from The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (New York, 1973), 2:1071, 1080–81.

I differ with my friend from Tennessee [Mr. Bell] in regard to Indian civilization. I entertain no doubt that a remnant of these people may be entirely reclaimed from their native savage habits, and be brought to enter into the full enjoyment of all the blessings of civilized society. It appears to me, we have too many instances of individual improvement amongst the various native tribes of America, to hesitate any longer in determining whether the Indians are susceptible of civilization. Use the proper means, and

success will crown your efforts. The means hitherto resorted to by the Government, as well as by individuals, to improve the condition of the Indians, must, from the present state of things, very soon be withheld from these unfortunate people, if they remain in their present abodes; for they will every day be brought into closer contact and conflict with the white population, and this circumstance will diminish the spirit of benevolence and philanthropy towards them which now exists. . . .

But, sir, upon this subject, this Government has been wanting in good faith to Georgia. It has, by its own acts and policy, forced the Indians to remain in Georgia, by the purchase of their lands in the adjoining States, and by holding out to the Indians strong inducements to remain where they are; by the expenditure of vast sums of money, spent in changing the habit of the savage for those of civilized life. All this was in itself right and proper; it has my hearty approbation; but it should not have been done at the expense of Georgia. The Government, long after it was bound to extinguish the title of the Indians to all the lands in Georgia, has actually forced the Cherokees from their lands in other States, settled them upon Georgia lands, and aided in furnishing the means to create the Cherokee aristocracy.

Sir, I blame not the Indians; I commiserate their case. I have considerable acquaintance with the Cherokees, and amongst them I have seen much to admire. To me, they are in many respects an interesting people. If the wicked influence of designing men, veiled in the garb of philanthropy and christian benevolence, should excite the Cherokees to a course that will end in their speedy destruction, I now call upon this Congress, and the whole American people, not to charge the Georgians with this sin; but let it be remembered that it is the fruit of cant and fanaticism, emanating from the land of steady habits, from the boasted progeny of the pilgrims and puritans.

Sir, my State stands charged before this House, before the nation, and before the whole world, with cruelty and oppression towards the Indians. I deny the charge, and demand proof from those who make it.

Excerpt from a speech made in Congress regarding the Indian Removal Bill of 1830, by Wilson Lumpkin, as it appeared in *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, Volume II, Wilcomb E. Washburn, editor, 1973. Copyright © 1973 by Random House, Inc.

A Breakdown of National Law?

Worcester v. Georgia (1832)

In the Worcester v. Georgia (1832) landmark decision the Supreme Court of the United States and Chief Justice John Marshall found that the state of Georgia had acted unconstitutionally in its assertion of control over Cherokee land. Georgia ignored the court's decision; Andrew Jackson ignored it as well. Taken from *Reports of Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States*, ed. B. R. Curtis (Boston, 1855), 10: 214, 240, 242–44.

A return to a writ of error from this court to a state court, certified by the clerk of the court which pronounced the judgment, and to which the writ is addressed, and authenticated by the seal of the court, is in conformity to law, and brings the record regularly before this court.

The law of Georgia, which subjected to punishment all white persons residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation, and authorized their arrest within those limits, and their forcible removal therefrom, and their trial in a court of the State, was repugnant to the constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and so void; and a judgment against the plaintiff in error, under color of that law, was reversed by this court, under the 25th section of the Judiciary Act, (1 Stats. at Large, 85.)

The relations between the Indian tribes and the United States examined. . . .

From the commencement of our government, congress has passed acts to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians; which treat them as nations, respect their rights, and manifest a firm purpose to afford that protection which treaties stipulate. All these acts, and especially that of 1802, which is still in force, manifestly consider the several Indian nations as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their

"Worcester v. The State of Georgia," (1832) excerpted from *Reports of Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States*, Vol. 10, published by Little Brown & Company, 1855.

authority is exclusive, and having a right to all the lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States.

In 1819, congress passed an act for promoting those humane designs of civilizing the neighboring Indians, which had long been cherished by the executive. It enacts, "that, for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes adjoining to the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons, of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and for performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties."

This act avowedly contemplates the preservation of the Indian nations as an object sought by the United States, and proposes to effect this object by civilizing and converting them from hunters into agriculturists. Though the Cherokees had already made considerable progress in this improvement, it cannot be doubted that the general words of the act comprehend them. Their advance in the "habits and arts of civilization," rather encouraged perseverance in the laudable exertions still further to meliorate their condition. This act furnishes strong additional evidence of a settled purpose to fix the Indians in their country by giving them security at home. . . .

The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed; and this was a restriction which those European potentates imposed on themselves, as well as on the Indians. The very term "nation," so generally applied to them,

means "a people distinct from others." The constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, has adopted and sanctioned the previous treaties with the Indian nations, and consequently admits their rank among those powers who are capable of making treaties. The words "treaty" and "nation" are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians, as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense. . . .

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 whole intercourse between the United States and this nation is, by our constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States. . . .

. . . If the review which has been taken be correct, and we think it is, the acts of Georgia are repugnant to the constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States.

They interfere forcibly with the relations established between the United States and the Cherokee nation, the regulation of which, according to the settled principles of our constitution, are committed exclusively to the government of the Union.

They are in direct hostility with treaties, repeated in a succession of years, which mark out the boundary that separates the Cherokee country from Georgia, guarantee to them all the land within their boundary, solemnly pledge the faith of the United States to restrain their citizens from trespassing on it, and recognize the preëxisting power of the nation to govern itself.

They are in equal hostility with the acts of congress for regulating this intercourse, and giving effect to the treaties.

Tragic Decision

Elias Boudinot was a "civilized" Cherokee who, in terms of education, religion, and aspirations, had come far along the white man's path; or so he believed. He agonized over removal, but finally supported it as a last, desperate means of maintaining the existence of his people. His stand cost him his life. The following selection is from editorials written by Boudinot as editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, reprinted in Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot, ed. Theda Perdue (Knoxville, 1983), 108–9, 142–43.

[17 June 1829]

From the documents which we this day lay before our readers, there is not a doubt of the kind of policy, which the present administration of the General Government intends to pursue relative to the Indians. President Jackson has, as a neighboring editor remarks, "recognized the doctrine contended for by Georgia in its full extent." It is to be regretted that we were not undeceived long ago, while we were hunters and in our savage state. It appears now from the communication of the Secretary of War to the Cherokee Delegation, that the illustrious Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe were only tantalizing us, when they encouraged us in the pursuit of agriculture and Government, and when they afforded us the protection of the United States, by which we have been preserved to this present time as a nation. Why were we not told long ago, that we could not be permitted to establish a government within the limits of any state? Then we could have borne disappointment much easier than now. The pretext for Georgia to extend her jurisdiction over the Cherokees has always existed. The Cherokees have always had a government of their own. Nothing, however, was said when we were governed by savage laws, when the abominable law of retaliation carried death in our midst, when it was a lawful act to shed the blood of a person charged with witchcraft, when a brother could kill a brother with impunity, or an innocent man suffer for an offending relative. At that time it might have been a matter of charity to have extended over us the mantle of Christian laws & regulations. But how happens it now, after being fostered by the U. States, and advised



Cherokee Indians depicted along the "Trail of Tears" after expulsion from their native lands. (Painting by Robert Lindneux. Original in Wollaroc Museum, Bartesville, Oklahoma. Courtesy of Corbis-Bettmann.)

by great and good men to establish a government of regular law; when the aid and protection of the General Government have been pledged to us; when we, as dutiful "children" of the President, have followed his instructions and advice, and have established for ourselves a government of regular law; when everything looks so promising around us, that a storm is raised by the extension of tyrannical and unchristian laws, which threatens to blast all our rising hopes and expectations?

There is, as would naturally be supposed, a great rejoicing in Georgia. It is a time of "important news"—"gratifying intelligence"—"The Cherokee lands are to be obtained speedily." It is even reported that the Cherokees have come to the conclusion to sell, and move off to the west of the Mississippi—not so fast. We are yet at our homes, at our peaceful firesides, (except those contiguous to Sandtown, Carroll, &c.) attending to our farms and useful occupations. . . .

[12 November 1831]

. . . But alas! no sooner was it made manifest that the Cherokees were becoming strongly attached to the ways and usages of civilized life, than was aroused the opposition of those from whom better things ought to have been expected. No sooner was

it known that they had learned the proper use of the earth, and that they were now less likely to dispose of their lands for a mess of pottage, than they came in conflict with the cupidity and self-interest of those who ought to have been their benefactors—Then commenced a series of obstacles hard to overcome, and difficulties intended as a stumbling block, and unthought of before. The “Great Father” of the “red man” has lent his influence to encourage those difficulties. The *guardian* has deprived his *wards* of their rights—The sacred obligations of treaties and laws have been disregarded—The promises of Washington and Jefferson have not been fulfilled. The policy of the United States on Indian affairs has taken a different direction, for no other reason than that the Cherokees have so far become civilized as to appreciate a regular form of Government. They are now deprived of rights they once enjoyed—A neighboring power is now permitted to extend its withering hand over them—Their own laws, intended to regulate their society, to encourage virtue and to suppress vice, must now be abolished, and civilized acts, passed for the purpose of expelling them, must be substituted.—Their intelligent citizens who have been instructed through the means employed by former administrations, and through the efforts of benevolent societies, must be abused and insulted, represented as avaricious, feeding upon the poverty of the common Indians—the hostility of all those who want the Indian lands must be directed against them. That the Cherokees may be kept in ignorance, teachers who had settled among them by the approbation of the Government, for the best of all purposes, have been compelled to leave them by reason of laws unbecoming any civilized nation—Ministers of the Gospel, who might have, at this day of trial, administered to them the consolations of Religion, have been arrested, chained, dragged away before their eyes, tried as felons, and finally immured in prison with thieves and robbers.

Vain Protest

A delegation of Cherokee leaders who opposed the Treaty of New Echota protested to Congress, but in vain. The following excerpt from the “Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation” of 22 June 1836 appears

in House Documents, 24th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 7, Doc. no. 286, CIS US Serial no. 292, microprint, 2-5.

If it be said that the Cherokees have lost their national character and political existence, as a nation or tribe, by State legislation, then the President and Senate can make no treaty with them; but if they have not, then no treaty can be made for them, binding, without and against their will. Such is the fact, in reference to the instrument intered into at New Echota, in December last. If treaties are to be thus made and enforced, deceptive to the Indians and to the world, purporting to be a contract, when, in truth, wanting the assent of one of the pretended parties, what security would there be for any nation or tribe to retain confidence in the United States? If interest or policy require that the Cherokees be removed, without their consent, from their lands, surely the President and Senate have no constitutional power to accomplish that object. They cannot do it under the power to make treaties, which are contracts, not rules prescribed by a superior, and therefore binding only by the assent of the parties. In the present instance, the assent of the Cherokee nation has not been given, but expressly denied. The President and Senate cannot do it under the power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, or intercourse with them, because that belongs to Congress, and so declared by the President, in his message to the Senate of February 22, 1831, relative to the execution of the act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, &c. passed 30th of March, 1802. They cannot do it under any subsisting treaty stipulation with the Cherokee nation. Nor does the peculiar situation of the Cherokees, in reference to the States their necessities and distresses, confer any power upon the President and Senate to alienate their legal rights, or to prescribe the manner and time of their removal.

Without a decision of what ought to be done, under existing circumstances, the question recurs, is the instrument under consideration a contract between the United States and the Cherokee nation? It so purports upon its face, and that falsely. Is that statement so sacred and conclusive that the Cherokee people cannot be heard to deny the fact? They have denied it under their own

Excerpt from the "Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation: Memorial of the Cherokee Representatives," reprinted from House Reports, *24th Cong., 1st sess.*, June 22, 1836, Vol. 7, No. 286.

signatures, as the documents herein before referred to will show, and protested against the acts of the unauthorized few, who have arrogated to themselves the right to speak for the nation. The Cherokees have said they will not be bound thereby. The documents submitted to the Senate show, that when the vote was taken upon considering the propositions of the commissioner, there were but seventy-nine for so doing. Then it comes to this: could this small number of persons attending the New Echota meeting, acting in their individual capacity, dispose of the rights and interests of the Cherokee nation, or by any instrument they might sign, confer such power upon the President and Senate?

If the United States are to act as the guardian of the Cherokees, and to treat them as incapable of managing their own affairs, and blind to their true interests, yet this would not furnish power or authority to the President and Senate, as the treaty making power to prescribe the rule for managing their affairs. It may afford a pretence for the legislation of Congress, but none for the ratification of an instrument as a treaty made by a small faction against the protest of the Cherokee people.

That the Cherokees are a distinct people, sovereign to some extent, have a separate political existence as a society, or body politic, and a capability of being contracted with in a national capacity, stands admitted by the uniform practice of the United States from 1785, down to the present day. With them have treaties been made through their chiefs, and distinguished men in primary assemblies, as also with their constituted agents or representatives. That they have not the right to manage their own internal affairs, and to regulate, by treaty, their intercourse with other nations, is a doctrine of modern date. In 1793, Mr. Jefferson said, "I consider our right of pre-emption of the Indian lands, not as amounting to any dominion, or jurisdiction, or paramountship whatever, but merely in the nature of a remainder, after the extinguishment of a present right, which gives us no present right whatever, but of preventing other nations from taking possession, and so defeating our expectancy. That the Indians *have the full, undivided, and independent sovereignty as long as they choose to keep it, and that this may be forever.*" This opinion was recognised and practised upon, by the Government of the United States, through several successive administrations, also recognised by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the several States, when the question has arisen. It has not been the opinion only of jurists, but

of politicians, as may be seen from various reports of Secretaries of War—beginning with Gen. Knox, also the correspondence between the British and American ministers at Ghent in the year 1814. If the Cherokees have power to judge of their own interests, and to make treaties, which, it is presumed, will be denied by none, then to make a contract valid, the assent of a majority must be had, expressed by themselves or through their representatives, and the President and Senate have no power to say what their will shall be, for from the laws of nations we learn that “though a nation be obliged to promote, as far as lies in its power, the perfection of others, it is not entitled forcibly to obtrude these good offices on them.” Such an attempt would be to violate their natural liberty. Those ambitious Europeans who attacked the American nations, and subjected them to their insatiable avidity of dominion, an order, as they pretended, for civilizing them, and causing them to be instructed in the true religion, (as in the present instance to preserve the Cherokees as a distinct people,) these usurpers grounded themselves on a pretence equally unjust and ridiculous.” It is the expressed wish of the Government of the United States to remove the Cherokees to a place west of the Mississippi. That wish is said to be founded in humanity to the Indians. To make their situation more comfortable, and to preserve them as a distinct people. Let facts show how this *benevolent* design has been prosecuted, and how faithful to the spirit and letter has the promise of the President of the United States to the Cherokees been fulfilled—that “*those who remain may be assured of our patronage, our aid, and good neighborhood.*” The delegation are not deceived by empty professions, and fear their race is to be destroyed by the mercenary policy of the present day, and their lands wrested from them by physical force; as proof, they will refer to the preamble of an act of the General Assembly of Georgia, in reference to the Cherokees, passed the 2d of December, 1835, where it is said, “from a knowledge of the Indian character, and from the present feelings of these Indians, it is confidently believed, that the right of occupancy of the lands in their possession should be withdrawn, *that it would be a strong inducement to them to treat with the General Government, and consent to a removal to the west;* and whereas, the present Legislature openly avow that their primary object in the measures intended to be pursued *are founded on real humanity to these Indians,* and with a view, in a distant region, to perpetuate them with their old identity of character, *under the*

paternal care of the Government of the United States; at the same time frankly disavowing any selfish or sinister motives towards them in their present legislation." This is the profession. Let us turn to the practice of *humanity*, to the Cherokees, by the State of Georgia. In violation of the treaties between the United States and the Cherokee nation, that State passed a law requiring all white men, residing in that part of the Cherokee country, in her limits, to take an oath of allegiance to the State of Georgia. For a violation of this law, some of the ministers of Christ, missionaries among the Cherokees, were tried, convicted, and sentenced to hard labor in the penitentiary. Their case may be seen by reference to the records of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Valuable gold mines were discovered upon Cherokee lands, within the chartered limits of Georgia, and the Cherokees commenced working them, and the Legislature of that State interfered by passing an act, making it penal for an Indian to dig for gold within Georgia, no doubt "*frankly disavowing any selfish or sinister motives towards them.*" Under this law many Cherokees were arrested, tried, imprisoned, and otherwise abused. Some were even shot in attempting to avoid an arrest; yet the Cherokee people used no violence, but humbly petitioned the Government of the United States for a fulfilment of treaty engagements, to protect them, which was not done, and the answer given that the United States could not interfere. Georgia discovered she was not to be obstructed in carrying out her measures, "*founded on real humanity to these Indians,*" she passed an act directing the Indian country to be surveyed into districts. This excited some alarm, but the Cherokees were quieted with the assurance it would do no harm to survey the country. Another act was shortly after passed, to lay off the country into lots. As yet there was no authority to take possession, but it was not long before a law was made, authorizing a lottery for the lands laid off into lots. In this act the Indians were secured in possession of all the lots touched by their improvements, and the balance of the country allowed to be occupied by white men. This was a direct violation of the 5th article of the treaty of the 27th of February, 1819. The Cherokees made no resistance, still petitioned the United States for protection, and received the same answer that the President could not interpose.

Questions

1. *What, according to his second annual message to Congress, is Jackson's Indian policy? If you were a Cherokee—or Creek, Choctaw, Seminole—why should you trust, or mistrust, Jackson's message?*
2. *What were the important issues involved in the Supreme Court decision in *Worcester v. Georgia* and in the congressional debates over the Indian Removal Act of 1830?*
3. *If you were a Cherokee, would you have supported the anti- or pro-removal position among the Cherokee people? Why?*

FURTHER READING

The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians, vol. 1 (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1984), by Francis Paul Prucha, contains the latest full treatment of Jackson's Indian policy by this prolific and generally pro-Jackson scholar. Useful for its detailed coverage is Ronald N. Satz, American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975). An excellent bibliography covering the removal period is in Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People. (New York, 1970). For the many books that are highly critical of Jackson's removal policy see the bibliography in Wilkins. William G. McLoughlin, in Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones (Princeton, 1990), considers the Cherokee as heroic in their resistance to a terrible injustice. Cherokee Removal: Before and After, edited by William L. Anderson (Athens, Georgia, 1991), has several useful articles on various facets of removal and may be used to supplement the bibliographical information in Wilkins. Jackson's role in removal is treated at length by Robert V. Remini in his laudatory biography, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832, vol. 2 (New York, 1977). An excellent collection of documents on removal is in The New American State Papers: Indian Affairs, vol. 9, Southeast (Wilmington, Delaware, 1972).