

**THE MONROE DOCTRINE:  
NATIONAL OR  
INTERNATIONAL? THE  
PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION**

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The Monroe Doctrine: National or International? The Problem and Its Solution by William I. Hull

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**WILLIAM I. HULL**

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# **The Monroe Doctrine: National or International?**

**The Problem and Its Solution**

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# The Monroe Doctrine

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## I

### THE PROBLEM<sup>1</sup>

THE Monroe Doctrine, which was regarded as the *sine qua non* of American public policy in the nineteenth century, is fast taking the aspect, in this twentieth century, of the *bête noire* or the *Frankenstein* of the Republic which called it into existence. This changing aspect is due, not only to the extraordinary development of the

<sup>1</sup> An address at the Fourth National Conference of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, held in Washington, D. C., December 4, 1913.

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original doctrine and to its illimitable possibilities of continuous growth, accompanied by a great and growing responsibility on the part of the United States and a remarkable progress on the part of Latin America, but also to the Old World's changing attitude toward international rights and duties and to the majestic international tribunal which is slowly rising in the midst of sovereign nations.

Just how and when and to what extent the Monroe Doctrine has developed during its life of fourscore years and ten would be a story too long for the telling of it here. But at least some of the steps in its growth may be pointed out, if only to explain why our Republic, which gave it birth, nourished it in infancy and stood ready to defy all the world for the pro-



tection of its youth, now stands aghast in the presence of its gigantic proportions and the infinite potentiality of its maturity. Like certain erstwhile infant industries which now cast their protean shadows athwart the industrial path of our Nation, challenging the best thought of our domestic statesmanship, so the policy embodied in the few words of a presidential message nearly a century ago has outgrown even the Republic's growth and now stands, an over-shadowing, imperative question-mark, in the path of our international relations.

What have been the principles of this giant's growth? Can they now be grafted to the greater advantage of America and the world, upon some more beneficent institution of international life? Such are the questions which confront us, and

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which are being pressed more and more closely upon us by the Sphinx of international relations. Let us frankly face them.

· Although the branches of the Monroe Doctrine are many in number and stretch forth in many directions, the principles of its growth will be found to be only two. These are, first, the integrity of national territory, and, second, the preservation of popular government.

### TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The preservation of American territorial integrity has been asserted against Old World acquisitions, whether these take the form of voluntary transfer by one Old World Power to another, or by a New World Power to an Old World Power; or whether they take the form of

colonization, or of acquisition by force of arms.

Transfers of American territory by one Old World Power to another have been prevented on various occasions. More than a century ago, on the 3rd of January, 1811, President Madison addressed the United States Congress in regard to a threat of Great Britain to acquire from Spain a portion of Florida, and in this message he said:

I recommend to the consideration of Congress the seasonableness of a declaration that the United States could not see, without serious inquietude, any part of a neighboring territory, in which they have in different respects so deep and so just a concern, pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign Power.

Fourteen years later, when the Government of France endeavored to secure from Spain the cession of Cuba and Porto