

**THE HOLY ALLIANCE: THE
EUROPEAN
BACKGROUND OF
THE MONROE DOCTRINE**

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649458356

The Holy Alliance: The European Background of the Monroe Doctrine by W. P. Cresson

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W. P. CRESSON

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The European Background of the
Monroe Doctrine

BY

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Formerly Secretary of the American Embassy in Petrograd

NEW YORK
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMERICAN BRANCH, 35 WEST 32D STREET
LONDON, TORONTO, MELBOURNE, AND BOMBAY
1922

Carnegie End. for Int. Peace
of
10-4-1922
Sept. 1922

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GIBSON BROS., INC., PRINTERS, WASHINGTON

FOREWORD

The Monroe Doctrine, which in a few months will celebrate its hundredth anniversary, is one of the few foreign policies advanced by any one of the nations taking part in the World War which bids fair to survive that great catastrophe. While the American and British phases of the Monroe Doctrine are familiar to students of diplomatic history, the materials have hitherto been lacking for an adequate appreciation of the relations between President Monroe and John Quincy Adams, on the one hand, and the Tsar, Alexander, on the other, against whose Holy Alliance President Monroe's message of 1823 was chiefly directed.

Mr. Cresson has laid students of history, and more especially of international organization, under a deep and abiding obligation by his researches in the archives of the Russian Foreign Office immediately following the Revolution of March, 1917. He was Secretary of the American Embassy at Petrograd at the time when Professor F. A. Golder was preparing his invaluable list of documents in the Imperial archives relating to America, and, knowing Mr. Cresson's interest in the history of Russian-American relations, the authorities of the Provisional Government invited him also to examine the Imperial archives. Mr. Cresson's work more especially related to the personal dispatches of the Tsar, Alexander, and the memoranda in his private diplomatic papers, which had never before been open to students.

In the midst of these labors, Mr. Cresson put aside the more leisurely task of writing history for the more arduous task of observing history in the making. He resigned from the diplomatic service, entered the army, served with the American Expeditionary Forces, and ended the war as Chief of the American Military Mission at Belgian Headquarters in Flanders. Upon his demobilization he resumed his interrupted task, and he has recently been able to bring his work to a conclusion by researches in the archives of the Department of State. While Mr. Cresson's work is complementary to the labors of others in the same field, it covers—as its title implies—negotiations carried on in St.

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Petersburg and Washington, which form the European background of this American doctrine.

The value of the little work is out of all proportion to its size. It makes clear the aim and purpose of the Tsar, Alexander, in forcing the Holy Alliance upon his unwilling confederates, it shows the relation of the Monroe Doctrine to the Holy Alliance, and it enables the unprejudiced reader of the Old as well as the New World the better to understand both.

It is to the credit of our common humanity that at the end of the greatest of wars attempts have been made to devise some scheme whereby a recourse to arms might be less likely to occur, if it could not be wholly avoided. The Thirty Years' War is responsible for the *Nouveau Cynée* of Emeric Crucé, the *Law of War and Peace* of Hugo Grotius, not to speak of the *Great Design* which Sully foisted upon his master, the good King Henry IV. The wars of Europe culminating in the wars of the Spanish Succession and ended by the Treaties of Utrecht (1713-14) and of Rastadt (1714) produced the *Project of Perpetual Peace* of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre. The wars of the French Revolution following these at the space of a century gave birth to the Holy Alliance. The World War, a hundred years later, has brought forth a League of Nations, conceived in the same generous spirit.

Will history repeat itself? History alone can tell.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,
Director.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
July 14, 1922.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author desires to express his thanks to the following gentlemen for their aid and criticism: Professor John Bassett Moore and Doctor Julius Goebel of Columbia University; Professor F. A. Golder, under whose expert guidance he carried on his researches at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Doctor James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and Mr. Raymond Buell of Princeton University.



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