THE MONROE DOCTRINE

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The Monroe doctrine by George Fox Tucker

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BY

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THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

I.

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE DECLARATION OF PRESIDENT MONROE.

A T the close of the Revolutionary War little was known in Europe about the United States. Of the other hand, the Americans were not ignorant of Europe; they entertained the idea that their young republic was not in favor at foreign courts, and they believed that they should not become a party to European disturbances, and also that monarchical institutions should not be allowed a foothold on American soil. An early note of warning may be found in Washington's Farewell Address, in which he asserts that our destiny is different from that of Europe, and that there should be "no entangling alliances."

With the downfall of Napoleon, in 1815, European governments began to pay more attention to the American republic. Then was formed the Holy Alliance, the parties to which were Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and after several congresses, in which

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Great Britain and France participated, there was a final meeting at Verona in October, 1822, to consider the insurrection which broke out in Spain in the preceding year.

At this period the Spanish American colonies were claiming, and had long claimed, independence. At this Congress at Verona, England, through her envoy, the Duke of Wellington, declined to become a party to any agreement of interference in Spanish affairs. The commercial supremacy of England was then unquestioned, and her trade with the South and Central American States was of considerable importance and was likely to prosper more under local than under Spanish rule. The administration of England's foreign affairs was in the hands of Mr. Canning, the American minister at the Court of St. James was Richard Rush, and the Secretary of State was John Quincy Adams.

While the danger was impending, Mr. Canning, in August, 1823, proposed to Mr. Rush that the governments of England and of the United States should publish "a joint declaration before Europe" in opposition to the designs of the Alliance in regard to this hemisphere, the substance of which should be that while the two governments desired no portion of the colonies for themselves, they would not view with indifference any foreign intervention in their affairs, or their acquisition by any third power. He declared that a proposal would be made for a

European Congress, to consider the affairs of Spanish America, and that Great Britain would not participate in its counsels unless the United States was also represented. As to the Congress, Mr. Rush replied that it was the traditional policy of the United States to take no part in the politics of Europe; and as to the declaration, he remarked that he was without instructions from his government; yet he would assume the responsibility provided England would follow the example of the United States and acknowledge the independence of the Spanish American republics. This Mr. Canning declined to do, and the declaration was never made.

Upon the rejection of the proposal, Mr. Canning asserted to the French representative that Great Britain would not permit any European intervention in Spanish American affairs; and that representative disavowed for his government any intention so to interfere, and acquiesced in the opinion of Mr. Canning that the reduction of the colonies by Spain was hopeless.

II.

THE DECLARATION ITSELF.

Before quoting from President Monroe, let us consider a few events which preceded the announcement of his Doctrine.

In the early days of the last century the title to

the Northwestern Territory of North America was claimed by Great Britain, Russia, and the United States. The settlement of their differences will be considered later.

In a communication to Mr. Rush, the American minister to Great Britain, dated July 2, 1823, in relation to this controversy, Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, declared that the American continents henceforth would no longer be subject to colonization; and a few days later, on the 17th of the same month, Mr. Adams remarked to the representative of Russia that "we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any European colonial establishments." Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Sr., is authority for the statement that this is the first hint of the policy so well known afterward as the "Monroe Doctrine."

Just after this interview between Mr. Adams and the Russian representative, the conversations between Mr. Rush and Mr. Canning took place, to which reference has already been made. A full account of Mr. Canning's suggestions was at once transmitted by Mr. Rush to Mr. Adams, and the matter was brought to the notice of President Monroe. The latter considered the situation so grave that he solicited the opinions of ex-Presidents

Madison and Jefferson, both of whom wrote words of approval and encouragement.

This brings us to the declaration of the "Monroe Doctrine" in the President's message of Dec. 2, 1823. After alluding to the probable amicable settlement of the controversy as to the Northwestern Territory the President said: "The occasion has been adjudged 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 maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

Later, just before the close of the message, the President said, in reference to the disturbances in Spain, that it is the policy of the United States not to interfere with European affairs. He declared: "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. . . . 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."