

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

II.

As a *general* principle, the Monroe Doctrine is untenable.

I fear that Mr. Jefferson meant it to be of general application, not as yet, in 1802, but later in life. His writings seem to show this, but if Thomas Jefferson lived in our days, he would not write as he did. The following are the grounds on which I uphold my proposition:—

1. In the first place, it is admitted that, above party politics and international animosities, there are certain great principles, a certain universal polity, which must, and does, rule the world. In that point of view the seas and the continents of both hemispheres are the common property of humanity. The incessant immigration into every corner of the globe and the facilities of travel have made this a physical right. There is, indeed, an European code for European affairs, an American code for American affairs, an Asiatic code for Asiatic affairs, but above these there is a cosmopolitan code, which governs them all. Jefferson and the politicians of his school do not admit this. They draw "a meridian of partition through the ocean," beyond which Europe must not venture, on the one hand, nor America, on the other. But this is the old Canutian doctrine: "Thus far and no farther." None but God can arrest the waves. Statesmen are powerless to stem the overwhelming of the world's opinion. Americans themselves have been unable to avoid meddling in European affairs. In 1829 they were for interfering in the Grecian crisis. A little more and their fleet would have fought at Navarino, with Russia, England and France. They came near getting entangled in the Crimean war. Americans must be honest to themselves and to the world. They were forced to acknowledge the universal code. Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State under Fillmore, refused to sign the clause against privateering, added to the law of nations, in the Treaty of Paris, after the fate of Sebastopol. Scarcely six years afterward Mr. Seward, Secretary of State under Lincoln, offered to sign it, and even stooped so far as to ask the retrospective protection of that clause when the Alabama swept the seas, the scourge of northern shipping.

2. Always excepting special cases of necessity, the Monroe Doctrine has no foundation in right. It has no *interent* right, derived from political or geographical position. Not political, for, although a Republic may be the best government for the United States, it is an open philosophical question whether it is the best government for the other nations of this hemisphere. The history of South America, for the last sixty years, would almost show that it is not. Neither does their geographical situation give Americans such *interent* right, and it is only in case of *danger* that geographical neighbourhood can confer the right of meddling. Furthermore, the Monroe Doctrine is grounded on no *conceded* right. No document can be produced, no public act pointed out by which it is shown that this American protectorate has been demanded or claimed *as a right* by the nations of this hemisphere, still less has this right been *conceded* in Europe. If, then, this famous doctrine is founded neither on *interent* or *conceded* right, it must be on *assumed* right. And that is precisely the fact of the matter. It was enforced on two special occasions, and justly, as I stated before, and then was gradually assumed by the two distinguished authors as a principle of general polity. Even then it was accepted by the Democratic party.

3. I may add the following argument *a pari*. Systems similar to the so called "American System" have been tried before, but they were opposed at the time, as well as condemned by impartial history. There was the Holy Alliance, which assumed to take the whole of Europe under its wing. Notwithstanding its numerical strength, its moral influence was never acknowledged, and it died in its impotence. There was Napoleon's Continental Policy, more aggressive, it is true, but not less assuming and aggregate in principle. The Pope withstood it for once and was imprisoned

and banished in consequence. Should England proclaim an East India system embracing all the countries contiguous to her vast concessions in that part of the world, is there an American who would justify her? We must look at the Monroe Doctrine in the same light, for the underlying principle is similar.

4. Finally, a common sense requires that before we lay down a broad principle of protectorate over North and South American people, the United States should be sure of two points, neither of which, in the nature of things, we can know to a certainty. They should ascertain whether their services are *desirable*, and whether they will be productive of greater *good*. "Lord, save us from our enemies" is a not infrequent prayer among individuals, and why might it not be made by Spanish, Brazilian, Mexican, or even Canadian, people, whose ideas, traditions, religion, language and customs are different from, and somewhat antagonistic to, ours? And, again, how do they know, when rushing in between an American and European power, that they are not thereby preventing a great national good being done to the former? European nations are no less enlightened than they, and if we are to take, as a test, the late Civil War, no less liberal and humane. Why not let them settle their own affairs with American powers in their own way? Why cannot they act on the common sense principle of minding their own business?

JOHN TALON-LESPERANCE.

LITERARY NOTES.

George Weber, the German historian, is dead at the age of 80.

Wm. Black, the novelist, says the only axe a novelist has to grind is the climax.

Monsieur Chevreuil, the French scholar, celebrated his one hundred and second birthday on the 31st ult.

It is estimated that the total number of books in all the American public libraries is 21,000,000.

At a meeting of the Board of Wesley College, Winnipeg, the Rev. J. W. Sparling, of Kingston, was appointed Principal from October 1st.

A paper in Boston, which offered Mr. Gladstone £100 for an article, has just offered Mr. Browning £250 for a short poem. Mr. Browning has declined in a characteristic letter.

The advertisement of a book sale lately contained the following: "And included in this sale is an accumulation of recent books, mostly with the edges unopened, as published, the property of a well known critic."

The event of next winter in the religious world will be Father Didon's "Life of Christ," which has long been expected by those who believe that the Dominican preacher will entirely refute Mr. Renan's work.

It is expected that the dictionary of the North American Indian tribes, upon which the United States Bureau of Ethnology has been at work for many years, will be issued within a few months in a volume of about 500 pages. There ought to be Canadian contributors to this work.

The late Dr. Edward H. L. Leffingwell's \$75,000 collection of autographs has, for several years, been kept in a cabinet with other valuable papers belonging to Dr. Leffingwell, in the rooms of the Historical Society at the old State House, New Haven, Conn. By his will it becomes the property of a niece.

A papyrus of extraordinary beauty and completeness, of the 14th century before our era, has been added to the British Museum. It contains certain chapters of the "Book of Death," carefully copied out by a scribe of Thebes. Its remarkable features are the illustrations. The colouring of these is as vivid as if the work had been done yesterday, instead of 30 centuries ago.

TO CHLOE.

FROM HORACE.

You shun me, Chloë, as a little fawn
Seeking her anxious dam o'er lonely heights;
Not without idle fear when there alights
A stir of air on Nature's wooded lawn;

For whether to the wind the wild-briar shakes
With rushing leaves; or grass-green lizards part
In separate ways the ruddy bramble-brakes,
It trembles in each limb and in its heart.

Yet I pursue thee not to strike thee down,
Like some Gattulian lion or tiger fierce;
Then hang no longer to thy mother's gown,
Thy heart is fully ripe for love to pierce.

Montreal.

SAREPTA.

policy was precisely that, in setting up the several lines of industry, we should be doing fatal damage to our farming interests. Now, within the first year of the operation of the tariff, when factories and mills began to boom over the land, it was found that the field and farm wore a brighter aspect, and that improved modes of tilling and stock-raising sprang into existence. In other words, the loom and the plough work into each other, and the artisans' improved wages were a gauge of the growing thrift of garth and upland. This was especially observable in the old Province of Quebec, which had little or no manufactures, and was exclusively given to the cultivation of the soil. To-day, while the province has her full share of industrial establishments, she also makes a fair show in the outgrowths of the farms.

Where our progress has been most striking is in the rearing of cattle. It would take a column to enumerate the stocking establishments which have sprung up almost everywhere, but especially in the two old Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, to say nothing of the ranches of the sheltered and full-grassed Foot Hills of the Rockies. While experiments have been made with every variety of the climate and, among these, perhaps the Jerseys stand first as milch cows, and as having formed several native Canadian families, especially the St. Lamberts and St. Heliers. There are other raisers who set as high an estimate on the Herefords, especially in pasture lands, where they thrive admirably for beef. In the Island of Montreal, and elsewhere, indeed, the Polled Angus prove their hardy adaptation to a cold climate, while in many of the best parts of Ontario the Shorthorn stand favourite as "all around" and general purpose cows. The Holstein-Friesian breed, having been lately introduced into Canada from the United States, where it dates back not yet thirty years, is also attracting a great deal of attention.

The wealth invested in cattle is one of the most striking features of the growth of the Dominion and the fitness of her climate for stock-raising of every one of the available varieties. As a trade, the experience was fluctuating for a period, prosperity being followed by dearth, and fortunes being sunk into bankruptcy, but the law of supply and demand did not fail at last to put Canada in its proper place among the first of exporting grounds, and placing Montreal at the head of shipping ports. Thus, the shipments of cattle from the four Atlantic ports for the week ending August 18, were as follows: Boston, 1,153 cattle and 2,684 quarters beef; New York, 2,070 cattle and 5,460 quarters beef; Baltimore, 939 cattle, and Montreal, 3,567 cattle and 2,607 sheep.

Apropos of the late Jesuits' estates discussion, an English gentleman, writing to a friend in this city, says: "A nephew of Earl Amherst, who was Governor-General of India, told me yesterday, on reading your paper about 'Jesuits' estates,' that £3,000 annually was settled on the Amherst heirdom, 'in lieu of the Jesuits' estates,' and that the present Lord Amherst receives said £3,000 a year."—*Montreal Gazette*.

Some of the handsomest old mansions on the continent may be seen in Annapolis, Md., where they have stood with but little alteration since the early colonial days. A few of the houses date back to the seventeenth century, but the more imposing of them were built just prior to the revolution, when Annapolis was the seat of a refined and wealthy community.