

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

view of February, 1903, as cis-Atlantic.

He admits that Monroe did not first proclaim it, but finds a forecast of the doctrine in the immortal Washington's Farewell Address of September, 1796, in which he certainly advised his nation to hold aloof from foreign complications. In a late American book entitled, "The Conqueror," it is shown that General Alexander Hamilton, leader of the old Federal party, was Washington's confidant at this time, and the author or inspirer of the sentiments as to the foreign policy of the United States expressed in the farewell address. Mr. Scruggs, also, refers to a note from Mr. J. Q. Adams, American Secretary of State, to Mr. Rush, of 2nd of July, 1823, in which he referred to the Latin American republics and declared, and instructed his ambassador to declare, that the American continents were "no longer to be subject to colonization." It meant that there were no American vacant lands over which European nations might contend for possession.

It is, therefore, argued that Canning knew of the United States position when he wrote to Dr. Rush.

Assuming this to be so, it appears that the doctrine was academic, without political significance, until the Duke of Wellington, by Canning's orders, practically enunciated it at the Congress of Verona in 1822, and Canning rightly claimed that he called the new South American world into political existence. Satisfied with such practical action, he cared no more for a mere doctrine, and seems to have henceforth almost dismissed the matter from his thoughts.

The several parts, taken in the American discussion by the statesmen, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, John Q. Adams and J. C. Calhoun, are set forth in a brochure by Mr. W. Ford, published in 1902.

There is no doubt that Adams enunciated the fact that America was no longer open to European colonization. Jefferson wrote the President with his opinion as to the matter and the mode of announcing the doctrine, on 24th October, 1823, and Madison six days after. Mr. Calhoun was un-

usually hesitating as to the course to pursue.

Adams was a "masterful man, certain of his ground." "It was certainly Adams, not Monroe, who spoke in the paragraphs of the President's message on this doctrine."

Referring to the South American colonies, Mr. Monroe said in the message, "With the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principle, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

The doctrine was thus formulated to the world, not as an international or even domestic law, except in so far as the right of self-preservation is part of the natural law of nations, as well as individuals. It was recognized as a principle for guidance in which two great nations agreed, and which it behoved other nations to regard, or, as Sir Frederick Pollock writes, in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1902, "Not that Monroe's dictum could have of itself any binding force on his successors. Its present importance is derived, on the contrary, from their continuous and deliberate approval." "We have not formally re-asserted Canning's policy in its modern application. . . . but we have done better. We have acted upon that policy and those principles."

Mr. Monroe lived before his country had its hold on Cuba, the Hawaiian Islands or the Philippines, nor had it then its great front on the Pacific coast. It is even now connecting two oceans, through the Isthmus of Panama. With such outlying limbs or dependencies, the danger of friction with other powers is vastly increased.

We heard much of the doctrine when the Spanish-American war was in progress, and when trouble arose between Great Britain and Venezuela, first, as to disputed boundary, and, later, as to repudiation of monetary