



Documentary Timeline: American Diplomacy Before the Monroe Doctrine <http://edsitement.neh.gov>

Key to EDSITEment Resources:

- A** = [Avalon Project](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm) [http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm]
D = [Digital History](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/) [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/]
F = [Foreign Relations of the United States](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/) [http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/], a link from [Internet Public Library](http://www.ipl.org/) [http://www.ipl.org/]
J = [James Monroe: Life Before the Presidency](http://www.americanpresident.org/history/jamesmonroe/biography/LifeBeforePresidency.common.shtml) [http://www.americanpresident.org/history/jamesmonroe/biography/LifeBeforePresidency.common.shtml] on The American President [http://www.americanpresident.org/]
L = [Library of Congress](http://www.loc.gov/) [http://www.loc.gov/], a link from [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [http://memory.loc.gov/]
M = [American Studies at the University of Virginia](http://xroads.virginia.edu/) [http://xroads.virginia.edu/]

- 1782, Nov. 30: Preliminary Articles of Peace (between the United States and Britain)
The king of England recognizes the United States. A U.S. border is defined.
Document: [Preliminary Articles of Peace](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/prel1782.htm)
[http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/prel1782.htm] (A)
- 1783, April 15: Articles of Peace ratified by Congress.
- 1784: Spain closes the Mississippi River to American shipping.
- 1785, July 20: Jay-Gardoqui negotiations center on Spain's disagreement with U.S. border provisions in the Articles of Peace as well as Spain's closure of the Mississippi. John Jay, as authorized by Congress, meets with Spanish minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui, but without resolution.
- 1789, July 14: Bastille Day
The French Revolution begins. At first, many Americans are sympathetic to the French Revolution, especially those who aligned themselves with Jefferson and Madison.
- 1789 April: George Washington becomes president.
- 1792, Sept. 21: French Republic proclaimed. American sympathy toward France begins to weaken.

- 1793-1794: *Brief Secondary Account: [Years of Crisis](#)*
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=8]
“In 1793 and 1794 a series of crises threatened to destroy the new national government:
- France tried to entangle America in its war with England;
 - Armed rebellion erupted in western Pennsylvania;
 - Indians in Ohio threatened American expansion; and
 - War with Britain appeared imminent...” (D)
- 1793, Feb. 1: France declares war on Great Britain, Spain, and Holland.
- 1793, April 22: Washington issues a proclamation of neutrality.
Document: [The Proclamation of Neutrality, 1793](#)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/neutra93.htm>] (A)
- 1794 summer: The Battle of Fallen Timbers
General Anthony Wayne defeats the Indians of Ohio. More settlers will be moving into the frontier.
Brief Secondary Account: [Fallen Timbers Battlefield](#)
[http://www.loc.gov/bicentennial/propage/OH/oh-9_h_kaptur5.html] (L)
- 1794, Nov. 19: Jay’s Treaty signed.
Document: [The Jay Treaty of 1794](#)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/jaymenu.htm>] (A)
Brief Secondary Account: [John Jay’s Treaty](#)
[<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/nr/14318.htm>]
“The only concessions Jay obtained” were “a surrender of the northwestern posts – already agreed to in 1783--and a commercial treaty with Great Britain that granted the United States “most favored nation” status, but seriously restricted U.S. commercial access to the British West Indies. All other outstanding issues – the Canadian-Maine boundary, compensation for pre-revolutionary debts, and British seizures of American ships – were to be resolved by arbitration. Jay even conceded that the British could seize U.S. goods bound for France if they paid for them and could confiscate without payment French goods on American ships. The treaty was immensely unpopular....” (F)
- “In 1794, President George Washington sent Monroe to France as the U.S. minister, a title equivalent to ambassador in those days. It was an eventful appointment that lasted two years. Monroe and his family became avid Francophiles. They learned to speak French fluently, socialized with French celebrities, adopted French taste in food and dress, and sent their daughter to the best French academy in Paris. When Thomas Paine, the great British pamphleteer and radical supporter of the American Revolution, was imprisoned for having spoken against the execution of

King Louis XVI, Monroe won his release and allowed Paine to live for a time with his family at the American minister's residence in Paris. However, Monroe's popularity with the French strained his relationship with President Washington. At issue was Washington's strict neutrality toward England and France. When the United States signed the controversial Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, which did little to settle the issue of English violation of American rights on the high seas, Monroe refused to actively defend the treaty against French objections. For his silence, Washington recalled him." (J)

1796, Sept. 17:

Washington's Farewell Address

Document: [Washington's Farewell Address](#)

[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>]

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." (A)

Brief Secondary Account: [Washington's Farewell Address](#)

[<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/nr/14319.htm>]

"Frustrated by French meddling in U.S. politics, Washington warned the nation to avoid permanent alliances with foreign nations and to rely instead on temporary alliances for emergencies. Washington's efforts to protect the fragile young republic by steering a neutral course between England and France during the French Revolutionary Wars was made extremely difficult by the intense rhetoric flowing from the pro-English Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, and the pro-French, personified by Thomas Jefferson." (F)

1797 April:

John Adams becomes president.

Brief Secondary Account: [The Presidency of John Adams](#)

[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=10]

"During Adams's presidency, the United States faced its most serious international crisis yet: an undeclared naval war with France. In the Jay Treaty, France perceived an American tilt toward Britain, especially in a provision permitting the British to seize French goods from American ships in exchange for financial compensation. France retaliated by capturing hundreds of vessels flying the U.S. flag.

...The Federalist-controlled Congress prepared for war by authorizing a 20,000-man army and calling George Washington out of retirement as commander in chief. During the winter of 1798, an undeclared naval war took place between France and the United States." (D)

1798-1800:

Undeclared Naval War (Quasi War) with France

Documents: [The Quasi War with France, 1791-1800](#)

[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/quasi.htm>] (A)

- 1800: Treaty of San Ildefonso
Spain secretly cedes Louisiana back to France.
Document: [Treaty of San Ildefonso: Retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/ildefens.htm) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/ildefens.htm>] (A)
- 1801: Thomas Jefferson becomes president.
- 1803: Louisiana Purchase Negotiations and Treaty
“In 1803, the victorious Jefferson sent Monroe as a special envoy to France to help negotiate the Louisiana Purchase.” (J)
Documents: [Louisiana Purchase Treaty](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/france/fr1803m.htm) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/france/fr1803m.htm>] (A)
Brief Secondary Account: [The Louisiana Purchase](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=16) [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=16] (D)

“From 1803 to 1807, Monroe served as the U.S. minister to Great Britain, an unproductive stint in which he failed to persuade the British to stop the impressment of U.S. sailors on the high seas and failed to convince Spain to settle the disputed boundaries in Florida.” (J)
- 1803 May: France declares war on Great Britain.
Brief Secondary Account: [The Eagle, the Tiger, and the Shark](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=18) [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=18] (D)
- 1807, Dec. 22: Embargo of 1807
Brief Secondary Account: [Embargo of 1807](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=19) [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=19]
“In effect for 15 months, the embargo exacted no political concessions from either France or Britain. But it had produced economic hardship, evasion of the law, and political dissension at home... The problem of defending American right on the high seas now fell to Jefferson’s hand-picked successor, James Madison.” (D)
- 1808-1814: The Napoleonic War, known in Spanish history as the War of Independence. Ferdinand VII, the king of Spain who had great popularity when he assumed the throne in 1808, is eventually imprisoned in France.
- 1810, May 14: West Florida declared part of the Mississippi Territory by Congress.
Map: [The United States in 1810](http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/TERRITORY/1810map.html) [<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/TERRITORY/1810map.html>] (M)

- 1811, Nov. 7: Battle of Tippecanoe
Despite heavy losses, troops under General William Henry Harrison defeat Native Americans commanded by Tecumseh. Many Americans believe the British had been responsible for inciting the Native Americans.
- “...just before the outbreak of the War of 1812, President Madison named Monroe his secretary of state. He remained at the post until 1817 and also functioned for a time as Madison’s secretary of war. In this latter capacity, Monroe unsuccessfully tried to institute a compulsory draft, settling instead for an increase of land bounties to entice more volunteers to join the U.S. Army for the duration of the war with England. He was successful, however, in stabilizing a deteriorating situation and prevented an outright U.S. defeat by the British in the War of 1812.” (J)
- 1812, June 18: Congress declares war against Great Britain.
Document: [1812—Declaration of War with Great Britain](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/statutes/1812-01.htm)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/statutes/1812-01.htm>] (A)
Brief Secondary Account: [A Second War of Independence](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=20)
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=20] (D)
- 1812-1819: Five new states added to the Union.
Brief Secondary Account: [Conquering Space](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=572)
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=572] (D)
- 1814: Ferdinand VII is restored to the Spanish throne. He immediately assumes absolute power, dismisses the Cadiz Corte (Spain’s representative assembly which first met in 1810), and revokes the 1812 Constitution—which had been a revolutionary document for Spain. During years of chaos in Spain, its American colonies began proclaiming themselves independent. Most established republican governments.
- 1814, Dec. 24: Peace Treaty with Great Britain
Document: [Treaty of Ghent](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/ghent.htm)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/ghent.htm>] (A)
Brief Secondary Account: [The War’s Significance](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=22)
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=22]
“...the War of 1812 was crucial for the United States. First, it effectively destroyed the Indians’ ability to resist American expansion east of the Mississippi River... Second, the war allowed the United States to rewrite its boundaries with Spain and solidify control over the lower Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico. Although the United States did not defeat the British Empire, it had fought the world’s strongest power to a draw. Spain recognized the significance of this fact, and in 1819 Spanish leaders abandoned Florida and agreed to an American boundary running clear to the Pacific Ocean.” (D)

- 1816 December: The Barbary Treaties
Document: [The Barbary Treaties](#)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/barbary/bar1816t.htm>]
(A)
- 1817, March 4: James Monroe becomes president.
Brief Secondary Account: [The Growth of American Nationalism](#)
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=567] (D)
Brief Secondary Account: [Defending American Interests in Foreign Affairs](#)
[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=573]
“The critical foreign policy issue facing the United States after the War of 1812 was the fate of Spain’s crumbling New World empire. Many of Spain’s New World colonies had taken advantage of turmoil in Europe during the Napoleonic Wars to fight for their independence. These revolutions aroused intense sympathy in the United States, but many Americans feared that European powers might restore monarchical order in Spain’s New World.
- A source of particular concern was Florida, which was still under Spanish control. Pirates, fugitive slaves, and Native Americans used Florida as a sanctuary and as a jumping off point for raids on settlements in Georgia. In December 1817, to end these incursions, Monroe authorized General Andrew Jackson to lead a punitive expedition against the Seminole Indians in Florida. Jackson attacked the Seminoles, destroyed their villages, and overthrew the Spanish governor. He also court-martialed and executed two British citizens whom he accused of inciting the Seminoles to commit atrocities against Americans.
- Jackson’s actions provoked a furor in Washington. . . . Secretary of State Adams, however, saw in Jackson’s actions an opportunity to wrest Florida from Spain. Instead of apologizing for Jackson’s conduct, Adams declared that the Florida raid was a legitimate act. . . .
- The Era of Good Feelings marked one of the most successful periods in American diplomacy. Apart from ending the attacks of the Barbary pirates on American shipping, the United States settled many of its disagreements with Britain, acquired Florida from Spain, defined its western and southwestern boundaries, convinced Spain to relinquish its claims to the Oregon region, and delivered a strong warning that European powers were not to interfere in the Western Hemisphere.” (D)

- 1817 April: *Document:* [Exchange of Notes 1817: Proclamation Relative to Naval Forces on the American Lakes, a.k.a. Rush-Bagot Treaty](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/br1817p.htm)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britian/br1817p.htm>] (A)
- 1819 February: Spain sells Florida to the United States and sets a definite border between Spanish possessions and the Louisiana Territory.
Document: [Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/spain/sp1819.htm), a.k.a. Adams-Onís Treaty for Secretary Adams and his Spanish counterpart, the foreign minister
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/spain/sp1819.htm>] (A)
- 1820: *Map:* [The United States in 1820](http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/TERRITORY/1820map.html)
[<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MAP/TERRITORY/1820map.html>] (M)
- A revolution in Spain temporarily reinstates the liberal constitution of 1812.
- 1822: France, delegated by the “Holy Alliance,” restores Ferdinand VII to absolute power.
- Brazil declares its independence from Portugal.
- 1823, Dec. 2: [Monroe Doctrine](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm)
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm>] (A)

Other Online Document Resources

- Annual Messages of the Presidents
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/sou/sou.htm>] (A)
- Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents
[<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/presiden/inaug/inaug.htm>] (A)

Print Resource

Morris, Jeffrey B., and Richard B. Morris, eds. *Encyclopedia of American History*. New York: Harper Collins, 1996.



Basic Timeline: American Diplomacy Before the Monroe Doctrine

- 1782, Nov. 30: Preliminary Articles of Peace (between the United States and Britain)
The king of England recognizes the United States. U.S. border defined.
- 1784: Spain closes the Mississippi River to American shipping
- 1789, July 14: Bastille Day
The French Revolution begins
- 1789 April: George Washington becomes president
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- 1794, Nov. 19: Jay's Treaty signed
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- 1797 April: John Adams becomes president
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- 1800: Spain secretly cedes Louisiana back to France
- 1801: Thomas Jefferson becomes president
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- 1812, June 18: Congress declares war against Great Britain
- 1814: During years of chaos in Spain, its American colonies begin proclaiming themselves independent. Most establish republican governments.

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1816 December: The Barbary Treaties

1817, March 4: James Monroe becomes president

1819 February: Spain sells Florida to the United States and sets a definite border between Spanish possessions and the Louisiana Territory

1822: France, delegated by the “Holy Alliance,” restores Spain’s Ferdinand VII to absolute power. Brazil declares its independence from Portugal.

1823, Dec. 2: Monroe Doctrine



Monroe on Recognition of the Independent States of South America

Below is an excerpted and annotated version of President Monroe's March 11, 1822, response to a House resolution introduced January 29 (included beneath President Monroe's message). All of the language in the excerpt is from the original, except for the annotations in parentheses, which define words in italics or provide additional information. Periods of ellipsis indicate gaps in the edited text. Anyone desiring the full text should consult the "[Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, 1789-1873](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(sj01170)))" for Monday, March 11, 1822 [[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(sj01170\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(sj01170)))] on the EDSITEment-reviewed website [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [<http://memory.loc.gov/>].

President Monroe's Message:

In transmitting to the House of Representatives the documents called for by the resolution of that House, of the 30th January (see below), I consider it my duty to invite the attention of Congress to a very important subject....

The revolutionary movement in the Spanish *provinces* (possessions) in this hemisphere attracted the attention and excited the sympathy of our fellow citizens from its *commencement* (beginning). This feeling was natural and honorable to them, *from causes which need not be communicated to you* (for reason I don't need to tell you). (Monroe understands that Americans who only recently won their independence from a European power tend to be sympathetic to revolutionary movements.) ... Through the whole of *this contest* (the revolutionary conflicts) the United States have remained neutral....

This contest has now reached such a stage... that it merits the most profound consideration whether their right to the rank of independent nations, with all the advantages incident to it, in their intercourse with the United States, is not *complete* (a foregone conclusion). *Buenos Ayres* (Argentina) assumed that rank by a formal declaration in 1816, and has enjoyed it since 1810, free from invasion by the parent country. The provinces composing the Republic of Colombia, after having separately declared their independence, were united by a fundamental law of the 17th of December 1819. A strong Spanish force occupied, at that time, certain parts of the territory within their limits, and waged a destructive war. That force has since been repeatedly defeated.... Chili declared independence in 1818, and has since enjoyed it undisturbed; and of late by the assistance of Chili and Buenos Ayres, the revolution has extended to Peru. Of the movement in Mexico our information is less *authentic* (reliable), but it is, nevertheless, distinctly understood, that the new government has declared its independence, and that there is now no opposition.... For the last three years the government of Spain has not sent a single corps of troops to any part of that country; nor is there any reason to believe it will send any in future....

Civil wars too often excite feelings which the parties cannot control.... The delay... in making a decision on this important subject, will... have afforded... proof to Spain, as it must have done to other powers, of the high respect entertained by the United States for her rights, and of their determination not to interfere with them. The provinces belonging to this hemisphere are our

neighbors, and have, successively, as each portion of the country acquired its independence, *pressed their recognition* (asked the United States to recognize them) by an appeal to facts not to be contested, and which they thought gave them a just title to it. *To motives of interest this government has invariably disclaimed all pretension* (The United States has no self-interest at stake in these conflicts), being resolved to take no part in the controversy.... When we regard, then, the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favor of the *provinces* (revolutionaries in their home countries), the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled, and that the provinces which have declared their independence... ought to be recognized.

Of the views of the Spanish government on this subject, no particular information has been recently received.... The immense space between those powers, even those which border on the Atlantic, and these provinces, makes the movement an affair of less interest and excitement to them, than to us. It is probable, therefore, that they have been less attentive to its progress than we have been.

In proposing this measure, it is not contemplated to change thereby, in the slightest manner, our friendly relations with either of the parties, but to observe, in all respects, as heretofore, should the war be continued, the most perfect neutrality between them. Of this friendly disposition, an assurance will be given to the government of Spain.... The measure is proposed... in strict accord with the law of nations; that it is just and right as to the parties; and that the United States owe it to their station and character in the world, as well as to their essential interests, to adopt it. Should Congress concur in the view herein presented, they will doubtless see the propriety of *making the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect* (passing bills to cover the expense of recognizing the newly independent South American states).

JAMES MONROE.

The resolution to which President Monroe was responding:

Mr. Nelson, (a Republican) of Virginia, submitted the following resolution...

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to lay before this House such communications as may be in the possession to the Executive. from the agents of the United states With the governments south of the United States which have declared their independence; and the communications from the agents of such governments in the United States with the Secretary of State, as tend to *shew* (show) the political condition of those governments, and the state of the war between them and Spain, as it may be consistent with the public interest to communicate.



Questions to Accompany President Monroe's Message on Recognition

1. In his response to the House resolution about the revolutionary movements in South America, Monroe mentions first the sympathy toward them of members of Congress and all Americans. Monroe says Americans are sympathetic “from causes which need not be communicated to you.” What are those causes? Why does he put this point first in the speech? (He acknowledges the pressure from—while directly appealing to—the general population and members of Congress.)
2. What kinds of supporting evidence does Monroe give to prove that the revolutionary movements might deserve recognition? (The longevity of the revolutionary government, the state of war or lack of it.)
3. What reason(s) does Monroe give for delaying the U.S. decision on recognition?
4. To what events in the relationship between the revolutionary governments and the United States does Monroe refer? (Their requests for recognition.)
5. How does Monroe describe the official position of the United States up to the time of his message?
6. What does Monroe say are the most pressing reasons for recognizing the revolutionary movements?
7. How does Monroe describe the position of the Spanish government with regard to its South American possessions?
8. How does Monroe believe U.S. recognition of the revolutionary governments will affect relations with Spain?



The Monroe Doctrine: A Close Reading

Each of the following sections of the Monroe Doctrine refers to a specific subject. (NOTE: The divisions in the document below do not correspond to the paragraphs in the original document. In all other respects, this version adheres to the text found on the EDSITement-reviewed website **Avalon Project** [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>].) Read each section with the class. To what event(s) or condition(s) in U.S. history and/or its diplomacy does each section refer?

Section 1

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged 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 maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers....

Section 2

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the results have been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so.

Section 3

It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense.

Section 4

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. This difference

proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. 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.

Section 5

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintain it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, 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 the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

Section 6

The *late events in Spain and Portugal* (events referred to in the next sentence) *shew* (show) that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that *the allied powers* (the so-called “Holy Alliance” of Russia, Prussia, and Austria) should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none of them more so than the United States.

Section 7

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

Section 8

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in hope that other powers will pursue the same course.



The Essential Monroe Doctrine Primary Documents

The following is a bibliography of primary documents essential to the teaching of the Monroe Doctrine, as well as their sources. All documents are available on EDSITEment-reviewed websites, as indicated.

- From [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [<http://memory.loc.gov/>]
 - [Jefferson to James Monroe, June 11, 1823](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040132))) [[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jm040132\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040132)))]
 - [Jefferson to James Monroe, October 24, 1823](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040139))) [[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jm040139\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040139)))]
 - [Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, August 18, 1823](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040135))) [[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jm040135\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mtj:@field(DOCID+@lit(jm040135)))]
 - [New map of South America](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g5200+ct000170))) from the latest authorities. From Samuel Lewis' Atlas, 1817 [[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/gmd:@field\(NUMBER+@band\(g5200+ct000170\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/gmd:@field(NUMBER+@band(g5200+ct000170)))]
 - [Political Condition of the Spanish Provinces of South America](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=004/llsp004.db&recNum=825) (March and April 1822) – Response to the Resolution of January 30, 1822 [<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsp&fileName=004/llsp004.db&recNum=825>]
 - [President Monroe to Congress: Recognition of the Independent States of South America](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsj&fileName=011/llsj011.db&recNum=178) [<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsj&fileName=011/llsj011.db&recNum=178>]
- From [The Avalon Project](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm>]
 - [Monroe Doctrine; December 2, 1823](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/monroe.htm>]
 - [Washington's Farewell Address](http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm) [<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm>]
- From [Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History](http://www.gilderlehrman.org) [<http://www.gilderlehrman.org>]
 - [Acquiring Florida, 1818, by James Monroe](http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/document.php?id=391) [<http://www.gilderlehrman.org/collection/document.php?id=391>]
- From Internet Modern History Sourcebook, a link from [LANIC](http://lanic.utexas.edu/) [<http://lanic.utexas.edu/>]
 - [Simón de Bolívar: Message to the Congress of Angostura, 1819](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1819bolivar.html) [<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1819bolivar.html>]
- From [Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring The French Revolution](http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/index.html) [<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/index.html>]
 - [Europe 1815 Map](http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/437/) [<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/437/>]
- From Documents of World War I, a link from [World War I Document Archive](http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/) [<http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/>]
 - [John Quincy Adams's Account of the Cabinet Meeting of November 7, 1823](http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/jqacab.htm) [<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/jqacab.htm>]

- [Henry Cabot Lodge: Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine](http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/lodge2.htm) (Source: Record, 62 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 10045.) [<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/lodge2.htm>]

Essential Secondary Document for Extensions to the Lesson

- From [Naval Historical Center](http://www.history.navy.mil/) [<http://www.history.navy.mil/>]
 - [Instances of Use of United States Forces Abroad, 1798 – 1993](http://www.history.navy.mil/wars/foabroad.htm) [<http://www.history.navy.mil/wars/foabroad.htm>]



Scoring Sheet for Debate

As the debate occurs, use the space available for notes. Points can be split between teams at the teacher's discretion.

Debate Segment	Point Value	President James Monroe	Former President Thomas Jefferson	Secretary of State John Quincy Adams
Opening Statement (one minute max. per team)	15			
Argument (two minutes max. per team; one-minute break before next round for group meeting)	25			
Rebuttal (two minutes max. per team; one-minute break before next round for group meeting)	25			
Question-and-Answer period (three minutes max. per team, incl. responses. Responses limited to 30 seconds each. One-minute break before final round.)	15			
Closing Statement (one minute max. per team)	20			
		Monroe	Jefferson	Adams
Total 30 minutes	100			



Documents for James Monroe

All of the documents below, unless otherwise specified, are from the EDSITEment resource [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [http://memory.loc.gov/]. The excerpts are all in the language of the original. Annotations in parentheses define terms in italics or add information. Some spelling and punctuation has been standardized. Abbreviations with the potential to be confusing have been replaced with full names.

Background

From the James Monroe Biography on **The American Presidency**, a link from the EDSITEment-reviewed website **Internet Public Library**:

Monroe's policies, stressing the concept of limited government and strict construction of the U.S. Constitution, were shaped in accordance with the principles of the Jeffersonian Republican party. As a result of his experiences as a diplomat, he acquired a determination to free the United States from subservience to European powers. Hence he rejected British proposals in 1823 for joint action to protect the newly won independence of the Latin American states in favor of a unilateral policy declaration later known as the Monroe Doctrine.

...Monroe's greatest achievements as president lay in foreign affairs. Aply supported by Adams, he made substantial territorial additions and gave American policy a distinctly national orientation. Monroe welcomed an opportunity to press Spain to cede Florida and define the boundaries of Louisiana. His chance came when Gen. Andrew Jackson invaded Florida in 1818. In pursuit of hostile Indians, Jackson seized the posts of St. Marks and Pensacola, acts that many persons regarded as violations of congressional war powers. In the cabinet, Adams, an expansionist, urged Jackson's complete vindication, while Crawford and Calhoun demanded that he be reprimanded for exceeding his instructions.

Monroe chose a middle course—the posts were restored to Spain, but the administration accepted Jackson's explanation that his action had been justified by conditions in Florida. The incident led Spain to cede Florida and define, favorably to American claims, the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase in the Adams-Onís Treaty negotiated in 1819.

...The revolutions in Spain's American colonies, which had begun in the Napoleonic era, had aroused great sympathy in the United States. Monroe, however, held back recognition, in spite of congressional pressure exerted by Henry Clay, until 1822, after Spain had ratified the Adams-Onís Treaty. The South American revolutions raised the possibility of intervention by the European powers linked in an alliance—commonly, but erroneously, known as the Holy Alliance—to suppress these revolutions as they had done in Europe. Britain, prospering from newly opened Latin American trade, opposed this move. In 1823, Foreign Minister George Canning proposed, through Richard Rush, the

American minister, that the two nations jointly express their hostility to intervention. Monroe consulted Jefferson and Madison, who favored acceptance. The cabinet was divided, with only Adams strongly opposed.

Anxious to assert American independence in foreign policy, Monroe rejected the British offer, opting for a policy statement in his annual message of December 1823. In this statement, subsequently known as the Monroe Doctrine, he declared that the United States would regard any interference in the internal affairs of American states as an unfriendly act. At Adams' suggestion, Monroe included a declaration aimed at Russia that the United States considered the American continents closed to further colonization. While greeted with enthusiasm by Americans, Monroe's statement received little notice in Europe or South America, and it had no effect on European policy. England's declared opposition blocked intervention by other nations.

Documents

- 1817 November/December: To Chiefs and Warriors From President
The President of the United States has been informed about the murders and thefts committed by the hostile Indians in *this part of the country* (Florida). He has authorized General Jackson to... cause justice to be done....
- 1818 March: Message to Congress: Permission from Monroe to Jackson to Enter Florida
I now lay before Congress all the information in the possession of the executive, respecting the war with the Seminoles, and the measures which it has been thought proper to adopt, for the safety of our fellow citizens, on the frontier exposed to their ravages. The enclosed documents show, that the hostilities of this tribe were unprovoked, the offspring of a spirit long cherished, and often manifested towards the United States, and that, in the present instance, it was extending itself to other tribes, and daily assuming a more serious aspect. As soon as the nature and object of this combination were perceived, the major general commanding the southern division of the troops of the United States, was ordered to the theatre of action, charged with the management of the war, and vested with the powers necessary to give it effect. ...It may be fairly presumed, that it will not be long before this tribe, and its associates, receive the punishment which they have provoked, and justly merited.

As almost the whole of this tribe inhabits the country within the limits of Florida, Spain was bound, by the treaty of 1795, to restrain them from committing hostilities against the United States. We have seen with regret, that her government has altogether failed to fulfill this obligation, nor are we aware that it made any effort to that effect. When we consider her utter inability to check, even in the slightest degree, the movements of this tribe, by her very small and incompetent force in Florida, we are not disposed to ascribe the failure to any other cause. The inability, however, of Spain, to maintain her authority over the territory, and Indians within her limits, and in consequence to fulfill the treaty, ought not to expose the United States to other and greater injuries. When the authority of Spain ceases to exist there, the United States have a right to pursue their enemy, on a principle of self defense. In this instance, the right is more complete and obvious, because we shall perform only, what Spain was bound to have performed herself. ...Orders have been given to the general in command, not to enter Florida, unless it be in pursuit of the enemy, and in that case, to respect the

Spanish authority, whenever it is maintained, and he will be instructed to withdraw his forces from the province, as soon as he shall have reduced that tribe, to order, and secure our fellow citizens, in that quarter, by satisfactory arrangements, against its unprovoked and savage hostilities in future.

- 1818 March: In response to a House resolution of the previous December, President Madison introduces Secretary Adams's report on the Independence of the Spanish Provinces. It's included here simply to indicate that recognition of the revolutionary governments in Spanish America was discussed as early as March 1818.
- 1818: Monroe Defends Acquisition of Florida in *Acquiring Florida, 1818*, by James Monroe on the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, a link from the EDSITEMent resource History Matters.

Annotation: ... Instead of apologizing for Jackson's conduct, President Monroe, in the following message, defended the Florida raid as a legitimate act of self-defense and informed Spain that it would either have to police Florida effectively or cede it to the United States. In 1819, Spain transferred Florida to the United States and the U.S. government agreed to honor \$5 million in damage claims by Americans against Spain.

Text Excerpts: Throughout the whole of those provinces [the Floridas], to which the Spanish title extends, the government of Spain has been scarcely felt.... Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, & absconding slaves, have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those provinces. These different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding on the one side, the authority of Spain, and protected, on the other, by an imaginary line, which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws, prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practiced various frauds on our revenue, and have committed every kind of outrage, on our peaceable citizens....

This country had, in fact, become the theatre, of every species of lawless adventure.... Men who... connect themselves with Savage communities, and stimulate them to war, which is always attended on their part with acts of barbarity the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the Savages....

The right of self defense never ceases.... In authorizing Major General [Andrew] Jackson to enter Florida, in pursuit of the Seminoles, care was taken not to encroach on the rights of Spain...

Experience has clearly demonstrated that independent Savage communities, cannot long exist within the limits of a civilized population.... To civilize them, & even to prevent their extinction, its seems to be indispensable, that their independence as communities should cease; & that the control of the United States over them, should be complete & undisputed. The hunter state, will then be more easily abandoned, and recourse will be had to the acquisition & culture of land, & to other pursuits tending to dissolve the ties, which connect them together as a savage community and to give a new character to every individual.

- 1821, March 5: Monroe's Second Inaugural Address on the EDSITement-reviewed website The Avalon Project.

The war between Spain and the colonies in South America... was considered at an early stage by my predecessor a civil war in which the parties were entitled to equal rights in our ports. This decision, the first made by any power... was in strict accord with the law of nations. Congress has invariably acted on this principle, having made no change in our relations with either party. Our attitude has therefore been that of neutrality between them, which has been maintained by the Government with the strictest impartiality. No aid has been afforded to either, nor has any privilege been enjoyed by the one which has not been equally open to the other party....

...their public vessels have been received in our ports on the same footing; they have enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms, munitions of war, and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which were passed long before the commencement of the contest; our citizens have traded equally with both, and their commerce with each has been alike protected by the Government.

Respecting the attitude which it may be proper for the United States to maintain hereafter between the parties, I have no hesitation in stating it as my opinion that the neutrality heretofore observed should still be adhered to. From the change in the Government of Spain and the negotiation now depending, invited by the Cortes and accepted by the colonies, it may be presumed, that their differences will be settled on the terms proposed by the colonies. Should the war be continued, the United States, regarding its occurrences, will always have it in their power to adopt such measures respecting it as their honor and interest may require.

- 1822 March/April: Political Condition of the Spanish Provinces of South America
The revolutionary movement in the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere attracted the attention and excited the sympathy of our fellow citizens...
- 1823, June 2: James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
Our ministers, ...were just about to sail for Spain, & So. America.... The moment is peculiarly critical, *as respects* (in regard to) the present state of the world, & our relations with the acting parties in it, in Europe & in this hemisphere, & it would have been very gratifying to me, to have had an opportunity of free communication with you, on all the interesting subjects connected with it. The French armies have entered Spain....
- 1823, October 17: Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
I transmit to you two dispatches which were received from *Mr. Rush* (the American minister to Great Britain), while I was lately in Washington, which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from *Mr. Canning* (British minister to the U. S.) suggesting designs of the holy alliance against the independence of South America, & proposing ...cooperation, between Great Britain & the United States, in support of it, against the members of that alliance. The project aims ...first... at a mere expression of opinion... Many important considerations are involved in this proposition. 1st. shall we entangle ourselves at all in European politics, & wars, on the side of any power against others...? 2d. If *a* (any) case can exist in which *a sound maxim* (our successful policy of neutrality) may &

ought to be departed from, is not the present instance, precisely that case? 3d. Has not the *epoch* (time) arrived when Great Britain must take her stand, either on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the U. S. & in ...favor of Despotism or of liberty, & may it not be presumed that, aware of that necessity, her government has seized on the present occurrence... to announce ...the *commencement of that career* (beginning of that policy).

My own impression is that we ought to ...make it known, that we would view *an* (any) interference on the part of the European powers, and especially an attack on the Colonies, by them, as an attack on ourselves....



Documents for John Quincy Adams

All of the documents below, unless otherwise specified, are from the EDSITEment resource [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [http://memory.loc.gov/]. The excerpts are all in the language of the original. Annotations in parentheses define terms in italics or add information. Some spelling and punctuation has been standardized. Abbreviations with the potential to be confusing have been replaced with full names.

Background

Account of Adams's and Monroe's Conduct of Foreign Affairs on **The American Presidency**, a link from the EDSITEment-reviewed website **Internet Public Library**:

The First Seminole War and Spanish Florida, 1817-1818

With the end of the War of 1812, tensions mounted and Monroe sent General Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans, and his Tennessee militia to the Florida border in 1817 to stop the raids and to catch runaway slaves. Exceeding his orders, Jackson invaded Florida in 1818, using the ambush of his troops-in which forty soldiers were killed-as the excuse. Jackson burned Seminole villages, hanged tribal leaders, captured Pensacola and deposed the Spanish governor. He even executed two British citizens whom he accused of having incited the Seminoles to commit atrocities against American settlers.

Because Jackson had acted without specific authority, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun urged Monroe to reprimand Jackson. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams came to Jackson's defense, however, and used the occasion to pressure Spain to sell all of Florida to the U.S. Preoccupied with revolts throughout its Latin American empire, Spain understood that the U.S. could seize all of Florida at will. In a brilliant series of diplomatic moves, Adams convinced Spain to sell Florida to the United States and to drop all its claims to the Louisiana Territory and Oregon. In return the U.S. agreed to relinquish its claims on Texas and assume responsibility for \$5 million owed to American citizens by the Spanish government. The resulting treaty, known as the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 (named after John Quincy Adams and the Spanish Minister Luis de Onís), was hailed as a great success, although some detractors thought that Adams should have obtained Texas in the bargain.

On another diplomatic front, Adams negotiated two important accords with Great Britain that resolved border disputes held over from the War of 1812. The Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817 (named after Acting Secretary of State Richard Rush and British Minister Charles Bagot) demilitarized the Great Lakes, limiting each country to one 100-ton vessel armed with a single 18-pound cannon on Lake Chaplain and Lake Ontario. Two similar sized ships were permitted each nation on the other lakes. The Convention of 1818 fixed the present U. S.-Canadian border from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains at the 49th

parallel. The accords also resolved conflicting U.S. and British claims to Oregon with the agreement that both nations would jointly occupy the region for the next ten years.

The Monroe Doctrine

With Spain out of Florida, and the western borders more-or-less quiet, Secretary of State Adams turned his attention to troubles in South and Central America. In 1821, Mexico won its independence from Spain; by 1822, Argentina, Chile, and Columbia had followed suit. Monroe quickly recognized their independence and encouraged the popular perception of Simon Bolivar (of Colombia) as the George Washington of Latin America. France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia began talking of a plan to help Spain recover her lost colonies. To counter the planned move, Britain proposed that the U.S. and England issue a joint declaration against European intervention in the Western Hemisphere. Adams insisted, however, on a separate American policy. On December 2, 1823, President Monroe presented a statement to Congress calling for an end of colonization in the Western Hemisphere by European nations. The proclamation, which was also aimed at Russian's Pacific coast settlements north of Oregon (in present-day Alaska), pledged that the U.S. in turn would not interfere in the affairs of European nations in their remaining New World colonies.

Documents

- 1817: Exchange of Notes 1817: Proclamation (Relative to Naval Forces on the American Lakes), also known as the Rush-Bagot Treaty.
The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes, by his majesty and the government of the United States, shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is –
 - ❑ On Lake Ontario, to one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burden, and armed with one eighteen pound cannon.
 - ❑ On the upper lakes, to two vessels, not exceeding like burden each, and armed with like force.
 - ❑ On the waters of Lake Champlain, to one vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force.
 - ❑ All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be there built or armed.
- 1818 March: In response to a House resolution of the previous December, President Monroe introduces Secretary Adams's report on the Independence of the Spanish Provinces. Included here not for its content but to show that the question of recognizing the revolutionary governments of Spanish America was under consideration for a long time. Interested students can view a series of documents following President Monroe's introduction by Adams and important figures such as Bernardo O'Higgins.
- 1818, October 20: Convention of 1818 between the U.S. and Great Britain, on the EDSITEMent-reviewed website The Avalon Project, set the 49th parallel as the U.S.-Canadian border from Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains.

- 1818, November 28: Letter from Secretary of State Adams to Spanish Minister to the United States Don Luis de Onís demonstrates Adams's negotiating style in the months before the Adams-Onís Treaty (the Adams-Onís Treaty was signed on February 22, 1819). The right of the United States to the river Mississippi... is established beyond the power of further controversy....
You have been informed of the evidence *inculpating* (incriminating) the governors of those places, *as* (of) having utterly neglected to carry into effect the stipulation in the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, *by force*, the Indians within her territories from committing hostilities against the United States... You have been informed that these were the real and only causes of the occupation of those places by the commander of the American forces....
...it would be worse than superfluous to stipulate for restoring them to Spain in the very treaty by which they are to be ceded... to the United States.
- 1819, February 22: Transcontinental Treaty with Spain signed (ratified February 22, 1821) Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits Between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty. 1819 (1)

ARTICLE I

There shall be a firm and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States and their citizens and His Catholic Majesty....

ARTICLE II

His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full property and sovereignty, all the territories which belong to him, situated to the eastward of the Mississippi, known by the name of East and West Florida....

ARTICLE III

The boundary-line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin (the article goes on to specify the boundaries)

...The United States hereby cede to His Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever, all their rights, claims, and pretensions, to the territories lying west and south of the above-described line; and, in like manner, His Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line....

ARTICLE IV

To fix this line with more precision, and to place the landmarks which shall designate exactly the limits of both nations, each of the contracting parties shall appoint a Commissioner and a surveyor, who shall meet before the termination of one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty at Nachitoches, on the Red River, and proceed to run and mark the said line....

ARTICLE V

The inhabitants of the ceded territories shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion, without any restriction; and all those who may desire to remove to the Spanish dominions shall be permitted to sell or export their effects, at any time whatever, without being subject, in either case, to duties.

ARTICLE VI

The inhabitants of the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, by this treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of

all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The officers and troops of His Catholic Majesty, in the territories hereby ceded by him to the United States, shall be withdrawn, and possession of the places occupied by them shall be given within six months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or sooner if possible....

ARTICLE IX

The two high contracting parties... renounce all claims for damages or injuries which they, themselves, as well as their respective citizens and subjects, may have suffered until the time of signing this treaty.

ARTICLE XI

The United States, exonerating Spain from all demands in future, on account of the claims of their citizens to which the renunciations herein contained extend, and considering them entirely cancelled, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars.

ARTICLE XV

The United States, to give to His Catholic Majesty a proof of their desire to cement the relations of amity subsisting between the two nations, and to favor the commerce of the subjects of His Catholic Majesty, agree that Spanish vessels, coming laden only with productions of Spanish growth or manufactures, directly from the ports of Spain, or of her colonies, shall be admitted, for the term of twelve years, to the ports of Pensacola and St. Augustine, in the Floridas, without paying other or higher duties on their cargoes, or of tonnage, than will be paid by the vessels of the United States. During the said term no other nation shall enjoy the same privileges within the ceded territories. The twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Done at Washington this twenty-second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

LUIS DE ONÍS.

The following note is also found on the EDSITEment resource The Avalon Project:

(1) This treaty was concluded February 22, 1819. The ratifications were exchanged February 22, 1821, and proclaimed February 22, 1821. By the treaty of Saint Ildefonso, made October 1, 1800, Spain had ceded Louisiana to France and France, by the treaty of Paris, signed April 30, 1803, had ceded it to the United States. Under this treaty the United States claimed the countries between the Iberville and the Perdido. Spain contended that her cession to France comprehended only that territory which, at the time of the cession, was denominated Louisiana, consisting of the island of New Orleans, and the country which had been originally ceded to her by France west of the Mississippi. Congress passed a joint resolution, approved January 15, 1811, declaring that the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, could not, without serious inquietude, see any part of this disputed territory pass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own safety compelled them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the disputed territory; they, at the same time, declaring that the territory should, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation. An act of Congress, approved on the same day,

authorized the President to take possession of and occupy all or any part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido and south of the State of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, in case an arrangement had been, or should be, made with the local authority of the said territory, for delivering up the possession of the same, or any part thereof, to the United States, or in the event of an attempt to occupy the said territory, or any part thereof, by any foreign government.

- 1820, May 20: Extract of a Letter from Minister to Spain John Forsythe to JQ Adams on the Cessation of Florida.
Mr. Onís has published a memoir.... He accuses us of ambition and *avarice* (greed), and yet endeavors to show that the treaty of cession of Florida ought to be considered as a treaty of exchange of Florida for Texas....
- 1821, July 4: Warning Against the Search for Monsters to Destroy on Documents Relating to American Foreign Policy, a link from the EDSITEment resource World War I Document Archive.
America... has uniformly spoken... the language of equal liberty, of equal justice, and of equal rights. She has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart....Wherever the standard of freedom and Independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will commend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from *liberty* to *force*.... She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit....

1822, February 25: JQ Adams to the Russian Minister to the United States

The President of the United States... has seen with surprise... the assertion of a territorial claim on the part of Russia, extending to the 51st degree of north latitude on this continent... The relations of the United States with *His Imperial Majesty* (the Russian Czar) have always been of the most friendly character; and it is the earnest desire of this government to preserve them in that state. It was expected, before any act which should define the boundary between the territories of the United States and Russia on this continent, that the same would have been arranged by treaty. To exclude the *vessels* (ships) of our citizens... has excited still greater surprise.

- This ordinance affects so deeply the rights of the United States and of their citizens, that I am instructed to inquire whether you are authorized to give explanations of the *grounds of right* (legal grounds for your actions), upon principles of... the laws and usages of nations....

- 1823, July 22: Instructions from Adams to Middleton in Negotiating with Russia
The right of the United States from the 42nd to the 49th parallel... we consider as unquestionable, *being founded* (based), first, on the acquisition by the treaty of February 22, 1819, of all the rights of Spain; second by the discovery of the Columbia River, first from sea... and then by land by Lewis and Clark; and third, by the settlement at its mouth in 1811. This territory is to the United States of an importance which no possession in North America can be of to any European nation, not only as it is but the continuity of their possession from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean....

...we are willing to agree to the boundary line within which the Emperor Paul had granted exclusive privileges to the Russian American Company, that is to say, latitude 55.

- 1823, August 18: JQ Adams on Greek Revolution
With regard to... recognition... the United States have recognized the fact of foreign sovereignty only when it was undisputed, or disputed without any rational prospect of success. In this manner the successive changes of government in many of the European States, and the revolutionary governments of South America, have been acknowledged. The condition of the Greeks is not yet such as will admit of the recognition upon these principles....

- 1823, November 7: John Quincy Adams's Account of the Cabinet Meeting of November 7, 1823 on Documents Relating to American Foreign Policy, a link from World War I Document Archive.

Washington, November 7th. – Cabinet meeting at the President's from half past one til four. Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and Mr. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, present. The subject for consideration was, the confidential proposals of the British Secretary of State, George Canning, to R. Rush (minister to Great Britain), and the correspondence between them relating to the *projects* (designs) of the Holy Alliance upon South America. There was much conversation, without coming to any definite point. The object of Canning appears to have been to obtain some public pledge from the Government of the United States, ostensibly against the forcible interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America; but really or especially against the acquisition to the United States themselves of any part of the Spanish American possessions.

Mr. Calhoun inclined to giving a discretionary power to Mr. Rush to join in a declaration against the interference of the Holy Allies, if necessary, even if it should pledge us not to take Cuba or the province of Texas; because the power of Great Britain being greater than ours to *seize* ...them, we should get the advantage of obtaining from her the same declaration we should make ourselves.

I thought the cases not parallel. We have no intention of seizing either Texas or Cuba. But the inhabitants of either or both may exercise their primitive rights, and solicit a union with us. They will certainly do no such thing to Great Britain. By joining with her, therefore, in her proposed declaration, we give her a substantial and perhaps inconvenient pledge against ourselves, and really obtain nothing in return. Without entering now into the enquiry of the expediency of our annexing Texas or Cuba to our Union, we should at least keep ourselves

free to act as emergencies may arise, and not tie ourselves down to any principle which might immediately afterwards be brought to bear against ourselves.

Mr. Southard inclined much to the same opinion.

The President was averse to any course which should have the appearance of taking a position subordinate to that of Great Britain....

I remarked that the communications recently received from the Russian Minister (that seemed to imply Russian interest in expanding their sphere of influence in the Northwest)... afforded, as I thought, a very suitable and convenient opportunity for us to take our stand against the Holy Alliance, and at the same time to decline the overture of Great Britain. It would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia and France, than to *come in... in the wake of the British man-of-war* (ride in on Britain's coattails).

This idea was *acquiesced in* (agreed to) on all sides....

- 1823, December 18: New York Citizens Petition of Sympathy for Greece, demonstrates public sympathy toward revolutionary movements. The citizens... have, in common with their fellow-citizens throughout the United States, witnessed... the heroic efforts of the Greeks to rescue themselves from Turkish bondage.
- 1824: Convention with Russia, the conclusion of Adams's efforts in negotiating with Russia. Article 1. It is agreed that in any part of... the Pacific Ocean... the respective citizens... shall neither be disturbed nor restrained either in navigation, or in fishing....

Article 3. It is moreover agreed that hereafter there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States... any establishment upon the Northwest Coast of America... *to the north* of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude; and that in the same manner there shall be none formed by Russian subjects or under the authority of Russia *south* of the same parallel.



Documents for Thomas Jefferson

All of the documents below, unless otherwise specified, are from the EDSITEment resource [American Memory](http://memory.loc.gov/) [http://memory.loc.gov/]. The excerpts are all in the language of the original. Annotations in parentheses define terms in italics or add information. Some spelling and punctuation has been standardized. Abbreviations with the potential to be confusing have been replaced with full names.

Background

From Thomas Jefferson: Foreign Affairs on **The American Presidency**, a link from the EDSITEment-reviewed website **Internet Public Library**:

Although Thomas Jefferson came to power determined to limit the reach of the federal government, foreign affairs dominated his presidency and pushed him toward Federalist policies that greatly contrasted with his political philosophy. The first foreign episode involved Jefferson's war with the Barbary pirates... The war ended with agreements that involved one last payment of tribute, at least to Tripoli. Jefferson's action on this matter caused him to rethink the need for a well-equipped navy and halted his move to reduce the force to a mere token size.

...When Jefferson learned that Spain had secretly ceded Louisiana to France in 1800, he instructed his ministers to negotiate the purchase of the port of New Orleans and possibly West Florida. Jefferson strategically made this move in order to insure that American farmers in the Ohio River Valley had access to the Gulf of Mexico via the Mississippi River – the river was a key to the farmers' economic well-being, as they needed a vent for their surplus grain and meat. Even before the French took over Louisiana, the Spaniards had closed the Mississippi River in 1802. While Jefferson was known to be partial to the French, having the Emperor Napoleon's driving interests for world domination next door was not an attractive prospect; thus, Jefferson acted swiftly.

...Although Jefferson understood that the U.S. Constitution said nothing about the purchase of foreign territory, he set aside his strict constructionist ideals to make the deal....

...Several weeks after buying Louisiana, Napoleon declared war on Great Britain. At first, the European fighting benefited the United States since Americans functioned as the merchants carrying supplies to the warring powers. Consequently, between 1803 and 1807, total U.S. exports jumped from \$66.5 million to \$102.2 million.... Then, the bottom fell out of the trade industry as England and France each independently outlawed virtually all American commerce with their opponent.

The British navy also began seizing American ships with cargoes bound for Europe and impressing American sailors into the Royal Navy.... Cries for war erupted throughout the nation.

Jefferson banned all British ships from U.S. ports, ordered state governors to prepare to call up 100,000 militiamen, and suspended trade with all of Europe. He reasoned that U.S. farm products were crucial to France and England and that a complete embargo would bring them to respect U.S. neutrality. By spring 1808, however, the Embargo Act that was passed by Congress in December 1807 had devastated the American economy.... Eventually, the trade war would propel America into a fighting war with England during the administration of Jefferson's successor, James Madison.

Documents

- 1802, April 18: The Affair of Louisiana: To the U.S. Minister to France (ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON), Washington on Thomas Jefferson Digital Archive, a link from The American President.

The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the U.S.... Of all nations... France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we... conflict... and the most points of a communion of interests.... There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market... The day that France takes possession of N. Orleans... we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force.... And will a few years possession of N. Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies.

...If France considers Louisiana however as indispensable... she might perhaps be willing to look about for arrangements which might reconcile it to our interests. If anything could do this it would be the ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. This would certainly in a great degree remove the causes of jarring and irritation between us....

- 1803, January 13: Crisis on the Mississippi: To the Special Envoy to France (JAMES MONROE), Washington on Thomas Jefferson Digital Archive, a link from The American President.

The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at N. Orleans is extreme...in the federalists generally and especially those of Congress the object is to force us into war.... Something sensible therefore was become necessary; and indeed our object of purchasing N. Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them, it was essential then to send a minister extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers, first however well impressed with all our views and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions among the republicans as to the person. You possess the unlimited confidence of the administration

... *We shall get* (It looks as if we might get) entangled in European politics, and... be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission.

... The allowance therefore will be in this and all similar cases, all the expenses of your journey and voyage, taking a ship's cabin to yourself, 9,000 dollars a year... As to the time of your going you cannot too much hasten it, as the moment in France is critical....

- 1803, August 12: Jefferson's Expansionism: The Louisiana Purchase: To John C. Breckinridge, Monticello on the University of Virginia Electronic Text Center, a link from Internet Public Library.

On the subject of Louisiana... Our information as to the country is very incomplete. We have taken measures to obtain *it* (information) in full... in time for Congress. The boundaries, which... *admit... question* (are in question), are the high lands on the western side of the Mississippi enclosing all its waters, the Missouri of course, and terminating in the line drawn from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi, as lately settled between Gr Britain and the U S. We have some claims, to extend on the sea coast Westwardly to the Rio Norte or Bravo, and better, to go Eastwardly to the Rio Perdido, between Mobile & Pensacola, the ancient boundary of Louisiana. These claims will be a subject of negotiation with Spain, and if, as soon as she is at war, we push them strongly with one hand, holding out a price in the other, we shall certainly obtain the Floridas, and all in good time. In the meanwhile, without waiting for permission, we shall enter into the exercise of the natural right we have always insisted on with Spain, to wit, that of a nation holding the upper part of streams, having a right of innocent passage thro' them to the ocean.

... propositions are made to exchange Louisiana, or a part of it, for the Floridas. But, as I have said, we shall get the Floridas without, and I would not give one inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any nation....

These federalists see in this acquisition the formation of a new confederacy.... The future inhabitants of the Atlantic & Mississippi States will be our sons.

This treaty must of course be laid before both Houses.... They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying & paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to *the nation* for an additional article to the Constitution....

- 1816: Jefferson to Monroe on South America
On the question of our interest in their independence, were that alone a sufficient motive of action, much may be said on both sides. When they are free, they will drive every article of our produce from every market, by underselling it, and change the condition of our existence, forcing us into other habits and pursuits. We shall indeed, have in exchange some commerce with them, but in what I know not, for we shall have nothing to offer which they cannot raise cheaper; and their separation from Spain seals our everlasting peace with her. On the other hand, so long as they are dependent, Spain, from her jealousy, is our natural enemy, and always in either open or secret hostility with us. These countries, too, in war will be a

powerful weight in her scale, and, in peace, totally shut to us. Interest, then, on the whole, would wish their independence, and justice makes the wish a duty. They have a right to be free, and we a right to aid them, as a strong man has a right to assist a weak one assailed by a robber or murderer.

- 1818: Revolt in South America on the University of Virginia Electronic Text Center
I enter into all your doubts as to the event of the revolution of South America. They will succeed against Spain. But the dangerous enemy is within their own breasts. Ignorance and superstition will chain their minds and bodies under religious and military despotism. I do believe it would be better for them to obtain freedom by degrees only; because that would by degrees bring on light and information, and qualify them to take charge of themselves understandingly; with more certainty, if in the meantime, under so much control as May keep them at peace with one another. Surely, it is our duty to wish them independence and self-government, because they wish it themselves, and they have the right, and we none, to choose for themselves; and I wish, moreover, that our ideas may be erroneous and theirs prove well-founded. But these are speculations which we may as well deliver over to those who are to see their development.
- 1820: Independence of SPANISH AMERICA on the University of Virginia Electronic Text Center
We go with you all lengths in friendly affections to the independence of South America. But an immediate acknowledgment of it calls up other considerations. We view Europe as covering at present a smothered fire, which may shortly burst forth and produce general conflagration. From this it is our duty to keep aloof. A formal acknowledgment of the independence of her Colonies would involve us with Spain certainly, and perhaps, too, with England, if she thinks that a war would divert her internal troubles. Such a war would hurt us more than it would help our brethren of the South; and our right May be doubted of mortgaging posterity for the expenses of a war in which they will have a right to say their interests were not concerned.
- 1823, February 21: Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe (NOTE: This letter does not focus on any of the events in diplomacy on which this lesson centers. It's rather a deeply personal letter demonstrating the close relationship between Jefferson and Monroe.)
Your society during the little time I have left would have been the chief comfort of my life. Of the 3 portions into which you have laid off your lands here, I will not yet despair but that you may retain that on which your house stands....

You have had some difficulties and contradiction to struggle with in the course of your administrations but you will come out of them with honor and with the affections of your country. Mine to you have been & ever will be constant and warm. Th. J.
- 1823, April 14: James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
Respecting Cuba the idea... of a mutual guarantee of it to Spain by the United States & Great Britain... Shall it be of a character to prevent the people of the Island, from following the examples of Columbia, Buenos Aryres &c, and would Spain accept it, if it did not *extend to that object* (contain a provision forbidding becoming independent), or would England *unite in* (agree with) it?

The situation of Mexico is peculiar in our hemisphere. When a nomination of minister to the new govt. was made *Iturbide alone* (only Agustín de Iturbide who led a successful rebellion against Spain and then set himself up as dictator of an independent Mexico in 1821. He immediately faced his own rebellion and was forced to abdicate in 1823) had sent a minister here. To have *nominated to* (recognized) the other govt. (revolutionary governments) & not to Mexico would have been... *felt* (noticed) by the holy alliance....

- 1823, June 2: James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
Our ministers... were just about to sail for Spain, & So. America.... The moment is peculiarly critical, *as respects* (in regard to) the present state of the world, & our relations with the acting parties in it, in Europe & in this hemisphere, & it would have been very gratifying to me, to have had an opportunity of free communication with you, on all the interesting subjects connected with it. The French armies have entered Spain....
- 1823, June 11: Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe
I have ever deemed it fundamental for the US. never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe. Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours. Their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and principles of government, are all foreign to us. They are nations of eternal war... *Of the brethren* (as far as the countries) of our own hemisphere, none are yet... in a shape... to war against us. And the foothold which the nations of Europe had in... America is slipping from under them, so that we shall soon be rid of their neighborhood. Cuba alone seems at present to hold up a speck of war to us. Its possession by Great Britain would indeed be a great calamity... But, should she take it, I would not immediately go to war for it; because the first war on other accounts will give it to us; or the island will give itself to us, when able to do so. ...no duty therefore calls on us to take part in the present war of Europe, and a gold harvest offers itself in reward for doing nothing... and ought to avail ourselves of the happy occasion of procuring and cementing a cordial reconciliation with *her* (Spain), by giving assurance of every friendly office which neutrality admits, and especially against all *apprehension* (fear) of our ...meddling in the quarrel with her colonies.

...That England is playing false with Spain cannot be doubted.

- 1823, August 18: Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
Our accounts from South America, & Mexico indicate that those people must undergo great difficulties before they can attain a firm establishment on a republican basis. The great defect is the ignorance of the people, by means whereof, they *are made in the hands* (become victims) of military adventurers, & priests, the instruments of their own destruction. Time, however, with some internal convulsions, and the form of our example, will gradually mature them....
- 1823, October 17: Monroe to Thomas Jefferson
I transmit to you two dispatches which were received from *Mr. Rush* (the American minister to Great Britain), while I was lately in Washington, which involve interests of the highest importance. They contain two letters from *Mr. Canning* (the British minister to the U. S.)

suggesting designs of the holy alliance against the independence of South America, & proposing ... cooperation, between Great Britain & the United States, in support of it, against the members of the that alliance. The project aims in a first instance at a mere expression of opinion.... Many important considerations are involved in this proposition. 1st. shall we entangle ourselves at all in European politics, & wars, on the side of any power against others...? 2d. If *a* (any) case can exist in which *a sound maxim* (our successful policy of neutrality) may & ought to be departed from, is not the present instance, precisely that case? 3d. Has not the *epoch* (time) arrived when Great Britain must take her stand, either on the side of the monarchs of Europe, or of the U. S. & in ...favor of Despotism or of liberty, & may it not be presumed that, aware of that necessity, her government has seized on the present occurrence...to announce...the *commencement of that career* (beginning of that policy, that is, in favor of liberty).

My own impression is that we ought to...make it known, that we would view *an* (any) interference on the part of the European powers, and especially an attack on the Colonies, by them, as an attack on ourselves...

- 1823, October 24: Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe
The *question presented by the letters you have sent me* (concept later formulated as the Monroe Doctrine), is the most momentous which has been ever offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us.

Our first and fundamental *maxim* (rule) should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with *Cis-Atlantic affairs* (affairs on this side of the Atlantic). America, North and South has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe.

...I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion, that *it* (the proposal to express an opinion against European meddling in the Americas) will prevent instead of provoking war. With Great Britain *withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents* (on our side), all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at either enemy without superior fleets? Nor is *the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our protest* (the great opportunity we have to protest) against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations, by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another... begun by *Bonaparte* (Napoleon, the Emperor of France) and now continued by the equally lawless Alliance, calling itself Holy.

- 1823 December: James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson (dated "Received December 11")
Shortly after the receipt of *yours* (your letter) of the 24th of October... the Russian minister... *communicated* (sent) ...an *extract* (part) of a letter from his government in which the conduct of the allied powers in regard to Naples, Spain, & Portugal was reviewed and their policy explained distinctly *avowing* (declaring) their determination to crush all revolutionary movements & thereby to preserve order in the civilized world....

...it leaves little doubt that some project against the new governments is contemplated (by

the so-called Holy Alliance and France). In what form is uncertain. It is hoped that the sentiments expressed in the message, will give a check to it. *We certainly meet in full extent* (I agree fully with) the proposition of Mr. Canning (to declare the independent countries of the Americas off limits to European interference)

...Had we *moved in the first instance in England* (immediately made a joint declaration with Great Britain), ...our union with her, being masked, might have produced irritation....

...it is probable that it would have been inferred that we acted under her influence, & at her instigation, & thus have lost credit as well with our southern neighbors, as with the allied powers.

There is some danger that the British government when it sees the part we have taken, may endeavor to throw the whole burden on us....