

# **THE MONROE DOCTRINE**

## **Its Importance in the International Life of the States of the New World**

by  
Alejandro Alvarez

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# THE MONROE DOCTRINE

ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIFE  
OF THE STATES OF THE NEW WORLD

BY

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## PREFACE

On the second day of December, 1823, the President of the United States in his annual message to Congress expressed his opinion upon the foreign policy of his country with respect to Europe and America which from that day to this has borne the name of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1923 the Centenary of the message was celebrated formally and informally throughout the United States, the Secretary of State, the Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, delivering, on the 30th of November, at Philadelphia, an address on "The Centenary of the Monroe Doctrine," in which he not only stated its origin but expressed the opinion that it will apply to the relations of the United States in the future as it has in the past. The Doctrine is larger than the United States; it is continental, and, having stood a hundred years, it already makes a claim to immortality.

The undersigned felt that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace should contribute in some way to the hundredth anniversary of the Doctrine which has made for peace and which has at times kept the peace between the New and the Old World. It seemed that the best contribution that the Endowment could make would be a collection of expressions of opinion by Latin Americans regarding the Monroe Doctrine and expressions by prominent North Americans upon the same subject. Authorized by the Executive Committee of the Endowment to make arrangement for such a collection, the Director of the Division of International Law requested Mr. Alejandro Alvarez, the distinguished Chilean publicist, to select from the innumerable expressions of opinion by Latin and North Americans those which in his judgment were best calculated to show the nature of the Doctrine and the extent to which it had appealed to the minds of the leading publicists and statesmen of the Americas. As the present volume shows, Mr. Alvarez accepted the invitation and has performed the task, indicating what should in his opinion be included and grouping his selections with brief but masterly comment so as to bring out clearly the different views held on the subject of the Doctrine. The only difficulty which he experienced was that of choosing among the many statements which he would have liked to include, and it was with deep regret that he found himself obliged to be content with what might be called characteristic expressions of opinion rather than to mark for publication all those which in his judgment were worthy of inclusion.

The appreciation in which John Bassett Moore's monumental *Digest of International Law* is held, not only in the United States but in the Americas, is evident from the copious extracts to be found in the present volume. Mr. Alvarez has indeed laid a heavy hand on Judge Moore's *Digest*, but it is the hand of a friend, of an admirer, and of a worker in the same broad field of

international relations. Mr. Alvarez could not do otherwise. The Monroe Doctrine cannot be adequately treated without making heavy inroads upon Judge Moore's classic work.

It is believed that no volume exists which attempts to do for the Monroe Doctrine what Mr. Alvarez's collection does. It is a unique collection of documents and expressions of opinion. Its preparation has required time, thought, and devotion, and it is a book which only Mr. Alvarez, familiar alike with Latin American and North American literature on the subject, could prepare, and to which only a friend of all the Americas would have devoted the time, the labor, and the patience necessary for its compilation. His devotion however is neither wasted nor lost. The book is a service alike to North America, Central America, and South America.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,

*Director of the Division of International Law.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

*June 17, 1924.*

# CONTENTS

## PART I.—HISTORY, PRACTICE, IDEAS, FACTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I.—HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE EXPOSITION OF THE IDEAS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF LATIN AMERICA WITH REGARD TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE. . . . .	3
I. Importance of the antecedents of the Monroe Doctrine in the United States and the countries of Latin America in understanding its nature and scope. . . . .	3
II. Principles of national and international policy held in common, without previous agreement, by the statesmen of all the republics of the New World at the beginning of their independence, which form the basis of the Monroe Doctrine. . . . .	4
III. Antecedents and declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in the United States	6
IV. Spanish-American doctrine relative to the maintenance of the independence of the New World; analogies to the Monroe Doctrine and differences therefrom. . . . .	8
V. Acceptance of President Monroe's message in Latin America (1824-1828)	10
VI. The idea of union or confederation dominates in the early years of Latin-American independence. The Congress of Panama and the attitude of the United States. Relationship between these projects and the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. . . . .	12
VII. Compacts signed by the Latin-American States in 1848, 1856, 1864, in which the principles of the Monroe Doctrine are sanctioned and amplified. . . . .	15
VIII. Maintenance and development of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States in the course of the nineteenth century. . . . .	16
IX. Development of the Monroe Doctrine by the Latin-American states. . . . .	18
X. Policy of imperialism and hegemony developed by the United States in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, which caused the Latin-American States to have an aversion to this Doctrine. . . . .	19
XI. Declaration of the United States at the Second Hague Conference affirming the Monroe Doctrine. Recent declarations of the United States which signify an abandonment of its policy of imperialism and hegemony. . . . .	21
XII. Brazil's proposal, at the Fourth Pan American Conference, to secure recognition of the Monroe Doctrine by all the States of the continent. . . . .	23
XIII. Project submitted to the American Institute of International Law in regard to the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine by all the States of America, making it harmonize with the new needs of the continent (American public international law). . . . .	24
CHAPTER II.—THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE: THEIR IMPORTANCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW UNDERSTANDING OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. . . . .	26
CHAPTER III.—EUROPE AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE. . . . .	32
I. Attitude of the European countries when the Monroe Doctrine was formulated. . . . .	32
II. Principal cases of application of the Monroe Doctrine. . . . .	40
III. Cases in which the United States seems to have disregarded the Monroe Doctrine and the hegemony. . . . .	106
ANNEXES	
I. Project of a Declaration of Rights of the People of Chile discussed in 1810 by the Supreme Government and modified in accordance with the judgment of its author as requested by order of the Government and High Congress in 1811. . . . .	113



ANNEXES— <i>Continued</i>	PAGE
II. The "Letter from Jamaica" of Simón Bolívar, September 6, 1815 . . . . .	116
III. Note of General Bolívar to the Supreme Director of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, June 12, 1817 . . . . .	119
IV. Message of President John Quincy Adams to the House of Representatives, March 15, 1826 . . . . .	119
V. Reception by Colombia of President Monroe's Message to Congress of December 2, 1823, and subsequent correspondence thereon between Colombia and the United States . . . . .	120
VI. Correspondence of 1824-1825 between Brazil and the United States bearing on President Monroe's Message of December 2, 1823 . . . . .	125
VII. Message of the Executive Government of Buenos Aires, on the opening of the Legislative Assembly, Buenos Aires, May 3, 1824 . . . . .	128
VIII. Letter of Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, to Mr. Forbes, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Buenos Aires, January 3, 1828 . . . . .	129
IX. General instructions of Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, to Mr. Poinsett, Minister of the United States to Mexico, March 25, 1825 . . . . .	130
X. Report of Mr. Clay, Secretary of State, to President Adams, March 29, 1826 . . . . .	131
XI. Speech of President Guadalupe Victoria of Mexico on the closing of the General Congress, May 23, 1826 . . . . .	132
XII. Credential of the Envoy of Buenos Aires to the Congress of Santiago de Chile . . . . .	133
XIII. Manifesto of the Executive, Bernardo O'Higgins, to the People who form the State of Chile, Santiago, May 5, 1818 . . . . .	134
XIV. Treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation, between Colombia and Chile, signed at Santiago de Chile, October 21, 1822 . . . . .	135
XV. Additional treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation, between Colombia and Peru, signed at Lima, July 6, 1822 . . . . .	136
XVI. Treaty of friendship and alliance between the Republic of Colombia and the State of Buenos Aires, signed at Buenos Aires, March 8, 1823 . . . . .	137
XVII. Treaty of perpetual union, league and confederation, between Colombia and Mexico, signed at Mexico, October 3, 1823 . . . . .	138
XVIII. Treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation, between Colombia and the United Provinces of Central America, signed at Bogota, March 15, 1825 . . . . .	140
XIX. Invitation of General Bolívar to the Congress of Panama, and replies from the Governments invited . . . . .	141
XX. Instructions that are to govern the conduct of the ministers plenipotentiary from Peru to the Great Congress on the Isthmus of Panama . . . . .	149
XXI. Views of General Bolívar on the Congress of Panama . . . . .	154
XXII. Instructions of Secretary of State Clay to the United States delegates to the Congress of Panama, May 8, 1826 . . . . .	155
XXIII. The Congress of Lima of 1847 . . . . .	168
XXIV. Continental Treaty between Peru, Chile, and Ecuador, signed at Santiago, September 15, 1856 . . . . .	176
XXV. Treaty of union and defensive alliance between Bolivia, the United States of Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela, signed at Lima, January 23, 1865 . . . . .	179
Treaty for the preservation of peace between Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Salvador, and Venezuela, signed at Lima, January 23, 1865 . . . . .	181
XXVI. Treaty of alliance between Brazil, the Argentine Confederation, and Uruguay, signed at Rio de Janeiro, January 2, 1859 . . . . .	183
XXVII. Resolution of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies of 1864 . . . . .	184
XXVIII. Message of the President of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, on the opening of Congress, Mexico, April 1, 1896 . . . . .	185
XXIX. The Drago Doctrine: Letter of Dr. Luis M. Drago, Minister of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic, to Mr. Mérou, Argentine Minister to the United States, December 29, 1902 . . . . .	187
XXX. The Monroe Doctrine at the Fourth Pan American Conference . . . . .	193
XXXI. Fundamental Rights of the American Continent (American public international law) . . . . .	197

PART II.—DECLARATIONS OF STATESMEN AND OPINIONS OF PUBLICISTS OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES IN REGARD TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE

I. THE LATIN AMERICA OF AMERICA	PAGE
Ricardo J. Alfaro (Panama).....	202
Alejandro Alvarez (Chile).....	204
Luis Anderson (Costa Rica).....	231
Clovis Bevilaqua (Brazil).....	240
Policarpo Bonilla (Honduras).....	242
Luis María Drago (Argentine Republic).....	244
F. García Calderón (Peru).....	257
José Victorino Lastarria (Chile).....	266
Manoel de Oliveira Lima (Brazil).....	281
A. de Manos-Albas.....	293
Marcial Martínez (Chile).....	297
Emilio Mitre (Argentine Republic).....	305
Manuel B. Otero (Uruguay).....	307
Carlos Pereyra (Mexico).....	310
Santiago Pérez Triana (Colombia).....	312
Simón Planas Suárez (Venezuela).....	330
Victorino de la Plaza (Argentine Republic).....	339
Rafael Reyes (Colombia).....	342
Roque Sáenz Peña (Argentine Republic).....	345
Eduardo Suárez Mujica (Chile).....	354
Alberto Torres (Brazil).....	355
Alberto Ulloa (Peru).....	365
Raymundo Wilmart (Argentine Republic).....	367
Estanislao S. Zeballos (Argentine Republic).....	372
2. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	
John Barrett.....	384
George H. Blakeslee.....	386
Colby N. Chester.....	397
George B. Davis.....	404
John W. Foster.....	406
Charles Evans Hughes.....	413
Charles Cheney Hyde.....	451
Philander C. Knox.....	458
Robert Lansing.....	470
Andrew J. Montague.....	473
John Bassett Moore.....	477
Richard Olney.....	494
Theodore Roosevelt.....	496
Elihu Root.....	503
Leo S. Rowe.....	518
Alpheus H. Snow.....	534
William H. Taft.....	535
Charlemagne Tower.....	546
Woodrow Wilson.....	554

## SUPPLEMENTAL PREFACE

Since writing the preface to *The Monroe Doctrine* under date of June 17, 1924, the attention of the undersigned was called to the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1924, the preface of which is dated the end of June, and which therefore appeared contemporaneously with the present volume.

The *Almanach*, regarded as a work of very high authority, has, in the edition for 1924, endowed the United States with a series of protectorates, without consulting, it is believed, the authorities of the United States, and contrary to the express and solemn declarations of the authorities of the United States made on numerous and important occasions. These "protectorates" are, according to the *Almanach*: Cuba, page 758; Dominican Republic, page 764; Haiti, page 767; Liberia, page 771; Panama, page 772.

The official utterances on the Monroe Doctrine contained in the present volume show that these statements in the *Almanach* are devoid of foundation. Of the many which could be mentioned three suffice: the address of Mr. Elihu Root, speaking as Secretary of State of the United States at the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, to be found on page 237 of the present volume; the address of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, speaking as Secretary of State of the United States, likewise at Rio, in 1922, to be found on page 421 of the present volume; the address of Secretary Hughes on the Monroe Doctrine and its implications, and on the policy of the United States towards Latin America delivered at Philadelphia, November 30, 1923, to be found on page 434 of the present volume.

From Secretary Hughes' last statement two phrases are quoted: "We recognize the equality of the American Republics, their equal rights under the law of nations. . . . We have not sought by opposing the intervention of non-American powers to establish a protectorate or overlordship of our own with respect to those Republics." Any expression to the contrary, by whomsoever made and wherever found, is personal opinion without the authority of the United States.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT,

*Director of the Division of International Law.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

*November 29, 1924.*

## INDEX

- Aberdeen, Lord, boundary suggested by, in dispute between Venezuela and England, 62-3, 482.
- Adams, John: 435; "Doctrine of Isolation," 6.
- Adams, John Quincy: 10, 72, 356, 413, 414, 510, 515, 547; message to Congress defining Monroe Doctrine in relation to Russian colonization, 119-20, 461, 474, 481; application of Monroe Doctrine, 124, 246, 548; declined to enter European Congress of nations, 306; opinion of Canning proposal, 480.
- Aix la Chapelle, Conference of, 504.
- Alaman, Lucas, Mexican plenipotentiary in treaty with Colombia, 139.
- Alaska Purchase, 202, 263.
- Alberdi, on American hegemony in South America, 259.
- Alfaro, Ricardo J., Minister of Panama to United States, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 202-4.
- Alvarez, Alejandro: 201; cited, 5, 28, 94, 193, 232, 241; Chilean delegate to Fifth Pan American Conference, 30; opinions regarding Monroe Doctrine, 204-31, 330, 331.
- American Institute of International Law, declaration of rights and duties of nations adopted by, 445-6.
- Anderson, Luis, statesman of Costa Rica: 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 231-9.
- Anderson, Richard C., Minister of the United States to Colombia, on reception of Monroe Doctrine in Colombia, 122.
- Anglo-Venezuela boundary dispute. *See* Venezuela.
- Aranda, Count, 55.
- Aranda, R., cited, 170, 176, 181.
- Argentina (United Provinces of Rio de la Plata): 10; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 11, 128-9; treaty with Colombia, 137-8; party to Treaty of Alliance (1859), 183-4; independent of Monroe Doctrine, 380.
- Armament, Limitation of: 440; between Central American countries, 448.
- Arosemena, Justo, Colombian plenipotentiary to sign Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Avebury, Lord, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 93.
- Bacon, Robert, visit to South America, 381.
- Balfour, Arthur J.: Assistant Foreign Secretary, later Prime Minister of England: 247; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 92, 249.
- Ballivan, José, Bolivian plenipotentiary at Congress of Lima, 168, 171.
- Barrett, John, former Minister to Argentina, Panama and Colombia, and former Director of Pan American Union, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 384-6.
- Bayard, Thomas F., Ambassador to England, later Secretary of State of United States: 398; concerning Anglo-Venezuela boundary dispute, 66-68, 91, 465, 483; Pelletier claim against Haiti, 73, 98; dispute between Argentina and England over Falkland Islands, 106-7.
- Beaumarchais, Maurice de, cited, 89.
- Bell, Senator from Tennessee, statement regarding Monroe Doctrine, 19.
- Benavente, Diego J., Chilean plenipotentiary at Congress of Lima, 168, 171.
- Benavente, Juan de la Cruz, Bolivian plenipotentiary to sign Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Bevilaqua, Clovis, Brazilian publicist, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 240-1, 330.
- Bismarck, Prince von, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 98, 248, 302, 303.
- Blaine, James G., Secretary of State: 243; position toward Cuba, 58-9; regarding Anglo-Venezuela dispute, 67, 465; France's claims against Venezuela, 97; proposed inter-oceanic canal, 216; attempt to abrogate Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 216-17.
- Blakeslee, George H., professor of History

- and International Relations at Clark University, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 386-97.
- Blanco, J. F., cited, 116, 119.
- Bolivia: Congress of Lima, 15, 168-75 *passim*, 179-83 *passim*.
- Bolívar, Simon: 286, 343, 351, 352, 401; cited, 8; Congress of Plenipotentiaries called by, 12; instructions to delegates to Congress of Panama, 13, 15; "Letter from Jamaica," 116-18; note to Supreme Director of United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, 119; invitation to Congress of Panama, 141-3; views on Congress of Panama, 154-5, conception of Pan Americanism, 293.
- Bolívar Doctrine, 8.
- Bonfils, cited, 241.
- Bonifacio, José, 401.
- Bonilla, Policarpo, ex-President of Honduras: 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 242-44.
- Boundary disputes: method of settling under Treaty of Confederation (1848), 174-5; settled by arbitration, 446, 447, 448. *See also* Venezuela.
- Bowen, Herbert W., cited, 102.
- Brazil: request for treaty of alliance with United States, 10; recognition of Monroe Doctrine, 11, 240; appreciation of Monroe Doctrine, 23; correspondence with United States concerning Monroe Doctrine, 125-8; party to Treaty of Alliance, 183-4; recognition by United States (1824), 415; preferential tariff rates with United States, 449, 450.
- Brewer, David J., Justice of the United States Supreme Court, president of Commission to arbitrate Anglo-Venezuela boundary dispute, 90-1, 484.
- Briseño, D. Ramon, cited, 113.
- Brougham, Lord, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 38-9, 240, 245.
- Buchanan, James, Secretary of State and later President of the United States: position regarding Cuba, 43-4, 46, 508; regarding United States intervention on River La Plata, 107, 248; expedition of General Flores, 207, 233.
- Buenos Aires: 11; treaty with Colombia, 12, 137-8; refusal of United States to protest English seizure of Falkland Islands, 106-7, 227; recognized by United States, 415.
- Calderón, García F.; Peruvian diplomatist: 201; opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 257-66.
- Calhoun, John C.: 72, 95, 356, 415, 547; favored Canning proposal, 479; on Yucatan Bill, 507.
- Calvo, cited, 240.
- Canada, protests against formation of Dominion, 110, 528.
- Canning, George, British Foreign Secretary: proposal of joint declaration of England and United States against foreign intervention in South America, 34-5, 48, 245, 267, 285, 299, 345, 351, 356, 357, 372, 399, 415, 416, 437, 461, 462, 478, 479, 504, 510, 537, 547; protest to non-colonization principle, 32-38 *passim*, 437; recognition of Latin American countries, 35, 460; of Argentina, 305.
- Carnegie Institutions, effect upon popularity of the United States, 290.
- Carranza, Sienna, cited, 337.
- Caribbean Sea countries, Monroe Doctrine applied to, 19, 205, 226, 304, 366, 375, 380, 391, 392, 402, 424, 470, 499, 516, 523, 525, 538, 541.
- Cass, Lewis, Secretary of State of United States: 17, 95-6; position regarding French aggression in Mexico (1860), 406, 549; regarding war between Spain and Mexico, 513.
- Castro, President of Venezuela (1900), 220, 221, 486.
- Central America: treaty with Colombia, 12, 140-1; at Congress of Panama, 14; United States policy of hegemony over, 19; recognized by United States (1824), 415.
- Central American Conferences, 231, 429, 430, 447, 448.
- Chamberlain, J. Austen, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 93.
- Chateaubriand, Vicomte de, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 39.
- Chester, Colby N., Rear Admiral of United States Navy, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 397-404.
- Chile: treaty with Colombia (1822), 12,

- 135-6; at Congress of Lima, 15, 168-75 *passim*; party to Continental Treaty, 16, 176-8; war against Spain with Peru, 109-10, 207, 227, 406, 539; declaration of rights (1810), 113-6; reply to Bolívar's invitation to Congress of Panama, 147-8; party to Treaty of Union (1865), 179-83; resolution of Chamber of Deputies regarding French intervention in Mexico, 184, 266; war against Peru, 227; recognized by United States (1823), 415.
- Cimbali, Eduardo, professor at Sassari University: opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 331; condemnation of conquest, 336.
- Clark, Champ, American Congressman: 390; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 386.
- Clay, Henry: 11, 16, 132, 515, 521; declaration forbidding transfer or occupation of Cuba and Porto Rico, 20, 40-1, 48, 94-5, 211; correspondence with Brazil regarding convention and treaty of alliance with United States, 126-8, 240; definition of Monroe Doctrine respecting Argentina, 129-30; respecting Mexico, 130-2, 280; instructions to United States delegates to Congress of Panama, 155-67; against European intervention in South America, 548.
- Clayton, John M., Secretary of State of United States: 80; position regarding Cuba, 44, 508.
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, 73, 107, 202, 208, 216, 217, 346, 455, 461.
- Cleveland, Grover: 386, 390; message concerning boundary dispute between England and Venezuela, 85-9, 220, 240, 400, 482, 483, 537; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 506.
- Colombia: request for definition of Monroe Doctrine, 10; treaty with Chile (1822), 12, 135-6, with Peru (1822), 12, 136-7, with Buenos Aires (1823), 12, 137-8, with Mexico (1823), 12, 138-9, with Central America, 12, 140-1; at Congress of Panama, 14; proposed intervention by England (1840), 17-18; recognized by England, 39; by United States (1822), 415; reception of Monroe Doctrine, 120-4; reply to invitation of Bolívar to Congress of Panama, 144-6; request for interposition by United States against Spain, 161; party to Treaty of Union, 179-83.
- Colonial policy of European countries, 234-5.
- Commission of Jurists, 30.
- Congress of Lima (1847): 15; protocol, 168-70; treaty signed at, 170-5, 168-75.
- Congress of Panama: 12-16, 40, 240, 286, 347, 348, 350, 351, 462, 463; invitation of Bolívar, 141-3; replies of invited countries, 144-48; Bolívar on, 154-5; Clay's instructions to American delegates, 155-67.
- Congress of Santiago de Chile: 12, 278; credential of Argentine envoy, 133-4; treaty signed at, 176-8.
- Constant, Benjamin, 401.
- Continental Treaty, between Peru, Chile and Ecuador (1856), 16, 176-8.
- Coolidge, Archibald, professor of law at Harvard, cited, 206, 262, 264.
- Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Permanent, 433.
- Court, Sir William à., British Minister to Spain, 38.
- Crampton, British Minister to United States, 50.
- Cranborne, Lord: on application of Monroe Doctrine to Anglo-Italo-German intervention in Venezuela, 92, 250; support of Monroe Doctrine, 249.
- Crawford, William H. (Secretary of War, later Secretary of Treasury of United States), 72.
- Crittenden, John J., Acting Secretary of State, on position of Cuba, 44-5, 95.
- Cuba: 402; protest of United States against military occupation by England, 17, 210, 211; policy of United States toward, 20-1, 40-59 *passim*, 93-4, 166, 211, 424, 425, 450, 463, 497, 543; refusal of United States to join England and France in neutralization of, 50-8 *passim*, 95, 208, 247, 455, 464, 465, 536; insurrection in, 110, 209; independence of, 212-5 *passim*, 464; occupation by United States (1906), 222.
- Curtis, George T., cited, 46, 49.
- Cushing, Caleb, Minister of United States to China (1843), most-favored-nation treaty with China, 438.

- Da Gama, Brazilian Minister to Buenos Aires, 193-5 *passim*.
- Dana, R. H. Jr., cited, 39, 420.
- Dartiguenave, Sudre, President of Haiti, 427, 428.
- Davis, George B., delegate to Geneva Conference (1906) and Second Hague Conference (1907), opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 404-5.
- Debts, public, principle of non-enforcement of payment of, 19, 103-4, 187-93, 210, 220-2, 229, 244-53, 500, 502.
- Dernburg, Dr. Bernhard, former colonial secretary of Germany, cited, 105.
- De Sartiges, French Minister to Washington, 44, 95.
- De Turgot, 50-1.
- Development of Monroe Doctrine: 17; declaration of President Polk concerning Yucatan, 17, 73, 209, 463; President Grant's proposal of annexation of Santo Domingo, 17, 209-10, 262, 536-7; intention of Nicaragua to cede to England, 210.
- Devonshire, Duke of, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 92, 248, 506.
- Diaz, Porfirio, President of Mexico: 19, 542; message regarding boundary dispute between England and Venezuela, 185-7, 211.
- "Doctrine of Isolation," 6.
- Dole, Charles F., opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 298-9.
- "Dollar Diplomacy," 243.
- Dominican Republic. *See* Santo Domingo.
- Drago, Dr., Minister of Foreign Relations of Argentine: 201.
- Doctrine (non-enforcement of payment of public debts): 19, 103-4, 187-93, 211, 229, 244-53 *passim*, 281, 282, 358, 368-72 *passim*, 488, 511; applied to German and English claims against Venezuela, 19, 187-93, 229, 253-7 *passim*, 488.
- Echeverria, Dr. D. Joaquin, 135.
- Ecuador: Congress of Lima, 15, 168-75 *passim*, Continental Treaty (1856), 176-8; Treaty of Union (1865), 179-83.
- Egaña, Juan de, 12, cited, 8.
- Egaña-Bolivar Doctrine, 8.
- England: protest of United States against military occupation of Cuba, 17, 210, 211; attitude toward Spanish colonies in South America, 32-59 *passim*, 267-9; plan of neutralization of Cuba, 50-8 *passim*, 95, 208, 247, 455, 464, 465, 536; aggression against Honduras, 106; coercive measures against Venezuela and boundary dispute with Venezuela. *See* Venezuela; intervention with France in Mexico, *see* Mexico.
- Evarts, William M., Secretary of State of United States, on boundary dispute between England and Venezuela, 64, 465.
- Everett, Edward, Secretary of State of United States, on refusal of United States to join English and French plan of neutralization of Cuba, 50-8 *passim*.
- Falkland Islands, dispute of Buenos Aires and England over, 106-7, 227.
- Ferreiros (*or* Ferreyros), Manuel, Peruvian plenipotentiary at Congress of Lima, 168, 171.
- Fillmore, Millard, President, regarding position of Cuba, 49.
- Financial intervention of United States: in Haiti, 425, 427-9, 453; in Honduras, 263, 382, 493. *See also* Santo Domingo and Venezuela.
- Fish, Hamilton, Secretary of State of the United States: 20; on position of Cuba, 47; interpretation of Monroe Doctrine, 73, 310; on German interference in Venezuela, 98.
- Flores, General, proposed expedition to South America, 15, 168, 169-70, 207, 233, 278.
- Florida: acquisition by United States, 52, 203, 263; occupation by United States, 459, 489.
- Ford, W. C., cited, 34, 37.
- Foreign Affairs, United States Senate Committee on, report on Monroe Doctrine, 278-80.
- Foreign policy, American, relation of Monroe Doctrine to, 521-33.
- Forsyth, John, Secretary of State of United States: position regarding Cuba, 42,

- 93-4; British aggression against Guatemala, 106, 226.
- Foster, John W., Secretary of State of United States: cited, 245, 250; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 406-12.
- Four-Power Treaty, 439.
- France: position regarding Spanish colonies in South America, 32-9 *passim*, 267-9; proposed intervention in Cuba, 50-8, 208, 247, 455, 464, 465, 536; proposed intervention in Mexico (1860; 1862-7), *see* Mexico; claims against Venezuela, *see* Venezuela; proposed protectorate over Haiti, 98.
- Freire, Ramon, Director of Chile, reply to Bolívar's invitation to Congress of Panama, 147-8.
- Frelinghuysen, Frederick T., Secretary of State of United States: 390; regarding boundary dispute between Venezuela and England, 65, 465; declaration concerning arbitration of European states in South America, 223.
- Gallatin, Albert, United States Minister to London, statement on Cuban policy, 40.
- Garfield, James A., President, policy regarding inter-oceanic canal, 216.
- Gentz, Friederich von, Austrian statesman, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 39.
- Germany: application of Monroe Doctrine with reference to, 98-105; refusal to acknowledge, 290; emigration to South America, 258; claims against Venezuela, *see* Venezuela.
- Gerolt, Baron, 98.
- Gladstone, William E., 63.
- Goni, Spanish Minister to United States, 47.
- Gough, Lord, 80.
- Grant, Ulysses S., President: 20; proposed annexation of Santo Domingo, 17, 209-10, 262, 464, 536-7; advocated collective intervention in Cuba, 209, 211.
- Granville, Lord, boundary suggested in dispute between Venezuela and England, 63, 482.
- Gresham, Walter Q., Secretary of State, on dispute between Venezuela and England, 60-1.
- Grey, Lord, prophecy regarding European conditions, 234, 316.
- Gual, Pedro, Colombian plenipotentiary in treaty with Central America, 140.
- Guam: 263; *status quo* regarding fortification of, 440.
- Guatemala; refusal of United States support against English aggression, 106, 226.
- Guiana, British, dispute of Venezuela and England over boundary, *see* Venezuela.
- Guzman, Antonio L., Venezuelan plenipotentiary to sign Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Guzman Blanco, General, Venezuelan Minister to England, 65.
- Hague Conferences:  
 First (1899): 433; declaration concerning Monroe Doctrine, 228, 241, 249, 284, 411, 418, 490, 514.  
 Second (1907): 338, 507; limitation of force in collection of contract debts, 230; invitation to Latin American nations, 341-2, 418, 505.
- Hains, P. C., cited, 219.
- Haiti: 202; Pelletier claim against, 73, 98; French attempted protectorate, 98; German proposal of international tribunal, 98-9; refusal of United States to intervene in German conflict with, 110, 226, 407; intervention by United States (1915), 425, 427-9, 453; (1851-5), 455.
- Haldane, Lord, Lord High Chancellor of England, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 529.
- Hale, Dr. Albert, cited, 235.
- Hale, Dr. Edward Everett, 404.
- Hamilton, cited, 37.
- Hansard, cited, 248, 249.
- Harding, Warren G., President, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 365-6.
- Harrison, Benjamin, President, on boundary dispute between Venezuela and England, 60.
- Hart, A. B., cited, 98, 105.
- Hawaii, United States annexation of, 202, 263.
- Hay, John, Secretary of State of United States: reply to German claims against Venezuela, 101-2, 485; concerning claims against South American countries, 104-5, 513; not committed to



- Drago Doctrine, 488; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 506.
- Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty, 218.
- Hay-Herrán Treaty, 218.
- Hay-Pauncefote Convention (1900), 107, 217, 403, 533.
- Hayes, Rutherford B., President, policy regarding inter-oceanic canal, 216.
- Hegemony policy of United States, 19-25 *passim*, 205-7 *passim*, 211-31 *passim*, 259, 360.
- Henderson, cited, 245.
- Herbert, Sir Michael, British Ambassador to Washington, 103.
- Herrán, General, Colombian Minister to Washington, request to United States for protection of Isthmus of Panama, 108.
- Herran, Pedro A., Salvadorian plenipotentiary to sign Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Holls, F. W., cited, 228, 249.
- Holy Alliance, effect of Monroe Doctrine on, 6, 8, 32, 81, 122, 123, 124, 160, 232, 246, 257, 262, 267, 268, 270, 293, 301, 312, 353, 367, 372, 376, 377, 398, 409, 415, 436, 461, 477, 504, 505, 535.
- Honduras; English aggression against, 106, 226; financial intervention of United States, 263, 382, 493.
- Hughes, Charles E., Secretary of State of United States, conception of Monroe Doctrine, 22-3, 413-51.
- Hyde, Charles Cheney, Solicitor for Department of State of the United States, 422; on opposition of United States to foreign territorial aggrandizement, 451-58.
- Iddesleigh, Lord, 66.
- Imperialistic policy of the United States, 19, 224-6, 301-2.
- International Joint Commission, 448.
- International law; Anglo-Saxon and Continental schools of, 26-7; American, 27-8, 197-8; codification, 29-31.
- International police policy in South America, 243, 498.
- Intervention by United States. *See* Cuba; Panama; Santo Domingo; Venezuela.
- Intervention in American affairs by Europe: protest of European states to annexation of Texas, 95, 208; plan of England and France for neutralization of Cuba, 95, 208, 247, 455, 464, 465, 536.
- Italy, coercive measures against Venezuela, *see* Venezuela.
- Japan, application of Monroe Doctrine with reference to, 105.
- Jefferson, Thomas, President: 37, 356, 401, 413, 547; "Doctrine of Isolation," 6, 52, 441, 459, 462, 479, 505-6, 517; opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 365; "American System of Policy," 431; regarding dependency of Cuba and Mexico, 489.
- Johnson, Andrew, President, advocated annexation of Cuba, 262.
- Jonte, Alvarez, Chilean delegate to the Congress of Santiago de Chile, 12.
- Junior, Araripe, cited, 241.
- King, Rufus, United States Minister to London, 48, 459.
- Knox, Philander G., Secretary of State of United States: declaration concerning Monroe Doctrine, 237-8, 360; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 458-70; refusal to recognize Nicaragua, 492-3; loan conventions with Honduras and Nicaragua, 493; efforts toward mediation with South American governments, 542.
- Laferriere, J., cited, 18.
- Lansdowne, Marquess of; opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 93; regarding intervention in America, 269.
- Lansing, Robert, Secretary of State of the United States, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 470-73, 494.
- La Plata, Rio de, refusal of United States to intervene in aggression of England and France on, 107, 227, 248.
- Las Heras, Governor of Buenos Aires, 11.
- Lastarria, J. V., Chilean diplomat: 201; cited, 184; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 266-81.
- Latané, cited, 39.
- "Latin American" policy, 526, 532.
- Laybach, Congress of, 81, 504.
- League of Nations, 29; definition of Monroe Doctrine, 4, 23, 553.
- Lewis and Clark expedition, 55.
- Lieven, Count, 34.

- Lima, Manoel de Oliveira, Brazilian diplomat: 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 281-93.
- Lincoln, United States Minister to England, 67.
- Liniers, Viceroy, defence of Buenos Aires, 258.
- Lodge, Henry C., United States Senator: 310, 390; against concessions to foreign corporations, 18; on policy regarding Pacific possessions, 440.
- Loomis, Mr., Assistant Secretary of State of United States, on Monroe Doctrine, 309.
- Louisiana; 54; purchase by United States, 46, 51, 52, 55, 203, 263.
- L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 401.
- Lowell, Mr., American Minister to England, 65.
- Lüders case (1897), in Haiti, 226.
- Lugones, Leopoldo, on Pan Americanism, 332.
- Lyons, Lord, British Minister to Washington, 59, 96.
- McKinley, William, President: 310; on boundary dispute between Venezuela and England, 91.
- Mackintosh, Sir James, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 39, 240, 245-6.
- Madison, James, President: 37, 413, 547; attitude toward Monroe Doctrine, 379; resolution regarding Florida, 459, 460; in favor of Canning proposal, 479.
- Magdalena Bay: 475; resolution of United States Senate regarding, 18, 419, 452.
- Mahan, Admiral in the United States Navy, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 521.
- Maintenance and application of Monroe Doctrine, 40-110 *passim*, 207-8.
- Malmesbury, Lord, 50.
- Manos-Albas, A. de, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 293-97.
- Marcy, William L., Secretary of State of United States, position regarding Cuba, 45-6, 464.
- Marianne Islands, 263.
- Marshall, John, Chief Justice of the United States, on equality of nations, 445.
- Martin, Juan de Francisco, plenipotentiary of New Granada at Congress of Lima, 168, 171.
- Martínez, Marcial, of University of Chile, 201; opinions of Monroe Doctrine, 297-307.
- Martínez de Rosas, 12.
- Maximilian, Archduke of Austria: attempt to set up monarchy in Mexico, 97, 282, 409, 411, 476, 489, 549.
- Mello, Carvalho E., Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, correspondence concerning Monroe Doctrine, 125.
- Mendonça, Salvador de, address on Monroe Doctrine, 286, 288.
- Merino, Pablo, Ecuadorean plenipotentiary to Congress of Lima, 168, 171.
- Metternich, Prince, opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 39.
- Mexican War, 16, 19, 202, 225, 242.
- Mexico: 10, 11; treaty with Colombia, 12, 138-9; at Congress of Panama, 14; French attempt to establish monarchy in, 19, 72, 76, 97, 110, 207, 233, 248, 262, 266, 275, 282, 303, 367, 402, 409, 454, 476, 489, 549-52; recognized by England, 39, 415; English and French attempts at intervention in (1860), 59, 96, 251, 322, 406, 410, 477, 487, 506, 507-8, 513, 536; Monroe Doctrine defined to, 130-1; reply to invitation to Congress of Panama, 146-7; doctrine of Chile opposing French monarchy in, 184, 266; war with Spain, 513; interest of United States in, 524-5.
- Miall, Bernard, cited, 257.
- Mitre, Emilio; member of Argentine Chamber of Deputies, 201; opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 305-7.
- Molina, Pedro, plenipotentiary of Central America to sign treaty with Colombia, 140.
- Montague, Andrew J., former Governor of Virginia, member of Congress, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 473-77.
- Montt, Manuel, plenipotentiary of Chile at Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Moore, John Bassett, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice: cited, 13, 14, 17, 20, 32, 40, 51, 59, 60, 91, 93-99, 119, 129, 130, 131, 207, 217, 220, 226, 240, 245, 246, 248, 250, 406, 407, 408, 412, 424; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 477-94.

- Morgan, Pierpont, plan of American banks in South America, 263.
- Mosquera y Arboleda, Joaquin, Colombian plenipotentiary to sign treaties with Chile and Buenos Aires, 135, 138.
- Moye, professor of law at University of Montpellier, cited, 285, 286, 287, 288.
- Münsterberg, Hugo, German exchange Professor at Harvard: cited, 89, 105; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 258-9, 412.
- Nabuco, Joaquin, Brazilian Ambassador to United States, 193; address of, 288.
- Napoleon III, Mexican Empire established by, 19.
- Napoleonism applied to United States, 301.
- Nature of Monroe Doctrine, political and legal, 24-5.
- Nesselrode, Count, 34.
- New Granada, at Congress of Lima, 15, 168-75 *passim*.
- Newspapers, American, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 393-5.
- Nicaragua: economic control by United States, 21; intervention by United States, 202, 243, 346, 382, 408; proposed cession to England, 210; English intervention, 407.
- Non-colonization principle: 11, 14, 248, 417, 463, 520, 527; as expounded by Clay, 165-6.
- Non-intervention principle, 345, 351, 444, 477, 510.
- Northwest Boundary Arbitration (1872), 78.
- Occupation opposition of United States to permanent European, in South America: English occupation of Cuba, 17, 210, 211; England, Italy and Germany against Venezuela, *see* Venezuela; case of Santo Domingo, *see* Santo Domingo.
- O'Higgins, Bernardo: 12; manifesto of independence of Chile, 134-5.
- Olney, Richard, Secretary of State of United States: 390; on boundary dispute between Venezuela and England, 59, 61-80 *passim*, 89-91, 219, 223-4, 240-1, 258, 284, 409, 465, 482, 483, 537; declarations concerning Monroe Doctrine, 260, 262-3, 310, 396, 398, 539; spirit of compromise, 291; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 494-6.
- "Open Door" policy, 438, 439, 498.
- Oppenheim, cited, 239.
- Orlando, Arthur, cited, 241.
- Otero, Manuel B., Uruguayan Senator, 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 307-9.
- Pacific possessions, policy of United States regarding, 440-1.
- Palmerston, Lord, concerning English intervention in South America, 271.
- Panama, Isthmus of, request of Colombia for United States protection in, 108, 208; policy of Roosevelt regarding, 374.
- Panama, Treaty of 1903 with, 202; secession of, 215-9.
- Panama Canal: 202, 366; need of control by United States, 21, 243, 263, 391, 403, 424, 450, 499, 516, 525.
- Panama Canal toll bill, 390.
- Pan Americanism, 21, 22, 26, 31, 243, 302, 304, 305, 332, 371, 472, 473, 557-8; article by Lima on, 289-93.
- Pan American Conferences: 23, 30, 319, 432, 449; resolution regarding Monroe Doctrine adopted by, 193-6.
- "Pan-American policy," as evolved by Barrett, 384-5.
- Pan American Union, 16, 315-9.
- Pauncefoot, Sir Julian, British Ambassador to Washington, 86, 247.
- Paz-Soldan, José Gregorio, plenipotentiary of Peru at Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Pereyra, Carlos, former professor of sociology at University of Mexico, 201; opinions of Monroe Doctrine, 310-12.
- Pérez Triana, Santiago, Colombian diplomat, 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 312-30, 331.
- Peru: treaty with Colombia (1822), 12, 136-7; Congress of Panama, 14; Congress of Lima, 15, 168-75 *passim*; party to Continental Treaty, 16, 176-8; instructions to delegates at Congress of Panama, 149-53; party to Treaty of Union (1865), 179-83; war of Spain against Chile and, 109-10, 207, 227, 406; war with Chile, 227.
- Philippines: 202, 263, 543; *status quo* regarding fortifications, 440.
- Piedrahita, Vicente, plenipotentiary of

- Ecuador at Treaty of Union (1865), 179, 181.
- Pinto, Pereira, cited, 240.
- Planas Suárez, Simón, Venezuelan diplomat: 201; cited, 10; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 330-9.
- Plate River. *See* La Plata.
- Platt Amendment, 202, 215, 498.
- Plaza, de la, Victorino, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 339-41.
- Poinsett, Joel R., Minister to Mexico: 132, 279; instructions regarding Monroe Doctrine to, 130-1, 280.
- Polk, President, 353; 390; application of Monroe Doctrine in Yucatan, 17, 73, 209, 463; declaration regarding annexation of Texas, 208, 262, 463; declaration prohibiting further European colonies in America, 417, 481, 489, 490, 509.
- Polignac, Prince de, French Ambassador to England, 38, 245, 267, 480.
- Pollock, Sir Frederick; cited, 245, 247; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 246, 457, 458.
- Porto Rico: 263; policy of United States regarding, 20, 40, 543; acquisition by United States, 202, 287.
- Protests of United States against subjection of American States: expedition of General Flores, 207, 233; French intervention in Mexico, *see* Mexico; war of Spain against Chile and Peru, 109-10, 207, 227, 406, 539; reincorporation of Santo Domingo by Spain, 108, 207, 233, 270, 464; Anglo-Venezuela boundary dispute, *see* Venezuela.
- Puerto Cabello, attacked by England, Germany and Italy, 282.
- Rebello, Chargé d'Affaires of Brazil to United States, proposal of alliance with United States against Portugal, 125-6.
- Reddaway, cited, 89.
- Reyes, General Rafael, former President of Colombia, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 342-4.
- Richardson, J. D., cited, 7, 47, 119.
- Rivadavia, Bernardino, President of Argentina: suggested additions to Monroe Doctrine, 11, 128-9; plenipotentiary to sign treaty with Colombia, 138.
- Rivas, Dr. Angel C., Venezuelan jurist, 284.
- Rivas, Raimundo, cited, 18.
- Rives, William Cabell, 49.
- Robertson, William S., cited, 120, 125, 129.
- Roosevelt, Theodore, President: 310, 365, 381, 390; declarations concerning Anglo-Italo-German intervention in Venezuela, 18, 210, 222, 250, 486-7, 488, 540, 545; plan of financial intervention in Santo Domingo, 18, 210, 490-2, 540, 545; policy regarding international obligations of Latin American countries, 21, 224, 230, 453, 467; cited, 93, 333; policy of hegemony, 228; declarations concerning Monroe Doctrine, 237, 247, 252, 264, 291-2, 335, 358-9, 360, 396, 408, 419, 456, 484-5, 511, 539; "big stick" policy, 286; policy in Panama, 374, 376-7; Zeballos' address on, 372-83; visit to South America, 403, 404; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 496-503.
- Root, Elihu, Secretary of State of United States: 21, 195, 243, 245; speech at Third Pan-American Conference, 237, 260; declarations concerning Monroe Doctrine, 332, 366, 420, 422, 423, 503-18; declaration against territorial aggression, 335, 467, 468; visit to South America, 381, 403.
- Rosas, Juan M. Ortiz de, dictator of Buenos Aires, 258.
- Rowe, Leo S., Director-General of Pan American Union, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 518-33.
- Rush, Richard, American Minister to England: 515; correspondence with Canning concerning Spanish colonies, 34-8; Canning's proposals to, 415, 460, 478, 479, 480, 547.
- Russell, Brigadier General John H., American High Commissioner of Haiti, 428.
- Russian claims on northwest coast of United States, 6, 119-20, 415, 416, 460, 461, 473-4, 480, 481, 504, 536.
- Sáenz Peña, Roque, diplomat and former President of Argentina, 201; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 345-55.
- St. Bartholomew, Island of, ceded to France by Sweden, 110, 211.

- Salazar, Minister of Colombia to United States, 161; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 123.
- Salisbury, Lord; 93, 283; on boundary dispute between Venezuela and England, 59-60, 63, 67, 79, 80-5, 91, 219, 240-1, 258, 291, 466, 483.
- Salvador, party to Treaty of Union (1865), 179-83.
- Samoan Islands, acquisition by United States, 202, 263.
- San Domingo. *See* Santo Domingo.
- San Martín, Zorrilla de, 12, 343.
- Santa Cruz, Andres, allied with Flores expedition, 169.
- Santa Maria, Miguel, Minister Plenipotentiary from Colombia in Treaty with Mexico, 139.
- Santander, Francisco de Paula, Vice-President of Colombia: opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 122-3; reply to invitation of Bolívar to Congress of Panama, 144-6.
- Santo Domingo: proposal of President Grant of annexation by United States, 17, 209-10, 262, 536-7; United States plan of financial intervention, 18, 251-2, 382, 425, 426, 453, 468-70, 490-2, 501-3, 525, 532, 545; internal intervention by United States, 21, 243; French, English and United States intervention in war with Haiti, 107-8, 202, 455; protest of United States against Spanish reannexation, 108, 207, 233, 270, 464.
- Sarmiento mission to United States (1885), 256, 353.
- Scelle, cited, 383.
- Schomburgk, Sir Robert, English engineer, set "Schomburgk line" in Anglo-Venezuela boundary dispute, 61-2.
- Scott, James Brown, cited, 5.
- Seward, William H., Secretary of State: on conditions in Cuba, 47; opposed to action of France, Spain and England in Mexico, 96-7, 251, 489, 507-8, 510-11, 513; position regarding Panama, 108; regarding war of Chile and Peru against Spain, 109-10, 207, 233, 406, 407, 487, 488, 539; opposed to French Monarchy in Mexico, 536, 551, 552.
- Sherman, John, Secretary of State, on hegemony policy of United States, 21; German intervention in Haiti, 408.
- Sherwell, Guillermo A., cited, 116.
- Slave trade, in Cuba, 42, 46, 57.
- Snow, Alpheus H., opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 534-5.
- Spain: position regarding colonies, 32-59 *passim*; Monroe Doctrine applied to, 93-4; war against Chile and Peru (1864-6), 109-10, 207, 406, 539; reincorporation of Santo Domingo, 108, 207, 233, 270, 464; war with Mexico, 513.
- Spanish-American War, 202, 225, 242.
- Stapleton, cited, 38.
- Suárez Mujica, Eduardo, former Minister of Chile to United States, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 354-55.
- Sucre, 12.
- Tacna-Arica dispute, 432, 446.
- Tacubaya, Congress of, 348, 349, 351.
- Taft, William H., Secretary of War, later President: 365, 396; proposed intervention in Panama, 222-3; on extension of Monroe Doctrine, 289; proposal of Pan American tribunal, 296, 319, 544; arbitration treaties signed by, 360; on strength of Monroe Doctrine, 408; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 535-46.
- Tariff rates, preferential, conceded to Brazil by United States, 449.
- Tassara, Spanish Minister to Washington, 94.
- Texas: revolt of, 55; protest of England and France to annexation by United States, 95, 208; annexation of, 202, 225, 263; declaration of President Polk regarding, 208, 262.
- Torres, Alberto, diplomat of Brazil, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 355-65.
- Tower, Charlemagne, former United States Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, Russia and Germany, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 546-54.
- Treaties
- Alliance (Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, 1859), 183-4;
  - Commercial, proposed between United States and Latin American countries, 450;
  - Confederation (Peru, Bolivia, Chile,

- Ecuador and New Granada, 1848), 15, 170-5;
- Preservation of Peace (Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Salvador and Venezuela, 1865), 181-3;
- Union and Defensive Alliance (Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Salvador and Venezuela, 1865), 179-81;
- Union, Association and Perpetual Confederation (Colombia with Chile, Peru, Buenos Aires, Mexico and Central America, 1822-23), 12.
- Trescott, William H., Acting Secretary of State, on refusal of United States to interfere in English and French aggression against Mexico (1860), 59.
- Tuyl, Baron, Russian Minister to United States, 474, 481.
- Ulloa, Alberto, professor at the University of Lima, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 365-6.
- United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. *See* Argentina.
- Uruguay, party to treaty of Alliance (1859), 183-4.
- Valenzuela, José S., cited, 133.
- Valparaiso, bombardment by Spain, 407, 488.
- Van Buren, Martin, Secretary of State, later President: 17; protest to proposed English occupation of Cuba, 17, 210; on position concerning Cuba, 40-2.
- Venezuela: Anglo-Italo-German intervention, 18, 20, 91, 99, 103-4, 187-93, 210, 220-2, 229, 249, 250, 304, 322, 407, 410, 453, 485-7, 506, 513, 545; boundary dispute with England, 20, 59-91 *passim*, 233, 240-1, 282, 349, 350, 396, 400, 409, 465, 466, 476, 482-4, 537; party to Treaty of Union (1865), 179-83; opinion of President Diaz of Mexico concerning, 185-7; 219-20.
- Verona, Congress of, 81, 232, 312-3, 325, 345, 372, 504.
- Viallate, cited, 241.
- Victoria, Guadalupe, President of Mexico: 11-2; opinion of Monroe Doctrine, 132-3; reply to invitation to Congress of Panama, 146-7.
- Wagner, Adolph, German economist, opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 258.
- Walker expedition to Central America, 16.
- Washington, George, "Doctrine of Isolation," 6, 442.
- Washington's Farewell Address: 52, 70, 245, 321, 357, 431, 436, 489, 516.
- Webster, Daniel, Secretary of State of United States: 327; on proposed neutralization of Cuba, 42-3, 49, 211, 463, 464, 536; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 72, 412, 435, 506, 553-4; on Falkland Island dispute, 107; on plans of Holy Alliance, 538.
- Wharton, cited, 487.
- William, Emperor, of Germany: opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 105; proposal of conduct against Venezuela, 250.
- Wilmart, Raymundo, Argentine writer, opinion on Drago and Monroe Doctrines, 367-71.
- Wilson, Woodrow: 4, 21, 310, 365, 381, 528; opposed to "concessions" by South American countries, 18, 530, 554-5; declaration of no further acquisition of territory by the United States, 243-4, 323, 335, 339; declarations concerning Monroe Doctrine, 420, 494; principle of American foreign policy, 529, 530; opinion on Monroe Doctrine, 554-60.
- Wirt, William, 72, 415.
- Woolsey, professor, new forms of Monroe Doctrine, 334.
- World War, effects described by Perez Triana, 320-1.
- Yucatan, proposed transfer of, 17, 73, 209, 225, 463, 507, 536.
- Zeballos, Dr., University of Buenos Aires: 201; address on Argentina and Monroe Doctrine, 291; address on Roosevelt and his international policy, 372-83.
- Zelaya, President of Nicaragua, 493.