

Bryan on Democracy.

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ministration in 1825, the democratic party held undisputed sway in the nation. Jefferson, like Washington, refused to consider a third term, and his secretary of state, James Madison (q.v.), succeeded him. Madison, following the example set by his predecessor, retired at the end of his second term, and James Monroe (q.v.), who had been his secretary of state, succeeded him.

The war of 1812 was conducted by the Madison administration, and it was during this period that the Hartford resolutions were adopted by a convention of federalists which met at Hartford, Conn., in December, 1814. These resolutions went further in the direction of states rights than either the Kentucky resolutions or the Virginia resolutions. They began by recommending "to the legislatures of the several states represented in this convention, to adopt all such measures as may be necessary effectually to protect the citizen of said states from the operation and effects of all acts which have been or may be passed by the congress of the United States, which shall contain provisions subjecting the militia or other citizens to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments not authorized by the constitution of the United States."

While the Hartford resolutions announced a political policy, they had their origin in the commercial interests which were affected by the war of 1812, and by the embargo act which was enacted as a war measure.

The federalist party which supported Clinton's candidacy in 1812 laid great stress upon the commercial interests. The platform adopted by the New York federalists urged the election of Clinton as the surest method of guaranteeing the protection of those commercial interests which were flagging "under the weakness and imbecility of the administration." The federalists attacked what they called the Virginia regency, and the Hartford resolutions recommended a constitutional amendment making the president ineligible for renomination, and another prohibiting the selection of two presidents in succession from the same state.

It was during the administration of James Monroe that the doctrine, afterward known by his name, and followed ever since, was promulgated. The doctrine was set forth in a message sent to congress by James Monroe on December 2, 1823. The following is the text covering this subject:

"In the wars of European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense. With the movements on 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 (the holy alliance) 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. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not in-

terfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it 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. 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 these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. 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 any one 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."

This message was written after consultation with Jefferson, who was then living in retirement at Monticello. The following extract from a letter written by Jefferson to Monroe in October, 1823, not only shows Jefferson's part in the formulation of the doctrine, but also proves his foresight and his comprehension of American interests, and his devotion to the welfare of his country:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me, is the most momentous which has been 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. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. 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. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation most of all, could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead, aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition, we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our own principle not to depart with it. And if to facilitate this, we can effect a division in the body of the European powers, and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it. But I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion, that it will prevent instead of provoke war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, 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 against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless alliance calling itself holy. But we have first to ask ourselves a question. Do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states.

The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it as well as all those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Yet, as I am sensible that this can never be obtained, even with her own consent, but by war; and its independence, which is our second interest (and especially its independence of England), can be secured without it. I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association, at the expense of war and her enmity. I could honestly, therefore, join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition.

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