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American Statesmen

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# JAMES MONROE

BY

DANIEL C. GILMAN

FREEDMAN OF JOHN HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE

*WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WRITINGS PERTINENT  
TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE*

BY

JOHN F. JAMESON



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## PREFACE TO REVISED EDITION

AT the time of the original preparation of this memoir the Monroe manuscripts, mentioned in my preface thereto as being in the Department of State and in the possession of Mrs. Gouverneur, had not been calendared or arranged, and it was difficult to examine them with thoroughness. Since then the Department has published a calendar of the correspondence of James Monroe, which greatly enhances the value of the collection, and the present Librarian, S. M. Hamilton, has begun the publication of the writings of Monroe, which are to appear in several octavo volumes during the course of the next few months. By his courtesy and that of the publishers, Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, I have been favored with advanced sheets of the first volume, with the aid of which I have revised the earlier chapters of this memoir; and I am very sorry that this edition must go to the press without my having an opportunity to see the complete collection of the writings. When they have appeared, a study of Monroe's two

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administrations, like that of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison by Henry Adams, will be called for. I wish that he would undertake such a continuation of his "History of the United States."

I desire to renew the expression, made in my earlier preface, of my obligations to Professor Jameson, now of Brown University, and then of Johns Hopkins University. In view of the importance of the Monroe Doctrine in current political debates, the bibliography, prepared by him and made a part of this volume, is of great utility. It has been revised and enlarged for this edition.

DANIEL C. GILMAN.

JULY 19, 1898.

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## APPENDIX

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### I

#### GENEALOGY

I HAVE not been successful in tracing the pedigree of James Monroe. Mr. R. C. Brock, of the Virginia Historical Society, has kindly searched the Virginia archives, and finds that successive grants of land were made to Andrew Monroe from 1650 to 1662, and to John Monroe from 1695 to 1719. He has also come upon an old statement that Andrew Monroe came to this country in 1660, after the defeat of the royal army, in which he had the rank of major, and settled in Westmoreland County, Virginia. With this citation it is well to compare a recent paragraph, in respect to the Monroes of Eastern Massachusetts, in F. B. Sanborn's "Life of Thoreau :"—

"The Monroes of Lexington and Concord are descended from a Scotch soldier of Charles II.'s army, captured by Cromwell at the battle of Worcester in 1651, and allowed to go into exile in America. His powerful kinsman, General George Monro, who commanded for Charles at the battle of Worcester, was,

at the Restoration, made commander-in-chief for Scotland." <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Brock suggests that the family of Jones, to which the mother of James Monroe belongs, was the same with that of Adjutant-General Robert Jones, Commodore Thomas Catesby Jones, General Walker Jones, and other distinguished Americans.

The private residence of Monroe during the latter part of his life was at Oak Hill, near Aldie, Loudoun County, Virginia, on a turnpike running south from Leesburg to Aldie, about nine miles from the former and three from the latter place.

Major R. W. N. Noland has been so kind as to prepare, at the suggestion of Professor J. M. Garnett of the University of Virginia, a sketch of Oak Hill, as follows:—

The Oak Hill house was planned by Mr. Monroe, but the building superintended by Mr. William Benton, an Englishman, who occupied the mixed relation to Mr. Monroe of steward, counselor, and friend. The house is built of brick in a most substantial manner, and handsomely finished; it is, perhaps, about 90 x 50 feet, three stories (including basement), and has a wide portico, fronting south, with massive Doric columns thirty feet high, and is surrounded by a grove of magnificent oaks covering several acres. While the location is not as commanding as many others in that section, being in lower Loudoun where the rolling character of the Piedmont region begins to lose itself in the flat lands of tide water, the house in two directions commands an attractive and somewhat ex-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Savage, *New England Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 256, 257.

tensive view, but on the other sides it is hemmed in by mountains, for the local names of which, "Bull Run" and "Nigger Mountain," it is to be hoped the late President is in no wise responsible, and, indeed, the same may be said of the river or creek which breaks through these ranges within a mile or two of Oak Hill. Tom Moore, in a poetic letter as brilliant as it is ill-natured, satirizing Washington city, writes, "And what was Goose Creek once is Tiber now;" but the fact is that no such stream is found in the neighborhood of the national capital. The little stream that washes the confines of the Oak Hill estate once bore the Indian name *Gohongarestaw* (the River of Swans), and is now called *Goose Creek*. The following anecdote connected with Oak Hill is, perhaps, worthy of preservation. On the occasion of Lafayette's visit to Loudoun, a large number of distinguished guests were entertained at Oak Hill. It was at the dinner in Leesburg, given to Lafayette, that Mr. Adams drank the celebrated toast to the "Patriots of the Revolution — like the Sibylline leaves, the fewer they become, the more precious they are." In riding back to Oak Hill, Mr. Adams, Major William Noland, and Mr. Hay were thrown together, when the last-named gentleman, with an apology for the seeming impertinence, asked Mr. Adams where he conceived the beautiful sentiment he had that day drunk. Mr. Adams said that the toast was inspired that morning by a sight of the picture of the Sibyl that hung in the Oak Hill hall. "How strange!" said Mr. Hay, "I have been looking at that picture for years, and that thought never occurred to me."

There are several quite good pictures of the Oak Hill house extant — one on Taylor's map of Loudoun County, and others in the histories of Virginia (for example, in Howe's "Historical Collections of Virginia," p. 356).

## II

WASHINGTON'S NOTES UPON THE APPENDIX TO MONROE'S "VIEW OF THE CONDUCT OF THE EXECUTIVE," NOW FIRST PRINTED

[From the copy by Mr. Sparks now owned by the Library of Cornell University. The figures indicate the pages in the appendix to Monroe's "View," from which catch-words are taken, introducing the notes written by Washington on his copy.]

Page 119 — "*jealousy and distrust.*"

Principally because he asserted our rights and claimed redress.

On what ground the suspicion, when it was a notorious fact that (we) were upon the worst terms short of open war with G. Britain?

His communications with the French Govt. contradict this, and accounts [*sic*] satisfactorily for the delay of the reception, as may be seen by reference thereto.

Page 120 — "*that I should pursue?*"

As nothing but justice, and the fulfillment of a contract was asked, it dictated firmness conducted with temperance [*sic*] in the pursuit of it.

Page 120 — "*were closed against me.*"

This appears nowhere but in his own conjectures and *after*-assertions, for from his own account *at the*

*time* the delay of his reception was satisfactorily explained, and had been the cause of another waiting of six weeks.<sup>1</sup> See his letter of the 25 of Aug., p. 16.

Page 120 — “*place a greater confidence?*”

By whom were they advised? and what evidences are alluded to?

Page 122 — “*and then defy us.*”

Was a good understanding to be interrupted because we were endeavoring to live in peace with all the world? and were only asking from France what we were entitled to by treaty?

Page 122 — “*in favour of that administration:*”

It is not understood what is here meant by *concession*. None was asked, or any [*sic*] thought of being made.

Page 122 — “*decisively on the decline.*”

It will not be denied, it is presumed [*sic*], that there had been and might again be great vicissitudes in their affairs, bothe [*sic*] externally and internally. Prudence and policy therefore required, that the Govt. of the U. S. should move with great circumspection.

Page 123 — “*the point in question.*”

A very singular mode truly to obtain it, but look

<sup>1</sup> This “waiting of six weeks” refers to the delay in receiving the minister of Geneva. — EDITOR.

to letter of Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1794, pp. 58, 59, and judge whether it would not have been accomplished sooner if he had desired it; — and what can he mean by not conceding, when in explicit terms he has declared that the point, if upon consideration they desired it, would have been given up with pleasure!

Page 123 — “*upon the slightest intimation.*”

That is to say, if we would not press *them* to do us justice, but have yielded to *their* violations, they would [*sic*] aided us in every measure, which would have cost them *nothing*.

Page 124 — “*from the western posts,*”

By what means were the British to be expelled from the Western posts, without first conquering Canada, or passing thro' the territory of the U. S., and would not the latter, by the law of nations, have been a cause of war? The truth is Mr. Manroe [*sic*] was cajoled, flattered, and made to believe strange things. In return he did, or was disposed to do, whatever was pleasing to that nation; reluctantly urging the rights of his own.

Page 140 — “*in the second the whole.*”

This is a mistake, — no such promise to be found in the 2<sup>d</sup> letter. See p. 105, Nov. 25<sup>th</sup>.

Page 140 — “*to me on the subject?*”

The intention was to enable him on the veracity and authority of the negotiator of the Treaty to assert,



that there was nothing contained in it repugnant to our engagement with France, and that was all that they or he had a right to expect.

Page 147 — “*power alone to make it, etc.*”

And this ought to have satisfied the French Govt. It was as much as that Govt. would have done for us or any other nation.

Page 148 — “*my secretary, Mr. Gauvain*”

Here is a striking instance of his folly. This secretary of his was a foreigner — it is believed a Frenchman — introduced no doubt to his confidence and papers for the sole purpose of communicating to the Directory the secrets of his office.

Page 160 — “*with you in June next.*”

The sufferings of our citizens are always a secondary consideration when put in competition with the embarrassments of the French.

Page 161 — “*reasons above suggested.*”

Hence is a disregard shown to repeated orders of his government to press this matter.

Page 207 — “*me to do it here.*”

What inference is to be drawn from this declaration? What light is it in Philadelphia, that is to discover the sense of the French Govt. in Paris, before it was divulged there? — except the conduct of the French party by whom the wheels were to be moved?

Page 210 — “*of this government,*”

If he does not mean himself here, it is not difficult to guess who the other character is marked out by this description.

Page 210 — “*of what kind must it be?*”

War was the suggestion, and is here repeated. This has no horrors when waged in *favor* of France, but dreadful even in thought when it is against her.

Page 297 — “*decide in his case.*”

Mr. Fenwick was accused of covering by the American flag French money under false invoices, but Mr. M. could readily excuse this breach of faith in his office.

Page 313 — “*furnished lose its force.*”

England before the late treaty with the U. S. and France were different in their commercial relations with America.

Page 314 — “*than in precise terms;*”

For the best reason imaginable; because none could be urged that had any weight in them.

Page 321 — “*the United States have taken,*”

Only in cases where the captors have contravened the treaty — acting contrary to the laws of nations — or our own municipal laws.

Page 322 — "*prizes into those ports.*"

A single instance *only* of a prize being brought in is recollected, and against it a strong remonstrance was made; — without prizes, ships of war are not restrained by the Treaty.

Page 322 — "*executing their judgments.*"

No interruption has been given to this. To carry their own judgments into effect has constituted the difficulty, — and in its nature it is nearly impossible to do it.

Page 322 — "*certified by the consuls.*"

This is the French construction of the Act. The Judiciary of the U. S. interpret it otherwise; over whom the Executive have [*sic*] no control.

Page 322 — "*safeguard of their flag.*"

This arrestation was for an offense committed against the law of nations and those of the U. S. and has been explained over and over again. See the Sec<sup>ty</sup> of State's Letter, 13<sup>th</sup> of June, p. 364.

Page 323 — "*merited an example.*"

What more could the U. S. do than was done? See the Sec<sup>ty</sup> of State's Letter, Sept. 14<sup>th</sup>, 1795, p. 292.

Page 323 — "*least contested, of neutrality.*"

These are assertions upon false premises. Strange indeed would it be if the U. S. could not make a

treaty without the consent of the French Govt. when that treaty infringed no prior engagements, but expressly recognizes and confirms them.

Page 323 — “ *the principles of neutrality?* ”

They have given *nothing*, but left those principles precisely upon the ground they stood [*sic*] before the Treaty; with some explanations favorable to the U. S. and not injurious to France. They have made nothing contraband, that was not contraband before; — nor was it in their power to obtain from G. B. a change, which the Armed Neutrality, (as it was called) could not when combined accomplish.

Page 345 — “ *and without delay.* ”

How strangely inconsistent are his accounts!

Page 356 — “ *most strict reciprocity.* ”

From hence it follows, that if A makes a contract with B, and C will not make a similar contract with him, B will not be bound by his contract, although the cases are unconnected with each other [*sic*].

Page 359 — “ *course of the present war.* ”

All this he ought to have done, and was instructed to do in the beginning; and had it been urged with firmness and temperance, might have prevented the evils which have taken place since.

Page 359 — “ *my duty would permit;* ”

And a great deal more than his duty permitted.

Page 371 — “*the merit of this delay ;*”

By implication he has done this in a variety of instances.

Page 371 — “*was the true cause of it.*”

That is, by not pressing the execution of the Treaty; and for compensation to our suffering citizens. This no doubt was accommodating and pleasing one party at the expense of the other.

Page 374 — “*be passed by unnoticed.*”

Did France expect, that the U. S. could compel G. B. to relinquish this right under the law of nations, while [*sic*] the other maritime powers of Europe (as has been observed before), when combined for the purpose were unable to effect [*sic*]. Why then call it an abandonment?

Page 377 — “*what they did avow.*”

This is all external and a flimsy covering of their designs. Why else send their emissaries through that country to inculcate different principles among the inhabitants, a fact that could be substantiated.

Page 390 — “*nations had sworn to.*”

Yes, *Citizen*, and every one else who can read are [*sic*] acquainted with [*sic*] facts; and your violations of our rights under the Treaty prove (?) it also.

Page 391 — “*be made through you.*”

The treatment of our minister, Gen' Pinckney, is a pretty evidence of this ; — the thot' [*sic*] of parting with Mr. Monroe was insupportable by them.

### III

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MONROE, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

PREPARED FOR THIS WORK BY J. F. JAMESON, PH. D.

THE following bibliography has been prepared with a view to the needs of persons specially studying the career of Monroe, rather than to those of the general reader. Hence it does not ordinarily include references to the most familiar sources, such as the State Papers, the published correspondence of Washington, etc., and the standard histories. It aims to include nothing that does not bear directly upon Monroe or the Monroe Doctrine ; nor, in even the limited area thus marked out, can it hope to be complete. The titles under A are arranged alphabetically by authors ; those under B chronologically ; those under C first chronologically, according to the period of Monroe's public life to which they refer, and then alphabetically by authors. At least one locality of a book or pamphlet, unless it be a common one, has been designated when known. In such designations, at the end of the title, A indicates the existence of a copy in the Astor Library ; B, in the

Boston Public Library; BA, in that of the Boston Athenæum; C, in the Library of Congress; H, in that of Harvard College; JCB, in the John Carter Brown Library; JH, in that of the Johns Hopkins University; M, in the Massachusetts State Library; MH, in that of the Massachusetts Historical Society; N, in the New York State Library; NH, in that of the New York Historical Society; P, in that of the Philadelphia Library Company; S, in that of the Department of State; W, in that of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. The Maryland Historical Society is supplied with most of the works to which reference has been made in the preparation of this volume.

*SYNOPSIS.*

- A. BIOGRAPHICAL.
- B. PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF MONROE.
- C. PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE PUBLIC CAREER OR THE WRITINGS OF MONROE.
1. First Diplomatic Service and the "View."
  2. Louisiana Purchase and Spanish Mission.
  3. Diplomatic Efforts in England.
  4. Period of Cabinet Office.
  5. Presidency.
  6. Subsequent Period.
- D. THE MONROE DOCTRINE.
1. Its Immediate Origin.
  2. Discussion of it in Treatises on International Law.
  3. In more Special Treatises and Articles.
    - a. American.
    - b. European.
  4. Occasions on which it has been applied.
    - a. The Panama Congress.
    - b. Yucatan.

- c. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.
- d. Central America, 1845-1860.
- e. Cuba, etc., 1850-1898.
- f. French Intervention in Mexico.
- g. The Inter-oceanic Canal.
- h. America North of the United States.
- i. The Pan-American Conference.
- j. The Venezuela-Guiana Boundary.

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- John Quincy Adams: Lives of Celebrated Statesmen. [Madison, Lafayette, and Monroe.] New York, 1846. 8vo, pp. 105. N.
- John Quincy Adams: The Lives of James Madison and James Monroe, Fourth and Fifth Presidents of the United States. With Historical Notices of their Administrations. Buffalo, 1850. 12mo, pp. 432. C. +<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia, 1854. M.
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- A Narrative of a Tour of Observation, made during the Summer of 1817, by James Monroe, President of the United States, through the North-Eastern and North-Western Departments of the Union; with a View to the Examination of

<sup>1</sup> The sign + indicates another edition.



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- New England Magazine, vol. 1, p. 178.
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- S. Putnam Waldo: Tour of James Monroe, President of the United States, in the year 1817, through the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Ohio; together with a Sketch of his Life. Hartford, 1818. 12mo, pp. 300. BA.
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- Udolpho Wolfe: Grand Civic and Military Demonstration in Honor of the Removal of the Remains of James Monroe, Fifth President of the United States, from New York to Virginia. New York, 1858. 12mo, pp. 324. C.
- (And numerous unimportant notices in lives of the presidents, cyclopædias, and biographical dictionaries.)

## B. PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF MONROE,

(in addition to the messages, dispatches, and letters which may be found in familiar sources. Manuscripts of Monroe's public papers are in the possession of the Department of State; much of his private correspondence is in the possession of Mrs. S. L. Gouverneur, Jr., of Washington.)

The Writings of James Monroe. Edited by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton. [In six or seven volumes.] New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898, *et seq.*

The first volume of this collection,—the only one that has yet appeared, July, 1898,—contains reprints of the two following:—

Some Observations on the Constitution. Pp. 24, small quarto. (A copy, thought to be unique, was recently found by Mr. John P. Weissenhagen, of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, in the Department of State.)

Observations upon the Proposed Plan of Federal Government. With an Attempt to answer some of the Principal Objections that have been made to it. By a Native of Virginia. Petersburg. Printed by Hunter and Prentiss. 1788. Pp. 64, small quarto. (A copy, supposed to be unique, is in the Library of the Department of State.)

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