

*A HISTORY OF*  
**AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY**

BY  
**JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ**

PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND  
CRESWELL LECTURER ON INTER-  
NATIONAL LAW IN THE  
JOHNS HOPKINS  
UNIVERSITY



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AMERICAN FOREIGN  
POLICY

*Other Books by the Same Author:*



AMERICA AS A WORLD POWER

FROM ISOLATION TO LEADERSHIP

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN  
AMERICA

TO  
ELINOR, *MAJOR*  
AND  
ELINOR, *MINOR*

## INTRODUCTION

### NOTES ON SOURCES

THE materials for the diplomatic history of the United States are voluminous, diverse, and widely scattered. A complete bibliography would fill many volumes. The sources from which the materials for this volume have been drawn are indicated with sufficient fulness in the footnotes. We shall not undertake, therefore, to give an extended bibliography, but shall refer only to the more important collections, most of which are well indexed and will serve as guides to those who may desire to pursue studies in this field.

J. B. Moore's *Digest of International Law*, 8 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), gives extracts from diplomatic correspondence, treaties, decisions of national courts and arbitration tribunals, presidential messages, and other documents, published and unpublished, covering most of the important questions that have arisen in American diplomacy. It presents the point of view of American statesmen and jurists on questions of international law. Vol. VIII contains an Index, Table of Cases, and List of Documents, and is the best general guide to the subject for the period 1776–1906. By a happy coincidence the *American Journal of International Law* (published by the American Society of International Law) made its appearance in January, 1907, and has been issued quarterly since that date. The *Analytical Index* of the *Journal*, covering volumes I–XIV, prepared by George A. Finch in 1921, supplements Moore's Index. Charles Cheney Hyde's *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied by the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1922), brings many of the subjects discussed by

Moore down to date and contains a wealth of accurate reference to general bibliography and source material.

For the texts of treaties the reader is referred to the official collection of *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and other Powers, 1776-1909*, compiled by William M. Malloy, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910). A third volume, published in 1923, contains all treaties ratified by the United States from 1910 to 1923, and, in appendices, treaties signed as a result of the peace negotiations at Paris, but not ratified by the United States. The one-volume edition of *Treaties and Conventions*, published by the Government in 1889, contains the valuable Notes of J. C. Bancroft Davis (pp. 1219-1406) and is therefore of special interest to historical students.

Those interested in the Far East are referred to J. V. A. MacMurray's comprehensive collection of *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894-1919*, 2 vols. (Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1921).

Current treaties will be found in the *American Journal of International Law, Documentary Supplements*, and in the *Treaty Series* published by the League of Nations, 36 volumes of which have been issued to 1925. This series contains practically all American treaties of importance, since members of the League are required to register with the Secretariat all treaties to which they are parties, including those made with non-members.

Action taken on treaties is found in the *Executive Journals of the United States Senate, 1789-1901*, 32 vols. (Published at various times from 1828 to 1909, in very limited editions). Vols. 33 and 34, covering the period from 1901 to 1905, have been printed, but the injunction of secrecy has not yet been removed. In the same connection use should be made of the *Compilation of Reports of Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 1789-1901*, 8 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).

Foreign affairs are the subject of extended discussion in the national legislative bodies of all modern states. Of special importance in the study of American diplomacy are the debates of House and Senate reported in the *Congressional Record* and its predecessors the *Congressional Globe*, the *Register of Debates*, and the *Annals of Congress*; the debates of the British Parliament, reported in Hansard's *Debates*; and those of the French Parliament, reported in *Archives Parlementaires* and its successor the *Journal Officiel*. The League of Nations issues regularly the *Official Journal* containing the proceedings of both the Council and the Assembly. Many of the questions discussed intimately concern the United States.

The diplomatic correspondence of the United States has never been systematically published and there are many gaps in it which can be filled only by access to the original manuscripts in the Department of State. For the period of the Revolution we have the following published collections:

Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), usually quoted by the binder's title Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*.

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1922). Vols. I-XV were edited by Worthington C. Ford, and vols. XVI-XXV by the late Gaillard Hunt. Vol. XXV, issued in 1922, carries the work only to the close of 1783. It is earnestly hoped that Congress will provide for the speedy completion of this important work. As the Continental Congress conducted foreign affairs directly or through its own committees, its Journals are filled with reports and discussions which throw a flood of light on the beginnings of American foreign policy.

Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des Etats-Unis d'Amerique*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), contains a vast amount of material not in our archives, especially on the attitude of Spain.

B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783*, 25 folio vols. (Issued only to subscribers, London, 1889-1898). This interesting collection, which reproduces the handwriting of many of the prominent statesmen of the day, contains much of the correspondence between the United States and its agents abroad which as a result of the activities of the British navy and secret service never reached its destination, but found its way into the British archives.

For the period of the Confederation we have *United States Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1833-1834).

For the next period, 1789-1828, we have the *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, 6 folio vols., a part of the most comprehensive scheme for the publication of the government archives ever sanctioned by Congress. These volumes were issued at intervals from 1832 to 1859, but the half-completed project was abandoned at the beginning of the Civil War. Supplementary to the above, so far as our relations with the other states in this hemisphere are concerned, is the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, selected and arranged by William R. Manning, 3 vols. (Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1925). The major portion of the documents included in this valuable collection were copied from the original manuscripts in the Department of State and have never before been published.

For the period 1829-1860 no collection of the diplomatic correspondence has been made. It is scattered through the Congressional Documents in batches of various sizes, sandwiched between reports on Indian affairs, rivers and harbors, the tariff, or any documents that happened to be ready for the binder. As no complete sets of government documents for this period are to be found on the shelves of any library outside of Washington, this period is the most difficult to work in.



Fortunately, as a result of the monumental labors of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, we now have a very full and complete *Index to United States Documents Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*, 3 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1914-1921).

In 1861, the government adopted the plan of issuing each year with the annual message of the President one or more volumes of the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*. In 1870, the title of this series was changed to *Foreign Relations*. A *General Index to the Published Volumes of the Diplomatic Correspondence and Foreign Relations of the United States, 1861-1899*, was issued by the Government Printing Office in 1902. The last volume of *Foreign Relations* is for the year 1916 (issued in 1925). During the European War the Department of State issued a special series of papers in four instalments under the title *Diplomatic Correspondence with Belligerent Governments Relating to Neutral Rights and Duties* (1915-1918). The published *Diplomatic Correspondence* and *Foreign Relations* contain only cautiously selected papers from the files in the Department of State. Many of the most important documents are carefully guarded until long after the controversies to which they relate have been settled. By special resolution the Senate and, less frequently, the House call upon the President for the correspondence relating to some particular question, and, if he deems it not incompatible with the public interests, he transmits the papers called for, and they eventually appear, not in the *Foreign Relations*, but in the general series of Congressional Documents.

The fullest collection of Confederate diplomatic and naval correspondence is found in two volumes issued by the Navy Department in 1921 and 1922 (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, Series II, Volumes 2 and 3). Students are apt to overlook this collection, as the title pages do not properly indicate the subject-matter of the volumes.

*The Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, compiled by James D. Richardson, 10 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-1899), covers the period from the begin-

ning of Washington's administration to the middle of McKinley's. These volumes contain the exposition and defense of the foreign policies of the various Presidents.

The personal element plays a particularly large part in diplomacy. In its study, therefore, the lives and writings of American Presidents, Secretaries of State, and prominent statesmen, American and foreign, are indispensable. In addition to published works, the Library of Congress now has a very large collection of the manuscript papers of Presidents and public men.

The series known as *British and Foreign State Papers* (1812-1922), 116 volumes of which have been issued to 1925, is of great assistance to the student of American diplomacy. It contains not only the more important correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, but also a great deal of material bearing on the relations of the United States and other powers in which Great Britain had an indirect interest. The volumes are systematically arranged and well indexed and are much more convenient to use than our own documents.

The recent *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919*, edited by A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, 3 vols. (London and New York, 1922-1923), is of great value in the study of American diplomacy, no less for its references to bibliography and sources than for its subject-matter.

J. B. Moore's *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party*, 6 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), contains a vast amount of historical material not elsewhere available in print.

Finally for excellent topical analyses and comprehensive references to the problems of world politics for the period of the World War we have Parker T. Moon's *Syllabus on International Relations* (Issued by the Institute of International Education, New York, 1925).

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# AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

## CHAPTER I

### THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

OUR Revolutionary ancestors set up a government founded on a new principle, happily phrased by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence in the statement that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This declaration was a challenge to the monarchical governments of the Old World, which were based on the doctrine of the divine right of kings. If the founders of the new government were to secure aid and alliances abroad, it was evident that they must appeal to some motive powerful enough to overcome the natural antipathy of the Old-World monarchies to revolutionary principles. They turned first to France because France was regarded as the natural enemy of England, and because she was still smarting from the loss of her American continental possessions. Spain also was hostile to England, and they turned to Spain, too, but with less success, because Spain was still the greatest of all American powers, and was, therefore, not disposed to encourage rebels in provinces adjacent to her own.

When Louis XVI came to the French throne in 1774, he chose as chief minister the aged Count de Maurepas, but the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs was conferred upon the Count de Vergennes, a cold and reserved, but industrious, clear-headed, and patriotic statesman, who largely determined and directed French policy during the

The Colonies seek aid of the enemies of England

The objective of French diplomacy

period of the American Revolution. From the first, Vergennes' efforts were directed to the restoration of French prestige, which had not recovered from the reverses of the Seven Years' War and which had just suffered a new humiliation in the first partition of Poland. In this act France's recent ally Austria had been *particeps criminis*, so that the two Bourbon thrones of France and Spain, united by the Family Compact of 1761, were for all practical purposes isolated and on the defensive. As a result of the Seven Years' War France had lost Canada and India and had ceded New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi to Spain in compensation for the loss of Florida, while her rival England, as the result of Pitt's brilliant policy, had risen to unforeseen heights of prosperity and now held in her hands the balance of power. The extent of the British Empire, stretching from North America to India, British naval supremacy undisputed since 1763, and the vast wealth that was being accumulated by British commerce were believed to constitute a serious menace, not only to France, but to the rest of Europe. To restore French prestige and the balance of power in Europe became the main objective of French diplomacy.<sup>1</sup>

The revolt of  
the Colonies  
foreseen

The idea that the American colonies, rendered more secure by the expulsion of France from Canada, would sooner or later throw off the English yoke was advanced by many thoughtful observers at the close of the French and Indian War. In 1765 Choiseul, the brilliant minister of Louis XV, prepared a memoir for the King which concluded with this significant statement:

Only the revolution which will occur some day in America, though we shall probably not see it, will put England back to that state of weakness in which Europe will have no more fear of her.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, I, chap. iv; Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance*, particularly chaps. i and ii.

<sup>2</sup>Corwin, p. 40.

From the beginning the dispute between England and her colonies was closely followed in France. In 1767 Baron de Kalb, who later as a major-general in the American army so gallantly gave his life at the battle of Camden, was sent by Choiseul on a secret mission to America to investigate and report on the rumors of revolt that were coming to Europe. While he did not regard revolution as imminent and thought that foreign intervention would merely hasten reconciliation, he wrote from New York:

Report  
made by  
Baron de  
Kalb

All classes of people here are imbued with such a spirit of independence and freedom from control that if all the provinces can be united under a common representation, an independent state will soon be formed. At all events, it will certainly come forth in time. Whatever may be done in London, this country is growing too powerful to be much longer governed at so great a distance.<sup>3</sup>

When Vergennes came into power conditions in America had taken a more serious turn and he was convinced that a rupture was at hand, so he sent over a secret agent of his own. Bonvouloir, the man chosen for this mission, was a soldier of distinction who had visited America before and claimed to know many public men. He was instructed to assure them that France had no designs on Canada, and that her only interest in the movement for independence lay in the establishment of commercial relations.<sup>4</sup>

Vergennes  
sends secret  
agent to  
America

Early in March, 1776, Bonvouloir's first report was received, and it convinced Vergennes that the time had come to lend secret aid and encouragement to the Americans. He had, however, to overcome the opposition of Turgot and others who urged the King to stick to his program of economy and internal reform. On March 12 Vergennes submitted to the King a long memoir entitled "Considera-

Vergennes'  
"Consider-  
ations"

<sup>3</sup>Wharton, I, 418.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 333.



tions on the Affairs of the English Colonies in America.”<sup>5</sup> He begins the discussion in a judicial tone by stating that it was problematic whether France and Spain should desire the subjection or the independence of the English colonies, for they were threatened in either case by dangers which it was not perhaps in the power of human foresight to anticipate or avert. The most obvious dangers concerned the West Indies and, stated alternatively, were,

. . . that the English Ministry, beaten on the continent of America, may seek an indemnity at the expense of France and Spain, which would at once efface their shame, and give them the means of reconciliation with the insurgents, to whom it would offer the trade and provisioning of the Isles; [or] that the colonies, having become independent, and preserving no tie with England, may become conquerors from necessity, and that, surcharged with goods, they may seek a forced outlet in the sugar islands, and in Spanish America, which would destroy the ties which attach our colonies to the mother country.

Proposes aid  
in munitions  
and money

Vergennes thus tried to make it appear that France and Spain were threatened by an attack from England, or the liberated colonies, or from the combined forces of both, and that it was time to adopt a definite defensive policy. He proposed to give the insurgents aid in munitions and money, but for the present not to enter into any compact with them. While France and Spain were to avoid compromising themselves, they were not to flatter themselves that they would be free from suspicion. The English, “accustomed to be led by the impulse of their interests, and to judge of others by themselves, will always believe that we are not allowing such a good opportunity of injuring them to escape.” He urged the necessity, therefore, of putting the armed forces of the two monarchies in a position which might “either restrain the English, render their attacks uncertain, or insure the means of punishing them.”

At the King’s request the memoir was submitted to the

<sup>5</sup>Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America*, No. 1316; Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l’Etablissement des Etats-Unis d’Amérique*, I, 273.