

Colossus of the North

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Individual Exhibit

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"It is a mere truism to say that every nation which desires to maintain its freedom, its independence, must realize that the right of such independence cannot be separated from the responsibility of making good use of it."

-Theodore Roosevelt, December 06, 1904.

Having been born in a Latin American country, I am interested in the foreign relations between the United States and Latin American countries. After researching several U.S. - Latin American topics, I discovered the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the *Monroe Doctrine*, which explained the interactions between the U.S. and Latin American countries. The "Roosevelt Corollary" justified the right for U.S. intervention in Latin American countries, and the responsibility to become a police force for the entire Western Hemisphere.

I began my research by reading *Theodore Roosevelt and the World Order* by James Holmes to gain a general understanding of the impact the "Roosevelt Corollary" left on foreign relations between the United States, Latin American and European nations. I visited public and university libraries and collected primary newspapers and journal articles plus political cartoons. The Library of Congress and Harvard University provided me with online access to the memos and letters of Theodore Roosevelt. After I obtained an overview of my topic I contacted authors and historians for interviews. Professor H. W. Brands, author of *TR the Last Romantic*, assisted me with understanding how "Roosevelt blazed a path for future presidents in assuming responsibility for international security , and using his office's 'bully pulpit' to goad the national conscience." Professor Marc Becker, a specialist in U.S. and Latin American relations, helped me understand the negative effects of the "Corollary" by explaining, "The United States did not have the right to intervene in Latin American affairs, and I believe Roosevelt was motivated by power and economic gains."

Since the "Roosevelt Corollary" created controversy that inspired an abundance of colorful political cartoons, I decided an exhibit would best illustrate the rights and responsibilities the United States had assumed. My color scheme is representative of the

traditional police blue since the U.S. had taken the responsibility of being an "international police force" for the Western Hemisphere. I matched historically accurate photographs, posters, and charts; with embedded quotes to portray the "Corollary's" defining moments on American foreign policy. I also color coordinated the rights and responsibilities that the "Roosevelt Corollary" established in order to showcase the theme.

The "Roosevelt Corollary" to the *Monroe Doctrine* fits this year's theme, "Rights and Responsibilities in History." For decades, the "Corollary" impacted the political, economic and social structure of the Western Hemisphere. This interpretation transformed the U.S. foreign policy from a preventative one, according to the *Monroe Doctrine*, to one that justified and encouraged U.S. intervention in Latin America. The "Corollary" promoted stabilization of economies, military intervention and protection of U.S. commercial interests. In 1905, the U.S. took control of Dominican customs houses, and managed the tax collections. In many cases, military forces were sent to various locations in Latin America to subdue rebellions, assist revolutions that favored the U.S. and protect projects that the U.S. had an economic stake in. Professor Noel Maurer explained, "The Panama Canal would not have been built without a U. S. sponsored revolution against Colombia, or payment for the construction and future use of the Canal." The "Roosevelt Corollary" influenced other countries at the time, but it was the face of American foreign policy and transformed it throughout the 20th century. Roosevelt's extension of the previously passive *Monroe Doctrine* changed how the United States interacted with the rest of the world. The U.S. had inherited the right to monitor the activities inside the Western Hemisphere, and undertaken the responsibility to enforce its will upon those countries.

**Selected Annotated
Bibliography
Primary Sources**

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Lectures, Speeches, and Public Statements

Monroe, James. "President Monroe's Seventh Annual Message to Congress." (1823): Rpt. *National Archives*. 02 December 1823. Print.

In his seventh annual message to Congress, President James Monroe asserted that "in the rights and interests of the United States are involved, American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers..." Although fathered by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, President Monroe is credited with the message that is now carries his name: the Monroe Doctrine. From reading the words that were the foundation of the Roosevelt Corollary, I learned how Roosevelt extended the right of American influence from passive to active with his expansion of the original doctrine of American foreign policy in the Western Hemisphere.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Inaugural Address." (1933): Rpt. *The American Presidency Project*. 04 March 1933. Print.

In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the needs of the nation, and of the world. In regards to "world policy," he stated that "this nation [be dedicated] to the policy of the good neighbor." Roosevelt felt that the U.S. should "respect himself, and... respect the rights of others." He refers to the neighbors of the Western Hemisphere, especially Latin American countries. By instating this policy, the U.S. would be instructed to "not merely take but must give as well."

Roosevelt, Theodore. "The Right of the People to Rule." (1912). *Library of Congress*. August 1912.

During a primitive time in audio recording, but a crucial one, it was now possible to capture the speaker's voice, passion and tone for generations to come. This address of Theodore Roosevelt, recorded by Thomas Edison, gave important information on responsibilities of nations and their citizens. His concern lies within the "fundamental issue of the nation," that all citizens should have the right to rule their own nations, and have the responsibility to assist those in need.

---. "Theodore Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress." (1904): Rpt. *National Archives*. 06 December 1904. Print.

"The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right cannot be divorced." President Roosevelt addressed the cases of "chronic wrongdoing[s]" of European nations, such as the blockage of Venezuela and the "intolerable conditions in Cuba." He asserted the Monroe Doctrine to "exercise an international police power," in order to "guard against outside foes." Analyzing President Roosevelt's message helped shed light on the context of the Roosevelt Corollary, and outlined his plan to assume responsibility over the protection of justice in the Americas.

Taft, William H. "William Howard Taft's First Annual Message." (1909): Rpt. *The American Presidency Project*. 07 December 1909. Print.

Commonly referred as Theodore Roosevelt's "hand-picked successor," President William Howard Taft was given the endorsement by the previous president in order to secure the policies that had been entrenched. In particular, Roosevelt's foreign policy toward Latin American, or the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, was supposed to be kept alive through President Taft.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Footage

Theodore Roosevelt's Return from Africa. Theodore Roosevelt. *Library of Congress*. 1910.

The visualization of Theodore Roosevelt while he was speaking was important to grasp. In a time where all history was documented in stagnant text and still portraits, this film provides different information and a view into life back in President Roosevelt's time. This archival footage was used as a visual in my digital frame to depict Roosevelt's actions and appearance, with his voice.

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Poems

Dario, Ruben. "To Roosevelt." Poem. 1905. Print.

This poem was written in 1905, after President Roosevelt delivered his message to Congress, to protest the right the corollary gave the U.S., Dario describes Roosevelt as "one part George Washington and one part Nimrod," in retaliation of the "future invader of our naïve America." The author feels that the U.S. does not have the right to intervene in Latin America. "Long live Spanish America!"

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Political Cartoons

Ehrhart, Samuel D. *Baby, Kiss Papa Good-bye*. 1909. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

After William Taft took office, it was thought that Theodore Roosevelt had left his policies in Taft's care. The cartoon depicts this by representing Roosevelt's policies as a baby, characterized by similar glasses and a "small stick." President Taft is portrayed as a maid, he is returning Roosevelt's "baby" because he is supposed to be watching over it.

Keppler, Udo J. *Defining the Doctrine*. 1902. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Venezuela, depicted as a young boy, is upset about the presence of a German battleship, and confides to Uncle Sam, representative of the United States. This primary cartoon refers to the Venezuela Debt Crisis of 1902, where Germany blockaded the country in order to force the repayment of debts owed to European bondholders. Here, Uncle Sam uses the Monroe Doctrine to protect the young country from the power of the older European menace.

---. *Jack and the Giant*. 1907. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Referring to the classic tale of "Jack and the giant," Roosevelt is depicted as the giant, wielding his "big stick." Jack is represented by the Constitution. This cartoon explains how Roosevelt used his "Big Stick Diplomacy" to maneuver around the guidelines of the Constitution, in order to get what he felt needed to get accomplished.

---. *The Monroe Doctrine – let Sam do it*. 1911. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Uncle Sam is used to represent the United States, as a soldier with a rifle, meaning the military power of the U.S. He is standing on a pile of money bags that the men below, who are indicative of European powers, are using as pillows to sleep. The bags are labeled "Financial Interests in South and Central America," to show that the United States should be left to handle the financial business between Europe and Latin America, in order to for peace to exist in the Western Hemisphere.

---. *The trap that failed*. 1903. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The man hiding behind the rock, Cipriano Castro, President of Venezuela in 1902, is using the trap labeled the Monroe Doctrine, in order to deter the European power represented by animals. The reason for the title of the cartoon is that the Monroe Doctrine, being 79 years old, was largely ignored throughout the 19th century.

Pughe, John S. *The Latest Thing in Nightmares*. 1906. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

President Roosevelt was known for doing what he felt was necessary for the good of the nation, in spite of the wishes of the Senate. In this cartoon, the famous glasses and big smile of Roosevelt are bodiless, as though they were a phantom. Seen only because of the light emitting from the lamp, the man representing the Senate is frightened at the sight of Roosevelt.

Selected Bibliography Primary Sources Letters

Roosevelt, Theodore. "Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Grover Cleveland." Letter to Grover Cleveland. 26 Dec. 1908. MS.

In this letter to former president Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt "congratulates [him] on the rounding out of [his] policy." President Roosevelt recalls the 1902 Venezuela case, where President Cleveland pushed the policies of the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt examines how Cleveland handled this situation, and is "pleased to see how closely [he followed Cleveland's example]..." with the Roosevelt Corollary. Roosevelt elaborates on how he "succeeded in accomplishing this time in connection with getting England and Germany explicitly to recognize the Monroe Doctrine.

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Newspaper Articles

"Accepts Roosevelt's Definition of the Monroe Doctrine." *Bellingham Herald*. 09 Feb. 1905. Print.

Shortly after President Roosevelt delivered his message to Congress in December of 1904, Great Britain withdrew its military forces from the Caribbean. The British government accepted "Roosevelt's definition of the Monroe Doctrine," and established that "if the United States is prepared to prevent any territory in the western hemisphere from falling into European hands...then the necessity of Great Britain's maintenance of ships and troops in the West Indian possessions censes." I learned the reactions of some European nations as a result of the Roosevelt Corollary, and the restrictions of rights that were previously available to them.

"Kaiser's Warships VS. the Monroe Doctrine." *Fort Worth Telegram*. 4 Feb. 1906. Print.

Germany, in 1906, was investing capital in Brazil to increase their "economic hold on the country." Activities ranged from establishing banks in Brazil, to railways and agriculture. At one point, "Brazil owed about one-third of her external national debt of \$200,000,000," to European investors. Statistics such as these led to the belief that "the Kaiser's guiding hand is using them as pawns in his great game to call check at last to the Monroe Doctrine." This primary source provided information about the activities that European nations were involved in Latin America, and what caused Theodore Roosevelt to enforce his corollary.

"Knocking The Monroe Doctrine." *Salt Lake Telegram* 12 Aug. 1905. Print.

"The President is determined that the doctrine shall be applied as he sees it..." Theodore Roosevelt, father of the Roosevelt Corollary, needed to clarify its intentions after its implication. "It was promised "to be the feature of the Pan American congress." This responsibility would fall upon Secretary Root to show "that the United States does not assume the role of a protector..." As a result of this meeting, it was proposed that "the states should enjoy absolute equality with one another."

"Monroe Doctrine Put to Test." *Bellingham Herald* 16 Feb. 1905. Print.

"It is largely a discussion of the rights and duties of the United States under the Monroe doctrine..." President Roosevelt said "the protocol affords a practical test of the efficiency of the United States government," and stated how the "conditions in San Domingo have been growing steadily worse and debts have been contracted beyond the power of the republic to pay." Under Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, "those who profit by this doctrine must accept certain responsibilities along with the rights it confers."

"Other Phase of Monroe Doctrine." *Lexington Herald*. 16 Feb. 1905. Print.

In this article, the President "discusses obligations of the U.S... for taking control of revenues [in Santo Domingo]." The message concerns "claims contracted by South and Central American republics..." It is also reported that "it is necessary for the United States..., in the interest of peace for this Government to take control of revenues in Santo Domingo." The newly acquired responsibility of the U.S. for Santo Domingo was broadcasted in this article.

"President's Message on San Domingo Protocol." *The Call*. 16 Feb. 1905. Print.

This source included the message President Roosevelt gave to the Senate concerning the management of the customs houses in Santo Domingo. The agreement contained "claims for the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, under which the United States are already collecting the revenues at certain ports..." There is also included the amount of debt "owed to European creditors, [which] is about \$22,000,000..." Roosevelt continues by responding that "those who profit by the Monroe Doctrine must accept responsibility along with the rights which it confers..."

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Magazine Articles

Roosevelt, Theodore. "South America and the Monroe Doctrine." *The Outlook* 14 Mar. 1914. Rpt. in *Sagamore Hill National Historic Site*. Print.

"The Monroe Doctrine is necessary to-day to the United States... it is necessary that [the Caribbean] be dominated, in order to guarantee the independence and security of the United States." The author of this article, Theodore Roosevelt, included an excerpt from the words of Señor Zabellos, a prominent public man of Argentina, to support the actions of the United States. Roosevelt looks at the crisis in Santo Domingo, the Venezuela debt crisis and the Panama Canal, and examines how "peace came as a result of our efforts..." This explanation by Theodore Roosevelt shows his reflection over the past years of intervention.

Selected Bibliography
Primary Sources
Editorials

Rippy, J. Fred. "Antecedents of the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine." Editorial. *Pacific Historical Review* 1 Jan. 1940. Print.

In 1905, President Roosevelt expressed how "It is out of the question to claim a right and yet shrink the responsibility for exercising that right..." He was describing how the U.S. officially obtained the right to "protect republics from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations," after years of "assumed responsibility for the conduct of certain Latin-American states toward Europeans," with the announcement of the Roosevelt Corollary.

Roosevelt, Theodore. "How the United States Acquired the Right to Dig the Panama Canal." *The Outlook*: October 7. Print.

Roosevelt examines the history behind the construction of the Panama Canal. He remembers "just how it was America won for itself and the world the right to do a world-job." Roosevelt continues to reference his duties as President, "that was most beneficial and most important to the people of this country, to whom I was responsible." He also recalls influential people that were critical to the development of the Canal, such as Dr. Gorgas, "who has turned one of the festering pest-holes of the world into what is almost a health resort." I was able to understand of the United States undertook the responsibility of caring for the country of Panama, through bring work to the area and elevating the health standards there.

---. "The Monroe Doctrine." *The Bachelor of Arts*: March, 1896. Print.

In this editorial, Theodore Roosevelt, before he was President, expressed his understanding of the Monroe Doctrine. He examines how the United States should handle the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. "Our government, of course, cannot, if it wishes to remain true to the traditions of the Monroe Doctrine, submit to the acquisition by England..." Roosevelt explains how the United States could not "acquiesce in the acquisition of new territory... by any European power." He uses an analogy to represent how a "useful member of a community is the man who first and foremost attends his own rights and his own duties," to nations of the world.

Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources

Books

Mahan, Alfred Thayer. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History: 1660 - 1783*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1890. Print.

Written at the time Theodore Roosevelt was beginning his political life, this book connected much of the major events in history to the current circumstances of the United States. He use the example from the second Punic War, where the "Roman sea power...threw Macedonia wholly out of the war," and limited Hannibal's ability to successful invade Italy because of the reduced capability to transport troops. From this, the "profound influence of sea commerce upon wealth and strengths of countries," was clearly seen. The message of this book enforced the need for the U.S. to have a world-class navy, and planted the seed for the need of a canal in the mind of young Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Autobiography of Theodore Roosevelt*. Blacksburg, VA: Wilder Publications, reprint 2008. Print.

"No nation can claim rights without acknowledging the duties that go with that right." In this chapter of his autobiography , "The Monroe Doctrine and the Panama Canal," Theodore Roosevelt recalls the "peculiar relations with the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico," and the "immense added interest in Central America and the Caribbean Sea," of the United States, after the Spanish American War. He continues to explain how the U.S. established schools, built roads, administered even-handed justice, and encouraged agriculture and industry," in the countries that "we are absolutely quit responsible for them, of every kind and description." In regards to the Panama Canal, he praises Colonel Goethals, head of the commission in charge of the construction of the Canal, and Dr. Gorgas, the man responsible for making "the Isthmus as safe as a health resort," in spite of the difficulty of having a "many-headed commission [that made] and extremely poor executive instrument."