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Title: Letters from James Buchanan to James Webb

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Sheelly Confidential. Sigaleon of the United States. Sondon 30 March 1855. My dear dir / I observe you are down repor the Estences Conferences Citie a hundred of brick. This I ded not expect after what has papers between us; but no In case of factures to purchase lubar - what ought to be our fulure course? On re-persusing the suggestions of the Conferences I find nothing which I should desire to changes. We could there only interfore by force, in a case of Seef preservations so clearly made out as to be consistent with our past history & manifestly justified by this great of un peralivo law. It is how we expressed a decided opinion, What in case Cubas should be Africanised L become a second

St. Donies go with all its allendant horrors to the White Race " ye ye we ought not there to hisitate. By this opinion, I shall we ought not there to hisitate. By this opinion, I shall be always stand. The publication of it, notwishslanding the

brliche un the Times, will do good & has done good in Europer. It has, at least, altraded public allewhon to the subject here especially among the Shanish Bond holders, I zon know how question. All this is, we regard to an American Subject. But I did not set down to write about this, but Concerning as more agreeable subject. I send you the Jost of yesterday morning, containing an imperfect account of the proceedings at the Seamons Hospital dinneryou will be surprised & gratified with the remarks of Lord Palmenton on that occasion respecting our Country. They were received by the Company with enchusiashe applaures, as were mine on response. There were no regular Reporters present, & actionsh the substance of my remarks was giver, yet 1/w form does not do one justice. I send There to your as prepared by myself I they contain the exact bruth. I have shought of you deemed it proper to publish the aemachs are account of the proceedings, you might publish there as Sent to you weshood instead of whom is contained in the Port. I dervie that my Countrymew Should know upaelly What I says. you would not of course refer to the source

from which they proceeded. In conversing with Lord Tulmenton in Wednesday evening last I found that he enterlained but a slight hope that the Vienna conferences would terminate in peace. He did not believe that the Emperor of Supra would accede to such lerme as would sufficiently restrain his power in the Black Sea; I without this its would be but a hollow truce I the allies would have to do We work over again. I med not say this is impolically confidential, though you can use the information, without any reference to names.

Mours very respectfully your very respectfully James Southauace General Sames Watson Weble. and the second section of the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section of the second section of the second section of the second section is the second section of the section of th The state of the s The second of th

Strictly Confidential

Legation of the United States London 30 March 1855 My dear Sir:

I observe you are down upon the Ostend Conference "like a hundred of brick". This I did not expect after what had passed between us; but no matter.

In case of failure to purchase Cuba, - what ought to be our future course? On re-perusing the suggestions of the Conference, I find nothing which I should desire to change. We could then only interfere by force, in a case of self preservation so clearly made out as to be consistent with our past history & manifestly justified by this great and imperative law. It is true that we expected a decided opinion, that in case Cuba should be "Africanized & become a second St. Domingo with all the attendant horrors to the White race" &c &c we ought not then to hesitate. By this opinion, I shall always stand. The publication of it, notwithstanding the

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article in the Times, will do good & has in my opinion already done good In Europe. It has, at least, attracted public attention to the subject here, especially among the Spanish Bond holders, & you know how difficult it is this is, in regard to an American subject question.

But I did not sit down to write about this, but concerning a more agreeable subject. I send you the Post of yesterday morning, containing an imperfect account of the proceedings at the Seamens Hospital dinner. You will be surprised and gratified with the remarks of Lord Palmerston on that occasion respecting our Country. They were received by the Company with enthusiastic applause, as were mine in response. There were no regular reporters present, & although the substance of my remarks was given, yet the form does not do me justice. I send them to you as prepared by myself & they contain the exact truth. I have thought if you deemed it proper to publish an account of the proceedings, you might publish them the remarks as sent to you without instead of what is contained in the Post. I desire that my Countrymen should know exactly what I did say. You would not of course refer to the source

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from which they proceeded.

In conversing with Lord Palmerston on Wednesday evening last I found that he entertained but a slight hope that the Vienna conferences would terminate in peace. He did not believe that the Emperor of Russia would accede to such terms as would sufficiently restrain his power in the Black Sea; & without this it would be but a hollow truce & the Allies would have to do the work over again. I need not say this is emphatically confidential, though you can use the information without any reference to names.

Yours very respectfully James Buchanan

Chivate Degalore of the United States, Sondon 1 June 1855. My dear General James Buchanan I have received your Kind note of the 15 willing, & most sincerely regret that you have suffered do much from gout. This is the penalty which you pay for having enjoyed the good thengs of this life. Besides, I believe it is your interitance, from a most worthy anceston. I begin to relisequish the hope of seeing you in London before I shall leave the Legation. This would indud be a source of pleasure to 1110. Allhough next in the slightest degree,

Offereded, by the remarks of the Course & Enquere on the Report of the Oslend, Conference, get I am gralified to learn that you were not the author of them. you quote my remarks of which of course I kept no coly. I think the report itself fully justifies this remarks. They read that part of to over again. I shale never cyplain to. There is not a line in it which is not Sandwones by my deliberate approbation. The bruth is that Bennell got up the phrase of Cepeon or Segure, & he was followed by many of the American & Engliste Sournals. But not so in Spains not ever in France. I have injunes from all sources whether any Spanist Journal had commented severely

lepon to; I my information is that thus has not been the case. It was translatet into Spanish & published & is the sulyest of conversaleon in Modul. It has done good by familiarising the Subjects in Shaw. A distinguished foreign Defilomalist from Madret new in Paris lolo a friend of mine, that he believed, if the affair were well managed L the people familiarured with advantages to them of the Sale of Cuba, the object mught be accomplished. But the sideet now sleeps & let its rest for the present. I know not what are the instructions to General Dudgo. - Had our recommendation bun adopted, we would have found proverful auxiliaries in the Spanish Bond holders; I I believe in the Spanish Clarge, There would there have been no nearly fa The Sale of secles insticul profterly.

After much apparent vacullation I coquely with the friends of peace, Lord Interestore & Lord John have now become highly belligerent. This is slille, unquestionably the Sentement of the British people. Itm Bull dervis to recover the prestige wheel he has lost, Lord P. had lost much of his popularily; but his puscut course L l'ho late succepes un the Cumen may do much to restore it. The weather has been so cold & so unpavorable in England as to cause Considerable fears concerning Their Wheat Crop. It is induct very backward. Toen a parteat facture of the out would be a terrible misfortune to this Country w-I must budy L sincerely hope, they may not experience. Touth sculincents of regard, I remain buly your friend General Webb Junes Suchanan

Private

Legation of the Unitod States London 1 June 1855

My dear General/

I have received your kind note of the 15th. ultimo, & most sincerely regret that you have suffered so much from gout. This is the penalty which you pay for having enjoyed the good things of this life. Besides, I believe it is your inheritance, from a most worthy ancestor. I begin to relinquish the hope of seeing you in London before I shall leave the Legation. This would indeed be a source of pleasure to me.

Although not in the slightest degree,

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offended by the remarks of the Courier & Enquirer on the Report of the Ostend Conference, yet I am gratified to learn that you were not the author of them. You quote my remarks of which of course I kept no copy. I think the report itself fully justified these remarks. Pray read that part of it over again. I shall never explain it. There is not a line in it which is not-sanctioned by my deliberate approbation. The truth is that Bennett got up the phrase of "Cession or Seizure", & he was followed by many of the American & English Journals. But not so in Spain, nor even in France. I have inquired from all sources whether any Spanish journal had commented severely

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upon it; & my information is that this has not been the case. It was translated into Spanish & published & is the subject of conversation in Madrid. It has done good by familiarizing the Subject in Spain. A distinguished foreign Diplomatist from Madrid now in Paris told a friend of mine a few days ago, that he believed, if the affair were well managed & the people familiarized with the advantages to them of the sale of Cuba, the object might be accomplished. But the subject now sleeps & let it rest for the present. I know not what are the instructions to General Dodge. Had our recommendations been adopted, we would have found powerful auxiliaries in the Spanish Bond holders; & I believe in the Spanish Cergy. There would then have been no necessity for the sale of ecclesiastical property.

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After much apparent vacillation & coquetry with the friends of peace, Lord Palmerston & Lord John have now become highly belligerent. This is still, unquestionably the sentiment of the British people. John Ball desires to recover the prestige which he hes lost. Lord P. had lost much of his popularity; but his present course & the late successes in the Crimea may do much to restore it.

The weather has been so cold & so unfavorable in England as to cause considerable fears concerning their wheat crop. It is indeed very backward. Even a partial failure of the crop would

be a terrible misfortune to this country wc. I must truly & sincerely hope they may not experience.

With sentiment of regard, I remain

truly your friend James Buchanan

General Webb

London Nov. 2 M855 Sevale

James Buchanam.

Legations of the United States

London 2 November 55 ely door General j once more appeal to your personal kindness which has neva facted mo. you will see by the Leading article in the Times of yesterday moining what exhavagant expressions are allribuled to me which, as you were here at the line, you will believe to be unfounded. I sent to the Times on quot temperate contradiction I stated that gesterday a contradiction I stated that they had been "mesenformed". This has not appeared this morning; from the character of the Paper, it is quite probable, the apertions were be rectualed tomorrows moining, though infamously false. Mean to lake care of me in this matter.

The sending of the fleet I the Leader in
the Times of Thursday the 25. Betober
have raised a terrible storm we this
Country. The fleet is sent in order to
prevent Russian Providers from leaving
the Sort of New York! There is the
principal reason gives.

The storno were exercise, I thank, on goods. The people of this country, especially the manufacturing of mercantile classes, have become exceled & alarmed. A few days ugo there was a dead calme da lolas ignorance concerning American affairs. Evory body is now injuning into the defforent questions between the live Countries. The article in the Times fele among the people Che a shohe of lightoning from a cloudlep of ky.

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Every body asked his neighbour, what does this mean? So far as I can learn, The lendence of hubbie openess is strongly appearantly menacing against these rechlep ady of Lord Palmerston. The are ably defended no the Inels I the lower the war. I the lower to the bottom hostilety of the Jimes, is denounced. Well might "leanchester, Sheffield, deverpool de de be alarmed at the apprehension of war. I do not believe there is cause for screous alarm; but get the two Governments, as you know, are at points on the Central american questions. you may state as a statestical facts derived from Official Documents, that the Exprorts from Great Britain to the United States during the last financial year were of the value of 221.410.369 Sterling, more than one that of the value of all foreign their explans to all foreign Countries Lolonies. This sum was considerably greater the freceding year.

It is out of all character to drag a foreign mines to into the Columns of the Simes which is the unformaples Grant of the Shifs.

I had expected one this to be in my native lands & then that I anight so home in the Allantie which well leaves on the 19th Instant; but the I probables will must which has been raised mass delain me hores until my sucception shall arive. I have not the beart intemption as to who he shall be. I am very anxious to set away, although stelle treated with much kindmets.

Touk my kindist regards, I arman always smenty your friends. —— James Stuckanan General Webby

Private

Legation of the United States London 2 November 55

My dear General/

I once more appeal to your personal kindness which has never failed me. You will see by the leading article in the Times of yesterday morning what extravagant expressions are attributed to me which, as you were here at the time, you will believe to be unfounded. I sent to the Times of yesterday a most temperate eontrad contradiction & stated that they had been "misinformed". This has not appeared this morning; & from the character of the Paper, it is quite probable, the assertions will be reiterated tomorrow morning, though infamously false. Please to take care of me in this matter.

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The sending of the fleet and the Leader in the Times of Thursday the 25th. October have raised a terrible storm in this country. The fleet is sent in order to prevent Russian Privateers from leaving the port of New York! This is the principal reason given.

The storm will eventuate, I think, in good. The people of this Country, especially the manufacturing & mercantile classes, have become excited and alarmed. A few days ago there was a dead calm and a total ignorance concerning American affairs. Everybody is now inquiring into the different questions between the two Countries. The article in the Times fell among the people like a stroke of lightening from a cloudless sky.

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Every body asked his neighbor, what does this mean? So far as I can learn, the tendency of public opinion is strongly against these this reckless & apparently menacing act of Lord. Palmerston. We are ably defended in the Press & the bitter hostility of the Times towards the U. S. is denounced. Well might Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool etc, be alarmed at the apprehension of war. I do not believe there is cause for serious alarm; but yet the two Governments, as you know, are at points on the Central American questions. You may state as a statistical fact derived from official Documents, that the Exports from Great Britain to the United States during the last financial year were of the value of £21.410.369 sterling, more than one third of the value of all their exports to all foreign countries & foreign colonies. This sum amount was considerably greater than the preceding year.

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It is out of all character to drag a foreign minister into the Columns of the Times which is the unprincipled grant of the Press.

I had expected ere this to be in my native land & then that I might go home in the Atlantic which will leave on the 17h. Instant; but the "muss" which has been raised may, and probably

will detain me here unless my successor shall arrive. I have not the least intimation will as to who he shall will be. I am very anxious to get away, although still treated with much kindness. With my kindest regards, I remain always sincerely your friend.

James Buchanan

General Webb.

Good Invate.

Legation of The United States. London 7 December. 1855. My dear Sir j Many, very mang Manho to your for your able & judi = cour articles delling one right on regards to the misrepresentations of the Junes. For your conduct lowards me sence I have been in England gow have placed me under obligations which I Shall be ever proced to achnowledge: I lold allorum he had beller address you a letter giving you the carbiest information concerning peace which, I think; wile be one long con -cluded. The London Trip is strangely befogsed upon this subject. There is more foundation for the statements of

lunseef or the world knows.

the has insorted town as things about myself which I did not intend, I it is now too late for him to correct them. Inay strike them also out; as I fear you may compromed yourself with your own hard by the friendship, I am happy to say, you have evenced loward myself.

I was, at one limes in high hopes we might hereafter act logether holitically. It is not in your nature, to be a free soiler or a Know Nothing, I you have ever ably sustained the Constitution of the Union. Where else can you eventually go that to the National Generally go that to the

Independent Natural Whise have already gone? And they have done Un without the slightest sucrefice of consistency or principle. For one, I should receive you with ofun arms. The regards to the future I now feel as independent as a wood sawyer, having effectually baneshed the heridonlas maggot from both my head & heart. I have received your advice through Meli Lane. I shall not disputo its wisdom & there is no doubt of its friendship. I might follow it, if I felt the least desire to be Ireridant. In bruth I know not when I shale return. It is certain abandon my port without any person to leave behind me, except

ell. elloraro. with sindimines of sincere regard, I remain always your friends. Junes Buchanin. General Sames Watson Webb. in the second of the second second second dunger for held for hand have stay come of plan me and all the street was all residence in the to proceed to the following Description of the I runs Brehaucan Louden Sec. 7" 183.3

Private

Legation of the United States. London 7 December 1855.

My dear Sir/

Many, very many thanks to you for your able & judicious article setting me right in regard to the misrepresentations of the Times. For your conduct towards me since I have been in England you have placed me under obligations which I shall be ever proced to acknowledge.

I told Moran he had better address you a letter giving you the earliest information concerning peace which, I think, will be 'ere long concluded. The London Press is stragely befogged upon this subject. There is more foundation for the statements of

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Moran on this subject himself than he himself or the world knows.

He has inserted several things about myself which I did not intend, & it is now too late for him to correct them. Pray strike them all out; as I fear you may compromit yourself with your own party by the friendship, I am happy to say, you have evinced towards myself.

I was, at one time, in high hopes we might hereafter act together politically. It is not in your nature, to be a free soiler or a Know Nothing, & you have ever ably sustained the Constitution & the Union. Where else can you eventually go than but to the National Democracy, where so many

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independent National Whigs have already gone? And they have done this without the slightest sacrifice of consistency or principle. For one, I should receive you with open arms.

In regard to the future I now feel as independent as a wood sawyer, having effectually banished the Presidential maggot from both my head & heart. I have received your advice through Miss Lane. I shall not dispute its wisdom & there is no doubt of its friendship. I might follow it if I felt the least desire to be President. In truth I know not when I shall return. It is certain that I cannot leave abandon my post, without any person to leave behind me, except

[Page Break]

Mr. Moran.

With sentiments of sincere regard, I remain always your friend.

James Buchanan

General James Watson Webb