The Missing Diaries of George Mifflin Dallas

As Minister to Russia and to the Court of St. James, the Honorable George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania kept extensive diaries. These were published, presumably in full, by his daughter Miss Susan Dallas, but for years no trace of the originals could be found.¹ Recently the manuscript volumes of most of these diaries were acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Library, and examination shows that only about sixty per cent of the diaries are contained in the printed edition.

Mr. Dallas was appointed to the English post in January, 1856, and departed forthwith to London. There he entered upon an important negotiation which resulted in the signing of the Dallas-Clarendon convention in October. He kept careful notes of the progress of his task, but for some reason the diaries published by his daughter do not include this material. His account of the convention negotiations is here published for the first time.

Dallas entered upon his English assignment at a moment when Anglo-American relations were particularly complex. In the first place, the United States and Great Britain were rivals in Central America for control of transportation routes across the isthmus. Secondly, in the course of the Crimean War, the British Minister Crampton and three British consuls were charged with violating American laws by endeavoring to enlist recruits in the United States to resist Russian imperialism which was seeking to secure Constantinople and a warm-water port in the western Mediterranean. At the close of the war in 1856, England was endeavoring by the Treaty of Paris to secure a general agreement to outlaw privateering, a type of warfare long since obsolete with the United States government, but one which it favored theoretically as a counterbalance to the

great navies of world powers. When Dallas arrived in London the
British Foreign Minister, the Earl of Clarendon, was at the peace
conference in Paris.

Dallas was primarily concerned with securing a settlement of
Central American questions. The dispute was one of long standing;
it had become particularly acute because of conditions in Nicaragua,
where an American, William Walker, was conducting a filibustering
expedition which was endangering the interests of Cornelius Vander-
bilt, an American transportation promoter.

Great Britain had established interests in what was known as
British Honduras as far back as the seventeenth century. These
interests had expanded to such an extent that she not only controlled
this colony, but had established a protectorate over the Mosquito
Indian tribe in Nicaragua, a protectorate which included the “free
city” of Greytown at the mouth of the San Juan River. Furthermore,
British citizens were well settled on the group of Bay Islands in the
Gulf of Honduras.

The United States first began to feel real concern over this location
of British strength when California was acquired at the close of the
Mexican War. The discovery of gold in the new possession shortly
thereafter made it more than ever necessary to secure control of
routes across the Central American isthmus which would provide as
speedy communication with California as possible. American inter-
ests began to work on four possible routes—across Panama, Nica-
ragua, Honduras, and the isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico. Amer-
ican entrepreneurs found that English interests were their rivals and
that the location of British colonies and protectorates was strategic.
The possibility of “unfriendly” incidents stirred the government of
the United States to seek an understanding with Great Britain, and
in 1850 the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was signed. Under this Treaty
the two parties agreed to develop transit in partnership and to
extend their ownership of colonies no farther than the boundaries
existing in 1850.

Unfortunately this Treaty did not calm the passions of the two
countries. The United States interpreted certain administrative
moves of the British government after 1850, particularly in regard to
the Bay Islands, the Mosquito coast, and British Honduras, to be
attempts to take in more territory. President Pierce and William L.
Marcy, his Secretary of State, were therefore endeavoring to persuade Great Britain to relinquish, or at least limit, her territorial control in Central America. Dallas' predecessor, James Buchanan, had argued the case ably, but Great Britain would make no concession save to suggest that the confused meaning of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty might be arbitrated.

This was the state of negotiations when Dallas arrived in London. Circumstances at the moment favored the United States, for Great Britain was exhausted by war and in a mood for concession. The progress and the ultimate mixture of success and failure of his efforts are related largely in Dallas' own words in the following pages. A hitherto unpublished portion of his diary is reproduced, and certain letters from the Dallas manuscripts in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania have been interspersed to make the story more complete.\(^2\)

These items show how the convention was drawn up and the difficulties which it encountered in the United States Senate. That body finally ratified it in March, 1857, but amended it in a fashion unacceptable to Clarendon. The latter suggested the phraseology which his government would accept, but this in its turn was unacceptable to President Buchanan. As a result, the document was pigeonholed. In the course of the Buchanan administration, however, the British voluntarily made most of the concessions demanded in Central America without further treaty negotiations with the United States, and on the eve of the Civil War Buchanan declared himself satisfied. Dallas could thus feel that despite the failure of his formal convention, his diplomacy had been in large part successful.\(^3\)

The discovery of these Dallas diaries partially solves the mystery of the Dallas manuscripts, but some interesting questions still re-

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\(^2\) The diary of George Mifflin Dallas, Jan. 25, 1856 to Oct. 17, 1856, is published with the generous permission of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. I have enjoyed the valuable editorial co-operation of Miss Lois V. Given in the preparation of the diary for publication.

main. The volumes of the manuscript diaries just brought to light end at August 1, 1860, but the published volume contains entries to May 1, 1861. Somewhere, evidently, there is another diary. But of perhaps even more interest to historians is the location of the Dallas letter books. Where are they?

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

Mission to London

Washington Jan'y 24. 1856
7 P. M.

My dear Sir,

The President has just gone from our house—He came to say to me, that he really wanted your services to take Mr. Buchanan's place in England, and he asks whether he could have any hope that you could be induced to take it?—I told him in substance, that I could not say—that I knew you were sorely engaged in your profession, & feared the place would have no attraction for you—But at least I was sure, that you would take the offer in the spirit in which it was made—He says he will write to you tonight, and I do so too, to advise you what is coming—Accept it if you can—or if not, believe as I do, that he really believes the country requires that he should avail himself of your services if to be had

Your's most truly
J. M. Mason

25 January 1856. Letter from Senator Mason warning me of the Presidents design to offer, and urging me to accept.

26 January. President's letter. I acknowledge it's receipt, but cannot decide for 3 or 4 days.

Senate Chamber
3 P. M. 28 Jan'y '56

I have great pleasure in sending you the enclosed note just received from the President—I hope in his note to you of same date, to which he refers,

4 James M. Mason, Senator from Virginia. This letter was endorsed: "Rec'd on the afternoon of friday the 25 Jan'y 56." Dallas Papers, Box 5.

5 The newly discovered diary begins with this entry. For editorial consistency, Dallas' method of dating his diary entries has been standardized. The use of ditto marks, the repetition of the year, and abbreviations have been omitted, and all dates have been italicized.

6 This letter of Franklin Pierce to Hon. Jas. M. Mason, Jan. 28 (no year), is listed in Stan V. Henkel's sale catalogue No. 1401, Item 240.
he places the matter on a footing that will be acceptable both to you & my friend Phil. if he would like to go—
I know not what has brought him to reconsider—

Yrs
J. M. Mason

This is a supplement to what I wrote you of my interview with him this morning.

Mr. Dallas

29 January. Acceptance.
31 January. Nomination to Senate Mr. J. M. Clayton objects to immediate action & Senate adjourn over to Monday.
3 February. Nomination unanimously confirmed.
4 February. Went to Washington to learn the past of the Legation.
12 February. Returned home.
Ill for a week.

My Dear Markoe,
We are so far advanced in our preparations that I am in hopes we shall feel in order by the time the day of embarkation arrives. It is a lamentably heavy job, and has made me sick already more than once.

Our friend Mr. J. R. Ingersoll was kind enough to call yesterday, and stayed, in full blast of conversation about the modes of life and management in London, for a whole hour.

I should like to have as early as possible the following matters, and would feel greatly indebted to you if you can send them to me or cause them to be sent.

1. Perkins diplomatic act of last session.
2. The printed pamphlet recently published of the correspondence between the Secretary, Buchanan, and Clarendon.
3. The map preparing by Mr. Wm Palmer.
4. Any spare copy to be had in the Department of the Laws of the last session of Congress:—and of a Blue Book.
5. My muniments of title as Envoy—Commission, instructions, &c. &c.

7 Philip Nicklin Dallas, who acted as his father's secretary in London.
8 Dallas Papers, Box 5.
9 John M. Clayton, who as Secretary of State in 1850 negotiated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.
10 Francis Markoe.
11 Joseph R. Ingersoll, U. S. Minister to Great Britain, 1852–1853.
12 John Perkins, Jr., member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, who in 1855 had proposed with Ambrose D. Mann a bill reorganizing the diplomatic service.
13 William L. Marcy.
14 George William Frederick Villiers, 4th Earl of Clarendon and 4th Baron Hyde, British Foreign Minister, 1853–1858.
Some of these I had:—but, in my absence with you, Mrs. D. cleared my shelves, boxed up, and stored away in a safe inaccessible loft of Mr. Dixon’s, somewhere in front above Arch, all my loose pamphlets and all my library. Ladies are merciless accelerators of locomotion.

I implore Mr. Marcy not to summon me back to Washington, unless he is disposed to delay my departure beyond the 1st of March.

No Pacific—no Canada—no Atlantic—and furious northwesterners still blowing!

Hope the original letter of credit reached Mr. Stubbs in safety. Was it delayed? and if so, why?

Expect a letter from you in the morning.

Affectionate regards to all
always yours,
F. Markoe Esq.

24 February. Argued my last cause in Sup. Court of Penn—Fransen’s appeal.

My Dear Markoe,

No documents yet! And but one more day before Thursday morning. If I don’t get off Saturday by the Atlantic, I shall lose just another $1000, if not more.

I send a bill of Lading. Make my respectful homage to Mrs. Davis & Mrs. Markoe, with my face in your hand.

ever yours,
G. M. Dallas
26. Feb. ’56

28 February. Went to New York to Col. J. B. Murray’s.

29 February. Dinner and soirée at Murray’s. Meet Mr. Everett, Mr. Bancroft, Genl. Scott, Mr. R. J. Walker, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Redfield, &c.

F. Markoe Esq.

15 Fitz-Eugene Dixon, husband of Dallas’ daughter Catherine (Cass).
16 This letter and those from Dallas to Markoe dated Feb. 26 and Aug. 29, 1856, are published with the kind permission of Fitz-Eugene Dixon, Jr. Photostats of these letters are in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).
17 Edward Everett, Senator from Massachusetts.
18 George Bancroft.
19 Winfield Scott.
20 Robert J. Walker, Dallas’ nephew.
21 Possibly Augustus E. Maxwell, jurist and Congressman from Florida.
22 Heman J. Redfield, Collector of the Port of New York.
March. Embarked in Steamship Atlantic, Capt. Oliver Eldridge, and left the harbour at 12 M.

13 March. Disembarked at Liverpool, at 6 p.m.

15 March. Arrived in London at 4½ p. m. having started at Liverpool in the Railway Carriages at 9.10 m. Put up at The Brunswick Hotel, Hanover Square.

17 March. Mr. Buchanan, at No 56 Harley St hands over the Legation to me.

Address Lord Clarendon for an audience. Answer from Lord Palmerston—receive me tomorrow.

18 March. Despatch No 1. to Mr. Marcy

Interview with Palmerston at his house in Picadilly. Dined with Palmerston at 8 p.m.—3 ladies, 3 gents, & myself.

19 March. . . . House hunting actively.

20 March. Renewed house-hunting. Signed lease for No 24 Portland Place at £525 per annum, for one year, payable quarterly, and possession to be taken on 24th instant:—inventories of furniture to be interchanged. . . . A visit from Mr. Wm Brown, on Squier's project respecting Central American controversy, at 8 p. m.

Not well yesterday—better today—bilious & cold.

21 March. . . . Rode out, and walked about Regents Park. Invitation from Mr. Brown to dinner on 12: April next, at Fenton's at 7 o'clock.

22 March. Purchased silver and Tea plate, &c.

Dined with Mr. Th. Baring, 41 Upper Grosvenor S. . . . Fine gallery of pictures—and one of best cooks in London.

23 March. Paid hotel bill for the week ending last night £43:1:0.

Wrote an unofficial letter to L Palmerston, suggesting to him the giving his aid and cooperation in obtaining one of H. Majesty's steamers to be sent in search of the Pacific.

A letter to Mr. F. Campbell enclosing a complaint from one Leach dated Ramsgate 13. inst. of the Consul's treatment of the crew of the Pioner [sic]—requesting an enquiry as to the facts. Mr.

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23 Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston, Prime Minister to Queen Victoria.
24 William Brown, M. P. from Liverpool, and Ephraim G. Squier, U. S. chargé d'affaires in Central America, were both interested in promoting a transisthmian railroad across Honduras.
52 Frank Campbell, son of Robert Blair Campbell, U. S. Consul in London.
F. C. is his father's representative at Ramsgate and acts by deputy: so says Mr. Moran. A letter from the Secretary to Thomas Woods, Williamson County, Illinois, declining to act as his agent to hunt up his title to land, and advising him what to do. . . .

24 March. . . Had my photograph taken at request of Maynall [Mayall].

Rec'd a letter from the Earl of Ellesmere, with an order for the admission of my whole family to his gallery.

A letter from Lord Palmerston, acknowledging mine of yesterday, and saying that her Majesty's steamers, the Tartar and the Desperate, had been ordered to cruise for the Pacific.

A letter from Mr. Wm Brown, with another fuller & more explanatory note to him from Mr. Squier, respecting Central America. . . .

Lady Palmerston and her sister visited Mrs. D. . . .

25 March. Left the Brunswick Hotel at 1½ o'clock, and became a housekeeper in London at 24 Portland Place. I was at the Hotel from Saturday the 15th of March in the evening, to Tuesday the 25th in midday, making a period of 11 days according to hotel reckoning. Seven of us breakfasted, lunched, dined, and had tea nearly every day:—and my bill, not much swollen by wines or extras of any sort, amounted to £59.6.4—say $300. . . .

26 March. Began moving the Legation to my residence, appropriating to it the two large rooms on the basement floor. Visited Mr. Wm Brown, Sir Alexander Spearman, Mr. Thomas Baring.

Rec'd a kind welcoming letter from Sir R. C. Dallas, with an engraved portrait of his uncle the late Ch. Justice Dallas and a small volume of "Poetical trifles." Acknowledged it cordially.

27 March. Visited Sir Henry Holland, and Mr. Mowbray Morris, said to be one of the editors of the Times.

Bought a study lamp: finding it necessary to work at night, and candles not yielding sufficient light.

Had Majors Delafield and Mordecai & Capt. McLellan to dinner. Went to Princess Theatre & witnessed Henry VIII and the Victor Vanquished:—capital both. . . .

26 Benjamin Moran, secretary of the U. S. legation in London.
27 Sir Robert Dallas.
28 Richard Delafield, Alfred Mordecai, and George B. McClellan had been sent as a commission to Europe by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis to report on the developments in warfare which the Crimean War had demonstrated.
28 March. ... A photograph taken by Mayall for the illustrated Times.

A long visit by Sir Henry L. Bulwer, who introduced the Treaty and seemed disposed towards discussion. He urged that the protectorate was a point of honor:—if so, said I, a very attenuated point:—he admitted that, but reminded me that the language of the Treaty expressly recognized the right to protect, tho’ it excluded fortification, occupation, colonizing, or assuming or exercising any dominion:—I remarked that his view made the protectorate a very shadowy thing, and begged him to tell me how he would protect?—to this he made no answer, or rather suddenly said, he did not propose to argue the matter, as argument always led to difficulty. In the course of the conversation he said that as to the Bay Islands, the real enquiry was whether they ever were dependencies of the Belize, and so came under the correspondence of himself and Clayton when the Treaty had been ratified by Senate:—and certainly, our having colonized them since is rather against the idea that they were such dependencies. As to the extension of the territory at Belize, he conceived that that might be a question between the states encroached upon and England, but was not a matter for the United States to complain of:—except, said I, that it is the very thing denounced by the Treaty, and a more dangerous attack upon our “Monroe doctrine” than the protectorate. He repeatedly remarked that he was not connected with the Government, and that our talk was as “between two gentlemen.” He commented upon Mr. Clayton’s Speech, from which, he said, he differed very little. He expressed a rather unfavorable opinion of Clayton, said he was too much the mere lawyer, and thought him of the class as Mr. Buchanan. He spoke of the Crampton difficulty, and wished to have my personal opinion whether Mr. Crampton had really involved himself.20 I told him that I had watched the progress of the trial in Philadelphia, the strong prepossessions in Crampton’s favor: I had known him well for many years, and hoped that he had avoided implicating himself:—but the evi-

20 Sir John F. Crampton, the British Minister to the United States, together with three British consuls, had been implicated by affidavits in the trial of certain alleged British agents on charges of attempting to secure American enlistments for the Crimean War. The United States requested Crampton’s recall, and when it was refused, dismissed him and the consuls. It was anticipated that Dallas might, in turn, be sent home by the British, an action which they failed to take.
dence was such as could not fairly be disregarded—notes in Mr. Crampton's own handwriting—and my mind, with reluctance, had been forced to the conclusion, that Mr. Crampton had unguardedly gone too far in his zeal to serve his country by beating up recruits for the Foreign Legion. Sir Henry remarked that it was strange, as Crampton was a cool and cautious man—but he seemed to be himself rather disposed to believe that he had gone wrong.

29 March. Visited by . . . Mr. W. Brown. . . . Note from Lord Palmerston that he will be glad to receive me at his house on Monday at 12. . . .


30 March. Walked for exercise and in search of the three Am. officers, Delafield &c. they put up at Thomas' Hotel, Jermyn St but were out. Left a card inviting them to tea. They came. . . .

31 March. Interview with Lord Palmerston at 12:—he is to send the necessary authorization to Mess. Delafield &c. to visit the military establishments and schools. He granted them readily & handsomely. He is also to send Sir. Edward Cust to see me on some near day between 11. & 12. . . .

Wrote a communication to Ld Palmerston, enumerating the places which the officers wanted to visit.

Parliament re-assembled today. . . .

1 April. Notice from Foreign Office that her Majesty grants me an Audience to deliver my credentials on Friday next the 4. April. . . .

Visited the two Houses of Parliament, expecting to hear Ld Clarendon, but he continues in Paris. . . .

An invitation from Lord Mayor but I had already sent acceptance of invitation to the Star Club for same day, namely 16th instant.

2 April. Letter from Sir Edward Cust: followed soon by his Ass't Col. Bagot, son of the former Minister in U. States. Full explanation as to Court etiquette. . . .

Scared at Cook's account of housekeeping expenses for five days £26.10.6! . . .

30 Sir David Salomons.

31 Charles Bagot, son of Sir Charles Bagot, was assistant master of the ceremonies to the Queen.
4 April. Delivered my credentials to the Queen at Buckingham Palace at 3 p.m. presented by Lord Palmerston: . . . Presented at same time to Prince Albert, who stood by the Queen.

Her majesty made a very favorable impression upon me. Altho' not handsome, her expression of face and her manner are quite attractive. She was dressed very simply, without head-gear of any sort, and very little ornament any where. The Prince was in full scarlet, and presented a tall fine figure. Ld Palmerston introduced me. The ceremony itself did not occupy five minutes, tho' I was at the palace for an hour and a half. . . .

5 April. Addressed a communication to Lord Clarendon, requesting to know whether the Aves Islands, had not been visited in 1854 by a British man of war, what his report to Admiralty was as to amount of guano, and whether I could get a copy—all this for the benefit of Mr. Sandford,32 and at the request of Mr. Davis.

Received from Mr. Hammond,33 of the Foreign Office, a private note enquiring as to whether I ought to be described in the "Gazette," on the occasion of publishing my presentation to her Majesty as "the Honorable" or as "Esq"! . . .

Attended the "At Home" of Lady Palmerston, at 11 o'clock, with Mrs. D. and Miss N.34 Met shoals of old foreign acquaintances and found myself sought with "empressement" by crowds: . . .

Major Mordecai spent the evening with us.

7 April. Rec'd early from the Lord Steward a card inviting me at her Majesty's command, to dine at Buckingham Palace at 8 today. . . . Went to the Palace. A party of some 25 or 30 ladies & gentlemen.

I was requested to hand in to dinner the Princess Royal, and was quite pleased with the duty, as she is the very counterpart of my friend R. J. Walker's daughter Mary. I was seated on the left of the Queen, and had Lady Macdonald on my left. Opposite the Queen was Prince Albert, and on his right the Duchess of Kent. I could detect no official functionary as of the party: all were of the Queen's household, or merely of the Court. . . . After dining, the Queen, in

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32 Henry S. Sanford, secretary of the Paris legation, 1849–1854, who was at this time counsel for a group of interests seeking to develop guano deposits in the Aves Islands.

33 Edmund Hammond, British Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs.

34 Susan Nicklin.
the Picture Gallery, went round the circle, and subsequently the ladies took seats round a table:—then music:—conversation:—royalty retired:—and a group of us sauntered through the palace to look out the new Ball room and the new supper room. Got home at 12.

8 April. . . . Dined at Star & Garter Hotel, in Richmond, at invitation of Mr. Peabody: 24 ladies & gentlemen at table: Mrs. D gave "Our Country": and I gave "The Independent American Merchant, at home or abroad."

Mr. W. Brown and his wife, Capt. M'Kennan and his wife, Mr. Bixby, Mr. Fay, Major Mordecai, Mr. Davis, Mr. Lambson, Mr. P. Peabody, Mr. Morgan, Mr. & Mrs. Barlow &c. were of the party.

We got home at half past 11. o'clock. . . .

London 8. April 1856

My Dear Sir,

Your letters are great consolations to us all in exile. I beseech you not to be parsimonious in writing them.

I am kept, with one thing or another, harder at work than when in 259 Walnut St. But I believe it is only the first flood. Arriving here at the opening of what H. Majesty told me at dinner yesterday was the great season, our distractions of every sort have necessarily been numerous. The Herculean labors are the dinners and the visits: that is to say, the dinners abroad and the visits at home. We must work our way through as well as we can: and the spirits of the party have not yet flagged. The necessity of financial vigilance in house-keeping and paraphernalia occasionally intrudes its ungraceful phiz upon our dreams. We are, Legation and all, at N° 24 Portland Place, nearly opposite to the former residence of Mr. Ingersoll.

I met Col. Mann at dinner on Sunday last at Mr. Croskey's. Also Genl. Campbell and Capt. Benham. Mann had a slight illness for four or five days, but has entirely recovered. He says he is very busy with his pen, for home consumption.

The parliamentary war upon American questions will begin very soon. It will be yoked by the opposition with what they regard as the disgraceful

35 George Peabody, Massachusetts-born London banker.
36 Theodore S. Fay, U. S. Minister to Switzerland.
37 Possibly Sir Curtis M. Lampson, Vermont-born London merchant.
38 Samuel L. M. Barlow.
39 Ambrose Dudley Mann, Assistant Secretary of State, 1853–1856.
40 Joseph R. Croskey, U. S. Consul at Southampton.
41 Robert Blair Campbell.
treaty of Peace:—and this team they hope may prove strong enough to drive out the present Ministry. I trust we shall not shrink a hair's breadth from the ground we have taken. My policy personally has been to seize the occasion of the existing temporary suspension of discussion, to let my *suaviter in modo* be generally known, in order to lay the best sort of foundation for the inevitable and resolved *fortiter in re*. I have gone every where, received and sought every body, and am already as well known in London as I probably shall be in a year. Thus far, the current has run very smoothly: —and I think, if I am ultimately found to be inflexible on paper, they will be prepared to give weight to what I may say.

A corporal's guard, says one of Baltimore friends, well drilled, at Cincin-
nati, will secure the result. Gen¹ Pierce and Judge Douglas, through their respective partizans, have the game pretty much in their power:—and my impressions are now, as they were six months ago, that Hunter will turn up. N. M.⁵ returns in the Steamer, the Arago, which carries this letter. He affects indifference, vows that no human being, not even Slidell, knows whether he will accept the nomination which he has tried every means to avoid: and yet, I think, he betrays extreme anxiety mingled with extreme confidence.

I can't spare a moment more, except to send my love to all your family and to my Sister Bache⁴⁷ & her's.

Always truly yrs
G. M. Dallas

F. Markoe Esq.

10 April. Queen's Drawing-Room, at which were presented Mrs. D., Julia, Sophia, and Philip, and Miss Nicklin. Capt. Benham accompanied us. I became acquainted with an endless variety of persons. . . . The ceremony was rather tedious, tho' as a novelty to us interesting and shewy. It lasted from 1 to 3½ p. m.

Susan, with a ticket sent by the Lord Chamberlain, got into the Corridor, but was dissatisfied with an imperfect view.

Went to the House of Commons at 6 o'clock. Subject, parochial rates for public schools, as proposed by Lord John Russell. Heard Mr. Henley, Lord Stanley, Monckton Milnes, and Mr. Warren.

⁴³ Franklin Pierce.
⁴⁴ Stephen A. Douglas.
⁴⁵ James Buchanan.
⁴⁶ John Slidell.
⁴⁷ Sophia Dallas Bache (Mrs. Richard Bache).
⁴⁸ Dallas Papers, Box 5.
⁴⁹ Joseph Warner Henley, M. P. from Oxford County.
⁵⁰ Edward Henry Stanley, 15th Earl of Derby, M. P. from King's Lynn.
⁵¹ Samuel Warren, M. P. from Midhurst.
(ten thousand a year) on his first speech. Sir James Graham rose as I came out. . . .

11 April. . . . Visited H. R. Highness the Duke of Cambridge and the Duchess:—also the Duchesses of Kent and Gloucester. At these royal residences the servant brings a book to your carriage, and you merely inscribe your name. Pleasant and sociable that!

12 April . . . At 11. at night, went to Lady Palmerston's at home. Very crowded. Met the Speaker of the House, and had a pleasant chat with him, about the modes of proceeding, and his skill in preserving order. He is no speaker, but an amazingly efficient presiding officer. Met also Lord Ch. Justice Campbell whom I could scarcely recognize without his wig and gown.

13 April . . . Visits and visitors, among the latter, Sir Emerson Tennant, and Mr. Davidson M. P. Sir Emerson had a political secret to confide, as to what it was intended by the Opposition to do with Mr. Baillie’s motion in the House against the conduct of the Ministry in the Foreign Enlistments. It would be postponed at the request of the Peelites, who then pledged themselves to vote for it. . . .

15 April. Queen’s Levée at 2 o’clock. Presented Mr. Bixby of Georgia, Mr. George of Maryland, and Mr. Kelly of New-York. Lord Palmerston very attentive, & desirous to be known to my countrymen. So also Earl of Harrowby. Many officers returned from Crimea kissed Queen’s hand. . . .

16 April. Addressed a letter to Major Delafield, at Liverpool, to the care of our Consul Hawthorne, transmitting copies of the two communications received from the Foreign Office, in relation to facilitating the enquiries of our officers. Visited by the Secretary of the War office on the subject of our officers, to whom I gave their address.

Dined at The Star Club. . . . I was called up by complimentary toast, sustained by a capital speech from McGregor using the strongest language in praise of the United States, and in reference to

52 Charles Shaw-Lefevre, Viscount Eversley.
53 Lord John Campbell.
54 Possibly Richard Davison, M. P. from Belfast.
55 Possibly Henry James Baillie, M. P. from Inverness-shire.
56 Nathaniel Hawthorne.
57 John MacGregor, noted statistician.
my own antecedents. My address was unshackled and unpremeditated, was a happy hit, and received with enthusiastic applause.

17 April. Engaged all the morning in writing.

Visitors sans nombre. . . .

Dined at the Lord Mayor’s Mansion House, with a company of about 258. I was the special guest, seated on the left of the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. Dallas on the right of the Lord Mayor. . . . Many members of the House of Commons. Several members of the Church.

My speech in reply to the Lord Mayor’s toast had been carefully prepared and committed to memory. It was eminently successful and highly complimented by the subsequent address of Lord Stanley and several members of the House, and one Clergyman. The Americans present, Peabody, Sturgis,58 Wykoff,59 and others, expressed themselves delighted with it’s tone, and it’s points. After other toasts, I gave, with a few preliminary remarks the Lady Mayoress’ health. A very remarkable speech made by a representative from Australia, who boldly announced their intention, as soon as strong enough, to imitate the example of the United Colonies of America and set up for themselves.

The Ceremony of the Loving Cup was gone through. Just as I rose to respond, the Band of Music struck up Hail Columbia:—when that concluded, I rose again, and immediately resumed my seat on hearing Yankee Doodle beautifully played. . . .

Received a most beautifully embossed notice from the Star Club that I had been unanimously elected last evening an Honorary Member, accompanied by a very handsome book of their laws. . . .

London 18. Apr. ’56

My Dear Dixon,

. . . We have been extremely active and busy. All sorts of distracting, splendid, agreeable, and flattering engagements, receptions, dinners, soirées, and invitations. I leave the description to the girls:—but send you a copy of the remarks I made at the dinner given me by the Lord Mayor, for I know how these things are distorted and misrepresented. My purpose and language were carefully premeditated,

1. to express acknowledgment for a reception altogether unparallelled in kindness.

58 Russell Sturgis, Massachusetts-born partner in the banking firm of Baring Brothers.
59 Henry Wikoff, author and adventurer.
2. to ignore all the nonsense about “Mother and daughter,” “cousins” &c. which, altho’ otherwise falsely reported, I have steadily and scrupulously done.

3. to put this Gov* in the wrong if my mission fail, by saying that it will be owing to no want of conciliation on the part of the American Gov. or their minister, but to some inexorable policy which requires the repudiation of the Clayton & Bulwer Treaty, or some foregone conclusion as to the necessity of sustaining Crampton at all hazards. He is said to be prepared to vindicate himself, if deserted by the Ministry, by publishing their instructions to him on the matter of enlistment.

4. to let them know coolly & quietly that the peace in Europe, altho’ it leaves them with an immense armament on hand, by no means over-awes us in the pursuit of right. My speech was signally successful—elicited great applause—and was sustained by a succession of remarks from Lord Stanley & other members of Parliament, in terms of high compliment.

Shew the foregoing comments to Judge Jones,60 and give him the copy I send you to use as he likes best.

I have just had a beautiful present from a Californian—a gold headed cane, with a splendid specimen of the white auriferous quartz in the head. A thousand loves to Cass, Alleck, Tom and the baby. All well—

Affectionately yrs

G. M. Dallas.61

F. E. Dixon Esq.

19 April. . . . My first ride in Hyde Park. . . .

20 April. Wrote all the morning. . . . Went to the Botanic Garden.

21 April. Engaged in writing to Lord Clarendon . . . for permission to Mr. Palfrey62 to examine and copy papers in the State Paper Office and two other offices. . . .

22 April. Lord Clarendon got back from Paris last evening, and receiving his note to that effect, I went and called at his house:—he was out:—I came home & addressed him a letter requesting an interview at his early convenience. . . .

23 April. . . . Visitted the Thames Tunnel, an extraordinary work of genius and labour: but I should judge rendered useless and unproductive by it’s locality. We walked through it from this to the

60 Joel Jones.

61 Society Miscellaneous Collection.

62 John G. Palfrey.
other side of the river, buying as we went along, at the stalls lighted by grease[?], medals & other articles commemorative.

Received invitation to Queen's Ball on the 28. May. . . .

25 April. . . . Had an interview with Lord Clarendon at Foreign Office, at 4 p. m. Received with great apparent frankness and cordiality. I smelt tobacco, and asked him if he had been smoking!—He said yes, was very much addicted to it, night and day. I told him he rose by the fact considerably in my estimation. Congratulated him upon having got through the arduous business of the Conference at Paris. Nobody could tell the labor he had to go through. The protocols are voluminous and interesting. He expected the Treaty tomorrow in due and complete form, or at farthest on Monday, when he would lay all the papers on the table of the House of Lord. I asked him whether in manuscript or already printed. He replied that the Foreign Office had it's own press, and it's documents went to Parliament already in print. I should have a copy about the same time with the Lords. The Peace, he thought, honorable to the country:—it was certainly as good one as could be made without humiliating Russia, and that they did not wish to do. Count Orloff had told him that, in Russia, the War party was satisfied, but the Peace Party dissatisfied. At the first hiatus, I told him I had come first to pay my personal respects, and then to ask within what reasonable time I might expect to receive, for transmission to Gov. Marcy, a reply to his letter of 28. December last? He said promptly, “I will write you a note on Monday:—certainly, however, before the next steamer goes, say Wednesday.” It struck me, perhaps erroneously, that he had something to communicate to myself before he gave in a definitive reply as to the recall of Mr. Crampton. He represented the toils of his office as excessive:—said he worked at night:—and found no comfort but in smoking. I remarked that his labors must be as oppressive as those of our President, and warned that they had killed General Harrison, Genl. Taylor, and Col. Polk. And yet, said he smiling, that high station is sought by numbers: and, indeed, he had often thought that American statesmen seemed prepared to

63 Alexis Fedorovich Orlov.
64 William Henry Harrison.
65 Zachary Taylor.
66 James K. Polk.
write their epitaphs when they desired to occupy the Presidential office!

Dined at the Earl of Ellesmere's. . . . Talked a great deal in his own language with the [French Admiral], who is apparently about forty years of age. He had never been in London before, and was full of wonder at the extent and magnificence of the place.

Had a long and most interesting discussion with Stanley about the enlistment question. He started with the idea that he was unable to reconcile our American principle which left every citizen at liberty to enlist in foreign service or expatriate himself, with our complaining of the enlistments. He pressed his views with force. I entered into full explanation of the origin of our acts of Congress in the time of General Washington, to prevent such violations of our neutrality as had been practiced by Genet:—of the duty devolved by our Constitution upon the general government to enforce our neutrality, and of the necessity that acts of Congress should come in aid of the law of nations by distinct definitions and positive sanctions: of the course of legislation to meet exigencies as they developed themselves: of the prolonged efforts to put down filibusterism: of the difficulties necessarily encountered in these efforts: and of the absolute duty to apply our rules with impartiality to all who violated the neutrality laws. He struggled manfully, and insisted, until by a variety of argument and illustration I made him completely understand that we went upon this practical and plain distinction, that altho’ a citizen might, generally, be at liberty to quit the country, enter into foreign service, and cease to be a citizen of the United States, he could not do so with an avowed design of fighting against a country with which we were at peace:—that advertisements, collecting arms, accepting commissions or pay, were overt acts manifesting the undertaking to break through our neutrality and the laws made for its preservation; and called imperatively for the interposition of the government. He finally declared frankly that he had not seen the matter in the light in which I placed it: and that I had completely made out my case. We freely entered upon the great domestic policy with which his active and energetic mind is loaded:—the founding of great self-governing colonial empires in Australia and Canada:—the gradual divorce of Church and State:—the enlargement of the parliamentary Constituency:—the introduction of the ballot: the diminishing the
centralization of power, and the creation of more local government, &c. &c. He said he did not yet aspire to office, and was not bound to either of the existing parties, but maintained his independent convictions, among which was the one he had offered at the Lord Mayor's dinner, that any man who should bring on a quarrel between England and America, ought to be regarded, and would be regarded, by the people of England, as a public enemy. Sir Henry Holland says that this young Lord Stanley is destined to be Prime Minister!

26 April. Visited by Mr. W. Brown and Mr. Horsfall. The former shewed me a note from Lord Palmerston, inviting the Whigs to meet him at his house on Monday next, the 28th inst.—and informed that such was the usual course of a premier who had ideas of resignation or dissolving Parliament in order to take the sense of the people on questions upon which he had been outvoted.

Went into the City, and drew my first month's salary from the Barings, & deposited it with Mr. Peabody.

Went to the Opera, at the Lyceum Theatre, in Mr. Sturgis’ stall. Bozio admirable in the Elizere d’Amore. The Orchestra Capital. The Queen and her party in the Royal box adjoining.

27 April. . . Col. Mann dined with us. Warned against a hamper of American oysters sent me by Capt. O. Eldridge. Much talk on our own and on general politics.

Mr. Samuel Bradford of Philadelphia called.

28 April. . . Took a long walk. Great preparations making for the Peace Illumination in Regent’s Park.

The Globe has a short notice of the meeting at Lord Palmerston’s, which it represents to have been full and satisfactory in result. Prepared the way for Mrs. D.’s presenting Miss [Rebecca] Smith to the Queen at the Drawing Room tomorrow.

Dined with Mr. Thomas Baring. . . Mr. Baring told me that he had not attended the meeting at Lord Palmerston’s, but understood that his Lordship had succeeded in persuading his visitors of the necessity of yielding on “minor points of difference.”

Went to House of Commons at half past 10. Mr. Whiteside had made a brilliant speech against the Ministry on the Kars question.

67 Thomas Berry Horsfall, M. P. from Liverpool.
68 James Whiteside, M. P. from Enniskillen.
69 Kars was a Turkish fortress in Asia Minor which Russia had captured in the Crimean War.
Found Lord John Manners speaking very poorly on same side. The Lord Advocate of Scotland\textsuperscript{70} replied to him. No prospect of the debate closing tonight: but obvious that no case has been made out by the opposition speakers. Met in the Diplomatic Seats, Lord Clanricarde\textsuperscript{71} and Sir Henry Bulwer. The latter said he understood that the Government had sent a fresh apology about the Enlistment business, and was surprized at my telling him I knew nothing of it. He said that was the course he would recommend. Mr. Hutchins,\textsuperscript{72} an M. P., told me that the only perilous question for the Ministry was that on the Enlistments.

29 April. ... At the House of Commons till 12 p.m. Debate on fall of Kars.


My Dear Dixon,

I have told my factotum (gaudet nomine Charles Light) to get tightly packed in tin and then nicely boxed a stilton cheese from the same man who supplies us regularly and faithfully with things of that kind. It is intended to be sent to you by the Steamer which sails from Liverpool on Saturday next 3\textsuperscript{rd} May, the Asia, under the special charge of Mr. Jos. Peabody who promises that he will treat it like a pet infant on the voyage. If Cass and you find it too large for you to keep without spoiling, you may do as we do, cut it through the centre, tin and all, and send half to Liz and Doc by Adams' Express:—but don't do so if you like it's size. Our relish for it at lunch has already despatched two halves: but we are 7.

Your management beats me all hollow, and I most thankfully approve, sanction, and adopt all you have already done and all you propose doing with my little concerns.

We are somewhat worried by the accounts last received of the state of your health, and long to be able to tell you to take better care of yourself. When young men get so many sweet children as you have, they are bound to make more than ordinary efforts to keep well.

We take Sue to the Queen's Drawing Room to-day, and present her in form, with train, ostrich feather, crown and crest of beautiful flowers. As it is also my post day, the Atlantic sailing tomorrow, I have my despatch to finish for Gov. Marcy, and a number of short letters to run off.

It would seem, if what I am told be reliable, that my Lord Mayor's Dinner speech (which I sent you) has produced a strong sensation, and even perplexed the Ministry. It's frank offer of conciliatory action, accompanied

\textsuperscript{70} James Moncreiff.

\textsuperscript{71} Ulick-John de Burgh, Marquess and 14th Earl of Clanricarde, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, 1838.

\textsuperscript{72} Edward John Hutchins, M. P. from Lymington.
by an intimation that if the offer be repulsed, we shall know to what to
ascribe it, is less easy to avoid than common place flattery or grumbling.
The papers are still harping upon it, and always in terms of great personal
respect.

I think the Ministry are shivering in the wind. They have recently been
repeatedly in the minority. Lord Palmerston summoned by note the Whig
opposition members of the House to meet him yesterday. He told them that
if they wd not give up their minor differences of opinion and support his
liberal administration on it's general principles, he would either dissolve
Parliament or resign. It is said that they gave in: but told him that on the
American Question of Enlistments, the Cabinet must either yield or be
defeated. This, however, is mere rumor, tho I believe it. There has recently
appeared in the Times, Post, and Globe, quite an uncommon degree of
moderation & forbearance on American topics.

We all keep well, and are most untiring in attendance on dinners &
parties of every description. All May, except Sundays, is already engaged.
Pray for us.

I had my first interview with Clarendon, on his return from the Peace
Conference at Paris, on friday last. He reminded me of J. C. Calhoun: and
I was much pleased with the offhanded cordiality of his manner. Many and
warm loves to your boys and girls, and to dear Cass. Ever y

G. M. Dallas

Phil works steadily, like a trooper, and contentedly.
The weather is yet unsettled:—but the trees are getting in leaf, the grass
in the parks is like rich green velvet, and we have had some quite warm
days.

I dined yesterday at Barings, whose cook and table are preeminent.
Susan Nicklin and Jule came up at 10½ to take me up, and we drove to
the House of Commons. The subject discussing was the one mentioned in
the enclosed note, which will be continued this evening:—but the opposition
can't stir the Cabinet on this question:—they have made out really very
little cause for censure, and will fail in the movement. I have this instant
received these notes from Mr. Wm Brown of Liverpool, M. P. who is quite
a devoted friend.

30 April. Rec'd from Foreign Office Lord Clarendon's reply to
Mr. Marcy's letter of 28. Dec. last asking recall of Mr. Crampton.

Attended the Queen's Concert at Buckingham Palace with Mrs.
D. . . . The apartments open were magnificent, but the music not
pre-eminent—The chief songsters were Bozio and Novello. As a
pageant, the scene quite striking.

73 Society Miscellaneous Collection.
1 May. Prepared Despatch No. 8. for the Steamer of the 3rd inst. The labor of copying the bulky letter of Lord Clarendon to Mr. Marcy, with all its annexes, fell upon Julia, Sophia, and Susan, who executed their respective shares admirably. . . .

At 10 p.m. went to House of Commons. Debate on fate of Kars in continuation. Heard Disraeli,74 Lord John Russell, Ld. Palmerston, and Mr. Whiteside. Minister majority 127.

2 May. . . . Forwarded to Mr. Marcy a Despatch of Mr. Mason's, respecting the course he had taken, in correspondence with Count Walewski,75 upon the subject of abolishing Privateering:—he would agree, if the principle was extended to the exemption of all private property from attack or injury in time of war:—not otherwise. This paper reached me as I was closing the bag.

Received from Lord Clarendon the Treaty between the Allies and the Ottoman Porte, guaranteeing the latter's security from attack. . . .

3 May. Not well. Sent an apology to Royal Academy of Arts.

11 May. Sunday. Eight days have elapsed, and I have been unable to make memoranda, having been, night and day, occupied. Let me recall generally. On 5 May, Monday, dined and teaed at Belgian Minister's.76

On 6 May . . . Visited the Gallery of Water Colour pictures. Some very beautiful:—but the generality disappointed me.

On 7 May. Dined at the Freemason's Tavern, with the Royal Literary Fund Society, the Duke of Cambridge in the chair. He toasted, with very complimentary reference to myself, "The Literature and Science of America." I spoke in reply for ten or fifteen minutes, and was excessively cheered. On same day, attended Levée at Buckingham Palace, and presented Rev'd Dr. Dowdny, and Mr. Hyam Joseph, who, by mistake of the Lord Chamberlain, kissed the Queen's hand. Lord Clarendon came up to me and introduced a long conversation as to his reply to Mr. Marcy's request for Crampton's recall. He said Mr. Brown had mentioned my regret at the character of a part of it. He wished he had shown it to me before he sent it, as he certainly would have omitted anything that I thought calculated to irritate. The Government by no means adopted the facts

74 Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield.
75 Alexandre Walewski, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1855-1860.
76 Sylvain Van de Weyer.
and language of the affidavits, I told him, if so, he could very easily have avoided what I now feared might produce excitement. How so, said he, I had no power to alter the depositions. Certainly not, I replied they constituted the case of Mr. Crampton and the Consuls:—but surely, it was in your power to say in your letter to me, that, as you have just now said, you did not adopt as the government’s, the language or the facts:—Such a disclaimer would have left them, on their own merits, unbacked by you:—as it is, there is not a word of gross imputation upon all our public officers which will not be regarded as your’s. Surely, said he, that is not fair, and ought to be avoided. Can’t you write home, to forestall any such conclusion? I would write you another note to prevent it. I am perfectly prepared to make any disclaimer. I told him I was glad to hear it, as, without the affidavits, I had no fault to find with the tone of his reply, whose conclusion, indeed, was in such good taste and friendly spirit, that, had it been unaccompanied by the poison of the affidavits, I should have expected a favorable result. Wait! but, I repeat, said he:—we are talking, unofficially, as one gentleman to another:—why can’t you write, and intimate to Mr. Marcy, my readiness to disclaim any responsibility for the affidavits, and if he give a chance by putting the question, he shall have my answer frankly and promptly. I have such an impression of you, Lord Clarendon, that I was convinced, you did not intend to bolster the nonsense and vituperation of those affidavits by your name and station, and so, I have written already. I intended the letter to go to Mr. Marcy by the Steamer of to-day:—but I found she was a slow boat, and would probably be overtaken by the one of Saturday next, so it is yet on hand. But, said he eagerly, you will write & send on next Saturday? I told him I would, but had my apprehensions that it would not reach Washington before his precious affidavits had done their mischief. He is certainly very much provoked with his own unguarded management.

8 May.—Thursday—Queen’s State Ball in her newly finished Ball room and Supper Room in Buckingham Palace. Miss Rebecca Smith was there. It was certainly worth a lady’s boldest push to get to it and see. . . .

On 10 May, dined with Mr. Sterling, and stayed the evening. Met the Dean of Ripon,77 son of the great Lord Erskine.78 . . . The

77 Hon. Henry David Erskine.
78 Thomas Erskine, 1st Baron Erskine.
Dean of Ripon had been in the United States fifty years ago: Knew Jefferson, Madison, Charles Carroll, and my father:—he was exceedingly pleasant, and insisted upon my coming this summer to Ripon. He saw Fulton make his first experiment, and had that morning visited the great steamship of 25000 tons building at Greenwich! . . .

Went to the College of Arms, to get the pedigree, crest, etc. of Judge Tuthill of Iowa, as requested by letter from my friend G. W. Jones79 of the Senate of U.S.

Today, 11 May—went with Sir Henry Holland to Zoological Gardens. The Hippopotamus, a frightful and disgusting, but interesting animal; the first ever brought here: brought about 5 years ago, quite young: has grown to an enormous size, and is still growing. The Giraffe, alongside of him, presented a beautiful contrast of animal life. The Aquarium a most delightful and instructive department. The wild beasts, lions, tigers, bears, hyaenas, and jaguars, were in great numbers, perfection, and order: and their feeding very striking. The reptiles, to me beautiful, were boas and other varieties of enormous and poisonous snakes. The birds, too, were exceedingly beautiful, from the enormous Pelican, Eagles, Vultures, Adjutants, through the dazzling parakeetes, down to the brilliant humming bird. I could remain only long enough to take a superficial view:—it gave me however extreme pleasure, and I must go often again. . . .

18 May. Sunday, Engaged all day and at night preparing communications to Lord Clarendon, 1. On the abduction of a colored seaman from the brigantine “Luango,” by the authorities at Antigua & 2. on the claim of Nicolas Lennig & Co. to be compensated for loss sustained on a shipment of Saltpetre on board the “Tigress” under the Order in Council of 1. Nov. 55 prohibiting exportation of the article. Wrote also a letter, dated 19th inst. to our Consul at Liverpool, Mr. Hawthorne, to inform him of the decision of the British Government, received by me the 17th inst. on the 2 classes of cases in the Saltpetre business.

19 May. Paid a number of visits, as to which I am frightfully in arrear.

Went to the House of Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted his Budget. The speakers were Mr. Lewis,80 Chan. of

79 George Wallace Jones, Senator from Iowa.
80 Sir George Cornewall Lewis.
Exchequer, Disraeli, Lord Palmerston, Sir F. Baring,\textsuperscript{81} Mr. Gladstone,\textsuperscript{82} \&c. \&c.

Met Mr. Baxter,\textsuperscript{83} Mr. Brown, and Sir James Graham.

In the House of Lords, on the interpellation of Lord Elgin,\textsuperscript{84} Lord Clarendon confessed the intercepted correspondence in Costa Rica to be genuine:—but said that the muskets had never been delivered.\textsuperscript{85}

\textit{Washington 10 June '56}

My dear Sir

Returning here yesterday from Philad\textsuperscript{8} I found your's of the 26 May, \& the slips from the 'Times,' giving the late debates in Parliament—by your kind recollections of me, I continue to increase in your debt.

I presume by this date you will have had intelligence of the finale here with Crampton. It seems he sailed for England by the first steamer after his passports were sent to him, from which I infer that he has gone home in furore—mais n’importe—It is impossible that the good sense of old England (whatever may be the coloring, of their Gov\textsuperscript{4}) will not see that his whole defence was a system of evasion—and that on our side was no alternative, but to pocket a wrong, or to resent it—

We shall look with interest for the effect in England—So far as you are concerned, I take for granted from what Gov. Marcy told me just before his finale to Crampton (of which I wrote you in full in my last), that his despatches to you which accompanied the notice of the 'dismissal,' he made the proper arrangements to place you entirely at ease in your affairs should your passports be sent.

He certainly told me, that before you sailed, you were informed that proper provision should be made for the occasion, should your services have this abrupt termination—

And again after he sent the last despatch to you, that he had done so—And this in a conversation with him, to express my opinion on the necessity of all this being done—We agreed that the fund for contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, was legitimately subject to these charges and that for the present you would be directed to wait events on the continent—

Tell Phil: with my love, that I am not diplomatic enough to know, what becomes of the Secretary, when the minister is unfrocked—but suppose the State Dep\textsuperscript{4} will cover the entire embassy in it’s instruction—If not he had better consider himself ill-used \& come home \& practice law.

\textsuperscript{81} Sir Francis Baring.
\textsuperscript{82} William Ewart Gladstone.
\textsuperscript{83} William Edward Baxter, M. P. from Inverbervie.
\textsuperscript{84} James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin.
\textsuperscript{85} War had broken out between Nicaragua and Costa Rica and evidence was captured indicating that Great Britain was aiding Costa Rica.
Well old Buck\textsuperscript{86}: has got the track at last—What means were used to effect I know not, but they frowned off adherence to Peirce \textit{[sic]}, on the ground that he could not carry the Dem: of the North—This I am disposed to think was the plea on which they detached Virginia—tho’ it was said there was a close vote in the delegation, Buck: carrying it by only 2 votes.

Your’s

J M Mason\textsuperscript{87}

Mr. Dallas.

\textbf{Central America}

\textit{30 June.} First interview on this subject with Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office—from 3 to 5 o’clock—agreeably to appointment with a view to ascertain if possible the aims and inclinations of the British Government. I proposed that for the present, we should leave aside the interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and the subject of arbitration, and see how far we could approach a settlement of our difference by direct negotiation.

I suggested to Lord Clarendon, hoping to obtain his views, that as his mind had been given to the details, I should like very much to understand the modes by which, according to his letter to me of the 26-instant, he seemed strongly to believe that the various points in controversy might be practically overcome or removed.

He was quite disposed to speak freely on the several matters, and began with the Mosquito question.

1. He said that the British Government entertained a sincere desire to get rid of the Protectorate, if they could do so with honor, and, with that real disposition, it would be hard if some plan of doing it could not be devised, mutually satisfactory.

The project of Mr. Webster\textsuperscript{88} and Mr. Crampton, of 1852, which had been rejected by Nicaragua, contained an arrangement that might probably not be so objectionable at this time. That was to wall in the Mosquitoes within a prescribed boundary of territory, and to provide something reasonable for the miserable King in the shape of annuity. Their security from violence could be

\textsuperscript{86} James Buchanan.

\textsuperscript{87} Dallas Papers, Box 5.

\textsuperscript{88} Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, 1850–1852.
assured by guarantees. It would be necessary that this should be effected, not by deriving any sanction from their assent, for they were really in the condition of infant wards, but in a way to satisfy Her Majesty's Government that what was done was equivalent to their protectorship for their benefit.

These Indians had, some how or other, been placed under their protection as long ago as in the time of Charles 2d and what had repeatedly been declared to be a duty of honor could not now be abandoned, except by placing them in some manner out of danger.

As to the grants of land which may have been made, it would be useless for us to preplex ourselves with devising a mode of treating, determining, or settling those grants. Such a matter might possibly be effected by a commission.

The protectorate ceasing, what was to be done with San Juan? Why not make it a Free City? Could any objection to that course be suggested? True,—it might be claimed by Nicaragua:—but, if without her assent, we cannot negotiate away her pretensions, surely her assent may reasonably be expected. The Treaty of 1850 seemed to contemplate its being one of the two free cities at the two ends of the Ship Canal:—and even if the company had altogether abandoned the hope of executing that work, still there must be a highway of some sort there, over which a vast commerce would pass, and the spirit of the Treaty would apply to it. If (as I suggested) the settlement of the controversy inspired confidences and might open the sluices of capital, and the company resumed their determination to go on with a Ship Canal and not to reduce the work as they have proposed to a contracted and merely local means of accommodation, then San Juan would naturally if not necessarily be one of the Free Cities contemplated in the 4th Article of the Treaty.

He said, however, that if the company gave it up, then we must determine upon one or the other projects of interoceanic communication which were proposed, [and partially under way.]²⁹ Mr. Brown (member for Liverpool) had spoken to him about the projected Railway from Porto Caballo to the Bay of Fonseca, through Honduras: and there was also Darien Canal, the work spoken of by Mr. Kelly, uniting the two oceans by means in part

²⁹ Phrase in brackets crossed out in diary.
of the Atrato River. As to this last mentioned project, he had been consulted upon the expediency of a joint Commission of Engineers to explore and survey by his government and the United States:—but he had thought it best to abstain from making the proposition to our government lest it might be misinterpreted and add to the complications already existing. He thought, however, it might be wise to adopt the course suggested.

He said repeatedly on this matter of the Mosquito Protectorate that there was no room to doubt our being able to dispose of it without arbitration. What, indeed, was there to arbitrate? The extent of the Mosquito coast? The locus in quo of the Indians? Neither was necessary to the close of the business.

2. And what do you say about the Bay Islands, Ruatan &c.

(I remarked, I trust you will make up your mind to let them then go back to Honduras.)

He said it was a hard thing to hand over three thousand fellow-subjects to such a government as Honduras.

(I said, why so? You don’t change their homes, their pursuits, their properties, or their rights—they are immensely far from England—probably two thirds of them would be wholly indifferent “which King, Bezonian.”)

But why are the U. States so much concerned about these islands?

(Simply, I said, because in the hands of a great maritime power like England, they may become the nucleus of a force which would overawe and controul the States of Central America, and the commerce across the Isthmus.)

Well! the disposition of these islands is a fair subject for negotiation.

(I said, there is an official representative or minister from Honduras now here, whom I presume you have seen?)

Yes,—I saw him two or three days ago:—Mr. Herran.90

(There is, I believe also here, a representative from Nicaragua.)

That I was not aware of. What is his name?

(Mr. Alvarado91—What his powers or objects are I cannot

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90 Victor Herrán, Honduran Minister to Great Britain.
91 L. Alvarado, Minister designate.
pretend to say. He speaks Spanish only, a language which I very partially understand.)

The presence of these gentlemen may facilitate our object.

3. He then remarked, that he knew of nothing else to comment upon—is there another matter?

(Yes—the extension of the Belize settlement from the Sibun to the Sarstoon:—an extension which we consider a departure from Treaty stipulation.)

He said that really he could not see what we had to do with that. It was a matter between England and Honduras. It was just as it is at the ratification of the Treaty of 1850. He hoped that we would not, even in appearance, be ingenious to make difficulties.

(I observed that he could not but see in the Treaty of 1850 a desire to put the two nations in reference to the Isthmus as near an equality as circumstances would permit:—we had no possessions whatever in those regions; and of course we derived from the Treaty itself an interest and a right to restrict the British possession within their rightful limits.)

He replied that he did not consider it a matter with which we could interfere, and he hoped we would not. It was, however, necessary for him to hasten to the House of Lords. We had had a good preliminary conference, and we must meet often until something definitive was reached.

He said, upon being asked as to the propriety of the thing, that I might call at the Foreign Office and see him, without the dilatory formality of applying for an interview, whenever I wished, only remembering that he worked at home all the morning, and did not come to Downing Street before 3. o’clock.

2 July. Visited Mr. Herran, representative from Honduras.

He had had interview with Lord Clarendon on Thursday last.

He pressed upon Ld C. the restoration of Ruatan & the other islands to Honduras.

He left with Ld C. the draft in Spanish of a treaty stipulation to that effect. Of this, he promised me a copy.

He considers Ld C. favorably disposed:—and says he will inform me of every step taken.
5 July. Visited Lord Clarendon at Foreign Office, at 2 p.m. by appointment at my request.

I came particularly on the subject of my powers, mooted in the House of Commons, on 3rd instant.

Showed three slips—from Times, Post, and Advertiser, of 4 July 1851. I told Lord C. that he knew all the powers I had. They were in my letters of credence, and in Mr. Marcy's dispatch on Central America of 24 May, of which I had left him a copy on 11 June. I wanted to avoid any possible misconception, and would state to him frankly that my own construction of my powers was that they were full for discussion only—that I could bind my government definitively to nothing—that if by negotiation, without arbitration, he and I conceived that an entire adjustment might be made, I would transmit the plan to Washington and await the approbation of my government: that I entertained very little doubt that the President and Mr. Marcy would approve and adopt any general programme of agreement which he and I might decide upon:—that fixing upon detached parts would be a wrong mode of proceeding:—and that, as he was about meeting the Cabinet at 5 o'clock, he had better put the subject before them, so that if the slightest doubt as to the sufficiency of my power existed, fuller ones might be asked.

Lord Clarendon thought the report in the Times of what took place in the House was most likely to be the correct one. He said, no doubt Lord Palmerston's distinction between my powers and those of Mr. Buchanan arose out of the offer and recent action, on Arbitration:—that was a matter as to which my powers were certainly larger than Mr. B.'s. He conceived my powers quite adequate to discuss the Central American differences; and it was only in special cases that fuller ones could be needed. He remarked that the change from the old practice of authorising a minister to execute a convention or arrangement without recurring back to his Sovereign, to the modern one, arose from the increased facilities of intercourse, which enabled governments, in fact, to negotiate and decide without loss of time.

He then turned to Mosquitos, and he asked if I had thought of that matter since our last interview? I replied that I had. That I really could see no insurmountable difficulty, as the part of a general adjustment, in pursuing with reference to those Indians the policy
and practice of the American Government in treating the Indians within their jurisdiction. The British Government might assign them a limited district of Country for their occupancy, as we had assigned a region west of the Mississippi to the Florida Indians: that the two governments might guarantee their safety from violence, and might apply the principle, if not the provisions, of our laws, to secure them against artful & dishonest efforts to get their lands from them, by invalidating any contracts of purchase—which were not first approved by them: that if the district were of moderate extent, it was not supposable that Nicaragua would object:—and that this once effected, there was an end to the protectorate in a manner perfectly compatible with the honor of England. He thought so too: and as to the size of the district, that could be easily fixed, leaving all the rest of the territory to Nicaragua, instead of contracting her front upon the Atlantic to a narrow strip.

We then briefly discussed the notion of making San Juan a free city:—always, however, reserving to Nicaragua the power of having her Custom-House in the neighborhood higher up the River.

9 July. By appointment at my request at 3. p.m.

1. Enquired about Mr. Wm G. Lettson, who had been at Washington as Secretary of Legation with Mr. Fox. Lord Clarendon said he was also with him as Secretary, when in Madrid. He is now Chargé d'affairs of Her Majesty in Mexico.

2. Gave him the letter written to me by Mr. James Wadsworth of Buffalo, New-York, recommending a particular gentleman to be appointed British Consul there. He received it with satisfaction, and inquired how far Mr. Wadsworth was entitled to confidence. I stated his high character and reliability.

3. Read to him a part of Mr. Marcy's despatch, proving the justice of my repudiation of the alleged Treaty with Persia, and that such an instrument, with the claims he had mentioned to me, had not only never been authorised, but, if offered would be instantly rejected by the Cabinet at Washington. He expressed himself highly gratified.

4. Asked as to the likelihood of succeeding, if I renewed Mr. Buchanan's attempt of last year to obtain a Consular Convention

92 Henry S. Fox, British Minister to the United States, 1835–1843.
to regulate especially the arrest of deserters from merchant vessels and their restoration to their ships. He said he had helped Mr. Buchanan strenuously: but the solicitor general and other lawyers were against him, and they made out such a long and plausible list of difficulties that he had to give it up. The prospect now was worse than then:—for he had, in consequence of seeing the mischief which flowed from the absence of legal powers to seize the seamen, again recently consulted & reasoned with the lawyers, but all in vain. We could only attain our purpose by acquiescing in the terms of their Merchants’ Act, by which, a seaman, if a slave, would be exempt from arrest. I told him that was altogether out of the question.

5. I resumed the Central American discussion. Asked if he had had time to recur to the verbal notes of Mr. Marcy & Mr. Crampton in May 1855 to which I had referred him in a note written two days ago. He said he was sorry I adverted to Mr. Marcy’s former impressions, under circumstances different from those that now existed. I told him not to misunderstand my object. I was not averse to attaining, on his desire of having San Juan a free city, the substance of his purpose:—but I could not, in the face of the recorded opinions of the American Cabinet, in the verbal notes I had invited his attention to, undertake to recommend his mode of reaching his aim. I had drafted a pro forma projet, covering the leading points of our former conferences on the subject of the Mosquito protectorate, which I proposed reading to and leaving with him to consider:—it was a mere sketch to aid us both in attaining precise conclusions:—and he would find that on his favorite idea of the Free City, it would probably be more acceptable than his own plan. First, because it would conciliate the approval of Nicaragua:—Second, because it surmounted the objections of Mr. Marcy:—third, because it provided an indemnity to his Mosquitos in a simpler manner than heretofore proposed:—fourth, because it embraced Mr. Marcoleta’s views:—and fifth, because it gave a guarantee for the safety of the Indians through treaties with Nicaragua which would be less doubtful and less entangled than in any other form. I read him the pro-forma sketch, and put it into his hands. He expressed no dissent, but wished time

93 José de Marcoleta, Nicaraguan Minister to France, Great Britain, and the United States.
to examine and reflect. He seemed struck by my having adopted the mode of making the Free City which Nicaragua had herself approved in her treaty with the U.S. made by Mr. Hise.\(^{94}\) He intimated that there might be difficulty in guaranteeing by treaty the safety of the Indians, as England had not yet recognized the actual or *de facto* government of Walker,\(^{95}\) tho' we had. He adverted to their having almost instantly recognized Louis Phillipe [*sic*]:—and suggested that governments near a revolution were better able to form a prompt opinion of it's character & stability than those at a great distance. The U.S. might be right as to Walker, but to them it appeared that he was already on his last legs, and w\(^d\) probably soon [have] been driven out of Nicaragua. I observed that the Treaties were proposed to be made with the State, not with the persons who might be uppermost:—that Nicaragua could not but be an independent power, capable of contracting, whether our man or another be at her head:—that the plan had no reference to Walker whatever:—and, indeed, it was scarcely necessary to consider him in reference to it, except as he would be likely, upon a principle of gratitude to listen favorably to the recommendations of the U.S.

22 July. By appointment at my request, made three days ago, at 3. p.m.

Lord C. said he was dreadfully fagged by the business in Parliament, on the eve of rising:—he c\(^d\) not get to bed before 5 in the morning

I was afraid, then, I remarked, that he been unable to turn his attention to our Central Am. matter.

He said he had been engaged in examining my memorandum, and had commented upon it in red ink:—but he had not finished it:—he held it up to me. He would have a copy of his own projet made and would send it to me:—not however to forward to Washington, for it was too crude for that: but as a basis for our mutual reflections.

(He sent me the copy late this evening)

He entered upon a desultory conversation, in the course of which he touched upon two points chiefly.

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94 Elijah Hise, U. S. chargé d'affaires in Central America.
95 William Walker.
Was it true that the Cabinet at Washington, since hearing of my being retained, were more hostile than ever in their expressions against this Country?

I enquired the cause of such an enquiry?

He replied that he had been shewn a letter from a gentleman of high character at Washington, whose name he, of course, could not give me, addressed to a friend of his own here, and that letter represented the members of Genl. Pierce’s administration as particularly abusive, at this moment, of the British Government.

Perhaps, said I, it may suggest also the expediency of your not proceeding with the present negotiation on Central American [sic], but wait for a new President?

Well! said he, I can’t say exactly that, but—

The writer, perhaps, my Lord, is a political enemy of the present administration:—he may be some ardent advocate of Fremont\(^{96}\):—how is that?

There, he replied, you are, I believe, right. He does say that the successful settlement of the Central American difficulties, will be used by Genl. Pierce and Gov. Marcy to further the election of Buchanan: and that if Buchanan be successful, we shall have in the Presidency a worse enemy of England than even Pierce.

I remarked:—Such a man meant mischief:—he is willing to sacrifice the good of his country for the sake of party:—he wants you to repel the conciliation of Mr. Marcy, not because it is insincere, but because it augments the popularity of the administration, and, in that way, as he supposes, strengthens the democrats in their canvass for Mr. Buchanan, whom he would defeat at every hazard. The reasoning of this partizan is artificial, shallow, and untrue.

I went into a review of the relations and positions of every member of the American Cabinet, in order to shew that there was not one of them who could fail to regard the course of the Ministry on the Crampton question, with gratification:—and I added that my numerous correspondents told me the same thing as to the People every where. Meetings were being held to pass resolutions and adopt measures to meet the conciliatory spirit manifested by England half-way.

I told Lord C. that it was by the successive Ministers of this country lending too ready an ear to such mischief makers as this

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\(^{96}\) John C. Frémont, Republican candidate for President.
Fremont partizan, that the two nations had been constantly kept in hot water with each other. It was high time to inaugurate a manly system of mutual confidence between the two governments. The moment was auspicious. Let us be able to say that *Novus nascitur ordo*: and we both might hereafter congratulate ourselves in having been accessory to a great and good work. He joined heartily in the sentiment:—but whether I had removed the sting planted by the letter-writer, I know not.

Let me, he said in conclusion, advert to another matter. I have got, within a week past, a letter from one of the three dismissed consuls, Mr. Rowecroft, at Cincinnati: and he explains his not having left that place by saying that the prosecution against him for breach of the neutrality laws is still pending, and that he is still under recognizance of bail to appear for trial. Now this is rather hard upon the man: and I can’t help feeling some sympathy for him.

Why, said I, the prosecution has been discontinued by order of the President. Mr. Marcy tells us so in one of his recent papers.

That, said Lord C. has been my own impression, but I cannot recollect how or whence I derived it. Mr. Rowecroft tells me he has repeatedly applied to the District Attorney, who says to him in return that he has over and over again written to Washington upon the subject but can get no answer. Is it possible that your attorney-general would fail to carry out the President’s Order?

I am quite sure that I have seen the discontinuance of the prosecution stated, I replied, but my recollection of when and where is vague and uncertain, whether in Mr. Marcy’s despatches or in the newspapers. I will hunt the fact up when I get to the legation. In the meanwhile, will you allow me to mention the circumstances in a private letter to Gov. Marcy by the Steamer of tomorrow?

He said he would be much obliged to me if I would. (I sent him an hour afterwards, the Congressional documents last printed, containing the letter to Rowecroft withdrawing his Exequatur.)

8 August. By appointment, after three postponements, at 3. p.m.

I had sent his sketch copied, with a remodelled one of my own in margin. This one of mine, he had before him—with marginal mem° in red-ink.

*° Charles Rowecroft.*
He did not like the southern boundary by the Bluefields river, because it cut them off of the town which was on the southern side of that river. I told him that that was not designed: and that I had ascertained through Mr. Herran that the town was on the northern side or on the right going in from the Caribbean Sea. He said the maps were all otherwise, and so was the best information they had been able to get. I replied that Mr. Herran had sent me a sketch of a chart with his statement: and that was my reason for preferring the boundary, especially as it prevented the Mosquitos from being embraced in the same demarcation with their foes the Rama Indians. We agreed that the one boundary or the other should depend upon the ascertainment of the fact whether whether [sic] the town was on the northern or southern side of the river.

He gave in unequivocally to the necessity of recognizing and keeping constantly in view the sovereignty and rights of Nicaragua: and acceded to all my alterations for that object. But, then, it followed that we had a difficulty to overcome which embarrassed his own mind, and which Lord Palmerston whom he had consulted had been unable to solve. It was this. Who and what was Nicaragua, that either the U.S. or England could treat with, in respect to this arrangement? We could certainly not get on in the arrangement without her, and yet look at her condition. Her present government was one suddenly created by Walker by military force:—the President whom the American government had recognised, Rivas, was violently expelled: and in no sense could the existing state of things be regarded as springing from the will of the people. The U.S. had recognised the Rivas government, not the usurpation of Walker:—and the British government had recognised neither. They might, by and by: but could hardly do it just now. And how then were they, as provided in my sketch, to enter into separate treaties with Nicaragua respecting the objects of the arrangement?

I said that the practical difficulty was obvious:—that our plan, however, was to regard Nicaragua to be what she ought to be, that is as capable of performing the political duties of an independent state:—that her condition was at the moment unsettled, but it might become settled and she competent to act very soon: that as long as she remained in her distracted condition, we might be delayed in

98 Patricio Rivas, President of Nicaragua.
carrying our project as far as she was concerned, into execution:—that was a necessity we could not avoid:—but, if we perfected our programme, we would always have it ready for her consideration and adoption, and if in one of her lucid intervals, she was wise enough to embrace it, she could ever afterwards be firmly held to it however much she might be in anarchy. That there might be some incongruity in G.B. engaging to enter into treaty with a political power whose existence she did not recognise:—but, perhaps, we could get over or round that snag, if it was left to the United States to obtain her assent primarily by treaty, with an engagement on the part of England to come in and treat with Nicaragua as soon as her recognition was determined upon, on the terms of the arrangement: that pending the non-recognition of Nicaragua by England, the United States would alone exact from Nicaragua a compliance with the terms of her treaty, so as to attain the objects of the agreement:—but there were certainly great embarrassments in the way, and we had better reflect more carefully and see whether we could not devise some more satisfactory mode of surmounting them.

He said he had tried, but would try again:—he requested me to do the same:—and if either of us fell into a modus operandi, it should be put into a private note for the other's consideration.

He said that it might be necessary to introduce a clause providing a mode of settling the validity or invalidity of such grants of land as had been made by the Mosquitos outside of the prescribed limits.

I asked him suddenly, how he came on with Mr. Herran and the Bay Islands: and he answered at once and frankly that he thought that matter was definitely settled:—that he intended to have drafted the Convention, but had been called off to Osborne:—that he would send that afternoon for Mr. Herran: and would settle the only small matter yet unadjusted which related to the manner by which the British residents were to be indemnified: he thought that Convention could be signed in a few days, and that it would contain nothing inconsistent with an entire equality and freedom of commercial intercourse.

Lord C. had his mind somewhat preoccupied by considerations respecting the manner in which Russia had been departing from the terms of the recent treaty of Peace, in retaining Kars, in occupying the Isle of Sarpento, and in destroying fortresses in one of the
Principalities. He entered upon this topic at some length:—dilated on the shabby insincerity of the course of Russia:—and said that he had finally written them word that if the provisions of the Treaty were not forthwith fulfilled, England, with Sir Edmund Lyons' fleet, would take exclusive control of the Black Sea.

Washington 13th—Aug* '56

My dear Sir,

We see by the Queen's speech that She is made to believe the central American question will be satisfactorily adjusted. Do you remember I gave as one reason for accepting the mission, that you would have it in your power to close this up? This cloud chased off, I hope you will have nothing farther to disturb the harmony of your intercourse with her Majesty—not even another yellow waistcoat. . . .

Always most faithfully yrs

J M Mason

Mr Dallas.

14 August at 5 p.m.—by appointment in a note from Ld Clarendon which on 12. inst. he sent accompanied by a draft of a "Separate Article" that I added to and varied and returned to him on 13. inst.

His objection to anticipating in the addition proposed to clause 3d the extinction & removal of the Mosquitos, he expressed strongly. He thought it harsh, and that it would be considered shabby. Besides, it was unnecessary, for if the tribe ceased, as they certainly would, the Sovereignty must of course revert in full to Nicaragua. We could not agree about it: and as not entirely essential, it fell through.

99 Dallas Papers, Box 5. The affair of the yellow waistcoat was an embarrassing one for the American legation. Benjamin Moran, who did not hesitate to be critical of Dallas—and of Dallas' successor, Charles Francis Adams—described the incident in a letter to James Buchanan. According to Moran, Dallas, who was liberal in his court presentations, was on this occasion, June, 1856, to present to Her Majesty three Americans, one of whom was Professor Duncan Hart Mahan of West Point. "Mahan had on black trousers, a blue coat with metal buttons, a whitish yellow vest, no sword and a black stock wh. appeared full ten years old." Moran had warned Philip Dallas that Mahan would not be received in such dress—he lacked a chapeau and sword and wore a black cravat—and true to his prediction, Sir Edward Cust refused him admission to the Queen. When Mahan's protests that his costume was that of his military rank proved futile, Dallas peremptorily refused to present any of the gentlemen and left the Palace. Such an act by the American Minister naturally created a stir in social and official circles, and as late as October, 1857, Moran noted in his journal that the Dallases were not yet free of the incident. Moran to Buchanan, June 27, 1856, Buchanan Papers, HSP; Sarah Agnes Wallace and Frances Elma Gillespie, eds., The Journal of Benjamin Moran, 1857–1865 (Chicago, 1948), I, 150–151.
I withdrew, having given the point more reflection [,] the provision in the Separate Article which I had drafted providing for a joint protection during any interval of delay. It struck me as inconsistent with our fixed principles in regard to the position of Indians in any foreign country, to be willing to assume the obligation to protect them ag. that country.

The residue of my draft was adopted. A copy of the whole as agreed upon to be sent to me.

25 August at 1 p.m. by appointment. I had sent Lord Clarendon his general draft, with several corrections—and my draft of 2d & 3d separate articles.

Before entering upon business, I handed him the arithmetical Treatise of Mr. Noble Heath, addressed to the Queen, and explained to him that I had declined presenting it some six weeks ago, unless I was authorized to break the envelope and be quite sure that the matter was at all events harmless and proper to be laid at Her Majesty’s feet. He said that a rule prevailed throughout the European Legations, that the Queen declined receiving presents of any sort:—but that, somehow or other, she had made an exception, once or twice, in favor of presents from America, and seemed particularly pleased always with the civilities of our citizens. He promised to hand the book to her.

My draft of Separate Articles 2 & 3, agreed to without changing a word. He had prepared a draft on the same points:—it was, however, awkward and diffuse, and he frankly said he preferred the distinctness and brevity of mine.

He then informed me that Mr. Herran had agreed to adopt instead of Free State, the title of Free Territory, for the Bay Islands.

We went over again all the clauses approved: and he said the engrossment should be made by Mr. Byrne:—He was obliged to attend the Queen on Wednesday the 27. inst. at audiences given to “coming and going ministers”; Count Kreptovitch was to deliver his credentials, and Mr. Gonzales, (Spanish) to bid goodbye: But as he would have to leave London early on thursday morning, we must bring the matter to a close on Wednesday. Would I allow him to ask me to come to the Foreign Office on Wedn!? Certainly, at any hour of the day or night.

Wednesday, 27 August, 6 p.m.—by special note of invitation from Lord Clarendon.
He called my attention to two or three verbal or grammatical changes suggested by Mr. Byrne, whose engrossed copy was on the table. All right but one:—that we proposed that grants of land should be confirmed by the Commissioners, tho' they were yet in abeyance. I objected. The idea had come from Mr. Hammond. We sent for him to explain it. He said, that it was suggested in order to authorize the confirmation of certain grants which he understood had been annulled but which the King of the Mosquitos had promised to revive. I said, the revival would make a new grant, which, if made before the adoption of this Convention, might or might not be adjudged a bona fide one: but if made after it could not be so adjudged, but must be rejected. The phrase "abeyance" did not conform to his purpose, would necessarily create difficulty, and, in fact, did not improve the clause or vary its effect. Mr. Hammond adhered to his amendment: but both Ld Clarendon and Mr. Byrne, the former particularly and with some little vexation at the alteration having been proposed, agreed with my view, and it was struck out.

I then suggested the best & simplest mode of verifying the document to our respective governments, it being ad referendum, which was adopted.

In order to be certain as to the identity of the two copies, I went with Mr. Byrne into his apartment, and he there read over aloud the copy to be retained by Lord Clarendon, while I compared it carefully with my own.

Our signatures and private seals were affixed:—and I left the Foreign Office with an instrument more than three fourths of which had been prepared by myself, and which, if faithfully carried out, inaugurates an epoch of peace and good will between the United States and Great Britain such as has not existed since the Treaty of 1783.

London 29. Aug. '56

My Dear Markoe,

My game is bagged:—in other words the proposed treaty, with the signatures and privy seals of it’s elaborators, occupies the interior of the same water-tight sack with this hastily scrawled note. As I know it is to be right and honorable in every aspect, I feel no solicitude about it’s fate. If liked—well:—if not liked, be it so. there it is, to be duly understood and appreciated. ‘Intellectum note intelligentiam afferro.’

If you have a chance, thank Mr. Mason for me for that magnificent work Perry’s Japan. I wrote to him some few days ago, but before I had received it.
The Queen, with Lord Clarendon in her train, left for Scotland yesterday morning. School's out! I have cyphered my sum! The dominie is off!—“Where shall I go?” to the Rhine? to Baden-Baden? the Coronation? Rome? Mount Pisgah? or to Mr. Bates' rurality nine miles off? Huzza, first for Sheffield!...

Remembrances to all—Sincerely your
G. M. Dallas.

F. Markoe Esq.

Saturday, 30 August. Sent the treaty to Mr. Marcy, by the Steamship Cambria, accompanying my despatch No 26.

Thursday, 9 October. Received from Mr. Marcy instructions to obtain modifications in the treaty. Wrote to Ld Clarendon for an interview.

Monday, 13 October—at half past 12—appointed time.

Took my copy of the projet interlined and marked with the proposed changes, and explained and urged each upon Lord Clarendon.

1. Word Government not applicable to Mosquitos.

2. Northern boundary of reservation not Segovia, but Brachma or Pimyapulca:—left written reasons for this with the Earl.

3. Not detailed, but general description of all lands not included in reservation to be recognized as Nicaragua's.

4. Limits of San Juan to be fixed.

5. Grants of land to be confirmed, since 1 Jan. '48, if not more than 100 yards square within San Juan, and one league square if without.

6. Legislative restrictions on San Juan
   no duties on exports—none on imports intended for transit across isthmus or consumption in the town
   none on tonnage, except necessary for police, for light-houses and beacons
   Proviso not to interfere with duty for the annuity to Mosquitos—

7. No exemption from military service in case of invasion.

Not the slightest disposition manifested of repugnance to any one of these modifications.

100 Joshua Bates, Massachusetts-born partner in Baring Brothers.
Exhibited my full power to sign treaty, on these modifications being accepted:—not necessary to read or leave it.

Lord C. said he must of course consult his colleagues. Of course:—but I was anxious to hasten back the Treaty executed. He wd lose no time: and let me know as soon as possible. Mutual congratulations on the success of our negotiation.

Referred to our consul at Londonderry. Thanks for my letter; and that matter at an end.

Private Quere, not intended as complaint Why did Capt. Pendergrast,\textsuperscript{101} of Merrimack, omit to salute the Flag of Sir Geo. Seymour, Adml. at Portsmouth? Some mistake—think he did—but will quietly enquire.

\textit{Wednesday, 15 October at 4½}—by appointment. The whole gone over upon a copy of the treaty with full marginal notes, partly in red and partly in blue ink, prepared by Mr. Beryne [Byrne]. The modifications generally somewhat distasteful to Lord Clarendon: one or two highly approved: a single provision, that which subjected the Free City of San Juan to military service in case of invasion, definitively declined, as putting the town subject to every pretence. Changes of phraseology, and here and there an additional provision, were pointed out as necessary to produce congruity.

The matter thoroughly arranged, I engaged to attend at F. Office the day after tomorrow, with full power and Legation seal, to formally sign the duplicate instruments.

\textit{Friday, 17 October}—at 12. Noon, by appointment.

\begin{flushright}
London 7. Nov. '56
\end{flushright}

My Dear Fitz,

A Steamer, the Arabia, left Boston two days ago, the 5. Nov., the morning after the electoral election:—so that I am entitled to expect news as to the result in ten days from the present moment. I look for it with some impatience, as it will enable me, though not with entire satisfaction, to speculate a little more definitely on my future plans of life. If, by a mischance which is scarcely to be apprehended, the democrats are beaten, I will put my house in order and tie the strings of my purse at once, waiting only for an inaugurated chief to whom to send a D. I. O. If the Sage of Wheatland\textsuperscript{102} be successful, I may, I presume, be less in a hurry, and deliberately await orders until midsummer or fall.

I hope I do not delude myself when I say that, the sacrifices made in

\textsuperscript{101} Garrett J. Pendergrast.

\textsuperscript{102} James Buchanan.
coming on this mission, end when and how it may, have been more than repaid by the substantial service I have rendered. In a pecuniary sense, no doubt, the injury has been great and, at my age, must be esteemed irreparable:—but I cannot repress the conviction that, by suddenly and unexpectedly changing the relations of the two countries from wrangling and war to kindness and peace, I have done something which will, in the long run, be better for my children than if I had laid up a few thousands more in lawyer's fees. But it is certain that we cannot serve two masters: and it is equally certain that Mammon has been shamefully neglected by me. . . .

London is becoming lively again. The fogs to be sure, are frequent, cheerless, and impenetrable:—but the crowd is returning, the equipages are ventilating themselves, visits are renewing, and dinners are once more spreading their attractions. Of these last, we have had two this week. Every body seems to vote them bores, and yet every body goes to them. I think I shall muster independence enough to decline one half of them, if not two thirds. Having finished the task whose success made it expedient to know and see all worth knowing and seeing, and as often as possible, I am now privileged to draw off and be comparatively tranquil. . . .

We all enjoy good health, except that Phil tinkers at his throat whenever a raw fog prevails. Mrs. D. is growing fat. Jule is first rate as a private Secretary. Soph pastes all official manuscripts in the grand folio volumes. Sue reads, chats, and walks, and on a pinch copies.

My love to all. I have been kept very anxious about my Sister Bache. Markoe has just written that she is better:—but paralysis is a fearful thing.

When you write to Boston, pray remember me affectionately to your mother and Homer. Aleck, Tom and Soph!—good night—you sweet chicks!

 Truly & ever y[ours]
  G. M. Dallas.\textsuperscript{103}

F. E. Dixon Esq.

Washington 22\textsuperscript{d} Feb. '57

My dear Sir

I am sadly in arrears in ascribing myself to yr. recollection—but rely on the unfailing fountain of your kind regard—I have waited too, until I could tell you something definite about the late Treaty, the fortunes of which have interested me, about as much as they may you—you will have seen in the papers from this side the water, that it has met with opposition & delay in the senate, about which I propose to give you a brief history—and first—The Adm\textsuperscript{a} has acted fairly & straight forward in the matter, as well they might, for the fabric is theirs, the putting together & the conciliation to recommend it, only yours—. The chief source of its' misfortune has been that it came up at the close of an administration, never very strong or wielding much power—

Then disaffection arose in the South, from it being discovered (or believed) through what is alleged to be a copy of the convention bet. England

\textsuperscript{103} Society Miscellaneous Collection.
and Honduras, published in the N. Y. Herald last fall, that one of the stipulations there was that slavery should never exist in the Bay Islands.

In the body of the Treaty it was objected that undue restraint was placed on Nicaragua as regarded the Mosquito Indians—that the clause respecting the land grants recognized a title in those Indians as against Nicaragua, which we had never recognized as regarded our Indians—that it stipulated for treaties between this government and Nicaragua, and between England and the latter, which sanctioned foreign interference in affairs purely Ind. & others of like stamp—

We had several long discussions in Ex: session, & on several different days, until it became manifest that the treaty would not pass, unless in so mutilated a form, as to change its' whole policy & character—yet altho' I pressed hard for a vote, to throw the responsibility where it belonged, I could never get one, even on an amendment.

Finally it was postponed to the 5th of March (the called session) by a decisive vote—Three days afterward, that vote was reconsidered, on motion of those, who did not want to throw responsibility on the new Adm & after the reconsideration, & another long debate, it was laid on the table, by a close vote—It being intended as said by some who voted with the majority, to call it up after the 4th March—The subject thus thrown over, I shall reserve my opinion, & action, to be governed by circumstances, as they may be developed—It is generally believed that Buchanan is inimical to the treaty—though we have only general suspicion for it, and those claiming to be his peculiar friends say, he has never expressed an opinion—Yet I am of those who ascribe such feeling to him, and trace to that much of the opposition shown to the treaty—So the affair rests—whether it will again come up, or what will be the end of it I am utterly unable to say—I went for it cordially & earnestly, with but two modifications, neither of which would offset its' scheme, or policy—one was to strike out the 9th Art. and the other, in place of the clause reciting the convention with Honduras in the separate articles, to substitute one simply reciting that the two governments agreed to recognize the Islands of Rotan &c as "under the sovereignty, & as part of the Republic of Honduras"—thus ignoring the convention, which was said to stipulate against slavery—

By the way on a careful review of your correspondence, I became satisfied, that you had never seen this clause in that convention, or I felt sure, as you never sent a copy of it to Marcy, you would at least have called the attention of our government to it—you said only the draught of the convention had been shewn to you before it was signed—and my conjecture was, they have put that clause in afterwards—How was this? If this be so, it was a base and vulgar fraud on you & the country you represent. . . .

Most faithfully your's

J. M. Mason

Mr. Dallas

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