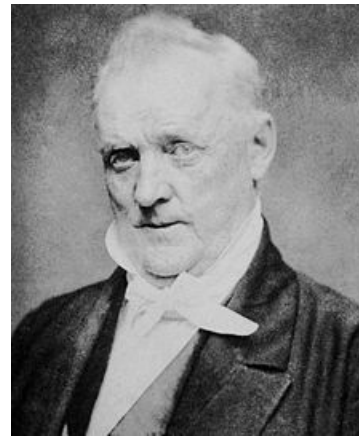


President	James Buchanan
Chronological Order	15
Life Span	1791-1868
Home State	Pennsylvania
Elected	1856
Political Party	Democratic
Vice President	John C. Breckinridge
First Lady	None
Children	None
Physical Attributes	6' tall, blond hair, blue eyes
Undergraduate Education	Dickinson College
Military Service	Private in Pennsylvania State Militia during War of 1812
Profession	Attorney
Other Political Offices	U.S. House of Representatives, Minister to Russia, U.S. Senate, Secretary of State, Minister to Great Britain
Nickname	Old Buck
Family Lineage	Scots-Irish
Religious Affiliation	Presbyterian



- Biographical Notes
1. Few presidents have entered the White House with more impressive credentials and extensive training in public life than James Buchanan. Before becoming president, he served in the U.S. House of Representatives (ten years), the U.S. Senate (ten years), as secretary of state (four years), and as Minister to Russia and Minister to Great Britain.

And yet, no president, except perhaps Richard Nixon or Donald Trump, left office with such a tarnished reputation. His mishandling of the situation in Kansas, his meddling in the *Dred Scott* decision, his division of his own party with his pro-southern and anti-Douglas biases, and his inability to deal with the secession crisis all contributed to his reputation as the worst president in American history.
 2. Buchanan was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1791. He graduated from Dickinson College in 1809 and, after studying law in nearby Lancaster, was admitted to the bar in 1812. Intelligent and hardworking, he quickly became a prominent and successful attorney and began to accumulate a sizeable estate that made him financially comfortable for the rest of his life.
 3. In 1820, Buchanan was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served for a decade and became an important member of the new Democratic Party that rallied around Andrew Jackson.

Jackson and Buchanan had a misunderstanding during the election of 1824, and, as a result, Old Hickory was not fond of the Pennsylvanian. But in 1831, Pennsylvania was due an important patronage post, so Jackson appointed Buchanan Minister to Russia. When asked about the appointment, the president said, "It was as far as I could send him out of my sight ... I would have sent him to the North Pole if we had kept a minister there!" Nevertheless, Buchanan was able to negotiate a trade agreement with Russia that had eluded his predecessors. He spent fourteen months at this post.

Upon his return, he was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1834 and re-elected in 1836 and 1842. As a loyal party man, he faithfully supported the policies of Jackson and his successor Martin Van Buren.
 4. While in Congress, Buchanan took a decisive position on the slavery issue, displaying strong pro-southern sympathies. While he opposed slavery in the abstract, he never held strong moral feelings about the

institution and bitterly opposed the new abolitionist movement. In the congressional battles over slavery Buchanan consistently supported the positions of the South.

5. Buchanan is the only president who never married. When he was a U.S. senator from 1834 to 1844, he lived at a succession of Washington boarding houses while Congress was in session, and his good friend and fellow bachelor, Senator William R. King of Alabama, always stayed at the same establishment. During this decade, they voted the same way in the Senate eighty-eight percent of the time.

There were rumors about the nature of the relationship between the two men. Andrew Jackson and others referred to King as “Miss Nancy,” a nineteenth-century euphemism used to describe an effeminate, same-sex-oriented man. In 1837, the *New York Herald* published the fact that King’s nickname was “Miss Nancy.” Thomas Balcerski, in his joint biography of Buchanan and King, argues that King never had a romantic relationship with a woman and probably was not attracted to women.

Buchanan, on the other hand, had been engaged to be married as a young man, but that relationship went awry. He flirted with women throughout his life but never got romantically involved with one. A contemporary referred to Buchanan and King as “Mr. Buchanan and his wife,” but there is no proof of a sexual relationship between the two men.

6. At the 1844 Democratic National Convention, the four leading candidates for the presidential nomination were Martin Van Buren, Lewis Cass, James Buchanan, and Richard M. Johnson. After seven ballots, the delegates were hopelessly deadlocked – primarily between Van Buren and Cass – and the convention turned to a dark horse, James K. Polk, on the eighth ballot. Polk won the nomination on the ninth ballot.

When Polk chose his cabinet, he required the members not to be candidates for president in 1848. Polk wanted Buchanan for secretary of state, but the Pennsylvanian would make no such promise. Eventually, the two men came up with language they could both live with, and Buchanan became Polk’s secretary of state.

Polk, who kept a detailed diary during his presidency, found working with Buchanan difficult. In the negotiations with the British over the Oregon Country, Buchanan was initially for the compromise that both parties eventually accepted. But at the last minute, he argued with Polk for an extreme position because he thought that being seen on that side of the question would help his candidacy for president in 1848.

When the Mexican War broke out at the Rio Grande River, Buchanan prepared a message for distribution to foreign governments, explaining that the United States was not fighting to obtain Mexican territory but only to defend her territory as far south as the Rio Grande. Polk, who wanted to acquire California, refused to tie his hands with such a proclamation. In contrast, when the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo arrived in Washington at the end of the war, Buchanan was against submitting it to the Senate because it did not demand *enough* land from Mexico. Again, his motivation was that such a stance would help him win the 1848 Democratic presidential nomination.

On at least one occasion, Buchanan was personally disloyal to the president. When Polk nominated a rival Pennsylvania politician for the Supreme Court, Buchanan had some of his former colleagues in the Senate kill the nomination.

7. At the 1848 Democratic National Convention, the party was split over the question of slavery in the newly acquitted western territories. Governor Lewis Cass of Michigan was for popular sovereignty. Democratic Party founder Martin Van Buren strongly disagreed; he wanted no slavery in these territories. Consequently, Van Buren split from the party and ran as the candidate of the Free-Soil Party. Buchanan was considered for the nomination, but never really threatened Cass, who won on the fourth ballot.

8. At the 1852 Democratic National Convention, the party encountered a serious problem. Each of the four leading candidates for the presidential nomination – James Buchanan, Lewis Cass, William Marcy, and Stephen A. Douglas—faced strong opposition from one faction of the party or another. As a result, none of them could obtain the two-thirds majority of delegates needed for the nomination. Ballot after ballot produced more hostility within the divided party, and a deadlock ensued.

After thirty-four ballots, it became apparent that a new candidate – a dark horse – was needed. In order to attract the votes of both northern and southern delegates, it became clear that a proslavery northerner might be the best bet. Franklin Pierce’s political machine in New Hampshire sensed this and began quietly working the convention floor, particularly among southerners. Pierce’s name was placed in nomination on the thirty-fifth ballot by the Virginia delegation. He won on the forty-ninth ballot.

Pierce chose Buchanan to be his Minister to Great Britain.

9. By the time of the 1856 Democratic National Convention, the civil strife in Kansas had badly damaged

President Pierce's standing with the public. Many dissatisfied Democrats supported Buchanan, who had avoided the controversy over Bleeding Kansas by being overseas. A smaller group of Democrats supported Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. Buchanan led on the first ballot at the convention and slowly grew his support on subsequent ballots. On the fourteenth ballot, Pierce instructed his delegates to back Douglas to deny Buchanan the nomination. Douglas withdrew his name on the seventeenth ballot after receiving assurances that Buchanan would not seek re-election in 1860; this move allowed Buchanan to win.

In the general election, Buchanan won all the slave states (except Maryland) plus five free states (California, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey). Republican John C. Fremont won the rest of the free states, and Millard Fillmore, the American Party candidate, won Maryland. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes, Fremont 114, and Fillmore 8. However, Buchanan's opponents polled 400,00 more votes than he did, and the three northern states that gave him his margin of victory (Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania) were even then moving away from the Democratic Party and towards the Republican Party.

Buchanan hated the Republican Party and was not magnanimous in victory. In his first speech after the election, he characterized Republicans as extremists who threatened the South with their antislavery propaganda. He attributed the fact that he did not win a single New England state to abolitionist preachers who convinced their parishioners to vote against him.

10. In his inaugural address, Buchanan discussed the slavery issue. He denounced the continuing agitation against slavery as dangerous to the nation and voiced the sincere hope that it would end. As for the question of slavery's expansion, Buchanan expressed the opinion that, as most southerners argued, the people of a territory (not the federal government) should determine slavery's status when they drafted their state constitution. He added that the Supreme Court would soon rule on the status of slavery in the territories and, feigning ignorance of its deliberations, pledged that he would "cheerfully submit" to the Court's decision.

11. Dred Scott was a slave whose owner, an army doctor, had taken him to live in the free states of Minnesota and Illinois and then taken him back to Missouri. Scott sued for his freedom on the basis that he had lived on free soil.

While Buchanan was president-elect, the *Dred Scott* case was before the Supreme Court. Buchanan wrote to Justice John Catron in January 1857, inquiring about the status of the case. He suggested to Catron that the Court make a broad decision on the issue of slavery, not a decision limited to the specifics of the case.

Catron replied in February, saying that the Court's southern majority would decide against Scott, but, since the Court was split, it would have to make the decision on narrow grounds unless Buchanan could convince his fellow Pennsylvanian, Justice Robert Cooper Grier, to seek a definitive solution to the question of slavery in the territories.

Buchanan wrote to Grier and convinced him to join the southerners in making a broad decision. The Court issued a blockbuster ruling (with Catron and Grier in the 7 to 2 majority). It ruled that slaves were property without any rights that white men were bound to protect; hence Dred Scott could not sue for his freedom. The Court also ruled that since slaves were private property and property was protected by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, slavery could not be prohibited in the territories before statehood. Hence, the Missouri Compromise ban on slavery above the 36 degrees 30 minutes latitude line was unconstitutional.

With his letters to Catron and Grier, Buchanan was complicit in the *Dred Scott* decision and committed the constitutional impropriety of interfering with the court's deliberations. The interference violated the principle of separation of powers between the executive and judicial branches of government.

12. Buchanan disliked confrontation and wanted an obedient, harmonious cabinet. His objective was to dominate the cabinet, so he chose men who agreed with his points of view. Thus, Buchanan selected men (all Democrats) he was comfortable with personally rather than including all party factions. In particular, he did not give any slots to the supporters of Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, whose withdrawal at the 1856 Democratic National Convention made Buchanan's nomination possible.

Buchanan chose: for State, Lewis Cass (MI); for Treasury, Howell Cobb (GA); for War, John Floyd (VA); for Navy, Isaac Toucey (CT); for Postmaster General, Aaron V. Brown (TN); for Attorney General, Jeremiah Black (PA); and for Interior, Jacob Thompson (MS). Cass was elderly (75 years old), and Buchanan – with all his experience in foreign affairs – intended to be his own secretary of state. All four southerners were wealthy aristocratic politicians whose company Buchanan enjoyed. Each of them had been, at one time or another, a large slaveholder. Toucey was a northerner who sympathized with the South. Black was an old friend from Buchanan's home state.

Buchanan's niece, Harriet Lane, served as his White House hostess, and his nephew, James Buchanan Henry, served as his secretary.

13. Southerners dominated Buchanan's social life as president. The suave Louisiana Senator John Slidell enjoyed unfettered access to the White House, and was both a major influence on administration policy and a steadfast regular at every White House party. Other regulars included Howell Cobb and his wife Mary Ann, Jacob Thompson and his wife Kate, Mississippi Senator Jefferson Davis and his wife Varina, and Alabama Senator Clement Clay and his wife Virginia. Robert Tyler, son of former President John Tyler, was a good friend from Virginia with whom Buchanan liked to discuss policy issues.

14. The most significant problem facing Buchanan was the situation in Kansas. For the critical post of territorial governor, he turned to Robert Walker, a skillful Democratic politician with ties to both the North and South. In reluctantly accepting the position, Walker insisted that the president publicly endorse the policy to allow the residents of Kansas to vote on their new constitution. Buchanan agreed.

Walker went to Kansas to implement this policy, but he soon came into conflict with the proslavery faction in the territory over the state constitutional convention. Proslavery elements rigged the election of delegates to the constitutional convention by omitting free-state voters (those who felt the state should be free from slavery) from the rolls and putting no polling places in free-state towns like Lawrence. Free-state voters objected and refused to participate on election day. As a result, proslavery elements won control of the constitutional convention. The convention met in Lecompton in the summer of 1857 and drafted a constitution that recognized the legality of slavery.

Despite Buchanan's pledge to Walker, the delegates refused to submit the constitution to popular ratification; instead, they stipulated that the voters were to decide only if additional slaves could be brought into the state. The voters could not approve the constitution without slavery, and they could not reject the constitution entirely. Moreover, the proposed constitution prohibited any amendments for seven years. With free-state voters again boycotting the election, voters approved the Lecompton Constitution with the right to import new slaves into Kansas.

15. Aware that a large majority of Kansas residents opposed the Lecompton Constitution, Walker denounced it as a fraud and urged Buchanan to reject it. Buchanan, however, was under intense southern pressure to make Kansas a slave state, and in the end, he endorsed the document. In response, Stephen A. Douglas broke with the administration, proclaiming that the survival of the Democratic Party in the North was at stake. Rejecting any compromise, Buchanan offered patronage positions, lucrative government contracts, and even cash to legislators to force the Lecompton Constitution through Congress. But after one of the fiercest legislative struggles in American history, Democratic leaders eventually stymied its passage and fashioned a compromise that sent the constitution back to Kansas for a new vote. In August, with both factions participating, the residents of Kansas overwhelmingly rejected admission as a state under the Lecompton Constitution. This rejection marked the end of the Kansas issue in national politics. Kansas entered the Union as a free state in 1861.

16. During the battle in Congress over the Lecompton Constitution, Buchanan reminded Senator Douglas of the many powers at his command, including the power of patronage and the influence of administration-controlled newspapers. "No Democrat ever broke with a Democratic administration without being crushed," he warned, a reference to the methods by which President Andrew Jackson had stifled dissent.

"Mr. President," Douglas replied, "I wish to remind you that General Jackson is dead."

17. The Lecompton imbroglio was a political disaster for the Democratic Party. Not only had the administration suffered a humiliating defeat when Congress rejected the Lecompton Constitution, but also the fall elections in the North were a fiasco. Almost half the northern seats in the House were lost and with them the control of the new Congress. Douglas won re-election in the Senate, further evidence that Northern Democrats backed him over the president.

At this point, Buchanan needed to heal the breach with Douglas and restore party unity. Instead, seething with hatred for the Illinois senator, he refused to make any overtures to Northern Democrats. Buchanan then commenced a systematic removal of anti-Lecomptonites from federal office while abetting the successful movement to strip Douglas of his committee chairmanship in the Senate. This steadily worsening division left the Democratic Party badly crippled as the 1860 election approached.

18. Buchanan was further weakened politically by a series of scandals that wracked his administration. A congressional investigating committee uncovered that, among other things, government money had been

diverted to Democratic candidates, that public printing contracts involved kickbacks and bribes, and that the administration had offered outright bribes to congressmen if they would support the Lecompton Constitution. The committee's report established that Buchanan presided over the most corrupt administration in American history prior to the Civil War.

19. Buchanan vetoed two popular Republican bills in 1859. The Homestead Act gave 160 acres of public land free to each settler after five years of residence. Southerners worried that this would result in the West being populated by free-soilers, which would create new anti-slavery states. Eastern industrialists feared that their employees would leave to pursue free land in the West. Buchanan vetoed the bill mainly to please the South.

The Morrill Act allowed for the creation of land-grant agricultural colleges in the United States using the proceeds from the sale of federally-owned land. In his veto message, Buchanan argued that the Morrill Act exceeded the federal government's constitutional authority.

Both acts were later signed into law by Abraham Lincoln. They became two of the three cornerstones upon which the tremendous agricultural success of the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was built. The third cornerstone, the establishment of the Department of Agriculture, also occurred during the Lincoln administration.

20. In October 1859, John Brown and his Liberty Guards (twenty-two men) captured the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His goal was to incite slaves to rebel, furnish them with weapons, and establish a Black free state as a place of sanctuary. However, no slave insurrection ensued, and within two days, Brown's band was subdued by federal troops and taken into custody. "Commander-in-Chief" Brown was tried, convicted of treason against the Commonwealth of Virginia, and hanged. Some abolitionists considered Brown a martyr. For example, he was called "an angel of light" by Henry David Thoreau; abolitionist Wendell Phillips proclaimed that "the lesson of the hour is insurrection."

Brown's desperate act terrified southerners because a slave insurrection was something they greatly feared. In many southern counties, the slave population was much larger than the white population. On many plantations, the planter's home and family were surrounded by scores of slaves. Hence, if someone organized a slave revolt, the results could be devastating. Many southerners were acutely aware that such devastation had been narrowly averted during the slave rebellion led by Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831.

Brown's raid and the abolitionists' support for it were game-changers for a significant number of southerners. These two things were evidence that there were those in the North that meant the southern way of life harm and would commit or condone violent acts to achieve their goals.

21. The 1860 Democratic National Convention in Charleston was a trainwreck. The leading candidate was Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. However, he was too moderate on the issue of slavery for many southern delegates. Before the convention, the delegations from seven southern states met in a separate caucus. They reached a consensus to "stop Douglas" by imposing a proslavery party platform that he could not run on if nominated.

When the convention began, the proslavery party platform was rejected by the full convention, and fifty southern delegates walked out: the entire Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas delegations, three of the four delegates from Arkansas, and one of the three delegates from Delaware. Douglas and five other lesser-known candidates were subsequently nominated for president.

While Douglas led on the first ballot, receiving 145½ of 253 votes cast, convention rules at the time required a two-thirds vote to win the nomination. On top of this, convention chairman Caleb Cushing further ruled that two-thirds of *the full membership* was required, not just two-thirds of those *present and voting*. This ruling meant Douglas needed 202 votes, i.e., 80% of the remaining 253 delegates. Such a total would be achievable only if several of the remaining southern delegates voted for Douglas, which they would not do.

As a result of this situation, the convention held fifty-seven ballots, and though Douglas led by a large margin on all of them, he never received more than 152½ votes. After the fifty-seventh ballot, the delegates voted to adjourn the convention and meet in Baltimore in six weeks.

Six weeks later, the Northern and Southern Democrats held separate conventions in Baltimore that nominated Douglas and Vice President John C. Breckinridge, respectively, for president. Douglas ran on a platform endorsing popular sovereignty. Breckinridge demanded federal protection for slavery in the territories. Buchanan refused to support Douglas; he tepidly endorsed Breckinridge instead.

22. In the 1860 general election, Republican Abraham Lincoln swept all the free states, except for four of New Jersey's seven electoral votes for a total of 180 electoral votes. Douglas won only Missouri and four of

New Jersey's electoral votes for a total of 12 electoral votes. John Bell (Constitutional Union Party) won Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee (39 electoral votes). Breckinridge won the rest of the slave states (72 electoral votes).

After Lincoln's election, but before his inauguration, the seven Deep South states (South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas) seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America. They did this because they believed his election was a harbinger for the ultimate extinction of slavery. Four more southern states (Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee) seceded after Lincoln took office and tried to resupply Fort Sumter.

23. One month before the 1860 general election, Winfield Scott, Commanding General of the United States Army, warned Buchanan that Lincoln's election would likely cause at least seven states to secede from the Union. He recommended that massive amounts of federal troops and artillery be deployed to those states to protect federal property. Buchanan distrusted Scott – after all, he was a former Whig candidate for president – and ignored his recommendations. After Lincoln's election, Buchanan directed Secretary of War Floyd – who was from Virginia – to reinforce southern forts with such provisions, arms, and men as were available; however, Floyd persuaded him to revoke the order.

24. Four days after the 1860 election, Buchanan met with his cabinet and proposed a proclamation that called upon the South to accept the election results and declared secession unlawful, with a subtle reference to the possibility of force, if necessary. Treasury Secretary Cobb disagreed with issuing such a proclamation. He believed that secession was not only a *fait accompli* but a good thing. Secretary of the Interior Thompson and Secretary of War Floyd agreed with Cobb. The rest of the cabinet agreed with the president. The meeting broke up without coming to an agreement, and such a proclamation was never issued.

25. Buchanan addressed the country's situation in his Annual Message (what is now called the State of the Union Address) on December 3, 1860. He stated that there is no provision in the Constitution that allows a state to secede. Hence, states did not have the right to secede. Then he undercut this position by insisting that the power to coerce a state to remain in the Union could not be found amongst the enumerated powers granted to the President or Congress by the Constitution. Hence, if a state did secede, there was nothing the federal government could do about it. This was a crabbed reading of the Constitution that overlooked those parts of the document that could have been used to sustain federal action against secession. Unlike Andrew Jackson in 1832, Buchanan lacked the will to take action against seceding states. (N.B. What Buchanan overlooked – and Jackson did not – was his presidential oath of office to “preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”)

The Annual Message divided the nation and splintered the Cabinet. The South sharply criticized it for denying states the right to secede. The North harshly criticized it for refusing to support stopping secession if it occurred. Five days after the address, Secretary of the Treasury Howell Cobb resigned because his views had become irreconcilable with the president's. He returned home to Georgia and led the state's secession movement. Nine days after the address, Secretary of State Cass resigned because he felt that Buchanan's policies encouraged secession.

26. South Carolina, long the most radical southern state, seceded from the Union on December 20, 1860. Shortly after, Major Robert Anderson moved all his Union troops in the Charleston, South Carolina, area to Fort Sumter, located on an island in Charleston Harbor and relatively easy to defend. Subsequently, a delegation of South Carolina commissioners came to the White House and demanded that Buchanan pull all federal forces from Charleston Harbor. Afterward, they let it be known that they would no longer even talk to the president until every Union soldier was gone from Fort Sumter.

Buchanan refused to withdraw the troops. He said, “Whilst it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter as a portion of the property of the United States against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, I do not perceive how such a defense can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston.”

Meanwhile, Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson was appointed by the state of Mississippi as a “secession commissioner” to North Carolina, with the task of trying to convince that state to secede from the Union. He traveled to Raleigh and met with Governor John W. Ellis on December 21. He then published an open letter to Ellis that said the South faced “common humiliation and ruin” if it remained in the Union. He warned that a Northern “majority trained from infancy to hate our people and their institutions” would overthrow slavery. The result would be the “subjugation of our people.” Despite these actions, Buchanan did not fire Thompson; instead, the Mississippian resigned from the cabinet on January 8, 1861.

Buchanan also refused to fire Secretary of War John B. Floyd, despite an embezzlement scandal. Floyd

ended up resigning on January 18, but not before sending numerous firearms to southern states, where they eventually fell into the hands of the Confederacy. Despite the resignations of Cobb, Thompson, and Floyd, Buchanan continued to seek the advice of counselors from the Deep South, including Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and William Henry Trescott of South Carolina.

27. On January 9, 1861, weeks after South Carolina seceded, but before any other states had done so, Buchanan decided to reinforce Fort Sumter, sending a ship, the *Star of the West*, with 250 men and supplies. When the ship arrived in Charleston Harbor, it was fired upon by a battery operated by the South Carolina Military Academy (what is now a university called The Citadel). Although the *Star of the West* suffered no significant damage, her captain considered it too dangerous to continue, and the ship returned to her home port, New York Harbor. Buchanan chose not to respond to this act of war and instead sought to find a compromise. Six more Deep South states seceded by February 1. On the day before Lincoln's inauguration, Buchanan received a message from Major Anderson that supplies were running low. Buchanan did nothing – the problem was Lincoln's now.

28. Buchanan's southern friends went on to serve the Confederate States of America in various capacities. Howell Cobb was one of the founders of the Confederate States of America. He served as President of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, where delegates from the seven Deep South states created the Confederate States of America and set up a government in February 1861. Cobb was an officer in the Confederate States Army (CSA) during the Civil War, reaching the rank of major general. He saw combat during the Peninsula Campaign and the Seven Days Battles. Cobb's brigade played a crucial role in the fighting during the Battle of South Mountain and also fought at the Battle of Antietam.

John Floyd was a brigadier general in the CSA; he lost the Battle of Fort Donelson to U.S. Grant. Jacob Thompson began as an inspector general for the CSA; later, he was a Lieutenant Colonel. In 1864, he was the leader of the Confederate Secret Service in Canada. John Slidell was a special envoy to France for the Confederacy. Robert Tyler was a major in the CSA and assistant to the secretary of war. Buchanan's vice president, John C. Breckinridge, was a brigadier general in the CSA and later served as the Confederate secretary of war.

29. After his presidency, Buchanan retired to his estate, Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In 1866, he published a book, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of Rebellion*, that tried to defend his actions during the secession crisis. He died in 1868 at age seventy-seven.

See the next page for a list of references.

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