

25. Surrender

Commander Charles Henry Davis, of the U.S. sloop-of-war *St. Mary's*, originated, arranged, and accepted Walker's surrender in Rivas. Thereupon, he removed Walker and the remnants of his army, from Nicaragua, for repatriation to the United States.

Davis' involvement in the Walker war began on February 6th, 1857, upon arrival at San Juan del Sur, on the *St. Mary's*, under precise orders from the Pacific Squadron commander, Commodore William Mervine, to do two things:

1. To prevent and restrain "depredations upon American citizens" in Nicaragua, which Walker might attempt in the "precarious and straitened condition" of his forces.
2. To take what measures shall be required for the adequate protection of American citizens, "in the event of the expulsion of Walker and his forces from Nicaragua, by the allied armies, and of his departure to adjacent territory in Central America, for the purpose of hostile and aggressive operations."

Upon entering the harbor at San Juan del Sur, Davis received a call from Captain John Edmonds, of the American coal ship *Narragansett*, in port. Edmonds explained that Walker had "borrowed" two boats from his ship, for use on the Lake in efforts to capture a steamer. When the Allies entered San Jorge, Walker carried one of the boats to Rivas; the Allies seized the other one, left abandoned on the beach. Captain Edmonds urged Davis to recover them for him, for they were essential to his business.

Davis promptly sent messages to San Jorge and Rivas, inquiring about the boats and expressing his desire to visit both camps. Cañas and Walker, in turn, answered courteously, each expressing his willingness to satisfy his desires, and welcoming his presence.

At sundown on February 10th, the British steam frigate *Esk*, making a regular round of Central American ports, came into the San Juan harbor. Next morning, on seeing Walker's colors on the schooner *Granada*, Sir Robert McClure, commander of the *Esk*, asked Fayssoux his authority for flying a flag. Fayssoux recorded in his log:

"... He was answered by the authority of our Government. At 6 p.m. he again sent on board using threats that he would take me prize, or sink me if I did not proceed on board of him with my commission, which I refused to do. After making me three visits and threatening every thing, without effect, he invited me to make a friendly visit which I did."

At 11 a.m. on the 13th, Captain Davis paid an official visit to Fayssoux aboard the *Granada*. McClure followed suit at noon, and on the 14th went to see Walker in Rivas.

Davis went to Rivas on the 18th, when the *Esk* was getting ready to depart for Puntarenas, Costa Rica. He was escorted by a party of Mounted Rangers sent by Walker. From Rivas, Davis went to San Jorge. Both Walker and the Allies received him cordially and assented without hesitation to his wishes. He sought to be neutral, but his observations, transmitted to Commodore Mervine, displayed the tenacious racial ideology that connected him to the Walker camp:

“... If there is one thing in Rivas more noticeable than another, it is the unaffected quiet, the homelike manner of everybody. The truth is, Commodore, if the Americans establish themselves here, it will be by the same law that the Turks govern the effete races of Asia Minor, the Tartars the Chinese, the British the wealthy but enervated nations of India—a law of nature. When I passed immediately from the American camp to that of the Allies, and observed the strong contrast between the serious and marked countenances, and the personal proportions of the men of northern origin I had just left; and the mild unthoughtful faces (with large womanly eyes) and the full round forms of the guard drawn up to receive me, half of whom stood with their mouths open, I discerned at once the secret of Walker’s frequent successful resistance against such great odds—the possibility of Henningsen’s masterly retreat from Granada.”

Davis chatted with his countrymen in the homelike atmosphere of Rivas. Walker told him he could send for the *Narragansett*’s boat any time he wished. But he and Charles J. Macdonald, agent of Morgan & Garrison’s “Nicaragua Transportation Line” (the very agent who collaborated with Walker in the capture of Granada in 1855), also asked Davis to demand from the Allies the delivery of the Transit Company steamers to Macdonald; that as Guardian and Protector of American property, Davis should undertake to recapture the river and lake steamers just as he recovered the coal ship’s boats. Davis told them that he would think about it.

After returning to San Juan, he decided that such an undertaking would be beyond the province of his duty and, on February 23d, said “No” to Macdonald. Walker retaliated by going back on his word and refused to deliver the boat when Davis sent for it next day.

In San Jorge, the Allied Generals seemed eager to oblige Davis in all respects. On the 24th, they delivered the boat in their possession in the exact manner he desired. Commander-in-Chief Xatruch on that date wrote a very temperate letter to Davis, begging him to help enforce the U.S. neutrality laws by preventing the landing in San Juan del Sur of the Walker recruits due to arrive on the next Transit Company steamer from San Francisco.

Davis refused to do it. On March 3d, he replied to Xatruch that the Neutrality Law

enacted by the Congress applied only within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States. "And besides, it must be as apparent to you as to me, that if my Government had designs that this ship should take any such active part as you propose in the contentions which at present disturb the peace of this country, it would not have failed to provide me with suitable instructions."

When the New York Tribune published the Xatruch-Davis letters, it pointed out several particular instances showing Davis' partiality in favor of the filibusters, and commented:

"The correspondence . . . affords abundant evidence, if any were needed, of the disgraceful complicity of our Government in the fillibustering robberies and murders of which during the past year Nicaragua has been the scene. . . Capt. Davis is undoubtedly right. Had he been sent to Nicaragua for any other purpose except to afford aid and comfort to the fillibusters, he would no doubt have been told so. . . in all this, Captain Davis must be understood as acting not for himself, but for his Government. Doubtless he conforms to his instructions."

Secret instructions from Commodore Mervine, or from Secretary of the Navy Dobbin or other filibuster friends in Washington, may have influenced Davis, but it is clear that in Nicaragua he acted in accordance with his own sympathies and convictions.

Early in March, he believed that General Wheat, on the San Juan river, was about to reach "the shore of the lake, around which he has an easy march, through a fine grazing country, filled with provisions and free from the enemy." As for Walker, in Rivas, he had "no doubt, that the arrival of every steamer at this port, adds something to his comfort and efficiency in men, clothing, ammunition, hospital and other stores." On the other hand, he saw the Allied forces demoralized and losing strength: "an army originally ill-constituted," made up of "effeminate people," on the verge of becoming "an undisciplined mob." Hence, he expected a Walker victory, provided that "the external aids he has hitherto relied upon do not fail him."

Under those circumstances, favorable to the filibusters, Davis decided not to interfere. He changed course in April, when he saw Walker's camp collapsing in Rivas.

Despite the April 11 debacle, the Allies had continued to gain ground. On the 15th, they occupied San Juan del Sur. Davis then arranged and became the guarantor of a temporary suspension of hostilities between Colonel Juan Estrada, commanding the Allied forces in town, and Captain Fayssoux, of the schooner Granada in the harbor.

On the 22d, with permission from both camps, Davis sent Lieutenant Thomas T. Houston, U.S.N., to evacuate the American women and children from Rivas. Through Houston, he informed Walker that he could command his services. Walker replied, that

if he had occasion to do so, he would request them in writing.

Towards the end of April, Davis knew that Walker was reduced to a few days' provisions in Rivas and that his ranks were rapidly thinned by desertion. He also knew that the Transit Company intended to send no more steamers to San Juan del Sur. He then learned that Lockridge's forces had retired to the United States, leaving the Costa Ricans in undisputed possession of the San Juan river.

On the 28th, he sent Lieut. D. Porter McCorkle, U.S.N., to Rivas, to obtain the latest and most authentic information from the Allied and the Walker camps, which would determine his future course. The information brought by McCorkle, on the 29th, convinced Davis that Walker's position in Rivas was untenable, and he intervened at once in order to stop the impending massacre of his countrymen. In his own words:

. . . The information brought by Lieutenant McCorkle, who returned on the 29th ult., determined me to go to Rivas the next day. . . As soon as certain [unquestionable] information was received of the departure of Colonel Lockridge from the river San Juan, it became apparent that General Walker, now deprived of all possibility of receiving reinforcements, and rapidly consuming his mules and horses, must either succumb to the superior force of the enemy, or try his fortune in a change of place. . . towards the end of April the only resort left to General Walker was to cut his way down to the coast, and take refuge, if possible on board the schooner Granada. Here again I am citing the opinion of his friends. According to the best intelligence, such an attempt would only have been the last effort of despair, and would have terminated fatally in less than five miles from Rivas.

Davis reached Allied Headquarters, at Cuatro Esquinas, on the afternoon on the 30th. After half an hour's conference with General Mora, he exchanged several notes with General Walker, followed by three interviews with Henningsen and Waters representing Walker. At the last of them, on the morning of May 1st, they signed an Agreement, to which Walker affixed his signature, in Rivas, later in the day.

Not a single Central American signed the document. Mora simply wrote a letter to Davis, expressing his approval of the terms of the agreement, and thanking him in the name of the governments of Central America for his good offices in bringing the war to a close.

Although both sides welcomed the end of hostilities, they could never have done it alone: neither pure-white American William Walker could have surrendered to a member of the mixed Hispano-Indian race, nor Central American Commander-in-Chief José Joaquín Mora could have signed an agreement with a pirate. On that account, U.S. Navy officer Charles Henry Davis had to originate, arrange, and accept Walker's

capitulation in Rivas.

Throughout the negotiations, Davis was impressed by Mora's personality—by his “candor, truthfulness, and, above all, humanity.”

Pérez asserts that Generals Xatruch, Martínez, and Chamorro wanted Walker to pledge that he would never again invade Central America, but Mora didn't insist on it, because he “wished to end the war and return home, no matter what.” Moreover, Salvadoran General Gerardo Barrios was on his way to Rivas with a large force, allegedly to finish Walker. Mora, “whose notorious vanity had been magnified by his triumphs [on the San Juan river], which he flaunted so blatantly that it lowered their merit,” was afraid that Barrios might arrive in time to steal from him the glory, and accepted the document that ended the war without the Walker pledge that his brother generals demanded.

Davis found less candor, truthfulness, and humanity in his fellow countryman than in the Costa Rican general. In his first note to Walker, Davis told him: “if you will abandon Rivas, I will answer for your personal safety, and for the lives and safe removal of all others, under your command, without exception of rank or nation.” Walker demurred, saying that the proposal was vague. But when Davis informed Henningsen of his inalterable determination not to allow the schooner Granada to leave port, Walker had nowhere to go except to meekly understand and accept Davis' terms.

During the talks, one more murder in Rivas allowed Davis to assess Walker's (and Kissane's) humanity. The New York press reported it:

“WALKER'S RIGHT HAND MAN.

“On the 30th day of April, while Gen. Walker, without the knowledge of his men, was negotiating his capitulation, knowing that he was to surrender the next day, one of his soldiers, contrary to a general order, went outside of his lines. He shortly after returned, he having only gone out to get a bottle of aguardiente. Walker called him up, when he acknowledged his fault and prayed for forgiveness.

“‘If you have any message to send to your friends,’ said Walker, in his mild but sarcastic way, ‘you had better prepare it, for at sundown you die.’

“Punctually at sunset a platoon of soldiers was drawn up for the execution, and just as the order was given to fire, the soldier appealed to his comrades:

“‘Boys, you wouldn't shoot a fellow soldier for such a thing as that, would you?’

“They raised their rifles and fired over his head. The poor fellow broke and ran, when he was brought to his knees by Lieut. Col. [William Kissane] Rogers, an Irishman, who figures in the list I send you, by a pistol shot. Stepping up to the man, while in this position, Rogers placed his revolver at his forehead and blew out his brains!

“May be there isn’t a hell. There ought to be, if there is not.”

Walker signed his surrender next morning (May 1st). Meanwhile, Henningsen had the cannon, foundry, and ammunition destroyed. At four o’clock in the afternoon, Davis entered Rivas in company with General Zavala and his staff, who attended General Walker and his staff to San Juan del Sur, where the latter embarked on board the *St. Mary’s*.

Henningsen stayed behind with Davis. The remnants of Walker’s troops—the 240 men able to walk—paraded on the plaza, and the Agreement was read to them in General Orders No. 59, Walker’s last at Rivas:

“Reduced to our present position by the cowardice of some, the incapacity of others, and the treachery of many, the army has yet written a page of American history which it is impossible to forget or erase. From the future, if not from the present, we may expect just judgment.”

Henningsen then transferred the men to Davis, who sent them to Virgin Bay the next morning (May 2d) for repatriation to the United States via Costa Rica and Panama. Lieutenant McCorkle, who accompanied them, found them “in a very destitute condition: many of them were without shoes or clothes necessary for their comfort, wounded, sick, and miserable; many suffering from inveterate ulcers upon the feet and legs; and it seemed almost impossible for them to be conducted through the long march that was before us. All, however, were eager to undertake it.”

Sixty American sick and wounded remained in Rivas, forty of them bedridden in the hospital. Forty natives under Col. Mateo Pineda, the last Nicaraguans loyal to Walker, whom he protected in Article Four of the Agreement, then disbanded and went home. Though few in numbers, they had served him well until the end, especially against the Costa Ricans. Walker acknowledged it in his chronicle to Randolph of the battle of March 23d:

“... The native boys—for most of them are young Nicaraguans—with us behaved well. They were fierce against the Costa Ricans, and wanted to slay the prisoners who had come hither to ravage and desolate their “país” [country]. We have got, however, about 15 of them—Costa Rican prisoners—well and hearty, and will put them to better use than filling graves. They are excellent for laborers; and I think it well to get our officers and men into the habit of directing native workmen.”

The 102 Allied prisoners held by Walker were released on May 1st. General Cañas took possession of Rivas on May 2d. Davis and Henningsen went to San Juan, and Davis sent Lieut. John S. Maury, U.S.N., to take possession of the schooner *Granada*, in the harbor. Fayssoux refused to give it up without an order from Walker, and Walker at first refused

to issue any such order. But when Davis sent Maury accompanied by 100 armed sailors and a howitzer to take immediate forcible possession of the vessel, Walker relented and hurriedly wrote to Fayssoux: "Deliver the Granada to the United States."

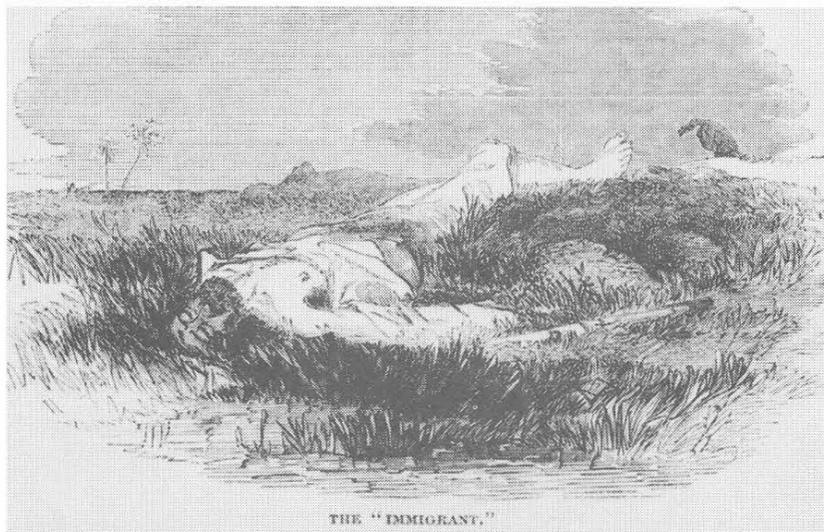
On May 2d at 4:30 p.m., Walker's Nicaraguan flag was hauled down and the United States' Stars and Stripes was run up, in its place, on the schooner; Fayssoux went aboard the St. Mary's, and his crew went on shore.

On May 3d, Davis wrote to General Mora, transferring the schooner to him and ordering Lieut. Maury to give possession of the vessel to any person appointed by Mora to receive it.

On May 4th, at 4:45 p.m., Costa Rica took possession of the Granada.

On May 5th, at 8 p.m., the St. Mary's left the harbor of San Juan del Sur for Panama, with Walker and retinue on board—Henningesen, Kissane, Fayssoux, etc.—thirty persons in all.

Two years and one day after he sailed from San Francisco, on the Vesta, for Nicaragua, Walker was forced to leave its shores. The Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny was gone. Central Americans rejoiced. But he would be back, and the unasked pledge demanded by Xatruch, Martínez, and Chamorro would return to haunt them.



THE "IMMIGRANT"
Harper's Weekly, March 28, 1857

26. Acclamation

William Walker turned thirty-three on May 8, 1857, comfortably cabined on the United States sloop-of-war *St. Mary's*, as the vessel cruised off the coast of Costa Rica on its way to Panama. He enjoyed the use of the Captain's quarters, to which he had been kindly invited by Commander Davis on his coming on board at San Juan del Sur. Walker was, however, angry with Davis, accusing him of collusion with the enemy, of having induced his men to desert him, and of having wrongfully turned over his Nicaraguan schooner *Granada* to Mora. Walker's enraged insolence became so great that Davis abstained from entering his own cabin during the voyage.

Upon arrival at Panama, Walker and his retinue were forced to wait on board the *St. Mary's* for the arrival of the steamer from California in order to cross the Isthmus by train together with the passengers. Twelve U.S. Marines escorted the filibusters. On the arrival of the train at Aspinwall, they went directly from the railroad station to the Steamship Company's office, where they remained until the hour of embarkation.

Henningsen boarded the *Illinois* for New York. Walker and his staff of eighteen officers and an orderly went on the *Granada* to Havana, on their way to New Orleans. Walker maintained the greatest reserve on board the *Granada*, being serene and tranquil, talking with no one, "without pride and without humiliation"; and on approaching Havana, he suddenly looked down from the rail, contemplating with fixed attention the powerful fortresses at the entrance of the harbor. The *Empire City* arrived in Havana from New York on the 24th, and Walker and his men continued on it to New Orleans.

At six o'clock Wednesday evening, May 27th, 2,000 people densely crowded the steamship landing with their eyes fixed on the approaching *Empire City*, as the other steamers in the New Orleans harbor "saluted and cheered her." On docking, "nine cheers were proposed and given," and amidst the crowd's enthusiasm, Walker came forward and bowed to his admirers. Hundreds ran up to the ship, and the conquering hero was carried out on the shoulders of the people. The *Picayune* recorded the Hero's welcome:

"A deputation from our citizen-soldiery received the general as he left the steamer, where the cannon boomed out a loud-mouthed welcome. He was then taken in a carriage to the *St. Charles Hotel*, where, after loud calls, he made his appearance on the portico, where he was received with a perfect storm of cheers. He then spoke as follows: " 'Fellow countrymen—I have always felt sure of the sympathies of the American

people in the cause of which I am the humble advocate. Although now defeated in Nicaragua, the same sympathy which has cheered us on so far will yet result in the emancipation of that beautiful country. Though defeated, we are not disheartened. I thank you, fellow-countrymen, for your kind reception on my return again to my native land, and must at the same time express my gratitude for your kindness and generosity during my absence.'

"The general then retired, to meet the gratulations of the hundreds of his admirers who crowded around him with outstretched hands of welcome and brotherhood."

Next morning, "the city is . . . full of Walker and Nicaragua." Scarcely anything else is talked about as New Orleans celebrated the return of the hero "and his gallant companions." The booksellers hastily exhumed dusty biographies, and Walker's picture adorned all the book shop-windows. Cashing in, theater managers vied for his presence and advertised invitations for his appearance. On Thursday, Walker and his staff attended the performance of the magician and ventriloquist Professor Wyman at The Amphitheatre.

When the party entered the theater, the band struck up a national air, and cheer upon cheer resounded for the gallant Walker, until he and his companions had taken their seats. Then a gentleman rose in the boxes, and proposed "three cheers for General Walker," which being given, Walker rose and modestly bowed his acknowledgments. Every allusion to him, in the course of the evening, happily made by the professor, was a fresh signal for the outbreak of popular enthusiasm.

The scene was repeated on Friday when Walker attended the performance of "Norma" at the Gaiety. And on Saturday evening, "Gen. Walker, the gallant hero of the Isthmus," addressed the people of New Orleans amid the glare of torches and the combined waving of American and Nicaraguan flags, at the request of his own agent, Mason Pilcher, and forty other prominent citizens. The theme: "the recent movements in Nicaragua . . . a subject fraught with such great interest to the people of the United States, and more especially to our fellow-citizens of the South."

Walker stood on a platform which Pilcher erected on Canal street. "Dense masses of willing and enthusiastic auditors," on the balconies of the neighboring houses and along the broad street, filled an entire block on each side. A military band "gave note and preparation" for the event.

Walker spoke for nearly two hours, accurately defining his war in Nicaragua in the context of Manifest Destiny: "If I have exerted myself for any purpose, it has been to extend American influence and Americanize Nicaragua." But to "Americanize" Nicaragua, Walker intended to bestow upon it the blessings of Southern slavery. The

“mongrels” of Central America were “incapable of self-government.” The War in Nicaragua was “a war of the races—the great battle of the mongrels and the white men.” Conquest was the aim, packaged under the euphemism of regeneration.

The people of New Orleans loved it, and when Walker called on them “and on all true Americans everywhere, to assist him by their means and energies in regenerating the Central American States—to aid him in an effort which he was determined never to abandon”—he received a standing ovation: Amid cheers, music, and the bursting of rockets, the meeting then dispersed.

Two days later, Walker was on his way to confer with President Buchanan in Washington and with Henningsen in New York, furthering his plans for his return to Nicaragua. He travelled with his “staff”: Col. Waters and Col. Lockridge, of the “Nicaraguan Army,” and Captain Fayssoux, of the “Nicaraguan Navy.” At Vicksburg, Memphis, Cincinnati, Louisville—in every city, town, and hamlet through which he passed—he was received as a hero.

The trip was “gratifying and delightful,” though “very fatiguing,” and from Louisville he sent a message to his friends at the capital, asking them to make no public demonstration; that he preferred “quiet and privacy.” Consequently, on Friday, June 12th, there was no hero’s welcome upon his arrival in Washington.

Walker checked in at Brown’s Hotel shortly before noon. Throughout the afternoon, many distinguished politicians thronged to his suite, and invitations to dine poured in. But few were admitted to his presence, since he desired “to pass through the city without parade,” and he declined all but one invitation ostensibly because of his short stay.

He had an interview with President Buchanan that same evening. The meeting was very private, but it transpired that the conversation was “general and informal”: Walker announced that he was a Nicaraguan citizen, complained of the “illegal and hostile interference of Capt. Davis against him,” and requested the President to order “an investigation into the facts.”

On Saturday evening, a select group of friends and admirers gave Walker a dinner at Brown’s Hotel. Among those present were Gov. Jones, of Tennessee, Col. Wheeler, late Minister to Nicaragua, and several U.S. Army officers, veterans of the Mexican War. Walker planned to leave Washington on Sunday, but postponed his departure, busily writing a long letter to President Buchanan in which he set down in detail his own delusive view of events, proclaiming himself “the rightful and lawful Executive” of Nicaragua. After William Walker handed the President his letter, on Monday morning, he continued on his triumphant journey to Philadelphia and New York in the afternoon. Momentous events in the New York City annals played an unexpected role in Walker’s

reception. Confronting Mayor Fernando Wood's corrupt regime, the Legislature at Albany had amended the New York City charter in April. Among other measures, it had created a Metropolitan Police Board to take over the control of the city's police from Wood's Municipal Police Board. As a result, in June, 1857 there were two sets of police doing duty in New York.

A riot erupted in the Eleventh Ward, on the 13th of June, when the two parties (the Metropolitan and the Municipal) ferociously collided. Sixteen people were wounded, several of them mortally. Mayor Wood was accused of inciting the riot, and at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, June 16, a few hours before Walker's arrival, a judge ordered the Mayor's arrest.

At 3:15 p.m., fifty Metropolitan policemen arrived at City Hall to arrest the Mayor. On ascending the steps, they were stopped by an overpowering force of 500 men armed with clubs, under the command of Alderman William Wilson, Major-General of Mayor Wood's Citizen Volunteers (and also head of the Tammany-hall Committee of Reception for Walker). The Mayor stayed out of jail, and throughout the rest of the afternoon and evening thousands of people in a state of tumultuous excitement thronged about the Park in front of City Hall.

The Philadelphia train with Gen. Walker and his retinue arrived at Perth Amboy at 5 p.m. The Committee of Reception (minus chairman William Wilson, delayed with his Volunteers at City Hall) met them at the station and escorted them aboard the steamer John Potter to the Battery, where they landed at seven. Wilson welcomed Walker in the name of the people and city, at Pier No. 1, North River, with a brass band, to the tune of "See the Conquering Hero comes" and a 100 gun salute.

Walker and his fellow filibusters proceeded on carriages, up Broadway, to the City Hall Park, a distance of roughly one mile, parading in a procession numbering two or three hundred persons. The sidewalks, however, were filled on both sides by large numbers of the curious. The Park was crowded, as it had been all afternoon and evening, growing out of the collision between the Metropolitan Police and Mayor Wood's retainers.

On Walker's arrival, there was a general rush to get within hearing distance of the platform. Walker and the Reception Committee were compelled to stand on the reporters' table, and the din created thereby—the continued yelling, made it impossible that the speakers be heard. Judge A. A. Phillips delivered the welcoming address. He made the effort, and succeeded in reading his prepared speech, which was hardly audible at a distance of four feet from the platform.

The Grand Marshal, Captain John Creighton, made another effort to get the tumultuous assemblage quiet. He appealed to them to "listen to the words of the

President of Nicaragua." But it was impossible. Walker made a try, but to no avail as rain began falling briskly on the crowd. Thus, instead of the long speech he had intended, he made only a few remarks.

When Walker descended from the platform, he proceeded to the St. Nicholas Hotel with the Reception Committee. Upon arrival they discovered that the hotel was full and could not furnish accommodations. They then drove on to the La Farge House and entered a suite of rooms on the second floor.

They were there joined by Gen. Cazneau, Col. Fabens, Don Fermín Ferrer, and other sympathizers. George Law arrived later in the evening and held a private conference with Walker. The reporters did not learn what they talked about. The only additional thing of importance they discovered was that the Treasurer of the Committee of Arrangements had had his pocket picked of the Committee's money in the Park.

In his first full day in New York, after breakfast at the La Farge House, Walker took a stroll up Broadway. He attracted no attention, for he was not generally known in the city. He had his picture taken at Brady's and returned to the hotel, where he was "constantly called upon by numbers of prominent citizens" and gave an interview to the Herald reporter, expressing his determination to return to Nicaragua "with sufficient force to make his return an event of interest."

Walker spent the afternoon with Henningsen and other friends, and had his daguerreotype taken at Frederick's gallery. In the evening, the Tammany-hall Committee of Reception escorted him to the Bowery theater. They had reserved the center box of the first tier, festooned with a tri-colored drapery and adorned with the American flag. They had also reserved the adjoining box, for the Second Company of the Continentals, New York Militia. Amid "a succession of hearty cheers," he delivered another speech.

Walker spent part of the next day with "several gentlemen who have taken a large interest in Nicaraguan matters." But fifteen or twenty of his former soldiers who called at the La Farge House, could not see him; neither could an elderly gentleman anxious to get information about his son, who had gone to Nicaragua, and whom he was afraid was lost forever.

Walker spent most of the day at Henningsen's residence, and in the evening visited the Wallack's Theater with Henningsen and his wife, Gen. Cazneau, Waters, Fayssoux, the wife of a noted city judge, and other sympathizers with his cause. He was enthusiastically received. The orchestra struck up "Hail Columbia," but the demonstrations were so noisy that the music could scarcely be heard. Walker then made another speech, which was received with tremendous applause.

He departed, having upon his arm the lady of Gen. Henningsen. All along the passage way crowds were waiting anxiously to obtain a view of the hero. As he neared the door the crowd increased, forcing those nearest Walker to press against him and Mrs. Henningsen. Meanwhile the delicious music of Dodworth's Band had attracted an immense concourse of people in the street, so that the General and Mrs. Henningsen were absolutely borne along by the tide to the carriage, which they entered amid loud cheers, and were soon driven to the La Farge.

The Tammany-hall Committee of Reception welcomed Walker and his retinue at the hotel, having arranged for Dodworth's Band to give him a serenade. The music attracted about 250 men and boys on the street. After patriotic songs had been played, Walker appeared on the balcony and delivered another speech. His remarkable words and the noteworthy scene were recorded by the Herald:

"SPEECH OF GENERAL WALKER.

"GENTLEMEN OF NEW YORK—This outpouring of the heart proves that the cause of the Americans in Nicaragua is also the cause of the Americans in the United States. (Cheers.) Nothing but deep popular sympathy—nothing but the real instinct of the people can cause such an expression of sympathy. (Cheers.) And I hope that they are not merely expressions of approval of the past, but that they are signs of hope and encouragement for the future. (Cheers.) I hope that they prove that the war in Central America is not ended—that there is a truce, and nothing more.

"A VOICE—That's so. (Cheers.)

"Gen. W.—For myself I feel that there has been too much noble blood shed upon that soil to let it sink into the ground—it must rise and produce results in the future. (Great applause.) One of the bitterest of our enemies has, as I conceive, given us the best assurance of success in the future. One of the morning papers, in commenting upon my conduct in Nicaragua, has seen fit to say that I possessed 'no attribute of success but luck.' I am proud of such a compliment from an enemy.'

"GENERAL WALKER IS FAVORED OF THE GODS.

" 'When Pompey returned from the wars, he was met by the men of Rome: they eulogized his wisdom, his justice, his success in the council and valor in the field: but above all they said he was 'favored of the gods.' I feel not ashamed to say that I am favored of the gods—(cheers)—for I feel that an overruling Providence, which has carried us so far, has not permitted us to do so much for naught. I feel that that luck, as my enemies may call it, but that Providence, as I term it, will carry us successfully yet, and enable us to accomplish yet more for the greatness and the glory of the American people.' (Immense cheering and cries for Henningsen.)

“New York Councilman Horatio N. Wild addressed the crowd. He promised that as Texas and California were acquired, so would Central America, and then Cuba, because “the people of this country will not say that we have got enough; but with Gen. Walker will say:

“No pent up Utica contracts our powers.

“But if necessary the whole boundless continent is ours.”

“The band then struck up ‘Root Hog or Die,’ and the crowd dispersed.”

Next morning, Friday, June 19, 1857, Walker rose very early, as usual, and the Herald again followed his steps, explaining that “the future historian may desire some particulars as to his daily routine and the minor affairs of life, so interesting with regard to prominent men.” After reading the newspapers and having a light breakfast with Captain Fayssoux, at eight o’clock he was in conference with General Cazneau, with whom he conversed for an hour.

Then, at 9 o’clock, “the General was observed to start rather suddenly, as if attracted by some sound, and soon the less practiced ears of those present detected the music of a band.” It was the Seventh Regiment National Guard, marching down the street. As Walker stepped to the window, the regiment drew up in double file in front of his rooms, and gave him a military salute, at which “the General expressed himself highly pleased.”

He then received a number of visitors. At noon, he went out with General Wheat and made some social calls. They returned in the afternoon with General and Mrs. Henningsen and Captain Fayssoux. At 5 o’clock, in company with his uncle, Mr. Norvell, one of the editors of the New York Times, he went to Staten Island, where they spent the night.

After his return from Staten Island Saturday morning, Walker spent several hours in close consultation with Henningsen, Wheat, Lockridge, Waters, Fayssoux, and several others of his “Nicaraguan” officers. They all seemed to be in the best spirits. The Herald reporter gathered that arrangements had been made for another “tiff” with the “greasers”; that George Law not only offered muskets, but money, and that other speculators were willing to lend Walker substantial aid.

In the evening, as he did every evening at the La Farge, he retired at midnight. His visitors were warned it was time to go, as the time approached, “by seeing the great man pace the room in a restless manner, à la Napoleon, his hands behind his back.” He then sent for the officers of his staff, and no matter how engaged, in bed or otherwise, they repaired to his apartments, where they held a consultation together, more or less prolonged.

27. Fallen Hero

Walker was lionized in New York. The offers that poured in upon him were as curious as they were numerous. One person wanted his company at a soirée; another wished to have a cast of his head; this lady desired his autograph; that one, a lock of his hair; and since he had appeared before full houses at two theaters, there was not a place of amusement, big or little, that did not press invitations upon him and his staff.

Theater managers competed for the honor of his attendance. The magical words on the bills, "General Walker and suite will be present," had been found to answer as effectively as a new soprano or a first class dancer. The next "star" engagement he entered into was with a deserving actress and a pretty woman, Laura Keane, who secured the attraction of his presence at her Varieties theater on Monday evening, June 22d.

The large posters, flaming advertisements, and huge handbills posted throughout the city, announcing his presence, insured another full house. The impatience of the audience to hear the hero manifested itself before the play, starting in straggling cries for "Walker", while the orchestra persisted in playing the "Swaney river," "Teddy the Tiler," "Over Jordan," and, "Villikins and his Dinah" instead of the grand Nicaraguan march which the bills had announced.

The shouting continued after the play, "Plot and Passion," started, until the middle of the second act, when Walker and his retinue entered the house. Pandemonium then broke loose, with loud cries for a speech, which he finally gave and was received with uproarious applause.

He daily spent many hours occupied in consultation "with gentlemen prominent in the cause of Nicaragua," and strolled the streets "with the air of an ordinary downtown merchant full of business." Every appearance excited the most lively interest and astonishment. His diminutive personal appearance and quiet demeanor were totally different from what people expected in a man who had passed through the scenes that had characterized his life.

Around June 20th, it was repeatedly reported that his friends would either give him a public dinner or hire the Academy of Music auditorium, so that he could address at length the citizens of New York. It was said that George Law had already paid the necessary expenses. But as the days passed, it became clear that neither Law nor anybody else was willing to spend hard currency on any additional unproductive hero-worship.

Consequently, on or about June 25th, the Tammany-hall Committee stopped paying the hotel bill: Lockridge went on to Texas, Waters to New Orleans, while Walker and Fayssoux quietly moved and faded from view as they began to get free room and board at Henningsen's residence on 12th street.

The U.S. steam frigate *Wabash*, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Hiram Paulding, arrived in New York on Sunday, June 28th. It brought from Aspinwall a contingent of the wretched remnants of Walker's Republic, which he had left behind in Rivas: 121 officers and men, thirteen women and five children. Ninety-two were sick and wounded, some very severely. Their plight made the headlines next morning. Many of them were scarcely able to move, some had lost their legs, others arms, others again had great festers, swollen wounds, and gangrene.

The officers of the ship described the condition of the men, when received on board, as one of the most wretched that can be imagined—great wounds which had never been dressed, festered and swollen, bodies incased with dirt and covered with vermin. Lice, which had never before been seen in that ship, were found in abundance; they domiciled on the body of almost every filibuster, and the U.S. sailors had to bathe themselves in rum.

The plight of those who didn't return shared the headlines, as one by one individual returnees told their horror stories. Thirty were interned at Bellevue Hospital, where a Herald reporter interviewed them, and practically all of them portrayed Walker as a cold, iron-hearted tyrant.

Some returnees, penniless and without friends, had nowhere to go. The day after they landed, they told reporters they were hurt because Walker had not come to see them to inquire about those who had served him so faithfully under so many severe trials. Consequently, a kindhearted New Yorker, Mr. Vandyke, took a group of four to see Walker at Henningsen's house:

James Allen, a baker by trade, native of Ireland.

Levi Price, shoemaker, native of Maryland.

Q. McKay, laborer, native of Scotland.

Michael Lawrence, laborer, native of Massachusetts.

The four had served in Walker's army for fifteen months, without receiving any pay or recompense of any kind. The four had been wounded and crippled in the process: two of them had each lost a leg, one had lost his arm. The Herald reporter met them when they were on their way, in a carriage, to Henningsen's residence. They looked "sallow, pale, sickly and depressed," but even then they spoke "well and even highly of Gen. Walker."

The reporter met them again, after they returned: "Mr. Vandyke had an interview with the General, but he could not obtain any aid from him, as he had no means to provide for them." Throughout the day, many other filibusters wandered about the city, "seeking assistance from the charitable." Walker was "so beset by them," that he was "compelled to hide himself away from their reproaches and importunities."

On July 1st, Walker slipped away from New York. He quietly boarded the train for Philadelphia, on his way to Charleston, Nashville, and New Orleans; and, hopefully, on to Nicaragua. Horace Greeley announced and recorded in the Tribune the fallen hero's departure, lashing at him in typical fashion:

"THE FALLEN FORTUNES OF MANIFEST DESTINY.

"We learn that Walker takes his departure this week for the South. He and Fayssoux are stopping at the residence of Gen. Henningsen, in Twelfth street, having left the Lafarge House some days since. Lockridge left for Texas a week ago, and Waters took his departure for New-Orleans in the Black Warrior. Walker finds that his presence at theatres is decidedly more profitable to the management than to the cause of fillibusterism; that though cheers respond to his buncombe speeches, they are simply the echo of his sounding bass, and not the real jingle of gold consecrated to highway robbery, rapine and arson. Walker naturally feels disgusted at the apathy of the North, and he proceeds South in hopes to recuperate his fallen fortunes among those in whose breasts fillibusterism exists as a living principle."

The New York Herald and the New York Times, which had previously supported Walker, had given up and turned against him also. By then, everybody knew that Walker's "Nicaragua" game was over; that the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny was a shattered, fallen hero. But those who had followed his career also knew that the hero himself was not ready to believe it and was determined to keep on trying.

Upon leaving New York, on July 1st, 1857, Walker went to Nashville by way of Charleston, Augusta, and Atlanta. The press reported that during his "flying visit" to Augusta, on the 4th, a number of the citizens induced him to address them. As usual, in his speech he challenged those who denounced him as a plunderer, "to point out a single act of his, in his whole career in Nicaragua, which was unjust in itself, or in contraversion of any Nicaraguan, United States or international law."

He dwelt at length upon the course pursued by the Northern press towards him, which, as he expressed it, "reeked with all the foul calumnies against himself and his followers which inventive brains could create," and attributed the presses' hostility to the fact that he had legalized African slavery in Nicaragua. In conversation with reporters, he

expressed his firm determination to persevere in the cause in which he was embarked, and had confident hopes that he would return to Nicaragua within the next two months, with the good will of the administration at Washington, and with men and money sufficient to re-establish his authority.

Walker arrived in Nashville on the Chattanooga train, Monday, July 6, in the evening. It was his first visit home since 1850. It was the hero's homecoming, and he received a hero's welcome. A large number of his friends and admirers thronged to the depot to welcome him. Stepping into a carriage, he proceeded in company with his father and other friends, directly to the City Hotel, where the people followed him, called loudly for his appearance, and he made a speech. He spoke hopefully of the cause of Americanism in Central America.

At the formal request of 195 of Nashville's leading citizens, Walker appeared at the Capitol on Wednesday evening. The "Shelby Guards" militia unit and a large crowd escorted his carriage from the City Hotel to the Capitol. Walker addressed an enthusiastic audience at the Hall of the House of Representatives, filled to overflowing. Militia and crowd escorted the hero back to the hotel, and the press published the full speech. His remarks were the usual.

From Nashville, Walker went to New Orleans via Montgomery and Mobile. A few days later he was back on the road, making speeches and raising resources in the South for his return to Nicaragua. For six weeks he travelled from New Orleans to Mobile, Montgomery, Columbus (Georgia), Macon, Augusta, Savannah, Charleston, and then back to Augusta, Nashville, and finally New Orleans on September 1st. At each stop he spoke to large numbers of enthusiastic "influential citizens," who gave him abundant pledges of "material aid."

Wherever he went, Walker carried with him "Nicaragua, and the sovereignty of Nicaragua, buttoned up in his breeches pocket." His printed handbills offered 250 acres and \$25 a month to "colonists," who would supposedly collect it after he regained his "presidency." He peddled "Nicaragua bonds," selling them at a discount. He gave to all subscribers Nicaragua land warrants, guaranteeing to them productive acres for 25 cents each, "to be claimed when he owns Nicaragua, which will be by January next."

Captain Fayssoux accompanied Walker as he travelled from New York to New Orleans, and Colonel Slatter assisted him during his Southern tour. General Henningsen joined them at Savannah and Charleston, and then returned to New York to carry out his part of the "secret plans" of a newly formed "Central American League" which contemplated the raising of a large army for Walker. The "League" was said to have branches in "New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and all the other leading

cities of the Union.”

Colonel Kewen was in St. Louis; Colonels Lockridge and Waters recruited openly in Texas; Colonel W. J. Choice did likewise in Georgia; and so on in Baltimore, Mobile, and other places. Filibuster propaganda spoke of 10,000 men enrolled and several hundred thousand dollars collected for Walker. In Georgia alone, they were supposed to have raised \$150,000. Reality was very different.

Since his arrival as Walker’s “commissioner” a year earlier, Kewen had organized the South for Walker. He formed State committees to collect funds and recruit men for him, and two representatives from each slaveholding State met personally or by proxy at New Orleans, where the Central Committee received the pecuniary remittances in order to convert Nicaragua, not only into a slave territory, but a slave mart.

But Kewen and the Central Committee had arrived at the conclusion that Henningsen was better qualified to head a military expedition than Walker, which led to a sudden break in relations and to Kewen’s departure from New Orleans in December, 1857, never again to collaborate with Walker.

Walker’s fortunes had changed so much that his friends couldn’t even get the moral support of the Southern Commercial Convention then meeting at Knoxville, Tennessee. Resolutions praising his Nicaragua cause as “highly meritorious” and recommending his enterprise “to the serious and earnest consideration of the Southern States,” introduced at the Convention on August 13, were soundly defeated, 60 to 25, when delegates from Tennessee, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland voted against them.

Many attributed Walker’s failure to his own mistakes. In particular, it was commonly (and erroneously) believed that his slavery decree had been the crucial factor that had turned the Nicaraguan people against him. Seeking to improve his image, Walker wrote and made public a letter to Mr. Charles J. Jenkins (the opposition candidate for the Governorship of Georgia), justifying the decree and portraying himself as a wise statesman.

Walker’s effort backfired when Mr. Jenkins angrily objected to having the letter published without his knowledge or consent, since it implied that he endorsed its contents. Jenkins concluded his reply with the following pithy words, declaring unequivocally: “First, that I wholly disapprove Gen. Wm. Walker’s contemplated invasion and conquest of Nicaragua. Secondly, that the proposed revival of the African slave trade is abhorrent to me.”

At that juncture, Walker lost the support of the Buchanan administration. Sympathizing as he did with Walker and his cause, Secretary of State Lewis Cass finally

moved against him after it had become abundantly clear that he could not possibly succeed. On September 18th, Cass issued a circular to the U.S. Marshals and U.S. District Attorneys, urging them to use all due diligence and to avail themselves of all legitimate means to stop the filibusters from sailing.

Walker wrote to Cass on September 29th, protesting that he had not violated and did not intend to violate the neutrality laws of the United States. Of course, Walker's argument didn't convince the Secretary of State, who went on to recognize Tomás Martínez, new President of Nicaragua, and to sign a treaty with his Minister, Irisarri, in November.

But Walker, of course, went on with his expedition even though there was no hope of success. The funds available in New Orleans for his second expedition amounted to less than 7,000 dollars, which were spent largely in room and board for Colonels Rogers, Henry, and fellow filibusters in the city.

Walker needed and received substantial help from Alabama for his enterprise. Henry G. Humphries (a wealthy Mobile merchant) and other Alabama friends formed a "Mobile and Nicaragua Steamship Company," which advertised that it would provide regular packet service between Mobile and San Juan del Norte.

Humphries bought the United States Navy transport steamship *Fashion*, 419 tons burthen, with boiler, engine, machinery, furniture and apparel, "for a nominal sum," at a Government auction sale in New Orleans on November 5th. The steamer remained at the wharf, at the foot of Jackson street, and a rumor spread that Walker would sail on it for Nicaragua on the 11th, at 2 o'clock in the morning.

Complying with Secretary of State Cass' orders, New Orleans Deputy Marshal Emile Mary arrested Walker at his residence on Customhouse street at a late hour on the night of November 10.

28. Second Foray

Walker did not spend time in jail in New Orleans. Immediately after his arrest, at 11 p.m. on November 10th, 1857, U.S. District Judge Theo. H. McCaleb took his recognizance at the St. Charles Hotel and posted his bail at two thousand dollars. Pierre Soulé acted as Walker's counsel and S. F. Slatter as his bondsman. At the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, the next morning, Judge McCaleb arraigned him on the charges of having set on foot an illegal military expedition and ordered him to appear for examination on the 17th.

Simultaneous with Walker's arrest, shortly before midnight on the 10th, a marshal's force seized the steamer Fashion at the levee. While Walker was in court, on the 11th, the collector of the port made a very strict and thorough examination of the vessel, but released it when nothing suspicious could be detected. The Fashion, however, left for Mobile in the evening, with a large quantity of arms, munitions, and provisions on board.

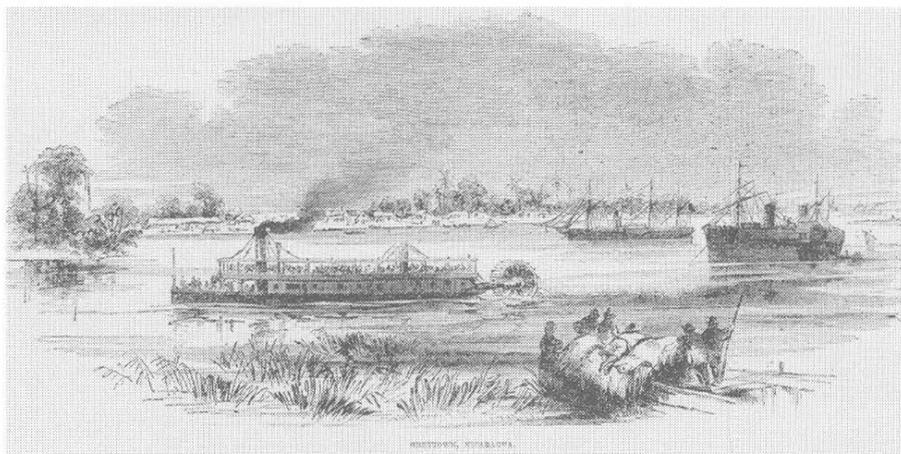
Walker proceeded with his expedition as soon as he left the courtroom. That same afternoon he sailed for Mobile aboard the mail boat California, accompanied by his staff and most of the 150 men he had gathered at his rendezvous in New Orleans. Walker went to the wharf, to board the vessel, by a circuitous route, and the others in small groups, by various routes, in order to attract no attention. The artillery brigade, the medical staff, and some of the privates sailed for Mobile on the Fashion that night.

The tug-boat Dick Keys met them inside the Mobile harbor with fifty more men and additional weapons. After the tug-boat transferred the California contingent to the Fashion, the latter sailed for Greytown on the 14th, allegedly carrying a couple of hundred emigrants ("coffee planters") and "general merchandise" to Nicaragua. As reported by the press, the Fashion in fact carried on board 186 filibusters, a dozen outsiders and speculators, 1,000 stand of arms, and enough provisions to feed 400 men for three months. The ship was so heavily laden that an ordinary sized man might dip water from her side in a bucket.

Walker's rank and file had enlisted for one year on the promise of \$25 a month and 250 acres of land. More than thirty passengers were Nicaragua veterans—die-hard filibusters like Kissane and Fayssoux. Charles J. Macdonald, Morgan and Garrison's agent, was also on board, aiming to take possession of the Transit Company steamers in Nicaragua and appointed Minister of Hacienda by Walker.

Cruising slowly at top speeds below seven knots, the old, overloaded, low pressure steamship finally hugged the Nicaragua coast on the 24th. About noon, a thick mist hid the land. Suddenly the smoke lifted, and the Greytown harbor was in full view, with the U.S. sloop-of-war *Saratoga* lying at her anchors inside.

Walker directed the skipper to sail past the harbor to the Colorado river mouth, which they reached shortly after 3 p.m. Without anchoring, they lowered three boats, into which Walker ordered forty-five men under the command of Col. Frank Anderson. The *Fashion* towed the boats in as near the bar as it was safe for the steamer to run. Anderson was instructed to ascend the Colorado and take up position at the San Juan river junction, there to intercept all river traffic to the port. The *Fashion* then waited until daylight on the 25th, when it steered for the harbor of Greytown.



Greytown Harbor

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, December 22, 1855

Walker's steamer entered the harbor about 7 o'clock in the morning, passed the sloop-of-war with a full head of steam, and headed toward the old hulk which served as Transit Company wharf at Punta Arenas, across the bay from the town. Seeing not more than fifteen or twenty men on the newcomer's deck and thinking it was a party sent by the Company to open the transit route, Captain Frederick Chatard, of the *Saratoga*, allowed Walker's men to land unmolested. By the time he realized his mistake, 150 filibusters had all landed, armed to the teeth with revolvers, rifles, and bowie knives.

During the next two days the *Fashion* landed on shore and Walker's supplies and munitions were unloaded at leisure, as the filibusters hoisted their Nicaraguan flag and

took possession of Punta Arenas, scattered over territory a mile and a half in extent, above and below the Transit Company terminal.

On the evening of the 26th, a small party from Anderson's command up the river came into the camp after provisions. They reported that, at the mouth of the Colorado, Anderson had taken five native prisoners, using them as pilots in going up. It had taken him twenty-three hours to row twenty-four miles upriver, with rain falling in torrents most of the time. He had taken possession of Leefe's Island at the bifurcation, giving him entire control of the San Juan river traffic.

The party went back to Leefe's Island on the 27th, taking with them five additional men and supplies for the command for twelve days. They also carried orders from Walker for Anderson to advance to Castillo in order to capture a steamer, if possible, and take possession of the fort.

Anderson's command left Leefe's Island on November 29th, rowed up the San Juan in three four-oared yawl boats, and landed one mile below Castillo at 8 p.m. on December 3d. Cutting their way through the chaparral, they climbed atop Nelson's Hill at one o'clock in the morning on the 4th and took possession of Castillo in the afternoon. The Costa Rican defenders under Col. Francisco Alvarado abandoned the fort as soon as they were attacked.

Without suffering a single casualty, the fifty filibusters under Anderson captured over thirty Costa Rican soldiers, six pieces of artillery, 150 rifles, and three river steamers: the Morgan, Ogden, and Bulwer. On the 5th, they captured the lake steamer Virgin at Change Bend, nine miles above Castillo.

News of Anderson's exploits reached San Juan on the night of the 5th, but the joy it produced in the filibuster camp rapidly abated when the U.S. steam frigate Wabash arrived off San Juan early the next morning, followed by the English war vessels Leopard and Brunswick in a few hours. The U.S. war steamer Fulton entered the harbor on the 7th, and the steam frigate Susquehanna came in several days later.

On the 7th, Commodore Hiram Paulding addressed a note to Walker, clear and to the point, peremptorily demanding his surrender. Walker surrendered on the 8th, after six boatloads of marines from the Saratoga, with twelve and twenty-four pounder howitzers on board, approached the shore in front of his camp while 385 marines and sailors from the Fulton landed on the beach three hundred yards below and took up position in the rear.

Walker shed tears when he hauled down his flag, and, momentarily losing control of himself, wept like a child before Commodore Paulding, who arrested 150 filibusters at Punta Arenas and sent them on the Saratoga to Norfolk. Walker opted to travel apart,

on faster vessels: on the Wabash to Aspinwall and from there to New York, at his own expense, on the Northern Light. Paulding let him to go on parole, taking his word of honor that he would present himself to U.S. Marshal Isaiah Rynders upon arrival.

On December 24th, Captain Joshua R. Sands, of the Susquehanna, embarked a force on board the steamer Morgan, proceeded up the river, and captured Anderson and party without any resistance. He sent them to Aspinwall on the Fulton, for the Wabash to take them to Key West.

Natives and foreigners throughout the region rejoiced at the removal of the filibusters. The widespread approval of the expulsion of Walker was expressed on Christmas night when the American residents of Aspinwall gave a "magnificent ball" to Commodore Paulding and his officers, at which the officers of the British warship Brunswick were invited, as well as most of the American residents and principal native families of Panama. Don Bartolomé Calvo, the Governor of Panama, on being presented to the Commodore, voiced the prevailing sentiment as he shook Paulding's hand warmly, exclaiming: "I am happy to press the hand that struck the death blow to filibusterism."

On the passage from Aspinwall, aboard the Northern Light, Walker attracted very little attention. Upon arrival at New York on the night of December 27, 1857, a fellow passenger disclosed that, during the trip, the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny "was about the vessel and played cards with other people, just as though the eyes of two Continents were not upon him. He plays a very good game of euchre." Another passenger stated that he was struck by Walker's demeanor and thought him a remarkable man: He seemed cheerful during the voyage and was quite confident that he would soon return to Nicaragua.

As soon as the Northern Light docked, Walker took a carriage and, accompanied by Charles J. Macdonald, proceeded to the house of General Henningsen. The General was in Washington, but his wife, who was about to retire for the night, hospitably received Walker. Rushing in to interview him, a New York Herald reporter found him in excellent health and spirits, hale and hearty, and with a ruddy appearance which contrasted with his comparative paleness when last in New York.

On publishing Walker's own detailed account of his recent expedition and arrest, the reporter remarked: "Those who imagine that General Walker does not intend returning to Nicaragua are greatly mistaken. He is not in the least depressed by the turn of his fortunes, but is on the contrary as hopeful and as sanguine as ever." But the reporters knew that Walker was daydreaming, and that most of his late friends had deserted him; that "The very boys who huzzahed for him when he was brought back before now say he ought to be shot." They all considered his prospects hopeless.

In accordance with his promise to Commodore Paulding, the next morning Walker presented himself at the office of Captain Isaiah Rynders, the United States Marshal. As he handed Rynders the letter from Paulding, no one ignorant of the facts would have supposed that the modest looking little man in the light brown overcoat was the same individual who had caused such a commotion. While the Marshal was reading the letter, he sat there more like an indifferent spectator than the most interested person present. Rynders took his prisoner to Washington on the 29th and, after registering at Brown's Hotel, called on Secretary Cass at the State Department. Cass invited them in and took them both cordially by the hand. Rynders explained that he had brought Walker in compliance with a letter from Commodore Paulding. Cass replied that the Executive Department of the government did not recognize Gen. Walker as a prisoner, and had no directions to give concerning him.

Back at Brown's Hotel, a free man, during several days Walker held "a perpetual levee in his apartments." On January 2d, a number of Southern members of Congress and other politicians met with Walker at his hotel quarters. On being called for, he received the party in the public parlors, where he gave each one a cordial shake of the hand.

On the 4th, he wrote a second letter to President Buchanan which instantly backfired. Horace Greeley, in the Tribune, called it "a high-flown document, which, considering the antecedents of its author, must be regarded as comical rather than otherwise." James Gordon Bennett, in the Herald, pointed out that "Its tone, its spirit and its logic are not the evidences of a leading mind." The father of one of his filibusters promptly published incontrovertible facts which demolished Walker's pretensions to good faith, justice, and mercy. And in his January 7 special message to Congress, President Buchanan gave Walker his own answer in the form of yet another knockout blow:

"Disguise it as we may," said the President, referring to the late adventure of Walker, "such a military expedition is an invitation to reckless and lawless men to enlist under the banner of any adventurer, to rob, plunder and murder the unoffending citizens of neighboring States, who have never done them harm. It is a usurpation of the war-making power which belongs alone to Congress"; and the conclusion inevitably followed, that the "government itself, in the estimation of the world, becomes an accomplice in the commission of this crime unless it adopts all the means necessary to prevent and punish it."

Walker left Washington for Richmond on January 11, on his way to New Orleans. He carried Nicaragua in his breech pocket, as always, but, as aptly expressed by Bennett in the Herald, Walker's Nicaragua was a dead cock in the pit.