

Part One:

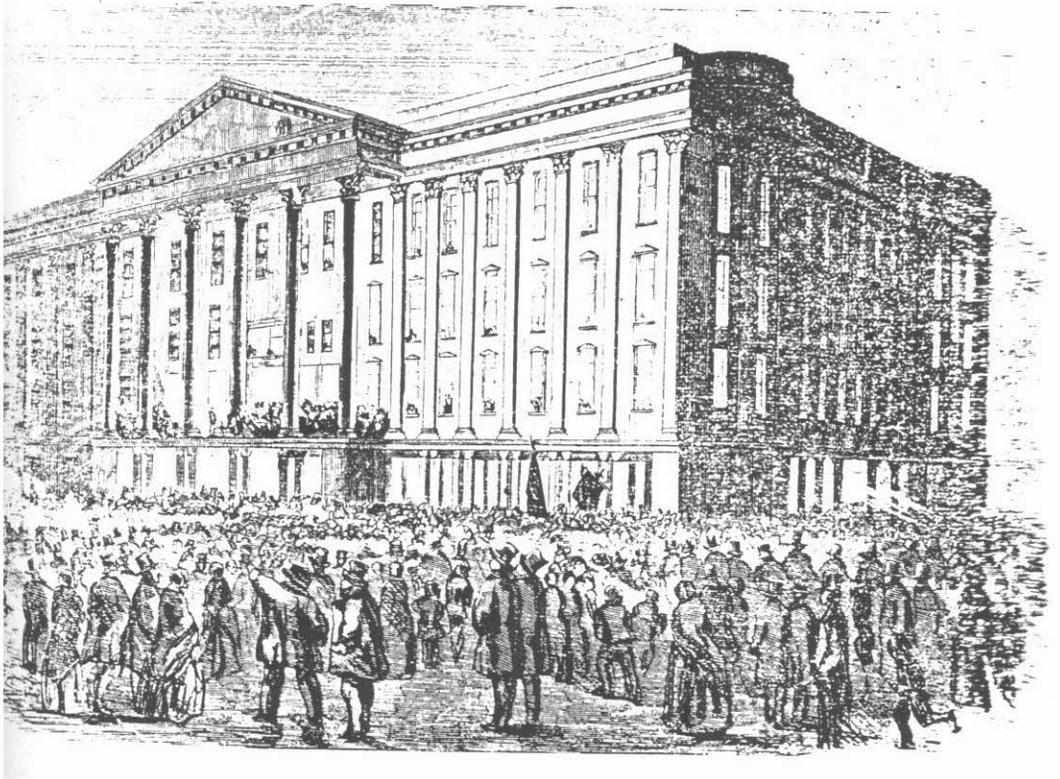
FALLEN HERO

*. . . One breast laid open were a school
Which would unteach mankind the lust to shine or rule!*

Lord Byron.
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.



William Walker



The Return of the Hero

"He was then taken . . . to the St. Charles Hotel, where, after loud calls, he made his appearance on the portico . . . (p. 7)

1. The Return of the Hero

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. There, he was "perfectly secure from any attack, except those of his own conscience."¹

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. Hopelessly tangled in his eternal monomaniacal delusions of grandeur, Walker blamed Davis for his defeat and confidently asserted that he would soon be back in Nicaragua.

Upon arrival at Panama, on May 16, Commodore Mervine sent him a message, asking him how many of his staff were going to New Orleans or New York, and how many were willing to pay their own passage to the States. Walker rudely replied that when he needed an agent he would appoint one himself. Mervine then sent for Henningsen, threatening to keep them all on board his ship until the departure to San Francisco,

¹"Our Special Correspondence," *New York Times*, 5/29/1857, p.1, c.1.

when he would take them to that port. Walker promptly backed off, announcing that he would pay his own passage to New Orleans, and Henningsen's to New York.

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. Governor Bartolomé Calvo had recently issued a proclamation forbidding the landing of filibusters in Panama unless they gave security that they would proceed immediately from the wharf to the railroad and thence to Colon [Aspinwall] to embark at once for the United States.

Panamanian ill-feeling ran high against Americans, especially against filibusters. It had been exacerbated a year earlier, on April 15, 1856, when an American passenger refused to pay a native fruit vender for a watermelon he had taken, and a fight ensued. Other passengers, ignorant of the cause, ran to the assistance of the American, and other natives sided with their countrywoman. Before it was over, at least fifteen persons had been killed and many more wounded in a furious riot and massacre in which some of Walker's filibusters had participated.²

Fearing that the presence of Walker might incite another riot, Commodore Mervine asked Governor Calvo for permission to land a Marine Guard in order to protect the passengers crossing the Isthmus. Calvo denied permission, but when the California steamer arrived, on May 19, he stationed sixty Panamanian soldiers at the railroad depot, in order to suppress any violence. Mervine then sent twelve U.S. Marines to escort Walker and his men, and he placed additional boat-

²Capt. Horace Bell's company, from California, had been unable to land at San Juan del Sur when, on April 1st, 1856, the *Cortes* took them to Panama instead (see Book 3, p. 331). The stranded filibusters (forty men, according to Bell) then joined Walker by way of Greytown, and Bell afterwards recorded his eyewitness account of the Panama Riot and Massacre in "Confessions of a Filibuster," *Golden Era* [San Francisco], 1876.

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loads of Marines off the coast, ready to enter into action if required. Calvo's subsequent protest to Mervine, for disregarding Panamanian sovereignty, was ignored.

A large crowd gathered at the station to see the famous Walker. The general exclamation was of surprise--that "un hombre tan chiquito" (such a little man) could be the dread filibuster who had convulsed Central America so long. One or two among the crowd made some insulting remarks, but there was no general demonstration of any kind. On the arrival of the train at Aspinwall, the filibusters and their Marine escort went directly from the railroad station to the Steamship Company's office, where they remained until the hour of embarkation. "Col. Henry [drunk as usual] was the only one of them we heard of who gave any trouble."³

Henningsen boarded the *Illinois* for New York. Walker and his staff of eighteen officers and an orderly (including Col. Lockridge, from the San Juan river, who joined the party at Aspinwall), went on the *Granada* to Havana, on their way to New Orleans.

According to a fellow-passenger, during the voyage from Aspinwall to Havana "Walker maintained the greatest reserve on board the *Granada*, being serene and tranquil, talking with no one, without pride and without humiliation."⁴ Perhaps he thought of his brother, Lipscomb Norvell, who on returning from Nicaragua had travelled on that very steamer in its previous voyage, and had died at sea on the *Empire City*, between Havana and New Orleans, on April 26th.

Perhaps he reflected on the same fate of his other brother, James, who had died in Masaya a year earlier. But more likely, other thoughts occupied Walker's mind, for on

³"Walker on the Isthmus," *Alta*, 6/17/1857, p.1, c.4.

⁴"News from Havana," *New York Herald*, 6/4/1857, p.4, c.6.

approaching Havana, on May 23d, he suddenly looked down from the rail, contemplating with fixed attention the powerful fortresses at the entrance of the harbor: the Morro, Cabaña, Punta, and finally the royal prison. Memories of "Rey in a Dungeon" at the loss of his beloved Ellen (p. 170, Book One) probably came to his mind.

The *Empire City* arrived in Havana from New York on the 24th, and Walker and his men continued on it to New Orleans. At the mouth of the Mississippi, on the 27th, the schooner *Mary Ellen* passed alongside the steamer, departing for Pensacola--which, if seen by Walker, must have rekindled the memories of his mourning.

At six o'clock in the evening, two thousand people densely crowded the steamship landing with their eyes fixed on the approaching *Empire City*, as the *Sparhawk*, the *Mexico*, and 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, General 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 beauti-

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ful 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.⁵

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."⁶ 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 the 28th, in the evening, Walker and his staff attended the performance of the magician and ventriloquist Professor Wyman at The Amphitheatre:

When the party entered the theatre, 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, "the observed of all observers" 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 the popular enthusiasm.⁷

⁵"Reception of Gen. Walker," *N.O. Picayune*, 5/28/1857, p.4, c.2.

⁶"The City," *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/28/1857, eve., p.4, c.1.

⁷"The Amphitheatre," *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/29/1857, eve., p.1, c.3

The scene was repeated on the following evening when Walker attended the performance of "Norma" by the Corradi Setti troupe at the Gaiety. When he entered the theater, he was greeted with cheers and the playing of national songs, by the orchestra. He bowed his thanks quietly and seemed to enjoy the opera immensely. In the Inner Crescent City, "Norma" undoubtedly stirred ancient memories of both Eliza Biscaccianti and of his crisis in Paris (p. 232, Book One).

But "Gen. Walker, the galling hero of the Isthmus," soon directed his attention to the Address he would give the people of New Orleans next evening, Saturday, May 30th, 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."⁸

⁸"Correspondence," *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/30/1857, p.4, c.5.

2. Wrapt in Red, White, and Blue

Saturday evening, May 30th, 1857, amid the glare of torches and the combined waving of American and Nicaraguan flags, Gen. Walker addressed the citizens of New Orleans. He stood on a platform which had been erected during the day on Canal street, near Carondelet, on "neutral ground" between the French and the English sectors of the town. For one entire block on each side, on the balconies of the neighboring houses and along the broad street, there were "dense masses of willing and enthusiastic auditors." A military band "gave note and preparation for the approaching speech."¹

Walker spoke for nearly two hours. At his usual rapid rate of delivery, the full speech would have filled at least ten columns of the New Orleans *Delta*, whose abridged version in less than two columns was immediately widely reproduced in the American press (See Appendix A, transcribed from the *New York Herald*).

Despite some obvious reportorial errors, unavoidable under the circumstances, the speech furnishes valuable insights into the War in Nicaragua, which Walker accurately defined in the context of manifest destiny:

. . . If I have exerted myself for any purpose, it has been to extend American influence and Americanize Nicaragua.

¹"The Walker Meeting," *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/31/1857, p.1, c.6.

But to "Americanize" Nicaragua, Walker intended to bestow upon it the blessings of Southern slavery, ("the most perfect and most powerful civilization the world has ever seen" Book One, p. 200). 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":

. . . Central America was in a worse condition than under the Spanish rule. The Government was going to ruin. Mongrelism was the secret of its waning fortunes. What was to be done? It was left for us to Americanize Central America. On whom rested the right of regenerating the amalgamated races? On no other than the people of the United States, and especially in the Southern states.²

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."³

Of course, neither racial bigotry nor its offspring, manifest destiny, were confined to New Orleans, since Walker had friends and supporters throughout the Union. In his hometown, the *Banner* had stood by him till the end at Rivas, praying for a miracle:

²See the full text in Appendix A.

³"The Walker Meeting," *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/31/1857, p.1, c.6.

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We publish this morning some interesting details of the last news from Nicaragua. From all the information received by this arrival (the *Illinois*,) there is the faintest possible chance of a hope that the gallant and indomitable WALKER is still holding the enemy at bay.⁴

In another article, it spoke of the force of the "Nicaragua regeneration" movement of which he was the "nominal head":

The New Orleans *Creole* of the 24th has the following: The movement is in progress which cannot fail to secure the final triumph of the cause of Walker in Nicaragua. . . . The enemies of Nicaragua regeneration need not exult over the apparent ill fortune of Gen. Walker. He is but an atom compared with the force this movement of which he is the nominal head has now acquired.⁵

In California, too, fellow-racist John Nugent stood by Walker after his defeat:

Topics of the Day.

For the present the war in Central America is ended. The hordes of yellow savages by whom Nicaragua has been overrun have triumphed. Lord Palmerston grins and Vanderbilt chuckles. . . . If this be a triumph, none will seek to pluck the honors which it confers, from the Costa Ricans and their secret allies--the British. If this be a triumph, the dastard Americans (who, during the whole of the conflict, furnished material aid to, or sung the praises of the breechless half-breeds who entered Nicaragua for the sole purpose of slaughtering the Americans, (solely because they were Americans,) are welcome to the pleasant train of reflections to which it

⁴"Nicaragua," *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig*, 5/6/57, p.2, c.2.

⁵*Ibid.*, 5/3/1857, p.2, c.2.

is calculated to give rise.⁶

But in New York, James Gordon Bennett, of the *Herald*, blamed Walker's defeat on his many blunders, and concluded that "the Nicaragua expedition of Walker, if more brilliant than his Sonora adventure, can only be regarded as a more brilliant failure. . . . We take it for granted that with this evacuation of Nicaragua by Walker, the business of private filibustering is at an end." Consequently, Bennett advised the U.S. Government to change tactics:

. . . Seriously, at all events, we would again recommend to Mr. Buchanan the policy of suspending all further negotiations with England upon the domestic concerns of Central America, the suspension of our neutrality laws, and the substitution of our government in the place of Walker in the settlement of Central American affairs upon our continental platform.⁷

The *New York Times* also, which had previously supported Walker, had given up and turned against him:

The name of William Walker is, by this time, as widely known as that of any other living man in the Old World or in the New. Many have heard his name to execrate, and many to extol his achievements. All, perhaps, will consent to rank him as the greatest filibuster of the present age--equal to any filibuster of the past . . . having sacrificed to his ambition over five thousand of his own countrymen, he has been obliged to fly from the wrath of the people whom he has so misgoverned and

⁶"Topics of the Day," *San Francisco Herald*, 6/17/1857, p.2, c.1.

⁷"The Walker Collapse in Central America," *New York Herald*, 5/29/1857, p.4, c.3.

betrayed.

. . . the filibustering career of William Walker may be considered, for the present at least, as at an end. . . . We do not suppose that he will ever regain the *confidence* even of his admirers. He is now but an unsuccessful fillibuster, and, being unsuccessful, he has inflicted a world of misery upon the country over which for the last two years he has ruled with dictatorial sway, and which he has ravaged with fire and sword.⁸

In general, the news of Walker's defeat in Nicaragua and of his hero's welcome in New Orleans "created a profound sensation all over the northern States, and the newspapers were busily engaged in discussing his defeat--some, of course, defending, others opposing him, and treating him rather savagely, among the latter the *New York Tribune*."⁹ Typical of Horace Greeley's "savage attacks," in the *Tribune*, is the following analysis in which he deftly destroys Walker's New Orleans speech in the light of known facts, exposing various blatant inconsistencies and untruths:

. . . Mr. William Walker went to Nicaragua, not from any motives of avarice or personal gain--he scorns the imputation--nor even to gratify his ambition and make himself a name and fame--he denies that also--but purely and exclusively for the patriotic and philanthropic object of Americanizing Central America.

The mongrel Central Americans, according to Mr. Walker, had proved themselves by thirty-five years of civil war incapable of governing themselves; and he went there, according to his own account, for the sole purpose of giving them a master--of putting the admin-

⁸"The Filibustering Career of William Walker," *New York Times*, 5/30/1857, p.4, c.4.

⁹"The Defeat of Gen. Walker," *Aita*, 7/1/1857, p.1, c.1.

istration of their affairs into the hands of men, not mongrel like the Nicaraguans, but men of a pure breed, and capable of doing things as they should be done--and, to judge by his proceedings and the long list of confiscated estates which he offered at auction, not merely their public affairs but the administration, also, of their private property. . . .

The fate of Walker, and the slipping through his and our fingers of Central America, is to be explained, according to his speech, by a . . . piece of domestic cowardice or treachery. . . . the blame rests . . . --who would have thought it?--upon the very Cabinet of Mr. Pierce.

Walker traces his downfall entirely to the refusal of Frank Pierce to receive his emissary, Parker H. French, when he was sent to represent the Rivas-Walker Government at Washington.

But when this refugee fillibuster, in his efforts to throw entirely upon other people the blame of his failure, goes so far as to pretend that the appointment of Parker H. French was contrary to his opinion and against his opposition, he is guilty of a gross piece of falsehood--all these fillibusters, and Walker especially, as this speech of his abundantly shows, being much more ready at lying than at fighting--falsehood which a subsequent part of this very speech sufficiently detects.

In speaking of the appointment of Parker H. French, Walker describes himself as "not in authority," and his opposition as "unavailing." Yet a little while after, when attempting to excuse himself for assuming the Presidency of Nicaragua, he declares that it was through him as "Commander-in-Chief of one portion of the army" that Rivas had been "named" as provisional President, and that he, Walker, was the "sole cause" of his, Rivas's, elevation.

. . . Walker, with all his boasted self-command and composure, is scarcely able to restrain himself. "Our

worst enemies," he exclaims, "were Americans. Oh, that they [i.e., Pierce and his Cabinet and Captain Davis] had been born in some other country! It is a shame that they should at their birth have breathed the same air with *honest* Americans."

Walker . . . [has] the Protean faculty . . . of taking on different citizenships in very rapid succession, if not indeed simultaneously. . . . So, Mr. Walker seems to possess the faculty of being the chief magistrate of Nicaragua, entirely devoted to its development and welfare, and at the same time a citizen of the United States, employed in extending their area, and entitled and expecting to be supported in that character by both the American Government and the American people.

In fact, as to this matter of whether he is a Nicaraguan or a citizen of the United States, or both together at once, or each alternately, Mr. Walker seems in his speech to be much in the same confused state of mind with the old woman of the nursery rhyme, driven to appeal to her little dog at home to tell her if it was her or not:

*"I have a little dog at home, and he knows me;
If it be I, he will wag his little tail,
But if it be not I, he'll bark and h'll rail."*

At New-Orleans, the barking and railing is all done by Walker himself; the little dogs at home only look on and wag their tails in token of sympathy . . .

Walker, so far from being possessed by any unhappy doubts as to his position or his rights, announces his intention to proceed forthwith to Washington, there to arraign Captain Davis, in the first place, for having made war upon Nicaragua and compelled her lawful President to surrender, and in the second place for not having rendered due assistance to William Walker, citizen of the United States, in his patriotic efforts to annex Nicaragua to the slaveholding portion of the Union, and

to reestablish Slavery in it as a necessary step in the process of Americanization. . . .¹⁰

When Greeley wrote those lines, 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.

Walker travelled with his "staff": Col. Waters and Col. Lockridge, of the "Nicaraguan Army," and Captain Fayssoux, of the "Nicaraguan Navy." They left New Orleans at 5 o'clock p.m., June 1st, on board the "elegant steamer" *Woodford*, for "Louisville and all Intermediate landings, en route for Washington." On reporting the hero's departure, the *Picayune* recorded:

. . . It is rumored that he has important State business on hand, the nature of which, though suspected, is not generally known. There was quite a crowd on the Levee to see the hero of Nicaragua off, and cheers when the steamer departed.¹¹

At Vicksburg, Mississippi, on June 3d, Walker "was enthusiastically received by a large crowd of people, and was welcomed by J.S. Byrne, of the *Times*, in a brief and eloquent speech. The General's response was received with loud and long cheering. He was followed by Col. Lockridge. All were greatly elated by the pleasure of seeing these remarkable individuals here."¹²

¹⁰"The public has lately," *New York Tribune*, 6/8/1857, p.4, c.6.

¹¹"Departure of Gen. Walker," *N.O. Picayune*, 6/2/1857, p.8, c.1.

¹²"Gen. Walker and Suite en Route," *N.O. Picayune*, 6/4/1857, p.1, c.6.

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Walker arrived at Memphis on June 5th, unexpectedly early in the morning, and few people were present to receive him. A Colonel Payne welcomed him to his native State and "denounced Mr. Vanderbilt, and the New York press as being the cause of his defeat, and not the Costa Ricans." Walker's and Lockridge's speeches in reply, were, "in substance, the same as those delivered at New Orleans."¹³

The *Woodford*, "with Walker and suite on board," arrived at Cairo, Illinois, on June 6, and reached its destination, Louisville, on the 8th. There, Walker had a family reunion with his sister and his father, after an absence of seven years. There was no public demonstration, but the next morning, Walker received "the citizens of Louisville . . . the élite of the city" at his sister's home, and after attending the theater in the evening with his staff, he left for Cincinnati by the mail boat on the following morning (June 10th), and thence for Washington on the Marietta railroad.

The press reported that, before leaving Louisville, Walker had sent a message to his friends at the capital, asking them "to make no public demonstration"; that he preferred "quiet and privacy."¹⁴ Consequently, on June 12th, there was no hero's welcome upon his arrival in Washington, although throughout his journey from New Orleans, he had been unreluctantly "received as a hero, and with the most distinguished consideration, in every city, town and hamlet through which he passed."¹⁵ At the capital, he confided to a reporter that the trip had been "gratifying and delightful," though "very fatiguing" at times.¹⁶

¹³"General Walker at Memphis," *New York Herald*, 6/6/1857, p.4, c.5.

¹⁴"News from Washington," *New York Herald*, 6/11/1857, p.4, c.4.

¹⁵"Movements of General Walker," *Alta*, 7/16/1857, p.1, c.2.

¹⁶"News from Washington," *New York Herald*, 6/13/1857, p.4, c.4.

3. Quiet Washington Welcome

Walker, Lockridge, Waters, and Fayssoux checked in at Brown's Hotel, in Washington, shortly before noon on Friday, June 12, 1857. Despite the lack of a public demonstration, Walker was "quite a lion, in a private way."¹ Throughout the afternoon, many distinguished politicians thronged to his room, 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.

Walker denied to reporters that his object in coming to Washington was to see the President, or that it had any connection whatever with the U.S. government. He said that his business was specially in New York, which he would depart for in a day or two. The *New York Tribune* correspondent knew better, writing that Walker would see President Buchanan as the representative of "the Young South," and was sure "of an affectionate reception."²

The Young South's filibuster hero 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

¹"News from Washington," *New York Herald*, 6/3/1857, p.4, c.4.

²"From Washington," *New York Tribune*, 6/13/1857, p.4, c.3.

Capt. Davis against him," and requested the President to order "an investigation into the facts."³

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. "The re-union was extremely interesting, and the interchange of thought and anecdote consequant upon meeting friends known from childhood, and others, the appreciative sympathizers with the struggles and cause of his manhood, was not alone gratifying to his friends, but peculiarly so to the hero himself, in whose honor the social gathering was convened."⁴

Walker planned to leave Washington on Sunday, but postponed his departure, busily writing a letter which he placed in President Buchanan's hands on Monday, before leaving for Philadelphia and New York. The long letter, transcribed in Appendix B, sets down in detail his own delusive view of events in Nicaragua, proclaiming himself "the rightful and lawful Executive" of that nation. Horace Greeley, in the *Tribune*, immediately responded again:

The whole stock in trade upon which Fillibuster Walker has set himself up, whether as a military hero or civil pacificator, whether as the voluntarily elected President of Lower California and Nicaragua or the military conqueror of those two countries--from both of which, as the final result of his military achievements, he has fled for his life--his whole stock in trade, we say, whether in a civil or a military capacity, is brazen

³"Interesting from Washington," *New York Herald*, 6/14/1857, p.4, c.5.

⁴"Entertainment to General Walker," *Nashville Whig and Republican Banner*, 6/21/1857, p.2, c.4.

impudence. He is an impostor of unbounded assurance, hesitating at no falsehood, however monstrous, and at no pretension, however absurd.

In this respect, though in every other utterly inferior to them, he may claim to rank even with Joe Smith and Brigham Young. If upon this point there could be otherwise any doubt, the letter of this broken-down adventurer, addressed to President Buchanan, and which we print elsewhere, written in the character of exiled President of Nicaragua, and as if the whole sovereignty of that country were vested in his person, would settle the question.

That letter contains also some important admissions which it is well to note. it seems that after all Walker was not invited to Nicaragua by any part of the settled and regular inhabitants of the country. The only invitation he had was from "a few exiles from Nicaragua," who having landed at the port of Realejo in the month of May, 1854, had undertaken to set themselves up as the Government of the country, but, unable to sustain themselves against the authorities, had invited Walker to raise a band of adventurers in California, and to come to their assistance.

What he says as to the acceptance of this invitation and as to the fetch resorted to by him, and, as he alleges, countenanced by the District-Attorney of the United States for the Northern District of California, and by the General commanding the Pacific Division, for evading the neutrality laws, is also well worthy of attention. If any inquiry is to be instituted as to the doings of any of the United States officers in relation to Walker, it appears to us that these officers, who are thus accused by him of having aided in helping him off, in violation of the laws of the United States, ought first to be called to account.

In the reference of Walker to the campaign which ended in the treaty of October 23, 1855, and the provisional Presidency of Rivas, it is remarkable that he

makes no allusion whatever to the connection of the Transit Company with that affair, and is equally silent as to the murder of Corral, by which that arrangement was speedily followed, and as to the confiscations, forced loans, and organized system of plunder, by which the Transit Company suffered along with everybody else who had anything to lose, and which had quite as much to do with Walker's expulsion as the war which Costa Rica and the Central American allies waged, not against Nicaragua as they declared, but against the foreigners and interlopers who had come in under Walker.

For Walker, the wanton destroyer of Granada, to undertake to denounce the decrees and proclamations of the Costa Ricans denouncing him and his followers as pirates and fillibusters, as "disgraceful to the age and revolting to civilization," is a rich specimen of outrageous impudence, only outdone by the passage in which he speaks of himself as having become a candidate for the Presidency, and as having been elected by a "large majority."

It is not worthwhile to go into a critical examination of what Walker has to say, at so much length, as to the nature of his relations with Captain Davis. This is a point upon which we desire an investigation no less than Walker himself.

Walker complains that Davis, having heard of the total failure of Lockridge's expedition, persisted in seizing the schooner *Granada*, and refused to allow him the chance of escaping with his forces, or a part of them, to San Juan del Sur, and there embarking in that vessel for a piratical cruise, in the hope of being able to land somewhere on the Central American coast, and commit new robberies and destructions like those of which he had made Nicaragua the scene.

What we should like to know is: Why Captain Davis did not interfere long before? Why he so long treated this schooner *Granada*, which Walker had stolen from an American citizen, as a national ship of war? And why, in

his correspondence and intercourse with the real authorities of Nicaragua and the generals of the allied army, he spoke of Walker as if he really embodied in his person the sovereignty of a nation?

The letter of Davis to the commander of the Nicaraguan forces, in which he refused their request to interfere to prevent the landing of any more fillibusters from California, and in which he taunted them with the presence of the *Granada* in the harbor of San Juan del Sur, and put them and Walker on an equal footing as sovereign powers with neither of whom he had any authority to interfere, does certainly appear inconsistent with the course which Davis finally adopted. If he had any authority to seize the *Granada* at all--as certainly he ought to have had--he should have exercised that authority long before; in which case, instead of sending to Walker to solicit him to take refuge on board his vessel, Walker would have been sending to him to beg the privilege.

Was Davis instructed to treat Walker as a sovereign so long as there seemed the slightest chance of his success, and finally to interfere to save his life whether Walker wished it or not? As a matter of interest in the history of Pierce's Administration, we should like to have this matter investigated.⁵

Greeley's most important questions were predictably ignored, unanswered, or inadequately explained by the functionaries involved. Both the Secretary of the Navy (Isaac Toucey) and President Buchanan openly approved of the course pursued by Commander Davis, although the President "condemned the instructions under which he [Davis] acted."⁶ On the other hand, Ex-Secretary of the Navy James Dobbin

⁵"The whole stock in trade," *New York Tribune*, 6/18/1857, p.4, c.4.

⁶"Political Intelligence," *Alta*, 7/1/1857, p.1, c.4.

maintained that he did not recollect "having used the name of Walker in his official dispatches to Davis, nor instructed him in reference to the war in Nicaragua, and that the object of sending a vessel to San Juan del Sur was for the protection of Americans in that quarter."⁷

That being the case, a new question arises for which I have found no definite answer: Why did President Buchanan condemn the Instructions?

At the other end of Walker's Nicaraguan venture, General Wool explained in a letter to the *National Intelligencer*, that "his noninterference with the expedition," when it started from San Francisco, was because of "the instructions he had received from the then Secretary of War, the Hon. Jefferson Davis." Specifically, after the arrests of Watkins and Emory (see Book Two, p. 281), Secretary Davis had sent General Wool a letter in which he censured his proceedings, and,

On the receipt of the letter, Gen. Wool considered himself as forbidden to interfere with any question of neutrality, except when called upon through the civil power. When Gen. Walker waited upon him, to satisfy him that the expedition was not an unlawful or filibustering one, Gen. Wool's reply was, that with the instructions received from the Department, he had no authority to interfere with the scheme, whatever it was, until called upon by the civil authorities.⁸

Of course, the civil authorities in San Francisco also never asked Gen. Wool to interfere with the Walker scheme. From the beginning to the end of the filibusters' foray into

⁷"The General Newspaper Despatch," *N.Y. Herald*, 6/17/1857, p.4, c.4.

⁸"Gen. Wool and Ex-Secretary Davis," *New Orleans Picayune*, 7/29/57, p.4, c.2. Walker also told his own version of his meeting with Wool (see Book 2, p. 349).

Nicaragua, the authorities allowed them free sail from California, in clear violation of the neutrality law. Although the U.S. government officers didn't explain their neglect, Horace Greeley did:

. . . They [the Government] did not interfere in the case of Nicaragua. . . . The case of Nicaragua stood upon peculiar grounds. The last Administration, to say nothing of the present one, was a fillibustering Administration. Walker, if not acting by authority from Washington, was, at least, acting in conformity to Cabinet principles and ideas; and it is a settled maxim of all fanaticism, more especially of fillibustering fanaticism, that the end justifies the means. . . . Walker was allowed to go on, not only restraining American citizens, but robbing and shooting such of them as attempted to escape out of his clutches . . .⁹

Throughout the Pierce Administration, and then under Buchanan, the *Tribune* consistently denounced the flagrant U.S. government complicity with the filibusters; and on noting President Buchanan's reception of Walker in the White House, Greeley elaborated:

For years our statesmen of the dominant Slave Democracy have professed to deprecate Fillibusterism, while their active partisans have fomented and their party has signally profited by it. The "Lone Star" associations, Cuba secret organizations, and other clubs founded to incite and play upon the popular love of territorial extension and acquisition, have all been recruiting quarters for the Sham Democracy--only surpassed by the grogshops in their efficiency as "nurseries of Democracy," as Mike Walsh expressively phrased it.

⁹"Some recent accounts," *New York Tribune*, 6/15/1857, p.4, c.3.

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Gen. Cass himself has written an approbatory letter to a Fillibuster meeting in this City, whereof Marshal Rynders was chief cook; while President Buchanan's signature to the Ostend Manifesto stamps him in heart if not in act a Fillibuster of the Walker pattern.

It is right, then, that Messrs. Gen. Walker & Co. should disregard the fact that they are notorious violators of the Neutrality Laws of our country, and planting themselves in front of the President and Cabinet, should virtually say--"Well, what do you propose to *do* about it? We dare you to have us arrested and imprisoned--and as to convicting us, you know that is morally impossible so long as one of your supporters shall be found on the Jury."

What *will* they do?¹⁰

Buchanan and his Cabinet did nothing. The American Government's connivance with the fillbusters was an integral part of Manifest Destiny America, where the voice of Horace Greeley arose and reverberated outside the mainstream. In fact, out of the nine American newspapers I have examined from different sections of the country, in June 1857 no one suggested that President Buchanan should have thought of arresting Walker for violation of any law. Consequently, after William Walker handed the President his letter, on Monday morning, he freely continued on his triumphant journey to New York in the afternoon.

¹⁰"Gen. William, Walker," *New York Tribune*, 6/13/1857, p.4, c.3.

4. Rainy Day in New York

Walker travelled by train from Washington to Philadelphia, where he stopped for one day, and thence to New York. The press reported that he expressed great satisfaction on receiving continued demonstrations of applause along the way. In Philadelphia, however, he was obliged to explain his "Cuba for the South, but not for the Yankees" letter, written on August 12, 1856 to Goicouría, which the latter had made public in New York in November (see Book 4, p. 200).

Unable to deny the existence of the letter, Walker vainly tried to explain away the phrase when confronted by reporters in Philadelphia.

First, he lied, for according to the press, "Walker denies most positively that he ever uttered a sentiment expressing any difference of feeling on his part as between the Northern and Southern sections of this confederacy."¹ Walker conveniently forgot that he had uttered just such sentiment, in the *Crescent*, ever since 1849 (see Book 1, p. 199).

Next, Walker appears to have lied again when he said, and the press reported, in reference to the phrase in the letter to Goicouría, that: "he never wrote or spoke such a phrase. In accounting, however, for the origin of the report, he states that the words were written in Spanish, by a young Spanish girl, across one of his own letters, and that the letter so marked being among papers of his which were lost

¹"How a Spanish Girl Saved Walker," *N.Y. Herald*, 6/18/1857, p.2, c.4.

in a hasty retreat, was afterwards published, and the offensive expression which was interpolated by another, had thus reached the public without explanation, and prejudiced him in the estimation of the people of the North."²

In the light of known facts, Walker's explanation rings false. The letter in question (dated August 12, 1856) contains the credentials for Goicouría to proceed to England, which were delivered by Gen. Cazneau in New York upon arrival on August 30th, long before the letter could have been lost in any "hasty retreat" in October.³ Moreover, when we consider the filibusters' situation in Granada, and especially Walker's nature and habits, it is extremely unlikely, to say the least, that a "young Spanish girl," or anybody else, could have written anything extraneous on his official correspondence.

More likely, Walker altered the truth to minimize the damage of his image in the North, especially as he looked forward to a hero's welcome being prepared by his friends in New York. Walker had friends in high places, reaching all the way to the Mayor of the Empire City, Fernando Wood, and his brother Benjamin, editor of the Tammany Democracy organ, the *Daily News*.

The Woods were "strongly proslavery"; Fernando, a "notoriously corrupt mayor . . . had converted Tammany hall from a political organization into a personal political machine," and would soon gain renown as a notorious "Copperhead leader" during the Civil War, opposing Lincoln's war effort and favoring "the establishment of New York city as a

²Ibid. This widely published report was not denied by Walker.

³Book 4, pp. 76, 77, 125, 199.

separate state."⁴

Under Mayor Wood, Tammany hall openly supported the fillibusters. Upon Henningsen's arrival from Aspinwall, at the end of May, Mayor Wood's Democratic machine took charge of the welcoming festivities for the "Nicaraguan heroes." Alderman William Wilson, "emigrant runner, shoulder hitter, baggage smasher, and Major-General of Citizen Volunteers and fugleman to Fernando Wood," directed the proceedings.⁵

Wilson organized a "torch-light procession" and a "serenade" honoring Henningsen. The procession formed early in the evening, on June 1st, "at the sterling democratic headquarters," the "Pewter Mug."⁶ After parading down the lower streets of New York, accompanied by a brass band, the "25 musicians and 54 others, including Generals, Major-Generals, Captains and privates all told, varying in age from 10 to 40 years," halted in front of Henningsen's house at No. 140 West Twelfth street.⁷

The band played some lively tunes, which attracted a crowd of between one and two thousand persons. General Duff Green, General William Cazneau, and other leading members of the "side-walk committee," greeted General Henningsen.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1962 ed., s.v. "Newspaper--United States, The Civil War and Reconstruction"; "New York (City)--The Civil War Years"; "Tweed, William Marcy." Copperheads, an epithet of opprobrium applied by Union men during the Civil War to those men in the North who opposed the war policy of the president and of congress, was first used by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune* of July 10, 1861. The name alluded to the alleged resemblance of the "peace democrats" to the venomous copperhead snake which does not rattle and strikes from concealment without warning, as: "A rattlesnake rattles, a viper hisses, an adder spits, a black snake whistles, a water-snake blows but a copperhead just sneaks!" Leaders of the Copperhead movement included Mayor Fernando Wood in New York. *Ibid*, s.v. "Copperheads."

⁵ "Arrival of the Great Fillibuster," *NY Tribune*, 6/17/1857, p.5, c.2.

⁶ "Serenade to Gen. Henningsen," *New York Herald*, 6/2/1857, p.8, c.3.

⁷ "Serenade to Gen. Henningsen," *New York Tribune*, 6/2/1857, p.5, c.3.

Thereupon, Alderman Wilson presented a Nicaraguan flag to him. Henningsen responded by reading a previously prepared address eulogizing Walker, and the press gave it to the world next morning:

. . . Now, to those who assail William Walker because he has not yet succeeded, I would say, wait, be not premature; remember that the man who with fifty-six followers, changed for two years the destinies of Nicaragua, lives still--is only four and thirty and has many score times fifty-six who confide in the retrospection of his marvelous career, and in the future that looms before him.

To those disparaging his military merits, I would say if you were Washingtons or Napoleons, you are not in possession of facts enough to enable you to judge correctly in the premises; but you are not Washingtons and Napoleons. Far from it. In fact I should conjecture from a perusal of your criticism, that you are on the contrary utterly ignorant of the subject you are treating, and incapable of coming to a rational conclusion if facts had been accessible to you in the most ample detail.

Now I, who have chanced to know some of the men who have made their mark in their generation, I, who have had some military experience, and have been a participant in two-thirds of the struggle, are [*sic*] not afraid to assert, nay am anxious to place on record my conviction that William Walker is one of the most remarkable men of the age in which he lives--as resolute in his talents as profound in its acquirements.

It is true that he knew nothing of the art of war but what study and what experience in Nicaragua have taught him; but whatever be or not be his proficiency in those details which experience and study enable even mediocrity to master, I unhesitatingly assert that in those higher combinations which only the forethought of

genius and the promptings of inborn aptitude can inspire, his military career has been so far distinguished, that I believe that many justly celebrated commanders would have failed to make the long and successful stand that he has made against such oddl [*sic*] and so many adverse circumstances.

It has been my good fortune whilst in Nicaragua never to be forced by the inevitable necessities of war to put any one to death. What they call my humanity has even been lauded by the allies and their abettors, by way of throwing blame by implication upon William Walker. Now to those who accuse him of blood-thirstiness and cruelty, I can only say that I solemnly declare that in no instance has he taken life where in his place I should not have felt compelled to do so, and I know many instances where death and suffering has been entailed upon his followers by the unwillingness to make examples. . . .⁸

Several widely-publicized meetings followed, in which "Honorable" New York judges and other Democratic politicians mingled with Col. J. W. Fabens, Col. George B. Hall and fellow fillbusters, to make arrangements for "a public reception to General William Walker, the champion of republican liberty in Nicaragua."⁹ A "large and enthusiastic" crowd of sixty-seven men and sixteen boys met in the evening of June 11 at the U.S. Marshal and Tammany hall leader Isaiah Rynders' Empire Club, in a room still covered with the posters and banners of the last political campaign.

After many speeches and resolutions, they appointed a fourteen member Committee of Arrangements, which in turn

⁸"Serenade to Gen. Henningsen," *New York Herald*, 6/2/1857, p.8, c.3.

⁹"Preparations for Gen. Walker's Reception in New York," *New York Herald*, 6/12/1857, p.1, c.3.

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afterwards appointed a Committee of Reception headed by Alderman Wilson, a Finance Committee, a Grand Marshal and eight Assistant Marshals. They deputed Wilson to secure the cooperation of the City Council in the proceedings. Their program called for the Independent Battalion of Rynders Grenadiers--upwards of 300 men: cavalry, artillery and infantry--to escort Walker, and for the artillery to fire a one hundred guns salute on his arrival.

Horace Greeley instantly lambasted such farcical hero-worship:

Man has a natural turn for idolatry. This is unquestionable. There is no stick so brittle, there is no timber so rotten, that, though it is fit for nothing else in the world, it will not serve to make an idol of. Not only sticks and stocks, but stones and clods have been objects of the most devout worship. And it is the same with hero-worship as with all other kinds of idolatry. No creature so weak and imbecile, so destitute alike of common sense and common humanity, that he will not answer perfectly well to make a hero of, and especially a military hero.

The truth of these observations is strikingly evinced by the preparations on foot in this city for giving a heroical reception to that escaped and deported filibuster, William Walker. Washington and Jackson may as well step aside. Let Gen. Scott hide his diminished head. Behold, the conquering hero comes--obliged, indeed, to evacuate Nicaragua for the moment; but as soon as Alderman Wilson and his other distinguished backers in this city can raise the money, he is to return thither, reestablish his authority, pay off his scrip, endow with plantations all the loafers of New-York, and go on from glory to glory. . . .

Talent, however wickedly employed, may challenge a certain degree of admiration; but stupidity, wickedness and failure combined, are strange materials out of which

to make a hero. Yet, since men have been found to deify a goat, an ass, a snake or a monkey, why not a bankrupt and broken-down fillibuster?¹⁰

Precisely then, momentous events in the New York City annals played an unexpected role in Walker's reception. Confronting Mayor Wood's corrupt regime, the Legislature at Albany, dominated by the Republicans, 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, one acknowledging the old, the other the new Board, "and both holding a deadly hatred for each other."¹¹

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 five hundred men armed with clubs, under the command of Alderman William Wilson, Major-General of Mayor Wood's Citizen Volunteers. 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.

That was the situation when Walker arrived in New York. It was thus recorded in the *Tribune* by Horace Greeley, who

¹⁰"Man has a natural turn for idolatry," *New York Tribune*, 6/16/1857, p.4, c.5.

¹¹"Civil War in New York," *Alta*, 7/16/1857, p.1, c.2.

saw Wood and Walker as twin filibuster villains:

While scenes of riot were being enacted yesterday in this city under the patronage and in furtherance of the treasonable designs of an official filibuster whom the voters of the city last year elevated to the position of Mayor of New-York, another filibuster, whose field of operations has been in a foreign State, and who during two years has devastated by fire and sword the cities and homes of a people for whom he has no stronger feelings of affiliation than has the pirate for his victim when he orders him to walk the plank--knowing the truth of the terse proverb that "dead men tell no tales" --was approaching the city to receive the hearty welcome and sympathy of a class of men who are too well known to need description.¹²

The Philadelphia train with Gen. Walker and his retinue (Capt. Fayssoux and Cols. Waters, Lockridge, and Anderson) 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."

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 either side 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

¹²"Arrival of the Great Filibuster," *NY Tribune*, 6/17/1857, p.5 c.2.

Wood's retainers.

The crowd in the Park had thinned somewhat at 5 p.m., when large numbers had followed the band to the wharf, but it then began to swell as more people arrived after the workplaces closed in the city at 6 p.m. It was an unruly crowd, untempered by a steady, drizzling rain which fell throughout the evening. The *Herald's* detailed chronicle recorded the rest:

The expedients to kill time were numerous and diversified up to the hour of the General's arrival. Now a cry of "Fight--fight!" would carry a vast army over to the east gate, where a general scuffle would take place until a similar cry would carry the crowd over to the other side. Next a row would occur near the hall steps, and so the crowd kept moving.

The platform was jammed full of citizens of every imagination, size, age, complexion, dress and style of conduct, affording an infinite source of enjoyment. The various rows, fights, fun and frolics continued thus through a dribbling rain until nearly eight o'clock, when it was announced that Gen. Walker was coming.

A view of the transparencies in the distance soon testified to the truth of this assertion, and a grand rush took place for the west gate. The carriages containing Gen. Walker and the Committee of Arrangements kept advancing through the gate, and the strong tide of the people kept pressing in an opposite direction, until the Park in front of the City Hall, covering the entire walks, was one compact, swaying mass of human beings.¹³

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,

¹³"Reception of Gen. Walker," *New York Herald*, 6/17/1857, p.8, c.3.

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:

CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK: I thank you for your expressions of sympathy toward the cause of which I am the humble representative. I thank you for this prompt approbation of the cause for which I have been so lately engaged, and for which we expect to struggle in the future. It is gratifying to have heard allusions to the fields which I hope may be termed "glorious," in Nicaragua. But with far higher pride than any which mere victories can inspire, do I stand here in your presence to say and declare, that I challenge any one to point to the circumstance in which I have acted contrary to the law of justice and right. Prouder do I feel to make this declaration than to have been the victor of a thousand fields [Cheers from those on the stand]. Again I thank you for this expression of sympathy and approbation, and I shall be happy to see you all at any time you can make it convenient [Cheers].¹⁴

The *Herald* remarked that "There was a great deal of uproar, and but little enthusiasm was manifested either by

¹⁴"Arrival of the Great Fillibuster," *NY Tribune*, 6/17/1857, p.5 c.2.

the people or the General."¹⁵ The *Tribune* called the reception, "spiritless," and commented that Walker's speech "was spoiled by the rain, and the whole affair was eclipsed by the more important movements of the great fillibuster of the City Hall. The Walker ovation was emphatically a fizzle."¹⁶ The *Times* closed its long chronicle with the following explanation:

We have conceded so much space in our columns as we thought due to a report of a considerable assemblage in one of the principal public places of the City. We should have given as much prominence to a public reception of General Tom Thumb, or to the dying speech and confession of a distinguished murderer, for it is the office of a metropolitan journal to report the follies and the frailties not less carefully than the accidents and the catastrophes of the day. But we think it due not less to the good fame of our City (already sufficiently compromised by domestic difficulties of a grave and serious kind), than to the reputation of the country, that we should express the sentiments of mingled disgust and contempt with which the most decent and intelligent citizens of New-York, of all classes and of all parties, regard the fillibuster farce performed last night after the tragedy of the Police war in the Park.

Foreigners, who do not and cannot understand that a "public meeting" in an American city means something or nothing--according to the names of the parties prominent in its proceedings--ought to be informed that we really can bear the explosion of "one hundred guns at the foot of Pier No.1," and the discharge of two or three incoherent and inaudible speeches from the steps of the City Hall, without thereby compromising "our

¹⁵"The News," *New York Herald*, 6/17/1857, p.4, c.1.

¹⁶"Walker, the fillibuster," *New York Tribune*, 6/17/1857, p.4, c.2.

lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors," in a plan for the conquest of the Isthmus of Panama and the Society Islands, or for the immediate annexation to the State of New-York of the Republic of Costa Rica and the East Indian possessions of Her Britannic Majesty.¹⁷

When Walker descended from the platform, the fillbusters proceeded to the St. Nicholas Hotel with the Reception Committee. Upon arrival they discovered that the hotel was full and could not furnish the necessary apartments. 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 Mr. Campbell, the Treasurer of the Committee of Arrangements, had had his pocket picked of the Committee's money in the Park.

Indeed, in both the Park and the press, June 16, 1857--the second anniversary of Walker's arrival in Nicaragua--had been a stormy day for Walker and his friends.

¹⁷"Arrival of the Great Fillibuster, *N.Y. Times*, 6/17/1857, p.4, c.3.

5. Favored of the Gods

Twenty-four hours after the violent clash at City Hall, peace and order had been restored in New York. On Wednesday, June 17th, at 1:30 p.m., Mayor Wood submitted to the laws when the National Guard Commander notified him that it would be futile to make further resistance; that the order of arrest would be executed at all hazards, even if it took the united force of his entire First Division. The Metropolitan police then arrested the Mayor, but allowed him to go home pending a writ of habeas corpus. An hour later, "the Hall was empty, the Park deserted, the danger over, and the excitement rapidly dying out."¹

In the Court of Sessions, a witness testified that during the June 16 battle at City Hall, Alderman Wilson not only led the mob, but also personally struck a policeman with a club. Charged with riot and assault, Wilson posted bail, pending trial. With the battle thus moving from the streets into the courts, sensationalism abated and the press began to focus on other matters. The *New York Herald*, especially, paid particular attention to Walker. It followed closely his steps in the city for several days, beginning with a sketch of his personal appearance:

In personal appearance Gen. Walker disappointed

¹"We are glad to assure our readers that order reigns in New-York," *New York Tribune*, 6/18/1857, p.4, c.2.

many of the crowd. He is but little over five feet eight inches in height, if he is so high. He is spare built, and would hardly weigh a hundred and forty pounds. His face was clean shaved, and with his gray eyes, aquiline nose, high cheek bones and sunburnt features, &c., bore a striking resemblance to an Indian chief. His hair, of a light brown color, was cut rather close, and he wore a plain suit of broadcloth, with a satin stock and standing collar. Viewing him in a reportorial point of view, and out of Nicaragua, General Walker does not look like the terrible man that he seems to be. He speaks rather sharp and clear, and prompt, though when his features are in repose does not look like a man of much energy. Yet he received his welcome of last night with a placidity amounting almost to apathy.²

In his first full day in New York, after breakfast at the La Farge House, with Lockridge, Waters, and Fayssoux, Walker took a stroll up Broadway. He attracted no attention, for he was not generally known in the city: "like any other good democrat he walked carelessly along, now dodging an extra sized hoop or a son of Erin with a hod, with as much agility as if he was not a distinguished general, the late commander of a determined army."³

He had his picture taken at Brady's, "the well known

²"Reception of Gen. Walker," *New York Herald*, 6/17/1857, p.8, c.3. On the same day, the *Tribune* (p.5, c.2) portrayed him thus: "Walker is a man of inferior appearance in a physical point of view. His height does not exceed five feet four inches, and his weight is scarcely above a hundred and twenty-five pounds. His form is thin and his whole appearance very unpretending. His blue-gray eyes possesses [sic] a more marked individuality than any of his other features. They are unusually large and staring. His nose is inclined to aquiline; his lips and face thin. His hair is light in color and is cut short, and his face is closely shaven. His dress consisted of a blue frock-coat, black pants, vest and cravat and a standing collar. His face indicates nothing but a determination and strength of character."

³"Movements of General Walker," *New York Herald*, 6/18/1857, p.2, c.4.

photographer of Broadway," and returned to the hotel, where he was "constantly called upon by numbers of prominent citizens." He gave an interview to the *Herald* reporter:

In conversation Gen. Walker exhibits a sort of diplomatic quietness, preferring, like a good general, to listen, and talk as little as possible. He is, however, by no means backward about expressing his determination to return to Nicaragua with sufficient force to make his return an event of interest. He thinks that about 1,000 men would suffice to accomplish his purpose, and avows that for the protection of the rights of the thousands of American naturalized citizens of Nicaragua he is determined to return, and "if not admitted peaceably, to force his way if possible."

With regard to his health, he remarked that it had been extremely good while in Nicaragua, which he attributed to his abstemious habits. Many of the soldiers, he said, seemed to act as if they had come to the country for nothing else but to eat pine apples, and to this he attributed the great mortality among them. He says he ate but sparingly, and with regard to wines and spirituous liquors he was equally abstemious.

On a close inspection of his personal appearance, Gen. Walker bears the appearance of a man of deep thought; his eyes are somewhat sunken, giving him, when fatigued, a somewhat careworn look. In conversation he speaks in a very measured tone and with some hesitation.⁴

Walker spent the afternoon with Henningsen and other friends, in the meantime yielding to another solicitation, and having his daguerreotype taken at Frederick's gallery. In the evening, the Tammany-hall Committee of Reception escorted

⁴Ibid.

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.

Walker's party arrived at the theater just before the closing scene of the first piece. He occupied the front seat. When the curtain fell, the audience gave "a succession of hearty cheers" amid cries of "a speech, a speech." As soon as silence could be obtained, Walker arose and addressed them as follows:

I thank you for these manifestations of approbation of a cause which your conduct proves is dear to every American heart. (Cries of "Good.") The conduct of the people of the United States, since our arrival on their shores, proves that they cannot be misled by any misrepresentations, however false—however industriously circulated. The people in their instincts are always in favor of a cause which tends to promote their welfare and their glory. Again I thank you in behalf of the cause I represent, for these manifestations of approval. (Cheers.)⁵

Walker then resumed his seat, surrounded by his friends, Colonels Anderson, Lockridge and Waters, Captains Fayssoux, McArdle and O'Keefe, Don Pedro Selva, and others. When the curtain rose for next scene, a boy rushed on the stage, crying "'Ere's the *New York Herald*. Arrival of Gen. Walker, the hero of Nicaragua," the play having been somewhat altered to suit the occasion. Walker and his friends departed soon afterwards, not waiting for the final performance, and were escorted back to the hotel by the Continentals.

⁵Ibid.

Walker spent part of the next day with "several gentlemen who have taken a large interest in Nicaraguan matters." But "fifteen or twenty of the General's former soldiers" who called at the La Farge House, could not see him; neither could see him an elderly gentleman anxious to get information about his son, who had gone to Nicaragua, and "whom I am afraid is lost forever."⁶

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 well known 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," and he remained till the conclusion of the performance. In the *Herald's* chronicle:

. . . Gen. Walker, having upon his arm the lady of Gen. Henningsen, rose to retire amid the cheers of the audience. All along the passage ways crowds were in waiting anxious to obtain a view of the hero. As he neared the door the crowd thickened rapidly, until at last so great was the desire to get a sight of him that the pressure of the crowd forced those nearest him to press upon him and even to crowd closely upon 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 Lafarge.⁷

⁶"General Walker's Movements," *New York Herald*, 6/19/1857, p.5, c.3.

⁷Ibid.

The Tammany-hall Committee of Reception welcomed Walker and his suite at the hotel, having arranged for Dodworth's Band to give him a serenade. The music attracted about two hundred and fifty 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.)

Mr. Blankman, to appease the crowd, advanced to the balcony and said that Gen. Henningsen was not present. The cheering continued amid loud calls for General Wheat—or Bob Wheat, as he was familiarly termed.⁸

Wheat spoke next, and then New York Councilman Horatio N. Wild addressed the crowd. He promised that as Texas and California were acquired, so would be 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."⁹ 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

⁸Ibid.

⁹"General Walker's Movements," *New York Herald*, 6/20/1857, p.1, c.4.

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: "H.A. Cobb, Governor Price, Captain J.C. Rose, Wm. Shea, Esq., R.B. Hinman, C. Stearns, J.A. Godfrey of California, G.S. Wiltse, U.S.N., S.J. Anderson, Mr. Paxton, D. Darrow, Captain Matzdaf, W.C. Jewett, and others of like note. For each of these--some of them old acquaintances--the General had a hearty shake of the hand and a civil word, and for the ladies a smile and an appropriate compliment."

At noon, he went out with General Wheat and made some social calls. They returned in the afternoon with General and Mrs. Henningsen and Colonel 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."¹⁰

Among the visitors who called on Walker during the day was the former presidential candidate, General Hiram Walbridge. Quite a number called to ascertain the whereabouts of missing friends and relatives. To all such inquirers, Walker

¹⁰"General Walker's Movements, *New York Herald*, 6/21/1857, p.1, c.5.

sent word that the proper mode of getting the required information was to address the Adjutant General, Major John V. Hooff, New Orleans, who had all the papers and documents of his Nicaraguan Army.

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, with closed doors, they held "a consultation together, more or less prolonged."¹¹

¹¹"General Walker's Movements," *New York Herald*, 6/20/1857, p.1, c.4.

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BY WILLIAM WALKER
AND OTHERS
The hero in New York... favored of the gods...
[Detailed text columns on the left side of the page, including a sub-header 'BY WILLIAM WALKER AND OTHERS']



...of the hero in New York... favored of the gods...
[Detailed text columns on the right side of the page, continuing the narrative]



WILLIAM WALKER, THE HERO IN NEW YORK
[Caption text for the portrait of William Walker]



WILLIAM WALKER, THE HERO IN NEW YORK
[Caption text for the portrait of William Walker]



WILLIAM WALKER, THE HERO IN NEW YORK
[Caption text for the portrait of William Walker]

The Hero in New York "favored of the gods" (p. 44)

6. Cold, Iron-hearted Tyrant

Walker was lionized in earnest 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 Keene, 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 started in straggling cries for "Walker"; yet 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:

. . . The General, however, contented himself with bowing his acknowledgments. The boys, however, continued to cry "speech" until they were hoarse, when it being evident that none would be obtained at that time, one suggested to "go on with the play;" another joined in with "sit down in front;" a third wanted to "let 'm go on; d--n Walker's speech," and finally the "hats off" and "down in front" prevailed, and the great Fouché and Monsieur de Cevennes, whose prestige had been destroyed by the appearance of real military heroes, were attended to once more.¹

When the shouting demanding a speech continued at the close of the second act, Walker, who sat in a front seat in the center of the dress circle, rose and spoke as follows:

In behalf of those who have struggled and suffered, and many of them died in behalf of a cause tending to promote American greatness and American glory, I thank you for your expressions of approval. It is this approbation of our countrymen and the people of the land of our nativity is dearer to us than aught else besides. It consoles us for fasting, for vigils, for dangers and for death. With these the soldier can go on through obstacles, no matter how great or how discouraging they may seem, and with this approbation of the American people the struggle in Nicaragua is bound to be triumphant.²

¹"Amusements Last Night," *New York Herald*, 6/23/1857, p.1, c.5.

²Ibid.

General Walker's words were "received with uproarious demonstrations of applause, and the piece thereafter received the attention befitting its startling situations." Back in the hotel, "numberless invitations" arrived, begging him to visit the various theaters not yet honored with his presence, "as well as from private citizens, desirous of affording him social intercourse during his stay in the city."³ He declined most of them, alleging that his stay in New York was more on account of business than of pleasure.

He did accept a dinner invitation from Dr. Carrochan, a close friend of Henningsen. At the table, "the wine flowed plenteously, and many a bumper was drunk to the success of the Nicaraguan cause."⁴ 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

³"General Walker's Movements," *New York Herald*, 6/24/1857, p.5, c.4.

⁴*Ibid.*

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:

CONDITION OF THE SICK AND WOUNDED.

There are ninety-two sick and wounded men on board the *Wabash*; twenty-three are suffering from severe wounds. . . . many of them are scarcely able to move, some have lost their legs, others arms, others again have great festers, swollen wounds, gangrene, &c. They are indeed a most pitiful looking body of men.

The officers of the ship describe 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.

The officers of the ship had to bathe themselves in rum; the crew was almost demoralized with fear of and actual endurance of the vermin. The hair of the poor unfortunate passengers had to be cut close to their heads; they were bathed and compelled to be clean.⁵

⁵"Arrival of the *Wabash*," *New York Herald*, 6/29/1857, p.5, c.1.

The plight of those who didn't return shared the headlines:

THE FATE OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY IN NICARAGUA.

Dr. G. Wilkinson Sleight of this city, who became prominent for his active participation in the Know-Nothing movement from its rise, left this city about eighteen months since for Nicaragua, taking with him his wife, an accomplished and intelligent lady, and his brother.

Subsequently to his arrival he became surgeon on the San Juan River, and afterward went to Granada. He died there from the fever. His brother also died soon after from the same cause. Mrs. Sleight was left without any protector, amid the scenes of terror of fillibuster fortune.

At the battle at Rivas on the 11th of April [1857], she received a wound in her leg, which rendered amputation necessary; death soon followed, and relieved her of the sufferings she had endured in behalf of the *soi distant* attempt of an unprincipled adventurer "to Americanize Central America."⁶

One by one, individual returnees told their horror stories:

ACCOUNT OF ANOTHER OF WALKER'S SOLDIERS.

[From the *Newark Advertiser*, June 30.]

Mr. Henry Bartow, of this city, one of the returned Walker men, who reached New York in the frigate *Wabash* on Sunday, called at our office this morning and gave some interesting particulars of his adventures. He enlisted in New York on Feb 25, 1856 . . .

After reaching Granada he . . . joined Walker's army and participated in the ensuing battles of Santa Rosa,

⁶"The Fate of an American Family in Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 6/29/1857, p.7, c.3.

Rivas, Masaya and Granada. Shortly after the latter battle, in December last, he was lamed in the foot by marching, and entered the hospital at Rivas, where he remained till the 23d of March.

While engaged in defending the occupants of the hospital from an attack of some 600 Costa Ricans, he was shot through the left breast, the ball passing out under the opposite shoulder. Some 20 days after, while engaged with some 40 others in foraging for its supplies, the party was attacked by a large force of Costa Ricans, and Mr. B was shot through both thighs. He was then permanently laid up in the hospital, and when Gen. Walker surrendered on the 1st of May last, was left there a cripple. . . .

Mr. Bartow represents Gen. Walker as a cruel, rapacious, selfish man. He himself only enlisted for six months, and on the expiration of that time, though he represented that he had a family in Newark, and though Walker had just received some \$12,000 from Gen. Salazar, the latter refused to give him either a discharge or pay for his services, but told him that he must remain with the army till the expiration of a year, when he should certainly be discharged, Gen. Walker pledging his word of honor. At the time set he again applied for a discharge, and though he reminded Walker of his word, was peremptorily refused, and ordered back to his company.

Mr. B relates an incident of Walker's cruelty, in shooting a man on the charge of influencing men to desert. The man was brought before the General and charged with the attempt, whereupon, without holding any court martial, Walker said, "Take that man out and shoot him." The man was immediately led out on the plaza and shot. Three days afterwards it appeared that the man was innocent.

Mr. Bartow has received no pay from Walker, and but one suit of clothes--in all, valued at less than \$5. All the other clothing was obtained from the bodies of those who were shot. . . .

Mr. Bartow speaks highly of the bravery of Walker, but condemns his selfish, cold-hearted system of conducting the war. . . .

Of the Newarkers, there were 22 in all in the army, of whom only three, Henry Bartow, Stepen Wilson, and "Porgy" Brown are surviving. . . .

Mr. Bartow reached this city penniless, and almost destitute of clothing, and on account of his injuries, is unable to engage in any business at present. He is a hatter by trade, and says he has seen enough fighting in Nicaragua, and will hereafter be content to remain under the protection of the United States flag.⁷

The stories of the wounded interned at Bellevue Hospital may be read in Appendix C, where Walker is portrayed as a cold, iron-hearted tyrant.

Some of the other 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 and 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

⁷"Account of Another of Walker's Soldiers," *New York Herald*, 7/2/1857, p.1, c.2.

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."⁸ Throughout the day, many other fillbusters 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."⁹

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 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 fillbusterism; 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

⁸"The Returned Soldiers of Walker's Army," *New York Herald*, 6/30/1857, p.1, c.5.

⁹"The returned fillbusters," *New York Tribune*, 7/2/1857, p.6, c.3.

breasts fillibusterism exists as a living principle.¹⁰

DEPARTURE OF GEN. WALKER.

The arch fillibuster Walker left town on Wednesday night [July 1st] for Nashville, to see his father, and then to New-Orleans, to hatch new schemes of piracy against Central America. The presence of so many of his miserable deluded followers here, and the fear that they would make him smart for the sufferings which he brought upon them probably hastened his departure.¹¹

James Gordon Bennett, in the *Herald*, also pointed out the denunciations of Walker by his own men, and then sent him away with the following witty chronicle:

THE DEPARTURE OF GENERAL WALKER.

Yesterday afternoon General William Walker, "President of Nicaragua," who has been sojourning here for the last fortnight, during which time he has been "seeing the elephant" and delivering speeches from the boxes of theatres--left by railroad to Philadelphia *en route* for Charleston. He was accompanied by Captain Fayssoux. The General will not make any stay in Charleston, but will proceed at once to Nashville for the purpose of holding a conference with his father, who resides there. He will then go to New Orleans, where it is understood there is a plan concocting for the so-called liberation of Nicaragua.

The circumstances attending the arrival and departure of the General are worthy of note. It will be remembered that when he arrived at the Park, where he was to have had a public reception by his sympathisers,

¹⁰"The Fallen Fortunes of Manifest Destiny," *New York Tribune*, 6/30/1857, p.7, c.3.

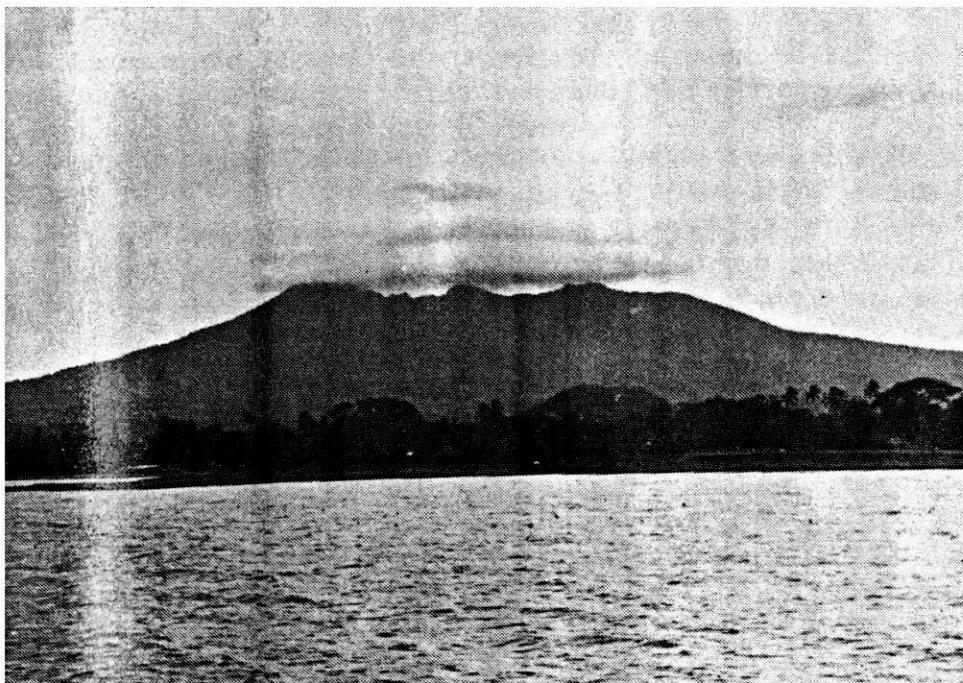
¹¹"Departure of Gen. Walker," *New York Tribune*, 7/3/1857, p.7, c.4.

the eloquence and patriotism which burned in the breast of the orator selected to welcome him, was unceremoniously extinguished by the copious showers which were falling at the time, and the municipal war, which was at its height, was too great an attraction for the assembled patriots, who immediately deserted the stand, leaving Walker and his followers alone in their glory. He departed yesterday in the midst of another rain storm as quietly as any other cosmopolitan, there being no demonstration of any kind.

It is supposed that General Walker's next movement will be to drive Gen. Martinez, the present usurper in Nicaragua, out of that republic.¹²

By then, everybody knew that Walker's "Nicaragua" game was over; that the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny was a shattered, fallen hero. But Greeley and Bennett also knew that the hero himself was not ready to believe it and was determined to keep on trying.

¹²"The Departure of General Walker," *N.Y. Herald*, 7/2/1857, p.1, c.3.



Granada
harbor and Mombacho mountain, from the wharf