

APPENDIX A

GENERAL WALKER'S SPEECH AT NEW ORLEANS [From the New Orleans *Delta*, May 31, 1857]

Canal street--the ancient neutral ground, has seldom groaned beneath the weight of so patriotic a crowd as last evening took position upon her heaving bosom. Long before the hour for meeting, the people--and when we say the people, we mean the real representatives of New Orleans sympathy--began to assemble around the platform which had been erected for the hero to make an explanation from.

The meeting was called to order by General John L. Lewis, who, after the preliminary organization, introduced General William Walker, President of Nicaragua. He was received with a shout that waked the far off echoes, and as he cast his eyes over the sea of heads in front and rear, he must have thought that he never met so many men, even in the ranks of the Costa Rican army. We lay the following report of the speech before our readers:

FELLOW CITIZENS--I stand before you, not to vindicate a cause, for it needs none. What is just needs no vindication. This concourse of citizens and the sympathy here manifested, attest the interest you feel. But I stand to vindicate Americans, and the acts by which an American cause has been upheld by American citizens.

In examining the motives of these acts, I ask you to

discard all prejudices, and to stand here as if you were posterity to judge of history--to judge without fear or favor. Many and unscrupulous have been the means resorted to to place me in a false light before my countrymen. These it is necessary to remove, and I challenge my enemies to point to a single act of mine which has been in violation of civil, national or international rights. [Cheers.]

I challenge any one present to name any act of mine in Nicaragua which has not been stamped with the seal of justice. There are those who have charged upon me such motives as, to attempt to vindicate them, would be a sheer mockery. There are those who have charged upon me motives of avarice and mere personal gain. From such I scorn to vindicate myself. The men who were with me in Nicaragua--my fellow-countrymen in arms--will vindicate me from the charge of having entertained such motives.

But there are other motives not so degrading at first blush: that I was a mere soldier of fortune, attempting to carry out my ambition, to make for myself a name and fame. This imputation I reject as equally unfounded; and I hope to convince you that I was not a mere soldier of fortune, risking the lives and fortunes of my countrymen for the sake of ambition. The actions of my hand prove a nobler motive. If I have exerted myself for any purpose, it has been to extend American influence and Americanize Nicaragua.

For thirty-five years, a struggle for liberty had been going on among the Central American republics. The civil wars showed that the people were incapable of self-government. Nicaragua was in a state of anarchy when I accepted the offer of Castillon [Castellón]. I refused to act in open violation of the laws of the United States. But I said there was no violation of the laws of our country in their asking me to fight in behalf of the democratic party.

I sent an agent to Castillon, to tell him that the contract

between us must be made accordingly; that I had an invitation from General Canduras [Cabañas] to assist the Hondurians [*sic*], and would go there if Castillon apprehended any danger from the presence of Americans in Nicaragua. On bended knees, and with suppliant tones, the Provisional President of Nicaragua insisted that I should remain, and wished the Americans to be on his own side, for he knew them to be loyal and true.

After my success on the transit route, I made a treaty by which the presence of Americans was approved by Corral and his party. I did this to secure the good will of all. There was not a Nicaraguan who could say, in the face of this treaty, that he had not approved the presence of the Americans.

Seven days after, in the presence of the priests, before whom General Corral and myself were sworn to the treaty, and before the ink was scarcely dry on the paper, he penned encouraging letters to the Hondurians against the Americans. These fell into my hands, and I felt that I might have brought him to the block; and by the provisions of the treaty he could not have evaded his execution. This traitor, proved to be guilty, plead [*sic*] nothing in his extenuation, but begged for mercy. I felt then, as now, that a court of justice was an act of wisdom, and mercy the part of folly. [Applause.] I felt that justice and mercy would still be meted out and that in six months after Corral's death his party would be vanquished.

After the execution of Corral the Rivas party went over to the democratic side and Gen. Cabanas assisted the Hondurians. I went, by invitation, to the assistance of the Nicaraguans. Gen. Heras [Jerez] joined in the application which was made to me. Every exertion was made to influence me to take the Americans to Honduras. I replied that Americans were there as friends to all parties. By my suggestions commissions were sent to Honduras and all the States, stating that we desired peace, that our policy was

pacific, and that under the circumstances, to take sides was illiberal. Heras acknowledged the truth of my suggestions. He was not a democrat, and was not in favor of assisting Cabanas [*sic*]. Deputies were sent by my advice, stating that we desired peace. We shall see how far this was granted.

In the meantime, an important event transpired. At the suggestion of Don Patricio Rivas, an American was sent to represent the government at Washington. I opposed this as bad policy; but I was not in authority and my opposition was unavailing. They wanted an American to speak the American language. You all know, fellow citizens, how he was received. None can paint the surprise of the Nicaraguans, because, on the plea of Pierce and Marcy, he was rejected on account of his being born in the United States. I well knew the result, and told them of the relations that existed between the United States and Nicaragua; but I assured them that my countrymen knew a power higher than that of presidents and cabinets--that I had infinite confidence in that higher power which the people held in their own hands--the true American sovereignty. [Applause.]

The alliance which followed between the four Central American States--the combination against American citizens in Nicaragua--is due to Pierce and Marcy, under their rejection of the Nicaraguan Minister. This brought the matter to maturity. Immediately the Costa Ricans, the supposed weakest power of the combination, commenced hostilities by an open declaration of war. Then followed the almost anomalous decree by which the Costa Ricans made war, not against the State, but against the Americans in Nicaragua.

Thus commenced the war of the races--the great battle of the mongrels and the white men. This war, then, was not begun by the Americans in Nicaragua; and I challenge the production of a single act in which they did anything but uphold the pledges made by the people of Nicaragua.

After this it appears that Don Patricio Rivas plotted with the Northern States for effecting the desertions of such Americans as could not be expelled by force. American rights were ignored in Nicaragua; bribes of money, and even lands, were freely offered in the face of our having braved war in its worst forms, and suffered the loss of life by the rage of famine and pestilence. They, however, pretended to be convinced of my assurances of the merits of my position, and were willing that an election of President should go before the people. This I desired, for I well knew that the mass of them detested with an implacable hatred the forced military service of the Costa Ricans.

The election was decreed, but only think, the result was not declared, before Rivas was plotting a revolution, under the pretence that the people were overawed by my presence. But "the wicked flee when no man pursueth"--I was not there; they were running from their own consciences.

Notwithstanding this conduct of Rivas, the election resulted in my elevation to the Presidency. By this I stood forth the only protector and lawful representative of the Nicaraguans. Rivas was previously but the provisional President. I was Commander-in-Chief of one portion of the Army, and it was through me that he was named for the position. I was joint sponsor, and after the death of Corral, was the sole cause of his elevation. I was bound by oath to put Rivas out when I was sworn in, but I was justified before the world by the unmistakable voice of the people, who knew the facts under which I had been elected.

I need not recount the events which followed. I have but to vindicate the acts of Americans in Nicaragua. You all know how long and how successfully I strived: with what means I forced back the enemy; braved that worst of foes, the lurking pestilence, then raging with violence in Granada. But for a new influence, which, I regret to say, comes but little less

from my own than a foreign country, we might still have been in arms in Nicaragua.

It is probable we had no right to expect sympathy from the British, even if determined at the sacrifice of the honor and rights of British officers, but I need not tell you that officers of the British service encouraged desertion from our army. They but obeyed the *dictum* of a superior authority. But whatever the position of these officers, I could not but think that unless governed by some strange collusion, they would not thus have interfered with American citizens. It is impossible to explain it except by supposing that Americans were on the same side with the British.

Our worst enemies were Americans. Oh, that they had been born in some other country. It is our shame that they should at their birth have breathed the same air as honest Americans. It was not until the last exigency--that of reverse and danger--an American, bearing the name and arms of an American officer, consummated what British-interference had begun.

It is a duty to myself to explain why we are no longer in arms: and that, however insignificant might be the representative of our government, I should respect the American flag as much in him as in the highest officer; and that, in surrendering, I reserved the right of appeal--not to the government but to the governors--to the people themselves.

Captain Davis made representations which I could hardly believe were true; and American as he was, he committed an act which was really one of war upon Nicaragua. But consider, fellow citizens, that that little vessel, the *Granada*, was covered with glory by American hands. She was manned by Americans, had met a vessel of the enemy and came off victorious in an engagement unequalled in the annals of naval warfare since the days of Paul Jones. Yes, fellow citizens,

that event, in which the little Nicaraguan schooner was successful, will be recurred to with pride by the historian, and the 11th of April will long be remembered by the American people.

Who of you cannot feel proud at the spirit of manhood manifested by an American born in your midst? Yes, you can but feel that that little vessel was a fact in the history of American enterprise, surrounded with glorious memories which cannot be erased. Yet, despite the glories she has attached to our fame, there was not wanting an American to commit an act of which every lover of his country should be ashamed.

It was reserved for Capt. Davis to make himself a party to an alliance with the British and the mongrels of Central America to drive his own race from the Isthmus. He expressed his determination to seize the *Granada*, and we were bound to yield to him. Yes, fellow-citizens, we were forced to make terms, and to surrender to an officer of the American navy.

Great was our indignation when we learned that the Americans had thus interfered with the American cause in Nicaragua. Why this action of Davis? Because he had received instructions from Washington. But why were these instructions given? It was because here was presented the real issue between the Marcy treaty as it was and the Americans in Nicaragua. Here was the starting source. The American Minister to England, and the abolitionists at the North, determined that slavery should be excluded from a place over which Americans had no control.

I care not what may be the ideas of those present, or what they may say in justification, it was but a combination to exclude the action of a sovereignty of Honduras from the Bay Islands. Between the States of New Granada and Costa Rica there existed a question of boundary, originated mainly through men at New York, the agents of the steamship

company. There was also a question of territory between New Granada and Costa Rica, and between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, in relation to Buena Costa [Guanacaste] and the Musquitto [Miskito] country.

The idea of this question was for New Granada to enter into an agreement with Nicaragua, that slavery should be excluded. Here commenced British intrigue in the desire to confound the relations of these governments with our domestic institutions.

Here let me say that I do not wish to excite political feeling on this subject. It is, perhaps, fortunate that I was born in a Southern State, which may be unfortunate that I cannot consider slavery a moral or political wrong. My teachings may not have been altogether of Wilberforce.

I may have touched a too sensitive point, but I feel that I have but struck upon the proof of British interference. Look back to the origin of slavery in American history--who introduced it into this country? Was he a man without honor? Certainly few have stood higher in moral worth than Las Casas, the Spanish priest, who was the head and front of this offending. He introduced it in the 16th century, for the relief of the Indians from the subjection of the Spaniards. It were better that he had fixed it permanently, not only in Cuba, but in other regions of Central America. Certainly he was wise and far more liberal for his day than even the present followers of Clarkson and Wilberforce.

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

I call upon you, therefore, to execute this mission. You

cannot, in justice to yourselves, shrink from the endeavor. You cannot but contribute your energies in carrying out the great principle of American influence.

As for myself, forced here as I am, I can but appeal to you to assist in regaining the American ascendancy. My duty has been paid, and I would not turn back on the path I have traversed. No, gentlemen, forced here against my will, I feel that duty calls on me to return. [Applause.]

All who are nearest and dearest to me are there. There sleep the men, soldiers and officers, whose rights I cannot fail to see perfected. Here, too, the heirs of those who have perished claim that I should return. That while I draw one breath I shall not leave a single stone unturned to secure them their inheritance.

I call upon you then fellow citizens, male and female whose friends and relatives have perished, to lend your aid--upon the men to assist by their fortunes and purses--upon the mothers to belt the swords about their sons--and upon the maiden as she listens to the lover at her feet, until he shall have vowed to go forth on the mission of his duty; aye, fellow citizens, I call upon you all for the glorious recollections of the past and the bright anticipations of the future, to assist in carrying out and perfecting the Americanization of Central America.

Tremendous cheering, in the midst of which the General retired.

New York Herald, June 7, 1857, p.4, c.6.

APPENDIX B

WALKER'S FIRST LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUCHANAN Washington, June 15, 1857

Sir:

On the first of May last I entered into a convention with Commander Davis, of the United States sloop St. Mary's, to evacuate the town of Rivas, in the territory of Nicaragua. Justice to myself, as well as to the Republic of which I claim to be the rightful and lawful chief Executive, requires me to communicate to your Excellency the circumstances which attended this convention. And in order that the events which led to the agreement between Commander Davis and myself may be more fully understood, I beg leave to narrate some facts connected with my presence and authority in Nicaragua, which have never been properly presented to the Government of the United States.

In the month of May, 1854, a few exiles from Nicaragua landed in the port of Realejo, declared against the then existing government of the Republic, and secured, within two months, possession of nearly all the principal places in the State. They soon organized a Provisional Government, of which Don Francisco Castellón was the head. It soon became apparent, however, that, although the vast majority of the people of Nicaragua were friendly to this movement, it was likely to fail through want of proper military force and organization. Castellón, therefore, sent to me (I was then residing in San Francisco) a contract authorizing me to raise

three hundred men for the service of the Provisional Government. This contract I rejected, because it was contrary to the act of Congress of 1818; and I sent back the agent employed by Castellón, with instructions to secure, if possible, a grant of colonization, which would not make me amenable to the laws of the United States. Such a grant was obtained, and as soon as I received it I showed it to the United States District Attorney for the Northern District of California, and to the General commanding the Pacific division, who then had special powers and instructions from the President, under the neutrality act of 1818. Both these officers informed me that I could act under the contract, not only without fear of interference on their part, but with the express assurance that they would do all in their power to forward the enterprise. Not only did I sail from San Francisco with the approbation and well wishes of all the Federal authorities, but the American sailors from a revenue cutter then in port actually unbent the sails for the vessel as she was towed out of the harbor.

After arriving at Realejo, I and my fellow-colonists were regularly naturalized as citizens of Nicaragua; and it became necessary for us to use our arms in defense of the rights we had acquired under the Provisional Government. It was soon apparent, however, that the presence of the Americans in Nicaragua was not acceptable to all the adherents of Castellón, and I therefore informed the Provisional Director that if our coöperation was injurious to his cause and prospects, we would willingly retire from the country. But Castellón insisted that the Americans were the only hope for the Democrats, not only of Nicaragua, but of all Central America, and he begged with fervency and perseverance that we would not think of abandoning him in his extremity. Thus appealed to and besought, we undertook the campaign, which ended in a peace between the contending parties; and I may safely assert, that the American influence was chiefly

instrumental in achieving the treaty of the 23d October, 1855.

By this treaty of the 23d October the old Legitimist Government recognized the rights of the Americans naturalized in Nicaragua under the grant from the Provisional Government; and in order to restrain, as the Legitimists said, the excesses of the Democrats, made arrogant by their success, they insisted that I should retain command of the army of the Republic.

Soon after the inauguration of the Provisional President, under the treaty of the 23d October, one of the Americans in Nicaragua was accredited as Minister to the United States. An American was selected by the Provisional President at the suggestion of members of his Cabinet--all natives of Nicaragua--that such a person would be more acceptable in the United States, from his knowledge of the language and laws of the country to which he was sent. Unfortunately for Nicaragua and for Central America, this Minister was not received by the Government of the United States.

About the time the news of the refusal on the part of the United States to recognize the Nicaraguan Minister reached Granada, Gen. Cabañas was applying to the Provisional Government for assistance to regain his authority in Honduras. I opposed this policy, and endeavored to impress on the Government that the first necessity of Nicaragua was peace. Instead of making war on Honduras, I suggested the propriety of sending notes to the other States of Central America, declaring our peaceful intentions, and soliciting friendly intercourse. These suggestions prevailed with the Provisional President, but were not palatable to the Minister of Relations, Don Máximo Jerez, who resigned in consequence of the peaceful policy pursued by the Government.

In the meantime decrees had been issued inviting emigration to Nicaragua, offering grants of land and other privileges to such as took up their residence in the State. Under these decrees a large number of Americans and other

foreigners emigrated to Nicaragua, and extensive interests were acquired by them in the country.

As soon, however, as the other States of Central America perceived the policy of the United States Government, they entered into a league for the expulsion of the Americans from Nicaragua. On the 1st of March, 1856, Costa Rica declared war, not against Nicaragua, but against a certain class of persons resident there, and accompanied this declaration with other decrees disgraceful to the age and revolting to civilization, Costa Rica invaded our Territory, and was repelled by the courage of the naturalized Americans.

But soon after the enemy retired, it became apparent that Don Máximo Jerez--who had, for his own purposes, again entered the cabinet of the Provisional President--was smarting under the defeat of his war policy, and was conspiring with Don Patricio Rivas to join the other States in their opposition to the Americans. This was so palpable that, in the election for President, in June last, I became a candidate before the people, and was elected by a large majority. The great objection urged against my election was, that I was not a native of Nicaragua. The Constitution of 1854, however, required no such qualification; and Don Fruto Chamorro himself was a native of Guatemala. As the office of President was not known in the Constitution of 1838, it is clear that the qualifications for the office were to be fixed by the Constitution of 1854, which alone created such a Chief Executive.

Duty to the Americans who had been invited to Nicaragua required me to accept the place of President, no matter how anxious I might be to escape its labors and responsibilities. Their interests were to my eyes above and beyond all others; for on them I verily believe the welfare of the whole country, and its utility to all the civilized nations of the earth, depend.

It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate the events of the

struggle in Nicaragua for the last year. You, as well as others, are familiar with the dangers through which the Americans naturalized in Nicaragua have passed. You know whether or not they have sustained the ancient fame of their race for valor and good faith. You know how they have met the open foe and the lurking pestilence, with nothing but a sense of duty and justice to sustain them in the hour of trial. Alone in the world, unrecognized by the Government to which they naturally looked for sympathy and countenance, they have still shown that they knew how to die in defense of rights justly acquired and attempted to be wrested from them by violence and fraud. It merely behooves me now to state how the evacuation of Rivas was effected, and how the Americans in Nicaragua became exiles from the land of their adoption.

On the 22d of March last, the allied forces of Costa Rica, Guatemala, San Salvador and Honduras opened a cannonade on the Town of Rivas, where the main body of the army of Nicaragua was situated; and on the morning of the 23d, they made a general assault, which was repulsed with great loss on the part of the enemy. Afterward they attempted to invest the town, but never fully succeeded, on account of the vast force required for such an undertaking. On the 11th of April they again assaulted Rivas, but were driven back with even more loss than on the 23d of March. In order to show how the enemy were reduced after the 11th of April, I need only state that on the evening of that day a single officer accompanied by a native servant, passed out of Rivas and went down to San Juan del Sur. He there received the letters sent to me from New-York by the steamer of the 20th of March, and brought them to Rivas on the morning of the 13th of April. This fact, let me say, was known to Commander Davis.

From the 23d of March to the 23d of April, I knew that Comr. Davis was in correspondence with the allies concerning the state of the force in Rivas. I knew that he was receiving

information from them calculated to mislead him in relation to my position and prospects. But Comr. Davis was, in the mean while, making such professions of friendship for his countrymen in Nicaragua, that I was disposed to attribute his conduct to an over anxiety for the garrison of Rivas. On the 23d of April, however, circumstances occurred which led me to doubt the sincerity of his protestations.

On that day, the second lieutenant of the St. Mary's, Lieut. Houston, accompanied by a non commissioned officer of marines, came into Rivas for the purpose of conducting the women--both American and native--from that place to San Juan del Sur. While in the town, Lieut. Houston expressed his great surprise at the good condition of the garrison, and at the spirit of cheerful confidence which pervaded the officers and men. But, during his presence, he and the soldier of marines with him gave information to the garrison calculated to diminish the courage of the command. These acts, derogating from their neutrality, were done in violation of an order by me that the soldier of marines was not to repeat in Rivas any of the reports circulated by the enemy in San Juan del Sur. The effect of Lieut. Houston's visit was apparent, from the desertions which immediately followed it.

Another circumstance occurred during Lieut. Houston's stay in Rivas, to which I afterward learned to attach importance. That officer informed me that he was ordered by Commander Davis to tell me that any communication I desired to make to Mr. C. J. Macdonald, agent of Messrs. Garrison, Morgan & Sons, might be made under inclosure to Capt. Davis himself. Although I felt such an offer was a departure from duty on the part of a United States officer, I did not hesitate to take advantage of the offer. I informed Lieut. Houston that I did not desire to write to Mr. Macdonald; but that he might say to Commander Davis from me, and with the understanding that it was to be communicated to Mr. Macdonald, that I considered my position at Rivas impregnable to the force at

the disposal of the enemy, as long as my provisions lasted; that if Col. Lockridge did not join me in Rivas by the time my commissary stores were exhausted, I would abandon the place and join the force on the San Juan river; and that I considered myself entirely able and competent to carry out such a movement. When I learned afterward that this message was never delivered to Mr. Macdonald, I was forced to consider Commander Davis's offer an effort to draw from me a declaration which he might afterward turn to my disadvantage.

After the visit of Lieut. Houston, I heard no more from Commander Davis until the 30th of April, when two aides-de-camp from the enemy came under a flag of truce from that officer to myself. The letter proposed that I should abandon Rivas and go aboard of the St. Mary's to Panama, Commander Davis undertaking to guarantee my personal safety. Although this proposition was extremely offensive--insinuating, as it did, that my personal safety, instead of the honor and dignity of the Government of which I was the Executive, might prove a determining circumstance in a military convention--I replied that the proposition was vague, and suggested his coming into Rivas, and a personal conference between us. I only submitted to the mortification of answering such a letter on the supposition that Commander Davis might have information I did not possess, and which might justify the substance, though not the manner, of his offer. He answered by saying that he was sorry I found his proposition vague; that he proposed "I should abandon the enterprise and leave the country;" that I might rely on the fact of Col. Lockridge having left the San Juan River; and, finally, that he had maturely considered the invitation to enter into Rivas, and had decided, unreservedly, not to take such a step.

The tone of this note was, if possible, more offensive than that of the first; and the use of the word "enterprise," in connection with a government which Commander Davis had

studiously acknowledged by addressing me as "President" but a few weeks previously, sounded strangely discordant. As, however, the letter stated the evacuation of the San Juan River--the first news I had of this event--I stooped to answer the offensive note by proposing to send two officers --Gen. Henningsen and Col. Waters--to meet Commander Davis, provided they had safe conduct from the allied General. An answer soon came, inclosing the required safe conduct; and the answer was, in effect, that Gen. Henningsen and Col. Waters should proceed at once to the headquarters of the allies, as Commander Davis's instructions required his speedy return to San Juan del Sur. I was surprised to recognize the body of the note as the handwriting of General Zavala--one of the Generals of the allied forces who spoke and wrote English--and to find that such a note was signed by a professed neutral.

For what passed between Gen. Henningsen and Col. Waters and Commander Davis, I refer you to the report of the former officer, herewith inclosed, and to the terms of the convention of Rivas. Allow me to suggest, that the convention itself is the best evidence that the army in Rivas was not on the eve of destruction or dissolution. If the peril to my command was as great as has been publicly represented, the allies would never have permitted us to evacuate the place, not only in safety but with honor.

In his interview with Gen. Henningsen, Commander Davis had expressed his "unalterable determination" to seize the schooner Granada; and this had been a determining circumstance with me in signing the convention. I was, therefore, surprised on the morning after I went aboard the St. Mary's to hear Commander Davis propose that I should deliver the vessel to him without the necessity for the use of force. This I rejected. He then proposed I should deliver the vessel on condition he gave me arms and ammunition on board of her. I replied, not a rag or a splinter should be given up,

except to an overwhelming force; for the honor of the little vessel was in her hull and rigging and in the flag she bore, and, in comparison with this, the value of property aboard her was mere dross. Need I express surprise that a United States naval officer should make so dishonorable a proposition?

Finding that Commander Davis appeared to hesitate in the execution of what he had declared his "unalterable determination," I endeavored to convince him of the gross wrong and injury he would commit by the seizure of the Granada. I endeavored to satisfy him he had no right to question the flag of the schooner while she lay in the port of San Juan; that while there she was within the territory of Nicaragua, and subject only to the sovereignty of that Republic; that it was unworthy of the United States thus to trample on the most sacred rights of a sister State; and that I could not and would not believe his government would sanction such a violation of international law. He replied that he would weigh what I had said, and see me again on the subject; but without any further conversation he gave written orders to his first lieutenant to seize the Granada by force. The order was executed. The first lieutenant boarded the Granada with a small force. Captain Fayssoux, of the Granada, beat to quarters. Lieut. Maury endeavored to persuade Capt. Fayssoux to give up his vessel, alleging in accordance with his instructions, that it would be in accordance with the Rivas convention. Captain Fayssoux said his orders were not to deliver the schooner unless to an overwhelming force. Lieut. Maury returned to the St. Mary's, and informed me that he intended to take the Granada; and if I desired to save the effusion of blood, I should give an order to deliver her to him. He then brought his broadside of eleven guns to bear on the schooner, manned his small boats with one hundred men, and came to me for the order; which was, of course, given. Soon after I had the mortification to

see the Nicaraguan flag hauled down and the American flag hoisted. Indignation as an officer of Nicaragua at the lowering of its flag was stifled by shame as a native of the United States at seeing its glorious ensign disgraced by covering an act of perfidy and wrong.

I ask leave to beg your special consideration of the fact that Lieut. Maury applied to me for an order to Capt. Fayssoux. This was an acknowledgment that Capt. Fayssoux was still an officer of the Government of which I was the Executive.

But the dignity and honor of Nicaragua had not been sufficiently degraded by having her own flag lowered in her own port. It was reserved for Commander Davis to complete a series of insults, by delivering the Granada, with all her armament and equipment, to an alien enemy.

Nor did the hostility of the United States naval officers cease on our departure from San Juan del Sur. On the arrival of the St. Mary's at Panama, Commodore Marvine [*sic*] kept me and the sixteen officers with me prisoners on the sloop. He would not permit us to land or hold communication with the shore. Even my letters from the United States were sent back to the shore; and when I requested to send aboard the California steamer in order to inquire for letters I expected, the Commodore replied he would send one of his own officers to inquire for my letters. I protested that I had gone aboard the St. Mary's as an officer--with my sword on--and not as a prisoner; but the Commodore replied, that the New-Granada Government had published a decree forbidding any one lately engaged in the Central American war to land at Panama unless upon conditions. An American citizen at Panama afterward assured me that the governor of the place remarked, there would have been no difficulty about my landing, if the application for it had been made.

Such, Sir, is a faithful history of the means which have been used to exile the Americans naturalized in Nicaragua

from the country for which they have split [*sic*] their blood and risked their lives. For the land of their adoption they left the ease and comfort of homes endeared to them by many a tender tie and many a glorious recollection. One thousand Americans have perished in order to secure the lands and privileges promised them in Nicaragua. Their heirs are, for the most part, citizens of the United States; and I leave it to your wisdom to decide whether it is right or politic that such interests should be endangered, if not sacrificed, by the acts, either authorized or unauthorized, of American officers.

But, whatever your wisdom may decide in relation to the policy of such conduct, I know the justice of the Government your Excellency so worthily controls will not fail to raise up the honor of Nicaragua, wounded by the seizure of her own vessel in her own port, and by its delivery to a foreign foe. I know you will not, with impunity, permit the sovereignty of a sister republic to be violated simply because she is weak. With full confidence, I trust for such acts and declarations, on the part of the Government of the United States, as will entirely clear it from any participation in the insults and degradation which Nicaragua has received at the hands of American officers.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WM. WALKER.

To his Excellency JAMES BUCHANAN,
President of the United States.

New York Tribune, June 18, 1857, p.3, c.2.

APPENDIX C

WALKER'S MEN AT BELLEVUE.

The Confessions and Opinions of Walker's Soldiers now in Bellevue Hospital--Their Names, Ages, Nativities, Autobiographies, Wounds, and Opinions about Gen. Walker, &c., &c., &c.

One of our reporters yesterday visited Bellevue Hospital, and with the kind attention of Dr. Johnson, house surgeon, saw the remnant of Walker's army of filibusters, consisting of over thirty poor, sick, emaciated, disabled and wounded men. It was a painful sight to behold even this glimpse of the evils of war, and to hear from the lips of men in the prime of life sickening details of the sufferings they endured. We believe that most of these unfortunate men were allured to their misfortunes by the false and glittering expectations held out by the leading filibusters in Wall street and elsewhere.

The reader will see, from a perusal of the following details, their deplorable condition; many of them far from home, destitute and friendless. Their case is worthy of public consideration, and surely those who have been so enthusiastic about Nicaraguan freedom will not now neglect those who have so deeply suffered and stand so much in need of assistance.

We give the statements of the men as detailed to our reporter:--

WALTER J. SCOTT.--Am 18 years of age; was born in St. John, N.B.; am ten years in the States; up to the time of joining Walker's army had good health, and was steward on board ship for four years; entered Walker's army, 10th April, 1856, in New Orleans; was three weeks sick of fever after arrival in Nicaragua; went out as private; never was wounded; was always in active service, and had to do duty with an ulcerated leg; when first went out, did very well as regards food for three months; after that time had but little, and indifferent; no liquors were allowed; our company never received any; had good diet at St. George, a few miles from Rivas, where the enemy were; our diet consisted of bacon, mackerel, chocolate, coffee, (no vegetables,) plantains, oranges, bananas and mangoes; was allowed to wander out three or four miles; this is the way we lived; were drilled one hour in the morning and two hours in the afternoon, and stood guard every other day; have seen Capt. Bell knock down men frequently, because they were so sick they could not keep up with the company; the most common words used by the officers in addressing the privates was calling them sons of bitches; they would buck and gag them--that is, put a musket behind the back between the arms, put their feet in stocks, a bayonet in their mouths, and then place them on their bellies for six or eight hours; this was done to a private named Doherty, because he went out for plantains without permission; another mode of punishment was to stretch a man out with his arms and feet extended, and fastened to bayonets in the ground, and keep him in this position, with his face to a burning sun, for four hours during the heat of the day; this I saw done to a man named Taylor, who in consequence of this cruelty deserted with five more a few days afterwards; another method of punishing was to tie men up by their thumbs on tiptoe, and keep them in that strained

position for some time; all these kinds of punishments were regular practices of the officers, both at St. George and Rivas; I have seen thirty or forty soldiers thus punished; after the enemy left Rivas we took possession; at the time of the siege our usual rations were anything we could get; sometimes only three or four ounces; the heads of animals, mules, horses, beeves, &c., were given out as part of our rations; the men would go down to where the killing was going on and take the lights, guts, and everything of the kind for food, and whilst food was plenty in the country could not then go outside the ranks, but had to steal out and get food, and if caught out without a gun men were taken up as deserters and shot; two young men belonging to the rifles having lost their way on the San Juan [road] at the battle of Rivas were taken before Walker; he made it out desertion, and both were shot, one of them having told me he had no intention of deserting; General Salizar (one of the most prominent men in Nicaragua under Rivas, and deserting with him as well as the rest of the native officers) was shot by Walker for desertion; he held a post under Walker, and was taken in a barge on Lake Nicaragua; had no trial more than to ask him if he knew the handwriting of two letters, which he admitted; he had \$300 on his person when shot; Walker shot also two men whom he took as prisoners at Granada, in retaliation for the shooting of Colonel Lane at Massaya; one was a colonel, the other a lieutenant; they both took a glass of brandy, lit their segars, tied their own handkerchiefs over their eyes, and bid adieu to one another; the men were always shot sitting up in a chair against the wall, twelve men usually firing at the person to be shot; we were in Rivas from December to May, when the treaty was made; at first the enemy were no nearer than Granada, which was distant about sixty miles; we had plenty from the surrounding country at first, until the rangers' mules were the only food we had at

last. These were in a horrid condition, backs galled, &c. We used to go out, shoot pigs and rob hen roosts, and take anything we could get. We eat cats and dogs, and were glad to get them. Dogs I did not like; it was too strong and had a kind of bitter taste. Only way I could eat it was by taking green mangoes, &c., and stewing it; this would mollify the taste. I have seen cats sold for a dollar a piece. The cats' meat was very good, the fat ones especially; they would fry in their own fat. Horse meat was pretty good. The mule meat was tougher than the horse. The doctors never took much care of the patients in the hospitals, and Walker very rarely visited them, although only a few squares distant. Major Bell deserted afterwards, dropping outside the guard house a bundle containing his military coat, sword, &c. The ulcer in my leg was caused by the chafing of a boot in which I had to march twenty miles a day. I have seen six men suspended at a time by the thumbs by order of Capt. Dusenberry. I have stood picket sixteen days in succession--two men to the picket. Walker is no more of a general than I am. The enemy knew all his movements before his own soldiers. They were always prepared for him. [This man is naturally healthy, but broken down by hardships and hospital gangrene.]

HIRAM MARSHALL--Was born in Western New York; was a clerk before going out, twenty-one years of age. Went from New Orleans in May, '56; went to Greytown in the Daniel Webster, and up to Granada; thence to Massaya, where I remained one month, having good living, boarding with the natives. Belonged to the Rangers and was expected to pick up horses and mules; got chills and fever; most of the men had it; suffered from marching, having blisters on my feet. When first I came soap was given out to the men every week to wash, but after a while discontinued, as few of us had more than one shirt apiece. Our company would not stand cruelty; it was different from the infantry and rifle corps. Samuel

Leslie was a brutal officer, cursing the men when they had the chills and fever; he was shot at the siege of Granada; went to Massaya, where we had plenty to eat; we always had more than other men, because we would go out to forage and get it; the natives took their pay in scrip; I never drew any, for I thought it not worth anything; have seen the doctors take a big cane and wallop the sick men out of bed to stand guard; Dr. Brickenhoff did this at Rivas, and it was of frequent occurrence; Dr. Callahan, one of the head doctors at Greytown, knocked a man down because the man asked for rations he had missed receiving; we would be driven out with ulcers the same as I have now, and forced to stand guard and to march.

WM. MILES--Was born in Wales; am 20 years of age--7 years in this country; was a sailor, then a laborer in California; enlisted in Walker's army on the 20th of February, 1856 [1857], at San Francisco, in the Red Star Guards, Walker's body guard; company went down to San Juan under Capt. Stewart; was at the battle of St. George and siege of Rivas at which I got wounded in the knee by a Minnie ball; had to stand 24 hours at a time on picket, 2 hours on and 4 off; never had enough to eat while I was there; we had good officers in our company; the major was tyrannical; our men were all Californians, and would not stand any cruelty if attempted; it was attempted, and all but three deserted; don't think Walker much of a general; has a gun shot wound on knee.

NICHOLAS TRAPP, (1st Lieutenant)--Am 28 years old; was born in Maryland; a cooper by trade; had been in California since 1850; landed at San Juan on the 1st of January, 1856; ordered to Serapiqui, and remained there till June; took the British mail shortly after our arrival; sent to Walker; it rained most of the time we were here; made sheds in winter we could sleep in the open shed with scarcely any covering, it was so

mild and warm. There was no liquor allowed us. Some one of the companies brought down a barrel of brandy, but the men getting tight the captain ordered the head of the barrel to be knocked in. Went to Virgin Bay 15th of July, '56; left that for Ometepe that night to quell an insurrection. Was shot with a small rifle ball passing just behind the middle of the thigh; twenty others also wounded, besides the officer who died in hospital. As a general thing the wounded men were badly taken care of. Were not allowed to plunder. Never received any pay in money. The pay of the privates was \$25 a month, then \$27; orderly sergeant, \$32.50; second lieutenant, \$70; first do., \$80--rations and clothing being deducted. Went back after the fight to Virgin Bay; stayed there six months and a half; had enough to eat; soldiers in the hospital badly abused; legs and arms were cut off with a bowie knife and carpenter's saw. Ordered to Granada October 8, and remained there till the commencement of the siege. Ordered to Massaya; ordered back night of 12th October, and on the march were attacked by the enemy's picket; beat them back and took two pieces of cannon. Returning to Massaya fell into an ambush; had not men enough to charge the enemy. Captains Dunigan, O'Regan and Newbanks were wounded at this skirmish, which lasted on and off for three days. Was wounded, but had no attention paid me. Thinks Walker some pumpkins.

A.O. LINDSAY--Is 31 years of age; was born in Portland; occupation a farmer. 20th September, 1855, was one of the first who entered in San Francisco the California company of rifles. At first our accommodations in Nicaragua were good, Walker eating at the same table, but towards the end could not get a civil answer from Walker; have been in eleven battles; never injured but once; had plenty to eat till the declaration of war by the Costa Ricans; during the past year we had to steal more than half of what we eat; sold my pistols to buy food; officers cruel; I have seen three men stretched

out on a cross and hung; Walker towards the end was tyrannical; left his sick and wounded twice to the enemy; left wounded in a church, where all were butchered; Pitman, of Baltimore, had to pay his passage home when he had lost an arm in the service.

C.W.G.--Am 23 years of age; was born in Alabama; merchant; went out to join Walker as private 7th of June, 1856, in Company B, from New Orleans; was in active service, and promoted to first lieutenant; I would judge that General Walker was somewhat tyrannical; men whose time had fully expired could not get their discharge; bucking, gagging and confinement in the guardhouse were the common punishment. Colonel ----- would beat his men over the head with his sword if they lagged behind; rations were sometimes sufficient, and more frequently short; I do not regard Gen. Walker as a military man, but as a civil man; he has bravery; wisdom as well as courage must be used; thinks Walker a fine man, but no soldier.

J.B. RENEAU--Was born in Tennessee; am 26 years of age; was overseer of plantations; entered Walker's army May 7, 1856; paid my passage and went out as private; was sick a good deal; had colic from eating fruit; yellow fever was very prevalent in Granada, the deaths often as high as fifteen a day; was wounded in the retreat from Massaya; fell, striking on the knife; soldiers not well treated; officers abusive to the men; I eat dog's meat at the siege of Rivas, and glad to get it; the sweetest meat I ever eat was jock's paunch--part of the time had sweet oil. Don't think Walker will do as a military man; may do as a citizen. He was not capable of commanding an army.

R.W.S.--Am 20 years of age; was born in Mississippi; painter. Sailed from New Orleans October 27, 1856; was on picket duty ten days and nights without being relieved. Eat cat flesh; would have eaten most anything at the time.

Officers would strike men with their swords for ignorance. Bucking and gagging were of common occurrence; also tying up the men and stretching them. Some of the doctors did not hesitate to rob the dead, to take their rings, money, &c.

JOSEPH KLUMPH--Am 24 years of age; was born in Portland, N.Y. Was with Walker 18 months. Think it very hard he does not come to see the men, especially as many of them are far from home. Was taken prisoner at Massaya, on the 13th of October, and kept until the 1st of last June. Was well treated. Prisoners were generally shot. Out of seven taken the same time as myself I was the only one who escaped death. Have no means to go to my friends, who reside in Iowa City. Never received a dollar while in Nicaragua, or drew ten dollars worth of clothes; never drew scrip. Great difference of opinion about Walker; some of his officers treated the men cruelly. Considered the cause I was fighting for just. Don't know if I would go back again. Men would sooner go under any other man than Walker. Think he cares little for his fellow beings who will stand by and see their suffering without trying to alleviate it.

H.M. (private)--Is 21 years of age, born in New York, clerk in a store. I think the same as Walter J. Scott; about Walker's generalship; severe in his discipline; officers did pretty much as they pleased; not much idea of individual responsibility. The officers, as a general thing, were abusive. [He is naturally healthy but for the ulcers he has contracted.]

JOHN WILLIAMS (private)--Am 35 years of age, was born in Alabama; think mighty little of Walker; don't think he is any particle of a man, or he would not have treated us as he has. [This is a strong, athletic man; received a ball from a musket, which passed into the hip, through the abdomen and out of the other hip.]

JAMES ADAMS (2d sergeant)--Is 30 years of age, was born in Maryland; think Walker has been great in his time; has done

as much as any man could under the circumstances; was not tyrannical. I do not think he was a general capable of leading an army; he could do more than any other man, but could not manage an army; he was no disciplinarian.

R.W. SWEENEY--20 years of age, born in Missouri. I think Walker is a tyrant and deserves to be hanged; that is my opinion; I would tell him if I had a chance. [This young man had his arm shot off.]

DANIEL DONOVAN--Am 20 years of age; was born in New York. Had been clerk previous to joining Walker's army as private; thinks he is no commander at all, but a cold, iron hearted man. [This man is laid up with ulcers of his legs.]

P.G. GRAVES--Is eighteen years of age; was born in Alabama. Will pass no opinion.

JOHN DRACY-- Is twenty years of age; was born in Canada; is a machinist. Was private in Walker's army; received a gun shot in the knee. Thinks Walker very neglectful of duty, and does not care for the sufferings of his soldiers.

SAMUEL POMORA--Is twenty years of age; was born in Ohio; is a glass blower. Was a private in Walker's army. Will give no opinion.

N.M. RINNY--Is twenty-five years of age; was born in Tennessee; bookkeeper; was clerk of the arsenal. My opinion of Walker is poor; he has treated us all badly--humbugged us all. I have served twelve months, and during that time received eighty cents in cash, a shirt and a pair of pants in pay.

JAMES BRENNAN--Am twenty-seven years of age; was born in South Carolina; was bookkeeper in Quarter Master's department. Received a gun shot wound in the foot. Is mum as regards Walker's generalship.

A.G. LINCOLN--Is twenty-three years of age; was born in Sweden. Served in Walker's army, and contracted ulcers. There was neither medicine nor means in the hospital.

JOHN KISIN--Is 21 years old; was born in New York; was private in Walker's army; contracted ulcers; thinks that Walker don't care about us.

DEWITT WILLIAMS--Is 20 years of age; was born in Ohio; was first sergeant in Walker's army; received a gun shot wound; thinks Walker a d---d rascal; he made a treaty and left in the power of enemy to violate that treaty, leaving us in the hands of a half-civilized people, who would murder us any time they could. Walker is no general--no statesman.

ROBERT A. CRAIG--Is 22 years of age; was born in Scotland; was private in Walker's army; had shoulder dislocated; thinks Walker a hard customer.

HENRY BUTLER--Is 22 years of age; was born in Denmark; was a musician and fighter in Walker's army; has contracted ulcers; thinks Walker a lawyer--no soldier.

CARLOS ALLEN--Am 26 years old; was born in Missouri; was private in Walker's army and contracted ulcers; thinks Walker a hard old case--a perfect tyrant; don't care for no man's life; no general--no soldier; he is only a bull dog; we should all have been killed, if Gen. Henningsen had not come out.

JOHN ANDERSON--Was born in Maryland; am 21 years of age; was private in Walker's army; has contracted ulcer; thinks Walker a hard case, as he would not give us anything.

WM. H. PORTER--Am 18 years of age; was born in Texas--lived in Tennessee; was Commissary Sergeant in Walker's army; received a gunshot wound in leg; thinks Walker is a robber, murderer and everything else that is bad; am down on him: I was shot in Granada, and he was going to have me shot again because I would not do duty before I was well.

JAS. A. TREE--Is 35 years of age; was born in Mississippi; went out as lieutenant in Walker's army, but never got my commission; have a very poor opinion of Walker, though I say but very little about it.

JOHN BLUNDERMAN--Am 22 years of age; was born in New

Orleans; was one of the company of Rangers in Walker's army. I think if he had got the means he might have succeeded, but did not treat us well, though.

H. CLARK--Is 47 years of age; was born in Virginia; was captain of Company E, First Rifles; received a wound in my leg. I think Walker is a good man, but not a military man.

THOS CLARKE--Is 21 years of age; was born in England; went out as private in Walker's army. I think he is a mean man and no officer.

W.T. JEWETT--Is 23 years of age; was born in Virginia; was sergeant in Walker's army; contracted fever and ulcers. I think him a good man, so far as I am concerned. I do not think he is a good officer--too rash.

A.J.HARRISON--Is 34 years of age; was born in Kentucky; was first Sergeant, and received a gunshot wound in knee; don't think Walker was a good commander--rather rash.

PATRICK WARD--Is 18 years of age; was born in Ireland; went out as private in Walker's army; contracted ulcers; think him a good officer.

Besides the above are the following, in a different ward of the hospital:--Jacob Bluker, German, 43 years of age; Jer. Mehegan, of New York, 25; Henry Wells, Connecticut, clerk, 24; Newman Trowbridge, Louisiana, 19; Alfred Durand, Ireland, 17, and a few in the medical wards.

Such, in brief, is the statement of the experience and views of the thirty sufferers now at Bellevue Hospital.

"Walker's Men at Bellevue," *New York Herald*, July 2, 1857, p.1, c.1.

APPENDIX D

LETTER FROM GEN. WILLIAM WALKER
TO CHARLES J. JENKINS, ESQ., AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

He Undertakes to Explain his Efforts to Re-introduce Slavery in Nicaragua--Blessings of Slavery Contrasted with the Evils of Emancipation--Treaties between New Granada and Costa Rica, and England and Honduras Considered--Dallas-Clarendon Convention--Poetical Figure for the South, &c., &c.

New Orleans, Sept. 2, 1857.

SIR--In the conversation we lately had at Augusta concerning the re-introduction of slavery into Central America, we agreed that much of the opposition to my course in Nicaragua was due to the act annulling the decree of the Federal Constituent Assembly. It may be a matter of interest to you, as well as to others, for me to explain the motives which lead to that measure; and in this connection it will not be irrelevant, and certainly not unimportant to the people of these States, for me to advert to certain combinations of the Spanish-American republics, with a view of limiting the increase of negro slavery in this continent.

It has been incorrectly asserted that I and my comrades emigrated to Nicaragua for the express purpose of establishing negro slavery in its territory. For myself, I can only say that I had no such intention. Although born and educated amidst Southern influences, I trust that I am not

sufficiently insane to attempt the propagation of slavery, independent of its adaptation to climate, soil and productions. The experience of Locke, in the formation of his Carolina constitution, is sufficient to deter any man ordinarily modest from the attempt to frame laws and institutions for a country he has never seen; and facts nearer our own time might satisfy any one of the evils "higher law" political philosophers would entail on society if all their theories were reduced to practice. Certainly I am not so partial to such modes of legislation as to be tempted to follow them myself.

No--the decree re-establishing slavery in Nicaragua was the result of observation, not of *a priori* speculation. It was only after a residence of fifteen months in the State; after attentively observing the soil, the climate and the products of the country; after narrowly watching the character of its inhabitants, together with their social and political organization, that I determined to revoke the act of the Federal Constituent Assembly whereby slavery was abolished. A review of the history of tropical America--insular as well as continental--will, I am satisfied, manifest the wisdom of the measure so severely criticised in the Northern States and in Europe.

Negro slavery on this continent had its origin, as you are aware, in the spirit of benevolence and philanthropy. In the annals of humanity there are few brighter names than those of Father Las Casas, the originator of the system; and certainly few wiser monarchs have ever reigned in Europe than the Spanish sovereign who put in practice the suggestions of the holy father. It is true that Lord Brougham has lately characterized the measure of Las Casas as "a union of the most far sighted interest with the most short-sighted benevolence;" but when did his lordship forsake his Benthamian principles and cease to acknowledge that in political affairs the most enlightened interest is the purest

and most genuine benevolence? The admission of the noble lord at once destroys the economical argument for the abolition of slavery in tropical America, and reduces it to a pure question of philanthropy.

It was not until towards the close of the last century that people began to doubt the wisdom and benevolence of the policy inaugurated by Las Casas. Then the ideas of Buxton, and Clarkson, and Wilberforce became fashionable in America as well as in Europe. At first these ideas were confined to a small portion of the English public; but caught up as they were by a religious party which controlled to a great extent Parliamentary elections, they soon became powerful in the British Legislature. The fashion spread to France, and the free thinking legislators of that country were as eager to adopt the theories of Wilberforce as to follow the example of the Puritans of the Long Parliament. The horrors of Haytian history for the last sixty-five years attest how dangerous it is to transplant political sentimentalism from England into France; and the condition of Jamaica, in comparison with that of Cuba, proves how little good British colonists have derived from humanitarian legislation.

The events which have followed the abolition of slavery in tropical America strikingly illustrate the fact that government is a science and not a fine art, and that the laws are to be sought for inductively--not through the sentiments or emotions. The pharisaical philanthropy of Exeter Hall has made Hayti and all Spanish America the seat of dire and almost endless civil war; it is fast converting Jamaica into a wilderness. Further than this, it is making the whole western coast of Africa one vast slave ship, before which the horrors of the middle passage sink into insignificance. The slavery of the negro to his fellow-savage--productive as it necessarily is of cannibalism and human sacrifice--has been a hundred fold increased by efforts to suppress the slave trade; and the

vices of the smuggler have been added to those properly belonging to the slaver, by forcing him to carry on his trade with the halter around his neck.

A comparison of the negro in Africa with what he is in the United States, or even in Cuba and Brazil, shows the advantage of Western slavery to the inferior race. The condition of tropical America, where slavery does not exist, indicates its necessity for the development of the natural wealth of that portion of the world.

And of all the countries of tropical America, Nicaragua has most need for a thorough reorganization of labor. The revolutions of nearly forty years have made idlers of the large majority of the population, and but for the exceeding fertility of the soil would long since have converted it into a desert. The reintroduction of negro slavery constitutes the speediest and most efficient means for enabling the white race to establish itself permanently in Central America, and it is the consciousness of this fact which is leading to a combination of the mixed races of Spanish America for the purpose of excluding slavery forever from the territories now occupied by them. The tendency of this combination is, of course, to confine slavery on the American continent within its present limits; and it appears to me of some importance that the evidences of the combination should be placed before the people of the Southern States.

Nor are written and palpable evidences of this combination lacking. You may find them in the archives of Costa Rica at San Jose, and in those of New Granada in Bogota. Still nearer home you may find the evidences not only of the Spanish American combination, but also of British complicity with it, among the archives of Washington and of Westminster. It is strange that these facts have attracted so little attention on the part of the Southern people; but they may feel the importance of them long after they have lost the power to

control the consequences of the combination.

To the facts. In the month of May, 1856, a treaty was entered into between the States of New Granada and Costa Rica. Ostensibly the main object of this treaty was the settlement of a boundary question long pending between the two republics; and the treaty was signed soon after the English government had agreed to furnish arms to Costa Rica for the purpose of fighting the Americans in Nicaragua. But in this treaty the strange and singular clause is inserted whereby the contracting parties agree that slavery shall never be introduced into the territories of either. No intimate relations exist between those republics; for, although co-terminous, a vast uninhabited region extends between the cultivated districts of the two countries. And yet these two sovereignties yield to each powers over the other, which one State of your confederacy will not yield either to a sister State or to the federal government.

It must have been a powerful influence which secured the insertion of such a clause into a treaty concerning boundaries. Nor are we left to conjecture the source of this influence.

Not many weeks after the treaty between Costa Rica and New Granada was signed, Great Britain entered into a treaty by which the Bay Islands were given up to Honduras, with the proviso that slavery should be forever excluded from them. And this treaty, signed by the Honduras Commissioner and the British Secretary of State, is afterwards embodied in what is known as the Dallas-Clarendon treaty. It receives the signature of the American Minister at London, is approved by an American Secretary of State, and an American President sends it for ratification to the American Senate. One is almost tempted to believe that the United States itself is not unwilling to become a party to a treaty which is an insult as well as an injury to the whole Southern people.

And other Spanish-American States have shown their desire to join in this league. Not only was the proposition for a general combination of these republics discussed in the Chilian Congress, but a Chilian Commissioner was sent to San Jose for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with Costa Rica. A Chilian brig-of-war, too, having commissioned and warrant officers furnished by England and France, came to the coast of Central America with a view of aiding in the combination against the Americans of Nicaragua.

Nor is Mexico indifferent in the matter. Her border territories furnish a place of refuge for the runaways of the Southern and Southwestern States; and the new Mexican constitution just adopted has, I am told, a clause by which the central government is precluded from making a treaty with the United States for the extradition of fugitive slaves. In fact, you have but to read the journals of the Spanish-American republics from Mexico to Chili, to be satisfied of the enmity--active as well as passive--to the people and institutions of the Southern States.

Independent, then, of the importance to the whole United States and to civilization generally of Americanism in Nicaragua, I cannot but regard our success as of more immediate and vital consequence to the people of the Southern States. It involves the question whether you will permit yourselves to be hemmed in on the South as you already are on the North and on the West--whether you will remain quiet and idle while impassable barriers are being built on the only side left open for your superabundant energy and enterprise. If the South is desirous of imitating the gloomy grandeur of the Eschylilian Prometheus, she has but to lie supine a little while longer, and force and power will bind her to the rock and the vulture will descend to tear the liver from her body. In her agony and grief she may console herself with the idea that she suffers a willing

sacrifice.

It is not often that men are permitted to expend their energies in behalf of a cause which embraces the welfare of other nations, and of civilization generally, as well as the interests of their native country. But the Americans who engage with their means and their energies in the reclamation of Nicaragua can, I verily believe, console themselves with the idea that they are benefitting the people of that land as well as of their own. More than this, they may have the gratifying assurance that they are redeeming from barbarism one of the fairest countries of the earth and conferring on commerce a great highway for the trade of the world.

It is only such considerations and reflections as these which can console us for much of the censure passed on us by the people of a portion of the United States and of Europe. But satisfied of the justice and grandeur of the cause in which we are engaged, we can well afford to work on in spite of the falsehood and abuse heaped on us by a corrupt and venal press. Living ever in the "Great Taskmaster's eye," our motives and conduct are to be judged by one less fallible than man; and with all humility we abide the judgment of Him who cannot err.

Hoping you will do what you can to spread correct ideas concerning matters in Central America, I remain your obedient servant,

WM. WALKER.

"Letter from Gen. William Walker,"
New York Herald, 9/17/1857, p.1, c.3.

APPENDIX E

WALKER'S SECOND LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUCHANAN Washington, January 4, 1858

SIR:

On the 15th of June last I had the honor to address you a letter relating the manner in which I emigrated from California to Nicaragua, the events which followed my presence in Central America, and the unjust and illegal acts by which I was forced for a time to abandon my adopted country. In that letter I stated facts which I defy my enemies to controvert; and I then hoped your Excellency would take steps for the punishment of the grievous offences against right, justice and public law committed by United States officers in the seizure of a Nicaragua vessel in a Nicaraguan port. Commander Davis has, however, gone unrebuked, so far as I am informed, for his gross violation of international law and of the Constitution of the United States. And it grieves me to say that I am again obliged to approach you with a complaint against another and yet higher officer of the United States navy.

In approaching you as a suppliant for justice, I know that it is necessary for me to remove erroneous impressions which have been made in your mind concerning my conduct in connection with Nicaraguan affairs. Corrupt and malignant persons have surrounded your Excellency, and poured into your ears false stories concerning events in Central America.

And now to you, the President of the United States, I directly charge, and stand ready to prove what I say, that your officers of the navy, not only by irresponsible statements through the press, but also in official communications, have misstated facts and falsified events.

Feeling and believing, as I do, that you would not willingly wrong any individual, no matter how humble, I am satisfied that the summary judgment you pass on my conduct in your annual message to Congress is the result of incorrect information, and I trust and confidently expect that when the truth is placed before you your judgment will acquit me of the grave charges brought against me.

Permit me then, if you please, before I proceed to call your attention to the conduct of Commodore Paulding, to deny most unequivocally that I have ever been engaged at any time or in any manner with any unlawful expedition against Nicaragua. In your message to Congress you seem to imply that my first departure from San Francisco was illegal; for you say, "when it was first rendered probable that an attempt would be made to get up another unlawful expedition against Nicaragua." With all deference I beg leave to assert what I said in a previous letter, and to again inform you that I left San Francisco in May, 1855, with the sanction and approval of the federal officers of the port, and that the captain of the revenue cutter sent his sailors to bend the sails which carried us from California to Central America. Allow me also to suggest that the government of the United States recognized and legalized the immediate results of the emigration from California in the reception of Padre Vigil as Minister from the republic of Nicaragua.

Not only was the first expedition, as it has been called, to Nicaragua entirely lawful in its origin, but all its consequences were marked by strict adherence to law and justice. Some have told you, I know, that I am a man "without

faith and without mercy," but from the beginning to the end of my career in Nicaragua I challenge the world to produce a single violation of public faith, a single deviation from the great principles of public right and public justice. On the contrary, the Americans in Nicaragua have always maintained the faith and honor of their race, in the midst of falsehood and treachery on the part of their enemies, in the face of countless hosts arrayed against them no less than in the presence of famine and of pestilence. Our conduct in the midst of trials and of dangers is sufficient answer to the epithets which have been hurled against us, and when the passions and the prejudices of the present have died away, we calmly await the judgment of posterity on our conduct.

But an officer of the United States Navy forced us to become exiles from Nicaragua; and let me remind you of the fact that from the moment we touched our natal soil we protested against the illegality and injustice of the act, and declared our intention to return to the land whence we had been wrongfully brought. Everywhere, before the functionaries of the government, in the presence of assembled multitudes of the sovereign people, we declared that no effort should be unused in order to regain the rights wrested from us by fraud and illegality. Do you suppose that if we had been conscious of any violation or intended violation of law we would thus have proclaimed our objects and intentions? Is it the habit of offenders against public right, or of conspirators against public justice, to herald their acts on the corners of the streets and publish their wrong doings in the market place? Would we have violated the public conscience of the nation by calling on the people to disregard their own enacted statutes? No, Mr. President; let all your district attorneys exhaust their energy and their ingenuity; let them attempt to wrest the law to purposes for which it never was intended, they cannot make good the charges

which have been made against us. Once the District Attorney of the United States attempted to convict me of breach of the neutrality laws, but a jury of the country rendered a verdict of "not guilty" almost without leaving the box. Again a like effort would be crowned with a like result.

After long effort and much patient endurance we at length sailed from Mobile for San Juan de Nicaragua on the 14th day of November last. The vessel on which we sailed was regularly cleared by the collector of the port, and a special inspector was sent aboard to examine the cargo and the passengers. Our rights, too, as Nicaraguans were acknowledged, for the collector refused to clear the *Fashion*, with Capt. Fayssoux commanding, on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States. With a regular register and clearance we supposed when once on the high seas that we were beyond the possible interference of any United States authority; for, even if we were admitted belligerents against a Power with which the United States was at peace, the owners of the neutral vessel had a clear right to carry warlike persons, as well as contraband of war, subject only to the risk of capture by the enemy's cruisers. We did not for a moment imagine that naval officers would undertake to place restraints on American commerce in the absence of Federal law and Congressional authority. The deference, too, we know your Excellency has for the Constitution of the United States, precluded the supposition that any orders had been issued to detain or capture an American vessel, whose papers showed that she was engaged in a lawful voyage.

Satisfied as we were of the entire legality of our voyage, we did not hesitate to enter the port of San Juan de Nicaragua, although we knew that a United States sloop-of-war was present in the harbor. But we had scarcely landed before we were subjected to a series of illegal and insulting acts by the commander of the *Saratoga*. These acts have been

detailed in two letters addressed by me to Commodore Paulding, and now on file, I presume, in the Navy Department.

While we were being embarrassed by the action of the *Saratoga* we had not been idle. Col. Anderson--who had served his native country throughout the Mexican war--at the head of fifty men, had ascended the river and gained possession of the stronghold which in the last century had for days defied the genius of the proudest naval name in British annals. Not only this, but he had regained possession of valuable American property unlawfully held by Costa Rican soldiers, and I had given the order to restore it to the agent claiming it for the owners. Permit me to ask whether it is such acts as these which authorize your naval officers to apply to us the vilest epithets of the language?

Scarcely, however, had the possession of Castillo Viejo opened to us the way to Lake Nicaragua, and to the regaining of all we had lost by Capt. Davis' interference, that a most grievous wrong was again inflicted upon us by Commodore Paulding. On the 8th of December the latter officer summoned me to surrender to him, and the Nicaraguan flag was a second time hauled down on Nicaraguan soil by the orders of the United States Navy.

It would be supererogatory, sir, for me to say that the act of Captain Paulding was without warrant of law. Much, too, as we felt the wrong, it was not the act itself as much as the manner in which it was done that cut us to the quick. We knew that the act was in violation of the sacred charter--the Constitution of the United States. We knew that an authority higher than that of any Commodore--higher even than the President of the United States--would vindicate the sanctity of violated law and punish the offenders against the American Constitution. We felt, too, that the august and most potent sovereign--the people of the United States--would render justice for the injuries we sustained.

But far more grievous than the surrender--far more galling than to see our own flag lowered on our own soil--was it to be told that we were there to the dishonor of the United States. There were men on that sandy beach, Mr. President, who had carried your flag aloft amidst the thickest of the foe, and one had been promoted by a predecessor in your office for first planting your colors upon the heights of Cerro Gordo. Others among them had led your soldiers across the continent, and always in the path of duty and of honor. For such men to be told that they disgraced the flag they once had served so nobly and so well, was a pang sharper than that of death, and might have wrung a tear from men harder and more callous than he who inflicted the irreparable injury.

I need not tell you that I was unable to anticipate the act of Capt. Paulding. Military necessity required me to hold Punta Arenas, and the idea never entered my mind that an American officer, professing to execute the law, would so far forget his duty as to infringe not only well established international law, but also the requirements of that instrument, with which are involved the best hopes of mankind, the Constitution of the United States. Even could I have foreseen the action of Capt. Paulding, military reasons would have prevented me from leaving the Point. But it was impossible to imagine that so violent a step--marked as it was in its details by conduct worthy of soldiers in the sack of a town--would have been taken by an officer of the United States navy.

And, Mr. President, in the name of the official oath which you have taken in the presence of Almighty God, I call upon you to punish the offender and to right the wrong. I presume not to direct your wisdom in the course it shall pursue: but in the name of the men whose rights your officers have infringed, and whose honor has been most rashly and

heedlessly trampled in the dust, I call for the justice it is your high prerogative to bestow.

But permit me to conclude by adding that, in all events and under all circumstances, there are duties and responsibilities from which I and the officers and men I represent will not, dare not shrink. No extreme of illegal interference, no amount of hard words or unjust epithets can deter us from following the path which is before us. The functionaries of the government may exhaust upon us the expletives of the language--they may insult the public conscience, and degrade their own character by applying to us all the epithets their morbid imagination suggest; but, conscious of the right and justice of our cause, we shall not relax our efforts, nor be driven into a violation of the law. As long as there is a Central American exiled from his native land, and deprived of his property and civil rights for the services he rendered us, in evil as well as good report, so long shall our time and our energies be devoted to the work of their restoration. As long as the bones of our companions in arms, murdered under the barbarous decree of the Costa Rican government, lie bleaching and unburied on the hillsides of Nicaragua, so long shall our brains contrive and our hands labor for the justice which one day we shall surely obtain.

Permit your officers, if you can, to trample under foot the Constitution and the laws; pass unnoticed, if you will, the most violent invasions of individual rights and public duties; treat with scorn and contempt, if you choose, the demands for justice which we humbly and deferentially place at your feet --we will not be cast down or damaged.

We fight for the rights of our race, which have been denied us by an ungrateful and degraded aristocracy. We strive to retain unsullied the device some of our ancestors have borne on many a field, "None shall wound us with impunity." And as long as our faith in right endures, and our

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confidence in the God of our fathers remains unshaken, so long shall we use all just and proper means to regain what has been wrongfully wrested from us.

I have the honor to remain, with high respect, your obedient servant, WM. WALKER.

To his Excellency the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

"General Walker's Letter to the President,"
New York Herald, 1/7/1858, p.8, c.1.

APPENDIX F

WALKER'S JUSTICE AND MERCY The Case of Peter A. Yarrington

To the Editor of the N.Y. Tribune.

Sir: In THE TRIBUNE of the 7th Inst. I noticed a letter from Gen. Walker to the President of the United States, and in this letter the following passage occurs: "Some have told you, I know, that I am a man without faith and without mercy; but from the beginning to the end of my career in Nicaragua, I challenge the world to produce a single violation of public faith, a single deviation from the great principles of public right and public justice." Now, Sir, it seems to me that this man intends by this passage to convey the idea that he has always been faithful, not only toward the public, but also toward all individuals, and that he has not only always done that which was just and right, but that he was also very merciful.

Now, lest some persons may be deceived by this man's pretensions to good faith, justice and mercy, I will state one case, at least, where I think the public will agree with me that he is guilty of violating every principle of faith, right and justice, and of trampling mercy under his foot; and I have no doubt but what there are other instances where he has been equally cruel, perhaps more so.

On the 20th of January, 1856, my son, Peter A. Yarrington, with some 60 or 70 other young men, enlisted for six months,

at San Francisco, to serve in Walker's army. They immediately sailed for Nicaragua, and were soon in active service. Very soon after the hard-fought battle of Rivas on the 11th of April, he was taken with diarrhea, which became chronic, but he continued on duty until about the 1st of July, when he was prostrated by fever, which continued about 20 days.

He survived it, and about the 1st of August was well enough to ride down from Massaya [*sic*], where he was sick, to headquarters at Granada. He had been in nearly every battle that had been fought that Spring and Summer, and there were but six beside himself left alive of the whole company. Every officer was dead.

He went to Gen. Walker and asked for his discharge agreeably to the terms of enlistment. Walker answered that he had never received any company into service for a less term than one year, and told him that he must serve six months longer. What could he do? He was completely in Walker's power, the officers of the company all dead, the papers all lost or destroyed. He pleaded that his term of enlistment was faithfully served out, his health destroyed and his constitution broken down; but all in vain--this "merciful" man refused to discharge him.

My son was a printer, and Walker kept him in the office of *El Nicaraguense*, except when there was fighting to do; then he was called out. His health gradually declined until November. He again and frequently called on Walker for his discharge, told him that it was with difficulty that he could walk or stand, that the diarrhea continued, that he had but a little while to live, and that he felt extremely anxious to go home to die; but this fiend in human shape answered that if he was not able to continue in the ranks he must go into the Hospital.

My informant told me that my son very well knew that if he went into the loathsome place called a Hospital, death

ensue very shortly, as there was no physician, medicine, nor care, the most of the time; therefore, he determined to continue in the ranks as long as he could walk or stand up. Thus matters remained, until the 22d of November, on which day the seige [*sic*] of Granada commenced.

My poor soon continued at his post through that horrible seige, until the night before it broke up (Dec. 11), at which time he was suddenly attacked with the cholera, and died in two or three hours. This information I obtained from a survivor of the seige, who was acquainted with him. His last letter to me was dated the 19th of October, 1856, giving the details of the terrible slaughter of the Allies at Granada, on the 12th and 13th of the same month.

Their provisions were short during the siege, and the last five or six days their fare consisted of nothing but mule and dog flesh, without salt; this fare brought on the cholera, which carried off a large number of the soldiers.

On the 21st of November I paid G.H. Wines & Co. \$50 in coin at New-York, which they agreed to deliver to my son at Granada for \$5. I paid this also, and took their receipt for the \$50. I heard nothing from the money till March following, when the following letter came to John J. Phelps, esq., of Wall street, New-York:

Rivas, Jan. 23, 1857.

Sir: Inclosed I return Wines & Co.'s receipt for \$50, sent by his father to the late Peter A. Yarrington. Yarrington fell with other brave men fighting at Granada during the siege of that city by the enemy in December last. His family may be consoled in the thought that he died gallantly in defense of one of the noblest causes, the freedom and regeneration of the oppressed of Central America. Very respectfully yours,

Ph. R. Thompson, Adj't-Gen., N.A.
New-Your City, United States.

This was the first that I heard of the death of my son. You will see, also, that this letter contained the evidence that by some means my money had also fallen into the hands of these pirates. The letter states that Wines & Co.'s receipt was inclosed, which is false; the receipt was not there. I would here state that Mr. Phelps transacted this business for me, and that he inclosed Wines & Co.'s receipt in a letter and sent it to my son by the express agent that took the money. He also inclosed a duplicate to me.

On the 11th of last August I saw Mr. Whitney, one of the firm of Wines & Co., at the office of the Morgan Iron Works, foot of Ninth street, East River, and I demanded the return of my money. He demanded of me their receipt; I produced the duplicate, which he would not recognize, and absolutely refused to refund the money.

Thus you will see that my son has been unlawfully, unjustly and unmercifully detained by this blue-gray-eyed monster, and that, too, after he had faithfully served out the term for which he had enlisted. You will also see that my money has apparently fallen into his hands. Now, what is all this but murder and robbery? Is it not a perfect outrage for such a man as this to make pretensions to justice and mercy?

D. Yarrington.

Carbondale, Luzerne Co., Pa., Jan. 9, 1858.

New York Tribune, 1/14/1858, p.3, c.2.

APPENDIX G

WALKER'S SPEECH IN MOBILE
January 25, 1858

The Charges against the President--What a Cabinet Minister is Alleged to have Said and Done--Errors about the Tehuantepec Grant.

[From the *Mobile Mercury*, Jan. 26.]

In pursuance of a call made through the morning papers, and by large posters displayed through the city, calling a Nicaragua meeting last evening, at the appointed time an immense concourse had assembled. J.H. Gindrat, Esq., called the meeting to order.

The meeting being thus organized, the President introduced General William Walker, of Nicaragua, who immediately proceeded to address the meeting.

GEN. WALKER'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN:-- Your servant, the Chief Executive of this nation, has seen proper to constitute himself a grand inquest of the State, and has brought against me the bill in which he charges me with an offence against the laws of the nation. He has done this in the most solemn form; he has put forth the charge in his annual message to the Senate and House of Representatives of this great nation. He has brought this

charge deliberately; yet with that message there are no accompanying documents to prove the truth of what he charges. It is on mere rumor, it is on mere assumption, that he has placed me on trial before the United States on this charge.

The representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, have called upon him to produce the evidences of this charge. In the resolution of the House of Representatives, he was requested, if it was not incompatible with the public interests, to place before that body the proofs of the allegation which he has made. Has he produced such proofs? Has he brought before them any evidence whatever of the charges which he has made?

Newspapers state that the call of the House has been answered in relation to the affairs which have recently transpired at Punta Arenas. They state also that certain documents, despatches, and other certain promiscuous communications--the representations of the Central American Powers--have been handed to the House of Representatives. But in all of these documents, so far as I have seen, there is not the least sign or first particle of evidence to sustain this cruel and deliberate charge which the Chief Executive has made. He has been called upon for the proof of his assertions, but it seems that he cannot as yet substantiate the charges.

This matter cannot be passed by. In justice to myself, as well as to hundreds and thousands of others, it becomes necessary that the truth and the whole truth of this matter should come before you, the sovereign, the people. It is not permissible, as I take it, nor do I conceive that your judgment will permit such conduct, that your agent should travel beyond his office, and constitute himself a grand jury of the country, and bring an odious charge against an individual; that he should be attacked by assertions, and that these charges should not be answered as they deserve to be.

Hitherto I have not thought it proper or advisable to

disclose the whole truth in relation to this matter. There were some considerations pressing upon me which made me keep silence to a certain extent. There are facts which I would not, unless under the most urgent circumstances, deem it proper to disclose. Some things have transpired which were to a great extent confidential, and therefore, unless the most unjustifiable and malignant course had been pursued, even though myself and my friends were the sufferers, I still would retain these facts.

But at length there has come a time when these facts must out. There is a point beyond which it is not to be permitted that men should go and remain unpunished. If any ordinary course had been pursued in relation to the Nicaraguan enterprise, I say these facts would never have been revealed by me. But when the chief officers of the nation so far forget their duties; when they come forward and make statements which facts show to be untrue; when they make use of their official positions to malign men seeking to serve your interests, so applying their foul epithets to you; it is, then, justice to you, no less than to me and to others, that you should know the whole conduct of your functionaries.

Not only have the motives of myself and others been impeached in this matter, but they have attempted to brand our names with infamy; and, no longer ago than last Saturday, they have pursued me as the most common criminals. They know that I am about to repair to New Orleans, to demand a legal investigation of the charges against me. They find a convenient affidavit maker, and endeavor to place me in custody of an officer for the purpose of carrying me ignominiously to New Orleans.

Thus treated and pursued, branded as infamous, regarded as a common criminal, is there one among you who can say that I do wrong when I come out and tell the whole truth?
(Cries of "No! no! no!")

Then let it come. You all know how we returned to the

United States from Nicaragua in May last. You know that we came hither not by our own will and consent--that we came in obedience to the strong arm of force used by the United States officers. As soon as we touched this soil, as soon as we became once more free, we declared our intention to return to Nicaragua.

Soon after I landed in New Orleans I met two gentlemen who had returned from Washington. They told me of the interviews which they had had both with the President and with his constitutional advisers, the members of the Cabinet. They told me of President Buchanan's admitting the full legality of the acts of myself and the parties who had inaugurated the new order of things in Nicaragua. They told me that President Buchanan assured them that I was as much President of Nicaragua as he was President of the United States.

They, more than this, told me that it was not the intention of the government to assist the Americans in Nicaragua by mere words or by mere declarations; it was by something more solid and substantial--by positive acts--that the Cabinet had determined to show its good will towards the Americans who were laboring to secure a permanent government in Central America.

They told me that it had been stated to the Cabinet, that at sundry times the English government, by their officers at San Juan del Norte, had interfered with our proceedings in Nicaragua, and they were told by the Cabinet that there should be no further interference on the part of English officers. They were told that, so far as the Americans in Nicaragua were concerned, the United States government were [*sic*] resolved to assert the doctrine of Monroe, and no English government interference should be tolerated. And that this might be provided for American ships-of-war should be stationed there, in order not to permit such interference.

But, further than this, not only was Great Britain to be

kept off, but the United States were to render active assistance. In the spring of 1856, just after the Costa Rican declaration of war against Nicaragua, certain letters had been intercepted, from which it was found that the British government had furnished arms and a large quantity of ammunition, on favorable terms--a long credit--to the government of Costa Rica, which, as a neutral nation, they had a right to do. In the exercise of a similar right the United States government would furnish certain arms and munitions to the government of Nicaragua.

I was not satisfied with these promises and these declarations, which were made at a time when it was supposed that we were in Nicaragua. I determined to go myself to Washington, to see whether this disposition was persevered in. On my way thither I made no effort to conceal my resolve, as early as possible, to return to Nicaragua. I declared that I never would rest until I had recovered my losses; and with these declarations on our lips we sought the President.

Now if we were engaged in a lawless undertaking, how would the President receive a man with these declarations? If I am the lawless person which his message describes, how should he, the President of the United States, receive me, William Walker, a criminal and offender against the laws of the country? Would it be proper that he should receive me at all? Was it proper that, with his consent, if I were such as he has stated--was it right and was it proper that I should cross the threshold of his door, and that he should receive me as an equal?

But this he did. He received me by appointment; I saw him, and conversed with him, in relation to the matters which had transpired in Central America; and after having made these statements, I was requested that they should be reduced to writing, as it was proper that they should be made public, in order that the people of the United States should be made acquainted with the whole matter.

It was with his own consent that the letter to him which I published in June last was written and published. It was, of course, not to be expected that I should, in detail, or even in any manner, state to the President of the United States what my future plans or intentions were; and, therefore, it was not done in that interview. But within a day or two afterwards, when I was at the house of one of the confidential men, without seeking it myself, but by the act of that Cabinet officer, I was invited to an interview, and there he sought my confidence. I sought not his, nor that of the Cabinet. He desired to know explicitly whether I intended to pursue the enterprise; and when I answered affirmatively, he went on to give his views in relation to the matter.

He, a Cabinet adviser of the President, told me where to go and where not to go; where I could go with safety, and where I could only go with danger. He remarked in the course of the interview, "You will probably sail in an American vessel and under an American flag. After you have passed the American limits in an American vessel, and under an American flag, no one can touch you but by the consent of this government. You will proceed in this American vessel to San Juan del Norte, or to any other port in Nicaragua." But, in anticipation of difficulties, it was distinctly stated what I might expect from his government, and this not at my own instance.

I did not so far forget myself as to ask what the conduct of his government would be, but he industriously stated there would be American vessels at San Juan del Norte, and there would be no more British interference. That if we went there with American flags flying over us, such interference would naturally be at the risk of a war with the United States.

I ask you whether, under these circumstances, I had not a right to assume that the government of the United States not only sanctioned but approved of the enterprise; nay, was

anxious for it. Such, at least, was the conclusion at which I arrived. *I could not infer that the Cabinet officer would hold such conversation with me unless with the knowledge and advice of the President; and it was with this conviction that, after having received what I considered most positive assurances, I came southward, and undertook to prepare the means for returning to Nicaragua.*

There never was at any time an attempt made to conceal our motives or our conduct. There was nothing done in the dark; everything was done in the light of day; because, with the consciousness that there was nothing illegal in our acts. Would we have dared, if we had violated the laws of the country, if we had violated your own laws, would we have dared to appeal to you as citizens of Mobile, to ask your sympathy and your support in violation of these laws which you yourselves had made? But we felt that we were acting in accordance with the law, and, therefore, we have ventured to take the course which we have taken.

Until the month of September I understood and believed that the will of the government, in relation to the Nicaraguan policy, was unchanged; but during that month there were papers issued from the State Department which showed that, if a change had not already been wrought, there was some change going on which was not complete. There was some change in the policy of the President and his advisers.

In that month a circular was issued, in which it was asserted that certain lawless men were engaged in organizing an expedition contrary to the law of 1818. The circular was couched in vague and indefinite terms. It was stated that information had reached the department that "these persons" were engaged in organizing an expedition against Nicaragua, Costa Rica or Central America. Upon this vague and indefinite knowledge the first step opposed to us was made by the administration; and it was only after having seen the despatch of Yrisarri and Molina to the President, that I was

enabled to draw the inference that this circular was aimed directly at the men who were preparing to assert their rights in Central America.

These Central Americans--Yrisarri and Molina--were men of a race whose infirmity it is to be false both in their acts and in their words. These men have, neither in their private intercourse nor in their official conduct, the least consideration for the truth. These men, opposed to the interests of Americans, assert that I and others were engaged in an expedition contrary to the laws of 1818. These two men are those who bring the accusations against "certain persons," as they say, in the United States, engaged in this enterprise. This despatch is not connected with any affidavit; there is no solemnity pertaining to it; it is a mere say so of Central Americans, whose imagination suggests their facts; and it was on this information that the circular is issued that lawless men are engaged in an expedition contrary to the law of 1818.

It is no citizen of the United States, it is no District Attorney that comes before the proper official--but these are foreigners, ignorant of your customs and ignorant of your laws--and the State Department receives their despatch, and permits them to go into the Department and tell them what their duties are. They tell the Secretary of State that they have ferreted out certain parties, that they have discovered that certain persons are engaged in the violation of certain acts. The Secretary of State, instead of requiring the information to be made on oath, receives their despatch. He issues a circular, in which he takes for granted that lawless persons are engaged in an expedition contrary to the law of 1818.

I ask you, is such conduct worthy of your government? Are these gentlemen worthy of you, when they permit a foreigner to go to the government and tell it what its duties are?

It was then, in the latter part of the month of September that we again fix the change that had come over the President and his Cabinet; it is then that we first discover their hot haste and desire to pursue these alleged criminals; it is then that we are informed that certain men are offenders against the statute in such cases made and provided.

What can be the motive for this change? There is a change, there must have been a change, from June to September, wrought in the mind of the President and his advisers, from the time he received me as his equal, and conferred confidentially with me. What, then, is the cause and motive of the change?

In the month of September certain parties who had been connected with another transit route, came from the city of Mexico. Messrs. Benjamin and LaSere had been sent down there to investigate the new contract. Mr. Soulé had conversed confidentially with the President in relation to Nicaragua matters. Mr. Soulé goes down and tries to defeat certain contracts of Mr. Benjamin and LaSere. The President is so deeply interested in this matter, he has so much at heart the success of the mission of Benjamin and LaSere, that he communicates his desires, as stated publicly in a dispatch under his own hand to Mr. Forsyth, in Mexico, which was never subjected to the revision of the State Department. *These parties returned, Benjamin and LaSere defeated by the action of Soulé.*

At that very moment it is that the whole Nicaraguan policy of the government appears to be changed. I ask you whether it is not natural and logical to connect these two facts together? When the Tehuantepec project is defeated, then it is that the Nicaraguan policy is changed. The very occurrence of these circumstances is proof that there is some connection between them; and, in that connection, I shall endeavor clearly to show you what that connection is.

[Owing to the imperfection of our notes we are unable to report with accuracy this portion of General Walker's speech, in which he pointed out the gigantic project, originating in New York and controlled by certain New York capitalists and corrupt politicians, for obtaining control of all the transits --the Tehuantepec, Nicaragua and Panama routes--thus creating a monstrous corporation, more dangerous than the United States Bank, which was to be our President maker and the controller of the government, and would strangle us, unless, like the United States Bank, it was strangled itself.]

In the month of October, then, it is apparent that there has been a change in the Nicaraguan policy of the government. But in that month--and here is a fact, which for their sake as well as yours, I wish I could pass over in silence; I wish for your sakes, above all, it could be passed in silence and never brought to your notice--in the month of October, a person known to be a confidential friend of mine, passed through the city of Washington. *He had an interview with a member of the Cabinet, and that Cabinet officer informed him that the President was opposed to the Nicaraguan enterprise. But he suggested we should turn our efforts elsewhere. And, said he, if you do, the means shall not be lacking to carry out this enterprise.*

He suggested that we should turn our energies into another quarter--that we should enter into a treaty with the President of Mexico--that we should become her allies; and that having entered into such alliance we might manage to bring about a war between Spain and Mexico.

I ask you if such propositions as these, coming as they do direct from Washington, are not sufficient to startle you? Here, at the very time that they are saluting us with all the epithets of our language--when we are denounced as men lawless and without shame, violating the acts of Congress of the United States--at this very moment they propose an act

I scorn even to think of. They propose that we shall do things to bring about a war between friendly nations. *And all this war between Mexico and Spain is to be brought on for what purpose?*

Here comes the point which touches you. There is not one among you who does not look towards the acquisition of Cuba with deep interest. But when Cuba is to be acquired by the United States you want Cuba as it is--you want Cuba with its social phases unimpaired; you want that community of interest which shall bind her to the Southern States of this confederacy. But here is a plan by which Cuba is to be seized under the auspices of Mexico. Mexico is to take possession of the Island, and it is to be in every respect conformed to the organic laws of that republic.

Cuba that moment becomes a free State. Not only does the Mexican Constitution and Mexican government disavow in the most explicit terms--repudiate, I should rather say--the whole interest of slavery, but its last Constitution, under which Comonfort was elected President, is still more inimical to the interests of the South than any other. An article in this Constitution expressly provides that no power of the government shall have any authority to make treaties for the extraditions of fugitive slaves from the United States.

We sailed from this port for San Juan del Norte on the 14th of November last. We landed in Nicaragua and were successful beyond our anticipations, more than those not fully acquainted with the situation of the country had any right to expect. And then, at the very moment when we were about to regain all we had lost, through an officer of the United States, the strong arm of government again interferes and takes us from the soil which we were entitled to call our own.

But not satisfied with this act of violence against all constitutional and national law, it accompanies the acts of violence with a series of insults towards the men it was

engaged in removing. The naval officers of the United States take occasion to trample us in the dust and insult us with their epithets--nay, not satisfied with this, they carry their words into acts. They not only style us pirates, but actually treat us as such, and take possession of the property we hold as if it were the property of nobody.

With the surrender which was made to Commodore Paulding, there was not the least regulation formally made for the disposition of the property belonging to us. This, more than anything else, distinguishes the criminality of the proceeding against us; and this act of Commodore Paulding, without right and without justice, was not only wrong in itself, but even if it were a legal act, was most illegally and most wrongfully executed, attended by circumstances which are sufficient to call the blush into the face of every one who can pride himself upon being an American.

This act, thus committed, how was it treated by the President of the United States? Does he come forward to vindicate offended law and justice? Does he suddenly summon his subaltern from his vessel to call him before a court of justice, and have him properly tried for his offence against the Constitution and laws of the United States? Does he have him brought before a tribunal, to answer for an infringement of the rights of common humanity and justice--not to say common decency?

When the President is called upon for the documents concerning this matter, he states that the Commodore had committed a "grave error;" but at the same moment, his whole message is a vindication of the offender. Thus it is, that the President of the United States, by his conduct, by his failure to act, by his word, assumes, in fact, the responsibility of this official.

It will not do to punish such grievous offences by mere words. The words of public men and of public servants are but naught; what is required of them is action. And if the

President, by his acts, assumes the responsibility of his officer, then the President himself becomes a party to the act; and I ask any one to read that special message of the President, and say whether or not he does himself become a party to the act of Commodore Paulding.

He does not indicate, in a positive manner, that there is to be honor and distinction conferred upon this officer for his acts, but he styles him "this gallant officer." At the very time he states that he has committed "a grave error," he lauds him for his gallantry--his gallantry! for capturing the men at Punta Arenas!

And how is this act justified, then? He states that the Commodore appears to have done the act from good motives and with pure intentions. And is this doctrine becoming the President of the United States? a maxim with you, the sovereign of the nation--you, the people of the United States--are willing should be incorporated into your constitutional law? Are you willing to have it made a part of your common law that the end justifies the means?

[Here Gen. Walker read an extract from the President's message, touching upon the injurious effect upon our treaty relations with other nations, caused by the prosecution of such enterprises at the present.]

Here, then, is the justification, if any there be, for the acts of Commodore Paulding; that it assists the government to carry out a policy which it has marked out for itself. And what is that policy? What is, this treaty to which the President has referred? Who are the parties interested and affected by it? and under what circumstances was it negotiated?

It is understood to be what is called the Yrisarri treaty, and the fact that such a treaty had been negotiated was just made public in the latter part of November of last year. The

Fashion, you remember, sailed on the 14th of November. On the 15th or 16th, just after the telegraphic news of her departure had reached Washington, then it is that Yrisarri is received as minister from Nicaragua, and not only is he received as minister, but, on the very same day, as the papers state, on the very same day that he is received as minister, he perfects his negotiation between the United States and Nicaragua, and signed it.

In what a position does this place the government of the United States? Does any one suppose that the government of the United States or any officer of it, would sign a treaty on merely a day's notice? Would it not appear that the agent of the government of the United States had been in treaty with this man before he was received? But so far as we can ascertain from the message of the President, as well as from other sources, what are the promises and conditions of this treaty?

It is stipulated, so it has been stated throughout the length and breadth of the country, that the treaty proposes to establish a control over the Nicaraguan Transit route, to be the means by which, in the language of certain parties, Nicaragua is to be Americanized. Who are the parties interested in this speculating mart?

Go among the moneyed hucksters that throng the streets of your capital, and find, if you can, men more corrupt. Go to the market and find viler garbage than Joseph L. White, and his intimate acquaintances; and these are the parties who are to be benefitted by it; and further than this, it is stated in the same manner in which we get our knowledge of this Transit negotiation, that this same treaty contains a clause by which Nicaragua is permitted to make a similar one with any other Power.

This clause it seems to me to be an insult to the United States, and not only that, but a violent infringement of all your traditional policy; for the United States is sufficiently

just to observe and to carry out the protectorate of Nicaragua; and if this treaty is good, why should any other Power assume to exercise a joint protectorate? If you are sufficiently strong and sufficiently just to carry it out, why should France or England take part in it? Nay, how can you of yourselves, and in justice to your interests, permit yourselves to become a sacrifice to such a treaty? And if this is the character of the men and the interests to be benefitted by your treaty--if this Nicaraguan Transit is to be carried on under such auspices, and if the Tehuantepec and Darien Transits are to be managed by the same parties--if these three Transits are to be controlled by such men--how long can your government remain free from their influence?

From the very nature of the relations which are to exist between your government and these companies; from the nature of the mail facilities which are to be afforded them, and these contracts increasing daily; from the natural connection between your government and these Transit Interests, growing out of the interests of your government's possessions in the East and the West, you will build up a moneyed power that you will be compelled to strangle as you strangled the United States Bank.

It has been painful to me to relate many of the facts which I have been compelled to state before you to-night, and unless I felt that your cause and dearest interests were bound up in this matter, and that it touches each one of you as nearly as it touches me, I should not have dwelt upon them. I believe and feel that the interests of you and your children are involved in this matter.

What is the great crime of which it is asserted that I am guilty? What is the real offence against the government which can prove no legal offence against us? They have furnished no evidence of any offence against the act of 1818, or against any act of the United States! What then is the great offence on our part? That we were born in the South, and were

endeavoring to extend her interests. This is a great crime, and every wrong which they commit against us is a wrong against you.

The wrongs of the individual might be pardoned in silence. Humble and unworthy as I am, I should not think of thrusting my individual wrongs and sacrifices on your attention, unless I felt and believed that the wrongs done to me and to others were still more grievous to you and yours. And from the beginning of this last expedition, as it has been called, this last emigration to Nicaragua--from the beginning to the end of it--such has been its history that it would be difficult to compress within so short a time so many and such grievous indignities.

The vindication of your laws and of the Constitution of the United States, your interests, not only as Southern men, but as citizens of the Union, are involved in this matter. Your Constitution has been trampled in the dust, your rights, as Southern men and American citizens, have not only been ignored, but have been insulted. I venture to speak to you, and now call upon you, as you desire to see transmitted those rights, permit not these wrongs to go unpunished.

New York Herald, 2/2/1858, p.2, c.3.

APPENDIX H

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN CONSPIRACY CORRESPONDENCE OF THE *NEW YORK TRIBUNE*

Washington, Dec. 31, 1857.

The Administration is not now like the ass of the logicians, dying of want between two equally-attractive stacks of hay; it is rather like a more natural and possible ass between two goads, and the most urgent of the two drives it Southward.

.....

... My authority of the following statements is no less a person than an ex-Governor of California--now Minister for the United States in a South American State, and who, in his capacity of Governor, was one of the most useful friends of that strong-willed, self-reliant man, Broderick of California.

This ex-Governor, who, though "round, fat and oily," or slippery, is not in the clerical or political sense "a man of God," but only a very good-natured gentleman, was heard to say that, in the latter part of October or thereabouts, 1856 (the exact date is not essential), Mr. C.K. Garrison, Democrat, and ex-Mayor of the City of San Francisco, visited "his friend" James Buchanan at Wheatland, and passed a day with him.

At this time, it will be remembered, Walker was being gradually beaten back by the Central Americans, and had withdrawn himself from all the north and west of Nicaragua into Granada, which was threatened by the allies from Leon

and Chontales.

Mr. Garrison developed in glowing terms--such as he is well known to be a master of--the magnificent results that might be expected from the enterprise of the buccaneers; no less than the "Americanization," i.e., conquest, of the whole of Central America. He also explained in that broad, able and satisfactory manner for which he is justly celebrated, and to which he owes, in fact, the greater part of his successes as a financier, the business relations into which he had entered with Nicaragua, passing over Accessory Transit operations as things of small interest, already forgotten. He did not claim the real and solid merit for Walker which posterity will concede to him, as the pioneer of the African and Indian slave-trade for the nineteenth century on this continent, but ascribed to him other qualities, which undoubtedly he then supposed him to possess.

Mr. Buchanan, it is said, was powerfully affected by these representations, made, in fact, by a diplomatist quite as able and far more cunning than himself, but who appeared only in the character of a simple-minded "destiny enthusiast," glowing with the love of glory and the hope of extending civilization.

The topic of Slavery was but lightly touched. The gentlemen, both Northern men, conceding the laws of climate, "isothermal lines," and the general bosh of the ethnographers, and with a deference to the decrees of Providence truly refreshing in these days of philosophical atheism, came to a thorough friendly understanding on the subject of buccaneerism in general, and Nicaragua in particular. Mr. Garrison was given to understand that the enterprise under Walker and Garrison *would be cordially supported by the Administration*, and a confidential message was sent to Walker and delivered to one of his officers on the Isthmus on the 7th of December, 1856, which revived his

hopes and gave him a new lease of "destiny." Could he hold out until Mr. Buchanan had settled himself firmly in the seat of power, all would be well. Similar assurances had been given by Cass, and it was known that the Cabinet would be Southern in feeling and composition.

The denunciations of the Message did not deceive knowing politicians and Cabinet makers. It was understood that Presidents' Messages are only a kind of useful "lay figures," fair, stuffed, semblances of polity and justice, set up to charm and satisfy the vulgar eye. Q. S.

New York Tribune, 1/6/1858, p.3, c.4.

APPENDIX I

A LETTER FROM GENERAL WALKER. [From the *Mobile Register*, July 20.]

Mobile, July 19, 1858.

Sir--On returning to this city a day or two ago, I read in your journal an extract from the *Washington Union* denying certain statements which, it was reported, I had lately made in a speech delivered at New Orleans. The writer in the *Union* has been misinformed as to the fact on the speech said to have been made by me at New Orleans; but as long ago as the month of January last I publicly made here, and since then elsewhere, statements which are analogous in nature, though not entirely identical, with those attributed to me by the *Washington* newspaper. As you suggest the propriety of publishing the evidence on which these statements were made, I hope you will not deem me intrusive if I furnish you with the facts of the case.

In the month of October last I was in New Orleans preparing to return to Nicaragua. About the middle of the month General Henningsen arrived from Washington, and soon after we met he informed me that he had important news to communicate. He then proceeded to state that while in Washington he had held several conversations with the Secretary of War; that in the course of one of the interviews the Secretary had informed him of the determination on the part of the President to arrest the expedition to Nicaragua, adding, at the same time, that the acquisition of Cuba during

his administration, was an object dear to the heart of Mr. Buchanan. The Secretary further proceeded to say, according to General Henningsen's report, that if we would turn our attention to Mexico and enter into the service of Comonfort we should have the support of the United States government; that while in the Mexican service we might by some act--such as tearing down the flag of Spain--bring about a war between Mexico and Spain, and Cuba might then be seized by the former Power. The Secretary, according to the report I received, informed General Henningsen that the means would not be lacking for such an enterprise, and when pressed by the General to state how the means could be had, he replied: "I have gone the length of my tether; before I can say more it will be necessary for me to see a person above me." In the next interview the Secretary informed the General that he was not authorized to go further, but that he might rely implicitly on the means being provided if the enterprise were undertaken. When General Henningsen made this communication to me I was shocked at its nature, and remarked that the government could hardly be in earnest. He said that he had been authorized to place before me the character of the conversations held with the Secretary of War, and to communicate them also to a friend of the Nicaraguan cause residing in New Orleans.

The foregoing are facts which I have substantially detailed in speeches made here and elsewhere. I have been careful always to state the source of my information, and I need hardly say that I am firmly convinced of the truth and accuracy of the report made to me by Gen. Henningsen. I have ever found the General to be a man not only of strict truth and honor, but also careful in his use of language, and particularly accurate in the reports he makes about public matters. In controversies of such moment as those I have narrated I would rely on his statement as implicitly as if I had heard myself what passed between the Secretary and

himself.

In the recent trial in New Orleans I endeavored to place these facts in the shape of legal evidence. General Henningsen was summoned by me as a witness for this purpose. But when the question was put with the view of eliciting these facts, the District Attorney immediately objected, and the presiding Justice ruled out the question without waiting to hear the object I had in trying to elicit the testimony.

Permit me to add that I have been driven to speak of these matters by the course the government has pursued towards me. Not satisfied with taking from me the rights and the property I held in Nicaragua, high federal officers have attempted to deprive me of my honor also. The good name I have inherited from my fathers has been the object of attack by those whose positions should have raised them above the indulgence of personal abuse. As the advocate of a cause, I know that the consequences of the enterprise which I, an humble instrument in the hands of a Higher Power, have inaugurated, will be felt and appreciated when the names of the most illustrious of my traducers shall have passed into obscurity, if not into shame and ignominy. As a man, even though I had none of the charity "which suffereth long and is kind," I would not so far stoop as to cherish any feeling of personal enmity towards those who, forgetful of their stations, do not hesitate to malign me and my motives. But when through me high functionaries aim a blow at a mighty movement, justice to the cause I have espoused requires me to repel the attack. Under such circumstances, I scorn the counsel of those who advise submission to wrong because the arms raised to smite are strong, and belong to powers high in authority; and wo [woe] be to that individual and to that people with whom such slavish counsels prevail. WM. WALKER.

New York Herald, 7/27/1858, p.2, c.6.

APPENDIX J

WALKER'S MANIFESTO *New Orleans Oct. 1st 1859*

To the American People:

In 1854 I and certain other Americans were invited to the Republic of Nicaragua; and as an inducement for us to emigrate we were offered liberal grants of land from the public domain. We were also assured of rights to citizenship on equal terms with natives of the Republic and were guaranteed forever the privilege of bearing arms without let or hindrance from the constituted authorities.

During 1855 we emigrated to Nicaragua, became citizens of the Republic and afterwards, by the consent of all parties, entered the military service of the State. For several months we gave order, security and protection to all classes of the people, assuaged the hostilities of rival factions and persistently refused to pursue an aggressive policy towards the several States of Central America.

On the first of March 1856 the President of Costa Rica declared war against us for the simple reason that we were Americans engaged in the service of Nicaragua; and on the same day he ordered all of us who might be taken prisoners to be shot. Three weeks afterwards the order to shoot prisoners was too faithfully executed; and under the terms of Mora's decree nineteen men, some of whom were wounded, were murdered at the country-house of Santa Rosa in the territory of Guanacaste.

In the summer of 1856 the States of Guatemala, San Salvador and Honduras became parties to the war against us; and on the 1st of May 1857 these Allies, receiving the unnatural assistance of a Commander of the U.S. Navy, forced us to evacuate the town of Rivas where most of our military stores were then kept. The unjust and arbitrary action of the U.S. naval forces caused us to leave the soil of Nicaragua and brought us as exiles to this country.

By the assistance of kind and generous friends, who did not abandon us in the day of adversity, we were enabled to return to our adopted country in the month of November 1857. But scarcely had we again put foot on the soil endeared to us by much trial and suffering in its defence before we were again torn away by officers of the U.S. Government. This time, too, insult was added to injury: rude and unworthy words were accumulated on illegal and unauthorized acts.

Our energies, however, were not destroyed by the wrongs to which we were obliged to submit. We call upon you all to witness that during the whole of the past and present year our efforts to return to our adopted country have been unremitting and incessant. By land and by sea, by day and by night, in season and out of season, we have striven with all the powers we possess to contrive means of regaining our rights in Nicaragua.

From the time we were brought back to your shores we have had to contend with almost countless difficulties. A light-tongued and time-serving press had industriously spread all manner of falsehoods and calumnies against us. More than this: men whose position should raise them above the use of false words and vulgar epithets have not hesitated to prop their official acts with official declarations utterly opposed to truth and justice.

In spite, however, of all the illegal prosecutions to which we have been subjected, in spite of the unrighteous acts and

unwarranted expressions to which we have been exposed, we have never relaxed in our labors for the cause we have vowed to sustain at all risks and under all circumstances. Unawed by the threats of Power, unseduced by its blandishments, we have never swerved from the pursuit of those objects duty pointed out to us. Do you believe that men who, for five long years, surrounded by so many and such discouraging difficulties, have remained firm and constant to a single purpose are swayed by base or ignoble motives?

We do not desire to speak of our firmness and fortitude in any vain-glorious manner; nor do we claim any credit for the courage and constancy which were to us a simple duty. If we have in any part of our career been moved by suggestions from the pride and love of fame which have not been deemed passions unworthy of the soldier, such feelings have long since been repressed within us by the hand of a cold and continued adversity. The pride which possibly not a world in arms could have shaken has yielded to the necessities of the cause we advocate, and we have not hesitated to beg almost as alms the pittance which might restore us to our rights and give to you and your children the wealth of the Indies. As for reputation, too, we have lived long enough to know it is not best acquired by self-praise and self-vaunting.

Far be it from us, then, to make any merit of our sufferings in behalf of what we deem the cause of right and justice. But we hope it may not be thought amiss for us to remind you of the fact that it is by trials and persecutions Providence has moulded man for the accomplishment of great designs. In all humility we recognize the divine origin of the sublime edict "By the cross shall thou conquer"; and we wittingly accept the humiliations we have experienced as preparatives for the work we aim to accomplish.

Believe us, therefore, when we say that we again embark for our adopted country in no light or inconsiderate spirit.

Conscious of the difficulties which may await us we also feel that the trials and the dangers and the self-denials of the past have somewhat fitted us to cope with the contingencies of the future. Whatever fate we may encounter we know we are entitled to your good-will and approval, for we strive to retain unsullied the fame of our race and to bestow on your children a heritage richer than aught you or they have received since the days of the Revolution. And with full faith in the God who directs the destinies of nations and controls the currents of civilization, we press forward in the course conscience and duty have marked out for us.

WM. WALKER

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APPENDIX K

WALKER'S PROCLAMATION *Truxillo, August 7, 1860*

TO THE PEOPLE OF HONDURAS:--

More than five years ago I, with others, was invited to the republic of Nicaragua, and was promised certain rights and privileges on the condition of certain services rendered the State. We performed the services required of us, but the existing authorities of Honduras joined a combination to drive us from Central America.

In the course of events the people of the Bay Islands find themselves in nearly the same position the Americans held in Nicaragua in November, 1855. The same policy which led Guardiola to make war on us will induce him to drive the people of the islands from Honduras. A knowledge of this fact has led certain residents of the islands to call on the adopted citizens of Nicaragua for aid in the maintenance of their rights of person and property.

But no sooner had a few adopted citizens of Nicaragua answered this call of the residents of the islands by repairing to Ruatan, than the acting authorities of Honduras, alarmed for their safety, put obstacles in the way of carrying out the treaty of the 28th of November, 1859. Guardiola delays to receive the islands because of the presence of a few men he has injured, and thus, for party purposes, not only jeopardes the territorial interests of Honduras, but thwarts, for the moment, a cardinal object of Central American policy.

The people of the Bay Islands can be engrafted on your republic only by wise concessions properly made. The existing authorities of Honduras have, by their past acts, given proof that they would not make the requisite concessions. The same policy which Guardiola pursued towards the naturalized Nicaraguans prevent him from pursuing the only course by which Honduras can expect to hold the islands.

It becomes, therefore, a common object with the naturalized Nicaraguans and with the people of the Bay Islands, to place in the government of Honduras those who will yield the rights lawfully acquired in the two States. Thus the Nicaraguans will secure a return to their adopted country, and the Bay Islanders will obtain full guarantees from the sovereignty under which they are to be placed by the treaty of the 28th of November, 1859.

To obtain, however, the object at which we aim, we do not make war against the people of Honduras, but only against a government which stands in the way of the interests, not only of Honduras, but of all Central America. The people of Honduras may therefore rely on all the protection they may require for their rights, both of person and property.

WM. WALKER.

Truxillo, August 7, 1860.

New York Herald, 9/1/1860, p.4, c.3.

APPENDIX L

FUTILE DEFENSE

Trujillo, September 10, 1860

To the Commander of the Department and the General-in-Chief of the forces occupying the Port of Trujillo

Señor Don Mariano Alvarez.

Sir,

In the process instituted against me by the comandante of this Port, Don Norberto Martinez, I am charged with having committed "Piracy" and "Filibusterism". "Piracy" is an offence well defined by law and consists in robbery on the high seas. The crime cannot be committed on the land, and therefore it was impossible for me to have been guilty of it when attacking the garrison of Trujillo on the morning of the 6th of August last. Besides, the idea of robbery or intent to rob is inseparable from that of piracy. Now, all persons in Trujillo during the time I occupied the place can bear witness that far from robbing or permitting others to rob, I did all I could to maintain order and make property and persons safe and secure. As to "Filibusterism", the word has no legal signification, and it is therefore impossible for me to know with what I am charged when accused of "Filibusterism".

It is stated in the declarations of Mr. Prudot and Mr. Melhado that during the time I occupied this place the troops under my command committed various thefts in the town; but these same gentlemen might also testify that whenever such facts were brought to my knowledge I did all I could to find out the offenders and bring them to punishment.

It is also charged in the summary of the comandante that I took possession of the receipts of the Custom House: but in

the declarations of the witnesses there is no evidence whatever that I obtained or took possession of any funds or other valuable property belonging to the Custom House.

It is also charged in the same summary that I raised the flag of the Republic in order to commit all manner of robberies and disorders. Had I desired to commit such offences, or to permit them in others, there was no need for me to raise the flag of the Republic; it could neither aid nor protect me in such acts. If I had come to Trujillo with such intent as is charged, it would have been easy for me to accomplish my objects and leave the place. All the property of the town was in my power, and had I desired to rob nothing more was necessary than to issue the order to take possession of all the valuables in the place. Far from this I paid for what I got and sought to suppress every attempt at crime or wrong doing.

If I am guilty of any offence it is that of having made war against the State of Honduras. For this I am willing to be judged. My offence, if any, has been political; and I protest against having it obscured with such vague and meaningless charges as "pirateria" and "filibusterismo". Let me be tried and judged for an offence known to the law. Carrying on war against the State and under its flag is a well defined offence, and I can answer "guilty," or "not guilty" to the charge. But how can I plead to the charge of "filibusterismo" when I do not know, nor can I know under the law, what the word signifies?

I am ready to abide the consequences of my political acts; but it is a legal absurdity to judge me for alleged offences either not known to the law or so defined that it was impossible for me to commit them within the limits of the State of Honduras.

Respectfully submitted:

Wm. Walker

Trujillo Sep. 10th 1860.

AMs, *Proceso de William Walker--Trujillo 1860*, p. 16.

APPENDIX M

WALKER FILIBUSTERS' STATISTICS *in the war in Nicaragua*

FILIBUSTER ARRIVALS FROM SAN FRANCISCO

<u>LEFT-SF</u>	<u>SHIP</u>	<u>ARRIVED-NIC</u>	<u>AGENT/LEADER</u>	<u>FILIBUSTERS</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>
1855					
5/4	Vesta	6/16	Walker	58	ii-360, iii-148
9/20	Cortes	10/3	Gilman/Davidson	35	iii-183
10/5	Uncle Sam	10/17	French/Fry	60	iii-197
10/20	Sierra Nevada	11/1	Kewen/Armstrong	46	iii-217
11/5	Cortes	11/17	Fisher	5	iii-248, 259
11/20	Uncle Sam	12/1	Crittenden/O'Neal	42	iii-250
12/6	Sierra Nevada	12/17	Crittenden/Anderson	125	iii-250
12/20	Cortes	1/1	Kewen/Skerrett	124	iii-250
1856					
1/5	Uncle Sam	1/19	Kewen/Sutter	120	iii-250
1/21	Sierra Nevada	2/3	Kewen	125	iii-251
2/5	Cortes	2/16	-----	--	iii-269
2/20	Uncle Sam	3/2	Jones	10	iii-269
3/5	Bro. Jonathan	3/19	-----	--	iii-270
3/20	Cortes	4/1	Bell	40	iii-331; v-5
6/21	Sierra Nevada	7/4	Williams	35	iv-59
8/5	Sierra Nevada	8/17		60	iv-76
9/20	Sierra Nevada	10/2	Kewen/Sanders	70	iv-131
10/20	Sierra Nevada	11/2		15	iv-153, 154
11/20	Orizaba	12/2		70	iv-188
12/21	Sierra Nevada	1/2		75	iv-212
1857					
1/20	Orizaba	2/1	Buchanan	43	iv-230
2/20	Sierra Nevada	3/7	Stewart	75	iv-236
3/5	Orizaba	3/20	Chatfield	20	iv-242

TOTAL: 1,253 Walker filibusters arrived from San Francisco in 1855-1857.

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FILIBUSTER ARRIVALS FROM NEW YORK

<u>LEFT-NY</u>	<u>SHIP</u>	<u>ARRIVED-NIC</u>	<u>AGENT/LEADER</u>	<u>FILIBUSTERS</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>
1855					
12/27	Northern Light	1/4	Schlessinger/Lainé	2	iii-256
1856					
1/9	Star of / West	1/19	French	125	iii-258
1/24	Northern Light	2/2	French/Farnham	200	iii-259
2/9	Star of / West	2/19	Hornsby	90	iii-265,266
2/25	Northern Light	3/5		150	iii-266,302
3/8	Star of / West	3/18		50	iii-269,327
4/8	Orizaba	4/16		50	iii-362,366
5/10	Orizaba	5/18		50	iv-25,37
6/24	Orizaba	7/3	Lainé	43	iv-59
8/9	Cahawba	8/18		20	iv-76
9/13	Tennessee	9/22	Fabens	205	iv-123,124
9/24	Texas	10/4	Allen/Green	100	iv-131
10/6	Tennessee	10/16	Henningsen	60	iv-146
10/25	Texas	11/4		130	iv-154
11/22	Texas	12/2		30	iv-188
1857					
1/1	James Adger	1/9	Wheat	40	iv-218
1/29	Tennessee	2/8	Hall/Farnham	60	iv-221
2/25	Tennessee	3/7	-----	---	iv-222
3/23	Tennessee	4/2	-----	---	iv-222

TOTAL: 1,405 Walker filibusters arrived from New York in 1855-1857.

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PILIBUSTER ARRIVALS FROM NEW ORLEANS

<u>LEFT-NO</u>	<u>SHIP</u>	<u>ARRIVED-NIC</u>	<u>AGENT/LEADER</u>	<u>PILIBUSTERS</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>
1855					
12/26	Prometheus	1/1	Fisher	100	iii-260
1856					
1/11	Daniel Webster	1/17	Fisher/Linton	21	iii-260
1/26	Prometheus	2/2	Fisher	--	iii-260
2/12	Daniel Webster	2/18	Turnbull/Thorpe	81	iii-266
2/27	Prometheus	3/4	Goicouria/Thorpe	160	iii-266,302
3/11	Daniel Webster	3/17	French	204	iii-268,327
3/25	Lowell	4/15		20	iii-363,366
4/10	Charles Morgan	4/15	Hornsby/Moncosos	230	iii-363,366
5/8	Minnie Shiffer	5/28	Jacques	200	iv-33,37
5/23	Daniel Webster	5/29	Ellis	41	iv-34,37
6/7	Grenada	6/13	Allen/Marsh/Jones	105	iv-36,59
6/22	Daniel Webster	6/27	Turley	27	iv-37,59
8/7	Granada	8/13		30	iv-76
10/27	Tennessee	11/2	Jacques	372	iv-152,154
11/27	Tennessee	12/3	Lockridge	250	iv-188
12/28	Texas	1/4		250	iv-214,218
1857					
1/28	Texas	2/4	Titus	264	iv-219
3/11	Texas	3/18	Hornsby/Capers/French	145	iv-222

TOTAL: 2,500 Walker filibusters arrived from New Orleans in 1855-1857.

PILIBUSTERS ENROLLED IN NICARAGUA

Doubleday, Burns, McLeod, Cole, Von Natzmer, and others who joined Walker at León and San Juan del Sur, in June-October, 1855: 20 men (iii-151,183,287).

Kinney's filibusters under Fabens/Swift who joined Walker at Granada in November, 1855: 26 men (iii-217).

TOTAL: 46 Walker filibusters enrolled in Nicaragua in 1855.

ROUGH NUMBER OF WALKER'S PILIBUSTERS

in the war in Nicaragua

Enrolled in Nicaragua in 1855:	50
Arrived from San Francisco in 1855-1857:	1,250
Arrived from New York in 1855-1857:	1,400
Arrived from New Orleans in 1855-1857:	2,500
TOTAL PILIBUSTERS IN WAR IN NICARAGUA:	5,200

PILIBUSTERS EVACUATED FROM NICARAGUA

at the end of the war

From the San Juan river:

- 50 men arrived at New York in the *Tennessee* on April 16, 1857. *New York Herald*, 4/17/1857, p.10, c.1.
- 103 men arrived at New Orleans in the *Empire City* on April 28, 1857. *New Orleans Picayune*, 4/28/1857 eve., p.1, c.5.
- 68 men arrived at New York in the *Illinois* on April 29, 1857. *New York Herald*, 4/30/1857, p.2, c.5.
- 191 men arrived at New Orleans in the *Tartar* on May 5, 1857. *New Orleans Picayune*, 5/5/1857 eve., p.1, c.4.
- 412 TOTAL

From Rivas:

- 30 persons arrived at Panama in the *St. Mary's* on May 17, 1857. Commodore William Mervine to Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey, U.S. Flag Ship *Independence*, Bay of Panama, 5/18/1857, Microfilm Publication M-89, reel 38, The National Archives, Washington.
- 139 persons (121 men) arrived at New York in the *Wabash* on June 28, 1857. *New York Herald*, 6/29/1857, p.5, c.1.
- 53 men arrived at Boston in the *Cyane* on July 29, 1857. *New York Herald*, 7/31/1857, p.5, c.1.
- 204 men arrived at New York in the *Roanoke* on August 4, 1857. *New York Herald*, 8/5/1857, p.5, c.3.
- 260 men arrived at New York in the *Tennessee* on August 18, 1857. *New York Herald*, 8/19/1857, p.1, c.1.
- 686 TOTAL

TOTAL EVACUATED: 412 + 686 = 1,098 persons (roughly 1,060 men)