

Part One:

PRESIDENT WILLIAM WALKER

*Con desprecio los Yankees nos miran
De sus artes soberbios y vanos,
Nos contemplan cual raza de enanos
A quien pueden de un soplo destruir.
Ignorantes seremos y pobres,
Pero nunca colonos ni esclavos;
Somos libres, y altivos, y bravos
Por la patria sabremos morir.*

Un Chontaleño [Juan Iribarren].
Boaco, Setiembre 28 de 1856.

The Inauguration.

According to the result of the election, which which we give in another column, and the decree of the President of the Republic, to-day will be made memorable by the inauguration of the first American President of Nicaragua.

Inauguration of William Walker

"first American President of Nicaragua"

El Nicaraguense, July 12, 1856



President William Walker

1. Nicaragua's Northern Neighbors

The three states north of Nicaragua lagged far behind Costa Rica in their reactions to the Walker filibuster menace. Greater distances and geographical barriers allowed Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador some sense of security which lessened the urgency of the danger. Moreover, none of these northern states shared Costa Rican designs for the San Juan river canal route, and thus they lacked that powerful incentive for intervention.

El Salvador, where liberal friends of the Leonese were in power, initially desired amicable relations with the Walker-Rivas government. Upon receipt of the circular sent by Jerez, November 3, 1855, announcing the terms of the treaty of the 23d of October, the Salvadoran Minister of Foreign Affairs promptly approved, in the name of his government, the peace secured in Nicaragua.

Although actuated by different motives, the government of Honduras transmitted a similar friendly dispatch to Granada, and named Don Manuel Colindres as its representative near Nicaragua "to conclude a treaty of amity and reciprocal interest between both countries."¹

The conservatives had just risen to power in Honduras, having overthrown President Cabañas in October, 1855 with the help of Guatemalan troops. Ideologically, they opposed the new Nicaraguan order of things, but lacking pecuniary and

¹"Documentos Oficiales," *El Nicaraguense*, 12/29/1855, p.3, c.1.

military resources, they entertained no thoughts of attacking Walker under the existing circumstances. Indeed, the Honduran authorities feared an invasion by Cabañas with the aid of his Leonese friends and the American filibusters; hence, their olive branch to the Walker-Rivas regime.

Guatemala, under President-for-life General Rafael Carrera, was the Central American citadel of conservatism. Carrera had adequate resources and was well aware of the filibuster threat, but since Guatemala was shielded from Nicaragua by both Honduras and El Salvador, Carrera was in no hurry to embark in a costly military adventure far away from his own borders. When the Guatemalan House of Representatives urged Carrera to act in defense of the nationality of all Central America, the president replied "that the Chamber might confide in his vigilance." Some deputies were, however, not content with his answer, and, on December 17th, introduced a law "calling a general muster of all the inhabitants of the country for its defence." After considerable discussion, the House refused to entertain the proposition, and it was indefinitely tabled, most members believing the country to be "in no immediate peril."²

Meanwhile, while the Guatemalan legislators debated the Nicaragua question, General Trinidad Cabañas visited Granada, seeking assistance to regain the presidency of Honduras. Walker entertained him as a guest of the State and placed at his orders a guard of honor. But despite the urging of Jerez that the Honduran general's request be granted, recalling "the signal services the ex-President had rendered Castellón and the democratic army," neither Walker nor President Rivas were "disposed to hearken to the prayers of Cabañas." They both saw clearly that if "an American force entered Honduras, it would be the signal for a coalition of the

²"From Central America," *New Orleans Picayune*, 2/22/1856, p.4, c.2.

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other four States against Nicaragua." Walker knew that war was inevitable, but he was not yet ready for it; moreover, "It was expedient and proper to make the enemies of the Americans strike the first blow."³

In Granada, Cabañas saw Randolph arrive with more than 100 recruits from California and became alarmed at the impending destruction of Central American nationality. He had long chats with Minister Wheeler, who recorded in his private diary the Honduran general's misgivings:

On yesterday had a long and confidential interview with Genl. Cabañas . . . Don Pedro Selva acted as interpreter, when it was necessary. He asked me if the U.S. approved of the course of the citizens of the U.S. coming to Central America--and if these persons attempted to destroy the nationality of all Central America, would the Government of the U.S. attempt to prevent it.

I replied that the U.S. did not approve nor could not by law approve as a nation the course of their citizens in any attack on the nationality of any Government . . . That so far the efforts of Genl. Walker were directed either here or elsewhere in Central America the U.S. could exercise no sort of control--no more than over the acts of any other Nicaraguense which he had become by naturalization.

He then asked me, if Guatemala joined by the other Govts. made war on Walker could or would the U.S. use any efforts to protect him. To this I replied certainly they would not.⁴

³William Walker, *The War in Nicaragua*, (Mobile: S.H. Goetzel & Co., 1860), p. 161.

⁴John Hill Wheeler, "Diary," Dec. 16, 1855.

Chagrined at Walker's refusal to help Cabañas regain the presidency of Honduras, Jerez resigned from his cabinet post on January 8, 1856, visibly alienated from the filibuster chief. Alarmed at the condition of things in Nicaragua, Cabañas at once proceeded to El Salvador, publicly "inciting the people against the Americans," and Walker's attempt to destroy the nationality of all Central America. He proclaimed "a fierce war of extermination against the army of Gen. Walker."⁵ With Cabañas no longer a threat, the Honduran commissioner, Don Manuel Colindres, instantly cut short his journey to Granada and returned home from León without undertaking to sign a treaty of amity that would be no longer advantageous to his government.

Sensing a hardening hostility to the Granada regime throughout the region, Minister Fermín Ferrer on January 12, 1856, addressed a "Circular to the Governments of Central America," asking them to name Commissioners for the purpose of discussing and arranging the "fraternal union" of the five Central American republics.⁶ Ferrer's circular, however, elicited no response, since none of his neighbors could envision a union with the Walker-Rivas regime. But, outside of Costa Rica, no one was yet ready for open hostilities, either.

The strongman of Honduras, Gen. Santos Guardiola, became President on February 17, 1856. Guardiola held indelible memories of his September 3d debacle at Virgin Bay, and it was said that he considered the Yankees invincible. Hence, he advocated non-intervention in Nicaragua. He even went to the extreme of forbidding his subordinates from writing anything

⁵"Nicaragua and the Adjoining States," *El Nicaraguense*, 2/9/1856, p.2, c.1.

⁶"Circular to the Governments of Central America," *Ibid.*, 1/19/1856, p.2, c.2.

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against the filibusters.

In El Salvador, elections were held which led to the inauguration of President Rafael Campo on February 12, 1856. Campo was an "honest and respected, but timorous and simple" man who sympathized with the Nicaraguan legitimist camp.⁷ A week after he took office, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Enrique Hoyos, addressed a dispatch to the Rivas government, asking for a "frank, faithful and definitive explanation" concerning the growing numbers of foreign forces under Walker in Nicaragua.⁸

The note was delivered at Granada by Col. Justo Padilla, who showed up in time to witness the arrival of over 300 additional recruits and sixty immigrants on the 9th of March. Ferrer penned his answer on the 13th, explaining to Hoyos that such forces were needed to defend Nicaragua from hostile neighbors, particularly Costa Rica, who had "explicitly declared war."⁹

Guatemala reinforced its army, but otherwise continued a policy of watchful waiting which on the surface suggested neutrality. On February 23d, *El Nicaraguense* rejoiced at the news that Guatemala had decided not to undertake an offensive campaign; but Walker was not wholly reassured. On March 13th, when he sent his troops under Schlessinger against Costa Rica, he wrote to Lt. Col. E.J. Sanders, Commanding at Chinandega, that "there is undoubtedly a league between Costa Rica and the other States, therefore the utmost vigilance in the Department Occidental is necessary."¹⁰

⁷Jerónimo Pérez, *Obras Históricas Completas*, p. 188; José Dolores Gámez, *Historia de Nicaragua*, p. 636.

⁸"De Oficio," *El Nicaraguense*, March 15, 1856, p.3, c.1.

⁹"República de Nicaragua--Ministerio General," *Ibid.*, p.3, c.2.

¹⁰Walker to Sanders (Granada, March 13, 1856), Caja de Relaciones

Carrera, Campo, Guardiola, and Mora held a solid conservative banner over their yet inchoate league against Walker, surrounding Nicaragua at the onset of the war with Costa Rica. Inside Nicaragua, conservative (Servile, Legitimist or Chamorrista) patriots fiercely resisted the filibuster. Walker recognized these facts in his "Proclamation to the People of Central America," March 10, 1856, where he declared "eternal enmity . . . against the Servile parties and Servile Governments of Central America." Thus, "the Troops of the Army of the Republic will assume and wear the *Red Ribbon*."¹¹

This waving of the liberal (Democratic) colors, and his subsequent permission to transfer the seat of government to León, were calculated to strengthen Leonese support for Walker during the forthcoming war. Jerez was thus wooed and rejoined the Cabinet on March 18th. The government then moved to León on the 25th. On the 30th, President Patricio Rivas issued a Proclamation To the Nicaraguans:

Fellow Countrymen:

I have come to visit the Occidental Department, and to place myself in closer contact with the Governments of Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala, with whom Nicaragua desires only good relations and faithful and sincere friendship, from which springs the happy existence of States ruled by their own appropriate institutions.

I do not want war, especially between brother nations and natural friends. There is no need for a breach, and I am ready to use all means towards the consolidation of peace. To that end I have already sent commissioners to celebrate treaties of alliance and amity.

1856, Archivo Nacional, San José, Costa Rica.

¹¹"To the People of Central America," *El Nicaraguense*, March 15, 1856, p.1, c.5.

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May Heaven protect these designs! . . .¹²

Commissioners Don Gregorio Juárez and Don Jesús Baca departed from León for El Salvador on March 29; Don Rafael Jerez and Don Juan Aguilar left for Honduras on the 31st. The appointment of envoys to Guatemala was delayed, pending Carrera's decision to recognize them or not.

A month earlier, on February 29th, Costa Rica had appointed Dr. Don Nazario Toledo "extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary near the governments of Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras," in order to form an offensive and defensive alliance "to exterminate the common enemy."¹³ Toledo proceeded immediately on his mission, sailing from Puntarenas on the *Emilia* on March 4th.

Urged on by Toledo and by the news of Schiessinger's descent on Costa Rica, Carrera's government finally decided to act against Walker. An extraordinary session of the Council of State on April 4th-5th unanimously sanctioned the decision. Consequently, Carrera sent Col. José Víctor Zavala to El Salvador to obtain permission for the passage of Guatemalan troops against the filibusters in Nicaragua. On April 15th, El Salvador not only granted permission, but also expressed its readiness to join forces with Guatemala, advising that Honduras should also be called to join so that "all three may proceed in perfect harmony" against Walker.¹⁴

When the vanguard of the Guatemalan army, 800 men under

¹²"El Presidente Provisorio de la República. A los Nicaragüenses," *Boletín Oficial*, León, April 9, 1856, p.2, c.2.

¹³"Instrucciones que el Gobierno Supremo de la República de Costa Rica comunica a su Enviado Extraordinario . . .," Manuel J. Jiménez and Faustino Viquez, *Documentos Relativos a la Guerra Nacional*, (San José, Costa Rica: Tipografía Nacional, 1914), p. 295.

¹⁴"Extractos y Documentos," *Boletín Oficial*, San José, Costa Rica, June 7, 1856, p. 461, c.1.

command of Gen. Mariano Paredes, left the capital on Monday, May 5, 1856, President Rafael Carrera Issued the following Proclamation:

Guatemalans:

The events which have occurred in Nicaragua since October last are well known. A few foreigners, starting from California, seized authority over that republic, profiting by the exhaustion caused by discords and a prolonged intestine war. . . .

Soldiers, the republic entrusts you with her honor and security. You are not called to the battlefield, as in other times, by our pernicious and lamentable internal discords; no; but by the national honor and interest. You are to defend a holy cause, both of your religion and of your race. . . .¹⁵

With the Guatemalan troops on the move, the Salvadoran army was ready to join them on their march to the Nicaraguan border. On May 7, the government of El Salvador, at Cojutepeque, sent an official communication to President Rivas in León. It characterized the situation as an "invasion of the republic of Nicaragua by the Americans under the command of Walker," posing "a threat to the independence and nationality of Central America." It then asked Rivas to break with Walker and to join in the "general crusade" against the filibusters. Finally, it warned Rivas, that if he continued "to serve the plans of a bad cause," upon the forthcoming "complete destruction of the whole band, whose chief Walker is, the State of San Salvador will hold itself under a rigorous necessity not to give an asylum to Sr. Rivas, which it will not give, as a general rule, to any of those who, having taken

¹⁵"Proclamation of President Carrera," *New York Herald*, 7/29/1856, p.8, c.3.

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service under the foreigners, must be regarded as the enemies of the Central American nation."¹⁶

The reply from President Patricio Rivas was prompt, short, and clear:

León, May 14, 1856.

Sir:

I read the letter which you have addressed to me in the name of the President of your republic, under date of 7th inst., and, as the contents are highly injurious to the dignity of the government which I represent, and of which I must be jealous, in compliance with the rights of this republic, I judge it proper to return it to you without answer. I am, with all my respect, your obedient servant,

Patricio Rivas.¹⁷

The breach between León and Cojutepeque then seemed unsurmountable. Since early April, Commissioner Gregorio Juárez had futilely tried to obtain an audience with the Salvadoran authorities and was thus recalled by his government. Relations between León and Guatemala were of course no better. They deteriorated still further when Foreign Minister Sebastián Salinas, at León, on May 20th sent an ultimatum to the Guatemalan Foreign Office:

. . . Guatemala is now opening a new revolutionary fountainhead more ominous than all the previous ones, for she believes that she has the right to bar the government of Nicaragua from using foreign forces to preserve internal order and to enjoy the respect of other nations.

¹⁶"Official Communication of the Government of the Republic of San Salvador to the Provisional President of Nicaragua--Senor Don Patricio Rivas," *New York Herald*, 7/17/1856, p.3, c.4.

¹⁷"Reply," *Ibid*.

Leaving aside the question of the true motives that forced Nicaragua to adopt such measure, my government desires that the government of Guatemala should act with proper sincerity and to that effect it has ordered me to direct this communication to you, in the form of an ultimatum.

. . . if the authority of our provisional government is not recognized and your administration continues with the hostile steps that have been announced and are being prepared, my government will interpret it as a formal declaration of war against Nicaragua and shall immediately act accordingly, interpreting your actions as a declaration of war; and this same interpretation shall accrue if this letter is not answered.¹⁸

¹⁸"República de Nicaragua--Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores," *Boletín Oficial*, León, May 22, 1856, p.1, c.2.

2. Embraces in León

This was the situation as it appeared in Granada at the end of May, when Walker departed to ascertain for himself the true state of affairs at León. *El Nicaraguense* recorded it under "Another Unprovoked Invasion" on May 31st, and added:

. . . The [Guatemalan and Salvadoran] vanguard, as detailed by both States, was to consist of two thousand men, and the actual army of three thousand more.

This was the plan of the campaign, but unfortunately for the enterprise, on the arrival of the vanguard at San Miguel, out of the thousand men with which it started, only four hundred stood by the expedition, the balance making it convenient to have private business in the mountains . . .

By way of information, we may state that the Northern Departments of this Republic are well defended. The last eight months have been devoted to fortifying León, and that city is now in a condition to withstand any force the Northern States may send against it . . . The General and his staff, together with the Rifles, will start to-day for the North; and if Carrera wishes to see a free fight, he had better come down.¹

The day before departure for León, the First Rifles paraded in the plaza with new uniforms, and in the evening,

¹"Another Unprovoked Invasion," *El Nicaraguense*, 5/31/1856, p.2, c.2.

the band was out serenading General Walker in his private quarters. The Rifles marched out of Granada early in the morning; Walker and staff, escorted by the Rangers, left town about noon, stopping at Masaya in the afternoon when Gen. Golcouría was taken ill with a severe attack of cholera. Leaving Golcouría behind, Walker continued on to León, and his march through Masaya, Managua, Mateare, Nagarote, and Pueblo Nuevo, "was a perfect jubilee." Everywhere, "his entrance was the signal for the firing of cannon, rockets, &c., accompanied by 'vivas' from the entire population."²

Arriving at León at 1:30 p.m. on June 4th, Walker was welcomed by half the population. President Rivas and his Cabinet, and an immense concourse of the citizens, met Walker three miles from the city, and escorted him to his quarters. "Salvos of artillery, a general ringing of bells, troops formed at the plaza, martial music and other signs of rejoicing solemnized the act; but all these would have been insignificant if the expression drawn in each face had not shown such happiness and enthusiasm at seeing General Walker amongst the people of León."³ The journalist, Charles Callahan, was also there:

Scarcely had he dismounted when his house was besieged by an army of women, of all ages, sizes and complexions, who were clamorous for a sight of General *Wal-ker*, as they pronounce it. The General is proverbially a modest man, and you can imagine his dismay when, on making his appearance, he found out that all the women wanted was an *abrazo*, (embrace,) which they forthwith proceeded to bestow upon him. But there was

²"Special Correspondence of the Picayune," *New Orleans Picayune*, July 12, 1856 Eve., p.1, c.5.

³"Ingreso del Sr. General en Cefe Walker á esta Ciudad," *Boletín Oficial* [León], June 5, 1856, p.4, c.2.

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no use remonstrating, and he was obliged to submit, with as good a grace as he could, until he had encircled the necks and been squeezed to the bosoms of all the women present.⁴

Walker also remembered the scene in *The War*:

. . . the general-in-chief was called to the courtyard of the house where he was quartered, and there had gathered the women of every age and every condition to thank him for the protection the Americans had given to their homes. In the evening the musicians came to sing songs of praise of American valor, and the local rhymesters of the place--of whom there were not a few--poured forth the sonorous sounds of Castillian verse in glory of the strangers who had delivered Nicaragua from the oppressions of her enemies.⁵

El Nicaraguense, June 21, 1856, printed the sonorous sounds of Castillian verse reminisced by Walker in *The War*. Stanzas upon stanzas acclaimed:

*O Patriots, sing
A thousand happy hymns
To the redeemer
Of our freedom.*

*The world amazed
Shall obey and respect
The intrepid son
Of the great Washington.*

⁴"Special Correspondence of the Picayune."

⁵Walker, *The War*, p. 217.

*And Free Nicaragua
Shall forever proclaim,
Hail the conquering Walker!
Hail our Liberator!⁶*

Such a hero's welcome for Walker is understandable as it was his first visit to León since the fall of Granada, coming at a time when the threat from the North sharply rekindled the need of a Leonese-fillbuster alliance. President Patricio Rivas had made that point very clear in a proclamation he issued the day before Walker arrived at León:

Nicaraguans! -- Guatemala is in the field against us . . . President Carrera seeks to appear generous, to protect us, with the seal of slavery on his forehead. . . . Soldiers, to arms! The country trusts in you for its safety and its life! . . .⁷

Commander-in-Chief William Walker followed suit at once, and delivered an "Address to the People of Nicaragua," in Spanish, in harmony with the mood he encountered in León. *El Nicaraguense* promptly published its English version:

NICARAGUANS!

Fellow-Citizens -- I address you by this name with sentiments of pleasure; and I rejoice to be among you, Leonese, illustrious sons of Liberty and the advocates of progressive principles! I am your fellow-citizen, for Nicaragua is my adopted country, and it is equally that of the thousands of brave spirits who have accompanied

⁶"Canción," *El Nicaraguense*, 6/21/1856, p.8, c.4. (My literal translation).

⁷"Proclamation of President Rivas to the People of Nicaragua," *El Nicaraguense*, June 14, 1856, p.3, c.3.

me hither, who have spilled their blood, and sacrificed their lives with glory, in defending this their country! To die thus is glorious! The fields of Santa Rosa and Rivas are patent proofs how we defend with gallantry our adopted country and triumph over the Costa Ricans! They are conquered, and their acts prove it. Where are they? In vain, then, may falsehoods be written by their calumniating press.

But we are not permitted to stop here. Neighboring Republics unjustly and stupidly threaten us! The appeal to arms may be afflicting! Fly, then, valiant Leonese, to your arms, and believe that victory is certain! On our banner is inscribed Justice, Order and Liberty! Civilization will give us the victory, and posterity will view us with envy! Your sons and future generations, enjoying a peace which you have conquered, will inherit a country worthy of men, and will heap benedictions upon you! History will consecrate your names on its immortal pages!

Nicaraguans! Know your true interests! Listen to the voice of the President of this Republic, and let us unanimously resolve to defend our country, and march, if necessary, under orders of the Government, against the enemies of humanity and public welfare! To accompany you will afford much honor to

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

WM. WALKER,

Commander-in-Chief Nicaragua Army.

LEON, June 4, 1856.⁸

Callahan reported that Walker's address was highly regarded by the natives, and that to those who knew the studious character of Gen. Walker in New Orleans, it would not be surprising to learn that he was then an accomplished

⁸"Address by Gen. Walker," *El Nicaraguense*, 6/14/1856, p.5, c.2.

Spanish scholar, speaking and writing the language in such a manner as to extort praise from the most prejudiced of his enemies. On June 19th, two weeks after the feminine embraces in León, an anonymous *New York Tribune's* special correspondent at Granada described Walker, drawing a "pen and ink sketch of him, taken from life":

At first glance, Gen. Walker appears a small man, but when standing beside men of the average height he appears a trifle taller than they. He is very thin; not an ounce of superabundant flesh upon his bones. The frame work of his body is small, but he has a very tough and sinewy appearance. His soldiers say--those who have been with him since the beginning of his adventures--that he can endure more hardship than the strongest-looking man in the State.

He is one of the most industrious of men, and supervises the entire affairs of the country. His ordinary dress consists of a pair of common blue pantaloons, a coarse blue linen over-shirt--upon the shoulders of which two small pieces of red flannel do the duty of epaulettes--and a straw hat. When he sits, he settles down in the most careless manner--his shoulders appearing to contract into a small compass.

His ungraceful posture while sitting, with his unpretending style of dress, is apt to disappoint those who expect to find in him physical dimensions proportionate to the spread of his fame. But, when in full uniform, and animated, his whole appearance changes, his shoulders expand to squareness, his height seems to increase at least a couple of inches, and the sparkle of his usually dreamy grey eyes indicates the fire and brilliancy of the man within.

His head is more than usually high, somewhat large in proportion to his body, and expands as it rises upward. His hair is of a light color; his forehead is broad and smooth, and so developed in the reflective

faculties that a phrenologist would be apt to pronounce him an idealist, and of a speculative turn of mind. His face is thin, his nose slightly aquiline, his mouth is well-formed, expressing great firmness, and his lips have that compression peculiar to those who are very fastidious and systematic.

His eyes are rather small, and placed low down from his brow. He speaks with much deliberation, and is particular in his choice of words. When so interested in conversation, however, as to forget himself in the subject, his delivery is easy and even graceful. His face, without being particularly handsome, has an intellectual and pleasing expression, and a mustache which he is cultivating will shortly add its graces to the *tout semble* of his features.

His ambition is, no doubt, great; yet he is in appearance as modest and retiring as a schoolboy. No person would suspect in his half bashful, half shrinking manner the desperate courage of which he is possessed, nor suppose that his small hands and delicately tapered fingers had so often fought their way with the butt end of a pistol, through a crowd of enemies.⁹

The embryonic mustache that sprouted on William Walker's face in the wake of the warm embraces in León was short lived. A few days later he broke with the Leonese, and the mustache disappeared, without a trace, suddenly.

⁹"Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 7/15/1856, p.7, c.2.

3. Too Soon for History

Simultaneous with Walker's success at León, developments in America, also favorable to his cause, were set in motion on April 29th in New York upon the arrival of the *Orizaba* with Major and Mrs. Heiss, Father Vijil, and the returning passengers. During the voyage, Major Heiss assisted Captain Tinklepaugh in preparing a formal protest against the British for the alleged interference of Captain Tarleton on behalf of Birdsall a few days earlier. Heiss also probably authored "our special correspondence," the Nicaragua chronicle that filled the entire front page of the *New York Herald* on April 30th.¹

The *Herald's* stirring account of thousands of Costa Ricans, armed by the British, striving to drive all Americans out of Nicaragua, and their war cry of "Death to all who may be taken!" naturally tapped patriotic fervor in favor of Walker's cause. When the news hit the streets in New York, Major Heiss was already on his way to Washington, to deliver

¹ Although a native of Pennsylvania, Heiss had been a resident of Nashville and was a Major in the Tennessee militia. He was also a journalist, editor of the *Washington Union* during the Polk administration and afterwards chief proprietor of the *New Orleans Delta*, where he became identified with Cuban filibusterism. His partner, Laurence J. Sigur, is said to have furnished practically all the funds for the 1851 López expedition. Heiss was deeply interested in down to earth matters. In 1848 he bought the White Hall gold mines in Virginia, in partnership with Commodore Stockton, of California fame. During the subsequent gold rush he extended his operations to California, and during his sojourn in Nicaragua in 1856, he traveled to Chontales with Joseph W. Fabens, to see the quartz, red sandstone, and slate ores in the bowels of the mountain of Don Fermín Ferrer's mines. He was delighted at the sight.

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Minister Wheeler's official dispatches to Secretary Marcy and private correspondence to Secretary Dobbin and other friends. He also delivered a letter from William Walker to Hon. John B. Weller, the California senator who had the backing of the Southern machine.²

On May 1st, Weller submitted a resolution in the Senate "calling on the President for any correspondence with our Minister to Nicaragua not heretofore communicated, regarding the recognition of the new Nicaraguan government." Weller maintained that it should be recognized and declared that "no man has been more shamefully misrepresented than General Walker. He was not a freebooter, but a man of the purest motives."³

He then proceeded to read the letter from Walker before the full senate, "whilst the utmost silence prevailed." In the long letter, written at Granada on April 15th, Walker rehashed his typical propaganda line, describing himself as an American patriot in his war against Costa Rica and England.

Sen. Stephen Douglas, (dem) of Illinois, immediately rose and spoke forcefully in support of Walker. In the House, on the same day, John A. Quitman, (dem) of Mississippi, introduced a bill to repeal certain sections of the neutrality law. As more Walker supporters rallied in his favor, the *New*

²The California legislature elected John B. Weller over David C. Broderick to succeed John C. Frémont as U.S. Senator in 1852. "Although Weller probably was not the equal of Broderick, he had the important backing of the Gwin or pro-Southern machine" (H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California*, p. 83). Weller had defended Walker when he was imprisoned by Judge Parsons in 1851 (see Book Two, p. 109), and again on the seizure of the Arrow in 1854, when Gen. Hitchcock wrote in his diary: "The expedition to capture Sonora is countenanced by most of the leading politicians here, including the two Senators in Congress--Gwin and Weller. Weller has in a speech at a public dinner abused the army for interfering with the expedition" (W. A. Croffut, ed. *Fifty Years in Camp and Field*, p. 402).

³"Thirty Fourth Congress--First Session--Senate," *New York Herald*, 5/2/1856, p.4, c.4.

York Tribune's Washington correspondent commented:

The Walker and filibuster and Cuba sympathizers are as nimble and restless under the news from Nicaragua as though they had just sat down in a tub of aquafortis. Mr. Weller is agog, Mr. Douglas is agog, and even Gen. Cass is flurried by patriotic ardor over the prospect that the filibustering crowd stand a smart chance of getting pitched into the Lake Nicaragua. And this morning along comes a letter from that prince of diplomats, Pierre Soulé, who high falutins the topic after his usual fashion. He speaks of it as a drama whose "multifarious peripetiae" may involve our interests deeply.

These are but signs of the extensive ramifications and wide connections of this Walker movement. Walker is no lonely filibuster, in whom nobody takes an interest. He is the agent and pioneer of the Slavery Extension leaders. His ragged host is their advanced guard . . .

This Walker movement is thus regarded with the deepest interest by the Propagandists, because it is not only a scheme to reduce Central America and convert it into Slave States to be annexed to the Union, but because it is designed as the base of operations against Cuba. Cuba is the great prize they are after, and Nicaragua and Central America are stepping stones on the way to it.⁴

Walker's Southern friends pressed vigorously for the recognition of Father Vijiil. In the Cabinet, Davis, Dobbin, and Guthrie favored it, while Marcy and Cushing strongly opposed it. It was afterwards alleged, that with the help of Senator William Smith of Virginia, Heiss held a number of secret meetings with President Pierce--"at night, and when no other

⁴"Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 5/5/1856, p.4, c.6.

person was to be seen about the White House"--in which the recognition of Padre Vijil was arranged without the knowledge of Marcy or even of the President's private secretary. Moreover, that the President himself "furnished the text and dictated many sentences of the letter addressed by Padre Vijil to the Secretary of State, and was determined to recognize Padre Vijil as Minister from Nicaragua, even if the whole Cabinet were against it."⁵

Recognition of the Walker government was exceedingly popular in the South and West, and Democratic politicians immediately used the Nicaragua issue in the ensuing electoral campaign. In New York, a preliminary meeting was held on May 6, presided by John Clancy, Alderman of the Sixth Ward, "to make arrangements for a public expression of sympathy for the cause of Gen. Walker and the liberty of the oppressed!! and in denunciation of British oppression and secret interference on this continent."⁶

The Grand Meeting was held on the 9th, at the National Hall, and its proceedings dominated the front page of the *Herald* the next morning. In the exterior of the hall two transparencies bore the slogans: "NO BRITISH INTERFERENCE ON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA" and "ENLARGE THE BOUNDARIES OF FREEDOM." The Nicaraguan flag was displayed over the platform; John Clancy wore the red ribbon. The hall was crowded to excess "with the bone and sinew of our population. It seemed like an old fashioned Tammany gathering."⁷

There were telegraphic messages from Cass, Douglas,

⁵"The Latest News," *New York Herald*, 1/30/1857, p.4, c.5.

⁶"City Intelligence--Sympathy for General Walker," *New York Herald*, 5/6/1856, p.4, c.4.

⁷"Sympathy for General Walker--Grand Meeting at National Hall," *New York Herald*, 5/10/1856, p.1, c.1.

Quiltman, and other Democratic bigwigs, and appropriate speeches by local figures. Finally, a committee was appointed to receive subscriptions and contributions for "Walker and his brave army in Nicaragua," while the enthusiastic crowd gave three cheers for Padre Vijil and three groans for Mr. Marcy. Cheers and groans were still echoing when the *Orizaba* sailed away for San Juan the next afternoon displaying on its mainmast a small flag bearing the initial letter "W," which some said stood for Walker. The *Herald* estimated it was carrying about fifty filibusters among its passengers.⁸

The Democratic National Convention was about to assemble in Cincinnati (on June 2d), to nominate the party's candidate for the November presidential election. Stephen Douglas and James Buchanan were the only contenders likely to thwart President Pierce's bid for a second term. May 1st, Douglas spoke clearly in support of Walker. Buchanan, too, publicly sympathized with Walker and favored the recognition of Nicaragua.⁹ Lesser candidates Senator Lewis Cass and General

⁸"Departure of the *Orizaba* for Nicaragua," *New York Herald*, 5/11/1856, p.1, c.3. The steamer's departure was delayed several hours because Captain Tinklepaugh was under trial in the U.S. Circuit Court in the case of the *Northern Light* of the previous December. The jury's verdict, delivered after midnight: "Not Guilty." "The Northern Light Affair," *New York Herald*, 5/13, p.2, c.6.

⁹James Buchanan (1791-1868), former U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania (1834-1845) and Minister to Great Britain (1853-1856), had solid credentials in the filibuster camp. He had been Secretary of State for President Polk from 1845 to 1849, a period marked by the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. He felt that slavery was morally wrong, but held that Congress could not interfere with the States in which it existed, and ought not to hinder the natural tendency toward territorial expansion. He voted for the bill to exclude anti-slavery literature from the mails and for the Compromise of 1850, and he disapproved of the Wilmot Proviso. His outstanding filibuster voucher was the Ostend Manifesto, which earned him and the other signers the sobriquet of "Diplomatic Filibusters" from the pen of Horace Greeley.

The Ostend Manifesto is a document issued Oct. 18, 1854 by Buchanan, J.Y. Mason, and Pierre Soulé, U.S. Ministers respectively to Great Britain, France, and Spain. They had met by President Pierce's orders at Ostend, Belgium, to discuss and adopt measures for diplomatic action at

Hiram Walbridge also climbed on the Walker bandwagon. On May 13, "Pierce's friends are desponding."¹⁰

At that point, with attention focused on Cincinnati, President Pierce recognized the Nicaraguan government of President Patricio Rivas and received its Minister, Padre Vijil. The *New York Herald* broke the news on its front page on May 14; next morning, Horace Greeley's editorial predicted with uncanny accuracy the utter failure of President Pierce's move, both for Cincinnati and for History:

The President has received Padre Vijil as Minister from Nicaragua, and of course recognized the Walker-Rivas-Fillibuster [*sic*] rule, which is (or lately was) contending for existence there, as the actual and rightful Government.

This movement reflects credit neither on our Government nor its Executive head. It is dictated by the exigencies of the candidate, not by the convictions of the President or the requirements of public duty . . .

. . . Should Walker be overthrown, this precipitate act will seriously compromise us with his conquerors and successors. Should he prove victorious, his triumph would have offered our Government a chance to do gracefully what it has just done unjustifiably and at the worst time. It has been done too late for Cincinnati--too soon for History.¹¹

Madrid on the subject of alleged injuries by Spain to U.S. commerce with Cuba. The "manifesto" recommended that "the United States ought, if practicable, to purchase Cuba as soon as possible," and, if Spain should refuse to sell, then "by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we have the power." Secretary of State Marcy disavowed the document.

¹⁰"Interesting from Washington," *NY Herald*, 5/14/1856, p.4, c.6.

¹¹"The President has received Padre Vijil," *New York Tribune*, 5/15/1856, p.4, c.2.

The *Tribune* asserted that the Administration had sent Heiss to Nicaragua to bring an official representative of the Walker-Rivas government. Walker originally selected former Supreme Director Norberto Ramírez for the post, but he suffered a hip fracture in March, which proved fatal. Walker then picked the Padre, whose loyalty to the filibuster had become apparent on the day he captured Granada, and had just been reaffirmed on Feb. 16, 1856 in an article Vijil had published in the Spanish section of *El Nicaraguense*:

. . . Ever since General Walker stepped on the soil of Granada, from the moment that I had the pleasure of embracing him in my arms, and I heard from his lips words of peace, of public quiet, of reconciliation, which are ideas equal to mine, I looked upon him as the Maccabee of my People, and I named him the man sent to us by God to wipe away tears, to heal wounds, and to reconcile the Nicaraguan family . . . ¹²

Padre Agustín Vijil was a man of the world, a liberal politician who became a priest by accident.¹³ When asked at

¹²"Vijil Cura de Granada," *El Nicaraguense*, 2/16/1856, p.4, c.1.

¹³Born in Granada in 1801, Agustín Vijil became a lawyer in 1826 and a prominent "liberal" of the Argüello faction in the 1827-28 civil war. He headed the Cabinet in the new government and was a Superior Court justice from 1830 to 1832. In 1834 he joined the Cándido Flores revolt. When crushed, he was captured, but escaped and went into hiding while fellow rebels fell before the firing squad in Granada. He came out during a general amnesty, traveled to New Granada, South America, and entered the priesthood at the earnest entreaties of his mother, who during the ordeal had pledged her son to the service of God. He was parish priest in Masaya from 1839 to 1843, and thereafter in Granada. His fame grew for eloquence and piety, although his liberal ideas and past record produced unpleasant frictions in the conservative circles around him. His detractors accused him of "grave complicity" in the murders at La Pelona in 1827, and considered him a "sanctimonious and extremely vain man." During the siege of Granada, in 1854-55, his friendship with Leonese leaders and sympathy for their cause, alienated him from the Legitimist authorities. Chamorro scornfully called him "seditious priest." He was about to be banished from the city when Walker captured Granada.

the State Department to present his credentials, he delivered a personal message expressing heartfelt sentiments about the tragic history of his homeland. The *Tribune* reported that "respectable rumor says that the disinterested patriots who have had the Padre in charge were sufficiently zealous in the cause to prepare a presentation and speech."¹⁴ Be that as it may, the contents of Vijil's letter to Marcy are in complete harmony with his own way of thinking.

Vijil's diplomatic tenure was short and sad. Former Nicaraguan Minister Don José de Marcoleta was a prime mover for the hostility, rebuffs and humiliations that the Padre suffered in Washington. On May 17th, Marcoleta released a solemn protest against the recognition of Vijil, "convinced that this recognition involves the most flagrant violation of divine and human laws." Marcoleta set out "to vindicate the Church of Granada, which is that of Nicaragua, Central America, and the whole Spanish American Continent." In the process, he accused Vijil of "treason and apostacy."¹⁵

Guatemalan Minister Antonio de Irisarri protested to Secretary Marcy on May 19, and Costa Rican Minister Luis Molina sent his three days later. Soon, articles about "The Nicaraguan Luther" alleged that Walker had promised the Padre that he would "establish a Protestant church, of which the said curate Sr. Vijil is to be the head and General Walker the protector."¹⁶

The diplomatic corps shunned him socially and helped to call into question what was most important for him--his priesthood. A very cold reception by the Catholic clergy,

¹⁴"The Nicaraguan Question.--Don Agustín Vijil to Mr. Marcy," *New York Tribune*, 5/21/1856, p.6, c.2.

¹⁵"Protest of Senor Marcoleta," *NY Tribune*, 5/28/1856, p.7, c.1.

¹⁶"The Nicaraguan Luther--Father Vijil's Real Mission," *New York Herald*, 5/31/1856, p.2, c.6.

pained him most. Many days elapsed before he obtained permission from the Archbishop of Baltimore to officiate as a priest. The *Tribune* poked fun at him:

Indeed there are amusing accounts in circulation of the Padre's interview with Archbishop Hughes, when the Rev. Vijil departed in such haste as to leave his steeple-crowned broad-brim behind him. But this is not the worst: the good Padre can't get anything fit to eat in this progressive and tremendous nation. In all North America he has not been able to procure either *frijoles* or *tortillas*, and what else, pray, ought a Christian priest, let alone a filibuster diplomat, to feed upon?

Besides in this country, such are the unenlightened prejudices of the population, it is necessary to wear pantaloons, a practice against which the soul of Vijil rises in revolt. And to crown all, what a dangerous country! it is hardly possible to venture abroad in the streets without peril of one's life, such is the crowd of carriages driven with indescribable fury by fellows whom Jehu could not outdo! And then at night, when you go to bed and blow out your light, you are sure to be smothered to death by a flood of nasty gas escaping into your apartment.¹⁷

One of the few happy moments for Vijil occurred on Friday evening, May 23d, when 20,000 persons assembled in the Park, in New York, for a "Grand Sympathy Meeting" called by John Clancy. "Cheers for Walker and Nicaragua," "Strong Resolutions" and "Plenty of Music, Salutes and Patriotism" filled the front page of next morning's *Herald*, although the vital "material aid" for Walker still failed to materialize.

¹⁷"We learn that the Padre Vijil," *NY Tribune*, 6/11/1856, p.5, c.1.

Upon the conclusion of the meeting, 10,000 people filed into Broadway and marched up to the Metropolitan Hotel. The band struck up the air "See the Conquering Hero Comes" as Padre Vijil appeared upon the balcony and delivered a speech through the interpretation of Mr. Appleton Oaksmith. He was frequently interrupted by applause, and at the close of his remarks was "greeted with a most enthusiastic cheering."¹⁸

Padre Vijil abandoned Washington for good on June 19. In New York, next day, Edmund Randolph (who had arrived from Nicaragua aboard the *Orizaba* on June 1st) and Charles Morgan agreed that John P. Heiss should replace him as Minister; on June 23d, Vijil sent a note to Marcy naming Heiss his successor.

The Padre departed from New York on June 25th, on the *Orizaba* with 450 passengers for San Juan del Norte. The press again mocked him at the very moment of his departure: "The Padre, it is said, has enjoyed poor health since his arrival in the United States, and, having little to do in Washington, he has concluded to go back and spend the summer among the mosquitoes."¹⁹

He left convinced that he had accomplished his mission, and confident of better days for his country under the Walker-Rivas regime, since he had been recognized by the President and since the Democratic National Convention in Cincinnati had adopted a supportive platform on June 5. Approved by a 221 to 38 margin, Foreign Policy Resolution #4 stated that "the people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers a passage across the oceanic

¹⁸"The Nicaragua Mass Meeting," *NY Herald*, 5/25/1856, p.1, c.4.

¹⁹"Sailing of the *Orizaba*," *New York Herald*, 6/25/1856, p.1, c.6.

isthmus."²⁰ Moreover, fellow "diplomatic fillbuster" James Buchanan had won the nomination of the party and was bound to win the presidential election in November.

But Padre Vijil had got it all wrong; Horace Greeley had got it right. The recognition of the Padre by President Pierce was done too late for Cincinnati--too soon for History.

²⁰"The Presidential Campaign," *New York Herald*, 6/5/1856, p.1, c.1; 6/6, p.1, c.1.

4. Hour of Destiny

Upon receiving the news of the declaration of war by Costa Rica against the filibusters, slavery propagandists agitated public opinion in New Orleans, in support of Walker. In a leading article in behalf of the policy of Southern expansion, the *New Orleans Delta*, long identified with Cuban filibusterism, explained to its readers that "the cause of Cuba depends upon the fate of Nicaragua, and the fate of the South depends upon that of Cuba. This is the hour of destiny. We must live now or have no life. We must do or die."¹

Several "prominent gentlemen," some of the "most substantial and influential merchants and professional men" of New Orleans, then decided to adopt "practical measures" for the purpose of providing "sinews of war" in behalf of the Nicaragua cause.² They addressed a call to Hon. Pierre Soulé, distinguished diplomatic filibuster of Ostend fame, and a meeting was arranged for Monday evening, April 28, at the St. Louis Hotel.

An immense crowd assembled in the lower rotunda--the bar room--and filled the hotel from the top to the lower floor. Senator Soulé spoke for a long time in his usual strain of eloquence, and his remarks were applauded. He stated that the meeting had a practical object in view: Walker was

¹"Very Interesting Concerning Gen. Walker and the Southern Kansas Movement," *New York Herald*, 4/27/1856, p.4, c.3.

²"Material Aid for Walker," *New York Herald*, 4/22/1856, p.8, c.1.

critically short of money and needed it to prosecute his war with the Costa Ricans. The sum needed was between \$200,000 and \$250,000, and the speaker proceeded to argue that with that sum, the war could be terminated by the conquest of Costa Rica, in a very short space of time--possibly a few weeks. The money was not asked as a gift, but as a loan, which would be faithfully repaid.

After descanting upon the advantages for the United States, the South, and New Orleans--and of course Nicaragua and the world if Walker were successful, the speaker concluded by calling for paper and ink, and opened a subscription list on the spot. Numerous gentlemen then stepped forward and put down their names for various amounts, but the published chronicle of the meeting mentioned neither the amount subscribed by Soulé nor the aggregate of the whole.

Before the meeting adjourned, a committee of six was appointed to solicit subscriptions in behalf of Nicaragua and to make the needful explanations. The committee would provide aid and assistance "to such as might wish to emigrate to Nicaragua and contribute their efforts to the work of regeneration so nobly initiated there."³ A New Orleans merchant, Mason Pilcher, Esq., acted as treasurer and opened an account book which he labeled "Government of Nicaragua --In a/c with Mason Pilcher, Agent."⁴

Cash receipts from nineteen subscribers totalled \$1,348.00 on May 6, enabling the Committee to fit out and send a vessel, the schooner *Minnie Shiffer*, from New Orleans on the night of the 8th with reinforcements and supplies for Walker. Its 215 passengers (eight women, seven children and 200 men) included three companies of recruits (ten officers and 134

³"Aid for Nicaragua," *New York Herald*, 5/26/1856, p.2, c.6.

⁴Item #79, Fayssoux Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane.

privates) commanded by Col. John A. Jacques, who had earned his rank in the Louisiana National Guard. They carried with them 325 rifles and muskets, ninety kegs powder, with lead in proportion, and hundreds of revolvers and knives.

Another meeting of the "Friends of Nicaragua" in New Orleans assembled 2,000 persons at the Bank Arcade building on Tuesday evening, May 20th. Speakers again explained to the enthusiastic crowd the "disastrous results to New Orleans" should Walker fail in Nicaragua. "Patriotic and commendable resolutions" were again passed and more or less money collected. A procession with music then marched to the *Crescent* office to give a round rising of cheers to the newspaper that once belonged to Walker and that was "the first to take up the cause of the Rivas-Walker government in the Southwest, if not in the country."⁵

The friends of the movement met again the next evening at the Louisiana Hotel and organized a force made up of three lieutenants, one sergeant, and thirty-six privates under the command of Capt. Robert Ellis. They sailed from New Orleans on the 23rd aboard the steamer *Daniel Webster*, which dropped them off at San Juan del Norte before delivering its California passengers at Aspinwall.

President Pierce's recognition of Padre Vijiil "has given an impetus to the Nicaragua fever. The South is alive in consequence of it."⁶ Nicaragua meetings were simultaneously organized in Baton Rouge, Mansfield, Memphis, Nashville, Louisville, Covington, Houston, Galveston, and other Southern cities. At Nashville, the citizens assembled Saturday, May 17, "in very large numbers. The meeting is attended by gentlemen of the highest character and respectability, without

⁵"Procession with music," *New Orleans Crescent*, 5/21/1856, p.2, c.1.

⁶"Excitement in New Orleans," *New York Herald*, 5/17/1856, p.4, c.5.

distinction of party." They declared, among other resolutions:

Resolved, That we the neighbors, friends and acquaintances of Gen. Wm. Walker, the distinguished chief of the Republican army of Nicaragua, deem the present a fit occasion to declare our high appreciation of his qualities as a man, and to give expression to our heartfelt sympathy for the noble cause in which he is engaged. Born, reared and educated in our midst, he has ever maintained the character of an honest and honorable man. A graduate of the University of Nashville, and for several years a student at Paris, where he devoted himself to the acquisition of knowledge, his intellectual endowments, his literary attainments and varied knowledge, his nice sense of honor, his distinguished gallantry and his republican principles, eminently qualify him for the task of regenerating a people cursed with all the evils of a bad government, and conferring upon them the blessing of freedom and security under the operation of wise and beneficial laws. He left his home and native land without a spot or blemish upon his character; and we who know him well, feel sure that whatever may be his future career, he will do nothing to tarnish the brightness of his fame.⁷

At the height of the fever, quite a large number of "fine, young fellows" and "adventurous spirits" started from Southern cities for Nicaragua by way of New Orleans. About 150 of them left Louisville aboard the steamboat *Sultana* on May 22d. They travelled under the command of Col. Jack Allen, "one of the noblest filibusters among them all."⁸ Their departure was witnessed by several thousand persons who

⁷"Nicaragua Meeting in Nashville," *NY Herald*, 6/1/1856, p.1, c.5.

⁸"Ho! For Nicaragua," *New York Herald*, 5/27/1856, p.8, c.4.

had assembled on the wharf, and who gave them nine long and hearty cheers as the boat receded from the shore. About seventy-five emigrants had preceded them on the days before, about 150 would join them at Owensboro, and a like number at Henderson, Ky., downriver. The entire group would number 500 men.

The "stout-hearted and stout-limbed hunters of Kentucky . . . just the kind of men Walker wants," arrived in New Orleans on May 29, and in the evening attended a rally at the United States Hotel.⁹ Speeches were again plentiful but money was sadly deficient. Many would-be emigrants were flat broke and could not raise, in New Orleans, the necessary funds to continue their voyage. Consequently, large numbers went back home to Kentucky on the up river steamers on Saturday, May 31st. Those who were able to pay their own way stayed in New Orleans with Col. Allen, planning to leave for Nicaragua on the first opportunity.

Col. John Allen, of Shelby, had been tendered the command of a filibustering expedition against Cuba in 1854. He then organized a force of 1,500 Kentuckians, but was forced to disband them when those who had promised to supply the means for the transportation of his men, failed to provide them.

This time, agent Mason Pilcher paid \$1,800 for the passage of Captain A. W. Marsh and sixty-three men; others contributed the funds for the transportation of ten Tennesseans under Capt. Ben Jones, half a dozen Cuban exiles, and twenty-five Kentuckians. Together they formed a body of 105 soldiers under the command of Col. John Allen for Walker's army. They sailed on June 7 from New Orleans on the steamer *Grenada*, which dropped them off at San Juan del Norte

⁹"More emigrants for Nicaragua," *New Orleans Crescent*, 5/30/1856, p.1; "Nicaragua Meeting," *Ibid.*, p.2.

before delivering its California passengers at Aspinwall.

Twenty-seven Texans under Capt. Andrew J. Turley formed the bulk of thirty-six passengers for Nicaragua who sailed from New Orleans aboard the *Daniel Webster* on June 22d. In all, the *Minnie Shiffer*, *Daniel Webster* (two trips), and *Grenada* transplanted some 400 "emigrants" to the Walker kingdom during May and June, 1856. Added to roughly 100 from New York by the *Orizaba* during that period, the May-June additions from the East to Walker's realm totalled about 500.

The *Orizaba* contingent from New York, May 10, arrived at San Juan del Norte on the 18th. Some fifty passengers were en route to California. With them, the *Orizaba* brought "a few" emigrants and "a small" reinforcement, as well as a "large supply of stores and equipment" for Walker's army. The *Minnie Shiffer* arrived in San Juan on May 28; the *Daniel Webster* at dawn on the 29th. The latter brought the news of the recognition of Padre Vijil by President Pierce, and dropped off its recruits as the men from the schooner were hard at work transferring the freight and baggage to the steamboat which would take them up the river. Only one family of emigrants that were on board the *Minnie Shiffer* went on to Granada; others remained at San Juan, and the rest went up Indian River, to Bluefields, Mosquito Kingdom.

Col. Jacques' command and Capt. Ellis' "López Guards" boarded the river steamer together, and on Monday morning, the 2d of June, nearly 200 fully armed, uniformed, equipped, and provisioned recruits disembarked at Granada. As told by correspondent Callahan, they were "a fine looking set of men . . . fully armed and equipped, with plenty of ammunition and provisions, ready to go into action at once." Their arrival, and the news of the reception of Padre Vijil set the whole city "in a fever of joy. A national salute was fired on the

plaza, and the bells rang out their most joyous peals."¹⁰

The newcomers were "the strongest and best conditioned body of 'Liberators' that had arrived in the country since Walker's advent."¹¹ They entered into a Granada that wore "a desolated, miserable look," with a portion of the town "completely demolished by the bombardment" during the civil war. The natives in town were mostly women and children. Walker was away at León, with the main body of the army and his staff, expecting and preparing for an incursion from the Northern armies that had been reported on the march against him with 4,000 men.

Col. Jacques started without delay, upon muleback, for headquarters in León, to proffer himself and command for immediate active service; his battalion, under command of Capt. Thomas Henry, marched on to Masaya, on the road to León, there to await orders. The current belief at Granada was that Walker would invade Costa Rica and the hostile States to the north. He would make short work of it, ending with: "'peace conquered,' and indemnity for the expenses of the war claimed and taken. But, as Gen. Walker is said to be remarkably non-communicative of his plans, every one must make up his opinion for himself."¹²

¹⁰"Affairs in Nicaragua," *N.O. Picayune*, 6/26/1856 eve., p.1, c.4.

¹¹"Nicaragua Correspondence," *Daily True Delta*, 6/27/1856, p.1, c.3.

¹²*Ibid.*

5. The Rift with Rivas

At that moment, other thoughts occupied William Walker's mind. As early as Feb. 2, 1856, *El Nicaraguense* had suggested in its Spanish section the framing of a new constitution for Nicaragua. The proposal was seconded in a number of letters to the editor in succeeding weeks. Máximo Jerez, Jesús Baca, and Bacillo Salinas espoused it, Feb. 21st, in an open letter to President Patricio Rivas. These Leonese leaders considered the electoral process "of vital interest" for Nicaragua, and deemed its realization "urgent and necessary."¹

The Walker-Corral Treaty of Peace, Oct. 23, 1855, had named Patricio Rivas "Provisional President of Nicaragua for the term of fourteen months, unless the President in full Council of Ministers should resolve to call an election before the end of the term."² Another clause specifically ordained that the 1838 Constitution continued in force.

President Rivas reorganized his Cabinet on March 18, prior to moving the government to León. He appointed Sebastián Salinas, Máximo Jerez, and Jesús Baca, Ministers of Relations and Government, War, and Finances, respectively. Next day, he issued a decree calling for elections in accordance with the 1838 Constitution. Supreme Director, Congressmen, and Senators would be chosen. The idea of a Constituent Assembly

¹"Carta Dirigida al Sr. Presidente Provisorio de la República," *El Nicaraguense*, 3/15/1856, p.4, c.2.

²"Treaty of Peace," *El Nicaraguense*, 10/27/1855, p.3, c.1.

was discarded. Primary balloting would take place the second Sunday in April; district elections, the third Sunday; departmental elections, the first Sunday in May.

The war with Costa Rica disrupted the process. No elections were held in the Meridional Department nor in Chontales during April. In Granada, primary balloting was postponed for two weeks, till Sunday, April 27. *El Nicaraguense*, May 3, described it:

On Sunday last, a large table, covered with a red cloth and surrounded by officers, attracted considerable attention from the Americans, as they walked up and down the colonnade of the row of buildings on the west side of the plaza. Papers were thrown loose upon the cloth, and every other while the clerks would seize their pens and write. The people of the country, the simple market women, the beggars on the corners, the leper of the infirmary, all knew what it meant, but we, the editor of the newspaper, the great factotum of a country town, were completely in the dark as to the import of the red table, its officers and papers.

It was the solemn election of the Republic.

The people were exercising their greatest prerogative of electing the officers that shall rule them for another term of office. In this country the elective franchise extends to every male inhabitant of eighteen years, against whom there is no criminal prosecuting, and who is not charged with being a dissolute and vicious man. The voters elect delegates, who assemble in the capitals of the different departments and elect Representatives, Senators and a President [Supreme Director]. A man must be twenty-three years old to be a delegate, twenty-five to be a Representative, and thirty to be a Senator or President.

The election on Sunday last, as most public days in the Republic come on Sunday, was concluded with the greatest decorum. . . . Don Patricio Rivas, the present

popular President, was supported by the people of Granada, and Gen. Mariano Salizar [Salazar], a great favorite, by the people of León. A few votes have been cast for Don Norberto Ramírez, of León. The struggle is between Rivas and Salizar, and it is impossible to determine at present who will be the next President of Nicaragua.³

In a directive dated May 13, 1856, Minister Salinas urged the prefect of the Meridional Department to hold the elections as soon as possible, and on May 31st, *El Nicaraguense* reported that the balloting had already taken place in Rivas, and "within eight or ten days" would take place in Chontales. So far, Don Mariano Salazar was ahead, followed by Don Máximo Jerez and Don Patricio Rivas. Don Norberto Ramírez was also in the field, "but his vote is small."⁴

That was the situation when Walker and Goicouría left Granada, Saturday, May 31, 1856, on their way to León. Up to that date, Walker's name had not appeared in *El Nicaraguense* among the candidates for "president" (actually "Supreme Director" in accordance with the 1838 Constitution.) That evening, Goicouría fell ill at Masaya while Walker and staff, and 200 soldiers, marched on to León on Sunday morning.

Col. Jacques arrived in Granada on Monday. Without delay he started, upon muleback, for headquarters. At Masaya Goicouría joined him, already convalescing, and together they proceeded towards León. Gen. Walker had barely reached the town Wednesday, June 4th at noon amid the ringing of bells, when Goicouría and Jacques overtook him with the news of the recognition of Padre Vijil by President Pierce and the arrival of substantial reinforcements from the South.

³"Election in Nicaragua," *El Nicaraguense*, 5/3/1856, p.2, c.3.

⁴"The Election," *El Nicaraguense*, 5/31/1856, p.2, c.4.

That fateful day for Walker, filled with feminine embraces, and the momentous news combined to convince him that the time was ripe to discard Don Patricio and to personally take over as President of Nicaragua. The consequences of his decision were recorded in a day by day narrative in the *Boletín Oficial*, the official organ of the Rivas Government in León.⁵

Thursday, June 5th, Walker told Don Patricio that he must step down from office. On Don Patricio's refusal, Walker told Goicouría to work on the Leonese leaders in order that he (Walker) would assume the presidency of the Republic. Goicouría made the proposal to Jerez on June 6th; Jerez angrily rejected it. Don Domingo then summoned several prominent Leonese citizens to a meeting, in which he let them know that Walker would be President. In a candid talk with Minister Salinas on June 9th, Goicouría disclosed that the Walker for president proposal was not his own idea, but originated from Walker himself.

Simultaneously, Walker appeared before the Cabinet on June 6th, seeking approval for a loan of \$250,000 from American citizens, mortgaging the best lands of the republic at four dimes per acre. President Rivas and his Ministers rejected Walker's request. Walker again appeared before the Cabinet with the same request next day, with the same result. He then asked for unlimited powers to confiscate enemy property, stating that he would bring American capitalists who would buy the confiscated real estate and would use the proceeds to pay what was owed to his mercenary soldiers. Rivas and his Ministers refused to grant such powers.

On the evening of June 9th, Walker visited President Rivas at home and tried to persuade him to give up the presidency to him (Walker); otherwise, General Valle would lead a revolt

⁵"Efemérides," *Boletín Oficial* [León], 8/8/1858, pp.1-3.

against President Rivas under the pretext that he failed to pay the salary of the American soldiers, "thus imputing to Valle the wicked designs that he himself harbored."⁶ When Rivas refused, Walker intimated in the presence of Minister Jerez, that if Rivas didn't resign next day, Walker would take the presidency by force.

The previous evening, Goicouría (who was the nephew of the Archbishop of Havana) called on Most Reverend José Hilario Herdocia, acting Archbishop at León, to propose the separation of the Nicaraguan church from the Holy See. Herdocia answered with the question: "What country are you from?" and upon Goicouría replying that he was Cuban, Herdocia countered: "And why do you want to take away from us our faith, which is all we have left?"⁷

On June 10th, Don Domingo came before the Cabinet with two peremptory requests from Walker: that they grant Goicouría the powers for the loan, and that "a national election shall be held for choosing a new president by direct popular vote."

. . . This pretension was utterly inadmissible; on the other hand, it was necessary to adopt a course that would not compromise the Republic nor the government, but that would release the latter from the pressures of

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid. Walker gave a different version in *The War*, (p. 221): "He [Goicouría] got a number of the prominent politicians together, and gave them a rambling discourse on his ideas--most crude they were--of re-organizing the country. He touched on the ecclesiastical authority, and suggested an application to the Pope for the appointment of a Bishop who might be free from the metropolitan of Guatemala. The suggestion was innocent enough in itself, but D. José Guerrero, a wily intriguer who once, while Director, had got up a revolution against his own government as an excuse for prolonging his authority, distorted Goicouría's suggestion into such a shape that it was soon reported through the city the Americans aimed to draw Nicaragua from the jurisdiction of the Roman See."

the moment and preserve the former from the grave evils of an ill-timed clash.

An electoral decree was thus drawn up in such a way that it made it impossible to hold the elections. Moreover, there was a firm decision to revoke it before the elections could begin to take place; and it was in fact revoked four days later, before it had been published in the Departments of the country.

Then the powers of Goicouría relative to the loan were drawn up; but, in final analysis, they were reduced to a simple authority for signing an agreement in virtue of which the government would in due time appoint a commission that would issue the bonds for the loan, so that nothing existed before the appointment of the commission; and in this step, too, there was a firm decision of revoking Goicouría's powers in due time, which was in fact done.⁸

On Tuesday June 10, the Cabinet issued the decree calling an immediate election. Walker proposed to leave for Granada early on the morning of the 11th. The evening before his departure he was visited several times by Jerez, "who had an anxious and nervous manner not unusual with him. Three or four times he called in the course of as many hours."⁹ Jerez had in mind the assassination of Walker, but Cleto Mayorga, President Rivas' son-in-law, stopped him. The particulars were revealed in a letter from Dr. J.L. Cole to Hon. M.B. Lamar, Minister Resident of the United States near the Government of Nicaragua:

... Previous to any open rupture between him [Jerez] and Gen. Walker, he with others determined to assass-

⁸"Efemérides," *Boletín Oficial*, 8/8/1856.

⁹Walker, *The War*, p. 223.

sinate him. Accordingly one evening whilst Walker was on a visit to President Rivas, Jerez came there and ordered the guard, stationed at the door, to load their pieces in order to shoot Walker on leaving the house. The family of Rivas found out what was going on and interfered in Walker's behalf. The son-in-law, Cleto Mayorga, of President Rivas, went to Jerez and told him, that he would not suffer any harm to befall Walker under his roof; that he owed him a debt of gratitude for having saved his life by taking the city of Granada. (Mayorga was a prisoner there and condemned to be shot within three days when Walker took the place) and that he was determined to protect him, at all hazards. On hearing this Jerez mounted his horse and angrily left. This I have from Mayorga, the personal friend of Jerez and also from the family of ex-president Rivas.¹⁰

Unaware of such narrow escape, Walker left León Wednesday morning, as planned, and entered Granada accompanied by his staff and an escort of twelve Rangers at six o'clock p.m. Friday, June 13, 1856. He was followed by a division of 200 native troops which he ordered to march behind him, leaving the León garrison reduced to 200 American Rifles under the command of Col. Don Bruno von Natzmer and a few Leonese soldiers. When news of Walker's pretensions and impositions on the Cabinet became public knowledge after his departure, a grave fever of excitement swept through the people.

Natzmer took possession of the army barracks at León on June 12; the native garrison withdrew and dispersed. He then called in the American squad from Chinandega. Before noon, President Rivas and his Ministers abandoned the government

¹⁰Dr. J.L. Cole to Hon. M.B. Lamar, León, July 24, 1858. M-219-11, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

office upon being warned that Col. Natzmer intended to arrest them. They left the city and went into hiding, moving on to Chinandega on the 13th.

From June 14th onward, the government opened relations with the neighboring States and with their allied armies on the Nicaraguan border, declared Walker a traitor, revoked the powers given to Goicouría, annulled the electoral decree, and raised forces to defend itself from a possible Walker surprise attack and to expel Natzmer's Rifles from León.

The break between the Rivas government and Walker was then complete, and President Rivas put the entire blame of the rupture on Walker's shoulders. In his June 14 instructions to Commissioner Don Gregorio Juárez, who after being recalled by his government in May still lingered at San Miguel, in El Salvador, Don Patricio put it in a nutshell: "Walker came to León with pretensions so bold that they destroyed the good opinion which, by mistake, we had formed of him. He wanted to seize the supreme power; he made threats so that the existing government should be rendered up to him." Consequently, "we are sending dispatches to the other Central American governments, uniting our efforts with theirs to get rid of this rabble."¹¹

El Nicaraguense did not mention the events that led to the rupture in León. Although Walker chronicled them in *The War*, his account (pp. 218-223) is incomplete and misleading. He failed to note the crucial, obvious fact that the election he demanded was unconstitutional and in direct violation of the treaty he had signed with Corral. He kept silent on the loan issue, dwelling instead on peripheral matters like the sale of brazil-wood by Salazar and on the Nicaraguans hatred for Spaniards, which played a minor role, if any, in the rift.

Shortly after Walker entered Granada, he received letters

¹¹"Affairs in Central America," *N.Y. Herald*, 10/16/1856, p.1, c.6.

from Natzmer relating that Rivas and his Cabinet had fled to Chinandega. He immediately ordered Col. Jacques, then in Masaya with his command, to prepare for a march; and on Saturday, June 14, Jacques with the Rangers travelled with Walker on the road to Managua.

Couriers met them every few hours on their way toward León. At Nagarote, letters from Natzmer informed Walker that Jerez, as Minister of War, had ordered him to withdraw from the towers of the cathedral, where he had placed his riflemen. Walker ordered Natzmer to obey the command of Jerez, and to withdraw the whole American force from León to Nagarote.

When Natzmer reached Nagarote, the Infantry, Rifles, and Rangers, took up the line of march for Managua, leaving the entire Occidental Department--León and Chinandega--in the hands of President Rivas and his native forces. A few Leonese under Gen. José María *Chelón* Valle and Col. Mateo Pineda accompanied Natzmer and still remained loyal to Walker. The latter returned to Granada on Friday, June 20, accompanied by his staff and the Rangers.

6. Farce in Granada

While on the road, Walker prepared a Decree Reconstructing the Government, an Address To the People of Nicaragua, and an Address to the Army. He wrote them "Done at Granada on the 20th of June" as soon as he arrived in town that evening, gave them to *El Nicaraguense*, and the latter gave them to the world the next morning.

The decree, issued by "William Walker, General-in-Chief of the Army of Nicaragua," was an imposed fiction, through which he sought to "legalize" his usurpation of power based on six false premises:

1. That the power of Don Patricio Rivas as the Provisional President of the Republic was "an emanation" of the powers conferred upon Walker when Castellón had named him "Expedientary [*sic*] General."

2. That when President Rivas had removed the government from Granada to León, he had delegated to Walker "all the powers which had been entrusted to him to maintain order in the Eastern and Southern Departments of the Republic."

3. That President Rivas had appointed Minister of Hacienda Don Fermín Ferrer, as "Commissioner in the Departments referred to, with all proper powers to aid me [Walker] in my administration on suitable occasions."

4. That President Rivas, "betraying his duties to the prejudice of the rights and well-being of the Government," had fled to Chinandega, "with the object to disarm all the frontier of the West and to deliver the country to the forces

of Carrera, who have invaded it; for which object he has commissioned Mr. Mariano Salizar *[sic]*."

5. That President Rivas had issued a decree on June 14, repealing a June 10 decree calling for elections.

6. That by the Treaty of the 23d of October, Walker had "explicitly guaranteed" that President Rivas "should maintain peace and order in the Republic." Yet, "Don Patricio Rivas not only has endeavored to excite anarchy within, but has called the enemies without to invade the same."

Therefore: "In order to preserve the integrity of the Republic and the sacred duty to save the country from anarchy, and from the enemies foreign and domestic, I have deemed it proper to decree, and do decree . . ."

Flagrantly exceeding his authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Walker therein appointed Don Fermín Ferrer "Provisional President of the Republic," pending an election as called forth in the June 10 decree that had been repealed by President Rivas on the 14th, but which Walker pronounced to be "in full force and virtue." Likewise, Walker declared null and void all acts and decrees issued by Rivas since June 12th. Finally, he warned "natives" and "foreigners," that any who rendered to Rivas "any kind of aid, by loans or mercantile contracts, shall be considered as traitors to the country, and punished according to martial law."¹

In his "Address to the Army," Walker alleged that the Government of Don Patricio Rivas, "bankrupt in credit, faith and honor, has no title to the confidence or respect of brave soldiers."² In his "Address To the People of Nicaragua," he said that the Rivas Government was "no longer worthy of existence. In the name of the people I have, therefore,

¹"Decree," *El Nicaraguense*, 6/21/1856, p.2, c.2-3.

²"Address of Gen. Walker! To the People of Nicaragua," *Ibid.*, c.3.

declared its dissolution, and have organized a Provisional Government until the nation exercises its natural right of electing its own rulers."³

Walker implemented his illegal decisions immediately. Don Fermín took the oath of office within a few hours--on Saturday, June 21, 1856--and "the people" throughout the country magically "elected" Walker as his successor within the next three days; that is, if we accept the news published by *El Nicaraguense* on the following Saturday:

VOTING FOR PRESIDENT.--Sunday, Monday and Tuesday [June 22-24] were consumed in receiving votes for President of the Republic. The people took a very general interest in the election, and all the natives walked up and put in a straight ballot for General Walker. Amongst the Americans, who are allowed to vote under the Constitution of the State, many cast their ballots for Don Fermín Ferrer, while the great majority voted for the General. At Massaya [*sic*], a fever seized the people, and they went to the polls in solid phalanx and put General Walker through without a dissenting vote. We understand the same feeling has been evidenced in other portions of the State.⁴

El Nicaraguense published the official "election returns"

³"Address of Gen. Walker to the Army," Ibid.

⁴"Voting for President," *El Nicaraguense*, 6/28/1856, p.2, c.3. Upon reading that item, an American at Granada commented: "Walker, on the Louis Napoleon plan, created himself ruler of Nicaragua. His organ, *El Nicaraguense*, reports he was elected by the popular vote of the people. This is perhaps one of the most unscrupulous, shameless falsehoods puffed to the world. During the period of the supposed elections, two-thirds of the entire territory was in possession of the native forces, hostile and in arms, and with whom he had no communication. León, Realzo [*Realejo*], and the northern departments bid defiance to his power. Still, William Walker publishes to the world that he was unanimously elected President of Nicaragua. The lie is too barefaced to need further comment." "The Facts in Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 10/3/1856, p.6, c.4.

on July 12, "after a tedious delay."⁵ It explained that having no railroads, no telegraphs, and no pony express, it took almost three weeks to gather in Granada the documents and vouchers from other parts of the country. Unwittingly, it thus confirmed that the "election" was a hoax. In the words of Professor Scroggs: "If it took so long to get the returns, one might ask, would it not have taken an equally long time to have notified the people that that contest was to be held? The entire story of the election bears on its face the evidence of mendacity."⁶

On examining the list, the official figures are patently false. The votes from Segovia, Matagalpa and the Occidental Department are all imaginary.⁷ Likewise those from Chontales.⁸ Moreover, the list creates non-existent names in Nicaraguan geography (like Bouito) and non-existent towns (like Tempisque), it omits real towns (like Tola), it inflates the population of villages (like Quezalaguaque's), it transfers towns from one Department to another (like Camoapa), and, in short, "the entire list is nothing but a tissue of lies and a fraud."⁹

⁵"Presidential Election," *El Nicaraguense*, 7/12/1856, p.2, c.1.

⁶William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), p. 202.

⁷Walker himself admitted that nobody voted in the Occidental Department: "... as D. Patricio Rivas rescinded his own decree after reaching Chinandega, and as the Guatemalans had already passed the northern frontier of the State there were no ballots cast in the Occidental Department." Walker, *The War*, p. 228.

⁸"Walker . . . invents an election and shamelessly assigns himself 15,835 votes, when the electoral decree had not even been published, and could not have been published, in Segovia, Matagalpa, or the Occidental Department. Perhaps it could have been published in Chontales, had the towns not been deserted because of the terror that the people feel for Walker. We know that nobody voted for him outside of his circle of oppression; even in Granada, only his soldiers voted . . ." *Boletín Oficial* [León], 8/8/1856, p.4, c.1.

⁹*Ibid.*, 8/27/1856, p.1, c.1.

A *New York Tribune* correspondent summarized it thus: "There were returns of the votes where there had been no polls held; and returns of votes polled where there were no residents to vote!"¹⁰ Another wrote: "You have, doubtless, seen the list of election returns published in *El Nicaraguense*, . . . there are certain majorities given in certain towns in favor of Walker more than quadrupling the inhabitants, counting every man, woman, child and beast!"¹¹ One of Walker's soldiers told how it was done:

The Presidential election which has recently been announced, was carried by the California style of ballot box stuffing, and there is no question but Walker has been chosen by fraud. All the soldiers of the government were allowed to vote, which is contrary to the law there. They were not content with voting once, but a great many voted twenty times, and even oftener. After this double voting the returns were made up at Granada just to suit the fancy of those who controlled the election. More votes were returned from some localities than there were persons of all ages and sexes living in them. A most damning outrage was in this manner committed upon the rights of the Nicaraguans.¹²

When the electoral returns were announced in Granada late in the evening on Thursday, July 10, "Provisional President" Fermín Ferrer issued a decree declaring Gen. William Walker elected President of the Republic and appointing Saturday, July 12, for his Inauguration.

The Committee of Arrangements--Col. Thomas Fisher, Hon.

¹⁰"The Facts in Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 9/10/1856, p.6, c.5.

¹¹"From Our Own Correspondent," *Ibid.*, 9/2/1856, p.6, c.4.

¹²"Affairs in Nicaragua," *San Francisco Bulletin*, 9/6/1856, p.3, c.2.

Wm. K. Rogers, Charles Callahan, Esq.--had but one day to make the necessary preparations. As told by *El Nicaraguense*, they did all that men could accomplish in the time allowed: a platform was erected at the west end of the Plaza, covered with a canvas shade, carpeted, and decorated with flowers. In front were the flags of the United States, France, and Nicaragua; above them waved the Lone Star of Cuba.

On Saturday morning, at 11 o'clock, Walker's troops formed on the Plaza, "the band playing appropriate music." Parading by platoons, they "saluted the flags of the great nations presented there" and then marched past the residence of Minister Wheeler, "in front of whose door the Stripes and Stars were flung jauntily to the breeze."¹³ At the residence of President Ferrer, near the church of San Sebastián, Ferrer and Walker joined the procession. They walked side by side toward the staging on the Plaza, escorted by several hundred American soldiers who marched by rank and file, led by their officers.

Two native Nicaraguans (illusory "President" Ferrer and a nonexistent "bishop") and eighteen foreigners (Walker, Wheeler, Callahan, staff and field officers) ascended the platform and seated themselves on "comfortable" chairs. Ferrer read the Valedictory in Spanish, and Charles Callahan put it in English. He told Walker that "the people of Nicaragua who have elected you, promise themselves abundant fruit from your labors, and your fame will be transmitted to all posterity, illuminated by a never fading light."¹⁴

Walker then knelt on a cushion while Ferrer administered the oath of office in Spanish. Next, Walker delivered his Inaugural Address in English, "In a clear, firm, confident

¹³"Inauguration of William Walker as President," *El Nicaraguense*, 7/19/1856, p.1, c.1.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

tone. . . . When it was concluded, the cheers which came forth spontaneously were almost deafening." When Lainé rendered it into Spanish, "loud and prolonged *vivas* rent the air."¹⁵

Following a twenty-one gun salute on the Plaza, a *Te Deum* in La Parroquia, and a parade through the streets of Granada, at two p.m. the troops escorted President Walker to his residence. Officers and friends entered with him to tender their congratulations; several bottles of champagne were uncorked, and some fifty invited guests stayed for dinner.

"It was a dinner peculiarly fitting the occasion, and the times--a soldier's dinner."¹⁶ Walker at the head of the table and Col. Wheeler on his left, were dressed in full military uniform, as were Brigadier General Hornsby, Brigadier General Fry, Surgeon General Ingraham, Col. Byron Cole, Col. Von Natzmer, Col. Thompson, Col. Allen, Col. Jones, Col. Lainé, Col. Skerrett, Col. Sanders, Lieut. Col. Anderson, Capt. Hooff, Capt. Swingle, Capt. Pineda, and other officers of Walker's "Nicaraguan Army" made up almost entirely of foreigners.

Walker banished spirituous liquors from his table; there were wines only at the Presidential dinner, but sparkling champagne flowed profusely after the cloth had been removed and toasts followed in succession. The initial toast was appropriately hyperbolic: "General William Walker, President of the Republic of Nicaragua--the Scholar, Gentleman, and Soldier, responding to the call of down-trodden and oppressed humanity, entered Nicaragua at the head of his invincible Fifty-six, and established the nucleus of a great Republic." Music by the band: "See the Conquering Hero Comes." To which Walker responded: To the . . . "The President of the United States." Music: "Hail Columbia."

¹⁵Ibid. See full text of Walker's oath and address in Appendix A.

¹⁶Ibid.

In reply, Minister Wheeler returned his heart-felt thanks in the name of President Pierce. Upon referring to Walker, he said: "--as Aristo had recorded of his hero--that Nature broke the mold in which she cast him; for in vain could he look for his superior." When Wheeler afterwards toasted "The Ballot Box," a voice added "The Band Box," which was followed by laughter and applause while the band played "Rock the Cradle, Lucy."

Hornsby drank to "Uncle Billy," bringing on more loud cheers and laughter, and an immediate toast to "Uncle Sammy." Two natives spoke next. Ferrer's toasted "Our Brethren from the United States who come here to teach us the art of self-government, in connection with William Walker, our champion in war, our protector in peace"; he was followed by Col. Mateo Pineda's who offered a toast "To the Memory of Washington; may the administration of Walker be as successful."

Toasts and speeches continued expanding. In Walker's final sentiment, he contended that "The Ashes of Christopher Columbus--which rest in the Cathedral of Havana--they should belong to America, and not to Europe." Lainé thanked him and drank to "Cuba." Byron Cole closed the festivities with "The Star of William Walker--may it not shed its rays alone on Nicaragua." Amid loud applause, "the President now arose to leave the table, and was followed by all present."¹⁷

"The first act in the most startling of histories is thus consummated."¹⁸ Thus ended what *El Nicaraguense* called "the inauguration of the first American President of Nicaragua."¹⁹ In its detailed chronicle for consumption in the United States,

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., Supplement, 7/12/1856, p.1, c.2.

¹⁹ "The Inauguration," Ibid., p.2, c.2.

and for posterity, Walker's mouthpiece enhanced it with the presence of unnamed "Municipal Authorities," "Foreign Consuls" and "Officers of the Navy"; it converted La Parroquia into a Cathedral; and it invented a Bishop who ascended the platform with Walker on the Plaza and chanted the *Te Deum* in church.

The Election, Inaugural, and chronicle bear witness to the bogus "election." The whole affair was a *farce in Granada*--the first act of a sham "Walker presidency" which from its very beginning was nothing but a tissue of contradictory lies.

We give below a complete table of the vote.

VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

PROVINCES AND PRECTNCTS	Walker.	Farrar.	Rivas.	Salazar.	Aggregate.
Tortugas	25	2	..	..	28
Virgin Bay...	164	22	1	..	177
San Juan	312	36	..	..	361
Rivas	892	211	25	18	1,156
San George	642	89	..	..	781
Orosja	323	24	..	..	347
Nadadine	849	103	18	..	1,024
Santa Theresa	40	14	..	..	108
Jesootopon	244	32	3	1	315
San Rafael	89	72	6	..	167
Rosario	116	13	..	..	129
Ditotno	648	144	..	..	787
San Juan	47	18	..	..	68
Diria	324	10	2	..	345
Granada	2,418	600	75	43	3,136
Niquinomo	47	1	..	..	51
Nandaremo	123	18	..	..	141
Oartarino	44	23	2	6	79
San Marcos	23	15	..	..	38
Manaya	1,220	112	4	7	1,343
Nindid	483	90	..	3	534
Managua	1,768	146	..	19	1,933
Matercas	278	67	..	24	370
Tipitapa	180	48	..	18	246
Cotos	56	4	..	..	60
Bougo	36	12	2	..	52
Concepcion	65	17	..	3	85
Chocoyas	15	11	1	2	29
Trinidad	67	9	44	55	177
Esapata	86	24	2	..	111
Achuapa	17	2	..	..	19
Sauro	8	4	..	1	13
Carneapa	49	16	..	6	70

San Carlos	31	8	..	..	39
Castillo	291	10	..	..	301
Sorapqui	40	..	..	..	40
Buaco	120	..	1	..	121
Lorencia	65	22	..	..	87
Juigalpa	174	40	..	..	218
Lovaca	54	17	..	..	71
Acoyapa	86	9	..	..	95
Loriguasca	16	2	..	..	18
Migullito	25	34	1	3	63
Nagarote	456	82	..	14	552
Guesalquack	346	116	..	24	486
Pesoltega	149	67	..	32	248
Chichigalpa	108	125	..	45	178
Chinanudega	96	147	18	125	386
Realejo	63	68	9	55	195
Viego	9	25	6	87	77
Temusque	17	82	4	36	89
Leon	789	900	546	1,642	3,277
San Juan	21	29	6	37	93
Pueblo Nuevo	12	16	4	45	77
Somelo Grande	23	23	1	16	63
Condaga	32	18	3	6	59
Palacagua	18	21	4	..	43
Alaguena	97	43	18	7	165
Vologalpa	42	37	6	14	99
New Segovia	345	119	22	178	710
Old Segovia	148	97	16	25	286
Ocosomo	25	22	..	18	65
El Horno	34	21	..	17	72
Depeto	12	16	10	20	58
Terpenaca	18	17	4	25	64
Xinotega	9	7	..	17	33
Zicaza	8	3	..	7	15
Xicaro	17	9	..	11	37
Jalapa	27	6	..	19	52
Matagalpa	495	78	..	6	579
Muyumuy	43	4	..	1	48
Total	15,635	4,447	867	2,087	23,236

election returns

El Nicaraguense, July 12, 1856

"the official figures are patently false . . ." (p.51)

7. Changing the Crystal

Intimate friend Edmund Randolph missed Walker's Inaugural, for at the time he was in New York, recuperating his health and also attending to his friend's business with Heiss and Morgan. On June 20th, he and Morgan arranged for Heiss to "take the charge of Nicaragua Government affairs in Washington" during Father Viljil's absence.¹ On June 26th, he wrote to Vanderbilt, submitting a detailed proposal to settle the Transit Company matter, endeavoring to draw the Commodore into the Morgan-Garrison Walker camp.

Don Domingo de Goicouría was also absent at the Inaugural. He had left Granada right after the "election" and arrived in New Orleans on the *Daniel Webster* precisely on July 12. He was on his way to London, via New York, to serve Walker as envoy to England and France. In New Orleans, he transferred his powers for a loan to fillbuster agents Mason Pilcher and Col. Slatter, "leaving them charged with the business of raising a loan as early as possible," and handing them a letter of instructions from Walker "as to the distribution of the funds which they may succeed in obtaining."²

¹"Walker-Heiss Papers. Some Diplomatic Correspondence of the Walker Regime in Nicaragua," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

²Randolph offered to sell Vanderbilt his Walker Transit Company grant for \$250,000, plus \$50,000 for his services in the arrangement. Vanderbilt accepted as long as he could pay with company stock or bonds instead of cash. Randolph replied: "Impossible. I will have nothing to do with stock, except collaterally," and the deal collapsed. "General Walker's Policy in Nicaragua--Curious Private Correspondence," *NY Herald*, 11/21/1856, pl, c4.

When Goicouría was leaving Nicaragua, Col. Jack Allen's contingent of 105 Kentuckians, Tennesseans, Louisianans, and Cubans, arrived in Granada per steamer *San Carlos*, at 7 a.m. on Sunday, June 29th. In its report, *El Nicaraguense* said that "they came to fight with Gen. Walker in the cause of democracy, and the extension of civil freedom. Each man was equipped with either a Mississippi rifle, or a percussion-lock musket, and many had, in addition, a Colt's revolver hanging by their sides. After landing they were formed into two companies, and marched in good order to the Plaza."³

The scene was repeated when 105 additional soldiers for Walker's army landed on the following weekend. At 7 a.m. on Saturday, July 5, the *San Carlos* arrived in Granada with thirty-five Californians under Capt. Williams, brought to Nicaragua on the *Sierra Nevada*, from San Francisco; at the same time next morning, the *La Virgen* arrived with forty-three recruits under Col. Lainé, per *Orizaba*, from New York, and twenty-seven Texans under Capt. Turley, per *Daniel Webster*, from New Orleans. With them came "250 Sharp's rifles and 700 percussion lock muskets, brought by Col. Lainé, all in excellent order."⁴

On the *San Carlos*, on Saturday, C. K. Garrison arrived in Granada with the Californians. He departed on the same steamer the same afternoon, since he had come only "to perfect arrangements with General Walker for establishing the route again."⁵ He went on the *Orizaba* to New York, to implement with Randolph and Morgan the new arrangements. The press reported that Walker had agreed to sell to Morgan and Garrison the Transit property seized in February, and

³"Arrivals," *El Nicaraguense*, 7/5/1856, p.2, c.1.

⁴"Arrival of Troops," *Ibid.*, p.2, c.3.

⁵"Nicaragua Correspondence," *Daily True Delta*, 7/27/1856, p.1, c.3.

that their new line would soon have two steamers running on each ocean.

With the New York recruits, on Sunday, a number of passengers landed: among them, Father Vijil, Appleton Oaksmith, Col. George Hall, Gen. L. De Shields, Gen. William Leslie Cazneau, and Mrs Cazneau.

Oaksmith had emerged in the Walker camp as organizer of the "Grand Sympathy Meeting" at the Park in New York in May. Hall was a colonel in the Brooklyn Militia who had served with distinction in the Mexican War and was reputed to be "one of the most qualified soldiers in the United States."⁶

De Shields (called General, Colonel, and Mister, by different correspondents) bore dispatches from the State Department for Minister Wheeler; the press reported that he was instructed to make arrangements with the Nicaraguan government for the transmission of the California mails through the Nicaragua transit route.

Gen. Cazneau was a "Yankee entrepreneur"; his wife, better known by her pen name, Cora Montgomery, was the preeminent female filibuster.⁷

⁶"Trials of the N.Y. Filibusters," Ibid., March 15, 1856, p.2, c.3.

⁷Mrs. Cazneau, née Jane McManus, had been an American secret agent in Mexico during the war, then a journalist in New York and an enthusiastic supporter of the López filibusters and of the Sierra Madre Republic. She was a distant relative of James Buchanan and a close friend of Secretary of State Marcy and of President Pierce. Her husband had been Kinney's partner in Texas. In November, 1853, Gen. Cazneau was appointed Special Agent of the United States to the Dominican Republic. He returned home in June, 1855 under a storm of accusations that he and his wife were plotting for the United States to Annex Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and other Latin American countries. Again appointed Special Agent in 1859, by President Buchanan, Gen. Cazneau and his wife returned to the Dominican Republic. They went into land promotion and speculation on a large scale, in partnership with Joseph W. Fabens, and almost succeeded in annexing the island to the United States. The Dominicans approved their project for annexation in a plebiscite, but the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the annexation treaty. Edward S. Wallace, *Destiny and Glory*, (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1957), pp. 244-275.

Vijil was apparently shocked by Walker's usurpation of the presidency. The priest faded from view upon landing. His name is conspicuously absent in *El Nicaraguense's* chronicles of the Inauguration; moreover, he waited until July 31st to submit to the Walker government a short written report of his diplomatic mission to the United States. On the other hand, his American traveling companions were delighted at the turn of events in Granada.

On July 6, private L. De Shields, age 17, enlisted in Walker's army.⁸ On July 12, Gen. De Shields delivered the opening toast in honor of Walker at the Inaugural dinner. On July 15, Hall received his Colonel's commission and became Commissary General of Subsistence in Walkerdome. On July 16, Oaksmith was appointed by Walker in place of Vijil as resident Minister in Washington.

Appleton Oaksmith was reputed to be a very wealthy man, with valuable connections in American political and business circles. He owned the ships *Victoria*, *Amelia*, and *Magnolia* that carried men and weapons for the Cuban and the Kinney filibusters in 1854-55. His brother, Sidney Oaksmith, was the U.S. Commercial Agent in Haiti.

Walker's appointment of Oaksmith in place of Vijil was one in a series of decrees for the complete American control and the radical transformation of Nicaragua--the destruction of Nicaraguan nationality to the point of beginning to supplant the language. In Walker's own words: At the onset of his "Administration," he sought "the reorganization, not merely of the State, but of the family and of labor . . . Not merely

⁸L. De Shields was the General's son: Age, 17; enlisted in Granada by Col. Hall, July 6, 1856; occupation, planter; born in La Fourche, Louisiana. His brother, Capt. Alfred De Shields, joined Walker later. "Register of the Army of the Republic of Nicaragua," item 120, Fayssoux Collection, Latin American Library, Tulane University.

the secondary form of the crystal was to be modified, but the primary form was to be radically changed."⁹ To change the crystal, he issued decrees:

July 14. Decree ordering that all decrees, resolutions and orders shall be published and circulated in the Spanish and English languages; that all documents connected with Public Affairs shall be of equal value and authority, whether written in the English or Spanish languages.

July 16. Decree confiscating all personal or real property of all persons who have assisted the enemies of the State or who are declared traitors by the government.

July 21. Decree ordering the appointment of Judges of the First Instance: whose duty it shall be to hear decide and finally determine all suits brought before him. They shall have jurisdiction in all cases where one of the parties to the such may require it; in all cases where the title or possession of land is in question.

July 22. Decree ordering a loan of Two Million Dollars in order to reorganize the Republic. Appleton Oaksmith shall negotiate it by selling government bonds in the United States, secured by mortgaging a one square degree (2,304,000 acres) tract of land in the District of Matagalpa.

Walker explained it very clearly in *The War*: "The decree concerning the use of the two languages tended to make the ownership of the lands of the State fall into the hands of

⁹Walker, *The War*, p. 251.

those speaking English."¹⁰ So did the other decrees. To enforce them, Walker appointed trusty American filibusters to key posts:

Recorder and Interpreter of the Government: John Henry Felix; Sub-Secretary of Hacienda, with the full powers of Minister of Hacienda: William K. Rogers (dubbed *Confiscador General de la República* by the Nicaraguan people); Board of Commissioners in charge of confiscations: William K. Rogers, John H. Marshall and John L. Richmond; Marshal (to serve and execute the orders of the Board): John Myland; Judges of the First Instance: Thomas Baseye in the Oriental Department and James Jackson in the Southern Department (the entire extent of Walker's domain); Recorder for the Oriental Department: Angus Gillis; Recorder for the Southern Department: Augustus H. Wheeler.

Walker's nominal Minister of Hacienda, Manuel Carrascosa, resigned before the end of July, reducing the number of Nicaraguans in Walker's Cabinet to two: Fermín Ferrer and Mateo Pineda. In fact, Sub-Secretaries Rogers and Richmond and Adjutant General Ph. R. Thompson, three filibusters, were the "Cabinet." And so on down the line: the Solicitor of the Treasury (John M. Baldwin), the Administrator of the Custom House (Charles Callahan), the Prefect of the Oriental Department (Francisco Agüero Estrada, a Cuban), the Prefect of the Southern Department (Henry Kane), and the "Governor of the Police" at Ometepe (Charles Meyers), were foreigners.

American Minister John H. Wheeler, *el Ministro filibustero*, openly abetted the plunder. On July 19, he officially recognized Walker's "Government of Nicaragua" in a ceremony attended by Gen. Cazneau, Cora Montgomery, "a brilliant staff of officers" and many other American ladies, citizens, and soldiers. The coterie of foreigners marched in procession from

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

the American Legation to Walker's "Presidential mansion." As an appropriate symbol of the situation, even the flag of the country was in American hands: the escort of filibuster soldiers formed in two platoons in front of the Legation "with the American flag, carried by Dr. Allen, and the Nicaraguan flag, carried by Sergeant Simpson."¹¹

Confiscador General William Kissane Rogers carried no flag. His hands were full, looting the country for Walker, and his previous criminal record in the United States eminently qualified him for the job. Rogers, better known as Kissane, had arrived in Nicaragua straight from Sing Sing on February 2, 1856.¹² Walker immediately appointed him "Assistant Commissary General, with the rank of Major, and ordered [him] to take charge of the Commissariat of the Army."¹³ On April 11, his "brilliant and dashing courage" earned him

¹¹"United States and Nicaragua," *El Nicaraguense*, 7/19/1856, p.2, c.3.

¹²"William Kissane, alias William Kissane Rogers . . . has been characterized by one who claims to know him as the greatest power for evil he ever had been acquainted with. . . . He was at the head of the most gigantic organizations for the commission of crime that ever existed. It included judges and officers of the courts. . . . He first appears in Cincinnati, where he was a pork packer. There he burned a rival establishment to get rid of competition. That was in 1851. He then took to shipping cargoes of fictitious or worthless merchandise in steamboats down the river, the boats being burned by his confederates and the fraudulent insurance collected. . . . The burning of the steamboat *Martha Washington* near Helena, Ark. when a number of people perished, was one of the acts of this gang of criminals. His entire history is interspersed with forgeries for large amounts, in which the Chemical Bank of New York was a great sufferer. . . . He was charged with and tried for numerous crimes but always got off except once when he was sent to Sing Sing Penitentiary. . . . Numerous murders are charged to the account of this terrible man and his agents. . . . He was a staff officer attached to the Nicaragua expedition of Gen. Wm. Walker, the filibuster, in 1856 . . . " "A Romantic Criminal," *New Orleans Picayune*, 4/13/1887, p.4, c.3.

Kissane was released from Sing Sing in December, 1855. "Kissane Pardoned--The Ends of Justice Not Subserved," *Daily Enquirer* [Cincinnati], 12/13/1855, p.1, c.5.

¹³"Promotions in the Army," *El Nicaraguense*, 2/16/1856, p.2, c.3.

"flattering mentions" in *El Nicaraguense's* account of the Second Battle of Rivas.¹⁴

At the head of the Commissary Rangers, Kissane scoured the country, foraging for corn, cattle, and provender and paying the natives therefor in worthless scrip. As Chief Confiscator, it took him a couple of weeks to prepare an inventory of property subject to confiscation--fifty-six farms and twenty-one houses belonging to members of the following families: Chamorro, Vega, Ugarte, Sacasa, Castillo, Sequeira, Espinoza, Estrada, Argüello, Sandino, López, Guerra, Cerda, Malliaño, Ruiz, Torres, Montiel, Bendaña, Montenegro, Abarca, Barberena, Sáenz, Carazo, Paiz, Rivas, Huete, Arce, Salguera, César, Darce, Santos, and Caracas.¹⁵ As the list grew, members of the families Bolaños, O'Horan, Gámez, Bustos, Ubau, Morales, Arana, Cuadra, Cabezas, Alfaro, Corrales, Bengoechea, Marengo, Bermúdez, Guzmán, Zelaya, Lejarza, Jarquín, García, Rosales, Gutiérrez, Marín, Obando, Duarte, Vázquez, Bejarano, Avendaño, Larios, Granados, Rodríguez, Leal, Cubillo, Mairena, Tardencia, Segovia, Rojas, Herdocia, Briceño, Picado, Ortega, Molina, Salamanca, Vilchez, Chericano, Cubero, Talanga, Flores, Díaz, Corral, Mayorga, Aguilar, Pasos, Quezada, Alvarado, Sandoval, Arellano, and Dávila were also despoiled.¹⁶

Kissane set values ranging from \$200 for a plantain patch near Granada, belonging to Legitimist President José María Estrada, to \$50,000 for Las Mercedes farm near Nandaime, belonging to the Chamorro family. He ordered the sale of over

¹⁴"Battle of Rivas," *El Nicaraguense*, 4/19/1856, p.2, c.2.

¹⁵"Aviso," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/9/1856, p.7, c.3.

¹⁶"Public Notice," *Ibid.*, 8/16/1856, p.3, c.3; 8/23, p.5, c.3; 8/30, p.3, c.3; 9/6, p.1, c.1; p.6, c.1; 9/13, p.1, c.1; 9/20, p.1, c.1; "Aviso," *Ibid.*, 8/16/1856, p.7, c.3; 8/23, p.7, c.3; 8/30, p.7, c.3; 9/6, p.7, c.3; 9/13, p.6, c.2; 9/27, p.7, c.4; 10/4, p.7, c.4; 10/11, p.8, c.4; 10/18, p.8, c.4; 10/25, p.8, c.4.

100 confiscated farms and houses at public auction, to be held on the Plaza of the city of Granada January 1, 1857. Terms: Cash or Military Scrip.¹⁷ By receiving military scrip in payment, Walker intended to convert his filibusters into the new landowners.¹⁸

At the time when *El Nicaraguense* announced the first confiscations in Granada, early in August, "Yankee entrepreneur" William Leslie Cazneau signed a colonization contract with Walker.¹⁹ This contract called for the settlement, within a year, of a thousand able-bodied colonists in Nicaragua, and Walker on his part agreed to establish them in settlements and to furnish each colonist with eighty acres of land. Cazneau also bought from Walker the island of Zapatera, the second largest on Lake Nicaragua.

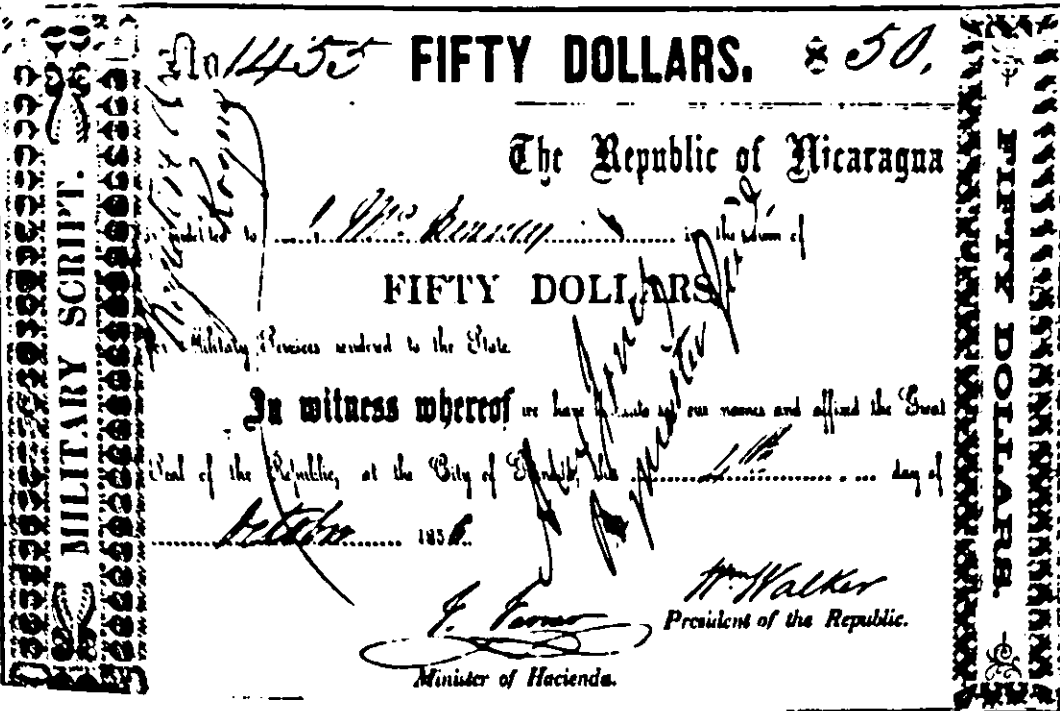
Randolph's efforts, the Garrison agreement, Golcourfa's mission, the Pilcher-Slatte loan, Kissane's confiscations, Cazneau's contract, the sale of Zapatera, Oaksmith's assignment, and the mortgage of Matagalpa, were some of "President" Walker's initial steps for the "Americanization" of Nicaragua. They were all part of his master plan for changing the crystal--for the radical transformation of Nicaragua into his Southern empire.

¹⁷ "Commissioner's Sale," *Ibid.*, 9/27/1856, p.6, c.1; 10/4, p.6, c.2; 10/11, p.5, c.3; 10/18, p.8, c.2; 10/25, p.6, c.3; 11/1, p.6, c.3; 11/15, p.6, c.3; 11/22, p.6, c.3.

¹⁸ In his own words: "military scrip was to be received in payment at the sale of such property, thus giving those who had been in the military service of the State an opportunity to secure their pay out of the estates of the persons engaged in the war against them." *The War*, p. 253.

¹⁹ Edward S. Wallace, *Destiny and Glory*, p. 200.

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military scrip

"by receiving military scrip in payment, Walker intended to convert his filibusters into the new landowners" (p. 66)

COMMISSIONER'S SALE.

IN VIRTUE to an order issued by the Board of Commissioners, I will, on the FIRST DAY OF JANUARY, 1887, offer the following inventoried property for sale at public auction, on the Plaza in the city of Granada.

Terms—Cash or Military Script.

The sale will continue from day to day until the whole is disposed of.

Parties desirous of seeing the property and examining for themselves will be furnished with horses and guides by application at my office.

Class of Property.	Name of Estate.	Property of	Remarks.	Value.
Hacienda de Cacao,	Rosario,	José Antonio Lopez,	Trees in full bearing,	\$14.400
Do. do.	San Isidro,	Do.	Young trees,	10.000
Do. do.	Las Cruz,	Do.		1.500
House in Rivas,	.....	Do.	A row of six stores,	10.000
Hacienda de Cacao and Indigo,	Pital,	Juan José Ruiz,		8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. Indigo,	Paraiso,	Do.		10.000
House in Rivas,	Juan María,	Do.		1.500
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	Do.	Large adobe,	8.000
House in Granada,	San Francisco,	José J. Arguello Arce,		10.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	Do.	Abandoned estate,	8.000
House in Granada,	.....	Do.		8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	Indalecio Maleda,	.....		10.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	Pital,	Francisco Guerra,		10.000
House and lot in Rivas,	.....	Do.		2.000
House in Rivas,	.....	Do.	Now partially burnt,	10.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Calle Real,	San José,	José M. Malenda,		10.000
House in Rivas,	Juan María,	Do.		5.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	Do.	Long row,	3.000
House in Rivas,	.....	Felipe & R. Serna,	Near Toledo—some fields,	8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	El Viejo,	Clemente Santos,	Old estate, near Rivas,	1.000
House in Rivas,	.....	Do.	Large adobe,	10.000
House and property in San Juan del Sur,	.....	Felipe Avila,		8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	Salitre,	Do.	With wild lands,	7.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	José—La Osa,	F. & R. Serna,		7.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	David,	D. Lopez & B. Darro,		3.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	H. & José Caracay,	Two-thirds of the estate,	8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	Esperanza,	F. Rivas & family,		8.000
House in Rivas,	Obispo,	José Alfoa,	Containing 100 acres,	1.500
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	Do.		10.000
House in Rivas,	Palmar,	Juan Agilar,		4.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	Palmar,	Pablo Torres,		2.000
House in Rivas, Do. do.	.....	U. Santos & family,	Near St. George,	8.000
Hacienda de Cacao, Do. do.	.....	Do. do.		3.000
House in Rivas, Calle Real,	José,	DeOrdoz & family,		800
House in Rivas, Do. do.	Las Lajas,	H. Pala & family,		1.200
House in Rivas, Do. do.	.....	Do. do.	On the Plaza,	3.000
House in Rivas, Do. do.	.....	Do. do.	Do.	1.300
Calle Real,	.....	Do. do.	Shed,	400
San José and Aguardiente Distillery near Rivas,	Merced,	Isaacito Nieto,		8.000
House in Rivas,	.....	Pedro Chamorro,		10.000
House in Rivas, Do. do.	.....	Do. do.		600
House in Rivas, Do. do.	.....	Do. do.		1.200

Hacienda de Cacao,	Merceda,	Pedro Joaquín,	Sold,	80,000
Do do	Ayza Agria,	Umanica Fernando,		6,000
House in Granada,		Chamorro family,		6,000
Cattle Estate,	Joan Maria,	Do do	2,000 cattle, 500 horses,	12,000
Do do	St. Rosa,	Do do	2,500 cattle, 500 horses,	15,000
Hacienda de Cacao,		Fulgencia Vega,		10,000
House in Granada,		Do		15,000
Stock Ranch,	St. Jeronimo,	Do	1,000 cattle, 500 horses,	16,000
House in Granada,		Do	Uradoloupe street,	6,000
Do do		Do	Do	1,500
Do do		Niracle del Castillo,		3,000
Cattle Estate,		Do	Near Malaga,	4,000
House in Granada,		Antonio Barbareno,		6,000
Stock Ranch,	El Salario,	Do	1,000 cattle, 100 horses,	4,000
Plantain Walk,		Do	Near Granada,	1,000
House in Granada,		José Maria Estada,		2,000
Island Walk,		Do	Near Granada,	200
House in Manya,		Lino Cesar,	100 cattle, 50 horses,	6,000
Stock Ranch,	Caracol,	Do	Near San Roque,	3,000
House in Granada,		Luis Montal,		6,000
Plantain Walk,		Do	Near Vega,	5,000
House in Granada,		Narciso Espinosa,		6,000
2 House in Granada,		Marin Luis Moras,		6,000
House in Granada,		José Ubau,		4,000
Hacienda de Ucan,	Malaga,	Do		4,000
House in Granada,		Roario Vira,	Granada Hotel,	9,000
Do do		Do		9,000
Do do		Fonciano Coral,		4,000
Do do		Felix Maranon,		7,000
Stock Ranch,	Carreita,	Do		2,000
Hacienda de Cacao,		Do	1,500 cattle, 500 horses,	11,000
House in Granada,		Fernando Casman,	At Malaga,	1,000
Stock Ranch,	St. Teresa,	Do	1,500 cattle, 300 horses,	12,000
House in Granada,		Joaquina Moran,		6,000
Hacienda de Cacao,	Malaga,	Do		5,000
House in Granada,		Pedro Fegueria,		1,000
House in Granada,		Trova Hiran,		1,000
Hacienda de Cacao,		Heiro of J. L. Kanderel		1,000
Stock Ranch,	Kemate,	Felipe Caceras,	1,000 cattle,	8,000
House in Granada,		Miguel Galaras,		8,000
Stock Ranch,	San Pablo,	Do	500 cattle,	4,000
Do do	Merced,	L. Belasyn D. Lajaras,	2,000 cattle, 400 horses,	20,000
Do do	Chilamilla,	Lorenzo Nelaya,	500 cattle, 50 horses,	6,000
House in Granada,		Urtico Lajaras,		6,000
Stock Ranch,	Quebrado Hood,	Do		
Do do	Umaguila,	Do		
Do do	San Jacinto,	Miguel Boladush Brun	2,500 cattle, 200 horses,	17,000
Do do	San Francisco and		2,500 cattle, 500 horses,	20,000
	Las Mederas,	Do		
Do do	San Roque,	Atland Chamorro,	1,000 cattle, 200 horses,	14,000
House in Granada,		Do	3,000 cattle, 500 horses,	41,000
Stock Ranch,	San Blas,	Donato Jaques,	700 cattle, 100 horses,	6,000
Do do	Terralona,	Manuel Alvarado,	500 cattle, 100 horses,	4,000
Do do	Corpus Christi,	Manuel Garcia,	500 cattle, 100 horses,	4,000
Do do	San Antonio,	Timoteo Lacayo,	500 cattle, 60 horses,	3,000
House in Granada,		Uto Mayora,		3,000

Together with forty or fifty Farms, Houma, La., is the Department of Niles, valued at from three hundred to one thousand dollars.

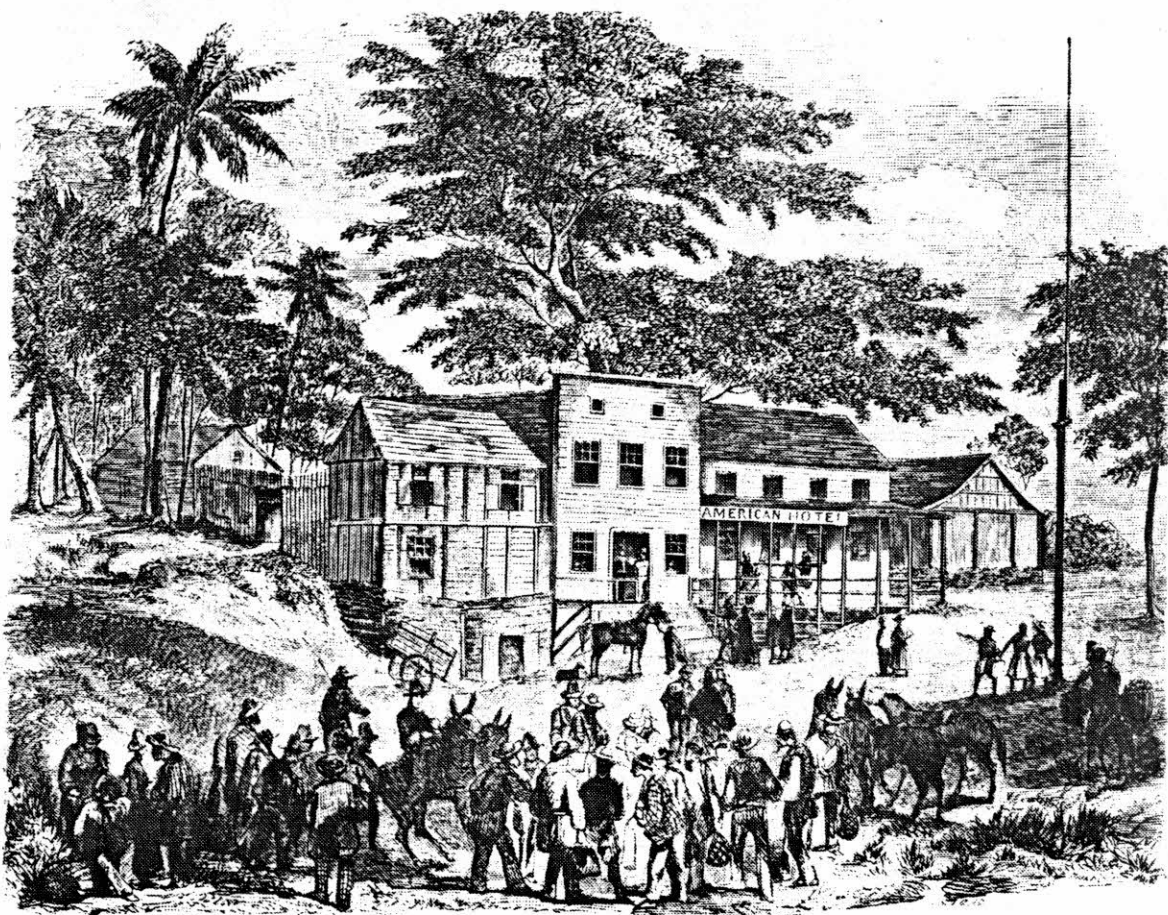
The majority of the above property is situated within six hours ride of San Juan del Sur, Virgin Bay, Miras, San Geron, Nandabato, Divila and Granada.

JOHN MYLARD, MARSHAL.

haciendas for sale

El Nicaraguense, September 27, 1856

"Terms: Cash or Military Scrip" (p. 66)



San Juan del Sur
"American Hotel"



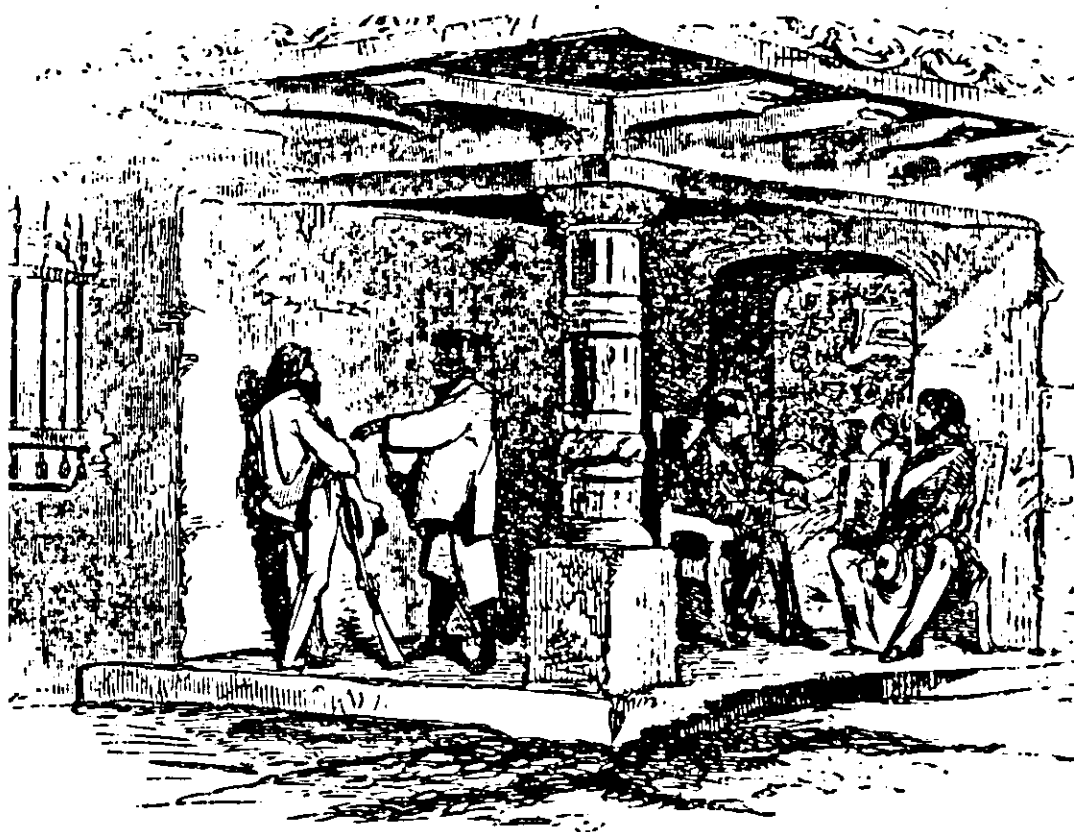
street in Granada

"now nearly every face seen in the streets is white" (p. 74)



Market Place, Granada

"the Indians . . . bring in daily their commodities" (p. 74)



at a Nicaraguan's home
"With the natives driven from their homes . . . " (p. 74)

8. No Such Word As Fail

After Walker's first month as "President" of Nicaragua, *El Nicaraguense* reported that it was "surprising with what rapidity Granada was assuming the air and appearance of an American city. . . . But one short year ago there were but few white persons living here, but now nearly every face seen in the streets is white. Were it not that the Indians from the country bring in daily their commodities for the market, we would scarcely be conscious of an absence from the United States."¹ With the natives driven from their homes, the "white" men from the north were taking over the country. As told by Walker's mouthpiece, the tide was unstoppable:

. . . we shall look to see a new flood of emigration turned in this direction. Men who have fought the west into its present position, who have pioneered the advance of civilization north, east, south and west, who have driven the forest and the Indian back, these men will come to Nicaragua, and from her we shall see and hear that they have not forgotten their old mission, to extend the limits of the hardy American race.²

Manifest Destiny in Nicaragua, racist to the core, had reverberated first in Texas and California. Conquest was the aim and victory was certain, because:

¹"Granada," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/16/1856, p.2, c.2.

²"California Scene in Granada," *Ibid.*, 8/30/1856, p.5, c.1.

. . . Americans in this country know . . . that the enterprise cannot fail. They feel that in physical force they can easily overcome all that are opposed to them, and that morally, they are almost irresistibly superior, as individuals and as a race, to the people against whom they contend.

. . . We might also say, with truth, that the most ignorant American has more natural intelligence, than education can possibly confer upon the inferiorly developed Indian, or half-breed of Central America.³

American Minister John H. Wheeler (*el Ministro filibustero*, unflinching accomplice of Walker), gave weekly soirees at the U.S. Legation, in which the filibusters and a number of American ladies in Granada "enjoyed themselves in the old-fashioned hearty style peculiar to Americans."⁴ Nicaraguan girls were expected to attend the social reunions, "and assist in making the time pass pleasantly," but after several soirees, "none of the native ladies have yet appeared in them."⁵

President Walker held his first levee on August 9th. *El Nicaraguense* claimed that "Spanish señoritas" and "members of nearly all the Spanish families residing in the city" had attended the party; yet, it gave no names. "The President did not dance, much to the regret of many present, but confined himself to agreeable conversation with all who sought the honor of his company."⁶ At Walker's second levee, on August 30th, "the native ladies and gentlemen attended in greater numbers." However, the paper identified only two Nicaraguan gentlemen (Ferrer and Carrascosa) and one lady:

³"No Such Word As Fail," Ibid., 9/6/1856, p.4, c.1.

⁴"Social Reunions," Ibid., 8/2/1856, p.4, c.4.

⁵"Nicaragua," *New York Tribune*, 9/2/1856, p.6, c.1.

⁶"Presidents' Levee," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/16/1856, p.2, c.3.

"the dignified and venerable looking Madame Selva."⁷

Dofia Sabina Selva was a rare Nicaraguan lady, the only woman whom Walker called "firm in her friendship for the Americans."⁸ On August 12, he had appointed her son Pedro Yginio, Secretary of the Legation in the United States. Pedro Yginio, Gen. Cazneau, and Cora Montgomery left Granada together on the steamer *La Virgen* on August 20 and arrived in New York aboard the *Cahawba* on the 30th, to carry out their particular missions for Walker. Minister Oaksmith had left earlier by way of New Orleans.

Goicouria had written to Walker on July 21st, telling him that he had been unable to secure funds in New Orleans, but that he would try to get some from his friends in New York. Upon receipt of the letter, Walker sent Col. John A. Jacques "to perform a delicate and important mission" in New Orleans.⁹ Jacques left Granada, with the others, on August 20th.

Three hours before the travelers boarded the steamer, the *La Virgen* landed in Granada with the newly arrived passengers from New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco. They included 108 recruits for the army (about sixty from California and fifty from the East), recruiting agent Frank Moncosos, and the Hon. Pierre Soulé, whom Oaksmith had contacted in New Orleans. Another letter arrived from Goicouria in New York, telling Walker about Randolph's failed proposal to Vanderbilt and condemning the recent arrangement with Morgan and Garrison:

. . . It is the opinion of persons who take great interest in your success, and whom I have consulted on

⁷"President's Levee," Ibid., 9/6/1856, p.3, c.2.

⁸Walker, *The War*, p. 140.

⁹"Central America," *New Orleans Picayune*, 8/27/1856 eve., p.1, c.3.

the subject, that these gentlemen will not carry out the enterprise which they have undertaken in such a manner as to be of immediate advantage to you. The opinion of your friends here is, that on account of the opposition to be apprehended from Vanderbilt, and the loss which may result therefrom, they will not be able to meet with capitalists willing to take an interest with them in the business. These things will tend to produce a failure of the enterprise.¹⁰

That morning, Walker had issued Decree No. 35: "All strangers can acquire any real estate within the territory of the Republic in the same way as the natives of the country."¹¹ Upon greeting Pierre Soulé on shore, Walker, elated, boarded the steamer and answered Golcoursia's letter while cruising down the lake in the company of Gen. Cazneau, Cora Montgomery, and Col. Jacques. His high expectations for funds and recruits silenced the Cuban's sound warnings:

On board the La Virgin, Aug. 20, 1856.

General—You will please not trouble yourself further about the Transit Company. The matter is definitely settled. As to anything you say about Mr. Randolph, it is entirely thrown away on me.

The boat is working so much that I can hardly write, but it is a matter of great importance to yourself that you should have the notice I have given you. As the government has given you no powers, you cannot of course promise anything in its behalf. Your obedient servant.

WM. WALKER.¹²

¹⁰"General Walker's Policy in Nicaragua--Curious Private Correspondence," *New York Herald*, 11/21/1856, p.1, c.4.

¹¹"Decrees of the Government," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/30/1856, p.4, c.2.

¹²*Ibid.*

On August 23, *El Nicaraguense* announced that Soulé was in Granada "as a visitor observing for himself the order of this great revolution."¹³ On the 28th, Charles Callahan reported:

Mr. Pierre Soulé has been adjourning for some time in our midst, visiting the various haciendas and towns in the vicinity of the city. He expresses himself highly gratified with the country, which he describes in the most glowing terms. He has had several interviews with Gen. Walker, of whose sagacity, far-seeing views, and clear, practical sense, he speaks in the highest terms. Indeed, so well pleased is he with all that he has seen and heard, that he has more than half made up his mind to bring his family out and settle permanently in the country. I sincerely hope he may, for such men as Mr. Soulé must be considered an acquisition to any country, and to such a one as this particularly.¹⁴

On the 30th, *El Nicaraguense* reported that Soulé had purchased from Walker's "Republic" the Chamorro farm Las Mercedes (the most expensive piece of property in Kissane's list of Nicaraguan real estate for sale), "for the nice little sum of fifty thousand dollars."¹⁵ Soulé spent that afternoon at a dinner given in his honor by "Captain Frazer, of the Nicaraguan Army. . . . Brigadier General Fry presided, supported on his right by the Hon. Pierre Soulé, and on his left by the United States Minister."¹⁶ The after-dinner toasts were cut short at seven p.m., when everyone hurried to attend

¹³"Distinguished Arrival," Ibid., 8/23/1856, p.2, c.1.

¹⁴"Later from Central America," *N.O. Picayune*, 9/28/1856, p.1, c.5.

¹⁵"Purchase," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/30/1856, p.2, c.4.

¹⁶"Dinner to Soulé," Ibid., 9/6/1856, p.2, c.4.

President Walker's Levee.

Soulé departed from Granada on September 2nd, and went back to New Orleans accompanied by recruiting agents Col. Thomas Fisher and Col. Frank Moncosos. By Decree No. 36, on August 26, "President" Walker modified the terms of the February 29, 1856 grant to Charles Morgan and his associates, providing them:

. . . for the term of twenty-five years the exclusive right and privilege of transporting by a single route through the territory of the Republic, passengers and freight from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the exclusive right and privilege of navigating by steam, all the rivers, lakes and inland waters of the Republic for the said term of twenty-five years.¹⁷

Decree No. 37 declared that all the steamers and other moveable property of the late Accessory Transit Company within the territory of the State were the property of the Republic of Nicaragua. Decree No. 38, on August 27, sold the same property to Morgan, and Garrison, and their assigns, for the sum of four hundred thousand dollars.

Meanwhile, going into September, Walker's Rangers continued to scout within a few miles of León, without seeing the face of the enemy. Reports reaching Granada told that the cholera had spread in León, wiping out the Allied Guatemalan and Salvadoran Army: "of the few remaining foreign troops now in that city, from fifteen to twenty die off every day."¹⁸

Walker impressed his upbeat mood (and his unending megalomania) in his September 6 *El Nicaraguense* editorial, accurately titled, "No Such Word As Fail":

¹⁷"Official," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/30/1856, p.6, c.1.

¹⁸"Mortality in León," *Ibid.*, 9/13/1856, p.2, c.4.

. . . The battle is not to the, numerically, strong, but to those who combine with the strength, wisdom. An army is but a powerful engine, and that which is conducted by the most intelligent engineer can be made to produce the greatest results. It was by generalship, and not fighting, that Washington vanquished the hosts of Cornwallis; it was to this that Gen. Scott is indebted for his triumph in Mexico; it is by this that Gen. Walker will ultimately succeed in this country; and as no general has yet accomplished so much by such small means, so, it is probable, when proper means are at his disposal, his career will outshine in brilliancy the most splendid triumphs which have ever proceeded from the womb of human genius.

Lest it might be presumed that we desire to varnish the truth let us look at history. Let us look at how Leonidas, with three hundred men, slew in three days twenty thousand Persians, and kept in check millions of barbarians under Xerxes. Let us look at how Alexander, with scarcely enough men to garrison a respectable city, scattered the hosts of Darius, and in the short space of about five years, conquered all, the then known world; and how he cried when there were no more worlds to conquer with the same band. Let us look at how Caesar, with a legion or two of Gauls, brought the proud city of the Seven Hills--the arbitress of the destinies of the world--to his feet. Let us look at how a simple country girl--the maid of Orleans--snatched France from the very verge of destruction, overcame the proud armies of England, and established her country's rightful monarch upon his throne. Let us look at the achievements of Cromwell, a Napoleon, and a Washington, and then reflect upon what Walker may not do.

It is folly to talk of a failure, or an interruption or a suspension in the progress of a country, or the destinies of a race that has already accomplished so much as ours. All it wants is the occasion to act, and the man to direct; and then, it is impossible for it to fail in

the great design for which it was created, as it is for the earth, of its own accord, to turn from the course into which it was originally hurled by the Great Architect of the Universe.¹⁹

¹⁹"No Such A Word As Fail," Ibid., 9/6/1856, p.4, c.1.

Treason and Death!

EXECUTION OF TRAITORS IN MASAYA.

Wednesday, at half-past five in the afternoon, Desiderio Calvo, a wealthy merchant of Masaya, Domingo Antonio Berclutan, Moises Avendaño and Felipe Perez, all natives of Nicaragua, were publicly executed by being shot in the Plaza of Masaya, for treasonable practices against the Republic.

El Nicaraguense, August 2, 1856

executions in Masaya

"Twenty American riflemen

murdered the four Nicaraguans" (p. 84)

9. American Army of Occupation

"President" Walker's highhanded actions alienated the last of the liberals who had supported him. Outside of Ferrer, Pineda, and some forty others who remained loyal till the end, by August, 1856, the entire country opposed Walker. Even Méndez had left him and led in the fight against him.¹ Thereupon, thousands of Nicaraguans lost their lives in the struggle to expel the foreign tyrant.

Four patriots fell in Masaya on July 30th: Felipe Pérez, Domingo Antonio Barroterán, Moisés Avendaño, and Desiderio Calvo were summarily shot on the Plaza after they were caught helping a deserter escape. Sergeant James Verner, the would be "deserter," was in fact a Walker spy. The four natives' money was divided among Verner and other Ameri-

¹Méndez issued a proclamation "to Nicaraguans and all Central Americans:

"COMPATRIOTS: A foreign tyrant, far more fatal than the Spanish conquerors, has appeared among us--William Walker has committed the fearful crime of rising against the Supreme Government of the Republic, setting up for himself alone to sanction the foreignization of the territory of our native land, the extinction of our religion, and the perpetual slavery of our race.

"Shall we with cool indifference gaze upon this tremendous crime? Certainly not. Die before seeing the fate of the nation in the hands of a foreign traitor. The cause is holy, very holy. It is the cause of our fatherland; it is the cause of our religion; it is the cause of our liberty. To die, therefore, for such sublime objects is glorious and grand for a truly republican heart; and I, appreciating and loving these sentiments, swear before God and society that I will sacrifice all that is most dear to defend rights so sacred, and I will irrigate the tree of liberty with my blood.--MARIANO MENDEZ.--León, June 28, 1856." [Translation] *New York Tribune*, 8/6/1856, p.6, c.4.

cans who were instrumental in their capture. Charles Callahan chronicled the execution:

As the parties were arrested in the very act, no trial was deemed necessary, and the next evening at 6 o'clock, they were brought out into the plaza to be shot. The two battalions were drawn up in front of the place of execution, in two ranks, open order, the officers in front, while the plaza was filled with natives assembled to witness the shooting.

As the prisoners left the guardhouse, accompanied by a priest, who held aloft a crucifix, they recited what appeared to be prayers, in firm and audible tones. When they reached the troops every officer and soldier uncovered, and as they passed along the line not a sound was heard but the chanting of the priest and the prayers of the doomed men.

Arriving at the appointed place, their eyes were bandaged and they knelt down, about eighteen inches apart, clasping each other's hand. There was no apparent quivering of the muscles, no hesitation in the tones of their voices, to indicate that they feared the death they knew to be inevitable. Whether they were actuated by courage or sustained by a belief that they were about entering upon a life of eternal bliss, no men could have died more valorously or exhibited greater coolness than they did.

A firing party of twenty men were drawn up, the priest gave them his last blessing and left them, the word was given to fire, and at the report all four fell forward dead, not a movement being observable in any of the bodies.²

Twenty American riflemen murdered the four Nicaraguans.

²"Central America," *New Orleans Picayune*, 8/27/1856 eve., p.1, c.3.

The victims had committed the "crime" of helping an American flee from the kingdom of Walker. Although "President" Walker called his troops, "Army of Nicaragua," it was an American army of occupation. On August 1, 1856 it numbered between 1,000 and 1,200 men--Americans, led by 135 officers: one General (Walker), two brigadier-generals (Hornsby and Fry), ten colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, forty-two captains, and sixty-four lieutenants. All officers were foreigners: one (Von Natzmer) was a German; Lainé and three others were Cuban; 130 were American.³

The First Rifle and Second Infantry battalions were garrisoned at Masaya; two companies were in Managua. The remainder of the Army occupied Granada, Rivas, and the Transit route. Major Waters' Rangers had advanced once to the outskirts of León, but on meeting a barrage of bullets "from the houses and cross streets," had retreated to Granada in mid July.⁴

On July 16th, Captain Baldwin had taken Company C, First Infantry, from Virgin Bay to Ometepe, to quash an Indian insurrection. On the 21st, Charles Callahan reported from Granada: "The difficulty with the Indians in Ometepe . . . has been suppressed. It was owing to the machinations of one of the priests in the island, who has been arrested and brought to this city."⁵ Another Nicaraguan priest was arrested in Masaya on the 30th, said to be "in some way implicated" in the Verner case, "but as there was no positive proof against him, he was released the following day on his parole, which

³"Register of the Army of Nicaragua, Up to August 1, 1856," *El Nicaraguense*, 9/13/1856, p.5, c.1.

⁴"Later from Nicaragua," *New Orleans Picayune*, 7/26/1856, p.2, c.2.

⁵"Central America," *New Orleans Picayune*, 8/27/1856 eve., p.1, c.3.

he broke by immediately leaving town."⁶

To keep the Indians in check, on July 19 Walker issued a decree appointing Charles Meyers "Governor of the Police of the Island of Ometepe." To wage war on the Guatemalan and Salvadoran Allied Armies that began to arrive in León in July, Walker issued a decree on August 4, declaring blockaded "all the ports of Central America on the waters of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, with the exception of the interoceanic transit route via San Juan del Norte, and San Juan del Sur."⁷ To enforce that decree, he had a one-ship Navy on the Pacific.

Don Mariano Salazar had bought the Costa Rican schooner *San José*, on which the *Falange* had traveled from San Juan del Sur to Realejo a year earlier. He afterwards sold it to its American skipper, Gilbert Morton. When the schooner arrived at San Juan del Sur in June, 1856 with \$6,000 worth of merchandise, Walker seized vessel and cargo, alleging that it belonged to Salazar and claiming it as a prize. The ship's documents, duly authenticated by the U.S. consuls at Realejo and San Juan del Sur, proved that Morton owned the vessel; it made no difference, because Minister Wheeler sided with Walker.

Renamed *Granada* and fitted out for war, the schooner cruised up the Pacific coast, commanded by Lieut. Callender Irvine Fayssoux and carrying on board "Commodore" Julius DeBrissot, head of Walker's "Nicaragua Navy." In the Gulf of Fonseca, on July 28, the *Granada* captured a launch in which Don Mariano Salazar was a passenger. Don Mariano had on him "one sword, also some letters and papers, and \$319 in cash."⁸

Among the papers on Salazar, one was President Rivas'

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ "Official," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/9/1856, p.1, c.2.

⁸ "The Nicaraguan Navy!" Ibid., p.5, c.1.

appointment of Don Antonio de Irisarri in place of Father Viljil as Minister in Washington; another was a letter from British Vice-Consul Manning to a friend in San Miguel, El Salvador, in which Manning recorded his antagonism to Walker. DeBrissot instantly set sail for San Juan del Sur, and delivered prisoner and papers in Granada on Sunday, August 3rd, at dawn. The same day at 5 p.m., on the Plaza, an American firing squad shot Salazar, by order of Walker.⁹

When news of the capture of Salazar reached León, on August 6, Vice-Consul Manning wrote to Minister Wheeler, apprising him that Dr. Joseph Livingston--former American consul, who had served as translator for Walker when the latter arrived in the country--had been detained in Chinandega under guard, and that the Leonese would likely shoot him if Walker shot Salazar. But the Leonese didn't retaliate in kind: they merely banished Dr. Livingston to El Salvador. Walker, in turn, had issued Decree No. 25 on August 4th, revoking Manning's exequatur "for unduly interfering in the interior affairs of the Republic of Nicaragua."¹⁰

On the other hand, by decree dated June 25, President Rivas removed Walker from the army and declared him a "traitor" and an "enemy of Nicaragua." All Walker followers, "and those who help him in any way, directly or indirectly, be they members of the American Phalanx or native born," were traitors. It called on "all Nicaraguans aged fifteen to sixty, without exception or privilege," to take up arms against Walker, "to defend the liberty, independence and sovereignty of the Republic."¹¹ By decree dated June 28, President Rivas offered passports and safe-conduct to all members of the

⁹See Walker's visit to Salazar in prison, Book One, p. 184b.

¹⁰"Official," *El Nicaraguense*, 8/9/1856, p.1, c.2.

¹¹"Documento Número 5," *Boletín Oficial* [León], 8/16/1856, p.2, c.2.

"American force" who would abandon Walker.¹²

On July 26, *El Nicaraguense* offered rewards of thirty dollars each for "the apprehension and delivery" of four deserters from Company C, First Rifles, in Managua.¹³ By August 16, the roster of rewards had increased to ten men, but many deserters failed to make the list. Towards the end of July, Captain Turley's Rangers had sallied forth from Managua on a reconnaissance mission in the neighborhood of Tipitapa and the company deserted en masse--all twenty-five of them. They went on to Chontales, "plundering the ranchos and haciendas along the route . . . apparently making their way for the Atlantic coast, intending to come out either at Greytown or Blewfields [*sic*]."¹⁴ Two weeks later, they met their fate at Cunaguas, near Acoyapa, at the hands of the freedom fighters in the region. The official communiqué from Captain Dámaso Rivera to General Tomás Martínez, dated at Cunaguas, August 9, 1856, reads:

Sir:

On the 5th of this month, I was informed that a band of 25 filibusters had raided the town of La Libertad, where they committed all kinds of crimes, looting, harassing honest residents, and hanging those who fell in their hands. I immediately gathered the forces under my command, and called on the patriots in the vicinity.

On ascertaining that the enemy had left for Acoyapa, yesterday evening we pursued them. We overtook them at Cunaguas, where they had set their camp, and where I learned from the people fleeing, that at that very moment they had hung two persons. I ordered a light

¹²"Documento Número 6," Ibid., p.3, c.1.

¹³"Deserters," *El Nicaraguense*, 7/26/1856, p.6, c.4.

¹⁴"Central America," *New Orleans Picayune*, 8/27/1856, p.1, c.3.

attack so as to learn their position, and they answered with a barrage of bullets. I then decided to wait till morning, and retreated to cover the road from a better location. We camped a mile away, on a hill from which we could see their movements.

This morning we saw them leaving, not towards Acoyapa, but to the left, towards Lóvago. We met them at 4 p.m., as they were going into the woods. When I ordered the bayonet charge, which our brave soldiers executed with great skill, within fifteen minutes they had totally routed the filibusters, who left on the battlefield twenty-one dead, one prisoner, all their rifles, pistols, munitions, and all they had robbed with so much disturbance and violence. On our part, we suffered two seriously and three slightly wounded.

The filibuster is impotent when facing a freedom fighter. Attack, Nicaraguans! True courage has no fear of mercenaries, for they will reap punishment and shame instead of victory and triumph.¹⁵

At Cunaguas, Turley's men were about to hang Pedro González, a small-farm owner, after looting what little he had. When the rope was tied around Pedro's neck, his youngster Marcelo, armed with a knife, threw himself at the filibuster who held it. In the ensuing scuffle, the wounded American let go of the rope and father and son escaped into the woods. Although a Colt bullet hit Marcelo in the back, it was not fatal; both González came out alive because at that very moment, Rivera attacked.

Running out of ammunition, Turley showed a flag of truce and capitulated. The filibusters agreed to surrender all their weapons; in exchange, Rivera would furnish them with guides who would take them to the Mico River, which the Americans

¹⁵"Extracto," *Boletín Oficial* [León], 9/4/1856, p.3, c.2.

bound themselves to descend and leave the country. Turley's men handed in their rifles, but refused to give up revolvers. Thereupon, the Nicaraguans, armed with guns, machetes, picks, and other rude arms, massacred the filibusters. Out of twenty-five, twenty-one were killed, one was taken prisoner, and three managed to escape in the woods.¹⁶

Rivera's men were a Legitimist contingent, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who had stood in Walker's way from the beginning--ever since Rivas, June 29, 1855. In August, 1856, they were rallying again to spark the War of Liberation, the only war in history in which the freedom fighters of the five Central American republics fought united, to expel the foreign invaders.

¹⁶"Erago de amor filial," Ibid., 10/10/1856, p.4, c.2; "Merited Retribution," *El Nicaraguense*, 9/13/1856, p.2, c.3; Jerónimo Pérez, *Obras históricas completas*, p. 274.