

## Part Six:

### DEPARTURE

*Manfred.* Old man! 'tis not so difficult to die.

*[Manfred expires.]*

*Abbot.* He's gone--his soul hath ta'en its earthless flight;  
Whither? I dread to think--but he is gone.

Lord Byron.

*Manfred.*

The last act in the biography of the hero is that of the death or departure. Here the whole sense of the life is epitomized. Needless to say, the hero would be no hero if death held for him any terror; the first condition is reconciliation with the grave.

Joseph Campbell.

*The Hero with a Thousand Faces.*

## 28. San Juan Settles the Matter

At the time when Central America became Independent of Spain, in 1821, England had formally recognized Spanish sovereignty over the entire Central American coast. English settlers did enjoy woodcutting privileges, authorized by the 1786 Anglo-Spanish Convention, but only at Belize, in the territory bound between the Hondo and the Sibún rivers on the southeastern portion of the Yucatán Peninsula.

Thereafter, the British encroached on Honduras as they did on Nicaragua (See Book 3, Chapter 2). On November 10, 1841, Col. Alexander Archibald MacDonald, Superintendent of Belize, notified the government at Comayagua that he had been instructed by the Governor of Jamaica to mediate in the dispute between the [fabulous] Mosquito Nation and the State of Honduras. Up to 1846, however, the English merchants at Belize continued to acknowledge the title of Honduras to its entire coast, and paid the dues Honduras charged for the mahogany trees which they cut on Honduran territory.

When the mahogany cutters afterwards departed from that custom, Honduras seized a couple of their trespassing vessels, but British warships from Jamaica promptly appeared in Truxillo and forced Honduras to submit. Superintendent MacDonald then forgot his "Mosquito Nation" myth and took possession of the Bay Islands off Truxillo for Queen Victoria. He arrived at Ruatan in the British sloop-of-war *Rover*, hauled down the Honduran flag, hoisted the English flag, and evacuated the Honduran forces to the mainland, forbidding them to return.

The islands became an official British colony on June 17, 1852, when the following notice was posted on a blackboard in front of the courthouse at Belize:

PROCLAMATION.

This is to give notice that Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, has been pleased to constitute and make the islands of Ruatan, Bonacca, Utila, Barbarat, Helene and Morat to be a colony, to be known and designated as "The Colony of the Bay Islands."

By command of Her Majesty's Superintendent.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK GORE. Acting Colonial Secretary.

God Save the Queen!

Colonial Secretary's Office, June 17, 1852.

Belize, British Honduras.<sup>1</sup>

The U.S. government considered the Colony of the Bay Islands a flagrant violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and the issue was in the forefront throughout the talks leading to the Dallas-Clarendon Convention signed in London on October 17, 1856. England was willing to transfer the colony "to the sovereignty of Honduras," but reserved for its inhabitants five permanent rights or immunities, including self-government. The United States accepted, and a second document transferring the islands was concomitantly signed by the Honduran Minister in London, Juan Victor Herrán, and the British Secretary. Tucked into a short paragraph at the end of the Herrán-Clarendon convention was a stipulation that "slavery, never heretofore existing in the islands, shall not at any time hereafter be permitted to exist therein."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"English Encroachments in Central America," *New York Herald*, 8/4/1852, p.4, c.3.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Flagg Bemis, ed., *The American Secretaries of State and their*

Ultra pro-slavery U.S. politicians couldn't swallow that contingent stipulation of the prohibition of slavery in Honduras. Consequently, among its amendments to the Dallas-Clarendon treaty, the U.S. Senate included one making the cession of the islands to Honduras unconditional, thereby removing the obnoxious clause. The British government rejected the amended version, and its rejection was said to be precisely because of the removal of the slavery clause.<sup>3</sup>

With Anglo-American negotiations deadlocked, a British Special Minister to Central America, Sir William Gore Ouseley, arrived in New York on the royal mail steamship *Arabia*, from Liverpool, on November 13, 1857. Upon landing, Sir William visited Washington at the very moment of the Walker *Fashion* expedition and the signing of the Cass-Yrisarri treaty. He then stayed for an entire year, watching and intervening behind the scenes in that stormy period of U.S./Nicaragua-Costa Rica relations, before finally proceeding on his mission.

As soon as he arrived in Washington, Ouseley held talks with President Buchanan and Secretary Cass, visiting the State Department as if he were a diplomat accredited there, which he wasn't. He knew his way around in the Department, for he had previously been attaché to the British Legation in the U.S. capital. He was also at home in the top social and political circles, having married an American woman of great beauty, Marcia Van Ness, daughter of Cornelius P. Van Ness, former Governor of Vermont and Minister to Spain; niece of

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*Diplomacy*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), Vol. VI, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup>"In his explanation to the House of Commons of the rejection of the amended Dallas-Clarendon treaty, Lord Palmerston says: . . . The treaty, then, has fallen through upon this issue--the United States proposed that the restoration of the Bay Islands to Honduras should be *bona fide*, simple, absolute and unconditional. Lord Palmerston says no--we shall do no such thing . . . One of the conditions, we believe, is that African slavery shall forever be prohibited in the said islands." ("The British Government and the Press on the Dallas-Clarendon Treaty," *New York Herald*, 6/13/1857, p.4, c.2).

General John Peter Van Ness, at one time the Mayor of Washington; and sister-in-law of State Supreme Court Justice James I. Roosevelt, of New York.

Sir William and Mrs. Ouseley had been personal friends of old bachelor James Buchanan for years, and were seen with him at social functions in Washington. The press soon alluded to a "false and slanderous gossip" concerning a tryst "in which the names of Lady Gore Ouseley and Mr. Buchanan were used." According to "the malicious reports in question," Lady Gore Ouseley had thus become "the controlling genius of the Central American policy of Mr. Buchanan."<sup>4</sup>

Tryst or no tryst, when Sir William Gore Ouseley, family and suite left New York on board the British steam frigate *Valorous*, on October 27, 1858, bound for San Juan del Norte, the British envoy was on his way to implement a confidential agreement he had reached with President Buchanan on the Central American question. Ouseley himself afterwards asserted as much in a "private & confidential" letter to Buchanan dated at San José, Costa Rica, May 31, 1859, reporting to the President that in Central America he had carried on his "negotiations precisely such as we had, in general terms, agreed upon confidentially."<sup>5</sup>

The *Valorous* steamed into the harbor at San Juan del Norte on November 16, 1858, and came to anchor by her sister Britannic Majesty's steam frigates *Leopard* and *Basilisk*, lying at a short distance from each other and from the American men-of-war *Jamestown* and *Savannah*. When the U.S. warship

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<sup>4</sup>"Senator Clingman and the Ladies Again," *New York Herald*, 1/26/1859, p.4, c.4; "Senator Clingman on the Post Office Bill," *New York Herald*, 3/10/1859, p.4, c.3. Thomas Lanier Clingman, of North Carolina, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, wished to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; President Buchanan opposed him and prevailed; Clingman then blamed the President's posture on Mrs. Ouseley.

<sup>5</sup>Microfilm edition of the James Buchanan Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Reel 37.

*Roanoke* arrived on November 25th, Sir William was still on board the *Valorous*, unable to proceed on his mission due to the lack of suitable steamboat service up the San Juan river. On December 5, he left for Aspinwall on board the British mail steamer *Dee*, having decided to cross the Isthmus on the Panama railroad and to travel on a Pacific steamer to Managua and San José.

When two additional English men-of-war, the *Cesar*, 81 guns, and the *Diadem*, 32 guns, arrived at San Juan del Norte on December 11, they anchored outside the bay, unable to cross the bar into the harbor that was then filling up with sand. The ensuing sudden ruin of the once fine harbor was reported by U.S. Commercial Agent B. Squire Cotrell in his February 26, 1859 dispatch to Secretary of State Lewis Cass:

The harbour of this port has for several months past been filling up and the entrance to it gradually growing narrower and shallower, until none but the lighter draft vessels can enter it. I was told by the pilot of the port this morning, that yesterday afternoon there was but fifteen feet water at the mouth, where six months ago the soundings showed twenty-five feet! The old Transit Company's buildings at Punta Arenas have been carried away, one after another, until only one old shed remains, and even that is in a very precarious condition. A wide opening of several hundred yards has been made by the sea through the whole length of the company's dwellings into the main anchorage of the harbour, through which the men-of-war's boats pass and repass at pleasure in and out of the harbour, saving nearly half of the distance between the town and where the ships are anchored. Unless a change soon takes place, I fear the once fine harbour will be ruined.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>The National Archives Microfilm Publication T-348, Reel 3.

The rapid silting of the San Juan de Nicaragua harbor continued unabated: by October, 1859 the water was only eight feet at the mouth, and the British naval officers pronounced the San Juan river and harbor permanently impracticable for commercial purposes. What used to be one of the best ports in America was fast becoming a shallow lagoon.

The closure of Nicaragua's door to the Atlantic was a man-made catastrophe that radically altered the destiny of the country. Although the silting of the San Juan de Nicaragua harbor was a natural, slow process that had been going on for centuries, its rapid, irreversible, final stage was indeed intentionally started by the British in 1781 and accidentally completed as a result of Walker's intervention in the 1850's.

The relevant facts are as follows:

The waters of Lake Nicaragua and the upper San Juan river are relatively clear, but those of the Sarapiquí and San Carlos rivers contribute large amounts of very light volcanic sand that remains in suspension in swift currents, but settles when the stream slows down on meeting obstructions. Up to 1780, when the English invaded, the San Juan river met no obstructions "on its falling into the North Sea," and formed "a Commodious harbor, where Ships of the largest size may lie in the greatest safety."<sup>7</sup>

When the remnants of the 1780-81 expedition withdrew from Nicaragua without accomplishing its mission, the British left behind three vessels--the ships *Horatio* and *Venus*, and the sloop *Success*--which they purposely sank at strategic points "to obstruct St. John's Harbor."<sup>8</sup> Fifty years later, a cluster of islands had formed at the river's entrance into the

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<sup>7</sup> Stephen Kemble, *The Kemble Papers* vol. 2 (1780-1781) (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1885), p. 420.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 375, 466. See the 1780 expedition in Book Three, p. 21.

bay, severely hindering navigation at the river mouth and producing shallow waters in large areas of the harbor.

Greatly damaged by the British action, the San Juan de Nicaragua bay was still a good harbor in 1851: it measured one thousand acres, of which an area of 240 acres had soundings ranging from 18 to 28 feet, and from 23 to 26 feet at the bar. Nearly 40% of the San Juan river waters drained into the bay, while the Colorado river branch carried the remainder to the sea. Leefe's Island, at the bifurcation, divided the stream in that proportion.

In 1857, Mr. John Leefe, an Englishman, held the land on the island under a title from the Mosquito King. Apparently pressed by financial straits subsequent to the closure of the transit by the Walker war, Leefe cut the thirty cedar trees on the property, for export. When the roots rotted, the island disintegrated and a rise of the river washed it away during the ensuing rainy season:

News from Central America.

San Juan, (Greytown,) August 30, 1858.

*Great Flood at Greytown.*

Of late we have had repetitions of those scenes from the picture of the deluge, without relief, in water colors. The San Juan river has risen some eight feet above high water mark, and has brought down islands, houses, bungaloes and men, in the greatest profusion. Feaf's [Leefe's] Island is swept away. As the houses floated by, the chickens could be seen roosting on the rafters high and dry. Mr. Deasman remained in his house until the water reached the top of the table, on which his wife and children were placed, and then embarked his household in a canoe, which he had secured for that purpose, and came down to Greytown and landed his family in safety.



Some few natives are drowned.<sup>9</sup>

With Leefe's Island gone, 90% of the current rushed down the Colorado branch; and when the rise of the river subsided at the onset of the dry season in November, 1858, 10% of the waters that then drained into the bay rapidly lost velocity, and light volcanic sand silted up the harbor.

When measured, a few years later, the Colorado was 1,200 feet wide and ten feet deep at the bifurcation, while the lower San Juan was only 324 feet wide and six inches deep.

Sir William Gore Ouseley, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on a Special Mission to the Republics of Central America, arrived at León, via Liverpool, New York, Washington, New York, San Juan del Norte, Aspinwall, Panama and Realejo, on December 21st, 1858, fourteen months after he had left London. One month later, on January 18th, 1859, he signed a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Don Pedro Zeledón, and the Congress at Managua ratified it on February 21st.

Ouseley also presented a draft for a second treaty by which England would have recognized nominal Nicaraguan sovereignty over San Juan del Norte, in exchange for Nicaraguan recognition of an autonomous free port of Greytown, of the land grants made by the Mosquito king, and of an Independent Mosquito Territory (the boundaries of which would be set with the help of a British Commissioner). Nicaragua rejected the offer, London then rejected the Treaty of Friendship, and Ouseley went on to San José, to sign

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<sup>9</sup> *New York Herald*, 9/13/1858, p.1, c.1. Leefe's Island was the "perfect gem" in the *Paradise Lost* found by Wheeler in 1854, when William P. Kirkland held its Mosquito title and it was called Kirkland's Island (See Book 3, p. 4).

treaties with Costa Rica.

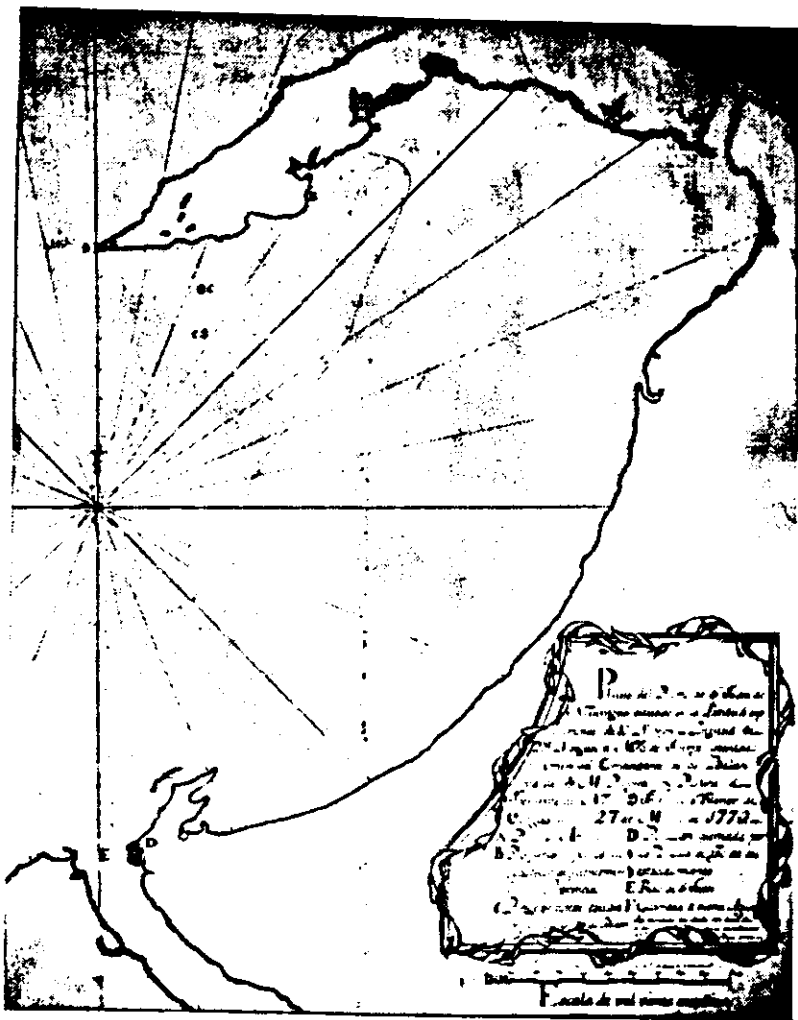
Another British envoy, Charles Lennox Wyke, on April 30, 1859 signed a treaty with Guatemalan Foreign Minister Don Pedro de Aycinena by which the latter recognized British sovereignty over Belize. After Wyke returned to London, reports from British naval officers at Greytown reached the English capital, announcing the ruin of the harbor. British policy suddenly changed, and Wyke was sent back to Central America to sign with Nicaragua what the Foreign Office a few months earlier had expressly ordered Ouseley not to do.

On his way down, Wyke stopped at Comayagua and on November 28, 1859 signed a treaty with Don Francisco Cruz, representing Honduras, by which England unconditionally recognized the Bay Islands as a part of the Republic of Honduras, and also unconditionally recognized as belonging to and under the sovereignty of Honduras, the country up to then occupied or possessed by the Mosquito Indians within the frontier of Honduras, whatever that frontier may be.

Continuing on to Managua, Charles Lennox Wyke, Esquire, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on a Special Mission to the Republics of Central America, and Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Don Pedro Zeledón, on January 30, 1860, signed at Managua a treaty by which England likewise recognized Nicaraguan sovereignty over its entire territorial domain.

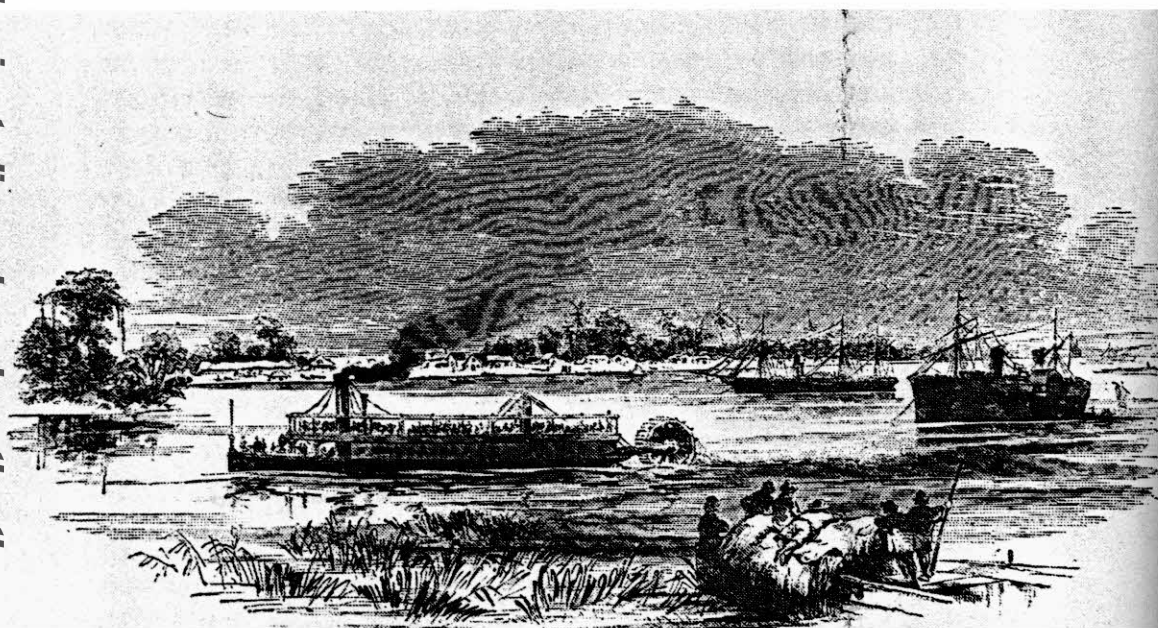
On January 1st, 1861, the Government of Nicaragua, through its commissioner Don Ramón Sáenz, took formal possession of San Juan del Norte in accordance with the provisions of the Zeledón-Wyke treaty. By then San Juan had no value for England, or for anybody, for it wasn't even a port.

The ruin of San Juan de Nicaragua swiftly settled the matter that had vexed the maritime powers for over a decade.



# San Juan de Nicaragua, 1779

"a Commodious harbor, where Ships of the largest size may lie in the greatest safety" (p. 279)



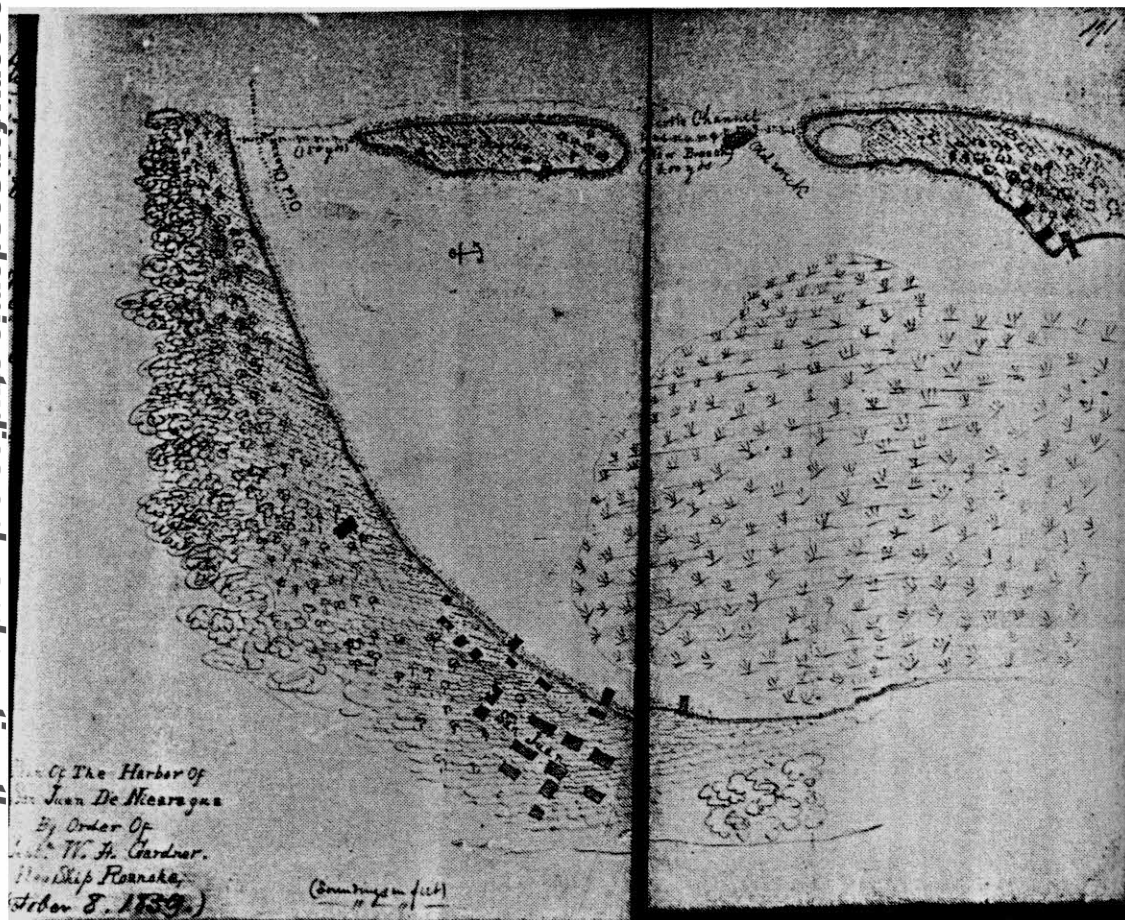
**San Juan de Nicaragua, 1853**  
*"still a good harbor . . ." (p. 280)*



KIRKLAND'S ISLAND.

**Leefe's Island**  
*"Leefe cut the thirty cedar trees" (p. 280)*





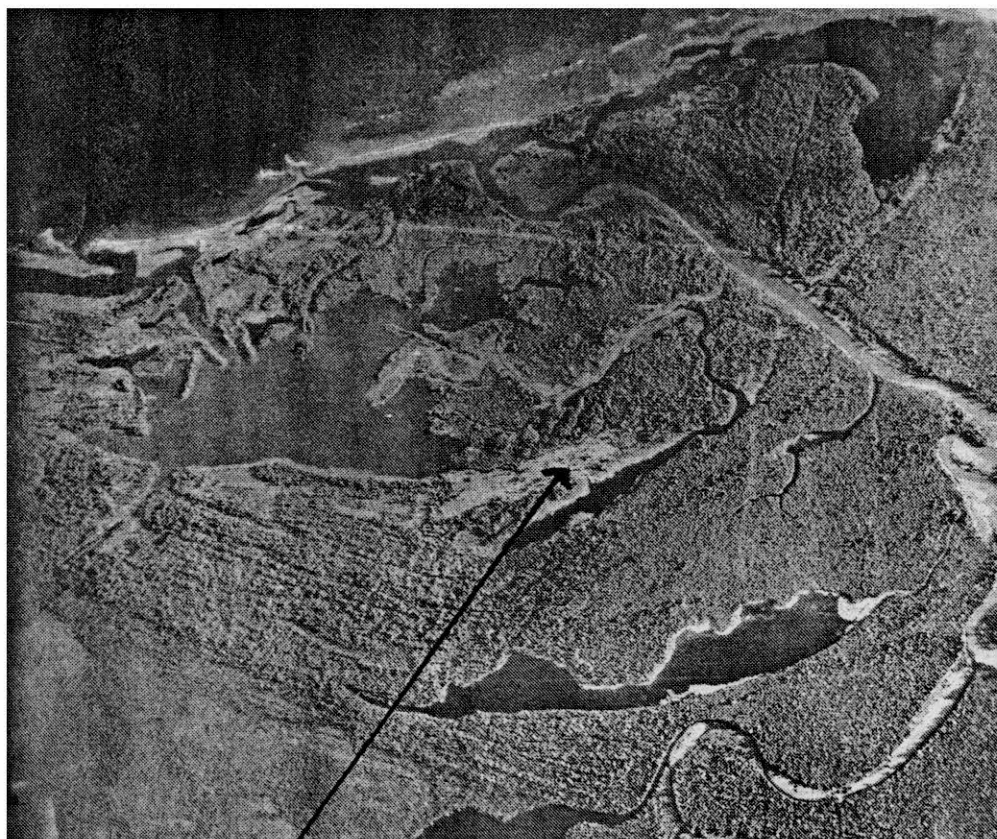
**San Juan de Nicaragua, 1859**  
*"fast becoming a shallow lagoon" (p. 279)*



San Juan del Norte hamlet (old Greytown)

**San Juan de Nicaragua, 1976**  
*"no value . . . not even a port" (p. 282)*





San Juan del Norte hamlet (old Greytown)

**San Juan de Nicaragua, 1976**  
*"no value . . . not even a port" (p. 282)*



## 29. To Nicaragua, by Any Route

While busily writing *The War in Nicaragua* in New Orleans, Walker sent Captain C.I. Fayssoux to New York, after the Captain had been acquitted at the *Philadelphia* expedition trial, to settle accounts with Marshal O. Roberts, the owner of the vessel, and to make arrangements for another expedition. Walker furnished Fayssoux with a cipher to communicate with him under cover: "Beta" for Walker, "Omicron" for Roberts, "Phi" for White, "Kappa" for the steamer *Philadelphia*, "Epsilon" for Fayssoux, "Tau" for Henningsen, "Lambda" for George Law, "Upsilon" for Vanderbilt, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

Roberts and Vanderbilt had consolidated their steamship interests in 1859, forming the "Atlantic and Pacific Steamship Company," to which the *Philadelphia* belonged. It was then alleged in the press that Vanderbilt had been in secret league with Walker on the *Philadelphia* expedition and had actually "connived at putting arms and ammunitions" on the vessel.<sup>2</sup>

In New York, Fayssoux carried on his mission with the help of "Omega" (Wall street merchant Francis Morris), and

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<sup>1</sup>"Memorandum," Item 78, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>2</sup>Vanderbilt denied any connection with Walker and sued the *New York Times* journalist who published the story. "Commodore Vanderbilt vs. Henry J. Raymond," *New York Tribune*, 11/5/1859, p.7, c.3. Yet, other accounts appeared from time to time, till the end, when among the papers left behind by the filibusters at Truxillo on August 22, 1860, there was a letter that read: "Ruatan will be our general garrison during the Summer, and in November the steamer which Vanderbilt is building for us will be ready, and we will then commence operations against Nicaragua." "Estractos de cartas," *Gaceta de Honduras*, 9/10/1860, p.3, c.3.

"Gamma" (Vanderbilt's agent, lawyer John Thomas Doyle). He settled the *Philadelphia's* bills of lading on Walker's terms, having pressed Roberts and "readily wrought [him] on through his fears of exposure."<sup>3</sup> But he returned to New Orleans, in December, without an agreement for another expedition.

On finishing his manuscript, while travelling aboard the steamer from New Orleans to Mobile on February 15th, 1860, Walker met Dr. William H. Rives, of Montgomery, Alabama, "a wealthy man of high character." Rivers asked him how much he needed to return to Nicaragua. Walker told him \$5,000 would put him there with as many men as he wished for his purposes. Rives said he would undertake to raise that sum in Montgomery and asked Walker to send him bonds for that amount. From Mobile, Walker directed Fayssoux to immediately send Dr. Rives "five bonds of \$1,000."<sup>4</sup>

Upon arriving at New York, Walker approached his friends and promptly wrote to Fayssoux that Morris "was quite communicative in reference to affairs here and appears desirous of going forward with our work. There will be no difficulty he thinks in sending men by tens or twenties to Aspinwall; and I count on being able to devise means for getting them from A. to San Juan del Norte."<sup>5</sup>

In successive letters to Fayssoux, Walker apprised him of the arrangements in the making. On March 5, "Our friend F.M. tells me I can count on passages to Aspinwall. This gives us a basis for future operations." On March 12:

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<sup>3</sup>Walker to Macdonald (New Orleans, 11/23/1859), Item 69 Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>4</sup>Walker to Fayssoux (Mobile, 2/17/1860), Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>5</sup>Walker to Fayssoux (New York, 2/29/1860), Ibid.

The arrangements for passengers to A. are made--as I wrote before. M. seems zealous for the enterprise. He is averse, I think, to pay out money: but as the passages do not require any expenditure they are given. If matters prosper we may get more hereafter. As for myself I do not disdain small beginnings. . . .

When you see Capt. West say to him I shall wish to meet him as soon as possible after I reach New Orleans. I hope he will be able to make arrangements for going to San Juan del Norte. He will be the best man to open a farm on the San Juan River. We can make contracts to send laborers--wood-choppers etc.--out to him. They can go with the necessary implements by tens or fifteens every two weeks.<sup>6</sup>

However, England's forthcoming restitution of the Bay Islands to Honduras made Walker change his plans. About the middle of March, Mr. Elwyn, a British resident of Ruatan, visited Fayssoux in New Orleans, to request from Walker fifty or more men to be sent to the islands "in small parties by the several vessels trading in Ruatan fruit." The immigrants should arrive before the transfer, expected to take place on May 28th, "to assist in preserving the liberties and protecting the property of the islanders in any collision that might occur between them and the Hondureños."<sup>7</sup>

Walker or the immigrants themselves would defray their travel expenses, but Elwyn and his friends would attend to their wants on the islands, and would afterwards collaborate with Walker on his Nicaragua venture. British landowners in

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>"The Walker Expedition," *New York Herald*, 9/1/1860, p.4, c.1. The *Herald's* chronicle doesn't furnish the name of the person who contacted Fayssoux in New Orleans, but Elwyn's name appears in Charles Allen's, Walker's, and Capt. J.S. West's correspondence from Ruatan (Items 6, 68, 71, 72 Fayssoux Collection, Tulane).

the Bay Islands sought help from Walker largely because the lands they occupied "were formerly grants issued by the Honduras government, and those grants have never been transferred by the original owners, consequently they fear for the safety of their property."<sup>8</sup>

When on April 10 Walker arrived in New Orleans from New York, and Fayssoux apprised him of Elwyn's proposal, he discarded his Aspinwall plan. On April 20 he sent Charles Allen and four others to Ruatan on board the schooner *Wm. Abbott*. Three men followed on the *Isaac Toucey* on April 23d, two on the *Dew Drop* on the 25th, Captain J.S. West and two others on the *John A. Taylor* on May 5, eleven more on the *Clifton* on May 18, and twenty on the *Isaac Toucey* on June 2d, for a total of forty-four filibusters who travelled to Ruatan as peaceful immigrants, on fruit trader vessels.

Towards the end of April, Walker went to Mobile, Montgomery and Selma, hoping to collect funds to pay for the fares to Ruatan. His trip was "to some extent successful": At Mobile, Major H.G. Humphries gave him \$180; at Montgomery, Dr. Rives was out of town; at Selma, although he didn't record how much he got, he was "more fortunate."<sup>9</sup>

On June 5, Walker named Fayssoux "General Agent" to remain at New Orleans and act in his behalf "in all matters pertaining to the affairs of Nicaragua and Central America."

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<sup>8</sup>"Later from the Bay Islands," *New Orleans Picayune*; 3/23/1860 eve., p.1, c.7.

<sup>9</sup>Walker to Fayssoux (Mobile, May 7, 1860), Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane. When negotiating for "a small amount of funds" at Montgomery, Walker told Col. Joel Riggs, Secretary of the Southern Insurance Company, and other would-be backers, that "he had assurances of assistance from the French government, if he should be able to regain control of Nicaragua. He alleged there was a perfect understanding between that government and himself, that if he would establish the institution of slavery, by law, in Nicaragua, the French government would see that the French commercial marine should bring to Nicaragua as many slaves from Africa as could be profitably carried there." *Montgomery (Ala.) Mail*, 9/28/1860, reproduced by the *New York Herald*, 10/2/1860, p.5, c.3.

He then boarded the *John A. Taylor* for Ruatan, accompanied by Col. Thomas Henry, Major Thomas Dolan, and two others. Before leaving, he urged Fayssoux to inform Major Humphries "of the slender means at your disposal and of the urgent necessity for getting more money, if possible."<sup>10</sup>

Although Walker travelled incognito, modestly booked as Mr. Williams in the schooner's passenger list, the press immediately announced his departure from New Orleans for Central America. And when he arrived at Port McDonald, Ruatan on the morning of June 16th, he found matters there "in rather a critical condition."<sup>11</sup>

The people of the Islands, mostly blacks, were generally opposed to Americans, for they believed that Americans would make slaves of them. The colored population had manifested uneasiness at the newcomers presence from the beginning, specially after one of the early arrivals told several islanders that he had been with Walker in Nicaragua. The British authorities soon detected the filibusters presence, learned of Elwyn's doings, and reacted accordingly.<sup>12</sup>

Shortly before Walker's arrival at Port McDonald, the English mail steamer from Belize had brought over Superintendent Thomas Price with a body of troops and the Judge, who intended to try Mr. Elwyn for treason. Not finding Elwyn, who had gone with some of Walker's men to another island, the Superintendent and Judge returned to Belize,

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<sup>10</sup>Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>11</sup>Walker to Fayssoux (At Sea on board of Schooner *J. A. Taylor*, 6/22/1860), Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>12</sup>Mr. Elwyn, who was a member of the Ruatan Legislature, had written a note to some of the other members of the Assembly, asking them "to meet and take measures to establish their independence, and establish a government when the British government should withdraw their protection from them." The note had fallen into the hands of the presiding magistrate at Ruatan, who sent it to Mr. Price, the Superintendent at Belize. "Our Belize Correspondence," *New York Herald*, 9/18/1860, p.2, c.6.

leaving some fifty soldiers with a rocket battery at Port McDonald.

Not deeming it prudent to remain in Ruatan under the circumstances, Walker gathered all his men aboard the *Taylor* and on June 21st sailed northward for Cozumel Island, off Yucatan, to wait there for reinforcements from New Orleans. Walker's entire force--forty-nine filibusters--landed at the southern tip of Cozumel on June 23d, taking undisputed possession of two huts and a flock of goats that a lone Indian family left behind, fleeing on the Americans' approach.

The *Taylor* went on to New Orleans. Its skipper, Captain Leonard Lombard, carried a Walker letter to Fayssoux explaining occurrences and requesting more men and supplies, and a short note telling him of his new plans:

Island of Cozumel

June 23d 1860

[To Capt. C.I. Fayssoux]

Dear Captain:

I have just commenced to land the men here. Do not fail to communicate with me by the return of the Taylor. Every thing depends on my being able to see the Taylor on her return trip. I have spoken with Capt. Lombard in relation to bringing men and landing us hereafter in Nicaragua. He will speak with you of the plans.

Yours, truly,

W.W.

Capt. Lombard has several small bills for medicines, kettles, etc., etc. which you will please settle.

W.W.<sup>13</sup>

Without any possibility of success, Walker's only thought was to land in Nicaragua. Moreover, as explained in a June

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<sup>13</sup>Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

22d letter to Fayssoux: "In all events I am determined not to return to the United States, unless by overwhelming necessity." In other words, the Hero's departure was at hand.

Fayssoux forwarded additional men and supplies. Eighteen filibusters left New Orleans on the *Dew Drop* on June 13th; Col. A.F. Rudler headed twenty-five on the *Clifton* on June 23d, and nine left on the next trip of the *Taylor*, on July 5th, furnishing a grant total of 101 men, Walker included, for his descent on Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, upon the formal exchange of the treaty ratifications at Comayagua, on April 18, 1860, the actual transfer of the Bay Islands had been scheduled to take place at the end of July; and when the British authorities at Jamaica learned "of the dissatisfaction with which the approaching transfer is received by some of the inhabitants, and of the recent arrival, at the invitation of these dissatisfied persons, of small parties of adventurers from New Orleans and its neighborhood," the sloop-of-war *Icarus* was sent to Belize, on June 8th, "placed at the disposal of the Superintendent of Honduras, in his capacity of Lieutenant Governor of the Bay Islands."<sup>14</sup>

Towards the end of June, on learning of Walker's visit to Ruatan, Superintendent Price, at Belize, sent the *Icarus* off in search of Walker, who was reported to be at the Swan Islands, and also sent the Attorney General of Belize to Jamaica, to inform Governor C. A. Darling that Walker and his filibusters were in the vicinity. During the next two weeks, besides taking the Attorney General to Jamaica, the *Icarus* visited and examined harbors and coves in the Bay Islands, and in the Swan Islands to the Northeast, without finding Walker, and returned to Belize.

On July 16th, the *Clifton* entered the harbor at Belize to

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<sup>14</sup>"Nature of orders given to Commander Salmon of 'Icarus'," ADM 1-5734, ERD/4350, p. 524, Public Record Office, London.

deliver freight from New Orleans before proceeding to Ruatan. When ready to depart, on the 18th, a Customs House officer came on board, opened several boxes manifested as merchandise for Ruatan, and seized twenty-seven contraband crates found to contain munitions of war. The captain hauled down his flag and surrendered his vessel. He then chartered another schooner and took Colonel Rudler and his men to Ruatan, minus the valuable war supplies.

On July 23d, Superintendent Price went on the *Icarus* to Truxillo, to urge the authorities to be on the alert and place the port in the best possible state of defense, since he believed that Walker's expedition was in fact serious and of great proportions. After attending a ball, on the 24th, in which he toasted President Guardiola, and the Honduran Commander drank to Queen Victoria, Price continued on the *Icarus* to Ruatan on July 25th.

Walker remained at Cozumel until the evening of July 16th, when he sailed on the *Dew Drop* for the Island of Guanaja [Bonacca], where Captain Lombard had agreed to meet him with the *Taylor*. He then waited on the *Dew Drop* off Guanaja until the morning of the 24th, when becoming uneasy at the non-appearance of the *Taylor*, he sailed for Ruatan for news. On approaching the coast, one of his friends on the Island came on board the *Dew Drop* opposite his house and told him that Lombard was still at Port McDonald, that the *Clifton* had not arrived, and that the *Icarus* was in pursuit of his vessel. Walker immediately sent a letter to Lombard, telling him to meet him off the northwest point of Ruatan as soon as possible.

On the 25th, when Superintendent Price arrived on the *Icarus* at Port McDonald, the filibusters from the *Clifton* told him that Walker had returned to New Orleans, and that the expedition was abandoned. They at once went through the motions of chartering from Captain Lombard the schooner *John A. Taylor* to take them up to New Orleans. They went on



board, the schooner sailed in the direction of New Orleans, and Superintendent Price went back to Belize on the *Icarus*.

When a few miles out of sight, Lombard turned his vessel around and met the *Dew Drop* at the appointed spot on the morning of the 27th, bringing on board the *Taylor* the *Clifton* filibusters detained at Belize. Taking stock, Walker then found that he had "very little meat aboard the *Dew Drop* and the *Taylor*, and nothing of consequence in the way of supplies." Moreover, he learned from the *Taylor* "that the Islands were to be certainly given up to Honduras on the 30th of July, notices to that effect having been posted at Coxen Hole by the Presiding Magistrate."<sup>15</sup>

But behind the scenes the transfer had been postponed. On July 7, the British Consul at Comayagua, Edward Hall, had apprised the Honduran government of Walker's presence in the area. President Guardiola's foreign minister, Cresencio Gomes, had immediately requested Governor Darling at Jamaica to delay the transfer of the Bay Islands to Honduras "until the situation changes, and this Government takes the measures imposed by duty and advised by prudence."<sup>16</sup> Governor Darling agreed.

Walker waited for the transfer of the Islands on the 30th, and when it failed to take place, he waited a day longer, and another, until August 3d. It then became evident to him that the transfer would not take place soon; and it was impossible with his short supplies and the prevailing winds to reach Nicaragua in a reasonable time. Consequently, he decided to invade Honduras. In the night of August 5th he landed his entire force--92 men--on the beach, three miles below Truxillo.

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<sup>15</sup>Walker to Fayssoux (Truxillo, August 6, 1860), Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>16</sup>"Parte Oficial," *Gaceta de Honduras*, 7/10/1860, p.1, c.1.

## 30. His Fate Is Sealed

Sources differ on the size of the garrison under Commandant Don Norberto Martínez at the old Spanish fort in Truxillo when Walker attacked on August 6, 1860. Some reports speak of seventy or eighty soldiers; the New Orleans *Delta* chronicle placed Honduran forces at four hundred strong; Commandant Martínez said he had only forty men.

Walker's ninety-two filibusters landed some three miles away at two o'clock in the morning, and it was nearly daylight when all were on shore, marching on the beach of sinking sand. A Carib Indian who saw their boats, gave notice of their approach to the sentinel at the main entrance to the fort. The big gun instantly boomed out the alarm. A squad of soldiers went out to meet the invaders: they waited in ambush and fired a volley, but were quickly dispersed as the Americans rushed up the hill towards the fortress and took possession after a short fight:

On entering the quarters of the officers and soldiers it was evident from the confusion everywhere seen that their notice of our approach was very brief, some of the officers leaving half dressed, and neglecting to pick articles that must be of value to them. Even the prisoners confined in the fort escaped in a hurry, by breaking the hinges of the door that led from their prison house,

yet leaving the door still locked.<sup>1</sup>

At the booming of the gun, the inhabitants of Truxillo, men, women and children, numbering a thousand or more, filled the plaza, some of the men armed with knives, old firearms, sticks and machetes. They all fled on the approach of the Americans to that part of town, leaving Truxillo deserted. The British Consul, Mr. Morrice, promptly left for Ruatan, deputing Mr. William Melhado to act as Consular Agent during his absence. U.S. Consular Agent Mr. Edward Prudot, sailed for Ruatan, too, leaving American interests in town under Walker's care.<sup>2</sup>

Walker had captured the city at the cost of none killed and only four wounded. A filibuster chronicler reported that Honduran losses were considerable, although impossible to correctly estimate because the enemy had carried off their casualties with them as they fled. Another filibuster source fixed Honduran losses at twelve killed and eighteen wounded, while Consular Agent Prudot informed the State Department that two defenders had been killed and three wounded.

Setting up headquarters at the fort, Walker wrote a long letter to Fayssoux on August 6th, giving him "a hasty sketch of events" culminating with his capture of Truxillo that morning. He was then clinging to a forlorn delusion of British support which showed his unshaken faith in destiny:

. . . Always I have striven to take the course which would leave us as little as possible at the caprice of

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<sup>1</sup>"Our Truxillo Correspondence," *New York Herald*, 9/1/1860, p.4, c.3.

<sup>2</sup>Prudot abandoned Truxillo on August 12th, because "this place was then untenable," and on the 17th wrote to Walker from Ruatan, putting him in charge "of protecting American property" in Truxillo. E. Prudot to A. Follin (Truxillo, 9/6/1860), Microfilm Publication T-477, reel 3, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

fortune; but "man proposes, God disposes", and I must certainly admit that in some respects we seem to have been favored by events entirely beyond our own control. The manner in which we were missed by the English steamer appears surprising; and it, together with other facts, have almost brought me to the conclusion that the British government, for some reason or other, is not unfavorable to our presence in this region.<sup>3</sup>

On the 7th, Walker issued a Proclamation to the people of Honduras, avowing his presence in Truxillo to be a preliminary step for regaining possession of Nicaragua. His object was to overthrow the Guardiola government---first, for the sake of the poor and injured Bay Islanders, and then for himself and his fellow fillbusters, to "secure a return to their adopted country."<sup>4</sup>

For any attempt to overthrow Guardiola, Walker needed native allies, of which he had none. Worse still, he ignored who was who in the country. In his first letter from Truxillo, he confided to Fayssoux that he was sending to Ruatan for a person familiar with Honduras and the prominent people in the interior, who hopefully would help him establish friendly relations with those who might assist him. And, of course, he again urged Fayssoux to send him more men and supplies from New Orleans:

You know pretty well what our wants are, and I know you will do all you can to supply them. We have got a position from which all the force of Honduras cannot drive us. If we get more men and the supplies they require we will decide the destiny of Central America.

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<sup>3</sup>Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>4</sup>See full text in Appendix K.

Adieu: and let me add what you do, "do quickly."<sup>5</sup>

Walker hoped that "the news of our landing in Central America will bring men and I hope it will draw out the necessary contributions from the Southern people." To that end, his propaganda mill was then working in earnest, under the direction of his "Aid and Secretary" Mr. Charles Allen (the *New York Herald* correspondent of the *Susan* expedition), setting afloat fantastic stories like the following:

New Orleans, August 23, 1860.

The schooner *Dew Drop*, from Ruatan, has arrived at this port. She was at the bar during the capture of Truxillo. . . . Walker was still in possession. He has declared for Cabanas and issued a proclamation.

New Orleans, August 25, 1860.

Advices from Honduras say that Generals Walker and Cabanas will probably meet at Comayagua, when a general government will be established.<sup>6</sup>

Former Honduran President Trinidad Cabañas was then living in retirement in El Salvador, where, upon hearing the yarn of a Cabañas revolution in alliance with Walker, the press commented: "It is possible that the bandit Walker has propagated such a story in order to popularize and strengthen his cause; but no person possessing common sense, and who, without knowing him, has acquaintance with the character and qualities of the General [Cabañas], would give it credit."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>6</sup> "The Capture of Truxillo Confirmed," *New York Herald*, 8/24/1860, p.5, c.2; "News from Honduras," *Ibid.*, 8/26/1860, p.4, c.6.

<sup>7</sup> "Movements of General Walker," *New York Herald*, 8/26/1860, p.5, c.2.

Walker himself, on August 16th, warned Fayssoux not to believe the rumors concerning Cabañas. In fact, during his stay in Truxillo Walker failed to find a single Honduran to collaborate with his cause. That the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny had no friends in Central America in 1860 was obvious to all in the region, and clearly expressed by an American resident in Honduras in a Letter to the Editor of the *New York Herald*: "It is a mistake that Walker has friends in Central America. He is universally hated and abhorred, and if again captured his fate is sealed."<sup>8</sup>

When that letter was published, Walker's fate was indeed about to be sealed. Both the *John A. Taylor* and the *Dew Drop* had sailed for New Orleans with their cargoes of Ruatan fruit after Walker had used them for capturing Truxillo, when on the evening of August 19th the sloop-of-war *Icarus* entered the harbor. The following morning at daylight, Captain Norvell Salmon anchored "at a good position abreast of the fort" and then landed to assess the situation.

He found "Mr. Walker with about 90 men, in charge of the fort, but flying Hondurian colors, while the town was entirely deserted, with the exception of Mr. Melhado, who had kept the British Flag flying."<sup>9</sup> The Acting Consular Agent informed him that "the Customs receipts of the Port of Truxillo were mortgaged to the British Crown in payment of a debt"; that on August 6th the Treasure chest containing the receipts of the Customs, had fallen into Walker's hands; and that Walker had thus "possessed himself of the sum of Three Thousand, eight hundred and fifty-five dollars, which was put aside to

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<sup>8</sup>"The Walker Filibuster Expedition," *New York Herald*, 8/25/1860, p.3, c.4.

<sup>9</sup>Norvell Salmon to Senior Officer of H.M. Ships, Jamaica (Belize, 9/11/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

defray part of the said claim."<sup>10</sup>

Salmon requested Melhado to obtain confirmation of his assertion from the Commandant of the Port, Don Norberto Martínez, who was encamped in the neighborhood. Upon receipt of a letter from Martínez, confirming the statement of Melhado, Salmon on August 21st sent a peremptory "request" to Walker, imposing the following terms: that he and his followers be prepared to lay down their arms and re-embark; that they deliver all arms and military stores belonging to the expedition to the recognized Honduran authorities; and that they also deliver to the proper authorities the Custom house money and Government paper they had taken. Salmon pledged to Walker and his men that "upon these terms being complied with, safety for person, and private property will be guaranteed by the English Flag."<sup>11</sup>

In his reply, of the same date, Walker told Salmon that he didn't regard it dishonorable to lay down his arms to an officer of the British Crown; that in regard to re-embarking, he wished to know on what vessel and whose expense the re-embarking was to take place; that concerning the money and papers, they never came into his possession, and therefore it was impossible for him to deliver them up; and he improved on the occasion, explaining to the English captain his reasons for filibustering:

It would be a long story for me to tell why I claim the right to make war on the existing authorities of Honduras; suffice it to say that my presence here at this time is due entirely to the engagement which I con-

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<sup>10</sup> Melhado to Salmon (Truxillo, 8/20/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

<sup>11</sup> Salmon to Walker (Truxillo, 8/21/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

sidered I had in honor contracted with a people desirous of living in Central America, under the ancient laws and customs of the English realm; claiming with their common interests under institutions derived from the Code of Alfred, I thought it no wrong to assist them in the maintenance of rights they had lawfully acquired.<sup>12</sup>

Salmon's instant rejoinder reminded Walker that neither the government nor the people of Honduras wished the Code of Alfred introduced into the country in the manner that he proposed; that he and his followers must provide frelghtage to remove themselves from the coast of Honduras; that there were schooners in port ready to assist him for that purpose; that whether he or any of his followers took the Custom House money made no difference, for in any case he, Walker, was responsible for the loss; and, finally:

I must also inform you with reference to a clause in your letter, that my instructions do not permit me to recognize the right of any private individual to make war on a recognized Government, and must confess, do not see what rights, "a people desirous of living in Central America", can have lawfully acquired.

I must again repeat my demand of this morning, and request you will inform me when your arrangements for re-embarkation are complete, feeling sure you will comply, knowing what must result from a refusal.<sup>13</sup>

On receiving Salmon's second letter, Walker requested permission to postpone his answer till the following morning by which time his arrangements would be complete. Salmon

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<sup>12</sup>Walker to Salmon (Truxillo, 8/21/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

<sup>13</sup>Salmon to Walker (Truxillo, 8/21/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.



consented, knowing that Walker had been communicating with the captains of a couple of schooners in the harbor. Next morning (the 22d) not seeing anyone moving in the fort, he sent an officer on shore to examine it, and on his return learned that Walker had marched out with his followers before midnight, each man carrying his rifle and about 120 rounds of ammunition.

Walker left behind him in the fort all his spare arms, military stores and provisions, in addition to his entire hospital consisting of three wounded, one of whom was his second in command Col. Thomas Henry, and three sick, one of whom was his aid and secretary Charles Allen, under the care of his army surgeon Dr. E. H. Newton, and an hospital attendant. Salmon evacuated them to Ruatan, all except Henry, who died and was quietly buried in Truxillo on August 26th.<sup>14</sup>

Truxillians began to return to their homes, and Martínez sent eighty men in pursuit of Walker, who had marched eastward down the coast. On reaching the Roman river, unable to ford it at its mouth, Walker followed along its left

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<sup>14</sup>Walter Stanley, wounded on August 6 at the storming of the fort, in his old age recalled that "On August 8 Colonel Henry . . . stepped into the magazine where [Lieut. John] Ryan had some men preparing ammunition for the cannon. Henry was smoking a cigar and Ryan sharply ordered him out of the magazine. Henry, who had been drinking, drew his bowie knife and started for Ryan, whereupon the latter promptly drew his revolver and shot Henry, the ball striking him in the mouth, breaking his right jawbone. General Walker was quickly on the spot, and had Henry brought into the room where I lay, and proceeded to examine his injuries, and apply such remedies as were at hand." James C. Jamison, *With Walker in Nicaragua*, p.169. In *The War* (p. 289) Walker observed that Henry's "disposition to get into danger kept him in the list of wounded nearly the whole time he was in Nicaragua. During the war in Central America, there was no better soldier engaged in it than Henry." The New Orleans *Delta's* obituary told that Henry "was a man of remarkable courage, but of a violent and turbulent temper, and was frequently involved in personal broils and duels. . . . In every battle and in nearly every duel in which he was engaged he was wounded. He began his career in the ranks of the American Army in Mexico . . . At the battle of Chapultepec Henry was one of the first of the storming party to scale the walls of the enemy, and, though dreadfully wounded, never halted until he was within the walls of the fort." Item 156, Payssoux Collection, Tulane.

bank, and on the morning of the 24th camped at a place called Cotton Tree, about thirty miles from the ocean. In the afternoon, with the filibusters resting and lying under the trees, without the slightest suspicion of an enemy being near, the Hondurans attacked, firing upon them from the thickets. In the ensuing skirmish, one filibuster was killed and about a dozen wounded, among them, Walker. As chronicled in the New Orleans *Delta* by Major T. Dolan and Captain C. H. West:

... He [Walker] quickly collected his little band together, and forming them into two companies, ordered them to charge in different directions, one up and the other down the river. Major Dolan, with company B, charged the principal party with great impetuosity, but General Walker, having got a little ahead of his party, was fired at by a Honduran at a distance of two paces, who wounded him in the face. The General, however, quickly brought down his assailant with his ten shooter, and the rest of the Hondurans fled in great confusion, leaving their killed and wounded behind. Of this party of one hundred and forty, but thirty got back to Truxillo. When it is considered that Walker's men were all veterans, and were armed with Minie muskets, this loss is not at all an improbable one.<sup>15</sup>

On the night of the 24th, Walker crossed the Roman river and continued eastward to the recently abandoned mahogany works at Limas, from which place he sent two men in a canoe to Ruatan, for provisions. He then passed through Indian

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<sup>15</sup>"Very Interesting from Honduras," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1. In his official report, Don Norberto Martínez stated that he sent eighty men in pursuit of Walker, but he didn't give the number of casualties. The Honduran strength and casualties seem grossly inflated in the Dolan-West account, as are other figures in their narrative. For instance, they said that Salmon demanded Walker to pay \$60,000 allegedly taken from the Custom House, when the correct figure, in Salmon's letter to Walker, is \$3,855.

villages where, according to Dolan and West, "Walker's party was kindly received by the native Carybs [*Sic*]," and also received "now and then a straggling shot from some prowling Hondurans."

On August 27th, Walker reached Black river (*Río Negro* or *Tinto*), and encamped at the trading post of an Englishman named Demsing [or Dickens], two and a half miles from the sea coast. Meanwhile, on the 26th, General Mariano Alvarez had arrived at Olanchito with 200 men from the Interior. On the 31st, they embarked at Truxillo on the schooner *Correo* for Black river, accompanied by Captain Salmon on the *Icarus*.

Hampered by light winds, Salmon got up steam and the *Icarus* arrived at the mouth of Black river on September 2d, ahead of the schooner. He arrived just in time to seize a small sloop laden with plantains from Ruatan for Walker, and to take as prisoners all who were aboard.

Upon reconnoitering, Salmon learned that Walker was then "occupying and strengthening" Mr. Dicken's house on the tongue of land between the two forks of the river, that Walker "himself had had fever, that a number of his men were wounded, and a great part of the remainder ill from fever, and privation of every description."<sup>16</sup>

On the 3d, at 3 p.m., Captain Salmon proceeded up the river in his own gig, accompanied by General Alvarez and with the boats of the *Icarus* fully "manned and armed." As told in his official report:

On landing I walked into Mr. Dicken's house, where Mr. Walker had taken up his quarters, demanding that he should immediately surrender unconditionally, and desired that he would fall his men in, and lay down his

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<sup>16</sup> Norvell Salmon to Senior Officer of H.M. Ships, Jamaica (Belize, 9/11/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

arms, which he did.

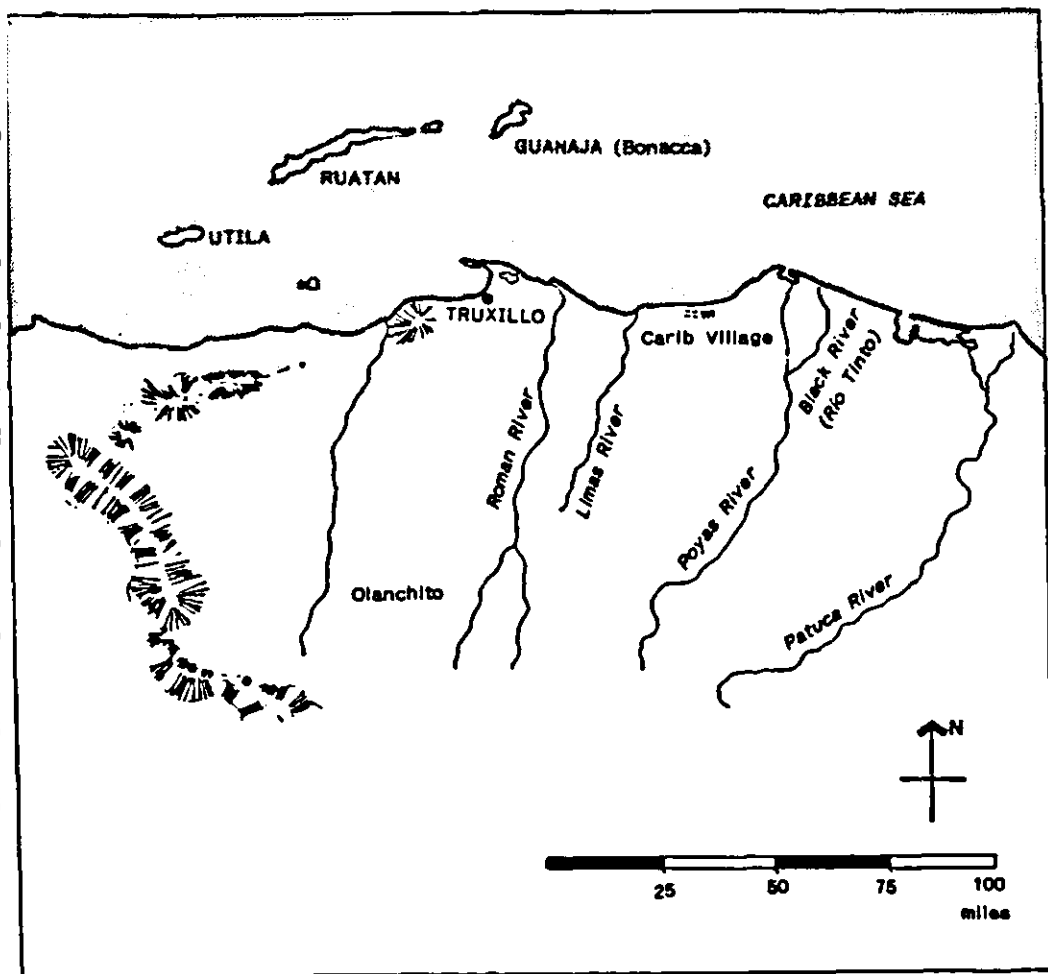
I immediately had the arms put into the boats and returned on board, leaving Lieut. Cox, with all the marines, in charge of the prisoners.

I found that the account I had received of their wretched condition, had not been at all exaggerated; that out of the whole number (73) ten were wounded, and 21 sick in hospital, and of the rest not more than 20 could have walked a mile; though although they had always been able to procure beef, they had gone for many days, without bread or vegetables of any description.<sup>17</sup>

Fearing an attempt to escape on the part of Walker, and his second in command Colonel Rudler, Lieut. Cox sent them on board the *Icarus* the same evening, while General Alvarez hurried back to Truxillo on the *Correo* to prepare for their reception. The following morning (September 4th), the remaining filibusters embarked, and the *Icarus* returned under steam to Truxillo, where it arrived about midnight.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*



Truxillo and environs



### Truxillo

*"The big gun instantly boomed out the alarm" (p. 298)*





**Captain Norvell Salmon**

## 31. Truxillo, September 12, 1860

On September 5th, at Truxillo, Captain Norvell Salmon signed a formal agreement, witnessed by British Acting Consular Agent William Melhado and American Consular Agent Edward Prudot, pledging:

. . . to deliver up unconditionally to Senor Don Mariano Alvarez, General commanding the forces of Honduras the persons of Mr. William Walker, and Mr. A. F. Rudler the leaders of the Fillibusters that surrendered to me at Black river, on the 3rd instant, to be dealt with according to Law.

Also to deliver up as prisoners, the persons of their followers (70 in number) officers and men, subject to the conditions that they be permitted to return to the United States, on giving their oaths not to serve in any future expedition against any of the Central American States.

Their passages will be provided by the Consular agent of the United States. I also agree to deliver up to General Alvarez, all the arms and munitions of war taken from the said Fillibusters.<sup>1</sup>

*A New York Herald* correspondent visited the filibusters on

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<sup>1</sup>Sub: Enc: No. 8--in Enc: No. 1--in Jamaica Letter No. 11 of 1860, ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.



board the *Icarus* at Truxillo as the news of the agreement became public immediately. He found them "all in bad health and filthy as possible." He interviewed Walker, who handed him the original correspondence which had passed on August 21st between himself and Salmon, which he said he would like to have published. He also requested the reporter to write out, at his dictation, a brief protest against his surrender to the Honduras authorities. Walker's dictation was "calm and deliberate," giving the journalist "ample opportunity to write down every word before pronouncing the next":

#### PROTEST OF GENERAL WALKER.

I hereby protest, before the civilized world, that when I surrendered to the captain of her Majesty's steamer *Icarus*, that officer expressly received my sword and pistol, as well as the arms of Colonel Rudler; and the surrender was expressly and in so many words to him, as the representative of Her Britannic Majesty.

WILLIAM WALKER.

On board the steamer *Icarus*, September 5, 1860.<sup>2</sup>

Reaction to Walker's protest was predictable. On the one hand, Bennett, in the *New York Herald*, commented that Walker "surrendered to Commander Salmon, as the representative of her Britannic Majesty, and that officer, in giving him up to the weak and blood-thirsty local authorities for execution, has cast a stain upon British honor and the British flag which no repentance on the part of Commander Salmon can ever wash out."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Salmon's superior officer at Jamaica, Captain Samuel Morrish, reported to the Admiralty in

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<sup>2</sup>"Important from Honduras," *New York Herald*, 9/28/1860, p.7, c.2.

<sup>3</sup>"The Execution of Walker--The British Flag Dishonored," *New York Herald*, 9/28/1860, p.6, c.4.

London: "In my opinion Commander Salmon has acted most promptly and judiciously in crushing the nest of vipers and thus averting the troubles that would have accrued had Walker and his associates been permitted to go ahead."<sup>4</sup>

Walker and his associates landed for the last time, in Truxillo, on September 6th, 1860. Three large barges brought the filibusters on shore, guarded by the marines of the *Icarus*. On disembarking the English force formed line in front, while the prisoners walked down between two ranks of Honduran soldiers. According to eyewitness accounts published by the *Diario de la Marina* in Havana:

With the exception of some few of the filibusters, all the rest looked like so many corpses, and some were in an almost dying state. With their sad and woe-begone expression, they seemed to be cursing the leader who had brought them to such an extremity.

The march on entering was slow and solemn. Walker, at the head of his men, dressed with much simplicity, marched, keeping time to the beat of the drum, and was the object upon which every eye was fixed. As soon as he entered the prison he was placed in heavy irons, and being asked if he needed anything, replied with but one word--"water."

Soon afterwards he sent for the chaplain of this port, and, declaring his faith as a Roman Catholic, knelt at the feet of the priest, in front of a small altar, on which the glimmering light of some candles faintly discovered an image of the Saviour. Amongst other things he said to the chaplain "I am resigned to die; my political career is finished."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Morrish to The Secretary of the Admiralty (Imann at Jamaica, 9/24/1860), ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

<sup>5</sup>"Newspaper Accounts," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1.

Don Norberto Martínez, Commandant of Truxillo, lost no time in instituting a summary court for the trial of Walker and Rudler, and proceeded to separately interrogate them as soon as they arrived in prison. Walker answered all questions in Spanish, but for Rudler an interpreter was needed. On learning that Walker was a Catholic, Adela Prudot de Martínez, wife of Don Norberto, sent him a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary which the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny kept in his cell, in solitary confinement, during his last days on earth.

To the question of who had helped him in his last expedition, Walker answered that several persons in the United States who belonged to a "Southern States' Rights" political party with a membership of several hundred thousands. Its aims, generally speaking, were the same as those listed in the preamble of a book the authorities had found in his possession, styled, "Constitution and Bye Laws of the Supreme Grand Lodge of the League of the Red Star, of the United States."<sup>6</sup>

Martínez continued interrogating the prisoners on the succeeding days and examining witnesses to establish the facts of the case. Thereupon, he charged Walker and Rudler with having committed "piracy and filibusterism," and on

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<sup>6</sup>The preamble reads: "In order to guard, perpetuate and extend the Institution of 'Negro Slavery,' as the basis of the most solid, durable, and beneficent social and industrial system which exists in the world.--In order to organize opinion in favor of that Institution, and make that opinion effectual as a moral, a political, and if need be a physical power.--In order finally to fortify a just cause, with all the elements of strength, and to maintain, the right at every hazard, as the best proof which men can give that they are worthy to enjoy its benefits.--The friends of the South, and her institutions have formed themselves into a league, and adopted the following:--Rules . . ." Sub: Enc: No. 9--in Enc: No. 1--in Jamaica Letter No. 11 of 1860, ADM 1 5738--ERD/4350, Public Record Office, London.

Thomas F. Fisher, the Know-Nothing slavery propagandist who had helped Walker from the beginning, appeared as Supreme Grand Secretary of the Supreme Grand Lodge of the League of the Red Star, organized in New Orleans in April, 1860.

September 9 sent the proceedings to General Mariano Alvarez for sentence. Walker, in his defense, alleged that

"Piracy" is an offence well defined by law and consists in robbery on the high seas. The crime cannot be committed on the land, and therefore it was impossible for me to have been guilty of it when attacking the garrison of Trujillo on the morning of the 6th of August last. Besides, the idea of robbery or intent to rob is inseparable from that of piracy. Now, all persons in Trujillo during the time I occupied the place can bear witness that far from robbing or permitting others to rob, I did all I could to maintain order and make property and persons safe and secure. As to "Filibusterism", the word has no legal signification, and it is therefore impossible for me to know with what I am charged when accused of "Filibusterism."<sup>7</sup>

All defense was futile. On September 11, General Alvarez found the accused guilty as charged, and sentenced Walker to death and Rudler to four years imprisonment. At seven o'clock in the evening, the Secretary of the Court notified the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny of the sentence of death passed upon him, and his reply to the fatal messenger was "that he didn't consider it just, and signed."<sup>8</sup> He then asked at what hour he would be executed, and if he should have time to write.

That night, Walker wrote several letters to family and friends in the United States, which he gave to General Alvarez, who forwarded them sealed to their destination.

On the 12th, at eight o'clock in the morning, Walker was

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<sup>7</sup>See full text in Appendix L.

<sup>8</sup>*Proceso de William Walker--Trujillo 1860*, Ms. facsimile ed. (Tegucigalpa: Partido Nacional de Honduras, 1969), p. 20.

marched to the Plaza de Armas, the place of execution. "He went with a crucifix in his hand, upon which he bent all his regards, looking neither to the right nor to the left, but listening piously to the psalms which the priest recited in his ear."<sup>9</sup> As *The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want* . . . penetrated the darkness of his Inner Crescent City, the inmates' response sang his own requiem, with Byron:

*Hark! the hymn is singing--  
The song for the dead below,  
Or the living who shortly shall be so!  
For a departing being's soul  
The death-hymn peals and the hollow bells knoll;  
He is near his mortal goal;  
. . . . .  
While the crowd in a speechless circle gather  
To see the Son fall by the doom of the Father!*<sup>10</sup>

Walker entered the square, where, at the place of execution, the troops were drawn up, and there, full of resignation, pronounced his last speech:

I am a Roman Catholic. The war which I made on Honduras, at the suggestion of certain people at Ruatan, was unjust. Those who accompanied me are not to blame. I alone am guilty. I ask pardon of the people. I receive death with resignation. Would that it were one for the good of society.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>"He Confesses His Guilt," *New York Tribune*, 10/4/1860, p.6, c.5.

<sup>10</sup>*Parisina*, 15.391-396;405-406.

<sup>11</sup>"Newspaper Accounts," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1. This is the eyewitness account published by the *Diario de la Marina* in Havana. Other eyewitnesses described additional details. According to the *New York Herald* correspondent writing from Truxillo on September 18, 1860, Walker "requested the priest in attendance, inasmuch as he could not speak loud

Walker sat down, and died with extraordinary coolness as a file of ten soldiers advanced and fired. His remains were decently buried that afternoon, at the Truxillo cemetery, with the usual rites of the Catholic church. The coffin, paid by the American Consular Agent, cost the U.S. Government ten dollars and twenty five cents.

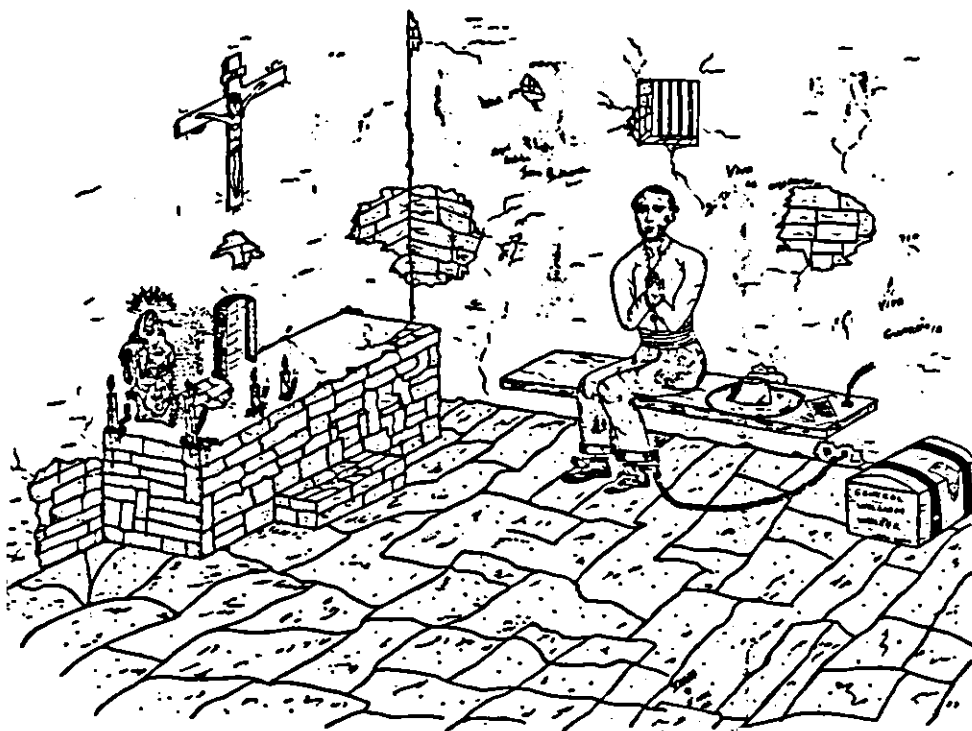
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enough to be heard, to say to the people that he asked the pardon of all whom he had injured in his present expedition, &c., which is variously reported by various persons." "Our Truxillo Correspondence," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1. Walker's repentance and last words were also recorded by the *Gaceta de Honduras* (Comayagua, 9/30/1860, p.1, c.1) in a "Remitido" from Truxillo, Sept. 12, 1860, signed "F.C."





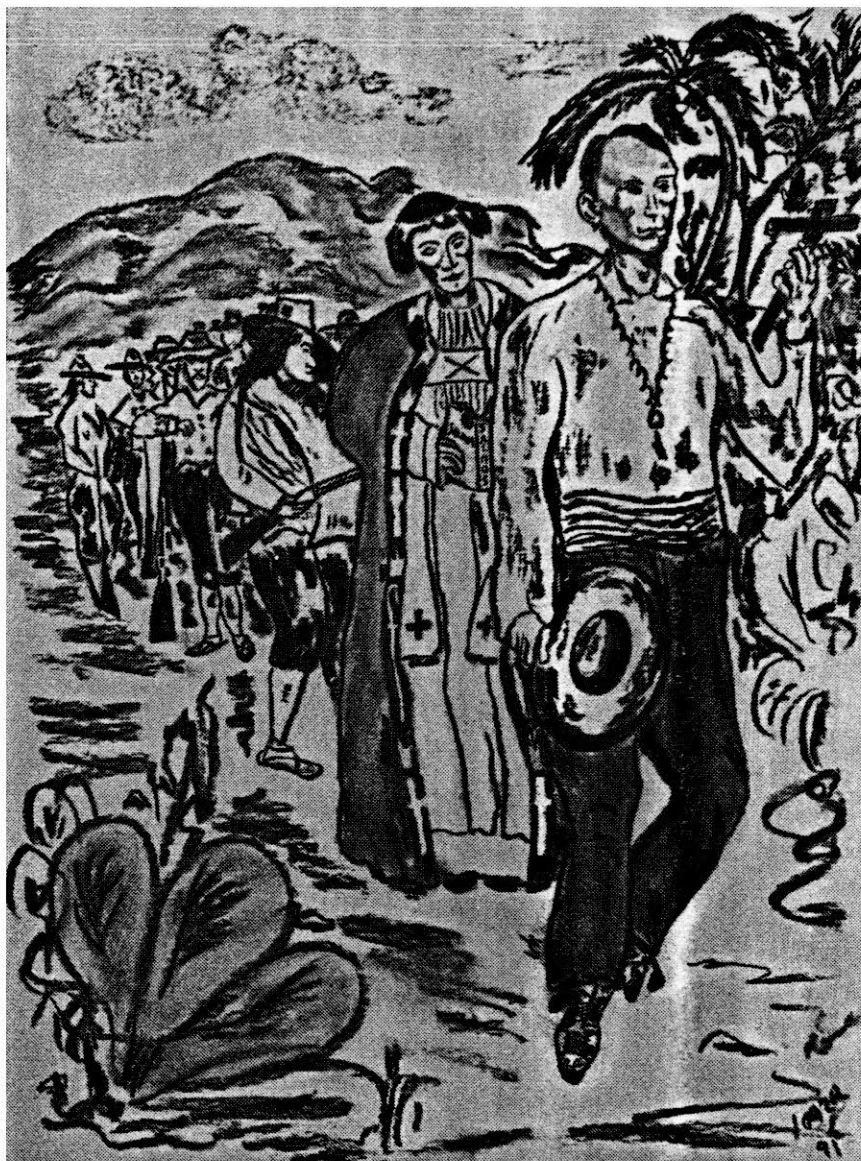
*"statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary which the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny kept in his cell, in solitary confinement, during his last days on earth" (p. 315)*



*"he was placed in heavy irons . . ." (p. 314)*

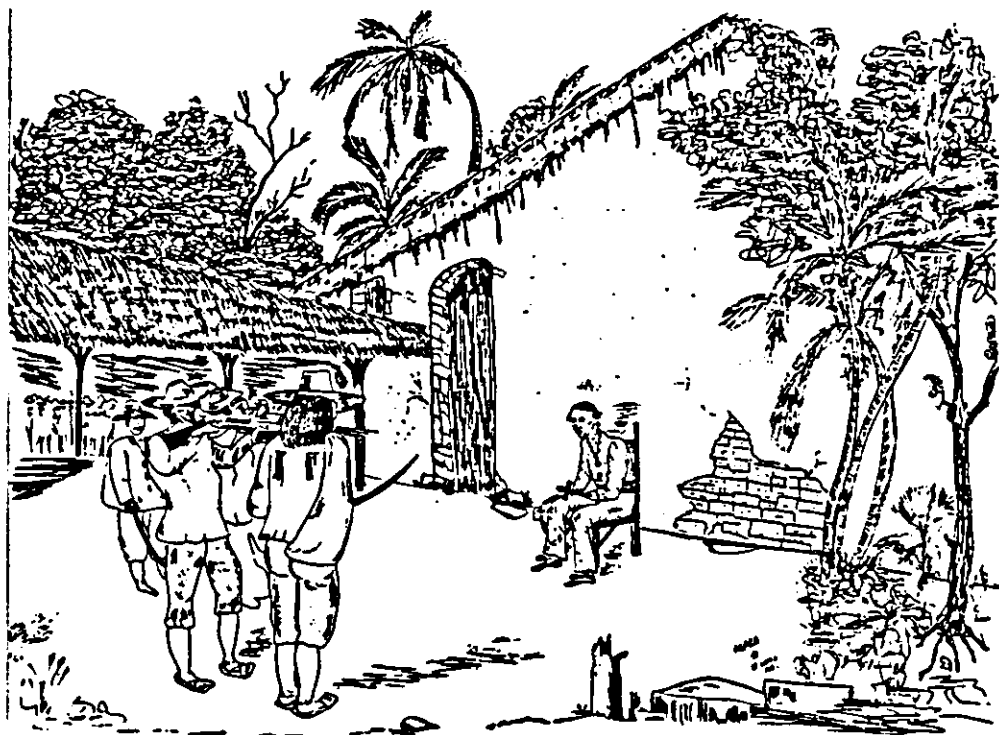
*"Like the author of 'Childe Harold,' he loved the name of 'Mary,' and was also doomed to awaken from a dream of bliss" (Book One, p. 160).*





*"He went with a crucifix in his hand . . ."* (p. 317)

*" . . . Now we climb  
the side of Calvary, and stand upon  
the Martyr mound where died the Son of God."  
(Book One, p. 124).*



*"a file of ten soldiers advanced and fired" (p. 318)*





*"His remains were decently buried that afternoon, at the Truxillo cemetery, with the usual rites of the Catholic church"*  
(p. 318)

## EPILOGUE

*He lies low in the level'd sand,  
Unshelter'd from the tropic sun,  
And now, of all he knew, not one  
Will speak him fair in that far land.*

Joaquin Miller.  
*Walker in Nicaragua.*

American Consular Agent Edward Prudot condensed the end of Walker on September 12, 1860 at Truxillo in one pithy sentence: "At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past eight, this morning Mr. Wm. Walker, was shot, he met death like a Christian and a man, *pour lui, c'est la fin.*"<sup>1</sup>

The *Diario de la Marina* at Havana, on recounting a few days later "the tragic end of the famous filibuster chief," commented: "it is extremely gratifying to us to notice the Christian death of this celebrated leader. It is a pity that one who had such sentiments should have been capable of leading a life which caused so many misfortunes to humanity."<sup>2</sup>

Bennett, in the *New York Herald*, pointed out that "The death of Walker puts an end to the school of filibusterism which he developed. The great error of his policy was that it was not animated by a sympathy with and did not seek to

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<sup>1</sup>E. Prudot to A. Pollin (Truxillo, 9/12/1860), Microfilm Publication T-477, reel 3, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup>"Newspaper Accounts," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1.



cultivate the attachment of, the people it aimed to rule."<sup>3</sup> The *Herald's* Truxillo correspondent observed that upon the execution of the Gray-Eyed Man of Destiny "there was a deep feeling of sympathy for his fate on the part of the people generally, nor does there appear to be any spirit of vindictiveness on the part of the government and its officers."<sup>4</sup>

The remnants of Walker's last expedition returned from Truxillo to New Orleans. Seven men sailed on September 16th on the steamer *Osceola*, via Havana; fifty-nine men sailed on the British ship-of-war *Gladiator* on September 20th. Upon arrival at New Orleans, their spokesmen, Major Dolan and Captain West, told the press that, during their detention, the prisoners had "received many acts of kindness from Spanish citizens residing in Truxillo, for which they express themselves in terms of warm gratitude." Both asserted that "While in prison they mourned the sad fate of their late beloved and heroic commander," and that before leaving Truxillo they had seen Col. Rudler "riding on a mule into the country, under a guard of soldiers."<sup>5</sup>

Captain West went back to Truxillo in November, with a coffin, in order to take the remains of Walker to the United States. He was unsuccessful in his mission, allegedly in consequence of the laws of Honduras prohibiting exhumation.

Col. Rudler served only five months at the State Prison in Comayagua: he was pardoned and released by President Guardiola and the Honduras Legislature on February 21, 1861.

Summarized in figures, Walker's last expedition told the story of his utterly inadequate resources. Total expenses, defrayed by his supporters, possibly fell short of \$5,000.

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<sup>3</sup>"Walker's Last Speech," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.6, c.5.

<sup>4</sup>"Our Truxillo Correspondence," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1.

<sup>5</sup>"Newspaper Accounts," *New York Herald*, 10/4/1860, p.4, c.1.

From June 27 to August 6, Walker drew drafts on Fayssoux for \$1,127.42 to pay for his chartering the *Dew Drop*, for beef, plantains, canvass to make cartridge boxes (after the British seized his munitions at Belize), and other supplies. At Truxillo, on August 6, he wrote to Fayssoux that he planned to recoup that money, and some more, by the sale of Honduran property he had seized: ". . . These drafts, therefore, amount in all to something upwards of \$1,100. I have property here which if I could get it to New Orleans would more than cover this amount. Two brass guns alone might, even if sold for old metal, bring \$1,500."<sup>6</sup>

Walker's expeditionary army consisted of one hundred filibusters, fifteen of them veterans of the Nicaragua campaign. Out of the hundred, eight were killed (nine, including Walker), two died from illness, and eleven deserted. Fifty additional men left New Orleans upon receipt of the news that he had captured Truxillo, but too late to join him: thirty sailed on the *J.A. Taylor* on August 30, arrived at Truxillo on September 13, and went back to New Orleans without landing when fired at from the fort; twenty sailed on the *Dew Drop* on September 17 and returned to New Orleans next morning after the schooner accidentally "was run into by the steamer *Austin*" in the river.<sup>7</sup>

By comparison, five thousand filibusters had been with Walker in Nicaragua, and over three thousand died there.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Item 68, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane. It is noteworthy that in his correspondence with Fayssoux Walker made no reference to any money taken from the Custom House, and that the authorities did not attempt to elucidate the matter during his trial.

<sup>7</sup> Item 85, Fayssoux Collection, Tulane.

<sup>8</sup> See statistics in Appendix M. Out of 5,200 filibusters who arrived in the country, 1,060 were evacuated at the end of the war. Reportedly 250 decided to stay in Central America (most of them in Costa Rica), and perhaps 500 (probably less) had managed to return to the United States during the war, leaving 3,400 dead.

If we add all emigrants, stranded travellers, women, and children, more than six thousand Americans were in Nicaragua and four thousand died during the Walker war. The number of Central Americans slaughtered in the conflict surpassed filibuster losses severalfold--ten thousand Costa Rican dead alone from the pestilence nurtured in the wells filled with corpses at Rivas.<sup>9</sup>

Walker's intervention generated a loathing of Americans in Nicaragua, graphically chronicled by one who remained at San Juan del Norte after the war:

There is not now a single American to be found within the limits of Nicaragua, save half a dozen on the Isthmus. . . . I am inclined to think that if the mother of little Billy had known that his name would become in future such a terror to the simple Nicaraguans, she would have strangled him in the cradle.<sup>10</sup>

The death of Walker produced "general rejoicing among the Nicaraguans."<sup>11</sup> After the passing of an entire century, "Walker is still vividly remembered in Central America," especially in Nicaragua, "as a devil with horns and a tail."<sup>12</sup> Today, Walker is the deep, thick root that feeds anti-Yankee sentiments into the Nicaraguan children's hearts, and anchors Sandinista hostility to the United States. In an historical perspective, the Battle of San Jacinto is the Nicaraguan

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<sup>9</sup>See Book 3, p. 373; Book 4, p. 155.

<sup>10</sup>"Interesting from Central America," *New York Herald*, 10/25/1857, p.2, c.6.

<sup>11</sup>"Despatches from Nicaragua," *New York Herald*, 10/16/1860, p.7, c.1.

<sup>12</sup>Frederic Rosengarten, *freebooters must die!*, (Wayne, Pa.: Haverford House, Publishers, 1976), p. ix.

Fourth of July.<sup>13</sup>

In Costa Rica, the Battle of Santa Rosa and hero Juan Santamaría permanently kindle patriotic fervor. Juan, a young soldier from Alajuela, personifies the heroic Costa Ricans in the war. His deed: "he set on fire the filibuster stronghold" on the west side of the Plaza at the battle of Rivas, April 11, 1856, "with the sacrifice of his life."<sup>14</sup> But, in fact, there is no reference to Santamaría in any of the fresh accounts of the battle, and Juan died a victim of the cholera on his return to Costa Rica, far from Rivas.<sup>15</sup>

According to Lorenzo Montúfar, who was Costa Rican Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Walker war, "on the days following the battle of Rivas nobody mentioned Santamaría, although the acts of heroism of other combatants were recounted." Years later, at a patriotic celebration, a speaker presented Santamaría "as an admirable personage." A young writer, Alvaro Contreras, "facile with words and with strong pen, and filled with enthusiasm on reading the speech, wrote a number of newspaper articles in which he placed Juan Santamaría on a par with the highest characters of heroic times."<sup>16</sup>

The hero was born years after his death. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Santamaría had become the

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<sup>13</sup>San Jacinto on September 14 and Nicaraguan Independence from Spain on the 15th, form a single holiday which belongs to heroes Andrés Castro and José Dolores Estrada (See Book Four, p. 110).

<sup>14</sup>Enrique Guier, *William Walker*, (San José, Costa Rica: Litografía Lehmann, 1971), p. 196.

<sup>15</sup>On page 34 of the *Libro de Defunciones de la Campaña Nacional de 1856 y 1857*, at the Archivo Eclesiástico in San José, certificate No. 384 reads: "In the Campaign, on returning from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, soldier Juan Santamaría, single, from Alajuela, died of the cholera, was buried, and I certify it with my signature. (Signed) Francisco Calvo."

<sup>16</sup>Lorenzo Montúfar, *Walker en Centro-América*, (Guatemala: Tipografía La Unión, 1887), p. 341.

"personification of the courage [of the Costa Rican people], in defense of the Motherland, against the foreign oppressor."<sup>17</sup> At an "*Información ad perpetuam*" in Alajuela in 1891, veterans of the Walker war testified with aplomb that on April 11, 1856 they had seen Juan setting the filibuster stronghold on fire at Rivas, and falling dead on the spot.

In 1981, the Sandinista government at Managua offered to repatriate Santamaría's bones from Rivas. Culture Minister Ernesto Cardenal's panel of experts "located and certified" the hero's mortal remains, which Comandante Daniel Ortega delivered "in a pompous ceremony" to Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo Odio. A panel of Costa Rican anthropologists and physicians promptly discovered that the repatriated bones were in fact "assorted cow femurs and donkey mandibles." The "Santamaría" remains were then "flown back to Nicaragua with a Civil Guard escort to the airport" [the San José "Juan Santamaría Airport"] and "re-buried, also ceremoniously, in Rivas."<sup>18</sup>

Central Americans, citing renowned French geographer Elisée Reclus, proudly proclaim the defeat of Walker in Nicaragua as "the Marathon of America," a decisive battle that marked an era in the history of the world: for "it was in Rivas, a city of Nicaragua, where slavery lost its first and decisive battle."<sup>19</sup> But, in contrast, aptly expressed by Rosengarten: "Walker is a lost character in American history," hidden and forgotten beneath the shadow of the gigantic Civil

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<sup>17</sup>Chester J. Zelaya G., *Emanuel Mongalo y Juan Santamaría dos heroes, dos hechos históricos*, (Ciudad Universitaria Rodrigo Facio, Costa Rica: Facultad Central de Ciencias y Letras, 1970), p. 21.

<sup>18</sup>"Row Over Bones Sours Ties," *This Week*, 9/7/1981, p. 277; "Restos de Santamaría entregados," *Barricada*, 4/11/1981, p.1, c.6; "Héroe Santamaría queda en tierras de Sandino," *Barricada*, 8/28/1981, p.1, c.3.

<sup>19</sup>"La derrota de la esclavitud en Centroamérica," *Revista Conservadora del Pensamiento Centroamericano*, Sept. 1966, p.2.

War that gripped the nation immediately after his demise.

Forty years later, it was "no easy task" for historians "to sift the grains of truth from the mountain of myth, prejudice, and fiction under which the actual deeds of the Filibusters long lay buried." Yet, they were certain of one thing: that, from the beginning, in California, Walker "was actually a sincere, even fanatical, believer in slavery."<sup>20</sup> When he arrived in Nicaragua,

. . . He came in the character of a conqueror. His mission was to overthrow the then existing social conditions and to reconstruct the industrial system. He was a believer in an irrepressible conflict between races; a believer in the theory of the survival of the fittest. He came to plant a colony of Anglo-Saxon civilization; and he recognized that this could only be done over the graves of the mixed races which then occupied the country.

. . . Being the son of a slave-holding State, he proposed to erect his social, political, and industrial fabric with African slavery as its corner-stone.<sup>21</sup>

We saw in chapter 23 that modern historians present a different Walker, affirming that he was not influenced in his undertaking by a desire for the expansion of slavery. They base that assumption on the premises that "Walker, while a New Orleans editor, had opposed the filibustering movement against Cuba," and that "the Sonora enterprise was the result of no concerted movement of Southern men to enlarge the bounds of slavery."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>James Jeffrey Roche, *By-Ways of War*, (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1901), pp. vii, 62.

<sup>21</sup>Daniel B. Lucas, *Nicaragua: War of the Filibusters*, (Richmond, Va.: S. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1896), p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, p. 50.



This biography shows that, precisely while a New Orleans editor, Walker's desire for the expansion of slavery--of "the most perfect and the most powerful civilization the world has ever seen"--gave birth to the future filibuster.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, it adduces abundant evidence proving that the Sonora enterprise was indeed the result of Southern men's concerted movement to enlarge the bounds of slavery.<sup>24</sup>

Albert Z. Carr, on the premise that "In Nashville, Tennessee, where Walker was born and raised, every literate and prosperous home had in its bookcase . . . half a dozen books by Sir Walter Scott," portrays a Walker with "the Galahad Complex." On studying Walker's articles in the New Orleans *Crescent*, he sees him "far to the left," and asserts that "In his journalistic days Walker had taken what was then termed the 'conservative' position on slavery--against its expansion, and less overtly, in favor of its gradual elimination by law and economic measures."<sup>25</sup>

This biography, based on a probing analysis of Walker's writings, portrays him with an unresolved "Oedipus Complex," bent from the beginning on a mission of slavery expansion, and influenced by Byron rather than Scott.

But this biography also examines Walker's articles in the New Orleans *Crescent* from March 7, 1849, the day he began his journalistic career, to January 31, 1850, the day it ended in New Orleans.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, Carr scanned the *Crescent* from January to December, 1848, before Walker had started in the paper; consequently, he studied somebody

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<sup>23</sup>Book One, pp. 191-196, 200.

<sup>24</sup>Book Two, pp. 181-192.

<sup>25</sup>Albert Z. Carr, *The World and William Walker*, pp. 3, 15, 200.

<sup>26</sup>See Book One, pp. 130, 235.

else's articles instead of Walker's.<sup>27</sup>

This biography, likewise, dissents with previous researchers on many other points, and furnishes large amounts of "new" data to the history of the period. These range from isolated details like the date and circumstances when Walker became a Catholic, to such irrefutable facts as those substantiating the Pierce Administration's connivance with the filibusters. The "new" data uncover events of paramount importance, like the catastrophic silting of San Juan de Nicaragua by the acts of man, and the use of Walker by the U.S. government for the Gadsden Purchase.

The sifting of the grains of truth from the mountain of myth, prejudice, and fiction under which the actual deeds of Walker long lay buried, is yet incomplete. The data here presented, however, will serve future historians who carry on this important task. This will be done, because the story of "the greatest of the American Filibusters" reveals "vital facts of history, symptomatic in a high degree of the American spirit of that decade,"<sup>28</sup> as well as the primordial forces still informing the human mind.

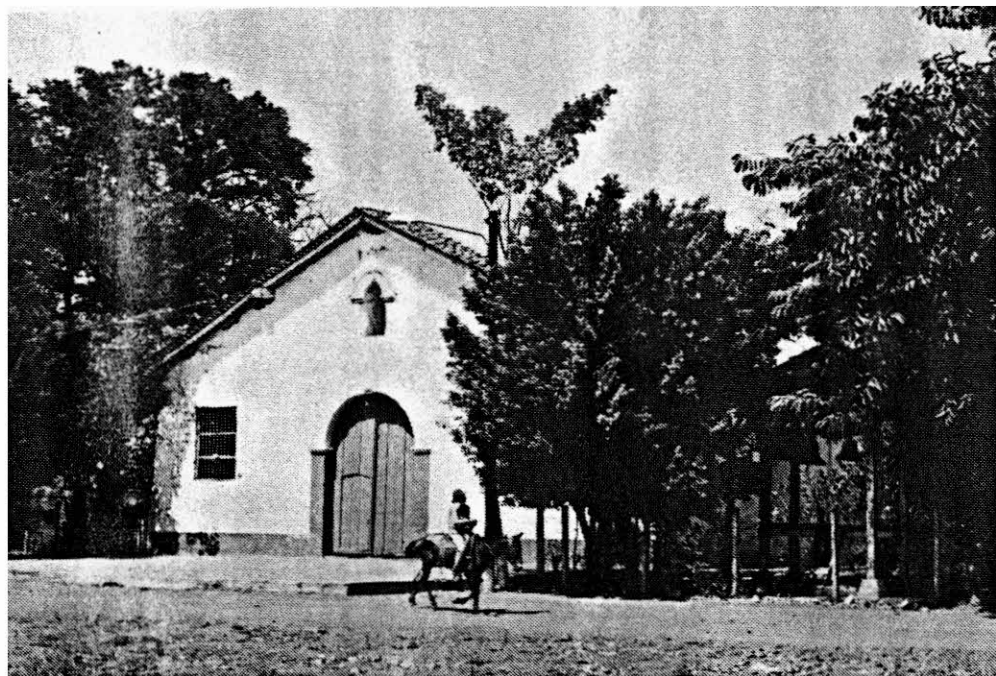
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<sup>27</sup> Albert Z. Carr, *The World and William Walker*, pp. 15-27.

<sup>28</sup> William O. Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, p. 8

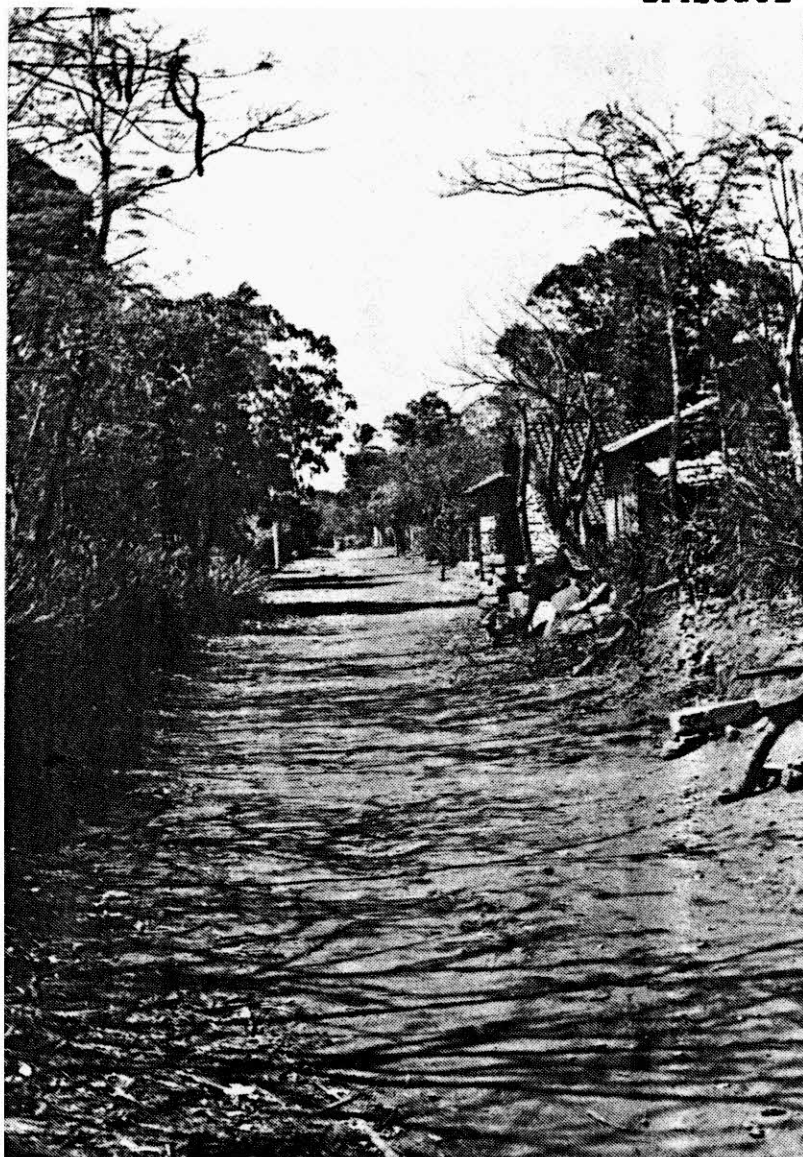


**Virgin Bay, 1977**  
*vestige of the wharf*  
*(and of Lady Gulbeyaz, rising as Venus from the sea)*



**El Realejo, 1977**  
*120 years after Walker*





*El Realejo's Wharf street, over which Walker entered into Nicaragua in 1855*



**"THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO [NICARAGUA] IS THE FIRST BATTLE IN HISTORY WON AGAINST SLAVERY!"** Elisé Reclus (1830-1905), French historian, geographer and sociologist.