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Choose Your Friends Wisely:

Filibuster William Walker's Fall From Power

By

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Unless a man believes there is something great for him to do, he can do nothing great ... It is natural for a man so possessed to conceive that he is a special agent for working out into practice the thought that has been revealed to him ... To his hand alone can be confided the execution of the great plan that lies perfected in no brain but his. Why should such a revelation be made to him-why should he be enabled to perceive what is hidden to others-if not that he should carry it into practice?¹

These words were written in 1849 by William Walker in a serial published in his New Orleans newspaper, *The Daily Crescent*, during the height of the Manifest Destiny sentiment in the US. Charles Doubleday, one of Walker's officers, wrote that Walker "considered himself to be an instrument of destiny."² His grandiose vision of a great purpose led him to attempt to take over the government of Nicaragua.³ Expansionists in the US believed that it was inevitable that the Caribbean and Central America would be annexed by the US, and filibusters, men who led or joined military campaigns with the purpose of taking territory, were the means to that end.⁴ While the ideals of Manifest Destiny and the belief in US exceptionalism were motivation enough for many in the US, Southern expansionists viewed the gain of new regions as a way to expand slave territory. William Walker became president of Nicaragua in 1856, with designs on the rest of Central America.⁵ His campaign was financed by Pierre Soule, Jane Cazneau, and other pro-slavery Southern Democrats who pressured him into legalizing slavery in Nicaragua, contrary to his previously held anti-slavery position.⁶ With that decision, public opinion in the

¹ New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, August 6, 1849.

² Charles William Doubleday, *Reminiscences of the "Filibuster" War in Nicaragua* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886), 107.

³ See Appendix A and B.

⁴ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2.

⁵ Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1856), 14.

⁶ Charles H. Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 302.

North turned against him and he lost any previous support he had in Washington for his campaign.⁷

Two issues overshadowed others in mid-19th century US politics: British colonization in Central America and slavery. With the Monroe Doctrine as the cornerstone of US foreign policy, European involvement in the Americas was strictly forbidden, yet the British claimed the far eastern side of Honduras, British Honduras, and the Caribbean side of Nicaragua in 1855.⁸ The US was not comfortable with England's presence there, and negotiations resulted in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850.⁹ The treaty stipulated that neither country would colonize Central America and that control of the canal would be shared, as the canal was deemed essential for trade by both countries. For the US, it was also the fastest route from the East to California and the Gold Rush.¹⁰ After the two countries signed the treaty England refused to give up its territories there, claiming that the treaty excluded those already occupied. Congress debated whether the US should use force to remove them.¹¹

The second issue, slavery, was divisive and volatile. Many Southern Democrats saw expansion into Central America and the Caribbean as a way to gain territory where slavery could

⁷ Robert E. May, *Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 129-130.

⁸ Brown, 231-232.

⁹ United States, Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with UK, 1850. In *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History With Documents*. Amy S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2012.

¹⁰ Referred to here as the Nicaragua canal, but it was not actually complete and passengers traveled twelve miles overland between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific Ocean.

¹¹ Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 244.

expand, without which free states would soon outnumber slave states.¹² There was also large political and popular support for US control of Cuba, backed by Jane Cazneau.¹³ When an offer to purchase Cuba was rejected by Spain and a filibuster attempt there failed, some politicians, including Pierre Soule, argued that the island should be taken by force.¹⁴ The widespread credence given to the ideals of Manifest Destiny, the need for US control of the Nicaragua canal as the fastest route to the West, and the desire for new slave territory created the ideal situation for William Walker's filibuster into Nicaragua.

The events of his filibuster attempt are recounted in two notable biographies of Walker which discuss the investments made by pro-slavery expansionists to his campaign, and the obligation this placed on him to serve their interests in Nicaragua. Both of these comprehensive works on Walker are more than thirty years old, and the details regarding the failure of his filibuster merit reassessment. The best synopsis of Walker's actions before and during his campaign in Nicaragua is Charles H. Brown's *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters*.¹⁵ Brown gives details about the dynamics of Walker's relationship with Soule and Cazneau and their influence on his slavery policy.¹⁶ In *Freebooters Must Die: The Life and Death of William Walker, The Most Notorious Soldier of Fortune of the Nineteenth Century* published in 1976, Frederic Rosengarten, Jr. includes an overview of Walker's early life and

¹² May, *Manifest Destiny*, 111.

¹³ Linda S. Hudson, *Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, 1807-1878* (Austin, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2001); May, *Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics*, 113-114.

¹⁴ Pierre Soule, "Colonization in North America," January 25, 1853. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 32th Cong., 2nd sess., accessed August 25, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

¹⁵ Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny*.

¹⁶ Brown, 351.

recounts the events of Walker's time in Nicaragua.¹⁷ The author makes conjectures about Walker's motives for legalizing slavery, directly connecting his decision to the influence of pro-slavery investors, especially Soule and Cazneau. Both of these biographies include many useful primary sources.

The behind-the-scenes deals of powerful people such as Soule and Cazneau are exposed in Robert E. May's *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*.¹⁸ May reveals the dark side of the business end of filibustering, and the lengths investors went in order to gain wealth and power from imperialist ventures. He discusses the strategies and intrigues of pro-slavery expansionists in their attempt to benefit monetarily and politically from Walker's filibuster in Nicaragua. Stephen Dando-Collins also looks at the connection between William Walker and Pierre Soule in his 2008 book, *Tycoon's War: How Cornelius Vanderbilt Invaded a Country to Overthrow America's Most Famous Military Adventurer*.¹⁹ While he gives more attention to Walker's disagreement with Vanderbilt, Dando-Collins also examines Soule and Cazneau's ultimatum regarding slavery.

Likewise, the monograph *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* by Amy S. Greenberg connects the view of "manhood" during the period immediately before the civil war, and the ramifications of filibustering on US culture. She discusses Walker in this context and provides travel accounts and magazine pieces to illustrate how the cultural image of masculinity in mid-19th century America encouraged adventurous men to follow Walker and

¹⁷ Frederic J. Rosengarten, Jr., *Freebooters Must Die! The Life and Death of William Walker, The Most Notorious Soldier of Fortune of the Nineteenth Century* (Haverford, PA: Haverford Press, 1976), 144-146.

¹⁸ Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*.

¹⁹ Stephen Dando-Collins, *Tycoon's War: How Cornelius Vanderbilt Invaded a Country to Overthrow America's Most Famous Military Adventurer*. (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2008).

investors like Soule to attempt to build wealth in new territory.²⁰ Robert May discusses the motivation behind filibustering, and its connection to race and slavery in *Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics: Lincoln, Douglas, and the future of Latin America*, and how Walker's investors were able to change his position.²¹ "The Young Americans: Emerson, Walker, and the Early Literature of American Empire," an article by Brady Harrison, gives insight into why so many young men followed Walker.²² Popular literature, plays, poems, and songs romanticized the lives of the filibusters and portrayed them as heroes. Harrison conveys how the idealization of Walker in popular culture influenced many young men to join him in Nicaragua.

These scholarly works taken together provide a great deal of insight on Cazneau and Soule's influence over William Walker, and how they used their economic support to manipulate him. Their influence cost him much needed allies and was devastating to his campaign. They exerted pressure on Walker by offering to invest in the development of Nicaragua's natural resources for export such as mining and guano deposits and to recruit colonists and soldiers. Soule arranged for the sale of Nicaraguan bonds in the US secured by one million acres of public lands, sold for \$500,000 by a New Orleans firm. All of their support, including lobbying the US Government for recognition, was contingent on Walker's agreement to legalize slavery.²³ By accepting their terms, he not only lost credibility in the North, but also lost whatever political backing he had gained in Washington. Government documents, newspaper articles,

²⁰ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*.

²¹ Robert E. May, *Slavery, Race, and Conflict in the Tropics: Lincoln, Douglas, and the Future of Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²² Brady Harrison, "The Young Americans: Emerson, Walker, and the Early Literature of American Empire," *American Studies* 40, no. 3 (Fall, 1999): 75-97.

²³ Dando-Collins, 235.

congressional records, correspondence, memoirs of his soldiers, and the writings of Soule, Cazneau, and Walker show that his acquiescence to the demands of pro-slavery Southern supporters ultimately led to the failure of his mission in Nicaragua.

Filibusters were military men, and there was no one more unlikely a filibuster than William Walker. He was small-built, short, quiet, and unassuming.²⁴ He practiced medicine and law before he became part owner and editor of the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* in 1847. The newspaper was controversial because it was considered liberal, pro-Yankee, and anti-slavery. Walker ran articles in his paper that were openly abolitionist. This phrase taken from an anti-slavery article in the *Daily Crescent* in 1849 leaves no room for ambiguity: “We believe the General Government should relieve itself of the shame and sin of human slavery, wherever it is responsible for its existence.”²⁵ Despite his abolitionist claims, the promise of funding his enterprise in Nicaragua by Southern Democrats convinced Walker to forget about the ‘shame and sin’ and reverse his position.

In 1849 he sold his share in the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* and moved west to San Francisco. In May 1853 he made a short and unsuccessful filibuster attempt in the Sonora region of Mexico “in order to defend a helpless people, from the attacks of merciless savages.”²⁶ A short four months later, the self-proclaimed president of Sonora was returned to California by the

²⁴ James Carson Jamison, *With Walker in Nicaragua, Or Reminiscences of an Officer in the American Phalanx* (Columbia, MO:: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1909), 8-9; William Vincent Wells, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua* (New York: Stringer & Townsend, 1856), 199; Doubleday, 105.

²⁵ New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, April 26, 1849.

²⁶ William Walker. “Soldiers of Sonora!” March 1, 1854. In Rosengarten, 52.

US Army. He was tried in court for breaking international law, but due to the popularity of filibusters with the public he was acquitted by a jury in eight minutes.²⁷

In San Francisco he was employed by Bryon Cole as editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*. Cole traveled through Nicaragua on his way to Honduras to check on his mining interests there. He found the country in chaos due to a civil war between the Conservatives in Granada, led by Fruto Chamorro, and the Liberals in Leon, headed by Francisco Castellon. Cole negotiated a contract for Walker with Castellon that called for 300 men who were to be settlers instead of soldiers with a promise of land instead of money. This agreement circumvented the Neutrality Act of 1818 that Walker was charged with violating in Mexico. Walker took the contract to District Attorney S.W. Inge and General Wool, a US Navy commander charged by President Pierce with enforcing the Neutrality Act. He received their assurance that he would not be in violation of US law along with their best wishes for his success. Walker gathered supplies and found men willing to accompany him.²⁸ He believed North Americans needed to control the country in order to “banish forever the fearful ... bloodshed and anarchy which, under the rule of its own misguided sons, have brought it to its present wretched condition.”²⁹

Walker sailed for Nicaragua from San Francisco on May 3, 1855 with only 58 men and no money. He had raised a total of \$1,000 which he used to purchase supplies. Walker later wrote of their arrival, “Do not despise the small events which attended the departure of the fifty-eight ... Thenceforth it was impossible for the worn-out society ... to evade or escape the

²⁷ *The New York Herald*, New York, November 15, 1854.

²⁸ William Walker, *The War in Nicaragua*, (Mobile, AL: S.H. Goetzel & Company), 1860, 24-28, 73.

²⁹ Wells, 19.

changes the new elements were to work in their ... political organization.”³⁰ Despite their small number, he and his men were welcomed in Realejo by Castellon’s brother-in-law Mariano Salazar. When the Americans arrived in Leon, Castellon introduced Walker to General Jose Trinidad Munoz, the leader of the Liberal Army. Walker distrusted Munoz and preferred the previous leader, General Maximo Jerez. He refused to serve under the leadership of Munoz because he had only enlisted 200 men and Walker felt he “was anxious for a compromise between the two contending parties, thinking more of maintaining himself in power than of the success of the principles for which the revolution was begun.”³¹ They led separate armies until the time of Munoz’s death in battle three months later, at which time Walker was given sole control of the Liberal military.

Upon Fruto Chamorro’s death shortly after Walker’s arrival, Jose Maria Estrada assumed the political leadership of the Conservatives with General Panciano Corral in charge of the military. Walker and his “American Phalanx” alongside Nicaraguan soldiers began to win battles and gain ground until Granada was the only Conservative stronghold left. Walker gained a reputation with his army for meting out swift punishment as they marched through Nicaragua, executing several of his men for disobeying orders. One of his officers recorded in his memoir that Walker made no secret of the fact that all of Central America was included in his goal of “conquest and absolute empire,” and expressed to him, “I am not contending for the world’s approval, but for the empire of Central America.”³² He did not mention slave territory as part of

³⁰ Wells, 31-34.

³¹ Walker, 35.

³² Doubleday, 107, 216.

his plan until he required the backing of pro-slavery Southern Democrats, whose support was contingent upon his agreement to open the territory he gained to slavery.³³

On October 11, 1855 William Walker's army drove the Conservative Army out of Granada.³⁴ Conservative General Corral refused to treat with Walker until Mateo Mayorga, a member of Estrada's cabinet, was executed. Walker forced Corral to return to Granada by promising more of the same until a treaty was signed. He returned on October 23 and the treaty they signed that day created a new provisional government with Patricio Rivas as president, Corral minister of war, and Walker commander in chief of the army.³⁵ Walker set up headquarters in Granada not only because it was dictated by the terms of the treaty, but because it allowed him to keep watch on the Conservative faction that remained there. On November 5, two weeks after the treaty was signed, letters from Corral to the members of his party who had fled to Honduras were intercepted by Walker's men. The treaty of October 23 had left Conservative generals in place at Rivas and Managua at Corral's request. The letters asked those that had fled to return and defeat the Americans with the help of the generals already in place to assist them. Corral was tried for treason by a military court which consisted entirely of US soldiers and presided over by Colonel C.C. Hornsby. Corral was found guilty and sentenced to death by firing squad, but was unanimously recommended to the mercy of the commander in chief. Corral was executed on November 8 as Walker was not inclined to mercy because, "Mercy to Corral would have been an invitation ... to like conspiracies."³⁶

³³ Jamison, 100-101.

³⁴ Wells, 200-205.

³⁵ Walker, 122-126.

³⁶ Walker, 135-139.

It was obvious from the beginning that Rivas was president in name only and that Walker was “virtually dictator.”³⁷ He negotiated a deal for the Nicaraguan Government that cancelled Cornelius Vanderbilt’s charter for transit through the canal. Walker charged that Vanderbilt had broken the terms of his contract with the Nicaraguan Government by not making scheduled payments of 20 percent of the company’s profit, putting him almost \$500,000 in arrears. He made an arrangement with two of Vanderbilt’s executives, Charles Morgan and William Garrison which obligated them to transport any colonists, or soldiers under the guise of colonists, from the US to settle in Nicaragua for a minimal charge in exchange for the canal charter.³⁸ Walker made a formidable enemy in Cornelius Vanderbilt. In a letter to New York District Attorney John McKeon, Vanderbilt asked for US Government intervention in Walker’s seizure of Accessory Transit Company property which he valued at approximately \$1,000,000.³⁹ Vanderbilt retaliated a few months later by arming the Central American Coalition Army that declared war on Walker.

Walker appointed Parker French, an officer in his army and previous US Congressman from California, as Nicaraguan Minister to the US. French was unpopular with both the Americans and Nicaraguans, so Walker sent him to Washington because he did not have “the modesty to be sensible of his defects” and “it was necessary ... to get rid of him.”⁴⁰ While French was in the US, he was charged with violation of the Neutrality Act in New York City while openly recruiting soldiers for Walker’s army. Attorney General Caleb Cushing directed

³⁷ Doubleday, 171.

³⁸ Wells, 208-209, 216.

³⁹ Cornelius Vanderbilt to John McKeon, District Attorney, New York, February 6, 1856, in Wells, 215.

⁴⁰ Walker, 165-166.

District Attorney John McKeon to relate to French that he would not be arrested if he would return to Nicaragua immediately, which he did.⁴¹ The Pierce administration declined French an audience or recognition. According to Walker, the US Government used French's reputation for dishonest business dealings in the past as an excuse not to receive him.⁴²

In April the Costa Rican Army invaded Nicaragua, rightly discerning Walker's goal of conquering all of Central America. Concerned over Walker's control of the canal, the British gave the Costa Rican Army 2000 muskets and tactical help at the eastern entrance to the transit route.⁴³ The British Navy also offered free transport to the States to soldiers who agreed to defect from Walker's army.⁴⁴ On April 11 at The Second Battle of Rivas, the Costa Rican troops under General Juan Rafael Mora soundly defeated Walker and his men.⁴⁵ Fortunately for Walker, after the battle cholera gripped the Costa Ricans and the few that survived made their way back over the border.⁴⁶

The US Minister to Nicaragua, John Hill Wheeler, was one of Walker's most enthusiastic supporters. His letters to Secretary of State Marcy are full of hyperbolic language about General Walker and his leadership. Wheeler's report on conditions in Nicaragua to Marcy was, "Peace within her borders and friendship with the neighboring states. Emigrants are flocking in from

⁴¹ Attorney General Caleb Cushing to John McKeon, District Attorney, New York. December 24, 1855. In "Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Sundry Documents in Relation to Affairs With the Government of Nicaragua," 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68, accessed August 27, 2016. http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/nicaragua/Nicaragua_Affairs-1856.pdf.

⁴² Walker, 166.

⁴³ Wells, 139-140.

⁴⁴ Doubleday, 178.

⁴⁵ The Liberals and Conservatives fought The First Battle of Rivas on June 29, 1855.

⁴⁶ Wells, 209-210.

New Orleans on every steamer, California, and some from New York. This State is now daily receiving acquisitions of men, of property, of talent and enterprise.”⁴⁷ As a pro-slavery Southern Democrat, Wheeler encouraged the Pierce Administration to recognize the new Nicaraguan Government, as did Senator Stephen Douglas from the floor of Congress. Douglas wanted the US to intervene in order to secure peace in Nicaragua, which he asserted was crucial to US security since the canal was the fastest route to California.⁴⁸ Douglas called not only for recognition, but also military assistance. The Costa Ricans had invaded Nicaragua again, this time joined with El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to form the Central American Coalition Army, armed by both the British and Cornelius Vanderbilt.⁴⁹ For Walker to hold Nicaragua he needed US support against this large, well-supplied army.

The US public read about General Walker and the American Phalanx in newspapers that regularly published articles about the filibusters.⁵⁰ A correspondent for the *New York Tribune* wrote of the affection Walker’s soldiers had for him, “With him they had shared their last crusts, and with him overcome imminent dangers, and they felt affection for him which a son entertains for an honored father.”⁵¹ Plays celebrated Walker’s feats which included an 1856 musical comedy *Nicaragua Or, General Walker’s Victories*, performed at Purdy’s Theatre in New York City, *The Siege of Granada, Or Walker and His Men*, performed at The Forrest Theater in

⁴⁷ John Wheeler to Secretary of State William Marcy, Granada. November 12, 1855, 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68.

⁴⁸ Stephen Douglas, “Nicaraguan Affairs,” May 1, 1856. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 1st sess., accessed August 25, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

⁴⁹ Walker, 175.

⁵⁰ See Appendix C.

⁵¹ *The New York Tribune*, New York, August 6, 1856.

Sacramento in 1857, and *Those Fifteen Thousand Filibusters*, a 1856 burlesque show in New Orleans. Walker was featured in popular songs, poems, and serial narratives like “Editor’s Table: Cowards and Brave Men,” published in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1856 and “A Ranger’s Life in Nicaragua,” published in *Harper’s Weekly* in 1857.⁵² As a result, hundreds left for Nicaragua to join his campaign.⁵³ Attorney General Caleb Cushing sent out a warning to district attorneys in port cities to keep an eye out for filibusters.⁵⁴ Even though filibustering was technically illegal, the Pierce Administration favored expansionism. When the district attorney in San Francisco, S.W. Inge, wrote to tell him that many probable filibusters had sailed with land grants which legally established them as colonists, Cushing was satisfied.⁵⁵

Investors took note of the wide-open land rich with natural resources in Nicaragua and began to back Walker’s filibuster attempt. They hosted rallies in upscale hotels to raise money and recruit young men.⁵⁶ Speakers at an event held at National Hall on Canal Street in New York on April 8, 1856 included Senators Stephen Douglas, John B. Weller, Lewis Cass and businessman William Cazneau, Jane Cazneau’s husband. The Tremont Hotel in Austin was the venue for a fundraiser with many distinguished guests, including H.R. Runnels who would become the governor of Texas the next year. Pierre Soule hosted two huge rallies in New

⁵² *Nicaragua Or, General Walker’s Victories*, Purdy’s Theatre, New York City, 1856; *The Siege of Granada, or Walker and His Men*, Forrest Theatre, Sacramento, CA, 1857; *Those Fifteen Thousand Filibusters*, Burlesque, New Orleans, LA, 1856; “Editor’s Table: Cowards and Brave Men,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, 1856; “A Ranger’s Life in Nicaragua,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 1857. See Appendix C.

⁵³ Doubleday, 171.

⁵⁴ Caleb Cushing, Circular to US District Attorneys Offices in Principal Parts of the United States, December 8, 1855, 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68.

⁵⁵ S.W. Inge, San Francisco District Attorney to U.S. Attorney General Caleb Cushing, February 4, 1856, 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68.

⁵⁶ Wells, 226-227.

Orleans in April to promote the Nicaragua venture. On April 28 alone, Soule raised \$500,000, promising \$25,000 himself during an event held at the St. Louis Hotel.⁵⁷ Following these events in New Orleans, New York, Austin, and Galveston, hundreds of men were recruited to join Walker's army.⁵⁸ The investors were Southern Democrats who were not only interested in business ventures in Nicaragua, but also as a place to expand slavery. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised in bonds and donations to support Walker's cause. When this support was presented to Walker, it was dependent on the opening of slavery in Nicaragua.⁵⁹ One of the most wealthy and powerful supporters of Walker was a female journalist, Jane McManus Storm Cazneau.⁶⁰

Jane Cazneau had long-time friendships with many influential men, including Attorney General Caleb Cushing, and President Franklin Pierce.⁶¹ Aaron Burr helped negotiate her purchase of thousands of acres in what was then The Republic of Texas, and the future Secretary of State William Marcy handled her business in New York while she was in Texas.⁶² In 1846 Secretary of State James Buchanan commissioned Cazneau and her employer at the *New York Sun*, Moses Yale Beach, as 'confidential agents' to the Republic of Mexico during the Mexican

⁵⁷ Preston J. Moore, "Pierre Soule: Southern Expansionist and Promoter," *The Journal of Southern History* 21, no. 2 (1955), 208.

⁵⁸ *New York Herald*, New York, May 7, 1856, May 10, 1856; *New Orleans Picayune*, New Orleans, April 29, 1856; *Houston Telegraph*, Houston, TX, February 18, 1857; *Galveston News*, Galveston, TX, March 10, 1857; *New York Daily Tribune*, New York, April 3, 1857.

⁵⁹ Dando-Collins, 235.

⁶⁰ Hudson, 160.

⁶¹ Hudson, 138-139.

⁶² Hudson, 17, 29.

War.⁶³ In 1853, after she published articles and wrote letters to her friend Secretary of State Marcy encouraging the annexation of the Dominican Republic, she and her husband were sent there to quietly see what interest that government had in relations with the United States. When the officials there were ready to sign a treaty, she wrote a letter to her long-time friend Attorney General Cushing requesting an official appointment for her husband, which he quickly granted.⁶⁴ She and her husband visited Nicaragua as supporters and investors, not in an official capacity. They contracted with Walker to bring in 1,000 settlers within a year, each to be given 80 acres of land. They invested in mining, were partners in The Atlantic and Pacific Guano Company, and purchased a cacao plantation in Nicaragua. William and Jane Cazneau began campaigning for Walker upon their return to the US, and in December sent him recruits and provisions valued at \$2,000 on the steamer *Tennessee* out of New York.⁶⁵

Cazneau was a prolific writer and regularly contributed articles to various US newspapers. At one time she served as the Political Editor of the *New York Sun* coming there from John O'Sullivan's paper, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. Scholars now believe the term "Manifest Destiny" was coined by Cazneau in the article "Annexation," which has historically been attributed to O'Sullivan.⁶⁶ The content of her articles and books, which she penned under the pseudonym Jane Storms or Cora Montgomery, held an extreme expansionist position.⁶⁷ On the slavery question her position aligned with the Southern Democrats. Her book

⁶³ Hudson, 77.

⁶⁴ Jane Cazneau to Attorney General Caleb Cushing, June 27, 1853. New York, accessed August 20, 2016, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/cushing.htm>.

⁶⁵ *New York Herald*, New York, September 1, 1856, December 1, 1856.

⁶⁶ Hudson, 60-62.

⁶⁷ May, "Plenipotentiary in Petticoats," 23-25.

written during her time in Texas, *Eagle Pass; Or Life on the Border*, expressed her belief that “servitude is the inevitable consequence of the ... character of the negro,” and “white men ... are endowed with the gift and power to reduce them to his own uses.”⁶⁸ She took part in organizing a filibuster campaign to Cuba, and helped to organize the Cuban immigrants in New York City, where she published the English and Spanish language newspaper, *La Verdad*, to encourage the annexation of Cuba.⁶⁹ She was a valuable ally for Walker and was relentless in her support of him. Cazneau wrote numerous articles and lobbied government officials consistently for his cause.

Another significant supporter of Walker, Pierre Soule, was an attorney from New Orleans who sent Walker funds and recruits regularly. Soule was a Southern Democrat and a strong supporter of slavery. He was against California’s admission to the Union as a free state and argued in Congress that to do so would “assist the Free Soilers in their efforts to crush and degrade the South ... and despoil her of her equal share.”⁷⁰ He traveled to Nicaragua to make sure Walker upheld his side of the bargain with Southern investors and was present when Walker signed the decree legalizing slavery. When he served as a US Senator from Louisiana, Soule regularly debated in favor of both slavery and expansion.⁷¹ After serving in Congress, he was appointed US Minister to Spain. While Soule was serving in Spain, Secretary of State William Marcy and President Pierce requested that he meet with the US Minister to England, James

⁶⁸ Cora Montgomery, *Eagle Pass; Or Life on the Border*, 20.

⁶⁹ Cora Montgomery, *La Verdad*. New York. July 16, 1848-March 10, 1853, accessed August 20, 2016. <http://latinamericanstudies.org/laverdad.htm>.

⁷⁰ Pierre Soule, “Debate on the Compromise Bill,” June 24, 1850. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 31th Cong., 1st sess., accessed August 25, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

⁷¹ Pierre Soule, “Colonization in North America,” January 25, 1853. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 32th Cong., 2nd sess., accessed August 25, 2016, <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

Buchanan, and the US Minister to France, John Y. Mason in order to construct a plan to secure the annexation of Cuba. He also gave Soule permission to purchase Cuba for \$130,000,000 which Spain refused.⁷² The plan they crafted, The Ostend Manifesto, was written by Soule and called for taking Cuba by whatever means necessary, including force.⁷³ The plan was leaked to the press and created a scandal that resulted in Pierre Soule's resignation as US Minister to Spain.⁷⁴ Like Cazneau, Soule also visited Walker in Nicaragua and was enthusiastic about expansion into Nicaragua as a way to expand slave territory.⁷⁵ On June 2, 1856, along with John Quitman, former governor of Mississippi, Soule argued successfully for the Democratic National Convention to endorse Walker's efforts in Nicaragua.⁷⁶

In May 1856 Walker once again sent a minister to the US, Padre Augustin Vijil, in the hope that the Pierce administration would recognize the new Nicaraguan Government. President Pierce received Vijil and sent a memorandum to that effect to be read in Congress.⁷⁷ When Vijil returned to Nicaragua, he carried instructions to US Minister John Wheeler which permitted him to recognize Rivas' government. Upon Vijil's return, however, things were not going well between President Rivas and William Walker. Walker had called for new elections to be held,

⁷² May, *Slavery, Race, and Conquest in the Tropics*, 115-116.

⁷³ James Buchanan, Pierre Soule, and John Y. Mason, "The Ostend Manifesto," October 18, 1854. In *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2012), 126-127.

⁷⁴ Brown, 144.

⁷⁵ May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 272.

⁷⁶ Democratic Party Platform, Cincinnati, Ohio. June 2, 1856, accessed February 21, 2016. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29576>.

⁷⁷ Franklin Pierce, "Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Sundry Documents in Relation to Affairs With the Government of Nicaragua," 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68.

and Rivas had discerned Walker's plan to put himself in power in Nicaragua instead of the Liberal Government he came to support. Walker intercepted correspondence from Rivas and his generals Maximo Jerez and Mariano Salazar to Honduras in which they asked for assistance in order to expel Walker from Nicaragua. When Rivas discovered his letters had been read by Walker, he fled in fear. Walker assured him of his safety and that his name would be on the election ballot along with that of Jerez, so he returned to Granada for the election. When the results of the new election held June 29, 1856 were tallied, Walker was elected president of Nicaragua. The results were easily predicted, as the election was rigged by only allowing votes from a small section of the country where he was sure to win.⁷⁸ Rivas, Jerez, and Salazar fled the country. Rivas and Jerez escaped to Honduras, but Walker's men intercepted Salazar as he attempted to escape by boat with letters requesting help from the Honduran government. He was returned to Granada and executed.⁷⁹

A grand inauguration ceremony and dinner was held at the government house in Granada on July 12. Among the attendants were Jane Cazneau and her husband William, Pierre Soule, and US Minister John Wheeler. During the evening John Wheeler gave a speech recognizing Walker's government in which he stated, "I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you that I am instructed to establish relations with this State."⁸⁰ He used the authorization he was given from Secretary of State Marcy that was meant for Rivas' government and recognized Walker's instead.⁸¹ Wheeler was reprimanded in by letter from Secretary of State

⁷⁸ Walker, 227-228.

⁷⁹ Walker, 230.

⁸⁰ Walker, 230.

⁸¹ Secretary of State William Marcy to John Wheeler, US Minister to Nicaragua, December 7, 1855, 34th Cong. 1st sess., May 15, 1856, S. Ex. Doc. 68.

Marcy, but it was already published word for word in many US newspapers which influenced public opinion regarding the legitimacy of Walker's government.⁸² William Walker's plans for Nicaragua were becoming a reality. He had gained control of the government and Soule and Cazneau were backing him financially, investing in the country and promoting Nicaragua for colonization with the promise of 350 acres for every American family that immigrated.⁸³ There was also hope that with his supporters in Congress and popularity with the public the US may aid him militarily against the Central American Coalition Army.

Walker issued a decree on September 22, 1856 that made three drastic changes in Nicaragua. It made English the national language, which meant government documents would be in English favoring the North American colonists. In order to have more land available to colonize, Walker also seized all land that was owned by 'enemies of the state.' While this was directed at men who had fought for the Conservatives, since Walker made unilateral decisions it meant any land he chose to take. An advertisement in the *Nicaraguense* advertised confiscated property for sale with a total value of \$753,000.⁸⁴ Pierre Soule personally purchased the most expensive property offered, the estate that had belonged to Fruto Chamorro.⁸⁵ The third change legalized slavery in Nicaragua.⁸⁶ The purpose of these changes was to entice colonists from the Southern states who wanted to expand or move to slave-friendly Nicaragua.⁸⁷ Soule was present

⁸² *Nashville Union and American*, August 16, 1856.

⁸³ Brown, 351.

⁸⁴ *El Nicaraguense*, Granada, August 23, 1856.

⁸⁵ *The Times Picayune*, September 28, 1856.

⁸⁶ Walker, 255-256.

⁸⁷ Walker, 264-265.

in September when Walker issued the decree, and had come with a large investment scheme. He informed Walker that the investment was contingent on Walker issuing the decree, and that there would be no more Southern money if he refused.⁸⁸

If Walker had anticipated the firestorm his decree would cause in the US and how that would affect his support, he may have been slower to act. Southern newspapers continued to speak highly of him, and he retained his popularity there. In a December 11, 1856 article in the Greenville, SC *Southern Enterprise* Walker's character was praised as possessing "the rarest determination and unflinching courage....strictly just and impartial in his course."⁸⁹ In the North however, public opinion turned and Walker lost Northern support. While the *New York Times* suggested he would turn his ships for recruits into slave ships, the Washington, DC *Evening Star* claimed Walker was "carving out the throne of a despot."⁹⁰ Walker was surprised by the strong reaction in the North and later wrote, "He [Walker] did not know how thoroughly anti-slavery sentiments prevailed in the free-labor states."⁹¹ Stephen Douglas abandoned his public support for Walker in Congress. On September 27, 1856 Secretary of State Marcy recalled US Minister John Wheeler and President Pierce rescinded his recognition of Walker's government.⁹² Previously, Walker had openly opposed slavery and he attempted to justify his decision when he wrote that "the decree did not actually reestablish slavery in Nicaragua, only repealed the

⁸⁸ Dando-Collins, 235.

⁸⁹ *The Southern Enterprise*, Greenville, SC, December 11, 1856.

⁹⁰ *The New York Times*, January 1, 1857; *The Evening Star*, Washington, DC, November 26, 1856.

⁹¹ Walker, 265.

⁹² Walker, 255-256.

prohibition against it.⁹³ With public opinion in the North turned against him, he lost any chance of US aid in his fight against the Central American Coalition Army, which was gaining ground every day.⁹⁴ Not only did he lose any hope of more recruits from the North, but British warships were blocking the mouth of the canal prohibiting any assistance from the South, while the coalition troops were steadily supplied by Cornelius Vanderbilt.⁹⁵

Walker's men were battle tired, weary, and worn down, and there was no hope of new volunteers from the South due to the blockade by the British. In correspondence to Walker's aide-de-camp Callender Fayssoux from his friend General C.C. Hornsby, the steady decline and rising panic was illustrated in their correspondence. In a letter dated October 7, 1856 he wrote in a careful neat script and spoke of mundane everyday occurrences, such as the loss of a mule.⁹⁶ A letter in November was obviously written in haste, in which Hornsby warned Fayssoux to be careful.⁹⁷ By December, Walker and what was left of his troops had been driven into the city of Granada and surrounded. On December 14, 1856 the Central American Coalition Army pushed them out of Granada and the men that were able made their escape from Lake Nicaragua. As they left the city, they set it on fire and razed it to the ground. On the way out of the city, they posted a sign that read, "HERE WAS GRANADA."⁹⁸ Walker and a few of his men held out in the forests of Nicaragua for months. A last letter from Hornsby to Fayssoux in March was barely

⁹³ Walker, 256.

⁹⁴ Jamison, 88.

⁹⁵ Dando-Collins, 295; Walker, 366.

⁹⁶ C.C. Hornsby to Callender Fayssoux, Virgin Bay, Nicaragua, October 7, 1856.

⁹⁷ C.C. Hornsby to Callender Fayssoux, Virgin Bay, Nicaragua, November 30, 1856.

⁹⁸ Jamison, 134-35.

legible and had a tone of desperation.⁹⁹ In May the US sent a ship to retrieve them. Walker and Fayssoux corresponded with Commander Charles Henry Davis about terms, and they formally surrendered to him on May 2, 1857.¹⁰⁰ General Walker's filibuster attempt in Nicaragua had failed.

When William Walker returned to the United States he immediately began to plan his return to Central America.¹⁰¹ He had not given up his idea of an "empire in the tropics."¹⁰² A note from Pierre Soule to Captain Fairdowns dated May 30, 1857 requested a visit that included Walker.¹⁰³ They were garnering funds and support less than a month after his return to the US. Walker set out from Mobile Bay on November 14, 1857 with 270 men, but was picked up by Commander Paulding of the US *Saratoga* on December 12, less than a month after leaving Alabama.¹⁰⁴

In June of 1860, Walker once again returned to Central America, this time to the Honduran island of Roatan. England planned to return the island to Honduras in July of 1860, even though the majority population of the island were British. The British residents there requested Walker's help to defy Honduras and set up an independent government. Walker agreed, but planned instead to join with the exiled Honduran ex-president Jose Trinidad Cabanas to take not only Roatan, but all of Honduras. Walker left with about 100 men from Mobile Bay

⁹⁹ C.C. Hornsby to Callender Fayssoux, Virgin Bay, Nicaragua, March 4, 1857.

¹⁰⁰ William Walker to Commander Henry Davis, May 1, 1856; Commander Davis to Lieutenant John Maury, May 2, 1856.

¹⁰¹ Doubleday, 215.

¹⁰² Jamison, 93..

¹⁰³ Pierre Soule to Captain Fairdowns, New Orleans, May 31, 1857.

¹⁰⁴ Doubleday, 194.

in June 1860 and arrived at Roatan to find there was a British warship in the harbor.¹⁰⁵ He decided to take the British fort at Truxillo on the mainland and wait for the ship to leave. The filibusters succeeded in taking the fort, but immediately realized that their situation would quickly become desperate without supplies. He and his men left the protection of the fort in order to search for Cabanas, but were taken by the British on September 3. Walker was turned over to Honduran authorities who quickly sentenced him to death. He was executed by firing squad on September 12, 1860.¹⁰⁶ William Walker, a man who wanted to be “emperor of somewhere,” was dead at the age of 36, and the era of the filibuster was over.¹⁰⁷

The US Government was not vigilant about enforcing the Neutrality Act against the filibusters because it was not expedient for them to do so. Many congressmen and other government officials invested in filibuster schemes and wanted them to succeed. Decisions about foreign policy and enforcement of law were dependent on financial gain and public opinion. William Walker changed his position on the enslavement of human beings in order to receive funds from investors. His drive to build his own personal ‘empire’ took precedence over his scruples. James Carson Jamison, one of Walker’s officers, claimed that Walker spoke openly and often of his hopes and ambitions, but until the influence of Southern financiers it was “never intimated ... that African slavery was a preconceived purpose or active motive.”¹⁰⁸ Walker’s decisions regarding governance, foreign policy, and human rights were driven by money from wealthy investors, and the same could be said for the US Government.

¹⁰⁵ Doubleday, 197.

¹⁰⁶ Doubleday, 212-218..

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, 85.

¹⁰⁸ Jamison 101.

Jonathan Caverley states in his book *Democratic Militarism*, “If the elite minority can capture the government to decide what military gets built, which countries to attack, and how to fight those conflicts... then that foreign policy is not particularly democratic.”¹⁰⁹ Caverley asserts that when combined, “capitalization and inequality produce a form of moral hazard that shapes a democracy’s strategy.”¹¹⁰ Caverly could have been critiquing Franklin Pierce’s administration, or even William Walker’s, but he was not. His research, published in 2014, concerns contemporary US Foreign Relations. “Democracies have fought foolish wars, built massive militaries, and have shown a remarkable enthusiasm for imperialism.”¹¹¹ That was true in the mid-19th century and in 2014. The US Government has interfered or lent their support internationally based on economic issues, sometimes at the expense of human rights. Foreign policy in the days of William Walker and in the 21st century has been driven by the same axiom: profit before principle.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan D. Caverley, *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War*, (Cambridge, UK:University Press, 2014), 17.

¹¹⁰ Caverley, 2.

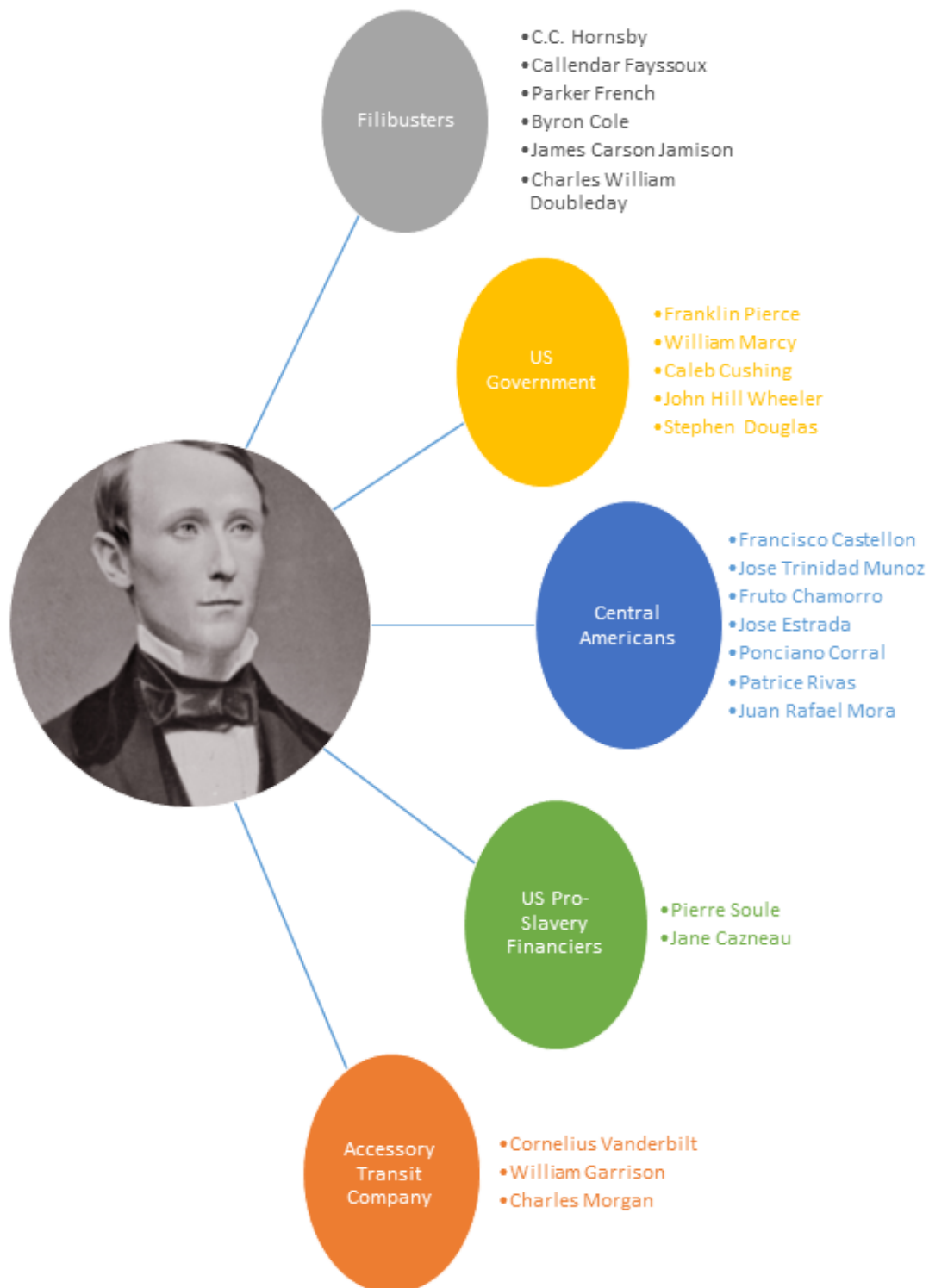
¹¹¹ Caverley, 1.

Appendix A

[Timeline](#) of William Walker's Filibuster in Nicaragua.

Appendix B

People



William Walker's Filibusters:

Byron Cole:

Cole was the owner of the San Francisco *Commercial Advertiser* where Walker worked as editor. Byron negotiated the contract for American soldiers with Liberal Party leader Francisco Castellon while traveling through Nicaragua on his way to Honduras where he had mining interests in partnership with William Vincent Wells.

Colonel C.C. Hornsby:

Hornsby was in Nicaragua prior to Walker arriving there. General Maximo Jerez of the Liberal Party contracted with him to bring soldiers from the US to join their fight against the Conservatives. When he and his companions heard of Walker's contract with Castellon, they chose instead to fight under Walker's contract since it did not violate the US Neutrality Act. He served as an officer in Walker's army.

Callender Fayssoux:

He was a long-time associate of William Walker from New Orleans, and one of the original 56 men who traveled on the *Vesta* with him to Nicaragua. He fought in the failed Cuban filibuster attempt, and served as Walker's aide-de-campe until he was made Commander of Walker's one ship navy at the end of Walker's campaign.

Parker French:

He had served previously in Congress as a representative from California, and at one time was forced to leave New Orleans for swindling people out of money in false business deals. Walker repeatedly referenced French's poor character in the *War in Nicaragua*. He came to Nicaragua in the middle of Walker's campaign, and once the Conservatives were defeated, he was sent as Nicaraguan Minister to the US. President Pierce refused to recognize him.

William Vincent Wells:

Wells and Byron Cole were partners in mining ventures in Honduras. Wells sailed to Central America on the *Vesta* with Walker from California on his way to Honduras where he served as Consul-General. He wrote a book about Walker's experience in Nicaragua published in 1856 while Walker still retained control of Nicaragua.

Charles William Doubleday:

An officer in Walker's army who, although he took issue with Walker's methods, served with him on all three of his Central American filibuster campaigns. He wrote a memoir and spoke frankly about Walker's harsh methods and obsession with creating an empire for himself, while at the same time relating that the force and draw of Walker's personality kept him from leaving his service.

James Carson Jamison:

Jamison was one of the young men inspired by Walker to leave home for adventure in Nicaragua. He was 16 years-old when he left the US on December 5, 1855. He became an officer very quickly, and when he returned home after Walker's defeat he wrote *With Walker in Nicaragua, Or, Reminiscences of An Officer of the American Phalanx*.

US Government:

President Franklin Pierce:

US pro-expansionist President during the time of Walker's filibuster attempt. He failed to recognize Walker's choice as Nicaraguan Minister to the US Parker French, but later recognized Augustin Vijil as US Minister from Nicaragua representing the government of Patricio Rivas. He rescinded his recognition after Walker issued his September 22, 1856 decree legalizing slavery.

Secretary of State William Marcy:

Even though he was a pro-expansionist Democrat, he did not favor US recognition of Walker's government. Once Walker was officially recognized by President Pierce, the Nicaraguan Minister to the US, Augustin Vijil, carried documents from Marcy to John Wheeler authorizing recognition of the Rivas Government. Instead, Wheeler waited and recognized Walker's government after he was elected president.

Attorney General Caleb Cushing:

Cushing was charged with enforcing the US Neutrality Act and asked his District Attorneys to watch for filibusters leaving ports around the country to join Walker in Nicaragua. Cushing was inconsistent in enforcing the law, as thousands of US citizens traveled to join Walker during his filibuster attempt.

US Minister to Nicaragua John Hill Wheeler:

John Hill Wheeler was a pro-slavery supporter of Walker, and recognized his government on behalf of the US without proper sanction. He was recalled to the States after Walker's legalization of slavery. In his correspondence to Secretary of State Marcy he continually requested that the US support Walker's efforts in Nicaragua.

Senator Stephen Douglas:

Douglas was an expansionist and led the call for recognition and support of Walker in Congress. He believed that control of the Nicaragua canal was essential to US security and was joined by

other Senators, including John B. Weller from California. He spoke in support of Walker at fundraising events and invested in business ventures in Nicaragua. He ceased his lobby for support after Walker issued the slavery decree.

Central Americans:

Francisco Castellon:

Castellon was the leader of the Liberal faction in Nicaragua that contracted with Walker for men to join their fight against the Conservatives. He guaranteed Nicaraguan land to the men in exchange for their military service. He died shortly after Walker arrived in Nicaragua.

General Jose Trinidad Munoz:

He was in control of the Liberal Army upon Walker's arrival to Nicaragua. Walker did not trust him refused to fight under his command. This resulted in each controlling different divisions of the army until Munoz's death in August, when Walker was named commander of the Liberal Army.

Fruto Chamarro:

Chamarro was the leader of the Conservative faction in Nicaragua. He died shortly after Walker's arrival in Nicaragua.

Jose Estrada:

Estrada was declared leader of the Conservative party faction in Nicaragua upon Chamarro's death.

Panciano Corral:

General Corral led the army of the Conservatives defeated by Walker and the Liberals in Granada on October 11, 1855. Immediately after a treaty was signed, Corral attempted to send letters to Honduras asking for assistance in defeating Walker. The letters were intercepted and Corral was tried for treason and executed.

Patricio Rivas:

Under the treaty signed by Corral and Walker, Rivas was made provisional president of Nicaragua with Walker commander in chief of the army. Rivas was a weak leader and Walker effectively took charge of the government. Shortly before a new election for president, Rivas, General Jerez, and General Salazar attempted to send to Honduras for help in removing Walker from Nicaragua. Walker intercepted their letters, but guaranteed their safety until after the election was held and they remained in Nicaragua. Once Walker was elected, the three fled to Honduras. Salazar attempted to travel by boat and was captured by Walker's men, returned, and executed.

Juan Rafael Mora:

President Mora of Costa Rica declared war on the Americans in Nicaragua and was eventually joined by Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. These countries rightly discerned that Walker's goal was to control all of Central America. General Mora led the Central American Coalition Army that defeated Walker and drove him out of Nicaragua. Mora's army was supplied with arms, funds, and tactical support by Cornelius Vanderbilt and the British Navy.

Pro-Slavery Investors:

Pierre Soule:

Soule previously served as a US Senator and as US Minister to Spain. He was the author of the Ostend Manifesto which called for the US takeover of Cuba from Spain, by force if necessary. He supported US expansion for the purpose of new slave territories and was Walker's most successful fundraiser. He held events in the US to raise money and recruits, and arranged for a New Orleans firm to back the sale of Nicaraguan bonds. This support was contingent on Walker's legalization of slavery.

Jane Cazneau (aka Jane Storms, Cora Montgomery):

With her husband William, she purchased a cacao plantation in Nicaragua and invested in mining and guano ventures there. She contracted to raise money and recruits for Walker in the states and as a journalist, she wrote articles and lobbied her friends in the US Government to support his filibuster attempt. She was a pro-slavery Democrat and believed slavery would facilitate the success of business ventures in new territories.

Accessory Transit Company:

Cornelius Vanderbilt:

Vanderbilt held the charter for the right to control transit through the Nicaragua canal by contract with the Nicaraguan Government. When Walker came to power in Nicaragua, he charged that Vanderbilt had violated the terms of the contract by failing to make agreed upon payments to the Nicaraguan Government and revoked his charter. Walker gave the charter to William Garrison and Charles Morgan, previous executives of the company, in exchange for the transportation of recruits and colonists to Nicaragua from the US. Vanderbilt vowed to ruin Walker and funded the Central American Coalition Army that defeated him.

William Garrison and Charles Morgan:

Garrison and Morgan were the Accessory Transit Company's representatives in California who convinced Walker to take the transit charter from Vanderbilt and contract with them instead. They agreed to transport US citizens to Nicaragua in exchange for control of transit.

Appendix C

Popular Culture and Images

Plays:

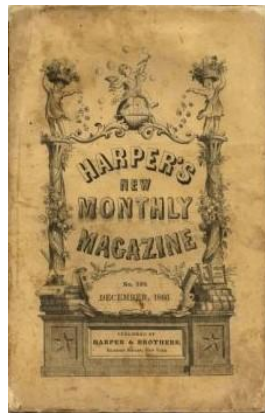




May, *Manifest Destiny*, 72

Those Fifteen Thousand Filibusters, Dan Rice's Amphitheater, New Orleans, LA, 1856.

Serials:



<https://www.bookstellyouwhy.com/pictures/34350.jpg>

"Editor's Table: Cowards and Brave Men," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 1856.

"A Ranger's Life in Nicaragua," *Harper's Weekly*, 1857.

Poems:



<http://www.sitemason.com/files/igkdi0/BattleOfRivas.jpg>

On the lakes the sun was setting, in a canopy
of gold,
Making brilliant all the landscape, mountain,
strand and ruins old;
Shimmering downward on the valley, and its
wealth of fruits and leaves,
Where a thousand perfumed flowers with the
forest inter-weaves;
Brightly gleamed the orange blossoms 'round
the rent and siege-stained wall,
Over which our banner floating marked the
city's recent fall –
While in the shade, beneath a cross, a dying
comrade lay,
Midst a heap of reeking bodies, 'reft of life
that bloody day.

- Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post, April 12, 1856, In May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 183.



cdn.historynet.comcontent/wp-/uploads/image/2010/Military%20History/May%202010/Walker.jpg

We play the part of the Roman populace –
 Applauding only where success attends
 The effort of our heroes, or our friends –
 We crown with bays the winner of the race,
 And on the vanquished turn an icy face!
 Though his, indeed, may be the nobler soul
 Who struggles on, yet reaches not the goal.
 Should Walker win the realm and wear the crown.
 The welkin world would ring with his renown –
 Though his might only be the pride of place –
 But with a spirit nothing seems to daunt –
 Comforting calumny, desertion want,
 A pestilent climate, and the terrible taunt
 Of brothers! we consign him to disgrace!

■ *Louisville Journal*, Louisville, KY, June 3, 1857. In May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld*, 63.
 Songs:



<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mpimages/mp068.jpg>

“I’m Off for Nicaragua”

Have you heard the way,

That’s out to-day,

To better your Condition O;

Those who delight in,

Blood and fighting,

Join Walker’s Expedition O –

There you can have all you can steal;

Without the chance of getting a meal,

Your name will live in books of story,

And you can live on Martial Glory.

Chorus:

Then come along

And join the throng,

For victory, and Walker, O;

Like a soldier gay,

I’ll march away,

For, “I’m off for Nicaragua O.”

■ In Rosengarten, 128.



<http://remembranzas.net/images/declaracion.png>

“I’ve Been to Nicaragua”

I.

One day while walking down Broadway,

What should I meet,

Coming up the street

But a soldier gay,

In grand array,

Who had been to Nicaragua;

He took me warmly by the hand,

And says “Old fellow” you’re my man,

How would you like,

A soldier’s life,

On the plains of Nicaragua?

Then come with me down to the ship,

I’ll quickly send you, on your trip,

Don’t stop to think, for there’s meat and drink,

On the plains of Nicaragua.

II.

I scarcely knew what to do or say,
 No money I had
 My boots was bad:
 Hat was gone,
 My pants were torn,
 So I was off for Nicaragua;
 He took me in, and did me treat,
 Gave me a cigar; and grub to eat,
 And on his scroll, did my name enroll,
 A soldier for Nicaragua.
 He took me down unto the ship.
 Quickly sent me on my trip,
 But, oh! Lord, wasn't I sea-sick,
 Going to Nicaragua.

III.

But after ten days of sailing away,
 We saw the land, of San Juan,
 Heart beat light,
 For I thought it all right.
 When I got to Nicaragua;
 But when they got me on the shore,
 They put me with about twenty more,
 To fight away,
 Or be hanged they say,
 For going to Nicaragua.
 Oh, wasn't I in a pretty fix,
 If I could only have cut my sticks,

You'd never caught me playing with such tricks,
 As going to Nicaragua.

IV.

Next morning then in grand array,
 All fagged and jaded,
 We were paraded,
 At close of day,
 We were marched away,
 To the Army in Nicaragua.
 Not a bit of breakfast did I see,
 And dinner was the same to me,
 Two fried cats,
 And three stewed rats,
 Were supper in Nicaragua.
 Marching all day with sore feet,
 Plenty of fighting and nothing to eat,
 How I sighed for pickled pigs' feet,
 Way down in Nicaragua.

V.

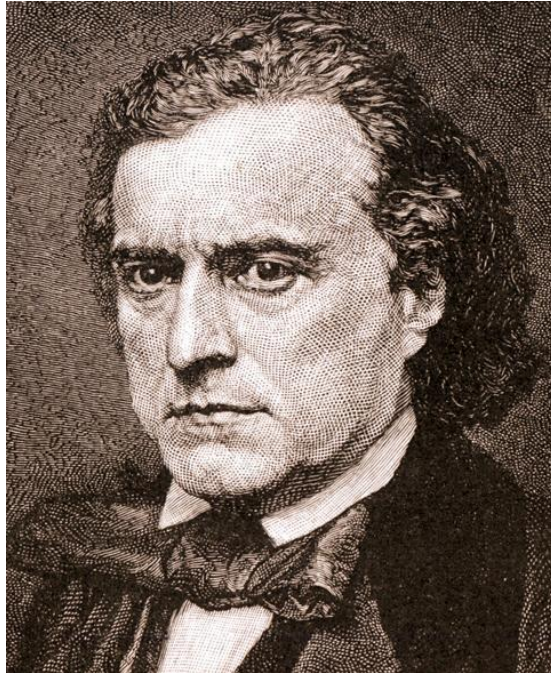
The Costa-Ricans tackled us one day,
 In the first alarm,
 I lost my arm,
 But we made them yield,
 On Rivas field,
 Way down in Nicaragua;
 The Yankee boys fought long and well,
 They gave those Costa Ricans fits,
 But wasn't I dry,

And hun-ge-ry,
 Way down in Nicaragua.
 Marching all day, and fighting away,
 Nothing to eat, quite as much pay,
 Do it all for glory they say,
 Way down in Nicaragua.

VI.

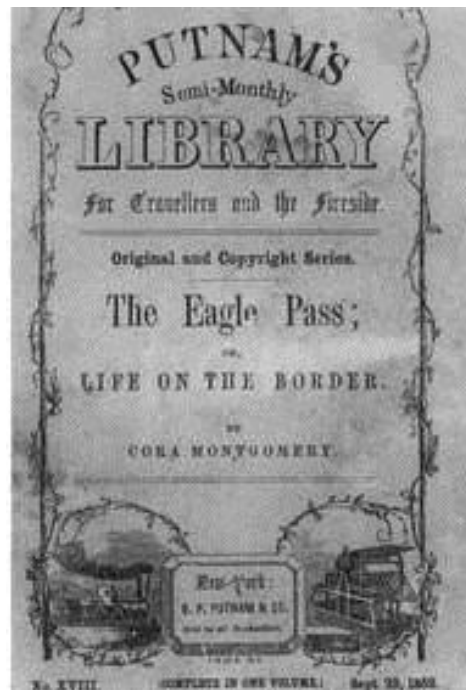
But when I was on duty one day
 Give ‘em the slip,
 Jumped on the ship,
 And bid good bye,
 Forever, and Aye.
 To the plains of Nicaragua.
 And when I got to old New York,
 I filled myself with Beans and Pork;
 My friends I cheer, and in Lager Beer,
 Drown times in Nicaragua.
 And now I tread Columbia’s land,
 Take my friends all by the hand,
 And if I ever leave ‘em may I be – blessed,
 To go to Nicaragua.

■ In Rosengarten, 128-130.



Pierre Soule

http://www.jackdurish.com/uploads/3/4/1/4/34146456/5722635_orig.jpg?168



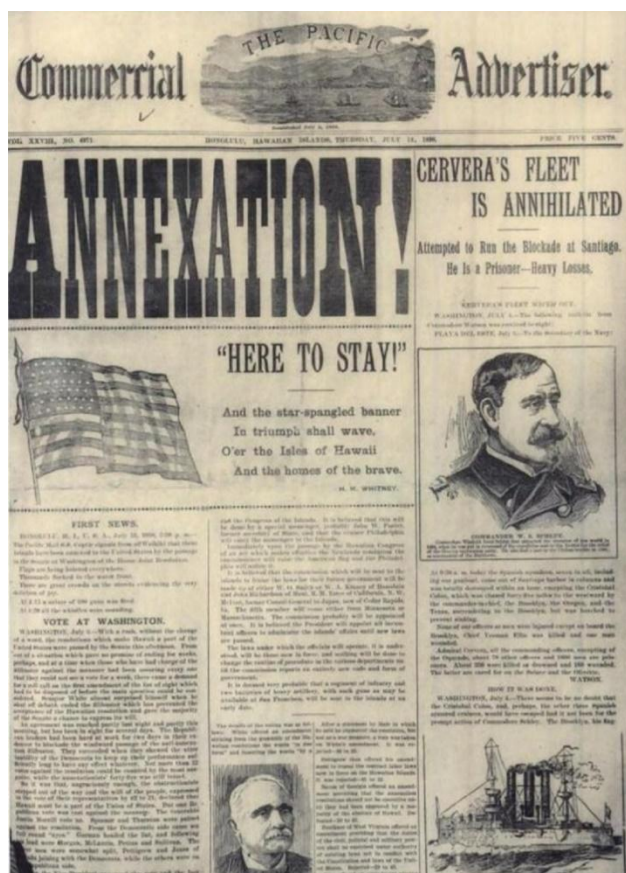
Jane Cazneau's book written under the pseudonym Cora Montgomery

<http://www.dsloan.com/Auctions/A9/images/p070.gif>



Nicaraguan Bond

<http://i0.wp.com/guiascostarica.info/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/santarosa02.jpg>

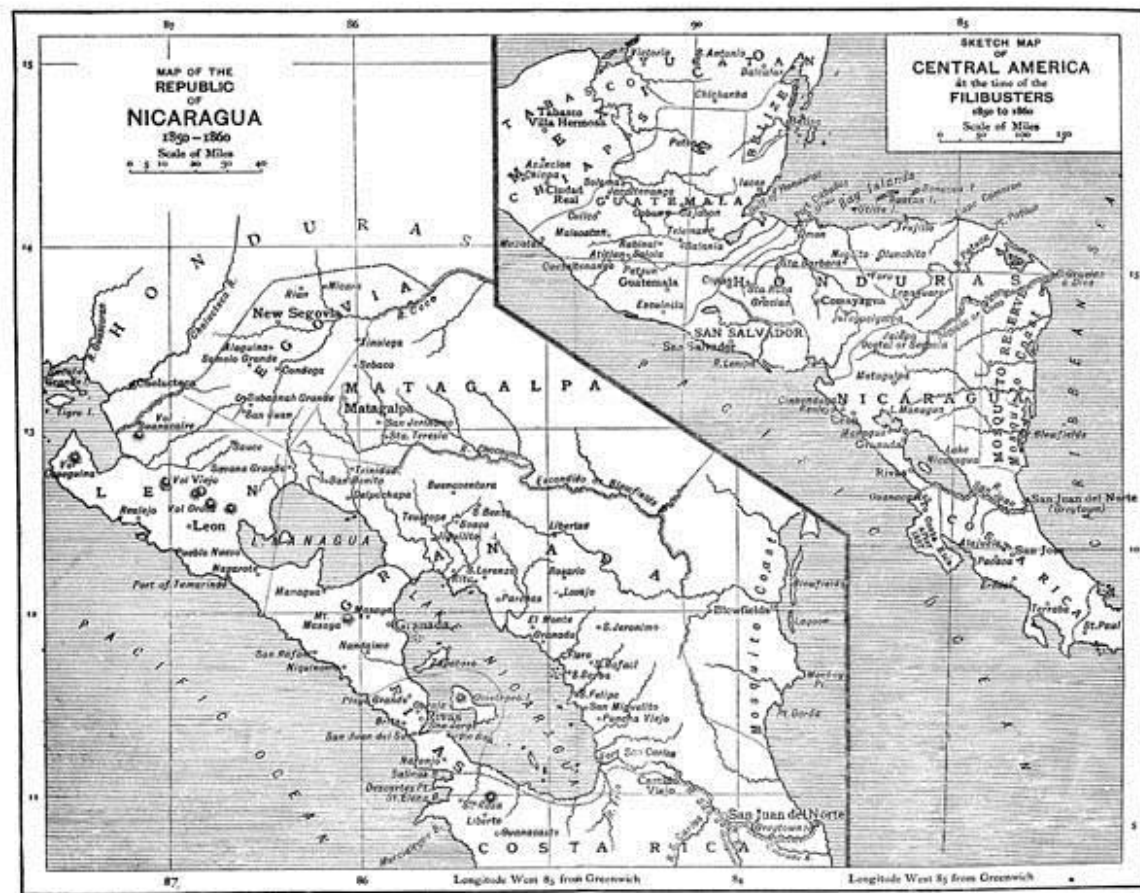


Article in which the term ‘Manifest Destiny’ is coined
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0b/Annexation_Here_to_Stay.jpg



Map of Nicaragua with a close-up of canal route

<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/236x/97/f5/61/97f5616e184e8accafc84ebc58e2daa9.jpg>



Filibuster map of Nicaragua

<https://www.mirrorsservice.org/sites/gutenberg.org/4/3/6/3/43634/43634-h/images/map.jpg>


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MONDAY MORNING, November 1, at 9 o'clock,
For San Juan del Sud, direct, connecting by the "Accessory
Transit Route," (having but twelve miles of land carriage
through a beautiful and healthful country,) with the steamship
**PROMETHEUS, for New York, and the steamship DANIEL WEB-
STER, for New Orleans.**

The ships of this Line are unsurpassed in speed, accom-
modations and general arrangements for comfort and conveni-
ence, and it is confidently expected that passengers will go
through by this line in about
TWENTY FOUR DAYS!

The arrangements for transporting them over Nicaragua are
now complete, and passengers will be forwarded with speed
and comfort.

For freight or passage, or other information, apply to
D. BRIGHAM, Jr., Agent,
oc23 Battery street, between Pacific and Jackson.

Vanderbilt Line advertisement

<http://www.maritimeheritage.org/inport/images/Brother-Jonathan-Baldwin-29October1852.jpg>

Personal.

Mr. CHARLES MORGAN, of this City, has given orders that all Texan emigrants who choose to turn their faces towards Nicaragua, shall be forwarded free of charge from Galveston to New-Orleans, and from New-Orleans to Nicaragua. S. A. LOCKERIDGE makes the offer public through the columns of the *Galveston News*, and adds the following boast, which evidently means—something :

"I am going out on the *Tennessee*, and will have one of the best battalions ever in this city. And when we arrive in Central America, we intend to make our mark on the walls of San Jose in less than six months. Remember that—we will redeem it."

Charles Morgan's offer to transport recruits free of charge

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/filibusters/NYT-12-9-1856-4.png>

NICARAGUA STEAMSHIP COMPANY.

FOR NEW YORK AND NEW ORLEANS VIA SAN JUAN.

The Shortest, Healthiest, and Quickest Route!

ONLY TWELVE MILES LAND CARRIAGE—MACADAMIZED ROAD.

THROUGH AHEAD OF THE MAILS.

**The only through Line giving tickets which include
the Isthmus transit.**

THE FAVORITE STEAMER
SIERRA NEVADA,

J. H. BLETHEN, Commander,
WILL SAIL FROM
 Jackson street Wharf for
SAN JUAN DEL SUD, on
Wednesday, March 1st, at 12 o'clock, M.

Passengers taking the Nicaragua Line will be landed at
New York or New Orleans several days in advance of any other
line.

Treasure for shipment will be received up to 6 o'clock, A. M.,
March 1st

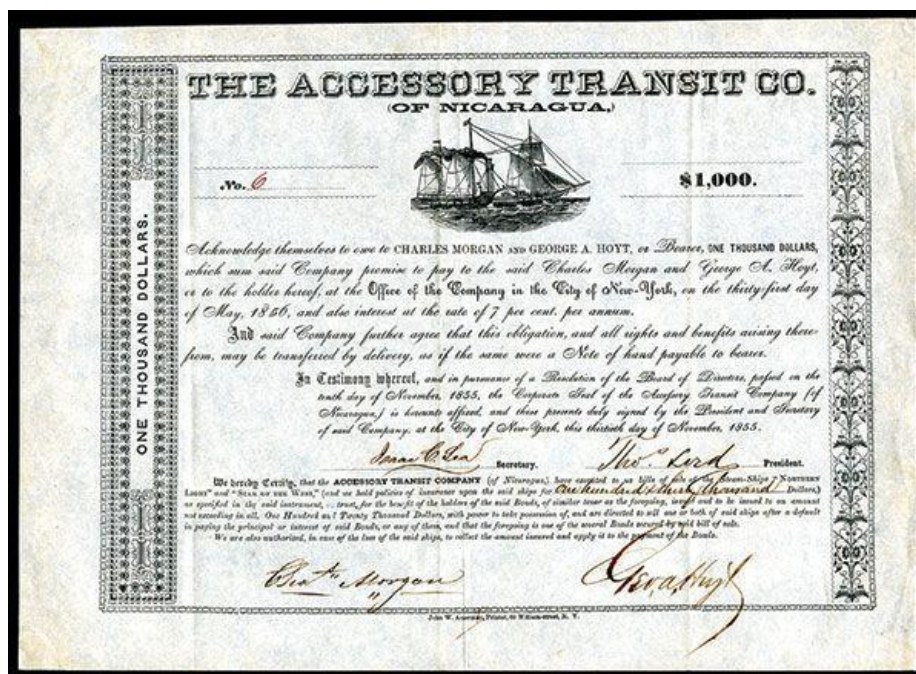
The MAIL BAG will close fifteen minutes before the sailing of
the Steamer.

For freight or passage apply to
C. K. GARRISON, Agent,
corner Sacramento and Liederborn streets

123

Garrison advertising canal transport to the East from California

<http://www.maritimeheritage.org/news/images/adBlethen022454.jpg>



Accessory Transit Company promise to pay Morgan

https://deteritorialinvestigations.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/15790960_1.jpg

Books:

Doubleday, Charles William. *Reminiscences of the "Filibuster" War in Nicaragua*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1886.

Another memoir by one of Walker's officers that is interesting because, while he disagreed with Walker's scruples, he was enamoured with him as a leader. He served with Walker not only in Nicaragua, but also on his next two filibuster attempts.

Jamison, James Carson. *With Walker in Nicaragua: Or Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx*. Columbia, Missouri: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1909.

A valuable first-hand account of an officer who served under General Walker in Nicaragua in which he told about battles and day-to-day events of army life in Nicaragua. Jamison also gave his personal opinion on why Walker issued the decree which legalized slavery.

Montgomery, Cora. *Eagle Pass; Or Life on the Border*. 1852.

This book was written by Jane Cazneau under the pseudonym Cora Montgomery, and regarded what her thoughts and positions were on slavery, expansion, and other political questions of the mid-18th century. It was written from her property at Eagle Pass, Texas.

Walker, William. *The War in Nicaragua*. New York: S.H. Goetzel and Company, 1860.

General Walker's own written account of his efforts in Nicaragua is a first-hand perspective on his actions and his motivations behind them. This book was published only months before he made another filibuster attempt into Central America, which ended in the General's execution in Honduras. It is written in the third person imitating Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.

Wells, William Vincent. *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua*. New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1856.

This book was written in 1856 when Walker still had control of Nicaragua. Wells' glowing praise for Walker and attempt to explain why he legalized slavery were for the express purpose, as Wells himself stated in the introduction, to repair the damage done to Walker's reputation.

Documents, Speeches, Newspaper Articles, and Correspondence:

Buchanan, James, Pierre Soule, and John Y. Mason. "The Ostend Manifesto." October 18, 1854. In *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History With Documents*. Amy S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2012.

The text of the document about the purchase or annexation of Cuba was written by Soule when he was US Minister to Spain in 1850. James Buchanan and John Y. Mason also helped to construct the document. It created a scandal when it was leaked to the press because it recommended taking Cuba by force.

Daily Crescent. New Orleans. April 26, 1849. Accessed February 20, 2016.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

William Walker was the editor of this paper, and this edition contained an anti-slavery article that illustrated Walker's position on slavery before his filibuster attempt.

—— April 6, 1849. Accessed October 8, 2016. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

This edition contains a serial narrative written by Walker. One of the characters speaks of having a grand plan and purpose and it seems Walker was speaking of himself.

Democratic Party Platform, Cincinnati, Ohio. June 2, 1856. Accessed February 21, 2016.

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29576>.

The platform of the Democratic Party contained wording that was obvious in support of filibustering, especially in Nicaragua. That specific addition to the platform was pushed through by Pierre Soule and John Quitman.

Douglas, Stephen. US Congress. *Congressional Globe*. 34th Cong., 1st sess., May 1, 1856.

Accessed August 25, 2016. <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

This is a record of the debate in congress of May 1, 1856, which includes the speech of Senator Stephen Douglas. He asked for the US to support Walker and to assist him militarily if necessary. He asserted that it was crucial to US security because of the canal.

Houston Telegraph. Houston, TX, February 18, 1857. *Galveston News*. Galveston, TX, March 10, 1857. Accessed October 8, 2016.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

Coverage of fundraising events for Walker, and the number and date of recruits leaving various ports for Nicaragua.

Montgomery, Cora. "The Benefits of Annexing Cuba." 1850. In *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History With Documents*. Amy S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2012.

This article was written by Jane Cazneau under the pseudonym Cora Montgomery to promote the annexation of Cuba by means of a filibuster attempt.

——— *La Verdad*. New York. July 16, 1848-March 10, 1853. Accessed August 25, 2016. <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/laverdad.htm>

Jane Cazneau was the owner and principal writer of articles in this paper, which she founded for Cuban exiles in New York. The English and Spanish language paper promoted the annexation of Cuba.

Nashville Union and American. Nashville, TN. August 16, 1856. Accessed February 20, 2016.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

This paper covered Walker's inauguration in detail, and included the people who attended and the speeches that were given at the event. Pierre Soule, Jane Cazneau, and John Wheeler were recorded as guests. John Wheeler's speech which recognized Walker on behalf of the US Government was given verbatim.

New Orleans Picayune. New Orleans, April 29, 1856. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

Pierre Soule's fundraising and recruitment event for William Walker was reported on in this paper.

The New York Herald. New York, NY. November 15, 1854. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

An article in this paper reported the events of William Walker's trial for violation of the US Neutrality Act and his rapid acquittal by the jury.

—— September 1, 1856, December 1, 1856. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

Details regarding the deal between William Walker and William and Jane Cazneau are reported on these dates. It also detailed the supplies that were sent and the value of the cargo the Cazneau's sent to Nicaragua.

—— May 7, 1856. May 10, 1856. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

These papers covered fundraising events and numbers of troops leaving for Nicaragua from the US. They related that hundreds of young men had been recruited to serve with Walker.

New York Daily Tribune. New York, April 3, 1857. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<https://www.newspapers.com>.

An article on a rally in New York to raise funds for Walker is contained in this edition, and also reports of recruits leaving for Nicaragua.

The New York Tribune. New York, NY. August 6, 1856. Accessed October 8, 2016.
<https://www.newspapers.com>.

This paper ran an article describing how much affection Walker's soldiers had for him. These types of articles in US newspapers every day made public heroes of Walker and his filibusters.

Pierce, Franklin. US Congress, "Message from the President of the United States, Communicating Sundry Documents in Relation to Affairs With the Government of Nicaragua," 34th Cong. 1st sess., S. Doc. 68. Accessed August 27, 2016.
http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/nicaragua/Nicaragua_Affairs-1856.pdf.

President Pierce sent this memorandum to be read in Congress. It communicated his reasoning of the recognition of President Rivas' Nicaraguan Government through reception of Padre Augustin Vijil as Minister to the US. The correspondence of Secretary of State Marcy, Attorney General Caleb Cushing, and US Minister to Nicaragua John Hill Wheeler, along with many other documents were included.

Soule, Pierre. "Debate on the Compromise Bill." June 24, 1850. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 31th Cong., 1st sess. Accessed August 25, 2016. <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

Soule left no doubt about his views on expansion in this speech. His goals regarding slavery's place in the expansion of new territory were emphatically expressed.

——— "Colonization in North America." January 25, 1853. US Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 32th Cong., 2nd sess. Accessed August 25, 2016. <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage>.

In his speech, Soule gave justification for the annexation of Cuba in which he argued that it was in Cuba's best interests to be annexed to the US.

——— Letter to Captain Fairdowns. New Orleans. May 31, 1857. Accessed August 27, 2016. http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/nicaragua/Nicaragua_Affairs-1856.pdf

Soule wrote a note to Fairdowns that requested a meeting that included General Walker less than a month after his return from Nicaragua. He was probably already arranging funding for Walker's next venture.

Southern Enterprise. Greenville, SC. December 11, 1856. Accessed February 20, 2016. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

The writer in this article gave a glowing report of Walker's character and in support of his endeavors in Nicaragua. This was written after the decree legalizing slavery in Nicaragua.

The Times Picayune. New Orleans, LA. September 28, 1856. Accessed October 8, 2016. <https://www.newspapers.com>.

An article in this newspaper relates Pierre Soule's purchase of the estate in Nicaragua that had belonged to Fruto Chamorro.

United States. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Britain. April 18, 1850. In *Manifest Destiny and American Territorial Expansion: A Brief History With Documents*. Amy S. Greenberg. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2012.

This treaty was negotiated as tensions increased regarding British activities in Central America. Both countries agreed not to colonize in Central America and that neither would have absolute control of the canal.

Callender I. Fayssoux Manuscript Collection:

Callender I. Fayssoux was General William Walker's aide-de-camp, and this manuscript collection includes Walker's correspondence, orders, and other documents from the years Fayssoux spent with Walker in Nicaragua.

Davis, Henry to Lieutenant John Maury. May 2, 1856. Callender I Fayssoux Collection of William Walker Papers, 1856-1860. The Latin American Library at Tulane. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University, Manuscripts/Collection 18. Microfilm.

Davis ordered Maury to inform Callender Fayssoux that Walker had surrendered, and that Maury was to take Fayssoux's vessel by force if he did not hand it over willingly. Fayssoux was in the bay awaiting orders from Walker.

Hornsby, C.C. to Callender Fayssoux. Virgin Bay, Nicaragua. October 7, 1856. Callender I Fayssoux Collection of William Walker Papers, 1856-1860. The Latin American Library at Tulane. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University, Manuscripts/Collection 18. Microfilm.

Hornsby's casual letter to Fayssoux asked him to look for new recruits that should be arriving from the States, and told him he would visit soon. He also related mundane events about life, including the fact that his mule was missing.

——— November 30, 1856. Callender I Fayssoux Collection of William Walker Papers, 1856-1860. The Latin American Library at Tulane. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University, Manuscripts/Collection 18. Microfilm.

In a more hurriedly written letter from Hornsby to Fayssoux, he related his need for supplies and requested that Fayssoux take care of himself in battle.

——— March 4, 1857. Callender I Fayssoux Collection of William Walker Papers, 1856-1860. The Latin American Library at Tulane. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University, Manuscripts/Collection 18. Microfilm.

In a last letter from Hornsby to Fayssoux, Hornsby sent a scrawled note which said that the battle would begin before he could arrive and once again he requested that Fayssoux take care.

Secondary Source Bibliography

Brown, Charles H. *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

While this is an older work, it gives comprehensive coverage of William Walker's filibuster attempts and information not contained in other works. Brown gives a complete picture of the Nicaraguan campaign and Walker's relationship with his investors.

Caverley, Jonathan D. *Democratic Militarism: Voting, Wealth, and War*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Caverley's study of imperialistic militarism in current affairs is relevant because it shows that foreign policy remains driven by economics. It demonstrates how this has not changed since William Walker's day.

Dando-Collins, Stephen. *Tycoon's War: How Cornelius Vanderbilt Invaded a Country to Overthrow America's Most Famous Military Adventurer*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2008.

Not only does Dando-Collins go into detail about Walker's dealings with Cornelius Vanderbilt, he also gives specific information about Pierre Soule and other Southern investors manipulation of William Walker.

Greenberg, Amy S. *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Greenberg looks at gender and how 19th century ideas about masculinity contributed to the filibuster craze. The many young men who flocked to fight with Walker were steeped in this cultural definition of masculinity.

Harrison, Brady. "The Young Americans: Emerson, Walker, and the Early Literature of American Empire." *American Studies* 40, no. 3 (Fall, 1999): 75-97.

Literature of the mid-19th century reflected the imperialistic views of Manifest Destiny. Harrison gives cultural context to Walker's endeavors.

Hudson, Linda S. *Mistress of Manifest Destiny: A Biography of Jane McManus Storm Cazneau, 1807-1878*. Austin, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2001.

There are details containing the political activities and writings of Jane Cazneau in this biography by Hudson. She also gives indepth information about her relationship with powerful politicians of the day.

May, Robert E. *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

May's monograph is about the behind-the-scenes deals between investors, filibusters, and politicians in regard to filibuster campaigns. The investments of Pierre Soule and Jane Cazneau in Walker's filibuster campaigns are given comprehensive treatment along with the details of the rift between Cornelius Vanderbilt and Walker.

———. *Slavery, Race, and Conflict in the Tropics: Lincoln, Douglas, and the Future of Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Douglas and his support of William Walker, both in Congress and financially, are discussed in detail. May also discusses the investments of Jane Cazneau and Pierre Soule in Walker's campaign.

——— "Plenipotentiary in Petticoats: Jane M. Cazneau and American Foreign Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." In *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*. Crapol, Edward P., ed. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.

May's chapter on Cazneau contains information about her political life. It gives details about her influence on US Foreign Policy in the mid-19th century.

Moore, J. Preston. "Pierre Soule: Southern Expansionist and Promoter." *The Journal of Southern History* 21, no. 2 (May 1955): 203-223.

While this is an old article, it is useful for dollar amounts that Soule raised in support of Walker, and details regarding the role Soule played in Walker's slavery decree.

Rosengarten, Frederic Jr. *Freebooters Must Die: The Life and Death of William Walker, The Most Notorious Soldier of Fortune of the Nineteenth Century*. Haverford, PA: Haverford Press, 1976.

This is also an older work, but is a valuable source due to the many primary sources it contains, along with Rosengarten's narrative of Walker's foray into Nicaragua. Pierre Soule and the monetary side of filibustering is covered extensively in this book.