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DOCUMENTS.

- I. With Walker in Nicaragua. The Reminiscences of Elleanore (Callaghan) Ratterman.
- II. Walker-Heiss Papers. Some Diplomatic Correspondence of the Walker Regime in Nicaragua.

With Introduction and Notes By
WILLIAM O. SCROGGS

(Reprinted from the Tennessee Historical Magazine, December, 1915)



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I.

With Walker in Nicaragua. The Reminiscences of Elleanore (Callaghan) Ratterman.

(Reprinted from the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, December, 1915.)

[For permission to reproduce that part of the narrative of Mrs. Ratterman which is of historical importance in connection with the activities of William Walker, the *MAGAZINE* is indebted to the members of Mrs. Ratterman's family now resident in Nashville, especially to Mrs. Thomas J. Tyne and Mrs. W. B. Ratterman. The original manuscript which is understood to have been in the form of a diary, has been misplaced and the text here printed reproduces a typewritten copy compiled some years ago. This copy has been followed literally, with no change other than the supplying in brackets of a letter or word obviously dropped out. The mistakes of the typewritten copy, which are frequent, are corrected, in important cases, in the notes.]

Extensive extracts from this document were published in the "Woman's Edition" of the *Nashville Banner* in the number for Saturday evening, October 12, 1912. But this reproduction omitted a great deal of the paper and much was compressed and modified.

For the introduction and notes the *MAGAZINE* is under obligation to Dr. William O. Scroggs, Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Louisiana State University, the author of a *Life of William Walker* to be published in the near future. Dr. Scroggs's intimate acquaintance with the material bearing upon Walker's career has made it possible for him to contribute the explanations and comments, which greatly increase the value of the document.]—ED.

INTRODUCTION.

The following narrative, written by Mrs. Elleanore Ratterman, nee Callaghan, after her return from a sojourn of four years in Nicaragua, contains an interesting account of affairs in that country after its invasion by William Walker, the noted filibuster. This remarkable man, who plays the leading role in Mrs. Ratterman's story, was born in Nashville on May 8, 1824. His father, James Walker, was a Scotchman who had settled in Nashville in 1820 and had married Mary Norvell, of Kentucky. There were three other children, Norvell, James, and Alice. William Walker graduated from the University of Nashville in 1838, and in 1843 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Pennsylvania. After two years of study and travel in Europe, he returned to Nashville with the intention of following his profession in that city. Finding this vocation uncongenial, he next studied law and opened his

office for practice in New Orleans. Meeting with no success as a lawyer, he turned to journalism, and in 1848 became one of the editors of the New Orleans *Crescent*. Late in 1849 he severed his connection with this journal and in the following year migrated to San Francisco, where for a year he engaged in newspaper work. In 1851 he removed to Maryville and again took up the practice of law. Shortly thereafter he conceived the plan of "colonizing" the Mexican states of Sonora and Lower California with Americans, and in 1853 led a filibustering expedition into this region. He met with a series of misfortunes, however, and in May, 1854, was driven back across the American border.

Undaunted by this failure, Walker soon turned his attention to Nicaragua, where a revolution was in progress. The leader of one of the revolutionary parties invited him to bring a company of American "colonists" to that country. The "colonists" were to have the privilege of bearing arms and were to receive grants of land for such services as they might render the government. On May 4, 1855, Walker set sail from San Francisco with fifty-eight followers. Reinforcements were sent in large numbers by his associates in San Francisco, and in October the filibusters and their native allies had brought the revolution to an end and set up a provisional government. Walker was made commander-in-chief under the new regime, and became therefore the real head of the State. The news of his success caused adventurers from the United States to join his army in such large numbers that many of the native leaders became alarmed and fled to the neighboring republics, where they succeeded in effecting a coalition of the Central American States against the *filibusteros*. In the meantime, Walker, perceiving the growing disaffection, took the bold step of having himself chosen President of Nicaragua by the votes of his soldiers, who were mainly Americans.

This was the situation when Miss Callaghan, the author of the narrative, arrived at Walker's headquarters in the city of Granada. Her first reference to Walker shows him at war with the Central American allies.

W. O. SCROGGS.

*A Short Sketch of My Life for the Last Four Years in
Nicaragua.*

In the year of our Lord 1856, the 4th day of April, My Sister and her husband and child, Brother and self and a little slave boy, left Council Bluffs, Iowa, to emigrate to Nicaragua, then the rendezvous of all classes

of speculators: On the 7th day of May we embarked at New Orleans on a small schooner, (called the Minnie Schiffer) in company with about 150 men, soldiers who, were going to join their fortunes with Genl Wm Walker's, to Americanize, that garden of the world:— Also there were about six families going to colonize—from the great inducements held out to foreigners, by the President, Patricis¹ Rivas— On the 28th of May we landed at Greytown, under the guns of a English Man of War called the "Everydice,"² whose officers came aboard to see if there were any "filibusters," and if so, to prevent their landing. There was not a gun, nor a missile of war to be seen, and *all* and each were emigrants. Without any delay they proceeded to Granada, on small River Steamer's belonging to the Transit Company, and reached that city about the first of June. All the families were taken with the "Fever" of that country, and about the 12 of July my niece died, a few days after my sister, and a short time after my brother in law. I was left entirely alone, with only my brother, and our slave;³ after trying to return home twice, I gave up to fate to await my destiny.⁴ Genl Walker was constantly engaged in skirmishes with the enemy,⁴ after he was elected President, which event took place on the 12th of July⁵—his popularity with the native population decreased in a degree, as rapidly as it had increased up to that time. The first great battle which took place after my arrival in Nicaragua was on the 13th of October.

Genl. W. left Granada for Masaga⁶ about ten o'clock on the 11th with every man that was able to walk that distance⁷ which is 12 miles, and left the garrison under the charge of Brigadier Genl Fry, which all told, counting the sick, and wounded, citizens, numbered about 150. About 1 o'clock the cry was the "Enemy is coming,"⁸ when the rain came down in such torrents it seemed that the whole town was deluged, many of the citizens did not wish to go to the church, which was on the Plaza or Square, and if there was to be a pitched battle Genl W. was determined to keep the Square if every other point was taken. And when he left he gave such orders, that one and all had to be taken to the Church. The enemy was right in our midst, and we were fearful to leave our house, for fear of meeting them. However, we started, towards the Lake of Nic[aragua] which is about half a mile from the City of Granada, when some American, called to us for God sake to return and go to the Church as the enemy was waiting, in ambush, in case we went to the steamer, to attack us. We turned and advanced a few steps towards the Church when about 100 of those savages rushed from their hiding places down another street, they intended to fall upon our party but as soon as one of their dusky forms were seen, there was volley after volley fired at them from the tower of the Church, until they all disappeared.—When at last

¹Patricio.

²Eurydice.

³As slavery had been abolished in Nicaragua since 1824, it is interesting to note that Miss Callahan retained possession of a negro slave in that country. On September 22, 1856, Walker repealed the laws against slavery, but this was several months after the narrator had arrived in Nicaragua.

⁴The enemy here referred to consisted of disaffected Nicaraguans and troops from San Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Costa Rica was invited to join this coalition and later did so.

⁵The author has here confused the date of Walker's election with the date of his inaugural. He was elected—in form rather than in fact—on June 29, and was inaugurated on July 12.

⁶Masaya.

⁷When Walker advanced to attack Masaya he led a force of 800 men, the largest number he had ever commanded in battle.

⁸During Walker's attack on Masaya a contingent of Guatemalans in the neighboring village of Dorionio, instead of going to the support of their allies, took the road to Granada, expecting to find that city undefended. The small garrison of civil employes and hospital attendants sustained an attack of twenty-four hours before Walker returned and drove out the enemy. It is this attack on the city which is here described.

we reached the Church, everything was consternation and dismay, women and children shrieking, and screaming that *all was lost*, that if *our* General was here *all would be safe*. We fired a signal gun for the Genl to return, but he was very busy fighting, in Masaga,⁹ and thought he could depend on the Citizens, who were fighting for their lives and interest, the welfare of their families, and well did they sustain the confidence placed in them by him. I who had never witnessed bloodshed was sickened by the sights I saw during the next 24 hours—Our citizens, and the sick soldiers were being constantly brought in wounded, the Ladies under-skirts, and other underclothes were torn in Bandages for the poor fellows, and if more was needed, it would have been given with a free heart—All day there was a constant firing kept up. We had nothing to eat—and when night came there was so much excitement, there was no need of sleep—the next day was a repetition of the same, only about twelve o'clock, some one of the soldiers saw a fine hog which he appropriated to his own use, therefore it became the Ladies to turn cook, a young lady and self got that honor of cooking the breakfast or dinner, which ever you might call it at one o'clock on Monday 14th of October. We all remained, in the Church till Friday morning when the cry was, that the Genl was coming. What hope, what enthusiasm, was expressed by all. He heard the signal gun and came to relieve us. As he was coming in the main entrance to Granada, the enemy was in ambush on both sides of the road. Genl W. was advised to alight, when his reply was "let the cowards" shoot the more balls that are thrown at *me*, the less will my men feel." After he arrived in the City, about a quarter of an hour, the Enemy retreated, and we were left to talk about the excitement.

There was constant excitement and alarms, up the 25 of Nov when it was secretly whispered that Granada was to be evacuated and destroyed by fire.¹⁰ and the advice of all, was for the Lady's and children to embark on the Steamer, to leave G, for when the Natives, saw their City, their churches leveled to the ground, they would raise, and come down to G. prepared to fight, and to besiege us. Brother and I prepared everything our trunks and baggage and left in charge of our Brother in Law to send to us, to the Steamer.¹¹ When the Steamer pulled up her anchor, and left for the Island of Ometepe a Volcanic island situated in the middle of Lake Nicaragua.¹²

Genl W had passed a decree, that *all* should be taken there, and there remain, till he had fixed on his headquarters. Therefore I left G. with only the clothes I had on. When all had left Granada except 100 men and a few females, who were to embark at two o'clock as the steamer was lying at the wharf, when about twelve o'clock, 2000 of the Allied troops of Central America, marched in and cut the Americans off from the Steamer, placed themselves between the Lake and the main Square, where the Americans, at that time were,—The Steamer when she saw this, commenced firing, but being at such a distance could not effect what

⁹Masaya.

¹⁰Walker had made Granada his headquarters for about thirteen months, and his occupation of the capital city gave him a kind of moral advantage in the eyes of the natives. The location, however, was exceedingly unhealthful, and when Costa Rica joined the hostile coalition in November, 1857, he found it necessary to evacuate the place for both strategic and sanitary reasons and occupy the more advantageously situated towns of Rivas and Virgin Bay.

¹¹This sentence and the next are confused, probably because of defective punctuation in the copy.

¹²This island was thirteen miles from the mainland, and the non-combatants and sick and wounded placed there were safe from attack by the invaders. The Indians who lived on the island, however, resented the intrusion, as the narrative shows further on.

she wished. Genl Hemmingsen¹³ then comman[d]ed the American party and a better commander never could have been found.

At the time that the enemy came in, there was about 7 men on the wharf.¹⁴ All were taken prisoners except one who swam to the Steamer, during which time many balls were fired at him, tho' he luckily escaped.¹⁵ When the Steamer saw there was no help, for the Americans, left her anchorage and went to Virgin Bay, Where our Genl then was, who immediately embarked and went to try to investigate the affairs, and to try to relieve them, but he could not effect a landing and he returned to await fresh recruits. Now to return to the besieged. At first they reveled in every luxury that could be found, they were extravagant in their liquor, in eating and every thing when at last they became so reduced for the want of provisions, and exposure, as they had no roof to protect them from the rain, which at that time was very bad as it was the breaking up of the rainy season—they felt the change so quickly after enjoying every luxury then to be reduced to piece of mule meat about four inches square for twenty four hours—No salt, nor anything but mule meat, and *coffee*, that the handfull of men dwindled down to a mere nothing. They died at the rate of three a day, and were buried about three yards from where the people eat, and slept, as it was dangerous to bury them any distance on account of the enemies' balls. At this time the balance of Walkers men were on Ometepe,¹⁶ where we experienced a secon[d] siege. There was no provision, except plantain and Beef and those who had a little pocket change were fortunate, but otherwise suffered, living some of us in sheds with only the name of a roof over our heads no sides to the house. Myself and Brother found a Friend in a german Lady, who had five children, we shared her board and bed such as it was—the bed consisted of straw thrown on the ground and over that a quilt was laid, thereon eight in family slept, as the climate is such that thick covering was useless, we fared well. But oh! the suffering I saw there, never can be realized again. Men dying in roads, every day the Ox Cart would hail at your door enquiring if any person dead was lodged within who wished to be buried. Once a Lady in company with Self were walking towards the Lake, to see if we could see anything of the Steamer (as the suspense we were in was terrible, not knowing, what had become of the besieged, no communication between us) we saw a poor fellow lying on the ground in a dying state, lying in mud.—We went to him bathed his face and hands, and rubbed his throat with oil, to relieve his breathing, and placed him in a comfortable position, laying as he was on the ground. When as we concluded to proceed on our walk, he grasped our dresses and made signs to feel his pocket, but we felt a delicacy in so doing, and remained with him a

¹³Charles Frederick Henningsen, whom Walker charged with the destruction of Granada after its abandonment, was a soldier of fortune of world renown. A native of England, he had served under Don Carlos in Spain, in the Russian army in Circassia, and had gone to Hungary to aid that country in its struggle for independence; but finding the Hungarian cause already lost, he followed Kossuth to America and later joined Walker in Nicaragua. He attained the rank of brigadier-general in the Confederate army during the Civil War. Literature as well as military matters engaged his attention, and he has left several volumes of travel and reminiscences which have substantial value.

¹⁴The actual number was twenty-seven.

¹⁵The narrator has here confused two different events. The man who swam to the steamer was a young Hawaiian called "Kanaka John," who carried Walker a message in a bottle from Henningsen, and was not one of the besieged party on the wharf. One of the latter did escape, deserting to the enemy and showing them a way by which his former comrades might be attacked from the rear and exterminated. He was a Venezuelan named Tejada, whom Walker had found in chains and set free when he entered Granada a year before. The filibuster's kindness was thus repaid with treachery.

¹⁶Ometepe.

few minutes longer, when we started, and in less than a half hour after he was dead, he was searched as is the rule, and in his pocket was \$75, and letters to his wife, which I suppose he meant for us to take, so as it should not fall in the hands of those Robbers—as the officers under Genl W. was nothing else. Death had become so familiar, to me, that I could have no pleasure then to assist the dying, and to help bury the Dead—It is so pleasant to know you have cheered or been of assistance to some poor unfortunáte, it has paid me often for my lon[e]liness and misery, to think I have done some one good. The same evening or rather the next morning at three o'clock, the alarm near the church was given that the enemy were coming, as we were situated living between the Square and the Lake, we could not make our way to the garrison, therefore rushing from our beds—and catching what we could, we ran to the Lake, this German Lady and family, went also. When we reached there, there was a Barge filled with half full of water, but we all tumbled in pell-mell—above our waists in water, when the men had to bail it out with their hats and us Ladys assisted with our shoes—, there were a considerable numbers of others, one who happened to be officer he took command, there we were till day light broke, our anxiety being great about those who had been left there, also the dying. When it was day light we discovered the Steamer which then appeared as a speck on the horizon, until it gradually came in sight. The Genl was on his way to see the prospect of assisting the besieged, and mistook us for a party of the enemy, and had we not hoisted a shirt as a flag of truce, we would have been fired into and perhaps sunk to the bottom of the Lake. When the Genl saw our flag of truce he bore down to us—and had us all to come aboard and have refreshments, whilst he sent a Company of his men ashore to see if the danger was over, they returned, and said the enemy had retreated, and then he sent us ashore again but with the hope that he was going to liberate us in thirty-six hours, how anxiously did we all wait and look for the time to roll around. At about 24 hours afterwards we heard the shrill whistle of the Steamer. What joy, what hope, to each and all, at last about ten o'clock, at night the word was given that all was aboard, when the Steamer pulled up her Anchor and left, about ten minutes after our sailing, we observed the heavens glaring in a light, which was caused from all the baggage of the poor sufferers—being set on fire on the bank of lake Nicaragua, those who had saved some little from the fire of Granada was all now destroyed.

The order from Genl W. was for all to be brought to San Jorge or George, then his headquarters, when we had just anchored, the Steamer San Carlos, hove in sight, and a short time after, she dropped her anchor, she had aboard about 150 men, recruits from N. G. N. O. and California, which Genl. W. embarked on board the Steamer La Virgin, and at ten o'clock at night on the 15 of Dec 1856,¹⁷ he went to raise the siege of Granada, and succeeded. I have heard from those who were so unfortunáte to be there, that after Gen. W. fired on the Enemy, and made them beat a retreat, that the thanks, the joy which was expressed on each countenance paid them for their trouble, and anxiety. Some died immediately from eating so much, after living about 15 days on a small bit of mule meat, without salt, without bread, they indulged too freely. Some of the men, when liquor, tobacco, cigars gave out, lived on opium, till it killed them.¹⁸ The greatest sight of misery of poverty was seen the morning when all came to San George. Mothers eagerly asking of some friend if her son was dead or living, with hope that he might be one of

¹⁷The correct date is December 11.

¹⁸During the siege of seventeen days 120 of those left in the city died of disease, 124 were killed or wounded, two were captured, and forty deserted, bringing the total loss to 286 and leaving only 135 whole survivors. Many of these succumbed later as a result of their trying experiences.

the few saved, and still fearful to hear the truth. Wives, and sisters inquiring also, with the same feeling of hope and fear. When I saw my Brother in Law I did not know him, he was so emaciated, at last the disease which he had contracted in the siege, terminated fatally on the 6 of April 1857, the very anniversary which we had left Iowa the year before. Therefore in the short space of 9 months I had seen three of the [*sic*] my family buried, all of my property, and health, clothes and everything gone, never to be recovered, as I then thought, not knowing what was to be my fate.

On the 20 of Dec. the cry was that the Barricades in Rivas (a city built three miles inland from San Jorge) were so very high, that the whole town was surrounded by a walls of barricades.¹⁹ Genl. W. sent out detached companys to see if there was really any danger if the enemy was there according to report, when about the 22d he gave orders for all to march to Rivas, which was to be his headquarters, for the present time;—Miles and my Brother in law and self all were sick, but we contrived to get to Rivas as well as we knew how. Mr. Tarbox rode on a Government wagon, and I walked the short distance of three miles which appeared to me the distance of 12 miles.

We fared extremely well for the entire first two months. There was constant attacks from the enemy, and false alarms, when at the dead hour of night we were forced to leave home and go to the strongest citadel or fortress, sometimes with nothing, sometimes perhaps, without shoes or stockings. I at last resorted to this plan, which was not to undress, for near four months I did not know what it was to sleep undressed;—On the first of Feb.²⁰ W. marched on the enemy, who had taken possession of San George. Three hundred of the enemy were killed, and only ten killed and wounded on our side, he gave them two other attacks. the last one on the 26 of March,²¹ on the 20 he was surrounded by them, so confined were we, that we could not even get plantains, our bread, which is of the same family as Bananas, except a great deal larger, that being the "pan del Pais" or bread of the country. Genl W. used it also, as his bread, on the 25 of March²² we commenced eating mule meat—Coincident to this we were anxiously awaiting the arrival of Col Lockridge, with forces—but he, the black hearted villain, sold us, for the paltry sum of []²³ Reports every day was spread, about his coming, untill we had no hope; and was awaiting with Christian submission, our fate. We never knew till after the "Capitulation" what had become of him, which was this.²⁴ He had started up the River on one of

¹⁹Rivas was a small town with thick-walled adobe houses, and had been barricaded and used as a fortress by the Costa Ricans in their invasion during the spring of 1856.

²⁰The correct date is February, 4.

²¹The correct date is March 16.

²²Other accounts give this date as March 27. At first mules were slaughtered at night and their meat mixed with that of a few beeves, so that the men for a short time did not suspect their change in diet.

²³The sum is not given.

²⁴Colonel S. A. Lockridge, of Kentucky, whom the narrator castigates so severely, had been in charge of recruiting for Walker in Texas and the Middle West, and late in 1856 he had gone to Nicaragua with nearly 300 recruits for Walker's service. On landing at Greytown he discovered that the steamers on the San Juan River and on Lake Nicaragua, which were the sole means of reaching Walker in the interior, had fallen into the hands of the Costa Ricans. He succeeded in recapturing several of the steamers, but was unable to force his way past Castillo Viejo, a fort on the river in the hands of the enemy, and returned to Greytown. On the return trip the boiler of the steamer *Scott* exploded, killing and injuring a number of officers and men. Fortunately, the accident occurred while the steamer was moored to the bank, and most of the men were ashore. The narrator's statement that "all were killed immediately or died shortly after" is incorrect. Among those who escaped was Walker's brother Norvell. Two of the officers who were injured by the explosion have left accounts of this episode, and no one associated with Lockridge accused him of treachery, as does the author of this narrative. See the story of Marcellus French in *Overland Monthly*, n. s., XXI., 517-23; and of Charles W. Doubleday in his *Reminiscences of the "Filibuster" War in Nicaragua* (New York, 1886).

the little Steamers but sold us to the enemy, in this wise, he placed gunpowder in the wood to be used as firewood, and of course the poor firemen, who worked their own death, did not know it, he and others who were his accomplices, did not go aboard. O! no, their good for nothing carcass, was to[o] good to be blown up with their victims. All were killed immediately or died a short time after. Genl W. was so anxiously waiting for their assistance, to relieve us, from our unpleasant position, but his hopes were placed, in a man who was every way unworthy of the confidence of such a man as the "eagle eyed man of destiny." The siege of Rivas was protracted from the 20 of March till the 25 of April, when hostilities were suspended, during that time they fired 200 cannon balls, each one weighing 24 lbs. Only three of our men were killed. About the 8 of April, myself, in company with two other Ladys, and my Brother (as my Brother in law had died on the 6th) were sitting near our front door, very busily engaged in a conversation, when each one of us and all were surprised to notice something like a flash of lightning directly opposite to us, but before either could speak the Ball struck the pavement [*sic*] and rebounded, took off half of a very large door, broke the back of a chair in which a Lady was sitting, broke open a trunk scattered the contents in the air, and then disappeared in a wall. All which transpired in one second, or quick as thought. A Spanish Lady who was present said "O! Dios mitunio."²⁵ I was knocked on the floor in a kneeling position. You could not have told who or what color we had ever been. About the 15, I was cooking our supper about 5 oclock in the evening, when a ball came within three feet of my feet, in a place which I had stood a moment before, the fire was put out, all was completely covered with dirt as the houses are adobe, a kind of brick, made of straw and mud mixed and then well baked in the sun, each one is about 3 feet long by two wide, of course when it has been used for such a length of time, it becomes very dry.

Genl W. expected, that on the 11th of April that we would have a serious attack, as it was their feast day, and they claimed a victory gained by them over us on the 11th preceding,²⁶ and of course they were sure of conquering, every one was expecting it, when about 3 oclock in the morning, a signal from them was fired, when we were to be attacked on all sides, which if done would have compelled our few men to have yielded, (but as the American people, knows not the meaning of that word) owing to some misunderstanding we were attacked from only one point:—300 of the Costa Ricans, entered the Square, took possession, of a building in which there was two lonely females who had been left widows about three months, one of the Ladys had two children, they broke open the door, and entered whether or no. Some said she had written to them, to come and gave her place as a place of rendezvous. Genl. W. sent them word the day before, to leave that house, as he expected they would enter, PERHAPS, that building, her obstinacy in remain remaining [*sic*] gave room for persons to blame her.

7 men were all that was defending or in the building. Genl W. had the cannon of 6 lb. balls placed directly opposite the house when some one of his officers remarked, that it was dangerous for the lives of the two Ladys, he replied, "Shall I endanger the lives of *all* of my *men* for the obstinacy of two women," *No!* He gave orders for a constant firing to be kept up, when our skirts came in requisition again as wadding for the cannon which we freely gave. Genl. had a few men only assisting

²⁵Possibly "*Dios me tumbo*"—"God has knocked me down;" or "*Dios me tenga*"—"God protect me."

²⁶This is a reference to the so-called first battle of Rivas of April 11, 1856. The result of this engagement was indecisive, but both sides claimed a victory.

him in the cannonade, about 12 men. We at that time were at the Genl house for protection. We crawled along under the eaves of the houses for fear we should be seen, were in ear shot of the cannon, one of the Ladys in the house was wounded in the foot, the Dr. neglected to amputate immediately, and when he did, it caused her death, which was 13 of April. About 9 o'clock the firing ceased. Genl had taken 100 prisoners, and 3 officers:—and had sent 30 wounded ones to their camp, as he offered first, if they would exchange cattle for the prisoners, allowing ten head for each officer and one head for each man, he did not have sufficient food to feed his own men. (They would not ransom their prisoners) much less waste on these wounded. The wells in Rivas were filled with their dead bodies so much so, we feared to drink the waters.

The enemy constantly kept up firing their missiles of death and we had always to send a armed force to the plantain patches for protection to those, who went to bring the Plantains but after while they became to be attacked so frequently that it was even dangerous for them to go for our bread.

On the evening of the 26 of April, there was a dead silence reigning around everything, when we saw a native enter with a flag of truce, proceed on to the Genl. quarters a few moments after we saw him return, and in about half a hour after St Hustin²⁷ of the U. S. Brig. St Mary²⁸ came in to see if the Gen would give permission for the Ladies and children to go to San Juan del Sur, to be under the protection of our flag. Cap Davis²⁹ had heard that W was going to leave Rivas with his few well men, and the women children and sick men would get out the best way possible. I firmly believe that this report was basely false. Capt D. knew the character of these savages, and thought if such is the case I will provide for the *helpless*. Genl W. gave his consent, and about sundown there was an order issued, for us all to be ready, by nine o'clock the following evening, to leave for San Juan. Some were willing to leave and others did not wish to go, I for one. I had seen all go, and I felt as if I wanted to remain with my brother but that was contrary to order, and if permitted for one would be looked for for others. At first the word was that we all had to walk to San Juan a distance of about 21 miles, I left as much I could in the clothes line, and what I thought would be absolutely necessary and no more. When at last we got to the enemys camp, we heard the provision was made. Some of us had to ride over others went in a wagon, as there were so many that we had to take it by turns, to the village of St. George a distance of three miles, there to wait till morning and all go, together, in two very large wagons—The firing had ceased for 36 hours, or from the time St H³⁰ entered the city until we left the camp. To see those people enjoying everything in the line of victuals and luxuries, such as tobacco, cigars and liquor made me feel so bad to think that our race was absolutely starving, and were almost crazed, for the loss of tobacco and *this* race of Mestigs or negroes to be enjoying these pleasures it made me feel indignant. And they exercised so much inquisitiveness to find out W's real position, but we all were political we told them, in such a manner as to make them clasp their hands, and make sign of the cross, a mark of utter astonishment and wonder. When at last we arrived in San Juan,³¹ we all were rejoiced, and

²⁷Lt. [Lieutenant] Huston.

²⁸St. Mary's.

²⁹Commander Charles H. Davis had arrived at San Juan del Sur in the United States sloop-of-war *St. Mary's* early in February, 1857, with instructions of safeguard American citizens and property during the disturbances in Nicaragua.

³⁰Lt. [Lieutenant].

³¹San Juan del Sur, on the Pacific, should not be confused with the Atlantic port of San Juan del Norte, also called Greytown.

but one thing marred our pleasure, to know that our relations and friends were constantly in danger. Capt Davis sent us many little niceties from his ship, which he was aware the³² we had not enjoyed in some time:—He also held divine worship and invited *all* the Ladies, to join him, after the refreshments were set out for us all to regale, which I assure you we did. . . .³³ Excursions on the Pacific, he had us all to join, to try to divert us from melancholy thoughts. When at last he³⁴ was induced to go to Rivas, to capitulate,³⁵ he went I believe, instigated by Charity and good feeling to his countrymen; he went on the 1st of May, he effected what he wanted, establish peace he did not but he effected what he wanted, which was to *save* Genl W. and to cause hostilities to subside!—But be it understood, that the conditions of the treaty he made to suit himself, which was that all Americans, who looked for protection from Genl W. be sent home to some port in the U. S. He himself³⁶ chose 16 of his men, who he wished to have with him on board of the *St. Mary's*.³⁷ This showed the real disposition of Genl W. when he would not accept the treaty, till *all* and each had been provided for. Some blame him for selfishness but tell me is there ought of self in this?

As I said before we all had heard of the treaty, but we heard conflicting rumors, when at last on the 1st of May about 8 o'clock in the evening, we heard it whispered that they³⁸ had passed the bridge, about a quarter of a mile from town we all congregated on the balconies of the Hotel to see if we could recognize any of our relations:—As they came galloping up to the Hotel. When Gen. W and Capt Davis alighted and entered the Consuls office, at the same time,³⁹ they fired a signal for the Cap's gig to be sent over to take himself and the Gen abroad the Brig, as the officers could go in the small boat, of the Boats crew:—It was done more as a mark of respect to the then President of Nicaragua When all last word was brought that, Capt Davis desired Gen W to fix upon some day to leave, the Gen *declined* doing so, then it suited all for him to leave on the 8th of May, just two years to the day⁴⁰ that he left California with 56 followers to help a race of people, whose characteristics are deceit, jealousy, ingratitude, to have seen all most adoration given to Gen W. by these people, it is all most impossible to believe that they are the same who tried to expel him and those who followed in his footsteps, nevertheless, it is true.

When at last the ship drew in her anchor at 7 o'clock at night, every sail was expanded, and seemed like a messenger bird with her wings open to the breeze, when the farewell cannon shot, came across the water, then it was we began to realize that, all hope was gone, that it was true that Genl W was going to leave us, we who had joined our fortunes to his, for better or for worse, was with him in prosperity, and suffered with him in adversity. Some of us watched, until the ship was lost to sight and then, and not till then, did we ask the question What is to be-

³²That.

³³The indication of an omission is in the copy.

³⁴Davis.

³⁵That is, to persuade Walker to capitulate, not to the natives but to Commander Davis.

³⁶Walker.

³⁷By the terms of capitulation Walker was allowed to choose sixteen of his officers to accompany him aboard the *St. Mary's* and proceed to Panama, while the rest of his men were to be taken to Panama by another route, accompanied by a United States officer. Unlike the author of this narrative, Walker's men did not regard his care for his officers as an indication of unselfishness, and his rank and file bitterly resented his leaving them behind.

³⁸Walker and his sixteen officers.

³⁹The narrator is again in error as to details. Davis did not accompany Walker to San Juan del Sur, but arrived there the following day.

⁴⁰Walker left San Francisco for Nicaragua on May 4, 1835. The statement that he left Nicaragua on the anniversary of his sailing from the United States to this country is therefore incorrect.

come of us? We asked of *several* officers before we could get any answer, at last we asked the Consul, he replied that we all were going to Virgin Bay on the 10th, to embark on the Steamer to proceed thence to Greytown, where we all would embark, to proceed to N. Y. he said I am not certain but I think that is the arrangements. All passed as usual until Sunday the 9th inst when we received a order to be ready the next morning at 9 o'clock to leave for HOME. What joy, what a disappointment to many. I forgot to say that my Brother had arrived in San Juan, a day or two previous, to our Genl leaving, all the soldiers who were able to walk was marched from Rivas to Virgin Bay and from there to Punta Arenas in Costa Rica, but my Brother told St⁴¹ McCorkle the 1 Lt of the St Mary, that he had a sister in San Juan, then he received a permit to proceed to San Juan to join me.⁴² On Monday the 11th of May we all arose an hour earlier, to prepare for the journey. Chess our slave, I could not find no where I looked every where that I thought it possible he might be in; even sent aboard a small schooner, which was expecting to leave for Panama, I suspicioned that he wanted leave, his owner, who is my Brother. All [*sic*] last I gave it up, at nine o'clock we all left for Virgin Bay:—Seeing a acquaintance at her door I beckoned to her, and requested if she saw Chess to send him to me the following day as an officer and his Lady were coming over

We reached Virgin Bay at 8 o'clock that night, a distance of only 12 miles:—but the natives who were the drivers drove slow, to annoy us. Tired and jaded almost to death I proceeded to Mrs. Walsh's an English Lady, with whom I was acquainted in Grenada. She offered me a place to lodge, and refreshments, during my stay which I thought would *be* no longer, than the Steamer, could come down to take us to Greytown:—which would be at the farthest on the 13th. After I had retired, a courier arrived, from the Governor of San Juan, writing to me an order declaring if I took that boy Chess, out of Nicaragua, I should suffer according to military law.

What could I do? it was all we had to fall back on. Some advised me to go on, that they the remaining Filibusters would see me through. I was timid, and I knew if I did so I would not receive the protection of my government, I am sor[r]y I did not do so. When the boy made his appearance, with the officer, I was almost sorry, for I had given up the hope of seeing him again, and was willing to see him suffer for his ingratitude. Others told me ere three months rolled past Walker would return, and advised me to remain, and keep a eye on him.⁴³ there all my hopes of coming home were blasted! I consulted with Mrs. Walsh. She advised do as I thought best, if I staid her house was my home; if I thought it best to leave of course I knew best; I concluded to remain any way two or three months, to see if Walker did return. The Steamer came and *all* left but my brother and self.⁴⁴ We remained with Mrs. Walsh. My brother doing what he could, and I also in the same capacity doing her sewing and mending, for my board, and fortunate were we to get this; this I knew, and tried every way in my power to make myself agreeable and I suffered many slights, at first from her daughter in law, and her child, a Boy about 4 years; Mrs. W grand child, her only son's

⁴¹Lt. [Lieutenant].

⁴²After Walker and his sixteen officers boarded the *St. Mary's* they were taken to Panama. The rest of his men were also sent there on another vessel. The women, children, sick and wounded, however, were sent to Greytown. This arrangement would have separated Miss Callahan from her brother, if he had not secured the special permit here referred to.

⁴³The negro Chess.

⁴⁴There were thirteen women and five children who left for Greytown along with the disabled combatants. The total number leaving was 142. From this port they were taken to Aspinwall, and from there to New York on the United States frigate *Wabash*.

child, who had died in the a.d. 1854; but Mrs. Walsh was a perfect Lady and christian. We lived there together, as one family, till August, when as Mrs Walsh had a great quantity of dry goods, that she could not sell, in Virgin Bay, and she thought she would do well to send her daughter to *San Jorge*, a village about 9 miles from Virgin, accessible, either by water or land, as it was situated on the Lake. She asked me if I would go in Company to mitigate the lonesomeness of her feelings, I consented to go also my brother.

I could not at that time speak a single word in Spanish, so I thought too, I would have a fine chance of learning to speak the language, not hearing nothing else, it was unavoidable. After I arrived in San Jorge I was prevailed upon to take a class in English but you might as well have tried to teach a brickbats as those numbskulls—besides being very illiterate they are suspicious they wished to learn English in one month, to write and to speak it fluently in the course of one month, they therefore cheated me out of my small pay:—and I had become so disgusted with them, I was glad to play quits.

In the meantime, I had procured for my brother a situation on board of one of the Lake Steamers as Steward to the Captain with the expectation of a small pay. I thought it best to keep his mind and hands employed even at no pay, than to be idle, as "idleness is the mother of all evil." He went aboard the Steamer 1st of September, the Steamer made two or three trips to San Jorge afterwards, but toward the latter end of October war broke out between Costa Rica and Nicaragua and all communication was broke up between V. and San Juan del Norte, the Steamer in which Miles was, was taken by the Costa Ricans, and of course not permitted to return to her running ports.⁴⁵ Therefore no words can express the suspense my mind was undergoing at that time. I thought of my brother only as one among the dead; my own situation was sufficiently unhappy; without having this miserable pain; not being able to express myself sufficient to be understood in Spanish; my actions and words were misinterpreted, which led to harsh, feelings, I became convinced the only remedy for this was to learn the language, I therefore commenced and in one months time I understood, and could converse pretty well, from which I derived much pleasure, still I continued to improve myself. On the morning of the 18 of Dec. 1857 we heard that Gen. Walker himself was at Greytown,⁴⁶ that his men had come up the River and taken possession of the fort Castillo, as well as the Steamer Virgin (in which was my brother) Fort Castillo is renowned in history as being the ground on which Lord Nelson once fought, it is situated on a high hill, with a commanding view of many miles up and down the River. at the time of the English War This fort was inhabited by a party of monks and nuns, who on seeing that the fort was taken rushed to the subterrean [*sic*] vaults, whereupon the English closed the entrance, and there the poor wretches starved to death.

42 Americans with the gallant Col. Frank Anderson⁴⁷ took possession

⁴⁵The war between Costa Rica and Nicaragua here referred to was largely one of paper and ink. The boundary between the two countries had long been a matter of dispute, and after Walker's withdrawal Costa Rica deemed the time opportune to make good her claims, as Nicaragua was exhausted and was also under obligations to Costa Rica for its aid in expelling the filibusters. Rumors of Walker's impending return caused the two republics quickly to bury the hatchet and make common cause against the dreaded *filibustero*.

⁴⁶After eluding the vigilance of the Federal authorities at Mobile, Walker had landed at Greytown on November 24 with about 270 followers.

⁴⁷Colonel Frank Anderson, of New York, had served with Walker throughout his first campaign, and was one of the filibuster's most trusted officers. Before Walker could reach the interior of Nicaragua it was necessary to recapture the river and lake steamers, which were still in the hands of the Costa Ricans. Anderson was placed in command of a picked company and was charged with this undertaking. He met with success, but Walker and his followers were arrested by Commodore Hiram Paulding, of the United States navy, before the steamers were brought down the river to Greytown.

of the fort, without a firing of a gun. When this news was received at Rivas, the city about 3 miles from San Jorge the Governor issued a decree that all Americans male and female should present themselves to the government at Rivas, within 3 days and if they did not do so they could be dealt with accord [*sic*] to military law. I thought it best to go, to avoid any unnecessary trouble. When I presented myself to the Gov he gave me a receipt, stating that I had presented myself therefore was not liable to the law, from the effects of that walk I took a fever, and my feet was so badly blistered, as to unable me to walk 4 or five days:—When I returned from Rivas there was a courier in the village who had just arrived stating that Walker was taken prisoner by the U. S. What a death blow to all our hopes and expectation we were anxiously expecting his arrival, then to hear this, was too much for poor humanity to stand. When Genl Walker arrived at Greytown he sent a party to take the Steamer Virgian⁴⁸ and to treat all on board as prisoners, he expecting to find deserters he wished to make them suffer for their inconstancy, therefore my Brother being as he was on board was taken prisoner, and marched to Greytown where he was released as soon as they saw who he was.

It seems that about this time Commodore Paulding interfered to prevent Gen W. from landing, When he, the Gen, threw up barricades and would have given battle, when on consideration he thought it best to surrender, What a death blow to all Americans, when on hearing that he was in the country everybody, was so delighted, and had commenced to raise many air castles, when they were completely overthrown by the news that Gen W. had surrendered his title and claim, to Commodore Paulding, what a downfall to all of our hopes.⁴⁹

A merchant of Rivas called on me about the 18 of Jan. and told me he was going to Greytown, and if I had any commands for that place. I told him I had but one, which was if he saw my brother (or heard anything of him to let me know) to bring him up, and he would be settled with afterwards:—As there had been nothing like communication between St. George and Greytown, I had not heard anything of my Brother since the October in the year preceding, and therefore when Mr. Canton was ready to start home ward, he had not that facility of Telegraphing or the speedy messenger by Rail Road, therefore I knew not if Miles was coming to me, or if he had died, or perhaps had joined Walker to return home, the thought was painful, agonizing, in the extreme, that perhaps, he had left me alone, On the 5 of Feb 1858 I had concluded that I must die, I had such a spell of sickness. Mrs. Walsh's daughter in law had left St. George to proceed to Virgin Bay, on acct. of her child being so sick and consequently I was left in charge of everything until her return. When I was reclining on the couch such thought came in my mind; how sweet to die among kindred, to feel, and to know, that kind friends will perform the last sad duties towards a beloved friend that we will be missed from the fireside, from the table, and in every capacity, to know they will remember us with affection, with kindness. In my belief this knowledge will soothe the dying, but on the contrary to know there is not one who would shed affections tears at your loss, or to perform those duties, which I regard sacred, such as putting away the dead, so sacred were they, that I performed them frequently in regard to my friends, them that I knew in other days or other climes, and when it

⁴⁸Virgin.

⁴⁹The author is wrong in stating that Walker threw up barricades and thought of resisting the American commander. Three war vessels had trained their broadsides on his camp, and he told his men that resistance would be the height of folly. It is well to note that this demonstration of force by the American navy was made in the port of a friendly foreign nation and therefore a technical violation of international law. The government of Nicaragua, however, instead of complaining, officially extended it thanks to Commodore Paulding for this forcible removal of an invader.

feel [*sic*] to my lot to lose my sister and her child, (I had never but once before witnessed death, that was many years before when my dear Father was called home) then there was no willing hand to lend a aid to assist the poor ignorant sister to perform those heart rendering services, No *all* were afraid to come near the house on act of her dying with cholera. I alone [had] done what I now have not the nerve to do; the same with her child, and then I made it a point whenever I heard of one of my own sex being sick or dying I always visited them to try to relieve their wants for I felt I knew not how soon that this sad ceremony would have to be performed for me and I would do to others what I would wish they would do to me. As these thoughts passed through my mind; I heard some one call me at the front door, but being so weak I made no attempts to answer the call, When again I was called and told that my Brother was coming up the street, I was so astonished at this I knew not what to think, as I had no intimation of his coming. I started to proceed to the door when he came in, the excitement, the joy, of seeing him kept be buoyed up, I felt weak, but not in a dying condition as before. he remained with me full twenty four hours and then proceeded to Virgin Bay to see Mrs. Walsh. Mrs. Walsh had always been *the* mother, therefore he felt it a duty to see her as soon as possible, a few days afterwards Don Anselmo Rivas was there on a business visit, he proposed to Mrs. Walsh to take some child to learn them the printing business, and to raise said child as his own, Mrs. W. told him of a widowed Lady who had *one*, only, and she thought it would be charity to take the child from its mother as she was so destitute as not to have hardly the means of living, during the conversation my Brother was present and Mrs Walsh proposed that if he was willing, and Mr Rivas, that it would be an advantage to him, and until he learnt the business he was to assist Mr. Rivas in teaching his junior class in English, as at that time he had a fine school teaching English, French, and Spanish. When Mrs. Walsh wrote to me advising with me, I was truly glad that there was something in which Miles could employ his time, as he was so desponding, so thoughtful as to spend hours, after hours wrapt in thought so contrary to his nature, about the 14th of March he left Virgin Bay for Grenada, passing through St George to bid me Good Bye:—he remained in Grenada about 14 months, and from there Mr Rivas established a printing office in Managua, (the capital) to publish the Government documents, My Brother being the best hand he had about him of course he had to move with the office, he remained there up to the time of our coming home. After his leaving St George, I had a spell of sickness. When Mrs Walsh sent for me to come to Virgin Bay to change the air when I proceeded to Virgin Bay I embarked in a canoe, knowing if the wind was favorable I could reach there in two hours. We had not proceeded far when a terrible wind blew up with rain, which is considered very dangerous,⁵⁰ we were then a mile from the coast, and it would be a hard pull to pull upon the coast but the wind favored us, and almost dashed us to pieces on the rocks, when by skilful management we landed I was wet to the skin. No house in four miles of us. So therefore I contented myself in drying "slowly but surely" I expected the rain and wind would have subsided in a few hours the rain lasted about two hours, but the wind there was no hope, for two days and two nights it was excruciating [*sic*] to hear the wind whistle throug the water, and our place of refuge was a shed by the wayside, which had once been a house, but the walls had moldered with time, the place on which I laid for a bed, was a stationary table about three feet long and the same width, had nothing to eat for one whole day, and the second day Plantains and Beef

⁵⁰Lake Nicaragua is subject to sudden and very severe wind storms, and is regarded as a very dangerous body for navigation by small boats.

boiled together, on the second morning at 4 o'clock I was aroused by the Captain telling me to get ready that the wind was favorable:—and with joy I made my preparations and at once embarked, again on the lake:—I reached Virgin Bay at 7 o'clock much to the joy of Mrs. Walsh, who had heard of my coming, and of my unfortunate trip, she was making preparations to send a horse for me, such were her kind feelings to me. I remained in Virgin Bay from the 24th of July till the 24 of June of the following year, Nothing particularly transpired, Mrs. Walsh would remain in her home in Virgin Bay a short time, and then visit her store in St George, her time was divided, between the two places when she was with me, it was very pleasant, and then when she would leave me, I would feel so lonesome, when I had become weaned from her society, she would return, and then I would miss her company doubly. However being so entirely alone with only a servant I employed my time in reading, and raising flowers, which employment I advise, I consider them types of the human character and disposition, placed here by an *All Wise Creator*, who it seems study, to please and gratify his creatures, and we are so ungrateful, as to rebel against him, if misfortunes crowd upon us, such as the death of a friend, loss of property or sickness. Oh talk of your ingratitude to an earthly parent; but do you ever *think of your ingratitude*, to your Almighty: I answer for you No, you do not. In Dec we heard that Gen W had left New Orleans, with his forces, and then was on his way to Nic We were hopeful, but alas, our hope was drowned to disappointment In Jan 1859, the news was confirmed, that Col Frank Anderson and his gallant band were taken by some British vessel off the Balize and brought home:⁵¹—we were truly rejoiced that “Uncle Billy”⁵² was not with them, I shall now give a description of the country. The climate is very mild, and with comfort you can sleep under a blanket. There is only two seasons, the wet and the dry, the wet season resembling our winter and the dry our summer. The winter or wet season, commences the latter part of April or the 1 of May, continues till November, when the Summer sets in and last[s] till April or May. Vegetation [*sic*] is so very Rank, that is is almost impossible to keep the weeds from growing in your doors, the soil is very grateful, anything you plant will soon come to perfection The fruits adapted to the climate are oranges, lemons, pine apple, cocoa nut, papaya, Nispero, mamya, Zapota, Banana and various others, too numerous to mention, which at first *all* foreigners indulge in, but soon do we long for our home fruits, such as apples, peaches and pears The cause of so many of Walkers men dying, when they first landed there was too frequent use of Aguadiente (or the native Liquor) and these various fruits, if you place a Banana in a glass of rum, the rum will turn like ink, and of course, that in the human system, is perfect poison. It is the Garden of the world, if only in the hands of an enlightened race, or a race who could and would appreciate the advantages of their country, You can seldom find a pure Castilian, as they are a people mixed with the Spanish, the Indian and negro:—Their costumes and habits dates back coincident to the flood. The jars they use for carrying water, are the same, which we see in representation of the ancients carrying water on their heads in the Bible. They still use sandals, and in the Bible where it is said, that “Two Women will be together grinding, one shall be taken and the other left,” they still use the grinding stone, to prepare their Tortillas, which is used as bread, and prepared thus, the corn is boiled in lye, till the skin is ready to peel off,

⁵¹The author here refers to Walker's third filibustering attempt upon Nicaragua. On December 4 the vanguard of this third expedition, 120 men under the command of Anderson, sailed from Mobile without a clearance in the schooner Susan. On the 16th the vessel struck a coral reef about sixty miles from Belize. The men were stranded on a small island, where they were rescued by the British sloop-of-war *Basilisk* and taken back to Mobile.

⁵²“Uncle Billy” was Walker's nickname among his followers in Nicaragua.

then it is well washed, to take any taste of the ashes off, it is ground on this stone till it becomes equivalent to our corn meal dough, it is then baked in a stone bowl, very thin, when it is well made and baked it is a good substitute for corn bread, Flour selling at the rate of 40\$ a barrel few of us could enjoy that great rarity bread. Rice, coffee, sugar, cocoa or chocolate is grown there, indigo also, and if cultivated properly the ground would yield ten times more than at present. You can raise three crops of corn in the year, and as *they* cultivate it, with no trouble They make an incision in the ground and there place five or six grains of corn, that is all the work and trouble. They are a set so lazy that it is an effort for them to breathe, Smoking is a habit with them, from the little child three years old to the aged man and woman, it is a great rarity to find a native woman that does not use the weed. With such a country, our U. S. would have a "garden of Eden," As it is it is a punishment for any enlightened person to be compelled to live there not having the means to use, nor to have they must make "necessity the Mother of invention." . . .⁵³

⁵³Miss Callahan, in 1859, established communication with relatives in the United States, and through the assistance of General M. B. Lamar, American Minister to Nicaragua, Governor I. G. Harris, of Tennessee, and others, was enabled to return home. The remainder of the manuscript is of merely personal interest.

II.

Walker-Heiss Papers. Some Diplomatic Correspondence of the Walker Regime in Nicaragua.

(Reprinted from the Tennessee Historical Magazine, December, 1915.)

[The following documents are part of a collection of papers left by Major John P. Heiss, long a resident of Nashville, Tennessee. For the use of this collection the Society and the MAGAZINE are under obligations to Robert Lusk, Esq., of Nashville.

The papers now published are those which bear upon the Walker Régime in Nicaragua, with which, as will appear below, Major Heiss was intimately associated. Besides these manuscripts there are two large scrap books filled with clippings collected by Major Heiss covering many phases of the complicated Latin-American relations of this period.

In future numbers of the MAGAZINE there will be published other selections from the Heiss Papers, which relate to earlier and later parts of the active career of Major Heiss.

For the introduction and notes to the documents which follow the MAGAZINE is again indebted to Professor W. O. Scroggs. In the translation of the Spanish documents, Mr. G. P. Winton has given assistance.]

—Ed.

INTRODUCTION

Major John P. Heiss, from whose papers the following documents have been collected, may be appropriately designated as the *Johannes Factotum* of the filibuster government in Nicaragua. His experience as editor of the *Washington Union* during Polk's administration had given him a detailed knowledge of public questions and a wide acquaintance and friendship with men in public life. He possessed also firsthand information concerning conditions in Nicaragua, having been sent to that country in February, 1856, as bearer of dispatches for the American State Department. He took advantage of this mission to engage in a small business venture in that country, as the second document in the series shows. When Major Heiss arrived in Nicaragua the country was under a provisional government with Patricio Rivas, a man of neutral character, as president, and William Walker, the filibuster leader, as commander-in-chief of the army of the Republic. The real power lay in the hands of Walker, and he succeeded in winning the enthusiastic support of Heiss, who was a former fellow townsman, and who returned to the United States as a "naturalized" Nicaraguan and devoted his energies to serving the filibuster cause. For a short time he acted as *charge d'affaires* for the Nicaraguan

legation in Washington, and in September, 1856, was accredited by Walker, then claiming to be President of Nicaragua, as a special commissioner to the United States and Great Britain to adjust the controversy arising out of the British claim to a protectorate over the Mosquito territory on the eastern coast of Nicaragua. As neither England nor the United States at that time recognized Walker's claim to the presidency, Heiss had no opportunity to exercise this diplomatic function. He was able, however, to serve the filibuster regime in a number of other ways. When Walker needed newspaper publicity, or a defender against the attacks of his critics, or a spokesman who could reach the ear of the administration at Washington, he usually called on Heiss.

The warmth of friendship between the two men, as revealed in their correspondence as late as the autumn of 1857, tends to emphasize the absence of letters during the remaining years of Walker's life (1858-60). It is likewise worthy of note that in his book, *The War in Nicaragua*, published in Mobile in 1860, Walker takes pains to recognize the special services rendered him by his supporters, but is ominously silent with regard to Heiss. A rupture in the friendly relations of the two men is apparently indicated.

W. O. SCROGGS.

Walker-Heiss Papers.

I. OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF HEISS AS BEARER OF DISPATCHES FOR THE UNITED STATES.

No. 416.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Know ye, that the bearer hereof, John P. Heiss, Esquire, is proceeding to Granada, Nicaragua, bearing dispatches from this Department, to the Legation of the United States there.

These are therefore to request all whom it may concern, to permit him to pass freely without let or molestation, and to extend to him such friendly aid and protection, as would be extended to Citizens and Subjects of Foreign Countries, resorting to the United States bearing Despatches from their Governments.

In testimony whereof, I, William L. Marcy, Secretary of State of the United States of America, have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this Department to be affixed at Washington, this twenty-second day of February, A. D. 1856, and of the Independence of the United States the 80th.

2. A BUSINESS CONTRACT.

[Copy]

John P. Heiss and Sam F. Butterworth have this day jointly purchased from R. L. Allen & Co., of New York City, a bill of agricultural implements consisting of two corn mills, horse power, sett of tools, etc., etc., for which Butterworth has given his note payable at 4 months from date. These articles are to be shipd to San Juan de Nicaragua in the first vessel to J. P. Heiss, who will receive them and dispose of them on joint account. These articles are bought on joint account each of us to pay one half of their cost and all expenses and the proceeds of their sale or use to be equally divided without charge on the part of either for personal services connected therewith. This agreement shall apply to all future purchases that may be made by us for that market.

Feb. 25th, 1856.

New York.

JOHN P. HEISS.

SAM F. BUTTERWORTH.

3. CHAS. MORGAN,¹ NEW YORK, TO JOHN P. HEISS,

June 20th, 1856.

Your two favors of 18th and 19th. inst. I received this morning. I immediately called on Mr. Randolph² and gave him your letter. He is quite unwell. I am to take the Padre³ to see him at 6 o'clock this evening. Mr. Randolph agrees with me fully that you must take the charge of Nicaragua Government affairs in Washington. I think the matter will be settled this evening when we meet.

4. FATHER VIJIL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[Copy]

LEGACION DE NICARAGUA

NUEVA YORK Junio 23 de 1856.

El infrascripto Enviado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenepotenciario de Nicaragua cerca del Gobierno de loz Estados Unidos tiene el honor de participas [*sic*] al Sr. Wm. L. Marcy Secretario Estado de dicho Gobierno que hallandose en la necesidad de ausentarse de esta pais debe nombrar un Encargado de Negocios que atienda a los de Nicaragua durante la ausencia del infrascripto, y nombra con tal caracter al Sr. Jno P. Heiss.

El infrascripto aprovecha esta oportunidad de ofrecer de nuevo sus respecto [*sic*] al Sr. Wm. L. Marcy.

AUGUSTIN VIJIL [*sic*]

Al Sr. Wm. L. Marcy

Secre'o. de Estado de los Estados Unidos.

¹Charles Morgan (1795-1878) was a prominent American captain of industry of the nineteenth century, and was especially active in promoting and managing coastwise steamship lines. The well-known "Morgan Line" of today perpetuates his name. When Walker went to Nicaragua Morgan was interested in a steamship company engaged in conveying passengers and freight between San Francisco and the Atlantic ports by way of Nicaragua, and he was thus brought into close relations with the filibuster leader.

²Edmund Randolph (1819-61) was a grandson of the Virginia statesman of the same name. He and Walker had known each other as struggling young lawyers in New Orleans, and when they met again in San Francisco their association was renewed. Randolph gave Walker much assistance in planning his expedition to Nicaragua and later secured for him many recruits in California. At the time this letter was written Randolph was in New York in consultation with Charles Morgan, the manager of the steamship company on whose boats recruits were being taken to Nicaragua in large numbers.

³Padre Augustin Vigil, Walker's minister to the United States.

[Translation]

NICARAGUAN LEGATION

NEW YORK June 23 1856

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua to the Government of the United States has the honor of informing Mr. Wm. S. Marcy, Secretary of State of the said Government, that having found it necessary to be absent from this country he is obliged to name a chargé d'affaires who may attend to those [affairs] of Nicaragua during the absence of the undersigned, and names in such a character Mr. Jno. P. Heiss.

The undersigned improves this opportunity of offering anew his respects to Mr. Wm. L. Marcy.

AUGUSTIN VIJIL.

To Mr. Wm. L. Marcy
Sec. of State of the United States.

5. JOHN P. HEISS, NEW YORK, TO HON. W. L. MARCY, SECRETARY OF STATE,

[Copy]

The accompanying communication will inform your Excellency, that Don Augustin Vijil, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, to the United States, having necessarily been compelled to absent himself for a time from this country, has commissioned the undersigned to represent the interests of Nicaragua at this Government during the interum [sic].⁴

6. WM. WALKER, GRANADA, TO THE MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF NICARAGUA,

June 29, 1856.

OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY
OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA.

[Copy]

I refer you to the letter which on the 21st inst. was addressed to your Honor through Gen. Domingo de Goicouria,⁵ wherein an exact account of the events of Nicaragua and of the reasons that caused the change of the Provisional Administration of Senor Patricio Rivas is given. I now think convenient to add by this opportunity that the two persons belonging to that refractory Executive composed of Sres. President Rivas and

⁴Padre Vigil's stay in Washington was not an altogether pleasant experience. Ministers from other Central American republics not only snubbed him, but protested vigorously against his reception. His fellow clergymen in the United States treated him coldly, even insulted him, and on June 23, less than six weeks after his official reception, he took his departure for Nicaragua, leaving John P. Heiss as *chargé d'affaires*.

⁵Domingo de Goicouria was a wealthy Cuban, who had been forced to leave his native island on account of his liberal ideas. During his residence in the United States he was a prominent member of the Cuban revolutionary junta in this country and co-operated with Lopez in 1849-52 and with John A. Quitman in 1853 in raising expeditions for the liberation of the island. In 1855 Walker and the Cuban revolutionists in New York pooled their interests. The Cubans agreed to aid Walker in pacifying Nicaragua, and after this was accomplished he was to assist them in behalf of "Cuba and her freedom." Goicouria, in accordance with this agreement, arrived in Nicaragua in March, 1856, and was commissioned as a brigadier-general in the filibuster army. In June Walker designated him as a special envoy to England. On his way to London the Cuban stopped in New York to use his influence in securing subscriptions to a Nicaraguan loan. While there he became embroiled in a quarrel with Walker and severed his connection with the filibuster government. For full details concerning Walker's relations with the Cuban revolutionists, the reader is referred to the article, "William Walker's Designs on Cuba," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, I., 198-211.

General Jerez have continued giving unequivocal proof of their treachery.⁶ These gentlemen, after having left open the western frontiers, and after sending emissaries with the object of delivering Nicaragua into the hands of the enemies of public liberty that are now in [*sic*] the frontiers, still remain in that Department⁷ with the flattering illusion that they will be protected by people upon whom they looked before as upon implacable enemies, because in the Republic of Nicaragua their insidious object and their perverse intentions do not find any support. The proof of this assertion is found in the fact that when the American Detachment evacuated the city of Leon they in vain beat the general calling and resorted to every artifice that could excite the people through fanaticism [*sic*] and calumny, because they did not succeed in gathering even the smallest force in a people that was convinced that the contrary was the case, as well for the good behavior of the American forces, as for the good services and relevant patriotism of the Rev. Vicar General.⁸

Therefore the march of the present administration of Nicaragua will be inalterable and the country shows itself in favor of maintaining order and, public tranquility. There are only a few indications that are to be made to your Honor in order that your Honor may present them as the Representative of this Government near the Cabinet at Washington.⁹

Your Honor must know that Senor Don Thomas Manny [Manning]¹⁰ an English subject and Vice Consul of England claims against Nicaragua the enormous sum of *one hundred thousand dollars* and upwards, for which amount he thinks himself to be a creditor; and that this sum has been formed with several sums that had been acknowledged by this Government in different periods from the year 848 [*sic*] or thereabouts, as for loans, merchandise, money, bonds and interests, which from time to time have been included in the capital after the agreement to pay *two per cent a month*.

I have private information through trustworthy persons that Mr. Manning intends claiming or has claimed the protection of the British Government to compel Nicaragua to the payment of the sum that he claims and pretends to receive. I presume that these steps are taken by Mr. Manning in concert with the Ex-Government and with the object of

⁶Patricio Rivas, the provisional president, and Maximo Jerez, the minister of war, in June, 1856, began to show signs of defection toward Walker, fearing that he had designs on the presidency. They therefore circulated stories which roused the populace against the Americans and also sent messengers to the neighboring republics calling for their aid in driving out the filibusters.

⁷This is a reference to the Occidental Department, in northwestern Nicaragua.

⁸The details of the incident in Leon to which Walker here refers were as follows: One of Walker's officers there had dismissed a guard of native soldiers stationed in the cathedral tower and replaced them with Americans. Jerez, the war minister, then in Leon, countermanded the order. The officer refused to comply without orders from Walker, who had left the city for Granada the day before, and he prepared to hold the place by force. This threw the natives into great excitement, and they thronged the plaza shouting, "Death to the Americans!" When word reached Walker he ordered the American guard withdrawn, but the mischief had already been done.

⁹It will be noted that Walker seeks to minimize the importance of his breach with President Rivas and desires that Padre Vigil shall reassure the authorities at Washington, who had doubtless heard rumors of serious trouble in Nicaragua.

¹⁰Of Thomas Manning, who gave the filibuster government no little trouble, Walker says, in his *War in Nicaragua*, pp. 170-71, that he belonged to a type of English merchants frequently found in Spanish-American states. "Arriving in Nicaragua without means—a sailor, it is said, on a merchant vessel—he had married a woman of the country and soon built the foundations of a fortune. Without any education or any habit of regarding political events in the light of principle or fixed policy, he yet had that keen instinct for property and his own interests which enabled him to use the British power to aid his trading ventures. He sometimes lent money to the Republic, only, however, when it was in great straits and promised extravagant interest, and when the principal and interest had accumulated to a suitable sum, he would call on the British fleet to blockade the ports of the States until the debt was paid."

blockading the ports of this Republic, as has been the case before this time in Central America with that Government.

It is therefore necessary that your Honor should address the Government of the United States in order that, understanding the possibility of an undue British interference in favor of a private man, and which may be accompanied with political objects, they may stretch their protecting hands in favor of this friendly and sister Republic that is firmly for the continental Cause.

7. J. A. THOMAS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, TO JOHN P. HEISS, ESQUIRE, ETC.

July 5, 1856.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 28th ulto. announcing the return to Nicaragua of M. Vijil, the Minister of that State, and enclosing his letter nominating you as Chargé d'Affaires during his absence.

8. A LAND WARRANT ISSUED BY WALKER.

Certifico; Que D. N. Ingraham.

ó su representante ó cesionario tiene derecho á quinientos acres de tierra en los realengos del Estado, conforme á las facultades dadas al General William Walker por el Supremo Gobierno Provisional con fecha de veinte y seis de Julio de 1855.

Firmado de mi mano y con el Sello de Estado de la Republica, hoi 29 Julio de 1856.

WM. WALKER

Presidente de Nicaragua

M. CARRASCASA

Ministro del Crédito Público

[Translation]

I certify:

That D. N. Ingraham

or his representative or cessionary has a just claim to 500 acres of land in the unappropriated [land] of this State, conforming to the powers given to General William Walker by the Supreme Provisional Government on the date of July 26, 1855.¹¹

Signed by my hand and with the seal of State of the Republic, today July 29, 1856

WM. WALKER

President of Nicaragua

M. CARRASCASA

Minister of Public Credit.

9. JOHN P. HEISS, WASHINGTON, D. C., TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE, August 26th, 1856.

Enclosed please find a copy of the despatch recognizing me as Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic [of] Nicaragua during the absence of His Excellency Senor Don Augustin Vigil.

¹¹The decree of July 26, 1855, was drawn up shortly after Walker's arrival in Nicaragua. The original agreement with the leaders of the Democratic faction, under which Walker and his followers had gone to Nicaragua, designated the filibusters as "colonists." This was done to avoid the appearance of violating the neutrality laws of the United States. Once in Nicaragua, however, Walker threw aside all pretence of colonization and secured a new decree, as indicated above, authorizing him to enlist 300 men for military service, who were to receive one hundred dollars a month and 500 acres of land at the end of the campaign. See Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 75.

10. RATIFICATION OF THE PROPOSED TREATY OF 1855 BY NICARAGUA.

Republica de Nicaragua

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO

En el despacho de

RELACIONES EXTERIORES

No. 51

GRANADA, Setiembre 27 de 1856

Al Senor John P. Heiss.

El S. P. E. se ha servido dictar el decreto siguiente—

“El Presidente de la Republica de Nicaragua, a sus habitantes—

Conciderando que el tratado de amistad, comercio y navegacion hecho en Granada el dia 20 de Junio del año de 1855, requiere que las debidas ratificaciones sean canjeadas en la Ciudad de Washington dentro del término de dies y ocho meses después de firmado, por tanto, en uso de sus facultades.

DECRETA

Art. 1 Se ratifica y establece por este decreto, en todos sus condiciones, el tratado de amistad, comercio y navegacion hecho en Granada el dia 20 de Junio del año de 1855 entre Nicaragua y los EE. UU. de America.

Art. 2 Se autorisa el Senor John P. Heiss, ciudando debidamente naturalisado de esta Republica, pa el canje de las ratificaciones de la misma de parte de Nicaragua, conforme a las condiciones que establece el art. 17 de este tratado—

Art. 3 Comuniquese á quienes corresponde—Dado en Granada á 27 de Setiembre de 1856—William Walker—Al Senor Secretario de Estado en el despacho de Relaciones exteriores Licencia[do?] Don Fermin Ferrer.

Y de suprema orden lo comunico á V. para su inteligencia y efectos, incluyéndole una copia del tratado á q. se refiere este decreto; quedando de V. atento serv.

F. FERRER

[Translation]

Republic of Nicaragua

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

In the office of

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GRANADA, September 27 1856

To Mr. John P. Heiss

The Supreme Executive Power has seen fit to dictate the following decree—

“The President of the Republic of Nicaragua to his people—Knowing that the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation made in Granada on June 20, 1855,¹² requires that the ratifications be exchanged in the city of Washington within eighteen months after the signing; for such reason, in exercise of his powers,

DECREES,

Art. 1 This decree ratifies and establishes in all its conditions the treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation made in Granada June 20 1855 between Nicaragua and the United States of America.

Art. 2 Mr. John P. Heiss, a duly naturalized citizen of this Republic, is hereby authorized to exchange ratifications of the same under the

¹²The convention of June 20, 1855, had been negotiated by the American minister, John H. Wheeler, with the government then recognized by the United States. This government had been overthrown by Walker's efforts in behalf of its opponents, the Democrats, and for this reason the convention had not been ratified. In the decree of September 27, 1856, Walker affirms the validity of this act of the defunct government.

terms of Article 17 of the said treaty, on behalf of the republic of Nicaragua.

Art. 3 Let it be communicated to all concerned.—Given in Granada September 27, 1855. William Walker.—To the Secretary of State, Fermin Ferrer, Esq., in the Office of Foreign Relations.

And

By superior orders I communicate the same to you for your information and to be carried out, inclosing herewith a copy of the treaty to which reference is made, remaining as ever

Your faithful servant,

F. FERRER.¹³

II. THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF NICARAGUA TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AUTHENTICATING THE APPOINTMENT OF HEISS.

Republica de Nicaragua
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO
En el despacho de
RELACIONES EXTERIORES

GRANADA, Setiembre 29 de 1856

Al muy Honorable Conde de Clarendon
Secretario de Relaciones de S. M. B.

Señor

Tengo orden de mi Gobierno para participar á V. E. que en esta fecha ha sido nombrado comisionado especial cerca de los Gobiernos de S. M. B. y los Estados Unidos de America, el Senor John P. Heiss con el fin de arreglar definitivamente la cuestion pendiente respecto del territorio de Mosquito, y asegurar la neutralidad del Ystmo en todos los casos y circunstancias, segun se impondra V. E. por el decreto que en copia autorizada me hago el honor de acompañarle.

Esta ocasion me proposiona el honor de ofrecer á V. E. mis respetos y distinguida consideracion con que me suscribo su atento

Servidor

F. FERRER

Secretario de Estado.

[*Translation*]

Republic of Nicaragua
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
In the office of
FOREIGN RELATIONS

GRANADA, September 29 1856

To the very Honorable Earl of Clarendon
Secretary of Affairs of Her British Majesty

Sir

I am ordered of my Government to inform Your Excellency that on this date John P. Heiss has been named special commissioner to the Governments of Her British Majesty and the United States of America with the power of adjusting definitely the question pending in respect to the mosquito territory¹⁴ and assuring the neutrality of the Isthmus in all events

¹³Fermin Ferrer, who became secretary of state after Walker's inauguration as president, was one of the few natives of prominence who remained faithful to the filibuster leader during his stay in Nicaragua.

¹⁴The so-called Mosquito territory, or shore, was originally a strip of coast about 200 miles long extending from Cape Gracias a Dios to the Bluefields Lagoon. Great Britain's claim at this time to a protectorate over this region was disputed by both the United States and the Republic of Nicaragua. It is this dispute which Walker, in his peculiarly Quixotic manner, commissions Heiss to settle. As the filibuster government was not then recognized by any foreign nation, the appointment of Heiss was without result.

and circumstances, as Your Excellency is advised by the decree, an authorized copy of which I have the honor to enclose.

This occasion affords me the honor of offering to Your Excellency my respects and distinguished consideration, with which I subscribe myself your attentive

Servant

F. FERRER

Sec. of State

12. THE SAME, TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

[*Except for the substitution of the United States for Great Britain, and of Marcy for Clarendon, this document is identical with II.*]

13. COMMISSION OF HEISS TO GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Copia

No. 52

William Walker Presidente de la Republica de Nicaragua. Siendo de suma importancia acreditar un comisionado especial cerca de los Gobiernos de S. M. B. y de los Estados Unidos para tratar y arreglar con el primero definitivamente la cuestion pendiente con esta Republica respecto del territorio de Mosquito y asegurar con ambos la neutralidad del Ystmo en todos los casos y circunstancias; En uso de sus facultades

Decreta

Art. 1. Nombrase con tal objeto comisionado especial del Gobierno de la Republica de Nicaragua el Senor John P. Heiss.

Art. 2. Comuniquese a quienes corresponde—Dado en Granada á 29 de Setiembre de 1856.—William Walker. Al Señor Secretario de Estado en el despacho de Relaciones exteriores Licdo don Fermin Ferrer—

Es conforme, y en fé de ello la firmo y autorizo con el gran Sello de la República—

F. FERRER

[SEAL]

Secreto— de Estado

[*Translation.*]

Copy

No 52

William Walker President of the Republic of Nicaragua. It being of supreme importance to acredit a special commissioner to the Governments of Her British Majesty and the United States to treat and adjust with the first definitely the question pending with this Republic in respect to the Mosquito territory and to insure to both the neutrality of the Isthmus in all events and circumstances; In the exercise of his powers

Decrees

Art. 1. With such object Mr. John P. Heiss is named special commissioner of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Art. 2. Let such be communicated to whom it concerns.

Given in Granada on September 29, 1856

WILLIAM WALKER

To the Secretary of State in the office of Foreign Affairs, Hon. Don Fermin Ferrer

A correct copy and in witness thereof I sign and authorize it with the Great Seal of the Republic—

F. FERRER

Sec. of State.

14. THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF NICARAGUA TO HEISS.

Republica de Nicaragua
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO
En el despacho de
RELACIONES EXTERIORES

No. 52

Granada, Setiembre 29 de 1856.

Señor

El S. P. E. se ha servido dictar el decreto siguiente.

[*There follows the text of the preceding document (13), except the last sentence. The document then continues*]:

Y de orden suprema tengo el honor de comunicarlo a V. para su inteligencia, y bien satisfecho de que tendra la inclinacion (inclinacion?) de aceptar las confianzas del Supremo Gobierno, le acompaño á este despacho el titulo que acredita su nombramiento.

Sírvase admitir las seguridades de mi mas distinguida consideracion y respecto con que me suscribo

Su atto. Servidor,

F. FERRER,
Secreto. de Estado.

GRANADA, September 29 1856

[*Translation.*]

Sir: The Supreme Executive Power has seen fit to dictate the following decree: [*See above.*]

And I have the honor of communicating to you the supreme order for your information, and as I feel fully satisfied that you will be inclined to accept the confidence of the Supreme Government, the diploma which certifies your nomination accompanies this dispatch. Please accept the assurances of my most distinguished consideration and respect with which I subscribe myself.

Your attentive Servant

F. FERRER,
Sec. of State.

15. WALKER WM., GRANADA, TO GARRISON, C. K.,¹⁵ OR MORGAN, CHARLES;
October 1st, 1856.

Major Heiss goes to Washington and probably to London on business which he will explain to you.

Any receipts, due-bills or drafts made by Major Heiss in his capacity as Special Commissioner will be duly acknowledged by the government of Nicaragua.

16. DALLAS,¹⁶ G. M., LONDON ENGLAND, TE HEISS, JOHN P.,
November 17, 1856.

PRIVATE

Your letter of the 29th ulto. has reached me. The object of your writing is to get my view of the probability of the English Government recognizing you, as a diplomatic representative under special powers, of Nicaragua, as a party to the contemplated treaty upon Central American Affairs.

I am a sincere well-wisher to the Government of which General Walker

¹⁵Cornelius K. Garrison (1809-85) was associated with Charles Morgan (see above, note 6) in the steamship business. Walker's deals with Morgan and Garrison, whereby large numbers of recruits were taken to Nicaragua on Morgan and Garrison's steamers free of charge, proved to be one of the most important acts of his whole career. For details, see the article, "William Walker and the Steamship Corporation in Nicaragua," in the *American Historical Review*, X., 792-811.

¹⁶George M. Dallas had succeeded James Buchanan as minister to England in February, 1856.

is the Chief:—and in the negotiations conducted and concluded here, I have not withheld the expression of this sympathy, while shielding as far as possible from even verbal invasion the sovereignty and rights of Nicaragua. At the present moment, however, it would be a departure from candour, were I to encourage the slightest belief of your being recognized by this Government. I entertain not a particle of doubt that, if General Walker maintains his present position, divests himself of the appearance of a military dictator, and devotes his great mind and energies to the peace and domestic prosperity of Nicaragua, his recognition by England will promptly follow. The arrangement matured, if frankly and cordially accepted and ratified by him, will deprive England of every pretext for continuing, like a dark cloud, to hover over the Central American States; and will leave them free to follow, in enlightened progress, the example of our own country. I hope for this soon, but it is not yet.

Let me suggest to you, as expedient, that your representative power to treat should be communicated to the Secretary of State, who may possibly before long find cause to invoke its exercise.

17. WALKER, WM., RIVAS, TO HEISS, JOHN P.,

December 22, 1856.

Your letters of last month were duly received; and I thank you for the zeal and sagacity you have shown in breaking up the plots of Goicouria and his associates. They may hereafter attempt to injure us; but I think their efforts will only tend to their own injury.¹⁷

I did not write to you by the last steamer because I was very much occupied at the time she sailed. Genl. Henningsen was at that time shut up in Granada; and the remainder of the force was in a very bad state owing to a variety of causes. On the morning of the 12th inst. Genl. Henningsen was relieved; and the details of the siege he underwent you will learn from his report sent for publication.¹⁸ The effect produced by the burning of Granada and by the resistance of the garrison has been excellent; and from all accounts the enemy is very much demoralized. Reports indicate that the two old factions are quarreling openly and the several foreign contingents take sides in the quarrel.

Sir Henry Huntly, who has been in California for several years, came from San Francisco on the last steamer and has remained over for the purpose of observing facts in Nicaragua. He seems desirous of aiding to bring about diplomatic intercourse between England and Nicaragua and it might be well for you to see him. He goes to England and by way of New York; and I suppose he has facilities for ascertaining the ideas and motives of many of the public men in London. You can readily meet him through Mr. Harris¹⁹ of the firm of Chas. Morgan and Sons.

The condition of the army is improving every day. Its health is very much better than it could ever have been in Granada. In fact, even if Granada had not been destroyed I could never have remained there, with any force, during the dry season.

¹⁷The "plots of Goicouria" were the outcome of the quarrel between him and Walker already referred to. (See note 1.) While Goicouria was in New York he had busied himself with other matters than those entrusted to his care. Among other things he sought to regain for the filibusters the good will of Cornelius Vanderbilt. Walker had antagonized this financier by confiscating certain property belonging to a company in which Vanderbilt was interested. Walker bluntly censured Goicouria for intermeddling, and the latter took offense and severed his connection with the filibuster regime. An acrid newspaper controversy soon broke out between Goicouria and Walker's two friends, Randolph and Heiss. In the above letter Walker thanks Heiss for defending him against Goicouria's attacks in the press.

¹⁸The details of the siege of Granada are given at some length in the foregoing narrative by Mrs. Ratterman.

¹⁹The man Harris here referred to was a son-in-law of Charles Morgan.

So far as our neighbors are concerned, I think they have exerted themselves to the uttermost and have failed in their efforts. Costa Rica is prostrate and cannot send another man to Nicaragua. San Salvador and Guatamala are very much in the same condition. Honduras, after a long and strenuous effort, sent Jatruch [Xatruch] with 600 men to the aid of the allies; and they arrived just in time to be beaten by Col. Waters on the night of the 11th and morning of the 12th.

In a short time I shall occupy Chontales²⁰ and shall then make efforts to have that territory colonized. It must furnish us with the most of our cattle, horses and mules for some time to come.

Hoping to hear from you by every opportunity, I remain,

18. WALKER, WM., MOBILE, TO HEISS, JOHN P.,

July 25th, 1857.²¹

I see it stated from Washington that I telegraphed my officers to report for orders at New Orleans. All such reports are false. See, if you please, that they do not create a false impression in important quarters.²²

Affairs look well in this part of the country. We have done well in the way of money at this place. The means will certainly be raised for my return to Nicaragua; and when I go back I shall be much stronger than ever before.

You may in advance contradict any statements which intimate a violation on my part of the neutrality laws. I know the Act of 1818 pretty thoroughly and do not intend to violate its provisions.

Remember me to Mrs. Heiss, and believe me.

P. S. If convenient at any time let it be known through your paper that Lockridge²³ has resigned and has forfeited entirely the confidence I once had in him.

19. WALKER, WM., NEW ORLEANS, TO HEISS, JOHN P.,

September 24th, 1857.

I have written to you twice since the first of the month; but I suppose you were absent and therefore have not received the letters in due course of mail.

A telegraphic despatch to the N[ew] O.(rleans) Picayune states that the C. A. States have addressed a note to the President requesting him to avert any expedition from this country.²⁴ Will you be so good as to let me know the exact nature of the correspondence (if any) which has occurred between the representatives of the C. A. governments and the State Department?

Has Lockridge been in Washington again? He went, I think, to do all the harm he could.

²⁰Chontales is a hilly district on the east side of Lake Nicaragua and just north of the San Juan River. It was at this time sparsely settled and for the most part unexplored, and was thought to be rich in minerals.

²¹At the time this letter was written, Walker was in Mobile making preparations to return to Nicaragua.

²²This is a reference to the Buchanan administration, which, contrary to the belief of many historians, manifested no sympathy with the Walker enterprise.

²³For further details concerning Lockridge, see note 24 to the Ratterman narrative preceding these letters. In spite of the complete failure of his relief expedition on the San Juan River, Lockridge for a time enjoyed the esteem and confidence of Walker's officers after their return to the United States. Later, however, Lockridge became disaffected, abandoned Walker, and sought, unsuccessfully, to conduct an independent expedition into Mexico.

²⁴Senor Louis Molina and Senor Antonio de Irisarri, the former representing Costa Rica and the latter Guatemala and San Salvador, had just called the attention of Secretary Cass to alleged preparations for another filibustering expedition, and had asked that the American government use its naval forces to prevent a landing in any Central American port in case the departure from the United States could not be prevented.

20. J. L. COLE,²⁵ LEON, NICARAGUA, TO HEISS, JOHN P., WASHINGTON, D. C.,
June 20, 1858.

Sir, I promised to write you on my return to Nicaragua. I arrived here some two months since in company with some old friends whom I met at Punta Arenas, Costa Rico, & who persuaded me to come here. Gen. Jerez²⁶ was one of them. I had scarcely reached this city before Martinez sent an order to arrest me & send me out of the country.²⁷ The Gobernador to whom I had a letter of introduction from Gen. Jerez, who disembarked from the steamer at San Juan del Sur in company with President Mora²⁸ M. Belly²⁹ Sr. Nagreti etc., replied that he deemed such a course imprudent and calculated to injure the administration, for the democrats here would consider it as an act of persecution. Subsequently an order was issued by the president to prosecute all filibusters as those who had been with Walker. The judge of the court here, a democrat, replied that he did not find the crime of filibusterism defined in the statutes & consequently it did not fall under his jurisdiction. The reply was made some three weeks since & as yet I have heard nothing further of the matter. I every where hear [*sic*] an expression of regret that Walker had not been more prudent & statesmanlike. The country is poor and daily becoming worse. A few days since it was said that Gen. Henningsen was in San Juan del Norte with two thousand men. Several officers who had previously fought against him, told me that they were determined to join him. The Govt. said they can not get a dozen men in this department & we are determined that we will not again be the means of sacrificing our countrymen in a cause that we cannot defend. After several days it was discovered that M. Belly, who had gone to San Juan del Norte, had whilst at Castillo Viejo ordered the comandante to put that place in order & had written to Gen. Martinez telling him that he had found the place badly defended & that he had told the commander to put it in a state of defense & also informed the president that an expedition was preparing in the U. S. & that he ought to send a quantity of provisions to the fort. Gen. Martinez ordered a quantity of corn & beans sent from here & this fact gave rise to the belief that the filibusters were again on the River.

I have said that if the United States know how to take advantage of circumstances, she could beat M. Belly & Co. at their own game. Let her fall out with this government—surely pretexts are not wanting—and send a ship of war to Realejo. This would throw the Martinez government, with its European tendencies,³⁰ “higher nor a kite” and bring into

²⁵Dr. J. L. Cole was an American physician who had married into a Nicaraguan family living near Rivas. During the revolution that preceded Walker's arrival he had taken sides with the Democratic faction, and when the region around Rivas had fallen into the hands of the other party he fled to Costa Rica. Shortly after Walker's arrival in Nicaragua he returned and served with the filibuster leader. At the first battle of Rivas he acted as guide in the march of Walker's men from Granada to that town. This letter throws interesting light on the treatment accorded to the followers of Walker who remained in Nicaragua after his withdrawal. It will be noted that the Martinez faction (Legitimist) was hostile to the ex-filibusters, while the Jerez faction (Democratic), which had invited Walker to Nicaragua, was more lenient.

²⁶General Maximo Jerez, the most noted of the Democratic leaders in Nicaragua.

²⁷General Martinez had become President of Nicaragua shortly after the expulsion of Walker in May, 1857. As head of the Legitimist party, he had always been especially hostile to Americans.

²⁸Juan Rafael Mora, the President of Costa Rica.

²⁹Felix Belly, a French adventurer, then in Nicaragua seeking to obtain concessions from that State and Costa Rica for the construction of an intercoastal canal.

³⁰This is a reference to an act of President Mora and Martinez, who on May 1, 1858, at the instigation of M. Belly, then posing as an emissary of Napoleon III., signed a joint declaration placing their countries under the protection of France, England and Sardinia, without the knowledge of the European governments concerned. It would be difficult to find a more bizarre diplomatic document. See *British State Papers*, XLVIII., 695-96.

power here a class of men now obscure who are in favor of the Americanization of the country. Then treaties could be made, first to put the entire State under American protection next, and as soon as you in the States were ready to receive it, annex it as a territory to the United States. This plan was suggested to me by one who has been president & also held [*sic*] other important positions in the State. He solicited me to oppose it to Gen. Cass,³¹ but as I have no acquaintance with him I turn it over to you hoping that you may be able to suggest it to some one who has influence in the government. It is the only way that our government can compete with England, France & Spain here. This, too, is the opinion of the gentlemen above spoken of. Gen. Lamar,³² like his predecessors, has allowed himself to be humbugged. Cary Jones³³ is the only American agent since Mr. Squier's mission here that the politicians here have not humbugged. Cary drank and appeared to get drunk with a certain class of politicians, but seems always to have kept in mind the latin proverb "in vino veritas." In this way he acquired a stock of political knowledge, arrived at the general feelings & views of these politicians, which he might in vain have sought for under any other circumstances. If you write me, do so under cover & directed to J. J. Deshon, Realejo, Nica, via Panama.

21. JEREZ, M., TO HEISS, J. P.

Leon, Junio 29, de 1859.

Muy apreciado Senor mio:

Tan luego que Llegué à esta Cuidad y escribi al Gobno. se ha dado el decreto de convocatoria de que le remito un ejemplar para que pronto se acaben de arreglar los asuntos pendientes con los Estados Unidos. Todas las opiniones que hasta ahora he oido sonfavorables á mi programa, que V. Sabe perfectam[ent]e. Espero que se allanaran algunas pequeñas dificultades que puedan presentarse en el embrollado asunto de tránsito. Por lo que respeta al tratado, lo considero como ya concluido por parte de Nicaragua, pues nadie habrá que no esté porque se quite el unico obice que ha habido para su total aceptación por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

Incluyo á V. un eiemplar de dicho Decreto de Convocatoria, y un número de la Gaceta oficial, en que hay un artículo contra los disparates que ha estado haciendo Mr. Belly.

En union de su amable esposa, y con los mas agradecidos recuerdos de mi amistad, me suscribo de V. Amo.

seguro servidor,

Máximo Jerez.

[*Translation.*]

Leon, 29 June 1859

Dear Sir:

As soon as I arrived in this city and had written to the Governor (or government) the decree of convocation was issued. I am sending you a copy in order that as soon as possible the matters pending with the United States may be settled. All the expressions which I have heard up to the present are favorable to my program, which you understand

³¹Lewis Cass, the American Secretary of State.

³²General Mirabeau B. Lamar, then minister to Nicaragua.

³³After the overthrow of Walker the American State Department had sent William Carey Jones to Nicaragua as its special agent to report on conditions and to learn what steps should be taken to reopen the transit or interoceanic route through that country by way of the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. During their war with Walker the Costa Ricans had closed this route, calling it the "highway of filibusterism." If newspaper reports are correct, Jones, with his excessive conviviality, made a sorry spectacle of himself and achieved no important results. The writer of the above letter, however, seems to think that there was method in his drunkenness.

thoroughly. I hope that any slight difficulties which may present themselves will be easily cleared away as regards the thorny subject of the transit. As regards the treaty, I consider that it is practically closed up, so far as Nicaragua is concerned, since surely nobody will be found who will not favor the removal of the only obstacle that has existed for its complete acceptance by the United States.

I am inclosing a copy of the Decree of Convocation, and also a copy of the Official Gazette, in the latter of which is an article answering the foolish assertions which Mr. Belly has been making.

With regards to your wife and with the pleasantest recollections of our friendship, I remain as ever,

Your affectionate friend and faithful servant,

MAXIMO JEREZ

22. WM. HENRY TRESMOTT, ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, WASHINGTON,
D. C., TO JOHN P. HEISS, WASHINGTON,

July 2, 1860

Herewith you will receive despatches for Mr. Dimitry, our Minister to Nicaragua and Costa Rica, which you will proceed to deliver to him with all possible expedition.

Our last communications from him were dated, at San José, Costa Rica, 31st May, and were received here on the 28th ultimo. Mr. Dimitry is probably at this time at San Jose. Whether there, or in Nicaragua, your most expeditious route for reaching him is via Aspinwall and Panama. At the latter place you will probably learn in which capital he is.

The steamer "Columbus" plies regularly up and down the coast north of Panama. If you find that her next trip after your arrival there, will be made very soon you will take passage in her, and land at Punta Arenas or Realejo. You will after finding Mr. Dimitry, await his instructions respecting your return.

Your compensation will be at the rate of six dollars per day, together with your actual travelling expenses, which will not, however, include your expenses whilst awaiting Mr. Dimitry's instructions. You will take vouchers for your expenses wherever practicable. Your compensation will commence on the day of receiving these despatches and will terminate on your return to this city with Mr. Dimitry's. The sum of \$500 is herewith advanced to you on account.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

23. OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF HEISS AS BEARER OF DESPATCHES FOR THE
UNITED STATES.

No.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Department of State.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting: Know ye, that the bearer hereof, John P. Heiss, is proceeding to Costa Rica and Nicaragua bearing Despatches from this Department to the Legations of the United States there.

These are therefore to request all whom it may concern to permit him to pass freely without let or molestation, and to extend to him such friendly aid and protection, as would be extended to Citizens and Subjects of Foreign Countries, resorting to the United States bearing Despatches from their Governments.

In testimony whereof, I, William Henry Trescott, Acting Secretary of State of the United States of America, have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of this Department to be affixed at Washington, this third day of July, A. D. 1860 and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-fourth.

WM. HENRY TRESMOTT
Acting Secretary of State.

PC 3.0.





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