

WILLIAM WALKER'S DESIGNS ON CUBA

Although William Walker is generally designated as a "Nicaraguan filibuster," this term is not adequately descriptive of the famous American soldier of fortune. Nicaragua, it is true, was the chief theater of his operations; but his ambitious designs caused him to extend his activities far beyond the bounds of that petty republic. His motives in going to Central America upon a filibustering expedition have been variously interpreted. Some writers have regarded him merely as a tool of slavery propagandists in the southern states, basing their assumption upon the fact that he was a southern man and that he repealed the laws against slavery shortly after his accession to the presidency of Nicaragua.¹ Many of his contemporaries, however, regarded him as the agent of a coterie of American capitalists, who planned to use the adventurer to further their interests on the isthmus.² Such an opinion arose from the fact that as soon as Walker made himself master of the state he annulled the charter of the Accessory Transit Company, a shipping concern then dominated by Cornelius Vanderbilt and enjoying a monopoly of all the transportation business between California and the Atlantic states that went by way of Nicaragua, and that he bestowed the former privileges and the confiscated property of this corporation upon two of Vanderbilt's business rivals, Charles Morgan and Cornelius K. Garrison.³ Others, who held so high an opinion of Walker's character and ability that they could not regard him as the catspaw of politicians or of Wall Street manipulators, looked upon him as the emulator of Sam

¹ This, for instance, is the view expressed by Professor Lindley Miller Keasbey in his *Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine* (New York, 1896), 246. After describing the collapse of the Walker enterprise he sums up the events by saying: "The slavery question was at the bottom of it all."

² *New York Herald*, November 29, 1856; Wheeler Scrapbook, 4:200 (one of a collection of scrapbooks in the Library of Congress containing newspaper clippings collected by John H. Wheeler, minister to Nicaragua while Walker was in that country).

³ The details of this transaction have been given by the writer in an article in the *American Historical Review*, 10:792-811, entitled "William Walker and the Steamship Corporation in Nicaragua."

Houston in Texas, and thought that he was planning to americanize Nicaragua and secure its admission into the Union as a state. This last opinion was prevalent even among Walker's most trusted officers, and indicates the slight extent to which he confided his real motives to others. At a social gathering in Granada on August 15, 1856, after the Americans had been in the country for more than a year, a number of the toasts proposed indicate that the foremost of the filibusters were still in utter ignorance of the ultimate object of their activities. One officer, for instance, proposed this toast: "To General Walker. May he live to see Nicaragua annexed to the United States." Another followed with: "The American Eagle. May she drop her feathers on Nicaragua."⁴ By a strange coincidence, only three days before this affair, in a confidential note to his envoy to England, the filibuster chieftain had strongly repudiated any idea of annexation to the United States.

What, then, were Walker's real motives? Briefly, he planned to create out of five Central American republics a strong, federated state organized and governed on military principles; and after achieving this he aimed to effect the conquest of Cuba. To aid in the work of conquest and in the subsequent "regeneration" of the isthmus and island, he purposed to introduce an American population and to secure to it the possession of the land. Next he proposed to afford the new masters of the soil the privilege of cultivating their lands by slave labor if they so desired. He was doubtful indeed whether any other form of labor were adaptable to the tropics, and was of course not unmindful of the sympathy which his slavery policy would evoke for his cause in the southern states. Finally, as the capstone of his system, he planned to make the dream of an interoceanic canal come true, and thus to bind his new government to the powerful maritime nations of the world by the strong ties of commerce.⁵ It should be added that over this tropical principality Walker himself proposed to play the rôle of dictator.

⁴ *El Nicaraguense* (Walker's Nicaraguan newspaper), August 16, 1856; reproduced in *New York Herald*, September 1, 1856. An incomplete file of *El Nicaraguense* may be found among the Nicaraguan dispatches in the bureau of indexes and archives, department of state, at Washington.

⁵ See Walker's own account of his plans in his *War in Nicaragua* (Mobile, 1860), ch. 8.

It is impossible in a paper of this scope to discuss the details of these various schemes by which the filibuster hoped to make himself complete master of Central America, and it is the writer's purpose to give an account of only one of Walker's many projects, and one which hitherto has been generally overlooked or ignored, namely, his schemes for the ultimate acquisition of Cuba as part of his new tropical dominions.

Walker, it will be recalled, sailed for Nicaragua from San Francisco with a band of followers on May 4, 1855, in response to an invitation from the leader of one of the factions then waging civil war in that republic to come and aid in the fight. For the first few months after his arrival he met with indifferent success, and would probably have soon succumbed to his adversities had not Cornelius K. Garrison, the San Francisco manager of the Accessory Transit Company, signified his willingness to aid the Americans in securing a permanent foothold in the country. After receiving these assurances, Walker took possession of one of the company's steamers used for conveying passengers across Lake Nicaragua, and by a *coup de main* on October 13 captured the city of Granada, which was then the capital of the republic and the stronghold of the opposing faction. By this bold stroke he became practically master of the state. Through his influence peace was made and a provisional government was established in which both factions were represented. Patricio Rivas, a man of rather neutral character, and therefore unobjectionable to both sides, became provisional president, while the real power lay in the hands of Walker, now become commander in chief of the army of Nicaragua.

This sudden success of the American adventurers aroused the greatest interest in all parts of the United States, and created no little enthusiasm for Walker and his followers. Nearly every steamer that cleared for Nicaragua from San Francisco, New York, or New Orleans carried a large number of recruits for service in Walker's army,⁶ and his ultimate success in whatever

⁶ Manuscript in bureau of indexes and archives, department of state: Central America, Notes from Department, 1; Notes to Department, 1; 34 Congress, 1 Session, Senate Executive Document 68; *San Francisco Alta California*, December 6, 21, 1855; Wheeler Scrapbook, 5: *passim*; the New York *Herald, Times*, and *Tribune* for December, 1855, and January, 1856.

designs he then contemplated seemed assured — at least according to the American point of view.

No one read these accounts of his triumphs on the Central American isthmus with greater interest than Don Domingo de Goicouria, a cultured and highly respected Cuban revolutionist, then residing in New York City. He was the son of a well to do Cuban merchant, and had lived in England during his early manhood as agent of his father's business. Here he imbibed liberal sympathies which later caused him to be deported to Spain by the captain general of Cuba. Shortly thereafter he came to the United States, and resided for a time in Mississippi, where in 1849-1852 he worked with Lopez in planning the liberation of his native island. Lopez made his invasion of Cuba against Goicouria's advice, and the disastrous outcome revealed the soundness of the latter's judgment. In 1853 Goicouria became associated with General John A. Quitman in a new expedition planned on a much larger scale, but destined to be still-born. At the time of Walker's invasion of Nicaragua Goicouria was in New York, where he lived in handsome style, and with his amiable, conciliatory manners and plain common sense won a large number of friends. He was then fifty-six years old and wore a long flowing grey beard, which he is said to have vowed never to shave until his native country was freed from the Spanish yoke. He did not desire that Cuba should follow the example of the Central American states, but thought that its best interests lay in annexation to the American Union.

Walker's enterprise in Nicaragua especially interested the Cuban patriot, because it seemed to offer an opportunity to invade Cuba from a better vantage point than could be secured in the United States. If the Cuban volunteers could be transported to Nicaragua in the guise of regular passengers on the steamers of the Transit Company they could be mustered there for an invasion of the island without the interference of that bugbear of all filibusters, the American neutrality laws.

Accordingly, in December, 1855, Goicouria sent an agent to Walker in the person of Captain Francisco Alejandro Lainé, who had himself achieved considerable note as a Cuban "liberator." The filibuster chief listened gladly to Lainé's proposals, and on January 11, 1855, he entered into a written agreement

with him by which Walker and Goicouria were to pool interests. The articles of agreement stipulated that the Cuban revolutionists should amalgamate their material resources with those of Walker and aid him in "consolidating the peace and the government of the Republic of Nicaragua." After this was accomplished, Walker was to "assist and coöperate with his person and with his various resources, such as men and others, in the cause of Cuba and in favor of her liberty."⁷ Goicouria approved the contract and prepared at once to go to Nicaragua. He secured two hundred and fifty recruits, mostly foreigners, for Walker's service; and the American financier, Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had recently become president of the Transit Company, agreed to advance the cost of their passage.⁸ The steamship company was indebted to the Nicaraguan government, and as the amount of its debt was in dispute it was necessary for Vanderbilt to take some notice of whatever party was in power in Nicaragua and seek to obtain its good will. This explains why the president of the Transit Company seemed so favorable to Walker's enterprise. Vanderbilt, however, had two rivals in Charles Morgan and Cornelius K. Garrison, who were seeking to oust him from the control of the company, and at this time they had agents in Nicaragua who were urging Walker to use the claim against the Transit Company as a pretext for annulling its charter and confiscating its property. After this step had been taken a new charter was to be granted to Morgan and Garrison, and the confiscated property was to be turned over to them in return for substantial assistance which they promised to render the filibuster régime. Walker received their suggestions favorably and resolved upon the destruction of the Vanderbilt corporation. He was especially influenced toward this step by a prominent San Francisco attorney, Edmund Randolph, who had visited Nicaragua mainly for the purpose of urging this measure upon the American adventurer.⁹ Randolph and Walker, as

⁷ Lorenzo Montúfar, *Walker en Centro-América* (Guatemala City, 1887), 208, 209.

⁸ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 156, 179.

⁹ Edmund Randolph (1819-1861), a grandson of the Virginia statesman of the same name, was born in Richmond, Virginia, practiced law for a time in New Orleans, and in 1849 migrated to California, where he at once took a prominent position at the bar and served as a member of the first state legislature. He was retained in some of the most famous law suits of the early California days and attained much fame as

embryonic attorneys in New Orleans before 1850, had been close friends, and when they met again in San Francisco their association was renewed. While Walker was making his preparations for the expedition to Nicaragua, Randolph had given him much assistance and also had been active in California in securing reinforcements for the Americans after they had landed on the isthmus. It was largely due to Randolph's influence, therefore, that Walker decided to throw down the gauntlet to Vanderbilt and link his fortunes with those of Morgan and Garrison.

It so happened that just at the time that Walker decided to expel the Vanderbilt interests from Central America, the American capitalist had authorized Goicouria to draw on him for the cost of transporting two hundred and fifty recruits to Nicaragua for Walker's service. The steamer bearing these recruits and the steamer bringing the news of the revocation of the Transit Company's charter passed each other en route. Goicouria and his men reached Granada on March 9, 1856, and it was with amazement that the Cuban patriot then learned that the filibuster commander had bearded Vanderbilt, a man of terrible vindictiveness and with millions to spend in gratifying his passion for revenge. Goicouria felt that Walker had not only killed the goose that laid the golden egg, but had done even worse by creating a powerful enemy in the person of the owner of the fowl. He remained true to his promise, however, and during the coming weeks gave faithful service in the war with Costa Rica, being commissioned as a brigadier general. About fifty other Cuban revolutionists joined Walker's army, and the commander made of them a guard of honor. Lainé became one of Walker's aides-de-camp with the rank of lieutenant colonel.¹⁰

Walker on several occasions took pains to show special consideration for his Cuban allies. On July 12, 1856, when he was inaugurated president of Nicaragua, he delivered his address in English, though he could speak Spanish fairly well, and as his audience was composed largely of natives he gave Lainé the honor of following him and reading the address in the tongue

an orator. See O. T. Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California* (San Francisco, 1889), 261 *et seq.*; and Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1888), 6:679, n.

¹⁰ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 190, 191.

of the people. The young Cuban performed this duty with better rhetorical effect than could have been shown by the new president.¹¹ The Cubans tried to return his favors and, on August 13, gave a banquet to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the victory of Lopez over the Spanish troops at Las Posas. Walker was the guest of honor and they toasted him effusively as "the hope of Cuba."¹²

After the provisional government had been recognized in May, 1856, by President Pierce, Walker gave his attention to securing recognition by the European powers, and in accordance with his usual policy of catering to the Cubans, he designated Goicouria as the representative of his government at the court of St. James.¹³ On June 21, Goicouria left Granada for the United States preparatory to going to England, but with instructions first to use his influence in negotiating a loan in the states. He landed at New Orleans on July 13, but seeing no prospects there for the sale of bonds, he delegated the work to two agents and proceeded to New York, where he hoped to find a better market for the Nicaraguan securities. During all this time Goicouria had received no inkling of Walker's final purposes, and before leaving New Orleans he wrote to his chief asking for information concerning the form of government that would eventually be established in Nicaragua, so that he, as Walker's minister, could give proper assurances to the European governments. In doing this he violated none of the official proprieties, but he made the fatal blunder of going farther and giving the filibuster leader some unsought advice as to the form of government that should be inaugurated. He did even more and criticised the transit deal with Morgan and Garrison, alleging that they should not receive a monopoly of traffic on the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, as this violated the principles of free commerce. He suggested that the grantees should receive only the privilege of handling the transisthmian traffic, for which they should pay in accordance with the passengers and tonnage conveyed, and that the revenues of the government from this source should be pledged as security for the contemplated loan.

¹¹ *El Nicaraguense*, July 19, 1856.

¹² Wheeler Scrapbook, 4:146.

¹³ Walker, *War in Nicaragua*, 268.

On reaching New York and consulting with capitalists there, Goicouria became fully convinced that the loan could not be negotiated so long as Walker had to reckon with Vanderbilt as an enemy. Financiers declared that investments in enterprises which he was antagonizing were extra hazardous. The final arrangements with Morgan and Garrison for inaugurating their new transportation service between the Atlantic and Pacific ports by way of Nicaragua had not yet been completed, and Randolph was still in New York in consultation with them over the details of the contract when Goicouria arrived. It was commonly reported that Randolph was to be paid handsomely for his part in the deal, and the Cuban idealist was surprised and pained that anyone should use his friendship with Walker for the purpose of making money. He notified Walker that the new grantees could never, from their limited resources, carry out the agreement in any way advantageous to the cause, and he even went to the point of consulting his old patron Vanderbilt to learn whether he were not willing to reestablish his ships in the Nicaraguan service if his former privileges were restored.

Vanderbilt proved amenable, and offered to advance one hundred thousand dollars the day his first ship should sail for Nicaragua, and to pay a hundred and fifty thousand more during the course of the year. Goicouria was enthusiastic. Here was the chance to secure the funds so greatly needed by the filibuster régime, and at the same time to obtain an adequate transportation service and to convert a dreaded enemy into a friend and patron. For all his labor and pains in this matter, however, the Cuban did not get so much as a "thank you" from his chief. Walker's reply to his proposals was frigid: "You will please not trouble yourself further about the Transit Company. As to anything you say about Mr. Randolph, it is entirely thrown away on me. . . . As the government has given you [no] powers, you cannot of course promise anything in its behalf."¹⁴

The filibuster leader thus threw away his last chance to make friends with Vanderbilt and redeem the greatest blunder of his career. Goicouria was old enough to be Walker's father, and had had much greater practical experience in both filibustering and business. Walker could ill afford to ignore his advice, and

¹⁴ *New York Herald*, November 29, 1856.

his rebuff to his envoy had the effect of still further embittering Vanderbilt, who might otherwise have championed his cause. The only commendable feature of this act is Walker's loyalty to his friend Randolph.

The censorious note from his chief caused Goicouria no little chagrin and shook his confidence in the sagacity of the filibuster. Just at this moment Walker's new minister to the United States, Appleton Oaksmith, presented his credentials to Secretary Marcy at Washington as the successor of Padre Augustin Vijil, whom the Pierce administration had formally received in the previous May. Marcy, however, declined to receive Oaksmith, as the stability of Walker's government then seemed questionable.¹⁵ Goicouria thought it useless to expect recognition from the hostile British government when the more friendly American government declined to receive a Nicaraguan minister, and therefore notified Walker that he should postpone going to England until some notable success had been achieved in Nicaragua against the coalition of Central American states which had just declared war on the filibuster government. Walker, with the manner of a martinet, always demanded blind obedience to his orders, and was seldom open to suggestions from anyone. To him Goicouria's attitude was little less than lese majesty, and he notified the latter that if he would not go on his mission someone else would be sent in his place.¹⁶

Certain stories had already been circulating at filibuster headquarters to the effect that the Cuban was an agent in the hire of Vanderbilt. Walker attached no credit to them at the time, but Goicouria's avowed championship of Vanderbilt's schemes now caused him to grow exceedingly suspicious, and he communicated these suspicions to his minister in a very blunt manner. The accusation drew from the Cuban an angry protest. His sole object in seeking to reestablish relations with the Vanderbilt company, he said, was to raise "abundant pecuniary supplies, so as to enable you to meet your immediate necessities and sustain an American immigration, and also to put a stop to a powerful opposition which already has caused you much difficulty and

¹⁵ Manuscript in bureau of indexes and archives, department of state: Nicaragua, Diplomatic Correspondence, 1:116, 117; Central American Legations, Notes to Department, 2.

¹⁶ *New York Herald*, November 29, 1856.

even loss of reputation." The envoy declared that everything that he had done, had been met with reproach and recrimination, and that he had been addressed uncourteously and in a style of authority, whereas he regarded himself as a man of independent character. Moreover, the news of Walker's slavery decree, which had just arrived, compelled him to persevere in his determination not to go to London; for England would never look with favor upon such a retrograde step. "You have shut your eyes to the truth," declared the angry Cuban, "whether it is that you look upon yourself as divinely infallible, and are determined to pursue your course at all hazards, or whether it is that a third party has filled your mind with false suggestions. . . . I cannot now in any way continue my connection with you."

This quarrel between the filibuster chief and his erstwhile ally was of course unknown to the general public, and the first inkling of trouble appeared in Walker's newspaper, *El Nicaraguense*, which contained a brief statement that Brigadier General Goicouria had been dropped from the roll of the Nicaraguan army. In the United States, where interest in the Nicaraguan situation was now very keen, this news evoked much comment and speculation in the newspapers as to the causes of this breach between Walker and his strongest supporter. Goicouria satisfied the public curiosity by publishing a portion of his correspondence with Walker, the substance of which has been given in the preceding paragraphs. Friends of Walker now came to his defense and accused Goicouria of being an agent in the employ of Vanderbilt and of seeking to compass Walker's destruction.¹⁷ Randolph published a card in which he said: "In the Transit business Don Domingo de Goicouria is an intruder, with a dishonest and treacherous intent, and knowing the import of the language I use, I shall remain at the Washington Hotel, No. 1 Broadway, until one o'clock to-morrow, and longer if it is the pleasure of Don Domingo de Goicouria."¹⁸ As Randolph was then confined to his bed from an illness he had contracted during his visit to Nicaragua, there was of course no duel.

¹⁷ Nicaraguan filibusters and Cuban revolutionists aired their grievances and washed their dirty linen in the New York newspapers during the latter half of November, 1856. The *Herald* gives the most attention to their controversies.

¹⁸ *New York Herald*, November 22, 1856.

The Cuban, however, had shrewdly withheld his most important letters to and from Walker until the latter's defenders had exhausted their ammunition in repelling his first attack. He now published further correspondence that was calculated seriously to embarrass large numbers of Walker's friends in the United States. On August 12, 1856, Walker had instructed his envoy as to the policy he should pursue while minister to Great Britain: "With your versatility, and if I may use the term, adaptability, I expect much to be done in England. You can do more than any American could possibly accomplish, because you can make the British cabinet see that we are not engaged in any scheme for annexation. You can make them see that the only way to cut the expanding and expansive democracy of the North, is by a powerful and compact Southern federation, based on military principles."¹⁹ This was a heavy blow to the devotees of "manifest destiny," who had been expecting some day to shake the hand of William Walker as senator from Nicaragua. But this letter of Walker contained another hard jolt for the ardent expansionists: "Tell ——— he must send me the news and let me know whether *Cuba must and shall be free, but not for the Yankees*. Oh, no! that fine country is not fit for those barbarous Yankees. What would such a psalm-singing set do in the island?"²⁰

One may imagine the shock which these words gave to Goicouria. During the past six months he had regarded his time, means, and energy as expended in an effort eventually to bring Cuba into the American Union, and now he was informed that this fine island was not to be for the Yankees! On the contrary, he was laboring for "a powerful and compact federation, based on military principles." Such language did not augur well for Cuba's real freedom, and it is not surprising that Goicouria severed his connection with Walker in much disgust.²¹

Americans, and especially those in the North, read Walker's

¹⁹ *New York Herald*, November 24, 1856.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Italics are the writer's.

²¹ In his final communication on this subject, in the *Herald* of November 24, 1856, Goicouria utterly repudiated Walker in these words: "I therefore denounce Mr. Walker as a man wanting in the first element of every kind of ability, namely, good faith. I denounce him as wanting in ordinary sagacity and discretion. I denounce him as false to the interests as well of Cuba as of the United States."

letter concerning Cuba with amazement. They got here a first glimpse of his real plans. Instead of introducing American principles and institutions into the country, he really designed to set up a military despotism entirely at variance with the democracy of the United States and a barrier to its further expansion southward. Hitherto Walker's northern friends had had visions of Nicaragua's becoming a prosperous state, offering a new market for their manufactures and an inviting field for their capital; and they had looked upon events in that country as the beginning of a movement that eventually would open the entire isthmus to American trade and industrial enterprise, and perhaps would bring this region into the Union. The decree of September 22, 1856, revoking the laws against slavery, had by no means alienated all of Walker's northern supporters, because such a measure had been taken for granted. In the United States there were few at this time who regarded the tropics as an inviting field for free labor, and many antislavery leaders opposed the Walker enterprise because they deemed the expansion of the domain of slavery an inevitable result of its success. Slavery, many northerners believed, would follow the American invasion of Nicaragua as naturally as would the English language. But Walker's plan to build up a great state that would be a rival of their own country, with aims and institutions diametrically opposed to theirs, gave his northern friends pause and soon destroyed all their sympathies with his undertaking.

That the revelation of the filibuster's real motives did not also alienate his southern supporters is to be explained by the fact that the publication of the Goicouria correspondence followed close on the heels of the decree opening the way for the reestablishment of slavery. The South was then entering upon the final scene in its long struggle to preserve "the equilibrium of the Union," and was coming to see that it was conducting a losing fight. Southern leaders were beginning to perceive that the existing territories were most probably destined to become free states, and that the balance of power between the South and the constantly growing North was soon to be destroyed. Those with clear vision foresaw "the irrespressible conflict," and believed that some day the southern states would be constrained to leave the Union, and that they might possibly form an alli-

ance with the Spanish-American countries to the southward to check possible aggression from the republic of the North. They cared little, therefore, about Walker's repudiation of annexation to a Union that they believed to be short-lived; but they were intensely interested in his plan to create a new slave republic. In the event of secession, a powerful military federation in Central America, with slavery as its cornerstone, would prove a most valuable ally. No man in the South held more advanced ideas along this line than Pierre Soulé, and his visit to Nicaragua in August seems to have had the effect of crystallizing the policy of Walker so far as Cuba, annexation, and slavery were concerned.²²

The breach with Goicouria removed all immediate prospects for an American invasion of Cuba by way of Nicaragua. Walker's whole energies were thenceforth employed in preparations to withstand a coalition of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and San Salvador, as well as the opposition of disaffected Nicaraguans; and his prospects of creating a great military principality in the tropics daily grew dimmer. The Spanish government took alarm at the presence of so many Cuban revolutionists in Walker's army, and in the summer of 1856 sent an agent to Costa Rica to egg on that doughty little republic in resisting the aggressions of the filibusters.²³ Vanderbilt saw in this opposition of the natives to the American invaders a chance to gratify his desire for revenge; and money, Minié muskets, and daring adventurers with the mettle of Walker's choicest men were sent to Costa Rica to aid in the overthrow of the filibusters. It is needless here to tell the story of Walker's long and persistent struggle against such heavy odds.²⁴ Suffice it to say that he finally surrendered on May 1, 1857, and the hope of a "regenerated" Central America and Cuba was for the time being ended.

In spite of the defection of their leader toward Walker, a number of the Cubans who had followed Goicouria to Nicaragua remained faithful to the filibuster.²⁵ Special mention should be

²² Montúfar, *Walker en Centro-América*, 562.

²³ *Ibid.*, 638 *et seq.*

²⁴ *American Historical Review*, 10:792-811; *Harper's Weekly*, 1:71, 199; *New York Times*, March 30, 1857.

²⁵ Dr. Lorenzo Montúfar, the Costa Rican historian, accounts for thirty of the Cubans who joined Walker as follows: nineteen withdrew from service, seven died in

made of Lainé, who served the cause devotedly and on being captured by a Guatemalan contingent at the battle of Masaya on October 13, 1856, was immediately ordered to be shot. Walker retaliated by ordering the execution of two Guatemalan officers of high rank whom he held as prisoners.

The three years following his expulsion from Central America were spent by Walker in vain efforts to regain his position on the isthmus. Certain American politicians who stood high in the nation's councils urged him at one time to abandon his Nicaraguan enterprise and concentrate his efforts upon Cuba; ²⁶ but to all such suggestions he turned a deaf ear, maintaining with persistence that he was the lawful president of Nicaragua, and that he would return to the country and to the office from which he had been driven by violence. In 1860, in an ill-fated effort to regain his position, he fell into the hands of the Hondurans, and on September 12 perished by the fusillade. Ten years later a similar fate befell Goicouria. After severing his relations with Walker, the revolutionist continued his labors in behalf of Cuban liberty, and was especially active in fitting out expeditions to the island during the revolution of 1868. In 1870 he visited the Cuban insurgents in their camp, and was taken prisoner on May 6. Condemned by a drumhead court-martial, he was garroted at Fort Principe on the following day.

Though their fortunes brought the Cuban revolutionist and the Nicaraguan filibuster temporarily together, there was in reality little in common between them. Walker was dominated by ambition; Goicouria by the abstract ideal of patriotism. The filibuster was striving to create power and dominion on the ruins of unhappy experiments in democracy; the revolutionist was seeking to establish liberty and democracy on the ruins of an antiquated colonial system. A rupture in their relations, therefore, was not only natural but also inevitable.

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service, and four still remained with Walker when he surrendered on May 1, 1857. The proportions are about the same in each case as for the rest of Walker's followers. *Walker en Centro-América*, 564.

²⁶ Wheeler Scrapbook, 4:295; *New York Herald*, February 2, 1858; *New York Times*, February 2, 1858; *Edinburgh Review*, 112:566, 567.