

# FILIBUSTERISM IN AMERICA.

## Assistance to the Patriots in Mexico and South America.

### THE CONGRESS OF PANAMA IN 1826.

### THE TEXAS REVOLUTION.

### ATTEMPTS OF LOPEZ TO LIBERATE CUBA.

### The Quitman and Paez Movements for Cuba and Venezuela.

### Expeditions to Lower California and Sonora.

### History of Walker's Operations in Nicaragua, &c., &c., &c.

The remarkable changes that have taken place within a short time in some of the Isthmus countries of America, and the policy of our government towards them, marks an era in our political history. The treaty that has been negotiated with Nicaragua, bringing her virtually under the protection of the United States, is not only a new phase of our own policy, but is destined to produce the most remarkable effects throughout Spanish America. Already Costa Rica is dissatisfied that her sister republic of Nicaragua should have preceded her in the development of this protective policy; and we have before us the extraordinary spectacle of the President of the independent republic of Nicaragua publicly thanking the President of the United States for an exercise of jurisdiction within her borders which, if exercised within our own territory, would have been considered an act of invasion of the rights of the State and subversive of its liberties. In view of this change a concise history of filibusterism will be interesting and instructive.

The rise and progress of the great movement southward which is developing itself with such remarkable rapidity in this country, is a thing little understood on this continent as well as in Europe. We propose to give a short sketch of the movements that have marked the popular intervention of the several nations in the efforts of the Spanish American republics from the time of their first impulse towards revolution, and which are as follows:—

	Year.
1. Miranda's Revolutionary Attempt on Venezuela.....	1806
2. Mina's Expedition to Mexico.....	1816-17
3. Filibusterism in Favor of the Greeks... ..	1823
4. Colombian Privateers and Commodore Porter.....	1824
5. Congress of American Republics at Panama.....	1826
6. Mexican Filibustering on Cuba.....	1828
7. The Texas Movement.....	1833-36
8. Conspiracy of Lopez in Cuba.....	1847-48
9. First Attempt of Lopez from the U. S..	1849
10. The Cardenas Expedition.....	1850
11. Last Expedition and Death of Lopez... ..	1851
12. Carvajal's Movement in Mexico.....	1851-54
13. The Paez Expedition to Venezuela....	1853
14. The Quitman Movement for Cuba.....	1852-3-4
15. Raousset de Boulbon and Zerman's in Mexico.....	1854
16. Walker's Expedition to Lower California.....	1853
17. Walker's Filibuster Expedition in Nicaragua.....	1855-6-7
18. Crabbe's Expedition to Sonora.....	1856

It will not be necessary for us to refer to the efforts which were made in Europe under the enlightened administration of Canning to advance them in their cause, nor to refer to the selfish motives which induced England at that time to lend all her energies in a surreptitious manner to separate the Spanish colonies from the mother country. But as the movement itself has been peculiarly an American one, and its growth and development is now taking a wide spread influence in this country, we propose by a short review of the principal facts and features of it to show its course and object. The first organized efforts here to assist the Spanish-American republics were conducted by European leaders, although individual contributions had been from time to time made in their behalf. Bolivar had visited this country on his return from Europe in the early part of the present century, to study our institutions and seek aid, but he did not carry out the great plans which then germinated in his mind until some years after.

### MIRANDA'S REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPT ON VENEZUELA.

It was in 1806 that Miranda, a native of Caraccas, in Venezuela, who had served in the Spanish army as a colonel, having failed in his endeavors to secure assistance in England for the revolutionists in South America, came to the United States. His efforts here were, however, equally unsuccessful in obtaining the co-operation of our government in his enterprise. He then undertook to fit out a small expedition with merely private resources. He procured a ship called the *Leander*, to be manned and fitted out at New York, and to proceed to St. Domingo, the ship having on board a number of volunteers, officered by himself. At St. Domingo he expected to be joined by the ship *Emperor*, with other men; but after the sailing of the *Leander* the government of the United States, which had thus far winked at the expedition, ordered the prosecution of two of his friends.

The President (Jefferson) also issued a proclamation against hostile attempts upon the Spanish dominions. The accused parties were acquitted, but their prosecution prevented the detachment, about to be embarked in the ship *Emperor*, from joining in the enterprise. Miranda was, therefore, compelled to proceed with the *Leander* and two schooners, which he had chartered at St. Domingo. These schooners were captured by Spanish cruisers. The consequence was that although Miranda was furnished with some sloops and gunboats by the English Admiral in the West Indies, and effected a landing with his small army of five hundred volunteers at a place called *Vela de Coro*, on the coast of Venezuela, in August, 1806, yet failing of any valuable support from the English, he was compelled to evacuate *Coro*, of which he had taken possession, and retire to the island of *Trinidad* without accomplishing any of the objects of the expedition.

While on the Spanish Main Miranda issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Venezuela calling upon them to rally in the name of liberty; but they declined to respond. Some of the Americans who were taken prisoners by the Spaniards were shot. Those who escaped with Miranda returned to the United States. One of the adventurers published an account of the expedition—a work which has now become extremely scarce—and the history of the enterprise, almost forgotten, has long since ceased to be an object of interest except to a few curious inquirers. General Miranda afterwards took part in the revolution of Venezuela, but having been taken prisoner he was sent to Spain, and died in prison in Cadiz in 1816.

### MINA'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO.

The next enterprise of this kind which was got up in the United States upon an extended scale was that of General Mina to assist in the revolution of Mexico. He was a Spaniard, and had served as a guerrilla chief in the war in Spain against the French, but becoming afterwards obnoxious to Ferdinand, he left the country, and finally reached England. During his sojourn in England Mina was treated with flattering attentions by the leading



sign of Walker was to seize the reins of government himself, and fearful that he might dispose of him as he had disposed of his old Minister of War, Corral, Rivas and his then Minister of War, Salazar, proceeded, on the 12th of June, to the city of Leon, and declared the government removed to that place. Walker immediately proclaimed them both traitors, and ordered a new election for President—Ferrer in the meantime acting as President pro tem. This election came off the 24th June, and Walker was declared the duly elected President, and was some weeks subsequently formally inaugurated. Salazar, in proceeding, as it is said, to join his family in San Salvador, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Walker. His former acts of friendship towards the filibusters could not atone for his present infidelity. He was shot as a traitor on the 3d August, in the plaza of Granada, seated on the same chair on which his predecessor in office, Corral, had met his death. Walker's government was, on the 19th July, formally recognized by Mr. Wheeler, our Minister to Nicaragua.

Up to this time there were but two parties in the field disputing for the charter of the Transit Company. There were on one side, Vanderbilt, Joe White and the managers of the old company, and on the other, Garrison, Morgan and their associates, the transferees of the Randolph patent. Now, however, a third party steps into the field and takes his place in the lists. This was George Law. Among his acquaintances or the acquaintances of some of his chief counsellors, was an officer named Henningsen, who had fought in Spain under Zumalacarragal, and in Hungary under Kossuth.

Henningsen having been supplied with arms and ammunition, started from this port and arrived in Nicaragua, where he joined Walker, by whom he was appointed Brigadier General. Law's policy was directed by the hope, probably, that something might turn up which would induce Walker to annul the Morgan contract as he had annulled the Vanderbilt one, and to make a new cession of the Transit route to himself.

The decree of General Walker, about this time, by which slavery was restored, alienated a great many who had before been friendly to him. The hostilities which had been suspended after the affair at Rivas, broke out in September, during which there were several minor engagements. October 12 the battle of Massaya took place, in which 70 Americans and 600 of the Central Americans were killed and wounded. Then followed the battle at Granada on October 13; on the Transit, November 10 and 11; at Massaya again on the 17th of the same month; at Granada on the 21st, and at the same place December 12; the naval engagement between the Nicaraguan schooner Granada (70 tons), commanded by Capt. C. J. Fayssoux, and having on board twenty-eight men and two six-pounders, and the Costa Rican brig, the Onze de Abril, on the 23d of November. The latter was armed with six nine-pounders, and had a crew of 100 men armed with Minnie rifles. The fight resulted in the complete defeat of the Costa Ricans, whose vessel was blown up by a shot from the Granada.

In addition to the States which we mentioned as having united with Costa Rica against Walker, the republics of Chile and Peru had also joined the league. The last fight of Walker at Granada was terribly disastrous to him, and he was finally obliged to retreat from the place, which he effected, after setting it on fire and reducing it to ruins. Walker now retired to Virgin Bay, where he was attacked by the Costa Ricans, who had obtained possession of the lake steamers Virgin and San Carlos, but the attack was not sustained. Next followed the battle of Obrage, fought by General Henningsen at the head of sixty rangers. The enemy, numbering nine hundred, were in possession of the place. They were, however, routed, with a loss of two hundred killed and as many wounded, Henningsen having only two men killed and five wounded. In accordance with orders from Walker, he retreated to Rivas, where he was besieged on the 27th of January, 1857. The siege was raised, however, and between this and the 15th of April several engagements were fought. The most important of these was that which occurred at San Jorge, which was occupied by about 2,000 of the allies. Walker had but four hundred men. After driving out the enemy and gaining the plaza, he burned a part of the town most important to the allied army, when he learned that about 1,200 of the enemy, under Gen. Chamorro, had marched by another road to make an attack on Rivas; whereupon Gen. Walker marched for that place and met them in retreat at the forks of three roads, hotly pursued by Gen. Henningsen and his command, who had driven them out of Rivas with great slaughter. The allied army had three hundred and twenty-seven men killed and over three hundred wounded. Walker had only two men killed and twenty-one wounded.

As the ranks of the filibusters, however, were greatly reduced by sickness, and constant fighting, Walker was once more hemmed in at Rivas, where he was besieged by the allies. Here the filibusters were obliged to feed on dogs and mules. The transit route being still in possession of the allies, all means of retreat appeared to be cut off. They still continued to fight with terrible resolution, and repulsed every attack of the enemy. On the 18th of May, however, the siege of Rivas was terminated by the surrender of the town and garrison by capitulation, to Captain Davis, of the United States sloop-of-war St. Marys. Gen. Walker, in fulfillment of the terms of the agreement, embarked on board the St. Marys, with sixteen officers, for Panama, and left the remainder of the garrison in charge of Lieut. McCorkle, of the United States navy. The following is a list of the battles fought by the American forces in Nicaragua during the war, with the names of the commanders who led them on:—

Date.	Walker's Force.	Am. Na.	Walker's Force.	Am. Na.	Killed and Wounded.	Am. Na.	Killed and Wounded.	Commanders.
1855.								
June 29,								
At Rivas...	55	10	600	22	300			Gen. Walker.
Sept. 3,								
At Rivas...	45	120	550	9	160			Do.
1856.								
March 20,								
At Santa Rosa	300	—	600	35	—			Schlessinger.
April 1,								
At Rivas...	550	200	3000	140	600			Gen. Walker.

1856.	Place.	Walker's Force.	Am. Na.	Killed and Wounded.	Am. Na.	Killed and Wounded.	Commanders.
Sept. 1	San Jacinto	40	200	26	—	—	Col. McDonald
" 5	"	60	—	—	—	—	Col. Cole.
Oct. 12	Massaya...	800	1800	70	600	—	Gen. Walker.
" 13	Granada...	150	800	—	—	—	Do.
Nov. 10	Tranist...	250	700	29	70	—	Gen. Hornsby
" 11	"	260	800	—	—	—	Gen. Walker.
" 17	Massaya...	260	2000	70	500	—	Do.
" 24	Granada...	270	2800	150	1500	—	Do.
Dec. 12	"	160	—	—	—	—	Henningsen.
1857.							
Jan. 25	Obrage...	300	2100	15	60	—	Henningsen.
" 29	San Jorge...	400	2300	92	350	—	Do.
Feb. 3	"	220	—	25	20	—	Gen. Walker.
" 12	"	300	—	—	160	—	Do.
Mch. 4	Jacote...	125	200	39	—	—	Sanders.
" 16	San Jorge...	400	2800	75	400	—	Gen. Walker.
" 23	Rivas...	—	2600	55	400	—	Do.
Apl. 11	"	—	—	—	600	—	
Total.....				1816	5860		

Carefully compiled statistics of this memorable struggle show the following result:—  
 Force of Walker from the time of his landing in Nicaragua to the 1st of May, 1857, a space of nearly two years, exclusive of Lockridge's force..... 2,518  
 Total force of the allies, exclusive of 1,200 Costa Ricans, said to have been on the river..... 17,800  
 Of this number 11,500 men were from Guatemala, Costa Rica, Honduras and Salvador.  
 Total killed and wounded of Walker's force 815, say 850  
 Total allies killed and wounded..... 5,860

This is, without counting on either side those who died of disease. The mortality in the allied camp was very great. Two generals died at the siege of Granada; and in April, 1856, of 2,400 men who retreated from Rivas with Mora, at least 1,000 died of cholera, only 500 entering San Jose with him. To this force of 2,518—the total force Walker had under arms during two years since his landing in the country—it is hardly necessary to add the armed citizens who fought at Granada and Rivas, because they were, with some exceptions, disbanded soldiers. It is estimated that during two years, of 2,500 enlisted or holding commission under Walker, about 1,000 were killed or died of wounds or sickness, 700 deserted, 250 were discharged, 430 were at Rivas on the 1st of May, and 80 in garrison or on steamers on the river—total, 2,465; leaving 53 unaccounted for.

On the first of May, 1857, as has been stated, Walker capitulated to Commander Davis, by whom he was taken to New Orleans. Here the friends of his cause received him with *éclat*, and here, no doubt, the first plans for his last enterprise were laid down; for, though defeated and compelled to fly, Walker had not relinquished his designs upon Nicaragua, nor ceased to cherish hopes of ultimate success.

On the 13th of June we find him in Washington, where he had an interview with the President. In the meantime he had visited Memphis, Louisville and Cincinnati on his way from the South.

On the 16th of June he arrived in New York, was escorted by a committee from Amboy to the Battery, and proceeding to the Park, "defined his position" and defended his actions in a brief speech, under a drenching shower of rain.

From New York he proceeded to Charleston, and through Georgia to the home of his father at Nashville. Thence he went to Mobile, where an address was presented to him on the 13th of July, signed by a large number of citizens—the second name on the list being that of Julius Hesse, the agent of "the Mobile and Nicaragua Steamship Company," under which title he announced the sailing of the Fashion, as the first regular packet of the line between Mobile and San Juan del Nicaragua.

All this time speculation was rife as to Walker's future course. Those who knew him and believed in his pluck said that he would not be long out of Nica-

ragua; whilst others declared that his influence was utterly broken down, and that he could never again raise an army to trust in him. But Walker and Henningsen were then actively engaged in bringing their plans to maturity. The cause found favor in the South, and money was furnished to a considerable amount. On the 20th of August it was announced, on the authority of some of Walker's associates, or "the Central American League" had that a "Central American League" had been formed in all the principal cities of the Union, and that a second expedition to Nicaragua, far better organized, better supplied with means, and far more formidable than the first, was on foot, and almost ripe for departure. The Central American Ministers at Washington became alarmed, and on the 17th of September Messrs. Molina and Yrisarri addressed a letter to General Cass, stating that they had no doubt that another expedition against Nicaragua, under "the adventurer William Walker," had been organized in the southern part of the republic, and calling upon the government to interpose its authority to prevent the sailing of the expedition.

On the 18th of September General Cass issued a circular to the United States officials in New York, New Orleans and other ports, directing them to use their utmost diligence in ferreting out the filibusters and prevent any body of armed men from leaving the country. General Walker wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, protesting against "the assumption on the part of Costa Rica and Guatemala," and asking that the government of the United States will not permit itself to be influenced by their pretensions.

On the 17th of November Mr. Yrisarri, who had not been previously recognized as a representative of Nicaragua, was formally presented to the President, and received as Minister from that republic, after which the treaty negotiated was signed by himself and Secretary Cass. The treaty provides:—

- First—For the maintenance of two free ports, one at each end of the Transit line.
- Secondly—The United States guarantees the protection and neutrality of the Transit, but names no particular company.
- Thirdly—The Transit is to be open to all nations on equal terms.
- Fourthly—The United States reserve the right to transport the mails in their own vessels when they find it convenient so to do.
- Fifthly—Provides, in the usual terms, for friendship, commerce and navigation between the two countries.

It was at first thought that the negotiation of this treaty would materially affect the prospects of Walker, but he was then safely off, having left Mobile, in the steamer Fashion, on the 14th ult., with his 150 filibusters.

Our readers are aware how he had been previously arrested on the 11th, and of his giving bail the day following for his re-appearance on the 17th. The bail to the amount of \$2,000 was of course forfeited.

The Fashion arrived at Punta Arenas on the 24th of November. No attempt was made to prevent their landing. The United States sloop-of-war Saratoga was lying in the harbor, and the Fashion passed under her stern at full speed, with ten men on deck. The whole party were landed at Scott's wharf.

The first act in the drama of a second war in Central America was the hoisting of the Nicaraguan flag at Punta Arenas. This was performed on the 27th of November, and on the 4th of the following month Colonel Frank Anderson, with fifty of Walker's men, took Fort Castillo, on the San Juan river, and the steamers La Virgen, Bulwer, C. Morgan and Ogden. On the 8th Walker surrendered to Commodore Paulding, with all his men, and having taken passage in the steamship Northern Light arrived in New York on the 27th. His subsequent course is still fresh in the minds of our readers, so that a recapitulation is unnecessary. His last effort was the silly speech which he made at Mobile, January 25. He has since been indicted, with Anderson, at New Orleans, who, after the departure of Walker from Nicaragua, had surrendered to Captain Sands, of the United States steamer Susquehanna. The charge against him is a violation of the neutrality laws.

The return of Walker ends the history of private filibustering expeditions for the present. It is to be hoped that hereafter the real extension of American institutions will be accomplished through the natural increase of population and enterprise, and the progress of true republican principles, under the guidance of the federal power. There undoubtedly will be private expeditions got up, but they will not probably be able to accomplish much, and certainly not anything, if they are managed as late expeditions have been.

### CRABBE'S EXPEDITION TO SONORA.

The State of Sonora, lying as it does, at a long distance from the capital of Mexico, is very loosely bound in the federal bonds of that republic, and one or two leading families there are engaged in constant strife for the government of the State. One of these families is the well known Gandara family, which possesses great influence over the native tribes. The opposition to this interest is led by Pesqueira and a few others, who are now in the possession of the government of the State. In 1856, while Gandara was Governor, Pesqueira formed the plan of overturning the government by a revolution, and for this purpose he made an arrangement with Colonel Henry Crabbe to bring from California a party of Americans to co-operate with him in the movement. Before Crabbe reached the borders of Sonora, Pesqueira had succeeded in driving Gandara out of the country, and having, therefore, no need of the filibuster assistance, he prepared to give them a hostile reception. The encounter took place at Caborca on the 1st of April, 1857. Here they were set upon while quietly pursuing their way through some wheat fields by men who up to this time they had supposed were friendly towards them. Five Americans were killed and several wounded in this affair. The Mexicans were in ambush, and kept up a heavy fire upon the Americans, who finally succeeded in reaching the shelter of some houses. Here, however, they were exposed to the balls of the enemy, who had posted themselves in a church immediately opposite. A party of fifteen of the Americans, headed by Crabbe himself, made an attack upon the church with the view of driving out the Mexicans, and an attempt was made to blow open the door with a keg of powder. Crabbe and his party, however, were obliged to retreat, after having had five of their number killed and seven wounded, among whom was the leader himself. They were now obliged to defend themselves in the houses to which they had first fled, and where they were closely besieged to the evening of the 6th of April, when the roof of their quarters was set on fire. Finding it impossible to extinguish the flames, they surrendered on condition that they should be "treated as prisoners of war." The Mexican commander of the place, Gabilondo, faithful to his solemn pledge, ordered all the Americans to be shot, an order which was ruthlessly executed on the night of the same day on which they had given themselves up. But one was permitted to escape, and the account which he has given, under oath, of the massacre, shows that it was attended by the most horrible and revolting brutality. He "saw the bodies of the murdered Americans scattered over the burying ground," "stripped bare of every particle of clothing;" "exposed without burial;" and "the remains of the bodies had been much mutilated by cayotes and hogs." He also says he was "taken to see the head of Mr. Crabbe, which was lifted from a jar of vinegar;" "that he heard the Mexicans say that their hogs would fatten on the carcasses of Yankees; that the stench arising from the dead bodies was nauseating in town; that the hogs were unbearable from their contact with carrion; and that he was shown the gold taken from the teeth of some of the Americans."

Thus concluded the Crabbe expedition, and its history is full of proofs of Mexican perfidy, faithlessness and brutality.

### CONCLUSION.

There have been several minor operations in the filibustering line during the last few years, but we do not consider them of sufficient importance to give a detailed account of their proceedings. When General Flores failed in England in getting up an expedition, which he had planned in conjunction with the Queen Dowager of Spain for the conquest of the republic of Ecuador, he came to this country accompanied by Col. Wright, an English officer, and endeavored to get up an expedition. Failing in this, he went to Chile and Peru, where he succeeded in preparing a small party with which he invaded that republic, but was soon driven out.

When General Castilla, the present President of Peru, overturned the government of Echinique in that republic, with the aid of seventy Americans, the latter came to this city, and after long negotiations succeeded in getting up a cargo of arms, ammunition and equipment on credit, which was sent to Valparaiso. Not succeeding in raising the funds to pay for these, they were sold to different parties, and a portion of them have formed part of the resources of Vivanco in his present attempted revolution. In this contest Castilla endeavored to obtain American assistance in recapturing from Vivanco the Chincha guano Islands, but did not succeed. A brig has lately departed from here for the west coast of South America, with a small filibuster outfit, supposed to be intended for a new revolution in Peru. In order to give some idea of what these small expeditions are, we present the following list of her cargo:—933 cases of bombshells, 81 do. shot, 55 do. minie cartridges, 200 do. musket cartridges, 1 case fuzes; 16 kegs minie balls, 50 cases minie rifles, 400 do. U. S. muskets, 30 do. musket flints, 5 do. musket caps, 34 do. howitzers, 1 do. cannon caps, 241 kegs powder, 9 cases cavalry sabres.

It is said that this expedition is fitted out by our old friend George Law, who has received a cash payment of \$25,000 on account, and the balance to be paid at some future time, with a large bonus of guano. We close for the present the history of the filibuster movements in this country.