

J. S. ZELAYA

THE REVOLUTION OF NICARAGUA

AND

THE UNITED STATES



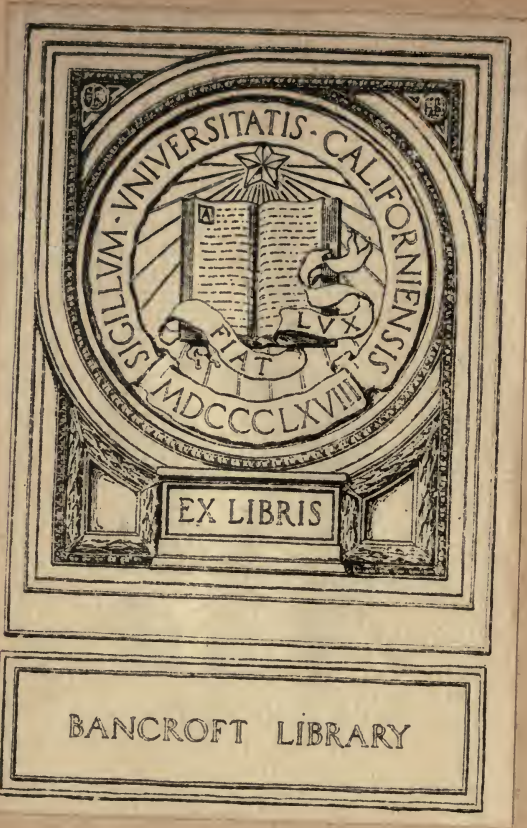
MADRID

BERNARDO RODRÍGUEZ

PRINTERS

Calle del Barquillo, 8.

1910



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The events of recent occurrence in Nicaragua that obliged me to come to Europe after having resigned the Presidency of the Republic, which I had held for sixteen years have given rise to various comments some of them unfavourable to myself. This fact renders it incumbent upon me to explain matters that the truth may be known in order that, the judgment past upon me by the public may be a just and fair one.

It would be in vain to deny the influence that the now famous note of the Secretary of State of the United States may have brought to bear upon the mind of the public in Europe, especially in those countries where information is gathered from despatches sent by North American agents. Such undoubted influence is what induces me to appeal to the serious minded and impartial public that might not have an exact knowledge of the events referred to. This and no other is the reason. Nicaragua, through the efforts of the Government which I directed for so many years was following a peaceful and progressive course acknowledged by all and in spite of the incessant machinations of the enemies of liberal professions thwarted more than once, no one expected to hear the cry of a revolution in our midst, nobody had the least suspicion that without any warning the spirit of discontent would suddenly take the form of a rebellious movement.

The Government was carrying out without the slightest obstacle its vast democratic policy together with the material improvements on the strength of the loan arranged for with the Bankers MM. Ethelburgo of London in order to realise the consolidation of our External Debt;

for the organisation of the brandy and tobacco Companies, that had given rise to murmurings and suspicions on the part of the enemies of the administration and for the conclusion of the railway from Monkey Point Harbour in the Atlantic to San Miguelito in Gran Lago, an undertaking of incalculable advantages, for besides facilitating the exportation of native products it would develop the wealth of the important *districts* of Jerez and Zelaya and would free the national commerce of being tributary to the Panamá railway; the Commission entrusted to Sr. D. Joaquín Pasos for the renewal of paper money already deteriorated for one of excellent quality manufactured by the well known American Bank Note Company of New York, a paper impossible to counterfeit and of which the emission was also to be increased to five millions of pesos, to meet the Emery claim and to provide for the necessities of commerce deficient in *monetary circulation*, and for the providing of school buildings as it was the desire of the Government to put into practice its wishes to foment and place on a firmer basis Public Instruction.

The coming coffee harvest which was foreseen to be an exceptionally good one, was delighting the hearts of the growers both on account of the abundance of the crop and of the attractiveness of its price.

Commerce that had been somewhat paralyzed in consequence of the war of 1907, had already considerably extended its markets, thus proportionately increasing business.

The Emery affair, which owing to the exigencies of the North American Government in its negotiations with that of Nicaragua had contributed to unsettle the public mind, a rupture was even feared, had just been arranged in a satisfactory and definite manner, a good understanding being again established, as was manifested by Mr. Knox himself at a farewell banquet given by the special Representative of Nicaragua the illustrious Dr. D. Pedro González. Even the election of the future President of Costa Rica, which successful candidate was a friend of the Government of Zelaya, had just been realized in a manner favourable to the interests of Nicaragua, bearing out in a practical way the proof of the good relations existing between Zelaya and the neighbouring Republics of Costa Rica and Honduras.

Nothing therefore presaged a near revolutionary movement. In spite of all this Zelaya had to contend with two powerful enemies each of whom had tried on various occasions to force him to abandon the helm of state. Primero Estrada Cabrera ever waylaying the President of Nicaragua and who was unable to make him fall in 1907 in spite of the

coöperation of other influences of central America and towards the discredit of whom he had carried on campaigns in the press both in America and Europe and *secondly* the Government of the United States whose duplicity and ill-will were manifest when France was by them induced not to recognize the circulation of the shares of the Nicaragua loan at the very time when the Secretary of State Knox at the banquet to which I have referred, raised his glass congratulating the envoy of Zelaya in Washington.

The United States, whose imperialism is already too well known, had for sometime past been trying to exercise a protectorate and endeavour to appropriate part of the isthmus of the Canal on the territory of Nicaragua, for which purpose President Zelaya offered no facilities since he exacted before all that the sovereignty of Nicaragua should be guaranteed and moreover a sum of money equivalent to the importance of the concession, they hastened to accept the proposals of Estrada Cabrera and naturally they afforded him all kinds that he might on his own account and in their name bring about a Revolution in Nicaragua. To this end they induced the Governor of the Department of Zelaya General Juan J. Estrada to treacherously accept the Presidency of the Republic and provide as indeed they have done all the necessaries, money arms and men to ensure success.

Moreover they had already tried to create an ill-feeling to bring about a rupture with the Republic of the United States. This may be easily seen in the Emery affair, which they favoured violating the protocol of the first agreement and enforcing new conditions contrary to justice and detrimental to the interests of Nicaragua. The Government of Nicaragua being naturally unable to accept such conditions and desirous of settling the matter in the best possible manner, sent to Washington as special Envoy the renowned jurist Dr. Pedro González to treat of an arrangement with the Government of White House, or if this were impossible to come to a direct understanding with the Emery Company and to take no account of the claims put in by the Secretary of State Knox.



Therefore with no other reason the Revolution broke out on the 10th of October of the following year.

The first news received was the following telegram:

«Handed in at Bluefields at 9,30 p. m. Oct. 10.—Commander in

chief.—I have been informed from Barra Colorado that a band of revolutionaries have seized a boat and have left for this town. I have ordered troops to be recruited.—Acting Governor, *Juan J. Estrada.*»

The Chief of the Nation could not possibly doubt the authenticity of this telegram, knowing as he did the antecedents of Estrada, belonging to a family of liberal ideas, and of loyalty to the Government of Zelaya, to whom he was indebted for his well-being and social position. Nevertheless the bad faith of the Governor Intendant was not long in revealing itself. The Chief Telegraph Clerk of the Republic noticed in the station of Managua that the subsequent telegrams did not answer to the signs agreed upon between him and his subordinates and he concluded that the stations of Rama were already in the hands of the enemy.

Immediately afterwards the telegraph clerk of Chile confirmed the fact that communication was cut off with Rama and that his last message from the telegraph clerk of the said place did not answer either to the telegraphic signs agreed upon.

As has already been stated my relations with General Juan J. Estrada were well founded and of old standing, seeing that they dated from the friendship that united our parents, companions and fellow-workers in the cause of the liberal party. I, on the other hand had lent my entire personal and political support to Estrada who from humble artisan occupations gradually rose to filling important political posts. Those who were most surprised at his unexpected rebellion, were his own brothers, both worthy officers and faithful to their Chief and who from the first moment showed in word and through the press, their disapproval of his disloyalty. So unexpected and blameworthy a forgetfulness of duty could only be attributed to a mental weakness, made capital out of by those who awakened ambitiousness and hankerings after power and wealth in one who, through acts of kindness and confidence on the part of Zelaya had just been appointed to the most important post of Governor and *Intendant* of the Atlantic Coast, that, is of the Department of Zelaya, after having held no less a charge than the Ministry for War.

Severe and condemnatory judgments and opinions might be quoted of impartial private persons or of the local press, but nothing can be more eloquent than the telegram addressed to General Juan J. Estrada by his brothers and intimate friends all of whom are men of note in the political circles of Nicaragua, as belonging to the liberal party.

Here is the telegram:

«General Juan J. Estrada.—Bluefields.—Nicaragua as one man reproves your ungrateful criminal and treacherous, conduct. Dead for ever. You will never conquer *however* liberal.—*Julián Iriás, Aurelio Estrada, José D. Estrada, J. Santos Ramírez, Félix P. Zelaya R., Francisco E. Torres, Heliodoro Rivas (hijo), Federico Sacasa, Juan J. Bodán, Nicasio Vázquez, José D. Gámez, Clodomiro de la Rocha, Mariano Espinosa, Francisco Uriarte B., David A. Fornos, Isidro A. Ramírez, José D. Gómez, Rafael C. Medina, Claudio Saravia, Leopoldo Ramírez Mairena, José Pérez S., Joaquín Sarson, Jenaro Lugo, Maximiliano Sacasa, Santiago Callejas, Gabriel Rivas, Roberto González.*»

Independently General Aurelio Estrada, of his brother the one held in the highest esteem, and one of the chiefs who most contributed to the patriotic and democratic labours of Zelaya, sent to the press the following proclamation:

«To my followers and friends:—Deeply disappointed by the conduct of my brother General Juan Estrada who has abandoned his cause throwing himself into the arms of the conservative party, by the fact of his heeding its machiavelic suggestions and rushing into a revolution under a very different flag from the one it was his duty to uphold, both by reason of his political antecedents and his family connections, the red ensign of the liberal party for whose sake he had shed on another occasions his blood and for the sake of which we his kith and kin have risked our lives and are ever ready to do so. I address my political partisans, friends and comrades in arms, to tell them with the candour which belongs to me, that I sorely regret my brother's error as a misfortune for him, for his country and his family that I disapprove of the same with all the energy of my character and that I have no connivence, direct or in direct, in the movement into which he has in an evil hour plunged through his inexperience and the perfidious advice of those who would be his ruin.

»To me the matter is clear and leaves no room for doubt as I know the genesis of this act: the flag hoisted to-day at Bluefields is one of reaction, the identical one which, overthrown in 1893 by the glorious revolution of July that brought into power the illustrious leader General J. Santos Zelaya has endeavoured in vain to be flown in spite of its defeats of 1894, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1903 and 1907. This being the case my post and that of my followers is unmistakably the one we have ever occupied and in which we shall conquer or die.

»Friends and companions: You who have ever followed me to the field of battle you who have fought with determination for the principles of liberalism, you who have encircled with your enthusiasm our illustrious chief General Zelaya, go and occupy your posts in the loyal and valiant army that has ever been ready to defend so noble a cause in the assurance that I shall always remain by you in the accomplishment of my duty.

»To my mind ties of blood should yield to principles and over and above principles should be ranked loyalty and consistency.

»Managua, Oct. 14, 1909.—*Aurelio Estrada.*»

Besides what has already been stated, the impression of partisans and the grievous surprise of all the supporters of my Government was given expression to at the outset of the uprising in many publications; we might quote in the first instance paragraphs from an article, the work of a political notability of the country, known to advantage in the intellectual world of America and Spain, Dr. Santiago Argüello, editor at the time of the *Gaceta Oficial* Amongst other things the article referred to stated:

«One fact alone is evident, sadly irrefutable, that General Juan José Estrada has gone over to the conservatives, that he is militating with them against us and that his every endeavour is to raise up what he formerly tried to overthrow.

»The conservative party has lured him with their siren song. This party has ever sought to cut its way at all hazards by the sword, bribery or intrigue; a party tenacious indeed, but ever condemned by public opinion, artfully dazzled the eyes of General Estrada with the fascinating prospect of the presidential chair, and General Estrada fell a victim to the illusion, to fall afterwards from the illusion into a crime and to pass later on from the shadows of crime to disappointment and despair, yes to disappointment for the siren that at present holds him lulled to sleep by the fallacy of a dazzling promise will tomorrow destroy all his hopes as it, has now destroyed his good name.

»General Estrada owes to the present ruler of Nicaragua all that he is at the present time. Who is it that ignores the fact that to him he is indebted not only for his elevation to office, but that as a private individual the support of General Zelaya has served him as a means to the making of a considerable fortune. Would, a father have done more for his son?

»For this reason one common voice was raised in protestation; for

this reason popular indignation and a national desire for making amends for past errors were felt. To fail in one's oath as a soldier is treachery; to fail in one's promise to an intimate friend is disloyalty and to forget the hand that has raised him from promotion to promotion to the highest rank is indeed ingratitude.

»But even worse may be said. Worse than betraying one's Chief than deceiving one's friend, than forgetting the debt owing to a benefactor is to deceive and betray one's party, for that amounts to deceiving and betraying oneself. The forsaking of one's Chief may be understood because although a sad and darksome act it implies something of a personal nature but it is not easy for one to understand the forsaking of one's party, the falling away from the idea that has been the rule of one's conduct and that constituted the sacred ideal of one's life as a public man.

»General Estrada has joined in nefarious union, in a base understanding with the shreds of a lifeless party his eternal enemy, the eternal enemy of his family, of his Government, of his political aspirations, to attack the very standard under the folds of which he girt the military sword, whenever he had to defend his political ideals and under the purple mantle of which his lifeless body should have been borne when on the shoulders of his comrades under arms he was carried to glorification.»

We will now subjoin the telegrams and demonstrations of support and offers of men and money for the upholding of authority and liberal principles. Bear witness the following documents:

AGREEMENT ARRIVED AT BY THE LIBERAL CLUB OF MANAGUA.

«In the city of Managua on October 18, 1909. The nationalist Liberal Club of this city holding an extraordinary sitting in general Assembly under the Presidency of Sr. Colonel D. José Dolores Estrada and with the attendance of the other undersigned members:

»Considering that General D. Juan J. Estrada, Governor and Intendant of the Atlantic Coast, by his unusual and unjustifiable conduct, has committed three acts of high treason, exposing his country to the danger of being swallowed up by foreign powers to whom he tries to make the people of Nicaragua appear as an ungovernable hord; traitor to the Government, to his Chief and friend who had confided absolutely in his

loyalty, entrusting him with the administration of the most important department of the Republic; and finally traitor to the liberal party who counted upon him in her ranks as one of the principal upholders of the high principles of liberty, of that boundless liberty that irradiates throughout the whole planet, revered by all men of worthiness, throwing moreover, on the heroic city of Managua the Blessed the blemish of infamy:

»Considering that it has always been the liberal party that has tried to raise this valiant nation either by raising to important administrative posts modest artisans and humble sons of the people, or by promoting in every sense the moral and material progress of this capital, as it has also elsewhere in the country extended its protecting hand, bringing enlightenment to every mind and pushing forward at all hazards the wheel of progress; and as being our neighbour it is our duty beyond that of any other town, to send forth our anathema against the black crime that General Estrada has committed:

»Considering that General Juan J. Estrada in his unbridled ambition for power event went so far as to seek for the support of the conservatives our implacable enemies, those who have spared no means, however infamous, such as the blowing up of the barracks, putting into the hands of Emiliano Chamorro the poison to kill our loyal soldiers and who, would have believed it! even to trying to deliver us up to the power of the foreigner, having found the support of other Governments useless for them, such as the expedition of *Pinzón* and other facts it would be weary to enumerate, agrees:

»Firstly. To censure with all the force of our honourable convictions the most criminal conduct of the said General Juan J. Estrada.

»Secondly. To hold General Juan J. Estrada responsible for all the fatal consequences of his treachery, all the ills that befall the country all the blood that is shed, and all the interests that may be sacrificed, for we of Managua can never be held responsible for the falsehoods, envious and treacherous acts with which unfortunately our country is plagued.

»Thirdly. To make a patriotic appeal to all faithful citizens of Nicaragua to come and swell the ranks of the defenders of the existing Government. At so solemn a moment hesitancy will be equivalent to complicity.

»Forthly. To defend to the utmost, as unconditional liberals our honourable banner and support with our substance and our lives our illustrious and invincible: chief General D. José Santos Zelaya in Victory or in death

»Thirdly. To Commission Colonels D. Francisco E. Torres and don José D. Gómez and D. Heliodoro Rivas, son, to hand to the President these minutes this very day.

»This motion being approved the meeting was adjourned.—*José D. Estrada*, President; *Aurelio Estrada*, *Manuel Obando*, *Francisco E. Torres*, *J. Andrés García E.*, *Manuel Zamora*, *J. Leocadio Cajina*, Vocales; *Heliodoro Rivas (hijo)*, Treasurer; *Félix Pedro Zelaya R.*, Secretary; *Mariano Espinosa*, Second Secretary.»

Following these signatures are those of numerous partisans of the capital.

MANIFESTATION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY AND PEOPLE OF MANAGUA.

«Fellow countrymen:

»In a fatal hour for the Republic, and still more so for him, who would separate himself from the communion of men of honour be they military or civil, General Juan J. Estrada, Governor and *Intendant* of the Atlantic Coast, treachèrously took up arms on the 10th of the present month against the constitutional Government presided over by General J. S. Zelaya, trampling upon the high and sacred duties of an officer in active service, of a public functionary, of an important member of the liberal party, and failing in the friendship and gratitude to the chief of his party and in political consistency as regards his own past and that of his family.

»This ignominious proceeding on the part of General Estrada that falls so undeservedly on the liberal party and people of Managua, obliges the latter to express energetically their profound indignation at the degrading act committed, and against the author of a treachery the like of which has never been seen in any of the sons of this city.

»The bitter and disappointing truth forces us to acknowledge that he has belonged to the liberal party and is a native of the capital of the Republic, the ill-advised Governor who did not hesitate to throw upon the story of his political career the saddest stain of opprobrium that can spoil the reputation of an officer a public functionary and a citizen.

»Managua does not deserve such a dishonour; for disloyalty, perfidy and dishonour have never soiled the laurels that she has gained by her patriotism heroic constancy and supreme self-denial.

»The military campaigns have always been for Managua proofs of

valour discipline und self-sacrifice, a tournament of fidelity the touch stone of good faith and firmness with which death itself is preferred to an ignoble deception.

»But just as Sparta had an *Ephialtes* to betray his country, handing it over to foreign pillage, in like manner Managua has had a Juan J. Estrada capable of bestowing upon her the first sad note by hoisting the flag of rebellion. And just as Sparta ever cursed the betrayer of the Thermopylae so Managua proscribes with abomination and opprobrium her ungrateful son, who has placed himself at the head of the enemies of her peace her tranquility and her glory.

»The liberal party and people of Managua therefore solemnly declare that they condemn most energetically the rebellion carried out by the military and civil chief of the Atlantic Coast and whom they proscribe once for all from their ranks without the possibility of any ulterior circumstance being able to reinstate him, either entirely or in part out of consideration for the party or sympathy with his fellow citizens.

»It is simply a question of a member deeply injured by political gangrene and the limb has been amputated in proper time cauterizing the wound so that the evil may entirely disappear from the social body.

»General Estrada has already disappeared from the scene of public life for the liberals, for the people of Managua; he lies in a tomb, deeper than that prepared for the dead because he has been plunged into the same by those who were his whilom friends and partisans now divided by the darkness of oblivion.

»Managua in acting thus stands out as an upright and implacable judge who acknowledges no restraint but that of justice itself even though it be under the form required by the circumstances; of the sharp and deep cutting though healing edge of the sword.

»In this we do not follow the conduct of other cities, where the traitor of to-day under the ban of the curse of honourable men, appears on the morrow as a converted apostle, as an honoured chief as a champion of liberty and order whom a blind and unscrupulous crowd, as ready to blame an apostate as to raise him to the throne of abject idolatry, deifies.

»No Managua, will make no compact with dishonour, breach of faith or high treason to the fatherland the government the political party, the native town, the family, the bosom friend.

»And in accordance with its high principles of political morals pronounces its inexorable sentence of refusing to acknowledge him as a

fellow partisan and citizen in the hope that her example may serve as a salutary expiation of the scandal which is raised by the clamour of reprobation in the whole of the Republic.

»As long as the liberal party and people of Managua continue fulfilling their duties of patriotism and loyalty to the supreme Head of the Republic and Chief of the political group, under the obligation of giving prestige to the reform and of cementing it on the national respect and support; and they will continue thus firm immovable and at their post in the battle, obeying the orders dictated by the first Magistrate of the Nation with a view to ensure the Victory over the nefarious work of baseness ingratitude and military treachery.—*Aurelio Estrada, Juan M. Arce, Félix P. Zelaya R., Jenaro Lugo, José D. Estrada, E. Rivas (hijo), León F. Aragón, Mariano Espinosa, J. Santos Ramtréz, Francisco E. Torres, Félix García Torres, Juan de Dios Moreira, Pedro R. Cuadra, Francisco Uriarte B., José D. Gómez, David A. Fornos, Ascensión Flores R., Guadalupe Espinosa, Manuel Zamora, Julián Corea, Saturnino Cuadra, Juan A. Pérez, Eufreciano Gómez, Félix P. Zelaya M., Timoteo Cajina, Isidoro Morales, Clemente Cabezas, Manuel Maltés, Francisco Pérez, Eugenio Corea, Alfredo Zelaya, Arturo Zelaya, Manuel Obando, Juan Doña, Epaminondas Torres.*— (And other signatures.)»

AGREEMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF GRANADA.

«Granada at 11 a. m. Oct. 20, 1909.

»The Municipality of Granada has had cognizance of the fact that in the city of Bluefields a subversive movement has broken out, lead by the Governor and Intendant D. Juan J. Estrada, an officer to whom had been confided the destinies of so important a department of the Republic. For this disloyal member, the remembrance of heroic sacrifices made in 1894 was of no avail, for *his incorporation into the national life* of no avail was the patriotic mission of identifying the interests of that coastland with those of the rest of the Republic; nor were of any avail the special considerations of his Chief and friend, whose desire it was to raise the name of his subordinate, now a rebel, ever presenting him as a type of soldierlike honour and loyalty, nor we feel sure, did he ever have a thought of the grave responsibility that weighed down upon him for having scandalized the world with no other result

thau that of anarchy in the reduced circle of his influence and the consequent paralysation of the resources of the national life.

»On account of these antecedents and in accordance as this Corporation is with the Government presided over by General D. J. S. Zelaya, agrees:

»Firstly. To reprove the conduct of the ex-Governor and Intendant of the Department of Zelaya D. J. J. Estrada as being disloyal treacherous and inconsistent towards his Comtry his chief and his friend.

»Secondly. To offer to the Government constituted and presided over by General Zelaya the entire moral and material force at the disposal of this body, to maintain the institutions, restore peace, and punish the one who is guilty and those who abet him.

»Thirdly. Call upon all the citizens of this town to make manifestations to the same end, restoring in this way honour to the Republic and especially to the national Army that would blot out the stain made upon it by those unnatural sons of Nicaragua.

»Fourthly. To forward this resolution to the President of the Republic and have it published in the press of the Country.—*Coronado Urbina, Luis Benard, Francisco Bustos, G. Robleto, Tiburcio Moreira, Gonzalo Ocón, Gilberto Buitrago D., Pilar A. Ortega, Secretary.*»

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE MUNICIPALITY OF MASAYA.

«In the city of Masaya at 3 p. m. of Oct. 14, 1909.

»The undersigned members of the municipal Corporation of this city here assembled have learned through the press that General D. Juan J. Estrada, Intendant of the Atlantic Coast failing in his duty as a citizen and officer has taken up arms with a view to making his country bleed by fomenting civil war, of which it is difficult to foresee the consequences; this corporation interpreting the feelings of the inhabitants of this city, who fully appreciate the merits of President J. Santos Zelaya, do resolve:

»Firstly. To reprove the conduct of the rebel chief D. Juan J. Estrada.

»Secondly. To manifest to General President D. J. Santos Zelaya the firm adherence of this body to his Government that they offer to uphold with their persons and property.

»Thirdly. To publish the present resolution in the paper of the wi-

dest circulation and that a copy of the same should be sent to the President.

«This resolution was read approved and signed by all.—Alcalde, *Carlos Abaunza*; Syndic, *José María Vega*; Regidores: *J. Jacinto Pérez S.*, *Fabio Boza*, *G. Ordeñana* and *Juan D. Gutiérrez*.—In my presence, *F. Ignacio Bolaños*, Secretary.»

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MUNICIPALITY OF JINOTEPE.

«In the Hall of public meetings of the municipal Palace of Jinotepe at 12 p. m. of Oct. 17, 1909.

»The Municipality and local Committees with the attendance of the Central Liberal Club and the undersigned citizens, the Secretary read the preceding invitation and considering that the memory is still fresh of the presidency during which the community without shades of political colour in various manners vied for the honour of showing subordination to and sympathy for the First Magistrate of the Republic with acts and festivities of which a record has been perpetuated by the art of the photographer and the talent of the correspondents of the press.

»Considering that these manifestations on the part of a city of hard workers are foreign to all servile spirit and alone bear the mark of the sincerity of a loyal honourable and independent people.

»Considering that if a revolution is on certain occasions a right of the people, rebellion on the other hand at all times and in all places is a base and punishable act, unanimously agree:

»Firstly. To condemn the rebellion, of which notice has been brought to us, committed on the Atlantic Coast by the authorities presided over by General D. Juan Estrada.

»Secondly. To renew to the worthy Government presided over by General D. José Santos Zelaya in the present circumstances the expression of devotion and support felt by the city of Jinotepe.

»Thirdly. Take steps to send a deputation to Managua to place in the hands of the President this resolution.

»Read approved and signed.—*V. M. Román*, *Pedro P. Ramírez*, *Napoleón Miranda*, *Francisco Zúñiga M.*, *Clodomiro Buitrago*, *Nemesio Porras C.*, *José Narváez*, *Carlos A. Gutiérrez*, *Virgilio Zúñiga*, *César Amaya*, *H. Sánchez*, *Noé Morales*.—(Other signatures follow.)»

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE TOWN COUNCIL OF CHINANDEGA.

«Chinandega, Oct. 18, 1909.

»A special meeting of the Municipal Council took place to deal with the unjustifiable events occurred in the Department of Zelaya, the leading actor in which stands the representative of authority itself General D. J. J. Estrada.

»This Council in view of the fact that the conduct of this officer invested in authority, places him in the rank of traitors; that by rebelling against the Constituted Government of the Department whose destiny had been entrusted to him he must be stigmatized as disloyal; that by joining the relentless enemies of the institutions that govern us he has broken the promise he made to defend them at the cost of his life's blood, resolved:

»Firstly. To strongly censure the conduct of General J. J. Estrada condemning the movement of which he is the instigator as antipatriotic treacherous and disloyal.

»Secondly. Knowing the honourable sentiments of this community, and in the assurance that they are animated by those expressed by this Council, these proceedings will be left open that the greatest number of citizens possible may append their signatures to the same, thus demonstrating that the ignominious act referred to falls alone on the back of the authors of so unqualifiable a crime.

»Thirdly. To offer the Government presided over by General Zelaya our entire moral and material support to lay bare the insurrection. In proof of which our signatures.

»Fourthly. To depute the Mayor (Alcalde) General Robert González to deliver into the hands of the President of the Republic General Zelaya the present proceedings. Let it be stated that the Municipal Councilors present were the Mayor González; regidores: Dr. Gabriel Rivas, Dr. Esteban Sotomayor, D. Justino Sansón, D. Ramón Valladares; y Síndico, Manuel H. Guevara.

»Alcalde, *Roberto González*; regidores: *Dr. Gabriel Rivas, Justino Sansón, Esteban Sotomayor, J. Francisco Pérez, J. F. Martínez.*—(Follow other signatures.)—Chinandega, Oct. 25, 1909.—*J. A. Corea*, Secretary.»

MUNICIPAL PROCEEDINGS OF LEÓN.

«In the city of Leon a special meeting was held by the Municipal Council under the presidency of the Mayor Sr. Cortés, assisted by the Regidores Berrios Guerrero, M. Mayorga Pineda, Enrique Salamanca, Tellería Valle y Valladares; Treasurer, Sacasa, y Syndic, Jerez, on the subject of the news published in the papers as to the rebellions movement that has broken out on the Atlantic Coast of the Republic.

»Considering that by that movement public order has been disturbed and that for the restoring of the same all citizens should co-öperate, it is agreed:

»Firstly. To consider as deserving censure the attitude taken up by the Governor and Intendant General D. Juan J. Estrada.

»Secondly. To make it clear to the President of the Republic that this community deplore this occurrence and to offer him all the moral and material support of the citizens and corporation necessary to put down the rebellion and restore constitutional order.

»Thirdly. Remit the present minutes to the President and publish the same.

»The resolution being passed the meeting was adjourned.—*Pedro Cortés*.—In my presence, *Andrés Ramírez S.* (Secretary).»

MUNICIPAL PROCEEDINGS OF ESTELI.

«The town Council in special sitting under the present date, on learning that General Juan J. Estrada has raised the cry of rebellion on the Atlantic Coast committing by so doing an act of treason to his country and to his party, and that it is the duty of this Corporation to pass a vote of censure upon the conduct of Sr. Estrada and at the same time one of support for the Government of General J. Santos Zelaya, agree:

»Firstly. To censure the conduct of the aforesaid Sr. Estrada for the treachery of which he is guilty, being at the time a servant of the Government for which reason he deserves the epithet of traitor.

»Secondly. To offer the Government in the present emergency our determined support for which we stake our interests and were it neces-

sary our lives.—*Magdaleno Arauz*, Mayor; Regidores: *Toribio Briones*, *Antonio Icaza*, *Alberto Valdivia*, *Carmen M. Montenegro*; *R. Ireneo Rodríguez*, Syndic; *Juan C. Meza*, Secretary.»

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE TOWN COUNCIL OF SOMOTO.

»Somoto at 4 p. m. Oct. 17, 1909.

»The Municipal Corporation assembled at a special meeting presided over by the Mayor General D. Erasmo Calderón, landed proprietor assisted by the Regidores D. J. Andrés Tercero, D. Manuel J. Martínez, D. Macario Rivas, D. Ramón Alfaro C., and Syndic D. J. Antolín Talavera. The sitting began by the reading of the minutes of the last meeting and was approved. The Mayor gave an account of the treachery of the Intendant of the Atlantic Coast, General Estrada who by abandoning the liberal party has failed in the trust placed in him by the Government and leader of the party Sr. D. J. Santos Zelaya. This Municipality and community should adopt measures in keeping with those principles that have ever distinguished the people of this city and it was unanimously voted and agreed:

»Firstly. To strongly censure the criminal and antipatriotic conduct of the aforesaid General Estrada as a discordant note in a distinguished member of the liberal party.

»Secondly. This Corporation and community in a frank and decisive manner offer to the President General J. Santos Zelaya their ready co-operation in the present circumstances placing at his disposal their lives and interests.

»Thirdly. To persuade the other Municipalities of the Department to, should they think, fit draw up to the same effect statements of their adhesion to the supreme Head of the Republic. That these proceedings should be transcribed in due form. Read, approved and signed. Meeting closed.—*Erasmo Calderón*, *J. Andrés Tercero*, *Manuel J. Martínez*, *Macario Rivas*, *Ramón Alfaro C.*, *J. Antolín Talavera (h.)*, *Sebastián Espinosa*, *Miguel S. Moreno* (Secretary), *J. Marcial Ríos*, *José María Padilla S.*, *Juan A. Aguilera*, *L. Castellón*.—(More signatures follow.)»

MUNICIPAL PROCEEDINGS OF JINOTEGA.

«At a meeting extraordinary on Oct. 18, 1909, presided over by the acting Mayor Mauricio Castro, assisted by the Regidores Carlos Solorzano, Rosendo Rivera, Francisco González, C. Gustavo Duarte, Francisco L. Mejía.

»On opening the sitting the last minutes were approved and they passed the one and only resolution:

»To the effect that an armed rebellion having broken out headed by the Intendant of the Atlantic Coast General Juan J. Estrada protest against this unjustifiable plot and offer to the Head of the State as the representative of his people, their support either material or personal. That this be made known to the political leader that he may communicate the same to the Government. The meeting was dissolved, it being notified that Francisco Luis Mejía did not attend, as he was out of town.—*M. Castro, G. Duarte G., F. González, C. Solorzano, Rosendo Rivera, Leonardo Vaca* (Secretary).»

* * *

The Heads of the Departments of Matagalpa and Rivas also sent a written resolution in similar terms which we do not reproduce as the originals are not in our hands.

But we have kept those of the municipal Corporations and Nationalist Liberal Clubs of the following towns: Cincopinos, Catarina, Belén, Mosonte, Murra, San Fernando, Yalagüina, Jícaro, Muy Muy, Masatepe, Chichigalpa, San Ramón, La Libertad, Mindirí, Metapa, La Concepción, Panaloya, Telpaneca, Posoltega, San Rafael del Sur, Villanueva, Diriá, Ocotal, San Jorge, San Juan de Tola, Comalapa, Ciudad Antigua, Somotillo, San José de Jerez, Macuelizo, Nandaimé, Alta Gracia, La Concordia, San Isidro, Diriomo, El Viejo, Potosí; and the ports of Corinto, San Juan del Sur... and thus also the towns of the Departments that we would likewise name if their enumeration were not long and tedious, but we keep the proofs of their adhesion.

Protestations also exist of important Corporations of the first cities of the Republic.

* * *

From the reproduction in full which we have furnished of the municipal resolutions, the unanimity and general feeling noticeable even to the similarity of language will have been observed. This renders it unnecessary for us to continue copying in full the documents quoted wishing as we do to avoid the monotony of repetition.

We do not however think it advisable owing to the importance of their origin to omit some of them.

For instance the censorious manifestation of the Society of León:

«In the city of Leon on Oct. 23, 1909, the undersigned assembled in the face of events occurred on the Atlantic Coast owing to the defection of General Estrada Intendant of that coastline, who unmindful of his duties as a high official and soldier in the ranks of the liberals, has fallen in with the suggestions of the conservatives, constant enemies of public order, and our démocratic institutions. Bearing in mind that the pronunciamiento of General Estrada not only implies an ignorance of his obligations as military Chief, but also is indeed prejudicial to the commerce and agriculture of the country on account of the unsettling of peace and order, for which cause it is the duty of every loyal citizen to contribute in the measure of his power to the restoring of the national tranquillity determine:

»1st. To condemn the pronunciamiento of General Estrada, Intendant of the Atlantic Coast.

»2nd. To offer to the Chief of the State the most decided support in the present emergency.

»3rd. To bring to the knowledge of the leader of the liberal party General Santos Zelaya, President this resolution as a proof of our adhesion and sympathy.—*Federico Sacasa, J. Sansón, C. Aguilar, Bruno N., Buitrago, A. Herdocia, Pánfilo Lacayo, Francisco J. Wassmer, R. Alonso, Manuel A. Sacasa, M. Salinas, J. Aguilar, J. B. Sacasa, N. Salinas, Francisco Machado, Alfonso Saravia, José Francisco Sacasa, J. R. Sevilla, J. R. Barrios, Román Buitrago, S. Salinas, T. A. Aguilar, N. Buitrago, Leonardo Argüello, S. Marín, Crisanto Sacasa, Arturo Aguilar, F. Gustavo Cortés, Alberto Herdocia (hijo), Ramón Ramírez S., Joaquín U. Salinas, Salvador Cortés, Samuel Otero, Solón Salinas, Santiago Barberena, F. Zacarías Barberena, José de Grijalva, Juan R. Navas, David Pineda, Francisco Prado Salinas, M. E. Castro, B. M. Gómez, Ernesto Ocampos, Salvador Valladares, Gonzalo Vado, Julián Mantilla, Tomás Dávila, Tomás Pérez Vanegas, C. Sosa, Francisco Tellerías D., L. J. Pravia, Gregorio*

Talavera, Francisco M. Arriaza, Manuel Paniagua, Alejandro Delgado, José D. Hurtado, J. Constantino Hernández, J. Benito Hernández.»

In the same way the Society of Artesans of Managua expressed their indignation at the treachery and their loyalty to General Zelaya in the following manner:

«The undersigned members of the Society of Artesans of Managua assembled in session extraordinary on Oct. 21, 1909, in view of the present abnormal circumstances through which the country is passing agree:

»Firstly. To lament profoundly the act of rebellion perpetrated in Bluefield by General Estrada formerly most important member of the liberal party and who now falls away betraying his principles and creed.

»Secondly. To assure President Zelaya of our firm and unconditional support.

»Thirdly. To depute Colonel José Félix Cuevas and Constantino Pereira P. to deliver into the hands of our honorary President General Zelaya, the present resolution.—*Enrique Ramírez M.*, President; *J. S. Ramírez, Agustín Cruz C.*—(Other signatures follow.)»

Besides the proceedings of resolutions passed of other collective bodies, which we have already reproduced, the Government received numerous offers of support from native and foreign private individuals who placed at their disposal either their persons or fortunes. Of the former we may mention the following: Manuel Ortega, Horacio Portocarrero, Alejandro Rojas, Luis B. Castillo, Enrique Jacoti, Dr. L. Ramírez M., G. Abaunza, Alberto Alfaro M., Tomás Castañeda, Agustín Chamorro, general Erasmo Calderón, Benito Irias Machado, Benicio Guerrero, J. Dolores Romano, Dr. Joaquín Sansón, Santiago Callejas, Dr. Germán Arellano, Roberto Martínez, Dr. Salomón Selva, Dr. J. Carlos Serrano, Agustín Pasos é Hijos, César Vigil, Cristóbal Argüello, J. R. Núñez, D.^a Mercedes Vega, viuda de Solano, Dr. José María Borgen, Joaquín Benavides, Dr. José Cepeda, D. Aubrisson, Samuel Talavera, Dr. Gabriel Rivas, Dr. Justo P. Zamora, Pedro Chaves, José F. Cuevas, Honorio C. Trejos, Salomón Argüello, Manuel A. Sacasa, Andrés Gómez, D.^a Susana de Arana, Ponciano Espinosa, Dr. C. de la Rocha, T. Núñez Perralles, Dr. H. Moreira, Lorenzo López, A. Fabio Eva, Félix Pedro Cepeda M., Francisco Montoya, Frutos Salgado E., Rafael Caldera G., Dr. J. Dolores Soto, J. A. Amador M., J. Caldera F., J. Salazar, Fila-

delfo y J. Jacinto Pérez, Juan Francisco Ponciano, Pedro Vigil, Cayetano Vázquez, Pedro J. Cuadra, Dr. José Pérez S., J. Julián Rodríguez, Luciano Astorga, Juan S. Barrantes, Irias, José Zeledón D., and about 1.000 thousand signatures more.

Amongst the numerous foreigners that came forward to help the Government with ample pecuniary aid may be mentioned in the first place MM. Julius C. Bableke, Münkel & Müller, Francisco Brockmann & C.^o, Angel Caligaris, Tomás Wheelock, Wilfredo Wheelock, Min Sun Lon & C.^o, Alejandro Remotti, Luisi y Ferracutti, Bernardino Giusto, Edmund Bernheim, Jorge Dreyfus, Juan F. Aguirre, Carlos Caso, Quon Chon Lon, Carlos Wheelock, F. K. Morris, Lorenzo Araquistain, Juan Herrera López and many others.

As may be gathered by the above documents, the whole country through the persons of its principal citizens took from the very first moment the part of the Government. Of the thirteen Departments of the Republic twelve were on the side of Zelaya and in the one in which the revolutionists appeared the latter to swell their ranks had to have recourse to the negro fishermen of the littoral. At the time the information came out thus:

«The soldiers who have enlisted in the ranks of the revolution without knowing why or what for, are negroes from the coast that live by fishing for the crabs they can catch amongst the rocks of the seashore.

»With the exception of a few waudering scamps, the others, that is, the most part belong to that race. These negroes like marauding, they are cowardly and for the most part can neither read nor write.»

In the towns occupied by the rebels persons of note were thrown into prison as they all adhered to the Government of General Zelaya.

In the face of the unanimous attitude of his followers the President of the Republic sent forth the proclamation we here subjoin.

«People of Nicaragua:

»You are now all acquainted, through the press with the misfortune that again afflicts Nicaragua. A young officer for whom there seemed to open out a bright horizon in the field of prestige and honour; a high functionary of the present administration, in whom we had placed the blindest trust; one of those in whom the liberal ensign might seem to count as its immovable bulwark; a man to whom I had ever held out my hand to help him climb up to power and fame; General Estrada Governor and Intendant of the Atlantic Littoral has raised the cry of rebellion

against his chief, his country and party. The sword I gave him to defend the nation's flag has only served him to tear his honour to pieces. The soldiers I entrusted to him to maintain the national autonomy have been transformed by him into bandits against their own mother, the Republic. And the red band I pinned to his uniform as an amulet of triumph is no longer the flashing symbol of liberty but the forerunning stigma of his crime, a sign of the future blood of the liberal party, which he will be the cause of shedding on the altars of conservatism, a stigma of blood that has already gushed forth to the eternal shame of his creed and his conscience.

»When the country had scarcely recovered from its passed struggle in which not long since it crowned itself with glory at Namasigüe; when the blood of its veins was still exhausted and its wounds still open, it must now make new and superhuman efforts and once more go forth to the battlefield to give if necessary its last drop of blood in defense of order, law and liberty.

»The reaction party, that party that hides behind the Cross of Christ the dagger and poison of a Borgia that jesuitical legion that believe that the power of office is the patrimony reserved to them by providence and who aspire to raise the throne of the privileged above the servile men of their country thus enslaved, has shouldered the rifle a hundred times and as many times has put it down in the bitter disappointment resulting from its ineptitude and impopularity. And what it was ever unable to achieve by dash and boldness it now attempts with bribery; what it was unable to attain by valour it now endeavours to get with deceit. It has lured its liberal Chief with promises with the perfidious intention of profiting by the triumph imagined, and to snatch it from him afterwards and leave the rebel forsaken, with only the remembrance of his ignominious treachery.

»And there is still more, it is grievous to have to confess it, but I must do so, that liberal who has just denied his faith that soldier who has just betrayed his flag, that man who has just sold his friend is opening up with the edge of his sword a way for foreign greed; and the unbridled ambition of this rebel exposes the nation to the degrading danger of dismemberment or slavery.

»But I put my trust in this people that draws strength from their very sorrows, and supplies with the vitality, of its enthusiasm what it is lacking in vitality of blood. It hastens to combat villany with more eagerness than ever for to its ardor for the fray that has ever been its

strongest point in the field are added to-day the indignation of an affront, the urgent necessity of punishing, the forced march onward that will brook no delay, to scythe down that vile and treacherous parasite and prevent his seed spreading in the moral vegetation of his country. But above all it is impelled by the unassailable determination to die free rather than be the vile merchandise of adventurous ambition before seeing our virgin orchards trodden down by profaning hoofs.

»Fellow countrymen:

»Have faith in him who speaks to you, in him who has steered your boat like a faithful pilot in the midst of so many storms without ever the fear of wreck having darkened your brows! We reckon with stout hearts with strong and sinewy arms and more than all that, with souls ever loyal who prefer a spotless winding sheet to a royal purple mantle dyed with shame.

»Officers and soldiers:

»You are in the face of a work of regeneration. It is for you to carry it out to a happy conclusion; the temple in which you raise your prayers, that of honour has been stained! Your altars Discipline and Loyalty have likewise been debased by crime. It is for you to cleanse and purify them by your triumph. Your stripes ever bright and shining should admit of no tarnishing!

»You are the faithful guardians of that sacred urn which is the liberty of the Fatherland. Before your very eyes is lurking a covetous ambition. Drive it hence. Let the flash of your bayonets blind its pupils let the crackling of your musketry and the roaring of your cannon make that apparition of covetousness fear for its soul.

»Nicaragua awaits anxiously your return. May you be able, coming back in triumph, to say in the holy pride of duty done, the breach that treachery had opened to the greed of the foreigner was closed up by the granite wall of loyalty and heroism.

»Your chief and friend,—*J. Santos Zelaya*.

»Oct. 22, 1909.»

Unable to count upon followers in Nicaragua itself the revolutionary agents began to enlist men in Costa Rica so much so that elements of war arrived from Puerto Barrios ordered by President Estrada Cabrera and from some ports of the United States authorized or at least permitted by the authorities of that country. The diplomatic representatives of the United States at San José and Tegucigalpa had on their part orders from Washington to work matters so that the respective Govern-

ments should not hinder in their territories the active work of the insurgents.

The following communications vouch for the truth of this:

«The Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Oct. 14, 1909.—General J. S. Zelaya.—My dear General: Extremely uneasy on account of the absolute isolation in which I have been for the last seven days and of the fruitlessness of my endeavours to put myself into communication with you in order to apprise you of the news I have obtained personally and which I have had published in the papers during these last days I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the journey of D. Roberto Linoco who leaves to morrow for your city Via Guanaçaste in order to confirm to you through this letter my last telegrams dated 9 and 10 inst that run literally as follows: «One of my agents advises me from Limon »that Emiliano was in that Port on his way from Guatemala and that he »left in the direction of Bluefields or El Bluff in one or the other of »which places he must be, that the revolution will not be six day in »breaking ont in that quarter. Agents in Limon are Guerra and Canton.» The other ran: «Following up my last telegram I have just learnt that »on the 7 ten emigrants in special gasoline (motor) left for Bluefields to »support Chamorro. The latter counts upon Figueroa and Cabrera and »hopes that in the interior, enemies to the Government will arise to co- »öperate in the attack it is proposed to make on Nicaragua from both »coasts and from the frontiers of Honduras and Costa Rica.»

»I take the liberty to transcribe them for not having received any communication from your city since the 7th inst I fear the telegrams that have undoubtedly been despatched to me have been intercepted and that the same fate may have befallen mine to you.

.....
»As regard the absence of telegraphic communication, although it is affirmed here that it has been caused by a fierce storm, I do not entertain the slightest doubt that it is due to the revolutionary plan of the emigrants itself for the President of the Republic himself whom I interviewed this morning told me that the wire had been cut at varions points within the territory of Costa Rica. This confirms the complicity of the authorities of this country in places on the frontier as I pointed out to D. Cleto (the President).

»In my interview with him I alluded to all the information that I have been receiving from my agents im Limón and to the news that has gone abroad these last few days with a view to showing him that if

there has been support at least tolerance, that in this case it is complicity in favor of the disturbers of the peace over there. And I end my visit to this high functionary by formally and energetically protesting in the name of the Government of my country against the proceedings of the authorities of Limón and Guanacaste, inciting him in agreement with the treaties in force and the promises made repeatedly, to be good enough to give strict orders in those places, to prevent all movements that may favour the revolution, since in the opinion of D. Cleto that measure is sufficient to guarantee neutrality. I refrained from taking any further step with this Government on account of my lacking solid data on which to found more substantially my protest; but I am doing my best to obtain them. I am also anxiously awaiting the instructions that you may be good enough to send me.

.....
»During the last week Emilio Chamorro Miguel Alvarez S., Manuel A. Zepeda, Germán Rocha Gil, Carlos Almanza, Alberto Cole, Carmen Ortega and ten more whose name I ignore. The agents of the revolution in this port are Cantón, Clemente Santos and Dr. Guerra.

.....
»I think it advisable that you should know that the minister Merry (American), owing to his policy of hatred against Nicaragua has continued working matters in favour of the rule of Estrada Cabrera and has been here the chief factor in overcoming all the difficulties of our enemies and in helping them towards the quickest means of obtaining their object. It is he that has officially spread all the harmful rumours which the papers have taken up.

»I am waiting, General for you to tell me if you think it advisable for me to act at the Court of Cartago so that the Governments of Méjico and Washington may be addressed acquainting them with the situation and exacting a rigid fulfilment of the international obligations on the part of the Government of Salvador and Guatemala even if it-only be as a protest against the proceedings of those chiefs of slate as a precedent for any action that in the future might have to be taken. With this end in view I will talk with Madriz and will do nothing in the matter till I receive your orders. As from the news published it appears that the subversive movements are due to a vast plan which for some time past had been maturing in the private councils of Cabrera and Figueroa (Presidents of Guatemala and Salvador) and as it-has been communicated to no that in that plan in involved the simultaneous invasions of both coats I take

the liberty to call your attention to the expediency of exercising an active vigilance in the Pacific.

»My earnest wishes for your health and for the good of the cause of Nicaragua and I subscribe myself ever your loyal servant and devoted friend,—*Alceo Hazera*, Charge d'Affaires to Nicaragua in Costa Rica.

»*P. S.* As I was closing this letter I received news that Fornos Díaz, Barreto and several others to the number of fifty are in Limón ready to embark. I have just spoken with D. Cleto and he promises me seriously that they shall not embark, neither they nor any others as long as the actual state of affair lasts in Nicaragua.»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Oct. 16, 1909.

.....
»I talk daily with D. Cleto and request from him most energetically the surveillance of the emigrants. As you will see from the inclosed cutting I demanded the detention of the schooner *Elvira* and to-day all the passengers have arrived in one band at the capital. I also inclose copy of note handed to the Ministry. It would appear that Merry wished to oppose the detention of the schooner on the pretext that it was the private property of an American, who was on his way to Boca del Toro and not to Bluefields but I alleged that the Minister of the United States has nothing to do with the matter and that if in reality the schooner is American it might be allowed to weigh anchor but detaining those passengers who should have nothing American about them and be recognized enemies of the Government of Nicaragua. Moreover I have expressed my astonishment to the Undersecretary of State with whom I exchanged some words that it should be the Minister of the United States to advise the violation of an article of the agreement signed at Washington under the auspices of the American Government.

»That old fellow is an implacable enemy to us.—*Alceo Hazera.*»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Oct. 21, 1909.—I avail myself of the journey of D. Jose Joaquín Jiménez to that city to communicate to you my impressions on the actual situation and attitude of the Government of Costa Rica in this matter. As soon as I became aware of the

revolutionary movement in that city I betook myself to the President's abode and apprised him by word of mouth of what was taking place in Nicaragua, begging him to be good enough to give orders that no native of Nicaragua resident here should be allowed to leave the country being adversaries of the Government you preside over, nor foreigner either known as outspoken enemies of the actual state of things in Nicaragua. Don Cleto as ever, received me very kindly promising me that he would do all that was necessary to prevent the exit of emigrants.

»On the 14 inst they advised me from Limón that the authorities of that port were allowing the open and public enlisting by Cantón, Guerra and Santos and far from preventing the marching of the emigrants, they rather lent them a helping hand, thus demonstrating their sympathy for the revolution. In view of what was happening I determined to communicate by letter with the Subsecretary of State denouncing the facts and demanding the calling together of all the enemies resident in Limón; indeed I addressed to the Ministry the note of which I sent you a copy through D. Roberto Tinoco, and that must have by this time have reached you. I now enclose you copy of the answer of the Minister together with another I immediately wrote myself.

»From all that has happened it may be gathered that if indeed there have been good intentions on the part of the Government, the authorities of Limón have done rather all they could in favour of the revolution in spite of the orders received.

»I have spoken on the matter with Dr. Madriz who naturally places himself unconditionally on the side of Nicaragua and he has advised to collect all possible data and the necessary proofs to lay bare the partiality of the Governor of Limón. This is what I have done and I have instructed a friend with all possible secrecy, to repair to León and bring me all the proofs, for which I count upon the coöperation of other importants republicans.

»Two soldiers that formed part of the Garrison of San Juan del Norte and who arrived here the day before yesterday assure me that they have noticed that the emigrants, that were going via Colorado to that port passed the vigilance of the bar by means of passports, duly drawn up by the Governor of Limón D. Daniel González Víquez, brother of the President.

.....
»At first all sorts of strange rumours got abroad as to the revolution and those whose statements I thought deserved discrediting even went so far as to say that the Campo de Marte was besieged.

»Mister Merry following his usual custom and in his hatred towards the Government of Nicaragua became during these days the official propagator of all the harmful rumours and he assured those who would listen to him that he also knew that General Aurelio Estrada had revolted in Managua fleeing with his followers to the island of Ometepe, whence he was directing the operations. This he stated he knew from a wireless telegram arrived from Bluefields...—*Alzeo Hazera.*»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua,—San José, Oct. 15, 1909.—His Excellency Sr. D. Ricardo Fernández Guardia.—I have the honour to address Your Excellency with the object of informing you, that for several days past. I have been receiving trustworthy information to the effect that Nicaraguan emigrants, adversaries of the Government presided over by General Zelaya, have been leaving Linón, Puntarenas and several points of Guanacaste in the direction of Nicaragua with the object of swelling the ranks of the revolution that has broken out on the Atlantic Coast.

»From the information received it may be gathered that the emigrants in question obtained every facility for realizing their journey and that the authorities of Costa Rica in those parts took no measures to prevent the departure of the revolutionists. As this case is provided for in the general treaty of Washington now in force and is one of the most serious that can occur to destroy the harmony and good feeling which it was the object of that agreement to credit and strengthen, I take the liberty of formally denouncing to Your Excellency the facts referred to in the assurance that the Government of this sister and friendly country will take the proper steps to prevent the carrying out of the subversive plans of the emigrants.

»I know that at this moment there are present in Limón, with the object of embarking for Bluefield a few leaders, amongst them General Fornos Díaz, Pérez Pacheco and Carlos A. de Zubiria and the individuals Celso Barreto, Carlos Poeti, Félix Aguirre, Humberto and Miguel Pérez Pacheco and others whose names I ignore.

»To prevent these revolutionists, who are deceiving the authorities from carrying out their plans, I respectfully beg of Your Excellency to order that they should immediately be recalled to the capital, causing the order to be extended to all the emigrants in that port, who are acknowledged enemies of the Government of Nicaragua and especially the acti-

ve agents of the revolution in that port, Sres. D. Alejandro Cantón, don Clemente Santos and Dr. Guerra, in conformity with articles XVI and XVII of the general Treaty of peace and friendship above mentioned. Believe me, etc...—*Alceo Hazera.*»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Nov. 2, 1909.

.....
»Allow me to call your attention to the fact that according to the preceding account the authorities of Limón have not guided their conduct either in accordance with the Rights of Nations as regards neutrality or with those conventions existing between our two Governments, nor even with the prescriptions of the internal Law of the country.

»The governor of Limón held within his power that Chief and the others that accompanied him when they assembled on board the yacht *Emilia* and made them disembark. The duty of the governor of Limón was not confined to informing his Government of what was passing, either because the general Treaty of peace and friendship of Dec. 20, 1909, which is a law that applies to all the inhabitants of Costa Rica, and which should be especially enforced on public functionaries, put the governor under the obligation of capturing and sending to this capital Sres. Fornos Díaz and his companions, without any necessity of previous consultation; or because even without the special stipulations of the Treaty the general rules of Rights of Nations made it his duty to arrest those who openly broke the laws of neutrality; or finally because all the circumstances pointed to the fact that Sr. Díaz by embarking on the yacht *Emilia* with his followers, committed an act coming under the head of article 136 of the Penal Code, he was consequently guilty of a public crime, that placed him under the legal power of all authority without the necessity of special order or instructions.

.....
»The port of Limón is situated in a district on the frontier of Nicaragua and is consequently comprised in article XVI of the general Treaty of peace and friendship of Dec. 20, 1907...—*Alceo Hazera.*»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Nov. 16, 1909.—Dear Elie.

.....
»Merry is the worst enemy that Nicaragua has here. Every day he seeks for some means of discrediting the same and there is not a moment that he is not disseminating harmful news on the strength of which he appeals to the United States. He is at present propagating the fact that Nicaragua has invaded Honduras and he declares that it is impossible that the Government of his country should permit this act and even to-day according to information received, he declares that he has a telegram from his consul at Managua by which he is informed that Toledo shot two Americans in the Fortress. This fellow is simply dreadful.

»Your affectionate brother,—*Alceo*.»

* * *

«Legation of Nicaragua.—San José, Nov. 24, 1909.—General D. José Santos Zelaya.—Dear General: From the telegrams I have been sending you daily you will have been kept informed of what is going on here.

»The news obtainable from the revolutionary camp by wire is so posterously optimistic and so evidently false, that for the most part it seems useless for me to communicate the same. The whole press of the country with the exception of *La República* organ of the jimenista party is openly against us and repeats every rumour that has a tendency to discredit the Government of Nicaragua.

»This afternoon I forwarded to you the cablegram which was sent from the Foreign Office to this Government and in which the latter is persuaded to cooperate with the Governments of Guatemala and San Salvador against Nicaragua. The Government of the United States in a spirit of audacity and want of public faith advises those of Central America to violate a compact which they themselves had pretended to create and defend. Fortunately D. Cleto has behaved honourably and in accordance with the exigencies of the case, replying that this Government has no reason whatever for declaring war against Nicaragua and that the incident of the invasion of the frontier by the troops of Toledo, which the United States gave as a pretext in their despatch has been satisfactorily settled through a diplomatic channel, the only one it was possible for the Government of Costa Rica to use since it signed in Washington the Convention of peace and friendship...—*Alceo Hazera*.»

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE MINISTER OF NICARAGUA DON
H. AGUIRRE MUÑOZ, TO THE GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS.

«Tegucigalpa, 4-30 a. m. Oct. 24.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—
The little steamer gasolina about the name of which you questioned me
is called *Puerto Perlas* and is in Port Cortes. It carried one passenger
named Leopoldo Rosales who calls himself a lawyer. I have ordered
him to be recalled because it has been ascertained that he was bringing
emigrants together in Honduras and that afterwards he was going to
Puerto Barrios on commission.

»Your sincere friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 9 a. m. Oct. 20.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—
Yesterday the American Minister had an interview with President Dá-
vila; amongst other things Brown told him that he was helping Presi-
dent Zelaya, that daily there were groups of people ready to render ser-
vice to the Government of Nicaragua and that he was aware that he had
detained in the Port of Cortes a revolutionary steamer; that in his opi-
nion on account of his neutrality he was not entitled to do these things.

»President Dávila replied that it was not true that he was helping
the Government of Nicaragua nor sending them hands, because Presi-
dent Zelaya was not in need of anything; men, money, implements, of
all he had more than enough. «As to the steamer Puerto Cortés it is
»true that I have detained it because it hailed from the revolutionist
»zone flying the Nicaragua flag and I did it on the request of the Nica-
»raguan Government and in Honduras waters with a perfect right to do
»so; if I had not done it I should be encouraging the revolution and I do
»not encourage revolutions and much less treacherous acts. My neu-
»trality is not in the least affected by this conduct and I fail to under-
»stand how it can be invoked when it is a matter of a friendly Govern-
»ment on the one hand and a treacherous revolution on the other. The
»treaties of Washington themselves impose duties of friendship and peace
»upon the signatory Governments, which should not be forgotten, for
»it is not a question of a war between two Republics, in which case I
»should have to observe neutrality, but of a civil war fomented by Es-

»trada Cabrera.» Brown as is natural defended the Government of Guatemala and he told him upon what he founded his criterion and that he was of the contrary opinion. Dávila said: «This revolution is the same they tried to put upon me last year and that it was going hence thither with the difference that now it comes thence thither; I am not going to be such a fool as to let them cut my throat.»

»You see therefore, General, that the attitude of President Dávila could not be better. I went to thank him and congratulate him on his energetic replies.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 4,10 p. m. Oct. 27.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Consul Honduras at New Orleans communicates to Minister of Relations that provisional Government has appointed as its representative in Washington Dr. Salvador Castrillo who requested that the Government Estrada should be recognized. The Foreign Department declared according to the press, that although it would look favourably upon the triumph of the revolution, it cannot recognize it until the overthrow of Zelaya. Cable from Bluefields declares that Guatemala will help the revolution and that a steamer has left for Puerto Barrios to convey Maxim cannon and war materials.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 9 a. m. Oct. 28.—President Zelaya.—Please tell me the name of fruit steamer captured in Costa Rica, that arrived from New York with war materials for Bluefields. They report from New Orleans: it is known that on the 14 inst a ship left San Juan de Guatemala with war material for the revolution. The Pacific coast therefore must be watched.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 9 a. m. Oct. 31.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Leopold Rosales has fled to Guatemala and thence he has sent a long telegram to Minister Brown, telling him: in Puerto Cortés they captured a

small steamer named *Puerto Perlas* belonging to an American Company; send protest to Government of Honduras for the prejudicing of American interests caused by the detention of the ship. President Dávila also received a telegram from the provisional President Estrada to protest against the capture of the steamship *Puerto Perlas*, which according to Estrada's own confession carried war material for the revolution.

»First he threatens him and afterwards tells him, the revolution upholds the cause of liberty and right and tells him to bear in mind the inconsistency of Zelaya when he started the Government of Sierra in Amapala to overthrow him, whilst they fought loyally on the coast of Honduras for the cause of the liberal party.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, Nov. 4, 11 and 10 p. m.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Minister Lazo states that Brown has informed his Government that the President of Honduras has violated the neutrality by detaining steamer *Perlas* and helping Zelaya and that the Department of State much annoyed asks for information and instructions.

»I think it is urgent that you should send a cablegram to explain matters. Moreover the moment has now arrived for a cablegram to be sent to the associated press representing Brown as saying that the provisional Government Estrada demands the liberty of the ship *Perlas* and that he prefers to serve the cause of Estrada Cabrera and the revolution.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, Nov. 4, 2,20 p. m.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—To-day I saw Brown concerning the steamer question. I send conversation in full that you may form a clear idea of the opinion of that gentleman:

»He told me that they were raising difficulties for setting at liberty the small steamer. Then I replied: «That is the object of my visit, to see why a revolutionist boat should be freed.» He said: «I am not wanting a revolutionist boat freed what I demand is the freedom of action of an American Company.» «Yes, sir, but the boat was flying a Nicaraguan flag and was bringing war material for the revolution,

»consequently it was my duty and right to have it detained.» He replied: «But the Government of Honduras in accordance with international »custom had no right to detain it, and besides, the treaty of Washington »forbids it; for in one of its clauses it is stated that in case of civil war »neither of the Governments may intervene either in favour of the Ge- »vernment or the revolution, that is to say, they must be neutral and the »Government of Honduras, in detaining that steamer has committed a »fault for intervening in favour of the Government of Nicaragua.» «Yes »I replied if it had allowed it to pass free it would have been intervening »in favour of the revolution, for it is a ship of which they have great »need at present; and moreover those clauses that treat of the non-in- »tervention refer to armed intervention, that is, that they cannot lend »their army in favour of either the one or the other, but in no case does »it imply that they should prevent leaving their territory emigrants, »war materials, ships, etc., for that would amount to violating the fun- »damental principles of the treaty of Washington of which the object is »to preserve peace and prevent revolutions for the signatory Govern- »ments and strengthen the bonds of friendship and fellowship between »them.» Then he said: «The fact is here in Central America the cus- »tom is not to observe treaties.» I replied to him: «Men are the same »all the world over; the fact is that as our countries are insignificant, in »size, the nations of Europe that make the laws see their faults through »a magnifying glass In such matters Austria, a cultivated and powerful »nation has acted in like manner, by recently violating a treaty.» He told me that there was no instance of international law authorising any Government to detain in any of its ports ships belonging to either of the belligerents. I immediately said to him: «My good friend wait a »moment, in this case where is the other belligerent party for I suppose »you do not wish me to believe that it is the revolutionist party since »your Government has not been willing to recognise the belligerency »of the revolution in spite of the repeated efforts of its partisans; and »if there is no international law that authorizes that, what grounds had »the United States for making their reclamation against England at »the time of the civil war in the affair of Alabama and on what grounds »did the Tribunal of Geneva pass judgment against England.» Then he said to me that many revolutions were just and that for that reason treaty makers recognised the right of insurrection as a sacred right. «Yes, I answered, it is true; but the right of insurrection founded on »treachery is another matter: the former is a grand demonstration of

»the value of the rights of a people, in the face of tyrants and the latter
»is a crime that covers with shame and opprobrium its authors and for
»this very reason it is even immoral to support and defend it.» He in-
sisted upon telling me that the Government of Honduras had violated
its neutrality and that it was not astonishing that the neighbouring
Governments, the dike having been once broken, should rush over it.
I said to him: «Then welcome be that moment if indeed it should ar-
»rive that we may see things clearly; this indeed is an untenable si-
»tuation and as to ourselves if it is true that we do not wish for com-
»plications, neither have we any.» We ended our interview on the best
of terms and he ended by saying that he congratulated me on the skill
with which, I had been able to persuade General Dávila, in all these
matters even so far as to keeping him blindly in favour of the Govern-
ment of Nicaragua. I replied: «No, Mr. Brown; I have not influenced
»President Dávila in the matter; the truth is that he is an honourable
»President and the cause of morals and right makes itself heard.»

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 3,30 p. m., Nov. 5.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—
Minister of Relations cablegraphed to-day to Lazo Arriaga saying:
«What Minister Brown says is inexact. Deny strongly news violation
»neutrality, what has been done is to detain revolutionist steamer *Per-*
»*las* that was carrying war materials for revolution and put in at Porte
»Cortes to take up emigrants of Nicaragua in Honduras and this in agree-
»ment with the treaty of Washington an international custom. There
»are conclusive documents. Will write by post concerning all this.»

»This is exciting; it is evident that the capture of the small steamer
has made them smart and it is natural as it was going to Puerto Barrios to
take the war material that the Government of Guatemala had offered them.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 8 p. m., Nov. 7.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—
To-day Minister Brown sent again to Minister of Relations with his Se-
cretary Gibson to ask for the setting free of the ship, stating that he
sent once again as he did not wish to resort to extreme measures.

»Minister of Relations with instructions of President Dávila, answered him; that as he had denounced to the Department of State that the Government of Honduras had violated its neutrality, it was his duty to address Minister Lazo for him to deal with the question directly with the Department of State since he was acting with hastiness and irreflection.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 2,25 p. m. Nov. 7.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Manuel Rivas reports from Ceira that he has reliable news to the effect that Manuelismo is active. Its principal emigrants are working actively between Belice and New Orleans preparing war material and enlisting men; that he thinks they will soon invade by the coast; but that he is prepared. José María Valladares (mayor of Amapala) declares that the emigration has not been general as they are waiting for the movement in Nicaragua to prosper and adds that this movement has not prospered because the combinations they had in the interior were lacking, in which chiefs and employees of importance were implicated and because Estrada Cabrera and the Americans did not afford the help on the scale in which they had promised it; and besides because Zelaya is a man of energy and will not let himself be caught napping. This revolution will be a failure, but we await the immediate consequences; the disappointment will immediately make them come over to us once more. These are the exact words of the Indian Valladares.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 10 p. m. Nov. 8.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—The authorities on the frontier confirm to President Dávila the news which I gave him on Saturday as to movement of Salvador troops which I received from other sources. César Lagos who is at present in Ahuachapán telegraphed yesterday to President Dávila, stating that he is coming to the capital in order to be near the Government of Honduras, as he thinks that the affairs of the revolution of Nicaragua may bring about complications in Central America. I told President Dávila to ask César on what he founded his belief. We shall see what his reply will be.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

«Tegucigalpa, 4 p. m. Nov. 8.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—The day before yesterday, Mr. Brown addressed an official note to the Minister of Relations, asking again for the delivering up of the *Perlas* repeating what he had ordered to be said verbally to him: that he repeated his request because he wished to spare Honduras grave responsibilities and himself the disappointment of having to resort to extreme measures. Yesterday, Sunday, he asked in another note for the immediate reply to the one of Salvador on the ground of its high importance. To-day the minister of Relations replied, alleging all the reasons the Government of Honduras has both on the strength of the treaty of Washington and on the grounds of international custom for not delivering up the steamer and in conclusion states that his Minister at Washington in the future will deal with that delicate question directly with the Secretary of State.

»Brown will become furious over this note; he who is extremely proud presumptuous and irascible; for undoubtedly the hardest thing that can be said to a foreign diplomat is: We cannot deal with you on that matter but shall do so directly with your Government. I think that it is most important that from anywhere outside Nicaragua a cable should be sent to the united press to the effect that Philip Brown, Minister of the United States to Honduras watches with more activity and enthusiasm over the interest of Cabrera than those of his country no doubt the payment he receives from the Government of Guatemala is greater; now he is also an agent of the revolution of Nicaragua and he is reclaiming from the Government of Honduras a revolutionist boat which the latter has detained in accordance with international custom.

»Juan Estrada and he are taking the steps necessary to their plans.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 11,23 a. m. Nov. 9.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—The verbal note I stated yesterday that Minister Brown sent on Sunday was refused by the Minister of Foreign Relations from the employee of the Legation who was told to bring it on a week day. This infuriated Brown and yesterday he sent in a strong protest, stating that the nonacceptance of a note dealing with so urgent a matter was in his opinion an insult to the American Government. So far did that gentleman go beyond himself. On that day he told the Undersecretary of Relations that

the *Dakota* would come and fetch the *Perlas* by force if it were not yielded up peaceably. The Undersecretary replied: «It is not astonishing; »powerful nations, when right and justice are not on their side, resort »to force.» The attitude of Brown is highly hostile to this Government. Every day he sends them a note with fresh exactions each time in more imperious and bitter tones. Tell me if Hazera has reached Washington. It is necessary, urgent that he should be informed of Brown's conduct towards this Government that he may defend Honduras that through fulfilling its duties towards itself and consequently towards ourselves is in difficulties.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 8,10 a. m. Nov. 9.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—*Picayune, Times Democrat* and other papers of the United States deal again seriously and enthusiastically with the establishing of a new Republic in Central America that shall bear the name of Atlantida under the direction of General Juan Estrada. They state that it will comprise an extensive and fertile region situated on the Atlantic; that it may have an independent existence and that General Estrada who is a great statesman, will make of the new Republic an earthly paradise, which they doubt not will be the Republic dreamt of by Plato.

»Under date of 21st they publish a cablegram from Bluefields transmitted thence by wire that states that a steamer has arrived from Puer to Barrios with all kinds of war material sent to them by Estrada Cabrera and that has arrived safely and that the Government of Guatemala lends its decided and open support to the revolution.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 4 p. m. Nov. 20.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Minister Lazo cabled to Minister of Relations Honduras saying that the Department of State demands the liberty of the *Perlas* and that it is his opinion that resistance should no longer be made.

Government of Honduras has done what is humanly possible to detain the ship but it now thinks that all effort is useless and that the only result obtainable would be to jeopardise the country and expose it

to an outrage not by reason of the force of right, but by reason of the right of force.

»It also thinks that by freeing the ship through direct intervention of the American Government, it can no longer lend aid to the revolution.

»The resolution to free it will be communicated directly to the Department of State through Minister Lazo, ignoring Brown and his negotiations, stating that such resolution has been arrived at solely through the requirements of the Department of State addressed to the Minister of Honduras at Washington.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 8 p. m. Nov. 17.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Barahona sends word from Guatemala to Davila in a telegram of to-day's date to make ready; that Salvador and Guatemala will invade him; that he knows that the emigrants have left for the frontier.

»Consul of New Orleans tells Manuel Bonilla that he has received from Guatemala a bill for 15,000 dollars gold.

Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 12,30 p. m. Nov. 20.—President Zelaya.—Managua. The execution of the two Americans which you told me of in your yesterday's telegram was only what law and justice demanded. It is high time that the world should know that the fair-haired and blue-eyed ones do not enjoy special privileges in our country and if they incur in any fault they must suffer the punishment demanded by our Code of laws, without the slightest consideration. Those two executions are a great lesson to the filibusters and a good example for the Governments of Central America. To put a check on European covetousness the Mexicans had to shoot Maximilian and we ourselves to put a check on American greed we ought to shoot every American we find putting his finger in our pie. The death of Lee Roy Cannon is a great triumph for Central America. Cannon was brave, bold, intelligent and prepossessing, in a word he was the Walker of our time, with more ambition and still greater gifts than that ill-timed adventurer. They ought to have

shot him here a year ago and they did not do so because it was against the laws of this country, but on the other hand the leniency with which he was treated coupled with his relapse is our best defence. This Government pardoned him and even gave him funds for him to leave the country on condition that he would not return to take part in our Central American struggles; in spite of that, he repeated the same offense; it is therefore just that he suffered the fate he deserved.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 11 a. m. Nov. 26.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—Newspapers of the United States, to embitter the public mind against General Zelaya and Nicaragua relate certain atrocities that I take the liberty to transcribe that you may see how far they carry their prejudice. They state that the forces of Nicaragua plunder, loot, put to the fire and sword; that they have shot more than 500 persons on the mere fact that they sympathise with the revolution and several papers state that the moment has arrived for the intervention of the United States in order to overthrow the monster Zelaya and put an end to the struggle. They say that the steamer *Dictator* that was chartered by the Nicaraguan Government was captured by the revolutionists and that a Norwegian ship freighted by Manuel Bonilla, left New Orleans with war materials and emigrants for Puerto Barrios, but that its real destination is Bluefields that the Consul Altschul, was unable to prevent the departure although he was aware of the fact, because it was consigned to a friendly Republic. It is the Minister of Salvador whose attacks are most bitter against Hazera.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

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«Tegucigalpa, 3 p. m. Dec. 5.—President Zelaya.—Managua.—The American press continues to spread abroad news just as stupendous as that which I have before communicated. From it and from what is here stated, I am positively certain that the Americans, the principal authors of this revolution, are abetting it in all possible ways and now that they see it lost wish to support it in a barefaced manner. Moreover they affirm that Juan Estrada has coaxed the Government of Washington with a thousand promises to flatter their ambitions.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

«Tegucigalpa, 9 p. m. Dec. 6. —President Zelaya.—Managua.—News has been received that to-day or to morrow Manuel Bonilla will invade through Puerto Cortés and La Ceiva; they will also make an invasion through Ocotepeque. César Lagos says that during these last few days emigrants from Honduras have disappeared into Salvador. It would seem that they enter into the plan of assassinating José María Valladares at Amapola. The invasion is supported by Estrada Cabrera and the United States; it is all the same for ourselves. Taft and Estrada Cabrera in ignominious cabal against these countries. Energetic measures have been adopted and reinforcements have been sent to the points threatened. To-day a state of siege will be declared. The Department of State in a long cablegram inform the American Minister of the situation between the United States and Nicaragua in the harshest terms and tell him that a movement has broken ont in the West and that there are three risings: in Bluefields Managua and Chinandega.

»Your loyal friend,—*H. Aguirre Muñoz.*»

CABLEGRAMS FROM THE CONSUL OF NICARAGUA IN NEW YORK.
D. PÍO BOLAÑOS.

«New York, 12 m. Oct. 29.—President.—Managua.—Advices from Bluefields state that Rodolfo Espinosa accepted inimical Ministry in Washington. Rebels propose dividing country to secure recognition.—*Bolaños.*»

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«New York, 12 m. Oct. 29.—President.—Managua.—Situation Washington very delicate. Coast in danger. Consider indispensable immediate presence of active person. Press occupying my attention.—*Bolaños.*»

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«Brooklin, 1,18 p. m. Oct. 31.—President.—Managua.—Espinosa still remains al Washington. There are active negociations against Zelaya. Obtained publication opinions favourable Government official character. Cable advice from Washington informs departure troops to favour revolution in Pacific proceeding from Salvador against Nicaragua.—*Bolaños.*»

«New York, 11,35 Dec. 6.—President.—Managua.—Result battle of Rama although favourable will not alter in the least your personal situation nor that of Nicaragua; should avoid that useless sacrifice. Advisable entrust power to person inspiring confidence whole country.—*Bolaños.*»

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«New York, 1,15 p. m. Dec. 7.—President.—Managua.—Revolution and this Government never accept Irias. Entrusting Power to Dolores Estrada would prevent further bloodshedding and disembarking Americans. Read note Knox to Rodríguez.—*Bolaños.*»

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«New York, 6,40 p. m. Dec. 17.—President.—Managua.—Considered false nomination Madriz. Will never be recognised by this Government nor those of Central America and will put an end to revolution.—*Bolaños.*»

CABLEGRAMS FROM CONSUL ALTSCHUL OF NICARAGUA
IN NEW ORLEANS.

«New Orleans, 1 p. m. Oct. 13.—President.—Managua.—What is going on there? Papers publish news of revolution having broken out on Atlantic Coast. Juan J. Estrada heads the movement. Please cable information and instructions.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 9 p. m. Oct. 17.—President.—Managua.—Ship *Dictator* arrived to-day. Mirence López, Cornelio Martínez are prisoners on board. They are principal leaders of movement Emiliano Chamorro, Matuti and Ulises Ugarte. Revolution will try and take Castillo. San Carlos, Acoyapa and the whole of Chontales, Santo Alea, commander of Bluff. Fernández, director of Customs. It is probable that Cabo de Grace has not been taken. Entertain hopes that ships Bluefields Steamship & C.^o will not leave for some time. Charles Weinberger, helping.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 8,50 p. m. Oct. 18.—President.—Managua.—Salvador Castrillo has been appointed representative Washington of revolutionist party Towing ship *Puerto Perlas* left for Puerto Barrios to take on board two Maxim cannon. Information arrived direct from Bluefields. Shall notify to Secretary of State Washington that revolutionist party has secured material from Emery Company.

»Bluefields Steamship C.^o declares in favour of President Zelaya; they will not send ship for some time to Atlantic Coast. They must be without provisions. Am keeping a watch over landing places. Endeavouring to obtain delay in payment of Emery affair. Papers have published that Washington favours the cause of Juan Estrada.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 1,25 p. m. Oct. 24.—President.—Managua.—Just come from meeting Taft, he would not grant me interview sent me to Secretary of State.

»Friend will try and secure interview for me. New Orleans it is hoped will arrive next week.

»Here it is publicly stated that Washington favours the cause of Juan Estrada, it will nevertheless remain neutral as long as revolution does not triumph. It is also said that Atlantic Coast will be made independent Republic. Am keeping eye on Belanger.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 8,45 a. m. Oct. 26.—President.—Managua.—I have heard from trustworthy source that price of thousand Remingtons and three hundred boxes of cartridges inquired about. Salvador Chamorro Panamá have an order from Juan J. Estrada to ship war material. Gasoline revolution has waited with Christmas war material proceeding from President Cabrera in merchant ship *Pacific Mail 14* inst. Juan J. Estrada has been advancing in Chontales. Susman has been appointed Consul of Nicaragua at New Orleans; naturally he will not obtain licence.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 3,40 p. m. Oct. 27.—President.—Managua.—Important to take note of appointment of American Minister in Costa Rica, fills

Ministry of Guatemala as I know from trustworthy source that Washington has authorized him to accept post which shows that a perfect understanding exists against Nicaragua.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 5,40 p. m. Oct. 27.—President.—Managua.—Understand I. Hazera has been appointed. Corea warned Belanger forwarded to-day gasoline Port Cortés to tow ship *Puerto Perlas* that is bound for Puerto Barrios to bring war material.

»News confirmed of appointment of American Minister Merry as Minister Guatemala of Estrada Cabrera.

»It is affirmed that Manuel Bonilla has been appointed consul general to revolutionist party in Belize.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 4 p. m. Nov. 2.—President.—Managua.—Merchant vessel *Imperator* arrived to-day. Jacobo Wemberger sends word town of Cabo de Gracia has been taken by revolutionists Enrique Espinosa, Cupertino Herrera, ten killed. Vergara in Chile killed telegraph clerk. Schooner Adelaida is carrying war materials for revolution. From Limón Nicaraguan emigrants have arrived to join revolution amongst whom: Fornos Díaz, Subiria, Pérez Pacheco, and ten more Leopoldo Rosales acts as revolutionist representative in Guatemala.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 3 p. m. Nov. 6.—President.—Managua.—Adolfo Díaz cabled via Guatemala asking urgently for thousand rifles and 300.000 cartridges.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 1,25 Nov. 7.—President.—Managua.—Keep a sharp eye on Jersan Sáenz who it is assured is proceeding from Guatemala and Salvador with orders to try a military coup on garrison Chinandega.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 8 a. m. Nov. 8.—President.—Managua.—Difficult to secure steamer *Yulu* as Emery failing in his contract has delivered it up to Estrada whom he favours.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 7 p. m. Nov. 9.—President.—Managua.—Guatemala advises Bluefields cargo not yet been paid. End October I will send Bocas large quantity cartridges, also men. From Bluefields Diaz answered will try to hold out till arrival of ship.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 7,41 Nov. 9.—President.—Managua.—Last week Guatemala offered to send war material to Bluefields.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 5,30 p. m. Nov. 10.—President.—Managua.—Have obtained exact copies of telegrams Bluefields and Guatemala yesterday. If you feel confident I will forward copies to Isidoro Hazera that he may treat of matter with Taft. Guatemala occupies Bocas as port of transit.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 5 p. m. Nov. 11.—President.—Managua.—Advise President Dávila watch Atlantic Coast, especially Ceiva as Estrada Cabrera intends sending invading expedition.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 1,35 p. m. Nov. 11.—President.—Managua.—Manuel Bonilla arrived bringing with him bills from Guatemala to the amount of 15.000 dollars.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 7,40 a. m. Nov. 17.—President.—Managua.—War materials reached Bluefields appear to be the same advised by telegraph last week as proceeding from Bocas. Ship *Ulstein* leaves now for Puerto Barrios carrying war material.—*Altschul.*»

«New Orleans, 8,38 Nov. 18.—President.—Managua.—*Ulstein* will arrive at Puerto Barrios Sunday to transport 44 boxes rifles 114,000 cartridges to a (gasolina) motor that will take them to Bluefields. Guatemala uses Port Barrios as base of revolution.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 2,40 p. m. Nov. 21.—President Zelaya.—Managua. Transcribe you following: «Bluefields, 15.—President Guatemala.—If »war material is not received before the 20, revolution must be abandoned.—*Diaz,*» Cabrera replied: «*Ulstein* with war materials will arrive »in few days.»—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 11 a. m. Nov. 24.—President.—Managua.—*Ulstein* left for Bluefields Monday proceeding from Puerto Barrios; will arrive to-morrow at Bluefields.—*Altschul.*»

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«New Orleans, 4,45 p. m. Nov. 29.—President.—Managua.—Situation here unfavourable to President Zelaya. Permission been granted to Juan Estrada to close San Juan del Norte.

»Recomend strongly Nicasio Vázquez make headway before arrival war materials steamer *Ulstein*.

»Salvador Castrillo urged recognition Atlantic Coast independent Republic.—*Altschul.*»

CABLEGRAMS OF THE LEGATION OF NICARAGUA IN WASHINGTON.

«Washington, 3 p. m. Nov. 6.—President.—Managua.—Department does not accept explanation: states that its negotiations were limited to Government of Honduras returning steamer to American owners. As case *Yulu* assures Government Nicaragua has no right to intervene in this matter.—*Rodríguez.*»

* * *

«Washington, 7,25 Nov. 8.—President.—Managua.—Again expounded to Department reasons of your cablegram; they heed not, and insist upon steamer being handed over to its owners. By this they think to

show that you are not master in Honduras. They do not wish to discuss this matter with Nicaragua. Department assures me that it would be prejudicial Honduras and Nicaragua.—*Rodríguez.*»

* * *

«Washington, 7,30 Nov. 8.—President.—Managua.—Explained *Perlas* helped revolution transporting war materials as is confessed by protest addressed Government Honduras. Nicaragua intervenes because steamer carried Nicaraguan patent and flag.—*Rodríguez.*»

* * *

«Washington, 5,20 p. m. Nov. 11.—President.—Managua.—American Minister of Costa Rica informs Minister of Foreign Relations United States neutrality violated flag Nicaragua Costa Rica. Department of State asks for explanations.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 3 p. m. Nov. 14.—President.—Managua.—Minister of Relations United States considers unimportant matter frontier Nicaragua Costa Rica. Inform Arjona that departure of expedition is tolerated. Detain armament going from Puerto Barrios to Boca del Toro. It has not yet been received.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 9,30 p. m. Nov. 17.—President.—Managua.—Inquired Secretary of State as to leaving of *Ulstein* states steamer left for unknown destination; that Minister Honduras has complained carrying war materials and Manuel Bonilla to upset Honduras. Consul Altschul however advised detained provisionally. Continue inquiries Secretary State received protest Bluefields from the Company against detention *Dictator* by revolutionists.

»Secretary of State received me cordially. President-honours us with reception probably Monday. Press publishes President of Nicaragua is helping emigrants Honduras. Opening San Juan communicated.—*Hazera.*»

«Washington, 11,30 p. m. Nov. 17.—President.—Managua.—Confidential communication: we are firmly convinced that you ought not to lose any opportunity of satisfying the American Government. Illfeeling towards you noticeable inciting Central American diplomats.

»Our opinion is that American Government wil demand satisfaction and indemnhity.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 3 p. m. Nov. 18.—President.—Managua.—Secretary of State informs Legation through note that considering death sentence probable execution American citizens President postpones my reception until he has full knowledge situation and decides upon attitude of American Government.

»Secretary of State has sent vessels to Pacific and Atlantic. Owing to this fact all discussion refused. Consider situation very serious; rupture certain.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 1,25 p. m. Nov. 18.—President.—Managua.—Last night at 11 p. m., Secretary of State forwarded Rodríguez energetic note asking for urgent information as to American case; making every reservation for subsequent attitude if they are executed. Am replying at present according to your instructions. American Government replied yesterday protest Bluefields Company that this is expedient to avoid blockade. Press comments upon this as first step acknowledgement belligerency. Attacks Government.

»Minister of Honduras in Washington has not received so far reply *memorándum Ulstein.*—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 1,30 Nov. 20.—President.—Managua.—They advise departure steamer *Imperator* yesterday. Secretary of State refuses protection Bluefields Company. Have furnished press with detailed information as to legality of facts and I trust that and am hoping justification by Court of Justice will change present unfavourable opinion. *Hazera.*»

* * *

«Washington, 2,30 p. m. Nov. 24.—President.—Managua.—Mexican Ambassador showed last night answer Secretary State to request Mexican Government for receiving Hazera, which was negative. It is urgent that you should suggest something acceptable to propose Department. Situation very serious. Tell me if he has sent proceedings of trial.—*Rodríguez.*»

* * *

«Washington, 7,40 Dec. 2.—President.—Managua.—Department sent me passport and note extremely harsh with threats towards your person and demonstrating that their Government and that of the revolutionist party are agreed.—*Rodríguez.*»

* * *

«Washington, 2 p. m. Dec. 4.—President.—Managua.—They intend deposing you from power and making you personally responsible. If revolution fails land marines. It is said ships have orders not to let you depart.—*González.*»

* * *

«Washington, 8,45 p. m. Dec. 1.—President.—Managua.—Situation very serious here. Confirm to you cablegram Hazera. It is affirmed that American Government will insist on your resigning. They support revolution although indirectly but openly: they do not admit of explanation of execution Americans. It is desirable that some understanding should be arrived at. Send me some suggestion as to what plan to follow. Reply urgent.—*González.*»

CABLEGRAMS OF MINISTER OF NICARAGUA IN PANAMÁ.

«Managua, 2 p. m. Oct. 19.—Minister Hazera.—Panamá.—Advise Legation Washington steamer left New York before knowing revolution carrying war material to Bocas del Toro. Investigate and see that Government Panamá confiscates as contraband war for revolution Coast.—*Zelaya.*»

* * *

«Panamá, 5,35 Oct. 21.—President.—Managua.—Nicaraguan warship detained yesterday Costa Rica. Bocas every precaution should be used Dont weigh anchor.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Panamá, 11,45 Oct. 28.—President.—Managua.—All is arranged satisfactorily. Olón Panamá arms and war materials have not been embarked. Send now. Am ready to embark.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Panamá, 12,30 a. m. Oct. 29.—President.—Managua.—Minister Foreign Relations Panamá informs that Nicaraguan warship returned to Bluefields without arms or war material; fruit motor detained.—*Hazera.*»

* * *

«Panamá, 11,45 Nov. 23.—President.—Managua.—President Panamá considers justifiable execution Americans. American Government cannot establish reclamation. Nicaragua is in the right. Considers that Government of Nicaragua is on bad terms with American Government. This information is confidential.—*Arjona.*»

* * *

By the mere perusal of the above documents, proceedings and telegrams, it becomes quite clear and consistent with what has been already said that the Nicaraguan Government counted upon the devotion, the full confidence and decisive support of the twelve departments of the Republic out of the thirteen of which it is composed.

It is evident also that the department of Zelaya, the most deflected, the only one that adhered to the rebel Governor and Intendant was not entirely on the side of the revolutionists since the most important persons were thrown into prison.

It is equally clear that to create an army the revolutionists had to have recourse to forced enlistments in Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala and the United States.

It may be proved to satiety that the war materials and money were

furnished to them by the United States and Guatemala. Steamers of the United Fruit Company and others bearing the Nicaraguan flag, as those of the Emery and Piazza Companies, transported men and ammunition of war in full perfect knowledge and help of the American representatives in Central America and with most barefaced coöperation of Estrada Cabrera and the authorities of the ports of the Union.

It may be seen therefore how the United States and the President of Guatemala have been the promoters, the authors of the Revolution and continue to be its supporters and consequently are alone and truly responsible for so much bloodshed, for the loss of so many lives and so much property, for all the great harm done to the Republic of Nicaragua.

I have not hesitated to publish in full all these documents because the very uniformity of their wording goes to show and confirm that what all declare assure and palpably prove that the note of Mr. Knox which I shall now insert has had no grounds, being only the repetition—in terms anything but diplomatic rather indeed harsh and offensive and undoubtedly unbecoming one filling the high post of Secretary of State of a Great Power—of the premeditated insults, which for some time past and with ulterior ends in view the newspapers semi-official or subventioned by the Government of Guatemala addressed to me; taken up also by certain organs of the venal press of Europe, which in the note of Mr. Knox appear rather to have been written by Estrada Cabrera until the signature is reached.

Here it is in textual form:

NOTE OF MR. KNOX TO THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF NICARAGUA.

«It is notorious that since the signing of the Conventions of Washington in 1907, President Zelaya has kept Central America in a constant State of agitation and turbulence; that he has flagrantly and repeatedly violated the stipulations of the said Conventions, and by a strong influence over Honduras, of which the Conventions assure the neutrality, he has endeavoured to discredit those solemn international obligations to the detriment of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala, the Governments of which only by much patience have been able to loyally maintain the solemn compact made in Washington under the auspices of the United States and Mexico.

»It is equally notorious that under the rule of President Zelaya repu-

blican Institutions have ceased to exist in Nicaragua, except in name; public opinion and the press have been quashed and that imprisonment has been the sole reward for every demonstration of patriotism.

»Out of personal consideration for yourself I refrain from discussing the painful details of a rule that unfortunately has been a blot in the history of Nicaragua; and a disappointment to a group of Republics who need only the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations of a free and honourable Government.

»Mindful of the interest of the United States and their participation in the Conventions of Washington, most of the Republics of Central America have for some time past called the attention of this Government to the irregular state of affairs. There is now added the clamour of a great part of the Nicaraguan people in the form of the Revolution of Bluefields and the fact that two Americans, who according to information obtained by this Government, were officers in the services of the revolutionary forces and consequently had a right to be treated according to modern practices between civilized nations, have been shot by direct order of President Zelaya their execution being attended according to information received with barbarous cruelty. Official information now comes that the American Consul in Managua has been threatened, and this act puts the finishing touch on a fatal course of government characterized also by tyranny against their own citizens, and up till the recent outrage against this country had shown itself in a series of petty annoyances and unworthy acts that has rendered it impossible for the last few mouths to maintain a Legation in Managua. From every point of view it is evident that the moment has arrived when it is difficult for the United States to put off any longer a decisive attitude which it owes to its citizens, its dignity, to Central America and civilisation.

»The Government of the United States is convinced that the present revolution represents the ideal and wishes of the majority of Nicaraguans, more faithfully than the Government of President Zelaya and with its pacific centre is as far reaching as that which the Government of Nicaragua has sought so cruelly to maintain.

»To all this must be added now according to official information from different sources, there have appeared in the western provinces of Nicaragua indications of a rising in favour of a presidential candidate intimately connected with the old régime, in which it is easy to see new elements that tend toward a state of anarchy which may in time destroy all source of a responsible Government, with whom the United States

may be able to discuss the compensation for the death of Cannon and Groce and even make the protection due to American citizens and interests in Nicaragua hard to realize.

»Under these circumstances the President of the United States can no longer entertain for the Government of President Zelaya the respect and confidence which should be observed in diplomatic relations, which comprise the desire and possibility of maintaining the respect due from one state to another.

»The Government of Nicaragua which you have so far represented will be good enough to bear the present notification in mind, it will also be made known to the Leader of the Revolution, that the Government of the United States will hold them strictly responsible for the protection of the lives of the Americans as also to the factions that are in possession of the regions of the East and West of the Republic of Nicaragua.

»As to the compensation to be made for the death of MM. Cannon and Groce, the Government of the United States refrains from exacting from the innocent people of Nicaragua so heavy a punishment in expiation of faults of a regime maintained by force or to exact from any Government that may rise, should it follow a different policy, the payment of that penalty.

»The discussion of this compensation should be made simultaneously with that of the existence in Managua of a Government capable of answering the suit.

»It must also be considered how far the responsibility extends of those who committed the act and tortures that preceded the execution, if it should be proved; and the question as to whether the new Government is entirely separated from the present intolerable conditions and is worthy of the confidence that they will avoid the repetition of similar acts.

»In such a case, the President of the United States as a friend of Nicaragua and the other Republics of Central America will be disposed to reduce the indemnity to what is really owing to the parents of the two men executed and exact the punishment only from those who deserve it.

»In accordance with this policy the Government of the United States will temporally suspend its demands for compensation, in the meanwhile taking the necessary steps for the protection of American interests.

»For the assurance of the future protection of American interests and in consideration for the interests of the majority of the Central Ameri-

can Republics as well as in the hope of strengthening the friendly relations established by the Conventions of Washington the Government of the United States reserves for a more opportune occasion the discussing of the stipulations with which the Constitutional Government of Nicaragua may bind itself by means of a Convention to the advantage of all the Governments concerned to guarantee in the future the maintaining of the Conventions of Washington and its ideas of peace and progress.

»From the above you must clearly understand that your mission of Charge d'Affaires has concluded and I have the honour to forward you herewith your passport, should you wish to leave the country.

»I should add at the same time that although your diplomatic mission has terminated I shall have much pleasure in receiving you as also the representative of the revolutionist party; both as means non official of communication between the Government of the United States and the authorities de facto with whom I shall have to treat for the protection of American interests, until in Nicaragua there shall be established a Government with which the United States can entertain diplomatic relations.—*Knox.*»

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The above document of the Minister of State Knox, so intemperate and trivial in language as well as incorrect and vulgar in form as false in argument contrasts strongly with the telegram that the distinguished Ex-president Roosevelt sent me when the Central American Republic being leagued in war against me through the instigation of Estrada Cabrera his good faith was also questioned.

This great statesman could not pass judgment without the exact knowledge obtained solely by hearing both parties. And consequently to the information given by me he replied in the following terms:

«Washington, 3 p. m. Feb. 15, 1907.—President Zelaya.—I thank you for your kind reply to my despatch of Feb. 11 and I beg of you to believe in my high appreciation of the admirable spirit in which you have received and replied to the negotiations in the interest of peace. I should be pleased to offer any help in my power that might tend to a practical solution of the interesting problem in accordance with the ideas as to which we are so perfectly agreed.—*Theodor Roosevelt.*»

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Mister Knox acted less seriously and in an unusual manner.

In consequence of his false prejudice and the plans and proceedings, even in their smallest detail, which were to be followed in Nicaragua being agreed upon as they were with Estrada Cabrera and my other enemies of Central America, he refused to listen to the just explanations which I, as was my right and duty, legitimately desired to give that the truth might be known.

To this end I addressed to D. Pedro González, special envoy to Washington for the settling of the Emery affair the following cablegram:

«Managua, 8,30 p. m. Dec. 4, 1909.—González.—Washington.—Kindly inform Secretary Knox that I am convinced that his source of information is unreliable. I ask of the United States to send an honorable and impartial Commission to come and investigate and if the acts of my administration have been detrimental to Central America; and if this could be proved I resign office with pleasure.—*Zelaya.*»

As I said before Minister Knox would not lend an ear to my just pretensions but these being firm and sincere for I had nothing to fear being conscious of the fulfilment of my duty the same request I addressed to President Taft:

«Managua, Dec. 7, 1909.—President Taft.—Washington.—December fourth I sent following cablegram to: «González.—Washington.—Inform Secretary Knox I believe his sources of information are prejudiced. I request that United States send a disinterested Commission to investigate and if findings show that my administration is detrimental to Central America, I will gladly resign.» Have received no reply.

»In order to avoid harm to my country and desiring to place it in a position to renew friendly relations with United States I have to-day sent in my resignation to Congress.

»As my opponents might consider my presence a disturbing factor, I propose to show my good faith by leaving Nicaragua and stand ready to account for my acts.—*President Zelaya.*»

* * *

This having been decided upon and done, that is having resigned nobody had a right to doubt that the defense made of myself, in terms so clear and in the strict manner required by the circumstances of the case I was far from showing a mean clinging to Power or an interested defense of the highest office of the Republic.

And I must add that, as will be seen presently my defense was made only from the first moment that Mr. Knox's note unanimously censured as arbitrary, was made known to the world.

Nevertheless here is the evidence of my reason, of the reason of justice which I hope for in the unimpeachable sentence of dispassionate and serious opinion.

We have read the document of Mr. Knox.

What are his accusations against me?

I think it is worth while to point them out and repeat them in two columns with the irrefutable comments they deserve without disregarding one point of the testimony afforded by the documents reproduced in the preceding pages:

«It is notorious that since the signing of the Conventions of Washington in 1907 President Zelaya has kept Central America in a constant state of agitation and turbulence.»

So notorious is it indeed that on these Conventions being signed one of the things by them established was the Arbitration Tribunal of Cartago to accuse before the same him who should disturb the peace in any of the signatory Republics and decide in consequence upon the responsibility incurred. Well then, Zelaya... has never been accused before the Tribunal in question by any of the Central American Republics nobody could cite a single Central American war promoted by me during the term of my presidency.

On the other hand so much cannot be said of the Governments of the allied Republics because by playing into the hands of President Estrada Cabrera to help him to obtain predominance in Central

America, they have constantly disturbed the peace and were the promoters in 1907 of the war against Nicaragua when they were defeated by my troops; in 1908 of the revolution of Honduras and in 1909 of the recent disturbances their last attempt; but this time with the support of the American reinforcements to defeat in Nicaragua him whom they were unable to defeat in 1907.

Does Mr. Knox ignore all this? Roosevelt and Root knew it in 1907 and thus proceeded justly with Nicaragua and Zelaya.

Taft and Knox are not ignorant of it either nor can they ignore it in 1909, but they have now other plans and the policy of the United States is not now inspired with the respect boasted of in the palace of Monroe of Río de Janeiro through the mouthpiece of the then Minister of State of North America where he said: «We consider the independence and equality of rights of the lesser and weaker members of the family of nations, as having right to as much respect as the great empires and we consider the observance of such respect as the principal safeguard for the weak against their oppressors.» But now it is as I before pointed out the right of force that prevails against the force of right, although indeed in the long run it does not triumph, because far above everything stands the unimpeacha-

ble Supreme Tribunal of public opinion, impartial and noble that knows ever when to render justice to him who deserves it and condemn the real culprit with the stigma of universal and undying shame.

«...that he has flagrantly and repeatedly violated the stipulations of the said Conventions.»

Quite the contrary may be gathered from the former comment, the Government of Honduras, Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala leagued against Nicaragua promoted the disturbances of order and peace referred to in Central America. They were therefore the violators of what had been agreed to, and if indeed there were other disturbers, we have seen who they were: the United States intervening in so uncorrect and partial a manner and with interested motives under the pretext of protecting the weak and exercising its influence for the maintenance of peace. The United States moreover have forgotten that amongst the conclusions of the said Conventions of Washington there is one that forbids the of recognizing the Governments de facto of Central America. Nevertheless that colossal nation of the Nominor Leo has not only defended the revolutionists but Mr. Knox in his note prononnces himself officially in favour of the provisional Government which implies, not only an acknowledgement but what is still more a real alliance with the infringers of

the treaty. Who are therefore the flagrant violaters?

«...and by a strong influence over Honduras of which the Conventions assure the neutrality he has endeavoured to discredit those solemn international obligations to the detriment of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala, the Governments of which only by much patience have been able to loyally maintain the solemn compact made, in Washington under the auspices of the United States and Mexico.»

After what has been expounded in my former paragraphs the reader will not fail to see the cynical nature of these words and assertions of Mr. Knox.

It was natural that the Government of Nicaragua should aim watchfully at the maintenance of improved and closer relations with its neighbour Honduras, such a laudable desire can never be invoked as blameworthy, quite on the contrary. Treaties were made between Honduras and Nicaragua, it is tried to bring them hearer together, treaties of commercial free trade that were always well received and favourable to both nations.

For that reason Honduras in fulfilment of its duty detained the revolutionist steamer *Puerto Perlas*; for the very reason of not violating the neutrality. Perhaps Mr. Knox refers to this, but it is beyond doubt that President Dávila did but fulfil his duty, therefore it cannot be

said that I have influenced Honduras to the detriment of its interests and much less to the prejudice of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala. What really happened was that Honduras presided over by the honourable President Dávila did not allow itself to be wheedled between Guatemala and Salvador when these latter tried to place him on bad terms with Zelaya, and that is what Knox quotes as contrary to the interests of the remaining allies against me, deserving of all the sympathy of the Americans. but whose plans did not prove triumphant in spite of their repeated efforts; in 1907, in 1908, in 1909...; and notwithstanding in the height of cynicism Mr. Knox still praises its great and extraordinary patience.

«It is equally notorious that under the rule of President Zelaya republican Institutions have ceased to exist in Nicaragua except in Name, public opinion and the press have been quashed and that imprisonment has been the sole reward of every demonstration of patriotism.»

All these sentences are those that appear to have been written by Estrada Cabrera. They are his usual insults with which he tried to lead the incautions astray to make them his own and exercise control in Central America.

Certainly there have been occasions where it was necessary to arrest those who disturbed public

order, but where order was once more restored they were set at liberty. For political offenses not a single individual has been shot in Nicaragua. On the other hand it is known that in Guatemala and Salvador nobody goes three times to prison for the second time he never comes out alive. Set Mr. Knox compare.

As to public opinion and the press having been quashed, there can be no greater falsehood. I never placed the slightest obstacle to the free expression of all ideas, those most opposite in views. What I could in no wise tolerate was that such ideas should be enforced with armed hands. Free expression of ideas has a limit which it is necessary to recognize. What would the Government of the United States do if the opposition party to-day democratic were to rise armed for the propagating and spreading abroad of its doctrines?

Would there be cause, if it repressed, as would be its duty attacks so unjustifiable for qualifying its conduct as a blot in history as in the next paragraph Mr. Knox allows himself to say with regard to myself? I doubt think I need reply.

«Out of personal consideration for yourself I refrain from discussing the painful details of a rule that unfortunately has been a blot in the history of Nicaragua.»

He refrains from discussing with arguments of justice and right but

not with the other more crushing arguments, sent forth with the voice of cannon those that have been sent to the Atlantic and the Pacific to make a show of strength to strike fear into the friends of the Government and encourage the revolutionists.

«Mindful of the interest of the United States and their participation in the Conventions of Washington most of the Republics of Central America have for some time past called the attention of this Government to the irregular state of affairs.»

The mission of the United States, in intervening in the matters of Central America could not go beyond the nature of a friendly mediation as was done in 1907 by the illustrious Presidents of the United States and Mexico Mr. Roosevelt and General Díaz; they were never moved to make common cause with the revolutionists to change the order of things in our little Republics, which is an encroachment on their independence and sovereignty. There is no clause in the Treaty of Washington that authorizes such an absurdity.

«There is now added the clamour of a great part of the Nicaraguan people in the form of the revolution of Bluefields and the fact that two Americans, who according, to information obtained by this Government were officers in the service of the revolutionist forces and consi-

quently had a right to be treated according to modern practices between civilized nations have been shot by direct order of President Zelaya, their execution being attended, according to information received with barbarous cruelty.»

Neither is this true Cannon and Groce were taken in flagrante delicto and with explosives after having fired a mine near the vessel *Diamante* that had more than 400 soldiers on board and which through a fortunate chance was not blown up. They were tried by Court Martial and after being sentenced by that Tribunal were shot without being subjected before hand to the slightest mortification which shall be proved herein by the publication of the trial and other documents.

The execution of these two Americans has been on the other hand judged by the opinion of the whole world expressed in the general press, as what law and justice demanded a great lesson to filibusters and a good example to Central American Governments.

«Official information non comes that the American consul in Managua has been threatened and this act puts the finishing touch on a fatal course of Government characterized also by tyranny against his own citizens and up till the recent outrage against this country had displayed itself in a series of petty annoyances and unworthy acts that has rendered it impossible for

the last few months to maintain a Legation in Managua. From every point of view it is evident that the moment has arrived when it is difficult for the United States to put off any longer a decisive attitude which it owes to its citizens its dignity to Central America and civilization.»

It would be more sincere if Knox were to say that the moment has arrived when the dreams of open intermeddling in Central America may be realized, and the passions of vanity and pride so long dissembled and kept under be satisfied. Does not this make itself felt in the unbridled language of the note under consideration, so inappropriately termed *diplomatic*?

Most assuredly that would not be the manner in which he would express himself towards a representative of Japan, Germany or England.

Because if the grounds he thought he had for expressing himself thus was the gratuitous assertion that Mr. Coolidge, his last Minister in Nicaragua was not received with the courtesy due to a diplomat, it would suffice for him to glance over the note of leave taking which the said gentleman sent to the Government of Zelaya, inserted in his manifesto, to find his assertion belied.

«The Government of the United States is convinced that the present revolution represents the ideals

and wishes of the majority of Nicaraguans more faithfully than the Government of President Zelaya and with its pacific centre is as far-reaching as that which the Government of Nicaragua has sought so cruelly to maintain.»

This assertion needs no comment; it is sufficient to peruse the preceding pages of this book in which we have reproduced and collected all the acts of adhesion received by Zelaya from the different parts of the Republic; those of the most distinguished and renowned Nicaraguan politicians amongst whom figure the brothers themselves of General Juan J. Estrada; that which one of these General Aurelio Estrada published separately; that of the illustrious Santiago Argüello; that of the Liberal Club of Managua; that of the liberal party and of the people of this capital itself; the municipal resolutions of Granada, Masaya, Jinotepe, Chinandega, León, Estelí, Somoto, Jinotega, Matagalpa and Rivas; those of so many more corporations, municipalities, liberal nationalist clubs, important societies of every party, such as the Leonesa and that of the Artizans of Managua private and foreign.

What remained therefore to the revolutionists? Where could they get that majority from, to which Mr. Knox refers? It is clear from where they thought to secure it when the revolutionists lacked even

men to form an army: from Costa Rica, from Guatemala and from the United States that is to say from the disturbing countries, from the promoters of the conflict, from those allied against Zelaya, whose only crime had been to have sufficient boldness not to allow himself to be humiliated by the exactions of the United States.

The note in its entirety has been reproduced on a preceding page and the reader has been able to study and analyse it; but to give greater force to the comments it has drawn forth, we insert at once the articles which the *Diario de Nicaragua* published on the 10th and 13th of December 1909:

EXTRACTED FROM THE PAPER «DIARIO DE NICARAGUA»
DECEMBER 10, 1909.

«A diplomatic note.—Secretary Knox to the Chargé d'Affaires
of Nicaragua.

»I.

»For several years past a certain propaganda hostile to the Government of Nicaragua has been growing up in the United States of America, either in the sensational press or in political and diplomatic circles, the movement being headed by agents of some Central American Governments, that have been unable to defeat that of Nicaragua in the fair struggles of honour and strength.

»The Government of Nicaragua ever looked with indifference upon such manifestations of hostility, attaching very little importance to the intrigues and calumnies of its enemies; Lately however this unhealthy atmosphere reached the official regions of the Northern Republic and for this reason the Secretary of State of the American Government Mr. Phinlander C. Knox addressed to the Chargé d'Affaires at Washington a note, which has already been published and discussed in the press of the

Continent, dealing with the political events of recent occurrence in our country and the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Nicaragua and the United States.

»This important document contains harsh and violent expressions against the present Government of Nicaragua and particularly against the President of the Republic, General Zelaya, to which we desire to refer in defense of the truth and with the object of making the voice of Nicaragua also heard in the debate that the note of Minister Knox has given rise to, amongst American politicians and newspaper correspondents.

»The Secretary of State begins by saying that it is notorious that since the signing of the Conventions of Washington in 1907 President Zelaya has kept Central America in a constant state of unrest and turbulence that he has openly and repeatedly violated the stipulations of the said treaty and by exercising a strong influence over Honduras the neutrality of which is guaranteed by the Convention, he has endeavoured to undo those sacred international obligations to the detriment of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala.

»It is to be regretted that from the pen of a functionary and statesman of such a high position and respectability as Mr. Minister Knox, words which besides being so inexpedient for their harshness of form, so foreign to the calm and moderation of diplomatic language, are fundamentally wanting in truth and justice.

»The whole world is well aware that in 1907 Nicaragua was a victim to the plans of «unrest and turbulence» plotted against her by other Central American Governments, who availing themselves of every means at their disposal and even of the complicity and acquiescence of some consuls and foreign representatives, caused the most bloody and most cruel war that our history has known to break out and in which Nicaragua did nought but accept the challenge and fight and overcome the enemies leagued against her.

»It is well known that in 1907 that neither the Government nor the people of Nicaragua wished for war; all possible efforts compatible with the decorum of the country were made to avoid it, even to submitting the points of difficulty to the decision of a Arbitration Tribunal assembled at San Salvador, in accordance with the pact of Corinto, that was held on the initiative of General Zelaya. Such a proceeding was entirely in-agreement with the policy of the Nicaraguan Government of preferring arbitration to a breaking out of hostilities and also with her tradi-

tional custom of never provoking contest but to accept it when obliged to do so by the provocation of her enemies.

»After the international war of 1907 it was seen with shame that the Governments of Salvador and Guatemala invaded the territory of Honduras and incited an unjustifiable war in that neutral Republic with the manifest object of afterwards upsetting Nicaragua. General Zelaya understood the plan of his enemies and the danger in which the peace of his country was placed and he prepared himself for defense; but he did nothing further in that emergency, as the Government of Honduras was able to repel the invaders and he afterwards addressed a complaint to the Court of Cartago.

»It is clearly seen from what has been so far related that the Nicaraguan Government was not the disquieting and disturbing element, as Mr. Knox asserts, but that it was the Governments of Salvador and Guatemala who were acquitted by the Cour of Cartago, owing to extraneous influence brought to bear upon the majority of the magistrates and in flagrant violation of the principles of morality and justice and the stipulations of the Convention of Washington.

»The people of Nicaragua received the news of that sentence of acquittal with indignation as they considered it illegal and threatening to their peace and sovereignty; but the Government of Honduras gladly accepted the sentence, thus clearly showing that it acted independently and that the powerful influence of President Zelaya over the Government of Honduras, unjustly referred to by Mr. Knox, does not exist.

»Besides the public are conscious of the fact that after the events related, the conduct of the Government of Nicaragua with regard to her brothers of Honduras, tended to create the greatest harmony and strengthen the friendly relations existing by practical means, such as the treaty of free exchange of products between the two countries, formed in November 1908.

»As regards the stipulations of the Convention, it should be stated that President Zelaya maintains Legations in Costa Rica, Salvador and Honduras; that he has sent his representatives to the first North American Conference of Tegucigalpa and to the international department of Guatemala; he maintains his delegate in the Court of Cartago and in short he has fulfilled all obligations contracted without there being any grounds for the coveted accusation that he has done his best to undo the Conventions.

»Those who have tried to undo those Conventions are the Governments

unfriendly to Nicaragua, inciting to discord and war, violating the neutrality of Honduras and finally purchasing a sentence of acquittal with base concessions that lower the dignity of free countries, and that seriously lame the Conventions by the want of confidence awakened in a Tribunal that seemed the surest safeguard of the peace and tranquillity of Central America.»

«II. (13th)

»The note of Minister Knox continues asserting that it is equally notorious that under the rule of President Zelaya the republican institutions have ceased to exist except in name; that public opinion and the press have been hushed and that the prisons have been the only recompense for patriotic demonstration. He then says to our Chargé d'Affaires: «Out of personal consideration for yourself I refrain from discussing »unnecessarily the painful details of a rule that unfortunately by has »been a blot in the history of Nicaragua and a disappointment for a group »of Republicans who only lack the opportunity for realizing the aspira- »tions for a free and honourable Government.»

»Our surprise knows no limit on reading the foregoing paragraph, in which is revealed a spirit of violence so foreign to the calm and correction with which such delicate questions of international right should be studied and resolved. On what Codes, on what precedent on what principals of morality and justice does Mr. Knox rely for illegally intervening in the internal affairs of an independant and free nation?

»We suspect there can be no answer to this question except it be agreed that such a manner of proceeding counts solely on force for its support.

»On this ground alone can be explained the aggression against the sovereignty of a weak nation but it cannot be justified in the face of the chivalry that should actuate the behaviour of a great nation, much less in the face of the trivial principles of reason and right.

»As to the assertion that the public institutions have ceased to exist in Nicaragua, we ought to say whilst recognizing the frivolity of so enviable an accusation that our institutions during the present administration have acquired nothing of a monarchical or aristocratic, which is similar to what is monarchical, character; and if the object of the above statements, is to censure the re-election of President Zelaya, Mr. Knox has no authority to pose as a judge of our acts, nor to exercise any coer-

cive influence over the conduct we may adopt in our political life. Moreover it is two well known that anomalous circumstances, created by constant disturbances and conspiracies, have rendered it advisable for the country to maintain in power the present chief, as a man of energy and action to thwart the anarchy with which we were threatened, having been elected several times and called to power by the will of the people against whom the Constitution of the Republic may not be opposed.

»The barefaced assertion of Mr. Knox that «the prisons have been the only recompense for patriotic demonstrations calls for special attention.»

»According to the Secretary of State, therefore, the continual acts of rebellion against the constitutional authority promoted by the disturbers of public order constitute demonstrations of patriotism; a demonstration of patriotism was the blowing up of the Artillery garrison in which hundreds of innocent lives perished destroyed by terrible explosion and relentless flames; a like demonstration of patriotism was the subversive propaganda of the malcontents that maintained the army on a war footing and kept the nation in constant turmoil by its revolutionist preparations; demonstration of patriotism the manifestos and acts of treachery of the authorities of the Atlantic Coast, guilty of shedding the nation's blood in those fertile regions, wounding the national honour by their plans for delivering up into foreign hands that piece of the Fatherland...

»These are the only cases in which the Government of General Zelaya considered it their duty to punish with imprisonment many of those under their rule; when the necessities of public order required it; when the disturbers of the peace were caught with arms in their possession; whenever it was his unavoidable duty to watch over the tranquillity and welfare of peaceful citizens and when the clamour of public indignation demanded that the meet punishment of the law should fall on the guilty.

»And it should be here stated that the prisoners were in all cases soon set at liberty, by virtue of the free pardon granted to them by the generous Head of the State. The proofs of what we advance are of recent date and even in the present crisis many political prisoners implicated one way or another in the criminal contest that makes our country bleed putting in danger even to the national sovereignty have been set at liberty.

»General Zelaya has always been applauded even by his enemies for the magnanimity with which he ever treated his vanquished prisoners. There is therefore no grounds for the accusation and it must be alto-

gether dispelled by the above statements of which the public are entirely cognizant.

»The paragraph of Minister Knox's note in which he states that the rule of President Zelaya «has been a blot in the history of Nicaragua and »a disappointment for a group of Republicans that need but the opportunity for fulfilling their aspirations of a free and honourable Government» deserves especial attention.

Apparently the Secretary of State does not recognize that the Argentine Republic, Brazil and in short the twenty Latin American republics are at present under the rule of free and honourable Governments but that they are wanting the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations after the same.

»The only explanation of that uncalled for attack on all the Latin Republics of the continent is to suppose that the note of Mr. Knox was written, as we said before under the influence of passion that is usually a bad counsellor in such delicate questions that require clear mindedness and kindness of disposition in order to be resolved according to the dictates of reason and justice.

»If nations of culture progress and seriousness like Mexico, Argentine, Brazil and Chile, that form the vanguard of civilization and prosperity in Latin America, are scarcely supposed to aspire after a free and honourable form of Government which comes to the same thing as affirming that they are not yet in the enjoyment of the same, what can we of lesser degree expect when we are judged unheard and condemned solely on the word of adversaries bent on dishonouring and ruining us?

»Let the nations of Latin America therefore open their eyes and see that not only the weak are threatened by the vile gallows of American imperialism!...»

* * *

We also reproduce the resolution which the Central American residents in Mexico addressed to Mr. Knox in their indignation against the form and substance, that is to say against the unusual language and uncouth terms employed in this untoward note:

«Mexico, D. F., Dec. 11, 1909.—The Hon. Mr. Phinlander C. Knox, Secretary of State.—Washington, D. C.—Dear Sir: We the undersigned citizens of the Central American Republics have read in the newspapers of this capital the note sent by you to Sr. D. Felipe Rodríguez, Chargé d'Affaires to Nicaragua at Washington on handing him his passport.

»In it you explain the reason for which the Government of the United States has, for cutting of relations with Nicaragua and as we consider some of your opinions inexact and some offensive to the sovereignty of one of the Central American Republics, all of which we look upon as our native country, and the note in question being unusual and discourteous in its whole length, in the character of simple citizens and as a protest of a purely private character, made against a reprehensible and unmerited aggression, we proceed to answer succinctly the charges you bring against the Government of Nicaragua.

»These may be reduced to the following:

»Firstly. That President Zelaya has continually kept Central America in a state of alarm and disorder since the Conventions of Washington in 1907.

»Secondly. That he has repeatedly violated the stipulations of the Convention.

»Thirdly. That by exercising a pernicious influence over Honduras whose neutrality was guaranteed he has endeavoured to undo the sacred obligations of the neutrality, to the serious prejudice of Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala the Governments of which in the meantime struggled to abide by the agreement.

»Fourthly. That under the rule of President Zelaya the republican institutions have ceased to exist in Nicaragua.

»Fifthly. That public opinion and the press have been suppressed and imprisonment has been the only recompense for every tendency making for true patriotism.

»You afterwards enter upon a few considerations as to the situation of Nicaragua during the present administration, which you qualify as a blemish in the pages of that country's history, and you add that in view of the interests of the United States and the part it took in the Conventions of Washington most of the Central American Republics have appealed to your Government against that unfavourable state of affairs and that now there is added to their appeal that of part of the Nicaraguan people, represented by the revolution that exists in Nicaragua.

»You then invoke the execution of the Americans carried out by direct order of President Zelaya and state that the Government of the United States is convinced that the revolution represents the ideal and wishes of the majority of Nicaraguans, better than does their Government.

»We do not propose following you in all the details of your note. The charges contained therein may be reduced in few words to that of

declaring President Zelaya as an infringer of the international treaty, a disturber of the national and international peace and a tyrant whose rule has been a stain on the good name of his country.

»We intend showing you in the course of this letter that either the United States has no right to make the charges they have formed against the Government of Nicaragua or the accusations they have made against that Central American Government are deserving of a better foundation.

»First charge. You say that it is notorious that Zelaya has disturbed the peace of Central America since 1907; but you do not invoke nor cannot a single war having occurred there through the machinations of Zelaya during that time.

»On the other hand we will mention two wars provoked either directly by the United States or by its consent: the revolution of Honduras in 1908 and the present Nicaraguan revolution.

»The first was promoted by the Governments of Salvador and Guatemala and in it the adventurer Cannon, recently shot as were his deserts in Nicaragua, left San Miguel (El Salvador), where he was employed in the police, taking with him the force at his command to join the revolution of Honduras. The American Government passed over the responsibility of the Governments to blame, and resolved in the first place that the accusation presented against them by Honduras before the Court of Arbitration of Cartago should not be made and that they should be acquitted afterwards when they were convinced that it was impossible to avoid the resolution.

»In this way the United States began to discredit the most serious institution created by the treaty of Washington, the Court of Justice of Cartago.

»As to the present Nicaraguan revolution nobody is ignorant at this hour of the part your Government and that of Guatemala have taken; and that the supplies of arms ammunition and men reach them principally from New Orleans (La) and Puerto Barrios, Guatemala. The complicity of the United States is confessed by you, in your note when you say that for your Government the revolution represents the national will of Nicaragua.

»Therefore it is not Zelaya who is the disturber of Central America, but the Government of the United States serving as an instrument to the plans of the President of Guatemala.

»Second charge: Zelaya infringer of the Conventions of Washington.

Neither do you state what are the infringements committed by the President of Nicaragua.

»In view of your omission, we will remind you that one of the conclusions of the treaty was, not to recognize provisional Governments in Central America, and the United States have violated the stipulations referred to not only in the part they have taken in the two revolutions referred to, but also and in a more serious manner, by the official declarations made by you in favour of the revolutionist provisional Government that imply something more than an acknowledgement—a real alliance—, and the protection of the United States for those lawbreakers.

»Third charge. May be reduced to the dishonour brought upon Costa Rica, Salvador and Guatemala by the pernicious influence of President Zelaya in Honduras, the neutrality of which was agreed upon. But apart from the fact that it is not the business of the United States to watch over the prestige of those three Republics, the territory of Honduras has not been violated nor disturbed except by the above mentioned revolution of 1908 of which you know who were the authors; and far from President Zelaya deserving censure, he would be right to arraign his accusers.

»Fourth charge: The tyranny of Zelaya. The Governments of Guatemala and Salvador are so despotic that the respective peoples of both Republics have tried to shake off their oppressors, either by means of conspiracies, or through acts of violence even having recourse to tyrannicide, as the only possible solution for an unbearable and disastrous state of things. More especially the despotism which is the plague of Guatemala is in truth opprobrious and unworthy of modern civilization, notwithstanding which the American Government maintains the best friendship with President Estrada Cabrera, whom the people of Guatemala consider as a cruel homicide, a greedy defrauder of public funds, a man without faith or conscience who sends assassins to the expatriated Guatemalans even to the countries whither they went to seek the tranquillity denied them even in a foreign territory.

»Why can you see only the tyranny of Nicaragua? We are aware that before acting as Secretary of State you exercised the functions of judge; but in view of the terms of your note, we have a right to presume that the notions of justice you may have entertained, were completely dispelled as soon as you saw yourself raised to the high office you now fill.

»Apart from the fact that this charge is not the business of the American Government only the Nicaraguan people have a right to call their

ruler to account; and in the present case the attitude of the Nicaraguan people is notoriously on the side of General Zelaya, as is justified by the circumstance that after two months since the rebellion broke out, it is confined to the towns of Rama and Bluefields in spite of the powerful help that backs it up and that induced the rebel chief to fail in his duty as a servant of the legitimate Government.

»As you assert that the Nicaraguan people wish to shake off their Government, kindly take note of the facts we have appended as they may serve to enlighten your knowledge.

»Since the year 1903 when there was a local movement on the lake of Nicaragua, there has been no revolution against the Government till the present one, which is far from being a national movement.

»In the year 1907 the people of Nicaragua supported President Zelaya in a war against the Government of Salvador and Honduras that had no other object than that of deposing Zelaya from his high post.

»The appeal you mention of the majority of the Central American Governments to your own to free themselves from the Nicaraguan ruler is a confession of the impotence the former are in to depose him by themselves, simply because the revolution finds no sympathy with the people of Nicaragua, which does not prevent President Zelaya from having many political and personal enemies.

»Indeed if the Governments appealing to you had thought it easy to overcome their enemy of Nicaragua by means of a national movement, they would not have hesitated to try it, offering arms and war material to their opposers.

»Fifth charge. Neither have the United States the right, according to international practices to cut off their relations with a Government they formerly recognized for lack of liberty of the press or personal security of the citizens of the country alluded to.

»Nicaragua being a Republic autonomous and independent of the United States or of any other Power, it is clear that no Government has any right to interfere in the administration of its interior; but besides these reasons there exists the circumstance that Salvador and Guatemala stand in the same or worse conditions than those that can exist in Nicaragua, without the United States showing itself preoccupied by cutting off diplomatic relations with both.

»With regard to the appeal referred to of the majority of Central American Republics against the Government of Nicaragua it does not give the Government you represent any right to interfere, because Ni-

caragua is as independent of the other Central American Republics as it is of the United States and if your Government were inspired with principles of justice, it should have first investigated the conditions under which those who appeal to your authority, govern.

»That appeal moreover is a crime of high treason to one's country, which according to our laws authorizes the deposition of such rulers because it is incompatible with the sovereignty and independence of our Republics to resort to a foreign ruler, as a superior authority with jurisdiction for deciding over matters of a private nature to us. And for this reason the people of Central America who in this case represent better than their rulers the national sovereignty not only disapprove of the conduct of the Governments and consequently that of the United States, but also censure it in the strongest manner and condemn it as a dangerous precedent for the cause of national interests.

»Now comes the most important reason contained in the note and in the shooting of two Americans by direct order of President Zelaya; and just because such a fact might apparently justify the proceeding of your Government, we will stop to analyse it.

»The shooting of the two Americans, its character being proved and it having been done with infringement of the laws of Nicaragua would give the United States motive for demanding a pecuniary indemnity and an assurance that such acts will not be repeated in the future.

»But it does not give them the right to kindle afresh a civil war that was drawing to a close nor to trample on the sovereign right of Nicaragua as your Government pretends doing taking upon itself the right to decide over internal affairs, with which no foreign country is justified in meddling.

»Your Government has not studied the question as to whether the execution was one deserved; if the men thus brought to justice had voluntarily renounced their condition as American citizens, by accepting public employment in Central America; if they were professional disturbers of the peace in the United States they would have been lynched without any protestation on the part of the Government you represent.

»None of this you take into account in spite of having cognizance of the adventurous character of both offenders. Your partiality in fudging this fact is revealed most eloquently when you affirm at the end of one of the first paragraphs of your note: that the two criminals were executed by direct orders of President Zelaya.

»If you mean, as may be deduced from the natural sense of your

words, that their execution was a capricious and exclusive act of the President of Nicaragua, you oblige us, much to our regret to tell you most emphatically that you openly and wittingly stray from the truth, because as soon as this incident arose the American consul in the capital informed you that the two men had been condemned to death by a Court martial and that the consul had asked President Zelaya to pardon them.

» You cannot therefore deny that you are perfectly aware that the two transgressors were duly put on their trial.

» It was in President Zelaya's power to commute the sentence of death; but it was not his duty and such leniency at such a moment would have produced a bad effect on his loyal troops part of whom had been on the point of falling victims to the explosion of a mine laid by Cannon and Groce.

» If the United States are disposed to uphold as a measure of government the impunity of every American even if he be a fugitive from the prisons of the Union, they may be sure that very soon their immigration will be hated and abominated.

» And now you maintain that the United States should employ her Fleet to avenge the death of two men, who had they remained on American soil, would have passed the best part of their lives in a penitentiary.

» You say that the Government of Zelaya will be considered a stain on the pages of the history of Nicaragua. The historians will relate it with a criticism more impartial than yours and less biassed by passion. But what indeed is a singular anomaly is that a powerful nation like the United States should be guilty of acts so indecorous as the one perpetrated against the Republic of Nicaragua and we are sure that the independent American and European press in weighing over the terms in which you express yourself will say that, if the United States possess extensive territory, a numerous population and considerable capital, on this occasion they have lacked statesmen sufficiently fitted to know how to represent them with decorum.

» The crime of Zelaya against the American Government is none other than that of defending the autonomy of Nicaragua against the encroachments of imperialism; and for this reason, the more the Government of Zelaya is condemned by that of the States the more its errors and shortcomings will be exaggerated by the peoples of Central America and even the whole of Latin America. And therefore it is that we who

form a collective body of personal opinions very different as regards the appreciation that President Zelaya is deserving of us—there being amongst us friends, enemies and those of indifferent opinion with regard to him—we are perfectly agreed in acknowledging that this ruler in the present crisis represents the cause of the dignity and independence of Central America against the pretensions of a Government hostile to our sovereignty.

»Since 1906 the United States have intervened in the affairs of Central America and it would appear that they deliberately wished to further the cause of tyranny to the detriment of nations. Thus instead, of seeing to it that the Central American Government should guarantee for their subjects civil and political rights and bind themselves to the observance and respect of the laws, they lent themselves to the protection of the most tyrannical Governments of Central America on condition they promised a servile submission and humiliating vassalage to the American Government.

»These are the simple and abstract considerations, their observations born of facts and that can be proved by the testimony of all who possess knowledge of the same.

»In 1906 President Roosevelt checked a war against Salvador and Guatemala eleven days after it had begun, without ascertaining its cause nor what were the difficulties to be solved. That was a serious error, which subsequent events have proved and instead of Mr. Roosevelt offering peace to Central America by that action, he prepared for it a series of calamities and disasters of which the end is difficult to foresee. Indeed the war between Salvador and Guatemala would have resulted in the doing away with Estrada Cabrera as President of Guatemala, which was the end sought after and it would have restored peace and concord between the Governments of the Isthmus.

»But as the war was suspended, Cabrera availed himself of this circumstance and was able to ally himself with the new Government of Salvador, after which, he began first the war between Honduras and Salvador on the one hand, Nicaragua on the other, with the preconceived plan of getting rid of Zelaya in 1907; and as the latter came off victorious, Estrada Cabrera provoked the revolution of Honduras, in agreement with Salvador evidently with the same end in view, for not finding sufficient submissiveness in the Government of Honduras for his predatory ends he decided to change it for others that might better serve his plans of hostility against Nicaragua. He failed yet again in his

attempt for the Government of Honduras defeated the revolution in 1908. Finally and always in agreement with the Government of the United States, he was able to provoke the revolution of Bluefields as the only means remaining to him for undoing the enemy's Government.

»So that the American policy since 1906 has been the cause of a war every year in Central America; the suspension of the war in 1906, effected by American influence has brought upon Central America three wars instead of one, much more disastrous than the one checked by Mr. Roosevelt.

»We Central Americans are therefore right in mistrusting the policy of the United States and in believing that far from having our tranquillity and well-being at heart they endeavour to weaken our countries with continual disturbances, the better to subject them, either directly or through the instrumentality of tyrants under their protection.

»After what has been said, it is but natural to ask whether the American Government, in its relations with Central America is really acting in the interest of the people of the United States or for a very different cause. The Americans resident in Central America as well as their interests are comparatively inferior to those of other foreigners and do not give rise to the trouble which on account of the American colony the Government of the United States is continually giving; and most assuredly at the present moment there reigns a marked prejudice in all our countries against American immigrants owing to the aggressiveness of their Government; and for the same reason the natural consequence of the aggressive and uncalled for policy of the United States is to create difficulties for the extension of American immigration and interests in Central America. There must therefore exist a different reason for explaining the irregular conduct of the United States towards us and that reason is to be found in the pecuniary interests of a few Americans involved in negotiations, leonine for the most part, with President Estrada Cabrera, under the shadow of which they despoil our peoples to their own profit and that of their ally the ruler of Guatemala.

»It is well known amongst us that these financiers by means of their connections in Washington have succeeded in influencing the Government of the United States, to induce it to act in the way it is doing.

»It appears therefore that the Government of the United States is lead away by a few private interests for the protection of which *the American people are deceived by making them believe that it is a question of promoting their interests, when in reality all that is being done*

is to stray from the proverbial honesty and uprightness of the primitive founders of the Union, for the benefit of a few millionaires who happen to enjoy good relations with the high functionaries of the American Government.

»The conclusions to be drawn from the above are:

»Firstly. That the Government of the United States has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Central America for any of the reasons indicated by you in your note and we affirm that the purpose of your Government is to censure an attack on Nicaragua beginning by exciting and inflaming political passions and taking advantage of the credulity and disloyalty of a few Central Americans.

»Secondly. That if the Government of Nicaragua could be held responsible for the execution of Cannon and Groce it would not furnish the United States ground for favouring the revolution of Bluefields and thus causing the blood of the Nicaraguan people to flow.

»Thirdly. That Nicaragua is justified in supposing that the present revolution has been promoted by the Government of the United States and has a perfect right to demand from the said Government an indemnity sufficient to answer for the loss life and property which your Government has caused by its irregular manner of proceeding.

»Fourthly. That if the Government of the United States were mistaken in its conduct towards the Government of Nicaragua and sought in good faith an equitable and impartial solution of the conflict it would at once have accepted the mediation offered by the Government of Mexico for a peaceful settlement, a mediation which was offered according to the declaration of this Government to the representatives of the press.

»Fifthly. That if this means had not appeared advisable to them they might have proposed to Nicaragua the submitting and deciding of the question to the Court of The Hague in accordance with the Pan-American treaty made by the Congress from the same countries held in that city.

»Sixthly. And that finally in view of the obstinacy with which the American Government persists in following the erroneous way in this conflict instead of obeying the dictates of justice.

»We, citizens of the five Republics of Central America declare: that your note is an attempt to violate the sovereignty and dignity of our common country, and especially of the Republic of Nicaragua; that we consider that the aforesaid note is not inspired by the feelings of a Government friendly to our country and we therefore protest against the

aggression which your Government is committing against Nicaragua and we call upon all our fellow citizens on and outside the soil of Central America to be on the lookout as to the dominating and absorbing tendencies of the American Government in order that should the opportunity arrive, they may act in the way demanded by patriotism and the independence of our five Republics.

»As an act of justice due to the respect the people of the United States as a nation deserves at our hands, we declare that we do not hold them responsible for the conduct of their Government, but that we are persuaded that the Americans, who respect the truth and cultivate morality and justice, will be the first to acknowledge we have right on our side and to censure the arbitrary action of their Government.»

* * *

By the above statements we now consider the famous note of mister Knox sufficiently refuted and that we have made it clear that both his conduct and his document may be taken as the effect of all the efforts which the tyrant of Guatemala and his accomplices had been incessantly making, the synthesis of all the plans plotted against Nicaragua by the bloodthirsty Guatemalan monster and American imperialism.

Estrada Cabrera was unable to see impassively that Nicaragua was worthily settling her administrative and international difficulties and was exercising a friendly influence over the Republics of Costa Rica and Honduras as was recently evidenced by the triumph of the candidature of Jiménez.

The triumph of this candidature exasperated him so much because it meant for him the loss of the majority in the Court of Cartago and wishing to avoid it at all hazards he immediately formed in Costa Rica, as they had already done with Dr. D. Luis Anderson in the United States, a commission that it might furnish funds and men to Juan J. Estrada, which he entrusted to his protégé and defeated Rafael Iglesias, thus favouring the revolution that was to break out in Bluefields and the object of which was also to prevent Jiménez coming to Power.

Read what on this head is said by *La República*, an old and accredited journal of San José (Costa Rica), taken from a letter published in the *Diario del Hogar*, of Mexico (Dec. 8, 1909), and that bears the signature of S. Cortés Durán:

«We republicans said, although we never thought that the Govern-

ment of General Zelaya would fall nor that its fall could affect our triumph, we did see from the beginning with pleasure the energetic and valiant defense made by the neighbouring Government, a target for the shots of Estrada Cabrera, allied with his rival here Rafael Iglesias...

»The Nicaraguan revolutionist movement supported by the rival of Rafael Iglesias in Guatemala is proved by the following facts:

»1st The Government of Honduras captured in neutral waters a shipment of war material sent by Estrada Cabrera to the revolutionists. This cargo of ammunition and war material was interned through Dávila and constitutes to-day the death and total destruction of the efforts of Juan Estrada and his companions.

»2nd The confidential agent of the dictator of Guatemala himself is spending a few days' holiday in Tegucigalpa in virtue of legal concentration. ✓

»3rd Whole bands of labourers from estates of the united civilistas (partisans of civil government) were recruited and despatched to the revolutionary camp. ✓

»4th Rafael Iglesias made constant public and secret visits, mysterious and unaccountable to a certain señor Paz who is the envoy of war and rebellion amongst us of the dark Sultan of Guatemala.

»5th And finally, gentlemen, how is that the red buttons were displayed on the lapels of the civilistas at the same time that the treachery of Estrada burst forth in Bluefields.»

La Iberia, a morning paper of Mexico, corroborates these assertions in the following article published on Nov. 21, 1909:

«THE SITUATION OF NICARAGUA AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES.—THE DYNASTY OF THE ESTRADAS.

»By cable comes the news that the United States recognized the belligerency of the revolutionists who, forgetting the most elementary notions of patriotism took up arms against the Government presided over by General Zelaya en Nicaragua.

»If the news proves true, which the long standing sympathy between the American Government and the dictator of Guatemala, Manuel Estrada Cabrera, would make believe, it will demonstrate with the eloquent force of facts, the bitter truth of the thesis laid down by the famous Mexican writer D. Francisco Bulnes: «When a strong party advocates

»war..., International Rights, the eternal principals of justice, the immutable precepts of morality, are maximes to be answered by cannon shot.»

»If the Government of the United States has recognized that belligerency, that Government has failed in the accomplishment of its duty and has given a disastrous example to the small Republics of the Isthmus of which it has wished to set itself up as guardian and guide. It has shown by such conduct outside all international custom and in contradiction to American traditions themselves, that the interest it professed for the peace of Central America was insincere, an interest and action which so far has only favoured the absolute enthronement of the savage tyranny of Estrada Cabrera in Guatemala.

»How can the Government of Washington recognize the belligerency of the Nicaraguan traitors against the clear stipulations of the treaty signed in that same city at the end of 1907? That treaty was made under the pressure of the American Government under its inspection and that of the Government of Mexico. Both Governments, that intervened as protectors of the small turbulent Republics and in the interest of civilization and peace, lent their moral support that the obligations incurred in the solemn compact would be strictly observed. One of these obligations implies the strougest denial of insurrectional right and even to the sovereignty of peoples agreed upon, to the end of maintaining tyranny entire and of leaguuing the despots against them, and was the one to the effect that the contracting parties should not recognize any Government that should arise from a revolutionist movement. If this has been stipulated in a solemn compact that also binds the Government of the United States how could the latter recognize the belligerency of the Nicaraguan traitors? How was it able to recognize them as legimate persons even before they constituted a regular Government? Is it that compacts bind the weak but can be laughed at with impunity by the strong?

»If this is what the Government of Taft, can do, which may be considered a civilized Government and one with a civilizing mission in the American Continent, with what right can the Central Americans be expected to meet their obligations?

»The Governments of Central America confederate in Washington and under American inspiration, declared the political emigrants who fled those countries devoured by tyranny to be traitors and dissolving elements. And now the Government of Washington recognizes the traitors as elements of order!...

»This dark and machiavelian policy intended to augment the nefa-

rious despotism of Cabrera over the whole of Central America is what in the end must undeceive the Latin peoples with regard to the dogged altruism that the Americans show in the affairs of that region. Above all it has had the advantage of stimulating patriotism in Nicaragua, for the mere announcement that the revolution was supported by Cabrera, and the Americans his unconditional friends, the people hastened to rally round General Zelaya to fight with him against the traitors.

»The nefarious work of these will be handed down to history. They seek not liberty with the mantle of which they cloak themselves hypocritically; they seek the satisfaction of mean ambition even at the cost of sinking their country under foreign yoke. They seek not liberty nor is the name of Juan Estrada who heads the treacherous faction any guarantee, for Estrada is the creature of General Zelaya, whose favours he has requited with infamy; he is a Herbert Barron. They seek not liberty for those who fight for her, need not resort to foreign aid, which is never granted gratuitously nor can they ever wipe out the stain of invoking so hateful an intervention.

»This very name of Estrada is hateful to Central America. It was an Estrada who, out of ambition to continue in power, against the wish of the people, jeopardized the sovereignty of Cuba. It is an Estrada the Estrada Cabrera of Guatemala, who holds this people prostrate, full of canker and he is handing it over to the foreign conqueror helpless and hand tied, who has been unwilling to take it because he considers it more expedient to strangle it once and for all. And finally another Estrada, the Nicaraguan who makes a public show, without the slightest shame, of his treachery to his friend and chief to his country and the Latin American race, which is our great Fatherland...»

* * *

From the article we have just inserted from *La Iberia* it is clearly seen that the support given by the Government of the United States to that of Nicaragua is against all moral principles and in opposition to the compact made on Dec. 20, 1907, at Washington.

To bring if possible into stronger relief the immorality we have just referred to, we here reproduce the article that the *Gil Blas* of Mexico published on Dec. 11, 1909, with reference to the words contained in a message of Mr. Taft to the American Congress.

These are the words:

«A REVOLUTION WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME WEEKS PASSED
IN AN ORDERLY MANNER IN NICARAGUA...

»This is what Mr. Taft says in his message to Congress.

»I should like to know if President Taft would consider «orderly» any revolution in his «empire» or if this piece of news is one of the many lies which for a month past have been written and telegraphed as to the amiable Republics of the Lakes.

»Zelaya has been described as a cruel and wicked man, a tyrant of the Middle Ages, and many other such complements have been paid him. And all this said or written by enemies of his, more personal than political.

»But few there are that know the man.

»Zelaya is no doubt to-day the victim of his bitter adversary Estrada Cabrera who could not be reconciled to the victory of Jiménez in Costa Rica, a victory supported by Nicaragua and that has caused Guatemala to lose that supremacy she coveted in the Court of Cartago.

»This is the origin of the revolution carried on with funds of the poor Republic of Guatemala; whilst to satisfy the pride of an insignificant operatic tyrant the kingdom of Estrada Cabrera is in a state of ruin and with the coin at 1.800 %.

»The political act of the United States in the actual moment of Nicaragua has no precedent in any nation unless in the United States themselves in regard to Cuba and Panamá. To-day it is no error to affirm that the great Republic of the North foments revolutions and recognizes the belligerency of insurgents.

»It is not a very noble act to make a display of ones fleet against a defenseless country of 450.000 inhabitants. The training-ship *Wilkesburg* an old thres mast schooner with an auxiliary engine is more than sufficient to bombard ports like Corinto, formidable fortresses consisting of a quay and half a dozen houses... all defenseless. For such an exploit it is not necessary to run aground a cruiser of the type of the *Praire*, which is a good sample of the skill of the naval commanders in a case so urgent as this one.

»Nor is it necessary to despatch to Greytown a whole fleet that after all is obliged to remain five miles from the coast for the bar of the river San Juan does not allow a nearer approach. Such a display of strength

is indeed ridiculous against a defenseless country and that solely possesses in Corinto (*The Momotombo*) an old towing boat of 250 tons and on the lakes a few little steamers that when necessary are transported by rail from Managua to Corinto. •

»To go from Corinto to Managua and Granada, the Government of Nicaragua possesses a magnificent railway of its own. It is one of the countries of Central America of which the management of the railway system is not in foreign hands and much less American. It is undeniable that Zelaya is no friend of enterprise of adventurers in his country.

»Lately he obtained a loan of L 1.250.000 in France. This new triumph was not calculated to please the emperor of Guatemala, who vainly tries to secure some loan. Nicaragua is a beautiful country and richer than her neighbours. It is the agricultural emporium of Central America and supplies Costa Rica and Salvador with meat and grain. Its soil is of an incredible fertility, its coffee fetches the highest prices. The mining industry of Chontales is the most flourishing of Central America, the disposal of its bonds and shares is easy in Europe, so much so that it is said that the mines of Nicaragua are «the fashion». The foreigner is protected as in few other countries and Zelaya is the first to wish to know personally those that form part of the different flourishing colonies.

»The capital punishment of the two Americans was an act of justice in keeping with the laws of the country. The foreigner to whom those laws are displeasing is at liberty to go in search of a freer country if indeed such an one can be found. I should like to know what the United States would have done with two foreigners armed in that «regular style» against the Government of Washington.

»What is ridiculous in the telegrams that are read daily is the ease with which the insurgents of the Atlantic mobilize and the difficulty with which the forces of the Government operate.

»Anyone acquainted with Nicaragua knows perfectly well that the vitality of the country lies on the Pacific and the Lakes. For instance the departments of Managua, Masaya, Granada, Chinandega, Rivas and Chontales. There you have labour wealth agriculture and mining. That is what forms the real Republic of Nicaragua.

»But what is there on the Atlantic? Nothing or next to nothing, a few banana plantations and the port of San Juan del Norte (Greytown) a straggling group of houses, tenanted chiefly by negroes from Jamai-

ca. From the Atlantic to Chontales virgin forests, from Monkey Point to the great Lake of Granada swamps and woodland. Six months ago the Government of Zelaya signed a contract with the Batignolles Company of France for examining and exploiting this virgin and abandoned region.

»The revolutionists have occupied this region at present sterile and unproductive and wish to form a Republic apart in a region where at present human life is impossible.

»All this is unknown to those unacquainted with Nicaragua; but he who has visited it in detail, is aware how the real Republic has not suffered in the least, the cities and wealth of which are situated on the Pacific slope and well defended by loyal troops.

»Managua is a stronghold excellently defended and to take it by storm would require a well organized army inured to warfare, which the rebel generals do not dispose of.

»The faults of General Zelaya are alone dwelt upon, and little account is taken of the by no means few merits standing to his credit.

»The pages of his life are full of brilliant deeds. He is one of the Presidents of Central America, who possess that profound culture, that is acquired only by travel. Zelaya has reformed his country, that was enslaved by a fanatical clergy and he has reorganized it.

»He does not belong to that class of Presidents that hide from public gaze like that of Guatemala. The day when it shall be necessary, he himself will go forth at the head of his army and his presence alone will inspire his troops with valour. He has often been on the battlefield, and has given ample proofs of generalship and strategy I cannot believe that it is his intention to flee. He is too much of a patriot and he is too well aware that his country would fall into terrible ruin the day it lacked his strong will and iron arm. It is a country of which, when all is said and done, it may be said as on the coins of Chili: «By right or force.»

»The intervention of the United States has certainly been brought about by the difficulties that the American capital has found in Nicaraguan markets, in transactions that would have meant for the little Republic the loss of her sovereignty, and more than all, that intervention has been secured by the Government of Estrada Cabrera, who amongst other things upholds in Guatemala *La Mañana*, the program of which, is the taking away from the prestige of the neighbouring Republic, with Nicaraguan directors, open enemies of Zelaya.

»These and many other things are not spoken of in the telegrams which are daily sent to show the tyranny of Zelaya and the ruin of Nicaragua.

»I am personally acquainted with President Zelaya and Estrada Cabrera. I have also a familiar and detailed acquaintance with the two republics and I have no wish to draw a parallel between the future and liberty of a rich country like Nicaragua by the side of a country that is going to ruin under the influence of an impoverished treasury and an autocracy that deprives it of all liberty, like Guatemala.

»And after all we shall see the final result of the aggressive policy of the colossus of the North against the small Republic of the Lakes. We ought not to forget that for Nicaragua it is very easy to construct the Interoceanic Canal which they are trying to make in Panamá with such disastrous results but which are kept hidden from the world. With the millions of dollars spent by the United States up to the present in Panamá the Canal of Nicaragua would be an accomplished fact.

»I should like a little attention to be given also to the second part to explain the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, an intervention that might be analagous to the one realized with such a happy result in Nov. 1903 in Panamá.—*Inirepsag.*»

* * *

We think it may be of use to reproduce the following article, published in the paper *Anahuac*, of Mexico, under date of Jan. 9, 1910:

«EX-PRESIDENT ZELAYA AND THE TRAITORS.

»Ex-President Zelaya has been amongst us for twelve days. The reporters of the capitoline press have filed past him in search of information with regard to the actual struggle which is taking place midst the people, that formerly amid acclamations and rejoicings, raised him to the highest of offices, the Presidency and who at present, after being at one time his friends and protegés, treacherously rise up to cast him from them. It matters little that to obtain this end it should be necessary to have recourse to the Great Tyrant, the Colossus of the North, nor that the chain of slavery should subject a nation, as long as the base object in view be secured. But as soon as the blood that Cain spilled flows

in torrents, fertilising the fields of Nicaragua, President Zelaya, with a greatness of soul that places him far above his enemies, when he sees that his remaining in Power carries with it a threat for his mother country, when the latter is in imminent danger of losing its autonomy, he, the dictator; he who has been insulted by his own followers and by strangers; he who committed the great crime of defending the honour of his nation; he who bows not his forehead before the inhuman yankee, with a dignity that should serve as an example to his detractors and more than one tyrant, quits his native land, and resigns office, because he feels that by such an act, bondage will not be the lot of Nicaragua, because the knows that the people are not responsible for the crime of a few traitors.

»And after all this, Zelaya is called a tyrant and a dictator. As for ourselves it is impossible to style him as such, because a traitor sacrifices everything, even what is most sacred to his ambition; a tyrant is incapable of feeling all the weight of slavery, and will never prefer exile to the liberty of his people, to the welfare of his nation. But even supposing that his fellow-citizens may reproach him for such a crime, which he is very far from having committed, leaving Nicaragua to avoid the intervention of the United States, that, against all right, and trampling upon all that exists, presume to widen their dominions, Zelaya has given a high example of patriotism, of love of liberty, for he prefers banishment rather than see his country enslaved, he prefers proscription to the tears drawn from the eyes by the master's whip.

»That is why ex-President Zelaya has shown himself great and worthy of bearing Latin blood in his veins.

»But, should this not suffice, there is the balance sheet of his administration, which, he leaves behind him with his people to his memory. And that there may be nothing wanting to his great work he who has renounced everything for his country's sake offers it, on his departure, as a last sacrifice, what a tyrant will never cease loving: his blood, his life.

»After the above let it be said Zelaya is a tyrant; let his enemies taunt him with the name of dictator.—*Duke of Nizas.*»

* * *

After the opinions already inserted of the press of Mexico and Central America, see the correspondence sent from Madrid to the great Argentine daily *La Nación*, of Buenos Aires, in February of the current year:

«THE ANTIDIPLMACY.—A NOTE FROM MR. KNOX.

»The arrival of the ex President of Nicaragua General Zelaya has been an event that has given rise to different comments in the press on recent events which still command attention. What calls for special comment is the violent manner in which the United States intervened in favour of the revolutionists. A daily of such authority as the one directed by Sr. Romeo a person highly esteemed in the circles of the European press, *La Correspondencia de España* justly states: «The variation of the order of things in that republic in consequence of the intermeddling of the United States, is a topic of the hour. To the note which the American Secretary of State Mr. Knox recently addressed to the Chargé d’Affaires of Nicaragua and to the declarations made on the same matter by President Taft in his message to the American Congress, many Central American residents in Mexico reply in solemn and unmistakable protest against the United States, published by the Mexican press and in which all the responsibility for the present disturbance in Central America is laid at the door of the American Government.»

»Nothing could be more fairly put. The signatures to the protest are not only Nicaraguan citizens but also belong to the other Central American republics and there are some that were formerly enemies of the administration of Zelaya. Nevertheless in the face of the attitude of a Knox who destroys all the ground gained by the tendencies of a Root, they have not hesitated in launching forth their protest:

«The crime of Zelaya with the American Government is none other than that of defending the autonomy of Nicaragua against the advances of imperialism; and on this ground the more the Government of Zelaya is condemned by the American, the greater will be the sympathy felt for him by the people of Central America and even in the whole of Latin America, whatever they may be elsewhere. And for this reason it is that we who form a collective body of opinions very different as regards what President Zelaya deserves separately at our hands, there being amongst us friends, enemies and those of an indifferent opinion with regard to himself, we are fully agreed in acknowledging that this ruler in the present crisis represents the cause of dignity and independence of Central America against the pretensions of a Government hostile to its sovereignty.»

»These are the facts of the case. General Zelaya on coming to Europe has sought to make himself heard and to expound the truth of what has occurred in the face of universal opinion. Being a man foreign to vain rhetoric he will shortly publish a work in few words but accompanied by many documents and vindicative proofs, that will show forth the part which the Government of Guatemala and that of the United States have taken in the development of the events that have caused the disturbance of peace and the loss of so many lives in Nicaragua.

»In very truth, never in any Chancellery of the world has such a tone of language been employed as that observed in the note of Knox to the representative of Nicaragua in Washington. Never has the power of might shown such cynicism. The spirit of a great nation upheld by a Root, a Emilio Mitre or a Joaquín Nabuco spoke not through the mouth-piece of the Chancellor of Mr. Taft.

»After reading the weary and violent note of Mr. Knox I immediately thought of the moment in which in the Monroe palace of Rio de Janeiro, the correct firm and undoubtedly skilful North American Secretary of State could be heard pronouncing words such as these to the representatives of all the nations of America: «We consider the independence and equality of rights of the lesser and weaker family of nations entitled to as much respect as the great empires and we consider the observance of such respect as the principal guarantee for the weak against the oppression of the strong. We do not pretend to or desire any right, privilege or power that we do not freely grant to each severally of the American Republics. We desire to increase our prosperity, enlarge our commerce, increase our wealth, knowledge and breadth of mind, but our conception of the true means of realizing this end is not that of overthrowing others and profiting by their downfall but by helping all friends towards one common prosperity and development so that we may all raise ourselves up and together become stronger.»

»It is possible to argue, to suspect the bottom, the intentions or ulterior plans of the ex Chancellor but the fact is undeniable that in the presence of the third international American Congress, his words were those of a man of long-sightedness and prudent and well advised policy. And then Mr. Root added: «In a few months for the first time the acknowledged owners of every foot of land in American Continents may be and I hope will be recognized as having equal sovereignty in the Universal Congress of The Hague. Let us all help to prove that for all the

»members of the human family, liberty for which we have struggled and
»laboured is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in crea-
»ting and maintaining and making effectual the pan-American public
»opinion, the force of which may have an influence in international con-
»duct and prevent international errors and diminish the causes for war
»and ever preserve our free countries from the weight of those arma-
»ments that are being heaped up behind the frontier of Europe and let it
»bring us each time nearer the perfection of a well ordered liberty.»
All this was naturally calculated to inspire the Hispano-American Go-
vernments and especially the weaker and smaller countries with confi-
dence. The elephant on that memorable occasion did not wish to make
its weight felt. Very different are the opinions and attitude of the pre-
sent extremely excited Secretary of State who considers as natural feudal
possessions of the great Republic the small neighbouring Republics and
for whom he considers the sole necessary treatment is the application
of the celebrated big stick.

»In the protest to which I have referred it is proved that if the United
States have not provoked, they have at least been a consenting party in
Central America to the revolution of Honduras in 1908 and the present
revolution in Nicaragua: «The first—declares the document in ques-
»tion—was promoted by the Governments of Salvador and Guatemala and
»in it the adventurer Cannon recently and deservedly shot in Nicaragua
»left San Miguel (Salvador) where he was employed in the police taking
»with him the force under his command to join the revolution in Hondu-
»ras. The American Government passed over the responsibility of the
»guilty Governments and insisted firstly that the accusation presented
»against them by Honduras before the Court of arbitration of Cartago
»should not be made and afterwards that they should be acquitted when
»they were convinced that it was impossible to avoid the accusation.
»In this way the United States began discrediting the most serious ins-
»titution created by the treaty of Washington the Court of Justice of Car-
»tago.» All this is perfectly correct as also what follows with regard
to the recent events in Nicaragua: «As to the present Nicaraguan revo-
»lution no one at present ignores the part taken by the Government of
»the United States and that of Guatemala; and that the reinforcements
»and supplies of arms ammunition and men reach them principally from
»New Orleans (La), Puerto Barrios (Guatemala). The complicity of the
»United States is owned in the note when it is said that for that Govern-
»ment the revolution represents the national will of Nicaragua.» This

is how the protest refutes point for point the arguments of the note of Mr. Knox: the pretended violation of the stipulations of the Convention of Washington; the intermeddling in the affairs of Honduras and Costa Rica, the governmental regime of General Zelaya and tyranny. All these exaggerations are refuted or explained by well founded reasons. The will on the other hand form part of the work to be published shortly in Europe by President Zelaya, in which the basis of justice as before stated will be supported by authentic and abundant documentary evidence. It will not contain a single assertion unaccompanied by its complementary proof and then indeed general opinion will be furnished with a positive knowledge of the flagrant injustice of the American Chancellery.

»President Roosevelt and Minister Elihu Root, who were better acquainted with the ins and outs of Central American affairs and who followed a very different tendency altogether look upon the policy of the Nicaraguan Government and the personality of President Zelaya in two different lights.

»The execution of the filibusterers and outcasts Cannon and Groce will also be explained and justified in every detail. General Zelaya does not propose seeking notoriety; but he wishes to be heard by the impartial minds of statesmen and reasonable and just citizens of the whole world who take an interest in a case that concerns the right of nations.

»Even in the United States there are some who consider the note of Mr. Knox an unwarrantable offence against the sovereignty of a people which must continue to be acknowledged, until in a Congress opposed to that of The Hague the absolute liberty of the lion's claw be declared by an Assembly of lions. Until then the voice of him who shall denounce before the world this fresh abuse of American power will have to be heard.»



We have just reproduced the brilliant article of *La Nación* of Buenos Aires. We will proceed to reproduce other articles of the Central American press in order that the matter may be known in all its details:

« THE NICARAGUAN QUESTION .

(From *La República*, of Costa Rica.)

» We have opposed the revolution of Nicaragua because in the first moment it did not raise a banner of fixed principles, being as it is the work of an inexplicable and guilty plotting between active conservatives and false liberals: in one word between Juan Estrada, type of military and civil traitor, and Emilio Chamorro who for some years has been persecuting the Presidency of the neighbouring country with a perseverance worthy of efforts unsullied by the shadow and ridicule of the crooked ways as was his first act on Oct. 10 last in Bluefields.

» That revolutionist movement was moreover fomented in the United States of North America and that is why we have considered it dangerous from the beginning; at its birth it was nursed by Estrada Cabrera nothing more and that is why we repudiated it stroagly on breaking out, as we could not conceive Central American hegemonies patronized by a dictatorship; and it was applauded effectively supported here by the partisans of civil Government (Civilism) under the orders of Sr. D. Rafael Iglesias Castro and for that reason we repelled it with repugnance for we are well aware that the civil Government party has filtered its fantastic legitimate and filibustering triumph with what support it could receive, before the 8th of May 1910 from its Conservative companions of Nicaragua and of the so called clog liberals.

» To-day we oppose, the revolutionary activity that *El Pacifico* defends with so much tenacity, for other fundamental reasons.

» The first is that the Nicaraguan revolution that only counts in its ranks 3.000 soldiers in a country of 600.000 inhabitants and of which the zone of influence only reaches 200 kilometres in leugth, in a territory of 130.000 square kilometres in extent, cannot be considered triumphant as long as it is localized in a port such as Bluefields as long as it is not sanctioned by the supreme power of national opinion; reasons, which prevent all efforts made by the revolutionists to entrust the triumph of their cause to extraneous elements, when they should entrust all to their own efforts.

» The second reason is that no American country and much less Nicaragua that has had the grievous experience of 1856 and 1857 and no po-

litical cause, let it be called liberal or conservative, should appeal, less now than ever, to American aid to consolidate its régime at any time.

»The Republics of Central America signed on Dec. 20, 1907, a general treaty of peace and friendship under the patronage of the Governments of the United States and Mexico, during the famous conference of Washington, honoured by the presence of MM. Buchanan and Creel, according to which treaty they cannot recognize Governments that may arise in the Isthmus through a coup d'état or civil war, but only when the people by free elections, shall have chosen their representatives and when such Governments shall have been organized in a constitutional manner.

»It is a natural consequence that clause, followed by another that forbids the intervention of the United States in the civil wars of the contracting parties, binds in absolutely legal terms all the Governments of Central America and morally those of the United States and Mexico, who if they did not sign those diplomatic documents took part in the original deliberations through their representatives.

»And it is absurd to believe that the White House, for instance, should wish to profit by the text of those treaties in all that might favour them; and that it may violate the same in all that might be prejudicial to it, under certain circumstances.

»Therefore we maintain in the columns of this newspaper that the American intervention in Nicaragua in the conflict created by the revolution of Estrada and Chamorro, is in all respects illegal for it is evident to all who would see, that it has in appearance three distinct phases: firstly, disavowal and attach of the Government of General Zelaya at a most inopportune moment for doing so; secondly, the utilizing of a sentimental reason (the shooting of two American revolutionists) to cloak their intentions, and to lead astray the criticism of the world with regard to the motives that actuate the offensive conduct of that Chancellery; and thirdly, a decided protection to the revolutionists, given, contrary to the spirit and letter of the treaties of Washington, an attitude which implies undoubtedly the exercise of a political protectorate over Nicaragua, which will in future find echo in Central America and which if tolerated by the Chancelleries of the five republics will have fatal and farreaching consequences in our country.»

«THE IMPERIALISM OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATIONAL PRESS.
INSULTS TO NICARAGUA.

»At length the United States have burst forth, and being unable to contain themselves any longer have broken off diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, but not as civilized nations, that respect one another do, but like bullies of the gutter that spit into the face of their rival all the spite they feel in such language as must make to blush all the Chancelleries of the world that can never have kept in their archives a note so unsuitable and improper in a nation that considers itself great. Either the Secretary of State, Knox, has not the slightest notion of what diplomacy means, or the Government of White House, looking down from the summit of its Capitol upon the insignificance of Nicaragua thought it might be excused from observing towards her the most elementary rules of education but treat her with the least amount of courtesy possible. The most backward and least esteemed country of America has never been nor ever will be capable of issuing such a document and the note in question will remain unique of its kind for we do not think any other country would try to imitate it.

»All Knox's hatred is directed against President Zelaya, as if he had any right to set himself up as his judge, he makes him responsible for the disturbances in Central America from 1907 for the influence that Nicaragua has over Honduras (that is where the shoe pinches him) he involves Costa Rica, that has kept itself entirely aloof, charges him with having destroyed the republican institutions quashed the press and public opinion, etc...; and still the note declares there remains yet more to say; but that he does not say it out of the personal considerations he owes to Sr. Felipe Rodríguez, representative of Nicaragua.

»He goes on to say that the majority of the Central American Republics have appealed to Washington and that now the Nicaraguan also, having taken up arms have made the same appeal; he recalls the shooting of the filibusters Cannon and Groce and speaks of the cruelties, which, according to report, preceded the execution in question; he qualifies the administration of Zelaya as cruel and charges him unjustly also, of rendering impossible the residence of an American Minister at Managua. «From whatever point of view, he adds it is evident that the »United States cannot afford to fail in its duty to itself to its citizens to »its dignity, to Central America and to civilization.»

» Here we have again the subject of civilization.

» In its name the United States commit the greatest injustices recorded in modern history and yet they continue in their pride to believe that they are really working for the cause of civilization and humanity when they oppress weak nations, despoil them, unmercifully kill those who fight for their independence and excel, by their atrocities the horrors of the conquests of the Middle Ages. Of all the charges brought against Zelaya only one has a foot to stand on, the shooting of American filibusters and even this finds its justification for it is now ascertained that they were properly tried, legally sentenced and without subjecting them to any cruel treatment.

» He passes on to considerations as to the ideals of the revolutionist Estrada and his partisans; he expresses his conviction that the western region has risen in arms or is about to do so and deduces from this that there is no longer any legal Government in Nicaragua, with whom to treat now who can be made responsible for the shooting of the Americans; that consequently he ignores Zelaya (*sic*) for whose Government he has no longer any respect or confidence; and that he will treat directly with all the contending parties whom he will make answerable for the lives and property of American subjects. That is the pretext for breaking the rule the United States have ever followed of recognizing Governments in fact...; and Zelaya besides being a ruler by right, he is so also in fact, however much they may regret it, for he still rules over the greater part of Nicaragua and the revolutionists in spite of all the protection they have received are still confined to a few points on the eastern coast.

» But the most curious thing is that he does not find any one from whom to demand redress for the shooting of his countrymen, for he does not think it just to make the innocent people of Nicaragua nor Estrada responsible, because it was perfectly justifiable; he awaits till there shall be a Minister in Managua, before acting and he dwells upon the idea of calling to account the real responsible parties, those who perpetrated the tortures, if this can be proved. We do not think this will be proved as there were no such tortures, nor that he will succeed in calling Zelaya to book, for he has no jurisdiction over him. Claims are made from Government to Government and not from a Government to a ruler or to a private individual.

» Be it as it may, for the present the United States will abstain from demanding reparation and even from taking measures for protecting

North American life and property. This is the best justification of Zelaya, the most conclusive proof that those lives and interests have not been threatened.

»For the future he sketches the policy he proposes to follow with the Government that may be established; to bind it to an agreement by which it shall be obliged to respect the Conventions of Washington. That is to say a treaty by means of which Nicaragua its Government and inhabitants shall be under the control of Washington.

»Assuming the character of the Central Americans to be what it is, this threat alone is sufficient for Estrada to remain without a single partisan and for all the Nicaraguans to give their unconditional support to Sr. Zelaya.

»The note ends by telling Sr. Rodríguez that although his official mission has closed, Knox will have much pleasure in receiving him as intermediary of an authority *de facto* of whom he will ask protection for North American interests. Restrain your laughter! Can this contradiction be understood by which at the same time that he is told that he is denied recognition because he does not protect the lives of North American citizens, he is called upon to protect their interests? Mister Knox is not even consistent with himself and Zelaya will act aright in ordering Sr. Rodríguez to quit Washington and the United States.

»The Nicaraguan incident depicts exactly the full length portrait of White House in its dealings with Hispano-America and contributes to dispel the little remaining confidence that could be placed in it; it is epoch making in the annals of diplomacy by its unwarrantable *sui generis* proceeding and goes to show that when they of the Capitol become angry they lay aside even the simplest rules of education and courtesy.»

(From *El Tiempo*, Mexican Journal.)

«SLIGHT STUMBLE OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM.—ELEVENTH
HOUR IMPERIALISM.

»Let us continue the task of commenting upon the tremendous news from Central and South America, since they are so closely allied to our own country for what is at present being done is only the beginning of what will happen and at no distant future in Mexico.

»It is a painful and dangerous task for the cable over which that news is transmitted, being exclusively North American property, the

writer who relies on them to express his opinion, is either liable to simulate storms or the bringing forth of a mountain or else to unconsciously serve interests quite opposed to those of Spanish America. In this way the lying service of the associated press has been relating a thousand fakes and falsehoods as to the depredatory conduct that it attributes to the Nicaraguan Government with the intention of making the public sympathize with the shameful piece of infamy that Uncle Samuel is realizing against the little Republic of Nicaragua.

»The genius that characterizes our friends of the North has afforded them through the cable a powerful auxiliary to give an honest appearance to their unwarrantable acts, to propagare their doctrines, to attack or retire as suits the stratagems of financial or material warfare and their plans to control everything in the New World.

»Let the falsehoods transmitted by that cable be remembered during the Hispano-American and the Russo-Japanese War. This fact alone will advise the experienced writer or writers to be on their guard in crediting the fabulous news that has been published concerning Nicaragua and it belongs to the most rudimentary prudence to accept of it only that which is of undoubted certainty and which wears the appearance of remote probability.

»What is evidently sure is that the boa constrictor of the North is attacked with convulsions that may be the effect of some fit of anger...

»For the space of over 35 years it has not succeeded in spite of all its diplomacy in making the little Republic of Chile pay a claim which the latter considers unjust. Threats, comminations, almost *ultimatums* have not daunted the valiant sons of Arauco. At length it appears that famous claim will be submitted to the judgment of The Hague Tribunal, a judgment which if it prove not certain, the aphorism of the wicked to the effect that the thread always breaks where it is thinnest, will not leave our persevering claimants very satisfied, to say the least... Under Augustus, the Romans, *civis romanus*, thought that with this title everything was permitted them in the world, subjugated by the Imperial eagle. Under Mac-Kinley, Roosevelt and Taft, strong contingencies of new born yankee imperialism, those invested with the usurped title or if not usurped exaggeratedly amplified of «American citizens» have put it into their heads that the whole continent is theirs and that they do with it just as they please (make of it wax and wick as the popular saying has it).

»But they are greatly mistaken, for if it is true that the industry of

diplomatic claims has had its day of prosperity, the coarse web with which they were warped has been laid bare, and the business is losing credit to such an extent that the revolutionary fomenters in Spanish America have become frantic and have even unmasked, endangering with all this the dignity of the Government itself whom they consider obliged to give them support (*à outrance*).

»In no other way can the «*casa marina*» which the ex-President of Venezuela, Sr. Castro, was made the object of, or how to the full and complete knowledge of the Government of White House, men are recruited and expeditions equipped which in their essentially filibustering character should be scouted and condemned by international law.

»*It is possible, we do not deny that with the help of the yankee (let the repugnant Nicaraguan revolutionary traitors triumph and supported by them let the Despot of Guatemala another treacherous ally of the yankees consolidate his dictatorship). It is possible that these may establish themselves firmly and exploit on their own account in future the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.*

»This is what may be expected from the development of events we are witnessing of the gigantic plan of establishing a régime entirely continental (Pan-American). But the world and especially the Hispano-Latin nations have a clear idea of what that régime signifies and of the tendencies of the American boa constrictor to absorb all the wealth of the continent either by cunning or force...

»And whatever may have been the errors of Castro in Venezuela, Zelaya in Nicaragua and rulers of the aristocratic Republic of Chile, those countries in history will be unable to help applauding the resistance of such men against so underhanded a policy and filibustering a conduct by which it is hoped to establish a hegemony unfeasible from the beginning and unpopular from the very moment it was set on foot.

»The geographical position of our country, its traditions and laws and finally its constant and fair policy of non-intervention obliges it to adopt a passive attitude in such crises.

»But that attitude will change at least in the people, into an attitude decidedly threatening, if the boa referred to does not take care, and instead of the brotherly and mellifluous tones with which he has been pleased to lull us, has the baseness to attack us openly. *La Libertad* has made it clear at the right time how slippery is the ground of concessions and prophesied that from one exaction to another the Americans will

end by unmasking and lake upon themselves to speak harshly to us as if they were our taskmasters.

»Our Government granted to them and by so doing thus exposed the country to scandal and reproof, the use of the bay of Magdalena. Also much displeasure has beer caused by countenancing to their benefit a mining law; in short all that they asked for and desired has been granted to them and now they propose interfering with the distribution of the waters of the river Nazas, which distribution appertains exclusively to the Federal Government, as representing the sovereignty of the Nation.

»This long list of concessions made to our powerful neighbours will be no obstacle to their ignoble ambition of territorial expansion at the expense of the weaker Hispano-American countries.

»On the contrary, as we have had occasion to prove, Uncle Sam exacts one concession after another, for he has recognized the weak point of the Mexican Government which is fear and by means of this what is sought may be obtained much more than with diplomacy or policy.

»Indeed what admiration do we not feel to-day move than ever for the worthy Republic of Chile and for the much slandered because so little understood Cipriano Castro, ex President of Venezuela a man of energy and intelligence, who by his worth and talent kept within bounds the ambition of the insolent Colossus of North America.»

(From *La Libertad*, of Guadalajara. Mexico.)

* * *

It has therefore been made clear by the above documents how on all sides the partiality of North America is admitted. The abuses against justice which the Government of the United States have committed against the less important countries, since the publication of the famous Bill of 1868 as to the protection that should be offered to American citizens abroad, are not new. Amongst the most recent it is sufficient to recall the Burrell reclamation against Salvador, the affair of the Bermúdez Asphalt Company with Venezuela, the Weill claim against Nicaragua which was carried into effect because the Government appealed energetically to the then Secretary of State Mr. Elihu Root and this illustrious Minister did justice to Nicaragua, the Emery claim also against Nicaragua, which was satisfactorily arranged in Washington, the Nicaraguan President having advanced out of his private purse, when as open war with the rebels of Estrada, the first 50.000 dollars,

the Government as the time not having the money at its disposal; and the quite recent Alsop claim against Chili in which to check the abuse of the North Americans both Brazil and the Argentine Republic lent their influence to their southern sister.

All these reclamations would never have been supported as they were by any other Government. The United States alone could do so. Because in the Department of State at Washington the custom has been established of upholding any exaction with as is said marked interest. It is asserted that high functionaries of that Ministry have formed a kind of Company for exploiting as a business concern either of the Latin American defenseless Republics. It is also well known to all North Americans that when a reclamation to the Government of that Republic is desired to be made it is sufficient to appeal to certain senators and to interest them in the matter, which never fails in its result for the strong reason, that the President of the Republic to keep the senators in question content and to secure their votes he is obliged to satisfy them without giving a thought to the sacrifice incurred for any of our little countries, looked upon by them for some time past with disdain.

Far be it from me to wish to entertain appreciations in a polemical spirit. Nevertheless I think it incumbent upon me to show the difference of judgment with which the Government of the United States has observed with regard to myself and the silence with which it has received the complaints of North American citizens, some of them holding official posts, against unjust and arbitrary acts of President Estrada Cabrera. From Guatemala protests against the atrocities committed by the Guatemalan tyrant to the detriment of his country and showing the lack of all guarantee for the inhabitants of the Republic both national and foreign reached the representatives of The Hague Congress. Accusations of attempts against life and property were made. And the Congress was asked for humanity's sake to intervene to free that country worthy of a better fate from the most cruel and bloodthirsty satrap of the whole of America. The man thus pointed out by ignominy and opprobrium before the highest international tribunal in the world, is he who now sets himself up as the arbiter of the destinies of Central America supported by the will of his majesty the yankee.

This same man has shamelessly delivered up part of Guatemala, perhaps the richest, to certain American Companies, yielding up to them that part of the railway in construction from Puerto Barrios to the capital and all the land adjacent to the line and the other lands where the

banana can be cultivated. All this for half a million of dollars in specie which were put into their hands and a large quantity of shares in their name. By the provisions of this contract it is established that the American Government may land troops to protect its subjects in the case of a disagreement with the Government of Guatemala. Also in the projects of loans that are outstanding with American bankers it admits that the Minister of the Treasury of the United States may intervene in the affairs of the Guatemalan Customs by appointing commissioners from its midst. As may be seen both the landing of American troops on Guatemalan territory, and the intervention of the Minister of the Treasury in the matters of Customs is equivalent to clipping the sovereignty of that Republic. But little does it matter to Manuel Estrada Cabrera, covered with the aegis of an operatic Minerva jeopardizing the interests of his country or those of the whole of Central America as long as he enriches himself and remains in power under the support of the Government of the United States.

* * *

At the time of writing these lines a cablegram transmitted by the same North American Agency is published by the European press as follows:

«London, March 3.—News reaches us from Bluefields that General Estrada has confirmed the defeat of General Chamorro at Tisma on February 22. General Chamorro was obliged to flee with a few followers, leaving on the field of battle in dead and prisoners 800 men; the enemy's army was reduced to a band of guerrillas.

»It is also reported from San Juan del Sur that General Vázquez sent a strong column in pursuit of the revolutionists of which 200 were overtaken near La Manga and capitulated.

»80 rebels also capitulated in Acoyapa.

»It is further stated that if the United States were to stop the importation of arms to Nicaragua, the war would have already ceased.»

* * *

It is therefore with in the knowledge of every one that the revolution without the direct support of the North Americans would have long since come to an end. But they are but too interested in its continuance that the country may be ruined for their own ends.

The state of mind of the country is well depicted in the following words of the distinguished Nicaraguan writer Dr. Gustavo Guzmán, published in *La Tarde*, of Managua, January 8 of the current year:

«I appeal directly to all persons who in some way or another represent the United States of North America in Nicaragua, to Sr. D. Enrique Caldera, Vice-consul of that nation, sole official representative of the associated press, to the representative of the *New York Herald* and to all North American citizens resident in Nicaragua to declare frankly what it is that their people and Government want with us for we can no longer tolerate the state of anxiety uneasiness and alarm in which we are living. Let Mr. Taft, let Mr. Knox say: we want this, and this must be done: who is able to resist or oppose them in Central America? They are the force, the insurmountable force and if they have a right to suppress mandataries they have also a right to instate them; whom do they want? Do they accept of Dr. Madriz? Do they want Dr. Espinosa, D. Juan Estrada, D. Emiliano Chamorro, Dr. Cárdenas, Dr. Velázquez, D. Pedro J. Chamorro, D. Francisco Vaca, Dr. Irias? Do they want him from Granada, León, Chinandega, Managua, Diriomo or Tipitapa? Must he be a white man, a black man half cast (mestee), indian or mulatto, we have them of all kinds; but let them choose at once, tomorrow to-day this very moment; a telegram, a word, a hint: halt there!, let the war cease!, no more slaughter, no more bloodshed!, and thus it will happen, or let them send Magonn or Mr. Merry, let them notify to us who is to settle our quarrels, who is to set us at peace but without all this delay, all this humbug, for Nicaragua will no longer put up with this terrible state of things. We are resigned: the yankees rule but let them be fair rulers; let them not tolerate any longer those horrible hecatombs in which the flower of the youth of this country are perishing; let all lay down their arms let he who is to the liking of that colossus remain in the presidency; but let them not burn us to death on a lingering fire, let them not take our very life's breath away for that is cruel, inhuman, disgraceful.

»I, as a citizen of Nicaragua, protest against this state of things in the face of the world and history; I make an appeal to all great thinkers and philosophers of North America to let their authoritative voices be heard, let Roosevelt speak, let Carnegie speak, let Root speak, let all those of noble sentiments and who wish for the union of American peoples make themselves heard.

»We of the nations of Central America are convinced that nothing

can prevent the fulfilment of the doctrine of Monroe: *America for the Americans* (of the North), the doctrine of Buchanan: the manifest destiny of those small nations is to fall into the claws of the eagle of the North, and the doctrine of Roosevelt, only the big stick can put those countries to rights. Our congratulations, let them seize the country; we cannot struggle against a force so superior; let them depose and set up mandataries, but on condition that they govern fairly and let them not permit any longer desolation and ruin.»



To the above cry of distress we insert the following paragraph of an unusual complaint but which reveals the moral standard of the North Americans when they landed at defenseless ports:

«YANKEE INSOLENCE.

(From the *Diario de Nicaragua* of Jan. 12.)

»Persons recently arrived from Corinto and who are trustworthy, have informed us that the judicial authorities of that port, took legal proceedings against some American soldiers of the ship *Buffalo*, for the scandalous occurrence that we are about to relate.

»On Sunday afternoon about 5 o'clock a lady Celina López whilst passing along the railway line, near the chief barracks was suddenly stopped by a group of American soldiers who were bathing in that spot. One of the aggressors who bore on his breast an eagle painted in colours and on his back the American flag, rushed without a word at the defenseless woman and catching hold of her violently carried her off with his companions to the house of another lady who dwelt hard by, but whose name our informants did not give us.

»On hearing the cries of the victim the Spanish subject D. Joaquín Roldán hurriedly ran to her assistance, and informed the police authorities of what had occurred. Three police agents and the 1st and 2nd Commanding Officers of the corps immediately repaired to the spot indicated without being able to find the authors of so dastardly an aggression against a woman's honour, for no doubt fearing the punishment they deserved they had betaken themselves on board leaving the poor señora López with her body covered with bruises and a gold chain broken in pieces.

»Proceedings having been taken and the culpability having been proved, the American Consul Mr. Leonard was informed of the occurrence, for him to hand over the delinquents for punishment but this gentleman replied to the commissioner of the police authorities in the following words: «It is very early to come about that foolish affair; come »later.»

* * *

As soon as events went so far as to create a strained situation and on the other hand the revolutionists manifested in public documents that they would lay down arms if I forsook power an affirmation also made by the North Americans owing to the ill-will and hatred they bore me I considered it my duty for the sake of dignity, decorum and patriotism to address the following message to the Congress:

«Members of the Congress, gentlemen:

»The difficult circumstances through which the Republic is passing, demand acts of real self denial and patriotism on the part of all good citizens who are unable to look on with indifference, at the grief and distress of their common mother unjustly oppressed by the cruel hand of fate.

»You are well aware that an immoral and shameful revolution that threatens to destroy the very sovereignty of the Fatherland, is raging in our country.

»You also are acquainted with the hostile attitude of a powerful foreign nation, that against all right, has intervened in our political affairs, and is publicly lending to the rebels the aid they have implored of them on being vanquished on all sides by the heroism of our Army. And as the revolutionary leaders have declared that they will lay down their parricidal arms as soon as the present Ruler shall, quit Power, in the desire to avoid further bloodshed and effectively contribute to the pacification of the country I make known to the Honourable National Assembly that I am ready to withdraw from the Government and consequently to hand over the Supreme Command, for the time remaining to my period of office, to the person, it may think fit to designate, in agreement with art. 78 of the Constitution of the Republic.

»I desire that this determination shall redound to the weal of Nicaragua for the restoring of peace and especially for the cessation of the hostility shown by the American Government, to whom I do not wish to give any pretext for further intervention in the destinies of our country.—*J. S. Zelaya*.—Managua, Dec. 16, 1909.»

This message which is the sincere expression of my will has won the approval of the eminent and patriotic General Porfirio Díaz, one of those destined to maintain the rights of the Latin race.

See the following documents:

«Managua, Nov. 22, 1909.—President General Porfirio Díaz.—Mexico.—Appreciating expressive proofs of delicate friendship given to me by Yr. Exc. on former occasions, I address Yr. Exc. on a matter of high importance to Nicaragua and Government.

»Present revolution has in itself no possibility of triumph, especially for unpopularity in public opinion. Government in strong position with ample war supplies and support of people.

»But American Government sympathizing from the beginning with revolutionists now finds pretext for exercising violent pressure and perhaps for intervening directly against Nicaragua with dishonour and danger for Central America.

»I consider, from antecedents attitude Washington, due especially to ill-will towards President Nicaragua. In which case, foreseeing great evils for my country I desire fervently to avoid them by resigning power.

»I purpose handing over same to person belonging to liberal party who shall defend public security for time remaining to me and grant free election for following period.

»Shall hand over power immediately on condition that by so doing all pretensions of American Government shall cease and that I may thus contribute to the revolutionists laying down arms to my successor, as I sacrifice personal pride in exchange for the peace of my country.

»I therefore place this matter in Yr. Exc.'s hands that you may arrange it of course generously with American Government as coming from Yr. Exc.'s initiative. I rely upon auspices of Yr. Exc.'s wide discernment for final success. My feelings of cordial friendship towards Yr. Exc. will thus be deepened.—*J. S. Zelaya.*»

ANSWER.

«Mexican Legation.—Minister Mexico.—Managua.—Communicate to President Zelaya, that President Díaz has received reply of United States, in which a concrete answer to the request that they should endeavour to obtain the disarming of revolutionists and relinquish occupation of Nicaragua is evaded.

»That General Díaz considers that the most decorous and patriotic conduct of President Zelaya is to quit Power, handing it over to Congress in agreement with Constitution, as in this manner neither the United States nor the revolutionists will continue making a pretext of it for maintaining their attitude.

»General Díaz submits to the good judgment of President Zelaya the above indication. Wire answer.—*Mariscal.*»



So far for General Díaz.

Let us now examine also the favourable opinion of several prominent public men of Costa Rica:

«San José, 3 p. m., Dec. 14, 1909.—General J. S. Zelaya.—Public opinion of Central America justly fears that the internal struggle actually dividing the Nicaraguans, may bring about an intervention of foreign powers; which we should all try and avoid to uphold our own esteem and that of others of ourselves. As Central Americans we take the liberty to appeal to your patriotism that by making every effort and sacrifice compatible with your dignity and plans and by coming to a direct agreement with your political adversaries, you may obtain a solution which, in keeping with the dignity and well-being both of Nicaragua and her neighbours shall put an end to the present conflict which is a cause of grief to all Central Americans; we are addressing a similar appeal to the leaders of the revolution in the hope that both you and they will form your resolutions in that spirit of self denial which the country at large has a right to expect.—*Ricardo Jiménez, Máximo Fernández, Carlos Durán, Bernardo Soto, F. A. Tinoco, Manuel Diéguez, A. Skinner Klee, Leónidas Pacheco, Enrique Pinto, Manuel Castro Quesada, Carlos María Jiménez, F. J. Alvarado.*»

ANSWER.

«MM. (licentiate) D. Ricardo Jiménez, Máximo Fernández, Carlos Durán, Bernardo Soto, F. A. Tinoco, Manuel Diéguez, A. S. Kinner Klee, Leónidas Pacheco, Enrique Pinto, Manuel Castro Quesada, Carlos María Jiménez, F. J. Alvarado.—San José de Costa Rica.—I have had the honour of receiving your patriotic telegram in which, taking into

account the difficult situation through which we Nicaraguans are passing you are good enough to persuade me to lay aside all private interests in favour of our own dignity and the common interests of Central America, in the face of the imminent threat of a foreign and strong power which, on stepping on our soil would accept the sovereignty of the whole of Central America.

»I beg to assure you that for my own part and that of my friends we have ever been disposed to make all kinds of sacrifices to put an end to the unfortunate and cruel civil war which discredits us, to avoid the irreparable evil which you foresee; but unfortunately so far the rebels of the Department of Zelaya reduced to Rama and Bluefields unheeding our patriotic appeal have shown themselves unbending and have refused to accept a candidate supported by the National Assembly and the majority of the country and who combines all conditions necessary for making a good ruler. In spite of this, we shall continue making every effort to obtain the noble end we pursue, for I am irrevocably determined to quit Power; and we beg of you, in the praiseworthy effort to continue lending us your valuable support.

»With the assurance of my highest esteem I beg to sign myself yours faithfully,—*J. S. Zelaya.*»

* * *

My message having been received by the Congress and transmitted to the proper Commission, the latter dictated the following decree which was approved:

«The National Legislative Assembly decrees:

»Art. 1. To accept the resignation of the Presidency of General José Santos Zelaya of the Republic for the time wanting to complete his constitutional term.

»Art. 2. To hand to President Zelaya a vote of thanks for the great services he has rendered the nation.

»Passed in the Hall of Sessions.—Managua, Dec. 20, 1909.—*Santiago Argüello.*—(D. P.)—*Federico Sacasa.*—(D. S.)—*J. R. Sevilla.*—(D. S.)

»To be made public.—National Palace.—Managua, Dec. 20, 1909.—*J. S. Zelaya.*—General Minister, *J. Irias.*»

* * *

The following promulgation preceded the above decree:

«Citizens and Representatives:

» You have honoured us with the special mission of reporting on the statement presented to you as Representatives of the national will by the President of the Republic General J. S. Zelaya, an important and transcendental document through which the first magistrate expresses his desire to quit the Executive Power and asks you to designate the person that should replace him in holding the Presidency in agreement with art. 78 of the Constitution for the time wanting to the completion of his period of office.

» The reasons put forward by General Zelaya for justifying so grave a determination are that: there rages at present in the country a rebellion that threatens the national sovereignty in base complicity with a powerful foreign nation and that the rebel leaders have declared that they will lay down arms as soon as he quits Public Office.

» To our mind, the patriotic attitude of General Zelaya preferring the sacrifice of his personal interests rather than that his name should serve as a pretext to a revolution to stain with blood the country's soil with a fratricide war, that is bringing about the nation's ruin and serving as a pretext to a foreign Government to intervene in our internal affairs to the prejudice of the independence, sovereignty and dignity of Nicaragua is deserving of all applause and acknowledgement.

» Considering the difficult circumstances to which General Zelaya refers in his noble and generous statement, and in the opinion that it is indispensable for the defense and honour of the nation to accept his patriotic personal sacrifice and in applauding the attitude he has taken up compatible with his historical antecedents as enlightened leader of the liberal party and valiant ruler of our country in a long period of administration, during which he has known how to raise to a high level the country's name and serve with unflagging perseverance the cause of progress and civilization and protesting in our turn with all the energy of our hearts against the moral and material act of violence which the Government of the United States of America, taking a mean advantage of its immense power and our extreme weakness, propose committing against us, in spite of the fact that they profess a so called pan Americanism by means of which it poses before the continent as a pillar for the weaker Republics against the European powers.

» In view of what has been expounded and in summing up our opinion we propose to you the following Bill:

«The National Legislative Assembly taking into consideration the
»difficult circumstances through which the Republic is passing and the
»patriotic statement made by the President of the Executive Power, Ge-
»neral J. Santos Zelaya, in which he manifests that to save her he is dis-
»posed to abandon the government, decrees:

»Art. 1. Permission is granted to General J. Santos Zelaya to retire
»from the Presidency of the Republic for the time wanting to the com-
»pletion of his term in agreement with art. 78 of the Constitution he
»being held bound to hand over the Power to the person the Assembly
»shall designate.

»Art. 2. A vote of thanks is passed to General J. Santos Zelaya for
»the eminent services he has rendered as ruler of the nation.

»Art. 3. The Republic of Nicaragua protests before the civilized
»world against the interference which the Government of the United
»States has tried to practice in its internal affairs.»

*
**

«National Legislative Assembly: What you have just heard read is the resolution proposed which the abovesigned wrote at the instigation of his colleagues on the Committee, Colonel Félix Pedro Zelaya R. and Doctors Francisco Wasmer, Leopoldo Ramírez M., Luciano Gómez; but as my distinguished colleagues did not approve of many of the items of this document nor of the protest contained therein against the abusive proceeding of the United States of America in our internal affairs I take the liberty of presenting to the August Representation of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua the proposed resolution as my private vote and the expression of my feelings as a Nicaraguan and of my duties as a representative of the people.

»When a country does not dare to protest against the threats to its rights because the former are made under the shield of formidable power, that country has no longer a right to exist in the concert of the nations of the earth and is prepared for the yoke of foreign conquest and deserves to be blotted out from the map under the infamy of humiliation and fear.

»For this reason, as representative of the Nicaraguan people I wish to make known my voice of protest and cry of indignation against the iniquity of a power that presents itself on our shores as a threat against our autonomy as a denial of our independence as an abuse of a great power regardless of the weakness of a newborn Republic.

»Managua, Dec. 21, 1909.—*M. C. Matus.*»

Having resigned Power on Dec. 21, I left the Republic three days later that is on the 24th not only in fulfilment of my promises but to avoid my presence being an obstacle to any settlements that might be attempted.

In the bay of Corinto the Mexican gunboat *General Guerrero* kindly sent by President General Díaz was waiting to take me to Mexico.

The Americans, desirous of tarnishing the spontaneity of the act of courtesy of so illustrious a personage then exacted from the Minister of Mexico in Managua Sr. Carvajal y Rosas that I should address to the Commander of the gunboat a petition of protection which I had no objection in doing to avoid difficulties.

I dwell upon these details because the lack of seriousness on the part of some telegraphic correspondents of American agencies would make it appear that I was dismissed by the Congress and left the country as a fugitive.

Not only did I arrive at Corinto accompanied by a large group of friends and guard of honour, but I offered them previous to embarking a banquet, at which the Mexican Minister Sr. Carvajal y Rosas and the Commander and officers of the *General Guerrero* were also present.

I should also state here that on leaving Corinto I was received with the salvo and honours corresponding to my rank of president and the vessel that bore me, on passing the American men-o'-war amongst which was an English one, the *Sherwater* the marines of the latter presented arms according to international usage.

On the morning of the 27th we arrived at the port of Salina Cruz where I was the object of a most cordial reception on the part of the inhabitants and authorities. In the evening of the same day I continued my journey to the capital where I arrived on the 29th in the morning being received there also with the kindest demonstrations of esteem both from the Central American Colony and the citizens of the noble country of Juárez.

During my stay in that magnificent capital I was the object of numerous demonstrations of sympathy and esteem on the part of the upper and lower classes in general, to whom I here fulfil my honourable duty in expressing my profound and lasting gratitude especially to the worthy and venerable President of the Republic to whom that prosperous nation is indebted for its present greatness and the glorious prospect of a brilliant future.

After remaining a month in the city of Mexico I left for Europe and

on my arrival in Spain the press referred to me in courteous and noble language. It is in Spain that I have chosen to publish this work, a document intended to elucidate the events in Nicaragua during the revolution.

Is it now necessary to ask to whom the famous note of the secretary of State of North America, has been most prejudicial? Whether to myself who have made all manner of sacrifices, quitting Power to avoid the continuance of the war and especially the profanation of the soil of my country by the North American soldiers or to the obstreperous policy that could launch forth a document unknown to the Diplomatic world, and that demonstrates if not a thorough incompetence of statesmanship, a spirit of arbitrariness and a tendency which is entirely in contradiction with the democratic teachings of the founders of the great American nation.

Bearing upon this argument let the following sentences just written by the pen of an eminent literary and political Hispano-American writer Sr. Vargas Vila be borne in mind: In his paper *Némesis* under the title of «Gloomy balance»:

«Is it a man that falls? No, it is a flag that is lowered; a party that is destroyed; a nation that is outraged; it is Zelaya that retires from Power after his glorious march of victory. Before whom, before what? before treachery? No; he overcame it... Before invasion? No; he checked it at various points; before what then? Before intervention... his formidable duel was with the United States and the United States have beaten him... doubtless I do not express myself aright; it is he who has beaten them by his self-sacrifice after having beaten them with the sword; it was he who knew how to add to the virtue of Heroism the virtue of disinterestedness and after having made the adventurous yankee bite the dust in battle with the power of his valour and strategy he has made the yankee diplomacy bite the dust, confounding it solely by the power of his virtue...

»All the dreams of the yankee have fallen to the ground with the resignation of Zelaya, that last battle of *Civismo* (Patriotism) in which the victorious chief retires in order not to provide for the Invader a pretext for crushing the country in his hands...»

As to the case of the extraordinary note of Mr. Knox in so far as it relates to the rights of nations, nothing can be more to the point than the words of an important French organ published in the capital of Mexico: *Le Courrier du Mexique*:

«The circumstances in which General Zelaya has had to abandon Power and exile himself from his country under not only the moral but also the material pressure of the United States raise important questions as to the Right of Nations or International Law. Indeed, those circumstances are in flagrant contradiction with the three axioms of the Right of Nations and which up till now it has never been necessary to discuss:

»1° No nation has any right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

»2° No nation has any right to judge the chief of the State of another nation by his acts as ruler.

»3° Foreigners who take part in the internal struggles of a people have no right to the protection of their own Government. (This was the case of Cannon and Groce.)

»The good relations between civilized countries depend essentially upon the observance of these three points. It is thus easy to conceive how the precedent created in Nicaragua has caused and still causes so much commotion in Latin America.»

And as regards the aggressive pride of yankee Imperialism we may conclude by quoting from the important Mexican journal *México Nuevo*, dated Dec. 11 of last year:

«U. S. A. *Against all Rights!* Although it may have to be against International Right and wanting in respect to a nation's sovereignty the never sufficiently exalted Uncle Sam wishes that Spanish America shall understand once and for all that the United States will do just as they choose, relying on their power and without caring a jot for the injustices caused by their policy. The free nations of Latin America from Río Bravo to cape Hornos should be on their guard against the attitude of the yankee Colossus and in defense of Justice and their Race should ally themselves and thus form a dike against the ever increasing guardianship which the United States endeavours to exercise over them in the face of the whole civilized world.»

J. S. Zelaya.



IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

MANIFESTO

of General J. S. Zelaya to the Nicaraguan people.

GENERAL J. S. ZELAYA TO THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA.

Fellow citizens: In fulfilment of a high duty of patriotism, I have given over the office of President of the Republic and Commander in Chief of the Nicaraguan Army to the person designated by the National Assembly.

Although for a long time I have been announcing to my correligionists and political friends the firm resolution of separating myself from the authority which I have exercised for several years with the support of the Liberal Party, I have thought it advisable not to await the close of my last term, hoping that thus Nicaragua might be spared the humiliations and outrages of a colossal power bent upon exerting a decisive influence over the destinies of the country, a matter which I could not and ought not to tolerate while I remained at the head of the Government.

And since my resistance to accepting that undue guardianship and my firmness in maintaining very high the dignity of the Republic have come so to provoke the ill will of the imperialist government which labors to convert into feudal dependencies the Latin nations of this Continent that it makes my permanency in the Government of Nicaragua a pretext for disembarking troops on our territory, I resign willingly my authority and separate myself from the management of the public affairs, convinced that thus I avoid calamities and insult for the country.

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You are already well acquainted with the fact that, favored by infamous treason—for the act of the military chief who revolts against his superior will ever be treason, whatever the pretext which he invokes—

there broke out in Bluefields, in the month of October last, a revolution composed of liberals and conservatives, their ostensible object being to bring about my removal from power.

When the Government had notice of the criminal enterprise, in which were involved not only Nicaraguans but also others who were foreigners and adventurers, it was able to organize and equip considerable forces to suppress the movement as well on the north as on the east. For the great majority of Nicaraguans, rendered indignant by that scandalous affair which put in peril the national sovereignty through the cutting off of the Atlantic coast, where there is no lack of elements adverse to Nicaragua, rushed to take up arms with the most noble and elevated patriotism.

Thus in a few days the rebels were repulsed and beaten in all parts, and had to withdraw to their first positions, as a last refuge for their ephemeral power.

When the day was at hand on which our army should have crowned its work of repair, reestablishing order and peace, there arose an unexpected and unheard of incident which obliged us to pause and seek another course in order to save the great interests of the country, suddenly menaced by a power which, abusing its strength and the predominance which it exercises through the lack of union of the Latin American Republics, had come to intrude itself into our internal affairs, using as a pretext offenses falsely alleged to have been committed against it by ourselves.

In effect, the Government of the United States of America, without asking any explanation from that of Nicaragua, without making any reclamation, and when our relations with it had been friendly up to the point of the two government's having recently come to an adjustment of the claim of George Emery against us, for which we were complimented, sent our Chargé d'Affaires in Washington a communication which was harsh and highly offensive, breaking off diplomatic relations with Nicaragua and, finally, enclosing his passports.

The Department of our Government to which it corresponds to take note of this letter has already given it due appreciation in the circular which it directed to the Latin American nations, but I think it advisable also to refer to the matter here in order to refute with all the energy of my soul the unjust, violent and superficial accusations which are made against my person and my government.

Before all else, as a Nicaraguan, as a Central American, as a son of

Latin America, I protest before the world against the unjust intrusion of the American Government into the internal affairs of our country, reaching the extreme of judging our politics with the passion of a sectarian; I protest against the threat which is insinuated there, and which afterwards has been manifested specifically and categorically, of having American forces disembark to change the administration in Nicaragua and place at the head of the Government a person in the friendship and confidence of the United States.

The American Government, lacking all right and the most trivial notion of international courtesy, has inflicted upon us an outrage which the sensitiveness of that people, inspired with equity and justice, will reprobate severely when later they know the facts, disfigured to-day by the passions and intrigues of my enemies.

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The Cabinet at Washington holds me responsible in its note for lack of consideration toward its Government and for indignities which obliged the retirement of the American diplomatic Minister who resided in this capital.

Nothing could be more inexact than such a charge.

All the world knows how a diplomatic Minister is received in Nicaragua, especially in from the United States, and how he is treated and entertained in order to make more agreeable his stay among us.

The last American Minister whom we had here was Mr. John Gardner Coolidge, who expressed in his farewell note his satisfaction for the courteous treatment of which he had been the object, doing so in a manner so expressive that no one could doubt the sincerity of his words.

Here is the note of Mr. Coolidge:

«American Legation.—Managua, Nicaragua, November 21, 1908.—Your Excellency: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, my Government having accepted my resignation from the diplomatic service of the United States, I have to-day placed the Legation in charge of Mr. John Hanaford Gregory, Jr., who will act in the quality of Chargé d'Affaires.

»I avail myself of this occasion to offer sincere thanks to Your Excellency and to Your Excellency's Government, for the constant courtesy with which I have been treated since my arrival in this country, and I desire to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my high esteem.—

John Gardner Coolidge, American Minister.—To His Excellency Rodolfo Espinosa, Minister of Foreign Relations, etc., etc.—National Palace.»

If anyone has had the right to complain, it has been the Government of Nicaragua (1): first Mr. Merry, in connection with the Emery claim, sent notes which were rather harsh and hardly friendly, and, later, the Chargé d'Affaires, Mr. Gregory, actuated by unfounded complaints, reached the point of insolence. All this was known to the American Government, which not ever deigned to notice the complaint presented. That same Government even menaced us with the rupture of our relations because we resisted signing a protocol of arbitration concerning imaginary injuries.

In spite of the fact that my Government has complied strictly with the obligations stipulated in the Conventions of Washington, the American Government accuses me of having attempted to violate them from the time when they were signed. It brings forward no proof, however, which justifies its assertion. What indeed is notorious is that the executives of Guatemala and El Salvador were the first who failed to abide by the Conventions, promoting or tolerating the revolution which broke out in the Republic of Honduras. They were acquitted, it is true, by the Court of Cartago, but the public conscience has condemned them in a manner from which there is no appeal.

The Government of Washington makes harsh comments upon my conduct in the management of the internal affairs of the country. It has viewed matters through the prism of the passion of my enemies, who have succeeded in perpetrating a deception.

I confess that, as a human being, I may have committed mistakes in my administration, but I have always proceeded with fair intentions and have tried to regulate all my acts according to the impulses of a spirit of calm and ample justice.

Leader of a political party of progress and innovation, I have never departed from its principles, but in my administrative labor. I have been seconded by men of all circles, including the Conservative Party, which likewise has come to my support in the reestablishment of peace. In a word, I have governed by taking advantage of all elements. These, then, are sharers in the responsibility, if such exists, and in the honor, if honor we merit.

(1) Documents are inserted at the close which prove this assertion, demonstrating the propriety of the Government of Nicaragua and its good will towards the United States.

The prisons spoken of by the Government of Washington have only been demanded by the necessity of preserving public order. They are the consequence of numerous abortive conspiracies, of criminal plans for extermination opportunely discovered, and of wide-reaching revolutions kindled throughout the country, in which even the American consuls participated, under the cover of dissimulation.

These facts have been proved patently, and never, for political motives, have I used all of the means which the law placed in my hands to punish severely the transgressors. And, to justify me fully, the guilty ones, when placed at liberty, confessed their wrongdoings, and often I was applauded by all for the magnanimity with which I treated my enemies.

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The death of the filibusterers Cannon and Groce, which is imputed directly to me by the American Government, is the result of a trial in which a full hearing was given to the defendents and no legal formality omitted.

These men were revolutionists, as the American Government officially affirms in the note of the Secretary of State, and figured as principal chiefs of the movement to which they lent the efficient combination of their activity and intelligence, directing the scientific operations of drafting topographical and fortification plans, and being, besides, fine shots and the only ones charged with arranging infernal apparatus for explosive mines, which did such damage in the manoeuvres of the Government forces.

Therefore Cannon and Groce expiated their crime in the manner indicated by our military code: with the penalty of death.

Besides having been important revolutionary chiefs, there fell upon them the criminal responsibility of a most grave and horrible act: the blowing up with dymanite of our vessels filled with troops, which would have succumbed, in their greater part, amid the moving sandbanks of the San Juan River, if, by a casual happening and by great skill in the movement of one of the steamers, it had not been made possible to cross rapidly the spot where the mine exploded.

Those individuals could not be compared to prisoners of war, which are captured from the enemy in an international conflict: they were filibusterers in the service of an internal revolution, paid to bring about ruin and death; foreign mercenaries who came to augment our misfor-

tunes, not for love of a country which was not their own, but to win a recompense from the rebels and traitors who came drenching with blood the national soil.

The sentence which the court martial pronounced against them was in accord with the prescriptions of our military laws; the defendants confessed their guilt and also manifested clearly and in writing that they had been treated in their prison with the greatest care and consideration.

My only part in this painful affair was to deny the indulgence which the defendants petitioned, for that right is invested in the President of the Republic, and I believed, and still believe that the sentence was just and ought to have been executed, the enemy being in front, and that extreme measures were necessary in judging two confessed and convicted culprits, that the order and moral attitude of the army might be maintained.

Since Cannon and Groce were revolutionists, they lost all right to the protection of their Government, according to the American laws, and, such being the case, the United States have no right to feel offended. In any event, the Government of Washington might have filed the corresponding reclamation before declaring that its relations with Nicaragua were broken off.

The strong, in dealing with the weak, have two sets of weights and two sets of measures.

At the time of the blowing up of the *Maine* no wires were found, not even the smallest circumstance which could warrant the conviction that a crime had been committed. But the sole fact of the ship's being in Cuban waters was enough for the American Government to declare war upon Spain, hundreds of victims perishing as a consequence.

In Nicaragua two revolutionary chiefs are captured in open war. The mine is found, as well as the apparatus for its working. The defendants are taken in flagrante delicto and confess their guilt. Nevertheless, the American Government considers it unjust that they are punished according to the laws, doubtless because the affair concerns *two Americans*.

* * *

For some time I have been informed that certain Central American rulers, feeling themselves powerless to overthrow me, and with the object of assuring themselves in the offices which they occupy against the

will of the majority of their fellow citizens, believing me a hindrance to their designs, have turned to Washington with false complaints and a contemptible attitude of supplication to ask of that Government its protection; that it lend its support to a revolution in this country, which would have as a consequence American intervention.

The last note of the American Secretary of State confirms these degrading and criminal machinations.

May there fall upon those unpatriotic governors, those traitors to the cause of race and Latin American independence, all the opprobrium of History and the anathema of free peoples!

The rebellion of Bluefields has received the support and sympathy of the American Government to such an extent that it has not only tolerated the sending of war supplies for the revolutionists, but has also, in an official document, characterized as truly representative of public opinion in Nicaragua a mere dissenting tumult of a few unknown and traitorous citizens; and, finally, availing itself of the pretext furnished by the shooting of two adventurers, it has broken off relations with us and threatens us with the power of its forces.

In the face of this situation, patriotism imposed upon me the duty of renouncing the presidency of the Republic, and thus I have done in order to detain in his advances the foreign conqueror, since it would be insensate to oppose with our small resources a power which is, for us, colossal.

But let the world know that if we lack material forces, we have in exchange patriotism to spare, and that the knowledge of honor and right is on our side.

May my worthy successor, when calm has once more been established in all spirits, bear well upon his shoulders the weighty charge of bringing to the front the dignity and independence of the Republic, offered unto a foreign power with imprudence as well as lack of patriotism by persons who did not comprehend the future development and solidarity of the destinies of Central America.

As for myself, I return calmly and tranquilly to private life. I understand well that, since I have left the Supreme Command, those who tried in their impotence to overthrow me with revolutions, and even with the aid of foreign powers, will lift up their voices to reprehend and malign me in all the tones of their unbridled passions. But I shall be able to front with resolute soul that tempest, which is the obligatory lot of those who, like myself, descend from a high place after a long and

persistent struggle in which ambitions have dominated and carried off victoriously the standard of a party.

I repeat my solemn protest against the outrage of which we are victims, and submit without fear my cause to the criterion of honorable men and the inflexible rectitude of History.

Fellow citizens: I separate myself from you leaving the country in the middle of the broad ways of Reform and Progress.

Let there remain as monuments to my administration the new railroads which have increased the commerce, the agriculture and the prosperity of the country; the superior primary schools, elevated to a high standard, and the elementary schools, disseminated through all the towns and villages. The principles of modern law have been incorporated into our system of legislation, our boundary dispute with Costa Rica has been adjusted, and the exact definition of our limits with Honduras is about to be fixed. The country is crossed by telephone and telegraph lines, the public credit has been raised, and the army has been established in such a manner that it constitutes a true guarantee for our institutions and a powerful element of defense for the integrity of our territory.

And if this be little, there is the reincorporation of Mosquitia, which is the highest blason of my government and a true glory to Latin America.

It fell to me to exercise my activity in a period of laborious and difficult transition, when it was necessary to demolish and build at the same time. If I was unable to do all that I wished, I am reconciled with having laid the foundations of Reform, hoping that my illustrious successor will know how to direct his efforts and energies to crowning the work which has been begun.

I declare that I shall always preserve the highest memories of the worthy, industrious and honorable sons of the people, in which nucleus I found the strongest and most disinterested support, and I am also pleased to make public my gratitude toward the army, which always hastened to the call of the Government for the defense of the country and its institutions, and which was able, by its abnegation and heroism, to conquer victory on the fields of battle and maintain aloft the glorious Banner of the Republic.

I desire for my dear Nicaragua days of peace and of fortune after the sinister shadows which have darkened her clear and beautiful horizon; I long to see always the Red Banner of Liberalism floating over the public administration; and if, by ill fortune, our independence and sove-

reignty be upon the eve of ruin by the invading torrent of conquest, know that I will be with you in the hour of proof to dedicate my energies and my life to the defense of the Country!—*J. S. Zelaya*.—Managua, December 22, 1909.

THE INSOLENCES OF GREGORY AND THE DIGNITY OF NICARAGUA.

«American Legation.—Managua, Nicaragua, F. O., n.º 41.—Managua, February 2, 1909.—Excellency: Referring to a note directed by the Secretary of State the 31st of last December to the Minister of Nicaragua in Washington, relative to the prolonged discussion and seemingly unnecessary delay of the Government of Nicaragua in submitting to arbitration the claim of Emery against the Government of Your Excellency, I have the honor to state, on the part of my Government, that, considering the nature of the objections which the Government of Nicaragua has opposed, and its not having complied even with the agreement which it had made to submit the matter to arbitration, the American Government judges the conduct of Nicaragua according to appearances in this matter, that is, as bordering almost upon bad faith.

»In view of the character of the negotiations on the part of the Government of Nicaragua for submitting to arbitration the Emery claim, my Government considers that it is perhaps not worth while to continue negotiations for a General Commercial Treaty, etc., between the United States and Nicaragua.

»I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the expression of my high consideration.—*J. H. Gregory, Jr.*—To His Excellency Federico Sacasa, Minister of Foreign Relations, etc., etc., etc. National Palace.»

Reply.

«Managua, February 6, 1909.—Sir: I have the honor to refer to Your Excellency's communication of the 2nd inst., relative to the matter of the MM. Emery & C.º

»Profound amazement has been caused my Government by the terms in which it has been conceived, they being unmerited in every respect, and it could suffer nothing less than a painful impression, since they proceed from a Government for which Nicaragua has always entertained the most friendly sentiments.

»My Government laments that its attitude in discussing the basis of the protocol, which has been no other than the very natural one of wishing to exclude the additional extent which it was attempted to give to its true compromise, is not duly appreciated, and that an unjustifiable imputation is made against it which tends to depreciate the good faith with which it acts in all state negotiations.

•My Government might be considered with equal right to complain of delays on the part of Your Excellency, since the allegations, projects and counterprojects of the protocol have crossed each other here and there without any point's being made convincing; and, as a criterion which Your Excellency might judge impartially, my Government could put forward the fact of having condescended to submit to international arbitration a question which was already legally resolved in its favor.

»If this deference, if having accepted Washington as the place for the tribunal; if agreeing that the principal arbiter should know the English language, without making a point of Spanish; if these and other circumstances likewise disadvantageous for ourselves constitute a reason for its being judged useless to continue negotiations for a General Commercial Treaty, etc., my Government deplores it sincerely, and limits itself to calling attention to the fact that the interruption of these negotiations is due solely to the inexplicable determination of the Government of the United States.

»I renew to Your Excellency the expression of my distinguished consideration.—*Federico Sacasa*.—Hon. J. H. Gregory, Jr., Chargé d'Affaires of the United States.—Present.»

Explanation.

«Managua, March 17, 1909.—Mr. Minister: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's courteous communication of yesterday in which Your Excellency informs me that the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America in this capital, under date of the 12th inst., sent to Your Excellency a copy of a note directed by the Department of State to the Minister of Nicaragua in Washington, on the 31st of last December, relative to the Emery affair, in which note reference is made to the note which I myself, in my capacity of minister, sent on the 7th of the same month to the above department.

»In addition, Your Excellency manifests the surprise felt upon re-

ceiving this copy, in view of the affirmation of Minister Espinosa that the note does not exist in the archives of the Legation, and Your Excellency inquires what information I may possess concerning the matter.

»In reply I beg to inform Your Excellency that, upon learning of the above note, I went to the Department of State and had a conference with Secretary Root, who, in accordance with the reasons which I presented, consented to withdraw it and immediately issued orders to that effect. The Chargé d'Affaires himself confirms this assertion, lamenting his not having received until late instructions from his Government concerning the matter. He assures me to day, at the time of his departure, that he expressed this regret verbally to Your Excellency, and ordered Consul Olivares to inform the Nicaraguan Foreign Office in writing.

»It is on this account that the note in reference was not received at the Legation and does not appear in the archives. This also explains why I did not report concerning it, and why it should not be considered as a part of the Emery matter.

»I thank your Excellency for the kind words used in referring to the care and painstaking which I have always tried to exercise in the performance of the duties of my post, and, with repeated protests of my highest consideration, I am, etc.,—*Luis F. Corea*.—To His Excellency Dr. Federico Sacasa, Minister of Foreign Relations.—Present. »

Correction.

«Consular Service of the United States of America.—Managua, Nicaragua, March 22, 1909.—To His Excellency Dr. Federico Sacasa, Minister of Foreign Relations.—Sir: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I have had instructions from Mr. Gregory to say that, having formally taken leave of you, he does not consider further correspondence exactly proper, in view of the state of relations between the two Governments.

»He instructed me to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th inst., in which you ask for proof of the charge relative to the violation of the Legation's correspondence, and to say that in its due time and place this proof would be presented, should the American Government deem it advisable.

»Mr. Gregory also instructed me to inform Your Excellency *that the*

note of December 31st to the Minister of Nicaragua in Washington was withdrawn.

»This will correct what he said in a former communication in reference to that note.

»With the assurance of my consideration, I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,—*José de Olivares*, American Consul.»

Inexplicable language.

«American Legation.—Managua, Nicaragua, February 20, 1909.—Excellency: I received this morning a communication from the Chief of the Office of Telegraphs excusing the conduct of an employee respecting a fine registered against the Legation by the Office for not having registered there, the absurdity of which is evident. I have the honor to say that I cannot accept what is said by Mr. Ramírez, and, after what has passed, I must regard it as a despicable piece of shamelessness, for I had sent in connection with this incident Mr. Caldera, Viceconsul and clerk of the Legation, to learn from him what the fine against the Legation signified. My representative was made to wait a half-hour or more while Mr. Ramírez discussed various and indifferent matters with a person of small importance, and when finally he turned to the Viceconsul his manners and words were discourteous. He said to Mr. Caldera that the diplomatic representative of the United States in Nicaragua should go to the Treasury and have his name registered like any other person, just as was done in the United States. This insulting conduct on the part of an employee of the Government I wished to attribute to ignorance and an unfortunate education; nevertheless, it is a well known fact that no employee would venture to conduct himself in this manner toward the American Legation without his behavior's being inspired by superior authority. We know that this kind of crudeness should be treated, for obvious considerations, with the magnanimity and tolerance which the great feel for the weak and small, and thus has been done with respect to many irregularities of Nicaraguan employees towards this Legation, such as the delay and mutilation of telegrams, the violation of the mail of the Legation, executed in a most brutal manner, lack of response to courtesies, etc., etc.

»It is, indeed, painful to be obliged to address Your Excellency, for whom I have a sincere regard, in these terms which are very different

from the cordial expressions of my first note of some months past. My immediate predecessor resigned his post rather than see himself obliged to continue in relations with the Government of Nicaragua, considering his dignity as a gentleman affected. I sincerely hope that I shall not see myself driven to a like extreme (1).

»I avail myself of this opportunity of renewing to Your Excellency the assurance of my high esteem.—*J. H. Gregory, Jr.*, American Chargé d'Affaires.—To His Excellency Federico Sacasa, Minister of Foreign Relations, etc., etc.»

Reply.

«Managua, February 25, 1909.—Sir: I refer to Your Excellency's communication of the 20th inst., which I received on the 22nd.

»First, I must manifest the amazement with which I have seen the opinions expressed by Your Excellency. These, I consider, could only have been written in a moment of inexplicable excitement, for their harshness does not correspond with the restraint and elevation usual in diplomatic communications of whatever nature.

»My amazement has been the greater because of Your Excellency's having renewed to me, only a few days since, the intention of maintaining most cordial relations in the fulfilment of Your Excellency's mission, and that, guided by that amicable desire, Your Excellency would give no importance to the irregularities which were believed to have been noted, and which now call forth such unusual language. I recall perfectly Your Excellency's expressions; that the circumstances were the result of ignorance, and not of ill intentions on the part of the employees.

»At the beginning of the incident of the fine for non-registry of cablegraphic direction Your Excellency did not apply to this Department, acquainting it with what passed. In Your Excellency's note of the 8th inst. nothing more was done than to solicit this registry, the matter being given immediate attention, and, in view of Your Excellency's recent verbal declarations to which reference has already been made, I inquired concerning the matter, which, perhaps, occasioned the letter of excuse from the Director General of Telegraphs. This letter, in whate-

(1) As a climax to this scandal, it may be noted that he who employed such language in diplomatic affairs at present holds the chair of *International Law* in an American University....!!

ver manner it may be regarded, conveys consideration for Your Excellency and a courteous explanation, and in view of this fact Your Excellency's present attitude is surprising, conforming, as it does, in no respect with any past criterion; for it appears to have been varied precisely by what should have brought satisfaction, namely the above apology.

»As for the violation of correspondence, I have been awaiting the proof which Your Excellency offered to send, that I might initiate the corresponding proceedings. Now that Your Excellency repeats in writing this grave charge, adding those of mutilation and delay of telegrams, I have communicated with the Minister of Fomento, acquainting him with the matter in order that he may have it investigated, and I hope that Your Excellency will submit the data upon which the affirmation is founded, in order that this may serve as a base for the proceedings.

»I put aside as gratuitous the assertion which Your Excellency makes that «it is a well known fact that no employee would venture to »conduct himself in this manner towards the American Legation without »his behavior's being inspired by superior authority». The Legation of the United States in Nicaragua is treated with the consideration and respect merited by the representation of a friendly country, in accordance with international practices, and only by fault of mature reflection could Your Excellency make such a charge against my government.

»I note with pain the participation of Viceconsul Caldera in this disagreeable affair, and his efforts to aggravate the feeling of Your Excellency. Mr. Caldera, who is a Nicaraguan, obtained his exequatur by a condescension, which, it seems, has served to make him forget his older ties and his duties toward his country.

»For the rest, it is sufficiently obvious that when Your Excellency speaks to me of the magnanimity of the great for the small it is precisely in such a communication as would perhaps not be directed to a powerful Government such as that which Your Excellency represents.

»This Government deplors the retirement of him who preceded Your Excellency, Mr. Coolidge, who never in the exercise of his post betrayed the least sign of prejudice or any exasperation felt during his intercourse with my Government, which ever had for him the highest and most sincere regard. Mr. Coolidge, upon informing this Department in his note of November 21st that his Government had accepted his resignation from the diplomatic service of the United States, expressed sincere thanks for the constant courtesy with which he was treated from

the time of his arrival in this country: «I avail myself of this occasion »to offer sincere thanks to Your Excellency, and to Your Excellency's »Government, for the unfailing courtesy with which I have been treated »since my arrival in this country...» This does not coincide with the affirmation of Your Excellency in that connection.

»I conclude by expressing the pain which I feel for having to address Your Excellency in the foregoing terms, since I have a sincere personal regard for Your Excellency, and I renew the assurance of my distinguished consideration.—*Federico Sacasa*.—Hon. J. H. Gregory, Jr., Chargé d'Affaires of the United States.—Present.»

CONCERNING THE CANAL (1).

«Legation of the United States of America.—Managua, December 4, 1901.—To his Excellency Dr. Fernando Sánchez, Minister of Foreign Relations.—Managua.—Sir: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, under date of November 30, I have received cablegraphic instructions to make definitely to the Government of Your Excellency a last and decisive offer of six million dollars (\$ 6.000.000) in gold coin of the United States, as sole indemnification, payable ninety days after the ratification of the Canal Convention in Washington for the right of-way for the Nicaragua Canal, three miles on either side departing from the middle, in accordance with the rulings of the Plan of the Canal Convention which accompanied the protocol dated Washington, December 1, 1900, it being especially understood that article 11 of said protocol, which refers to the annual payment of \$ 100.000, annual income, shall remain for the present annulled and eliminated from said document upon the payment of six million cash, as offered above, this amount being partially instead of that, and as sum total of everything asked by the Government of Nicaragua for the right of way for said Canal.

»Since my Government awaits your decision, that the matter may be submitted shortly to the 57th Congress convened in Washington, I respectfully beg that Your Excellency will favor me with as early a reply as possible.

»With protests of my consideration, I am, etc.,—*William Lawrence Merry*, E. E. and M. P. U. S. A.»

(1) This letter is a re-translation, being taken from a Spanish version of the original English.

Reply.

«Managua, December 6, 1901.—N.º 925.—Sir: This Department has received Your Excellency's courteous communication of the 4th inst.

»In reply, and according to instructions from the President, I have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency the acceptance of the offer of six million dollars, American gold, as sole indemnification for the lease of the Canal Zone across the isthmus of Nicaragua, without this implying the total acceptance of the bases of the protocol dated Washington, December 1, 1900.

»I am, with all consideration, Your Excellency's obedient servant,—*Fernando Sánchez*.—To his Excellency William Lawrence Merry, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Nicaragua.—Present.»

GOOD WILL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA.
FOR PEACE AND FOR UNION.

Special instructions communicated by the Department of Foreign Relations to Dr. Rodolfo Espinosa R., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua near the Government of the United States of America.

I.

He will try to impress upon the American Government the conviction that «Central American Union», or the Constitution of the Republic of Central America, is the best means of bringing about stable peace in these five countries.

.....
Respecting the person who shall begin to govern the destinies of the new State, Minister Espinosa will confirm what has been manifested before by President Zelaya, and is already known in the Department of State; namely, that he would resign the power if it should be necessary for the success of that work of Central American patriotism.
.....;

II.

In general, and whenever the occasion is presented, Minister Espinosa will make manifest the desire of the Nicaraguan Government to cultivate the best relations of friendship with the Government of the United States, and its firm determination that the absolute sovereignty and positive independence of this Republic shall suffer no deterioration in consequence of the manifestations which the American Government has definitely made.

.....
Department of Foreign Relations.—Managua, December 3, 1908.—
T. Matamoros J.—Seen and approved.—*J. S. Zelaya.*

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Special instructions communicated by the Department of Foreign Relations to Mr. Isidoro Hazera, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Nicaragua near the Government of the United States of America.

First. He will try with all earnestness to convince the American Government that the present Government of Nicaragua abounds in sincere sentiments of friendship and sympathy for the people and Government of the United States. There is no foundation for the self-interested assertion of the enemies of this Republic that we do not duly appreciate the maintenance of cordial relations with that country. A proof of this is the harmonious settlement of the Emery affair, which has just been concluded, and which demonstrates the solicitude with which the Government of General Zelaya has exerted itself that the friendly intercourse between both Republics should not in the least be cooled. We have faithfully abided by the Washington Conventions, perhaps with greater respect than other Central American States, who do not maintain, as Nicaragua does, diplomatic representatives in the capitals of these countries in order to look to the attainment of a state of true tranquility and fraternity between their Governments. In the creation and maintenance of the Guatemala International Bureau (Oficina Internacional de Guatemala), we have been the most forward, and stood for the definite union and concord of Central America. Distance, and the ma-

chinations of President Estrada Cabrera, have made it appear in the United States that Nicaragua, up to a certain point, was jealous of the good offices of the Government of Washington in respect to Central American affairs, when really it was only meant to follow a policy of defence against the trickery of the Governments of Guatemala and Salvador.

.....
Given forth in Managua, October 25, 1909.—*J. Irias*—Seen and approved.—*J. S. Zelaya*.

Copy of the trial brought against Leonard Groce, Lee Roy Cannon and Edmund Couture for the crime of rebellion.

The undersigned, Minister General for War, certifies that the cause instructed against Leonard Groce, Lee Roy Cannon and Edmund Couture for the crime of rebellion before us, is literally as follows:

«Rafael César Medina, Brigadier general of the Army of the constituted Government and second commanding officer of the Rio division. Present, the individual Edmund Couture, French subject, aged 48, bachelor and civil engineer stated: that in Prinzapolca Sr. Enrique Espinosa engaged him in the service of the revolution and then he took him as far as Cabo Gracias á Dios, where he was exclusively occupied in curing the wounded and that they took him to Bluefields for the same purpose and that he continued with the revolutionists of Chamorro because he desired to reach Managua of Costa Rica to discontinue serving. Of the attack on Cabo he states, that the garrison fought heroically and after two hours firing, the insurgents seized the garrison, taking the governor Miguel Irias and sergeant major, Indalecio Manzanares prisoners. That it is said in Bluefields that Miguel Irias and Midence Irias are under arrest but that respect is shown to them, without depriving them of their revolvers, and that Manzanares is free. Which is all he knows and he appends his signature to this declaration in Boca San Carlos Nov. 2, 1909.—*Rafael César Medina*.—*Edmund Couture*.—In my presence, *Constantino G. Sáenz*, special secretary.»

«Before General Rafael C. Medina, Brigadier general of the Nicaraguan Army and second in command of the division operating in Río San Juan, the revolutionist colonel Leonard Groce who stated he was 37 years old and an American citizen of the state of Texas appeared in Boca San Carlos at 8,10 p. m. Nov. 2, 1909. Asked what object brought him to the plains of Río San Juan between Machuca and Boca San Carlos, he replies: that after the revolutionary party had occupied the positions of Boca San Carlos, they repaired to Machuca with the object of attac-

ing the reserve corps of the established Government and as they met with resistance, they returned in the Government steamers *Norma* and *Managua*, the leader of the revolutionists referred to being, first Emiliano Chamorro and then Colonel Canuto Ugarte; that Chamorro ordered the deponent to land on Nicaraguan shore, accompanied by Ignacio González, native of Matagalpa and residing in Kukra, and by Francisco Espinosa and six other individuals whose names he ignores. Asked what instructions he received from Emiliano Chamorro on remaining at the place indicated and which he states is called «La Conchuda» he replies: that Chamorro handed him three cases of dynamite a small case of explosives, a hundred and eight yards of electric wire, a roll of telegraph wire and an electric machine with instructions to lay in the middle of the river a mine which was laid by the deponent with seventy five pounds of dynamite and which he fired at the moment when the Government steamer *Diamante* was within ten yards from the side of the mine and which was arriving with vanguard reinforcements; that Emiliano Chamorro, on his return from Machuca stopped at Boca de San Carlos, and came twice to see him in motor, frequently sending commissions with the same object; that after the blowing up of the mine, the deponent and his companions, fled, the former in the direction of Machuca and the others to Boca de San Carlos. Asked if he knew where other mines were laid, he replies that he will stake his life that the revolution has no other mines laid than the one he was encharged with; but that it may be that they have ordered material to be brought to Bluefields, for so it was stated by Fernando Elizondo who is in the ranks of the revolutionists. Asked what reasons he had for taking up arms against the constituted Government of Nicaragua, he replies: that on the 11th of Oct. of the current year, he was called by the ex-intendant of the department of Zelaya, and questioned as to whether he was prepared to accompany him in the revolutionary movement which the said leader had caused to be started the previous night. Asked if he knows what were the first operations that the chief rebel, General D. Juan J. Estrada had performed, he replies: that on the 11th of Oct. of the current year there left Bluefields for Chontales, on their way to Chile a body of cavalry and a detachment of infantry to the number of two hundred men under the command of the Mexican Demetrio Vergara and Augusto Matute respectively; that on the following day, that is the twelfth General Juan J. Estrada left Bluefields on board the *Ometepe*, the commander and crew of which ship, favoured the movement, leaving in the direction of

Muelle de los Bueyes; that he knows that the planters and labourers of the banana plantations of the river Rama, and its affluents, joined General Estrada; that he knows that Chile was taken by a column of two hundred men under the command of the alcalde of Bluefields, Rogelio Malespín and that the other column, composed of three hundred men under the command of Matute and Vergara went on to Chontales the deponent supposing that Malespín and his troops joined them. Asked if he had any further news of the revolutionary forces, operating near Chontales, he replies that he knows nothing about the matter, but that he is able to declare as to the movements of Emiliano Chamorro on San Juan del Norte and river as far as Machuca. The deponent states: that on the 11th of Oct. of the current year the gasoline boats *El Esfuerzo* and *Sark*, carrying a hundred and fifty men, under the command of Emiliano Chamorro and Manuel Uliser left Bluefields; that Uliser arrived first at San Juan del Norte, attacking the garrison of the port, whence he left losing one man, and had three wounded, including himself, being shot in an arm; that the garrison of the constituted Government had one soldier and two wounded, that were taken to Bluefields together with two reconnoitring soldiers, who reached Bluefields on the thirteenth of Oct. last; that the deponent embarked in the same boats with seventy men under the command of Canuto Ugarte and Jesús Sierra of Honduras; that they landed in the vinyard of San Juan del Norte on Oct. 14 placing themselves under the orders of Emiliano Chomorro and Canuto Ugarte continuing as second and Jesús Sierra as third in command; that on the 15th about one o'clock the steamer *Blanca*, left San Juan del Norte under the command of Cherí Méndez with forty men; but it was stranded in the river, returning on that account to San Juan; that the steamer *Norma* left San Juan on the same day at five in the afternoon, carrying Emiliano Chamorro and two hundred revolutionists or more, and made three landings before attacking Boca de San Carlos; taking it after three hours' fighting; Mr. Groce deposes: that he knows from a good source that the *Blanca* made its first journey to Puerto Limón, and brought thence the following persons: general Juan P. Reyes, Carlos A. de Subiria, Dr. Pedro Fornos Díaz, Céleo Barreto, Luis Mena, and others whose names he does not remember but that there were in all thirty and about twenty soldiers; that Subiria, Luis Mena, Céleo Barreto and Pedro Fornos Díaz operate on Chontales and that Juan Pablo Reyes, Luis Correa and Fernando Elizondo with three hundred and thirty men operate near the river San Juan under the orders of Chamorro, but that there is a

general discontent amongst the revolutionary troops on account of the bad treatment to which they are subjected; that Chamorro is armed with an old Parot cannon that was in San Juan del Norte; that the armament of the infantry is composed of Mauser and Remington. Asked to state the number of those forming the revolution, he replies that he is under the belief that there are not more than one thousand five hundred men, and that he is waiting in Bluefields, according to letter sent by Adolfo Díaz, of Granada, now residing in Bluefields it is assured that Dr. Salvador Castrillo would soon arrive with artillery bought in the United States of America and which is proceeding from New-Orleans. The deponent states: that Chamorro published on the 21st of Oct. a telegram from San Juan del Norte, arrived at Bluefields in which is announced the arrival of armaments and cartridges from Salvador and Guatemala. Groce pleads; that Dr. Zenón Rafael Rivera is the intendant of the department of Zelaya and that he keeps himself up with strong drink to the extent of falling asleep on the curule of the rebel leader; that Dr. Emilio Espinosa acts as general minister of the revolution and that his brother Henry was the leader that attacked El Cabo, having left Bluefields for Prinzapolca and thence to El Cabo. The deponent affirms that the garrison of El Cabo held out and that there were wounded on both sides. That he knows nothing of the governor of that port.

»These proceedings were closed on this date, to be continued when convenient, officially followed by the undersigned brigadier general and second in command of the río San Juan, were read in their entirety to the deponent, who ratifies and signs them; being handed on by my order to the first in command the General of division D. Salvador Toledo for the purpose he may judge fit.—Corrected: D, B, G, r, de, en, c, do, rrea M, R, N, curule, M, concluded, D.—Valid.—Between brackets: Deposed.—Not valid.—Boca de San Carlos, Nov. 3, 1909.—*Rafael César Medina, Leonard Groce.*—In my presence, *Constantino G. Sáenz*, secretary *ad hoc.*»

«The present proceedings to be handed on to the General in command to the purpose he may ordain.—Subordinate and friend,—*Salvador Toledo.*»

«Presidency and Military Headquarters of the Republic of Nicaragua. Managua, Nov. 8, 1909, 11. a. m.—Convey the present proceedings to knowledge of the attorney-general for War of the forces operating on the río San Juan (in El Castillo) to the end that by ratifying and amplifying them they may follow the course of the law.—*Zelaya.*—In my presence, *Perfecto Hidalgo*, secretary.»

«Boca de San Carlos, Nov. 3, 1909.—Commander in chief.—Campo de Marte.—Subjoined, I send you the proceedings that by my order General Medina has instituted against the insurgent prisoners captured by him in the channel of Conchuda. I do not remit them by this steamer because I await your orders and also to obtain other details of great importance for my movements. General Medina returns by my order to El Castillo, after religiously following my instructions inspecting the transit stores and felling of timber.—Subordinate and friend,—*Salvador Toledo.*»

«El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—Attorney general for War.—Present. For your knowledge and guidance, I transmit to you the general order which states: «In El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—General order.—Rigorous »campaign service.—1st Captain Isidoro Marchena continues in command.—2nd In accordance with articles 277 and 358 of the Military »Code, this authority considers that every day rapid proceedings are rendered more necessary to inflict the punishment of the law on delinquents »in campaign, where the safety of the Army must be secured at all costs, »check excesses, restore discipline, or correct the moral spirit of the »troops with speedy and special measures of energy. Let a verbal Council be organised for the judging of MM. Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture who remain under arrest. To this end, let »Dr. and Colonel D. Salomón Selva be appointed attorney; sergeant major D. José Antonio Mayorga, secretary. The Council shall consist of: »president, the Commander of this fortress, Colonel D. Toribio Ruiz; voters: lieutenant Colonel Alejandro Pasos and Colonel J. Alejandro Calderón; sergeant major Salvador Morales (son), Captains José Dolores »Villalobos, Abraham Quiñones and Carlos Alberto Castro, chosen by »lot. The place of assembly shall be the premises opposite those of this »authority and at two p. m. to-day for the organisation of the Council all »with the attendance of the auditor. Let the legal transcriptions be »made and communicated.—*Rafael César Medina.*» —*Rafael César Medina.*»

«Office of Military Attorney.—El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909, 1 p. m.—Present the secretary appointed, sergeant major D. José Antonio Mayorga, of age, bachelor, student of law, resident in León, I received his legal word and by it he promised to faithfully discharge his duty and observe the necessary secrecy. It was read approved and signed.—*Salomón Selva* —*J. Antonio Mayorga.*»

«*Razón.*—Managua, Nov. 8, 1909.—General Rafael C. Medina, se-

cond in command of the division of Gran Lago and río San Juan.—El Castillo.—The Military authorities here of the Army of the Republic has ordained that during the absence from this place of the first in command general D. Salvador Toledo you will exercise the duties and functions conceded by the law to a general commanding officer of an army, you are therefore able from now to proceed to the organising of the Military Tribunals that the present circumstances call for and confirm or revoke the sentences therein dictated. Yours, etc.,—*J. Santos Zelaya*.—Exact copy.—El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—*Salomón Selva*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«In El Castillo at 2 p. m. Nov. 14, 1909.—Assembled the above-signed president, commander of this fortress Toribio Ruiz B., and voters Colonel D. Alejandro J. Calderón, lieutenant Colonel D. Alejandro Pasos, sergeant major Salvador Morales (son), captains José Dolores Villalobos, Abraham Quiñones y Carlos Alberto Castro; auditor Colonel and Dr. don Andrés Zúñiga y Urtecho, and attorney Colonel and Dr. D. Salomón Selva, with the object of forming the verbal Court Martial referred to in the general order of the day, which shall be added to these proceedings and which order the trial of the accused present, and under arrest, Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture. The president and voters made the legal promise in the manner established by art. 340 of the Military Code pronouncing in succession the following words: «I »promise on my honour to fulfil my duty in the present cause in conformity with the laws.» The public attorney is entrusted with watching over the instructing of the case in the same place, abiding by the articles 362 and 363 of the Military Code. This act is closed, to be continued afterwards, the Council remaining in permanent sitting.—*Toribio Ruiz B.*—*S. Morales*.—*Carlos A. Castro*.—*Alejandro J. Calderón*.—*José Alejandro Pasos*.—*José D. Villalobos*.—*Abraham Quiñones*.—*Salomón Selva*, attorney.—*A. Zúñiga y U.*, auditor.»

«Immediately I, attorney gave notice to the accused Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture to appoint their defensor, if they did not wish to defend themselves and after reading to them the list of the officers of this centre they appointed D. J. Fernando Calderón, who accepted the charge, which is given him he being obliged to do all the law permits in favour of the accused. These proceedings were read to them, they were agreed to and all signed.—*Salomón Selva*, attorney.—*Lee Roy Cannon*.—*Edmund Couture*.—*L. W. Groce*.—*J. Fernando Calderón*.—In my presence, *J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Follow, present: witnesses Antonio Sandoval, resident of Chinandega, Concepción García and Félix Castillo these two latter also residing in Chinandega, all of age, day-labourers, I put them upon oath after explaining to them the punishment for false witness in criminal cases and they promised to tell the truth in all they knew and were questioned about; and being called upon to state what they knew as to the capture of the accused Lee Roy Cannon, they deposed: that about two o'clock on the afternoon of the thirty first of the preceding month Mr. Cannon met them, believing that they belonged to the force of Emiliano Chamorro; that he was captured immediately and dispossessed of the revolver he was carrying, stating that he was in search of some mines and although he was in the revolution, from that moment he no longer continued and went over to the government. This they declared one after the other or separately and of one accord, the declaration having been received in presence of the accused his defensor, members of the Council and auditor the deponents stating they are impartial. It was read to them, they were agreed, no amendment being necessary, and they do not sign being unable, other parties doing to.—Between lines: or separately.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva.*—*J. Fernando Calderón.*—*Lee Roy Cannon.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Immediately afterwards, present an individual, free from prison co-action, flattery or threat, I received his indagatory declaration and confession with charges, in the following manner: asked for his name, age, civil state, profession and domicile, he replies that his name his Lee Roy Cannon, bachelor, of age, civil engineer, resident in Masaya and Matagalpa. Asked if he knew the cause of his arrest, who ordered it and how the news of it spread, he replies: that he is arrested for rebellion as he supposes by order of Colonel Olivares de León and afterwards by command of General Toledo. Asked where he was at about two in the afternoon of the thirty first of Oct. last, on the occasion when the crime of rebellion was committed, an attempt being made by force of arms to change the constitutional order of the Republic with the uprising of the Governor and Intendant of the Atlantic Coast; in whose company he was, and what were his intentions, he answers that he found himself in the mountain alone and having lost his way. Asked if he has any news of the crime of rebellion referred to in the former question, how he received news of it and if he knows who committed it he replies: that the deponent was in Puerto Barrios, Republic of Guatemala, at the beginning of last Oct. when he was contracted by Señor Ocón, a Nicaraguan, of

Chontales, to come and draw up some maps and military plans for General Emiliano Chamorro; that indeed he received money from Sr. Ocón and betook himself to the port of Limón, whence he went to Puntarenas, returning afterwards to the same port of Limón, where the report of the uprising of General Estrada had already spread; from this port he left for Bluefields in a gasoline launch called *Adelaida*, there being on board Céleo Barreto and two gentlemen Macis and Correa whose names he does not know; having arrived at Bluefields, he repaired to San Juan del Norte, and thence, to Río San Juan, in search of General Emiliano Chamorro, from whom he received orders, through General Juan Pablo Reyes, to draw up military plans in all the rives and establish roads of communication and transport for the revolutionists; that he knew that in La Conchuda some mines were laid; that the deponent was near up the river when he heard the whistles of the steamers *Diamante* and *Holembek*; for this reason he went to the camp of Couture and Groce, who were prepared with some apparatus for blowing up a mine, without having seen the apparatus, but it was true they were prepared for that task; that after taking coffee, he took to his boat to continue his way but seeing that the steamer *Diamante* was approaching, and that it would be blown up by the mine, the deponent, with the object of not perishing also, landed hurriedly, and withdrew to the mountain where he lost his way and was found the following day by Colonel Olivares; that the post he occupied in the revolutionary army was that of Colonel in his capacity of civil engineer; that the day he was captured, if he remembers aright, he was promoted in the order of the day of General Chamorro, chief of the Staff, a post he could not receive. As has been related, the deponent had news of the crime of rebellion, in which he took part voluntarily, as one of its principal chiefs. Asked what reason he had for taking part in the rebellion against the Government of the Republic he replies: that the reason was that in 1906 he was ill-treat in act at Matagalpa by some officers, one named Perfecto Romero and the other bore the bad name of Trompa Mocha, at the time when General Emiliano J. Herrera was chief of the police of that department; that he made no promises and received no pay, but that he did fulfil the services of his rank; that he has nothing further to say on the matter. This act is suspended, to be continued afterwards if necessary. At this stage he adds: that General Herrera at that time did not do him justice on the occasion of the outrages he received, but that he rather suffered persecution, being kept watched by means of a body of officers placed in the house of a certain Señora Galea

and that it is then that every citizen has a right to rebel; that as regards Sr. Edmund Couture he has no responsibility, and that he was employ in the Cruz Roja (Red Cross Ambulance). His declaration was read and the assistant found them correct and he signs —Between lines: thirty first of Oct. last.—Valid.—Corrected: at San.—Valid.—Between words: and confession.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva.*—*Lee Roy Cannon.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«It is recorded that the defensor does not present any witness and signs.—*J. Fernando Calderón.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Next, present the witnesses Octavio Narváez, José León Lorente, carpenters; Félix F. Solórzano, tailor; and Manuel Sabogal, mason, all of age and resident in Managua, I put them on their oath after explaining the punishment for false testimony in criminal cases and they promised to speak the truth as far as they knew and were asked; and being asked to say what they knew with regard to the capture of Leonard Groce, one after the other or separately and of one accord, stated: that a few days after the explosion of a mine without doing any damage to the steamer *Diamante*, at the time when General Medina was repairing to the camp of General Toledo in the steamer *Irma*, they were informed by a telegraph employee who in a boat was inspecting the line, that some men were going about the mountain as if they had lost their way; that they had made signs to him, but that he had not wished to approach; that then General Medina ordered these individuals to be caught and they were at last found and they are those that have been present, named Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture the first having made confession to General Medina as to the firing of the bomb. It is recorded that this declaration was received in the presence of the accused, the defensor, Court Martial and auditor. And after it was read to them, they approved and ratified the same, and affirm their impartiality, all signing.—Between lines: or separately.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva.*—*Octavio Narváez.*—*José M. Sabogal.*—*José L. Lorente.*—*J. Fernando Calderón.*—*Félix F. Solórzano.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Immediately after present, the experts, D. Ponciano Espinosa, book keeper and D. Juan de Dios Brenes, telegraph employee, of age, and residents here, I put them on their oath previously warning them of the penalty for false witness in criminal cases and they promised to tell the truth as far as they knew and were asked; in their capacity of experts and in the presence of the prisoners, they declared: that they have had before them several boxes, which contain dynamite weighing about se-

venty six pounds; a roll of wire, three rolls of fuse and three dynamos; all of which is used for preparing bombs and producing the explosion of the same at a distance. The expert Brenes adds that this material was taken from the enemy after the firing of a mine, when the steamer *Diamante* was passing the point called La Conchuda, carrying about four hundred men on board; and the accused Groce corroborates the statement of Brenes. It is read to them, they were agreed and sign, stating their impartiality.—Between lines: bearing about 400 men.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva*.—*P. Espinosa*.—*Juan D. Brenes*.—*Leonard Groce*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Following at 6 p. m. on the same day with the object of receiving his indagatory declaration and confession with charges, free of prison coaction, flattery or threat he gave it in the following form: Asked for his name, age and condition, profession and domicile he answers: that his name is Leonard Groce, aged thirty seven, married, a miner and resident of Bluefields. Asked if he knew the reason of his arrest what authority ordered the same, and how the news was spread, he answers: that he knows that he is arrested for being an insurgent and for having fired a mine against the steamer *Diamante*, he having presented himself before General Medina. And asked if the declaration that he made before General Rafael César Medina in Boca de San Carlos at ten minutes past eight p. m. on the second of the current month of November and if he ratifies the same, after having it read to him, he replies; that it is his, and he ratifies the same; being one of the principal leaders of the revolt. Asked why he took up arms with the object of changing the institutions of the Republic, thus committing the serious crime of rebellion, that has brought so much harm to the country, he replies that, having fought formerly by the side of General Estrada he considers himself his chief; and as the latter called upon him, he did what he ordered him. At this point the declaration is suspended, to be continued later if convenient and after the reading of the statement, he approved, ratified and signed.—Between lines: confession with charges.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva*.—*L. W. Groce*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Immediately afterwards and at half past six in the afternoon of the same day, one present with the object of receiving his indagatory declaration, who free from prison, coaction, flattery or threat, made it in the following manner: Asked for his name, age, condition, profession and domicile, he said: his name was Edmund Couture, aged forty eight, bachelor, land surveyor and resident of Prinzapolca. Asked to say if the

declaration made before General Rafael César Medina, in Boca de San Carlos on Nov. 2 inst, was his own and if he ratifies the same he replies: that it is and that he ratifies it. Asked what he was doing in company with Groce when the mine exploded near the steamer *Diamante*, he answers: that he does not consider himself guilty of the crime of rebellion, for his only duties were to be taken to cure the wounded; that it is true that he was with Leonard Groce in the ranch where he fired the mine; but it was with the object of passing into the interior and delivering himself up to the constituted authorities and that he never took any part in political matters; and that a short time before the mine exploded he took coffee with Lee Roy Cannon. This declaration is suspended do be continued afterwards if found necessary. And the deposition being read was ratified and signed.—*Salomón Selva*.—*Edmund Couture*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«In El Castillo at 6,45 p. m. Nov. 14, 1909.—The above-signed members of the Council adjourn the sitting so that the attorney may formulate his allegation, for the accusation and the defensor that of the defense; being appointed to resume the sitting at eight on the same day and we sign.—*Toribio Ruiz B.*—*Alejandro J. Calderón*.—*José Alej. Pasos. S. Morales (son)*.—*J. F. Calderón*.—*A. Zúñiga y U.*, auditor.—*Salomón Selva*, attorney.—*José D. Villalobos*.—*Abraham Quiñones*.—*Carlos A. Castro*.»

«In El Castillo, at 8 p. m. Nov. 14, 1909.—Again present the accused Lee Roy Cannon with the object of amplifying his former declaration, which was read to him, and asked if it was the same he made, and if he ratifies the same, he said: that it is his and he ratifies it. Asked if the words of the telegram of the General in command D. Salvador Toledo dated at San Juan del Norte, at 4 p. m. of that day, are true, he answers: that in the said telegram there are a few mistakes; that he came from Limón in the steamer *Adelaida*, as he stated in his former declaration, and not in the steamer *Blanca*; that he knew nothing of explosive mines in Boca del Colorado, but only Sr. Groce; that he is American, and not French; that in Puerto Barrios he knew nothing; that there he received the money from Sr. Wenceslao Ocón for his removal to Costa Rica, where he learnt of the revolution on the Coast; and that as regards the other points of the telegram they are exact. It was read to him, he was agreed, he ratifies and signs.—*Salomón Selva*.—*Lee Roy Cannon*.—*A. Zúñiga y U.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Immediately afterwards the attorney speaks at length on the corpus

delicti and the delinquents prosecuted, having demanded capital punishment for all of them. The defender read his allegation asking absolution for those accused. The witnesses did not withdraw. Art. 367 Military Code.—*Salomón Selva*.—*A. Zúñiga y U.*, auditor.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«In El Castillo at 2 a. m. Nov. 15, 1909.—The above-signed members of the Court Martial assembled in a session with closed doors, with the object of determining the punishment to be inflicted on the accused Lee Roy Cannon, bachelor, civil engineer; Leonard Groce, married, miner; and Edmund Couture, bachelor land surveyor, all of age; the first two American citizens and the third a native of France; the defendant Cannon resident in Masaya and Matagalpa; the defendant Groce residing in Bluefields and Couture in Prinzapolca; prosecuted for the crime of rebellion against the State and its Government. From the examination of the proceedings, it appears: Through a rebellion having broken out on the Atlantic Coast against the State and the constituted Government headed by General Juan José Estrada and Emiliano Chamorro the accused Lee Roy Cannon was called by the latter, who for the purpose availed himself of the services of D. Wenceslao Ocón, resident in the Republic of Guatemala, to come and draft some maps and military plans on the Atlantic Coast, on the route of Río de San Juan, receiving for the purpose money in sufficient quantity; and betaking himself to Costa Rica, he made for this Republic and enlisting in the ranks of the insurgents, he began his work in the strategic points of the route of the said Río San Juan where he was captured at 2 p. m. of Oct. 31 last. For the same reason the accused Leonard Groce joined the rebel ranks and taking charge of an infernal machine, went and placed it opposite the hillock La Conchuda situated between «Las Campanas» and Boca de San Carlos and he caused it to explode, at the moment when the steamer *Diamante*, carrying on board the Government troops, was passing that way, having been captured by the second in command of the division of Lago y Río, General Rafael César Medina, on Nov. 2 inst in the very spot where the bomb exploded. The defendant Edmund Couture joined the rebel troops and lent his services, as he himself states, as a doctor. Considering: The Attorney for War in obedience to the general order of the day of yesterday 14th inst, which is to be found on sheet 7.º, of the proceedings, in which it is recorded that the members of the Council undersigned took the oath in the form established by art. 340 of the Military Code, proceeding immediately to give a hearing to the defen-

dants, who appointed as their defensor Captain J. Fernando Calderón, chosen by them from the list of officers submitted to them. Considering: The witnesses Antonio Sandoval, Concepción García and Félix Castillo declare on turning over sheet 9 and opposite 10 that at about 2 p. m. of Oct. 31st last, they met the defendant Lee Roy Cannon in the lowlands of Río San Juan, in search of the forces of the rebel Emiliano Chamorro, having captured him and seized his revolver, this ocular proof constituting a sufficiently legal basis that leaves no room for doubt as to the culpability of which Lee Roy Cannon is accused; all the more so because the proof was not denied by the defendant nor his defensor in the public hearing granted to them; it therefore must have the desired effect. Considering: By the statement of the witnesses Octavio Narváez, José León Lorente, Félix F. Solórzano and Manuel Sabogal the fact is established that the defendants Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture were captured at the point of La Conchuda on the banks of the river San Juan which was where the mine laid to blow up the ship *Diamante*, exploded, on board which were embarked Government troops, the accused Groce confessing that it was he that fired the mine, the statement of these witnesses being a full and complete proof of the guilt of the defendants Groce and Couture. Considering: That the corpus delicti is proved by the opinion of the experts D. Ponciano Espinosa and Juan de Dios Brenes, who reported that the cases, rolls of wire, three rolls of fuse and three dynamos that were found in the lowland of the Río might be used for preparing bombs and producing an explosion; that these materials—according to the confession of Groce in the presence of the experts—are used for that purpose for he was the one charged with laying down the mines; this expert proof, ordered by art. 361 of the Military Code establishes in a clear and decisive manner the corpus delicti in the present case. Moreover from the indagatory declaration heard of the accused, and which are added to pages 10 to 16 it is easy to come to the conviction that they committed the crime for which they are accused, and the confession not admitting a proof to the contrary the culpability of the accused is clearly proved and demonstrated, with the exception of Couture, who denies having willingly taken part; his mission being insignificant in comparison with the gravity of the crime pursued, for he devoted himself to curing the wounded which fact is proved, there having been found in his luggage a quantity of gauzes, bandages and instruments for attending to the wounded. Considering that: The crime of rebellion is committed by the uprising

or conspiracy of many against the State, the Government with the object of undoing the political organisation of the Republic (art. 80 of the Military Code); and it having been proved by the declarations of the aforesaid witnesses by the expert opinion and by the confession of the accused that the culpability for which they are indicted exists, it is beyond doubt the Cannon, Groce and Couture have committed the crime of rebellion against the Government of Nicaragua; that according to art. 82 of the Military Code the penalty that should be inflicted on the accused is that of death, it being a serious crime that might have destroyed the discipline of the Army; but with regard to the offender Edmund Couture whose mission was passive in the ranks of the rebels, the penalty shall be determined in the third fraction of art. 82 above mentioned; that the penalty imposed on the offenders in question shall have all the desired effects, because it is applied in a valid suit and because although the prisoners indicted are foreigners they are obliged, from the moment of their arrival on the territory of the Republic to respect the authorities and observe the laws (art. 9 of the National Code). And consequently: In accordance with articles 7, 82, 8, 50 of the Military Code and art. 9 of the National Code the undersigned members of the Council, in the name of the Republic of Nicaragua, we give sentence: the offenders Lee Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce are condemned to death for the crime of rebellion against the State and Government of Nicaragua. Likewise the offender Edmund Couture is condemned to a year's imprisonment determined in fraction 3 of the art. 82 of the above mentioned law. The attenuating circumstances referred to in art. 19 are not taken into account, because none have been justified. The votes signed to which art. 356 of the Military Code refer are added to the case. Let it be taken note of.—Corrected: ver.—Valid.—Testados, verbal, señor, encon.—Not valid.—Testado, a.—Not valid.—*Toribio Ruiz B.*—*Alejandro J. Calderón.*—*José Alej. Pasos.*—*S. Morales (son).*—*Abraham Quiñones.*—*José D. Villalobos.*—*Carlos A. Castro.*—*A. Zúñiga y U., auditor.*»

«At 5 a. m. Nov. 15, 1909, I notified the above sentence to the condemned men Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce and Edmund Couture; and on hearing the same, the first two said that they ask for a commutation of it before a higher tribunal and they sign with the defensor who was also notified.—*Lee Roy Cannon.*—*Leonard W. Groce.*—*Edmund Couture.*—*J. Fernando Calderón.*—*Salomón Selva.*»

«Offices of the Military Attorney.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909,

6. a. m.—The present proceedings to be passed on to the General in Command, who ordered their making, that he may ordain what he deems fit, in accordance with last paragraph of art. 370 of the Military Code; and immediately, if it should be so ruled, the present authority will proceed to carry out what is ordained in chap. V, section II, title II; book III of the Military Code.—*Salomón Selva*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«At the same date and hour, the defensor being notified, signs.—*J. Fernando Calderón*.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Rafael César Medina second in command of the division of Gran Lago and Río San Juan, having no observation to make in the sentence dictated by the verbal Court Martial, I order these legal proceedings to be returned to the Military Attorney, all the legal dispositions for the execution of the sentence to be dictated in the general order of the day on my entire responsibility.—*Rafael César Medina*.—In my presence, *Constantino G. Sáenz*, secretary *ad hoc*.»

«Offices of the Military Attorney.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—Seven a. m.—Let the sentence be carried out and to this end let the condemned men Lee Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce be conveyed to the chapel to prepare for death at the head of the fortress, with the strictest guard, the condemned men being allowed to communicate with all classes of persons in keeping with the precautions the case demands. The time fixed for the execution is at 10 a. m. to-morrow. Let the corresponding orders be transmitted. Let due note be taken of it.—*Salomón Selva*.—In my presence, *J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«At the same date and hour, the condemned men and their defensor are notified, excusing themselves from signing.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Order was given to the acting Commander of this fortress to proceed with preparing the condemned men Lee Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce for death, according to what was ordained in the above act.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«In El Castillo, Nov. 16, 1909, at 10 a. m.—Lee Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce were executed with all the ritual laid down by the Military Code. It was carried out in the cemetery of this place. The condemned men died at the first volley which is certified by doctors D. Octavio Cortés and D. Guillermo Martínez at presents residents of the city of Managua and who append their signature. The corresponding notice was made to the Civil Registry. And as regard to the condemned

man Edmundo Couture he shall be placed at the disposal of the Minister for War together with a copy of the proceedings of this trial, for the purposes as required by law.—*Salomón Selva*, attorney to War Office. *G. Martínez, Octavio Cortés.*—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«It should be recorded: that on the verbal petition of the condemned men made yesterday, the originals of the telegrams they addressed to the President of the Republic are added.—El Castillo, Nov. 16, 1909.—*J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—Attorney to War Office Dr. Salomón Selva.—Present.—In agreement with art. 370 of the Military Code, I have disposed, in accordance with the verbal opinion of the Auditor for War Dr. Andrés Zúñiga y Urtecho that the term of 24 hours for finishing the Court Martial that is trying the accused Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce, and Edmundo Couture be reduced to the half.—Your obedient servant,—*Rafael César Medina.*»

«Offices of the Military Attorney.—El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—2,30 p. m.—To be carried into effect.—The members of the Council are in the understanding that at 2 to-morrow morning the judging of the accused will come to an end.—Between lines: de mañana.—Valid.—*Salomón Selva.*—In my presence, *J. Antonio Mayorga*, secretary.»

«Handed in at San Juan del Norte a 4 p. m. Nov. 14, 1909.—Received at El Castillo at 5 p. m. Nov. 14, 1909.—Military auditor Salomón Selva. For the purposes of the Court Martial which you have to institute against the prisoners Lee Roy Cannon, Edmund Couture and Leonard Groce, I transmit the following details, already known to the General Commanding officer: On Nov. 1st during the first hours of the night, taking from the high ground the force under Colonel Leopoldo Membreño, that had operated on that day in Boca de San Carlos, I was informed that Lee Roy Cannon had been made prisoner, being informed by Colonel Membreño that on the mountain Cannon had joined them, and that on seeing them he had asked them for General Emiliano Chamorro, thinking that they were his followers; that immediately he took him prisoner, which fact was confirmed to me by Lee himself, telling me on his word of honour, that those who had laid down the mines were engineers of Pispis and that his mission as engineer was to draw up the plan of attack which the revolution was to follow. I also transcribe to you the telegram, which states literally: «*La Tigra en el río*, Nov. 1, 1909.—General Commander in chief.—Encampment.—Lee Cannon tells me that »from the American warships *Marietta* and *Tucoma* marines have de-

»serted, the *Blanca* bringing them to San Juan del Norte; that there are
»not less than twenty of them; that from New-Orleans Dr. Castillo is
»awaited with war material; that they have three electric apparatus for
»firing mines, of greater force than the one we discovered, with which
»they would blow up at the junction of the Colorado others three times
»as destructive as the one that exploded; that the engineer that placed
»the mines is a Frenchman by name Groce, whom I hope to capture, for
»he has fled and is wandering on the mountain. The same individual
»states that when in Guatemala Emiliano Chamorro adressed him a cable
»from Panamá to Wenceslao Ocón for the latter to provide him with all
»travelling expenses and to repair to Limón to this port. The *Blanca*
»is continually moving; that in it he made his journey to Boca de San
»Carlos, where he met Emiliano; that he is astonished that they have
»abandoned this point of La Boca, because they hoped to make a strong
»resistence there. He informs me that General Estrada with five hun-
»dred men and good modern armament, will force his way into Acoya-
»pa; that from these camps they receive news daily; as a proof he gave
»me the names of the leaders that command the forces that occupy this
»zone. If I obtain more details I will communicate the same.—Subor-
»dinate and friend,—*Salvador Toledo.*»—Your affectionate,—*Toledo.*»

«At El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909. — 11 p. m.—The above-signed president
of the Court Martial herewith affirms having seen and examined the
trial, in which the accused Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce and Ed-
mund Couture for the crime of rebellion against the public order of the
Republic of Nicaragua, against the constituted Government, against the
constitutional laws, and that, in the presence of this respectable Council
spontaneously declare their guilt, and still further, that Groce deposes
the he personally applied the fuse; by means of an electric apparatus, to
a mine the object of which was to blow up the steamers of the Govern-
ment in which it was transporting the troops that advance against the
enemy, to preserve public order; as also Mr. Lee Roy Cannon sponta-
neously declares that from port Barrios, of Guatemala, he was lead away
to take part in the rebellion of the rebel leader the ex-intendant of Blue-
fields, which fact rendered signal service to the revolution; and Mr. Ed-
mund Couture spontaneously declares and one of the other accused
confirms his statement that he only took part as doctor in the Red Cross
Ambulance Corps; I declare MM. Lee Roy Cannon and Leonard Groce
answerable for what is provided in art. 82 of the Military Code pun-
ishable with death sentence and Mr. Edmund Couture for what the third

fraction of the same art. 82 of the same Military Code provides. This vote I give in full conscience and subject to the law.—*Toribio Ruiz B.*»

«Mr. President of the Council.—As first voter of the Council that you preside over for judging those accused of rebellion, who accompanied the rebel of the Atlantic coast General Juan J. Estrada, whose names are as follows: Lee Roy Cannon, Leonard Groce, and Edmund Couture; I give my spontaneous vote in conformity with the law and my conscience, in the following manner: that the first and the second be punished in accordance with article 82; and as for the last that he be acquitted, considering that he was doing no harm in the post he occupied, as he scarcely held any position in the enemy's army as surgeon, it being an office entirely humanitarian.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—*Alejandro J. Calderón.*»

«Mr. President of the Council.—My vote is to the effect that the accused Leonard Groce and Lee Roy Cannon, the crime of rebellion as being proved in the trial instituted by the public attorney be punished with the penalty of death in agreement with article 82 of the Military Code; and that the accused Edmund Couture be condemned to one year's imprisonment, in agreement with the last provision of the said article for I recognize the small amount of guilt he has in the trial. I thus fulfil my duty as member of the Council you preside over in conformity with the law and my conscience, in asking for punishment of the disturbers of the State and of our Government.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—*José Alejandro Pasos.*»

«Mr. President of the Council.—My vote is that Leonard Groce and Lee Roy Cannon be condemned to death and Edmund Couture to one year's imprisonment for the crime of rebellion against the State and its Government.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—*S. Morales (son).*»

«Mr. President of the Council.—Present.—My vote is that, the crime of rebellion committed by the accused Leonard Groce and Lee Roy Cannon in the trial brought against them by the public attorney being proved, and that the Military Code article 82 condemns them to death they should be sentenced accordingly. And that the accused Edmund Couture as being less responsible and less guilty be condemned to a year's imprisonment, in agreement with the last provision of article 82 of the same Code. I thus fulfil my duty, which as member of the Council you preside over, the law expects of me.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—*Carlos A. Castro.*»

«Mr. President of the Council.—My vote is that the accused Leonard

Groce and Lee Roy Cannon, the crime of rebellion being proved by the trial instituted by the public attorney should be punished with the penalty of death in agreement with article 82 of the Military Code and that the accused Edmund Couture be sentenced to one year's imprisonment, also in agreement with the last provision of the article quoted, his slight amount of guilt being recognized in the trial in question. I thus fulfil my duty as member of the Council you preside over in agreement with the law and my conscience.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.—

José D. Villalobos.»

«Mr. President of the Council.—Present.—The crime of rebellion of the accused Leonard Groce and Lee Roy Cannon having been proved by the trial instituted by the public attorney, I ask that they shall be condemned to death in agreement with article 82 of the Military Code; and the guilt of the accused Edmund Couture being slight, my vote is that he should be condemned to one year's imprisonment which is so ordered by the last provision of the article quoted.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.

Abraham Quiñones.»

«Honourable Council.—You are assembled in solemn and lively representation of the mother Country; you are the Nation itself, that has before it three rebel individuals that await the just sentence the law demands, that the sovereign will of the Republic ordains. The whole country was in the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity; the signs of progress were visible on all sides; the schoolmasters were busy cultivating the fair gardens of youthful intelligences; the business man was beginning to feel the ever increasing safety of important banking operations; the farmer counted upon numberless hands to raise the rich fruit of the golden grain; all in more or less degree, breathed in their homes the pure air of peace and happiness. But yonder on the Atlantic Coast, a lawless and unscrupulous man sent forth a fearful fateful cry, spreading over the beautiful blue sky of our motherland the darkening mantle of consternation and ruin. The cry of rebellion uttered by General Juan J. Estrada constitutes one of the gravest of crimes, because it not only causes deep wounds, but because it tends to change in its basis the Constitution of the Republican Government, with no other object than that of the personal ambition of a few: for one, caught with the dagger of treachery, and whose life was spared; for another who was taken in the revolutionary camp and continued in the enjoyment of full liberty; for that other who suffered a light sentence for grave offenses of contraband; in fine, for him who had his coffers

filled to repletion with money, for him who was taken from a carpenter's bench and trained with especial care to be the strong support of the Government of the party and the Head of the Nation. We now see the land strewn with dead, the temples of Minerva empty and deserted, commerce paralyzed, agriculture moribund, every thing threatened with general and inevitable destruction. For the authors of ills so tremendous the law which is the voice of national sovereignty has assigned the punishment that they deserve. On the title-page of our Military Code we find the following paragraph: «Article 1.^o Are: military crimes and errors voluntary acts or omissions which are committed within »military jurisdiction by individuals of the Army, by administrative »employees of the armed force, *or by any other person serving in its »ranks.*» That those three individuals have taken up arms against the Republic, who can doubt it? That, as principal leaders, they foster in their hearts the firmest resolutions of changing our Constitution and our Government is a matter that does not lend itself to the slightest doubt, when they themselves, with their own lips, have confessed it boldly, frankly perhaps with a certain arrogance and haughtiness, because accustomed to this kind of adventures they perhaps laughed at our Tribunals and have not had an opportunity of feeling the full weight our laws bring to bear upon delinquents. Those three individuals have obviously committed the crime of rebellion one of the gravest and most far-reaching that can exist. Not long ago you saw carried by, twenty wounded of whom two already sleep their last sleep in their mother earth. But this is but a small detail of the countless ills brought about by General Juan J. Estrada and his blind followers. Here is what the Code says, Honourable Council, with regard to the crime of *rebellion*: «Article 80. By rebellion is understood the uprising or conspiracy of »many against the State or Government, either forming public tumult, »or meeting privately with the object of destroying or modifying through »act and deed the political organisation of the State, either publicly or »in a subversive manner.» And further on in art. 82 of the same Code may be read: «The chief and principal leaders of a rebellion shall be »punished by the penalty of death, provided the crime is perpetrated in »the face of the enemy or in campaign, when through the circumstances »it shall be deemed necessary to apply this penalty for the maintenance »of order in the Army.» The circumstances cannot be more necessary; the penalty of death is demanded at this moment to maintain order in the army, to uphold the moral spirit of the soldier, check his successes

and more than all, to save the Republic, which it is desired to inoculate with the baneful poison of anarchism. Those three persons have deserved the death penalty from a thousand considerations. All of them are principal leaders directly responsible for the explosion of the mine placed at the point called La Conchuda at the moment when the steamer *Diamante* was passing, carrying on board about 400 men. Lee Roy Cannon is responsible as he was so blinded by conscience as to lose his way in the mountain. He thought to perish in the destruction scattered around by an explosive mine, but his destiny was to be brought to the dock of delinquents. Edmund Couture is also responsible; he is one of the principal authors of the crime we are dealing with; why was he by the side of Groce, in an ill-formed ranch on the mountain side, with those apparatus for causing violence? And the explanation given by Couture does not satisfy the conscience that judges him. Leonard Groce, startles the mind, deprives the reason of all reflection, only to bring one to the height of criminal responsibility. The accused in their crime of rebellion, have laid hands on the most strongly prohibited of arms, resorting to dark and perfidious strategy. The dagger that is plunged into the breast of the sleeper; the poison quaffed by the innocent victim, poured out by the cruel enemy; the attack of the wild beast on the wayfarer lost in the woodland thicket; any other picture of the kind grows pale before the destruction caused by those explosive mines that in one moment put an end to the existence of hundreds of lives. Honourable Council: One must agree that the rebels are governed by laws that Nature herself condemns. How differently does our Government act! It kills the enemy but on the battlefield, in hand to hand fight; and when the rebels surrender it sends them to the scaffold; but after giving them a fair trial, as you now see, according to our laws written and promulgated, and by means of judges with priority to the act committed. Gentlemen: Allow me one weakness; the human heart has weaknesses; I see amongst those individuals a youth of kindly feature, of robust frame, revealing in his countenance a clear intelligence; there must be harbouring in his brain great aspirations and his heart palpitates doubtless for some loved one or perhaps a mother's name. Spirit, heart and body ye are deserving of a better fate and a worthier cause! These are the considerations that occur to one's mind but which I blot out with the powerful force of my conscience. Here I am but a public functionary. Let all the weight and responsibility of his grave acts fall upon Lee Roy Cannon. They have nothing in their favour; the law of Alienship places

them under our laws; our Constitution does not allow of the escaping the sanction of our laws; the corpus delicti proved to the full and their confession spontaneous and self-dictated roughly haughtily and boldly all, all shows them to be deserving of the punishment inflicted by our Code. Honourable Council: In the name of the law, in the name of public vengeance, in the name of the Republic of Nicaragua I ask of you to condemn to the pain of death the accused Leonard Groce, Lee Roy Cannon and Edmund Couture for having committed the crime of rebellion with the object of changing the institutions of the State. I have spoken.—El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—*Salomón Selva*, public prosecutor.»

«Honourable representatives of the Court Martial: Impelled by my conscience and the duty imposed upon me by three defenseless men forsaken by their family, their friends and who can tell perhaps by justice herself brings me to this solemn precinct to plead the defense of their lives threatened by the Military Code of the Republic.

»I am well aware that the persons that form part in the Tribunal are all of such antecedents that do not permit nor will ever permit of the subornation that intrigue creates, the hatred that blood engenders, nor the infusion a single false idea unborn of a clear conscience; it is for that reason and the press of time that I refrain from expounding the multifarious reasons that might bring you to pass a sentence of absolution on the accused that stand before you, I will limit myself by asking in the name of the wife and of the sons of Leonard Groce and of MM. Lee Roy Cannon and Edmund Couture, bachelors, who are united to the highest, sublimest the most sacred of affections, that of a mother, who anxiously await the return of their pilgrim sons, whose lives will droop and die on learning that the lives of their sons have been lost in the eddy of misfortune. And above all gentlemen I ask for absolution in the name of the necessity in which our country, impoverished and stricken by continual warfare is under of maintaining sound and intact the integrity of its economy and blood which as proud soldiers we should be forced to spend and shed in futile efforts solely on hearing the bugle of a war declared by two powerful nations, France and the United States of America, who would come down upon us without any grounds of right or justice, solely in search of vengeance, a vengeance backed up alone by the right of the stronger. I here conclude my allegation of defense trusting in the kindness of your hearts.—El Castillo, Nov. 15, 1909.
J. Fernando Calderón.»

TELEGRAMS.

«El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—Commanding General D. J. Santos Zelaya.—Military Camp.—My confessions that are in the proceedings of the trial brought against me, are sufficient proofs of my voluntary culpability; for this reason I do not endeavour to persuade you of my innocence, that does not exist and I limit myself by beseeching you to extend your acknowledged magnanimity towards me, sparing my life in exchange for the number of years, of imprisonment you may decide upon, and I promise you, on my word of honour never to meddle with any political matter but rather render service to the Government you preside over in all that may contribute to the peace of the Republic that has been disturbed by General Juan J. Estrada with my humble aid in a moment of folly, in a moment of blindness, in a moment of misfortune. The sparing of my life condemned to death by law and conscience can only be the work of hearts as noble as yours which I invoke and in which I trust for my beloved mother's sake whose gratitude to you for your noble-mindedness will be undying:—Yours obediently,—*Lee Roy Cannon.*—To be transmitted from H.—*Rafael César Medina.*»

* * *

«General J. Santos Zelaya.—Managua.—As you have ever been more than magnanimous with all, I beg of you in God's name to be merciful to me showing me clemency in my misfortune. For the rest of my life I will be your servant.—For God's sake have pity on me.—Your servant and brother mason,—*L. W. Groce.*—To be transmitted.—*Medina.*»

* * *

«El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—General D. J. Santos Zelaya.—Military Camp.—I repeat my supplication to you Mr. President. I am guilty, so I have confessed; but I promise you, General, never again to mix up in the political affairs of this country, which I love as my own for the sake of my darling wife and four children who are Nicaraguan and who will live ever grateful for your magnanimity.—Your servant, fraternally,—*Leonard W. Groce.*—To be transmitted from H.—*Rafael César Medina.*»

«El Castillo, Nov. 14, 1909.—General Commander D. J. Santos Zelaya.—Military Camp.—My profession as medical practitioner called me to the services of the enemy's army, and out of feelings purely humanitarian in spite of the fact of my acknowledging the injustice and crime committed by J. J. Estrada and others of the rebellion whose conduct I have reproved with all the strength of my conscience and judgment; for these reason I think I am justified in beseeching you to commute the sentence passed upon me by the Court Martial for the honour and pleasure of serving you loyally for the rest of my life, which I shall consider as born again through your good will.—I am Mr. President your servant,—*Edmund Couture*.—To be transmitted.—*Medina*.»

«It is a faithful and exact copy of the original with which I have confronted it and for the needful purposes, I draw up the present which I sign and seal in the city of Managua on the 29th of Nov. 1909.—Between lines: el local, tra, fiscal de Guerra, ba, que, r, venganza, Salomón Selva; A. Zúñiga y U., auditor; attorney, y, del delito de rebelión, J. F. Calderón, A. Zúñiga y U., auditor; Salomón Selva, auditor; ban. que.—Valid.—Corrected: resulta.—Valid.—Between brackets: frente, prisión, de, que, la.—Not valid.—*J. Irias*.»

«The above-signed, Secretary of the Supreme Court of Justice, certifies that he has confronted the copy that precedes the original and that they agree.—Managua, Dec. 11, 1909.—*Ramón Molina R.*»

«The above-signed, Undersecretary of the Interior and Justice, certifies to the authenticity of the signature that precedes of the Secretary of the Supreme Court of Justice that says: «*Ramón Molina R.*»—National Palace.—Managua, Dec. 11, 1909.—*J. F. Olivares*.»

«The above-signed, Undersecretary of Foreign Relations, certifies to the authenticity of the signature that precedes of the Undersecretary of the Interior and Justice that says: «*J. F. Olivares*.»—Managua, Dec. 11, 1909.—*J. Matamoros*.»

Certificate delivered by the first civil Court of the district, by request of the attorney general for War.

Miguel Prado, son, lawyer and first judge of civil cases of this district, certifies to the judicial proceedings that literally state the following: «Your Worship, First Judge in Civil Cases of the district.—I, Miguel G. Granera, lawyer, of full age, native of the city of León, resident in this capital in my capacity of Auditor general for War to the Republic, as is notorious and corresponding to your authority I expound to you in all respect the following: It is expedient for the rights and good name of the Government to demonstrate legally and clearly that MM. Edmund Couture, Leonard Groce and Lee Roy Cannon were not ill treated, nor much less tortured by any of the authorities that captured and judged them in the month of November last for having taken voluntarily part in the revolution which broke out on the Atlantic Coast headed by Generals Juan J. Estrada and Emiliano Chamorro. And as to obtaining the demonstration I need nothing can be more serviceable than the testimony of Mr. Couture, who is in this capital, I beg of you, by an appointment with and the intervention of the American Consul, don Enrique Caldera, and of the representative of the public ministry, after notice of day time and place and with the formality required by the law, to receive his declaration; both that of Mr. Couture and that of the Consul of Belgium D. Luis Layrac, according to the interrogatory I subjoin; and as soon as made, in the quality of ad perpetuam to return these original proceedings to me that the Supreme Government may make what use of them it may deem fit. As the execution of these proceedings is urgent I beg of you, if you have no objection to fix to-morrow, as being Sunday.—Managua, Dec. 4, 1909.—*Miguel G. Granera*, Auditor general for War.—This day, 11 a. m.—*Henriquez*, Secretary.—First Civil Court of the district.—Managua, 11,30 a. m. Dec. 4, 1909.—Before receiving the information solicited let the representative of the public ministry first be heard, and in view of the urgency of the case let to-morrow be fixed to perform the present proceedings.—Articles 173 and 755 Pr.—

Prado (son).—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.—In Managua, in the Corporation Hall at 2 p. m. Dec. 4, 1909, I notified reading in full the above act to the Auditor general for War, who excused himself from signing and the representative of the public ministry, who signed.—*Tomás Henríquez*.—*Florencio Arce*.—Interrogatory: 1st As to general principles of the law.—2nd Let Mr. Edmund Couture state that at 5 p. m. yesterday he was visited by the Consul of Belgium D. Luis Layrac.—3rd Let him say if it is certain that during that visit, in the most frank and spontaneous manner he gave the account subjoined, marked with the number 3 and which I beg of the judge to read to the witness, and if true to have ratified and acknowledged as his own.—Let the Consul of Belgium D. Luis Layrac, say if it is true that he visited Mr. Couture yesterday 3 inst as 5 p. m. and if in his presence he gave the account referred to in the former question in the most frank and spontaneous manner.—Managua, Dec. 4, 1909.—*Miguel G. Grañera*, Auditor general for War.—N^o 3.—Account given by Mr. Edmund Couture at 5 p. m. of yesterday 3 of the current month of Dec. in presence of the Consul of Belgium D. Luis Layrac.—He affirms that he and Mr. Groce were captured at about half past five on Nov. 2 last between Machuca and Boca de San Carlos, on the left bank of the river San Juan, that belongs to Nicaragua; they were embarked on the ship *Diamante* comandada by General D. Rafael César Medina; that Lee Roy Cannon was captured on the first of the same month in the same spot of the river San Juan, and taken on board the steamer *Holembeke*, and the following day, that is, on the third, all were embarked on this steamer sleeping in the same berth; that there—states Couture—from the conversations held by Groce and Cannon he became informed of what each had done against the Government of Nicaragua and Cannon affirmed that he had drafted plans in his capacity of Colonel of the Staff of General Emiliano Chamorro to help the invasion of the interior of Nicaragua against his Government; that in the ship *Holembeke* they were taken to San Juan del Norte, and they were present at the battle and taking of Boca del Colorado; that from San Juan del Norte, as 1 p. m. on Nov. 12 in the steamer *Holembeke* they were taken in the direction of El Castillo, where they arrived between 11 and 12 of the 14th; that they were placed in the hall of the bodega and the verbal Court Martial having begun at about 5 p. m. of the same day it ended at 2 a. m. of the following day, the 15th, and at 8 a. m. of that day the sentence was made known to them. Mr. Couture states that he and his other two companions enjoyed all

legal defense and appointed their defensor Captain J. Fernando Calderón; he likewise affirms because he is personally and positively sure of the fact, that neither on capturing him or MM. Groce and Cannon nor in taking them to San Juan del Norte, nor in leading them to the Castillo nor during the time they remained in this port, nor at any time, were they ill treated or tortured in any way by any authority or functionary and that on the contrary, they were wanting in nothing for they were provided with all necessaries as needed: to that neither of the three was put to torture; Mr. Couture also stated that Generals Salvador Toledo and Medina looked after them and treated them with every consideration and care and finally Mr. Couture himself affirms that both mister Cannon and Mr. Groce fought in the revolution as Colonels.—The Auditor general for War, *Miguel G. Granera*.—Your Worship, I am agreed to the receiving of the information demanded by reason of its urgent character and the public interest.—Managua, Dec. 4, 1909.—*Florencio Arce*.—First Civil Court of the district.—Managua, 7 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909. The preceding solicitation being in proper form, let it be admitted, and as a result, the appointment made with the public ministry and the Consul of the United States in this Republic let the declarations of the Consul of Belgium D. Luis Layrac and D. Edmundo Couture be heard, choosing for this purpose the dwelling of the above judge (upper floor of the house of D. J. Joaquín Bárcenas) and at 10 o'clock to-day as well as the following which were necessary.—Articles 757 and 1.087 Pr.—*Prado (son)*.—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.—Managua, in Barbería Central at 7,2 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909, I notified by reading in full the above act to the Auditor general for War and to the representative of the public ministry, who excused themselves from signing. *Tomás Henríquez*, Secretary.—Managua, in the house occupied by the American Legation at 8,30 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909, I notified by reading in full the request and preceding acts to the Consul of the United States, D. Enrique Caldera, who did not sign, as he was about to take a bath. *Tomás Henríquez*, Secretary.—Managua, 10,10 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909, present Edmundo Couture I put him on his oath in the form determined by article 33 Pr., warning him of the penalty incurred for false witness, and after having been examined according to the interrogatory presented by the Auditor general for War, he replied to the first: that his name is as stated; that he is 48 years old, bachelor; that he is a native of Puy L'Eveque, Lot (France), engineer and resident of Prinzapolca and residing temporarily in this city. To the second: that it is exact. To the

third: that the contents of the account is true that it was read to him, for which reason he ratifies it in its entirety, with the exception of the fact that the deponent cannot state exactly the date of the capture of Lee Roy Cannon after reading, he signed in the presence of the Consul of the United States, D. Henry Caldera.—*Prado (son)*—*Edmund Couture*.—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.—Managua, 10,30 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909, present, the Consul of Belgium, D. Luis Layrac, I put him on his oath as prescribed by article 33 Pr., previous explaining the penalty incurred for false testimony and examined in conformity with the interrogatory that the Auditor general for War presented, he replied to the first question; that his name is as said, age 43, bachelor, native of France, resident in this city and agricultural engineer. To the fourth; that it is exact. After reading, he ratified and signed.—*Prado (son)*.—*L. Layrac*.—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.—First Civil Court of the district.—Managua, 11 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909.—Hearing of the representative of the public ministry that he may pronounce his opinion. Article 758 Pr.—*Prado (son)*.—In mi presence, *Tomás Henríquez*.—Managua, in the Barbería Central, at 11,05 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909, I notified by reading in full the above act to the Auditor general for War and to the representative of the public ministry who excused themselves from signing.—*Tomás Henríquez*, Secretary.—The judge above-signed records: that the person of the Consul of Belgium Luis Layrac is acknowledged by the acting Secretary, and that the person of Mr. Edmund Couture was identified by the declaration of MM. Luis Layrac and Dr. D. Salomón Selva who are acknowledged by the Secretary himself *Henríquez*.—Managua, Dec. 5, 1909.—*Miguel Prado (son)*.—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.—Your Worship: I make the transfer you are pleased to ordain, and beg to state that I have carefully examined the present proceedings, finding them entirely correct and legal, and therefore your authority will determine in agreement with the request of the Auditor general for War.—Managua, Dec. 5, 1909.—*Florencio Arce*.—First Civil Court of the district.—Managua, 12 a. m. Dec. 5, 1909.—The present proceedings being concluded and all the prescriptions of the law having been fulfilled, with which the representative of the public ministry is agreed, let them be approved and consequently deposited in the archives, a certificate of all being given to the party interested.—Article 759 Pr.—Please take note.—*Miguel Prado (son)*.—In my presence, *Tomás Henríquez*.—Managua, in the house of D. Joaquín Bárcenas, 1 p. m. Dec. 5, 1909, I notified by reading in full the

above act to the Auditor general for War and to the representative of the public ministry who excused themselves from signing.—*Tomás Henríquez*, Secretary.»

And in fulfilment of the order I draw up the present certificate which consists of three pages, to be hand over to the Auditor general for War in Managua, at 10 a. m. Dec. 6, 1909.—What is erased is not valid.—What is corrected is valid.—*Miguel Prado (son)*.—In my presence, Secretary *Tomás Henríquez*.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

Cónsul de El Castillo, El
N.º de 1909.

Sr. D. Juan Jacoby,
Marayo.

Querido hermano:

Estoy en capilla por sentencia
de Consejo de Guerra. Mañana
a las diez me fusilarán y supli-
cote escribo a mi madre: y, no
lo hago por que no tengo fuer-
zas ni espíritu para ello. Dile
que muero honradamente y
que mi sepultura quede en
El Castillo cerca de la So-
ma de las Coxambolas.

Dile que mis negocios, des-
pués de salir de Mirragua,
se radicaron en San Miguel
República de El Salvador.

Hoy los escrituras que las
tiene don Manuel J. Rivera,
una de sociedad y otra
de derechos que me compró
en terrenos comunales, y que

La sociedad no está li-
quidada, motivada por
que tuve que salir de
Nicaragua.

El baul con toda mi tra-
pa buena queda en man-
nos del mismo Rivera
Tengo tres derechos en unos
terrenos de oro en el Rio
Pozuzo jurisdiccion de
Intendencia departamental
de Olanchito. - y que don
Jose Palschdach: ~~quien~~
~~es~~ es socio. y el lo
trabaja. La sociedad debe
mil pesos plata y desde
Oct. de 1906 no ha ren-
dido cuenta por que yo al
salir de la Republica del
Salvador donde fui emplea-
do por el Gobierno no liquidé
y que yo debo mil pesos billes
los guatemaltecos al cam-
bio del mil setecientos cin-
cuenta. al Sr. J. Ma-
nuel Duron. quien se en-

Cuentos actual en la ciudad de Guatemala 10^o avo^a
Sno. N^o 34.

Dile a mi madre que nunca
he manchado mi nombre
y que llevo con orgullo el
nombre de mis antepasados.
La unica desgracia que he
tenido es el haberme metido
en politica Centro Americana
lo cual siento en el último tran-
ce de mi vida.

Lo voy venir mi perdona
que ya se pidió por mi
todavía saludarte se lo
continuo envie a mi ma-
dre mi último adios y
tambien se lo envio a la se-
ñorita Alicia Baringer
a mis tios, mi madre Chepa
la esposa de don Fernando Go-
mez y los demas de mi
familia.
Tambien escribete

a' Alejandro Gomez dando
le la noticia de mi muer-
ta. y a don Samuel Ford
advertiendole que fui fusilado
por causas politicas.

Te he sabido ^{como} me car-
acter a demas como como
hermanos y te suplico
no olvidar jamas que
en El Castillo queda los
restos mios y si algun
tiempo puede mandas
para mis restos y enterras
me al lado del inolvid-
able Anita tuya. El Empl
Toledo, Medina me ha
tratado como hermano
en mi prision y los
Doctores Vertesid y
Silva quienes eran

2

Results of war and dis-
obedience to a loving mother:

Its hard to be shot like
this but I will die like
a man. Tell all good-bye

Its impossible for me to
write more - Love and kisses
as a last farewell on earth
to you dear mother, all the
boys and dear little sister

Good-bye until we all
meet again in heaven:

Your loving son
Leonardo

Tell Sandy, the General
in command here is
named Rafael Medina and
is a brother mason

Len-

El Castillo.

16 de Nov. 1909

Sin Rosa F. de Groce

Maudine

Mi querido Esposo

Ayer fui condenado
a muerte por consejo de
guerra - por que andaba con
Emiliano Chaurros en
la Revolution. Seria fusi-
lado hoy a los 10 a. m.

nombre ud alguna que
por lo que yo tengo en
los difuntos lugares de los
miros - Entiendase con Mr
Christian Beudsen -

Dame unos abrazos y besos
a mis hijos y digale que
su padre se he muerto,

Adios mi adorado Rosita -

suya hasta abordo de
me sepulcro - Leonardo Groce

2

Results of war and dis-
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Darme unos abrazos y besos
a mis hijos y dízale que
su padre se he muerto,
adios mi adorado Rocita -
suja hasta abordo de
me sepulcro - Leonardo Groce

